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URBOCHREMATONYMS – A SOCIOCULTURAL ANALYSIS

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Abstract: The article presents a comparative sociocultural analysis of chrematonyms in the urban area of Cluj-Napoca, Romania, and Warsaw, Poland. Among the examined names, we identify three main categories: natural, prestige and hybrid urbochrematonyms. We analyse to what extent the influence of other prestige languages and cultures is reflected in the naming process of restaurants, pubs and cafés. Our aim is to observe the strategies and the local preferences of owners to attract clients – either the use of names reflecting the local culture or, on the contrary, the use of prestige foreign cultures. Hence, this analysis will indicate the naming trends in two urban places.

Keywords: urbochrematonyms, globalisation, urban landscape, discursive strategies, pragmatic dimension

0. Introduction

This paper is part of our ongoing research in the onomastic field of chrematonyms. We embarked in this research in 2012 and ever since we try to account for the up-to-date dimensions of this newly-introduced category. With this particular paper we aim at comparing the use of chrematonyms in Poland, Warsaw, with their use in a Transylvanian city, Cluj-Napoca. We chose these two cities because they are both East-european cities. Moreover, Polish is a slavic language, while Romanian is a romance language with slavic influences. We will analyse the local preferences and the strategies used in order to attract customers: either names which promote the local culture or prestige names which come from other cultures and languages which would show the global characteristics of these types of names.

We use the sociolinguistic framework in order to investigate the uses of chrematonyms in these two targeted East-european cities in the sociocultural context of a globalised society.

The first part of our paper defines the onomastic category of urbochrematonyms and it presents the importance of the sociocultural context and of the globalisation phenomenon, providing relevant examples in order to better account for this types of names.

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The second part is dedicated to the corpus analysis of some urbochrematonyms of places denoting restaurants, bars, clubs, cafés and bistros and it contains two parts. Firstly, we provide a qualitative analysis of some new urbochrematonyms in Cluj-Napoca, Romania, in comparison with some urbochrematonyms in Warsaw. In this analysis, we include the slogans, logos and stories created by the owners in digital spaces (websites). Secondly, we will use a tripartite classification of urbochrematonyms (prestige, natural and hybrid) and we will provide relevant examples for each category.

In the third part, we discuss the findings and conclusions drawn from our dual corpus analysis and we argue that urbochrematonyms are a dynamic onomastic category which is depended on and influenced by other sociocultural factors.

1.Urbochrematonyms and the Sociocultural Context

In nowadays society we experience the economic and cultural dimensions of global interdependencies (see Löfgren, 2009: 1) and we participate in a world in which different local perspectives are intertwined and become global due to the process of globalisation and new technologies. All this processes yield multicultural products, ideas and aspects which are reflected in the use of chrematonyms, especially in urban places. Hence, our attention to (urbo)chrematonyms is linked to the ongoing process of globalisation and to the growing realisation that chrematonyms in urban regions represent our surrounding polyphonic multicultural reality in which the local cultures are in a struggle with one another as we deal with a cultural continuum without precise delimitation.

These aspects constitute the background for our study of urbochrematoynms which represent a complex subcategory of the contemporary chrematonyms. They have been recently identified and coined by researchers in the field onomastic studies in order to denote permanent places in the urban landscape (see Dombrowski, 2015: 31) such as names of restaurants (*Livada*, *Roata*, *Browarmia Królewska*, *Dawne Smaki*), cafés (*Zorki*, *Olivo*, *Meron*, *Cafe Zamek*, *Cafe Zaraz Wracam*), pubs (*Flying Circus*, *The Shelter*, *Gorączka Złota*, *Ferment*), hotels (*Napoca*, *Meteor*, *Belvedere*, *Belwederski*, *Na Uboczu*), clubs (*Diesel*, *Nest of Angels*, *Boiler*, *Goryl we mgle*, *Jedyne Wyjście*), bistros (*Bistro Viena*, *Bistro Engels*, *22 Bistro & Burger*, *Bistro de Paris*) entertainment centers (*The Dungeon*, *The Museum*, *Best Escape Room*, *Dom Zagadek*) and so on.

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Even though chrematonyms and their representations in the urban places (urbochrematonyms) are widespread nowadays in communities around the globe, there are researchers (e.g. Siwiec, 2012; Palinciuc, 2010) who provided in-depth analyses of these categories without using this umbrella term to denominate them because the term urbochrematonym has only recently been coined as such. We argue that this term is very precise in denominating the names of urban places under focus (restaurants, pubs, cafés, bars, clubs) because the term *urbochrematonyms* clearly delimitates these names from other types of chrematonyms. Hence, urbochrematonyms are totally different from the names of magazines, bands, cakes and pastry, books, etc. because of their functionality: static (urbochrematonyms have a precise geographical location: their existence is linked to a building or a place) versus dynamic (the other chrematonyms are ubiquitous, being found and used on a national/international scale). Given this functionality, the term urbochrematonyms reflects the up-to-date tendencies and the life flow of cities, as well as tourists and locals' interest points and attractions.

2. Hypotheses

Given the sociocultural landscape of the two cities under focus, we expect that the results of our research show that:

- nowadays marketing strategies encompass a series of elements which complement each other (urbochrematonyms, logos, slogans, websites, design). In general, all urbochrematonyms refer back to various entities or place (a book/a place/a writer, etc.) and their choice is never random.
- the urbochrematonyms in the Romanian city are predominantly in a foreign language or influenced by another culture, while, in the case of Polish urbochrematonyms, their number surpasses the ones in a foreign language.

3. Method

In order to account for the use of urbochrematonyms, we selected the most popular sites regarding spare time and leisure activities. We extracted the urbochrematonyms for the categories that we focus on and we applied the contrastive-comparative method.

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4. Corpus Analysis

In what follows we will analyse some urbochrematonyms of places denoting restaurants, bars, clubs, cafés and bistros. Firstly, we provide a qualitative analysis of some new urbochrematonyms in Cluj-Napoca, Romania, in comparison with some urbochrematonyms in Warsaw. In this analysis, we include the slogans, logos and stories created by the owners in digital spaces (websites). Secondly, we will use classify the urbochrematonyms and we will provide relevant examples for each category.

4.1 A Qualitative Perspective on Urbochrematonyms

In this urban landscape of societies shaped by globalisation, new technologies and cultural mobility, the owners of leisure time and eating out places try to create unique spaces and the naming process is an essential part and an access point to the owners' intentions, projecting the idea of originality and membership in particular social groups/communities, even communities of practice.

In what follows we will provide a qualitative analysis of some urbochrematonyms in Cluj-Napoca (*Meron*, *Baracca* and *Joben Bistro*) and in Warsaw (*Elephant Belgian Pub*, *Słodki Bez*, *Vege Miasto*). We will analyse the urbochrematonyms, but also the slogans, logos and stories created by the owners in digital spaces (websites). We will analyse only the urbochrematonyms denoting new places as we noticed that they are creative and require a much more complex cognitive processing. The urbochrematonyms of new places reflect the special role urbochrematonyms play and the stories that can be created around them in order to attract customers. This shows that urbochrematonyms are an essential piece of the marketing and business puzzle of the entangled world of the owners and customers.

The urbochrematonym *Meron*, which denotes a coffee shop in Cluj-Napoca, together with its slogans *Home of Coffee* and *Coffee as you are* stands as an example of the semantic and pragmatic power of urbochrematonyms. On the coffee shop's website there is no explanation regarding the origin of the name and the customer's cognitive processing might encompass various possibilities: Meron could denote a mountain or village in Israel, a term used in theoretical physics or a first/last name of Israeli origin. What is interesting is that their logo resembles a mountain (see Fig. 1 below).

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Fig. 1

Meron's PR and discursive strategies are thoroughly planned and they include the Web 2.0 technologies in order to promote the idea that drinking this particular coffee in the unique setting provided by Meron would assure a sense of belonging and a group identity:

- *Our Decameron / A place that stands for personality and individuality*

To sip a coffee means enjoying the present moment. It means allowing your senses to speak, to say here I am, now, I exist. Every moment of our lives is irreplaceable and unique, that's why we have to live it at maximum intensity. Meron is a place that stands for personality and individuality.

The idea behind our business is to capture the present moment, and the one thing that should be the greatest joy to people. The joy of being. That's why we have 10 core-commandments, which encompass our values and by which we guide ourselves in our activity [...]

- *Meron resident / #peopleofmeron*

You are now in a place where coffee embodies a new vision over things. Meron intends to raise up a community with high standards in the field of coffee, adding a new flavor and taste to the urban scenario. We are convinced that coffee brings good people together. The People of Meron. (http://caffemeron.com/)

The urbochrematonym *Baracca* denotes one of the most sophisticated restaurant with an international cuisine in Cluj-Napoca. Its slogan, *Design Food*, reinforces the attention given to food and the fact that eating should also be given an aesthetic value. The urbochrematonym follows the Italian spelling. In the Romanian context, it makes the

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customer have a horizon of expectation which is characterised by simplicity, modesty and minimalism. However, the intended message is exactly the opposite, that is to say, everyone should have the possibility of eating there because this is not just a place for the wealthy people. The marketing strategy evoked through this urbochrematonym constrasts with urbochrematonyms like *La Dolce Vita*, *Capriccio*, *Gentlemen's Club*, *Tabiet* because these urbochrematonyms would send the message that only people with exquisite life could be customers of these restaurants, excluding middle class people.

On their website they describe the place as: *The place where life is celebrated every moment [...]*; *The result of our work is a contemporary kitchen that supports a healthy lifestyle and an experience that nourishes the body and soul to the same extent.* (http://www.baracca.ro/)

Joben Bistro (see Fig. 2) is the place whose story fascinates the customers through introducing them to a steampunk atmosphere. The urbochrematonym *Joben* comes from *Jobin* who was a very popular French hatter in Bucharest in the XIXth century. The common noun *joben* denotes a black top hat worn by men only on ceremonies. The place is characterised by a spectacular design. The site addresses the customers directly: *We created a place that wants to become part of your lifestyle. There aren't many moments when you could say with certainty that both the design and the services are "Chapeau". This is the motto we use to conquer our audience*. The slogan *Chapeau*, which is in fact written in Romanian - *Pălăria jos*, shows high respect for both the services provided by the place, and for the customers. The urbochrematonym refers back to the Victorian time and it is a symbol for scientific inventions and science fiction in the XIXth century. Moreover, Jobin, the hatter, was the person who invented the top hat in Romania in the Victorian era.

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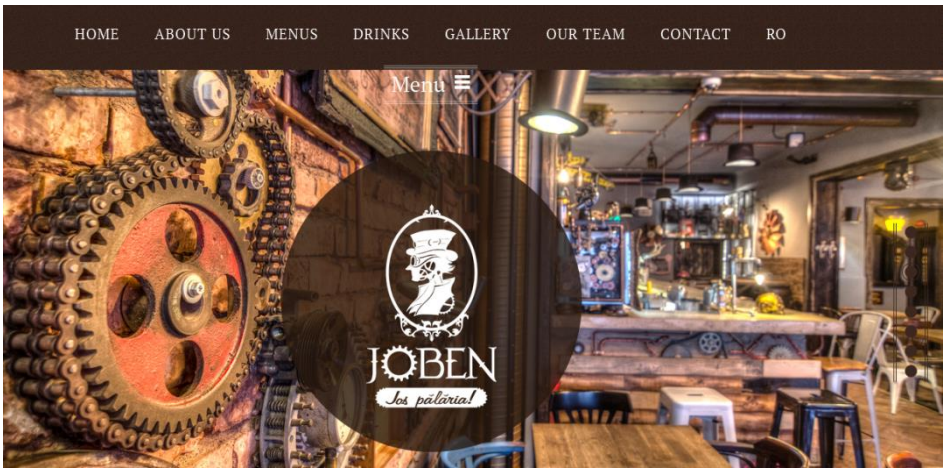


Fig. 2

The urbochrematonym *Elephant Belgian Pub - Warszawa Pub Belgijski* denotes a Belgian pub in Warsaw and it refers directly to the Brussels' pub logo through a semiotic inter-reference represented by an elephant which makes the audience think about the famous logo of Délirium Café in Brussels (Fig. 3). On their website they promote their pub in the following way: *Elephant Belgian Pub Warsaw has taken the multi-tap trend and tinkered and tuned it. As exciting and experimental as the new wave of Polish brewing has been, everybody knows that no one does it better than the Belgian's themselves. So to find a Belgian-themed tap bar is good news indeed. Signposted by a dancing pink elephant, Delirium presents its cause the moment you enter – on the bar in front there's about twenty or so taps. [...] Peering through the glass, I feel like a small boy staring through a shark tank: hypnotized, spellbound and a little scared for my liver.* (http://www.elephantbelgianpub.pl/#media)

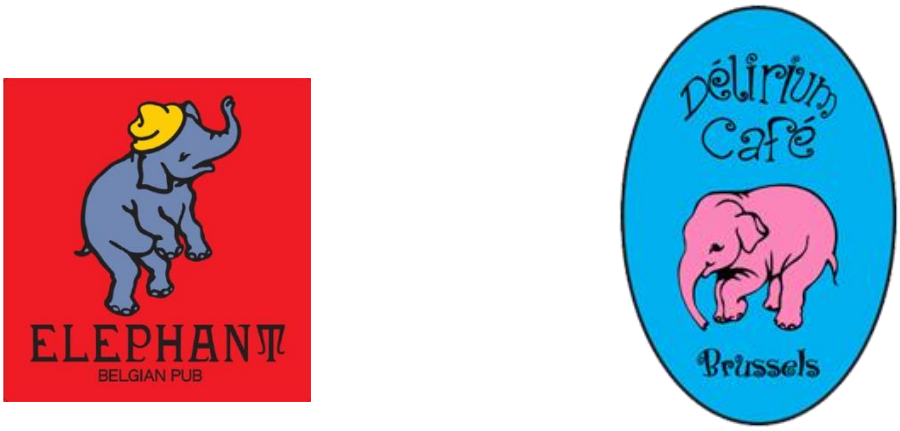


Fig. 3

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The urbochrematonym *Słodki Bez* denotes a café and patisserie in Warsaw. The chrematonym is based on an ellipsis as the preposition *bez* is the equivalent of *without* in English and it requires a genitive noun after it. At first sight, this is a structure without meaning, *sweet without*, but the customers quickly realise that it actually refers to the fact that the sweet taste in this place is not given by the classic ingredients (sugar, flour or lactose products). Hence, in description of their shop on the website, we can read the following text:

Sweet Without is a café and patisserie with a healthy pastries - no sugar, no white flour, no gluten and no remorse. We love to prove that healthy ingredients create flavours that strike the head off the traditional ones. Convincing even the biggest doubters that healthy desserts can be delicious is for us the greatest joy! http://www.slodkibez.pl/

Vege Miasto means *the vegan city* and denotes a vegan restaurant in Warsaw. Through the use of the noun *miasto* the urbochrematonym addresses people everywhere since it doesn't name any particular city. Hence, people regardless of age, preferences, gender, nationality, race, origin are invited to adopt the vegan lifestyle and eating habits. Moreover, the logo (Fig. 4) is represented by a green fruit which contains the sketch of skyscrapers in Warsaw and the Palace of Culture and Science which is one of the symbols of Warsaw. Hence, even though the place is not named by the urbochrematonym, the logo could be interpreted as encapsulating Warsaw and not any city.



Fig. 4

http://www.vegemiasto.pl/index.html

The urbochrematonyms and the stories analysed above are just a few examples of the closely-knit relation between the world of the owners and that of customers which is shaped through the choice of urbochrematonyms. Furthermore, the urbochrematonyms provide the

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customers information about the place, the services and the distinguishing characteristics of the places advertised.

We noticed that many restaurants, cafés, pubs, bistros, etc. do not have a website, but all of them have a Facebook page. This shows that the social network platform plays such an important role in our daily lives that the information is shared very efficiently. Even the places which have a website also have a Facebook page that is always up-to-date.

4.2 The Tripartite Perspective on Urbochrematonyms

The choice of chrematonyms in the urban landscape reflects the citizens' preferences, their conceptualisation regarding their own group identity and the sense of belonging to a community as, like language in general, the urbochrematonyms abstract the world of experience into words (see Joseph, 2004: 11). In this respect, the choice of chrematonyms in Romania reflects a preference for foreign cultures as foreign chrematonyms prevail over local chrematonyms. This entitles us to say that the Romanian society is eager to connect to other cultures in order to acquire a global and multicultural identity. Hence, in Romania we come across chrematonyms in English, chrematonyms which blend English with words which refer back to the country of origin or chrematonyms in other foreign languages which refer directly to their source (see Radu and Cotoc, 2016: 114). On the contrary, the Polish society shows a preference for local chrematonyms and a stronger sense of their national identity and of belonging to the Polish psychological community. However, this is not exclusive, as we also encounter foreign chrematonyms or combinations of Polish and English chrematonyms, but not to the same extent as in Romania.

Taking as point of reference the classification adapted from Justyna Walkowiak's classification of brands and used in order to account for the chrematonyms encountered in Romania (Radu and Cotoc, 2016), we make use of the same classification in order to compare the urbochrematonyms encountered in Cluj-Napoca, in opposition to those encountered in Warsaw, this showing the current trends in both cities.

Natural urbochrematonyms are the names which send directly to particular cultures through the use of the language used in that specific socio-cultural context. English

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urbochrematonyms can also be included in this category when used to signal British or American belonging and identity:

Cluj-Napoca	Warsaw
Restaurants and bistros: *El Toro* (Argentinian steakhouse), *La Piazzetta* (Italian restaurant), *Zama* (a typical Transylvanian restaurant), *Roata* (Romanian traditional restaurant), *Casa dacilor* (Romanian traditional restaurant), *Cabinet de vin & cocotte* (French restaurant), *Baracca* (Italian restaurant). **Bars, pubs and clubs:** *L'Atelier*, *La Gazette*, *Le Général*, *Samsara*, *Toulouse*, *Bellini Café* (Bellini makes the customers think of Italy. The noun *café* provides additional information about the type of place involved), *Diesel*. **Cafés and Patisseries**: *Zorki*, *À la Tarte, Mozart, Carpați*, *La casa*, *Meron*, *Olivo*.	**Restaurants and bistros:** *Browarmia Królewska* (Polish traditional restaurant), *Delicja Polska* (Polish traditional restaurant), *Dom Polski* (Polish traditional restaurant), *Mała Polana Smaków* (Polish traditional restaurant), *American Steak House*, *Amigos*, *Chicago's*, *Bistro de Paris*, *Saint Jacques*, *Bierhalle*, *Ave Pizza*, *Bacio*. **Bars, pubs and clubs:** *British Bulldog Pub*, *Irish Pub*, *Molly Malone's Irish Pub*, *New Orleans Gentlemen's Club*, *Mirage*, *Bar Warszawa.* **Cafés and Patisseries:** *Baguette*, *Bristol*, *Croque Madame*, *Le Chocolat*, *Kafka.*

Prestige urbochrematonyms are the names which use English or pseudo-English as a lingua franca without being of English origin or refering in any way to the English or American society. Still, the language is used because it offers international visibility and easier access to the particularity of the place:

Cluj-Napoca	Warsaw
Restaurants and bistros: *Golden House*, *Golden Tulip*, *Lunch Break*,	**Restaurants and bistros:** *Amber Room*, *Fusion*, *Butchery & Wine*,

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More, Pizza Party, The Peach Tree, Royal Gala, Coratim Events Hall, Entire Events, Sun, Mint, Off the Wall. **Bars, pubs and clubs:** *Flying Circus, Shadows, Living Pub, Bamboo, Euphoria Music Hall, My Way, Music Box, Barrels Pub, Boiler Club, Nest of Angels, Club the One, Art Café, Amsterdam Café, People, GodFather's Café Bar, The Shelter.* **Cafés and Patisseries**: *Flowers Tea House, Snack and Coffee, Bike 44, The Hat.*	*Downtown, Flaming, Flow, Ginger, Loft, Moonsfera, Sense, Signature, Sketch, Soul Kitchen, Sphinx, The House of Cheese.* **Bars, pubs and clubs:** *Balsam, Bank Club, ClubRock, Element Club, Hunters' Club, Iguana Lounge, In Decks, Lemon, Level 27, Park, Plan B, Room 13, Sheesha Lounge, The Fame Music Club, Jazz Club, Pulp Fiction Bar, SomePlace Else.* **Cafés and Patisseries**: *Melon, barStudio, Chillout Factory, Kids and Friends.*

Hybrid urbochrematonyms make use of spelling which may include letters or combinations of letters alien to the native language:

Cluj-Napoca	Warsaw
Restaurants and bistros: *SoupeR, Wok'n Roll.* **Bars, pubs and clubs:** *Wine O'Clock, Booha, Phi18, Jaxx, Junkyard.* **Cafés and Patisseries**: *Cafenoar, Panemar.*	**Restaurants and bistros:** *Burgerownia, Burgerator, MuuMuu, Warburger, Thai Me Up, Winiarnia Żużu, My'o'my, Varso Vie, Falafelna, Falafelove, Whatscookin, SmaczneGO.* **Bars, pubs and clubs:** *DeLite Club, FonoBar, Saturator, Hoppines, Hopsters Multitap, Piw Paw, RazzMaTazz.* **Cafés and Patisseries**: *Coffeetura, Tarabuk, WarsandSawa.*

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As we showed in our article "Foreign Chrematonyms in a Globalised Society. A Case Study" (Radu and Cotoc, 2016: 121), in Cluj-Napoca, there are also Romanian chrematonyms denoting Romanian pubs, cafés and restaurants, but their number is clearly less significant. In what restaurants in Cluj are concerned, out of the most popular 120 restaurants, only 11 have Romanian names (*Livada*, *Zama*, *Vărzărie*, *Casa Ardeleană*, *Hanul Dacilor*, *Sinaia*, *Casa Piraților*, *Crama Haiducilor*, *Casa Vikingilor*, *Maimuța Plângătoare*, *Valahia*). Regarding the pubs and clubs in Cluj, out of the most popular 60, only 4 have a Romanian name (*Apartament 1*, *Biblioteca centrală*, *Buricu' târgului, Ce?*). Last but not least, out of 60 cafés, only 5 have Romanian names (*Drumul ceaiului*, *La Cizmărie*, *La Mărgelatu'*, *La Perne*, *Doamna T*). In comparison with Cluj-Napoca, in Warsaw, the Polish urbochrematonyms prevail over the urbochrematonyms of other origins. Hence, in what restaurants in Warsaw are concerned, out of the most popular 566, 114 have Polish Names (*Bydło i Poidło, Ćwierćfunciak, Frytki i Burgery, Między Bułkami, Fenicja, Dziki Ryż, Ujazdowska & Mołdawska, Podwale - Kompania Piwna, Cesarski Pałac, Orientacja, Akademia, Bistro Warszawa, Kuchnia Otwarta, Metr Nad Ziemią, Nowa Kuźnia, Pikanteria, Świeżo Malowane, Prosta Historia, Pod Retmanem, Warszawa Wschodnia, Strefa, Bastylia, Pędzący Królik, Mała Gruzja, Stółdzielnia U Madziara, 4 Czwarte, A nóż, Akademia Smaku, Bar Tęcza, aleje3, BARDZIEJ gastrobar, Browarmia Królewska, Bzik Kulinarny, Ciekawa, Delikatesy.Esencja, Dyspensa, Gadka Szmatka, Haka, Hoża, Jasna 24, Jazz Bistro Wałbrzyska, Kamanda Lwowska, Kieliszki na Próżnej, Kuchnia Funkcjonalna, Kultura, Kwintesencja, Łazienkowska 3, Manekin, Na Lato, Niezłe Ziółko, Obsessja, Opasły Tom, Otwarta Kuchnia, Pierwsza Liga, Po Prostu Zachęta, Pogromcy Meatów, Przegryź, Przepis, Qchnia Artystyczna, Restauracja Z57, Rozbrat 20, Słodki...Słony, Spotkanie, Trylogia, U Szwejka, Zajazd Napoleoński, Zielnik, Znak Zapytania, Żurawina, Dziki Lokator, Dziurka od Klucza, Mąka i Woda, Nowy Arsenał, Pausa Włoska, Pięć Po, Sardynia, Saska Gęba, Socjal, Spokojna 15, Stółdzielnia , Włoska robota, Gruba Ryba, Kwitnąca Wiśnia Sushi, Ryżowe Pole, Pod Samsonem, Różana 14, Wiesz co zjesz, Biały Domek, Bistro Jadłoteka, Chłopskie Jadło, Dekagram, Delicja Polska, Dom Polski, Gospoda Kwiaty Polskie, Głodomory, Zielony Niedźwiedź, Karczma Soplicowo, Karpielówka, Kwintesencja, Mała Polana Smaków, Nowa Kuźnia, Pasja Smaku, Po Prostu Art Bistro, Pod Gigantami, Przy Zamku, Pyzy, flaki gorące, Stary Dom, Złoto Hiszpanii, Kubek i Ołówek, Ósma Kolonia, Słodki Bez, Vege Miasto*). Out

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of the most popular 128 pubs and clubs, 47 have a Polish name (*Absynt, 1500m2 do wynajęcia, Centrum Artystyczne Fabryka Trzciny, Dekada, Enklawa, Goryl we mgle , Hydrozagadka, Jedyne Wyjście, Klinika, Klubokawiarnia, Powiększenie, Progresja, Regeneracja, Skład Butelek, Spółdzielnia CDQ, Stodoła, Syreni Śpiew, Wypieki Kultury, Znośna Lekkość Bytu, Pardon To Tu, Afera na Szpitalnej, Bar Warszawa, Głębokie gardło, Granica Przyzwoitości, Meta Seta Galareta, Ojczysta Czysta, Pijalnia wódki i piwa, Przekąski u Romana, Rozbiegówka, Ulubiona, Zamieszanie, Chmielarnia, Cuda na Kiju, Czeska Baszta, Ferment, Gniazdo Piratów, Gorączka Złota, Kafefajka, Małe Piwo, Pod Baryłką, Przejście, Retrospekcja, Spiskowcy Rozkoszy, U Pana Michała, W oparach absurdu, Wieżyca, Zielona Gęś*) and out of 47 cafés, 32 have Polish names (*4 Pokoje, Kulturalna Cafe, Centrum Zarządzania Światem, Bily Konicek, Chmury, CieKawa Cafe, Czuły Barbarzyńca , Dom Zabawy i Kultury, Jaś i Małgosia, Kalinowe Serce, Kawiarnia Fabryczna, Kicia Kocia, Klubokawiarnia Bez Krępacji, Kolonia, Kura Domowa, Łysy Pingwin, Mam Ochotę, Miejsce Chwila, OSP Saska Kępa, Państwomiasto, Pawilon Kulturalny, Po Prostu Zachęta, Pochwała Niekonsekwencji, Południk Zero, Równonoc, Solec 44, Stacja Mercedes, Śniadaniownia, Warszawa Powiśle, Wileńska 3, Wrzenie Świata, Znajomi Znajomych*).

5. Findings and Discussion

The urbochrematonyms are a dynamic onomastic category which is is linked to the other marketing strategies the owners employ in order to attract customers. They are a point of access into the specificity of places and, together with websites, Facebook pages, the places' design and offers, they construct appealing stories meant to have as a result the selling of particular products or services. Besides, the urbochrematonyms give a sense of identity and uniqueness to the customers because they identify themselves with the products they buy, the food they eat and the places they go to. In this respect, a very good example from our corpus is the structure *resident/#peopleofmeron* used by the owners of the coffee shop *Meron* as it clearly states the idea that people going to this coffee shop form a closely-knit community.

The choice of urbochrematonyms (prestige, natural or hybrid) is dependent on the socio-cultural aspects of the urban places involved: the citizens' perspective on their national identity and the pride of belonging to a particular nation, the current trends and influences, the local specificity, the locals and the tourists' preferences. Of course, these variables are not

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fixed categories. Hence, some urbochrematonyms may change in time and others might disappear (as the places are replaced with something else that is fashionable and original given the context and the target customers' buying profile).

Last but not least, as our results have shown, even though Warsaw is a much bigger city than Cluj-Napoca, with higher density, bigger surface and a huge population as compared to Cluj, if we take a close look at our data, we notice that the percentage of local urbochrematonyms is much higher in Warsaw:

- Restaurants in Cluj-Napoca - only one tenth of the urbochrematonyms are Romanian names versus restaurants in Warsaw - one fourth of the urbochrematonyms are Polish names.
- Pubs, bars and clubs in Cluj-Napoca - one twelfth of the urbochrematonyms are Romanian names versus pubs, bars and clubs in Warsaw - almost half of them bear Polish names.
- Cafés in Cluj-Napoca - one twelfth of them are Romanian names versus cafés in Warsaw - more than half are Polish names.

6. Conclusions and Further Research

Through the qualitative and quantitative analysis performed on the selected urbochrematonyms, we conclude that urbochrematonyms, together with logos, slogans, websites, design, are key elements of the marketing and discursive strategies that owners use in order to attract customers.

Regarding the two cities under focus (Cluj-Napoca and Warsaw), we noticed that the urbochrematonyms in the Romanian city are mostly foreign or influenced by another language and culture, while, in the case of Polish urbochrematonyms, their number surpasses the ones in a foreign language.

As our hypotheses were proven, we aim to continue our research by analysing other cultural spaces in Europe in order to create a vast panorama of (urbo)chrematonyms in the european context and the connections realised between different places through the use of chrematonyms.

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