ONOMASTICS IN THE DOMAIN OF CLOTHING

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Abstract

Proper names are a frequent source of common nouns, as the clothing terminology illustrates. By means of antonomasia, the category of deonomastics is created. Its historics sheds some light on the semantics of the mentioned terminology. The names of politicians, of clothing designers or of their places of origin become common nouns. This way, onomastics becomes a source of expansion of the lexicon and of the clothing ternminology.

Key words: *clothes*, *antonomas*, *anthroponym*, *terminology*, *vocabulary*

Résumé

Les noms propres sont souvent fournisseurs de noms communs, aspect mis en évidence aussi dans la terminologie vestimentaire. Par l'antonomase, prennent naissance les noms communs issus des noms propres. Leur l'histoire apporte quelques clarifications dans la sémantique de cette terminologie. Les noms des politiciens, des créateurs de vêtements ou des lieux d'où ceux-ci proviennent se transforment en noms communs. L'onomastique devient une source d'enrichissement du lexique et de la terminologie vestimentaire.

Mots-clés: *vêtements*, *antonomase*, *anthroponyme*, *terminologie*, *lexique*

Clothes, a symbol of civilisation in Auguste Comte's view, have acquired in time the role of protecting our body and drawing the attention on it, but they have also become a way of expressing one's power of imagination even to the point of frivolity and they ended up growing into an entire industry. A history of clothing should study the evolution of forms in close connection to the history of customs and mentalities and also in connection to economic development. As a social marker, clothes differentiate people according to their social classes, age, position, profession or particular activities.

The terminology of clothing comprises borrowings which followed the direction of most words: in the 18-th, 19-th and the first half of the 20-th

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century most borrowings were French in origin, and beginning with the second half of the 20-th century they have been of English origin. The language generally used in specialised magazines and on sites frequently poses problems to ordinary readers, since many terms are difficult to understand.

On the other hand, proper names are often a source of creating common nouns, this means (antonomasis) being rather frequent. Our research on clothing terminology refers in particular to the category of common nouns converted from proper names, whose history contributes to a better understanding of clothing terminology semantics.

1. Common Nouns Converted from Proper Names:

1.1. Names of clothing articles:

- *burberry /'bɜ:bəri/*: a term originating in the name of an Englishman, Thomas Burberry (1835-1926), the creator of the jackets made of gaberdine, worn in South Africa during *The Boer War* (1899)[1]. Though largely used in fashion magazines, the term is not registered in Romanian general use lexicography. In Webster's Dictionary the word appears as having the following meanings: "1. light coat, made of a waterproof material; 2. a certain type of fabric; 3. (fabric) şeviot, aspră"/'Cheviot'. The term is polisemantic: *Burberry* is also the name of a perfume, the bottle design preserving the characteristics of *burberry* fabric (vertical and horizontal stripes): "Ultimul parfum *Burberry* apărut în martie 2008 este o aromă modernă, feminină, vibrantă şi dinamică"/'The latest *Burberry* perfume appeared in March 2008 has a modern, feminine, vibrant and dynamic flavour' (www.parfumania.ro).

- *delon /delon/*: It is known and used by most speakers of Romanian, its origin being the name of a well-known actor. The name of the piece of clothing outlines the desire of the manufacturers to be original by choosing a name of impact to a large audience. *DCR* records the word in the form *Alain Delon* "tip de haină din piele îmblănită"/'type of fleeced leather coat'. A more detailed definition is provided by Marius Sala: "cojoc de piele, lung

[1] *The Gale Encyclopedy of Fashion, Costume and Culture*, 2004, III, p. 520.

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până deasupra genunchiului, cu guler de blană”[2]. As far as the spelling of the term is concerned, it would be natural that the frequent usage should lead to its being spelled not with capital but with small *a* (*Alain Delon* > *alain delon*). Nevertheless, the word appears spelled with capital *a* in *DCR* and in Sala’s book (op. cit.). Adriana Stoichițoiu Ichim mentions the term speeled with small *a*: *alain delon*[3]. Probably, following the Minimax Principle, the compound *alain delon* is fore-clipped and its final form is *delon*, spelled with small *d*.

- *macferlan* “pardesiu bărbătesc (larg şi) fără mâneci, cu două deschizături pentru braţe, peste care cade o pelerină scurtă”/‘a loose, sleeveless, mantlelike coat for men’. In *DOOM*, the term is considered obsolete, out of use. It derives from the name of a Scotsman, Mac Farlane, allegedly the creator of this type of coat.

- *pantalon* “(pl.) obiect de îmbrăcăminte, care acoperă corpul de la brâu în jos”/‘a garment shaped to cover the body from the waist to the ankles or knees with separate tube-shaped sections for both legs’, cf. *Pantaleone*, a proper name in Venice, whose inhabitants used to wear large trousers. Saint Pantaleon was the patron of Venice[4].

In Romanian the term is polisemantic. Beside denoting a piece of clothing, the term has other meanings: “1. parte a unui decor de teatru destinat a da persepctivă în deschiderea unei ferestre sau uşi; 2. piesă care serveşte la bifurcarea unei conducte; 3. tub metalic protector în care se roteşte axul elicei de la unele nave; 4. carenaj profilat care acoperă roata şi jamba unui tren de aterizare neescamotabil”.

- *raglan* “croială specială a unor obiecte de îmbrăcăminte, la care mâneca porneşte de la răscroiala gulerului; palton sau pardesiu cu o asemenea croială”/‘a loose overcoat or topcoat with sleeves that continue in one piece to the collar, so that there are no seams at the shoulder’. The name derives from a proper name, that of lord Raglan, commander of British troops. “Dicționarele franceze plasează apariția cuvântului în perioada

[2] Sala, 2006, p. 171.
[3] Adriana Stoichițoiu Ichim, 2006, p. 35.
[4] Mușat, 2006, p. 216.

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Războiului Crimeii, atunci când baronul Raglan a lansat moda unei mantale fără umeri”[5].

The term is an element of the syntagm *mâneci raglan/raglan sleeves*, a signifying element in determining how the word evolved, from a part (the sleeve style) to the whole (the coat), by using the relation of metonymy.

- *spențer* “1. haină scurtă (ca o vestă); 2. scurtuc fără pulpane, purtat de unii țărani”. *DOOM* and *DEX* list the term as being obsolete and dialectal. Even if *DEX* identifies the german origin of the word (*Spenzer*), in German the term is borrowed from English, where *Spencer* is a proper name. George John Spencer (1758-1834), a British politician, is said to have won a bet, sustaining that he could impose a new style in fashion just by appearing in the street dressed with the new type of coat[6].

1.2. Names of hats and accessories:

- *fedora* “pălărie cu borurile întoarse, îndoită de-a lungul pe partea de sus şi strâmtată în față, pe părțile laterale”/‘a soft felt hat with a fairly low crown creased lengthwise and a brim that can be turned up or down’. Though used on fashion sites, this term, not listed in Romanian general use dictionaries, comes from the proper name *Fédora*, the heroine from the play having the same name, written by Victorien Sardou for Sarah Bernhardt. The American premiere of the play was in 1889, Sarah Bernhardt playing the role of Princess Fédora, who wore such a hat[7]. *Fedora* has become a feminine accessory in the first part of the 20-th century. In time, *fedora* entered masculine fashion being preferred both for its utility and for its styled aspect.

- *gambetă* “pălărie bărbătească din fetru, tare, cu calota ovală şi borurile răsfrânte pe margine; melon”/‘hard felt hat with an ovale crown and turned up brim’. The term is linked to the name of the French lawyer and politician Léon Gambetta (1838-1882), a declared opponent of the Second French Empire (The Empire of Napoleon the 3-rd). In September 1870, Léon Gambetta proclaims the republic and leaves Paris immediately

[5] Sala, 2006, p. 170.
[6] Sala, 2006, p. 170.
[7] *The Gale Encyclopedy of Fashion, Costume and Culture*, 2004, IV, p. 758.

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afterwards, organising the national defence system as Minister of Defence of the provisional government in Tours[8].

- *joben* "pălărie bărbătească cilindrică, de obicei neagră, înaltă şi tare, purtată astăzi numai la ceremonii"/cf. *top hat* 'a man's tall black or grey hat, worn with formal clothes at very formal occasions'. Marius Sala considers the word to have a clear origin given by the name of a French hat maker called Jobin, settled down in Bucharest at the middle of the 19-th century and owner of a shop on Calea Victoriei. The word is mentioned for the first time in Romanian by Alexandru Vlahuță, and I.L. Caragiale uses it in the form *giuben*[9]. *Joben* is synonymous with *cilindru*, which comes from the Italian *cilindro*, fr. *Cylinder*; the Romanian variant *țilindru* coming from the German *Zilinder*[10]. The term *țilindru* was spread mostly in Transylvania. This piece of clothing appeared in France and England at the end of the 18-th century and in the early 19-th century became a common garment. The top hat, like other hard hats, (*gambeta*) was custom made. There was a device (called *conformateur* in French) similar to a top hat, which, with the help of some vertical rods arranged round the skullcap, transposed its exact form on a paper disk placed on the upper side. In 1823, Antoine Gibus invented *țilindrul clac* (*clac* 'cylindric hat which could be folded and carried under one's arm'[11]). It had an internal structure based on levers and springs, hidden under the hat tip, allowing it to be folded and leading to an easier storage in theater hall cloakrooms.

- *lavalieră* "cravată lată, înnodată ca o fundă cu capete scurte, lăsate în jos, în vogă la sfârşitul secolului al XIX-lea"/'wide tie, knotted like a bow, with short ends oriented downwards, very popular at the end of the XIX-th century'. Its origin is linked to a proper name, that of Duchess of La Vallière (1644-1710), one of Louis the XIV-th mistresses, her full name being Françoise-Louise de la Baume Le Blanc. She is said to have launched the fashion of these ties, wearing one herself. Her exceptional beauty inspired many artists. It is believed that she sat for Lebrun's painting *Magdalena* and

[8] Muşat, 2006, p. 115.
[9] Sala, 2006, p. 159.
[10] Sala, 2006, p. 159.
[11] *MDN*, 2007, p. 199.

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also for Nocret's exquisite portrait, the latter to be found at Versailles Museum[12].

Nowadays, in Romanian, the term *lavalieră* is used with a totally different meaning, recently acquired: "microfon de formă alungită care se ataşează la rever sau într-un buzunar de la piept celor care participă la emisiuni organizate de televiziune"[13]/'long-shaped microphone, attached to one's collar or put in a chest pocket, and used by those who take part in TV programmes'.

2. Common Nouns Converted from Toponyms:

2.1. Clothes Names:

- *ascot* "fâşie de material înnodată în jurul gâtului asemănător unei cravate, purtată în a doua jumătate a secolului al XIX-lea"/'a short wide strip of fabric worn by men around the neck, folded inside the collar of a shirt'. The term comes from the proper name *Ascot*, a south England county, where there has been organised a yearly four day horse derby. This derby was initiated by Queen Anne. It seems that the spectators present at this extremely popular race used to wear such an accessory round their necks. In our century, it is extremely rarely worn, especially at weddings.

- *astrahan* "1. blăniță de miel cu părul mătăsos şi buclat, obținută de la miei din rasa caracul, sacrificați timpuriu; 2. haină de damă, confecționată din astfel de blană"/'a black tightly curled fabric made from the wool of a particular type of young sheep, used especially for making coats and hats'. *Astrahan* comes from the French word *astakan*, converted from the toponym *Astarkan*, a port in Russia, located on one of the Caspian Sea islands, in the Volga River Delta[14].

- *bermude* "şort până la genunchi"/'short trousers that come down to just above the knee' (from the French and English word *bermuda*), converted from the proper name *Bermude*, a group of islands in the Atlantic, under British administration. This article of clothing is largely worn by

[12] Cf. Muşat, 2006, p. 150.
[13] *MDN*, 2007, p. 546.
[14] Muşat, 2006, p. 34.

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farmers[15]. In the Bermudes, making this type of shorts has become a profitable business, especially if the shorts are part of an outfit, completed with a blazer, a tie and long socks. Consequently, many western companies introduced a policy which allows the employees to wear this type of clothing when weather permits.

- *bikini* "costum feminin de baie format dintr-un slip şi dintr-un sutien de dimensiuni reduse"/'a piece of clothing in two pieces that women wear for swimming and lying in the sun'. The term comes from the English word *bikini*, converted from the proper name *Bikini*, an atoll in the Marshall Islands, located in the Pacific[16].

This garment was created (independently) by two Frenchmen, Loius Réard and Jacques Heim in 1946. The former, an engineer, named his creation after the atoll Bikini, a coral island where USA tested nuclear bombs. Heim, a fashion designer, named his version of this article of clothing *atome* (the French term for *atom*), saying that it would represent 'the tiniest bathing suit ever designed'. Moreover, Heim wanted the label *atome* to suggest that. In his turn, Réard "questioned" Heim's proposal, claiming that *bikini* meant 'smaller than the smallest bathing suit ever designed' (75 cm of fabric was enough to make one) and managed to 'split the atom'[17]. Réard chose the name *bikini*, considering that this piece of clothing will produce similar effects to those of the nuclear bombs tested by the USA. In the beginning, the *bikini* was forbidden in beauty pageants and on many European beaches. In America it began to be worn after 1960, its raise in popularity being due to the fact that it was promoted by well-known actresses of the time.

- *bluză* "1.obiect de îmbrăcăminte care acoperă partea superioară a corpului, de obicei cu mâneci, pe care îl poartă mai ales femeile. 2. haină de pânză pe care o poartă militarii vara în locul vestonului; haină de protecție care se îmbracă în timpul lucrului"/'a piece of clothing like a shirt worn by women'. The term comes from the French word *blouse*, evolved from the

[15] Eremia, 2008, p. 56.
[16] Muşat, 2006, p. 50.
[17] Cf. *The Gale Encyclopedia of Fashion, Costume and Culture*, 2004, V, p. 853.

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proper name *Pelusium*, a fortified city in the Nile Delta, located on the eastern bank of the river[18].

- *canadiană* "1. haină de vânt impermeabilă, cu buzunare şi glugă, căptuşită cu blană, confecționată dintr-o țesătură densă şi asemănătoare cu haina scurtă purtată de vânătorii canadieni"/'waterproof wind coat with pockets and hood, fur-lined, made of a dense fabric, similar to the short coat worn by Canadian hunters'. The term comes from the French word *canadienne*, converted from the proper name *Canada*[19].

- *cardigan /cárdigan/*: "jachetă (bărbătească) tricotată, cu mâneci largi, încheiată cu nasturi în față"[20]/'knitted woolen jacket for men, large-sleeved, fastened with buttons at the front'. Explaining the word, *Webster's Dictionary* mentions the seventh earl of Cardigan, J.T. Bendnell, a British knight in the Crimean War, who wore such a coat. In fashion reviews and on fashion sites, this piece of clothing appears described as being mostly worn by women.

- *fustă* "obiect de îmbrăcăminte femeiască ce acoperă corpul de la brâu în jos".The term comes from the modern Greek word *fústa*, converted from the proper name *Fustat* (its origin being the Latin word *fossatum*, gr. *phossaton* "şanț"/'ditch'), the name of a peripherical district of Cairo, where various articles of clothing were hand-made[21]. Figuratively, the word acquires the meaning of 'woman', the connotation being negative[22]. In fashion reviews, the term appears in compounds such as: *fustă-creion*, *fustă-pantalon*, *fustă-gogoşar*, *fustă-gipsy*. These metaphorical compounds result from similarities of form or cut, some of them being rather funny.

- *hermină* "animal carnivor de talie mică, asemănător cu nevăstuica, având blana de culoare brun-deschis vara şi albă, fină, lucioasă iarna; hermelină/ermine; blana prelucrată sau haina făcută din blana acestui animal"/'this animal's processed fur or the coat made of it'. The term is polysemantic: "blană utilizată (în heraldică) la alcătuirea stemelor, reprezentată convențional prin fond argintiu presărat cu pete de nisip"/'fur

[18] Muşat, 2006, p. 51-52.
[19] Muşat, 2006, p. 64.
[20] *DEX*, p. 138.
[21] Muşat, 2006, p. 111.
[22] *DEX*, p. 406.

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used symbolically in heraldry to represent various armorial bearings, conventionally rendered by a silver field sprinkled with sand grains'. The term comes from the French word *hermine* (< Lat. *armenius* [mus], "[şoarece] de Armenia"/Armenia mouse), converted from the proper name Armenia (< *Armenak*, a mythical ancestor of the Armenian people), a country in Asia Minor where this animal was very common[23].

In the case of this term we notice "a metonymical substitution process"[24]: the name of the animal, whose fur is used to make a product, comes to designate the name of the product.

- *jeans /dʒi*:*nz/* "1. pânză groasă, de cânepă, de obicei albastră; 2. (pl.) blue-jeans, pantaloni dintr-un material special foarte rezistent, cu buzunar(e) la spate, pe care sunt ataşate embleme sau fraze ad-hoc, un element de modă tinerească". In Romanian, the term (used with the meaning 'trousers') is partly integrated in point of declension and spelling: *jeanşi /ğinşi/*[25]. There are some lexical variants: *bluejeans, blugi*[26]. Initially, *jeans* were worn by the miners in California, during the Gold Rush. The history of blue-jeans, invented by Levi Strauss in 1850, is very interesting. Levi Strauss, a Bavarian who emigrated in America, where 'the begger becomes a millionaire and the millionaire becomes a begger'[27], had the idea of using the tent fabric he traded to make trousers. Since neither time nor sunlight seemed to affect these blue trousers, they rapidly gained popularity, first among the workers and cowboys in the Far West, then all over the world. The blue fabric came from *Nîmes*, France, being called *denim* (the name is nowdays used to designate a well-known cologne for men). This blue fabric became the material used to make the trousers of cowboys, firemen and Genoa sailors (in French the city is called Gênes, from which the term *jeans* originates).

During the Second World War jeans were part of the Coast Guard soldiers'uniform, thus becoming even more popular because soldiers used to wear them even when they were off duty. Moreover, jeans became a symbol

[23] Muşat, 2006, p. 130-131.
[24] Stoichiţoiu Ichim, 2006, p. 37.
[25] *DOOM*, 2005, p. 428.
[26] *MDN*, 2007, p. 142.
[27] Caragea, 1999, p. 235.

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of American culture, being displayed at *World's Fair* exhibition in 1958. That was the year when the first pairs of jeans were exported to Europe[28].

In the eighties, famous fashion designers began to create the so-called *designer jeans* (which are signed by a certain designer), innovating in point of cut, color, or various texture combinations, resulting jeans which can be worn on different occasions and events. If traditional bluejeans were called like that out of an obvious reason (they were blue), once designer jeans appeared this thing changed, since now jeans can be black, grey, olive or in various combinations of colors[29]. Their cut may also vary: *flared*, *stretch*, *slim*, *skinny*, *palazzo*, *boot cut*, etc. The existence of designer jeans, in other words, their diversity makes combinations such as *blugi albaştri* or *blugi strâmți* be considered examples of tolerable pleonasms.

- *jerseu* "1. țesătură elastică de lână, de fire sintetice, bumbac sau mătase; 2. obiect de îmbrăcăminte împletit din lână sau bumbac, peste partea de sus a corpului"/'1. a soft, plain-knitted fabric used for clothing; a garment made of this fabric; 2. close-fitting knitted pullover shirt, jacket, or sweater'. The term comes from the English word *jersey*, converted from the proper name Jersey, the biggest and most populated of the Anglo-Norman Islands (located in the Channel and belonging to the UK), whose inhabitants wore this article of clothing[30].

- *malacof* "fustă foarte largă, înfoiată, montată pe un schelet care îi dă formă de clopot şi care se purta în secolul al XIX-lea; crinolină". The term comes from the French word *malakoff*, converted from the proper name *Malakoff*, a fortress in Sevastopol, conquered by the French in 1851, during the Crimean War. On this occasion, the term was adopted in fashion to designate the crinoline. When Sevastopol was under siege, the allied armies were defended by various military works, of which the most important was Malakoff Tower, a redoubt with two lines of fortifications[31]. For the term *malacof*, the analogy is based on the general form. In use, there are formal

[28] *The Gale Encyclopedia of Fashion, Costume and Culture*, 2004, III, p. 612.
[29] Cf. *The Gale Encyclopedia of Fashion, Costume and Culture*, 2004, V, p. 985.
[30] Muşat, 2006, p. 144.
[31] Muşat, 2006, p. 367.

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variations. The *DOOM* indicates two forms of the word: *malacof/malacov*, with the plural in *-e* or *-uri*: *malacoave/malacovuri/malacoafe/ malacofuri*.

- *tuxedo /tʌk'si:dou/*: though regulalry used by fashion magazines and sites, the term is not included in Romanian dictionaries. Webster's Dictionary defines the word as: "(prescurtare pentru) jacheta/haina tuxedo, numită astfel după clubul exclusivist Tuxedo Park, din New York". In explaining the term, there is made a comparison with *dinner jacket* (*dinner* "cină"; *jacket* "jachetă, haină"): "1. haină purtată de un bărbat la un eveniment important; 2. ținută purtată de un bărbat la un astfel de eveniment, incluzând haina, pantalonii de culoare închisă (având ataşate pe margini dungi de mătase), papionul şi, de cele mai multe ori, o centură, un brâu". *Dinner jacket* appeared at a time when it was considered appropriate for upper class men to wear formal, extremely elegant outfits for dinner. By the end of the 19-th century, this formalism had already dimished, a proof being that the terms *dinner jacket* and *tuxedo* began to replace the term *frac*, people giving up the tails characterising this piece of clothing. It seems that we owe the specific cut of tuxedoes to the Prince of Wales, Edward the VII-th, who, being on holiday in Cowes (a county in England) required his tailor to make him a less formal jacket. In 1886, an American guest of the Prince in Cowes, James Potter, had such a jacket made for himself too, wearing it during his meetings at Tuxedo Park Club, the outfit becoming thus very popular. It is said that, on seeing it, one of the club members, Griswold Lorillard (who took part in Tuxedo Club Autumn Ball), cut off the tails attached to his coat[32]. On both occasions, the *dinner jacket* took the name of the exclusivist club, becoming the *tuxedo*.

2.2. Names of hats and accessories:

- *cravată* "bucată de mătase, de stofă etc. lungă şi îngustă, care se poartă înnodată la gât". The term comes from the French *cravate*, the adaptation of the word *hrvat* "croat"/Croatian, converted from the proper name *Royal-Cravata*, the light horse corps made up of Croatians; the corps was founded in Florence during Louis the XIII-th reign and it acquired its name under Louis the XVI-th. The Croatians who made part of it wore such

[32] *The Ggale Encyclopedia of Fashion, Costume and Culture*, 2004, III, p. 619.

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an accessory round their necks, believing that, to some extent, it could protect them from the enemy's sword blows[33].

- *derby* "pălărie rigidă din fetru tare, cu marginile uşor răsucite". Though not included in Romanian dictionaries with the meaning of clothing accessory, the word is nevertheless used in fashion magazines, being converted from the proper name *Derby*, an English county, where famous horseraces have been organised. Presumably, the spectators wore such hats. In Romanian, *derby* has the following meanings: "1. cursă specială de trap sau galop a celor mai buni cai de 3 ani, care are loc o dată pe an; 2. întrecere sportivă de mare importanță și prestigiu între două echipe, pentru stabilirea clasamentului"[34]. The term is used in football comments.

Proper names converted into common nouns refer to persons or places of some significance. Referring to persons whose names designate articles of clothing, we can group them into the following categories: a) politicians: *gambetă*, *raglan*, *spențer*; b) actors: *alain delon*; characters from plays or movies: *fedora*; c) creators of clothing articles: *burberry*, *joben*, *macferlan*; c) people who made some clothing articles fashionable: *lavalieră*.

Place names become common nouns can be grouped into: a) places whose importance is given by the activities performed there: *ascot*, *derby*, *tuxedo*; places whose inhabitants set a certain fashion: *bermude*, *canadiană*, *cardigan*, *cravată*; b) places which were used metaphorically to designate a piece of clothing: *bikini* (the shock produced by the clothing article was regarded as similar to that of the atomic bombs tested by USA in that atoll; the proof that Réard was inspired when choosing the name is the fact that his term replaced Heim's -*atom*), *malacof*; c) places where some fabrics were made: *bluză*, *fustă*, *jeans*.

We notice the frequent process of turning a proper name into a common noun ("comunizare" a numelor proprii), the process involving, first of all, expresivity[35]. Today, as much as in the past, when proper names are known, when they show the fame of the original referent, they become simple 'labels' getting beyond the borders of a certain locality or country. In

[33] Cf. Muşat, 2006, p. 78-79.
[34] *MDN*, 2007, p. 287.
[35] Stoichițoiu Ichim, 2006, p. 37.

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time we may witness a change of the real referent (*transonimizare*). Moreover, it is obvious that, ever since ancient times, the names of pieces of clothing have been chosen so as to attract potential buyers. The more these terms are used, the more difficult it becomes for the average speaker of a language to establish the initial relation with the proper name, especially since the word is not capitalized any more: "relația cu numele propriu devine tot mai dificil de stabilit pentru vorbitorul mediu (mai ales după înlocuirea majusculei cu literă mică)"[36].

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