

What's in a Name? Classification of Proper Names by Language

Loulou Edelman

[0. Abstract and objective in Dutch

In een winkelstraat zijn allerlei teksten te zien: op winkelborden, billboards, borden van overheidsgebouwen, verkeersborden, straatnaambordjes, in graffiti. Die teksten vormen samen het taallandschap of *linguistic landscape*. In veel kwantitatief onderzoek naar het taallandschap worden borden gecodeerd op de talen die erop voorkomen. De taal waarin een woord geschreven is, ligt echter niet altijd voor de hand, bijvoorbeeld in het geval van eigennamen, zoals merknamen en namen van winkels. De naam *Yves Rocher* bijvoorbeeld, kan worden gezien als Frans, of als mogelijk onderdeel van elke taal. De methodologische vraag die in dit paper besproken wordt, is hoe eigennamen ingedeeld zouden moeten worden naar taal.

Het paper is ingediend voor:

E. Shohamy en D. Gorter (red.) *Linguistic landscape: Expanding the scenery*. London en New York: Routledge.

De definitieve versie moet af zijn op 15 oktober 2007, dus tot die tijd kan commentaar worden verwerkt.]

1. Introduction

Towards the end of the 19th century the use of advertisements in industrialized countries dramatically increased due to mass production, growing consumer purchasing power and new printing techniques. In the same century brand names had become a feature of the advertisement. Names such as *Coca Cola*, *Ford*, *Kellogg* and *Kodak* got a boost in the 1920s (Crystal, 2004).

Today advertising is becoming increasingly multilingual as a result of globalisation, with a preponderance of English. Advertisements generally contain one or more of the following elements: headline, illustration, body copy (main text), slogan, product name, and standing details (e.g., address of the firm). The product name is the element that is most frequently in a foreign language (Piller, 2003). This may also hold for signs in the public space.

Typically, in linguistic landscape research multilingual situations are analysed on the basis of the languages used on signs. In many quantitative studies of the linguistic landscape, signs are coded according to the languages that appear on them in order to establish the distribution of languages (e.g. Backhaus, 2006; Barni, 2006; Ben-Rafael et al., 2006; Cenoz and Gorter, 2006; El-Yasin and Mahadin, 1996; Huebner, 2006; Schlick, 2003). This means that the researcher has to determine for all of the linguistic elements occurring on the signs in which language(s) they are written. In other words, all of the elements have to be classified by language. Signs often contain proper names, the coding of which is not always straightforward. The present chapter deals with this methodological problem. The central question is: How should proper names be classified by language?

2. Organisation of this chapter

First, the literature is briefly reviewed in order to explain the function of using particular languages and the role of proper names in advertising and the linguistic landscape. Then attention is paid to the classification of proper names in the linguistic landscape like brand and shop names. Furthermore, a case study is presented to demonstrate the impact of proper names on the linguistic landscape. At the end of the chapter, conclusions are drawn from the issues raised.

3. The use of languages in advertising and the linguistic landscape

A part of the linguistic landscape is formed by shop signs, such as posters on which products are advertised and signs displaying the name of a shop. Shop signs, sometimes called ‘shop-front advertisements’ (see for example Schlick, 2003), are similar to advertisements in newspapers and magazines. Both advertisements and shop signs are used to promote a product, the main difference being that advertisements are published in the press or broadcast over the air while shop signs are displayed in the public space. Although this chapter primarily focuses on the linguistic landscape, previous findings of other researchers based on advertisements are also taken into account.

The main function of shop signs, and therefore of any linguistic material occurring on them, is to persuade customers to buy the products or services available at the stores displaying these signs (El-Yasin and Mahadin, 1996). How does the use of particular languages in advertising and the linguistic landscape contribute to persuading customers?

According to Haarmann (1986: 109) “[l]anguage is the most immediate element of ethnic identity for ordinary people”. Through the use of particular languages in advertisements or on shop signs, products are associated with the corresponding groups of speakers. The languages used may or may not reflect the languages spoken by the speech community for which an advertisement or shop sign is meant. Haarmann (1986) notes that the use of English and other foreign languages in the Japanese mass media does not reflect the everyday language use of the Japanese speech community, which is largely monolingual. He calls this phenomenon ‘impersonal multilingualism’. This use of foreign languages often is not intended as a means of verbal communication but rather to appeal to people’s emotions, according to Haarmann.

Impersonal multilingualism also plays a role in a study of German print advertisements by Piller (2001). In her corpus the language of the slogans is English in 45% of all cases while the body copy and the factual information (standing details) are mostly in German. According to Piller, this shows that the advertisement producers doubt the English proficiency of the audience, and it implies that they use English largely for its connotational value. Even if the audience does not understand the denotational message of the English part, their stereotypes about English-speaking persons will be activated and transferred to the product.

A study of the German marketing agency Endmark (2006) indeed shows that German consumers often do not understand slogans in English. 1072 people between 14 and 49 years old were asked to translate twelve slogans. The slogan that was understood best was *Feel the difference* from a Ford advertisement: 55% of the respondents gave correct translations. The slogan that was translated correctly by the

least people is *Life by Gorgeous* from Jaguar XK. The translation that was intended by the advertisers was 'Leben auf prächtig / hinreißend'. Only 8% of the respondents gave correct translations while some others thought the slogan meant 'Leben in Georgien' ('Life in Georgia').

Gerritsen et al. (2000) found similar results for Dutch subjects. They investigated the comprehension of English in commercials on Dutch television among 30 Dutch men and 30 Dutch women, who were evenly distributed across two age groups (15 to 18 and 50 to 57) and three levels of secondary education (low, middle and high). The subjects were asked to give the meaning of the English fragments of six commercials that were partly or completely in English. Only 36 percent of the subjects appeared to be able to give a rough indication of the meaning of the English used.

Advertisers may use particular languages for two reasons. The first is to make the contents understood, i.e., the denotation of the message. The second reason, as the studies discussed in this section show, is to appeal to emotions through the connotation of languages. The fact that advertisers use languages that are hardly understood by the audience may show that, in order to persuade customers, they sometimes attach more importance to the connotation than to the denotation of their advertising.

4. Proper names in advertising and linguistic landscape

Texts in advertisements and in the linguistic landscape often contain proper names. Proper names (also called 'proper nouns') are a semantic category of nouns. While common nouns distinguish one sort of being or thing from the other sorts, proper names distinguish individuals from each other; they identify someone or something. Proper names are especially found in reference to people, animals, geographical units, ships, aeroplanes, buildings, celestial bodies, periods of time, organizations and institutions (Haeseryn et al., 1997). Proper names that are widely found in the linguistic landscape include shop names, brand and product names and the names of residents. In many languages that are written in the Latin alphabet, proper names are usually written with an initial capital letter. In this section the role that proper names play in advertising and in the linguistic landscape is investigated on the basis of a short literature review.

Piller (2000: 267) observes: "The brand name is arguably the most central linguistic item of an ad - it is what it is all about." She investigated a sample of 658 advertising spots that were broadcast on German television. In 34% of the advertisements, only the brand name is in a language other than German while the remainder of the ad uses German. Moreover, in another 6% of the advertisements the brand name, setting and/or song are in another language.

Salih and El-Yasin (1994, in El-Yasin and Mahadin (1996)) interviewed customers concerning their attitudes toward foreign names. Although El-Yasin and Mahadin (1996) do not mention this, these customers are probably from Jordan. When asked which of two clothes shops - one with an English name, the other with an Arabic name - they thought was more expensive, 73% of the interviewees thought the shop with the English name would be more expensive compared to 3% for the shop with the Arabic name. In answering a later question, 83% of the customers thought better quality clothes are more expensive; no one said the opposite. From the answers to both questions the researchers conclude that a large majority of customers associate

foreign names with good quality products. Thus, the language of proper names may contribute to persuading customers to buy.

Proper names are particularly suitable for impersonal multilingualism. They do not have the purpose of transmitting factual information but to appeal to emotions; the connotation is more important than the denotation. Schlick (2003: 6) came across the shop names *& AND* and *after* in the Italian city Trieste. *And* and *after* are function words, which have little or no lexical meaning. She remarks about this: “In the cases above, the language itself, English as the international language of trendiness, seems to carry enough additional meaning that shop owners consider even function words appropriate as shop names.” Thus, an important function of proper names is to convey a feeling.

5. Classification of proper names by language

As argued above, the brand name plays a central role in advertisements and the language of proper names is often used to give a product or a shop a foreign flavour. At the same time, these elements are difficult to analyse in terms of the language in which they are written. After all, languages have no clear-cut borders: due to genetic relatedness and language contact, many names ‘belong’ to more than one language. Proper names seem to be more readily borrowed or adopted from another language than common nouns.

The American sports brand *Nike*, for example, was named after the Greek goddess of victory. Does this imply that *Nike* is a Greek name or does this name become part of any language in which it is used? To put it more generally, how should proper names be classified by language? The answer to this question has important implications for the coding of signs in linguistic landscape research.

Evidence in favour of the view that names are part of specific languages rather than any language is the fact that names can be adapted to different contexts. In some countries, like China, Poland and Surinam, it is common for people to ‘translate’ their first names when they introduce themselves to foreigners. They replace their names either by a cognate in another language, for example Dutch *Pieter* for the Polish name *Piotr*, or even by an unrelated name in another language.

The names of monarchs, popes, and non-contemporary authors as well as place-names are commonly translated. Foreign names for geographic proper names are called exonyms. Fourment-Berni Canani (1994) discusses the (im)possibility of translating proper names. He gives the examples of the place-names *Venice* and *London*. The Italian city *Venezia* has been renamed *Venice* in English and *Venise* in French. A city in the American state California is also called *Venice*, but this name is not changed into *Venezia* in Italian and *Venise* in French. Similarly, the English city *London* has been renamed *Londres* in French and *Londra* in Italian. However, the Canadian city called *London* is not translated into French and Italian in this way. Thus, as Fourment-Berni Canani concludes, a place-name can be translated if the place, as a unique referent, has already been renamed in the target language.

That names can be context-specific is also illustrated by the fact that some international brands operate under different names in different countries. Unilever’s ice cream brand, the so-called Heartbrand, is an example of this. Heartbrand products are sold in more than forty countries. The brand is known as *Algida* (Italy), *Kibon* (Brazil), *Langnese* (Germany), *Ola* (the Netherlands), *Streets* (Australia), *Wall’s* (United Kingdom and most parts of Asia), etc. This is a result of its creation from a

large number of local businesses with established names. The logos of the Heartbrand contain different names, but they share the same heart (see figure 1).

Figure 1. Different Heartbrand logos
(Originally, the hearts are red and yellow and the names are blue.)



Although these examples show that names can be part of specific languages or cultures, there are also arguments in favour of the view that names are part of any language in which they are used. In an article on language identification for library catalogues, Bade (2006: 193) writes: “Proper names present special problems not only for theories of language but also for indexing and language identification, whether performed by human or mechanical agents”. He illustrates these problems with the book title *Zheng He*, which is the name of a famous Chinese naval officer, written in Roman script. The multilingual book contains four essays in German, three in French and one in English. Although the name *Zheng He* is originally Chinese, it appears as German, French and English in these essays. Bade (2006: 198) reasons:

“When we write *Zheng He* in what language and script are we writing? [...] The answer can only be that it is not in ‘a language’ at all, but is in Chinese, English, French and German to be read and understood in whichever language(s) the reader understands. Yet the question, for most readers, is completely irrelevant. *Zheng He* is *Zheng He* in whatever language.”

In other words, proper names can be part of any language, depending on the context in which they occur. In the book Bade discusses, the name *Zheng He* has been left unchanged, whether it occurs in a German, French or English context. Thus, *Zheng He* remains recognizable as an originally Chinese name and keeps its foreign flavour. Put differently, *Zheng He* is in any context a *Chinese proper name*, but not necessarily a *proper name in Chinese*, depending on the linguistic context.

Crystal (2003) poses a question similar to the issues raised here, namely if proper names are part of the lexicon. Although proper names are usually not counted as true vocabulary, he argues, there is a sense in which they *are* part of the learning of a language. French speakers learning English have to learn to replace *Londres* by *London*. They also have to learn the pronunciation and grammar of proper names. Some names are part of the idiomatic history of a language community and some have taken on an additional meaning. Some proper names, often having a language-specific form, are felt to belong to a language (e.g., the English *Christmas*, *January*, *the Moon*) whereas others are felt to be independent of any language (e.g. *Alpha Centauri*, *Diplodocus*, *Helen Keller*). Crystal concludes that proper names are on the boundary of the lexicon.

So far, in linguistic landscape research (Backhaus, 2006; Barni, 2006; Ben-Rafael et al., 2006; Cenoz and Gorter, 2006; El-Yasin and Mahadin, 1996; Huebner, 2006; Schlick, 2003) proper names are not considered a problem for language classification. Implicitly, they seem to be treated in the same way as any other word appearing on the signs. Schlick (2003) lists the texts on the shop signs she

investigated and the way they have been coded. The fact that names such as *MARKS & SPENCER* have been coded as English, *ADOLFO DOMINGUEZ* as Spanish and *Parfümerie Douglas* as German and English shows that Schlick has chosen to assign proper names to their original language.

In their - methodologically very transparent - chapter on the use of English in job advertisements in a Dutch newspaper, Korzilius et al. (2006: 174) do make their classification of proper names explicit:

“An English proper name was not analyzed as an English word (unless it was used in a completely English job ad), because in the case of names there is usually no choice between a Dutch and an English variant, since the name of a person or an organization is usually ‘a given’. However, if the name of an organization or a department contained meaningful English words, these were counted as English words, since in these cases the use of English is a matter of choice.”

For example, “‘Johnson & Johnson’ was not considered to contain any English words. ‘t for Telecom’ was considered to contain two English words: ‘for’ and ‘Telecom’” (Korzilius et al., 2006: 174).

To put it differently, Korzilius et al. (2006) do not classify a company name that derives from other English names (*Johnson & Johnson*) as English while they do classify a company name that has been composed of English common nouns (*t for Telecom*) as English. Words that are not analysed as English, for example *Johnson & Johnson*, are considered to be Dutch by the authors.

In how far are names that derive from other names indeed a given? If the family name *Johnson* had had a negative connotation, the company might not have been named after its founders but could have been given another name. In that sense, the use of English in the company name *Johnson & Johnson* can actually be seen as a matter of choice for the founders. Moreover, the distinction between names that do and do not contain meaningful English words seems quite subjective. All in all, the methodology developed by Korzilius et al. (2006) does not seem to be a satisfactory solution to the problem of the classification of proper names.

Inevitably, the coding of texts is not completely objective as it depends on the knowledge of the researcher. Bade (2006) gives an example of this. One of the subtitles of the above-mentioned book about Zheng He is *Images & Perceptions*. Due to the ampersand, this title may be interpreted either as English (‘Images and Perceptions’) or as French (‘Images et Perceptions’). The interpretation depends on which language(s) the indexer knows.

Entrepreneurs sometimes play with these double interpretations. A boat company that organises canal cruises in Amsterdam and Utrecht is called *Lovers*, a Dutch family name, which probably means ‘messenger’ (Brouwer, 2000-2007). Foreign tourists, who typically take these canal cruises, are likely to interpret this name as the English common noun ‘lovers’. The company reinforces this interpretation, probably because of its romantic connotation, with a heart in its logo (see Figure 2). Actually, the ambiguity only exists in the written form of the word as the Dutch and the English reading differ in pronunciation: Dutch /lo:vərs/ versus English /lʌvə(r)z/. When phoning the company, one is welcomed by the answering machine in Dutch and in English. In both languages, the name of the company is pronounced in the Dutch way.

Figure 2. Logo of canal cruise company Lovers
(Originally, the edges and shadows are blue and the heart is red.)



The examples given in this section show that it is difficult to give a decisive answer to the question how proper names should be classified by language.

6. Case study in Amsterdam

To show how the presence of proper names affects the diversity in the linguistic landscape, two different analyses of approximately 200 signs from Amsterdam's main shopping street are presented.

Amsterdam is the national capital and also the biggest city of the Netherlands with more than 743,000 inhabitants (2006). The population consists of various ethnic groups: 52% is Dutch and the others are immigrants from the former Dutch colony Surinam (9%), Morocco (9%), Turkey (5%), etc. Every year millions of tourists visit Amsterdam. The largest groups are from Great Britain and the United States (O+S Amsterdam, 2004). This stream of foreign tourists and the process of globalisation promote the use of English in the centre of Amsterdam.

Dutch is the only official language in the Netherlands, apart from the province of Fryslân, where Frisian also has official status. 87% of the Dutch claim to be able to participate in a conversation in English. Of this group, 90% consider their skills to be good or very good (Eurobarometer, 2006). However, their actual competence may not be all that good as Van Onna and Jansen (2006) found that Dutch employees systematically overestimate their own proficiency in English according to the Common European Framework of Reference for Languages.

Kalverstraat is the main shopping street in the centre of Amsterdam. As a survey area, a section of this street was chosen, namely the section adjacent to Dam square, a popular tourist attraction. Fourteen shops are included in the sample: six clothes shops, two shoe shops, a pharmacy, and individual shops selling cosmetics, sunglasses and watches, mobile phones, gifts, and art.

Pictures were taken of all the signs in the survey area in March 2005. In accordance with Backhaus (2006: 55), a sign was considered to be "any piece of written text within a spatially definable frame [...] including anything from handwritten stickers to huge commercial billboards". The data collection comprises a total of 202 signs.

These signs were coded twice according to a number of variables, including the language(s) used on the sign. In analysis A, proper names were left out of consideration under the assumption that they cannot be ascribed to a specific language. After all, as Bade (2006) argues, names like *Zheng He* are not in a language at all; *Zheng He* is *Zheng He* in any language the reader understands. In analysis B, however, proper names were treated as other words.

Figure 3 is a picture of a shop sign in Kalverstraat that reads *Yves Rocher*. On the sign this name stands on its own, and thus it can be seen as decontextualized. Because of its shape and perhaps its origin, many would perceive it as a French name. However, this depends on the reader's knowledge of languages. A reader who has little or no knowledge of the French language may categorize the name differently. A Dutch inhabitant of Amsterdam might just as well perceive it as Dutch and pronounce

it accordingly; a British tourist could perceive it as English. In the analyses these possible classifications are left aside. In analysis A, this sign is left out of consideration, as it only contains a proper name. In analysis B, it is a monolingual French sign.

Figure 4 is a picture of a shop sign displaying the names *Sunglass Hut* and *Watch Station*. These names do not stand on their own: the sign also contains the Dutch words *zonnebrillen* ('sunglasses') and *horloges* (a loan word from French meaning 'watches'). In analysis A, it is regarded as a monolingual Dutch sign as the proper names are left out of consideration. In analysis B, it is a bilingual English-Dutch sign.

Figure 3. Shop sign with a French name



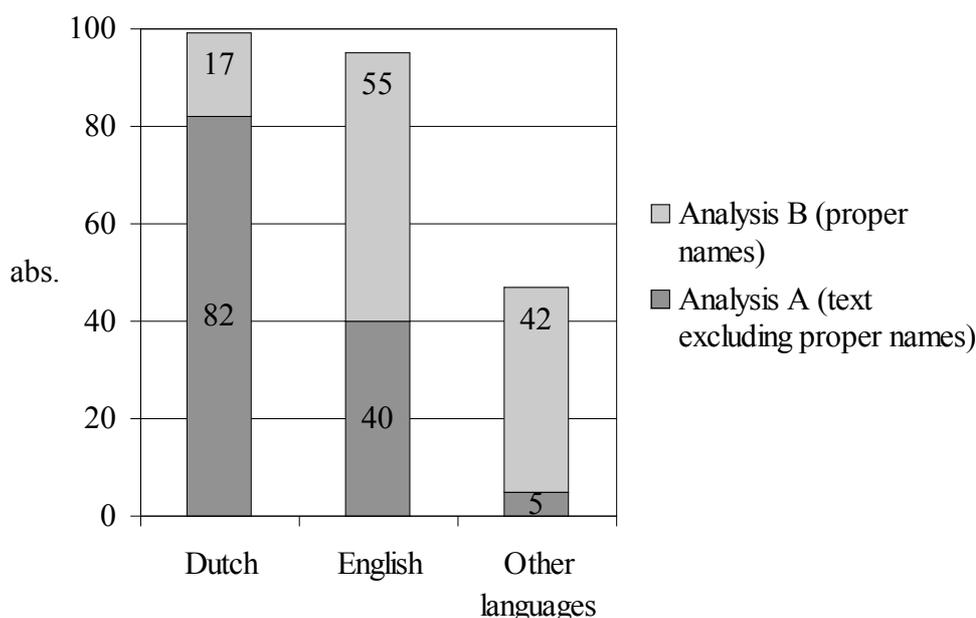
Figure 4. Shop sign with English names



The cosmetics brand *Yves Rocher* was named after the French entrepreneur who founded it. Thus, the brand and shop name *Yves Rocher* derives from another proper name, viz the name of a person. The shop names *Sunglass Hut* and *Watch Station*, on the other hand, have been composed of common nouns. Therefore, labelling *Yves Rocher* French may be more controversial than labelling *Sunglass Hut* and *Watch Station* English. If these names occurred in mainly Dutch job advertisements, Korzilius et al. (2006) would not count *Yves Rocher* as French words, but as Dutch, since in their view, this name is a given. They would classify *Sunglass* and *Watch* as English, since these are meaningful English words, and *Hut* and *Station* as Dutch, because these words also appear in the Dutch dictionary (Van Meurs, personal communication).

Figure 5 combines the results for analysis A and B in one diagram. Note that a sign containing both Dutch and English, like the sign in figure 4, is represented in both bars. Therefore the numbers in the bars add up to more than 202, the total number of signs. The lower parts of the bars show the number of occurrences of particular languages on a sign if proper names are excluded from the analysis. The upper parts show the number of occurrences that are added to this if proper names are included in the analysis. The first bar, for instance, demonstrates that 82 monolingual or multilingual signs contain Dutch text excluding proper names. 99 signs (82+17) contain Dutch text if proper names are included in the analysis. 17 signs contain one or more proper names in Dutch but no other Dutch text.

Figure 5. Distribution of languages on signs in Kalverstraat



In both analyses, Dutch and English play the most important role in the linguistic landscape. However, if proper names are included, the proportion of English and other languages is much larger than if they are excluded. Thus, including and excluding proper names result in very different outcomes. The label ‘other languages’ comprises German, Chinese, French and Japanese in analysis A (5 occurrences) while in analysis B (47 occurrences) Spanish, Italian, Greek, Polish and Swahili are added. If proper names are excluded from the analysis, 79 of the signs (39%) are left aside as they contain no text but proper names. Examples of proper names in Kalverstraat are given below. The use of upper and lower case reflects the original typography.

<i>De Tuinen</i>	(Dutch, shop name)
<i>van DALEN</i>	(Dutch, family name of resident)
<i>IZZY BIZZY</i>	(English, shop name)
<i>Orange</i>	(English, brand name)
<i>PUR DÉSIR de MIMOSA</i>	(French, product name)

And the following are examples of other text in Kalverstraat:

<i>Fietsen worden verwijderd</i>	(Dutch, ‘Bicycles will be removed’)
<i>KUNSTHANDEL</i>	(Dutch, ‘art shop’)
<i>AUTHORIZED DEALER</i>	(English)
<i>NEW collection</i>	(English)
<i>Skulptur in Bronze</i>	(German, ‘sculpture in bronze’)

Of course proper names and other text are often combined, for instance:

<i>Gezond Voordeel bij De Tuinen</i>	(Dutch, ‘healthy profit at De Tuinen’)
--------------------------------------	--

It can be concluded that proper names contribute greatly to the multilingual appearance of the linguistic landscape.

7. Discussion

The central question in this chapter is: How should proper names be classified by language? In the above sections, arguments have been presented in favour of and against the view that proper names should be assigned to their language of origin. First, the function of using particular languages was discussed as well as the role of proper names in advertising and linguistic landscape. After that the classification of proper names by language was considered and finally a case study was presented.

Since the 19th century the brand name features in advertisements (Crystal, 2004). In multilingual advertising the product name is the element that is most frequently in a foreign language (Piller, 2003). Advertisers use particular languages in advertisements or shop signs to associate products or services with the corresponding social groups. As proper names such as shop names and brand names do not have the purpose of transmitting factual information, they can easily be written in a language that is not used or fully understood by the audience.

The classification of proper names is not always straightforward. A name can be perceived as written in a particular language, or in any language. In a sample of more than 200 signs from Amsterdam's main shopping street, almost 40% only consist of one or more names. It was found that proper names contribute greatly to the multilingual character of the linguistic landscape. Whether a researcher decides to consider a name to belong to a specific language or not has important implications for the coding of signs in linguistic landscape research. As the presented case study shows, both decisions lead to different results.

Proper names in the linguistic landscape are frequently in a foreign language. Often the connotation of proper names seems to be more important than their denotation. The passer-by will not easily overlook these proper names because of the prominent place they have in the linguistic landscape. Ben-Rafael et al. (2006) observe that the linguistic landscape is perceived by passers-by as a gestalt of physical objects like shops, post-offices, and kiosks, which are marked by written words. The authors argue that although the linguistic landscape is shaped by a large variety of actors such as public institutions, associations, firms, and individuals that do not necessarily act coherently, the chaotic picture that it comes to compose is perceived as one structured space. A researcher who does not code proper names as foreign languages gets an incomplete picture of the linguistic landscape's multilingual character. Moreover, the possibility of the translation of names, however limited, shows that names can sometimes be part of specific languages. Other linguistic landscape researchers, although they do not account for that choice, did assign proper names to their language of origin.

An argument against assigning proper names to their original language is the observation that proper names can be part of any language, depending on the context in which they occur. Korzilius et al. (2006) distinguish between names that do and do not contain meaningful words, under the assumption that the latter are usually a given. Yet, it seems that both types of names can actually be a matter of choice, and the distinction between names that do and do not contain meaningful words seems quite subjective.

Another - provisional - solution to the problem of the classification of proper names may be to assign every name to its original language and code for every sign whether it consists of

- 1) proper name(s)
- 2) other text, or
- 3) both.

This makes it possible to consider the different types of sign separately.

Coding the names according to the language of the context would mean a loss of interesting information because of the special role names play in the linguistic landscape. It is interesting to see which languages are used to appeal to people's emotions.

It may be the case that the languages used for text other than proper names form a more accurate reflection of the languages that are spoken in an area than the languages used for all text including proper names. In fact, for Kalverstraat neither of the analyses produces a reflection of the languages spoken in Amsterdam since many immigrant languages are lacking in this central shopping street.

The interest in linguistic landscapes among scholars from various disciplines is on the rise. To be able to make meaningful comparisons of results from different researchers and to be able to replicate linguistic landscape research in another social context, it is important that authors describe the applied methodology explicitly and in great detail. Developing a uniform methodology for this type of research would certainly be worthwhile. One aspect of methodology, namely the question how proper names should be classified by language, has been considered in this chapter. However, it appears difficult to arrive at an unequivocal solution.

Acknowledgements

I would like to thank Durk Gorter and Umberto Ansaldo for the discussions that lead to the ideas presented in this chapter and for their comments on earlier versions.

References

- Backhaus, P. (2006). Multilingualism in Tokyo: A Look into the Linguistic Landscape. *International Journal of Multilingualism*, 3, 1, 52-66.
- Bade, D. (2006). The *Zheng He* dilemma: Language identification and automatic indexing. *Language & Communication*, 26, 193-199.
- Barni, M. (2006). From Statistical to Geolinguistic Data: Mapping and Measuring Linguistic Diversity. *Fondazione Eni Enrico Mattei Working Papers*, 53.2006. <http://www.feem.it/NR/rdonlyres/E84B10B4-E739-49AF-B535-9316BF38D1F1/1944/5306.pdf>.
- Ben-Rafael, E., E. Shohamy, M.H. Amara and N. Trumper-Hecht (2006). Linguistic landscape as symbolic construction of the public space: The case of Israel. *International Journal of Multilingualism*, 3, 1, 7-30.
- Brouwer, L. (ed) (2000-2007). *Nederlandse Familienamen Databank*. KNAW/Meertens Instituut. <http://www.meertens.nl/nfd/>.
- Cenoz, J. and D. Gorter (2006). Linguistic Landscape and Minority Languages. *International Journal of Multilingualism*, 3, 1, 67-80.
- Crystal, D. (2003). *The Cambridge Encyclopedia of the English Language*, second edition. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Crystal, D. (2004). The Past, Present, and Future of World English. In: A. Gardt and B. Hüppauf (eds) *Globalization and the Future of German*, 27-45. Berlin/New York: Mouton de Gruyter.

- El-Yasin, M.K. and R.S. Mahadin (1996). On the pragmatics of shop signs in Jordan. *Journal of Pragmatics*, 26, 407-416.
- Endmark (2006). Press release. http://www.endmark.de/download/Endmark_Presse_Claims.pdf.
- Eurobarometer (2006). *Europeans and their Languages*. Special Eurobarometer 243 / Wave 64.3. http://ec.europa.eu/public_opinion/archives/ebs/ebs_243_en.pdf.
- Fourment-Berni Canani, M. (1994). Le statut des noms propres dans la traduction. *Studi Italiani di Linguistica Teorica e Applicata*, 23, 3, 553-571.
- Gerritsen, M., H. Korzilius, F. van Meurs and I. Gijsbers (2000). English in Dutch Commercials: Not Understood and Not Appreciated. *Journal of Advertising Research*, 40, 4, 17-31.
- Haarmann, H. (1986). Verbal strategies in Japanese fashion magazines - a study in impersonal bilingualism and ethnosymbolism. *International Journal of the Sociology of Language*, 58, 107-121.
- Haeseryn, W., K. Romijn, G. Geerts, J. de Rooij and M.C. van den Toorn (1997). *Algemene Nederlandse Spraakkunst*. Groningen/Deurne: Martinus Nijhoff/Wolters Plantyn.
- Huebner, T. (2006). Bangkok's Linguistic Landscapes: Environmental Print, Codemixing and Language Change. *International Journal of Multilingualism*, 3, 1, 31-51.
- Korzilius, H., F. van Meurs and J. Hermans (2006). The use of English in job advertisements in a Dutch national newspaper - On what factors does it depend? In: R. Crijns and C. Burgers (eds). *Werbestrategien in Theorie und Praxis: Sprachliche Aspekte von deutschen und niederländischen Unternehmensdarstellungen und Werbekampagnen*, 147-174. Tostedt: Attikon Verlag.
- Landry, R. and R.Y. Bourhis (1997). Linguistic Landscape and Ethnolinguistic Vitality: An Empirical Study. *Journal of Language and Social Psychology* 16, 1: 23-49.
- O+S Amsterdam (2004). *Amsterdam in cijfers, Jaarboek 2004*. Amsterdam: Stadsdrukkerij Amsterdam.
- Piller, I. (2000). Multilingualism and the modes of TV advertising. In: F. Ungerer (ed). *Media texts: Past and present*, 265-281. Amsterdam: John Benjamins.
- Piller, I. (2001). Identity constructions in multilingual advertising. *Language in Society*, 30, 153-186.
- Piller, I. (2003). Advertising as a Site of Language Contact. *Annual Review of Applied Linguistics*, 23, 170-183.
- Salih, M.H. and M.K. El-Yasin (1994). The spread of foreign business names in Jordan: A sociolinguistic perspective. *Abhath Al-Yarmouk* 12, 2, 37-50.
- Schlick, M. (2003). The English of shop signs in Europe. *English Today*, 19, 1, 3-17.
- Van Onna, B. and C. Jansen (2006). *Nederland talenland? Over de beheersing van Engels, Duits, Frans en Nederlands in Nederlandse organisaties*. Internal publication Afdeling Bedrijfscommunicatie, Faculteit der Letteren, Radboud Universiteit Nijmegen. <http://www.careljansen.nl/map1/rapport.pdf>.