Foreignization and Englishization in Turkish business naming practices

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Abstract

This paper investigates the effect of foreignization and Englishization on business naming practices in Turkey. The question that is addressed is in what new ways foreign elements and English lexical items influence the naming of store signs in the language. In previous work, it was argued that there are roughly three main ways in which foreignization and Englishization surface in Turkish business naming: (i) foreign signs such as non-English (e.g. German and French) and English signs, (ii) hybrid signs that include a combination of Turkish and English words, and (iii) Englishized Turkish signs that include businesses that adopted artificially created signs using English orthography to represent Turkish phonology (Üstünova et al., 2010; Selvi, 2011). Based on new data, I show here that there is a new and creative practice that manifests itself in a different way. This new procedure could be dubbed as *consonant gemination* since it copies the consonant in the middle of the word, and the new word is usually accompanied by an English word. The practice has important consequences since it changes both the syllable structure and the pronunciation of the word. Further work will shed light on whether this would give rise to other types of business naming practices and whether it will have a long-term effect in the phonology and spelling of Turkish words.

1. Introduction

This study is concerned with the ongoing influence of foreignization and Englishization on business naming in Turkey. More specifically, it will be argued that foreignization, which is used here in a rather broader sense, and Englishization, meaning the use of English lexical and functional words, continue being used in creative new ways in the Turkish business context. It is a well-known fact that business naming across the world is widely influenced by foreignization, especially by way of the use of English (Haarman 1984; Ross 1997). The effect of the English language on Turkish business discourse, especially on different types of store-naming, is no different and is widely discussed in previous analyses. Selvi (2007, 2011), for instance, notes that the practice of store-naming using foreign elements in Turkey could be grouped into three major categories. The first category contains foreign signs such as 'Auto City' (a car dealer) and 'Café des Cafés' (a restaurant), which could be either in English or in

some other language. The second category includes hybrid signs like 'Happy Hamile' (a store selling clothes for pregnant women) and 'Florya Home Center' (a shopping mall) with a combination of Turkish and non-Turkish lexical items. The third category, on the other hand, includes Englishized Turkish signs which are in fact artificially created signs such as 'Chilek' (representing the Turkish letter 'ç' using the English spelling convention 'ch') and 'Dishy' (representing the Turkish letters 'ş' and 'i' using the English spelling conventions 'sh' and 'y' respectively). These signs make use of English orthography to represent Turkish phonology and adds an aura of "foreignness" to the store name. In this work I argue that in addition to the existing business naming practices outlined above, there is a new strategy that makes use of consonant gemination, creating another consonant in the middle of the word. In addition, this new word occasionally appears with elements from English, either lexical or functional. In that sense, it could be considered to be a hybrid strategy and it is possible to classify it into a new fourth category. This new practice has certain repercussions in terms of the phonology Turkish since, besides a change in spelling, consonant gemination leads to a change in the syllable structure and the pronunciation of the word, something which is not observed in the other categories. These changes bring to mind the question of whether consonant gemination and the use of English words would have a long-term effect on the Turkish language in terms of language change, a question that needs to be addressed in future work.

The structure of the paper is as follows: Chapter 2 provides a broad overview of previous work on foreignization and the use of English in store-naming all around the world. This chapter also includes an outline of earlier work on the influence of English on business naming in Turkey. In Chapter 3 I introduce a new set of data and show the new way of business naming practice that is becoming more and more widespread in the country. The term adopted to identify the new strategy is consonant gemination since it basically targets consonant sounds in the middle of the word which may or may not appear with an English element. It is also shown in this chapter that the new practice has certain repercussions in terms of Turkish phonology since this strategy has some effect on the pronunciation of these words. Chapter 4 briefly concludes the paper and provides some suggestions for future work.

2. Background

2.1. Foreignization and Englishization in business naming

The use of foreign elements, especially lexical items from English, in business naming in non-English speaking countries around the globe is not a new phenomenon. The store-naming analyses in those countries go back as far as Haarman (1984) and Thonus (1991), if not earlier. The questions that are generally addressed in those studies are why and in what ways English is used in the business naming processes in countries where English is a foreign language. In her seminal work, Thonus investigates the effects of English on business naming in various cities in Brazil. Following Kachru (1982), she refers to the phenomenon as an example of Englishization and argues that there are basically two major strategies employed in the Brazilian business context: (i) a sophisticated use of English constructed upon conscious and meticulous selections of words such as 'Hotdog' for a pet store, and (ii) a choice free from the context in which business names are used, for example 'Stroke' for a fashion store. One of the conclusions Thonus reaches is that the underlying reason for using English signs is mainly to attract average Brazilian customers and sell both the product and the service which is "different and worthwhile" (1991). In that sense, using English could be thought of as a smart strategy for a business owner who wants to stand out amongst others and bring more customers to the store.

In a similar study, Ross (1997) investigates the practice of business naming in Italy. Ross is generally concerned with the possible reasons for the widespread use of English store signs in the Italian business context. He argues that using English in store-naming cannot be due to the instrumental value of English.

Even though a big city like Milan is a major tourist attraction in Italy, its popularity cannot be compared to that of other cities such as Florence and Rome. Thus Ross argues that English signs cannot possibly serve as a facilitating tool for non-Italian speaking people visiting the city. Instead, he proposes that the [simple reason for most of these shop signs [in Milan] is that English is today seen as an attractive and fashionable language. An English name lends an aura of chic prestige to a business, suggesting that it is part of the international scene, following the latest trends, up-to-date with the newest ideas] (Ross, 1997). He concludes that Englishization of shop signs in Milan is just another way of exhibiting appreciation of the lifestyle and values associated with the American culture which is considered by many people to be a sign of prestige, style and modernity.

McArthur's (2000) study is rather different in the sense that he investigates the use of English in store-naming in multilingual environments such as Zurich, Switzerland and Uppsala, Sweden. It focuses on certain locations in the downtown areas of these cities. His findings show that out of thirty-one store signs in Zurich, four businesses use English-only signs, followed by seven English-German signs and two English-French signs. McArthur interprets these results as an indicating a significant inclination towards English in the Swiss context despite the low number of English-only business names in the city. On the other hand, when we consider the Swedish case, we see that it exhibits remarkable similarities to the previous one in terms of the findings. The results show that the use of English in business naming includes twenty-two English-only signs, eight English-Swedish signs and one English-French sign. In addition, the findings indicate a number of multilingual signs including two trilingual signs containing English and three quadrilingual signs including English. This study is an important one in terms of illustrating the dominance of English in store-naming regardless of the language(s) it co-occurs with, whether it is German, French or Swedish. Another important conclusion to be drawn from this study is the reflection of the multilingual society on store-naming with multiple languages on shop signs, only one of them being English.

Another work on the Englishization of business names is reported in MacGregor (2003) who conducted a study on store signs in Tokyo, Japan. MacGregor analyzed one hundred and twenty shop signs in an area close to downtown Tokyo. His initial hypothesis was that Japan is still a monolingual country and hence is free from the widespread influence of English. However, the results of his study show that out of one hundred and twenty shop signs, thirty-one of them were English-only and twenty-nine constituted the English-Japanese hybrid signs. This means that nearly half of the signs analyzed was under the influence of English. It is also noted that the dominant store types with English-only shop signs were women's clothing stores (9 shops) and hairstylists (4 shops). These stores belong to the fashion industry which, in the Japanese society, is considered to be under the greatest influence of the western world (Haarman, 1984).

Stewart and Fawcett (2004), on the other hand, investigate the use of foreign languages in six towns in the northwestern region of Portugal. Their data includes two hundred and seventy-one shop signs analyzed in six small Portuguese speaking towns. They found that even though store signs in small towns in the country are predominantly monolingual, a total of twenty-seven signs are in English. They also report that two-thirds of the English store names were labeled 'Snack Bar', even though they remain skeptical as to why this is the case. Other names they encountered include those such as 'Fashion and Style', 'Black-Gate Bar' and 'Handicraft's'.

More recently, Dimova (2008) analyzes what she calls the pervasiveness and creativity of the English language in commercial nomenclature in Macedonia. Her analysis includes a big set of data containing over nine thousand entries from the online Macedonian Yellow Pages. She reports that English names were significantly more likely to be found in Skopje, the capital of Macedonia, than in all the other cities, and businesses that adopted an English name primarily belong to media, leisure or entertainment industries. Also, she notes that orthographic, formative, and semantic types of creativity were among

those that were identified in the processes of transliteration and word/phrase formation. She concludes that the reason why English is the most dominant foreign language used in commercial names is due to its associations with globalization and modernity.

To sum up, the use of English in business naming practices is a well-studied phenomenon and is widespread across the world. It was shown that one of the reasons for adopting a full or partial English business name over the local language is the fact that it is the representative of the western world and its status as an international language. Additionally, it is often associated with concepts such as quality and modernity, two important characteristics one would look for in today's business world. In the next section, I will shift the focus to a particular country, specifically Turkey, and provide a brief overview of foreignization and the use of English in business naming.

2.2. Business naming practices in Turkey

The use and influence of foreign elements and the English language on Turkish is well-attested in previous work. Research indicates that its origins can be traced back to the early 1950s (Doğançay-Aktuna, 1998). This coincides with the time when English began to replace French in certain areas. Up until that time, French had been the dominant foreign language, especially in the final years of the Ottoman Empire and during the first three decades of the modern Turkish republic. Before the Second World War, French used to be taught at schools and was the language of business and diplomacy in the country. Beginning in the 1950s, English began to be taught in public schools as a foreign language. Additionally, international relations with the western world, especially with the United States, gained momentum since the US had then become the new military and economic power in the world (Doğançay-Aktuna 1998; Büyükkantarcıoğlu 2004; Selvi 2011). English still continues to be the most widely taught and spoken foreign language in Turkey today. The earlier studies about the influence of English on business naming in Turkey go back as far as studies in the 1990s. Yaman (1990) and Üstünova (1996) were probably the first to investigate the effect of English on the store signs in Ankara and Bursa respectively, while Alkibay (1996) looked into the adoption of non-Turkish words in business naming throughout Turkey.

In terms of variation in the methodology employed, one could cite Doğan (1999) since, in addition to personal observation, he made use of different techniques while gathering data such as interviewing. Doğan's data include a total of one hundred and five store signs both in Turkish and in different foreign languages. He reports that out of one hundred and five shop names, more than half (%51) had a foreign name, demonstrating a general tendency towards the foreignization in store naming. He notes that the important factors that contribute to business naming practices both in English and Turkish contain personal reasons (32%), commercial benefits (17%), ideological reasons (17%) and a sense of being different (15%). On the other hand, the business owners who adopted a foreign name for their business stated that it was because of being interesting (17%), a tendency to relate to the culture (15%), a preference for being different (9%), the suitability with the business (9%), being a brand name (9%), being impressive (8%), and a personal choice that is not their own (4%).

In a different study, Gözaydın (2000) investigates store naming in a big shopping mall called Karum (meaning water front or harbor in the Assyrian language) in Ankara, the Turkish capital. His data included one hundred and eighty-eight shop names in Karum and his findings indicate that only thirty-eight stores (20%) have Turkish-only signs. On the other hand, the remaining one hundred and fifty stores had non-Turkish signs (94 stores) or foreign-Turkish hybrid signs (56 stores). He notes that the reason for the high number of foreign names in that particular shopping mall is not because of the franchising of business places since they only account for 8% of the stores in the mall. The reason behind

foreignization is accounted for by referring to the attitudes and perceptions of business owners attempting to impress their customers.

Aydoğan (2001) studies the widespread use of English in the business naming practices in the tourism industry. This is taken as an interesting endeavor since tourism is generally thought of as an international industry. It is also one of the most significant areas to represent a country at the global level. His data includes three hundred and eighteen hotel names spread around Turkey. The results indicate that only thirty hotel names (9.5%) are in Turkish, whereas the remaining two hundred and eighty-eight hotels (91.5%) were in a foreign language such as 'The Holiday Resort Hotel' and 'Sugar Beach Hotel' or Turkish-foreign language hybrids like 'Maviköy Holiday Village' and 'Martı Lapezla'. Aydoğan takes these results as indicating the dominance of non-Turkish signs in the process of hotel naming in the country. He concludes that the imbalance in the language use is "not favoring the Turkish language as it causes a disadvantage for the Turkish language".

Demircan (2001), on the other hand, argues that due to the post-modern structure of the world, different power centers seek to establish relations with various countries in an attempt to increase their interests and benefits. Because of this, Turkey has become a big market for foreign products and services. Since the dissemination of these good and services will be achieved through a world language, Turkish has also become a market of foreign words. Basically, Demircan's study includes a total of five hundred business places in different locations in İstanbul and his findings indicate that four hundred and forty-five of them have English words. He concludes that 27% of the businesses have chosen English names in an attempt to take advantage of public figures. Many of the names include those of singers, actors and TV shows. Additionally, 20% of the store owners stated that the products with English brand names are considered to be more prestigious by the customers. In other words, having a foreign name is considered to have privilege. In addition, 36% of business owners stated that they chose an English name because they find it commercially interesting, explaining why foreign branding is so much appreciated in the country.

More recently, Selvi (2007, 2011), in his work on business naming and the world Englishes in the Turkish sociolinguistic context, investigates the spread of English in the Turkish business discourse. Selvi is mainly interested in the linguistic characteristics of business naming practices with non-Turkish elements. He notes that it is possible to group the practice of store-naming into three major linguistic categories (Selvi, 2011). These three categories could be classified as:

(i) Foreign signs: Business places that employ non-Turkish lexical items. This category could be further divided into two sub-categories as English and non-English business signs.

a. Non-English signs: Business places that have non-English lexical items in their names. Some representative examples would be Café des Café (café), Pittoresque (jewelry store), Ares (hair stylist) and Monami (tailor).

b. English signs: Business places that have only English lexical items in their names. One Way Car Wash (car wash), Datasoft (information technologies), Blue Way (shoe store), and Free Style (clothing store) are some examples.

(ii). Hybrid signs: Business places that use lexical items from both Turkish and a foreign language. Examples include Happy Hamile (meaning 'Happy Pregnant', a clothing store for pregnant women), Ankara Home Center (department store) and Cep Land (meaning 'Pocket Land', a mobile phone store).

(iii). 'Englishized' Turkish signs: These include business places that employ artificially created signs that make use of English orthography to represent Turkish phonology. That is to say, these signs do not in fact correspond to Turkish orthographic conventions. Therefore, they would appear to be meaningless to those who are not familiar with the English spelling system. Some examples of this category include the furniture store Chilek (representation of Turkish 'ç' by the English orthographic convention 'ch',

'çilek' meaning strawberry in Turkish). Another example would be the women's clothing store Dishy (representation of Turkish letter 'ş' by English orthographic convention of 'sh', and of Turkish 'i' by English 'y', 'dişi' meaning female).

Selvi notes that even though the store signs in the last category are less dominant in business naming, their existence should be taken as a clear demonstration of the deep penetration of the English language into the Turkish business discourse. He also notes that the inescapable spread of English in the Turkish social life has caused a huge public debate concerning the current status of the Turkish language in the country. He goes on to say that it is also not surprising that the business naming phenomenon is in the center of these lively discussions. That is to say, the Englishization of Turkish shop signs is considered to be a good representative of the debilitating consequences of foreignization of the Turkish language, culture, and social structure.

As can be seen from the discussion above, foreignization in the form of Englishization as well as the use of words from other foreign languages in business naming is widespread in Turkey. It was shown that the practice manifests itself in different ways and for various reasons. However, it should also be noted that the linguistic categorization that Selvi provides is not the only way to refer to foreignization and Englishization in store naming. It appears that the use of foreign elements and English in Turkish business naming is still in effect and surfaces in various creative ways. In the next section, I will introduce a new (hybrid) way of foreignization and Englishization in the business naming practices in the country.

3. Foreignization and Englishization: A new hybrid form

As noted above, there is an ever-increasing tendency among Turkish business owners in recent years to refer to what is called foreign or Englishized Turkish signs in the business naming process. This new practice manifests itself in various innovative ways probably because business owners often seek new strategies to stand out among their competitors and draw more attention to their businesses in an attempt to look more different and attract more customers. That is why new creative forms are frequently discovered and are occasionally used along with the existing ones. Among these, there is a particular practice which is somewhat different from those described in the previous section. Basically, this new practice is used for the purpose making the store name look less Turkish and more foreign or English-like. It applies to the original Turkish words, inserting an extra consonant in the middle of the word. More specifically, it creates an identical consonant in the middle of the word. The new word sometimes co-occurs with an English lexical or functional element in an attempt to make it look even more different. The use of a similar form was first reported in Üstünova et al. (2010) and was described as one of those attempts to change the shape of both original Turkish words and borrowed words by "tempering with" letters. Their data include business names in which Turkish letters were replaced by letters that represent the English orthography and punctuation, as shown in (1a), (1b) and (1c) below.

(1) a. Ali > Aly, Saatçi > Saatchi

    b. Cemali's, Aly's, Kuzu's

    c. Gece > Gecce, Oda > Odda

The examples in (1a) show the fact that the English spelling conventions are replacing their Turkish counterparts in business naming. Similarly, in (1b) we see an instance in which the English possessive construction is applied to Turkish at the cost of losing the genitive-possessive construction proper in the

language. On the other hand, (1c) is an example where the original word is changed by adding an extra letter in the middle of the word. As noted above, Üstünova et al. take this as an attempt to change the shape of Turkish words by making various modifications. However, in their analysis, there is no mention the presence of English elements accompanying the newly created word. Moreover, as I will show in the next section, this practice has more significant linguistic repercussions and seems to have become one of the most common ways of creating business names in the country.

The data collection process for this study started as a personal observation. However, following Dimova's (2008) study, several online yellow pages containing substantial lists of different types of businesses throughout Turkey were used in order to perform a more thorough research and a more systematic and careful data collection process. Table 1 illustrates the findings.

Table 1. Foreignization and Englishization in business naming

Turkish word	Business name	Business Type	Location
Kasap (butcher)	Kassap	Butcher's	İstanbul
Makas (scissors)	Makkas	Hair Stylist	İstanbul
Oda (room)	Odda	Hotel	İstanbul
Elmas (diamond)	Ellmas	Tailor's	İstanbul
Meze (appetizer)	Chef Meze	Restaurant	İstanbul
Pabuç (shoe)	Pabbuç	Shoe Store	İstanbul
Dürüm (wrap)	Ye Dürrüm	Restaurant	İstanbul
Askı (hanger)	Asskı	Clothing store	İstanbul
Hamam (Turkish bath)	Hammam	Restaurant	İstanbul
Şeker (sugar)	Şekker Home	Fabric store	İstanbul
Bebek (baby)	My Bebbek	Kids store	İstanbul
Tava (pan)	Tavva	Restaurant	İstanbul
Aşk (love)	Aşşk Kahve	Coffee shop	İstanbul
Karga (crow)	Karrga	Advertising agency	İstanbul
Durak (bus stop)	Durrak	Coffee shop	İstanbul
Pastacı (cake maker)	Passtacı	Coffee shop	İstanbul
Misket (marble)	Missket	Restaurant	İstanbul
Hamur (dough)	Hammur	Restaurant	İstanbul
Tavuk (chicken)	Tavvuk	Restaurant	İstanbul
Dana (calf)	Danna	Restaurant	İstanbul
Simit (bagel)	Simmit	Pastry shop	Ankara
Kebap (Kebab)	Kebbap	Kebab place	Ankara
Elma (apple)	Ellma	Advertising agency	Ankara
Tabak (plate)	Tabbak	Restaurant	Ankara
Kahve (coffee)	Çakıl Kahhve	Coffee Shop	İzmir

Köfte (meatball)	Köffte'CM	Restaurant	İzmir
Bahçe (garden)	Bahhçe	Wedding Hall	İzmir
Börek (pastry)	My Börrek	Pastry shop	İzmir
Gece (night)	Gecce	Clothing store	Bursa
Moda (fashion)	Modda	Furniture store	Bursa
Lokma (morsel)	Lokkma	Restaurant	Antalya
Pide (flat bread)	Pidde	Restaurant	Antalya
Keyif (joy)	Keyyif	Coffee shop	Çanakkale
Biber (pepper)	The Bibber	Restaurant	Sakarya
Fırın (oven)	Pazar Fırrın	Patisserie	Manisa
Sofra (table)	Keyf-i Soffra	Restaurant	Muğla
Mutfak (kitchen)	Muttfak	Restaurant	Bilecik
Yemek (food)	Yemmek	Online website	N/A
Bukle (lock)	Bukkle	Online jewel store	N/A
Defter (notebook)	Deffter	Online store	N/A
Kitap (book)	E-Kittap	Online bookstore	N/A
Saksı (pot)	Sakksı	Online florist	N/A
Tuzluk (salt shaker)	Tuzzluk	Online website	N/A
Sepet (basket)	Seppet	Online shop. center	N/A
Zinncir (chain)	Zinncir	Online employment website	N/A

As noted above, this new strategy takes a Turkish word and doubles the consonant in the middle of it. Moreover, the newly created word is sometimes accompanied by an English lexical or functional word that precedes or follows it. In that sense, it could be considered to be a hybrid strategy and a subtle way to make the new word look less Turkish and more foreign or English-like. Table 1 illustrates a sample of the forty-five businesses that adopted this strategy. The second column shows the original Turkish word along with its meaning in English. The third column, on the other hand, displays the business names with consonant gemination and Englishization whenever it applies. The fourth and the fifth columns show the businesses types and their geographical location respectively. Note, however, that this is still an ongoing research and the data presented in Table 1 is by no means an exhaustive list containing every business in Turkey that adopted the strategy in question. Nevertheless, one could argue that it is still a sufficient amount of data representing the phenomenon in the country. In the next section, I will have a closer look at the specifics of the data and analyze it in some detail.

3.1. Analysis of data

3.1.1. Non-linguistic findings

First of all, there are a total of forty-five businesses that were gathered in the online data collection process.[†] The data illustrate the fact that businesses related to food and gastronomy outnumber other types of businesses in adopting consonant gemination and Englishization. This category contains restaurants (16 stores), coffee shops (5 stores), patisserie/pastry shops (3 stores) and a butcher shop (1 store). A closer look at the data, on the other hand, will also reveal the fact that different types of businesses in various industries have also adopted the strategy. These are businesses as diverse as clothing stores (2 stores), advertising agencies (2 stores), one furniture store, one fabric store, one shoe shop, one kids' store, one wedding hall, one hotel, one tailor and one hair stylist. Moreover, the data show that the strategy is also used in online business naming, with eight websites doing various kinds of businesses. This clearly indicates that the use of consonant gemination and Englishization is not something that is only employed by certain business types.

Another important fact that can be observed from the data is that the majority of the businesses that adopted the strategy is located in metropolitan cities such as İstanbul, Ankara, İzmir and Bursa. However, it also illustrates that using this new strategy is spreading to smaller Anatolian cities (cities on the Asian side of Turkey) including Antalya, Konya, Manisa, Muğla, Bilecik, Sakarya and Çanakkale, even though the number of the businesses that adopted the strategy in these cities currently constitutes the minority. Thus one could say that the practice is not just limited to big industrial cities anymore, but rather is becoming more common in other less populated areas of the country.

3.1.2. Linguistic findings

In addition to the facts about various business types that have adopted the strategy and their geographic location, Table 1 also illustrates some interesting linguistic facts. For instance, it is evident that consonant gemination applies primarily to two-syllable words as the data above include only one instance of consonant gemination applied to a one-syllable word. This, however, does not mean that it would never apply to more one-syllable words or to any multi-syllable words in the language. As far as the phonology of the word is concerned, if the first syllable of the word is a closed syllable (a syllable that ends in a consonant), it is always the consonant of that syllable that undergoes consonant gemination. In other words, the consonant of the second syllable never goes through the gemination process. Consider the data in (2) below.

(2) a. bah-çe → bah*h*-çe

    b. köf-te → köf*f*-te

    c. sak-sı → sak*k*-sı

The examples in (2) illustrate the process of consonant gemination in the first syllable of the word. It should also be noted that since there are two consonants in the coda position of the first syllable, the way the word is pronounced has undergone some change as well. Unlike English, Turkish distinguishes between short and long consonants, meaning that if there are two adjacent consonants in a word, both

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[†] The websites used in the data collection process are:

of them need to be articulated. Thus the outcome of consonant gemination is two adjacent consonants in the middle of the word. The word is now pronounced differently as the coda position of the first syllable contains two consonants and it would take longer to articulate both of them. In short, consonant gemination has caused a change in both spelling and pronunciation.

Conversely, if the first syllable of the word is an open syllable (a syllable that ends in a vowel), the consonant that is doubled is naturally the one in the second syllable, as illustrated in (3).

(3) a. ta-bak → ta*b*-bak

   b. ki-tap → ki*t*-ta

   c. dü-rüm → dür-rüm

This one seems to be even more interesting in terms of phonology, since it derives a closed syllable out of an open one, as shown in (3a-c). The newly created consonant occurs in the coda position of the first syllable. Similar to the case in (2) above, it changes the pronunciation as well as the spelling of the word, as shown in (4).

(4) a. ta-bak [tʰabak] → tab-bak [tʰabbak]

   b. ki-tap [kʰitap] → kit-tap [kʰittap]

   c. dü-rüm [dyrym] → dür-rüm [dyrrym]

The examples in (4a) and (4b) show that geminate consonants in Turkish derived by consonant gemination need to be pronounced separately, as shown in (4a) and (4b). Since the process changes the structure of the syllable, its phonological effect is even more noticeable. The data in (2) and (4), therefore, illustrate the fact that the process changes both the spelling and the pronunciation of the word it applies to.

In addition to the process of consonant gemination, a different strategy sometimes co-occurs along with it. It is what is referred to as Englishization where the newly created word is occasionally accompanied by an English lexical or functional words. Consider the examples below.

(5) a. Şekker Home

   b. My Bebbek

   c. Chef Mezze

   d. The Bibber

The existence of such examples clearly indicates the influence of foreignization in the form of Englishization in the Turkish business context. The above data also show that it is not only English lexical words that are the primary source of business naming, but functional words have started to be used in the process too.

4. Discussion

It was shown in Section 2 and 3 that foreignization and Englishization are two productive processes that are used in business naming practices both locally and internationally. It was also shown that these practices are sometimes used individually or are combined in different and innovative ways. The novel practice analyzed in this work was adopted by Turkish business owners in recent years and it is in fact not so distinct from those mentioned in previous analyses. Similar to the use of hybrid signs in Turkish business naming practices that are reported in Selvi (2007, 2011) and Üstünova et al. (2011) the new practice is a hybrid in a different from. Basically, it is a combination of two different processes. It is used in order to create an interesting and perhaps trendy business name that would stand out among others and attract more customers. Interestingly, it utilizes both foreign elements and English lexical items, making full use of practices that are available. Note also that the new practice shows resemblance to those adopted and used worldwide. For instance, the use of hybrid signs in Japan as reported in MacGregor (2003) and multiple languages in Switzerland discussed in McArthur (2000) are already well-known phenomena. Also, the current work shows certain parallels with Dimova's (2008) study as both analyses, in addition to the fact that using similar techniques in gathering data, report on the orthographic and formative creativity in business naming in an attempt to look more modern and global in a local setting. In that sense it would be reasonable to argue that the current practice could be regarded as a creative interpretation of the existing ones. Further research will surely reveal whether there will be new and innovative practices to be added to the current list and whether such practices could have a long-term impact on the phonology and spelling of the Turkish language.

5. Conclusions

In this paper I demonstrated that the practice of foreignization and Englishization in the business naming process is ongoing and manifests itself in various new and creative ways in Turkey. The term coined to identify this new procedure is consonant gemination since it targets consonants in the middle of a word and creates another one. An English word sometimes co-occurs with the newly created word. The reason for employing non-Turkish signs, especially those in English, is probably because it evokes the sense of being interesting, different, and perhaps more appealing. Therefore, business naming is not just the practice of borrowing foreign words from other languages but rather adapting Turkish words to English spelling and orthography. More importantly, it was noted that this particular strategy has significant phonological consequences in that it converts short consonants into long ones. It also creates a closed syllable out of an open one, changing the spelling and the pronunciation of the word.

The practice of consonant gemination and the presence of English words is a good example to illustrate the extent to which the influence of foreign elements and the English language influences Turkish. An area of inquiry to pursue further would be to investigate the consonant gemination strategy in other environments such as at the beginning or at end of the word. Such practices already exist and some examples would be 'Çuvall' (a clothing store in İstanbul) which derived from the word 'çuval' (sack), 'Mahall Bomonti' (the name for a construction project) that derived from the word 'mahal' (place) and 'Keyff' (a restaurant in Izmir) that derived from 'keyif' (pleasure). In addition, there are new business names where the vowel and not the consonant gets geminated in different places of the word. Such examples are 'Keebap' (a restaurant in Istanbul) that derived from the word 'kebap' (kebab) and 'Ustaa' (a restaurant in Ankara) that derived from 'usta' (master). Thus it seems reasonable, if not necessary, to observe whether this practices are also becoming widespread in business naming throughout Turkey. Moreover, it is equally important to do a similar study concerning the use of Englishization in product naming in Turkey to see if the process is spreading to other naming practices. Lastly, the question

whether consonant gemination would have a broader effect on Turkish in the long term remains to be investigated. Further research will shed more light on these issues.

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Türk iş yeri adlandırma uygulamalarında yabancılaşma ve İngilizceleşme

Öz

Bu makale, yabancılaşma ve İngilizceleşmenin Türkiye'de iş yeri adlandırma uygulamalarına etkisini araştırmaktadır. Ele alınan sorular, dilbilimsel yabancı unsurların ve İngilizce sözlü öğelerin Türkçe'de iş yeri adlandırmada ne tür yeni yöntemlerin olduğu ve bunların dile nasıl bir etki yapacakları ile ilgilidir. Önceki çalışmalarda, yabancılaşmanın ve İngilizceleşmenin üç ana yolun Türk işyeri adlandırma uygulamalarında olduğu savunulmuştur. Bunlar, (i) İngilizce olmayan (örn. Almanca ve Fransızca) ve İngilizce sözcükler içeren iş yeri adları, (ii) Türkçe ve İngilizce kelimelerin birleşimini içeren hibrid iş yeri adları ve (iii) İngiliz yazım kurallarını kullanarak Türk fonolojisini temsil eden ve yapay olarak yaratılan Türkçe iş yeri adlarıdır (Üstünova ve diğerleri 2010; Selvi 2011). Bu çalışmada ise yeni verilere dayanarak bu uygulamaların dışında yeni ve yaratıcı bir uygulamanın olduğunu ortaya konmaktadır. Bu yeni yöntem, iş yeri adı olarak kullanılacak sözcüğün ortasındaki ünsüzün kopyalanmasından meydana gelmektedir ve bundan dolayı ünsüz ikizleşmesi olarak adlandırılabilir. Yeni oluşan sözcüğe genellikle İngilizce bir kelime de eklenmektedir. Uygulama sözcüğün hem hece yapısını hem de telaffuzunu değiştirdiği için diğer yöntemlere göre daha önemli dilbilimsel sonuçları vardır. Bu konuyla ilgili ileride yapılacak çalışmalar, bu uygulamanın daha farklı iş yeri adlandırma uygulamalarına neden olup olamayacağı ve Türkçenin sesbilgisi ve yazım kurallarında uzun süreli bir etkiye sahip olup olmayacağı konularına açıklık getirecektir.

Anahtar sözcükler: Yabancılaşma; İngilizceleşme; iş yeri adlandırma; ünsüz ikizleşmesi; Türkçe

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