



Business Naming Practices in Turkey: The Foreign Effect

Türkiye’de İş Yeri Adlandırma Uygulamaları: Yabancı Etkisi

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ÖZ

Bu makalede, dilde yabancılaşmanın Türkiye’de iş yerleri adlandırma uygulamalarındaki etkisi araştırılmaktadır. Çalışmada yabancılaşmanın ve özellikle İngilizleşmenin ülkedeki iş yeri adlandırma üzerindeki etkisinin artarak devam ettiği ve çeşitli yenilikçi ve yaratıcı yollarla kendini gösterdiği ortaya konmaktadır. Önceki çalışmalarda iş yeri adlandırmasında kullanılan yabancı unsurlar üç ana kategoride toplanmıştır: (i) İngilizce veya İngilizce olmayan (örn. Almanca ve Fransızca) yabancı sözcükler, (ii) Türkçe ve yabancı sözcük içeren hibrid unsurlar, (iii) İngilizce yazım kuralları kullanılarak yapay olarak yaratılan Türkçe sözcükler. Bu çalışmada ise mevcut uygulamalardan farklı olarak, ülkede yeni bir iş yeri adlandırma uygulaması olduğu gösterilmektedir. Ünsüz ikizleşmesi olarak adlandırılabilen bu yeni uygulama, iş yeri adı olan sözcüğün ortasındaki ünsüzü kopyalamaktadır. Yeni oluşan sözcüğe bazen de İngilizce bir sözcük eklenmektedir. Bu yeni uygulama sözcüğün hem hece yapısını hem de telaffuzunu değiştirdiği için önemli dilbilimsel sonuçlar doğurmaktadır. Bu konuda yapılacak araştırmalar uygulamanın Türk dili üzerinde uzun vadeli etkileri olup olmayacağını saptamada faydalı olacaktır.

Anahtar Kelimeler: İş yeri adlandırma, yabancı etkisi, yabancı unsurlar, yabancılaşma, ünsüz ikizleşmesi

ABSTRACT

This paper investigates the ongoing influence of foreign lexical elements and Englishization on the practice of naming businesses in Turkey. It is argued that the impact of foreignization and the English language on this business naming continues to increase and is manifested in various creative ways. The effect of foreignization and English on the Turkish business context, especially in shop-naming, has been widely discussed in previous researches. The consensus was that non-Turkish elements used in shop-naming could be classified into three major categories namely, foreign signs, hybrid signs and Englishized Turkish signs. In this paper, I demonstrate that in addition to the existing practices, there is a recent novel business naming practice in the country. This new strategy, which I call “consonant duplication” in this work, copies the consonant in the middle of the word and is sometimes accompanied by an English functional element. Interestingly, this has some important linguistic consequences because it changes both the syllable structure and the pronunciation of the word it applies to. Further research will reveal whether the practice will have certain long-term effects on the language.

Keywords: Business naming, foreign effect, foreign elements, alienating, consonant duplication

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EXTENDED ABSTRACT

This paper investigates the ongoing influence of foreign lexical elements and Englishization on the practice of naming businesses in Turkey. It is argued that the impact of foreignization and the English language on this business naming continues to increase and manifests itself in various creative ways. It is well-attested that non-native lexical items are generally used in the process of store-naming across countries. The effect of foreignization and Englishization on the Turkish business context, especially in the practice of business naming, has also been extensively discussed in previous researches. The consensus was that non-Turkish elements used in business naming could be classified into three major categories: (i) foreign lexical items that could either be English or non-English; (ii) hybrid signs that include a combination of elements from Turkish and a foreign language; and (iii) Englishized Turkish signs that are artificially created and use the orthography of English. On the basis of the data gathered using both online research and observation, in this paper, I show that in addition to the existing practices, a new business naming practice has recently emerged in the country. This new strategy, which I call “consonant duplication” in this work, simply duplicates the consonant in the middle of the word and is sometimes accompanied by an English functional word such as a determiner or a pronoun. As a result, the business name bears various foreign elements and looks less native. The analysis indicated that this practice is used in actual shop signs as well as online businesses. Furthermore, it should be noted that the new strategy has some important linguistic consequences because it changes both the syllable structure and the pronunciation of the word to which it applies. In that sense, it dramatically differs from earlier practices that employed foreignization and Englishization in business naming. Further research will shed more light on whether or not the new practice will have certain long-term effects in terms of spelling and pronunciation on the language.

1. Introduction

This paper is concerned with the ever-increasing influence of foreign words, specifically English lexical items, on Turkish business naming practices. It is well-attested that business naming across the world is widely influenced by the English language (Haarman, 1984; Ross, 1997). In this paper, I argue that foreignization and Englishization also have a big effect on Turkish business naming practices and manifests itself in various innovative ways. The effect of the English language on Turkish business discourse, especially on different types of business naming, was discussed at length in recent work. For instance, Selvi (2007, 2011) notes that it is possible to divide the practice of naming into three groups in the country. The first category contains foreign signs such as 'Auto City' (a car dealer) and 'Café des Cafés' (a restaurant) which could be either English or in another language. The second category includes hybrid signs like 'Happy Hamile' (a store selling clothes for pregnant women) with a combination of Turkish and non-Turkish words. The third category, on the other hand, contains Englishized Turkish signs which are 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). Basically, these signs make use of English orthography to represent Turkish phonology. In this paper, I argue that in addition to these existing business naming practices, there is a new strategy that uses consonant duplication, creating another consonant sound in the middle of the word. In addition, this new word sometimes appears with an English word. The new practice can be classified into a new fourth category discussed above and has some significant repercussions in terms of the phonology of Turkish. This is due to the fact that consonant duplication 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 duplication would have a long-term effect on Turkish with respect to language change and language variation, a question that needs to be further addressed.

The paper is structured as follows: In section 2, I give a broad and a chronological overview of previous studies on the use of English in shop-naming practices across the world. This chapter also includes an outline of earlier work on the influence of English on business naming in Turkey. In section 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 duplication since it targets consonant sounds in the middle of the word that may or may not appear with an English element. It is also shown in this section that the new practice has certain repercussions in terms of Turkish phonology since this strategy has some effect on the pronunciation of these words. Section 4 briefly concludes the paper and provides some suggestions for future work.

2. Previous Work on English Business Naming

2.1. Business naming in the world

Using the English language in business naming in non-English speaking countries across the world is not a new phenomenon. The investigation of the English shop-naming practices in these countries goes back as far as Haarman (1984) and Thonus (1991). The questions that are generally addressed in these studies are how and why English is widely used in business names in countries in which people speak English as a foreign language. For instance, Thonus, in her seminal work, analyzes the influence of English on store naming in a number of different places in Brazil. Following Kachru (1982, p. 6), she refers to the phenomenon as Englishization and argues that there are basically two major types of strategies observed in the Brazilian context: (i) a practical use of English through a cautious selection 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 draws is that the underlying reason for using English signs is to attract average Brazilian customers and sell the product, as well as the service which is "different and worthwhile" (1991, p. 73). In that sense using English could be thought of as a smart strategy for a business owner to stand out amongst others and draw more customers to the store.

In a similar study, Ross (1997) looks into the business naming practices in Italy. Ross is mainly concerned with possible causes for the widespread use of English shop signs in Italy. He argues that using English in shop-naming cannot be due to the instrumental value of English. That is to say, even though a 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 maintains that English signs cannot possibly serve as a facilitating tool for non-Italian speaking people visiting the city. Instead, Ross proposes that the reason for most of these shop signs in the city of Milano is that English is regarded as a

popular language. Thus a name in English invokes the idea of prestige (1997, p. 31). The conclusion then is that using English signs is just a different way of exhibiting the adoption lifestyle associated with the American culture that is considered to be a sign of prestige, style and modernity by many people.

McArthur's (2000) study is somewhat different in that he analyzes business naming using English in multilingual environments such as Zurich in Switzerland and Uppsala in Sweden. The study focuses on certain locations in the downtown areas of the two cities. McArthur's findings show that out of thirty-one store signs in Zurich, four businesses use English-only signs. This is followed by seven English-German and two English-French signs. McArthur takes these results as an indication of 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. The results show that using English in the naming of businesses 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 considered to be an important one in terms of illustrating the dominance of English in shop-naming practices 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 community on store naming with multiple languages on shop signs, one of them being English.

Another work on the Englishization of business names is reported in MacGregor (2003) who conducted a study on shop 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 country where only Japanese is spoken and hence is free from the widespread influence of English. However, the study demonstrates 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. That is to say, nearly half of the signs analyzed was under the influence of English. It is also highlighted that the dominant store types with English dominant shop signs were stores for women (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, p. 105).

Stewart and Fawcett (2004), on the other hand, investigate the use of foreign languages in six towns in the northwestern region of Portugal. Their study includes two hundred and seventy-one shop signs analyzed in six small Portuguese-speaking towns. They found that even though business signs in rural areas of the country are predominantly in Portuguese, a total of twenty-seven signs are in English. They also report that two-thirds of the English shop 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) investigates what she calls the popularity and innovativity of the English language in Macedonian terminology of trade. Her analysis includes a big set of data containing over nine thousand listings in the Yellow Pages. Dimova reports that the names in English were found in Skopje, the capital of Macedonia compared to other cities, and the businesses that adopted an English name are primarily in media, leisure or entertainment industries. She also notes that innovativity in spelling as well as meaning were among those that were identified in forming new lexical items. She concludes that the reason why English is more popular than other languages in business names is due to its affiliation with ideas such as innovation and being global.

To summarize, using English in naming practices is a well-studied phenomenon and is widespread around the world. 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 certainly look for in today's business world. In the next subsection, I will shift the focus to a particular country, specifically Turkey, and give a historical overview of the English business naming, paying attention to how and why English is used in business naming in the country.

2.2. Business naming in Turkey

The influence of English on the Turkish language, and Turkish culture in general, is not a new phenomenon. Recent research indicates that its origins goes back as far as 1950s (Doğançay-Aktuna, 1998). This coincides with the time when English began to

replace French. Up until that time, French was dominant 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 started to be learned in public schools as a foreign language. Additionally, international relations with the western world, with the United States of America (USA) especially, gained momentum since the USA had then become the new military and economic power in the ever-changing world (Doğançay-Aktuna, 1998; Büyükkantarçioğlu 2004; Selvi, 2011). English 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 done in 1990s. Yaman (1990) and Üstünova (1996) were the first to analyze the effect of English on the business signs in the city of 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 conducting observations, he made use of different techniques while gathering data such as interviewing in his study. Doğan's data include 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 had a foreign name, demonstrating a general tendency towards the foreignization in shop naming. He notes that the important factors that contribute to naming of businesses in English and Turkish contain personal choice, business interests, reasons stemming from ideology as well as reasons for looking distinct. On the other hand, owners of businesses who adopted a foreign name stated that it was because of being interesting, an inclination to reflect the culture, trying to stand out, the compatibility with the business, trying to be a trademark, striving to be noticeable and a personal choice that is not their own.

Gözaydın (2000)'s study investigates the store naming practice in a big shopping mall called Karum (meaning water front or harbor in the Assyrian language) in Ankara, the Turkish capital. Gözaydın's 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). Gözaydın notes that the reason for the high number of foreign names in that particular shopping mall is not due to 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) investigates using English in the business naming in the tourism industry. This is an interesting approach 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. Aydoğan's 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 balance of the language contact is getting worse since this creates a disadvantage for the Turkish language.

Demircan (2001), in his study, argues that due to the post-modern structure in 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 their dissemination will be achieved through linguistic means, Turkish has also become a market. 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 merchandise carrying English brand names are regarded as more impressive 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 (2011), in his work on business naming and English in the Turkish context, investigates the spread of English in the Turkish business discourse, namely business names and shop window displays. Selvi is mainly interested in the linguistic characteristics of business naming using non-Turkish elements. He argues that it is possible to group the practice of shop-naming in Turkey into three major linguistic categories (Selvi, 2011, p. 190-191). These three categories could be classified as:

- (i) Foreign signs: Businesses that employ words that are not Turkish. This category could be categorized into other as:
 - a. Non-English signs: Businesses using words for shop names that are not English. Some examples would be *Café des Café* (a café), *Pittoresque* (a jewel store) and *Ares* (a hair stylist).
 - b. English signs: Businesses that have only English words in their shop names. *One Way Car Wash* (a car wash), *Datasoft* (info technologies), *Blue Way* (a shoe store), and *Free Style* (an apparel store) are such examples.
- (ii). Hybrid signs: Businesses that use both Turkish and non-Turkish words together. Some examples are *Happy Hamile* (meaning 'Happy Pregnant', a shop for pregnant women), *Ankara Home Center* (a department store) and *Cep Land* (meaning 'Pocket Land', a mobile phone seller).
- (iii). Turkish signs that are Englishized: These are businesses that employ artificially crafted signs that make use of the orthography of English to reflect the sounds of Turkish. 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 are the furniture store *Chilek* (representation of Turkish 'ç' by way of the English 'ch', 'çilek' that means strawberry in Turkish). Another example would be the women's clothing store *Dishy* (representation of Turkish letter 'ş' by the English 'sh', and of Turkish 'ı' by English 'y', 'dişiy' that means female).

Selvi notes that even though the shop signs in the last category are less dominant in business naming, their existence should be taken as a deep infiltration of English into the Turkish business discourse. He also notes that the inescapable spreading of English in the social life in Turkey has caused a huge public debate with regards to the current status of the Turkish language in the country. It is also not surprising that

the business naming phenomenon is in the center of these lively discussions. In other words, the foreignization of Turkish shop names is regarded as 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 the naming of businesses is widespread in Turkey. It was shown that the process 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 employ foreignization and Englishization in shop naming. Using English in Turkish business is still an ongoing process and surfaces in various new and creative ways. In the next section, I will introduce a novel form of foreignization and Englishization in the business naming practices in the country.

3. Foreignization and Englishization: A New Hybrid Form

As noted above, there seems to be a growing tendency among Turkish business owners in recent years to use what is referred to as foreign or Englishized Turkish signs in the practice of business naming in Turkey. This new strategy manifests itself in various ways mostly because businesses often seek new ways to stand out among their competitors and draw more attention to their places in an attempt to look different and attract more customers. That is why new creative forms are discovered frequently and sometimes are used along with the existing ones. Among these, there is a particular one that is somewhat different from those described in the previous section. Specifically, the new practice is used for the purpose making the store name look less Turkish and more foreign or English-like. Basically, it applies to original or naturalized Turkish words and adds an extra consonant in the middle of the word. This new word sometimes co-occurs with an English word in an attempt to make it look even more foreign. The use of a similar form was first reported in Üstünova et al. (2010, p. 1396) and was described as one of those attempts to change the shape of both original Turkish words and borrowed words by “tempering with” letters. Üstünova and colleagues’ 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 and colleagues take this as an attempt to change the shape of Turkish words by making various modifications. However, as I will show in the next section, this practice seems to have more significant linguistic repercussions and has become one of the most common ways of creating business names in the country.

Note that the data collection process for this study started as a mere observation. However, following Dimova (2008), several online yellow pages containing substantial lists of different types of businesses in Turkey were used in order to have a more thorough research and a more systematic and careful data collection process. Table 1 below illustrates the preliminary data.

Table 1: Consonant duplication & Englishization in Turkish business naming

	Turkish word	Business name	Business type	Location
1	Kasap (butcher)	Kassap	Butcher's	İstanbul
2	Makas (scissors)	Makkas	Hair stylist	İstanbul
3	Oda (room)	Odda	Hotel	İstanbul
4	Elmas (diamond)	Ellmas	Tailor's	İstanbul
5	Meze (appetizer)	Chef Mezze	Restaurant	İstanbul
6	Pabuç (shoe)	Pabbuç	Shoe shop	İstanbul
7	Dürüm (wrap)	Ye Dürrüm	Restaurant	İstanbul
8	Askı (hanger)	Asskı	Clothing store	İstanbul
9	Hamam (Turkish bath)	Hammam	Restaurant	İstanbul
10	Şeker (sugar)	Şekker Home	Fabric store	İstanbul
11	Bebek (baby)	My Bebbek	Kids store	İstanbul
12	Tava (pan)	Tavva	Restaurant	İstanbul
13	Aşk (love)	Aşşk Kahve	Coffee shop	İstanbul
14	Karga (crow)	Karrga	Advertising agency	İstanbul
15	Durak (bus stop)	Durrak	Coffee shop	İstanbul

16	Pastacı (Cake maker)	Passtacı	Coffee shop	İstanbul
17	Misket (marble)	Missket	Restaurant	İstanbul
18	Simit (bagel)	Simmit	Pastry shop	Ankara
19	Kebap (kebab)	Kebbab	Restaurant	Ankara
20	Elma (apple)	Ellma	Advertising agency	Ankara
21	Tabak (plate)	Tabbak	Restaurant	Ankara
22	Kahve (coffee)	Çakıl Kahhve	Coffee shop	İzmir
23	Köfte (meatball)	Köffte'CM	Restaurant	İzmir
24	Bahçe (garden)	Bahhçe	Wedding Hall	İzmir
25	Börek (pastry)	My Börrek	Pastry shop	İzmir
26	Gece (night)	Gecce	Women's clothes seller	Bursa
27	Moda (fashion)	Modda	Furniture store	Bursa
28	Lokma (morsel)	Lokkma	Restaurant	Antalya
29	Pide (Flat bread)	Pidde	Restaurant	Konya
30	Keyif (joy)	Keyyif	Coffee shop	Çanakkale
31	Biber (pepper)	The Bibber	Restaurant	Sakarya
32	Fırın (oven)	Pazar Fırrın	Patisserie	Manisa
33	Sofra (table)	Keyf-i Soffra	Restaurant	Muğla
34	Mutfak (kitchen)	Muttfak	Restaurant	Bilecik
35	Bukle (lock)	Bukkle	Online jewelry store	N/A
36	Defter (notebook)	Deffter	Online notebook store	N/A
37	Saksı (pot)	Sakksı	Online planting store	N/A
38	Kitap (book)	E-Kittap	Online bookstore	N/A
39	Hizmet (service)	Hizzmet	Online service provider	N/A
40	Sepet (basket)	Seppet	Online shopping center	N/A
41	Zincir (chain)	Zinncir	Online employment website	N/A

As noted above, this new strategy takes a Turkish word and has the effect of duplication the consonant sound in the middle of it. Moreover, the newly created word is sometimes accompanied by an English word preceding or following it. In that sense, it could be construed as a hybrid strategy and a subtle way to make the new word look less Turkish and more like a foreign or English word. Table 1 illustrates a sample of the forty-one business names that adopted the strategy. More specifically, the first column shows the original Turkish word along with its meaning in English. The second column, on the other hand, illustrates business names with consonant duplication and Englishization applied to the word. The third and fourth columns show the type of the businesses and their geographical location respectively. However, it should be noted that since this is still an ongoing research, the data presented in Table 1 is by no means an exhaustive list containing every business in Turkey that adopted the strategy in business naming. Nevertheless, it is a

representative data illustrating the phenomenon in the country. In the next subsection, I will have a closer look at the specifics of the data and analyze it in some detail.

3.1. Analysis of the Data

First of all, the data illustrates the fact that businesses related to food and gastronomy outnumber other types of businesses. This category contains restaurants (13 stores), coffee shops (5 stores), patisserie/pastry shops (3 stores) and a butcher shop (1 store). However, a closer look at the data will also reveal the fact that different types of businesses in various industries have adopted the strategy. Among others, one could name businesses as diverse as clothing stores (2 shops), 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 seven websites doing various kinds of businesses. This clearly indicates that the use of consonant duplication and Englishization is not something that is employed by only certain business types.

Another important fact that can be observed by looking at the data is that the majority of the businesses that adopted the strategy is located in metropolitan Turkish cities such as İstanbul, Ankara, İzmir and Bursa. However, it also shows that using the 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 currently constitutes the minority. Therefore, 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 too.

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. It should be noted that Turkish is a strictly CV(C) language. It is clear from the data that consonant duplication applies primarily to two-syllable words as the data above include only one instance of consonant duplication 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 is a closed syllable (a syllable that ends in a consonant), it is always the consonant of that syllable that undergoes consonant duplication. In other words, the consonant of the second syllable never goes through the process. Consider the data in (2) below.

- (2) a. bah-çe → bahh-çe
 b. köf-te → köff-te
 c. sak-sı → sakk-sı

The examples in (2) illustrate the process of consonant duplication in the first syllable of the word. It should also be noted that since there are now two consonants in the coda position of the first syllable, the way the word is articulated has undergone some change as well. More specifically, Turkish, unlike English, distinguishes between short and long consonants. This means that if there are two adjacent consonants in a word, both of them need to be articulated. Thus the outcome of consonant duplication is two adjacent consonants in the middle of the word. The word needs to be pronounced differently as the coda position of the first syllable contains two consonants and it would take longer to articulate both.

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 → tab-bak
 b. ki-tap → kit-tap
 c. dü-rüm → dür-rüm

This process seems to be even more interesting 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 of the word, as shown in (4).

- (4) a. ta-bak [t^habak] → tab-bak [t^habbak]
 b. ki-tap [k^hitap] → kit-tap [k^hittap]
 c. dü-rüm [dyrym] → dür-rüm [dyrrym]

The examples in (4a) and (4b) show that geminate consonants in Turkish derived by consonant duplication 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 consonant duplication process, there is sometimes a process of Englishization where the newly created word is accompanied by an English lexical item. The data include a number of examples such as 'Şekker Home', 'My Bebbek', 'Chef Mezze' and 'The Bibber'. The presence of such examples clearly indicates the Englishization process in the Turkish business context.

In summary, just like the use of multiple languages in shop-naming practices in some countries such as Switzerland, there are multiple ways of shop-naming practices in countries like Turkey. It was demonstrated that there is a new and creative way of business naming that is being employed by businesses in recent years. The new practice is called consonant duplication, which is basically a process that targets single consonants in the middle of word and creates another consonant adjacent to them. The new word sometimes appear with an English word, thus making the process a hybrid one. The output then is a business sign that looks less Turkish and more foreign or English. It was also noted that the process has some important phonological repercussions in the sense that it derives a closed syllable out of an open one. Also, the pronunciation of the word changes because of the presence of two adjacent consonants in the middle of the word. Further research will reveal whether such processes as consonant duplication will have a long-term impact on the phonology of Turkish in general.

4. Conclusion

I demonstrated in this work that foreignization and Englishization in the business naming process is still ongoing and manifests itself in various new and creative forms in Turkey. The term coined to identify this new procedure is consonant duplication 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 that 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.

The practice of consonant duplication 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 itself influence Turkish. An area of inquiry to pursue further would be to investigate the consonant duplication strategy in other environments such as at the beginning or at end of the word. Such practices already exist and a representative example would be 'çuvall', a clothing store in İstanbul, which derived from the word 'çuval' (sack). It seems reasonable, if not necessary, to see if this practice is 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 practices of naming. Lastly, the question of whether consonant duplication would have a broader effect on Turkish remains to be investigated. Further research will shed more light on these issues.

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