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THE ENGLISH INFLUENCE IN SHOP  
NAMES IN CURITIBA

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## Equivocal Concepts

There are some concepts in the theoretical part of this dissertation which must be recognized as equivocally interpreted:

1. concerning "the borrowing process";
2. concerning "the semantic of proper names."

Considering the borrowing process, as it is stated in this dissertation, a foreign item must be adopted by a number of speakers and this is not the case concerning shop names since they are presented in their written form and do not become part of the vocabulary of people. Such names may be ephemeral, for if the shop closes, its name will disappear.

It is possible to mention here the occurrence of borrowing in the case of "jeans", since this word is part of the vocabulary of most people when they want to refer to clothes made of jean, and it is shown on shop signboards. It has substituted the Portuguese term "brim"; but this kind of substitution will probably never occur in regard to other shop names.

Concerning the chapter about "Naming" (p.62) it must be stated here that one of the purposes of this research has been to get from the interviewed persons the equivalent, in the Portuguese language, to the English items used as shop names. In this way, the theories presented in the chapter about "Naming", following ULLMANN<sup>19</sup> and LYONS<sup>13</sup>, have been equivocally taken in this dissertation.

## ABSTRACT

The present research investigates the frequency of English items in shop names in Curitiba in two specific areas:  
a) Class A area, frequented by the middle/upper social class, and  
b) Class B area, frequented by the middle/lower social class.

With the interview of the shop owners, it was possible to investigate what people mean with the name - if anything, the reason for the choice of the name, if they were for or against the foreign influence and why. With these data it has become clear that in the majority of the cases the shop owners would have no reason to borrow such items since their equivalents in Portuguese exist, but they do borrow in order to attract customers to their shops. For this reason the creation of the new category "Attraction Loan" has been necessary in order to include the occurrences found, since the majority of the shop names did not fit in the types of borrowings described so far. This Attraction Loan denotes the desire of attracting customers, in the case of shop names, and also the positive attitude of people toward English borrowings/language/culture.

## RESUMO

Esta pesquisa pretendeu investigar a frequência do uso de itens da língua inglesa nos nomes de lojas em Curitiba, em duas áreas específicas:

- a) Área Classe A - frequentada pela classe social média/alta;
- b) Área Classe B - frequentada pela classe social média/baixa.

Entrevistando os donos das lojas foi possível investigar: o que as pessoas querem dizer com os nomes, a razão para a escolha do nome, se elas eram a favor ou contra a influência estrangeira e por quê? Com estes dados ficou claro que na maioria dos casos os donos das lojas não teriam razão para o empréstimo de tais itens, uma vez que seus equivalentes em Português existem, mas eles emprestam a fim de atrair clientela às suas lojas. Por esta razão, fez-se necessária a criação de uma nova categoria: "Attraction Loan" (Empréstimo por Atração), para incluir as ocorrências encontradas, já que a maioria dos nomes de lojas não se enquadrava nos tipos de empréstimos descritos até então.

Este "Attraction Loan" denota não só o desejo de atrair clientes para as lojas, mas também a atitude positiva das pessoas com relação aos empréstimos, língua e cultura inglesa.

## INTRODUCTION

The most generally accepted explanation for the borrowing of words from one language into another may be related to progress. A universal cause for lexical innovation is the necessity to designate new things, persons, places and concepts. JESPERSEN<sup>9</sup> (p.27) states that: "No language is entirely pure, we meet with no nation that has not adopted some loan-words." HOCKETT<sup>8</sup> (p.402) states that: "Whenever two idiolects come into contact, one or both may be modified." When two nations have been in contact, the number and the type of loan-words will show us which of them has been the more fertile in ideas and in what activities one has been superior to the other.

Generally speaking, loan words are nearly always technical words belonging to one special branch of knowledge or industry. These words enter the language to "fill a gap".

"Prestige" is also related to borrowing: people import items to imitate those whom they admire or want to be identified with, and still, with this kind of reason for borrowing, the conformity with the majority plays an important part.

"Fashion" is another phenomenon linked with borrowings. People venerate everything that sounds modern.

In this research, my intention is to investigate the frequency of English items in shop names in two specific areas in Curitiba: Class A area, which is the one frequented by the middle/upper social class, and Class B area, frequented by the middle/lower social class; testing the hypothesis that the occurrence will be more significant in the areas frequented by the middle/upper social class. For this, streets, shopping centres and squares from both areas have been selected and the names of all existing shops (not only with English influence) have been written down in order to establish the frequency of occurrence according to the area. After this, a sample of English shop names has been taken in order to analyse what the shop owners

mean with the name, the general attitude of people concerning foreign names and the motivation for the adoption of items from the English language. With these data, as it will be noticed in the subsequent chapters, the creation of a new category has been necessary, in order to classify the types of borrowing concerning shop names, since the majority of them have been adopted to attract customers, and they do not go with the universal cause for lexical importation — that of gap-filling. Thus giving rise to a new type which has been called "Attraction Loan".

## METHODOLOGY

### Purpose of Research

The purpose of this research is to investigate:

- the frequency of English items in shop names in two specific shopping areas in Curitiba:

(1) the shopping area frequented by the middle/upper social class, which in this paper will be called Class A area;

(2) the shopping area frequented by the middle/lower social class, which in this paper will be called Class B area;

testing the hypothesis that the occurrence will be more significant in the areas frequented by the middle/upper social class than in the ones frequented by the middle/lower social class;

- what the persons mean with the name; testing the hypothesis that the owners will know the meaning of the name, i.e. they will give the equivalent to the English item in the Portuguese language;

- the motivation for the choice of such names; testing the hypothesis that English items have been adopted to make the business different from those which sell the same merchandise but have a Brazilian name, thus calling more attention and attracting more customers from the upper class;

- whether the interviewed persons are for or against the use of foreign names, or names with foreign influence; testing the hypothesis that they will be favourable, since they are adopting English items, and this will show their positive attitude concerning the English language.

The findings will be correlated with the general theories of linguistic borrowings and with the underlying theories in regard to social stratification.

## Research Method

The first step was to select specific shopping areas in Curitiba. These areas have been classified as Class A or Class B, according to the facilities that can be found in them, that is, in the streets, squares and shopping centres considered as Class A areas, one can find high fashion/prestige shops in which more expensive articles are sold. As a result of this, they are frequented by the middle/upper social class. They differ from the ones classified as Class B areas since these are placed near the main bus services used by people who live in the most distant suburbs of the city, inhabited mainly by the lower social class. Consequently, such people frequent these areas every day as they depend on the buses to go to work and to go back home. The type of shops in Class B areas is different from the type classified as Class A. The goods cannot be so expensive, otherwise people will not be able to buy them. So, in Class B areas one can find a greater number of low-range shops in prestige.

The same number of streets/squares has been selected for each Class:- eight considered as Class A and eight considered as Class B. Also, an attempt has been made in order to have approximately the same total number of existing shops in each Class.

The streets, squares and shopping centres considered as belonging to Class A areas have been the following:

Shopping Center Mueller, Shopping Center Novo Batel, Avenida Batel, Shopping Hauer, Rua Comendador Araújo, Travessa Jesuíno Marcondes, Rua Senador Alencar Guimarães, Rua Voluntários da Pátria (between Praça Osório and Rua Emiliano Perneta).

The streets and squares considered as belonging to Class B areas have been the following:

Praça Rui Barbosa, Rua Pedro Ivo, Rua Westphalen, Praça Tiradentes, Travessa Tobias de Macedo, Rua José Loureiro, Rua Saldanha Maranhão, Rua Voluntários da Pátria (between Rua Emiliano Perneta and Praça Rui Barbosa).

It must be clarified that this work is restricted to downtown Curitiba, therefore, the other existing shopping districts will not be considered.

The data have been collected by means of writing down the names of all shops and public establishments existing in the selected areas. After, the rate has been calculated, in order to obtain the proportion of occurrence of the English shop names in such areas. The next step was going to twenty shops from each Class, A and B, to interview the shop owners or managers in order to find out what the owners mean with the name, their motivation for the choice and their attitude towards the use of such names.

The questions have been the following:

1. What do you mean with the name?

With this question we tried to find out what the owners wanted to transmit with the name, and also if they knew what the items meant. The hypothesis here was that the owners would know the meaning of the words, i.e. they would give the equivalent to the English item in the Portuguese language.

2. What was the reason for the choice of this name?

This question has been asked in order to investigate the motivation for the use of English items, on the hypothesis that English items have been adopted to make the business different from those which sell the same merchandise but have a Brazilian name, thus calling more attention and attracting more customers from the upper classes.

3. Are you for or against the use of foreign items/or names with foreign influence? Why?

This question showed how people feel and what they think about the use of foreign items or the foreign influence in the shop names, based on the hypothesis that they would be favourable, since they are

adopting English items, and this would show their positive attitude concerning the English language.

Besides the interview, the following aspects have been considered in order to classify the shops:

A. The price policies of the shops

- A.1. the emphasis given on prices, if any and how the prices are shown (in small or large figures);
- A.2. special offers, showing the previous price which is always much higher.
- A.3. the prices themselves have also been considered, for this, a most common item sold in the majority of the shops where the interview has been carried out had to be chosen in order to compare the prices: jeans trousers, which are bought by people from both Classes, A and B.

These aspects have been considered based on the following hypotheses:

- the emphasis on prices would be different, i.e. Class A shops either would not show the prices or, if they did, the figures would be small; whereas in Class B shops, the prices would be given in large figures.
- the special offers would be found in Class B shops, but not in Class A.
- the jeans trousers would be more expensive in Class A shops than in Class B ones.

B. The amount of goods displayed has also been taken into consideration on the hypothesis that Class A shops would have the least amount of goods displayed, whereas the Class B ones would have the maximum.

### Previous Research

In this dissertation, the theoretical part considering linguistic borrowing was based on HAUGEN'S The Ecology of Language, mainly the article "The Analysis of Linguistic Borrowing", first published in 1950 in Lingua; WEINREICH'S Languages in Contact which shows mechanisms and structural causes of all kinds of interference and language contacts; HOCKETT'S A Course in Modern Linguistics, mainly the part which deals with the Motivation for Borrowing; JESPERSEN'S theory of loan-words in his book Language, its Nature, Development and Origin.

Regarding social stratification, the theoretical part was based mainly on LABOV'S Sociolinguistic Patterns with the article "The Social Stratification of (r) in New York City Department Stores"; HIGA'S article "Sociolinguistic Aspects of Word-Borrowing" in the book edited by MACKEY & ORNSTEIN Sociolinguistic Studies in Language Contact. HIGA'S article shows that word-borrowing is regulated by certain linguistic, psycholinguistic and sociolinguistic principles; TRIANDIS'S Attitude and Attitude Change, which discusses why we have attitudes, what determines them and what changes attitudes. It also examines some of the consequences of attitudes.

With reference to "Naming", the theoretical part was based mainly on ULLMANN'S Semantics, in which he states that "The function of a proper name is to identify and not signify"; and also on LYONS'S Semantics.

Generally speaking, other sources of information have been found in the works of BAUGH, BOLINGER, KULCZYNSKYJ, MARCKWARDT, MENCKEN, PAUL, PYLES.

## Clarification of Concepts

The term "borrowing" according to HAUGEN<sup>6</sup> (p.83), is related to the process of borrowing and he states that most of the terms used in discussing it describe its results rather than the process itself, so that, the terms "loanwords", "loanblends", "loan translation", "are merely tags which various writers have applied to the observed results of borrowing." He also points out that the term "borrowing" has remained unambiguous in linguistic discussion, and that no apter term has been invented so far. (p.81).

Concerning the terms loan words and borrowed words, some authors use them as synonyms. JESPERSEN<sup>10</sup> (p.208) states the following:

"I use the terms loan-words and borrowed words because they are convenient and firmly established, not because they are exact. There are two essential respects in which linguistic borrowing differs from the borrowing of, say, a knife or money; the lender does not deprive himself of the use of the word any more than if it had not been borrowed by the other party, and the borrower is under no obligation to return the word at any future time. Linguistic "borrowing" is really nothing but imitation...."

Another term to designate the borrowing process could be "adoption", since the speaker does in fact adopt items from another language into his own (HAUGEN<sup>6</sup>, p.81).

As the advantage of the term "borrowing" has been pointed out by HAUGEN, it will be used in this dissertation, and also the terms loan words and borrowed words, following JESPERSEN.

In the following chapter, we are going to define "Linguistic Borrowing" in general.

## A Definition of Linguistic Borrowing in General

There are three points to be taken into consideration for the definition of borrowing, according to HAUGEN<sup>6</sup> (p.81):-

- (1) It must be assumed as axiomatic that every speaker attempts to reproduce previously learned linguistic patterns in an effort to cope with new linguistic situations.
- (2) Among the new patterns which he may learn are those of a language different from his own, and these too he may attempt to reproduce.
- (3) If he reproduces the new linguistic patterns, not in the context of the language in which he learned them, but in the context of another, he may be said to have "borrowed" them from one language into another."

The heart of the definition of borrowing is then "the attempted reproduction in one language of patterns previously found in another" (HAUGEN<sup>6</sup> (p.81)).

By "reproduction" it is not meant that a mechanical imitation has occurred, on the contrary, the nature of the reproduction may be widely different from the original.

Regarding this definition, it does not matter why the speaker does it, nor whether he is conscious of what he is doing, for it will be rarely possible, if ever, for us to catch a speaker making an original borrowing, but we can be sure that every borrowed item which is current now, must at some time have appeared as an innovation. In Brazilian Portuguese, there are many words which have been borrowed from the English language and which are already recognized as belonging to the Portuguese language, such as: futebol, lanche, sanduíche, repórter, líder, etc.

In the next chapter we shall deal with the Process of Borrowing.

## The Process of Borrowing

According to HIGA<sup>7</sup> (p.278) 'In general, no word-borrowing takes place unless two cultures and their languages come in contact with each other somehow.' When two languages come into contact, one or both may be modified, HIGA<sup>7</sup> (p.278) states that:

"Mutual borrowing or non-borrowing takes place when two cultures in contact are equally dominant or not dominant, or when their dominance-subordination relationship is not clearly established. ...If one is more dominant or advanced than the other, the directionality of culture learning and subsequent word-borrowing is not mutual but from the dominant to the subordinate."

When a nation produces something that its neighbours want to imitate, they will take over the object as well as the name.

BOLINGER<sup>3</sup> (p.91) says the following:

"Loan words from a foreign language usually ride in on a wave of cultural diffusion. The wave may be an inpouring of commercial goods with their inventories, assembling instructions, and service manuals packed with terms that have no equivalents in the native language but must be adopted if the goods are to be put to use. Or it may be a new religion or philosophical system employing concepts difficult to translate and accordingly taken over wholesale."

The cultural dominance, according to HIGA<sup>7</sup> (p.280), "is highly correlated with economic and military dominance;" and it "is often defined in terms of achievements in arts, sciences and technology." Taking these into consideration it is possible to determine the dominance-subordination relationship between two cultures that come in contact with each other. Concerning dominant and subordinate cultures, HIGA<sup>7</sup> (p.280) states that:

"Very roughly speaking, in modern times British, French, German, American, and Russian cultures have been dominant and the other cultures of the world have been subordinate to these dominant ones either directly or indirectly."

And the same author (p.281) goes on saying that:

"In terms of word-borrowing, English, French, German and Russian have been dominant languages and the other languages have been borrowing words from these."

Through the linguistic borrowing, it is possible to detect the relative dominance of a culture and language in a given subordinate culture.

If other people do not imitate the ones who have borrowed, the new word is not likely to attain great currency and probably disappears. Borrowing may occur in direct contact (face-to-face communication) or in an indirect contact (as reading).

HAUGEN<sup>6</sup> (p.82) claims that "the loan may be more or less similar" to the model, varying from a satisfactory to an unrecognizable imitation to a native speaker.

If the loan is — to a native speaker — clearly different from the model, it is a case of partial learning as a consequence of the interference of other factors. According to HAUGEN<sup>6</sup> (p.82), if we assume "that these factors are the previously established patterns of the speaker's language," two distinct kinds of reproduction may be separated:

1. If the loan is similar enough to the model so that a native speaker would accept it as his own, the borrowing speaker may be said to have IMPORTED the model into his language, provided it is an innovation in that language.
2. If the borrowing speaker has reproduced the model inadequately, he has normally SUBSTITUTED a similar pattern from his own language."

HAUGEN<sup>6</sup> (p.82) states that:

"This distinction between IMPORTATION and SUBSTITUTION applies not only to a given loan as a whole but to its constituent patterns as well, since different parts of the pattern may be treated differently. ...If the loan contains patterns that are not innovations in the borrowing language, it becomes impossible to distinguish the two kinds of reproduction."

When the patterns of the model are innovations in the borrowing language, some kind of adjustment of habits occurs: the speaker chooses one of his own patterns to stand for a similar one in the model. HAUGEN<sup>6</sup> (p.83) states that "A study of the results of this normally unconscious procedure indicates that while there are many apparently capricious choices, the overall pattern is not unreasonable."

HOCKETT<sup>8</sup> (p.402) calls the feature which is imitated the model; the language in which the model occurs, or the speaker of that language, he calls the donor; the language which acquires something new in the process is the borrowing language. HAUGEN<sup>6</sup> (p.82) also calls the original pattern the model.

It must be stated here that the languages which are in contact are simultaneously Borrowing and Donor languages.

In this work I shall follow HOCKETT and refer to the source language as the donor language, which in the present case is English (without any distinction between American and British English) and the language which acquires something new as the borrowing language which in this dissertation is the Portuguese language of Brazil.

Concluding, for the borrowing process to occur, some kind of contact must be assumed, and the new item must be adopted by a number of individuals. Here, a number of bilinguals must be considered, and this is the subject of the following chapter.

## Linguistic Borrowing and Bilingualism

Some authors put together the idea of linguistic borrowings and bilingualism. BOLINGER<sup>3</sup> (p.91) says that:

"The deepest penetration of linguistic borrowings occurs when two languages coexist on an almost equal footing, in such intimate contact that large numbers of speakers on both sides find it convenient to become bilingual."

HAUGEN<sup>6</sup> (p.79) quotes from Hermann PAUL, when he points out that "all borrowing by one language from another is predicated on some minimum of bilingual mastery of the two languages." For borrowing in large scale, a considerable group of bilinguals has to be assumed. For this reason, an analysis of the behavior of bilingual speakers is necessary for the analysis of borrowing.

HAUGEN<sup>6</sup> (p.66) states that "A bilingual comes into being because he is subject to linguistic pressure from speakers of two languages rather than one;" and he explains the linguistic pressure as a type of social pressure operating to produce linguistic conformity. Such pressure involves not only mere understanding, but also a requirement of identity and identification; and it may be of an economic, political and social nature exerted on minority language groups, or may result from "an overwhelming international importance of the foreign language, as transmitted by the schools, the radio, the films, the newspapers, and commercial channels." The influence of the bilingual group, which is a minority, "will extend only as far as national pride and tradition permit (HAUGEN p.66). The mutual influences on the languages are in general proportionate to the degree of linguistic pressure.

"Necessity is the Mother of Bilingualism" (HAUGEN p.309)

One reason for learning a second language is that the first is not enough for the speaker's communicative needs.

According to HAUGEN<sup>6</sup> (p.310), the majority of the learning situations can be put into one of three typical kinds: supplemen-

tary, complementary, and replacive.

(a) Supplementary: One learns the second language as a supplement to the first one, for certain occasional needs. For ex.: one may travel to a foreign country, or may want to read a foreign writer. These are individual and sporadic needs.

(b) Complementary: The function of the second language is a complementary one. For ex.: a speaker who learns another language for his/her religious activities or place of business.

(c) Replacive: the second language gradually satisfies the speaker's communicative needs so that he neither uses his first language nor passes it on to his descendants. This occurs in many immigrant and subject populations; in a fully bilingual group one of the languages is superfluous.

HAUGEN<sup>6</sup> (p.311) states that:

"Any given social situation can have elements of all three, and a community may have individuals who are in various situations. The three situations may even follow one another chronologically by the gradual change of the generations."

As a result of the familiarity of the bilingual with more than one language, he can adopt terms from one language — the Donor, to enrich or to fill a gap in the other — the Borrowing language, or even to acquire a certain position in a group. This will vary according to the status occupied by the language from which he is adopting terms in the specific group. If the group also adopts the term and passes it on, the word will probably become a linguistic borrowing.

The conditions for borrowing will be presented in the next chapter.

### The Conditions for Borrowing

One cannot guarantee that one language will borrow from another by their mere contact. According to HOCKETT<sup>8</sup> (p.404), two conditions must be met for a borrowing to occur:

- "1. The speaker of A must understand, or think he understands, the particular utterance in idiolect B which contains the model.
2. The speaker of A must have some motive, overt or covert, for the borrowing."

HOCKETT states that with the first condition, as some misunderstanding can occur, our reference must be to apparent rather than genuine understanding.

The second condition is more difficult because it has to do with the psychology of borrowers, and for this reason we may miss some important motives. But, according to HOCKETT<sup>8</sup> (p.404), there are two motives which we can discern: prestige and need-filling. He also mentions (p. 396) the fashion phenomenon, but this is closely related to the prestige motive.

It must be stated that the second condition is the case when we consider the borrowing of English items as shop names, and the motives for borrowing are treated in the following chapter.

## MOTIVATION FOR BORROWING

### a) The Need-Filling Motive

A universal reason for borrowing is to fill a gap in the borrowing language. New experiences, new objects and practices bring new words into a language. MARCKWARDT<sup>14</sup> (p.21) states the following:

"One great impetus toward word borrowing arises from the necessity of talking about new things, qualities, operations, concepts, and ideas. Inevitably the movement of a people to a markedly different environment not only creates a problem of communication but makes it urgent."

HOCKETT<sup>8</sup> (p.405) states that:

"It does not matter whether the new objects and practices come to the community, by way of what anthropologists call diffusion, or the community goes to the new objects and practices, by way of migration; the result is the same."

Words such as "tea, coffee, tobacco, sugar, cocoa, tomato, chocolate ; have spread all over the world along with the objects to which the words refer."

The same author states that "Natural and artificial topographical features, and place-names are often passed down from the earlier inhabitants of a region to later arrivals." And he goes on saying that names such as Michigan, Wisconsin, Chicago, Illinois, Mississippi, and many others, "were names of lakes, rivers, and Indian settlements before they became by transfer the names of cities and states." In Brazil names such as: Paraná, Curitiba, Iguaçu, etc., occur as a result of a similar situation. Such names have been adopted simply because they were just available, thus saving people the effort of creating others.

A typical "need-filling" situation is that when a pidgin language develops. This development takes place as a result of the need for communication between groups without a common language, and a pidgin speaker has no L<sub>1</sub> (L=Language) community of

users, he is an  $L_2$  user, and this leads for the borrowing of words as well as grammatical features.

PAUL<sup>16</sup> (p.412) states that the borrowing of foreign words surpasses the necessity domain when the foreign language and culture are considered to be better than one's own, therefore the use of words and expressions from this language is regarded as being especially elegant or delicate.

Another reason for borrowing is "Prestige".

#### b) The Prestige Motive

When a person belongs to a country or culture regarded as superior and/or as having prestige for any reason, people from other countries or cultures will imitate him in speech pattern, as well as in other respects. Foreign expressions are introduced into the speech of immigrants partly because the foreign language is the important one of the country. Popular singers are also imitated in one way or another. HIGA<sup>7</sup> (p.284) states that:

"People who want to exhibit their familiarity with foreign cultures, especially so-called prestigious cultures, tend to use foreign words as proud evidence of such familiarity."

According to HOCKETT<sup>8</sup> (p.404) "sometimes the imitator does not necessarily admire those whom he imitates, but wishes to be identified with them and thus be treated as they are." The same author (p. 404) states that one negative variety of prestige is "conformity with the majority", and this occurs more under some social conditions than others. HOCKETT<sup>8</sup>(p.404) says:

"A child moved at an early school age from one part of the United States to another changes his style of English in the direction of that of his new age-mates ... because it is discomforting to be in the minority."

According to HOCKETT<sup>8</sup> (p.405)

"The prestige motive is constantly operative in dialect borrowing; it becomes important in language borrowing only under special conditions."

When we can find speakers of two different languages in the same region, usually one of them is the language spoken by those in power, this, according to HOCKETT<sup>8</sup> (p.404) is the upper or dominant language, and the other is the lower. This has most often occurred as a result of invasion and conquest, "more rarely by peaceful migration." HOCKETT<sup>8</sup> (p. 404) says:

"In the long run, one or the other language may disappear, but . . . . in the meantime, the prestige factor leads to extensive borrowing from the dominant language into the lower."

Borrowing from the lower into the dominant language is more limited to the need-filling motive.

BOLINGER<sup>3</sup> (p.90) says that:

"Languages are contagious. No two can come in contact without a swift interchange between them, though the direction of the traffic is controlled to some extent by rules of prestige. The speaker of a language regarded for any reason as socially or culturally superior does not feel under any compulsion to learn a contact language regarded as inferior, though he may condescend to pick up an occasional word that saves him the trouble of inventing one himself. That is often the fate of contact languages that have been brought low by conquest."

In the case of the Portuguese language of Brazil, it has been borrowing items from the English language because it is regarded as superior and the shop owners have adopted English names for their shops in order to attract customers who in turn, consider these shops better or more elegant. This has to do with "Fashion", which is the next subject.

### c) The Fashion Phenomenon

Another point to be taken into account, in the motivation for borrowing, is the phenomenon of fashion, since it is in connection with borrowing. HOCKETT<sup>8</sup> (p.396) states that:

"In the nineteenth century, a fashion of strong resistance to borrowed words developed in Germany, at least in educated and official

circles; the consequence was not the cessation of borrowing but an increase of borrowing of one kind rather than others. At the opposite extreme, English and the Romance languages have long had the fashion of borrowing learned words from Latin and Greek; similarly Japanese and Korean from Chinese, Persian from Arabic, and Turkish from Arabic and Persian."

The same author goes on saying that it is necessary to consider the changes of fashion but little is known about this.

"Many non-linguistic factors must play a part — the social standing of the innovator, the general conservatism or progressivism of the community in its attitude towards speech, and so on."  
(HOCKETT, p.396)

It can be stated that if a country imitates what is in fashion in another, that is because the one which is being imitated attracts its imitator by any reason, generally because it is regarded as superior in some respects — thus the idea of fashion phenomenon can be put together with the Prestige motive.

Taking the changes of fashion into consideration, the things which are imitated will survive only as long as those specific things are up-to-date, that is, their lives in the foreign nation are temporary. People are always innovating their products in order to make customers buy again, so the things in fashion are valued for a short period of time.

Another example of the "short-life" concerning fashion is "slang, which becomes part of the speech of a people, or groups of people of a specific age and generally disappears after some time.

Considering the imitation of fashion, the items imitated will probably be substituted by new ones from the same foreign country, regarded as having prestige, and the imitator may adopt the items as well as their names, giving rise to different types of loans, which will be treated next.

## TYPES OF LOANS

When a foreign element is introduced into a language, it undergoes many changes, "usually in the direction of simplification and shortening", as stated by MARCKWARDT<sup>14</sup> (p.27). In its pronunciation, changes may happen due to the existence of sounds which do not occur in the mother tongue; in its orthography, consonants or vowels may be eliminated or inserted according to the borrowed word, for, according to MARCKWARDT<sup>14</sup> (p.27) "most languages tend to remake or re-form borrowed words in terms of their own general structure."

According to MARCKWARDT<sup>14</sup> (p.29):

"Loan words not only alter their meaning in the course of the borrowing process, but they are equally subject to change after they have become a naturalized part of the borrowing language."

The process of word borrowing cannot be considered simply as an addition to the vocabulary because, according to MARCKWARDT<sup>14</sup> (p.57), "changes in meaning after the word is taken over, changes in grammatical function, the formation of new combinations and the isolation of productive word forming elements are all a part of the process."

According to HAUGEN<sup>6</sup> (p,82) "Since borrowing has been defined as a process involving reproduction, any attempt to analyse its course must involve a comparison of the original pattern with its imitation." HOCKETT<sup>8</sup> (p.408) states that "The borrower does not always import bodily the words already used by the Donor"; and he goes on saying that "three distinct things may happen, giving rise respectively to loanwords, loanshifts, and loanblends," which is the terminology also followed by HAUGEN<sup>6</sup> (p.85), (including loan-translations and semantic loans). WEINREICH<sup>20</sup> (p.51) adds loan translation to this list, which he has subdivided into: loan translations proper, loan renditions and loan creations.

## 1. Loanwords

A loanword is the new form in the borrower's speech, when he adopts the donor's word along with the object or practice.

HOCKETT<sup>8</sup> (p.408) states that:

"The acquisition of a loanword constitutes in itself a lexical change, and probably we should say that it constitutes or entails a semantic change. A shape change is sometimes involved at least in the sense that a shape previously "uninhabited" by any form may have been brought into use."

When HAUGEN<sup>6</sup> (p.85) defines Loanwords, he makes it different.

He states that: "Loanwords show morphemic importation without substitution. Any morphemic importation can be further classified according to the degree of its phonemic substitution: none, partial, or complete."

HAUGEN<sup>6</sup>(p.84) classifies the Loanword as "the vaguest of the group, since it may include practically any of the others. ...speakers import not only the meaning of the form but also its phonemic shape." He also says that :

"Hybrid is sometimes used to distinguish loanwords in which only a part of the phonemic shape of the word has been imported, while a native portion has been substituted for the rest."

## 2. Loanshifts

The borrower may adapt the material available in his own language to avoid using the donor's words along with the new cultural item, which can be an object or practice. HOCKETT<sup>8</sup> (p.411) states that:

"The precise adaptation, however, may be in one way or another patterned on the donor's verbal behavior. In any case, a new idiom arises, and since it arises under the impact of another linguistic system, it is a loanshift."

According to HAUGEN<sup>6</sup> (p.85), "loanshifts show morphemic substitution without importation." He also states that loanshifts include "loan translations" and "semantic loans", and that "the term 'shift' is suggested because they appear in the borrowing only as functional shifts of native morphemes." HOCKETT<sup>8</sup> (p.412) states that:

"Loanshifts involve lexical and semantic change, and in some cases may lead to minor grammatical change. The latter is effected if the literal following of a foreign model in the creation of a new idiom gives rise to some type of construction previously alien to the borrowing language."

HOCKETT<sup>8</sup> (p.411) gives us some examples: "Portuguese grosseria means 'a rude remark'. But Portuguese immigrants in the United States now use the word in the sense 'grocery (store)';" and the result here is a semantic change."

"Portuguese livraria 'bookstore, library in a home' has similarly come to be used among the immigrants in the sense 'public library', replacing the usual Portuguese word biblioteca; the responsible model is the English word library."

HOCKETT<sup>8</sup> (p.412) states that:

"If the model in the donor language is a composite form, then the borrower may build a parallel composite form out of native raw material; the result is a loan translation." For example: "Loanword is a loan translation for German Lehnwort. American immigrant Portuguese responder para trás is a loan translation of English to talk back; ... French gratte-ciel, Spanish rascacielos and Portuguese arranha-céu are modeled on English skyscraper."

HAUGEN<sup>6</sup> (p.84) considers these an extension of the process observed with "hybrid" words: "Instead of substituting only one half of the word, the borrowers have here analyzed and substituted both halves."

Semantic loans, which HAUGEN includes under loanshifts, are the loans in which the new meaning is the only visible evidence of the borrowing. For example: "AmP<sup>1</sup> humoroso 'capricious' which has acquired the meaning of AmE 'humorous'." (HAUGEN p.75)

WEINREICH<sup>20</sup> (p.51) has subdivided the form of interference called loan translation as follows:

- "(a) loan translations proper, in which the model is reproduced exactly, element by element.
- (b) loan renditions, in which the model compound only furnishes a general hint for the reproduction, e.g. wolkenkratzer 'cloud scraper' after

1. AmP = American Portuguese  
AmE = American English

sky-scraper.

(c) loan creations, which is a term applied to new coinages which are stimulated not by cultural innovations, but by the need to match designations available in a language in contact."

### 3. Loanblends

According to HOCKETT<sup>8</sup> (p.413),

"A loanblend is a new idiom developed in the borrowing situation, in which both the loanword and the loanshift mechanisms are involved; the borrower imports part of the model and replaces part of it by something already in his own language."

HAUGEN<sup>6</sup> (p.85) states that "loanblends show morphemic substitution as well as importation." The speaker analyses the model he is imitating; and HAUGEN goes on saying that "only such 'hybrids' as involve a discoverable foreign model are included here." HOCKETT (p.413) points out that through the records of earlier borrowings it is not often possible to determine whether a hybrid word is the result of loanblending at the time of borrowing or the coinage of native and well-assimilated foreign elements occurring later on. The coinages stimulated by the need to match designations available in a language in contact result in Loan Creations, a term used by WEINREICH<sup>20</sup> (p.51).

Attitude is the subject of the next chapter.

## ATTITUDE

According to TRIANDIS<sup>18</sup> (p.2), when he gives one definition of attitude, two things must be considered:

- (a) "a set of situations that have some social objects in common;"
- (b) "a set of social behaviors that a person emits in the presence of these situations."

Existing similarity among these social behaviors, we conclude that the person has an attitude concerning the social objects that are present in the social situations. TRIANDIS<sup>18</sup> (p.7) states that "any person, product, or creation of a person or social event can function as a social object." The same author gives some examples: "President Nixon, Picasso's paintings," etc.

There are many definitions of the term attitude, some of them are the following, presented by TRIANDIS<sup>18</sup> (p.2):

"Attitudes represent 'consistency in response to social objects'". (Campbell, 1963). TRIANDIS<sup>18</sup> (p.7) presents the kinds of response consistencies that we observe:

- "(a) People tend to associate social objects with other social objects in consistent ways. For example, President Nixon is more closely associated with the 'Republican party' than he is with 'modern art'. These consistencies in "thinking" about social objects are part of the attitudes toward them.
- (b) People tend to "feel" consistently about an attitude object. Ex.: those who admire President Nixon are likely to "feel good" in his presence, to consider him "honest", "clean", "fair", etc.
- (c) People tend to "act" consistently toward the attitude object. Ex.: if they show respect toward a person, they also are likely to "cooperate in a political campaign", to "obey", to "invite to dinner", etc., this particular person."

"These consistencies in "thinking", "feeling", and "acting" suggest the existence of an attitude." (TRIANDIS<sup>18</sup> p.8). The same author says that "however, such consistencies are by no means extreme."

Another definition of attitude, mentioned by TRIANDIS (p.2), is as follows:

"An attitude is a mental and neural state of

readiness, organized through experience, exerting a directive or dynamic influence upon the individual's response to all objects and situations with which it is related.(Allport, 1935.)"

TRIANDIS<sup>18</sup>(p.2) states that a definition including many of the basic ideas used by attitude theorists would be:

"An attitude is an idea charged with emotion which predisposes a class of actions to a particular class of social situations."

And he goes on pointing out that according to this definition, attitudes have three components: (a) a cognitive component, (b) an affective component, and (c) a behavioral component;(p.3).

(a) The cognitive component is "the idea which is generally some category used by humans in thinking." It is acquired when categories "are frequently paired with other categories or events in the particular environment in which a person grows up." (p.22).

TRIANDIS<sup>18</sup>(p.3) gives the following example:

"The category cars can be inferred by determining that people make similar responses to Fords, Chevrolets, etc., and other stimuli that they are capable of discriminating."

(b) The affective component is the emotion which charges the idea. "It is acquired through conditioning, when a category is paired with pleasant or unpleasant events." (TRIANDIS<sup>18</sup>, p.22).

TRIANDIS<sup>18</sup>(p.3) states that:

"If a person 'feels good' or 'feels bad' when he thinks about the category it is said that he has a positive or negative affect toward the members of this category. Ex.: if he feels good when he thinks about cars he has a positive affective component toward them."

(c) The behavioral component is a "predisposition to action, such as using, driving, buying, or admiring cars," according to the example above.(TRIANDIS<sup>18</sup>, p. 3). The same author (p.22) states that:

"The behavioral intentions depend on the way a person feels about the attitude object and also on the expectations of the person concerning what will happen if he behaves in certain ways. ...The expectations, in turn, depend on previous experiences and the confirmations of expectations on earlier occasions."

Behavior is the result of norms, habits, and expectations about reinforcement.

Considering the example given, "a person who does not have the concept of car also would not have an attitude toward cars." (p.3). The minimum condition for having the attitude is the cognitive representation of the category, and it must be associated with pleasant or unpleasant events, thus, the category becomes charged with affect.

"The Functions of Attitudes" (TRIANDIS<sup>18</sup>, p.4)

An attitude has several kinds of functions: it helps people to adjust, to defend their egos, to express their values and to understand the world around them. As stated by TRIANDIS<sup>18</sup> (p.5) "Attitudes help us adjust to our environment, by providing a certain amount of predictability". Our past experiences help us to react to a given category of attitude objects. "This saves us from deciding again and starting from first principles." TRIANDIS goes on saying that:

"Our attitudes also help us to adjust to our environment by making it easier to get along with people having similar attitudes. The people who really count, in our social environment, tend to have attitudes that are similar to ours, and often we bring our attitudes in line with the ones held by these important people."

"Behavior as a Determinant of Attitudes" (TRIANDIS<sup>18</sup>, p.6)

People have attitudes because they need to give meaning to their behavior. TRIANDIS<sup>18</sup> (p.6) states that:

"People 'explain' their behavior to themselves by convincing themselves and others that the social objects that benefitted from the behavior are intrinsically good and worthy of such positive action. Ex.: a businessman may support a particular political program because he feels that this support will increase the number of his clients. Having done this, he convinces himself and tries

to convince others that the political program has great merit. In the process, his attitude gradually becomes positive toward this program."

"Attitudes and Other Variables" (TRIANDIS,<sup>18</sup> p.22)

As has previously been stated, attitudes consist of three types of components: affect, cognition, and behavioral intentions, all of which depend on the interaction of the individual and his environment. TRIANDIS (p.23) states the following:

"These three types of components of attitude interact with each other and tend to become consistent; when one changes, say affect, it will tend to change the other two. Also, when a person behaves he changes his cognitions and affect to 'bring them into line' with this behavior, so that most of the cognitive elements found in a person at a given moment of time tend to be consistent."

There is a tendency of people to compare themselves with the ones who are in similar positions in the social structures in which they belong. People are satisfied when their environment provides them with "rewards that are comparable to the rewards received by comparable others". TRIANDIS<sup>18</sup> (p.23).

"If we bring to a situation 'inputs' of a certain level (for example, education, experience, fame) we expect to get out of it 'outputs' (rewards, prestige, salary) that are at least as high as the rewards received by others who bring comparable inputs to the situation ((Adams, 1965) in TRIANDIS,<sup>18</sup> p.23).

We can say that, in general, the use of English items in shop names shows a positive attitude of people toward the English language as a social object. People associate this social object with the shops existing in English speaking countries, which in turn are regarded as better and consequently, English items are adopted in order to label the business, and the customers who

admire such countries buy their goods in these shops.

## RESULTS

### Classification of Frequency of Data

With the data collected in the selected shopping areas in Curitiba previously classified as Class A and Class B, it has been possible to obtain the proportion of occurrence of the English shop names in such areas by means of the percentage calculation.

The results have been as follows:-

#### Class A areas:

Names of streets/squares	Total shop no	Names with English items	%
Shopping Center Mueller	154	47	30,51%
Shopping Center Novo Batel	36	10	27,78%
Avenida Batel	56	11	19,64%
Shopping Hauer	25	7	28%
R. Comendador Araújo	96	21	21,87%
Tv. Jesuíno Marcondes	38	7	18,42%
R. Sen Alencar Guimarães	58	12	20,68%
R. Voluntários da Pátria	22	6	27,28%
TOTAL	485	121	24,94%

It must be pointed out here that the total number of existing shops in Rua Voluntários da Pátria is 56 shops, but it has been divided in this dissertation because we have the two classes in the same street. The section between Praça Osório and Rua Emiliano Perneta has been classified as Class A, where there are 22 shops. And the section between Rua Emiliano Perneta and Praça Rui Barbosa has been classified as Class B, where we can find 34 popular shops.

Class B areas:

Names of streets/squares	Total shop no.	Names with English items	%
Praça Rui Barbosa	83	13	16,86%
R. Pedro Ivo	79	9	11,39%
R. Westphalen	47	3	6,38%
Praça Tiradentes	41	4	9,75%
Tv. Tobias de Macedo	31	3	9,67%
R. José Loureiro	96	14	14,58%
R. Saldanha Marinho	85	9	10,58%
R. Voluntários da Pátria	34	7	20,58%
TOTAL	496	62	12,5%

With the present results we can conclude that the hypothesis that the occurrence of shop names with English items would be more significant in Class A than in Class B has received confirmation, since there are 121 names with English items out of 485 in Class A, and 62 out of 496 in Class B.

## Classification of Shops according to Social-economic Levels

Here we present the shop names carrying English items, which occur in the selected areas where the interviews have been carried out.

The first step was to select shopping areas according to the facilities that one can find in them, that is, areas of high fashion/prestige shops, called in this work Class A areas; and areas of low-range shops in prestige, near the main bus services of the city, called in this work Class B areas. After, together with the interview, some aspects have been taken into consideration in order to **make sure** that the area considered as Class A would have Class A shops, and the ones considered as Class B would have Class B shops.

The aspects considered have been the following:

- The price policies:
  - the emphasis given on prices,
  - the comparison of prices on one common item (jeans trousers)
- The amount of goods displayed.

According to these aspects, it has been possible to classify the shops concerning social economic levels. So we have:

- Type 1 shops:- These are the shops which sell more expensive and fashionable goods. The shops classified here are the ones where there are few goods displayed (the average number is between 1 and 15). The prices are either not shown to customers in the shop-windows, or they are shown in small figures, with no emphasis. These shops normally sell exclusive clothes (or whatever is their business).
- Type 2 shops:- The shops classified here are the most popular ones, which have the greatest number of goods displayed in the least space (the average number considered has been more than 20).The goods are even hanging

on the ceiling. In some of them, when there is no shop-window, they are hanging on the walls outside the shop. The prices are normally shown in large figures, and there are some "special offers" generally in baskets so that people can choose what they want. The goods are much cheaper.

There is another type of shop which is lying in the middle and that is sometimes found in both areas, Class A and Class B. This type will be called Type 3.

-Type 3 shops:- In such shops, the goods are not exclusive and the shop-windows have the number of goods displayed according to their size (as many as possible — the average number considered has been more than 20). The prices are shown to customers in small or large type, in the majority of them. These shops are middle-class shops and will be expected to be frequented by the persons who circulate in the areas they are placed. So, the ones in Class A areas will probably be frequented by the middle/upper social class and the ones in Class B areas will probably be frequented by the middle/lower social class. The prices are neither the cheapest nor the most expensive.

The types obtained have been as follows:

- Shops from Class A areas

Center Jeans

no prices are shown

number of goods displayed: 10 to 15

Type 1

Manhattan

no prices are shown

number of goods displayed: 5 to 10

Type 1

Sack's Lançamentos

large prices

number of goods displayed: more than 20

Type 3

Mazer Gesbaby

no prices are shown

number of goods displayed: 10 to 15

Type 1

Work out

no prices are shown

number of goods displayed: 5 to 10

Type 1

Patchwork

no prices are shown (it is a decoration shop)

Type 1

New England

no prices are shown

number of goods displayed: 1 to 5

Type 1

Wrangler

small prices

number of goods displayed: 5 to 10

Type 1

Captain Gull

no prices are shown

number of goods displayed: 5 to 10

Type 1

London Fog

small prices

number of goods displayed: 10 to 15

Type 1

Gallery

no prices are shown

number of goods displayed: 1 to 5

Type 1

Shoes' Garden

no prices are shown

number of goods displayed: more than 20 samples of good-quality shoes displayed.

Type 1

Happy Hair

sophisticated equipment and furniture

Type 1

Hannover Street

no prices are shown

number of goods displayed: 5 to 10

Type 1

Polo by Kim

no prices are shown

number of goods displayed: 5 to 10

Type 1

Jeanstock

no prices are shown

number of goods displayed: more than 20 (well arranged)

Type 1

Bunny's

small prices

number of goods displayed: more than 20

Type 3

Offer

small prices

number of goods displayed: 5 to 10

Big Ben

no prices are shown (it is a jeweller shop)

Type 1

Mary's

no prices are shown

number of goods displayed: 5 to 10

Type 1

- Shops from Class B areas

City Magazin

small prices

number of goods displayed: more than 20 (there are goods hanging on the walls inside the shop)

Type 2

Xandi Shop

small prices

number of goods displayed: more than 20

Type 3

Toy's Brinquedos

no prices are shown

(this is a shop in which cheap plastic toys are sold)

Type 2

Fast Burger

This is a relatively new snack bar, but not sophisticated.

Type 3

Franci's

large prices

there are special offers in baskets, on which the previous price is shown together with the present one (with much more emphasis)

number of goods displayed: more than 20

Type 2

Tay's Modas

large prices

there are baskets with special offers, with emphasis on prices

number of goods displayed: more than 20

Type 2

Dayse's

no prices are shown

number of goods displayed: more than 20

this is a present shop, with many kinds of goods (blouses, plastic toys, handbags, handkerchiefs, etc.)

Type 2

Jovem Jeans

no prices are shown

number of goods displayed: more than 20, hanging on the walls and at the door.

Type 2

Lucy Jóias

no prices are shown (this is a jeweller shop)

not sophisticated

Type 3

Fanel Sport

no prices are shown

number of goods displayed: more than 20

Type 3

Grace Modas

no prices are shown

number of goods displayed: more than 20

Type 3

Pop Shop

no prices are shown

number of goods displayed: more than 20

Type 3

Tuca's Cabeleireiros

cheap equipment and furniture

Type 2

Mr Shoes

large prices

number of goods displayed: 15 to 20 samples of bad quality shoes.

Type 2

Pop Malhas

small prices

number of goods displayed: 5 to 10 (the goods which fit in the 2 small shop-windows)

Type 2

Uni Jeans

large prices

number of goods displayed: more than 20., there are special offers in baskets.

Type 2

Jeans Mania

large prices

number of goods displayed: more than 20

Type 2

Sport Jeans

large prices

number of goods displayed: more than 20 (emphasis on special offers)

Type 2

Kids

small prices

number of goods displayed: more than 20

Type 3

The prices on jeans obtained in the shops have been the following:

Class A shops:Center Jeans

the prices are between Cz\$13.900,00 and Cz\$26.900,00

Manhattan

Cz\$15.000,00

Sack's Lançamentos

the prices are between Cz\$9.500,00 and Cz\$15.900,00

Mazer Gesbaby

jeans for children (size 8) Cz\$8.500,00

Work out

exclusive jeans: Cz\$22.000,00

New England

Cz\$22.600,00

Wrangler

Cz\$16.500,00

London Fog

Cz\$16.000,00

Polo by Kim

exclusive jeans: Cz\$31.000,00

Jeanstock

the prices are between Cz\$18.600,00 and Cz\$25.400,00

Bunny's

the prices are between Cz\$13.000,00 and Cz\$17.000,00

Class B shops:Xandi Shop

jeans for children (size 8) Cz\$3.590,00

Franci's

Cz\$5.990,00

Tay's Modas

the prices are between Cz\$5.000,00 and Cz\$6.400,00

Jovem Jeans

the prices are between Cz\$3.900,00 and Cz\$4.500,00

Grace Modas

Cz\$11.000,00

Pop Shop

the prices are between Cz\$10.000,00 and Cz\$16.500,00

Uni Jeans

Cz\$5.900,00

Jeans Mania

the prices are between Cz\$3.999,00 and Cz\$9.999,00

Sport Jeans

the prices are between Cz\$4.999,00 and Cz\$9.999,00

Kids

jeans for children (size 8) Cz\$5.495,00

With the results presented we notice that there is a difference in the way prices are shown to people in shops from Class A and Class B. In Class A shops the prices are either not shown or shown in small figures, while in Class B shops, there is more emphasis on prices, mainly in the prices of special offers. Another difference is that the special offers have not been found in Class A shops.

Considering the prices themselves on jeans, in shops from areas A and B, they vary according to the economic level of the people who buy their goods in such shops. In other words, the goods are more expensive in Class A areas, and are cheaper in Class B areas.

Two hairdresser's have been visited for an interview and they have been asked how much it was charged to wash, cut the hair and brush. At the Class A hairdresser's (Happy Hair) in Rua Comendador Araújo, they charge Cz\$7.200,00 ; while at the Class B one (Tuca's Cabeleireiros)- Praça Rui Barbosa, they charge Cz\$700,00. Both of them have been visited on the same day.

These results confirm the hypotheses concerning the classification of the shops according to social-economic levels.

### Classification of Conditions for Borrowing

As has previously been stated in this work, in the chapter "The Conditions fo Borrowing", the mere contact of two languages does not guarantee that one will borrow from the other. Considering the two conditions for a borrowing to occur, stated by HOCKETT<sup>8</sup> (p.404):

1. The speaker of A must understand or think he understands, the particular utterance in idiolect B which contains the model.
2. The speaker of A must have some motive, overt or covert, for the borrowing."

it is possible to observe that concerning shop names, the second condition is the main one. This can be observed in the shops which carry the owners' names, for instance, for they had no reason to adopt the genitive case, but that of prestige, trying to attract customers, to make the name "commercial", to make the name more beautiful, and even the belief that 's brings luck in commerce:-

- " 's is used to make the name more beautiful". (Tuca's Cabeleiros)
- " 's is said to bring luck in commerce". (Franci's)
- " 's makes the name more beautiful". (Bunny's)
- " 's is used to make the name commercial and to attract customers". (Dayse's)

Since condition 2 is related to motivation, a more specific analysis of the motives for borrowing is made under the heading of "Classification of Motivation".

### Classification of Motivation for Borrowing

It has been necessary to question people about their motivation for the borrowing of English names, to check if the items have been adopted in order to call more attention and attract more customers, and also to differentiate the shop from others.

As has already been mentioned in the chapter which deals with "Motivation for Borrowing", a universal reason for borrowing is to fill a gap in the borrowing language. Another reason is that of prestige, for people imitate those whom they admire and who are generally regarded as belonging to a superior nation. We can link the fashion phenomenon with the idea of prestige, since something which is in fashion is followed or imitated by other people who, in turn, imitate for prestige reasons. The data that follow were obtained with the second question (What was the reason for the choice of this name?) interviewing the persons in the selected shops. Unfortunately, it was not possible to interview the owners of all the visited shops, because many of them are branches from other cities (mainly Rio de Janeiro and São Paulo), therefore the managers had to be interviewed and a great number of them did not know the reason for the choice of the names.

According to the answers from those who knew the reason, the findings have been the following:

— Shops classified as belonging to Class A:

#### PRESTIGE REASONS:

(a) Beauty Reason:-

Bunny's - According to the manager, the use of 's makes the name more beautiful.

(b) The name shows affinity with a place:-

Manhattan - The manageress has said that the reason for the choice of this name may be because the owner likes New York very much.

New England - The manageress has said that the owners like the English style.

(c) The name shows affinity with a place seen in a film:-

Hannover Street - The shop owner has seen a film, its name was "Hannover Street", which is a street in London. In this film, the main characters always met in this street.

(d) The name suggests good quality:-

Happy Hair - According to the owner's answer, in Brazil the Portuguese language is not valued. European or American names are used in order to suggest good quality.

(e) The name is a famous brand:-

Wrangler - It is an American brand which has been bought from the Levi's director.

London Fog - It is a brand. The shop in Curitiba is a branch from São Paulo.

Work out - It is a brand name.

(f) The use of the owner's name + a hint about the products sold:-

Mazer Gesbaby - The manageress has said that Mazer is the owner's surname and Gesbaby shows the shop sells articles for children and pregnant women.

(g) Popularity:-

Center Jeans - According to the manageress, it is the most popular name.

(h) The name explains the business:-

Jeanstock - The manager has said that the shop carries this name because it is a jeans shop with stock of all brands.

Patchwork - One of the owners has said that this name has been chosen because of the merchandise sold - patchwork counterpane.

(i) The use of a name associated with things the person appreciates:-

Captain Gull - The manageress has answered that the name is associated with the sea which the owner likes very much.

#### OTHER REASONS:

The name denotes a hope to do business well:-

Bunny's - According to the manager this name has been chosen because rabbits reproduce a lot.

The use of the owner's name:-

Mary's - The owners' names are Maria and Sara, so 's comes from Sara.

The use of the owner's name + something the person is fond of:-

Polo by Kim - According to the manageress, Kim is the owner's name, and Polo is his favourite sport.

Differentiate one shop from another:-

New England - The name, according to the manageress, was Old England, but there is a shop in São Paulo with this name, which sells the same kind of products. The name has been changed into New England in order to differentiate from the one in São Paulo.

Gues Jeans - The previous name was Gang Jeans but as there is another shop with this name, it has been changed into Gues Jeans.

— Shops classified as belonging to Class B:

PRESTIGE REASONS:

Lucy Jóias - According to the owner (Luci), her name has been written with "y" because everything that is Americanized is more beautiful and better.

Xandi Shop - The owner has said that it is in fashion to use the word "shop".

Dayse's - The owner's answer has been that 's is used to attract customers and to make the name commercial.

- Beauty Reason:-

Tuca's Cabeleireiros - According to the owner's answer, by placing 's, the name becomes more beautiful.

Jovem Jeans - According to the owner, it is a beautiful and good name.

The name holds the attention:

City Magazin - This name has been chosen "for being interesting", was the owner's answer.

The use of the owner's name, or the name/nickname of a relative:-

Franci's - It is the name of the owner's daughter.

Dayse's - According to the owner, it is his mother's name.

Lucy Jóias - According to the owner, it is her name - Luci.

Grace Modas - The owner has said it is her name.

Tuca's Cabeleireiros - According to the owner, Tuca is his son's nickname.

Xandi Shop - The owner has said that Xandi is her grandson's nickname.

The name explains the business:-

Fast Burger - The owner has said that as in the United States "snack bar" (lanchonete) is "Fast Food", he decided to name his snack bar Fast Burger, since sandwiches, juices, soft drinks, etc., are served there.

The belief of luck brought by foreign items:-

Franci's - The owner has answered that it is said that the use of 's brings good luck in commerce.

#### OTHER REASONS:—

The name shows who the goods are for:-

Kids - This name has been chosen due to the kind of merchandise sold.

The assumption that the English item facilitates the name pronunciation:-

Fanel Sport - According to the owner, "sport" is easier to pronounce together with "Fanel", than the Portuguese word "esporte".

Among the most frequent occurrences, we can observe that shops carrying the names of famous brands are found in Class A areas because the goods in such shops tend to be more expensive,

and for this reason only the upper social classes can afford them. We can also say that such brands are regarded as being of "good quality".

The motivation for using the owner's name is more observed in shops from Class B areas.

The Prestige/Fashion motive can be observed in shops from both Classes.

Generally speaking, according to the answers, it can be observed that in the domain of shop names, the universal cause for lexical borrowing, that is, gap-filling, has not occurred, at least in the interviews carried out in this work. Taking this into consideration, it is clear that the main motivation for the borrowing of English items as shop names lies within the area of Prestige/Fashion.

As HOCKETT<sup>8</sup> (p.405) has stated, "People emulate those whom they admire, in speech-pattern as well as in other respects"., we can see that Brazilians are imitating business from countries regarded as superior adopting the dominant language, to use the term presented by HOCKETT<sup>8</sup>, and HIGA<sup>7</sup>.

Concerning the shops which carry the owners' names, perhaps the explanation for the use of the English items, seems to be "to make the name more beautiful", or "to give more charm to the name".

The borrowing of English items as shop names can be linked with what has been stated by PAUL<sup>16</sup> (p.412) already mentioned in this work, when he says that word borrowing surpasses the necessity domain when the person regards the foreign language/culture as being better than his own, and the use of the foreign expressions as especially elegant. This can be observed in the answers of the interviewed persons who have said that in Brazil, the Portuguese language is not valued, that everything that is Americanized is more beautiful and better, that foreign items attract customers and that European and American brands suggest good quality.

So far we can conclude that some Brazilian people borrow from the English language because they have a special motive to do so, that of attracting customers to their shops. This happens because the English speaking nations have an image of superiority which Brazilians like to follow and imitate.

### Classification of Types of Borrowings

An attempt has been made to classify the shop names in the categories established by HOCKETT, HAUGEN and WEINREICH, which, in brief, can be put as follows, since they have already been mentioned in this dissertation:

Loanword: The borrower adopts the donor's word along with the object or practice.

Loanblend: The borrower imports part of the model and replaces part of it by something already in his own language. The result can be a kind of hybrid word.

Loanshift: The borrower adapts material already in his own language. A new idiom arises under the impact of another linguistic system.

This includes, according to HAUGEN:

Loan translation: The borrower builds a parallel form out of his own linguistic material.

Semantic loan: The new meaning is the only visible evidence of the borrowing.

Following WEINREICH, the form of interference called Loan translation, has been subdivided in:

a) Loan Translations proper, in which the model is reproduced exactly, element by element.

b) Loan Renditions, in which the model compound only furnishes a general hint for the reproduction, e.g. wolkenkratzer "cloud scraper" after sky-scraper.

c) Loan Creations, a term applied to new coinages which are stimulated not by cultural innovations, but by the need to match designations available in a language in contact.

According to the definition of Loanwords, Loanblends and Loanshifts, it can be observed that concerning shop names, the occurrence of these types is minimal, for, from this classification, the few occurrences that have been found are loanwords and

loanblends. (Loanshifts are not a part of this work, since we are not dealing with translation).

The occurrence of Loanwords and Loanblends found have been the following:

Loanwords: Ellus Jeans Etc., Wrangler, London Fog, Fornello Steak House, Hang Loose.

Loanblends: Farmashop, Mazer Gesbaby, Florashopping.

Concerning WEINREICH's classification, items a and b do not occur in the shop names being analysed in this work, and, taking c into consideration, undoubtedly we can say that the designations are available in both languages, (English and Portuguese) and consequently, there is no apparent need to match them. For example: Pastelaria King = Pastelaria Rei, London Imóveis = Imóveis Londres. These examples illustrate word order interference. The expressions follow an anglicized syntax: Lima hobbies, Flipper Calçados, Tony Modas, Flag Publicidades. This anglicized syntax can be observed also in shop names with no foreign influence, that is, names carrying only Portuguese items: Viviane Modas, Bom Dia Modas, Supimpa Lanchonete, Favorita Confeitaria.

WEINREICH<sup>20</sup> (p.60) states that one consideration affecting bilinguals in particular is "the symbolic association of the source language in a contact situation with Social Values, either positive or negative". If one language is regarded as having prestige, identifiable loanwords are likely to be used by bilinguals because of the social status which its knowledge symbolizes. We can observe this in learned borrowings and in "unnecessary" borrowing of everyday designations for things which have excellent names in the language being spoken. WEINREICH<sup>20</sup> (p.60) gives us an example: "Why use the word belt when the (Irish) word crios exist?" Here, we can observe the feeling that English is a superior language and that the use of English words confers distinction upon sentences in

other languages as well, and not only in Portuguese. HIGA<sup>7</sup> (p.289) states that JESPERSEN (1922) tried to explain this kind of unnecessary borrowing as a result of the habit of borrowing words, and also states that WEINREICH (1953) mentioned social prestige as the probable cause for such borrowings.

HIGA<sup>7</sup> (p.289) points out that "Where social-psychological needs are important, words are often borrowed even unnecessarily".

This "unnecessary" borrowing to which WEINREICH and HIGA refer to can be noticed in the majority of the shop names with English influence, for words from the Portuguese language could surely have been used instead, without any change in the referent. But this was not what some of the interviewed persons have said:

- "The shops have foreign names for social reasons. Foreign enterprises pay better." (Jeanstock)
- "The name must call the attention of the public." (Center Jeans)
- "People prefer foreign names. In Brazil, foreign names call more attention than Brazilian ones." (London Fog)
- "Commercially speaking, English names are better than Brazilian ones. Foreign names catch better in the market." (Wrangler)
- "Brazilian people are Americanized. Everything that comes from outside is considered better." (Work out)
- "Foreign names are more attractive and easier to remember." (Franci's)
- "A shop name must be foreign, in order to attract". (Dayse's)
- "Foreign labels are placed on Brazilian products." (Jeanstock)

By these answers we can observe that the English language symbolizes high status and since the majority of the shop names do not fit in the types of borrowings previously classified, a

new category must be created in order to include the occurrences found.

Assuming that English items have been adopted just to label the shop, we shall call this type of borrowing "Attraction Loan". (See Appendix I)

Concerning shop names, as the main condition for a borrowing to occur is that the speaker must have some motive for the borrowing, the new category "Attraction Loan" makes it evident that the reason was that of "attracting" (in this particular case, customers), and also because the borrower himself feels attracted by such items. It denotes the positive attitude of people toward English borrowings, at least nowadays, when the English speaking nations have such a great importance for Brazilians who want to imitate them in every respect. Considering shop names, the owner is imitating by borrowing the items and the customers are doing the same when they feel attracted by such names.

Finally, the use of this new heading "Attraction Loan" will be possible in whatever area the attraction motive for borrowings occurs, and in any possible language.

### Classification of General Attitude towards Borrowings

An important point to be taken into consideration in this work is the attitude of people as far as the adoption of English items is concerned. Being favourable or not to the use of such items, the point is that they are still being used by any reason, which can be a strong admiration for the foreign nation or a wish to be identified with the people from the nation which has power. Or still, it may be a conformism with the majority, who accepts the foreign influence without any sort of resistance, for they know that resisting in this case would be the same as fighting a losing fight, so strong is the imposition of the English speaking nations upon Brazil. Such purist effort shows a desire to value the national products but, as no nation lives isolated, without learning things from each other, it would be impossible to stop the foreign influence in the domain of vocabulary, culture, habits, etc.

The general attitude of the people towards the use of foreign items in shop names has been analysed according to their answers to the questions: "Are you for or against the use of foreign items? Why?". Here, perhaps it can be said that the absence of some of the shop owners has created a favourable condition for this research, for, in this way, it has been possible to investigate how the persons who work at such shops feel about the foreign influence.

The interview has been carried out in 40 shops: 20 shops from areas considered as Class A; and 20 shops from Class B areas. In the shops classified as Class A, 16 interviews have been carried out with managers and only 4 with owners. Among the managers, 12 have said to be favourable, 1 to be neutral, and 3 to be against. Three (3) owners have said to be favourable and 1 hasn't thought about the case.

In the shops classified as Class B, 18 interviews have been carried out with owners, and only 2 with managers. Among the owners, 11 have said to be favourable, 6 have said to be against, and 1 has said to be neutral. The 2 interviewed managers have said to be favourable.

The results are shown in the following charts:

Class A

	for %		against %		neutral %		hasn't thought %		Total %	
owner	3	15	-	-	-	-	1	5	4	20
manager	12	60	3	15	1	5	-	-	16	80
Total	15	75	3	15	1	5	1	5	20	100

Class B

	for %		against %		neutral %		Total %	
owner	11	55	6	30	1	5	18	90
manager	2	10	-	-	-	-	2	10
Total	13	65	6	30	1	5	20	100

The following chart shows the percentage without class distinction, just considering the persons' occupations:

	for %		against %		neutral %		hasn't thought %		Total %	
owner	14	35	6	15	1	2.5	1	2.5	22	55
manager	14	35	3	7.5	1	2.5	-	-	18	45
Total	28	70	9	22.5	2	5	1	2.5	40	100

The chart below shows the general percentage, without considering the Classes or the occupation of the interviewed persons:

	for %		against %		neutral %		hasn't thought %		Total %	
persons	28	70	9	22.5	2	5	1	2.5	40	100

The shop owners Class A who are favourable have given the following answers:

- "Favourable, but the person must understand what the name means" (Patchwork)
- "Commercially speaking, English names are better than Brazilian ones. Foreign names attract more. There are not many Brazilian brands." (Wrangler)
- "Favourable to the names, but against the use of the foreign politics in Brazil. If we had a good government we would not have to accept foreign politics." (Happy Hair).

With these answers we can observe:

- the feeling that people must be reasonable when adopting a foreign name,
- the prestige of the English language/culture, leading to the assumption that English brands are better,
- the discomfort regarding foreign political influence in Brazil.

The shop managers Class A who are favourable have given the following answers:

- "A foreign name is charming". (Manhattan)
- "The name must reach the public, attract the attention." (Center Jeans)
- "Favourable. The name doesn't say much, the important thing is the merchandise." (Sack's Lançamentos.)

- "Favourable. The name must attract, if it were in Portuguese (Gesbebê) it would sound strange." (Mazer Gesbaby)
- "Favourable. Brazilian people are Americanized. Everything that comes from outside is considered better, is more valued. Foreign names 'catch' better." (Work out)
- "Favourable. Due to the suburb where the Shopping is placed, the name must be foreign, because it serves "Class A" people. Commercially it is good. The national products are not valued by people in Curitiba. If we compare our products to the American ones, we can see that we have many good things here, but as other countries have always taken advantage of Brazil, there is a mental dependence on the part of Brazilian people. If the name of this shop were "Tupi", it would not 'catch' so well." (New England)
- "The name helps a lot, it influences people." (Captain Gull)
- "People prefer foreign names. In Brazil, foreign names call more attention than Brazilian ones." (London Fog)
- "Favourable. Foreign names attract more people in Curitiba because it is a provincial city. The things from outside are more valued." (Polo by Kim)
- "Favourable. Everything that is foreign attracts more. People buy more the products with a foreign brand." (Gues Jeans)
- "Favourable. In Brazil we should use Brazilian names but the foreign ones attract more customers!" (Gallery)
- "Favourable. The name must sound well." (Shoes' Garden)

With these answers, we can observe:

- The idea of foreign names attracting the public,
- The assumption of the existence of a mental dependence on the part of Brazilians, who consider better everything that comes from foreign countries.

The shop managers Class A who are against have given the following answers:

- "Against. There is nothing with Brazilian label. Foreign labels are placed on Brazilian products. The shops have foreign names for social reasons. Foreign enterprises pay better." (Jeanstock)
- "I'm against because I'm Brazilian. In Brazil, English is more valued, the United States influence a lot. But "Bunny" sounds better than "Coelho"." (Bunny's)
- "I'm against everything which is foreign that exists in Brazil. There are not enough Brazilians in this country, and we are obliged to "swallow" everything that is foreign in a silent way." (Offer)

According to these answers we can state the following:

- There is a desire to value the national things, and the people who think in this way feel that their things are being put in a lower position, for they are given foreign names in order to be sold.
- Even being against, the recognition of a foreign name sounding better than the equivalent in Portuguese. This shows a lack of consistency.

Considering the shop owners Class B who are favourable; their answers have been as follows:

- "Favourable. As far as it is a beautiful name and which attracts people." (City Magazin)
- "Favourable, but it must be an easy name. The name of a popular shop must be easier. A Boutique carrying a foreign name is more common and attracts more." (Xandi Shop)
- "Foreign names are more beautiful. Here, where this shop is placed (R. José Loureiro), people almost do not notice it,

or they do not know what it means, but the equivalent in Portuguese is shown on the sign." (Toy's Brinquedos)

- "People have the freedom of choosing the name they like."  
(Fast Burger)
- "It is easier to remember, and it attracts more." (Franci's)
- "Foreign names differentiate from the others, they call more attention." (Revistaria Queop's)
- "Favourable. Foreign names have already dominated; they are used almost by all the shop owners, and also, they are not used only in commerce, but in all kinds of activities.  
(Tay's Modas)
- "Foreign names attract more customers. The name must be foreign." (Dayse's)
- "Foreign names catch better in the market." (Jovem Jeans)
- "The important thing is the impact that foreign names cause to customers. Mainly in the Shopping Centers, foreign names attract more for being different and people remember them easily." (Lucy Jóias)
- "Favourable because they differ from others. People think that foreign brands give status." (Fanel Sport)
- "Favourable for being more beautiful, different!" (Grace Modas)
- "Favourable. It influences people for being foreign; they pay attention to this. Brazilian people consider foreign things as better." (Pop Shop)

According to these answers, we can see that, again, the prestige of the English language is playing its part - attracting, making different, more beautiful. It has also been mentioned that foreign names attract more customers in the Shopping Centers, where the most fashionable shops are placed.

The shop owners Class B who are against have given the following answers:

- "Brazilian names must be used so that people know what they mean. If the shop has a foreign name, people have to go inside it to discover what is sold." (Tuca's Cabeleireiros)
- "The name does not necessarily have to be foreign in order to attract." (Mr Shoes)
- "We should not imitate other countries. Foreign names can even disturb, for people may not know how to pronounce them." (Pop Malhas)
- "English names attract easily, but Brazilian names are easier to understand." (Uni Jeans)
- "Jeans Mania is Portuguese. People are not used to foreign names." (Jeans Mania)
- "Foreign names call the attention for being different, but people do not understand them." (Sport Jeans)

With these answers we can observe:

- The feeling of English as a difficult language. But this may not be a general belief, for the English language is spreading fast and is spoken as a second language by lots of people all over the world.
- Even being against, people recognize that foreign names attract customers — and adopt them, which is a lack of consistency, and some who adopt foreign items, without recognizing them as foreign - this is the case of "jeans".

According to Campbell's definition of Attitude, presented by TRIANDIS already mentioned in this work, attitudes represent "consistency in response to social objects", and we can state that a shop carrying an English name is the social object in the present research. The kinds of response consistencies we observe are as follows:

- a) The association of one social object with another in consistent ways - a shop carrying an English name in Brazil is associated with the products/shops from the English speaking nations:

— "Everything that comes from outside is better, they are more valued. Brazilian people are Americanized." (Work out)

— "People buy more everything that has a foreign brand."

(Gues Jeans)

— "Concerning Brands, a few are Brazilian". (Wrangler)

— "When the brand is famous, there is nothing to be done, but to adopt it." (London Fog)

— "A brand is given a European or an American name in order to suggest good quality." (Happy Hair)

b) People tend to feel consistently about an attitude object.

The ones who regard foreign products as better feel attracted by them; as a consequence, they will feel attracted by the shops carrying English names. The shop owners have noticed this when they say:

— "Foreign names attract more customers." (Dayse's)

— "For being foreign, the name influences the customers. People pay attention to this fact." (Pop Shop)

— "Foreign names call more attention." (Revistaria-Queop's)

The ones who do not regard foreign products as better, will not see any advantage in their use:

— "Foreign names can even disturb, for people may not know how to pronounce them." (Pop Malhas)

— "Brazilian names should be used because people do not know the meaning of the foreign items." (Tuca's Cabeleireiros)

c) People tend to "act" consistently toward the attitude object.

If they admire shops carrying English names, they are likely to adopt English names (when being the owners) and/or to buy their goods in such shops.

— "I am favourable - for I use a foreign name." (Hannover Street)

Concerning the interviewed persons who say that they are against the use of foreign names, but have adopted one: perhaps this can be explained considering that our attitudes help us to adjust to our environment by making it easier to get along with people having similar ones; as has been stated by TRIANDIS. So that, foreign names are adopted because they attract customers. The owner who is against such names and adopts one is simply adjusting himself to his environment.

By the answers of the interviewed persons we can see that there are two forces operating: Stimuli of interference and Resistance to interference. As stated by WEINREICH<sup>20</sup> (p.65)

"The phenomena of interference are considered as resultants of two opposing forces: STIMULI of interference and RESISTANCE to interference."

Considering the total number of interview answers in the present research, the stimuli of interference is stronger than the resistance to it.

With the data presented so far, we conclude that because of international importance the English speaking nations have for Brazilians, the borrowing of English items as shop names is a necessity for shop owners, since they feel that such names attract customers. And it can be put as a necessity because even some owners who have said to be against such borrowings still adopt them because they are commercially good.

## NAMING

The basic semantic function of words is that of naming. According to ULLMANN<sup>19</sup> (p.72) proper names are easily recognized and distinguished from common nouns since they are written with a capital letter. A proper name serves to identify a person or object, and ULLMANN (p.73-74) gives an illustration for this with the idea of a "label stuck on a person or a thing in order to identify it by distinguishing it from similar elements". We can say that shops have foreign names in order to differentiate them from the ones with Portuguese names and that sell the same merchandise.

— "I'm favourable because foreign names make the shop different."  
(Fanel Sport).

Proper names , according to ULLMANN<sup>19</sup>(p.74)

"denote the individuals who are called by them, without indicating or implying any attributes as belonging to those individuals. ...Whenever names have any meaning, the meaning resides in what they connote and not in what they denote. The only names of objects which connote nothing are proper names, they have no signification."

JESPERSEN (1924)- (in ULLMANN<sup>19</sup>p.74) said that proper names (as actually used) "connote the greatest number of attributes". Considering that when the bearer of the name is a historically, politically or culturally prominent place or person, this proper name will be filled with rich connotations, but torn out of context, they will often have no meaning, so that Jespersen's claim may be taken as misleading. The specific function of a proper name, according to ULLMANN<sup>19</sup>(p.74) "is to identify and not to signify".

ULLMANN (p.75) gives the following definition of proper name:-

"A proper name is a word or group of words which is recognized as having identification as its specific purpose, and which achieves, or tends to achieve, that purpose by means of its distinctive sound alone, without regard to any meaning possessed by that sound from the start, or

acquired by it through association with the object or objects thereby identified."

The grammatical peculiarities vary from language to language, and one of the most widespread grammatical criteria distinguishing between proper names and common nouns is the syntax of the article and other "determiners". ULLMANN<sup>19</sup>(p.76) states that "another grammatical criterion is that the great majority of proper names have no plural."

A common case observed in shop names is the use of the genitive ending: Baby's, Germon's, Luci's, Tuca's Cabeleireiros. According to PAUL<sup>16</sup> (p.418) it is the result of English influence and he gives the example hombre's casa. KULCZYNSKYJ<sup>11</sup> (p.80-81) shares the same opinion about this influence being English. It seems that the use of the genitive case is already linked with commerce:

— "The 's is used in order to make the name commercial and to attract customers." (Dayse's)

Considering some proper names derived from common nouns, we can observe that they "show clear traces of their origin: place names like Blackpool and Newcastle, surnames like Smith and Carpenter, Christian names like Pearl and Heather." (ULLMANN<sup>19</sup>, p.77). Here, some examples of shop names which have derived from common nouns can be given: Red Shoes, Jeanstock, Baby's, Baked Potato.

A proper name can be turned into a common noun. According to LYONS<sup>13</sup>(p.219-220):

"Names can acquire more or less definite associations, the name can be said to symbolize eloquence or architectural beauty, ...and it is this fact which makes it easy for a name to become an ordinary common noun. But it does not invalidate the principle that names are without sense."

According to ULLMANN<sup>19</sup>(p.77-78), these changes (from proper name into common noun)

"fall, broadly speaking, into two groups. Some are 'metaphorical', based on some kind of similarity or common feature. ...The second group is 'metonymic', founded on some relation other than similarity: that between inventor and invention, between product and place of origin, etc."

ULLMANN<sup>19</sup>(p.78) states that when a proper name becomes an ordinary word, it can, for example, be used as a verb; it is not always used as a common noun. The other way round is also possible, as we see some verbs being used as shop names, such as: Offer, Step in (the second is a language school).

According to ULLMANN<sup>19</sup>(p.79),

"When a common noun is made into a proper name, the change may be accompanied by a restriction in range, but this is not necessarily the case. There is a restriction when a common noun becomes a place-name: there are many black forests and new markets, but as a proper name The Black Forest and Newmarket will denote only one place or possibly a small number of homonymous places."

This is the case considering many shop names, for common nouns have been used: Patchwork, Baked Potato, Station, and others.

In all these processes, "the main point is that an identification mark has become a meaningful symbol, or vice versa," (ULLMANN<sup>19</sup>, p.79). LYONS<sup>13</sup>(p.222) states that "the symbolic meaning both of names and of other words is governed by conventions that are specific to a particular culture".

Concerning the question whether names belong to a particular language-system in the way that other words do, LYONS<sup>13</sup>(p.222) states that:

"It has often been argued that names like 'John' or 'London' are not English words as 'man' or 'city' are and that the lexicographer should not be expected to list them in a dictionary."

The same author also says that considering this, only well-known institutionalized names could be listed since it is impossible to list all of them, for there is no limit to this set. And LYONS<sup>13</sup>(p.222) quotes from RYLE (1957), who says that "Dictionaries do not tell us what names mean - for the simple reason that they do not mean anything." "There is no principle which determines their translation from one language into another" (LYONS<sup>13</sup>, p.223).

Considering place names, LYONS (p.222) states that "it is probably the case that if there is a conventional translation equivalent, it will always be used." Some place names and personal names

"are so common in certain countries that one would expect all speakers of the language used in that country to recognize their status as names. ...Many place names when used as referring expressions by most speakers of a language, are unique in their reference, but personal names (like 'James') are not." (LYONS<sup>13</sup>, p.223).

So far we can conclude that the important point, regarding shop names is not their sense — since their function, following ULLMANN, is to identify and not to signify. Such names are adopted in order to differentiate a particular shop from others, showing a name from a language considered as superior. It can be assumed that the shop owners are much more concerned in showing a "beautiful shop sign" having a charming sight, because that is the point which calls the attention of people; it will attract customers even if they do not know, in the Portuguese language, the equivalent to the English items.

Here we have the answers to the question: "What do you mean with this name?"

Shops Class A:

Center Jeans: The manageress has said "we don't mean anything with this name." "Nada"

Big Ben: Big Ben de Londres.

Manhattan: Ilha de Nova Iorque.

Jeanstock: Loja de jeans com estoque de todas as marcas.

Bunny's: "Coelho"

Mary's: É a mistura dos nomes das proprietárias, Maria e Sara. 's provém de Sara.

Sack's Lançamentos: The manageress has said: "Só os turcos sabem." (= "only the Turks know" - The owners are Syrians), then she said: "Parece que quer dizer sacos", but she asked me not to write this down.

Mäzer Gesbaby: Mazer é o sobrenome do dono.  
Gesbaby indica que a loja vende roupas para gestantes e bebês

Work out: Trabalho fora.

Patchwork: É o tipo de mercadoria vendida: trabalho em retalho.

New England: É para lembrar Nova Inglaterra.

Wrangler: É o nome de uma marca. A marca vendida pela loja.

Captain Gull: O nome tem ligação com o mar - Capitão Gaivota.

London Fog: Neblina de Londres. É uma marca. (griffe)

Offer: Ofereça.

Gallery: A loja já foi comprada com este nome.

Shoes' Garden: Jardim de Sapatos.

Happy Hair: Cabelo feliz, bem tratado, saudável.

Hannover Street: É uma rua de Londres.

Polo by Kim: O nome do dono era Kim, e o seu esporte favorito que era Polo.

#### Shops Class B:

City Magazin: Magazin da cidade.

Kids: Criança.

Xandi Shop: Xandi é o apelido do neto da proprietária.  
— Shop — é moda usar a palavra.

Tuca's Cabeleireiros: Apelido do filho do proprietário.

Toy's Brinquedos: Brinquedos.

Fast Burger: Refeições Rápidas.

Franci's: Nome da irmã do proprietário.

Revistaria Queop's: É um nome fantasia.

Mr Shoes: O nome representa as iniciais do nome do dono - J.M.,  
mas não pintaram a placa nova ainda. (Não é mais Mr).

Pop Malhas: Não sabe.

Uni Jeans: Ao fazer a pergunta, o dono apontou ao slogan da loja:  
"O grito da moda".

Tay's Modas: A loja foi comprada com esse nome.

Jeans Mania: Mania de usar jeans.

Sport Jeans: Jeans esporte, "coisa de jovem".

Dayse's: Nome da mãe do dono.

Jovem Jeans: Quer dizer: calças, camisas, sapatos, tenis.

Lucy Jóias: Nome da proprietária (Luci).

Fanel Sport: Fanel= nome feito de dois nomes.

Sport= mostra que artigos esportivos são vendidos.

Grace Modas: Nada.

Pop Shop: Casa Lar.

With this variety of answers we can see:

- Statements that the names do not mean anything,
- The ones which are place names have been given their equivalents in Portuguese: London= Londres, New England = Nova Inglaterra, or, an explanation as in Manhattan = Ilha de Nova Iorque.
- In the case of Uni Jeans, the owner has given the shop slogan as the meaning of the name, and in many cases we can observe that people have given the equivalents of the words in Portuguese.

It can be said that the majority has been chosen because of the charming sight such names have (mainly for the ones who choose them). The use of the genitive case is an example since some of the interviewed persons have answered that it makes the name more beautiful.

Some shop names are really related to the style of the shop. This is the case considering New England and Captain Gull, where the decoration and the names match.

As the majority of the names have been chosen in order to attract customers and as it is an indirect form of communication (written), we can say that, for people, the image on the signs is more important than the meaning, and, as stated by ULLMANN, proper names have the specific function of identifying, and not signifying.

## Discussion

According to JESPERSEN<sup>9</sup>(p.27), if two nations

"have been in contact, the number and the quality of the loan-words will show us their reciprocal relations, which of them has been the more fertile in ideas and on what domains each has been superior to the other."

Brazil has been and still is in contact with English-speaking nations, which in turn, are regarded as superior and from which Brazilian people borrow a lot. In the domain of shop names, the majority of the borrowed items can be considered unnecessary, since their equivalents in the Portuguese language exist. This can be put as a veneration to what comes from outside, so that Brazilians want to be identified with English-speaking people due to the international importance given not to the English language only, but to the English speaking nations as well. Due to the difficulty in placing the selected shop names in the classification of types of borrowings given by HAUGEN<sup>6</sup>, HOCKETT<sup>8</sup>, and WEINREICH<sup>20</sup>, for the few occurrences that have been found were loanwords and loanblends, the creation of a new category has been necessary: "Attraction Loan", in order to include the findings. This particular term has been chosen due to the firmly stated motive of attraction to shops with English names, that is, the owners choose English items because they attract customers: for being more elegant, for catching better in the market, for being charming, according to some answers of the interviewed persons.

The occurrences of Loanwords have been: Ellus Jeans Etc., Wrangler, London Fog, Fornello Steak House, Hang Loose.

Loanblends: Farmashop, Mazer Gesbaby, Florashopping.

The other shop names in the list presented in Appendix I, fit in the type designated as "Attraction Loan". Since they cannot be classified as Loanwords, for the borrower is not adopting the word along with the object or practice. Nor can they be classified as Loanblends, since the borrower is not importing part of a

model and replacing part of it by something already in his own language. And finally, considering Loan Creations, this is not the case because the designations are available in both languages, Portuguese and English, therefore, there is no need to match them. The occurrence of Attraction Loans can be explained if we consider the attitude of people.

According to CAMPBELL'S definition that attitudes represent "consistency in response to social objects", we may say that a shop carrying an English name is the social object in the present research. The kinds of response consistencies we observe are as follows: (a) the association of one social object with another in consistent ways — a shop carrying an English name in Curitiba is associated with the products/shops from the English speaking nations. (b) People tend to feel consistently about an attitude object — the ones who regard foreign products as better feel attracted by them, as a consequence, they will feel attracted by the shops carrying English names. The ones who do not regard foreign products as better, will not see any advantage in their use. (c) People tend to act consistently toward the attitude object — if they admire shops carrying English names, they are likely to adopt English names (when being the owners) and/or to buy their goods in such shops.

Concerning the interviewed persons who have said that they are against the use of foreign names, but have adopted one, perhaps this can be explained considering that our attitudes help us to adjust to our environment by making it easier to get along with people having similar ones, so that foreign names are adopted because there are many shops with English names and these attract customers. The owner who is against such names and adopts one is simply adjusting himself to his environment.

According to the three attitude components presented by TRIANDIS<sup>18</sup> we observe that the cognitive component, in the case of

the present research, is the shop carrying an English name. Considering the affective component, we have noticed that the majority of the interviewed persons have a positive affect toward English shop names. Regarding the behavioral component, since it is a predisposition to action, it is something obvious because we can see such names on the shop signs. These signs demonstrate that the majority of the shop owners have a positive feeling about the English shop names and by their answers, it has been possible to observe that the expectation they have, adopting English items, is to attract customers to their shops. The shop owner who has noticed that the shops carrying English names attract more customers, will also expect to attract them to his shop by adopting an English name. Having done this, he convinces himself and tries to convince others that his shop is more elegant/modern. The adoption of English items confers the shop a certain status and, consequently, the reward will be obtained by both parts: the owner will have more customers, and the customers will be satisfied for buying their goods in such shops regarded as being of high-fashion, and different from the others.

If we consider ULLMANN'S<sup>19</sup> idea of a proper name being a "label" stuck on a person or a thing in order to identify it by distinguishing it from similar elements, we can state that the shop sign carrying English items is a "label" stuck on the shop walls and its function is to distinguish it from the shops which sell the same merchandise but have Brazilian names. The majority of the English items used as shop names are common nouns which are used as identification marks and have become meaningful symbols — here we can say that they symbolize status, because of the image of superiority the English-speaking countries have for Brazilians. As LYONS<sup>13</sup> has stated, considering place names "it is probably the case that if there is a conventional translation equivalent, it will always be used". This translation equivalent

has been given by the interviewed persons in the shops carrying place names, such as New England = Nova Inglaterra, or an explanation to the name, such as the one given to Manhattan = Ilha de Nova Iorque. And not only the shops having place names have received a translation equivalent (with the question "What do you mean with the name?"), but the majority of the shops having common nouns as their names. If the translation equivalent exists, why hasn't it been used instead? It seems that the only way of answering this question is considering the reason for the choice of the English name. Since it is a matter of motivation, and the motivation has been just to label the business because many interviewed persons take for granted that a foreign name 'attracts' more, is 'more beautiful' and 'catches' better in the market.

An example concerning the choice of foreign items is the English word "folklore", afterwards incorporated in the Portuguese language as "folclore", which means "traditional beliefs and tales of a community". Purists of the Portuguese language tried to substitute it by the term "poranduba", which has not been accepted since the English term is so firmly established. But this is not the case concerning shop names, for words which are not part of the Portuguese language are being adopted and the possibility of their obtaining currency in the Portuguese language and substituting for the English ones is minimal. The few cases which might be pointed out would be the term "shopping center", classified as loanword, for the term denotes a specific kind of establishment: a large building where people can find several kinds of shops. Another one is "jeans", one will rarely hear someone referring to clothes using the term in Portuguese "brim". Here, the English word has substituted the Portuguese one in shop names, (shops which sell clothes made of jean, which is a heavy, strong cotton cloth), as well as in the speech of most people, when they want to refer to this material.

The English items used as shop names can hardly get currency because they are presented almost only indirectly, printed on the

signboards, and in this way they are not included in the vocabulary of people for they do not use them when communicating. Some of them are advertised on the radio and television, which also shows the international importance of the English language and the domination of the English-speaking countries, leading to a desire of identification with them. In this way, the shops carrying a foreign name can really attract the customers who will notice them because they remind people of the country in a higher position and they will undoubtedly buy in these shops because of the image of superiority they transmit, the same transmitted by the communicative channels. It is all a matter of adopting an attractive label, and since the frequency of English shop names is more significant in Class A areas, it can be assumed that the shop owner wants to attract customers from the upper social class, while the shop owner in Class B areas is simply imitating the upper social class, but selling cheaper goods because the lower social class cannot afford exclusive goods or famous/foreign brands.

CONCLUSION

As a conclusion, it may be said that the occurrence of shop names with English items is more significant in the shopping areas frequented by the middle/upper social class than in the ones frequented by the middle/lower social class, thus confirming the general hypothesis that the frequency of such names would be more significant in Class A areas than in Class B. English items are borrowed by Brazilian people because they have a special motive to do so, which is to attract customers to their shops, and since there are more shops with English names in the areas considered as Class A, it is possible to assume that the shop owners want to attract customers from the upper social class.

The majority of the shop names does not fit in the types of borrowings previously classified and described by HAUGEN<sup>6</sup>, HOCKETT<sup>8</sup>, and WEINREICH<sup>20</sup>, thus making necessary the creation of a new category in order to include the occurrences found. These English items fall within the domain of "Prestige", so that this type of borrowing has been called "Attraction Loan". This new category denotes the desire of attracting — customers, in the case of shop names — or the state of being attracted by such items. The use of English items asserts the shop a certain status, as some of the interviewed persons have said, because there is an assumption of the quality of everything which is foreign as being better.

In the case of this research, considering the interviewed persons in general, we can see that the number of persons who are favourable to the use of foreign words as shop names is greater than the number of the ones who are against, which shows that the majority of the persons have a positive attitude concerning the adoption of English items. Also, it has been possible to observe that some owners have said to be against but do adopt such foreign names, which can be explained as an attempt to adjust to their environment, and to get the rewards (more customers) that they see other shop owners (who adopt foreign names) getting — this is their expectation. The English shop name is a "label" stuck on the shop walls and its function is to distinguish it from the shops

which sell the same merchandise but have Brazilian names. The shop owner has to communicate in order to survive. He has to adopt a label for his shop which will influence people. This is the communication process: It acts on people imposing on them a previously expected reaction; the shop owner has the necessity of selling his products, for this, he has to attract customers, so he uses a foreign name which is a visual code. The customer notices the code, which represents status and feels attracted because of the image he makes of the foreign country, so he has a necessity of buying his products in that specific shop. The shop carrying an English name has a status symbol which explains the reason for the choice to use an English name instead of a Brazilian one, since the translation equivalent exists and the majority of the interviewed persons have given the equivalent in Portuguese to the adopted English items.

Considering that some of the interviewed persons answered, for instance, that the use of the genitive case ('s) had the function of attracting customers, making the name beautiful, etc., we can assume that the owners are much more worried about the visual impact of the name, than with its meaning — the function of a proper name is to identify, to differ, and not to signify.

Finally, while the economic domination of the English-speaking nations persists in Brazil, it will be very difficult, or highly improbable, to eliminate the borrowing of English items in the near future. What may happen, is the acquisition of more Prestige by another language, or even the Portuguese language becoming internationally important. As long as the situation does not change, in the theoretical framework for the study of borrowing, it is necessary to open a new category, which is "Attraction Loans", bearing in mind that considering shop names, this type is the most ephemeral of all, since the shop can close and, consequently, its name disappears.

As a suggestion for future research, the field of Computer Science would be advisable, for it presents interesting features of morphological adaptation. There is the borrowing of

English roots, but addition of Portuguese affixes. For example, people who work with computers use to say: printar (from "print"), deletar (from "delete"), procedurar (from "procedure"), jumpear (from "jump"), linkar (from "link"), etc..

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## APPENDIX I

This is the list of the shop names with English influence. The ones that could be classified in the described "Types of Loans" are also included in this list, together with the shop names classified as Attraction Loans.

Class A shops:Mueller Shopping Center de Curitiba:-

Flipper Calçados

Red Shoes

Shoes'Garden

Big Ben

Earfashion

Trudy's

Captain Gull

Center Jeans

London Fog - (LW)

Offer

Sack's

Surf Lançamentos

The Philippines

Gallery

Wrangler - (LW)

Fedato Sports

Luci's

Station

Farmashop - (LB)

Manhattan

Spell

Bunny's

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 LW = Loanwords

LB = Loanblends

LC = Loan Creation

- The names with no reference, are Attraction Loans

Club Jeans  
Ellus Jeans Etc. (LW)  
Jeanstock  
Ocean Pacific  
Color Center  
Mamie Shop  
Mary's  
Szabo Fashion  
Baked Potato  
Bigburger  
Big Sann  
Fornello Steak House - (LW)  
Mister Pizza  
Pit Stop  
Giovanna Baby  
Germon's  
Florashopping -(LB)  
Snack Burger  
Hallmark Star  
Flipper Video Game  
Gold - Concerto de Jóias e Relógios  
Lima Hobbies  
Lord Cabeleireiros - (LC)  
Playland  
Shopping Mágicas  
Shopping Hauer:-  
Patchwork  
Work out -(LW)  
Schooner  
Metropolis  
New England  
Polo by Kim  
Newspaper

Avenida Batel:-

Hannover Street  
 Brends Sports  
 Toffy's  
 Niko's Panificadora  
 Video Batel - Beta Club:  
     Soft Video - Laser Club

Serv Car - Gaúcho New  
 Leninha Man & Woman  
 Boys & Girls  
 Verde Batel - Serv car  
 Di Fiori - Pronta Entrega - Show Room  
 Elegant Modas

Shopping Center Novo Batel:-

Loan - Steak Salad's Bar  
 Golden Melodies  
 Ocean Pacific  
 Mac-Dog  
 Center Show  
 Mazer Gesbaby - (LB)  
 Star Video - Locadora  
 Red Shoes Clothes  
 Ragtime  
 Camufle by Company

R. Comendador Araújo:-

Baby Beef Rondaiyat Batel  
 Step in - Curso de Línguas  
 Inter Club Pass - International Tourism Passport Club  
 Happy Hair Cabeleireiros  
 Whisky's House  
 Polent's Boutique  
 Shampoo Unisex - Cabeleireiros  
 Estacionamento Easy Park  
 Baby's  
 Mamie Shop  
 Jana Jeans  
 Vand's - Lingeris Finas  
 Modelar Art & Banho  
 Ótica Master  
 Deliriu's  
 Vera's Boutique  
 Gaalesi's  
 Spell  
 Executive Lanches -(LC)  
 Fiança - Letras de Câmbio - Open Market  
 Golden Cross

Travessa Jesuíno Marcondes:-

Lancaster Cabeleireiros Unisex  
 Agência de Viagens - Visit Tour  
 Alfaiataria Jockey  
 Degrau's  
 Pastelaria Lanchonete Young  
 Dyvon's Modas  
 Caio Feijó - Studio Arte

Rua Senador Alencar Guimarães:-

Toy's Presentes  
 Rei do Jeans  
 Studio J.M. Cabeleireiros  
 Prata's Arte  
 Yoko Fashion  
 Hang Loose -(LW)  
 Slaviero Palace Hotel  
 Boutique Joy  
 Wrangler -(LW)  
 Essence Perfumes & Cosméticos  
 Optical Center  
 Jeanstock

Voluntários da Pátria:-

Gues Jeans  
 Surf  
 Griffon - Jeans Fashion Look  
 Big Ben  
 Ellus (LW)  
 Luci's

Class B shops:-Voluntários da Pátria:-

Pop Shop  
 Kids Moda Infantil  
 William Confecções  
 Xandi Shop  
 Fedato Sports  
 Billy Jean Lançamentos  
 Flepperama

Praça Rui Barbosa:-

Strass Cabeleireiros Unisex  
 Tuca's Cabeleireiros  
 Bom Gosto Jeans  
 Boutique Jeans Mania  
 Sport Jeans  
 Lanches Big Bom Refeições  
 Sport's Aptus  
 Dayse's Moda Jovem  
 Ziza's Cabeleireiros  
 Restaurante Lanchonete John's  
 Foto Sakuracolor - (LB)  
 Rock' in Rio  
 Dama Flor Cabeleireiros Unisex

Rua Pedro Ivo:-

Jovem Jeans  
 Tony Modas  
 Lucy Jóias  
 Color Press  
 Copy Arte  
 Academia Ambient's  
 Bar Snooker Taco de Ouro  
 Cabeleireiros Unisex  
 Colorsul - Com. de tintas Ltda -(LB)

Rua Westphalen:-

Jorge Modas - Lançamentos - Moda Jovem Unisex  
 Big Ben  
 Trakina's

Praça Tiradentes:-

City Magazin  
 Kicolor  
 Uni Jeans  
 Tay's Modas

Travessa Tobias de Macedo:-

Mister Loterias - (LC)  
 Big Ben  
 Eskritório's Restaurante e Bar

Rua José Loureiro:-

London Imóveis - (LC)  
Ticcólor Cine Foto  
Grass - Réplicas, Zircônias  
Shopping Itália  
Pastelaria King - (LC)  
Grace Modas - (LC)  
Jockey Club de São Paulo  
Park Avenue (Edifício)  
Chopp Arthur  
Cabeleireiros Unissex  
Franci's  
Pop Restaurante  
Lanch. e Rest. King Burger  
Fast Burger  
Toy's Brinquedos

Rua Saldanha Marinho:-

Raul Cabeleireiros Unissex  
Lanchonete Big K  
Mr Shoes - Calçados e Bolsas  
Fanel Sport  
Revistaria Queop's  
Cabeleireiros Unisses Tiyoko  
Pop Malhas  
Carlete - Instituto de Beleza Unissex  
Old Friend's