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The orthography of british trade names

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THE ORTHOGRAPHY OF BRITISH TRADE NAMES*

From a linguistic point of view trade names may be considered a special type of proper names.[1]) Their function is to distinguish a product (or a group of products) from other products (or groups of products), often made by a different manufacturer. In addition to this basic function trade names are frequently expected to fulfil an advertising function, which leads to a high percentage of descriptive names.[2]) A trade name then indicates a certain property of the product, either directly, by description (e.g. BENDALL for bending machines), or indirectly, through a metaphor (e.g. PIONEER for a product of a progressive design, or JAGUAR, PHANTOM, etc.). Other words or names chosen as trade names may not stress any particular property but the quality of the product may be indicated by names like REGINA, BLACK PRINCE, or BIG BROTHER. The purpose the products are to serve may be shown by names like BA-BA for children's wear. Other trade names are formed from the name of the manufacture or from a geographical name, or from their abbreviations. Blendings are also frequent in trade names (e.g. BACTERGENT for a bacteriological detergent).[3])

The functions of any trade name of the type indicated above, or of other types not included there, may be further supported by changes in the written form of the trade name, i.e. by various violations of the orthographic rules of present-day English.[4]) The purpose of breaking orthographic rules is 'to provide the product with

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[1]) A. H. Gardiner mentions trade names in *The Theory of Proper Names* (London 1940) but he does not 'linger over the names of patent medicines, trade products, and the like' (p. 54).

[2]) To use V. Mathesius's distinction between simple and descriptive naming units; cf. his *Obsahový rozbor současné angličtiny na základě obecně lingvistickém* [A Functional Analysis of Present Day English on a General Linguistic Basis], ed. by J. Vachek (Prague 1961), p. 22f., and p. 231 of the English summary.

[3]) On blendings in English in general, cf. pp. 22—23 of J. Vachek, *The Status of the Word, in Modern English* (Chapter Two of *Some Less Familiar Aspects of the Analytical Trend of English*), Brno Studies in English 3. 12—23 (Prague 1961). Cf. also p. 178 of G. N. Leech's *English in Advertising, A Linguistic Study of Advertising in Great Britain* (London 1966). Further references to Leech in the text are references to *English in Advertising*.

[4]) Besides Leech's remarks quoted further on in the paper and a brief mention on p. 226 of D. Crystal—D. Davy, *Investigating English Style* (London 1969), an extensive study of spelling changes in trade names was undertaken by Sven Jacobson: *Unorthodox Spelling in American Trademarks* (Stockholm Studies in English 16, Stockholm 1966), reviewed by

a distinctive written symbolization'. Trade names 'get a unique orthographic image, and yet retain the advantage of being composed of meaningful linguistic elements' (Leech 177). Although the spelling of such a trade name is different from the traditional one, the trade name is supposed to be translatable[5]) into the spoken form and more or less regular as regards the grapheme-phoneme relations. It may be therefore of some interest to investigate the position the spelling changes in trade names occupy in the system of English orthography, and to compare them with the principles of Wijk's *Regularized English[6]*), which is based on extensive research into the regular and irregular phoneme-grapheme relations in present-day English.

The Corpus

The trade names for the present paper have been collected from advertisements, especially from advertisements in technical journals, and from two buyers' guides: *The Engineer Buyers Guide* and *Instruments-Electronics-Automation Year Book and Buyers Guide.[7]*) Finally, *U.K. Trade Names[8]*) containing over 75,000 trade names were also searched.

The trade names in the corpus are basically divided into two groups: in the first group (A) the changes in spelling can be reduced to changes in the phoneme-grapheme relations, while in the second group (B) such a reduction of spelling changes is not possible. Further classification within the first group is based on the phonemes the graphemic translation of which has been affected.

In most cases in this paper no description of the product or conventional spelling of the trade name is given because this is not considered necessary. Obviously, if the trade names were not self-explanatory, they would not fulfil the intentions of their authors. In some cases, however, an explanation or the conventional spelling is given, and this is either in cases of less familiar technical terms or in cases where it is considered necessary to compensate for the separation of the trade name from

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J. Mountford in The Modern Language Review 64. 846—847 (Cambridge 1969). — A general work on the creation of trade names was published by J. Praninkas: *Trade Names Creation* (Janua Linguarum, Series Practica, Vol. 58, The Hague—Paris 1968). — J. Kraus examined the style of contemporary Czech advertising in *K stylu soudobé české reklamy* [On the Style of Contemporary Czech Advertising], Naše řeč 48. 193—198 (Prague 1965). — W. W. Schuhmacher's paper *Zur Typologie der Markenartikelnamen* (Linguistics 48. 68—72, The Hague—Paris 1968) discusses the phonotactic structure of German trade names. — The first attempt by the present author to collect respelled trade names was made in the years 1957 to 1960. A very limited number of periodicals available in Brno in those years, however, supplied only 40 instances of respelling (MELT-ESI, KLEENALL, KLEEN-E-ZE, GREESKILLA, RAYHEET, EESESET, SPEDE, LUSOL, MASTRAL, TRUBRITE etc., FLUTITE, NU-WAY, SOLDÁFLO, SUPÁPAK, HOLO-KROME, MOLYKOTE, SIL-FOS 'silver-phosphorus', ERMETO VALVES, KOSY KRAFT, TWINSTIK, STICTITE, CONE-LOK, DUMPTRUK, SUMP SUK, HYSTER KARRY KRANES, BO-SOX, DIXLINK, RUSKILLA, RID-O-GREASE, XPELAIR, ENOTS 'stone', RITE-SPEED). No analysis was attempted then. The above trade names have not been included in the lists on pp. 3 to 12 of the present paper.

[5]) Using W. Haas's term 'translation' for the correspondence between writing and speech; cf. his *Phonographic Translation* (Manchester 1970).

[6]) References to A. Wijk further on in the text are references to his *Regularized English* (Stockholm Studies in English 7, Stockholm 1959).

[7]) *The Engineer Buyers Guide 1969* (London 1969); *Instruments — Electronics — Automation Year Book and Buyers Guide[3]* (London 1967).

[8]) *UK Trade Names* (Croydon 1968), 406 pp.

its usual context. In addition to these cases, there are certain trade names in which a combination of peripheral graphemes (i.e. graphemes of low frequency, usually limited to certain words or a certain position in a word) makes understanding difficult.

The corpus contains even a few instances of blendings, but these are only those trade names where the changes in spelling are not a result of the blending itself, e.g. KARD-VEYER.

Each word or name affected by violation of the orthographic rules is quoted only once, irrespective of its frequency in the trade indexes. This is done in agreement with the approach to quantitative evaluation as explained on pp. 156. A higher frequency of a word, however, is indicated by 'etc.' after the trade name in question.

A. Changes relatable to phoneme-grapheme correspondences.

1. Consonants

/f/: ⟨f⟩ replaces ⟨ph⟩: POCKETFONE, NUGRAF, FEENIXWELD, ALFAKLOR.

⟨f⟩ replaces ⟨gh⟩: HARDANTUF ('hard and tough').

⟨f⟩ replaces ⟨ft⟩: SOFENBACK ('soften (it) back') (see also under 3. d), p. 151).

⟨ph⟩ replaces ⟨f⟩: EASIEPHIT.

/g/: ⟨g⟩ replaces ⟨gu⟩: EARGARD etc.

/k/: ⟨k⟩ replaces ⟨c⟩: initial position: KEY KADDY, KALI-BOR (machine tools), KAMPAMAT (camping mattresses), KAN BAN (packing of cans), KANTSHOCK (shielded conductors), KAR-KOOL (air conditioner), KARBO... (drills, cutters), KARD-VEYER (automated records retrieval), NITROKASE (nitriding steels), KAST IRON, KEE KLAMP, KLEANLINE, etc., KLEERSCREEN etc., KLIKLOCK (cartons), KOLD KURE, KOOLWEAR, KOMPAK ('compact'), ALUKORE (aluminium ... course), KORK-N-SEAL (caps), KORN-RAZOR, KORODE KURE, KOSIE KUT (underwear), KOSTCUTTER, KOT KID (baby harness), UNIKOTE (paint) etc., KROSCARE (bird scaring rope), KROOKLOK, Ku... ('Cu' = copper), KLEEN KUFFS, KUMFY, PYRO-KURE (flame retardant), KINKI KURL (carpets), KUTRITE (scissors); other positions: MAGIKOYL (lubricant), CHYK ('chic'), SKOOTERS (shoes), VISKSEAL.

⟨k⟩ replaces ⟨ck⟩: ARBORBAK (back lining material), WALTERBLAK, BLOKLINK, HOT BRIK, DUO-CHEK (valves), FLINTDEK (floor coating), FLIKSWITCH, JAK-TUG (platforms and lifts), KLIKLOK, SPRINGLOK etc., RUBA NEK (tap seals), FLOWPAK (wrapping machine) etc., TELEPAK (hydraulic power pack) etc., QUIK-ALIGN etc., UNIRAK (instrument rack) etc., ROK FEEDER, SLIK LINE (marking powder), MARKAL-PAINTSTIKS, STIKASTRIP etc., DATA TRAK etc., MAIL TUK.

⟨k⟩ replaces ⟨ch⟩: TRIKLONE (trichloroethylen), ALFAKLOR (detergent-sterilizer), KROMECOTE ('chrome coat').

⟨c⟩ replaces ⟨ck⟩: SILENTBLOC, FORMOFLOC, LOCTITE etc., DATA-PAC etc., QUIC-SOL (paint cleaner), MICRO-RAC, INDUCHOC ('shock'), TWIN-SLIC, PRESTIC (self-adhesive labels), TELETRAC (scanning system), DURATRUC.

⟨k⟩ replaces ⟨qu⟩: TORK LOC ('torque lock'), UNEEK ('unique'); see also under /W/: KWIK-FIX etc., KWENCHOYL.

⟨qu⟩ replaces ⟨cqu⟩: ANCOLAQUER (see also under 3. d), p. 151).

/k/ + /s/: ⟨x⟩ replaces ⟨xc⟩: EXELCRETE (excellent concrete) (see also under 3. d), p. 151).

⟨x⟩ replaces ⟨ck⟩ + ⟨s⟩: TUFSOX ('tough socks'), DIXGRIP ('DICK's'), STIX ('sticks', a paste powder), CHIXEXER ('chick sexer') (see also under 4 and 5, p. 151).

/n/: ⟨n⟩ replaces ⟨kn⟩: COZINIT ('cosy knit').

⟨kn⟩ replaces ⟨n⟩: KNO-DRAUGHT (air diffuser).

/r/: ⟨r⟩ replaces ⟨wr⟩: SCOTCHRAP (pipe protection products), TAPE RITER (dictating machine).

/s/: ⟨s⟩ replaces ⟨c⟩: SENTERCET (rectifier equipment).

⟨c⟩ replaces ⟨s⟩: SENTERCET.

/ ʃ /: ⟨sh⟩ replaces ⟨s⟩: SHURE STAKE.

⟨ch⟩ replaces ⟨sh⟩: INDUCHOC (anti-shock bearing).

/w/: ⟨w⟩ replaces ⟨wh⟩: ALLWYTE (digits for car plates), WYIRON ('why iron' shirts).

⟨w⟩ is added in 'one, once': AYEWON ('A 1'), ATWONCE (paste powder).

⟨kw⟩ replaces ⟨qu⟩: KWENCHOYL, KWIK-FIX etc.

/z/: ⟨z⟩ replaces ⟨s⟩: EZEE-GRIP, HOZELOCK, POZIDRIV, VIZUSELL (shop fittings), TIMEWIZE (horological products); also in COMFY-TOZE (footwear), DRYZAIR (dehumidifier).

/tʃ/: ⟨tch⟩ replaces ⟨ch⟩: TUTCHTITE ('touch tight' valves).

/dʒ/: ⟨j⟩ replaces ⟨dj⟩: AJUSTO-SPEDE (see also under under 3. d), p. 151).

⟨j⟩ replaces ⟨dg⟩: WEJ-IT (anchor bolts).

⟨j⟩ replaces ⟨g⟩: FINGERMAJIG.

Simplification of double consonant graphemes:
/b/: RUBA NEK ('rubber neck').
/l/: MARKAL-PAINTSTIKS, CAN-TROLER (controller), KWICKFIL, FULFLO, HOLOZONE, LILIPUT, ROLCARD.
/n/: FENAPLAST (Fenner & Co.).
/r/: KARIMO ('carry'), KORODE KURE, PORAGE ('porridge').
/s/: DURAGLAS, HEAT-LES, PRESLETTA.⁹)

Doubling of consonant graphemes:
/k/: STIKK (adhesive), STYCCO (adhesive).¹⁰)
/n/: GANNTRI-TILT (stillage for barrel handling).

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⁹) PRESLETTA is considered a different case from PRESTIC (see under B. 1). In the former the simplification of ⟨ss⟩ to ⟨s⟩ is within one word, while in the latter the simplification of ⟨ss⟩ + + ⟨s⟩ to ⟨s⟩ affects the boundary between two words.

¹⁰) Both STIKK and STYCCO are classified in the same group as cases of pure doubling of consonant graphemes, even though they replace ⟨ck⟩.

/t/: TRUEFITT.
/v/: EVVAPREST ('ever pressed' trousers).

2. Vowels

/ɪ/: ⟨i⟩ replaces ⟨y⟩: CARRIBELT, COZINIT, DAINTINET (lace furnishing),
    EASILOAD etc., EVRIPOSE (dolls), GANNTRI-TILT, HANDI-PUMP
    etc., HAPPIFEET, IVI, KINKI KURL, KUMFICAR (car covers),
    LUSTIWEAR, REDI-BILT etc., SAFETI-KIT, SPEEDI etc.

    ⟨y⟩ replaces ⟨i⟩: CHYK ('chic'), SUNDYM (windows), QUICK-DYP, FLUSH-
    FYT, SUNGLYNT (enamel), GRYPS (glue), SLYMBACK (corsetry),
    QUICKER-STRYP (paint remover), SOFTASYLK (napkins), AMT-UNYT
    (connectors), WYNDOCHARM (furnishing fabrics).

    ⟨ie⟩ replaces ⟨y⟩: KOSIE KUT.

    ⟨ey⟩ replaces ⟨y⟩: O-SO-COSEY.

    ⟨i⟩ replaces ⟨ui⟩: EEZIBILT.

/e/: ⟨e⟩ replaces ⟨ea⟩: DEDLOC (couplings), SUPERLED ('lead' = metal), REDI-
    BILT etc., TRUSPRED, THREDEESI (bead cords), EVEN TRED (heel
    pads).

/ʊ/: ⟨u⟩ replaces ⟨o⟩: KUMFY, KUVRIT (covering for heels), WUNDA-WER
    (garments).

    ⟨u⟩ replaces ⟨ou⟩: TRUBLEPRUFE, TUFMOTOR ('tough'), TUTCHTITE
    ('touch tight' valves).

/v/: ⟨u⟩ replaces ⟨oo⟩: GUDWYFE, CAMWUL (cloths).

/ə/: ⟨a⟩ replaces ⟨er⟩, ⟨or⟩: ANSAFONE (telephone answering system), BETTA-
    VUE ('better view'), BREEZA (fans), BRYTA ('brighter'), SUPACOVA
    (cover material), DOZALODA ('dozer-loader'), EVVAPREST ('ever pressed
    trousers), XCAVATA ('excavator'), EXPANDA, STACK FEEDAS (pl.),
    FIRMASEAL, GREETA (21st birthday keys), GRIPPA, INVADA, INTA-
    LINK, JOTTA-BLOTTA, DUSTKILLA, PRESSLETTA, LINATEX (liner
    textile), LITALIFT, ACRASILVA, SIMPLA, PLASTRONGA (high-density
    polythene tubes), SUPAMOLD etc., TRIGGA-SNIP, TRIMMATOOL,
    TYGAFLOR, UNDA-DOOR (draught excluder), SUPAVENDA, WANDA
    ('wander'), WIDAVU ('wider view'), WINTAGLOW, WONDABELT.

    ⟨or⟩ replaces ⟨our⟩: STEELARMOR (armoured cables), COLOR FINDER
    etc.[11])

    ⟨ah⟩ replaces ⟨or⟩: SENYAH.

/iː/: ⟨e+C+V⟩ replace ⟨ea+C⟩ or ⟨ee+C⟩: CLENELITE ('clean light') etc.,
    STARHETE, CHEKEALEKE (plugs for bottles), PELOCOTE (strippable
    lacquer), DYNASPEDE.

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[11]) The spelling with ⟨-or⟩ is still regarded as a deviation from the more usual spelling here,
because *armor* is labelled as 'obsolete' in *The Shorter Oxford English Dictionary*, and *color* 'has
been occasionally used since the 15th century'. The firms using these trade names with ⟨-or⟩
are British, not American. Complete separation of British and American usage is difficult even
when trade names used by the British branches of American companies have been excluded,
if recognized as such. Some of the respellings quoted here are used outside the sphere of trade
names (e.g. *nite, do*) and are recorded in dictionaries (e.g. *sox* in Webster's Seventh New Collegiate
Dictionary).

⟨e⟩ replaces ⟨ee⟩ or ⟨ea⟩: HEP-SLEVE (Hepworth sleeve), FLEXEZY etc.

⟨ee⟩ replaces ⟨ea⟩: CLEERTREND, CREESRIST ('crease resisting'), EESI-NESS etc., KLEEN-WELD etc., LEEKSEAL, SEEL-A-DOR (draught reducer).

⟨ee⟩ replaces ⟨ey⟩: KEE BOARD.

⟨ee⟩ replaces ⟨oe⟩: FEENIXWELD.

⟨ee⟩ replaces ⟨i⟩: UNEEK ('unique').

/ɑ:/: ⟨ar⟩ replaces ⟨a⟩: KARNTCLOG ('can't clog').

/ɔ:/: ⟨or⟩ replaces ⟨oor⟩: ARMOURFLOR, FYADOR ('fire door').

⟨awl⟩ replaces ⟨all⟩: AWLTITE ('all tight' insulating tape).

/u:/: ⟨u⟩ replaces ⟨ew⟩: NU-WAY etc., SPACEVU ('space view').

⟨u⟩ replaces ⟨oe⟩: ELLYSHU ('Ellys shoe').

⟨u⟩ replaces ⟨ue⟩: TRU-BLU etc.

⟨u⟩ replaces ⟨wo⟩: TU-IN-ONE.

⟨C+u⟩ replace ⟨you⟩: DELYTU ('delight you') etc.

⟨ew⟩ replaces ⟨ue⟩: TREW-STYLE.

⟨oo⟩ replaces ⟨ue⟩: DRITROO.

⟨uu⟩ replaces ⟨ue⟩: TRUU FEEL.

⟨ue⟩ replaces ⟨ew⟩: CLEERVUE.

⟨u⟩ replaces ⟨oo⟩: FYREPRUF(E) etc.

/eɪ/: ⟨ay⟩ replaces ⟨ai⟩: NEVERFAYLE, GAYTERS, RAYNBO ('rainbow' colour pencils), RITEWAYT ('write-wait' letter trays).

⟨ay⟩ replaces ⟨a⟩: LADY JAYNE, GAYZAT (notice board materials).

⟨a⟩(+C+V) replace ⟨ai⟩(+C): NUADE ('new aid'), NUAGANE ('new again') TRUGRANE (timber grainer).

⟨a⟩ replaces ⟨ay⟩: CLATONRITE ('Clayton Wright'), DALITE ('day light'), STA-DRI ('stay dry' tractor cabs).

⟨a⟩ replaces ⟨au⟩: GAGE-MATIC.

/aɪ/: ⟨i⟩ replaces ⟨igh⟩: HI-LOAD etc.

⟨y⟩ replaces ⟨igh⟩: HYWAY etc.

⟨i⟩ replaces ⟨ie⟩ or ⟨ye⟩: HI-DI ('high dye'), LI-ON.

⟨y⟩ replaces ⟨ie⟩: DYCASTAL ('die cast'), TYTAPE.

⟨y⟩ replaces ⟨ia⟩: DYLONSITE (telephone dial).

⟨i+C+e⟩ replace ⟨igh+C⟩: STAYBRITE (stainless steel), JETLITE, ALL-NITE (fires), CLATONRITE (Clayton Wright), STAYRITE ('stay right' vices), SEALTITE.

⟨y+C+e⟩ replace ⟨igh+C⟩: EVERBRYTE, FLEXFLYTE, SAFETYLYTE,

⟨y⟩ replaces ⟨i⟩: BYNDIT, CHYNALYKE (enamel), FYLEMOR (storage), FYNE PRINT, QUICKFYND (desk file), ANTIFYRE, GLYDER etc., WYSEHYRE, LYKESTONE (imitation), GLEN LYON, THRUPYLE, EVERSHYNE, SLYDLOK, SYLENZ, TYGAFLOR, MODERNTYME, ALLWYTE, WYD-ANGLE, GUDWYFE, ALIWYRE, BEEWYSE.

⟨ye⟩ replaces ⟨ie⟩: POLY-TYE (polyester ribbon).

⟨i⟩ replaces ⟨y⟩: DRI-BOND etc., FLIWAY.

/ɔɪ/: ⟨oy⟩ replaces ⟨oi⟩: OYLTITE-STIK ('oil-tight stick').

/aʊ/: ⟨ough⟩ replaces ⟨ow⟩: HOUGHTO-CLEAN ('how to clean').

/əʊ/: ⟨o⟩ replaces ⟨ow⟩: MAXBLO (hammer), RAYNBO, AIRFLO etc., GLO-FLAG etc., GRO-MESH (plant trainer), HOLOFORM, KROSCARE (bird scaring rope), HI-LO etc., KARIMO ('carry mow').

⟨o+C+e⟩ replace ⟨oa+C⟩: POLYCOTE ('polycoat') etc., NOFLOTE ('no float' pump control equipment).

⟨o⟩ replaces ⟨ough⟩: DO-MAKER (bread making machine), DO-NUTS.

⟨oh⟩ replaces ⟨ough⟩: PLAY-DOH (modelling compound).

/ɛə/: ⟨ay⟩ replaces ⟨ai⟩: AYRTUBE, FAYRESPUN.

⟨ae⟩ replaces ⟨ai⟩: FROZT-ED AER.

⟨er⟩ replaces ⟨ear⟩: WUNDA-WER ('wonder wear' garments).

3. 'Silent' letters
   a) 'Silent-e' added to a word: NU-AIRE.
   b) 'Silent-e' omitted: ANGLGEAR, CIRCLGRID, FOGNOZL; POZIDRIV, FYRSIDE, FREEZHEAT, DOUB'L-LIF, FYLEMOR, SHUR PLUGS; SAFTYRUNG, EVRIPOSE (dolls), SOVRYN[12)
   c) Other silent vowel letters: FACTRYCOTE, SOVRYN.
   d) Silent consonant letters: SOFENBACK, ANCOLAQUER, EXELCRETE, AJUSTO-SPEDE.

4. Re-spellings affecting the morphological level:
   a) re-spellings of verbal suffixes: FIXT NUTS, EVVAPREST (trousers), DIATIPT (diamond tipped tools); DRYZAIR (dehumidifier); STIX (paste powder).
   b) morphemic boundary affected: STIX; TUFSOX ('tough socks'), BOXRAX ('box racks'); BLAXMODE ('Black's'), DIXGRIP ('Dick's').

5. Re-spellings at word boundaries:
   DIREC-TRANSFER; PRESTIC ('press-stick' labels); CHIXEXER ('chick sexer'); HOLDEMRITE (safety harness).

6. Reflection of non-standard speech:
   GLYDINDOR, ANPADS ('hand pads'), HANKLENSA (hand cleansing jelly), IDRO-X (hydro...).

7. Homophones as parts of trade names:
   JER-SEA (swimwear and beachwear), Esplen-D'or (thread), SEA-ESTA (airbeds), Poly-E-Star (tie), JEFFDUM (Geoff Dumble), Morris the Mynah, JONWINDOWS (John), REIGNOUT (soilpipe ventilating material).

B. Changes not relatable to phoneme-grapheme correspondences:

1. The initial unstressed syllable is left out: CAYSORAIN (in case of rain — caps), GENYK (hygienic), LASTIC (elastic).

2. Names of letters:
   a) written in full: EM-ONE ('M. 1'), JAY-BEE, JAY-ELLE, JAYENJAY etc., AYEWON ('A. 1').[13)
   b) the name of the capitalized letter forms part of the trade name: C-NO-NETS ('see no nets'), Han-D-Gun (a handy grease gun), D-Scale (descaling), D-Solve, D-Bonair ets., I.C. ('I see'), I GARD ('eye guard'), I.X.L. ('excel'), S.X. TOOLS (Essex Tools), Safe-T-Cap, UNEEDIT ('you need it') etc., Xact RAY (thickness gauge), X.L.N.T., Xtralite etc., sim. LvL-guard ('level guard').

3. A capital letter in the middle of a word: Hi-D-Lite (optical furniture), Met-L-Etch, Poly-E-Star, Saft-I-Light, Speak-R-Phone.

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12) In some classes a semicolon is used to indicate further subcategories.

13) The reading of this trade name as 'A. 1', as well as of some other trade names, was confirmed by their users.

4. Word boundaries shifted or abolished: OSOCOMFY (footwear) etc., KANTSHOCK (shielded conductors), DONTLOCK; LIF-TAL etc., PRINT-a-PLY (prints and applies labels).

C. Trade names with a combination of some of the types described above: EZILODE ('easy load'), KWIKFIX, TUFSOX ('tough socks'), CLATONRITE ('Clayton-Wright'), AWLTITE ('all tight' insulating tapes), DALITE ('day light' roof lights), SCOTCH PORAGE, SOVRYN; FYADOR ('fire door'); SENYAH ('senior').

A brief comment seems necessary on some of the groups of trade names given above. The replacement of ⟨y⟩ by ⟨i⟩ in CARRIBELT etc. (p. 149) may be explained as a consequence of the abolition of the boundary between the two words. This may have been the reason behind some of the changes. Besides CARRIBELT etc., however, there are names like HANDI-PUMP, STA-DRI or KINKI KURL, where the boundary has been preserved, or names like SPEEDYJET, where the loss of the boundary has not led to the replacement of ⟨y⟩ by ⟨i⟩.

HI for 'high' (p. 150) is a very frequent part of trade names but at the same time it may be regarded as an abbreviation (cf. hi-fi) or as an alternative spelling.

The corpus includes several instances of trade names in which the changes in the spelling have resulted in forms not corresponding to the expected pronunciation, e.g. names with omitted final -e POZIDRIV, DUB'L-LIF, or names like CHEKEA-LEKE, a trade name for plugs which are used to 'check a leak'. In the latter case symmetrical, or rhyming spelling has led to violation of one of the rules of the English orthography, i.e. 'long' pronunciation of a C+V+C+e group.

Evaluation of the Material

Group B contains mostly trade names which are outside the main interest for the purpose of the present paper. The spelling changes there are not of the kind where a selection is made from many-to-many grapheme-phoneme correspondences but of the kind where other changes, not relatable to the above correspondences, have been made, e.g. capitalization of a letter etc.

Spelling changes inside group A present a wide gamut ranging from changes pointing to the periphery of the system of English orthography to changes coinciding with the basic regular features of the system. Before the individual instances are discussed, it may be worth pointing out that not all the enumerated changes should be viewed as phenomena isolated from other changes in the same word.[14] In some of the trade names one change influenced another, as in UNEEK and PORAGE. It would seem to be difficult to change 'unique' into *UNIK or even *UNEEQUE. Similarly in 'porridge': the replacement of the final -dge by -age should not be isolated from the simplification of ⟨rr⟩, the final form fitting in with the graphemic pattern of words like courage, garage, image, damage. Similarly, many of the changes affecting words with long vowels or diphthongs have not been classified under separate graphemes but under the graphemic group V+C+V. A different kind of mutual relation between spelling changes is to be found in an isolated instance of SENTERCET (from 'centre set').

Another group of spelling changes is represented by homophones, the use of

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[14] Cf. pp. 14—17 of J. Vachek, *Two Chapters on Written English*, Brno Studies in English 1. 7—38 (Prague 1959). In present-day English the relation between writing and speech is not limited to phoneme-grapheme correspondences.

which cannot be explained by simple breaking up into grapheme-phoneme correspondences, e.g. JEFF — replacing 'Geoff', REIGNOUT replacing 'rain out', Mynah (= a bird) replacing 'minor'. — Some instances of homographs in the collected material are dependent on the context to a considerable extent, e.g. DO-MAKER, where DO- stands for 'dough'.

The following analysis of the graphemic changes in the trade names of group A is based on the direction of the change within the system of English orthography, e.g. whether a peripheral grapheme[15]) has been replaced by a grapheme of a similar status or by a more central grapheme etc. The analysis is thus not concerned with the superficially apparent difference between the new and the original spelling of a particular word or name forming part of a trade name.

The first of the three main types of changes is the one where the change is directed to the periphery of the orthographic system. It is exemplified by ⟨ph⟩ — ⟨f⟩ shift in EASIPHIT, ⟨kl-⟩ — ⟨chl-⟩ in TRIKLONE, ⟨kw⟩ — ⟨qu⟩ in KWIK FIX, ⟨ch⟩ — ⟨sh⟩ in INDUCHOC, ⟨j⟩ — ⟨dg⟩ in WEJ-IT, ⟨z⟩ — ⟨s⟩ in TIMEWIZE, ⟨ah⟩ — ⟨or⟩ in SENYAH, ⟨oo⟩ — ⟨ue⟩ in DRITROO, ⟨uu⟩ — ⟨ue⟩ in TRUU FEEL, ⟨ough⟩ — ⟨ow⟩ in HOUGHTOCLEAN, ⟨aer⟩ — ⟨air⟩ in FROZT-ED AER. In all these names the new spelling makes use of peripheral grapheme-phoneme correspondences. Thus ⟨ph⟩ is to be found only in words of Greek origin, ⟨kl-⟩ is a grapheme of very low frequency, ⟨kw⟩ is not used in English words, initial ⟨ch⟩ for / ʃ / is only in words of French origin, final ⟨j⟩ has only one occurrence in English, in a word taken over from Hindi (raj), ⟨s⟩ corresponds mostly to /z/ and ⟨z⟩ is less frequent, final ⟨oo⟩ occurs in less than ten words, final ⟨uu⟩ is not known in present-day English, and finally ⟨ough⟩ is part of a very complex and irregular grapheme-phoneme relationship, and ⟨aer⟩ is to be found in a limited number of words, while ⟨air⟩ is more frequent (chair, fair, etc.).

Further examples of outward oriented changes of the first type are in groups represented by ⟨k⟩ — ⟨ck⟩ in ARBORBAK, ⟨c⟩ — ⟨ck⟩ in SILENTBLOC, ⟨k⟩ — ⟨c⟩ in KEY KADDY, ⟨i⟩ — ⟨y⟩ in HANDI-PUMP and DRI-BOND, ⟨a⟩ — ⟨er⟩, ⟨or⟩ in ANSAFONE. In all the cases the graphemes in the trade names have been introduced into unusual positions.

Three other groups of trade name spellings come under the heading of outward oriented changes. The first is characterised by the introduction of an archaizing 'y' in cases like CHYK, NEVERFAYLE, LADY JAYNE, EVERBRYTE, HYWAY, BYNDIT, OYLTITE, POLY-TYE, AYRTUBE etc. This use of ⟨y⟩ is found more often with /ai/ than with /ɪ/. The second group is characterised by the introduction of double consonants: STIKK, STYCCO, GANNTRI-TILT, TRUEFITT, EVVA-PREST, or simplification of double consonants in RUBA etc. (see Note 20). The third group still coming under the first type comprises names with final single vowels: ⟨u⟩ in NU-WAY, ELLYSHU, TRU-BLU, TU-IN-ONE, THRUPYLE, DELYTU; ⟨i⟩ for /ai/ in HI-DI etc.; and ⟨o⟩ in MAXBLO and DO-MAKER etc.[16])

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[15]) On the relation of periphery and centre in language see especially Travaux linguistiques de Prague 2, *Les problèmes du centre et de la périphérie du système de la langue* (ed. by J. Vachek), (Pragu:—Paris 1966).

[16]) Alternatively, some of the trade names included in these groups could be classified as belonging to the second type. This would apply in cases, where ⟨a⟩, ⟨u⟩, ⟨i⟩ or ⟨o⟩ are not at the end of the name but appear before an abolished word boundary inside the name, or in the case of⟨o⟩, if words like go, no, so were regarded as justifying classification of BLO etc. under the second type of change below.

Finally, two other groups of changes should be added to the first type: trade
names from classes A. 3 and A.4 with loss of morphemic structure through re-spelling
(PREST, SOX, etc.) and most of the names in class A. 3, where the loss of final -e
creates clusters of consonant letters not usual in the English orthography and also
removes a letter which influences the pronunciation of the preceding graphemes.

While the changes of the first type were described as outward oriented, the
changes of the second type can be seen as remaining more or less within the same
level. Examples can be drawn from trade names like TUTCHTITE with ⟨tch⟩ — ⟨ch⟩
change[17]), KOSIE KUT (⟨ie⟩ — ⟨y⟩), O-SO-COSEY (⟨ey⟩ — ⟨y⟩)[18]), CLEER-
TREND (⟨ee⟩ — ⟨ea⟩), TREW-STYLE (⟨ew⟩ — ⟨ue⟩), CLEERVUE (⟨ue⟩ — ⟨ew⟩),
AWLTITE (⟨awl⟩ — ⟨all⟩). All graphemes introduced into trade names of this type
may be thought of as occupying more or less the same position in the system of
English orthography as the original graphemes. Another group of names coming
under the same heading comprises most of the names with the $(C+)V+C+V$
patterns: TRUGRANE, STAY*BRITE*, POLY*COTE*.[19]) A third group of this type
is formed by ⟨kn-⟩ and ⟨n-⟩ in KNO-DRAUGHT and COZINIT and by ⟨wr-⟩ and
⟨r⟩ in SCOTCHRAP ('wrap'), both graphemes being found in frequent words.
Replacement of ⟨ou⟩ by ⟨u⟩ falls partly into this category, as ⟨u⟩ is the most
regular counterpart of /ʌ/ but the ⟨ou⟩ — /ʌ/ relation is supported by the following
graphemes in 'trouble' etc. Finally, the ⟨-our⟩ — ⟨-or⟩ relation in ARMOR, COLOR
can be considered to work within the same level (see Note 11).

In the third type of spelling changes, the new spelling shows a certain degree
of regularization, or of simplification oriented inwardly — as opposed to some of the
changes in the first group that could also be classified as simplifications, but oriented
outwardly (e.g. SILENTBLOC or DURAGLAS[20])). The examples of the inward
oriented type are as follows: ⟨f⟩ — ⟨ph⟩ in POCKET-FONE, ⟨k⟩ — ⟨qu⟩ in TORK,
⟨i⟩ — ⟨ui⟩ in EEZIBILT, ⟨ee⟩ — ⟨ey⟩ in KEE BOARD, ⟨ee⟩ — ⟨oe⟩ in
FEENIXWELD, (a) — ⟨ay⟩ in CLATONRITE, (a) — ⟨au⟩ in GAGEMATIC. The
classification of the re-spellings quoted in this paragraph as inward oriented may
be supported by a number of words with ⟨fo-⟩, ⟨ga-⟩, ⟨-rk⟩, ⟨bi-⟩, ⟨-ee⟩, ⟨-ee-⟩,
⟨a÷C÷V⟩, respectively.

Two other re-spellings could be included in the third type: UNEEK, removing
an /i:/ — ⟨i⟩ correspondence, found only before ⟨que⟩ in a limited number of words,
and KUMFY, which removes the exceptional ⟨com⟩ — ⟨kʌm⟩ correspondence,
found nearly only before ⟨f⟩, by introducing more regular ⟨um⟩ — ⟨ʌm⟩
correspondence.

Other graphemic changes can be characterised as distinctly inward oriented if the
new spelling replaces a rare, or isolated, phoneme-grapheme correspondence in the
affected words. Examples of changes of this type are represented by ⟨sh⟩ replacing

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[17]) TUTCH here is another example of mutually related changes in one word, cf. p. 13.

[18]) ⟨ie⟩ and ⟨ey⟩ are to be found finally in some names, so that the classification of these
trade name spellings can be justified.

[19]) The graphemes concerned are printed in italics. Not all VCV re-spellings can be classified
here. Even though most of them have one feature in common (the introduction of final -e), the
combination is not very frequent for ⟨e+C+e⟩ or ⟨u+C+e⟩ and is in these cases classified as
outward oriented.

[20]) Simplification of double consonant graphemes often 'opens' the syllables and the required
pronunciation is then dependent on the context and perhaps on the resemblance between the
original spelling and the new form (RUBA, FENA, HOLOZONE etc., all considered outward
oriented re-spellings).

⟨s⟩ in SHURE STAKE, and of ⟨e⟩ replacing ⟨ea⟩ in DEDLOC etc. Some attempts in the same direction cannot be regarded as fully successful, e.g. HARDANTUF, even though removing complicated grapheme-phoneme correspondence groups, introduces ⟨-uf⟩ instead of ⟨-uff⟩. Similarly ATWONCE removes the irregular ⟨on-⟩ for /wʌn/ but the employment of ⟨o⟩ is questionable.

The above discussion of the different types of spelling changes has not adduced all the names collected in the corpus nor has it explicitly mentioned all the types of spelling change. It is therefore considered suitable to give an illustrative list of these types coming under the three headings. For the sake of brevity, however, the list includes only the new graphemes and specimen words.

1. Outward oriented changes.

⟨f⟩ : TUF	⟨i⟩ : HANDI	⟨e⟩+C+V : CLENE
⟨ph⟩ : PHIT	HI	⟨e⟩ : SLEVE
⟨k⟩ : KADDY	DI ('dye')	⟨ar⟩ : KARNT
BAK	LI	⟨or⟩ : FLOR
KROME	⟨y⟩ : CHYK	⟨u⟩ : NU
⟨c⟩ : BLOC	HY	SHU
⟨ch⟩ : CHOC	DY ('die')	TRU
⟨kw⟩ : KWIK	DYL ('dial')	TU ('two')
⟨z⟩ : WIZE	BRYTE	DELYTU
⟨j⟩ : WEJ	BYND	PRUF
MAJIG	TYE	⟨oo⟩ : TROO
⟨r⟩ : RUBA	RAYN	⟨uu⟩ : TRUU
⟨l⟩ : FUL	GAYZ	⟨a⟩ : DALITE
⟨n⟩ : FENA	OYL	⟨ough⟩ : HOUGH ('how')
⟨r⟩ : KARI	AYR	⟨o⟩ : BLO
⟨s⟩ : GLAS	⟨u⟩ : WUL	DO ('dough')
⟨kk⟩ : STIKK	⟨a⟩ : BETTA	⟨oh⟩ : DOH
⟨cc⟩ : STYCCO	⟨ah⟩ : SENYAH	⟨ae⟩ : AER
⟨nn⟩ : GANNTRI		⟨er⟩ : WER ('wear')
⟨tt⟩ : FITT		Groups A 3 to 7 (p. 151)
⟨vv⟩ : EVVA		

2. Changes within the same level.

⟨n⟩ : NIT ('knit')	⟨or⟩ : ARMOR	⟨ew⟩ : TREW
⟨kn⟩ : KNO	⟨ee⟩ : CLEER	⟨ue⟩ : VUE
⟨r⟩ : RAP ('wrap')	KEE	⟨a⟩ + C + V : GRANE
⟨w⟩ : WYTE	FEENIX	⟨i⟩ + C + V : BRITE
⟨tch⟩ : TUTCH	UNEEK	⟨o⟩ + C + V : COTE
⟨u⟩ : TRUBLE	⟨awl⟩ : AWL	

3. Invard oriented changes.

⟨f⟩ : FONE	⟨w⟩ : WONCE	⟨a⟩ : CLATON, GAGE
⟨g⟩ : GARD	⟨i⟩ : BILT	⟨sh⟩ : SHURE
⟨k⟩ : TORK	⟨u⟩ : KUMFY	⟨e⟩ : DED

Quantitative Approach to the Corpus

The percentage of trade names with deviatory spelling in the two buyers' guides (see Note 7) was 5.9 and7.6. These figures are based on all instances of any word or name with changed spelling in the list. A similar count was taken for trade names in an American buyers' guide covering the same field as one of the British guides[21] and the percentage was 7.6. Even if these results are not based on a comparison of more extensive lists of trade names, such as the *UK Trade Names* (see Note 8) and a corresponding American publication, they seem to indicate that there is at present no fundamental difference between the British and the American trade names in this respect.[22] The given percentages are based on lists of 6723 British and 4314 American trade names.

No other statistical date have been drawn from the collected material. The main reason is that the vocabulary of trade names, and of advertising in general, is limited to a certain selection of words. The frequencies of the words used in advertising are different from their frequencies in other linguistic situations. The frequency of adjectives given by Leech[23] is not in agreement with the frequency which can be, with some approximation, derived from Thorndike/Lorge and West[24]. For direct address advertising Leech gives the following order of adjectives according to their frequency: new, good/better/best, free, fresh, delicious, full - sure, clean - wonderful, special, crisp etc. A similar list based on Thorndike/Lorge and West would be as follows: *good/better/best, new, old, great, large, small, little, last, important, true, young*, etc. Finally, an analogical list for trade names with deviant spellings would be: *high, new, true, easy, clean, quick, etc.*

The unjustifiability of any detailed statistical analysis of the collected material, either for any general conclusions about the orthography of trade names or for relations between the individual deviations, has led to the inclusion in the published material of only one example for each word or name: the two buyers' guides and the *UK Trade Names* contain e.g. over 200 instances of adjective „high" re-spelled, over 80 instances of „new" re-spelled etc.

Even without a detailed statistical analysis, the survey on pp. X—X indicates that most respelled trade names, about 75%, have been classified in the first group, i.e. as names with respellings oriented to the periphery of the modern English orthographic system.

Spelling Changes in Trade Names and *Regularized English*

The analysis on p. 14—18 has shown how the individual deviations in the spelling of British trade names can be viewed as tending either to the periphery or

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[21]) *Electronics* '69. *Buyers' Guide* (New York, 1968).

[22]) A comparison of Jacobson's work with the material published here would probably reveal some differences between British and American trade names. Such a comparison, however, is not possible in the present paper.

[23]) Cf. p. 152 and also p. 58 for results from E. O. O. Winter's thesis *The language of Contemporary Newspaper Advertisements in English* (London 1964).

[24]) B. L. Thorndike—I. Lorge, *The Teacher's Word Book of* 30.000 *Words* (New York 1944) and M. West, *A General Service List of English Words* (London 1953). The suggested order of adjectives is based on data taken from the two books.

to the centre of the system of English orthography. It might be of some interest to find out how many of the changes in group A coincide with the principles of Wijk's *Regularized English*.

The words and names used in trade names with spelling changes fall into three main categorise, if compared with *Regularized English*. The first category comprises grapheme-phoneme correspondences in the trade names which have not been included in *Regularized English:* ⟨ph⟩ replacing ⟨f⟩ in PHIT (Wijk 278), ⟨k-⟩ replacing ⟨c-⟩ — KAR (256-258)[25]), ⟨-k⟩ and ⟨-c⟩ replacing ⟨-ck⟩ BRIK, BLOC (274), ⟨ch-⟩ replacing ⟨sh-⟩ for / ʃ/ CHOC (260), ⟨kw-⟩ replacing ⟨qu-⟩ KWENCH (278—9), simplification of double consonant graphemes like ⟨bb⟩ — ⟨b⟩ RUBA etc. (254 etc.) or doubling of single consonant grapheme, ⟨j⟩ replacing ⟨dj⟩ AJUSTO (273), reduced vowels — INTALOK, ⟨-ey⟩ and ⟨-ie⟩ replacing ⟨-y⟩ COSEY, COSIE (149—150), ⟨u⟩ replacing ⟨oo⟩ GUD (177—8), ⟨uu⟩ for /u:/ TRUU (155, 185), ⟨-oh⟩ replacing ⟨ough⟩ for /eʊ/ DOH (273), er for /ɛə/ WER (161), and finally the omission of silent ⟨-e⟩ and ⟨-e-⟩.

The second category is formed by those cases where *Regularized English* retains two graphemes for one phoneme, although the two graphemes are not interchangeable. The trade names then use graphemes from the inventory of *Regularized English* but in different words: ⟨kn-⟩ and ⟨n-⟩ KNO-DRAUGHT and NIT (274), ⟨wr-⟩ and ⟨r-⟩ RAP (297—8), ⟨-j⟩ and ⟨-dg⟩ WEJ (273), ⟨-tch⟩ and ⟨-ch⟩ TUTCH (258), ⟨y⟩ and ⟨i⟩ in all traditional places including diphthongs (149—150 etc.), all the V+C+V patterns (149) etc., ⟨ea⟩ and ⟨ee⟩ for /i:/ CLEER (170—1), ⟨-u⟩ and ⟨-ue⟩ for /u:/ TRU (155, 185), ⟨-ew⟩ and ⟨-oo⟩ for /u:/ TREW, TROO (173, 178), ⟨ar⟩ for /a:/ KARNT (160—1), and ⟨aer⟩ and ⟨air⟩ AER (187).

The remaining minority of spelling changes, with some exceptions quoted below, is in full agreement with *Regularized English*, i.e. *Regularized English* retains the graphemes for the words quoted from trade names: FONE (278), GARD (269), TORK (278), SHURE (286), WONCE (154), ANSA (298), WIZE (280—7), BILT (186), DED (169), KUVRIT (154), TUTCH (180), DOR (162—3).

A few instances remaining outside the three categories require a brief comment. Wijk replaces ⟨-ow⟩ by ⟨-oe⟩ but mentions that ⟨-o⟩ should also be possible (179 to 180). — Spelling ⟨aul⟩ is suggested for ⟨al+C⟩ (145), AWL then being not far removed from *Regularized English*. — In words like 'chrome' the initial ⟨ch⟩ is replaced by ⟨c⟩.

Trade Names and other Proper Names

Variation in spelling is not limited to trade names but can also be found in other proper names in English, especially in personal names and in local names. The reasons for different spellings of one and the same element in different personal or local names are, as is well known, historical. Even if no direct connection or influence between these names and the trade names can be assumed (with one possible exception discussed below), the existence of spelling variations in personal and local names means that spelling changes in trade names are not a completely isolated phenomenon in the system of proper names in general. It is possible to find, among other deviations from the present day English orthography, instances of changes

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[25]) Numbers in brackets are references to the pages of *Regularized English*.

corresponding to some of those in the trade names, e.g. *Fillpot — Philpot*[26]), *Dixon — Dickson, Sandiway, Bridgwater, Wedgwood*, etc.

A more direct connection between the spelling changes in trade names and other proper names may be assumed in the case of the archaizing replacement of ⟨i⟩ by ⟨y⟩ (and analogically, of ⟨ai⟩ and ⟨oi⟩ by ⟨ay⟩ and ⟨oy⟩). The existence of names like *Wyld(e)* or *Whyteleaf* may have been one of the sources of this change, especially where ⟨y⟩ corresponds to /aɪ/.[27])

Some instances of spelling changes of a character similar to that to be found in trade names can be quoted from another group of proper names, viz. the names of racing horses: BORDER GUARDA, FIRSETTA, FIREBRITE, GOLDFELLA, HOWRYTUAR, LOVLEE VOODOO, MANILOVE, MIGLO, MUSTWYN, NY-TOLE, ONISTOES, PERSIAN RULLAH, RAESGIRL, RUBITIN, QUITE A FELLA, SPEADON, The WYNK.

A Few Remarks on the History of Trade Names

A study of the historical development of trade names would be beyond the scope and aim of the present paper[28]) but a few remarks can be offered on the limited amount of the material examined.[29])

In the catalogue of the Great Exhibition of 1851[30]) trade names are not very frequent, with the exception of one group of exhibits, viz. the beehives, which are of a very wide range of shapes with corresponding, mostly descriptive names, such as 'Town Mansion Hive', 'Pettit's Temple Beehive', 'Royal Alfred Hive'. Other products are mostly referred to by technical terms, sometimes preceded by the word 'patent'.[31]) There are a few trade names, like 'Albion', or 'a screw press, called the LION PRESS'.

Other publications from the mid-nineteenth century,[32]) even if describing a wide

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[26]) Ch. W. Bardsley maintains that many of the ⟨f⟩ — ⟨ph⟩ changes are due to imitation of biblical names (cf. under *Pharaoh*, p. 600 of *A Dictionary of English and Welsh Surnames*, London 1901).

[27]) Many personal and local names can be no longer recognized as descriptive names by origin and even with those names of which the origin is obvious, it is probable that the 'language users do not realise the descriptive character of the naming unit in the course of speech' — cf. Mathesius, op. cit. p. 23. There are certainly language users whose associative analysis is never at rest and who are able to discover coincidences behind unorthodox spellings like 'Inspector Weary, Superintendent Warne and Sergeant Sadd', as quoted in a letter to *The Times* on 28th September 1969.

[28]) Leech devotes a chapter to the history of advertising in general (Chapter 19, pp. 165—174) and gives further bibliography. Jacobson's bibliography shows that some interest was shown in trade name spelling as early as 1913 (L. Pound).

[29]) It is the usual practice for libraries not to include the advertising pages in the bound volumes of technical journals. Only very few of the older volumes in the library of the Manchester University Institute of Science and Technology contain advertisements (see Note 38). The search for material was limited to the above-mentioned library and the Manchester University Library.

[30]) *Official descriptive and illustrated Catalogue of the Great Exhibition of the Works of Industry of all Nation* 1851.

[31]) Some of the exhibits were only models of inventions protected by patents. The use of the word 'patent' does not always mean that the product is protected by patent.

[32]) *Slater's General and Classified Directory and Street Register of Manchester and Salford, and their vicinities* (Manchester 1850); *White's 1853 Leeds and the clothing district of Yorkshire*, a re-print of the 1853 issue of *Directory and Gazetteer of Leeds, Bradford, Halifax, Huddersfield, Wakefield and the Whole of the Clothing Districts of Yorkshire* by William White (David & Charles Re-prints,

range of products, contain very few trade names. Exceptionally, a paper cutting machine is referred to by a trade name: 'The "Industrial" is to be obtained...' and a candle cap is called 'the Acolyte'. Otherwise nearly all products are 'patent', e.g. a new type of a circular scuttle is called a 'Patent Coal Vase', and they are very often accompanied by the inventor's or manufacturer's name. The use of these names is well illustrated in the advertisement pages added to *The British Almanac*[33]) from 1851 on: Rowland's ODONTO... (toothpaste), Bond's Marking Ink etc. The number of trade names increases later on, e.g. 'Bond's Marking Ink' is changed to 'Bond's Oak Tree Marking Ink' in 1888. Trade names are more frequent in *Morris's Directory* from 1874[34]) (EXCELSIOR, EUREKA, PREMIER), besides the traditional 'patent' products or products with the maker's name or with the place of origin, often in a combination: 'HUNTLEY and PALMER's Biscuits', 'OWEN'S Patent High Pressure Water Filters', 'AYLESBURY Coffee and Milk' etc. The personal or geographical names, just like words of Latin or Greek origin such as EXCELSIOR etc.,[35]) are still very much part of the descriptive name of the product.[36])

As the trade names become more frequent, the first violations of orthographic rules can be found: there is KKOVAH ('cover') Jelly in 1901.[37]) There are more examples from the years 1907 to 1909[38]): a motor starter is called DIREKTON, because 'the handle is pushed direct on'. A lamp is called SUNLITE and a switch with a very low projection is called 'PHLATTA' ('flatter'). The use of the name of the letter 'X' is to be found in another advertisement: 'Everybody is agreed that the Xcellent qualities...'. Even a 'misspelt' ordinary word appears in the text of an advertisement: 'Splitting headache cured in a "Phew" minutes by Daisy'.

The limited material does not allow any well-based conclusions on the history of orthographic variations in trade names. It seems, however, that the use of these variations arose a relatively short time after the growth of independent trade names as such.[39])

Newton Abbot 1969); *The Gilbart Prize Essay on the adaptation of recent discoveries and inventions in science and art to the purposes of Practical Banking*, by Granville Sharp, 3rd ed. (London, 1854).

[33]) *The British Almanac and Family Cyclopaedia* (Ch. Knight, London).

[34]) Morris & Co.'s *Commercial Directory and Gazetteer of Cheshire* (1874).

[35]) One of the trade names of this origin, i.e. KAMPTULICON, advertised as 'The Best FLOOR-CLOTH yet discovered' in the *British Almanac* in 1867, is included in the *Addenda* of the 3rd ed. of *The Shorter Oxford English Dictionary*.

[36]) The use of various names and words for trade names was greatly influenced by the policy followed by the Patent Office in the latter half of the nineteenth century. Trade names entered for registering as trade marks were for a certain time accepted only if they were 'fancy' names (such as Tip-top), while anything describing or nearing a description of a product was refused (e.g. SOAPINE); cf. p. 72—75 of J. E. Evans-Jackson's *Notes on ... Patents and Trade Marks* (London 1901).

[37]) The years given here record only the first advetisement found, not the year of registration of the trade name.

[38]) The volumes of *The Electrician* and of *The Electrical Engineer* for 1907 and 1909 contain some pages of advertisements, referred to as 'Industrial Supplement'.

[39]) Most of the trade names quoted in the present paper are not familiar to the general public because they are not extensively used in commercial consumer advertising, their main domain being trade and retail advertising (cf. Leech 25). Even the small proportion, however, that is widely known, causes some concern, as can be seen from a cartoon in Teacher's World of 19th September 1969: after passing along an advertisement saying 'GRANNEES MUNCHEEMIX KWIKBAKE KAXE' a schoolboy says to another: 'Reading is vital to our culture, Miss Figgis told me.' — One trade name with non-traditional spelling (Karri-cot) has even found its way into the *Addenda* of *The Shorter Oxford Dictionary*.

Spelling Variations in Other Languages

The use of spelling variations in trade names is possible in languages whose orthographic systems are based on *one or more-than-one /to/ more-than-one or one* relations between phonemes and graphemes. Besides English, French can be quoted as an example of a language of the said type. There are numerous trade names in French with respellings, such as PRISUNIC ('prix unique'), PROTEJOTO ('protège auto').[40] A number of other French names is mentioned in Galliot's book and in the unpublished thesis of V. Hronová[41]): KIESUR ('qui est sûr'), ATOUFER ('à tout faire'), ACIMYL ('assimile'), KIS-KLO ('qui se clôt'), BOURJOIS, PIER-JAC, KIRAVI ('qui ravit'), CEBON etc.

The orthographic systems with one-to-one relations between phonemes and graphemes offer very little or no opportunity for variations in the spelling of trade names. German and Czech can be taken as examples. Schuhmacher's paper quotes some German trade names which take over or imitate foreign spellings (DASH, BAC, PERLA, WELLA). These spellings, however, remain distinctly foreign and are not based on any variation inside the German orthographic system. The orthographic system of Czech is phonemic to a considerable degree and therefore does not offer much opportunity for spelling variations. The trade name PEXESO (respelled abbreviation 'pek-se-so' for 'pekelně se soustřeď') is an exception; in Czech, ⟨x⟩ is a distinctly foreign letter.

Summary

The analysis and the classification of the collected material indicate that most of the authors of respellings in British trade names make use of the peripheral (i.e., extreme) grapheme-phoneme correspondences. Even comparison with Wijk's *Regularized English* shows that most deviations are not based on the regular features of the English orthography.

PRAVOPIS BRITSKÝCH OBCHODNÍCH JMEN

Některá obchodní jména se v angličtině odchylují od běžného pravopisu (např. KLEEN místo 'clean'). Odchylky je možno po roztřídění materiálu rozdělit do tří skupin, podle směru změny, tj. zda změna směřuje více k periferii či více k středu pravopisného systému angličtiny. Pravopisné odchylky je také možno porovnat se zásadami *Regularized English* A. Wijka. Některé odchylky jsou mimo rozsah *Regularized English*, menší část se však s *Regularized English* shoduje. Pravopisné odchylky se objevují již začátkem tohoto století.

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[40]) The French examples were brought to the attention of the present author by Dr. J. Fryčer of the Department of Romance Studies, University of Brno.

[41]) M. Galliot, *Essai sur la langue de la réclame contemporaine* (Toulouse 1955); V. Hronová, *La Langue de la Réclame* (thesis) (Brno 1970).