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L. I. Bobchynets

Kyiv National Linguistic University, Ukraine

e-mail: blinfo@ukr.net

ORCID ID: <https://orcid.org/0000-0002-8326-1948>

PLURILINGUAL WORDPLAY IN ERGONYMS: A STUDY OF LINGUISTIC LANDSCAPES OF LYON AND KYIV

Abstract

The paper focuses on linguistic landscapes as dynamic public verbal spaces which represent plurilingual wordplay tendencies in ergonymic nominations. The object of our research comprises ergonyms or commercial names with plurilingual wordplay in the cities of Lyon and Kyiv. The study aims to analyze the structural characteristics and formation methods of plurilingual ergonyms, as well as to examine the functional aspects of plurilingual ergonymic spaces of the studied cities. The research material comprises ergonyms of Lyon and Kyiv extracted from websites, advertising booklets, and, predominantly, through personal observation of the streets in both cities. The applied research methods include the description, semantic analysis, structural analysis, graphic and functional analysis. Special attention is paid to the languages used in bilingual ergonymy (English, French, Spanish, Ukrainian), as well as to comparative studies of linguistic features of wordplay in the ergonyms, with particular emphasis on bilingual blends in Lyon and Kyiv. The study establishes that ergonyms perform multiple functions, the main of which are ludic, expressive nomination and identification. Graphic means employed in wordplay include capitalization, change of colours and deliberate mistakes used to contribute to ambiguity through paronymy. The findings reveal the complex nature of plurilingual wordplay, which simultaneously relies on the use of semantic and graphic means to create an ambiguous perception that enhances advertising appeal. Further studies may involve a comparative analysis of plurilingual wordplay in other cities and languages, or a contrastive study of monolingual and plurilingual wordplay to identify linguistic and extralinguistic means involved in its creation.

Keywords: ergonym, commercial name, linguistic landscape, plurilingual wordplay, bilingual blend.

Анотація

У статті проаналізовано лінгвістичні пейзажі як динамічні публічні вербальні простори, що представляють тенденції багатомовної гри в ергономічних номінаціях. Об'єктом нашого дослідження є ергоніми або комерційні назви з багатомовною словогрою в містах Ліоні та Києві, обрані зі сайтів, рекламних буклетів і власного спостереження на вулицях цих двох міст. Автори мали на меті структурно й функціонально описати багатомовний ергонімічний простір зазначених міст, виявити способи творення полімовних ергонімів. Методи дослідження включають опис, семантичний аналіз, структурний аналіз, графічний і функціональний аналіз. Значну увагу приділено мовам, які вживаються в двомовній ергонімії (англійська, французька, іспанська, українська), порівняльному вивченню мовних особливостей словогри в ергонімах, особливо у двомовних блендах Ліона та Києва. Установлено, що ергоніми виконують численні функції, серед яких основними є ігрова, експресивно-номінативна, ідентифікаційна. Графічні засоби словогри включають капіталізацію, зміну кольорів та навмисні помилки для створення двозначності, що базується на паронімії. Описано комплексну багатомовну словогру, що виявляється у вживанні одночасно семантичних і графічних засобів, які разом створюють двозначність сприйняття як привабливу рекламу. Подальше вивчення може містити зіставний аналіз багатомовної гри слів в інших містах та країнах або контрастивний аналіз одномовної і багатомовної словогри для виявлення лінгвістичних та екстралінгвістичних засобів її створення.

Ключові слова: ергонім, комерційна назва, лінгвістичний пейзаж, багатомовна гра слів, двомовний бленд.

Introduction. Linguistic Landscape is a dynamic phenomenon within sociolinguistics, thus possessing an interdisciplinary character. Ergonyms, or commercial names, are not

just mere etiquettes or common words; they are multifunctional proper names designed to indicate, characterize and attract attention, particularly when they show originality or unusual features in their meaning, graphic representation or phonic form. It should be noted that the synonymic term *chrematonym* is used in some research papers (Gałkowski, 2014; Juncal, 2024). However, we will use the term *ergonym*, as it is widely employed in European and East European research papers (Pošeiko, 2014; Bobchynets, 2021; Grushkova, 2023). Ergonyms in the linguistic landscape of a bilingual or multilingual society serve as evidence of language contacts. Ergonyms belong to the linguistic landscape which, according to Backhaus (2007), is represented as a system of interconnected graphic elements. The theoretical foundation of this research is based on the definition by Landry and Bourhis (1997), who view linguistic landscape as a representation of languages in the public spaces of cities, encompassing elements such as signs, street advertisements, inscriptions on public buildings, all of which form part of the city's public sphere. Linguistic landscape can therefore be regarded as a complex sociocultural and sociolinguistic phenomenon revealing language and cultural contacts.

Literature review. Our research focuses on ergonyms (a term introduced by Bauer 1985) or chrematonyms (Gałkowski, 2014), representing a subcategory of proper names used as commercial names, with an emphasis on their most remarkable feature – wordplay – and the presence of plurilingual blended ergonyms as a significant element of the multilingual linguistic landscape of the cities of Lyon and Kyiv. As Moriarty (2014) notes, linguistic landscapes are an expression of multilingualism in society (p. 457). Winter-Froemel (2016) also mentions the presence of multilingual wordplay in linguistic landscapes, particularly its ludic function in road advertisements (p. 161). Plurilingual wordplay (including bilingual and multilingual wordplay) in linguistic landscape demonstrates creativity and innovation in ergonyms or commercial names. According to Winter-Froemel (2017), playfulness motivates linguistic innovation, implying a joint interaction between a speaker and a hearer, or a writer and a reader (p. 33). Such linguistic innovation is prevalent in commercial names observed in linguistic landscapes.

Recently, comparative studies of linguistic landscapes have gained popularity. For example, Pošeiko (2014) and Kontio (2021) studied linguistic landscapes of European cities. Regueira (2013) analyzed the co-presence of Galician, Spanish and English in the linguistic landscape of Galicia. The multilingual linguistic landscape of Tokyo was described by Backhaus (2007), while Gorter (2006) investigated multilingualism in linguistic landscapes of Spain, the Basque Country and the Netherlands. One of Bobchynets' (2021) scientific publications explores wordplay in the ergonyms of Ukrainian and Spanish cities, where the presence of English is also remarkable. Our research aims to fill the gap by analyzing the presence of multiple languages, not exclusively English, in plurilingual ergonyms within the linguistic landscapes of Lyon and Kyiv in order to reveal language preferences in ergonymy depending on linguistic and extralinguistic factors.

The object of our research comprises ergonyms with wordplay, particularly plurilingual ergonyms of the cities of Lyon and Kyiv, which possess an obvious international dimension due to a variety of historical, economic and socio-cultural factors. **The aim** of our research is to conduct both a structural analysis (examining the ways plurilingual ergonyms are created) and a functional analysis of the plurilingual ergonymic space. Special attention is paid to bilingual blended ergonyms as evidence of creative wordplay, since, as Renner (2015, p. 13) states, “coining a new lexical blend is an act of wordplay”.

The originality of the research project lies in its focus on a comparative study of the creative potential of ergonyms and their nominators, putting special emphasis on the plurilingual wordplay in ergonyms in the linguistic landscapes of Lyon and Kyiv, which

have not yet been the object of comparative studies of linguistic landscapes. Our aim is to reveal common word-formation tendencies in modern plurilingual ergonymy of the studied cities, as well as their local linguistic characteristics conditioned by cultural and geographical factors. The mixture of languages in plurilingual ergonyms highlights the widespread presence of English in linguistic landscapes of many European cities. At the same time, I also investigate the popularity of other languages in ergonymy. According to Gorter (2006), “the process of globalisation is visible through the presence of English in linguistic landscape. Next to globalisation there is also a process of localisation. Together these processes are called *glocalisation*” (p. 82). The term ‘glocalisation’ is a blend itself and can be used to characterize the phenomenon of bilingual blend words as evidence of language contact. The creative role of the nominator serves as the foundation for such intentional plurilingual representation in linguistic landscapes.

The research material comprises ergonyms of Lyon and Kyiv collected from websites, advertising booklets, and mostly through personal observations of the streets in the two cities. Our hypothesis implies that the presence of plurilingual ergonyms is strongly determined by the sociocultural, historical, geographical and locally specific preferences of the nominator. Depending on the city, different languages and distinct bilingual combinations may be used to create a plurilingual ergonym. **The research methods** include descriptive analysis, semantic analysis, structural analysis (examining models of word-formation or ergonymic creation, including plurilingual wordplay), graphic and typographic analysis (capitalization, variations in size, colours, etc.) and functional analysis (pragmatic characteristics). The comparative analysis reveals contemporary tendencies in ergonymic naming, shaped by regional language contacts and local preferences.

Results and discussion. Plurilingual societies tend to combine languages not only in speech but also in commercial naming, where bilingual or plurilingual nominations serve as a form of creative expression. We view plurilingual ergonyms as instances of wordplay, as they manifest in the nominator’s linguistic creativity. Since bilingual blends or compound nouns are acts of nominator’s creativity, we classify them as wordplay. The shared point between Lyon and Kyiv is their dimension and touristic value. Lyon is one of the three biggest cities in France, while Kyiv, the capital of Ukraine, is rich in historical monuments and attracts tourists and local people. Ergonyms, particularly the names of private companies, play a significant role in attracting visitors. Plurilingual wordplay in ergonyms is present in Lyon as well as in Kyiv. Comparative studies revealed some common features on plurilingual ergonymy, such as the use of the French article followed by a noun from another language. Examples from Lyon include: *Le kitchen*, *Le chiquito*, *Le City*, *Le sol* (where *le+sol* means ‘sun’, reinforced by the image of the sun), *Le Sheffield Juice & Coffee*, *LE RADJAH*, *Le PACHA*, *Le Tacos LYONNAIS*. Similarly, in Kyiv, this structure appears in names such as *Le Хліб* (*le+* ‘bread’ in Ukrainian), *le Сільно* (*le+* the proper name of the shop). The ergonym *Le Tacos LYONNAIS* illustrates an interesting grammatical adaptation: it combines the French singular masculine article (*le*) with the Spanish plural noun ‘tacos’, whereas the grammatically correct form in French should be ‘les tacos’. This plural borrowing shows French grammar adaptation in the above mentioned ergonym. While this type of plurilingual wordplay follows similar models in Lyon and Kyiv, it is less frequent compared to other bilingual ergonyms, such as blends or compound names without articles. Additionally, some bilingual ergonyms consist of the French singular masculine article (*le*) followed by an English noun or adjective, as seen in: *le Majestic*, *le Splendid*, *le green*, *le Welsh*. However, such bilingual commercial names are less frequently used in comparison with the French article and English noun structure.

Both Lyon and Kyiv ergonymy incorporate English as part of bilingual proper names with the main difference of the use of French as a second component in Lyon and Ukrainian or Russian in Kyiv.

Our hypothesis was supported by the observation that English is the most frequently used language in the formation of bilingual ergonyms both in Lyon and in Kyiv, though the specific mechanisms of ergonym creation differ. Analyzing the names of hair salons and barber shops, we reveal instances of bilingual wordplay in Lyon, such as *Express coiffure*, *King coiffure*, *City coiffure*, *Wavy coiffure*, *Andy's Hair coiffure*, *MB MAMY Beauté Coiffure Afro*, *Coiffure RE'JACK*, *Cameleone Coiffure*, *Beauty World coiffure créateur*, *IN HAIR coiffure*, *MS Coiffure*, *Saber Coiffure*, *Madame Beauty*, *FREE BEAUTÉ*, *IMAG'IN coiffure*, *Afro B coiffure*, *HAIR'ANNA*, *ELEGANCE COIFFURE*, *Beauté & Look centre esthétique*. A notable structural pattern in these ergonyms is the Noun+Noun compound structure, following the English convention where the first component serves as an attribute, while the second is the main lexical unit which is typical in bilingual ergonymy. The same pattern is also observed in the name of a toy shop: *King Jouet*. In contrast, bilingual ergonyms which begin with a French element and end with an English element are less common, as seen in *MONSIEUR STORE Les Stores ECHOCHARD*, *SALON DE COIFFURE PLANETE Black & White*, *Madame Beauty*. In Kyiv, hair salon names frequently incorporate English elements alongside paragraphemic signs which makes the ergonyms resemble website domain names, such as *Status & Style*, *Color.it*, *Barber.t Barbershop*.

The most popular English elements which are used in bilingual ergonyms are *city*, *king* and *go*. The frequently used English element *city* appears in numerous bilingual ergonyms in Lyon (*city lavanderie*, *city coiffure*, *Carrefour city*, *City coiffure*, *City BANGLA*, *CITYA* (real estate agency), *CityandCo*, *city express* (food shop)), as well as in Kyiv (*city kava*). One more popular element in bilingual and monolingual ergonyms in Lyon is *go*: *Dentego*, *CarGo*, *ouigo*, *Croc & go*. The element *King* is also present in bilingual ergonyms: *King jouet*, *King coiffure* (Lyon).

Graphic representation of the studied ergonyms includes several distinctive features: variation in colours, capitalization, blended or separate word formations, mixing Latin and Cyrillic alphabets spelling (characteristic of the ergonymy in Kyiv), font variation within the name, the use of paragraphemic signs such as *&*: *Achat OR vente*, *CityandCo*, *Beauté & Look*, *Le Sheffield Juice & Coffee* (Lyon), *Le Хліб*, *My кава*, *М'ясноff* (Kyiv).

The present study has not identified significant variation in the colour schemes of the analyzed ergonyms, as most of them contain black, white, red or pink. Typically, these proper names are written in white on a black background, black on a white background or a combination of black and red or black, red and white. These color choices are most commonly used, likely due to their high visibility from a distance, which enhances their effectiveness in attracting potential clients.

English heading when the main noun occupies the final position in a nominative phrase is more frequently observed in bilingual ergonyms. Examples include *King MARCEL*, *Express coiffure*, *King coiffure*, *King jouet*, *SHOP Coiffure*, *Hermosa pizzeria* (Lyon), *True кава* (Kyiv). Additionally, the bilingual ergonyms *My Auchan* (Lyon) and *My kava* (Kyiv) demonstrate the same word formation model, incorporating the English possessive pronoun in the attributive function.

Conversely, French-headed bilingual ergonyms, where the noun appears in the initial position in a nominative phrase, are less frequent. Examples include *VETEMENTS RECORD*, *ESPACE FOOT*, *Comptoir à Street Food* in Lyon. We also observed one bilingual coordinate word combination: *BIERE, BURGER AND FOOD*, which integrates both French and English linguistic elements.

A common strategy employed by the nominator to attract attention to a commercial name is the use of deliberate mistakes: *Kool Halal*, *Secand* (secondhand shop), *SUITHOME* (real estate agency) (Lyon).

Furthermore, double meaning is revealed in the ergonym *achat OR vente*, where *OR* is gold in French, and according to its place in the middle of the ergonym it resembles the English coordinating conjunction *or* 'or'. Thus, we have an example of bilingual polysemy. This ambiguity is deciphered by bilingual speakers or by individuals with at least an elementary proficiency in English. Similar ambiguity is observed in the ergonyms *achat OR bijoux* and *Achat OR change*, where the syntactic positioning of *OR* creates bilingual ambiguity. The syntactic and graphic way the ergonym is represented, influences the semantic perception. Additionally, an example of creative bilingual blending is found in the name of another gold shop *LEAD'OR*, which merges the English word 'leader' and the French word 'or' (gold). The creative form represents the shop as a "leader in gold". Such nomination creativity is a kind of advertising strategy. The aforementioned ergonyms (*achat OR vente*, *LEAD'OR*) also incorporate a subtle humorous effect, thereby enhancing their expressiveness in ergonymy. The more ludic an ergonym is, the more expressive and engaging it looks, ultimately serving as a persuasive marketing tool.

Capitalization as a graphic means of wordplay is frequently used in the ergonymy of Lyon and Kyiv. It manifests in several patterns: (a) full capitalization of the entire name (*LE RADJAH*, *JOYS TACOS*); (b) capitalization of the initial letter in each word within a compound multiword ergonym (*King Jouet*, *Kool Halal*, *Mr. Bricolage*, *Le Хліб*); (c) selective capitalization of specific elements of the name to make it more pronounced, mostly the main semantic or meaningful part, as in the bilingual English-French blends (*La WASHerie*, *achat OR vente*, *Le Tacos LYONNAIS* (Lyon)).

It should be noted that wordplay in ergonyms often exhibits a complex nature, integrating both graphic and semantic elements, as in *achat OR vente* (capitalization is combined with the use of double meaning of the word *or* in French and English). This example is a bilingual pun based on interlingual homonymy of the French noun *or* meaning gold and the English conjunction *or*. Capitalization is used in some parts of the word to attract attention, to highlight semantics of the name and to catch the client's eye with the capitalized part of an ergonym, as exemplified by *MENWAY Emploi*, *TDR Terre de RUNNING* (Lyon), and *ТРЦ ПаїОН*, *MyloslavSky* (Kyiv).

The use of the French article with English or Spanish nouns is part of ergonymy which has a distinctive feature: the masculine singular article is used in most cases, as in *le Corner*, *le Book-lard*, *Le Tailor du 6ème*, *LE QUEEN MARY*, *le Madura*, *le Tacos LYONNAIS*, despite the fact that *madura* in Spanish originates from the feminine gender and *tacos* is plural. The ergonym *Les BURGERS de PAPA* shows us grammatical adaptation, with the plural form of the French article (*les*) aligning with the French borrowing of the word *burger*. The use of the French masculine article may indicate ellipsis: *le Corner* (restaurant), *LE QUEEN MARY* (bar, pub), *le Tacos LYONNAIS* (café), *le Book-lard* (restaurant).

A particularly illustrative case of bilingual wordplay is found in *le Book-lard*, a restaurant name that phonetically resembles the French word *bouclard* which meant "a book shop" in argot. The ergonym reflects the concept of the restaurant *le Book-lard*, as the latter features shelves with books. Thus, the clients have a possibility to look through or read books while dining. Such implicit bilingual ambiguity serves as an attractive means to catch a client's eye. Bilingual people can perceive the meaning, and those who do not know English and French may guess the wordplay because there is no word "book-lard" in English. It is created for commercial or pragmatic purpose and we consider such ergonyms as an effective part of advertising campaigns.

The most creative enterprises in the realm of bilingual ergonymy are hair salons, barber shops, restaurants and cafés, as these establishments often employ original names to attract clientele. Additionally, the names of clothes shops and art galleries may also contain bilingual wordplay: *TDR Terre de RUNNING*, *LE SLIP FRANÇAIS* (Lyon), *L'Art Gallery* (Kyiv).

The main pragmatic function of ergonyms is to attract potential clients' attention. One or multiple attractive means may be used, among which ambiguity, originality of graphic form, multilingual nomination. Beyond the name itself, the interior of the establishment or commerce can express a special concept. The name and additional visual effects, some decorations may intensify the attractiveness to potential clients.

Monolingual play also represents an interesting aspect of linguistic analysis. We noticed some examples of monolingual wordplay in French, such as the bookstore name *joie de livre* (Annecy) (modification of the well-known phrase *joie de vivre*), the name of beauty salon *Open Hair* (phonetic modification of *open air*). Paronyms are purposely created by changing one letter, which is called paragram, as demonstrated in the name of the secondhand shop *Secand* (instead of *second*). In certain cases, the reader should decipher the allusion as in *HOTELO Lyon Charité*. *Hotelo* may be a changed form of *Otello*. Thus, paronymy as well as homonymy are often the basis of monolingual wordplay. The creation of non-existent words for commercial naming purposes are an act of wordplay: the name of the barbershop *The Barbance* (which mimics a pseudo-French derivative of *barbe* meaning *beard*), the name of the book shop *Joie de livre* (instead of *joie de vivre*).

Lexical blends, which merge two or more words into a single unit, are also an important phenomenon in ergonymic creativity. Coining a bilingual lexical blend is an act of wordplay when two languages are used as the base of word creation. Bilingual ergonymy can be more sophisticated, as it needs the nominator's knowledge of two or more languages and respectively the client's knowledge of the two languages used in wordplay. The originality of bilingual ergonyms proves their pragmatic character.

The fact that ergonyms, being proper names, are typically not translated into other languages and should be transliterated or represented in the original language, provides unlimited possibilities of word creation without the necessity to think about its translation. Proper names created by the nominator may have more expressive potential than common names, as proper names may deviate from the norms of the language and the deliberate use of incorrect spelling may perform a pragmatic function, putting additional emphasis on the proper name.

Structurally, most ergonyms take the form of noun phrases, which reveals the highlighting their nominative function of ergonyms. These noun-based ergonyms can be categorized into several types: one-word names, one-word names accompanied by an article and two-word names, three-word names.

La WASHerie (*laverie nouvelle*) is a bilingual ergonymic blend with significant expressive force. Its originality among other laundries attracts attention. *Laundry* in French is *laverie*, and the mentioned bilingual blend is created with the English word *wash* and the French ending *-erie*, where *wash* is capitalized to attract attention. In addition, there is some allusion to the French *la vacherie* meaning "a bad trick". The ambiguity created by this paronymy is the base of semantic wordplay. Thus, the complex character of such wordplay is revealed at the morphological level of bilingual word formation, at the graphic representation emphasizing the English stem *wash*, and at the semantic level which is loaded by ambiguity. The perception and understanding of the wordplay needs knowledge of the two languages by the perceiver and proves the creative potential of the nominator. We suppose that *La WASHerie* was created by the nominator without being conscious of *vacherie*. It was a coincidence which resulted in paronymic words: a bilingual

blend and a French word. This fact adds to the attractiveness of the mentioned ergonym. Furthermore, for German-speaking people *La WASHerie* sounds similar to the German *die Wäscherei*, which can be perceived as plurilingual wordplay based on interlingual paronymy. This demonstrates that wordplay is an effective word formation means to create original commercial names with strong expressiveness. Another original name of a laundry in Lyon is *Laverie LAVinSHOP*. It is bilingual in its semantics with the allusion to the English phrases *love in shop* or *loving shop*, at the same time the French stem *lav* retains its functional meaning of *laverie* (laundry).

If we consider the languages used in bilingual wordplay, the majority of bilingual ergonyms in Lyon are English-French or French-English, though instances of Spanish-French are also observed: *L'ESTANCO du marché*, *L'INDOLO comptoir andalou*, *L'ELDORADO*. Spanish-English ergonyms, by contrast, are less common in Lyon: *JOYS TACOS*, *Prima Fresh fruit shop*, *PALMAROSA Sunkissed café*. In Kyiv, an instance of English-Spanish nomination is found in the shopping mall *Ocean Plaza*. Additional examples of bilingual nomination include *L'Art Gallery*, *Au Petit Bruxelles Bar – Art-Café-Gallery*, both of which feature French-English nominative phrases. The use bilingual imperative phrases is observed in Linguistic Landscape of Lyon: *Comme un FISH dans l'eau CAFE HOT & WIFI*, *Allez, viens me faire un big bisou* (a phrase on a napkin in a bar). In Kyiv, respectively, the main languages used in bilingual ergonyms are English and Ukrainian (*True кава*, *Пу́бlove*, *Бухма Food Station*, *їж fish*), and we found an example of French-English wordplay as in *L'Art Gallery* (Kyiv) and French-Ukrainian wordplay, as in *Le Хліб* (meaning *the bread*). Semantically most of bilingual ergonyms reflect the purpose of the establishment.

Pragmatic analysis of plurilingual wordplay in the ergonymy of Lyon and Kyiv reveals the multifunctional character of the studied proper names. Ergonyms perform various functions, including denominative, commercial, informative, memorial, aesthetic and possessive designation (Auer, 2010). According to Hult (2014), linguistic landscapes shape the identities of the residents (p. 510). Multiple functions of ergonyms are denomination, identification, orientation, evaluation and client attraction, which can be reached through wordplay. As noted by Renner (2015), blended words may perform a ludic function (p. 119). Many plurilingual blended ergonyms are meant as wordplay by the nominator, thus, the ludic function contributes to advertising. Effective wordplay attracts attention, thereby facilitating the memorability of a brand name (Álvarez de la Granja, 2020, p. 105). The findings of this study suggest that the primary function is expressive nomination represented in a playful or humorous manner which serves as advertising means. The ambiguity of some bilingual nominations (*La WASHerie*, *Le Book-lard*) makes the ergonyms attractive to the potential clients.

Conclusion. Comparative studies of plurilingual ergonyms in the linguistic landscapes of France and Ukraine reveal tendencies of internationalism in the ergonymic nominations, preferences in the ways of creating plurilingual ergonyms, as well as the languages used in their formation: French and English, French and Spanish in Lyon, and English and Ukrainian, French and Ukrainian in Ukraine respectively. Structurally, the most prevalent word-formation models are two-component ergonyms consisting of one English and one French word in Lyon, and one English and one Ukrainian word in Kyiv. Graphic means of wordplay comprise capitalization of some letters or some parts of the ergonym which creates ambiguity of perception. Additionally, non-existent words which form bilingual blends in the ergonymy of Lyon and Kyiv are expressive examples of the nominator's creativity. The most frequently utilized English elements in bilingual ergonyms are *go* and *city*. Ambiguous bilingual blends are the most expressive and impressive ludic means.

Future studies may be focused on the comparison of monolingual wordplay versus bilingual wordplay in order to examine the linguistic means of its creation. Further research may also include more cities and countries to compare the innovative lexical potential and creative models in European Linguistic Landscapes, the popularity of languages used in bilingual ergonymy.

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Conflict of Interest

No conflicts of interest were declared.

Use of Artificial Intelligence

Artificial intelligence was not used.

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<p>Бобчинець Любов Іванівна,</p> <p>кандидат філологічних наук, доцент кафедри іспанської і новогрецької філології та перекладу, Київський національний лінгвістичний університет</p> <p>e-mail: blinfo@ukr.net</p>		<p>Коло наукових інтересів:</p> <p>лексикологія, термінознавство, фразеологія, гумор, психолінгвістика</p>
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