

Reflections of the Vilnius Residents' Identity in the Names of Food Establishments

Veslava Sidaravičienė

Institute of the Lithuanian Language
The Research Centre of Baltic Languages and Onomastics
P. Vileišis St 5, Vilnius, Lithuania
E-mail: veslava.sidaraviciene@lki.lt
ORCID iD: <https://orcid.org/0009-0005-6565-6283>
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Abstract. This article analyses the variety of identifying parts in the names of food establishments (cafés, restaurants, etc.) in Vilnius and the relationship between identifying parts and the words that define their type, based on language usage. The research material was collected from the public city environment, where all the names of the establishments were photographed, and a database was created. An identifying part of the names was found to be written in English, e.g., *The Old Green*, Spanish, e.g., *Mulo Desnudo*, French, e.g., *Café de Paris*, and other languages. Based on the language relationship between an identifying part and the words defining their type, the names are either monolingual, e.g., *baras Begemoto sapnas*, or bilingual, e.g., *restoranas Café Montmartre (Restaurant Café Montmartre)*. The use of a single language for an identifying part indicates the necessity to maintain linguistic coherence – it creates an impression of consistency and professionalism, making it clear to the target audience. A wider audience is reached by combining English and Lithuanian, and an image of internationalism is conveyed. The relationship between an identifying part and the words defining its type reflects the dual identity of Vilnius and its society – the city is part of the global world, but ethnicity remains significant. An English-language name adds prestige to the place, while the use of Lithuanian appeals to the identity of residents.

Keywords: company names; Vilnius; urban identity; language contact(s).

Introduction

Company names are an integral part of the everyday linguistic environment and, at the same time, an element of proper names. As Vainö Syrjälä (2017, p. 185) observed, the linguistic landscape serves to convey information about language and provide insights into the identity of society. In his study on the distribution of bilingual city names in Finland, Syrjälä (2017, pp. 183–202) found that Finnish-language names dominate in cities with a predominantly Finnish-speaking population. In contrast, in cities with a Swedish-

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speaking majority, both languages are visible in the public space. Thus, the Finnish instance demonstrates that the process of assigning company names takes into account the ethnic composition of the city. However, there appears to be a lack of studies exploring the relationship between the naming of city companies and the identity of their residents.

In onomastic studies, company names¹ are most commonly analysed according to language. This analysis identifies the languages used and examines their quantitative distribution. Although company names are created in various languages, English has a particularly strong influence, especially in foreign countries. Loulou Edelman (2007, pp. 1–12) found that English-language names for stores and products are most common in Amsterdam. Angelika Bergien (2005; cited in Ainiala, Saarelma, Sjöblom, 2012, pp. 240–241), who studied company names in the former East German region of Saxony-Anhalt, concluded that half of the names she examined were based on English and French words rather than German. This trend is also evident in the names of public spaces in Polish cities such as Kraków, Szczecin, and Warsaw, where English words or their phonetic adaptations in Polish appear (Rzetelska-Feleszko, 1994, p. 138; Burkacka, 2007, p. 148).

The popularity of English is often linked to the prestige of the language² (Rzetelska-Feleszko, 1994, p. 141; Ainiala, Saarelma, Sjöblom, 2012, p. 241), its positive associations (Rzetelska-Feleszko, 1994, p. 141), and the desire to attract younger generations (Alomoush, 2023, p. 17). Language usage does not necessarily indicate the linguistic preferences of the community, but more often reveals a tendency to influence people's emotions (Haarmann, 1986, p. 109). English is preferred for its connotative value – even if individuals do not understand the meaning of a brand, stereotypes about English and its prestige are likely transferred to the product or establishment (Edelman, 2007, p. 2). The widespread use of English in the names of public establishments reveals the global influence of English, making it relevant to examine how this trend is reshaping the linguistic landscape in Lithuania.

Research on Lithuanian company names is still relatively limited. As J. Ruzaitė (2006, p. 214) noted, shop signs in Kaunas have become increasingly international, indicating a broader shift towards Westernisation in urban discourse since the collapse of the Soviet Union. This tendency is further supported by Sebastian Muth's (2008, pp. 121–146) study on the linguistic landscape of Vilnius, which revealed a growing presence of English and other foreign languages on public signs. According to Muth (2008, pp. 144–145), the concentration of non-Lithuanian signage increases toward city centres, driven by tourism and the middle class's aspiration to be part of Western consumer culture. However, the names of companies in Vilnius Old Town have not been analysed from a linguistic perspective. It remains unclear which languages prevail and how these names relate to the identity of the city and its residents. Ruzaitė (2006, pp. 213–226) analysed shop signs

¹ The term *company names* were chosen for its neutrality. However, some studies use the term *ergonym* instead (Pošeiko, 2017, pp. 299–311; Myszka, 2018, pp. 365–378; Khokhlova, 2022, pp. 63–68; ICOSe).

² Despite the high prestige attributed to English, from the perspective of standard Lithuanian, the use of international words in proper names is regarded as a challenge to the language, national identity, and cultural integrity (Klimavičius, 2004, pp. 14–32; Slušinskaitė, 2004, pp. 33–37).

in terms of language use in Kaunas, while Muth (2008, pp. 121–146) examined whether the linguistic landscape of Vilnius reflects its ethnolinguistic diversity. Thus, such a study can provide valuable insights into the uniqueness of names, linguistic features, and the broader worldview of society.

This article examines the names of food establishments currently operating in the public spaces of Vilnius Old Town³. The aim of the study is to analyse the variety of the identifying part of these names and the words indicating their type according to language. Additionally, the study seeks to determine what this relationship reveals about the identity of Vilnius and its society. Functionally and semantically, the names consist of an identifier (e.g., UAB, VŠĮ⁴, etc.), a part describing the type of the establishment (e.g., bar, café, hair salon, etc.), an identifying part (e.g., *Briusly*), and a supplementary part (e.g., a word indicating the establishment's location, such as *Vilnius*) (for more see: Ainiala, Saarelma, Sjöblom, 2012, pp. 233–237; Syrjälä, 2017, pp. 193–194). The type of establishment is most often displayed on a sign next to the identifying part of the name, but it may also be written separately – on walls, doors, or windows (see Figure 1).



Figure 1. The spatial position of the identifying part of food establishment names and the words indicating their type.

In this article, the term *name* is used in its broader sense to refer to the full name of a company. This full name may consist of the four listed components, though more commonly it includes just two: the identifying part and the words indicating its type. While the term *name* can be used in a narrower sense to refer specifically to the identifying part, this interpretation is avoided in the study. Instead, the focus is on the linguistic relationship between the individual parts of the name, namely, the identifying part and the words indicating its type.

This article examines the linguistic differentiation of the identifying part of a company's name and the words that describe its type on company signs. To achieve this aim, the following objectives were set: 1) to determine the language of the identifying part of

³ The territory of Vilnius Old Town is defined according to the administrative division map, available at <https://www.vilniauszemelapis.com/senamiescio-seniunija/> [acc. 20 October 2024].

⁴ In Lithuania, UAB and VŠĮ are two different types of legal entities: UAB (*Uždaroji akcinė bendrovė* 'Private Limited Liability Company') and VŠĮ (*Viešoji įstaiga* 'Public Institution').

company names; 2) to classify the identifying part of company names based on its linguistic relationship with the language of the words indicating their type; 3) to explore what this relationship reveals about the identity of city and its society.

1. Research material and methodology

The names of food establishments were collected from the public urban environment, specifically from signs attached to the exteriors of buildings in Vilnius Old Town. The identifying parts of the company names and the words indicating their types, found on signs, walls, doors, and windows, were photographed by the author in 2024, and a database was created. All public inscriptions observed in the linguistic landscape representing the companies were analysed. Since the aim was to reveal the characteristics of contemporary urban nomenclature, the study excluded names of closed or non-operating establishments. A total of 532 food establishment names were recorded, of which 500 were examined.

In Lithuania, the naming of companies, institutions, and organisations (legal entities) is governed by the Law on the State Language of the Republic of Lithuania⁵. However, as Ruzaitė's (2006, p. 2018) study revealed, some of these regulations are frequently violated by shop owners – a tendency also confirmed by the present research. In analysing the linguistic diversity of the identifying parts, names with an unclear linguistic origin or unspecified type were observed and excluded. The base of such identifying parts consists of lexemes that are unfamiliar or can be interpreted in various ways, such as *kebabinė MeMo*⁶ (*kebab shop MeMo*), *restoranas HeJi* (*restaurant HeJi*), *bar and kitchen Elfa*, various modifications like *tales & cocktails Apoteka*, *naktinis klubas Erra* (*nightclub Erra*), Roman numerals like *333*, and anthroponyms like *Adelia*. Also, names where the second element consists of numbers, such as *Bistro 123* and *Bistro 18*, are included. Without knowing the creators' intentions for these company names, it is difficult to determine their basis for shortening, and identifying parts based on modifications, numbers, anthroponyms, or international words is hard to categorise into any particular language. Company names of unclear origin are also found in cities of other countries (Burkacka, 2007, p. 135). These names are likely intended to attract attention and attract potential customers (Syrjälä, 2017, p. 197).

While conducting the research, instances were found where the company name displayed on the sign lacked the words specifying its type. In these cases, it was unclear what kind of establishment it was or what services or food were offered, such as *Elven*,

⁵ Legal acts regulating the naming of companies, institutions, and organisations (legal entities) established in the Republic of Lithuania are available online: <https://www.vlkk.lt/aktualiausios-temos/juridiniu-asmenu-pavadinimai/teisiniis-reglamentavimas> [acc. 24 July 2025].

⁶ In presenting the study material, the company type is listed first, followed by the identifying part of the name. Both are offered in italics, for example, *baras Apuokas*. In the case of a bilingual company name or its descriptive type, the words in both languages are separated by a slash, for example, *restoranas/restaurant Neringa*. English translations of the parts of the name written in Lithuanian – the company type and the identifying element – are provided in parentheses, for example, *baras Begemoto sapnas* (*bar Begemoto sapnas* “*The Hippo's Dream*”).

No Chef, and *The Moose* (see Figure 2). These instances represented 10% (50 cases) of the 500 names examined. The reasons for this type of signage remain unclear, but it is possible that it was done to save space on the sign.



Figure 2. The identifying part of the name is without the words that define its type.

Toponymic literature has differing opinions on how to classify company names based on international words or onyms (Ainiala, Saarelma, Sjöblom, 2012, p. 239). Edelman (2007, pp. 1–12), who examined company names in Amsterdam by language, identified a quantitative difference between names whose base (or lack thereof) consists of international elements and onyms. According to the author, the language classification of company name elements depends on the researcher and the objectives set (Edelman, 2007, p. 10). In analysing the linguistic landscape of Vilnius Old Town, it was observed that the identifying part of names, where one of the components is an international word or onym, can be assigned to a particular language based on the second component of the composite name, such as *Čili pizza*, *Dream bar*, *Mirang café*, *Grill London*. Therefore, in this article, such forms are classified into a language based on the specific part.

A qualitative and quantitative data analysis was applied to examine the linguistic diversity of the identifying part of company names and the words that describe them. By differentiating the names according to language and frequency, the aim was to identify the most common groups that highlight Vilnius as a multicultural city and, based on these data, to reveal the emerging identity of its residents and the city itself. Using a comparative method, the linguistic relationship between the identifying part of the names and the words defining their type was established. This is a socio-onomastic study, as it seeks to determine the identity and cultural self-awareness of the people of Vilnius and the city based on the language of company names.

2. The Identifying Part of Vilnius Company Names by Language

The identifying part of company names can be either *monolingual* or *bilingual*. The identifying part consisting of words from the same language is considered *monolingual*, while those based on lexemes from two different languages are classified as *bilingual*.

(Ainiala, Saarelma, Sjöblom, 2012, p. 239). When classifying the identifying parts of Vilnius food company names by language, it is clear that the majority are monolingual, 98% (488⁷) of the names. Their base includes lexemes from English, such as *The Old Green*, Spanish – *Mulo Desnudo*, Italian – *Fiorentino*, Lithuanian – *Baltas Ūsas* (“*White Moustache*”), French – *Café Montmartre*, and other languages.

Among the company names in Vilnius Old Town, the identifying parts are predominantly in English and Lithuanian, with a roughly equal number of occurrences (see Table 1). Identifying parts in Italian, Spanish, French, and other languages are rare. Although the Polish and Russian ethnic groups, according to the 2021 census data⁸, make up the largest ethnic minorities in Lithuania (Poles account for 6.5%, and Russians for 5%), the identifying parts targeting these ethnic groups are few, such as *Nijinsky III*, and *Sakwa*. There are no company names with a Russian-language identifying part. Thus, although the linguistic base of the identifying parts of food company names is diverse, the cases studied show that English and Lithuanian are the most common. This indicates that the target audience consists of speakers of these languages.

Table 1. Monolingual Identifying Parts of Company Names by Language

No.	Language	Percentage	Number
1.	English language	40 %	193
2.	Lithuanian language	35 %	172
3.	Italian language	6 %	29
4.	Spanish language	4 %	20
6.	French language	4 %	19
7.	Other languages	11 %	55
	Total	100 %	488

The bilingual identifying parts of company names reflect the need to establish a connection with the country and national identity through language, as seen in signs where the general part in English is accompanied by the specific part in Lithuanian. Bilingual identifying parts are rare, making up 2% (12) of all the company cases studied. On the signs, next to the Lithuanian language, for example, *Trys klevai* (“*Three Maples*”), *Burbulų arbata* (“*Bubble Tea*”) (see Figure 3), or English, for example, *Sushi Lounge*, *Sushi Masters*, etc., there is an equivalent version in another language. There were also cases where the general part of the name was in English and the specific part in Lithuanian, e.g., *Burna House* (“*Mouth House*”), *Halės Smokehouse* (“*Halė Smokehouse*”). On the other hand, some identifying parts were found that are not presented in languages with different writing systems, such as a Georgian restaurant named *Georgian House* or a Chinese restaurant called *Trys klevai* (“*Three Maples*”). Therefore, when creating the identifying part of a company name, other factors, such as marketing objectives, also play an important role.

⁷ The number of company names in the respective group is provided in parentheses.

⁸ Official Statistics Portal: <https://osp.stat.gov.lt/gyventoju-ir-bustu-surasymai> [acc. 11 October 2024].

The identifying part is often designed with consideration for the linguistic majority in the country (or region), and the writing system used may also influence this choice.



Figure 3. Bilingual identifying parts of food company names

3. The identifying parts of company names and the words indicating their type by language

The names of bars, cafes, restaurants, clubs, and other establishments were classified according to the language of the identifying part and the language of the words indicating their type. Monolingual, bilingual, and trilingual names were distinguished. Monolingual names make up half of all the cases studied – 63.5% (286), such as *baras Begemoto sapnas* (bar *Begemoto sapnas* “The Hippo’s Dream”), *barbecue City Chef*, *coffee & Breakfast club Daily Poison*, *gentlemen’s club Heavens*. Bilingual names are also common, comprising 36% (162), such as *restoranas Taste Boutique* (restaurant *Taste Boutique*), *restoranas Spicamour* (restaurant *Spicamour*), *restoranas Café Montmartre* (restaurant *Café Montmartre*), *smoke & spirits Fortas* (“Fort”). Trilingual names are rare, making up 0.5% (2) of the cases studied, such as *cafe & shawarma/kavinė ir šavarma Habibi*, *ispaniška virtuvė/Bistro-brunch La Pepa*. The quantitative distribution by language groups shows that, when naming establishments, the linguistic coherence between the identifying part and the word indicating the type is consistently maintained. This approach is likely intended to preserve the consistency of information, thereby fostering an impression of professionalism.

Another perspective is that the frequency of bilingual names highlights the impact of global connections, with companies and organisations from different countries collaborating, exchanging information, and sharing experiences. This helps create an image of internationalism (Alomoush, 2023, p. 17). According to Edelman (2007, p. 2), institutional names and advertisements aim to set a product apart from similar items and persuade customers to purchase the product or use the services offered. The language used in the names is deliberately selected to achieve these objectives.

3.1. Monolingual company names can be categorised into two types based on the position of the identifying part and the word that indicates their type. The first group includes names where the identifying part and the word indicating the type are written

in the same language, but the type-indicating words are presented separately (on doors, windows, walls) or are displayed in a different font on the sign, such as *alinė Leičiai* (*pub Leičiai*⁹), *kavinė Kišenėlė* (*café Kišenėlė* “Little Pocket”), *lounge and bar Rumor* (*resting room and bar Rumor*), *cocina española El Mercado*, *boulangerie Mon Ami*, *kavinė-baras Savas ratas* (*café-bar Savas ratas* “Inner Circle”). These names comprise the majority of monolingual names – 74% (211). The second group consists of names where the specific part directly indicates the type of the establishment based on the services or food offered, such as *Amatininkų užėiga* (“Craft Tavern”), *Burbulio vyninė* (“Burbulis Winery”), *Gusto blyninė* (“Gusto Pancake House”), and *Kristupo kavinė* (“Kristupas Café”). Alternatively, the specific part can indirectly indicate the type, as seen in names like *Čili pizza*, *Bulldog Burgers*, *Depeche coffee*, *Justa Pasta*, and *Sushi Express*. These names are rare, comprising 26% (75) of all monolingual names. This trend is likely connected to the desire to set the name apart from other similar types of establishments with the same secondary components, such as a pancake house, a winery, a restaurant, etc. As a result, these names are presented visually separately and do not form part of the main name.

3.2. Bilingual names are divided into three groups based on the linguistic relationship between the identifying part and the word indicating the type. The first group includes names where the identifying part is in one language, and the word indicating the type is in another, such as *restoranas La Pergola* (*restaurant La Pergola*) or *baras Invino* (*pub Invino*) (see Figure 4). These names make up more than half of all the bilingual names – 68% (110). The second group consists of names where the identifying part is in one language, and the type-indicating word is bilingual, such as *pica ir kokteiliai/pizza&coctails Franklin*, or *bliuzo baras/blues bar Lucille Blues* (see Figure 4). These account for 22% (35) of the bilingual names. The third group includes names where both the identifying part and the word indicating the type are in two languages, such as *restoranas, kiniški patiekalai/restaurant, Chinese cuisine Trys klevai/中国酒* (“Three Maples”) (see Figure 3). These names are rare and comprise 10% (17) of bilingual names. This shows that most of the time, the identifying part is retained in the original language, while the word indicating the type is translated into the local language.



Figure 4. Bilingual names are based on the linguistic relationship between the identifying part and the words describing its type.

⁹ A historical military and social class in early Lithuania.

3.2.1. The names from the first group show that, in most cases, the words defining the type of the identifying part of names in other languages are in Lithuanian, such as *restoranas-klubas Pabo Latino* (*restaurant-club Pabo Latino*), *kavinė-restoranas Cozy* (*café-restaurant Cozy*), *restoranas Nineteen18* (*restaurant Nineteen18*), *nuotykių baras Matérialiste* (*adventure bar Matérialiste*). Names in this subgroup make up 66% (72) of the total (see Figure 5). Less often, the identifying part of the name is expressed in another language, e.g., *beer garden Vįjokliai* (“*Vines*”), *bar & bistro Pranciškonai* (“*Franciscans*”), *café and vegan bakery Kiras* (“*Gull*”). These names represent 19% (21) of the cases. Names where the identifying part and its type are in foreign languages account for 15% (17) of the studied cases, for example, *Italian cuisine Trattoria da Flavio*, *Greek cuisine Dionysos*. Therefore, bilingual names, where the identifying part is in a foreign language, typically English (as previously noted), and the type is in Lithuanian, are common in Vilnius. This practice adds prestige to the establishment (Rzetelska-Feleszko, 1994, p. 141; Ainiala, Saarelma, Sjöblom, 2012, p. 241). Using Lithuanian to denote the type of a bar, café, restaurant, or other food establishment appeals to local identity through language.



Figure 5. The identifying part is in one language, while the word that defines its type is in another.

3.2.2. Among the names where the type is written in two languages, the same denotatum is used, such as *rūšinės kavos namai/specialty coffee shop Cuproom café*, *italų restoranas/ristorante italiano Fiorentino*, *beer bar/alaus baras Nisha Craft* (see Figure 6). This ensures the consistency of the languages in the naming process. In some cases, one language element defines the type, while the phrase in the other language further specifies or emphasises a particular feature of the place, such as *pizza italiana/restoranas St. Valentino*; *brewpub and whiskey/alaus restoranas Craft & Draft*; *casa de Cuba/baras Mojitos*; *beer & local spirits/baras Dyvai* (“*Wonders*”). Thus, the second language provides additional details about the place or its unique characteristics.



Figure 6. The identifying part is in one language, while the type is bilingual.

3.3. Company names where both the identifying part and the type are bilingual, such as *Caribbean cuisine/baras*, *romo krautuvėlė Rhum/Room*, *Turkish kitchen/turkiška virtuvė* *Grilio namai/Grill house*, preserve the balance of the information presented. However, such names are infrequent, as they occupy a significant amount of visual space.

4. The names displayed on the streets may differ from those presented on the official websites of these companies, as well as on their *Facebook* and *Instagram* pages. For instance, the sign might say *whisky bar & shop King & Mouse*, while the official company website lists it as *viskio baras King & Mouse*; on *Facebook*, it is referred to as *the wine bar SOMM* instead of *vyno baras SOMM*. Therefore, bilingualism, which appears between the identifying part of the name and its type, also exists between the public and online representations. The names in official company documents may differ significantly from those posted on social media or displayed on signs, such as including an identifier (e.g., UAB, VŠĮ, etc.) or additional information (e.g., location). However, this information is either not publicly available or unreliable, as the quality of the data depends on the competence of the page administrator. For this reason, such data is excluded from the study.

5. Among the company names in Vilnius Old Town, specific identifying parts have been observed (see Figure 7). The name of a falafel restaurant in Petras Cvirka Square is displayed on the sign as *CVIPARKAS* (“*Cvipark*”), with the name visually split into syllables. This makes it unclear whether the identifying part is a compound or a composite¹⁰ word. A study of urban place names formation tendencies in the spoken language of Lithuanians born between 1989 and 1998 found that this square is often used in compound forms such as *Cvirkparkis* (“*Cvipark*”) or *Cvirparkis* (“*Cvipark*”). Therefore, the identifying part of the restaurant, operating during the warmer months, *Cviparkas* or *Cvi parkas*, may inaccurately reflect the spoken language form. Additionally, compound names, where the first element is a shortened syllable of the base word, are not typical in Lithuanian place name formation.

¹⁰ On the website www.googlemaps.lt, it is listed as *Cvi parkas* [acc. 4 March 2025].



Figure 7. (Re)adapted identifying parts of company names.

When examining the names of food companies, instances were found where the identifying part was based on a Lithuanian word that had been (re)adapted. For example, the name of the wine bar *Vintaž*¹¹ (“*Vintage*”) features a lexeme without an ending¹², yet the Lithuanian grapheme is preserved (see Figure 9). The restaurant *Čačapuri*, based on an adapted version of the word *čačiapuris*, displays the identifying part without the ending, using the grapheme. In one case, the identifying part *Oldtauno klubas* (“*Oldtown club*”) was formed through a compound of English words, Old Town, that was adapted to Lithuanian (see Figure 9). In the name *The Portobello*, the word the Lithuanian describing the type is presented in the original language but graphically adapted, for example, *Pub/Pub’as The Portobello*. This may indicate emerging methods for adjusting the identifying parts of company names, with some elements aligning with English usage and others with Lithuanian conventions.

The adaptation of identifying parts in company names is uncommon when forming official names, but it is commonly used in spoken language. Suffixes like *-iakas*, *-ikas*, *-ukas*, *-utė* and *-ušė* are added to the official specific parts or one-word names. For instance, *Čiliakas* (from *Čili pica*, pizzeria), *Čilikas* (from *Čili pica*, pizzeria), *Macdonaldukas* (from *McDonald’s*, fast food restaurant), *Verutė* (from *Vero Café*, café), *Verušė* (from *Vero Café*, café), and shortened bases like *Hesas*, *Hezas*, *Hesa*, *Heza*, *Hesbas* (from *Hesburger*, fast food restaurant), *Makas*, *Magdė*, *Makdė*, *Magdakas*, *Makdakas*, *Makdas*, *Mekas* (from *McDonald’s*, fast food restaurant) (Sidaravičienė, 2023, pp. 60–62). Identifying parts of restaurant, café, and bar names has thus become part of everyday language. The analysis of unofficial company names showed that shortening and suffixation are effective methods for adapting borrowed vocabulary (Ibid., p. 66).

Conclusions

The linguistic variety in the names of bars, pancake houses, cafés, restaurants, clubs, pizzerias, taverns, cafeterias, and wine bars in Vilnius Old Town is evident. Most food establishment names in Vilnius consist of monolingual identifying parts, which account for 98% of the cases examined. Additionally, 63.5% of the cases feature a monolingual relationship between identifying parts of names and their type-defining lexemes. By

¹¹ Alternatively, this name could originate from the Russian word *винтаж* (*vintage*).

¹² Since Lithuanian is a fusional language, the word stem has a variable ending part – a suffix.

maintaining linguistic consistency, an impression of coherence and professionalism is created. The most common monolingual names are in English and Lithuanian.

The bilingual relationship between the identifying part and its type-defining word is common, occurring in 36% of the cases examined. In these instances, bilingual names are the most frequent, where the identifying part is in one language and the type-defining word in another, such as restoranas *La Pergola* (*restaurant La Pergola*). In most cases, names in other languages are defined by Lithuanian words, like restoranas-klubas *Pabo Latino* (*restaurant & club Pabo Latino*) and kavinė-restoranai *Cozy* (*café & restaurant Cozy*). This naming strategy suggests that the primary target audience is comprised of speakers of both English and Lithuanian.

Company names or their identifying parts written in minority languages are uncommon. Therefore, food establishment names most likely are focused not on the language preferences of the community, but on marketing objectives.

To conclude, it can be stated that the dual identity of Vilnius and its society is revealed in the linguistic relationship between the identifying parts of names and the words that define their type. The study shows that while Vilnius is part of the global marketing system, it is essential to preserve ethnic identity when creating names. This helps maintain a connection with the local community and achieve international recognition. As a result, a dynamic link is being established between traditional and modern food cultures.

The names of food establishments illustrate how our society perceives and engages with the world. In Lithuania, businesses and organisations must ensure that their creative or marketing-driven name choices comply with language regulations. Nevertheless, some names exhibit unclear linguistic origins or ambiguous types, as revealed by analysing their identifying components. Thus, the naming process appears to be shaped not only by regulations but also by factors such as business strategy, cultural context, and marketing considerations.

The landscape of business names is dynamic, with companies closing due to political and economic climate changes, while others open in response. The challenges of maintaining food establishments became particularly evident during the COVID-19 pandemic, which exposed various issues faced by restaurants and cafés, including operational restrictions, labour shortages, shifting people's habits, and decreased consumption. As a result, the linguistic landscape of food establishment names may evolve rapidly, reflecting changing people's preferences and worldviews.

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