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A Pragmatic-Cognitive Approach to Brand Names: A Case Study of Rioja Wine Brands

LORENA PÉREZ HERNÁNDEZ
University of La Rioja, Logroño, La Rioja, Spain

This paper analyzes a collection of Rioja wine names, looking into the pragmatic and conceptual mechanisms underlying their semantic configuration. It provides some insights into their linguistic adequacy and effectiveness, and offers a preliminary assessment on the strengths and weaknesses of Rioja wine trademarks. The branding of Rioja wines has traditionally been carried out by wine producers themselves. This trend, however, seems to be changing as wine companies increasingly turn to professional branding services. A systematic application of the pragmatic and conceptual strategies isolated in this study results in a rich pool of lexical extensions. It is argued that a careful choice of the initial inventory of key notions as well as of the source concepts used in metonymic and metaphoric extensions would help to minimize the generation of negative connotations. To the same end, branding experts should also take into consideration a number of pragmatic maxims and cultural models.

KEYWORDS conceptual mappings, cultural models, pragmatics, branding, inference, Rioja wine brands

Introduction

Research on branding has been mostly carried out by marketing scholars (Kohli and Labahn, 1997; Mowle and Merrilees, 2005). In spite of the inherently verbal nature of brand names, little research has been conducted on linguistic aspects of branding (Klink, 2001; Vanden Bergh et al., 1987; Bao et al., 2008).

The aim of this paper is to shed some light on this yet largely unexplored area of branding. More specifically, our purpose is to unveil the cognitive operations underlying the semantic make-up of Rioja wine brands. It will be shown how they are responsible for the drawing of inferences on the basis of the cue provided by the brand name. In doing so, they arise as powerful tools for the task of enhancing the effectiveness and suggestiveness of trademarks. The role played by such conceptual

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mechanisms in the creation of brand names will be analyzed in relation to a collection of one hundred Rioja wine brands. Thus, this study also comes to fill a relevant gap in the limited literature available to date on branding in the wine industry (Mowle and Merrilees, 2005: 220), in general, and the Rioja wine industry, in particular (Tallarico, 2000).

The layout of this paper is as follows. First, we comment briefly on the construction of our corpus of Rioja wine trademarks and establish the main research hypotheses. Then, we introduce a collection of cognitive operations, which are shown to explain the semantics of all the Rioja wine brands in our corpus, both guiding and constraining their final interpretation. Finally, we conclude by offering some potential lines for future research.

Rioja wines branding and corpus of study

Our corpus of study consists of 100 wine brands, which include the names of both red and white wines, and tokens of the different ageing categories as established by the *Rioja Control Board* (i.e., *young*, *crianza*, and *reserva* wines). Data was collected from thirty different Rioja wine companies, whose production varies in quantity and popularity, from small/medium producers (e.g., *Puelles*) to large wineries (e.g., *Lopez Heredia*), and from the products of well-known wine growers rating high in the preferences of wine specialists (e.g., *Contador*) to modest, locally consumed wines (e.g., *Caecum*). The final collection of Rioja brand names is, thus, representative of this product category and the conclusions of the ensuing analysis could easily be extrapolated to the whole set.

The branding of Rioja wines has traditionally been carried out by wine producers themselves. Thus, *Riojas* have traditionally been named after the founder of the wine company (e.g., *Vivanco*, *Faustino*), the geographical location of the winery (e.g., *Sierra Cantabria*) or the traditional name of the vineyard or field where the grapes have been grown (e.g., *Viña Tondonia*, *Finca El Bosque*). This trend, however, seems to be slowly changing as wine companies are increasingly relying on branding professionals. To the best of our knowledge, however, these professionals still lack a systematic set of strategies for the creation of new brand names. In most cases, this process relies on their creativity and intuition, which is, on a second stage of the design process, filtered by exhaustive studies aimed at ruling out those potentially negative or ineffective brand names. In the following section, we attempt to show how a limited set of cognitive operations (i.e., comparison, correlation, domain reduction and expansion, mitigation and strengthening, and parametrization) may explain the generation and semantic make-up of our corpus of Rioja wine brands. In this manner, the data provided shows how this set of cognitive constructs are already randomly applied to the creation of new brands. Nevertheless, a more systematic use could be made of them in the process of brand design, at least in its initial stages, by isolating a number of specific key concepts related to the target product (i.e., particular aspects of its origin, color, flavor, terrain, location, wine-producer, local traditions, etc.) and applying the aforementioned cognitive operations on each of them. This would result in a rich pool of lexical extensions (i.e., metaphoric, metonymic, mitigated, strengthened, parametrized, etc.). A careful choice of the initial inventory

of key notions as well as of the source concepts used in metonymic and metaphoric extensions (i.e., in domain reduction/expansion, and comparison/correlation operations) would help to minimize the risk of generating negative associations. By way of illustration, axiologically negative notions (like "alcohol poisoning") should be avoided as source concepts in domain reduction and expansion operations. To the same end, branding experts should also take into consideration the particular pragmatic maxims and cultural models involved in mitigation and strengthening operations (see next section).

Cognitive operations at work in Rioja wine brands

We shall hereby contend that brand names function as cues, which prompt the generation of appropriate inferences and the activation of relevant and desirable associations. The inferential nature of brand names constitutes both an opportunity and a threat. On the one hand, it allows the branding professional to convey a wealth of meaning that goes beyond the literal interpretation of the brand name. On the other hand, in the absence of any constraining principles, it can also pave the way to some potentially negative and/or inappropriate associations. In our account, however, both the encoding and decoding of brand names are guided and constrained by a set of cognitive operations, which results in the generation of felicitous inferences that enhance the semantic and evocative power of brands beyond that of their literal interpretation.

Ruiz de Mendoza (2010) defines a *cognitive operation* as a mental mechanism, whose purpose is to derive a semantic representation from a linguistic expression in order to make it meaningful in the context in which it is to be interpreted. A typology of cognitive operations has been recently proposed within the *Lexical-Constructional Model* (henceforth, LCM; Ruiz de Mendoza, 2010), distinguishing two general categories of cognitive procedures (i.e., *content* and *formal operations*).

Content cognitive operations (i.e., comparison, correlation, domain reduction and expansion, mitigation, strengthening, and parametrization) are lower-level mechanisms used to make inferences on the basis of cues provided by the context or the linguistic expression.

In addition, several *formal higher-level cognitive mechanisms* (i.e., *selection*, *abstraction*, *cueing*, and *integration*), which play no direct role in inference making, have also been found to be at work. These make available all the necessary conceptual material upon which lower level cognitive operations draw the appropriate inferences.

In the remainder of this section, each of these cognitive tools will be defined and exemplified in relation to Rioja wine brands, thus arising as structured procedures for the coining of new brand names.

Domain reduction

Both *domain reduction* and *domain expansion* operations are related to the two possible kinds of metonymic relationship that can be established between a matrix domain and its subdomains (Ruiz de Mendoza, 2000): *source-in-target metonymy* (the source is a subdomain of the target) and *target-in-source metonymy* (the target is a

subdomain of the source). As shall become apparent in the ensuing discussion, each of the choices produces specific communicative effects.

Domain reduction is by far the most productive mechanism underlying Rioja wine brands. Most wine names based on this type of cognitive operation are also cases of a special subclass of metonymic mapping known as *eponymy*, in which a proper name stands for a place, a thing, or an institution. Source domains of eponymic wine brands are quite varied, including the name of the owners/founders of the winery (e.g., *Amancio*, *Ijalba*), the vineyard (e.g., *Viña Tondonia*), the winery (e.g., *C.V.N.E.*, *Ontañón*), or the village or geographical area where the winery and/or vineyard are located (e.g., *Sierra Cantabria*, *San Vicente*).

In all cases, we find a target-in-source mapping in which the matrix domain (e.g., either the founder, owner, vineyard, company, or location) serves as a reference point for one of its subdomains (i.e., wine). The conceptual fabric of each of the matrix domains includes a rich amount of information. Thus, as shown in Figure 1, the name of the founder of a winery (i.e., Amancio) functions as an access point to an ample conceptual frame which includes knowledge of family tradition, Amancio's personal business style (i.e., he was an innovative entrepreneur for his time), his condition as the founder of the winery, and of course, the wine produced in it, which is chosen as the target concept of the metonymic mapping). Likewise, as illustrated in Figure 2,

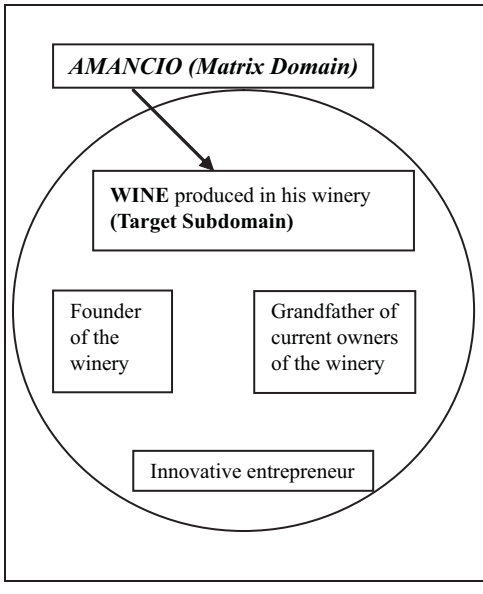

FIGURE 1 Domain reduction operation: matrix domain (*Amancio*, the founder of the winery) > target subdomain (the *wine* produced in the winery he founded).

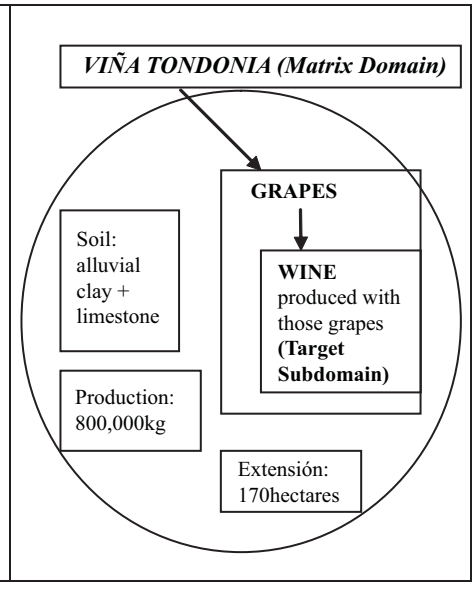

FIGURE 2 Double domain reduction operation: matrix domain (the *vineyard* "Viña Tondonia") > target sudomain 1 (the *grapes* produced in the vineyard) > target subdomain 2 (the *wine* produced with those grapes).

the matrix domain of "vineyard" comprises a number of subdomains (i.e., "terroir," "soil characteristics," "grape variety," etc.). Through a domain reduction operation, one of these subdomains (i.e., the grapes produced in the vineyard) is singled out. In turn, a second metonymic mapping makes those grapes stand for the wine produced with them. In the aforementioned eponymic brand names, the specific target domain that is highlighted is that of *wine*. Figures 1 and 2 illustrate this type of domain reduction operation.

Branding a wine by naming a wider conceptual domain has obvious advantages in terms of the distinctiveness of the resulting brand and also of its inheritance of a wealth of connotations derived from the semantic fabric of the matrix domain. A brand like *Amancio*, for instance, not only identifies the product (i.e., wine) uniquely, but it also falls heir to the suggestive shades of meaning added by the subdomains that remain inactive in the background. Thus, the fact that *Amancio* was originally the grandfather who founded the winery conveys a sense of "tradition," and "knowledge passed on from generation to generation." The fact that he was also a modern entrepreneur for his time contributes notions of "innovation" and "quality." Altogether, a wine named *Amancio* will come through as an intimate, personal wine, which respects tradition without rejecting innovation. Semantic coloring of this type is easily achieved through the use of domain reduction cognitive operations.

Our corpus yields other interesting examples of domain reduction-based brands. *Canchales*, for instance, which refers to rocky fields, activates a double domain reduction, from the "terroir" to the grapes grown in it, and from the grapes to the resulting wine. *Magister Bibendi* ("person in charge of mixing drinks at parties") and *Comisatio* ("bacchanal party") both give access to rich conceptual domains related to parties in which the selected subdomain (i.e., wine) plays a central role. The number and richness of the connotations inherited from such matrix domains are easy to imagine. These wines will automatically be connected with generous parties and unlimited fun, thus highlighting the most social and recreational aspects of wine consumption.

As shown in the above discussion, domain reduction operations are a powerful branding tool. They allow a single word (i.e., the brand name) to activate a vast conceptual domain with all its rich evocative semantic effects. In addition, they are also low risk, given that the inferences generated by the brand name are limited by the semantic scope of the matrix domain.

Domain expansion

Domain expansion operations involve the development of a subdomain into its matrix domain. The brand name needs only provide limited information under the assumption that it will be developed into the relevant conceptual representation by the hearer. Brands making use of color hyponyms (e.g., *Genolí*, *Múrice*, *Azabache*) lean on domain expansion operations, where one of the subdomains (i.e., color) stands for the whole matrix domain (i.e., wine). Figure 3 illustrates the cognitive mapping at work.

Domain expansion operations are a productive tool for the creation of new names. Virtually any concept included in the domain of wine can be metonymically used to name this product. A careful selection of the most relevant and/or prolific subdomains will, however, increase the semantic efficiency of the resulting brand.

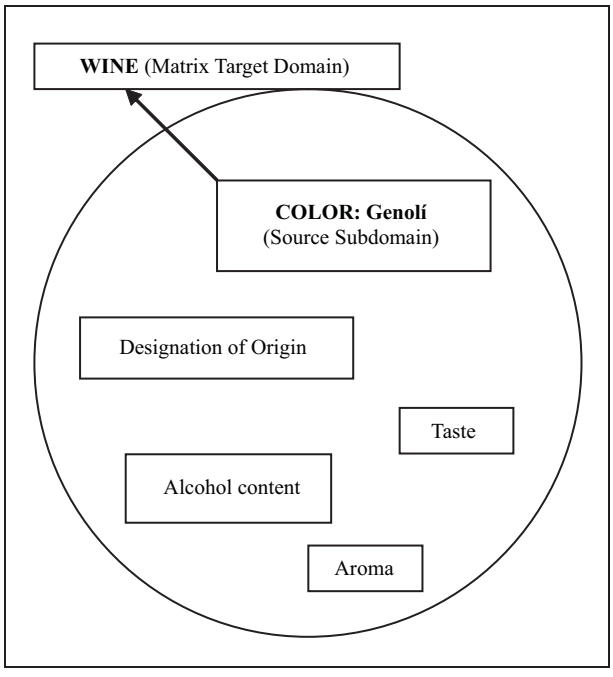

FIGURE 3 Domain expansion operation: Source subdomain (*genolí color*) > Matrix target domain (*wine*).

Nevertheless, once a convenient subdomain has been chosen (i.e., color), a further selection task is still necessary at the lexical level. Consider the brand name *Genolí*. The lexical pool of the Spanish language offers many different terms to refer to the yellowish color characterizing white wines (e.g., *amarillo*, *genolí*, *gualda*, etc.). This lexical choice involves a further metonymy. The color hyponym (i.e., *genolí*) stands for the basic-level color ("yellow"). The choice of a hyponym is not arbitrary, since it is semantically richer than the corresponding basic-level term. All the relevant semantic content of the hyponym will thus be inherited by the wine. Since the old-fashioned term *genolí* is traditionally used in the contexts of art and restoration of antiques, its use as a wine brand will add positive connotations derived from the domains of "antiquity," "art," and "preservation of valuable objects" to the characterization of the target product.

Together with color-based notions, another type of productive source domain is that of the effects and reactions triggered by the consumption of a particular wine. *Gaudium* and *Plácet* are good examples of this category. All these positive side effects conveyed by the Latin name *Gaudium* (i.e., "joy," "delight," "happiness") are made to stand for the wine that originates them, thus presenting the target product as something desirable. In a similar vein, *Plácet* (Latin for "it pleases") stands for the wine that causes such liking.

Finally, a special case of domain expansion has to do with acronyms like *D.M.* and *M.C.*, which name wines such as *David Moreno* and *Marqués de Cáceres*. The acronyms function as metonymic access points to the brand names, while at the same time adding a touch of mystery and modernity that the corresponding full forms lack.

Comparison

Traditionally, metaphoric and metonymic mappings have been taken as cognitive operations (Lakoff, 1987). Nevertheless, this is an oversimplification, since both types of mappings eventually hinge on a number of more basic cognitive operations. In the case of metaphor, depending on the nature of the correspondence between the source and the target domain, we may find that the mapping may be based on either a) a correlation between different but naturally co-occurring dimensions of experience, as in "*HAPPINESS IS UP/SADNESS IS DOWN*" (e.g., "*Cheer up!*," "*He sank into a depression*"), or b) a resemblance between the attributes of the source and target domains, as in "*HUMAN BEINGS ARE ANIMALS*" (e.g., "*John is a tiger*") (Grady, 1999). Consequently, *comparison* and *correlation* arise as two independent and more basic cognitive operations underlying metaphorical mappings.

Let us deal now with the first of them. *Comparison operations* are at the basis of many wine brands in our corpus (e.g., *Aro*, *Predicador*, *Mirto*). We can distinguish two broad categories depending on whether wine is compared to inanimate objects or to living entities. Let us start with the latter. According to the data in our corpus, wine brands largely exploit the high-level metaphor "*NON-LIVING ENTITIES ARE LIVING ENTITIES*," which helps us to deal with inanimate entities as if they were animate beings. Physical objects are, thus, endowed with the same attributes and structural configuration that living beings possess. This generic high-level mapping yields three more specific low-level metaphors: (1) "*WINES ARE ANIMALS*," (2) "*WINES ARE PLANTS*," and (3) "*WINES ARE PEOPLE*."

The first of them is illustrated by a wine brand such as *Qué bonito cacarea* ("*How nicely it crows!*"). As illustrated by Figure 4, the predicate *cacarear* ("to crow") metonymically activates the mental image of a *cock* through a domain expansion operation. In a second step, the wine thus labeled is compared to this animal, some of whose most significant attributes are borrowed to enrich the semantics of the brand. Simultaneously, a selection operation prevents those features of a cock that are not useful in reference to a wine (e.g., walks on two legs with clawed feet, etc.) from being mapped onto the target domain.

The low-level metaphor "*WINES ARE PLANTS*" underlies the understanding of the brand *Mirto* ("myrtle"). This evergreen shrub, of which the crowns wore by Olympic medalists in ancient Greece were made, is a symbol of love and beauty. The brand *Mirto* functions as a cue for consumers to try to establish a comparison between the aforementioned attributes of myrtle shrubs and some compatible traits of wine (i.e., excellence, beautiful aroma and taste, etc). In doing so, the meaning of the brand is enriched with the axiologically positive connotations of the source domain (i.e., myrtle).

Finally, the low-level metaphor "*WINES ARE PEOPLE*" maps human attributes onto those of wine. Consider the following brand names: *Chaval*, *Predicador*, *Confesor*. The resemblance that exists between the human age periods (i.e., childhood, middle age, etc.) and the ageing process of wine provides the experiential basis for the comparison operation granting the use of *Chaval* ("kid") as a wine brand. Among the attributes of a kid, the most salient one is his youth. But kids are also playful, full of energy, cheerful, and spontaneous. All these connotations may be passed on to the wine, which would come across as fresh, spirited, lighthearted, and unpretentious.[1]

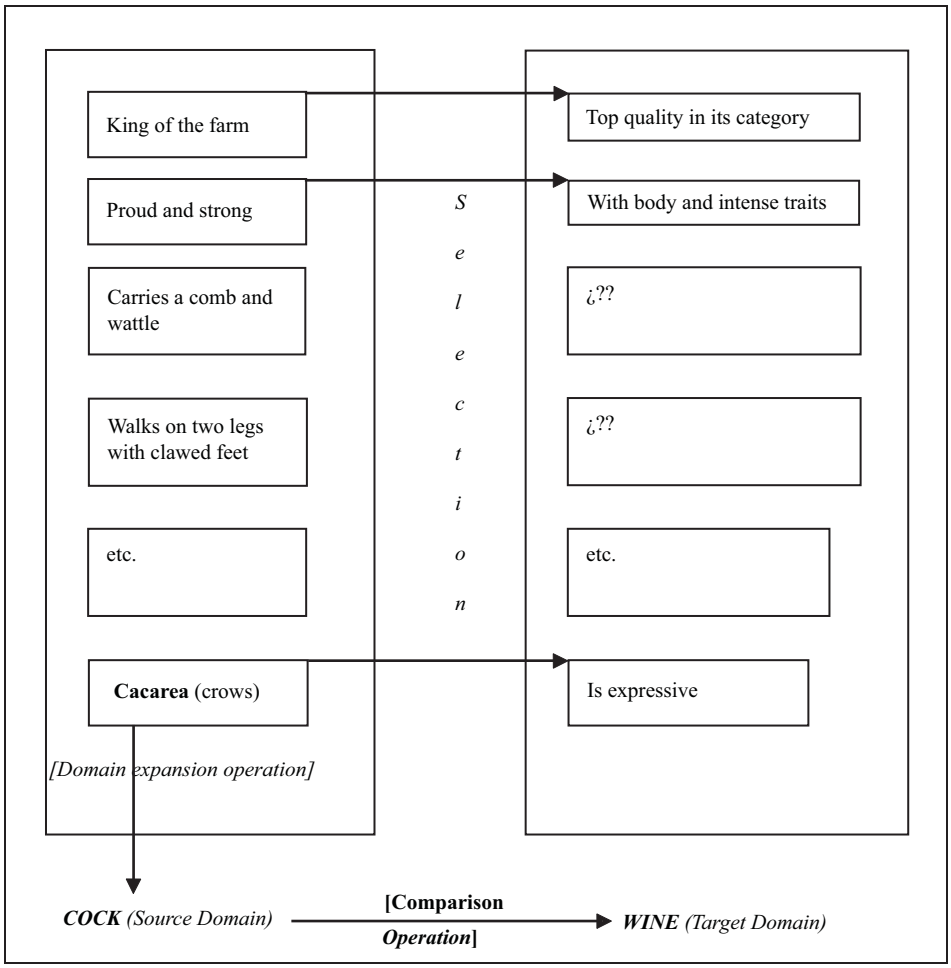

FIGURE 4 Comparison, selection, and domain expansion operations in the semantic make-up of the wine brand *Qué bonito cacarea*.

Other brand names that exploit the "*WINES ARE PEOPLE*" metaphor focus on professions (i.e., *Predicador*, *Confesor*). The eloquence and expressive copiousness characterizing such jobs (i.e., predicator and confessor) may be compared to the verbal effects caused by wine, thus licensing their use as wine brands. In each case, however, other relevant attributes may also be transferred from the source domains to the target product (i.e., wine). Thus, *Predicador* may lead consumers to think of the "repetitive" way in which people speak after drinking; and *Confesor* may point to the ability of wine to get the truth out of people.[2]

Brands involving a comparison operation can also make use of inanimate source domains (e.g., *Aro*, *Organza*, *Murmurón*, and *Puerta Vieja*). *Organza*, for instance, further illustrates how comparison operations interact with cueing and selection.

The brand name functions as a *cue* for the activation of a *comparison operation*, while the context (i.e., wine) guides the *selection* of those attributes of the source

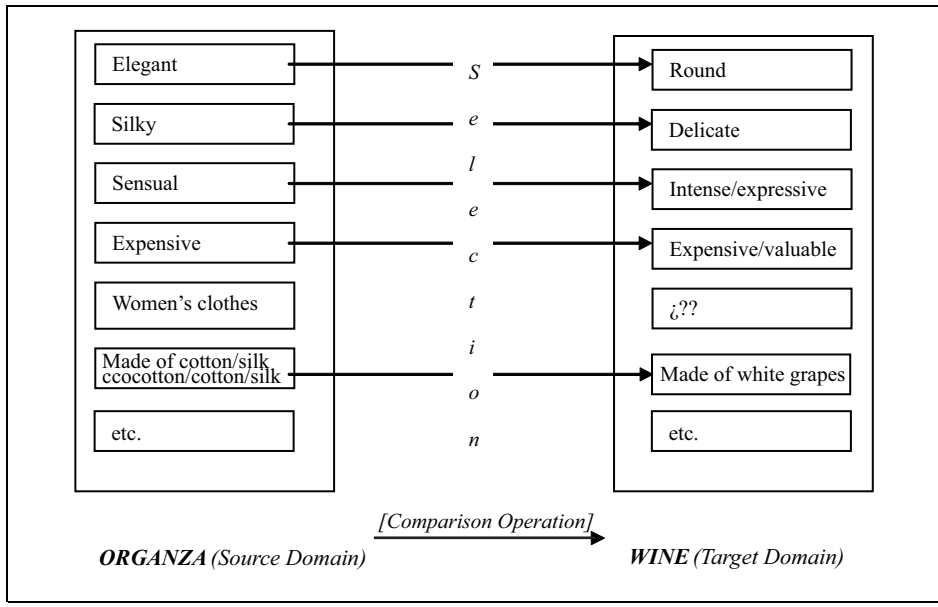

FIGURE 5 Interaction among selection, and comparison operations in the wine brand *Organza*.

domain liable to find a counterpart in the target domain. As shown in Figure 5, not all the conceptual material of the *organza* domain (i.e., a light transparent silk or cotton fabric) can be mapped onto the realm of wine. The fact that it is used in women's clothes, for example, is not relevant in the context of wine and is consequently not selected.

Comparison operations generate suggestive and novel inferences. The source domains involved are independent and external to the target domain of wine, thus contributing a wealth of new conceptual material that comes to enhance the descriptive and connotative potential of the brand.

Correlation

Brands like *Alta Río* combine comparison and correlation operations. In the previous subsection it has already been shown how wine brands can be based on comparison operations that map the conceptual fabric of non-living entities (e.g., river) onto the domain of wine. What is special about *Alta Río* is the combination of this comparison operation with one of correlation. The interpretation of the adjective *alto/a* ("high") hinges on the *verticality image-schema* (Lakoff and Johnson, 1999), whose upper end naturally correlates with vantage positions and bigger quantities. Thus, if a brand like *Alta Río* ("High River") is contrasted with an imaginary brand such as *Bajo Río* ("Low River"), the axiologically positive connotations associated with high positions (i.e., bigger quantities, better qualities) become evident. *Alta Río* conveys a sense of quality and excellence that is not present in its hypothetical counterpart. The verticality image-schema is also at work in words such as *torre* (tower) and *monte* (mountain), which are part of the compound brands *Torre Muga* and *Monte Real*.

Since correlation operations based on image-schemas have an experiential basis, they are largely pervasive across cultures and languages, which turns them into a particularly apt strategy for the creation of global brands.

Mitigation

Brand creation sometimes involves mitigation mechanisms by means of which the attributes of a product are downplayed to a certain extent. Mitigation is generally achieved either through lexical choice (e.g., *Chaval* ("kid")), or through the use of diminutives (e.g., *Montecillo* ("little mountain")). Mitigation operations often rely on pragmatic principles and maxims related to polite uses of language. The *Modesty Maxim*, which applies to the brands under consideration, states that participants in a conversation should "minimize the expression of praise of self and maximize the expression of dispraise of self" (Leech, 1983). This maxim combines with cultural models and conventions, according to which small things are perceived as more "desirable," "pleasant," and "likeable" than big and/or excessive entities (Ruiz de Mendoza, 1997). Compare the pragmatic effects of the mitigation operation in brands like *Montecillo* and *Campillo* with those of their hypothetical unmitigated counterparts (i.e., *Monte* and *Campo*). Those wines displaying mitigated brands are presented as small, precious, desirable possessions, an implication that is missing in their imaginary neutral forms.

In their interpretation, mitigation-based brands will always require the consumer to carry out the converse cognitive operation of strengthening. Thus, when confronted with a brand like *Montecillo* a consumer will have to move the formulation up the scale to a point that is compatible with the actual state of affairs (that is to say, a wine that is not smaller or less important than others, but which partakes of the charm and appeal of small objects). Mitigation operations offer an effective tool for the creation of brand names aimed at gaining consumers' affection.

Strengthening

Strengthening operations underlie the interpretation of understatements such as "*Repairing the watch will take some time*." Consequently, the hearer needs to move the formulation up the scale to a point that is compatible with his perception of the state of affairs in order to make sense of the utterance (i.e., *Repairing the watch will take quite some time*).

As was the case with mitigated brands, those based on strengthening operations can make use of either lexical (i.e., *Azabache*, *Imperial*) or derivative means (i.e., *Murmurón*) in order to maximize one or several of the attributes of wine. The semantic configuration of *Murmurón* will be dealt with in the next subsection since it is a complex case of conceptual integration. Let us now focus on those brands that make use of lexical means for strengthening their message. The brand name *Azabache* ("pitch-black") involves a domain expansion operation from the subdomain of color to the domain of wine. But it should also be noted that *azabache* refers to a specific type of bright and intense black. Since wine does not, in actual fact, reach such an intense black tonality, the interpretation of this brand will have to be brought down to something along the line of a full-bodied bright red wine of intense hues and tannins. Likewise, metaphorical brands such as *Real de Asúa*, *Imperial*, and *Dinastía*

Vivanco have strengthened their message by suggesting that the wines they name belong or are drunk by emperors, kings, and aristocratic families respectively. Once more, consumers will have to downplay the semantic content of these brands for them to have a plausible interpretation (i.e., wines whose quality is worthy of kings, emperors, and aristocrats, but which are nowadays affordable to the average consumer).

Parametrization and conceptual integration

Parametrization consists in adapting the basic conceptual layout provided by the expression to other textual and contextual clues. Our knowledge that emperors lived in a world of luxury allows us to interpret a wine brand like *Imperial* as a high-quality product in terms of taste and aroma. If the same brand were to be used to name a horse, its parametrization would trigger different interpretations, probably along the lines of a pure breed, competitive horse. The same brand (i.e., linguistic cue) is parametrized differently depending on the product it names.

Our corpus includes one interesting example (i.e., *Murmurón*) in which parametrization combines with those cognitive operations of comparison, domain expansion, strengthening, and selection.

The semantic build-up of *Murmurón* represents a case of rich conceptual integration. To begin with, understanding its meaning involves a domain expansion from the soothing sound of water flowing (i.e., murmur) to a much larger domain (i.e., a

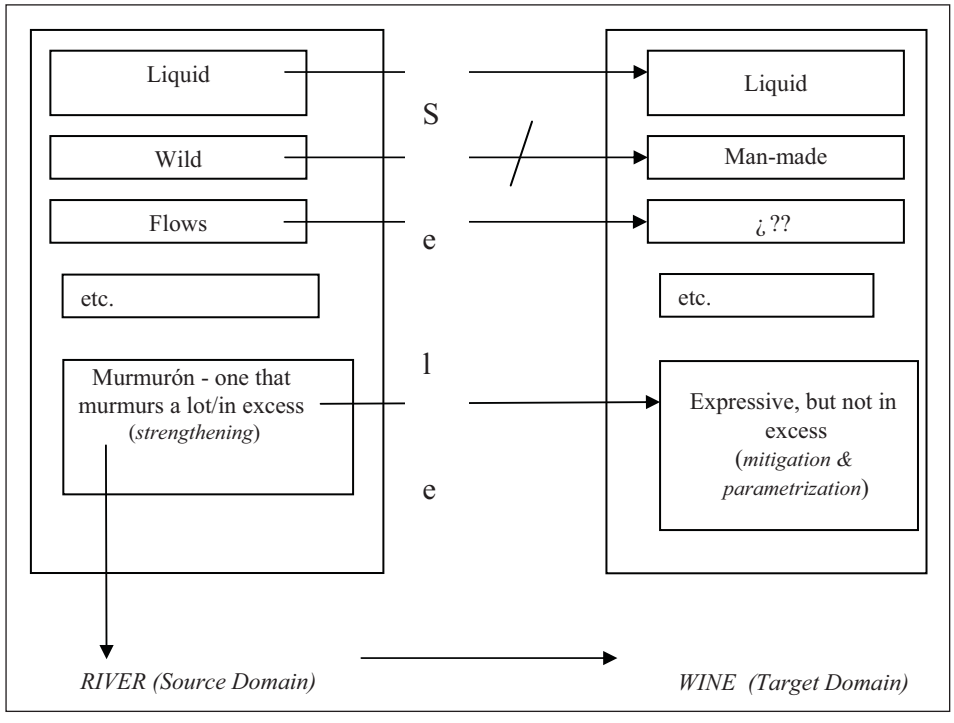

FIGURE 6 Domain expansion, comparison, selection, strengthening, mitigation, and parametrization in the creation and interpretation of *Murmurón*.

river). A comparison operation follows in which the domain of a river is mapped onto that of wine. Nevertheless, since not all the attributes of a river are compatible with those of wine, a further selection operation, cued by the context of wine tasting and drinking, guides the choice of the relevant subdomains for mapping. In the case under scrutiny, some attributes like "flow" do not find a match in the target domain. In contrast, others (like "wild," "liquid," "murmur") are compatible with the conceptual configuration of both domains. Among them, "murmur" is particularly suggestive since it makes the product appear as intensely expressive and rich in aromas and taste, as opposed to a plain or "silent" wine. In order to reach these final explicatures, three more cognitive operations are needed, namely those of strengthening, mitigation, and parametrization. *Murmurón* displays an augmentative suffix *–on* which, when added to a verb (e.g., *murmurar* "to murmur"), has a pejorative reading in Spanish (i.e., to do something in excess). *Murmurón*, therefore, has a negative literal interpretation which implies that the noise produced by the river is too high, annoying, or unpleasant. If such axiologically negative implications were transferred on to the target domain of wine, the corresponding brand would lose its effectiveness. However, this is not the case. The scalar notion of "excess" is parametrized within the context of wine tasting and conveniently mitigated so that it conveys the idea of a mouth-filling intensely expressive wine. As any wine-lover knows, too many aromas and too many flavors are never a bad thing in a wine as long as they are well integrated.

Murmurón is a good example of how brand creators can exploit the set of cognitive operations presented in this paper in order to design powerful and suggestive names, as well as to calculate and predict the scope of the implications generated by a brand name and even to manipulate them to fit their branding objectives.

Conclusion

This study on Rioja wine brands shows that the scope of the semantic associations of a brand name within a particular language can be largely predicted by taking into consideration the workings of a finite set of cognitive operations. *Domain reduction* arises as the most productive of these operations since it has been found to be at work in over half the brands under analysis. It is followed closely by *comparison* (26 brands) and *domain expansion* (13 brands). *Correlation*, *mitigation*, *strengthening*, and *parametrization* have also been found to play a role, usually in combination with one of the three most productive operations, in the formation of a relatively smaller number of new wine brands.

In addition, this collection of cognitive mechanisms has been shown to be useful in increasing the semantic richness of brands, and directing the consumer's inferential processes through the exploitation of well-known pragmatic principles and cultural models.

Limitations of this study include the fact that semantically based brand names are not always translatable and/or understood by speakers of different languages. Future lines of research should, therefore, explore the compatibility of the cognitive tools presented here with others based on sound symbolism. Future research may also wish to investigate in more detail the role of image-schemas in the design of global brand names (Pérez Hernández, 2013).

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Notes

[1] A word of caveat is in order here: the concept of "chaval" (kid) could alternatively prompt the activation of negative connotations (i.e., kids as disrespectful, unhygienic, etc.). The subjective nature of associations, and the fact that some consumers may simply not bother looking for any extra interpretation and just take the name as a name are always plausible scenarios. However, it should be noted that a core genre convention of advertising discourse is its focus on offering a positive description of the target product. This expectation involves that every meaningful element used is aimed to help consumers construct an attractive image of the product or brand. In other words, all things being equal, consumers will, by default, look for a favorable interpretation, which may of course be blocked in those cases in which the name has obvious marked negative overtones.

[2] These additional connotations need not be activated by all consumers, since as already noted, associations are essentially subjective. The comparison operation between source and target domains, however, ensures that the conceptual make-up of the source domain (i.e., predicator, confessor) is at hand for potential activation. Which elements of these domains are actually activated may vary among consumers, contexts, and also depending on the nature of the target domain. Thus, as shown in relation to the *Organza* and *¡Qué bonito cacarea!* brands, cueing and selection operations typically accompany all comparison operations.

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Note on contributor

Lorena Pérez Hernández is Associate Professor at the University of La Rioja (Spain). Her current interests include the study of illocution, politeness, and brand names design, from a functional-cognitive perspective. Her work has been published in specialized journals including *Language and Communication*, *Journal of Pragmatics*, and *Applied Linguistics*.

Correspondence to: Lorena Pérez Hernández, University of La Rioja, Department of Modern Languages, C/ San José de Calasanz, s/n, 26004 Logroño, La Rioja, Spain. Email: lorena.perez@unirioja.es