

# **Exploring Criteria for the Inclusion of Trademarks in General Language**

## **Dictionaries of Modern Greek**

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### **Abstract**

This paper explores the inclusion of genericized trademarks in Greek dictionaries.

Genericized trademarks constitute a special type of neologism, balancing between the non-lexical and the lexical, ‘proper’ and ‘common’. Although the goal of creating a brand name is to make a specific product easily distinguishable from the rest of its kind, the trademark might become so well known and widely used that it starts denoting all similar products, becomes part of the general vocabulary and gains lemma status in dictionaries. Given the fact that very little, if any, documentation exists on the subject, be it publicized lexicographic policies or style guides, dictionary notes, or any other reference in the relevant literature, the main aim of the paper is to explore some of the criteria by which such proprietary eponyms make their way into dictionaries of Modern Greek. First, a historical account of genericized brand names in dictionaries is given, demonstrating how this type of neologism has been gaining ground in recent years. Then, a list of genericized trademarks found in three current Greek dictionaries is compared to similar lemmas in contemporary English dictionaries to investigate which of them also constitute imported neologisms. In this respect, the paper investigates how many genericized trademarks are borrowed by other languages compared to Greek, which languages these are, and which fields constitute neologism pools for eponyms in Greek. Finally, the list of the proprietary eponyms that are included in dictionaries of Modern Greek is crosschecked against the Hellenic National Corpus to compare the

frequency of lexical use to that of their non-lexical use. Traditionally, the main criteria used to differentiate the two forms of use include the existence of capitalization, the inclusion of the article, and the formation of words belonging to different parts of speech. The paper will attempt to test whether these measures can help to determine the source and status of such neologisms in Modern Greek or whether other/more criteria are necessary.

### **Keywords**

Modern Greek lexicography, genericized trademarks, lemma selection, neologisms

### **Aims and Structure**

Trademarks have been classified (along with the coinage of new lexical items and the lexicalization of personal names) as a source of “conscious” neology (Singleton 2000, 152-154). According to a review of the sources of neologisms in dictionaries in Ayto (1996, 65-66), based on data from previous studies, coinings and trademarks form one of the least populated categories of the total of neologisms that make their way into English dictionaries. Given that, it comes as no surprise that very little, if any, documentation exists on the subject, be it publicized lexicographic policies or style guides, dictionary notes, or any other reference in the relevant literature. Even scarcer are relevant references for languages other than English, which have been less influential in the field of neologism coinage. The main aim of this article is to investigate some of the criteria based on which trademarks are included into dictionaries of Modern Greek, by giving a brief historical account of trademarks in Greek lexicography compared to similar entries in contemporary dictionaries of English. After finding out how many and which of these lexical items are imported, an attempt will be made to categorize them by language of origin, including Greek. It will be of particular interest to check a relatively small subset of the lexicon against the overwhelming effect of globalization and see how the new state of affairs affects language evolution in terms of

vocabulary as this is reflected in contemporary lexicographic practice. In the last part of this paper, the catalogue of lexicalized trademarks from dictionaries of Modern Greek will be crosschecked against the Hellenic National Corpus (HNC), the largest publicly available corpus specifically designed for Modern Greek (Hatzigeorgiu et al. 2000) to explore whether factors of frequency have played a role in the inclusion of such lexical items in dictionaries. The ultimate aim behind this experiment is to try to determine some concrete criteria for the inclusion of trademarks in dictionaries, whether these are employed in current lexicographic practice or not.

### **Trademarks and their Link to General Language Lexicography**

A trademark is generally known as a “sign or name that is secured by legal registration or (in some countries) by established use, and serves to distinguish one product from similar brands sold by competitors” (McArthur 1992, 1048). According to the *Encyclopedia of Language and Linguistics*, the term *trademark* is in fact the legal name of what is, more commonly, referred to as a *brand name* (Danesi 2006, 111). Trademarks are typically capitalized, as they are a type of *ergonym*, that is, a proper name that labels “something concrete or abstract produced” by humans (Grass, Maurel and Piton 2002, 139). There are, however, some specifically stylized exceptions to this rule, such as *eBay*, *iPad*, and *iPhone*. Legally speaking, a trademark is “a name, mark, device or sign by means of which the products of a person or entity may be distinguished from the products of others” (Ingram 2003, 154). Apart from products, trademarks can also refer to specific services, such as *FedEx* (R. Butters 2008, 231). Due to their established image in the marketplace, certain trademarks (e.g. *Coke*, *Jeep*) come to be recognized by the general public as *generic*. They are, thus, used not only to mean the specific product or service but the entire category in which all such products or services belong. Therefore, the trademarks gain “widespread currency” (Danesi 2006, 111), become neologisms and make their way into dictionaries as signs for the general concept.

Inconsistencies have been noted as to the naming of such neologisms by lexicographers and linguists. Indicatively, Furiassi (2012, 97) mentions that they are referred to as “‘trademarks’ [...], ‘brand names’ [...], ‘proprietary names’ [...], ‘proprietary terms’ [...], ‘trade names’ [...], ‘trade terms’ [...], ‘word marks’ [...], and ‘proprietary brands’ [...]”. In part, this lack of uniform treatment springs from the fact that the term is a linguistic one as much as it is a legal one. In lexicography, as reflected in standard manuals (e.g. Landau 1989, 298-302, Atkins and Rundell 2008, 189), this set of lexical items is usually known as *trademarks*.

The questions of *how*, *when* and even *if* to include trademarks in dictionaries have been hot issues among lexicographers, publishers, and trademark owners – in some countries more than in others. In part, these questions are linguistic in nature and relate to identifying the course of the lexicalization of trademarks and other neologisms, i.e. “the process or result of assigning to a word or phrase the status of a LEXEME” (Hartmann and James 1998, 84). However, a problem particularly pertaining to trademarks is that several legal issues have arisen from this practice. Numerous legal cases have been known, in which companies claim infringement of their sole right to the use of trademarks (e.g. McArthur 1992, 1048-1049, Ingram 2003, 161, Butters 2010)<sup>1</sup>. The issue has reached the dimensions of a battle, and has been criticized as an attack on free expression (Landau 1989, 298-302). This battle is reflected in the very etymology of the term *genericide*, from generic + -cide (i.e. the killing of), which implies that, legally speaking, this linguistic process “kills” a trademark by making it generic. As a result, dictionaries and other reference works have adopted the inclusion of the © or <sup>TM</sup> labels (McArthur 1992, 1049, Furiassi 2006, 201-202, Butters 2010, 352) as a means to protect themselves from similar legal claims. These symbols and labels are

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<sup>1</sup> One of most memorable cases being that of Google asking the Language Council of Sweden to revise the definition of the word *ogooglebar* ‘ungoogleable’ in their list of new additions to the Swedish language (Arthur 2013).

sometimes replaced by the word *trademark* in electronic dictionaries, where space is not an issue, to further emphasize the point. It should be stressed here that, although this is standard international practice, it has not (yet) been introduced in the context of Greek lexicography, possibly for lack of relevant legal incidents.

Four criteria used in English lexicography for testing a trademark's shift towards genericness, or – in linguistic terms – lexicalization, in order to consider it for inclusion in the dictionary are shown in the following list:

1. the item often appears in lowercase losing the typical capitalization of trademarks, e.g. *a coke* (Heymann 2010, 1342); in this respect, as seen in the example, items may be preceded by the indefinite article;
2. the item might also be used as other parts of speech, most notably verbs, e.g. *to xerox* (McArthur 1992, 1049);
3. the item is grammatically inflected and may therefore take plural forms that restrict its meaning to a narrower sense, e.g. *Nylons* 'Nylon stockings' (Furiassi 2006, 209);
4. the item's meaning may be extended to figurative uses, e.g. *Yo-Yo* 'a stupid or foolish person' (Merriam-Webster).

### **Tracking Trademarks in Greek Dictionaries**

For the purposes of this experiment, the three most recently published general language dictionaries of Modern Greek were used: the *Dictionary of Standard Modern Greek* (DSMG, 1998), the *Dictionary of Modern Greek* (DMG, 2008), and the *Modern Greek Dictionary of the Athens Academy* (MGDAA, 2014). Two of these dictionaries (DMG, MGDAA) are published in book form only and were therefore scanned and processed by an OCR system for easy search, whereas the third one (DSMG) was searched online<sup>2</sup>. After being located, all items were tested against the four lexicalization criteria mentioned in the previous section to

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<sup>2</sup> [http://www.greek-language.gr/greekLang/modern\\_greek/tools/lexica/triantafyllides/index.html](http://www.greek-language.gr/greekLang/modern_greek/tools/lexica/triantafyllides/index.html)

see whether these also apply in the context of Greek and to what extent. Table 1 presents an alphabetical list of the trademarks that made it to dictionary entries, their language of origin, their original form as trademarks and the work(s) in which they appear.

**Table 1**

<b>Entry</b>	<b>Language</b>	<b>Original</b>	<b>Found in:</b>
άιπαντ / άι παντ	English	<i>iPad</i>	(MGDAA) <sup>3</sup>
άιποντ / άι ποντ	English	<i>iPod</i>	(MGDAA)
άιφον / άι φον	English	<i>iPhone</i>	(MGDAA)
ανγκοστούρα	Spanish	<i>Angostura</i>	(DMG), MGDAA
ασπιρίνη	German	<i>Aspirin</i>	DSMG, (DMG), MGDAA
αφρολέξ <sup>4</sup>	Greek	<i>Αφρολέξ</i>	DSMG, DMG, MGDAA
βακελίτης	German	<i>Bakelit</i>	DSMG, (DMG), MGDAA
βέλκρο	French	<i>Velcro</i>	MGDAA
βενεδικτίνη	French	<i>Bénédictine</i>	DSMG, (DMG), MGDAA
βετέξ / βιτέξ	German	<i>Wettex</i> <sup>5</sup>	MGDAA
βιάγκρα	English	<i>Viagra</i>	MGDAA
βικιπαίδεια / γουικιπαίδεια	English	<i>Wikipedia</i>	MGDAA
γιογιό	French	<i>Yo-yo</i>	DSMG, DMG, MGDAA
γκουγκλ / γούγκλης	English	<i>Google</i>	MGDAA
γκούντα	Dutch	<i>Gouda</i> <sup>6</sup>	(DMG), MGDAA
γλουτολίνη	German	<i>Glutolin</i>	MGDAA
γούαι φάι	English	<i>Wi-Fi</i>	MGDAA
γουόκμαν	English	<i>Walkman</i>	DSMG, DMG, MGDAA
γραμμόφωνο	French	<i>Gramophone</i>	DSMG, (DMG), MGDAA
δραμαμίνη	English	<i>Dramamine</i>	DSMG, DMG, MGDAA
έβγα <sup>7</sup>	Greek	<i>EBGA</i>	DMG
ελενίτ <sup>8</sup>	Greek	<i>ΕΛΛΕΝΙΤ</i>	MGDAA
ζίπο	English	<i>Zippo</i>	MGDAA
ηρωίνη	German	<i>Heroin</i>	DSMG, DMG, (MGDAA)
θερμός	English	<i>Thermos flask</i>	DSMG, DMG, MGDAA
καλούα	English	<i>Kahlúa</i>	MGDAA
καναντέρ	French	<i>Canadair</i>	MGDAA
κανσόν	French	<i>Canson</i>	MGDAA
κέβλαρ	English	<i>Kevlar</i>	MGDAA
κλάξον	English	<i>Klaxon</i>	DSMG, DMG, MGDAA
κλαρκ <sup>9</sup>	English	<i>Clark</i>	DSMG, DMG, MGDAA

<sup>3</sup> Brackets mean that this dictionary includes the item with no indication of its (former or present) trademark status.

<sup>4</sup> Foam, as in foam sponge.

<sup>5</sup> Sponge cloth manufactured by Vileda.

<sup>6</sup> Not typically a trademark but a Protected Geographical Indication.

<sup>7</sup> Small neighborhood shop that used to sell dairy and other products.

<sup>8</sup> Asbestos cement.

<b>κοκακόλα / κόκα (κόλα) / κόκα-κόλα</b>	English	<i>Coca-Cola</i>	DSMG, DMG, MGDAА
<b>κόριαν</b>	English	<i>Corian</i>	MGDAА
<b>κουάκερ</b>	English	<i>Quaker (Oats)</i>	DSMG, DMG, MGDAА
<b>κουαντρό</b>	French	<i>Cointreau</i>	MGDAА
<b>κρις κραφτ / κρισκράφτ</b>	English	<i>Chris Craft</i>	DSMG, DMG, MGDAА
<b>λαστέξ</b>	English	<i>Lastex</i>	DSMG, DMG, MGDAА
<b>λευκοπλάστ / λευκοπλάστης<sup>10</sup></b>	German	<i>Leukoplast</i>	(DSMG), (DMG), MGDAА
<b>λίαρ τζετ</b>	English	<i>Learjet</i>	MGDAА
<b>λίκρα</b>	English	<i>Lycra</i>	MGDAА
<b>λινοτυπία</b>	English	<i>Linotype</i>	DSMG, DMG, MGDAА
<b>μαρτίνι</b>	Italian	<i>Martini e Rossi</i>	DSMG, DMG, MGDAА
<b>μονόπολη</b>	English	<i>Monopoly</i>	(MGDAА)
<b>μοράβια / μουράβια</b>	Italian	<i>Moravia</i>	MGDAА
<b>μοτορόλα<sup>11</sup></b>	English	<i>Motorola</i>	DSMG, DMG
<b>μουβιόλα</b>	English	<i>Moviola</i>	DSMG, DMG, MGDAА
<b>μούλτι<sup>12</sup></b>	French	<i>Multi</i>	MGDAА
<b>μπέιμπι λινό<sup>13</sup></b>	English	<i>Babyline</i>	MGDAА
<b>μπερέτα<sup>14</sup></b>	Italian	<i>Beretta</i>	(DMG), MGDAА
<b>μπικ<sup>15</sup></b>	French	<i>Bic</i>	DSMG, DMG, MGDAА
<b>μπλακεντέκερ<sup>16</sup> / μπλάκ εν ντέκερ</b>	English	<i>Black and Decker</i>	DSMG, MGDAА
<b>μπλάνκο<sup>17</sup></b>	English	<i>Blanco</i>	DMG, MGDAА
<b>μπλουτούθ</b>	English	<i>Bluetooth</i>	MGDAА
<b>μπότοξ</b>	English	<i>Botox</i>	MGDAА
<b>νάιλον</b>	English	<i>Nylon</i>	(DSMG), (DMG), MGDAА
<b>νοβοκαΐνη</b>	German	<i>Novocain</i>	(DSMG), (DMG), (MGDAА)
<b>νοβοπάν<sup>18</sup></b>	French	<i>Novopan</i>	DSMG, DMG, MGDAА
<b>ντόλμπι</b>	English	<i>Dolby</i>	MGDAА
<b>ντουραλουμίνιο</b>	German	<i>Duralumin</i>	DSMG, (DMG), MGDAА
<b>ξυλοκαΐνη</b>	English	<i>Xylocaine</i>	MGDAА
<b>ορλόν</b>	English	<i>Orlon</i>	DSMG, (DMG), MGDAА
<b>όσκαρ</b>	English	<i>Oscar</i>	DSMG, (DMG), (MGDAА)

<sup>9</sup> Forklift.

<sup>10</sup> Surgical tape.

<sup>11</sup> Police car-radio receiver.

<sup>12</sup> Food grinder (Moulinex product).

<sup>13</sup> Diaper.

<sup>14</sup> Type of rifle.

<sup>15</sup> Either a ballpoint pen or a disposable lighter.

<sup>16</sup> Type of power tool.

<sup>17</sup> Any correction product (Pelican correction product).

<sup>18</sup> Chipboard.

<b>οτοκιού / ότοκιου</b>	English	<i>Autocue</i>	(DMG), MGDA
<b>πάμπερς</b>	English	<i>Pampers</i>	MGDA
<b>παναντόλ</b>	English	<i>Panadol</i>	MGDA
<b>παραφλου<sup>19</sup></b>	French	<i>Parafllu</i>	MGDA
<b>πεπσικόλα / πέπσι (κόλα) / πέπσι-κόλα</b>	English	<i>Pepsi-Cola</i>	MGDA
<b>περλόν</b>	German	<i>Perlon</i>	MGDA
<b>πετρογκάζ<sup>20</sup></b>	Greek	<i>ΠΕΤΡΟΓΚΑΖ</i>	DSMG, (DMG), MGDA
<b>πιανόλα</b>	English	<i>Pianola</i>	DSMG, DMG, MGDA
<b>πινγκ πονγκ / πινγκ-πόνγκ / πινγκ πογκ</b>	English	<i>Ping-Pong</i>	DSMG, (DMG), (MGDA)
<b>πλαστελίνη</b>	Italian	<i>Plastilina</i>	DSMG, DMG, MGDA
<b>πλεξιγκλάς / πλεξιγκλας</b>	German	<i>Plexiglas</i>	DSMG, DMG, MGDA
<b>πολαρόιντ</b>	English	<i>Polaroid</i>	DSMG, DMG, MGDA
<b>πομόνα<sup>21</sup></b>	English	<i>Pomona</i>	DSMG, DMG, (MGDA)
<b>πυρέξ / πιρέξ</b>	English	<i>Pyrex</i>	DSMG, DMG, MGDA
<b>ρίμελ<sup>22</sup></b>	English	<i>Rimmel</i>	DSMG, DMG, MGDA
<b>ριπολίνη<sup>23</sup> / ρεπουλίνη</b>	French	<i>Ripolin</i>	DSMG, (DMG), MGDA
<b>ρομβία<sup>24</sup></b>	Spanish	<i>Pombia</i>	DSMG, DMG, MGDA
<b>σελοτέιπ</b>	English	<i>Sellotape</i>	DSMG, DMG, MGDA
<b>σελοφάν</b>	French	<i>Cellophane</i>	(DSMG), (DMG), MGDA
<b>σινέραμα</b>	English	<i>Cinerama</i>	DSMG, (DMG), MGDA
<b>σκάιπ</b>	English	<i>Skype</i>	MGDA
<b>σκαραβαίος<sup>25</sup></b>	English	<i>Beetle</i>	DMG, MGDA
<b>σκραμπλ</b>	English	<i>Scrabble</i>	DMG, MGDA
<b>σούπερ πούμα<sup>26</sup></b>	English	<i>Super Puma</i>	MGDA
<b>ταμπάσκο</b>	English	<i>Tabasco</i>	DMG, MGDA
<b>τάπερ</b>	English	<i>Tupperware</i>	DSMG, DMG, MGDA
<b>τάραφλεξ<sup>27</sup></b>	English	<i>Taraflex</i>	MGDA
<b>ταρτάν<sup>28</sup></b>	English	<i>Tartan track</i>	DSMG, (DMG), (MGDA)
<b>τεριλέν</b>	English	<i>Terylene</i>	DSMG, DMG, MGDA
<b>τετραπάκ</b>	English	<i>Tetra Pak</i>	MGDA
<b>τεφάλ<sup>29</sup></b>	French	<i>Tefal</i>	MGDA

<sup>19</sup> Antifreeze (Petronas product).

<sup>20</sup> Camp stove.

<sup>21</sup> Type of pump (Australian company).

<sup>22</sup> Mascara (British company).

<sup>23</sup> Type of paint (French product).

<sup>24</sup> Type of barrel piano (Spanish company).

<sup>25</sup> Type of car (Volkswagen Beetle).

<sup>26</sup> Type of helicopter (French product).

<sup>27</sup> Type of sports flooring (Gerflor product).

<sup>28</sup> Synthetic track surfacing.

<sup>29</sup> Any non-stick cookware item (French company).



τεφλόν	English	<i>Teflon</i>	MGDAA
τεχνικολόρ	English	<i>Technicolor</i>	DSMG, MGDAA
τζακούζι	English	<i>Jacuzzi</i>	(DMG), MGDAA
τζετ σκι / τζετ-σκι	English	<i>Jet Ski</i>	(DMG), MGDAA
τζιπ	English	<i>Jeep</i>	(DSMG), DMG, MGDAA
τιτίβισμα <sup>30</sup>	English	<i>Twitter</i>	MGDAA
τουίτερ	English	<i>Twitter</i>	MGDAA
φείσμπουκ	English	<i>Facebook</i>	MGDAA
φελιζόλ <sup>31</sup>	Greek	<i>ΦΕΛΙΖΟΛ</i>	DSMG, DMG, MGDAA
φλιτ <sup>32</sup>	English	<i>FLIT</i>	DSMG, DMG
φορμάικα	English	<i>Formica</i>	DSMG, DMG, MGDAA
φραπουτσίνο <sup>33</sup>	English	<i>Frappuccino</i>	MGDAA
φρέον	English	<i>Freon</i>	DSMG, DMG, MGDAA
φυτίνη <sup>34</sup>	Greek	<i>Φυτίνη</i>	DSMG, DMG, MGDAA
φώτοσοπ	English	<i>Photoshop</i>	MGDAA
χανζαπλάστ <sup>35</sup>	German	<i>Hansaplast</i>	MGDAA
χάρλεϊ	English	<i>Harley-Davidson</i>	MGDAA
χούλα χουπ / χουλαχούπ	English	<i>Hula Hoop</i>	DMG, MGDAA
χρωμοπαγίδα <sup>36</sup>	English	<i>Colour Catcher</i>	MGDAA

LIST OF LEXICALIZED TRADEMARKS IN GENERAL LANGUAGE DICTIONARIES OF MODERN GREEK

In total, 112 lexical items were located. Figure 1 presents a visualization of the number of items located in each dictionary or in each dictionary combination as well as the languages from which these items entered the Greek lexicon.

<sup>30</sup> Twitter post.

<sup>31</sup> Styrofoam.

<sup>32</sup> Type of insecticide (US product).

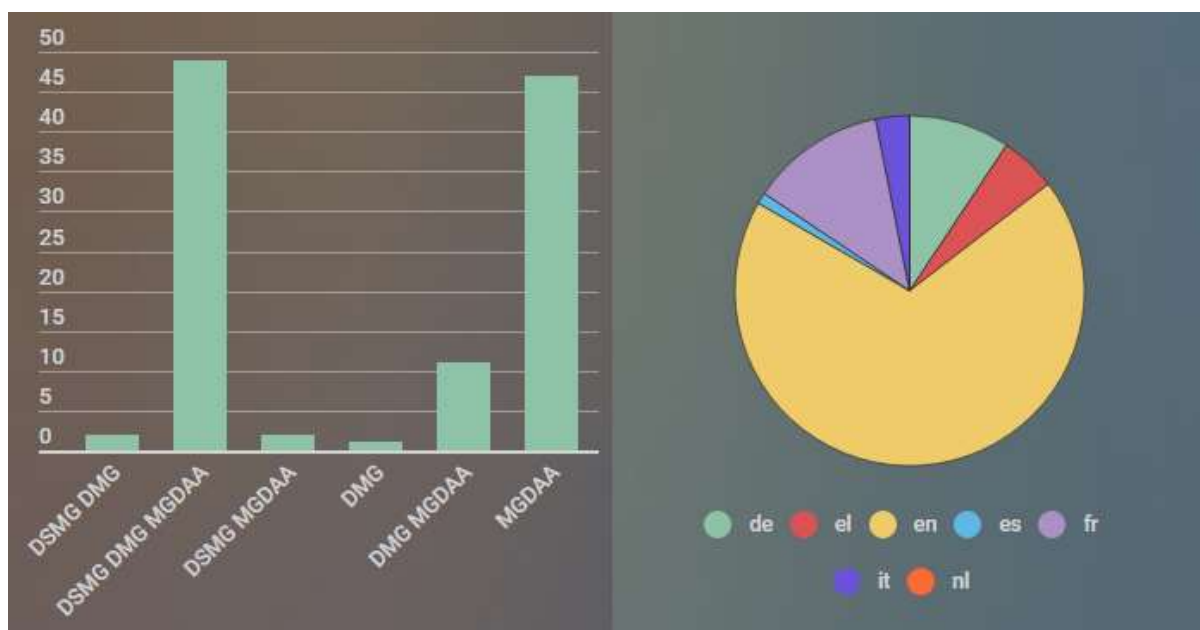
<sup>33</sup> Iced cappuccino (Starbucks product).

<sup>34</sup> Margarine (old Greek product now owned by Unilever).

<sup>35</sup> Any type of adhesive bandage (German product by Beiersdorf).

<sup>36</sup> Color run prevention product of Spotless Group, part of Henkel.

**Figure 1**



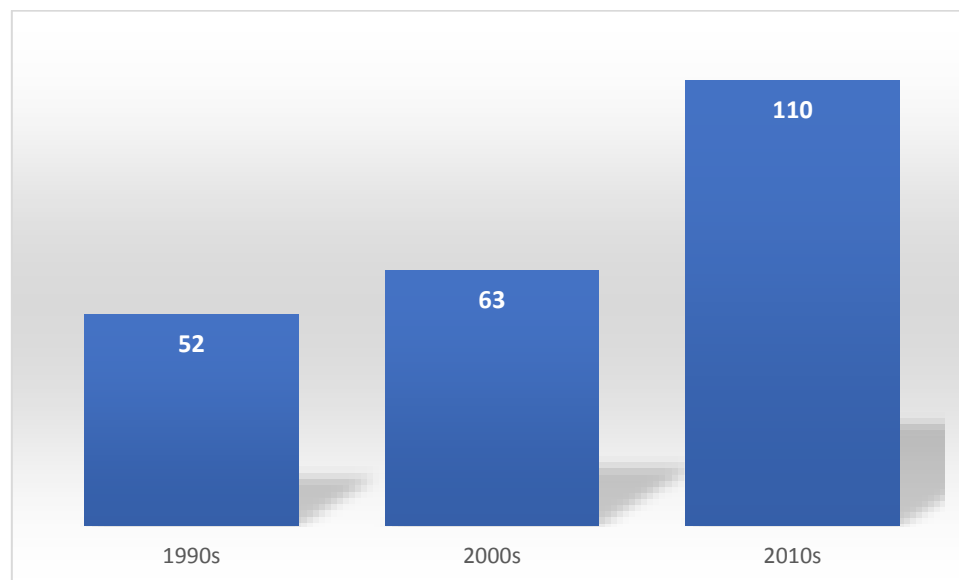
NUMBER OF ITEMS LOCATED (LEFT); LANGUAGES OF ORIGIN (RIGHT)

As one might have anticipated, the most populated category on the list – comprising 49 items – is the one with items found in all three dictionaries, which supports the lexicographic hypothesis that these are well lexicalized. In addition, the fact that the three chosen dictionaries were published in three different decades further confirms that these items have become part of the Modern Greek lexicon. The second most populated category was hardly a surprise either, as this corresponds to 47 items found just in one dictionary, which is, however, the most recently published one (2014). Given the significant increase in this type of neologism as entries in the newest of the three dictionaries (numbers shown in Figure 2), this could be an indication of a current trend, although the sample is hardly adequate for such a conclusion to be drawn without further research. Furthermore, this dictionary has been published by the Academy of Athens, which acts as the national observatory of Modern Greek neologisms<sup>37</sup>, giving this dictionary unique access to the relevant pool of data. In fact,

<sup>37</sup> More particularly, the part of the Academy of Athens in charge of inspecting neologisms is the Research Center for Scientific Terms and Neologisms (<http://www.academyofathens.gr/en/research/centers/scitermneo>).

it is stated in the preface (MGDAA 2014, 14) that the number of neologisms recorded in the dictionary database is approximately 5,000. The rest of the categories are considerably lower and consist of entries found either in one of the other dictionaries or in any of their combinations. A last unsurprising element is that a lot of these newest entries belong to the domain of technology, for which it has been argued that replacing the generic term with a trademark is often most efficient in language use. A typical example would be the monosyllabic *Skype*, which – in various languages – has come to replace “Voice Over Internet Protocol” or “VoIP” in everyday use (Hargraves 2015, 96-97).

**Figure 2**



#### NUMBER OF TRADEMARK ENTRIES IN THE THREE DICTIONARIES

With respect to their language of origin, English, being the indisputable *lingua franca* of our times, is first on the list (74 items) being considerably better represented than the rest of the languages: French (14 items); German (11 items); Greek (6 items); Italian (4 items); Spanish (2 items); and Dutch (1 item). An important detail to be clarified here is that the language through which an item enters the lexicon may not always coincide with the country of origin, that is, the nationality of the company that manufactured the product in question. Thus, for example, *Walkman* entered the Greek language through the relevant English word

which, as a trademark, legally belongs to Sony, a Japanese multinational company. In addition, some dictionary entries are recorded as loans from languages other than the original trademark language, such as the word *γραμμόφωνο* ‘gramophone’, which, despite being English in origin, entered the Greek lexicon via French.

### **Testing of Results against Lexicalization Criteria**

After checking the dictionaries against the four criteria of lexicalization mentioned above, the first obvious conclusion is that all lexical items appear in lowercase, thus fully qualifying as lexicalized items. The fact that some of the items (included in brackets in Table 1) were not marked in all dictionaries as trademarks, is a further indication of how solid their position in the lexicon is. This could also be the reason why other well-known former trademarks are, in fact, not marked as such in any of the dictionaries – a distinctive example of that would be *βαζελίνη* ‘Vaseline’. When the lexical items were run against the HNC, lowercase instances were found to be overwhelmingly more common than uppercase ones (Figure 3 presents a typical example). This further validates their entry status, verifying that these items are indeed part of the Greek lexicon. As the HNC contains limited resources taken from the Web, results for some of the most recent entries – such as *άιπαυτ* ‘iPad’ or *άιπουτ* ‘iPod’ – were scarce in the findings, so Sketch Engine’s Greek Web 2014 corpus<sup>38</sup> (Kilgarriff et al. 2014) was also used to double-check all lexical items. An example is shown in Figure 4.

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<sup>38</sup> <http://www.sketchengine.eu>

Figure 3

1	πύλ, και γρήγορα γλάστρα, περιφέρεται ένα γουόκμαν
2	κεί που κινούνται πάνω σε πατινία με ένα γουόκμαν
3	ορίστε απογορεύει την οδύνη της βία της με γουόκμαν
4	απεικονίζεται στη όψη του ανθρώπου με τα γουόκμαν
5	οι παίκτες του θα έμπαιναν στο γόλφ με γουόκμαν
6	νασταίσιος και να απαληρώνει μουσική από γουόκμαν
7	οχημάτων οχημάτων, απαγόρευση της κίνησης γουόκμαν από οδηγούς μοτοσυκλετών και ποδηλάτων, εισήγηση
8	κωστής διατηρήσιος του και εμπνευστής του γουόκμαν του από τα κινητά οχήματα της εταιρείας η έκταση
9	θα έχει το δικαίωμα και την επάρχια του γουόκμαν ή του βίστερ - μια συσκευή η οποία που θα μετράει
10	κωστής με την τελεστή και του ποδηλάτη γουόκμαν και να φέρει όποτε θέλει τις τηλεοπτικές εκπομπές
11	επικής εταιρείας και η μικρή κατασκευή με γουόκμαν και τρέχει εμπορεύματα
12	γόν, την κατασκευή, το οποίο θα φορέσει με γουόκμαν και θα ζευγαίει ένα ένα και κινείται τον επικόπητα
13	Έχει και γουόκμαν σε' αυτή για να' αυτού της έκτασης "
14	Ο Δεσ, όπλα του, είχε τα γουόκμαν στη ζώνη, γ' αυτούσια σε' αυτή, και σήγαινα τον
15	Ο Κωστής είχε εμπνευστής του γουόκμαν το 1975, ένα οποίο το οποίο είχε συνενώσει τη
16	α την... απόζει παραγωγής μουσική απ' τα γουόκμαν του μπροστά στο ακαδημαϊκό τον κ. Σακκά
17	ατα, συσκευές βίντεο, 20 κινητά τρέφονται, γουόκμαν φορτιστές και πλήθος άλλων,

HNC CONCORDANCE FOR ΓΟΥΟΚΜΑΝ ‘WALKMAN’: NONE OF THE EXAMPLES ARE CAPITALIZED

Figure 4

1	blogspot.gr	κόμα δεν έχουν δύο πιστικές ετήσιες για το υπερσύγχρονο	άιπαρντ	που δεν δικαιολογείται από το πόθεν έσχες της Παπαρήγα
2	blogspot.gr	τημα είναι επί ένα τρίμηνο ο 1000000 επικριτής, μου χαρίζουν	άιπαρντ	μου προτιμούν να γίνει εκατομμυριούχος και τώρα τελειώσα με
3	redsagamesthemachine.gr	στο ότι περιμένεις να αντέξει την καύρα η γενιά του άιπαρντ του	άιπαρντ	του τούιτερ και του φάσμπουκ
4	rbth.gr	παραγουν νέα ονόματα	άιπαρντ	"(και γενικά τα "γκάντζι" και "νιβιάς") περνάνε στη ρωσική γλώσ
5	mao.gr	του Τάσου στον Μητρόπουλο ο διατητής Ταπούλης	άιπαρντ	(iPadi) (Επανόσταση ή "άνιτε θάμα, άνιτε ψώνιο", "
6	blogspot.gr	κεί της κυβέρνησης	άιπαρντ	είναι φθηνότερα
7	tweettunnel.com	ού έχετε?	άιπαρντ	άιπαρντ άιπαρντ √Αι στις Πάργες τον ανήφορο Retweeted by X

SKETCH ENGINE CONCORDANCE FOR ΑΪΠΑΝΤ ‘IPAD’: ONLY ONE EXAMPLE IS CAPITALIZED

According to the second lexicalization criterion, the lexicalized trademark (typically used as an adjective) could be used as other parts of speech well. As a highly inflectional language, Greek normally, with few exceptions, has distinct lexeme types for each grammatical category. Therefore, if trademarks extend to other parts of speech, they would not have the same form. Despite this morphological idiosyncrasy, some of these dictionary entries that are well lexicalized into the language are morphologically adapted to serve as verbs. Examples include: *γκουγκλάρω* ‘look up in *Google*’ and *φλιτάρω* ‘spray with a flit-gun’. Both verbs are formed with the suffix *-άρω* ‘-áro’, which typically forms numerous types of neological verbs in Greek (Efthymiou 2011, 175). An additional point of interest is that some of the entries form derivatives and compounds which are also present in dictionaries, e.g. *γκουγκλάρισμα* ‘googling’ and *φλιτάρισμα* ‘spraying with a flit-gun’. Some

items have given rise to other kinds of derivatives, such as diminutives (*ασπιρινούλα* ‘a small aspirin’, *γραμμοφωνάκι* ‘a small gramophone’, *λαστεξάκι* ‘a small Lastex garment’, *μποτοζάκι* ‘a small Botox job’, *ταπεράκι* ‘a small Tupperware container’, *τζιπάκι* ‘a small Jeep’), augmentatives (*τζιπάρα* and *τζιπούρα* ‘a large Jeep’), other nouns (*ζιπέλαιο* ‘Zippo lighter fluid’, *ηρωινομανής* ‘a heroin addict’, *ηρωινομανία* ‘heroin addiction’, *λινοτύπης* ‘a linotypist’), or adjectives (*λινοτυπικός* ‘referring to Linotype, linotypic’, *οσκαρικός* ‘referring to the Oscars’). Apart from these lexemes that are recorded in the dictionaries, a plethora of derivatives as well as compounds were found in the two corpora, suggesting that some of these words – shown in Table 2 – demonstrate productive capacity and are better established in the lexicon.

**Table 2**

<b>Lexical item</b>	<b>Meaning in context</b>
<i>αγκούγκλητος</i>	not found on Google
<i>αγραμμοφώνητος</i>	not recorded on the Gramophone
<i>αϊπαντίζω</i>	to photograph using an iPad
<i>αϊποντάκι</i>	a small iPod
<i>αμποτοζάριστος</i>	not having undergone Botox injections
<i>ασπιρινούχος</i>	containing Aspirin
<i>αφρολεξένιος</i>	made of sponge foam
<i>αφρολεξάκι</i>	a small sponge foam
<i>βακελιτικός</i>	made of Bakelit
<i>βετεξάκι</i>	a small Wettex sponge cloth
<i>βιαγκροειδής</i>	similar to Viagra
<i>βιαγκρωμένος</i>	being under the influence of Viagra
<i>βικιπαιδικός</i>	referring to Wikipedia

<i>βικιπαιδιστής</i>	a Wikipedia contributor
<i>γκουγκλίζω</i>	to search on Google
<i>γκούγκλισμα, γκουγκλισμός</i>	Google searching
<i>γουοκμανάκι</i>	a small Walkman
<i>γραμμοφωνία</i>	Gramophone communication
<i>γραμμοφωνικός</i>	referring to the Gramophone
<i>γραμμοφωνώ</i>	to record on the Gramophone
<i>εβγατζής</i>	an owner of a small dairy shop
<i>ελενιτοπαράγκα</i>	an asbestos cement shack
<i>ηρωινοεξαρτημένος</i>	addicted to heroin
<i>κεβλαρόκομπος</i>	a Kevlar knot
<i>κοκακολικός</i>	referring to Coca-Cola
<i>κοκακολίτσα</i>	a small Coke
<i>λικροφορεμένος</i>	dressed in Lycra
<i>μαρτινάκι</i>	a small Martini
<i>μουλτάκι</i>	a small food grinder
<i>μπερετάκι</i>	a small Beretta rifle
<i>μπικάκι</i>	a small ballpoint pen
<i>μπακεντεκεράς</i>	a power tool user
<i>μπλουτουθάκι</i>	a small Bluetooth
<i>μποτοξαρισμένος</i>	having undergone Botox injections
<i>νοβοπανόβιδα</i>	a chipboard screw
<i>οσκαράκι</i>	a small Oscar
<i>οσκαρούχος</i>	Oscar-winning

<i>οσκαρολογία</i>	talk around the Oscars
<i>παμπεράκι</i>	a small diaper
<i>πετρογκαζάκι</i>	a small camp stove
<i>πινγκπονγκίστας</i>	a Ping-Pong player
<i>πλαστελινένιος</i>	malleable, workable
<i>πυρεξάκι</i>	a small Pyrex
<i>σελοφαναρισμένος</i>	wrapped in Cellophane
<i>σκαϊπικά</i>	via Skype
<i>τζακουζάκι</i>	a small Jacuzzi
<i>τζακουζοδομάτιο</i>	a Jacuzzi room
<i>τζιπάτος</i>	a Jeep owner/driver
<i>τζιποειδής</i>	Jeep-style
<i>τουιτεράκιας, τουιτεράς</i>	a Twitter user
<i>τουιτερικός</i>	referring to Twitter
<i>φεισμπουκάς</i>	a Facebook user
<i>φεισμπουκικός</i>	referring to Facebook
<i>φελιζολένιος</i>	made of Styrofoam
<i>φωτοσοπάρω</i>	to process in Photoshop
<i>φωτοσοπάς</i>	a Photoshop user
<i>φωτοσοπιά</i>	a Photoshop job
<i>χαρλεάς</i>	a Harley-Davidson rider

LIST OF NEOLOGICAL DERIVATIVES AND COMPOUNDS FOUND IN THE TWO CORPORA

The third criterion for trademark lexicalization is whether or not entries have plural forms – some of which are used with a narrower meaning. All of these lexicalized items are recorded as nouns in the dictionaries and some are accompanied by examples in the plural.



For the vast majority of the entries, plural forms were also found in both corpora. Some of these are indeed used in a narrower sense, such as *τεχνικολόρ* ‘Technicolor’, used in the plural to mean ‘Technicolor movies’, and *ελενίτ* ‘asbestos cement’, which in the plural form refers to ‘roofs or buildings made of this material’.

Considering the fourth and final lexicalization criterion, some of the located items have penetrated so deep into the lexicon that they have also acquired metaphorical meanings, which are recorded in the dictionaries. These include: *ασπιρίνη* ‘Aspirin’, ‘a measure that only deals with a problem temporarily without solving it’; *γιογιό* ‘Yo-yo’, ‘fluctuating between two extremes’, e.g. *a yo-yo diet*; *νάιλον* ‘Nylon’, ‘fake’, e.g. *a Nylon world*; *όσκαρ* ‘Oscar’, ‘an extreme example of something negative’, e.g. *This deserves an Oscar for stupidity*; *πινγκ πονγκ* ‘Ping-Pong’, ‘responsibility transfer’ e.g. *a case of Ping-Pong between the two organizations*.

Finally, there are cases of trademarks that have entered the lexicon through translation. These include lexical items already present in Modern Greek, e.g. *σκαρφαβίος* ‘beetle’ also standing for ‘Volkswagen Beetle’, and *τιτίβισμα* ‘twitter’ also meaning ‘Twitter post’. A more creative example of this would be translating the meaning the trademark contains, thus forming a new lexical item – in this case, a compound: *χρωμοπαγίδα* ‘Colour Catcher’ (a product of Spotless Group, part of Henkel, used to prevent color runs if whites are mixed with colored items in the washing machine).

## **Conclusions**

This paper explored the inclusion of genericized trademarks – be they current or former – in general language dictionaries against the three most recent dictionaries of Modern Greek. The experiment revealed a distinct increase in the inclusion of this type of neologism, with more than 40% of them being new entries recorded only in the most recent of the dictionaries examined (2014). Whether this is a general trend, however, or simply a matter of

lexicographic choice is something that remains to be researched. Concerning the language of origin, only 5% of the 112 items located were Greek, whereas English was significantly more represented as language of origin with an overwhelming 66%.

As regards the criteria for the inclusion of trademarks as neologisms in these dictionaries, four (morphological and semantic) principles followed mainly by the English lexicographic tradition were tested, leading to the following conclusions. First, all items appear in lowercase in the dictionaries, and only a few of them appear capitalized in the corpora used for cross-checking purposes, which makes the lowercase criterion valid for Greek as well. Second, although these neologisms are not used as other parts of speech themselves due to the inflectional nature of Greek, some of them are morphologically adapted to serve as verbs. In addition, they tend to form derivatives and compounds, some of which are recorded in the dictionaries, demonstrating productive capacity, and thus establishing their place in the lexicon. Third, some (though not all) of these neologisms have plural forms – some of which are used with a narrower meaning. The findings, however, demonstrate that this principle is not as strong as the rest, possibly because some of these items are not morphologically compatible with Greek and are, therefore, not inflected<sup>39</sup>. Fourth, some of these neologisms are also used metaphorically, a quality which is recorded in the dictionaries examined. An additional criterion for the lexicalization and inclusion of trademarks in dictionaries is the possibility of entering the Greek lexicon through translation, either as new senses of existing lexical items or as “brand” new words and phrases. Needless to say, this is a rather strong principle, as these neologisms already have (or acquire) a “native ring” to them.

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<sup>39</sup> This means that such a word would have the exact same form if used in the plural, e.g. *ένα γιογιό* ‘a Yo-yo’ - *δύο γιογιό* ‘two Yo-yos’.

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