
Reconceptualising Contemporary Lexicography: Emotional Intelligence and the Sustainable Lexicographic Modelling of the Modal Verb *moći*

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Abstract: The article examines the modal verb *moći* ("can"/"to be able to") as described in dictionaries currently in active use within the Montenegrin linguistic context, with particular emphasis on its significance in both digital and interpersonal communication in contemporary language. Building upon the foundational ideas of the lexicographic project *Algemeen Nederlands Woordenboek* (ANW) (Fuentes-Olivera 2024, following Colman 2016), the authors propose that the analysis and description of lexical units — described on the example of this particular modal verb — should be preceded by a comprehensive analysis in the domain of the emotional impact on interlocutors during conversation. This approach would influence the development of dictionaries that go beyond simply defining lexical units in various contexts. Instead, they would offer guidance on using words in emotionally calibrated communication to effectively convey and elicit the intended emotional impact within a given context. Thus, the aim of this paper is to highlight the importance of emotional intelligence and regulation through the example of the modal verb *moći*, and to offer recommendations for more effective management of emotional tone across diverse communicative environments. In this context, contemporary dictionaries would play a pivotal role in enhancing the quality and effectiveness of communication, not only by offering precise semantic distinctions, but also by incorporating pragmatic and affective guidance, thereby ensuring that lexicography remains a sustainable and socially responsive discipline. This multidimensionality demands not only lexical precision but also contextual thoughtfulness and emotional attunement to achieve communicative effectiveness, making lexicography a sustainable discipline that remains at the heart of all linguistic research, where it rightfully belongs.

Keywords: LEXICOGRAPHY, MODAL VERBS, DIGITAL COMMUNICATION, DICTIONARIES, EMOTIONAL INTELLIGENCE, DISCOURSE ANALYSIS

Opsomming: Die herkonseptualisering van kontemporêre leksikografie: Emosionele intelligensie en die volhoubare leksikografiese modellering van die modale werkwoord *moći*. Hierdie artikel ondersoek die modale werkwoord *moći* ("kan"/"om in staat te wees tot") soos dit beskryf word in woordeboeke wat tans aktief binne die Montenegrynse linguistiese konteks gebruik word, met spesifieke klem op die belang daarvan in beide die digitale en interpersoonlike kommunikasie in kontemporêre taalgebruik. Deur voort te bou op die fundamentele idees van die leksikografiese projek *Algemeen Nederlands Woordenboek* (ANW) (Fuertes-Olivera 2024, in navolging van Colman 2016), stel die outeurs voor dat die analise en beskrywing van leksikale eenhede — soos beskryf met hierdie spesifieke modale werkwoord as voorbeeld — voorafgegaan moet word deur 'n omvattende analise van die domein van die emosionele impak op gespreksgenote tydens 'n gesprek. Hierdie benadering sal die ontwikkeling van woordeboeke wat wyer strek as slegs die definiëring van leksikale eenhede in verskillende kontekste, beïnvloed. In plaas daarvan sal hulle leiding bied in die gebruik van woorde in emosioneel gekalibreerde kommunikasie om die beoogde emosionele impak effektief binne 'n gegewe konteks oor te dra en te ontlok. Die doel van hierdie artikel is dus om die belangrikheid van emosionele intelligensie en die regulering daarvan aan die hand van die modale werkwoord *moći* as voorbeeld te belig, en om aanbevelings vir die effektiewer bestuur van emosionele toon oor diverse kommunikatiewe omgewings te maak. Binne hierdie konteks sal kontemporêre woordeboeke 'n sentrale rol in die verbetering van die kwaliteit en effektiwiteit van kommunikasie speel, nie net deur eksakte semantiese onderskeidings aan te bied nie, maar ook deur die inkorporering van pragmatiese en affektiewe leiding, om sodoende te verseker dat die leksikografie 'n volhoubare en sosiaal reaktiewe dissipline bly. Hierdie multidimensionaliteit vereis nie net leksikale presisie nie, maar ook kontekstuele bedagsaamheid en emosionele aanvoeling om kommunikatiewe effektiwiteit te bereik, om die leksikografie 'n volhoubare dissipline te maak wat steeds die kern van alle linguistiese navorsing vorm, waar dit regmatig hoort.

Sleutelwoorde: LEKSIKOGRAFIE, MODALE WERKWOORDE, DIGITALE KOMMUNIKASIE, WOORDEBOEKE, EMOSIONELE INTELLIGENSIE, DISKOERSANALISE

1. Introduction

The objective of this article is to identify the ways in which the modal verb *moći* ("can"/"to be able to") is described in dictionaries currently in active use within the Montenegrin-speaking region, with a particular focus on the role this modal plays in both digital and interpersonal communication among speakers of contemporary language. Drawing on the core ideas of the *Algemeen Nederlands Woordenboek* (ANW) lexicographic project (Fuertes-Olivera 2024, following Colman 2016), the findings of this study suggest that the analysis and description of lexical units — specifically, the modal verb *moći* — should be preceded by research concerning their emotional impact on speakers. Such an approach would carry important implications for the development of dictionaries that not only describe the contemporary language but also offer practical recommendations for the use of a particular lexical unit in present-day communication. The case study carried out for the purpose of this article was perceived as an opportunity to illustrate how modern lexicography must move beyond static definitions and

instead grapple with meaning as a dynamic interplay of sense, affect, and inter-subjective relation within a given context. Therefore, the objective of the research was not solely to ascertain what this modal *means*, but to explore how it *is felt* — to trace the contours of its experiential resonance in lived language. Consequently, lexicography could evolve into a richer and more sustainable resource — one that not only explains word meanings but also supports users in understanding the emotional resonance of words in communicative contexts. This would enable more effective and responsible language use. The aim of this paper is to shed light on the role of the modal verb *moći* in emotional regulation and to provide recommendations for more effective management of emotional tone across various communicative environments, where contemporary dictionaries are expected to be of central importance in enhancing the quality and efficiency of communication.

Data obtained through both qualitative and quantitative analysis provided insights into the ways speakers of different age groups use the modal verb *moći* to shape emotional tones, with the aim of identifying its connotative meanings and pragmatic functions within various discourses. The results may significantly contribute to the development of contemporary language dictionaries and handbooks by offering more precise definitions and usage examples that illuminate how modal verbs and modalized expressions are used to either soften or intensify emotional responses in communication. This emphasis on documenting and further analyzing linguistic forms within a lexicographic framework will support the advancement of dictionary resources, laying the groundwork not only for the creation of more comprehensive dictionaries but also for handbooks that could play a notable role in media literacy. Such resources would be of particular value to speakers of all ages, especially in contemporary communication contexts — often written and emotionally charged — where individuals may feel vulnerable.

We align ourselves with linguists such as Šubarić and Đurčević (2023) and Nenezić (2024), who note that scholars like Apresjan (2010) and Topolinjska (2002: 33) emphasize the necessity of mutual coherence in terms of both content and data collection methods. This kind of integration presupposes close collaboration among authors, grounded in shared theoretical foundations and the consistent application of principles of "identification, classification, and interpretation of linguistic units" (ibid.). However, as Topolinjska (2002: 33) and Bartsch (1987) observe, such interdisciplinary coherence remains rare in linguistic practice. Therefore, the aim of this paper is to demonstrate that the expanded interpretation not only of modal verbs and modalized expressions, but of all lexical units, could significantly assist contemporary language users — regardless of whether the language is their mother tongue — in using it in a more deliberate and emotionally responsible manner.

2. The concept of contemporary lexicography and an integrated database

Since the 1990s, linguists have increasingly advocated for a model of lexicogra-

phy that extends beyond traditional descriptive language analysis, arguing that its development must adopt an interdisciplinary approach — incorporating insights from psychology, sociology, and cognitive science. Sinclair (1991) emphasized the need to link semantics with cognitive aspects rooted in cultural studies, while Anna Wierzbicka (1992) went a step further by exploring universal linguistic concepts, considering them essential for a deeper understanding of language. Her perspective appears to align with that of Geeraerts (2010), whose research on word meaning — with particular focus on cognitive and cultural contexts — presents an integrated approach to lexicology as not only logical but also inevitable and necessary.

In this context, a significant contribution comes from Fuertes-Olivera (2024) in his work *Making Lexicography Sustainable: Using ChatGPT and Reusing Data for Lexicographic Purposes*, where he argues that

we must go beyond the language-centered lexicographic tradition that dominates current thinking and focus instead on new thinking centered on increasing lexicographic productivity and using technologies that (a) adopt a broad concept of lexicographic data, (b) speed up the lexicographic process, (c) save time and reduce costs, (d) facilitate direct cognitive processing, e.g. by machines, and (e) allow the individualization of data as units of consumption and sale. In particular, we must critically examine the benefits and drawbacks of the different practices on offer. (Fuertes-Olivera 2024: 140)

The author grounds his innovative ideas in the work of Chomsky et al. (2023), Colman (2016), and De Schryver (2023), offering a fresh perspective on lexicography by approaching it as a modern scientific discipline. Although still evolving, lexicography is envisioned here as a field that must serve the needs of contemporary language users. It is upon these foundational claims that we base the present study.

One of the potential aims of modern lexicography could be the development of integrated and interactive databases that include lexical units enriched with information about their emotional and contextual appropriateness. Such databases would not merely identify the semantic meanings of lexical items, but would also enable users to understand not only the contextual framework traditionally provided in dictionary entries, but also the emotional tone associated with particular expressions. This emotional nuance — especially shaped by modalized expressions and lexical choices — can significantly influence how an interlocutor interprets a given message, often in subtle and highly context-dependent ways.

3. Understanding words and their impact in the communication process

Given that the Latin root of the word *communicare* means "to transmit" or "to share," it can be said that every spoken word has the potential not only to convey information but also to transmit emotion and provoke a broad spectrum of emo-

tional reactions in the interlocutor. These reactions largely depend on the context of use, tone of speech, and a broader framework of cultural, social, and psychological factors (Calvo and D'Mello 2010; Hall 1976; Tubbs 2012; Van Dijk 2008, 2009). Taking into account the findings of Anna Wierzbicka (1999), who argues that language is not merely a neutral carrier of meaning but reflects culture-specific patterns tied to speakers' emotional perceptions, it becomes evident that the complex dynamics of communication must inevitably influence the lexicographic practice of a language, which should follow the evolution of that language.

This argument is further supported by more recent research (Pavlenko 2014; Mesquita et al. 2021), proving that languages structure emotional expressions in different ways that may either facilitate or hinder intercultural understanding. Lexicography, therefore, deserves particular attention in the process of language description, as it is not only a discipline that documents linguistic resources but also one that shapes the full perception of word meanings and their usage in everyday life (Jackson 2002; Poria et al. 2017; Van Sterkenburg 2003).

Given the increasingly complex needs of contemporary language users — particularly due to the dominance of virtual communication channels — modern sustainable lexicography should provide additional insights into the semantic nuances that determine the emotional impact of a lexeme on both the speaker and the interlocutor. In this light, dictionaries should serve not only as tools for communication but also as instruments for shaping the emotional and cultural norms of a language community.

The process of assigning meaning and definitions to specific lexical units should be preceded by an in-depth analysis of lexicographic choices made by native speakers of the language. This includes not only how certain terms have developed through historical and cultural interactions within specific usage patterns, as emphasized by Hanks (2013), but also a more profound understanding of their emotional effects on interlocutors in modern usage. One such analysis is offered in this paper. Thus, contemporary lexicography should contribute to understanding how specific lexemes elicit positive, negative, or neutral reactions among speakers of different languages. In this way, dictionary users — both non-native speakers and those seeking more appropriate expressions in various communicative contexts — would receive comprehensive information about the meaning and emotional weight of the lexemes they intend to use.

As suggested by Lazarus (1991), emotions are directly and inseparably linked to cognitive evaluations of situations. Words, as carriers of meaning, therefore have the potential to act as triggers for different emotional responses. These insights are further developed within the framework of modern digital communication, which is predominantly written and highlights the need for a new perspective on lexicography — one that adapts to the requirements of contemporary speakers.

Currently available dictionaries for Serbian and Montenegrin speakers tend to treat lexemes at a general and basic contextual level. We believe it is important

to explain the contexts in which certain words are used, the communicative intentions behind them, and the ways in which they can alter the emotional dynamics of communication. It is well known that a word can have a neutral meaning in one context but take on strong emotional significance in another, and that very few lexemes in dictionaries are described with only a single definition. Typically, such words belong to invariable parts of speech¹.

Contemporary technologies have created ideal conditions for making lexicography sustainable by enriching it with interactive elements such as audio-visual content, which would help speakers find the most appropriate terms for a given situation. To become sustainable, lexicography should expand through such interactive elements — for instance, audio-visual recordings that illustrate how words sound in different emotional tones and scenarios. This would enable dictionary users to better understand the emotional weight of words.

When designed in this way, a modern dictionary becomes a handbook containing recommendations for the application of specific lexical items, serving the needs of modern society — not only for those who are non-native speakers but also for native speakers uncertain about how to fine-tune their expressions, whether in everyday communication or in situations requiring particular verbal caution.

4. Modal verbs, modalized expressions, and emotional intelligence

The primary function of language is to serve as a medium through which human beings — as inherently communicative creatures — connect with others. This connection occurs through the reception or transmission of messages, either with or without conscious intent, and these messages are often processed emotionally by the receiver. The ability to regulate emotions by understanding how one's language affects others falls within the domain of emotional intelligence, a concept foundationally developed by Daniel Goleman (1995). Often considered more crucial than traditional intellectual competence, emotional intelligence is seen as essential to both the cognitive and communicative capacities of a language user (Mayer et al. 2008). Emotions are channeled through language, resulting in the formation of positive interpersonal relationships among speakers of a given language (Petrides and Furnham 2001).

Consequently, research into the emotions triggered by specific lexical items should be an integral part of contemporary lexicography. Such work would allow dictionaries to function as multifaceted linguistic handbooks, aligned with the fast-paced and emotionally nuanced demands of modern communication. Understanding the meaning of a modal verb and its full implications is inseparable from the context of emotional intelligence and the regulation of emotions — not only those of the speaker but also those of one or more interlocutors. Thus, modal verbs are seen as fundamentally significant in both linguistic and psychological analyses.

Perceived from this perspective, modal verbs are not only indicators of possibility, obligation, permission, or volition but also markers of emotional states. Their use reflects the speaker's ability to recognize and regulate emotions by selecting modal constructions with varying degrees of emotional intensity. Goleman (1995) defines emotional intelligence as the ability to identify, understand, and manage emotions. When considered alongside findings by Mayer et al. (2008) and Petrides and Furnham (2001), it becomes evident that a lexicographic approach to modal verbs must be a central component of sustainable, contemporary lexicography. In this sense, the intentional and strategic use of specific lexical items and expressions signifies a speaker's awareness of their own emotional states and their communicative impact on others.

Many linguists have studied the role of modal verbs in expressing beliefs, attitudes, and intentions, generally agreeing on their importance for conveying tonal nuance in specific contexts (Coates 1983; Goleman 1995; Hyland 1998; Palmer 2001). The speaker's decision to use a specific modal auxiliary not only conveys fine-grained semantic distinctions but also indirectly intensifies the emotional tone of the message, which is of great importance in shaping communicative strategies, whereby language can be rendered more or less polite (Trbojević-Milošević 2004; Milošević 2008; Mrdak-Mićović 2013, 2016). Hence, the phenomenon of *linguistic emotional load* is especially relevant and can be closely linked to the system of modal verbs. When combined with intonation and context, modals can enhance empathy or provoke resistance in the interlocutor (Bybee et al. 1994; Coates 1983; Lyons 1977; Palmer 2001). Since one of the fundamental tasks of lexicography is to map the dynamics of meaning, analyzing modal verbs can deepen our understanding of emotional tone in speech and support more effective management of social and professional interactions.

Modal verbs can, therefore, be seen as essential tools for mediating between the rational and emotional domains of human expression. They are particularly suitable for research of this kind, given the intrinsic link between language and the cultural and psychological aspects of human identity. Their multifaceted role in contemporary language — scientifically recognized — makes them versatile instruments: they may function as expressions of support and affirmation, or as imperatives, depending on the communicative context. Accordingly, a speaker can use them to convey a positive emotional tone or, conversely, to demand or prohibit something.

Understanding these subtleties is fundamental to the development of sustainable, modern lexicography. This discipline must be viewed not merely as an inseparable part of a language's cultural code and specificities but also as a valuable source of insight into the connotation, intonational profile, and affective dimension of not only modal verbs but lexical units more broadly. Such an approach would significantly contribute to a more effective understanding of the dynamics of emotion and communication among speakers of a given language, in today's globalized society — thereby fulfilling the fundamental mission of contemporary sustainable lexicography.

5. The modal verb *moći* in the *Dictionary of the Serbian Language* and the *Encyclopedic English–Serbian Dictionary*

The *Rečnik srpskog jezika* (Dictionary of the Serbian Language), published by Matica srpska (1994–2013), has been, widely, regarded by leading scholars (Katičić 1987; Klajn 2005; Mrkić 2010; Radovanović 2000) as the principal lexicographic foundation of contemporary Serbian. It also represents a fundamental source for linguistic research focused on the structure and development of the Serbian language. This dictionary is a monolingual normative reference work intended primarily for native speakers, as explicitly stated in its preface, which defines its purpose as providing "an authoritative linguistic resource for the educated speaker" (Matica srpska 1994). Non-native speakers are not identified as part of the primary target audience, although the dictionary can be — and indeed sometimes is — used for language learning purposes, especially by advanced learners with high levels of language proficiency.

The *Rečnik* offers a comprehensive overview of lexical items, including in-depth semantic analyses and examples of usage across various contexts. The editors aim to encompass both archaic and contemporary forms, thereby granting users insight into the diachronic evolution of the lexicon, as well as its regional and dialectal variation.

Nevertheless, the practical usability of this dictionary is significantly limited by its lack of digital accessibility. The absence of searchable databases and interactive digital tools notably reduces its effectiveness for today's users — especially non-native speakers — who typically require fast, context-sensitive access to linguistic information (Atkins and Rundell 2008). Moreover, the descriptions of lexical entries — as well as of grammatical structures and idiomatic expressions — are often linguistically dense and syntactically complex, which can render the material inaccessible to a broader readership, including learners of Serbian as a foreign language.

From a methodological perspective, there remains considerable room for the improvement of lexicographic practice, particularly through the adoption of corpus-based approaches. Such methods must be both rigorous and aligned with current trends in language use in order to ensure the continued relevance of the dictionary in contemporary linguistic inquiry. As Kilgarriff and Tugwell (2001) emphasize, "a combination of significant patterns may lead to even greater precision in the identification of collocations," underscoring the importance of a systematic, corpus-driven approach to dictionary compilation and lexical description.

Within the *Rečnik srpskog jezika*, the modal verb *moći* is presented as a polysemous lexical item, encompassing a wide range of semantic nuances across both simple and complex syntactic structures. The lexicographers address epistemic, deontic, and dynamic modalities, while also attempting to distinguish between so-called "literary" and "contemporary" usage. It is important to clarify here that the term "literary" refers to the standardized, codified form of the language, rather than to the language of literary texts in the artistic sense (Kapetanović 2016).

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МОЋ – МОЧИТИ

лгедом (некога, нешто); посматрањем насторојашти сазнајти, уочишћу, докучишћу (нешто); ~ испод ока. 2. а. непосредним посматрањем контролисашћу, пазашћу (на некога, нешто), надгледашћу, надзирашћу. б. држајашћу на оку, вод присматрошћу ради утврђивања нечије лојалности, исправности и др., прашишћу (некога); шајно прашишћу, уходишћу (некога). 3. а. обраћашћу пажњу (на некога, нешто) ради извођења неких закључака, доношења оцена, одлука и сл., посматрајући анализирашћу (некога, нешто). б. сипрашћу се, пазашћу да нешто буде како ваља, да одговара нечему и сл., бринушћу за нешто. 4. шражишћу прилику (за нешто), насторојашћу, шрудишћу се; чекашћу, вребашћу (прилику). а ~ се међусобно се лгедашћу, посматрашћу се.

моћ, моћна (ж. мн. моћна, ген. мн. моћна) 1. а. деловна снага, ушћу, дејство (нешто); јачина, ефикасност: исцелитељска ~, ~ речу, удружене моћи; већа убојна ~. б. телесна, физичка, одн. животи, духовна снага. 2. радна, производна и сл. способност (неке фабрике, предузећа, одељена и сл.). 3. признашћу, ушћу деловна вредност, ваљаност, важност, квалификација (закона, прописа, одлука и сл.). 4. а. (обично у вези с гл. „имати“) право сировође нешто, располања нечим, одлучивања о нечему и сл.; овлашћење, туномоћ, туномоћје. б. снага (влдања, исподарена и сл.), сила, власт, ауторитет: ~ високих достојанственика, очева ~. б. обдареност, одн. способност обављања неке интелектуалне, умне или сл. радне, дар (говора, расудивања и др.). • жупова ~ ево. способност куковања заснована на новчаној или на некој другој материјалној основи. ~ навице последица дугоје навикавања, ушћена навика.

моћан, -на, -о 1. а. који поседује велику воју, вољичку, економску и др. моћ, силу, власт. б. који предствља велику економску, индустријску, шровачку и сл. силу, снагу, снажно развијен, силан: ~ компанија, ~ трговачка флота. в. који предствља врло важан, значајан, бишан, пресудан елемент; ево. ушћу: ~ ушћу; ~ чинилац. 2. а. који се одликује великом снагом физичкој дејства, снажан, силовит; ефикасан, разоран: ~ водена струја; моћном артиљеријском ватром. б. који има велики радни, производни капацитет и учинак (о машинама, техничким уређајима и др.); који има велики домеш делован, снажан (о радио и телевизиским станицама и сл.). в. масиван, чврст, постојан: ~ заграда, моћни стубови. г. физички јак, снажан, развијен: ~ десница, ~ костур. 3. ушћу који се по нечему посебно истиче, који се одликује неком изузетном особинам (величином, дојављивошћу, раскошношћу, изражајношћу, убедљивошћу, звучношћу, шорорношћу, силовитишћу и др.), извирдан: ~ бедем велике планине, ~ лепота, дрвје с моћним крошњама. ~ језик, ~ разлог, ~ глас, ~ умствички темперамент. 4. кадар, способан (за нешто); уш. немоћан (2).

моћни, моћу, моћеш (3. л. мн. моћу; аор. моћох (могдадох); инф. моћати, пр. пр. моћавши) (у значењу футура II: моћнем) несвр. непрел. 1. а. бишћу у сшћу, бишћу кадар, способан учинишћу, урадишћу нешто, имати моћи, снаге (физичке или исхичке) за нешто; имати знања, вештине, способности за нешто, бишћу способан, особнобел, квалификован за обављање некој посла и сл. б. бишћу у моћуности, имати прилике за нешто; бишћу у околностима погодноим за остварење нешто; бишћу у моћуности и прилици видеши или чуши нешто. ~ Сина жени кад хоћеш, а кћер удај кад можеш. Данас више не можеш чути праву народну музику. 2. а. располашћу елементима за извођење некој закључка, доношење одлуке и др. ~ Можемо се надати. б. садржавашћу у себи елементе, основе за неку шердну, даваши повода за веровање, увереност, шердну. ~ Ове похвале кнезу Лазару могу припадати деветдесетим годинама XIV века. 3. а. кад се нешто исказује, износи као евенуална или сшварна моћуност, веровашћу или уверење. ~ О томе би се могла написати читава књига. б. у ушћу реченицама, с инфинитивом глагола „бишћу“ или некој другој глагола, када се нешто бишћу с неодоумом, заинтересованошћу, сумњом и сл. ~ Ко би то могао знати?, в. кад се број нешто (најчешће јодина) или нека количина, величина и сл. одређује ошћу. ~ Могао је имати око педесет година. 4. а. кад се исказује неко доушћување, кад се дозвољава; кад се доушћу нешто чему се не пријаје важност. ~ Можете ушћу. Можеш ти говорити шта хоћеш. б. смеши, усудивашћу се, доушћушћу себи (нешто недоушћуиво). ~ Како можеш тако говорити о својој мајци. б. бишћу ушћување за нешто, би-

шћу добар за неку намену, ушћу. ~ Месо фове може се такође јести. б. кад се износи лични сшав у виду предлога, сшћу или ушћу забављене заповести некоме да нешто (у)ради. ~ Могао би то и мало брже. • како се само пожелети (замислити) може у највећој мери добро, најбоље шћу је моћу. колико игда може из све снаге; највише шћу (се) може. може бити није исшћу, може. могу мислити 1) кад неко жели да исшћу да је нешто шћу, да разуми, да верује у оно о чему је реч. 2) кад се оно о чему је реч изди саоворнику с иронијом, неверицом и сл. може ми се имали моћуности, у сшћу, у моћуности, у прилици сам да учиним нешто (обично по својој вољи, по свом шћу и сл.). не може бити није моћу, немоћу, неверовашћу. не може бити боље, горе (нешто, ружније и сл.) добро (лепо и сл.), одн. зло (рђаво, лоше, ружно шћу) у највећој (моћу) мери, изузетно добро (лепо и сл.), одн. зло (рђаво, лоше, ружно шћу). не може ми ништа не бишћу мишћу (гледашћу) некога, нешто) осећашћу одврашћу, мржњу (према некоме, нечему), не поношћу, не шћу, мржњи (некога, нешто). не може се нагледати (наслушати, најести, напати и др.) (некога, нешто) кад хоће да се исшћу како је неко моћу обзет, одушевљен нечим, одн. нечим, жељан онога о коме је, одн. онога о чему је реч.

моћник а онај који има велику вољичку, економску, финансијску и др. моћ, власт и сл., моћан, ушћу човек.

моћно прил. са великом снагом; великом сшћу, силно, снажно, јако.

моћност, -ости ж геол. дебљина рудној, минералној или ушћу земљишној слоја.

мофета ж геол. извор на вулканском шерену из којој избија ушћу-диокси, одн. ушћу киселина.

мохер м ешп. лака, вуна анорске козе; шћина, шћиф од шће лаке.

мохиканац, -на м припадник изумрлој северноамеричкој индијанској племена. • последњи ~ последица, првостали предстваник или један од ретких првосталих предстваника неке групе, анорске, шћва и сл.

мошћна и мошћна ж лат. лшћу. својшћу обележавања рода пошћу наставцима или суфиксима (шћу. радник: радница).

моча ж а. масшан шћу који ошћу после бшћу или шћуна меса. б. комад хлеба, шћуно умочено у шћу или сл. масноћу.

мошвар ж а. земљишће нашољено или шћувно водом, ушћујалим барама и обрасло барским биљем, борушћина. б. шћу. шћу без шћуве акшћуности, учмалост, зашћуженост, шћушћу, жабокршина.

мошваран, -рна, -о а. шћуворен барушћинама, баровишћу, шћуворан; расквашен, блашћан, кљужан (о земљишћу). б. шћу. зашћужен, учмало.

мошварница и мошварница ж зоол. у мн.: шћу из река Galathea које живе у мошварним шћулима (у јг.: шћу из шћу река).

мошварка ж бот. врста ниске биљке Litorella uniflora.

мошварност и мошварност, -ости ж особина, шћуне онога шћу је мошварно.

мошварск, -а, -о који се односи на мошвару; мошваран: мошварске биљке; ~ предео.

мошваруша ж зоол. в. мошварца.

мошвина ж в. шћушћу.

мошвило с 1. место на шћу, реци или шћујој води где се мочи, кисели, шћу конољу или лан; водени резервар који служи или који је шћуван за шћу. 2. шћу. шћушћу шћу се расшћу ушћување за мочене нешто, расшћу или ушћу шћушћу која служи за мочене.

мошвити, -им несвр. прел. [гл. мн. мошћуе] 1. држашћу или ошћулашћу нешто (шћу. лан, конољу, семенке и др.) у води или некој другој шћушћу да се раскваш, размекта, киселишћу. 2. чинишћу мокрим, квасишћу; чинишћу расквашеним, блашћавим. 3. умашћу, урнатишћу делимично или шћувно у неку шћу или

Figure 1: The modal verb *moći* as described in the *Dictionary of the Serbian Language* (Matica srpska 1994–2013).

МОТРИТИ

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МОШНИЧНИ

МОТРИТИ имѣф. *watch* (на некога sb како неко чини нешто sb do sth; нешто sth: so that nothing bad happens)

МОЊ, МОЊИ(-) ж 1. *might* (јачина); *power* (способност) ability, телесна, умна of body/mind); *powers* (pl; расуђивања, зајажња, убеђивања of reasoning/observation/conviction); *vigor* *AE*, *vigour* *BE* (крей-кост); *potency* (лека); без -и powerless; (нешто) биш; ван нечије -и (sth) be beyond one's control; имати м. да се учини нешто have the p. to do sth; м. навике force of habit; м. памћења memory; распо-лажати моћи wield p.; средње -и (жен.) medium-yield; учиниш све у својој моћи do one's best 2. *hold* (нај појединцем); *sway* (власт); *muscle* (грђивена); *validity* (законска); даши законску м. нечему enact sth; даши некоме м. (овластити) give sb authority/power; добиш м. gain power; има-ти м. наг have a h. on/over; имати некога у својој -и have a hold on one's mind

МОЊАН, -ЊИ -ириг. 1. *mighty*; *powerful* (особа, зруја) 2. *potent* (лек, оружје)

МОЊИ, през. *моу* 1. л. јд., *можеш* 2. л. јд., *може* 3. л. јд., *можемо* 1. л. мн., *можете* 2. л. мн., *моу* 3. л. мн. имѣф. 1. *can* (pt *could*; физички physically, умно mentally); get to do (нешто што се одавно желело); Без не/њега се не може. She/He is indis- pensable; м. више (јести) have had enough; Не моу више. (од умора) I am knocked up; Не може се зна- ти... There is no knowing...; не м. а да се не учини нешто cannot help doing sth; нико не м. can't pos- sibly (учиниш нешто do sth); Све се може каг се хоће. When there's a will there's a way; чиниш ко- лико/што се може do one's best; Шта ја ју моу. I can't help it; 2. *can* (pt *could*), *form* *may* (дозвола permission); Моу ли? C. I?; Моу ли Вас нешто ишати? Might I ask a question? *form*; Може ли (кол.) Је л' може (јои) вина? Won't you have some (more) wine?; Може му/јој се (да чини нешто) He/ She is in a position to do it/sth; Може му/јој се да зрши. He/She gets away with murder. *infnl*; м. без do without, с. manage without; м. издржати без нечега, м. заборавиш на нешто (јер више није потреб- но) с. dispense with sth; Не може јој/му се верова- ти. She/He is not to be believed; Не може јој/му; Тако не може биш. That/This won't do; не м. сап- нот; не м. без can't do without; Нему/Њој се све може. He/She can get away with anything; Рекла је да моу да позајмим. She said I might borrow it; У њега/ њу се не може (и) поуздати. He/She is not to be re- lied on. 3. *can* (pt *could*), *may* (pt *might*) (постојање могућности possibility); би могао (вероватно) could; Кага ћу га м. наћи? When will he be availa- ble?; могао је лако п. easily/well (+ have + *pp*); може лако т. easily/well (+ have + *pp*); Могао би доћи ако буде лепо време. He might come if the weather is nice; Могао би се обогаћити да је ередно радио. He might have become rich if he had worked hard; Мо- гла би оиш. She might leave; Могла је узети такси. (али није) She could have taken a taxi; Могли бисмо (кад нема ништа боље)... We m./might as well...; Могли бисте оставити на столу. You might leave it on the table. *form*; Може лако обо-

леши. He/She is apt to fall ill; може само да кори- сити некоме sb cannot help but benefit; м. ишати и овако и онако could go either way; не може биш (sth) can't be; није могао/могла биш couldn't have been; Нисам могао пошати. I can't have made a mistake; сасвим лако м. учиниш нешто (знајући нега/њу) be quite capable of doing sth; Шта ли се све могло десити? What с. have happened? 4. (очекивање; be expected to) Како можеш да шо радиш? (То није у реду.) How can you find it in your heart to do that?; Могао би да се оишаш. You could do with a haircut; Могао би ми онеиш ово писмо на пошту. You might post this letter for me.; То се [и] могао очекивати. That was likely to happen. 5. Може! (Одговара ми) (Sth) is good!; It's all right!; Све може. (ма како неприхватљиво/необично) Anything goes.

МОЊИК м *mogul* /'mægʊl/; -ици (мн.) the powers that be *infnl*

МОЊНО -ириг. *powerfully*, *forcefully*; -сш *powerfulness*, *mightiness*

МОУЗЛИ м: Хенри Гвајн-Џефрејс М. (енглески фи- зичар) Henry Gwyn Jeffreys Moseley

МОФЕТА ж *mofette* (испарење угљендиоксида)

МОХАЧКИ -ириг. the Battle of Mohács (a town in southern Hungary; in 1526, where the Turks defeated the Hun- garians and the Serbs; in 1687 when the Germans de- feated the Turks)

МОХЕР м *mohair*

МОХИКАНАЦ, -ИЦ м *Mohegan, Mohican*; „Последњи М.“ (роман Џемса Фенимора Купера) *The Last of the Mohicans*

МОХО м *mofo* (раван у Земљиној кори)

МОХОРОВИЧИЊЕВ -ириг.: -а раван дисконинуишета Mohorovičić discontinuity

МОЦАРЕЛА ж *mozzarella* (*сир*)

МОЦАРТ м *Mozart* /'mɔ:tsa:t/

МОЧА ж piece of bread dipped in gravy

МОЧАЛИНА ж *дијал. dub* (*диал. мочвара*)

МОЧАР м *књиж. damp* (влага у ирироди)

МОЧАРАН, -РН -ириг. *књиж. damp* (in nature)

МОЧВАРА ж *marsh, swamp, morass*

МОЧВАРАН, -РН -ириг. 1. *swampy* (ливада meadow); -рно шло/земљишета *marsh uncounl* 2. -рна зро- зница *swamp fever*

МОЧВАРИЦА ж *wader*

МОЧВАРНИЦА ж *засш. malaria*

МОЧВАРНОСТ ж *swampiness, marshiness*

МОЧВАРУША ж в. *мочварица*

МОЧЕЊЕ с *soaking*; м. освешеној хлеба у вину *intinc- tion*

МОЧИЛО с *mordant*

МОЧИЛСКИ -ириг. *mordant* (боја dye)

МОЧИТИ имѣф. 1. *soak* (квасити); *dip* (умакаш); *dunk* (ири јелу; food у in, into) 2. м. се *soak, steep* (vi)

МОЧИЦА ж *small pole*

МОЧУГА, ГАЈИ/ЛОК. -УЗИ ж *club* (stick)

МОШЕЈА ж *mosque* /'mosk/

МОШКОВИЦА ж *moschatel* /'moskə'tel/ (биљка)

МОШНИЦЕ ж мн. *scrotum* (pl -tums/ta)

МОШНИЧНИ -ириг. *scrotal*; а *кека scrotocela*

Figure 2: The modal verb *moći* as described in the *Encyclopedic English–Serbian and Serbian–English Dictionary* (Hlebec 2003).

The Encyclopedic English–Serbian and Serbian–English Dictionary by Boris Hlebec (2003) represents one of the most significant bilingual dictionaries in the region. According to the author's preface, its intended audience includes both native speakers of Serbian learning English and English-speaking learners of Serbian. In terms of its scope and didactic intent, it may be reasonably compared to the *Oxford Advanced Learner's Dictionary* (Hornby et al. 2015).

Although the verb *moći* is treated in considerable semantic and stylistic detail, Hlebec's approach is grounded in traditional descriptive linguistics, without the incorporation of more recent pragmatic or corpus-informed methodologies, which, as Béjoint (2010) observes, are increasingly expected in contemporary lexicographic practice. This limits the dictionary's ability to reflect authentic usage patterns and real-world communicative contexts.

Modern dictionary users increasingly expect lexicographic descriptions to be rooted in authentic discourse and to reflect real-life language usage, especially in the domain of collocations and pragmatic connotations (Hanks 2013). In this respect, Hlebec's treatment of idiomatic expressions frequently lacks consistency with current usage in either English or Serbian, which may lead to misinterpretation and reduced pedagogical value. Thus, the modernization of dictionaries that seek academic and educational relevance is not merely desirable but essential. The integration of corpus-based, multimedia-enhanced, and emotionally and pragmatically contextualized lexical descriptions constitutes a critical imperative for contemporary, sustainable lexicography (Béjoint 2010; Hanks 2013).

Contemporary native and non-native speakers alike increasingly require lexical resources that offer detailed, pragmatically oriented explanations — resources that function as practical guides across diverse communicative settings. Corpus-driven studies have confirmed that language users seek information not only about meaning and form but also about functional-pragmatic usage, including stylistic coloring and emotional resonance of expressions (Atkins and Rundell 2008; Hanks 2013; Tognini-Bonelli 2001). In addition, the inclusion of multimedia content — such as audio recordings and visual examples — could significantly enhance user comprehension and application of target lexical items. Of particular importance is the need to indicate contextual appropriateness, the emotional impact certain modal verbs may have on interlocutors, and the types of emotional cues that may trigger their use in discourse.

In the broader context of contemporary lexicography, the findings of Kilgariff and Tugwell (2001) regarding the systematic identification of collocations via corpus analysis may be viewed as emblematic of a broader trend: the need for lexicographic descriptions to be grounded in empirical, statistically-supported analysis of actual language use. While their study is focused on specific computational tools such as Word Sketch, its implications extend to the general methodological framework of modern lexicography, which strives for greater semantic precision, pragmatic relevance, and contextual richness. Such demands are particularly evident in relation to the needs of today's language users — both native and non-native — who seek nuanced, usage-sensitive lexical guidance. This is consistently demonstrated in corpus-based research (Atkins and

Rundell 2008; Tognini-Bonelli 2001; Hanks 2013), which underscores the importance of descriptive accuracy, frequency data, and situational appropriateness. Moreover, the integration of multimodal elements — including sound and image — has become an indispensable feature of modern dictionary resources. These additions support a multilayered understanding of word meaning and function. Special attention should be given to the pragmatic functions and emotional valence of expressions — particularly modal verbs, which not only reflect the speaker's stance but also shape the interpretation of meaning in interaction. In this light, pilot studies offer valuable insights into the future development of digitally-oriented, corpus-supported lexicographic practice, regardless of language or target audience. This is precisely where the present study contributes. The modal verb *moći* proves to be especially representative and lexically transparent, as it captures with unique sensitivity a range of meanings associated with possibility, permission, ability, and subjective disposition. In this sense, *moći* serves as an ideal lens for examining the conceptual layering of language through the prism of emotional and pragmatic competence. By analyzing its frequency, syntagmatic behavior, and functional distribution, we can most clearly illustrate a central proposition of this study: that emotional intelligence is inseparable from modern lexicographic reflection, and that it must be recognized as a key category in the interpretation of meaning within the digital linguistic environment.

6. Research

The research was designed to identify the degree of emotional intensity and perception of the modal verb *moći* concerning the parameters of gender, age group, and place of residence among speakers from four distinct age groups in urbanized and peripheral areas of Montenegro.

A total of 684 respondents participated in the study, with the sample stratified according to key sociodemographic parameters. Gender representation was approximately equal, and the age groups were delineated as follows:

- Children and adolescents (12–18 years): 163 respondents²
- Adults (19–40 years): 176 respondents
- Older adults (41–65 years): 170 respondents
- Seniors (66+ years): 175 respondents

Age is a particularly salient variable in sociolinguistic and lexicographic research, as it correlates with language change, lexical innovation, and varying degrees of linguistic conservatism (Eckert 1997; Trudgill 1986). Tracking responses across age cohorts enables the identification of diachronic shifts in verb perception and modality usage, which are often generationally mediated. Equally important is the inclusion of participants' place of residence. Of the total sample, 348 respondents were from urban centers (e.g., Podgorica, Nikšić, Herceg Novi), while 336 resided in rural communities. Urban-rural distinctions are known to correspond

with variation in lexical choices, linguistic prestige norms, and exposure to standardized versus dialectal forms (Milroy and Milroy 1985; Chambers and Trudgill 1998). The careful balance between urban and rural dwellers in the present study strengthens the ecological validity of the findings and supports more nuanced sociolinguistic inferences regarding the usage and perception of *moći*. However, it would be both insightful and methodologically sound to incorporate data on the educational background of participants, therefore, it may, nonetheless, contribute meaningfully to broader, multi-dimensional investigations of lexical perception. The level of formal education has been shown to significantly affect language awareness, metalinguistic ability, and lexical sensitivity (Labov 2006; Biber and Finegan 1994). Including this variable would enhance the interpretative depth of the study and allow for a more granular analysis of perceptual variation in relation to the verb *moći*. Education not only shapes language production and comprehension but also influences attitudes toward linguistic norms and usage, particularly in sociolinguistically sensitive domains. Furthermore, the integration of educational attainment, age distribution, and dwelling type constitutes a methodologically sound framework for interpreting variation in lexical perception. This triangulated demographic approach reflects best practices in contemporary sociolinguistic research, where intersecting social variables are recognized as co-constructors of linguistic behavior (Tagliamonte 2006; Chambers 2009). In lexicographic studies, such multidimensional profiling enables more accurate mapping of lexical variation and semantic interpretation across speaker populations (Atkins and Rundell 2008; Svensén 2009). These parameters — education, age, and place of residence — have been repeatedly shown to influence language usage patterns, lexical frequency, and the social indexing of meaning (Labov 2001; Aitchison 2012), and their combined inclusion enhances both the validity and interpretability of the findings. The study employed a mixed-methods approach, incorporating both structured questionnaires and in-depth interviews to generate comprehensive quantitative and qualitative data.

The **in-depth interviews**, conducted in **Montenegrin**, were designed to supplement the structured questionnaire by eliciting **richer, context-sensitive interpretations** of the verb *moći*, particularly in emotionally charged or socially complex scenarios. The goal was to explore participants' **subjective emotional responses** as well as **pragmatic interpretations** beyond the limitations of fixed-response items. The interviews employed a **semi-structured format**, a method widely recognized in qualitative sociolinguistic research for its flexibility and depth (Kvale 1996; Brinkmann and Kvale 2015). While the interviews were guided by a **set of predetermined open-ended questions**, the format allowed for follow-up prompts and elaboration depending on each respondent's responses. This method enabled the researcher to probe into **nuanced emotional and contextual associations** with the modal verb *moći*, especially regarding social hierarchies and speaker-hearer relationships.

Examples of the open-ended questions included:

- *What emotions does the verb 'moći' evoke when it implies obligation or permission?*

- *How do your emotions change depending on who uses the verb — a friend, stranger, or authority figure?*
- *How do you interpret the phrase 'It could be better' during difficult times — as comforting or frustrating?*
- *When you hear 'Can you finish this?' do you experience pressure, politeness, or neutrality?*

The respondents **answered orally in the presence of the researcher**, who **recorded all sessions** using digital audio equipment to ensure accuracy and reduce the potential for interpretive bias during note-taking. These recordings were later **fully transcribed** verbatim for qualitative analysis. This procedure aligns with standard best practices in linguistic fieldwork and discourse analysis (Duranti 1997; Johnstone 2000). The language of all interviews was **Montenegrin**, maintaining consistency with the language used in the questionnaire and ensuring that participants could express their emotions and interpretations in their native or most comfortable linguistic register. This linguistic consistency is critical for maintaining emotional validity and preventing translation-related semantic distortions, especially in studies focusing on emotionally loaded lexical items (Pavlenko 2005).

The transcribed interviews were subjected to **thematic coding**, using a **grounded theory approach** (Glaser and Strauss 1967; Charmaz 2006) to identify **recurring emotional and pragmatic themes**. Codes were derived inductively from the data and subsequently grouped into broader categories (e.g., social distance, modality intensity, emotional ambiguity). This allowed for systematic comparison across demographic groups and linkage to the quantitative findings. The interview data played a crucial role in **triangulating** the quantitative results, deepening insights into statistically significant emotional patterns that emerged from the questionnaire analysis. For instance, where ANOVA tests revealed generational differences in the perception of *moći* as empowering or pressuring, interview data contextualized these findings by illustrating how seniors associated the verb with obligation under authority, while younger respondents often linked it to agency and possibility.

7. Discussion

Aiming to assess the sociolinguistic dynamics underlying the perception of the modal verb *moći*, the analysis considers both demographic variables and age-based cohort distinctions. The following section presents quantitative findings that illuminate how emotional associations with *moći* vary systematically across generational groups and residential contexts, revealing patterns shaped by psychosocial and cognitive dimensions of language processing.

Quantitative findings indicate that **positive emotional associations with *moći* are strongest among younger urban participants**, particularly adolescents, whereas these associations diminish with age and rural residency. Conversely, **nega-**

tive connotations increase notably among older rural participants, likely reflecting decreased agency and autonomy, consistent with Charles and Carstensen (2010). The pattern also supports Đorđević et al. (2018) and Isaacowitz and Blanchard-Fields (2012) who emphasized sociopsychological influences on language processing.

Table 1: Average ratings of the emotional experience of the verb "to be able to" by gender, age group, and place of residence

Group	Positive Emotions (1–5)	Neutral Feelings (1–5)	Negative Emotions (1–5)
Children/ Adolescents (12–18) — Urban	4.2	3.1	2.5
Children/ Adolescents (12–18) — Rural	3.8	3.3	2.8
Adults (19–40) — Urban	4.0	3.0	2.7
Adults (19–40) — Rural	3.9	3.2	2.9
Older Adults (41–65) — Urban	3.6	3.4	3.1
Older Adults (41–65) — Rural	3.4	3.5	3.2
Seniors (66+) — Urban	3.3	3.6	3.5
Seniors (66+) — Rural	3.2	3.7	3.7

The table presents the average ratings of the emotional experience associated with the verb *moći* based on gender, age group, and place of residence, highlighting significant variations across groups. In general, positive emotions are more pronounced among younger participants, with children and adolescents from urban areas providing the highest ratings (4.2). As age increases, the intensity of positive affective responses decreases, particularly among seniors in rural areas (3.2). Neutral feelings show a slight tendency to increase with age, which may suggest an increased cognitive divergence from the meaning of the verb in line with previous studies indicating changes in emotional interpretation and experience of this modal verb over the years. Negative emotions are most pronounced among older groups, with seniors in rural areas reporting the highest levels of negative emotional experience (3.7). This finding aligns with research indicating a decline in the perception of control and autonomy in later life, as well as changes in emotional regulation and interactions during the later stages of life (Charles and Carstensen 2010). These results point to the complex interaction between age, place of residence, and emotional experience of modal constructions, which may have implications for linguistic and psychological models of language interpretation in different demographic groups. This finding is supported by the work of Đorđević et al. (2018) and Isaacowitz and Blanchard-Fields (2012), who emphasize the importance of understanding emotions and language in relation to sociological and psychological variables.

The thematic analysis of interview data reveals generational variation in emotional conceptualization of *moći*. For children and adolescents, the verb is primarily linked with **freedom, choice, and personal growth** — consistent with the tenets of Self-Determination Theory (Ryan and Deci 2000), which underscore autonomy and competence as key motivational factors. Among adults, urban participants interpret *moći* as representing **opportunity and active decision-making**, often in professional and social contexts. This underscores the perceived **autonomy embedded in urban life**, aligning with Inglehart and Welzel's (2005) view of modern societies as participation-oriented. In contrast, rural adults more frequently associate *moći* with **social norms and obligation**, highlighting how community structures and spatial context shape linguistic interpretation.

The senior respondents overwhelmingly perceive *moći* in terms of **constraint and limitation**, often attributing this to **declining health or social influence**. This reflects Baltes and Baltes' (1990) model of selective optimization with compensation, as well as Lachman and Weaver (1998), who associate diminished control with lower emotional well-being. Therefore, the responses from the thematic questionnaire indicate generational differences in the emotional and conceptual experience of the verb "to be able to," reflecting deeper sociocultural and psychological variations in how participants perceive this modal verb. Among children and adolescents, this verb is predominantly associated with freedom, opportunities, and possibilities, which points to the developmental aspect of personal autonomy and exploration of the world. According to Ryan and Deci's (2000) Self-Determination Theory, the perception of power among young individuals is determined by the level to which their basic psychological needs — autonomy, competence, and relatedness — are satisfied or upset in a particular social environment. It is both encouraging and expected that this age group perceives the verb through a positive lens, focused on the opportunities available to them in the contexts of education, social interactions, and independent decision-making.

Regarding adult participants, the research findings suggest that differentiation is observed depending on the participants' place of residence. Similar to younger participants, adults predominantly associate the verb "to be able to" regarding the concept of decision-making, which can be understood as the perception of a broader spectrum of opportunities offered by urban living, encompassing social, professional, educational, and, broadly speaking, the quality of life in modern society. Conversely, participants from rural areas associated the verb in accordance with the idea of permission or obligation, suggesting that individual autonomy is more frequently linked to social norms and collective responsibilities. This aligns with research on the differences in the perception of freedom depending on the social and spatial context (Inglehart and Welzel 2005). According to these authors, the concept of power is dynamic, and in modern, developed societies, it is more closely linked to the idea of participation rather than control. Therefore, the results from this part of the study reveal a clear connection to the findings of Ryan and Deci (2000), as well as Inglehart and Welzel (2005), since the social context is considered the most significant factor

in shaping or undermining common-sense thinking, a sense of security, and motivation.

As anticipated, taking into account previous theories and the findings of Baltes and Baltes (1990), who define the *model of selective optimization with compensation*, which also reflects a sense of reduced control over life and abilities, the oldest group of participants predominantly associated this modal verb with limitations, often related to health issues. These findings align with those of Lachman and Weaver (1998), who argue that the reduced perception of control among seniors regarding their own lives directly affects their decreased sense of well-being and emotional regulation in this age group.

The modal verb *moći* ("to be able to" and "to have to") is used in this article as a representative model to illustrate the imperative of integrating emotional intelligence as a significant parameter in contemporary lexicographic practice and in the semantic framing of lexemes. Through an analysis of its treatment in dictionaries still widely used within the Montenegrin linguistic context, this study underscores the necessity of incorporating emotional and pragmatic markers into modern lexicographic methodologies. This would be a significant step toward making contemporary lexicography sustainable and aligned with the needs and expectations of both native and non-native speakers. Our research, which investigates the emotional impact of these verbs on interlocutors and the emotions that trigger their usage, suggests that emotional annotations should be integrated into modern dictionaries, a step toward improving both their relevance and practical usage. Therefore, each lexical unit should be examined in the manner we proposed, and after thorough research, it should be marked accordingly, as emotional perception can strongly influence both the speaker and the recipient. This marking could be achieved through the use of color, indicating the average emotional intensity based on research findings. We suggest employing a traffic light method, utilizing three basic colors to denote the emotional intensity of a particular lexeme, thus providing a warning or encouragement for its use in a specific context. The use of visual symbols, such as emoticons, to represent emotional connotation would facilitate intuitive recognition of the dominant emotions associated with a specific lexical item. In addition, numerical scales of emotional intensity could be applied to indicate the average emotional strength of a lexeme or expression, based on research, or alternatively, comments could be offered within definitions.

Furthermore, the contextual notes should inevitably accompany those related to age groups, specifically the age of the speaker or interlocutor to whom a certain form is addressed, as this would provide additional clarification when defining particular expressions. Given that emotions in academic sources are recognized as fundamental not only in the experience of the world but also in its description, the accurately defined connotations of lexemes would significantly contribute to better pragmatic and intercultural language competence, which is the core idea behind contemporary sustainable lexicography. Therefore, we believe that modern lexicography should not be merely a descriptive linguistic discipline. To remain relevant and sustainable, it must integrate emo-

tional factors that influence language use. In this way, dictionaries become important emotional and cognitive tools for both native and non-native speakers, helping them to better understand each other.

Table 2: A tabular overview of possible approaches to defining the meaning of the verb 'moći'

Meaning / Context	Description	Strength	Color	Emojis	Stars	Icon	Font Style
1. Physical ability — "I can play the piano."	Has the ability to perform an action	 Medium	Yellow		***		Medium
2. Permission — "Can I close the door?"	Has permission or authorization	 Medium	Yellow		***		Medium
3. Possibility / Potential — "That can be true."	Something is possible, not certain	 Weak	Blue		**		Small
4. Probability — "He might be at home now."	There is a chance, but it's uncertain	 Weak	Blue		*		Small, italic
5. Polite request — "Can you help me?"	Not strong, rather polite and soft	 Medium	Yellow		**		Medium, italic
6. Sarcasm / Irony — "Yeah, right, you can go out!"	Used ironically, meaning the opposite	 Strong	Red		*** *		Large, italic
7. Total power — "He can achieve anything."	Extreme ability, dominance, full control	 Strong	Red		*** **		LARGE BOLD
8. Inability (Negation) — "I can't believe you any more!"	Complete inability, often emotional reaction	 Strong	Red		*** **		Bold, red

8. Conclusions

Artificial intelligence has long been taking over many areas of human activity, and one of an eminent field of scholarly investigation, in which its influence is felt is the area of education, learning, and foreign language teaching. Therefore, modern lexicography must keep up with contemporary trends and the evolving needs of individuals in modern contexts, who are accustomed to receiving information quickly and accurately. The establishment of contemporary online dictionaries requires thorough work, but once they are finalized, they will be of real benefit to speakers worldwide. Lexicography developed in this way will be sustainable, used not merely as a repository of linguistic information, but also as a dynamic and inclusive tool that reflects cultural diversity, and fosters global

understanding — making it a truly irreplaceable resource for humanity in the fullest sense. Therefore the aim of the present research is to serve as a pilot study, or more precisely, a case study focusing on one highly frequent modal verb present in both language systems. By examining this lexical item in detail, the study seeks to illustrate a possible approach to how such units can be represented in modern lexicographic resources. The intention is for this case to exemplify a broader methodology — one that we suggest could meet the evolving needs of dictionary users by offering more contextually and functionally informed entries.

9. Endnotes

1. **Invariable parts of speech** are lexical categories whose members do not undergo inflectional changes. Unlike variable word classes such as nouns or verbs, invariable categories (e.g., prepositions, conjunctions, adverbs, and interjections) maintain a fixed morphological form regardless of grammatical context. Their syntactic and semantic roles are determined by position and usage within the sentence, rather than by morphological variation (Huddleston and Pullum 2002).
2. Authors' note: The term *youngest cohort* refers specifically to participants aged **12 to 14**, who were distinguished from the broader 12–18 age group based on developmental considerations. Age was indeed used as a criterion, informed by research in sociolinguistics and educational psychology that emphasizes significant differences in linguistic awareness and cognitive processing between early adolescents (12–14) and older teenagers (15–18) (cf. Vygotsky 1978; Eckert 2000). Accordingly, the adapted version of the questionnaire — with simplified phrasing and reduced metalinguistic load — was administered **only to the 12–14 subgroup**, ensuring that the instrument remained cognitively and linguistically appropriate for their developmental stage. Participants aged 15–18 received the standard version, as preliminary piloting showed that they were capable of engaging with the full set of items without confusion or fatigue.

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Making Dictionary Content Accessible for People with Visual Impairments

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Abstract: This article discusses the development and evaluation of EDictViz: a visually accessible dictionary website intended to meet the accessibility needs of people with visual impairments. It is argued that dictionary access is important not only because of the utilitarian role that dictionaries play in resolving language queries but also because of their potential to promote social inclusion. With reference to previous research, a summary is provided of the barriers to access typically faced by people with visual impairments when using dictionary websites. Following this, the way in which these problems have been addressed in the development and evaluation process of EDictViz thus far is discussed. An evaluation of a development version of EDictViz based on the Web Content Accessibility Guidelines is reported — it indicates that the latest prototype version of the tool is accessible. This suggests that the design decisions taken at the outset of the project were sound. Throughout this process the parallels between lexicography research, which is often concerned with providing efficient access to lexicographic data, and accessibility research in general are drawn. Plans for future experimental studies to evaluate EDictViz which directly involve people with visual impairments are set out. This development process demonstrates the potential for mutually beneficial collaboration between accessibility and lexicography researchers.

Keywords: ACCESSIBILITY, ADVERTISEMENTS, EDUCATION, LANGUAGE LEARNING, LANGUAGE TEACHING, LEXICOGRAPHY, LEXICOTAINMENT, ONLINE DICTIONARIES, WCAG, WEB DEVELOPMENT

Opsomming: Toeganklike woordeboekinhoud vir mense met visuele gestremdhede. Hierdie artikel bespreek die ontwikkeling en evaluering van EDictViz: 'n visueel toeganklike woordeboekwebwerf wat bedoel is om aan die toeganklikheidsbehoefte van mense met gesiggestremdhede te voldoen. Daar word aangevoer dat woordeboektoegang belangrik is, nie net vanweë die utilitaristiese rol wat woordeboeke speel in die oplossing van taalnavrae nie, maar ook vanweë hul potensiaal om sosiale insluiting te bevorder. Met verwysing na vorige navorsing word 'n opsomming gegee van die hindernisse tot toegang wat mense met gesiggestremdhede tipies teëkom wanneer hulle woordeboekwebwerwe gebruik. Vervolgens word die manier bespreek waarop hierdie probleme tot dusver in die ontwikkelings- en evalueringsproses van EDictViz aangepak is. 'n Evaluering van 'n ontwikkelingsweergawe van EDictViz gebaseer op die Webinhoudtoeganklikheidsriglyne word aangebied — dit dui daarop dat die nuutste prototipe weergawe van die instrument toeganklik is. Die ontwerpbesluite wat aan die begin van die projek geneem is, is derhalwe sinvol. Gedurende hierdie

proses word die parallelle getrek tussen leksikografiese navorsing, wat dikwels gemoeid is met die verskaffing van doeltreffende toegang tot leksikografiese data, en toeganklikheidsnavorsing in die algemeen. Planne word uiteengesit om EDictViz te evalueer aan die hand van toekomstige eksperimentele studies wat mense met gesiggestremdhede direk betrek. Hierdie ontwikkelingsproses demonstreer die potensiaal vir wedersyds voordelige samewerking tussen toeganklikheids- en leksikografiese navorsers.

Sleutelwoorde: TOEGANKLIKHEID, ADVERTENSIES, ONDERWYS, TAALAAANLEER, TAAOLONDERIG, LEKSIKOGRAFIE, LEKSIKOVERHOUDING, AANLYN WOORDEBOEKE, WCAG, WEBONTWIKKELING

1. Introduction

This article reports on the development and evaluation of EDictViz¹: an online visually pared-down dictionary interface intended to be accessible for people with visual impairments. Firstly, the project is contextualised in a brief discussion of the problems involved in presenting lexicographic data in a visually accessible manner in traditional paper-based resources. These are juxtaposed with the affordances offered by online dictionaries. Then, in Section 2, the findings of recent research on the accessibility of online dictionaries for people with visual impairments are summarised. In Section 3, EDictViz is posited as a potential solution to the accessibility problems encountered in previous research. In Section 3.1, its development and evaluation thus far are described, while in Section 3.2, plans for future evaluation studies are outlined. The article concludes with a summary of some of the lessons learned from the project thus far and some of its wider implications for accessibility studies and lexicography.

Dictionaries are important. From a utilitarian perspective, they are used to search for the meanings of words and phrases, examples of their use in context, synonyms and antonyms, spellings, pronunciation, and etymological information, along with many other utilitarian functions. Beyond these utilitarian functions, they have a less obvious socio-political role, namely "giving tangible testimony to the status or identity of a language-speaking community" (Lew 2015a: 1). For example, dictionaries of lesser spoken languages attempt to mark out the boundaries of these languages by excluding loan words from more widely spoken neighbouring languages. Moreover, there is a generalised respect or reverence towards dictionaries in society. For example, the idea that the dictionary is the ultimate arbiter of wordhood is common if unjustified. Similarly, the ability to use a dictionary is sometimes perceived as a mark of an educated person. From this perspective, dictionary access can be seen as an important component in participation in society. In lexicography, there has been growing recognition of the importance of making lexicographic resources accessible in recent years. This is evidenced by recent congresses of the European Association for Lexicography (EURALEX). For example, the theme of the XIX congress (in Alexandroupolis, Greece, 2021) was *Lexicography for Inclusion* (Gavriilidou et al. 2021)

while the XXI congress (in Cavtat, Croatia, 2024) was preceded by a workshop on *Lexicography and Accessibility* (Rees et al. 2024).

There is a vast literature on the affordances of online dictionaries relative to their paper counterparts. Lew (2015b) provides a summary of user research on the use of online dictionaries until 2015. A commonly cited advantage to online dictionaries is that they are not subject to the space constraints of paper resources. However, while the space constraints faced by online dictionary makers are less acute than those faced by the creators of paper-based resources, there is nonetheless a limit on the amount of information that can usefully be displayed on screen at any one time on a dictionary webpage (Lew 2011). The speed of access to the relevant entry and sense of a word provided by online dictionaries, compared with their paper counterparts, is a clearer advantage. For example, search functionality allows users to find the entry they need without having to flick through an alphabetical index. Features such as predictive text (Jackson 2018) and fuzzy matching for misspellings and partially remembered phrases can compensate for gaps in users' knowledge of a word or phrase's written form (Lew 2012), thereby making the look-up process more efficient. At the level of the entry for a particular word, the use of colour syntactic labels (e.g., noun, verb, adjective, adverb, preposition) permitted by online dictionaries has been shown to have benefits not only for look-up speed but also look-up accuracy and vocabulary retention (Dziemianko 2015).

The inclusion of multimedia elements permitted by the online format is also a key advantage (Rees 2025). In general, illustrations combined with verbal definitions have been shown to lead to greater vocabulary learning than illustrations or verbal definitions in isolation (Nesi 1998; Dziemianko 2022). The affordances of multimedia have been particularly valuable for sign language dictionaries (McKee and McKee 2013). For example, still images can be used to illustrate signs and search for them by handshape categories and the place of articulation. These are fundamental elements in the meaning of signs. Similarly, video allows the capture of the dynamic motion and changes in handshapes needed to interpret and articulate signs. The option to replay and watch in slow motion is obviously advantageous for those learning sign language.

All these affordances improve the user friendliness of dictionaries or their accessibility in the general sense of the word. The application of video and images in sign language dictionaries improves accessibility in the more specific sense for sign language users. More hypothetically, online dictionaries offer a potential accessibility advantage insofar as their content can be manipulated by the dictionary user. For example, when designed with accessibility in mind, webpage elements such as font sizes, line spacing, and colour schemes can be changed at the click of a button or a change in browser settings so that the information they encode is easier to perceive. Another very important potential accessibility advantage offered by online dictionaries is their potential compatibility with assistive technologies. These include technologies such as refreshable braille displays (devices that render on-screen text as braille), magnifiers (tools which make text and images on webpages appear larger), and screen readers (synthe-

sised speech tools which read the information displayed on screen). Although these possibilities exist for ensuring dictionary websites are accessible for people with visual impairments — and have been partially exploited in the case of *Mikaela Lex*, a Greek school dictionary for students with visual impairments (Gavriilidou and Garoufos 2022) — previous research suggests that the creators of many dictionary websites have not yet exploited the full potential of these accessibility features (cf. Arias-Badia and Torner 2023; Rees 2023).

This lack of accessibility is particularly troubling when the number of people with visual impairments is considered along with the social exclusion this group often suffers. Globally, approximately 285 million people have some form of visual impairment (WHO EMRO 2012). This figure is likely to increase since there is a global trend of population aging while many of the conditions that cause low vision and blindness are age-related. Generally, many people with visual impairments suffer from social exclusion as evidenced by the high rates of unemployment and underemployment among this cohort (cf. National Federation of the Blind 2019). Several studies have attempted to address this problem, for example through an evaluation of the accessibility of library resources (McKenzie and Casey 1998) and educational software (Dini et al. 2007). The present project continues in this vein in the hope of making a small step forward in the inclusion of people with vision impairment and blindness in professional and educational contexts.

2. Previous research on the visual accessibility of dictionary websites

To my knowledge, there are two studies that address the accessibility of dictionary websites for people with visual impairments (Arias-Badia and Torner 2023; Rees 2023). They both employ the Web Content Accessibility Guidelines (WCAG) (World Wide Web Consortium (W3C) 2023), a series of guidelines aimed at improving access for people with disabilities to websites and other web applications. The guidelines were developed as part of the Web Accessibility Initiative, which is an initiative endorsed by the W3C — the international standards organization for the World Wide Web.

The current version of the WCAG (2.2) contains thirteen guidelines organised around four key principles that describe ideal characteristics of accessible websites: Perceivable (e.g., websites should contain information such as alternative text for images), Operable (e.g., their interfaces can be accessed with both keyboard and mouse), Understandable (e.g., the language used on a website should be programmatically specified to ensure that it can be pronounced correctly by screen reading software), and Robust (e.g., content should be compatible with assistive technologies such as screen readers). Each guideline has testable *success criteria* that are graded into three conformance levels ranging from A (the minimum standard), through AA (the de facto standard), to AAA (the ideal).

The two studies mentioned differ in scope and the way in which they employ

the WCAG. Arias-Badia and Torner (2023) take a broad top-down approach, evaluating dictionary website accessibility both for people with intellectual disabilities and for people with visual impairments. Without referring to specific success criteria or conformance levels, they use the guidelines of perceivability and understandability to structure their evaluation of the influence that heading structure, use of images, and the typographic choices have on accessibility for these users. Rees (2023) adopts a narrower focus, examining the accessibility of dictionary websites for people with visual impairments. In line with common practice in web accessibility evaluations, they adopt a bottom-up approach working from dictionary websites to success criteria then to key principle. Furthermore, they evaluate the compliance of dictionary websites with success criteria related to all four key WCAG principles. The rationale is that although the Operable and Robust key principles are not directly related to visual perception, they are essential to rendering website content in a way that is perceivable and understandable for people with severe visual impairments. For example, since screen reader users often navigate by keyboard rather than mouse, websites must be operable in this way. Similarly, websites also need to be robust, inasmuch as their content should be compatible with screen readers and braille displays.

Rees (2023) employs the two-stage methodology widely used in web accessibility evaluations. Firstly, automated evaluation tools are used to scan website source code for indications of unmet success criteria. Because of the high possibility of false positives and negatives, in line with common practice (Abascal et al. 2019), a combination of three tools is used: Achecker — Web Accessibility Checker (IDI 2022), MAUVE++ (Broccia et al. 2020), and WAVE — Web Accessibility Evaluation Tool (WebAIM 2021). In a manual inspection stage, an evaluator then browses through a sample of pages from a website checking their experience against a checklist of success criteria. In their evaluation, Rees (2023) compiled a list of 46 A and AA level success criteria that were potentially applicable to dictionary sites. These were considered in both the automated evaluation and manual inspection stages. In addition, a further three potentially relevant AAA success criteria of particular significance to lexicographic applications were also considered (see supplementary information). These include "3.1.3 Unusual Words: A mechanism is available for identifying specific definitions of words or phrases used in an unusual or restricted way, including idioms and jargon"; "3.1.4 Abbreviations: A mechanism for identifying the expanded form or meaning of abbreviations is available"; and "3.1.6 Pronunciation: A mechanism is available for identifying specific pronunciation of words where meaning of the words, in context, is ambiguous without knowing the pronunciation". This two-stage methodology, the tools, and the checklist of potentially relevant success criteria are employed in the evaluations of prototype versions of EDictViz detailed in Section 3 below.

As shown in Table 1, the previous studies also differ partially in the dictionary websites they evaluate. All resources studied are monolingual. *Diccionario de la lengua española* and *Diccionario fácil* are Spanish resources while all other resources are English, although some offer localised versions² and links to

bilingual resources. All resources except *Diccionario fácil*, which is the fruit of a project aiming to serve users with cognitive impairments, are mass market resources.

Table 1: Dictionary websites included in previous accessibility evaluations

Dictionary	Publisher	URL	Arias-Badia and Torner (2023)	Rees (2023)
<i>Cambridge English Dictionary</i>	Cambridge University Press	<https://dictionary.cambridge.org/dictionary/english/>	X	
<i>Collins Dictionary</i>	HarperCollins	<https://www.collinsdictionary.com/>		X
<i>Diccionario de la lengua española</i>	Real Academia Española	<https://dle.rae.es/>	X	X
<i>Diccionario fácil</i>	Plena Inclusión Madrid	<http://diccionariofacil.org/>	X	
<i>Macmillan English Dictionary</i>	Macmillan Education	<https://www.macmillandictionary.com/>	X	
<i>Merriam-Webster.com Dictionary</i>	Merriam-Webster	<https://www.merriamwebster.com/>	X	X
<i>Oxford Learner's Dictionary</i>	Oxford University Press	<https://www.oxfordlearnersdictionaries.com/>	X	

Despite their differences in scope, methodology, and the dictionaries they cover, the findings of both studies suggest that existing online dictionaries present significant accessibility challenges for users with visual impairments. These include problems with labelling, adaptable design, colour and contrast, and navigation for keyboard users, with each being discussed below.

Labelling

For users with low vision or without the sense of sight, information that is not encoded as text is imperceivable if it is not readable by a screen reader or braille display. This applies not only to the content of the page — such as the inclusion of alternative text to describe images or full-text labels for abbreviations — but also to the design of the page. Unless labelled with alternative text, a clickable arrow at the top of a page taking the user to an entry, the specific part of the dictionary page with the information about the search word, would for exam-

ple be imperceivable to many users with visual impairments. Other interactive elements such as search boxes and menus also need to be appropriately labelled. Technologically, labelling can be achieved via on-screen text, which is readable to all users, alternative text to describe images that becomes visible when a user selects or moves the mouse over an image, or Accessible Rich Internet Applications labels (ARIA-labels). These are labels in the code of a webpage that provide information about the purpose and status of interactive elements on a webpage to users of assistive technologies.

Adaptable design

One of the principal potential advantages of online dictionaries over their paper counterparts is that, in theory, they offer the user the opportunity to change the layout of the page. This does not necessarily involve including an 'Enlarge Text' or 'Change Spacing' button. Instead, pages should be coded in such a way that the user can alter the size and spacing of text programmatically (e.g., using a browser plug-in or via browser settings). To comply with the relevant WCAG success criteria at an AA level, it should be possible to enlarge text by 200 percent without distorting the rest of the page. There are similar rules for spacing. For example, it should be possible to set line height to at least 1.5 times the font size, letter spacing to at least 0.12 times the font size, word spacing to at least 0.16 times the font size, and spacing following paragraphs to at least twice the font size. In practice, making these adaptations on dictionary websites often results in a distorted unusable site.

Colour and contrast

Traditionally, colour choices in paper-based dictionaries were limited to black print on white (or slightly off-white) paper. More recently, colour printing albeit with a limited palette, became economically viable. Devices such as colour signposts have made dictionary entries easier to navigate (Dziemianko 2015; Dziemianko 2016). However, as far as people with visual impairments are concerned, the huge range of colours possible on dictionary websites presents an accessibility challenge. To comply with the WCAG at an AA level, a contrast ratio of 4.5:1 between background and text is necessary. To put this into perspective: black text on a white background has a contrast ratio of 21:1. Several of the accessibility problems observed in Rees (2023) relate to insufficient contrast in dictionary entries. Elements such as labels indicating grammatical gender, as well as illustrative examples of word use in context were especially affected by low contrast issues. There is some debate about the adequacy of the WCAG2 contrast definition, particularly its applicability to dark backgrounds (Ulitin 2023). However, for practical effects, this is not relevant here since the contrast problems observed in the previous studies of dictionary accessibility relate to light back-

grounds. More anecdotally, the figures provided in Rees (2023) suggest contrast problems that could also affect sighted users. The use of colour to encode usage warnings such as warnings about common grammatical errors (e.g., red = bad; green = good) is obviously problematic for people with colour-blindness.

Navigation for keyboard users

Many users of screen readers and other assistive technologies navigate websites using the keyboard not the mouse. Unfortunately, innovations in online dictionaries such as clickable signposts that scroll to the part of the entry of interest to the user and entries that unfold when clicked are not operable by keyboard (Rees 2023).

3. EDictViz: A potential solution

EDictViz is a website that uses a dictionary API to display dictionary data in a way that is accessible for people with visual impairments. For the purposes of prototyping, the *Merriam-Webster Advanced English Learner's Dictionary* (Merriam-Webster Dictionary API, n.d.) is employed, although any dictionary could hypothetically be used. The development of the resource follows the Agile software development methodology: an iterative process of collaborative development, evaluation and feedback, and further development in response to that feedback (Beck et al. 2001). Table 2 shows the milestones that mark each version and progress to date.

Table 2: EDictViz development plan

Version	Milestone	Achieved
0.1	Basic working prototype incorporating findings from previous research	Yes
0.2	Pass automated WCAG inspection	Yes
0.3	Pass manual WCAG inspection	Yes
0.4	Usability testing	Pending
0.5	User testing in language reception and production tasks	Pending

The next section deals with the development and evaluation using the WCAG criteria undertaken so far. Section 3.2 deals with plans for future development and evaluation. The WCAG are a good starting point for evaluating EDictViz and have the advantage of providing a broad overview of accessibility applicable

to the enormously diverse group of possible low vision users (e.g., those with low visual perception, reduced visual acuity, colour blindness, tunnel vision, etc.). However, the pending evaluation with users will be essential for establishing the effectiveness of the tool and of paramount importance to its future development.

3.1 Previous evaluation

3.1.1 Version 0.1: Visual and technical simplicity

The goal for Version 0.1 of the tool was to make a simple website that used the API to display the basic parts of a dictionary entry (headword, word class, definition, and example) when a user looked up a word. The guiding principles throughout the development process have been visual and technical simplicity. This pared-down approach has its roots in a previous evaluation of those elements on dictionary websites that cause accessibility problems for people with visual impairments. As shown in Figure 1, Rees (2023) groups these problematic elements into four categories: advertising, lexicotainment, design, and core-lexicographic. They are discussed here in descending order of the percentage of accessibility problems they represented in Rees's study.

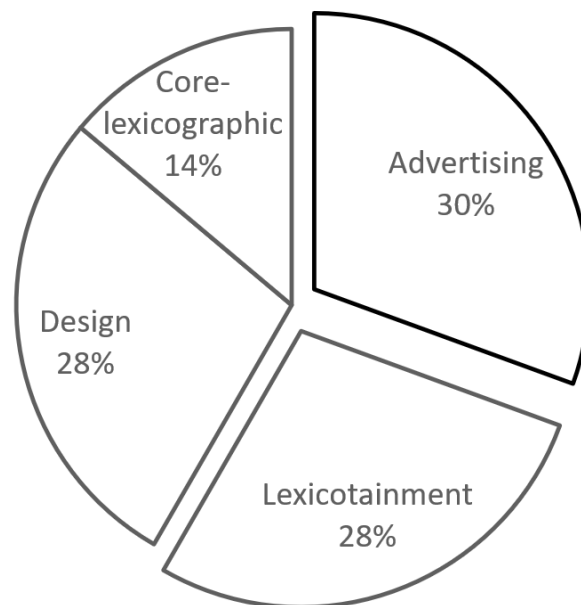


Figure 1: Sources of unmet success criteria on dictionary entry pages (data source: Rees (2023))

Advertising relates to the inclusion of advertisements and other publicity material on dictionary websites. Since advertisements are often provided by third parties, the operator of the website has limited control over their content and form. For example, advertisements are frequently missing alternative text labels, meaning that they cannot be meaningfully described by screen readers. The inclusion of advertisements often interferes with structural elements such as headings and landmarks (hidden labels for page sections), which help screen-reader users navigate the page. Although the user may not be interested in the content of the advertisements, their presence alone is disruptive to the dictionary use experience. Images, moving or still at the side or top of a screen, can be distracting to sighted users. It is reasonable to assume that this effect is multiplied if the image is blurred or otherwise partially perceivable.

More generally, empirical studies have found the presence of advertisements to be disadvantageous to efficient dictionary use. Dziemianko (2019) found a detrimental impact on performance when dictionaries were used to complete language reception, production, and vocabulary learning tasks. Advertisements on dictionary websites have also been shown to increase the time taken to resolve language doubts (Dziemianko 2019; Dziemianko 2020).

Lexicotainment — including elements such as word games, word of the day features, mailing lists, social media, and blog posts — are a common feature of dictionary websites. They often involve user interaction (e.g., clicking or dragging words with a mouse or entering an email address). They can change the content of a screen without warning (e.g., an auto-updating list of popular searches) or simply add more visually complex elements to a webpage (e.g., unlabelled images or low contrast text from social media feeds). All of this entails significant accessibility barriers.

Design relates to the structure of site and page. This includes the logical use of headings that are helpful when navigating webpages for screen-reader users. It also includes the use of labels describing regions of the page (such as the header, footer, and main section) and navigation, or text inputs such as search. Keyboard operability is a further design consideration. This includes ensuring that all links and text inputs are accessible in a logical manner using the keyboard rather than the mouse. For example, ensuring that links can be operated using the Tab and Enter keys.

Core-lexicographic issues include those affecting microstructure. These include the colour and contrast of text and background in entries. For example, markers of grammatical gender, word class, and illustrative examples are often difficult to distinguish from the page background. The use of abbreviations in entries can also pose problems for people with visual impairments. If abbreviations must be used, the full form of the abbreviated text must be provided as alternative text. It should be possible to modify the size and spacing of the text of an entry without distorting the design of the webpage.

Since EDictViz is a non-commercial project with minimal running costs,³ there is no need to include advertisements on the site. This means that 30% of the accessibility problems found in Rees (2023) can be avoided. The same logic jus-

tifies the decision to exclude lexicotainment elements, which represent a further 28% of accessibility issues found in the same study. In commercial resources, these elements are often included to decrease a website's 'bounce rate' (i.e., the percentage of users who leave a site after viewing only one page). This is a key metric for advertisers and advertising agencies. In short, the lower the bounce rate, the more attractive a site is to advertisers. This means potentially greater advertising revenues for the publisher.

At first glance, the decision to exclude advertising and lexicotainment elements seems to run counter to universal accessibility, the argument being that users with visual impairments have as much right to experience advertisements as other users. However, given the proven detrimental effect of advertisements on the speed and retention of dictionary searches, it is possible to turn this argument on its head. Truly universal access would involve removing advertisements for all users. This counterargument may also apply to lexicotainment elements, since it seems one of the principal reasons for including these elements in commercial dictionaries is to increase attractiveness of a website to advertisers.

Excluding advertising and lexicotainment allows a focus on design and core-lexicographic elements. As far as design elements are concerned, this in practice means using a colour scheme with sufficient contrast; ensuring that regions of the page such as headers, footers, navigation menus, and the main section are properly labelled; ensuring that the search box is appropriately labelled; and ensuring the site can be navigated using a keyboard only. In terms of core-lexicographic elements, this involves ensuring sufficient contrast between background and text, ensuring that all information is encoded as text rather than images, ensuring that different parts of the entry are clearly labelled, and avoiding abbreviations for metalinguistic terms. The latter two points chime with the idea of "dictionary as prose" (Hanks 1987: 118), a key idea from the user-friendly turn in lexicography of the 1980s. In practice, this means the avoidance of meta-language and the use of parenthesis, both of which are factors found to be particularly problematic in several dictionary use studies (cf. Nesi and Meara 1994; Nesi and Haill 2002).

3.1.2 Version 0.2: Passing automated WCAG evaluation

The yardstick for transition from Version 0.1 to Version 0.2 was having a site that passed automated WCAG evaluation. Passing automated WCAG inspection is understood here as having no genuine unmet success criteria indicated by the three automated evaluation tools used. Table 3 shows the unmet success criteria found for the lemma *test* with each of the three tools employed to evaluate Version 0.1 of EDictViz. The single unmet success criteria reported by Achecker is a false positive. The tool has interpreted the ARIA-label for the search form as an empty <Label> element in violation of Success Criterion 3.3.2, which is "Labels or instructions are provided when content requires user input". Issues requiring human verification refer to success criteria that cannot be evaluated by the rule-based evaluation tools (e.g., ascertaining whether alternative text accu-

rately describes an image). In this evaluation, many of the issues highlighted as requiring further evaluation are repeated false positive results related to the same lines of webpage code. This suggests an incompatibility between the way the tools search for unmet success criteria and the way EDictViz is programmed. In any case, issues requiring human verification are covered by the manual inspection stage of evaluation discussed in Section 3.1.3 below.

Table 3: Results of automated evaluation

Evaluation tool	Unmet success criteria	Requiring human verification
Achecker	1	50
Mauve++	0	27
WAVE	0	0

Figure 2 from WAVE provides a visual summary of the accessibility of this version. WAVE detects no unmet success criteria ('Errors' and 'Contrast Errors'). There are no potential issues requiring human evaluation ('Alerts'). The label specifying the language of the page is noted as an accessibility feature. The 24 Structural Elements on the page are highlighted. These include the labelled header and footer sections, search box, navigation menus, main section, and hierarchically ordered headings, all of which are helpful to users navigating with screen readers. This is also true of the two ARIA-labels highlighted.

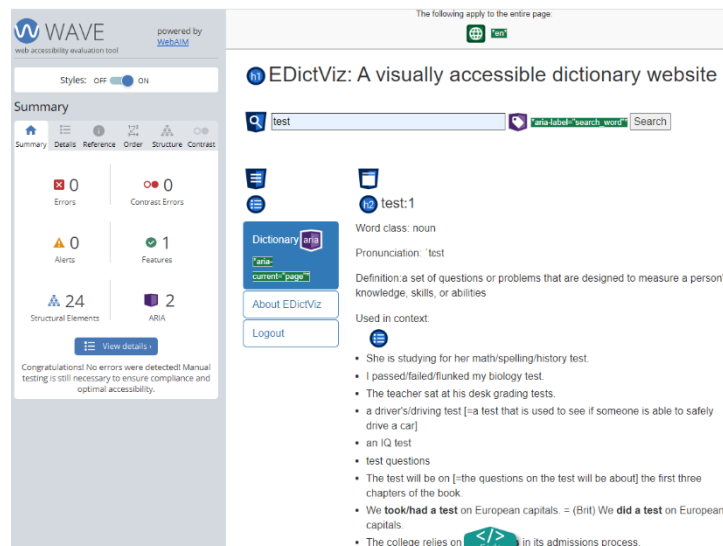


Figure 2: Visual summary of the accessibility of EDictViz Version 0.2

3.1.3 Version 0.3: Passing manual inspection

The results of the manual inspection of Version 0.2 of EDictViz suggest the pared-down design philosophy offers accessibility advantages. Only 67% (33 of 49) of dictionary webpage success criteria applied to this version of EDictViz. Of these 33 applicable success criteria, only two are clearly unmet by EDictViz. These include Success Criterion 2.4.1, namely "Bypass Blocks: Provide a 'Skip to Content' link", and Success Criterion 2.4.5, which is "Multiple Ways: Offer several ways to find pages" (see supplementary information).

The 'Skip to Content' issue is remedied in Version 0.3 where a link is provided at the top of each page to allow the user to skip directly to the dictionary entry. The idea of allowing the user to skip to the content of interest to them has parallels with what was once considered a user-friendly innovation in learners' dictionaries (cf. Gouws 2014). Some learners' dictionaries provide maps or tables of contents for longer entries. In paper-based resources, these are numbered lists of the senses of a word included in the entry. The user can quickly skip to the relevant sense without having to read through the whole entry. In several commercial online dictionaries these entry maps are hyperlinked to the relevant sense. Unfortunately, this feature is often implemented in such a way that it cannot be perceived or operated by users with visual impairments (Rees 2023).

In Version 0.2 the only way to find a word in EDictViz is to search for it in the search box. This runs contrary to Success Criterion 2.4.5 "Multiple Ways: Offer several ways to find pages". To remedy this, an alphabetic index of headwords is included in Version 0.3. Here again there are parallels between this accessibility feature and lexicographic practice. Freedom from the constraints of the alphabetical index has been a major hope for many lexicography researchers in the digital age (De Schryver 2003). However, this somewhat maligned feature still has its uses. Due to limitations in the methods used to compile digital dictionaries (cf. Frankenberg-Garcia et al. 2021), users searching for derived or compound forms of a word are often left unsatisfied. For example, searching for the adjective *assumed* in the *Cambridge English Dictionary* takes the user to the page for the verb *assume*. However, the alphabetical index in the 'Browse' box at the bottom of the page contains the adjectival uses *assumed debt*, *assumed liabilities*, and *assumed name*, which may help the user resolve their query (Rees 2024).

3.2 Future development and evaluation

Using the WCAG to evaluate the accessibility of dictionary websites for people with visual impairments has several advantages. There are several types of visual impairments, many of which bring different accessibility needs. The WCAG approach allows an abstract evaluation over several visual impairments, concentrating on accessibility needs that are common to many of them. In this way, the approach addresses the needs of a greater range of users than would be feasible with research studies that directly involved users. Moreover, it is a widely employed methodology that is relatively cheap and straightforward to

put into practice. Furthermore, it arguably offers an ecological validity advantage over tests carried out in closely controlled conditions.

Despite these clear advantages, the WCAG are not the perfect solution. As far as is practicable, there is an obvious need for end users with low vision to be directly involved in the development and evaluation of tools which aim to serve them. This may allow the investigation of other qualitative aspects of user experience not addressed by the WCAG evaluation. For example, it may provide further insight into user perceptions of the cognitive load involved in using the tool, the intuitiveness of its user interface, or other subjective measures of usability, such as the emotional impact of the tool. Future development and evaluation of EDictViz will therefore involve people with visual impairments more directly.

Two key aspects of the tool need further evaluation. Firstly, its usability for people with visual impairments needs to be investigated in comparison with other online dictionaries. Secondly, its effectiveness in typical tasks for which dictionaries are employed needs to be evaluated in comparison with other online dictionaries. Plans for studies with users to respond to these needs are set out in Sections 3.2.1 and 3.2.2, respectively.

A key challenge in carrying out dictionary use research is selecting vocabulary that users do not already know but could reasonably be expected to need in real life. Academic vocabulary lists provide a solution (Coxhead 2000; Rees 2021). Since many users of monolingual learners' dictionaries are university students or staff who use English for academic purposes, it is reasonable to assume that they will need to use the words on these lists. Furthermore, the words on these lists can be ordered by the frequency at which they are found in language corpora — large collections of machine-readable text. Following usage-based theories of language learning, learners are less likely to know words that appear at lower frequencies.

Recruiting low vision users of academic English represents a logistical challenge. Firstly, they are a relatively small, though nonetheless significant, subset of the population. Secondly, low vision users are a heterogeneous group (e.g. including those with low visual perception, those with reduced visual acuity, colour blindness, or tunnel vision). A key design assumption of EDictViz is that there is a limit to the specificity with which these user groups can be targeted. In practical terms, this means that it is not considered feasible to build individual dictionaries for those who need to adjust contrast, text size and spacing, those who require magnifiers, and those who require screen readers. EDictViz attempts to cater to all these groups. It is, however, considered feasible to recruit 10 to 12 users per study who represent this range of use cases for each of the studies outlined below.

3.2.1 Version 0.4: Usability testing

In this experimental study, low vision users will look up the meaning of two comparable sets of lower-frequency words from the New Academic Wordlist (Cox-

head 2000). After doing this, they will complete the System Usability Scale (SUS) questionnaire (Brooke 1996). The SUS is used to calculate a score representing the usability of the tool. The decision to use the SUS, a proxy for usability, rather than a measure of accessibility is firstly based on the premise that usability and accessibility are mutual requirements (e.g., a tool cannot be usable if it is not accessible, nor can it be accessible if it is not usable). It is also based on the widespread use, ease of administration in challenging environments, and scalability of the SUS. The SUS is a de facto standard measure in usability testing. It is referenced in over 1,300 publications, including those related to the evaluation of lexicographic tools (Frankenberg-Garcia et al. 2019). It has proven quick, cheap to administer and, importantly in this context, reliable even with the expected small sample sizes given the difficulties associated with recruiting low vision users and the diversity of this group's needs. The SUS will allow the collection of subjective measures of the tool's usability that it was not possible to capture with previous WCAG-based evaluations.

In line with common practice, follow-up interviews will complement the SUS questionnaire and allow further insight into user experiences of EDictViz and opportunities for its improvement (e.g. how to make the interface more intuitive and enjoyable to use). It is important to clarify that the study has not been completed yet and that even if it had been, it would be beyond the scope of this article to report it in sufficient detail.

3.2.2 Version 0.5: Vocabulary knowledge testing

This experimental study is designed to compare low-vision users' productive and receptive vocabulary knowledge changes when using EDictViz with those made using a traditional online monolingual English learners' dictionary. This will go some way to elucidating the extent to which EDictViz mitigates barriers to successful dictionary use for people with visual impairments.

The study will use a counterbalanced design in which participants complete two tasks in two conditions: (1) using a standard online dictionary, and (2) using EDictViz. The counterbalanced design has ethical advantages since it ensures that no group is disadvantaged by missing out on any potential benefits of each condition. The first task is intended to measure receptive vocabulary gain from reading. In this task, participants look up the meaning of two comparable sets of lower-frequency words from the New Academic Wordlist (Coxhead 2000) in the two conditions. The second task is intended to measure vocabulary gain for writing. Participants complete two comparable sets of sentence frames (sentences with a missing word) with salient academic collocations — words that it has become conventional to use together (e.g., *powerful computer* but not *strong computer*) (Roberts et al. 2017). In both tasks participants self-rate their knowledge of the vocabulary items using a measure based on the Test of Academic Lexicon (TAL) (Scarcella and Zimmerman 1998). Once the tasks are completed, scores are calculated using acceptable responses to the sentence frames and TAL level

in each condition. Scores are then compared for each condition.

Like the usability study outlined above, insight into user experiences of EDictViz and opportunities for improvement will be garnered from follow up interviews. The proposed study is in the design stage. If results were available, it would be beyond the scope of this article to provide the required context and discussion.

4. Discussion and conclusions

In this account of the development of EDictViz, it has been argued that dictionary access is important not only because of the functional role that dictionaries play as information tools, but also because of their potential as motors of social inclusion for marginalised groups such as persons with visual impairments. Unfortunately, paper-based dictionaries have historically proved difficult to access for people with visual impairments. Furthermore, it has been shown that while online dictionary websites, in theory, offer greater accessibility, they present significant accessibility challenges in practice, as demonstrated by previous research. EDictViz was posited as an attempt to remedy this. The project so far has not only developed an ostensibly more accessible online dictionary but also highlighted some of the communalities between access as understood in lexicography and accessibility studies. It could act as a model for the application of many of the guidelines from previous research on dictionary website accessibility. This has the potential to improve both access to dictionary websites and other online lexicographic resources for persons with visual impairments, as well as for people in general.

To understand the wider implications of the project, it is helpful to keep in mind Greco's (2018: 211) three shifts that mark the entrance and development of the construct of accessibility in various research fields. One key shift is from a reactive approach where access is 'bolted on' as an afterthought to existing products or services, to a proactive one where products and services are designed with access in mind from the start. Another is the shift from a maker-centred approach to access (in which the makers of a product or service make assumptions about users' accessibility needs) to one where users are active stakeholders in the design process. A further shift is the one from a particularist account of accessibility, in which access concerns concrete groups of people who were often persons with disabilities, to one where access concerns all users.

EDictViz clearly represents a proactive approach to access. It is designed from the ground up with accessibility in mind. Although many existing dictionary websites have accessibility features indicating that their designers are aware of the need to ensure accessibility, the effectiveness of these features is counteracted by overall inaccessible design.

Regarding the next shift, the position of EDictViz is less clear. Thus far, the development of EDictViz has exemplified a maker's account of access. Methodologically, the reliance on the WCAGs rather than direct testing with users entails possibly unfounded assumptions about the needs of persons with visual im-

pairments. Moreover, as discussed above, it does not provide insight into user perceptions of the tool, such as how enjoyable or intuitive it is to use or even how useful it is. The planned development and evaluation of future versions of the tool will reveal whether the assumptions about the needs of persons with visual impairments are justified. It will also mark a user-centred shift in the tool's development. The SUS study will provide a subjective measure of usability, and the vocabulary knowledge study will provide a measure of the tool's effectiveness. The follow up interviews in both studies will allow the intended audience to give their own account of their lexicographic needs and to indicate the extent to which the tool meets them. More generally, it is hoped that these future studies will elucidate the extent to which, if at all, designing lexicographic resources for accessibility implies compromising the richness of lexicographic content. They may for example shed light on how or if visual indicators of word frequency can be made perceptible to screen reader users.

Although EDictViz embodies a particularist account of access, aimed as it is at persons with visual impairments, it also points the way to a universalist one. This is achieved not only by providing a model for making dictionaries more visually accessible to people in general, but also by implementing good practices from research about the most efficient ways to access lexicographic information. Thus far the project, with its WCAG-based evaluation, has only scratched the surface of the opportunities for mutually beneficial exchange between the fields of accessibility studies and lexicography. It is hoped that further development of the project, including the proposed studies with persons with visual impairments outlined above, will spark yet more progress towards the universal accessibility of lexicographic information.

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Endnotes

1. Development Version 0.3 of the tool is found at <https://edictviz.com/>. Access is available on request.
2. These versions contain elements such as introductory information and grammatical labels in the language of the user's region if that differs from the language of the dictionary. For example, a user from France using *Collins English Dictionary* would initially be presented with this information in French.
3. The first development version of EDictViz went live in June 2022. The initial development costs and hosting costs for a period of four years were financed by a small research grant from the BALEAP Funding Stream 2021 'Social Justice in EAP'.

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Supplementary Information

The supplementary information can be found at:
https://osf.io/75zum/?view_only=d6d20a8164fe4af0b4a96c3607871870

One Name, Two Genres: The Curious Case of Polish Encyclopaedias of Law

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Abstract: This study examines Polish legal reference works through systematic analysis of publications labelled as encyclopaedias of law, addressing a gap in legal metalexicography. It sheds some light on the typology and characteristics of such volumes. The library survey revealed two types of Polish encyclopaedias of law: lexicographic works with alphabetically ordered entries presenting fragmented knowledge and monographic works structured in chapters that resemble academic textbooks. In fact, in the majority of cases, only opening a given work lets the user learn what type of publication it is. The study describes 78 works published between 1842 and 2023 in terms of the publication year, the fields of law covered, size, scope and target users. The analysis demonstrates that lexicographic encyclopaedias of law predominantly specialise in specific legal fields and employ various systematisation techniques including cross-referencing and thematic indices, while monographic encyclopaedias of law primarily address general Polish law for educational purposes. An important observation emerging from this study is that monographic publications, despite their textbook-like structure, share fundamental characteristics with lexicographic ones and serve complementary knowledge-organizing functions that demonstrate lexicographic adaptability to diverse user needs within specialized domains. The findings challenge traditional lexicographic classification systems by suggesting that functional criteria may be more significant than formal structural features in understanding specialised lexicographic practice.

Keywords: ENCYCLOPAEDIA OF LAW, LEXICOGRAPHY, POLISH LEXICOGRAPHY, LEGAL LANGUAGE, LSP, SPECIAL-PURPOSE DICTIONARY

Opsomming: Een naam, twee genres: Die unieke geval van Poolse regsensiklopedieë. Hierdie artikel ondersoek Poolse regsaslaanwerke deur 'n sistematiese analise van publikasies wat as regsensiklopedieë geëtiketteer is, uit te voer, en wys 'n gaping in die regsmetaleksikografie uit. Dit belig die tipologie en eienskappe van hierdie bronne. Die biblioteekopname het twee tipes Poolse regsensiklopedieë geïdentifiseer: leksikografiese werke met alfabeties geordende inskrywings wat gefragmenteerde kennis aanbied en monografiese werke wat in hoofstukke verdeel is wat soos akademiese handboeke lyk. In die meeste gevalle besef die gebruiker in werklikheid eers watter tipe publikasie dit is wanneer die gegewe werk oopgeslaan word. Die studie beskryf 78 werke wat tussen 1842 en 2023 gepubliseer is volgens die publikasiejaar, regsvelde wat gedek word, grootte, omvang en teikengebruikers. Die analise toon dat leksikografiese regsensiklo-

pedieë hoofsaaklik in spesifieke regsvelde spesialiseer en verskeie sistematiseringsmetodes, insluitend kruisverwysing en tematiese indeksering, aanwend, terwyl monografiese regsensiklopedieë hoofsaaklik die algemene Poolse reg vir opvoedkundige doeleindes aanspreek. 'n Belangrike waarneming wat uit hierdie studie voortspruit, is dat monografiese publikasies, ongeag hul handboekagtige struktuur, fundamentele eienskappe met leksikografiese publikasies deel en aanvullende kennisorganiserende funksies verrig wat leksikografiese aanpasbaarheid by diverse gebruikersbehoefte binne gepesialiseerde velde vertoon. Die bevindings daag tradisionele leksikografiese klassifikasiesistels uit deur te suggereer dat funksionele kriteria dalk belangriker as formele strukturele kenmerke in die begrip van die gespesialiseerde leksikografiese praktyk kan wees.

Sleutelwoorde: REGSENSIKLOPEDIE, LEKSIKOGRAFIE, POOLSE LEKSIKOGRAFIE, REGSTAAL, TSD, SPESIALE DOEL WOORDEBOEK

1. Introduction

Legal language has attracted considerable attention from lexicographers and terminographers, resulting in a wide array of lexicographic works, from glossaries and dictionaries to lexicons and encyclopaedias. While the various names these works are given suggest genre differences, in practice it is often impossible to predict the content, functions and structure of such works without consulting them directly. This study looks at publications labelled as encyclopaedia of law in order to identify their genre characteristics.

This study arose from the observation that, in Poland, publications labelled as encyclopaedias of law frequently diverge in nature. Some volumes follow traditional lexicographic models with alphabetically organised entries presenting fragmented knowledge (hereinafter "lexicographic encyclopaedias of law"). Others resemble monographs with chapter-based structures offering systematic surveys of legal topics (hereinafter "monographic encyclopaedias of law"). Many of these monographic works function as academic textbooks for non-law students and are aligned with an academic course traditionally known as Encyclopaedia of Law¹. This duality raises a scholarly question: do these monographic works, despite not being conceived as lexicographic encyclopaedias, share features with thematic legal encyclopaedias? Unlike legal encyclopaedic traditions in most other countries where terminological distinctions clearly separate reference works from academic textbooks, the Polish practice of using identical nomenclature for functionally distinct publications appears to be distinctive.

This paper reviews Polish library holdings for works titled "encyclopaedia of law" (hereinafter "encyclopaedias of law"), analyses their typological features and examines how monographic volumes align with encyclopaedic and lexicographic concepts. In doing so, the study seeks to contribute to the relatively underexplored area of descriptive monolingual legal metalexicography in Poland, offering insights into the lexicographic and monographic forms of encyclopaedias of law.

Research on legal lexicography and terminography is extensive but predominantly focuses on legal dictionaries rather than encyclopaedias. While bibliographies of law dictionaries and encyclopaedias exist (e.g., De Groot and Van Laer's bibliography of bilingual and multilingual legal dictionaries (2005)), they often form part of larger general lexicographic projects (e.g., Wojan's bibliography of translation dictionaries and popular encyclopaedias (2013)). Beyond bibliographic work, research in this field has focused on areas such as term presentation (Bajčić 2017), the quality of legal dictionaries (De Groot and Van Laer 2006; 2008), challenges in compiling legal dictionaries (Greenberg 2014), the lexicographic presentation of legal collocations (Michta and Mroczynska 2022) and translation applicability (Šarčević 1989; Chromá 2004; Szemińska 2011, 2014; Nielsen 2010). However, monolingual legal terminography has received limited attention, with researchers focusing primarily on bilingual and multilingual studies (e.g., Šarčević 1988; Nielsen 1994; De Groot and Van Laer 2005). One exception is a study into English and Russian monolingual terminological dictionaries by Bezuglova and Kuznetsova (2016). This review of encyclopaedias of law aims to fill this gap by providing insights into the Polish contemporary and past publishing practices and the distinctive conceptualisation of encyclopaedias of law in Poland.

2. Encyclopaedia as a lexicographic work of reference

Encyclopaedias are among the works of reference that lexicography deals with. Until the end of the 18th century, they were regarded as varieties of dictionaries. Now, encyclopaedias are sometimes classified next to dictionaries and all other works of reference, or alternatively as types of dictionaries, with entries typically in alphabetical order (McArthur 1986: 103). Contemporary works often blur the boundaries, with some encyclopaedic works being called dictionaries, such as *The Oxford Dictionary of Natural History* (Allaby 1985) (McArthur 1996: 323, Bergenholtz 2012: 22). Encyclopaedias range from single volumes (e.g., *The Cambridge Encyclopedia of Language* (Crystal 2010)) to multi-volume undertakings (e.g., 32 volumes of *Encyclopaedia Britannica*) (McArthur 1996: 323).

The scholarly debate around distinguishing encyclopaedias from dictionaries centres on several key criteria, particularly the type of knowledge presented: linguistic in dictionaries and encyclopaedic in encyclopaedias (Bergenholtz and Tarp 1995, Bajčić 2017: 55-56). Geeraerts suggests that the distinction lies in macrostructural and microstructural differences:

Macrostructurally, the encyclopedia focuses on proper names, nouns, and maybe a number of other elements from open word classes, whereas the dictionary includes all word classes (typically excluding all or most proper names). Microstructurally, the encyclopedia focuses on expert information as provided by scientific, technical, or professional experts, whereas that information is only one of the types of semantic description that the dictionary may include, together with the more everyday uses of the words. (Geeraerts 2007: 1164)

However, this distinction remains contentious. Allan treats encyclopaedias as structured databases containing comprehensive information across multiple areas of human activity, with dictionaries serving as access points to encyclopaedic entries (Allan 2006: 573). Haiman controversially argues that dictionaries are encyclopaedias, seeing only the frequency of proper names as distinguishing them (Haiman 1980: 331). The subsequent debate between Haiman (1982) and Frawley (1981) identifies typical encyclopaedic traits: emphasis on cultural rather than linguistic knowledge, objective rather than subjective facts, pragmatics over semantics, synthetic over analytic knowledge and proper names over common names (Haiman 1980: 331-354; Frawley 1981: 53).

Hartmann and James define an encyclopaedia as

a type of reference work which presents factual information in a wide range of subject disciplines. This information is collected from expert consultants and arranged in a combination of systematic and alphabetical order for the benefit of the general educated reader. Encyclopedic definitions are more detailed and less vague than the meaning explanations offered in general dictionaries (Hartmann and James 2002: 48).

They emphasise that encyclopaedic definitions reflect encyclopaedic rather than linguistic knowledge, though these categories often overlap in practice. Encyclopaedic information "is more concerned with the description of objective realities than the words or phrases that refer to them" (Hartmann and James 2002: 49).

Both dictionaries and encyclopaedias share systematic structures enabling quick information retrieval, typically through alphabetical arrangement — a method nearly 1,000 years old for encyclopaedias. Before printing came to Europe, encyclopaedias had been arranged systematically by subject. In Roman times the approach taken was practical, depending on what was seen as the most urgent everyday topic, this is what the encyclopaedia started with. Some modern works maintain this ancient arrangement (Collison and Preece 2024), such as the latest edition of *Encyclopaedia Britannica* (32 volumes), which combines three approaches: two alphabetical (*macropaedia* and *micropaedia*) and one thematic (*propaedia*) (Peters 2015: 73-74).

Lexicographic works are to serve two main functions: communication-oriented and cognition-oriented. Dictionaries primarily address text understanding and production in specific communicative situations, while encyclopaedias and encyclopaedic dictionaries provide knowledge without communicative context to help solve problems (Bergenholtz and Nielsen 2006: 286; Ptaszynski 2010: 412). From a lexicographical viewpoint, understanding a work's function and purpose is essential for selecting appropriate contents and presentation methods, since user utility is paramount (Louw 1999: 286; Tarp 2000: 204; Nielsen 2008: 187-188). This functional understanding necessitates specialised dictionaries and encyclopaedias for particular knowledge fields. As Allan puts it, "[m]ultiple dictionaries and encyclopaedias would model individual human capacities and divide data and processing into manageable chunks" (Allan 2006: 574).

2.1 Encyclopaedia of law

Elaborating on the classification of specialised lexicographic works, Bergenholtz and Tarp suggest their division into dictionaries (with information about words), encyclopaedias (with information about facts) and encyclopaedic dictionaries (with information about words and facts). However, they emphasise that the information included depends on field, purpose and target group, ultimately affecting dictionary structure (Bergenholtz and Tarp 1995: 28-30). Between dictionaries and encyclopaedias lies the category of lexicons, which combines features of both reference types (Hartmann and James 2002: 86, Lukszyn 1998: 286, 2005: 63). Lexicons typically present alphabetically arranged entries with both linguistic and encyclopaedic information, making them particularly relevant to specialised domains where terminological precision and factual context are equally important. This intermediate category is especially pertinent to legal reference works, where the boundary between linguistic and encyclopaedic knowledge often becomes blurred, as evidenced in the Polish publications examined in this study.

Encyclopaedias of law are examples of lexicographic works dealing with a specific area of human activity which is highly culturally bound (Bergenholtz and Nielsen 2002: 15).

[A]n encyclopaedia of law with pretensions to completeness is a huge and complex undertaking. In its encyclopaedic mode, the 'legal' could include both a doctrinal analysis of the questions behind every legal term and an account of every object, process or phenomenon to which law at one time or other has directed its gaze. (Hutton 2014: 180)

Legal lexicography typically follows the Roman *definitions*, a definition type that is not purely lexical, as it never aims at presenting the terminological meaning of terms only, but attempts to adopt a descriptive and synthetic approach (Barenot 2014: 14). Similarly to what has been said about encyclopaedias and dictionaries in general, Hayaert notices that in the legal context there is no "waterproof division" (Hayaert 2011: 316, as cited in Barenot 2014: 14) between a dictionary of language and encyclopaedia either. There are even fewer differences between an LSP² dictionary and an encyclopaedia, as the former rarely focuses on linguistic aspects of headwords but more on technical, professional and scientific expert knowledge. Both lexicographic works may be large-scale publications with thousands of entries or small-scale with an emphasis on the most frequent and most central senses (Geeraerts 2007: 1164-1165), both may cover a legal system as a whole, a narrow area of law or a single legal theme, and both may be alphabetical, systematic or a bit of each (Mattila 2016: 37; Nielsen 2023: 434). The traditional metalexicographic divisions have become less clear owing to the requirements of the legal matter and the practicality expected from lexicographic works. But as an encyclopaedia tends to be seen as a means of serving "broader cultural needs" (Louw 1999: 285), no wonder that it has found a place in describing legal issues.

3. Encyclopaedia of law as a monographic publication

Monographic encyclopaedias of law seem to have much in common with ancient encyclopaedias arranged by subject and importance. In the introduction to his monographic encyclopaedia of law, Ahrens (1862: 1) references the definition of encyclopaedia as a systematic review of a field or fields of knowledge in its entirety. Other scholars agree with that when explaining why they call their academic books encyclopaedias of law: first of all, Encyclopaedia of Law³ is the name of an academic course encompassing a few fields of law taught at non-legal studies and, secondly, the information presented at such courses is encyclopaedic in nature, that is, it often skips details and focuses on presenting a general image of a given institution of law (e.g. *Encyklopedia prawa* ... 1917: 7; Łopatka 1995a: 7; Siuda 2010: 11). Therefore, Encyclopaedia of Law, as the name of an academic course, is a review of individual fields of law which, when put next to each other, depict the essence of what is most important in law. Additionally, such texts should concentrate on basic concepts and define them in the simplest possible way. At the same time any comments and clarifications need to be limited to minimum, which will let the lecturer decide on the number of details included in the course (Izdebski and Murzyn 1968: 11). Encyclopaedia of Law is also seen as an introductory course preparing students for other, more detailed lectures on law, such as civil law or commercial law (Lewandowski 2003: 7).

Academic books for Encyclopaedia of Law courses have evolved during their presence at Polish universities. Initially, they were for part-time students and were supposed to be the main source of information. As their readers had very few opportunities to consult lecturers, the academic books had to be written in simple language understandable for the novice. After the 1990 Higher Education Act enabled private universities, these books shifted to supplementing lectures and helping lecturers deliver systematic instruction. Authors wrote monographic encyclopaedias of law with an assumption that any unclear issues would be discussed with lecturers (Izdebski and Murzyn 1968: 10).

4. The study

4.1 The method

The study aims to examine Polish publications titled "encyclopaedia of law" with a view to identifying their characteristics and investigating the relationship between the two genres discovered: lexicographic and monographic encyclopaedias of law.

The sources for this study include the collections of the National Library of Poland, the University of Warsaw Library, the Library of Cardinal Stefan Wyszyński University in Warsaw and the Main Library of the University of

Siedlce. The National Library of Poland, the primary source of data, is one of the libraries that receive two copies of books, serials and other publications under the Act of November 7, 1996 on Legal Deposit Copies (Cornell 2016: 26). Consequently, it holds nearly all items published in Poland since 1996 and maintains extensive pre-1996 collections. The other three libraries supplemented the sample with volumes that had failed to be deposited with the National Library of Poland, including the 23 volumes of *Wielka encyklopedia prawa*. The completeness of the sample was verified using the meta-catalogue available on the website of the National Library of Poland. This meta-catalogue provides access to catalogues from 651 Polish libraries and their branches (university, public, scientific and specialist)⁴.

Publications were identified using the keywords: "encyklopedia prawa" (encyclopaedia of law), "encyklopedia" (encyclopaedia) and "prawo" (law), or "encyklopedia" and "prawo" (the genitive case of "prawo")⁵. Consequently, the study comprises 78 publications, including 39 lexicographic and 39 monographic encyclopaedias of law. For publications with multiple editions, the analysis includes only one — preferably the most recent volume.

The study is organised into two parts. The first provides general characteristics of the sample: timeframe, size of publications (number of pages), their scope (number of entries), thematic coverage and target audience. The second focuses on analysing the contents and structure of individual publications. This analysis follows the division into lexicographic and monographic volumes, and general-law (discussing the legal system as a whole) and narrow-field ones (discussing specific areas of law). These categories were subdivided into types sharing common features, pointing at characteristics recurring within each genre (Figure 1).

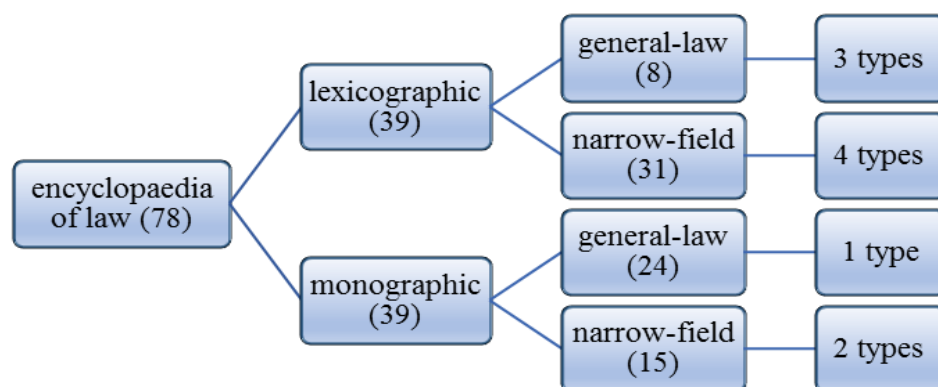


Figure 1: Division of publications in the analysis of contents and structure (the number of publications is given in brackets)

For lexicographic publications, the analysis includes:

- the target group as stated by the authors or implied by the contents,
- the macrostructure, including the arrangement of entries, components of front matter and back matter, and
- the microstructure, including definition type and components of individual entries.

For monographic publications, the analysis focuses on structuring of contents, wording of chapter titles and methods of presenting information. The analysis begins with features common to all monographic works before examining specific categories and types.

4.2 Types of publications and their characteristics

Two types of encyclopaedias of law were identified. One group comprises lexicographic works (39 publications) containing definitions of headwords accompanied by encyclopaedic information in separate alphabetically or thematically arranged entries. A clear separation technique is evident, as each entry is an independent, self-contained unit. However, cross-reference systems in the majority of lexicographic publications highlight strong relations between concepts. The other group — monographic volumes (39 publications) — comprises works structured in chapters and subchapters, covering topics from Encyclopaedia of Law taught primarily in non-legal disciplines.

The sample encompasses works published from 1842 to 2023 (Figure 2). Lexicographic encyclopaedias started appearing in the 1930s (the interwar period) as Polish law systematization after the Partitions of Poland⁶. Many such publications were published in the 21st century: in the 2000s this may be connected with the terminographic boom in Poland (see Łukasik (2015: 88) and Rzepkowska (2018: 66-67)), and in the 2010s and 2020s this results from printing the 23 volumes of *Wielka encyklopedia prawa*. Monographic encyclopaedias of law in Poland date back to the first half of the 19th century (Kłodziński 1842), including early translations from German. In the interwar period, such works appeared in considerable numbers as academic books (9 publications in the 1920s and 2 in the 1930s). Such monographs continued after WWII for non-law students. These students used Encyclopaedia of Law courses to familiarise themselves with the Polish legal system for business and administrative purposes.

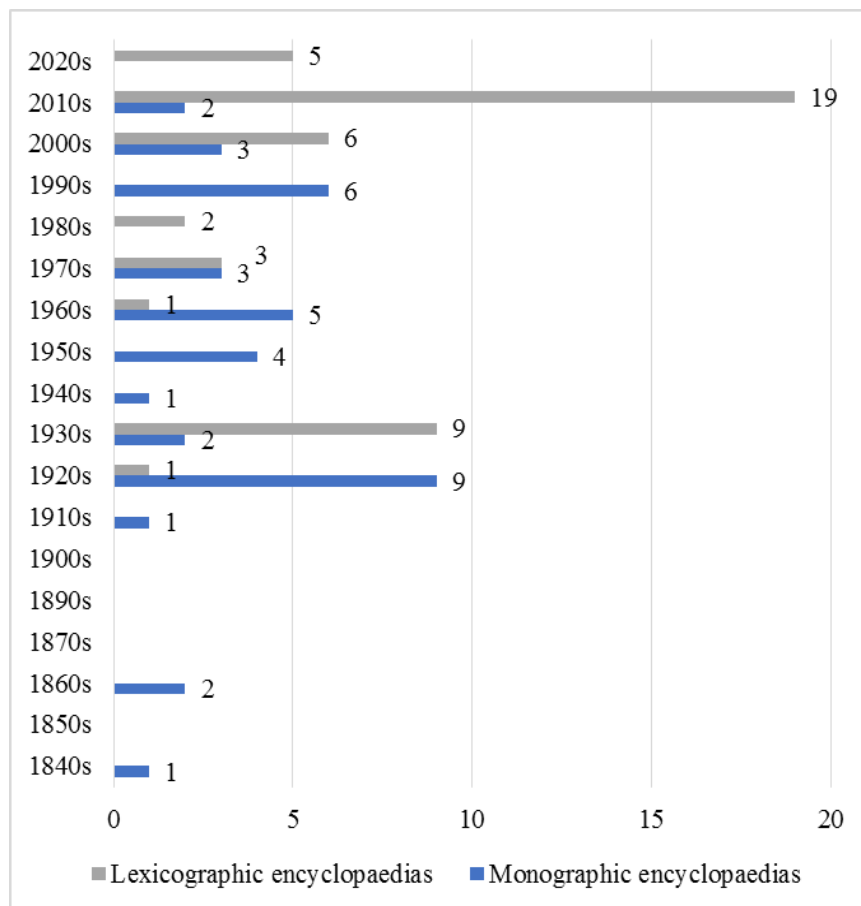


Figure 2: Lexicographic and monographic encyclopaedias by the decade of publication⁷

The majority of monographic encyclopaedias concentrate on Polish law in general (61%). The rest discuss seven fields of law, including administrative and criminal law. The proportions are reversed for lexicographic encyclopaedias: 21% concentrate on general law and 79% on specific fields of law (28 fields in total) (Figure 3). Given the marked differences between general and narrow-field publications in the two groups under analysis, the remaining figures in the paper follow this division.

Monographic and lexicographic encyclopaedias differ in the number of pages (Figures 4 and 5). Monographic encyclopaedias are generally thinner, while lexicographic encyclopaedias are thicker. Narrow-field and general-law lexicographic encyclopaedias are of relatively similar size (from 600 to over 1,000 pages).

The largest publications are the multi-volume narrow-field encyclopaedias from the 1920s and 1930s, for example a 4-volume encyclopaedia with 2,500 pages (Konic 1931, Zoll and Wasilkowski 1936, 1938, 1939). Monographs are much smaller: 54% have under 200 pages and 92% under 400 pages.

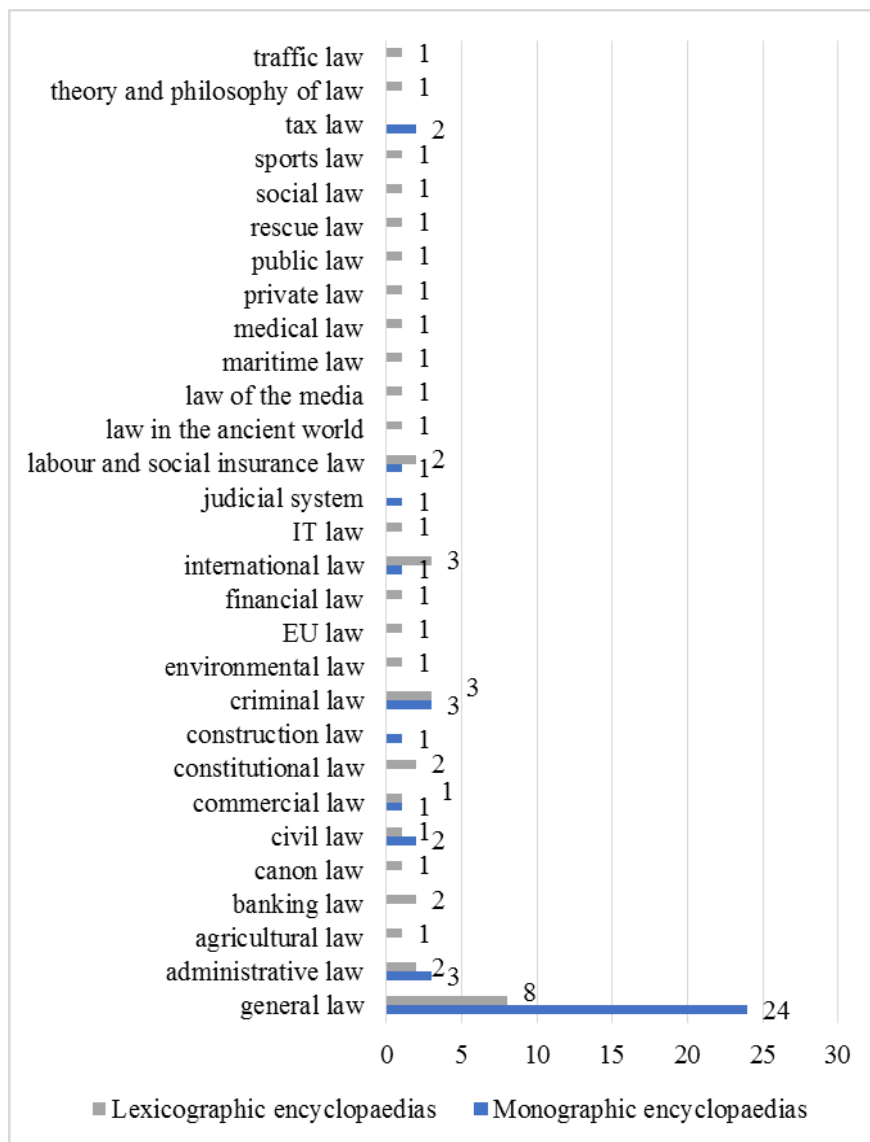


Figure 3: Monographic and lexicographic encyclopaedias by field of law

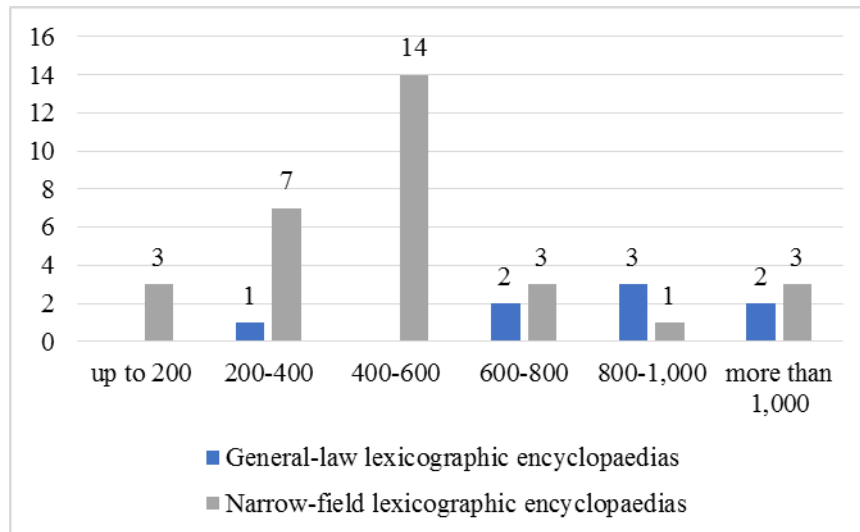


Figure 4: Lexicographic encyclopaedias by number of pages

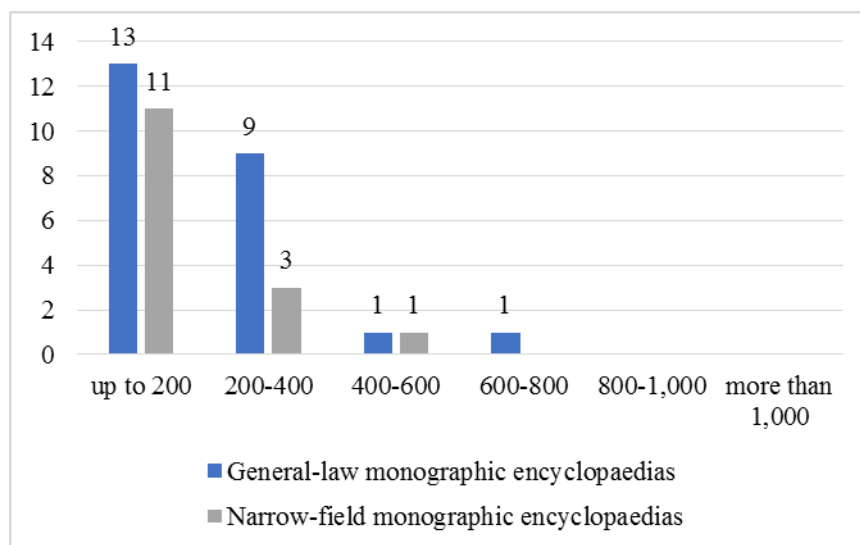


Figure 5: Monographic encyclopaedias by number of pages

The analysis of publications by number of entries applies to lexicographic encyclopaedias only (Figure 6). The largest number of entries is found in general-law encyclopaedias. Over 60% of the narrow-field sample contains between 100 and 500 entries. Page-to-entry ratios imply that entries in narrow-field publica-

tions are extensive⁸ and those in general-law books short, which corresponds to their respective purposes: meeting the needs of professionals and semi-professionals in the former case, and the needs of non-professionals in the latter, respectively.

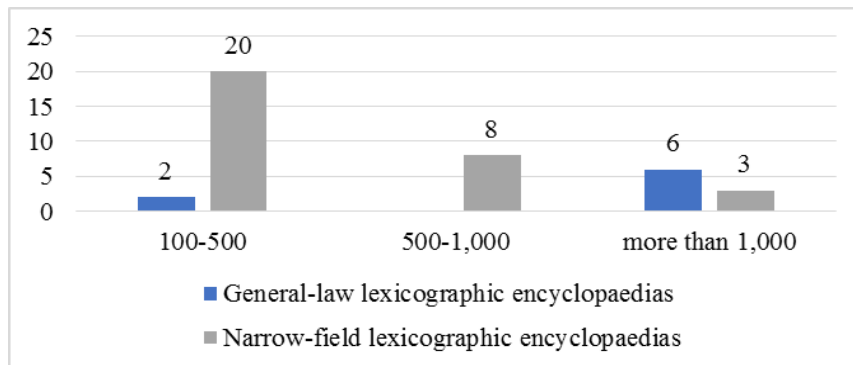


Figure 6: Lexicographic encyclopaedias by number of entries (approximate⁹)

All general-law lexicographic encyclopaedias are addressed to non-professionals (the general public), but professionals (lawyers) and semi-professionals (law students) may benefit from them as well, as the authors note¹⁰. Narrow-field lexicographic publications are often designed as multi-purpose volumes, attempting to meet various users' needs (Figure 7). The majority of general-law monographic volumes are targeted at non-professionals (mainly students of non-legal studies), while the narrow-field ones are mostly addressed to professionals and semi-professionals (Figure 8).

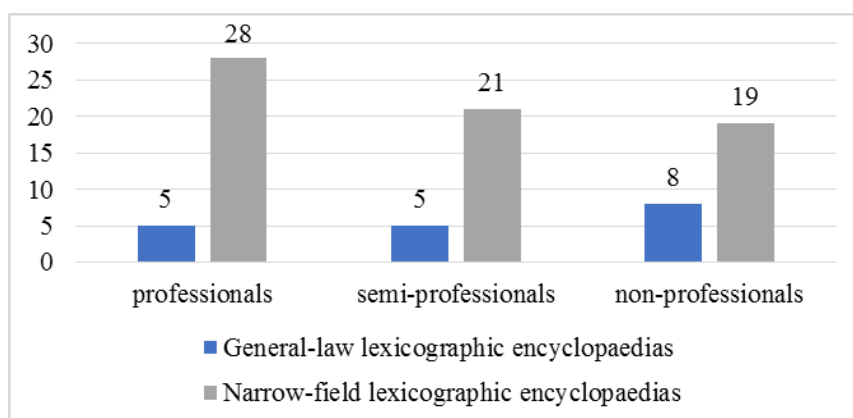


Figure 7: Lexicographic encyclopaedias by target groups

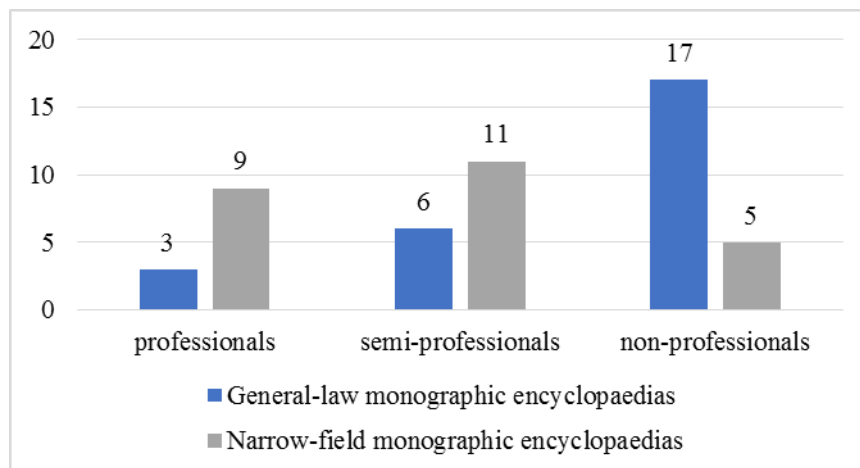


Figure 8: Monographic encyclopaedias by target groups

4.3 Lexicographic encyclopaedias of law: Structure and contents

4.3.1 General-law lexicographic encyclopaedias

Type 1

The first group comprises encyclopaedias featuring a relatively simple macrostructure with an alphabetical order of entries and additional components in the front matter — such as a preface, a list of abbreviations, a list of illustrations, Latin phrases, basic literature and a list of authors with initials (e.g., in Holyst 2005 and Kalina-Prasznic 2004, 2005) — and in the back matter — such as an index of persons (Kurowski 1960), an afterword (Rybicki 1980) and a list of tables (Kalina-Prasznic 2004). The microstructure comprises short classical definitions by genus and difference ("A is B, that is C"), usually supplemented with encyclopaedic information, typically yielding several entries per page. The 20th-century publications include authors' initials at the end of each entry. Encyclopaedias in this group include volumes by Kurowski (1960), Rybicki (1980), Holyst (2005) and Kalina-Prasznic (2004, 2005). The typical target group is non-lawyers (engineers, doctors, economists, etc.), law students and lawyers who wish to learn about topics from beyond their specialty in law. The short classical definitions make them appear more like dictionaries than encyclopaedias, but the fact that the volumes present such content as the history of law, names of places as entries, and a list of authors of political and legal doctrines moves them towards the encyclopaedic type. These lexicographic encyclopaedias use cross-referencing to provide broader context for the headwords and save space in individual entries, revealing the systemic nature of law.

Type 2

This type contains two publications selected based on their target group — both are addressed to non-experts in law: Garlicki (1974) and Kerplik et al. (2009). By avoiding discussions about controversial issues that, due to their specificity, would be addressed to lawyers, they present information in a simplified manner that can be easily understood by those without a legal background. The authors of individual entries are identified in both cases: authors' initials appear at the end of each entry in the former and a list of headwords is provided alongside the authors' names in the front matter in the latter. In Garlicki (1974), the entries are alphabetically arranged within eight thematic sections, each devoted to one field of law, creating the impression of several narrow-field encyclopaedias within a single volume. The headwords are listed in the contents found in the front matter. There is also an index of entries in the back matter with page references. In Kerplik et al. (2009), the headwords are in alphabetical order. They are also listed at the beginning of each alphabetical section. The microstructure of entries in this volume is presented with varied visual formatting, with content in different font sizes and styles, sometimes italicised or bold to attract the reader's attention, and includes illustrations where applicable. Each entry is divided into sections — for example, in the case of "abortion": "remember" with practical information about the concept discussed, "legal liability" and "legal basis". The back matter comprises an index of legal terms and the titles of sections in which they can be found.

Type 3

This group comprises only one publication that is notable in terms of its structure: the work by Bielecka-Pieczka et al. (2011). It is a thematic encyclopaedia organising the essence of general law into 16 themes (Figure 9). The title literally means that it is an encyclopaedia of law for everyone, which suggests that the content is designed to meet the needs of the general public. Each theme is developed through several topics (see the theme "employment law" in Figure 9). Neither themes nor content within each theme are alphabetically arranged. The only alphabetical arrangement is used in glossaries that conclude each theme. The glossary entries comprise classical definitions of the headwords, only sometimes supplemented with encyclopaedic information such as the applicability of a given legal concept. Additional context is provided in the sections preceding each glossary. There are elements that are repeated in each theme, such as subchapter titles posed as questions at the beginning and the glossary at the end. The themes are several pages long (over 40 pages in the case of the "employment law" theme).

<i>Encyklopedia prawa dla każdego</i> (Bielecka-Pieczka et al. 2011)	
Example contents of a theme	
Employment law	
– What's employment law?	– Other ways of terminating the contract
– Regulations	– Expiration of employment contract
– Employer and employee	– Collective redundancies
– Employment relationship	– Work certificate
– Civil-law contracts	– Remuneration for work
– Appointment	– Working time
– Selection	– Working time standard
– Nomination	– Days off
– Cooperative contract of employment	– Annual leave
– Appropriate employment contract	– Unpaid leave
– What information the employer cannot ask for?	– Maternity and paternity leave
– Supervising the employee	– Child care leave
– Employer's duties	– Other types of leave
– Rules	– Employment law disputes
– Medical examination	– Labour court
– Mobbing	– Where to look for help?
– Harassment	– Occupational accident
– Termination of employment contract	– Occupational disease
– Mutual agreement	– Accident on the way to or from work
– Termination with notice	– Social insurance and benefits
– Termination without notice	– Glossary
	– Specimens of documents

Figure 9: Excerpt from the table of contents: "Employment law" (Bielecka-Pieczka et al. 2011)

4.3.2 Narrow-field lexicographic encyclopaedias

Type 1

The review of narrow-field encyclopaedias starts with publications from the inter-war period, which are extraordinary works considering their size and their function as a means of unifying law in the Polish territories after the partitions. The time of their publication coincided with the formation of a new legal regime in Poland out of five different civil legal systems in force in its territory before Poland regained independence in 1918 (Konic 1931: "Przedmowa"). All three encyclopaedias in this group — by Cybichowski (1926, 1930), Makowski (1931–1934,

1934–1936, 1936–1937, 1938–1939) and Konic (1931), Zoll and Wasilkowski (1936, 1938, 1939) — are multi-volume publications. In terms of their macrostructure, entries are arranged alphabetically (the first volumes start with the letter A and the last volumes end with Z). The front matter includes a foreword and a list of authors with their initials (in Makowski's encyclopaedia and in Konic, Zoll and Wasilkowski's publications). Thematically, each covers an area of the contemporary legal system: Cybichowski's covers public law, Makowski's covers criminal law and Konic, Zoll and Wasilkowski's covers private law. As for the microstructure, the structure of the entries in the encyclopaedias varies depending on the subject and the author of a particular article. Rather than providing concise definitions, they contain descriptive essays providing broad background on the relevant legal concept. Each entry is a self-contained, usually lengthy, dictionary article, often divided into separate sections (numbered or unnumbered chapters and subchapters), ending with source literature and the name or initials of the author. In one of the encyclopaedias, some entries start with a table of contents depicting the structure of the articles (e.g., "Księgi wieczyste" (Zoll and Wasilkowski 1936: 615) and "Osobistość prawna" (Zoll and Wasilkowski 1938: 1245)). Although the authors do not specify it, the magnitude and degree of detail of these publications made them suitable for lawyers and law students (in Konic, Zoll and Wasilkowski's publications, approximately 250 entries across 2,500 pages, and in Cybichowski's, 416 entries across nearly 1,200 pages).

Type 2

The next group of narrow-field encyclopaedias concentrates on publications addressed to non-legal professionals — namely, experts in the professions that law focuses on. This group includes volumes by Brojewski et al. (1975), Łopuski and Kowalewski (1982), and Klafkowski (1976). What they have in common is a relatively complex macrostructure (including detailed explanations of the microstructure and macrostructure (Łopuski and Kowalewski 1982; Klafkowski 1976) and an index grouping entries thematically in the back matter), alphabetical arrangement of entries and, microstructurally, cross-references to other entries and intensive use of abbreviations. The first volume (Brojewski et al. 1975) is a concise encyclopaedia of employment and social insurance law. Entries (about 110 in total) do not contain classical definitions of headwords but only encyclopaedic information in the context of employment and social insurance. The information is relatively detailed but without legal jargon, making it accessible to non-lawyers. In Łopuski and Kowalewski's volume (1982), the back matter is extensive with a thematic index of headwords (with 18 themes under which the headwords are listed) and a thematically arranged reference list and indices of foreign language equivalents (English, French, German and Russian). This is the only publication in the sample that includes foreign language equivalents. Each entry starts with a classical definition followed by encyclopaedic information supported by illustrations. It ends with a list of equivalents in four languages. Klafkowski's encyclopaedia (1976) is distinctive for its developed front matter,

which comprises a preamble, initial remarks, general abbreviations and acronyms of institutions with their full names, an explanation of the system of references, a list of Latin phrases used in the encyclopaedia and their explanations. In terms of microstructure, there are entries with classical definitions supplemented with encyclopaedic information on the topic and entries containing only encyclopaedic information. Each entry ends with references to legal sources and literature, and the full name of the entry author.

Type 3

This group of encyclopaedias has been grouped together because they were published in an easily updatable paper form using a ring-binder, which accommodates the changing nature of law (these are Pyziół 2001 and Florek 2003). Both alphabetically arranged publications are large (nearly 1,000 and over 600 pages, respectively) and addressed to lawyers, law students, students of related disciplines and those interested in legal issues related to banking (Pyziół 2001) and labour law and social insurance (Florek 2003). The front matter in Pyziół (2001) comprises a list of authors, a page for recording updates, a list of abbreviations, a foreword and a list of entries with page numbers. The entries are relatively long (from 2–3 to even 20 pages; a little over 200 entries across about 1,000 pages), providing substantial encyclopaedic and specialist information in addition to defining headwords, yet without presenting definitions that summarise the concept in question. They do not follow any strict structure. In the encyclopaedia by Florek (2003), the front matter comprises an alphabetical index of entries and a thematic index with page numbers. In addition, there are a user guide and a list of abbreviations. Each entry follows a predefined structure: a concise definition of the headword, its legal basis, a detailed description of the institution and references.

Type 4

*Wielka encyklopedia prawa*¹¹, published between 2014 and 2023, is a collection of 23 volumes with 11,921 entries across 11,000 pages¹². The volumes discuss different areas of law individually, which is why in this paper they are treated as separate publications, not as a single encyclopaedia. The fields discussed in individual volumes include: the laws of antiquity, canon law, EU law, public international law, environmental law, constitutional law, theory and philosophy of law, agricultural and food law, law of the media, medical law, financial law, social law, criminal law, commercial law, rescue law, banking law, public commercial law, substantive law, traffic law, administrative law, law of criminal procedure, IT law and sports law. Each volume has its own editors and follows roughly the same structure. As for the macrostructure, the front matter is well-developed. It comprises an introduction, a list of authors of entries, information about abbreviations used, a list of sources (usually divided into different categories of sources depending on the field of law and applicability) and references to literature. When

examining the microstructure, one can notice that each entry starts with a classical definition and is supplemented with information of an encyclopaedic character. It ends with the author's initials, followed by a reference to recommended literature. What can be found within individual entries is a system of cross-referencing. The entries are of varying length: the shortest only refer readers to other entries, whilst the longest can be a few pages long. The volumes are of varying sizes: from 192 pages (Skoczylas 2018) to 668 pages (Pyć et al. 2021) and from approximately 160 entries (Bagińska 2016) to about 1,000 entries (Bator et al. 2016; Szpor and Grochowski 2021).

4.4 Monographic encyclopaedias of law: Structure and contents

Monographic encyclopaedias of law follow the structure outlined in the tables of contents typically found in the front matter. The information is divided into chapters representing themes which are either general in scope (resulting in fewer chapters) or highly specific (resulting in more numerous chapters). These themes are then divided into related topics which are further subdivided into subtopics (subchapters). The hierarchical structure created in this way serves to reconstruct the system of relations within the relevant domain, resembling that of thematic encyclopaedias.

The back matter typically contains thematic or alphabetical indices, but having these components is not a standard for these publications. Generally, chapters and subchapters take the form of articles of varying length describing the concepts discussed. The titles of chapters are sometimes very descriptive (e.g., Kowalczyk 2002), but in some cases they are limited to the legal term on which the chapter focuses when the chapters are very detailed (e.g., Siuda 1975; Łopatka 1995a, 1995b; Bossowski 1925; Guzy 1967). When this is the case, they may be comparable to the headwords in lexicographic publications on law.

4.4.1 General-law monographic encyclopaedias

Type 1

Monographic general-law encyclopaedias comprise publications intended to define Encyclopaedia of Law as an academic discipline and academic subject¹³. They were frequently written in connection with the course in Encyclopaedia of Law directly for university students (as a source of information) and indirectly for lecturers (as a way to unify the contents of lectures delivered by different scholars). The majority of publications of this type are addressed to non-law students and often take the form of publications for internal university or higher education institutions' needs. They are written with the special needs of those studying particular subjects in mind, providing them with general information about the Polish legal system, for example, in economics (Siuda 1975), management and marketing (Muszyński 2001) or tourism (Kowalczyk 2002). Figures 10 and 11 present excerpts from the tables of contents of selected monographs.

<i>Encyklopedia prawa: część 1 (Łopatka 1995a)</i>
Example contents of a chapter
Chapter XVIII. Sources of law
1. The concept of sources of law
2. Development vs creation of law
3. Enactment
4. Recognition
5. System of sources of law
6. Legislative drafting
7. A collection of legal provisions, a code
8. System of sources of law in Poland

Figure 10: Excerpt from the table of contents (Łopatka 1995a)¹⁴

<i>Encyklopedia prawa dla ekonomistów (Siuda 1975)</i>
Example contents of a chapter
IV. Criminal law
1. Sources of criminal law
2. Effectiveness of criminal law
1. Effectiveness of the criminal law in time
2. Effectiveness of criminal law in space
3. The notion of crime
4. Types of crimes
5. Cause-and-effect relationship
6. Stages of a criminal act
7. Forms of participation in a crime
8. Guilt
9. Circumstances excluding criminal liability
1. Insanity
2. Mistake
3. Self-defence
4. State of necessity
5. Supervisor's order
6. Consent of the injured
7. acting within the limits of one's authority or legal duty
8. Risk of novelty
<i>[there are 22 subchapters more in this chapter]</i>

Figure 11: Excerpt from the table of contents (Siuda 1975)

4.4.2 Narrow-field monographic encyclopaedias

Type 1

Nine of the 15 narrow-field publications date from the interwar period¹⁵. Like lexicographic publications from that time, their purpose was to systematise and ultimately unify law in the new territory of Poland. Their focus on specific areas of law in various aspects, such as criminal, commercial and tax law, makes them publications for lawyers and law students, rather than for non-lawyers (which is often confirmed by the authors in the prefaces). The content of each subchapter is typically in the form of academic essays providing very detailed information on the topic compared to the general-law publications (see Figure 12).

<i>Encyklopedia prawa obowiązującego w Polsce: praca zbiorowa z udziałem profesorów uniwersytetów polskich. Cz. 2, Prawo karne i proces karny wszystkich dziedzin (Bossowski 1925)</i>
Example contents of a chapter
Part I: Criminal law
I. Criminal lawsuit in the area under former Austrian rule and a supplement [<i>at the back of the book</i>]
Sources, issues of acts of law, academic books, jurisdiction and a supplement [<i>at the back of the book</i>]
C. Regulations about punishment
1. Basic penalties
a) Capital punishment
b) Hard imprisonment
c) Imprisonment
d) Custody
e) Fine
f) Loss of rights and entitlements
g) Reprimand from the judge
h) Imprisonment in a separate jail
2. Additional penalties
a) The case of goods, commodities and equipment
b) Dismissal/Deportation
c) Police surveillance
3. Penal consequences
4. Sentence in case of concurrence of crimes
5. Special mitigation and change of penalty
6. Recognising custody as part of sentence
7. Parole
8. Act of pardon
9. Statute of limitations

Figure 12: Excerpt from the table of contents (Bossowski 1925)

Type 2

The publications published after WWII include four volumes from the 1960s (Guzy 1967, 1968; Muszyński 1969; Saulewicz 1967), one from the 1970s (Bejtko 1977) and one from the 21st century (Domagała et al. 2010). The publications from the 1960s provide basic information about selected areas of law for military personnel, the one from the 1970s for site managers and the one from 2010 for public administration.

In this group, the volume by Guzy (1967) is notable in the context of this paper as it can be placed on the boundary between a lexicographic and monographic work. The table of contents suggests that it is another monograph titled "encyclopaedia of law". However, the titles of chapters are all relatively short, terminology-based noun phrases referring to legal concepts and the contents of chapters resemble those of a lexicographic work, in many cases starting with a classical definition that is further completed with encyclopaedic information. All of this leads to the volume being very similar to a thematic encyclopaedia.

5. Findings and conclusions

The analysis of 78 Polish publications titled "encyklopedia prawa" (1842–2023) revealed the existence of two distinct types of works under this title: lexicographic and monographic encyclopaedias. Each constitutes roughly half of the sample. The lexicographic encyclopaedias are characterized by entries arranged alphabetically (e.g., Kurowski 1960, Hołyst 2005) or thematically, the latter quite infrequently (e.g., Bielecka-Pieczka et al. 2011), presenting fragmented, encyclopaedic information. In contrast, the monographs adopt a systematic chapter-based structure, resembling textbooks or academic introductions to law.

The review of library holdings revealed the following general and detailed characteristics of the two genres:

- **Timeframe** — Lexicographic encyclopaedias emerged primarily in the 20th and 21st centuries, while the monographic encyclopaedias appeared earlier, in the 19th century. Interestingly, interwar narrow-field monographic publications (eight volumes in 1923–1929) preceded the lexicographic encyclopaedias (eight volumes in 1931–1939), as if preparing the ground for the latter.
- **Size** — Lexicographic encyclopaedias were generally larger than monographs. Some entries spanned several pages, particularly in narrow-field publications, and resembled chapters divided into sections, like monographic volumes.
- **Coverage and target group** — Lexicographic encyclopaedias typically specialised in specific fields, while monographs covered general Polish law. General-law lexicographic encyclopaedias target non-professionals (non-law students), while narrow-field encyclopaedias serve: lawyers, law stu-

dents and non-legal professionals interested in specific law. Monographic purposes vary by scope: general-law volumes focus on non-professionals and are rarely considered suitable for professionals, while narrow-field volumes target legal professionals.

- Macrostructure (lexicographic volumes) — Encyclopaedias are typically alphabetical, with one thematically arranged exception. They are usually single-volume, except for large interwar narrow-field encyclopaedias. They sometimes feature extensive front and back matter, alphabetical and thematic indices, lists of abbreviations and illustrations, and reference lists. The twenty-three narrow-field volumes in *Wielka encyklopedia prawa* (2014–2023) maintain consistent structural patterns across multiple volumes while addressing different legal domains. Notable are systematisation techniques, including cross-referencing and thematic indices, demonstrating the need to place legal concepts in wider context, particularly in narrow-field works. This illustrates that restricting law descriptions to discrete entries is difficult considering the systemic and culturally bound nature of law.
- Microstructure (lexicographic volumes) — Entries in general-law works are either short, containing classical definitions with little additional information (type 1), or longer entries containing simplified information for non-professionals (types 2 and 3). Entries in narrow-field publications vary in length and detail. On the one hand, there is extensive and often chapter-based organisation of lexicographic entries in narrow-field encyclopaedias, which address specialist information using expert terminology. Others designed for non-legal professionals (e.g., in the marine industry (Łopuski and Kowalewski 1982)) include entries with classical definitions and profession-focused information, sometimes in illustrated form, or contain only encyclopaedic information.
- Structure (monographic volumes) — Monographic volumes are organised into chapters and subchapters as outlined in tables of contents found in the front or back matter. Chapters group related concepts under thematic categories, with their titles being either concise and terminology-based (1 to 3 words) or descriptive. Chapters comprise articles, following the formula of an academic textbook, particularly in general-law volumes. Notably, Guzy (1967), with its definitional content and terminology-based chapter titles, represents a work on the boundary between lexicographic and monographic publications.

These findings suggest that functional criteria may be more significant than formal structural criteria in understanding lexicographic practice, particularly in specialized domains where traditional boundaries between reference genres become blurred. This perspective could inform future research on specialised lexicographic traditions and help develop frameworks for analysing contemporary reference publishing.

An important observation emerging from this study is the correlation between the structure of monographic and lexicographic works. The former, while structured as academic textbooks with chapters and subchapters rather than discrete entries, display several characteristics that align them with thematic encyclopaedic principles. Their hierarchical organization mirrors the systematic arrangement found in ancient encyclopaedias, presenting legal knowledge in a structured manner that reflects the conceptual relationships within the legal domain. The chapter titles in narrow-field monographic volumes often function analogously to headwords in lexicographic works, while the content provides definitional and explanatory information comparable to encyclopaedia entries. However, both genres serve distinct but complementary lexicographic functions. Traditional encyclopaedias primarily fulfil cognition-oriented functions, providing quick access to factual information and definitions for immediate reference needs. Monographic encyclopaedias, while ostensibly designed for systematic learning, also serve knowledge-organizing functions characteristic of thematic encyclopaedias, presenting comprehensive conceptual frameworks that enable users to understand the systematic relationships within legal knowledge.

For legal lexicography specifically, the study reveals the importance of recognizing multiple approaches to organizing and presenting legal knowledge. The coexistence of different arrangements, entry lengths and target audiences within one titular category demonstrates lexicographic adaptability to specialised user needs.

6. Methodological limitations

Whilst this study employs systematic criteria for analysing Polish encyclopaedias of law, the classification of publications into categories necessarily involved interpretative decisions that may contain elements of subjectivity. The determination of target audiences and primary functions relied on authorial statements where available but required inference from content and structure when explicit guidance was absent. To mitigate potential bias, classification decisions were based on multiple criteria including structural features, content presentation and stated purposes. The large sample size (78 publications) helps ensure that individual classification decisions do not significantly affect the overall analysis of trends in Polish legal encyclopaedic publishing.

7. Endnotes

1. For the purpose of this paper, Encyclopaedia of Law when capitalised should be understood as the name of an academic course.
2. Languages for Special Purposes.
3. Encyclopaedia of Law as a subject taught at universities originates from Germany, from where it spread to other countries, including Russia, France, Belgium and Poland (*Encyklopedia prawa ...* 1917: 7). The origins of Encyclopaedia of Law go back to the 16th century and the heyday of the discipline was observed in the 18th and 19th centuries. It was not merely an

academic course but a science and an academic discipline (for a review of famous German lawyers-encyclopaedists see Slobozhaninov 2022).

4. See <https://katalogi.bn.org.pl>.
5. Polish legal reference works include numerous lexicons ("leksykon prawa", particularly the C.H. Beck series, e.g., Bagińska 2011; Barczewski and Kowalska 2019; Bartnik 2013). Other publications use the adjective "encyclopaedic" ("encyklopedyczny") in their titles, identifying them as encyclopaedic dictionaries (Wołodkiewicz 1986; Litewski 1998). These works comprehensively describe legal concepts and could merit separate analysis, but were excluded from this study as the focus is specifically on publications titled "encyclopaedia of law."
6. There were three partitions of Poland between 1772 and 1795 by Austria-Hungary, the German and the Russian Empires resulting in the loss of sovereignty by Poland for 123 years. Poland regained independence on 11 November 1918. The interwar period that followed (1918–1939) was the time of rebuilding the country, shaping its borderlines and economy, unifying the legal system and developing national identity.
7. Each volume of the multi-volume encyclopaedias from the interwar period (for the list of works, see 4.3.2, Type 1) is treated here separately owing to the long gaps between publishing individual volumes. Subsequently in the analysis, only the volumes of *Wielka encyklopedia prawa* are treated as separate publications, as each constitutes a self-contained work on a specific area of law.
8. For instance, there are approximately 250 entries in the four volumes of *Encyklopedia podręczna prawa prywatnego* (Konic 1931; Zoll and Wasilkowski 1936, 1938, 1939), which is the largest publication in the sample. As a result, entries there are, on average, 10 pages long.
9. The number of entries is rarely provided by authors, so the data in the chart is an estimation of the number of terms by the author of this paper.
10. The purpose of publications was determined based on information from the authors in the introductions or preambles. Where there was no such information given, the assessment of the purpose was based on the contents and other details from the authors.
11. The editor-in-chief of all volumes is Hołyst, but individual volumes have their own editors, specialists in the relevant areas of law.
12. Based on information about the encyclopaedia on the publisher's website: (<https://www.tamprawo.org/wielka-encyklopedia-prawa/>).
13. The publications in this group include, alphabetically: Ahrens 1862; Armdts von Amesberg 1866; *Encyklopedia (...)* 1917; Glaser 1931; Gnela 1998; Izdebski 1948; Izdebski and Murzyn 1968; Kłodziński 1842; Kowalczyk 2002; Krzymuski 1921; Lewandowski 1993, 2003; Łopatka 1993, 1995a, 1995b, 1998; Murzyn 1974; Muszyński 2001; Siuda 1975, 2010; Wiszniewski 1952, 1956, 1958; Żabczyński 1957.
14. The contents of publications translated by the author.
15. The publications in this group include, alphabetically: Bossowski 1925; Głabiński 1926; Makowski 1925; Peretiatkowicz 1923a, 1923b, 1925, 1926; Szczygielski 1938; Wasiutyński 1929.

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Noms de Marques dans la 9^e Édition du *Dictionnaire de l'Académie Française*

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Résumé: L'article contient une analyse des mots provenant des noms de marques dans la 9^e édition du *Dictionnaire de l'Académie française*. L'échantillon comporte 88 mots, dont la plupart proviennent de noms propres (le plus souvent des noms de famille et des noms de lieux), et de noms communs renvoyant à diverses caractéristiques et fonctions de produits. Ces mots sont formés à l'aide de divers procédés morphosyntaxiques, tels que la composition, la dérivation savante et l'abréviation. L'échantillon contient des emprunts fréquents à des langues européennes et notamment à l'anglais. Du point de vue sémantique, ces mots désignent principalement (a) des appareils, des équipements, des machines, des outils, des moyens de transport, des produits alimentaires, des jeux, et (b) des matériaux, des substances, des produits pharmaceutiques, des fibres synthétiques et des matières plastiques. Une brève analyse comparant la présence de mots issus de noms commerciaux dans les dictionnaires *Larousse* et *Le Robert* accessibles en ligne révèle une certaine instabilité de leur traitement lexicographique.

Mots-clés: LEXICALISATION, DEONOMASTIQUE, NOM PROPRE, NOM DE MARQUE, LANGUE FRANÇAISE, DICTIONNAIRE DE L'ACADEMIE FRANÇAISE, LAROUSSE, LE ROBERT

Abstract: Brand names in the 9th edition of the *Dictionnaire de l'Académie française*. The article contains an analysis of the words labelled as brand names in the 9th edition of the *Dictionnaire de l'Académie française*. The sample contains 88 items, out of which most are based on proper names, usually family and place names, and common nouns referring to various features and functions of products. These words are formed using a range of morphosyntactic processes, such as composition, scholarly derivation and abbreviation. The sample includes frequent borrowings from various European languages and particularly from English. From the semantic point of view, these words mainly designate (a) devices, equipment, machines, tools, means of transport, food products, and games, and (b) materials, substances, pharmaceutical products, synthetic fibres, and plastics. A brief analysis comparing the presence of words originating from brand names in

dictionaries *Larousse* and *Le Robert* reveals a certain instability of their lexicographic treatment.

Keywords: LEXICALIZATION, DEONOMASTICS, PROPER NAME, BRAND NAME, FRENCH LANGUAGE, *DICTIONNAIRE DE L'ACADEMIE FRANÇAISE*, *LAROUSSE*, *LE ROBERT*

1. La nature des noms de marques

Les marques représentent un enjeu commercial, financier, juridique, social et communicatif. Pour Petit (2006: 703), le nom de marque est une unité «tout à fait atypique dans le paysage lexical», parce «qu'il ne possède pleinement les propriétés ni du nom propre, ni du nom commun, ni du terme technique». Cet «hybride sémiotique» (Petit 2000) a longtemps été négligé dans la pratique lexicologique et lexicographique, bien que le nom de marque présente d'importants dilemmes lors de l'élaboration d'un dictionnaire.

Les noms de marques appartiennent à la catégorie assez large des ergonymes, c.-à-d. les noms propres de «réalisations ou de découvertes humaines ayant une réalité matérielle» (Leroy 2004: 34), éventuellement des chrématonymes, terme qui a, selon *International Council of Onomastic Science* (s.d.), le même sens dans plusieurs langues. Sjöblom (2016: 453) propose la catégorie assez générale des *noms commerciaux*, comprenant des noms d'entreprises et des noms de produits, dont la fonction est «d'orienter les choix des consommateurs et des investisseurs et dont l'utilisation poursuit des objectifs économiques» et qui ont, généralement, un propriétaire juridique définissant les modalités de son utilisation¹. Dans certains pays slaves, on rencontre les termes *logonymes* désignant les entreprises et les commerces (Krško 2022) et *marconymes* pour les producteurs, les prestataires de services, les vendeurs et les produits destinés à un usage commercial (Galkowski 2022).

La lexicalisation des noms propres constitue un sujet étudié depuis longtemps: pensons à Nyrop (1913) qui a dédié une cinquantaine de pages à la lexicalisation des noms de personnes, de nationalités et de lieux dans le 4e tome de la *Grammaire historique de la langue française*, à Migliorini (1927) qui a consacré tout un volume à la lexicalisation des noms de personnes dans les langues romanes, à Marouzeau (1950: 159-180) qui parle de la *communisation* des noms propres, etc. Büchi (1991: 139) désigne les mots dérivés d'un nom propre comme mots *déonomastiques* et les bases de la dérivation comme des *éponymes*, en reprenant les deux termes de La Stella (1984). Les mots communs provenant des noms propres dans les dictionnaires français ont été étudiés, entre autres, par Lapierre (1989), Schweickard (1989) et Fontant (1998). Le phénomène de la lexicalisation a été étudié par Altmanova (2013), par de nombreux contributeurs du volume édité par Altmanova et Le Tallec (2019) et, récemment, par Chovancová, Mešková et Krafčíková (2022). Vaxelaire (2005) énumère les types de noms propres qui peuvent apparaître dans les dictionnaires de langue, y compris les noms de produits. Dans le domaine de la lexicographie pratique, il convient de mentionner l'ouvrage de Galey (1997) qui explique l'origine et l'histoire de plus de

600 marques, et surtout le *Dictionnaire de noms de marques courants* de Galisson et André (1998) qui s'inscrit dans le domaine de la lexicographie pédagogique. Les noms de marques sont en effet très courants dans le langage de tous les jours, mais leur opacité et leur charge culturelle empêchent souvent la compréhension pour des locuteurs non natifs. Ces noms relèvent donc de la lexicul-ture, concept développé notamment par Vaxelaire (2019) et Tonti (2020).

Le *Code de la propriété intellectuelle* définit une marque comme «un signe servant à distinguer les produits ou services d'une personne physique ou morale de ceux d'autres personnes physiques ou morales» (République française 2024: Art. L711-1). Malgré cette définition assez large, certaines marques ne peuvent être enregistrées, par exemple «une marque composée exclusivement d'éléments ou d'indications devenus usuels dans le langage courant [...]; une marque contraire à l'ordre public ou dont l'usage est légalement interdit; une marque de nature à tromper le public, notamment sur la nature, la qualité ou la provenance géographique du produit ou du service» (Art. L711-2). Selon l'*Institut national de la propriété industrielle* (2024a, ci-après l'*INPI*), les marques verbales, qui seules nous intéressent dans le présent article², sont composées «exclusivement de mots ou de lettres, chiffres ou autres caractères typographiques standards ou d'une combinaison de ceux-ci».

Les noms propres partagent avec les noms communs les fonctions définies par Jakobson (1960) et certaines de ces fonctions sont présentes dans les noms de marques. Ce sont surtout les fonctions expressive et poétique qui sont les plus observables. On les retrouve, par exemple, dans les noms de marques qui consistent dans des jeux de mots ou dans ceux qui cherchent à créer l'idée de quelque chose d'exceptionnel, notamment grâce à l'emploi de noms de personnages mythologiques. Knappová (1992) mentionne la fonction d'*individualisation*, qui semble primordiale pour les marques, et dont le rôle est d'identifier un produit, un service ou l'organisation qui les fabrique ou les fournit et de les différencier de produits, services ou organisations similaires. L'auteure ajoute la fonction *connotative* des noms propres, c'est-à-dire leur capacité à renvoyer aux objets du monde réel (p. ex. aux régions de production d'un produit), et la fonction *descriptive* qui associe le nom de marque à certains aspects du produit. En parlant des noms de marques, nous pouvons également mentionner leur rôle juridique, puisqu'ils empêchent l'utilisation du nom par les concurrents, ainsi que leur rôle psychologique et commercial, car ils servent à influencer le consommateur en éveillant des associations positives en lien avec le producteur ou le produit.

Comme tous les mots, les noms de marques sont soumis à la variation linguistique. Ils sont utilisés soit côte à côte avec des noms communs, soit en concurrence avec d'autres noms de marques. La variation peut être plus marquée que dans les mots communs, étant donné que certains noms de marques ne sont répandus que régionalement et que leur utilisation dans certains contextes se heurte à des problèmes juridiques. Ainsi, le *polystyrène* est désigné par des noms de marques différents en Suisse (*Sagex*) et en Belgique (*Frigolite*). La variation

contextuelle est attestée par la concurrence des noms de marques et des termes chimiques en pharmacie (*paracétamol* vs. *Efféralgan*, *Dafalgan*, *Tylenol*, etc.).

Leroy (2004: 49) parle du problème des « faux noms propres », c'est-à-dire des noms qui, « même lorsqu'ils ont rejoint le lexique courant, restent protégés juridiquement et sont écartés à cause de ces problèmes juridico-publicitaires ». Petit (2006: 702) remarque d'ailleurs que les lexicographes indiquent plus ou moins systématiquement qu'il s'agit de noms déposés, afin de ne pas assimiler ces mots totalement aux noms communs et de protéger juridiquement l'éditeur. Le même soin les amène quelquefois à ajouter le symbole ® et la mention des propriétaires des marques.

Altmanova (2013: 37) explique les raisons de la lexicalisation du nom de marque qui peut avoir lieu soit « lorsque les produits ou les services [...] dominent le marché », soit « lorsque son nom est plus simple que le nom générique correspondant ». En lien avec la lexicalisation, Botton et Cegarra (1994: 146) utilisent le terme de *dégénérescence* qui se produit en trois étapes: (a) la personnalisation (la marque commence à être utilisée comme un nom), (b) la banalisation (le nom désigne une catégorie de produits), et (c) la lexicalisation (son entrée dans le dictionnaire). Le résultat de la dernière étape constitue le sujet de cet article. Son objectif est de passer en revue les matrices de création des noms de marques, de décrire leur prise en compte dans le *Dictionnaire de l'Académie française* (ci-après le *DAF*) et de comparer leur traitement dans quelques autres dictionnaires français.

2. Corpus: la 9^e édition numérisée du *DAF*

Le *DAF*, selon Quemada (1997: I), constitue « ouvrage emblématique, instrument de politique de la langue exécuté à la demande et avec le soutien de l'État [...] qui fait exception dans le paysage lexicographique mondial ». La 9^e édition du *DAF*, qui a été initiée dans les années quatre-vingt du XX^e siècle, vient d'être achevée en 2024. Wooldridge (1998: 310) remarque, à propos de l'importance du projet de la numérisation du *DAF*, que ce dictionnaire constitue « une série unique et homogène de descriptions [...] de différents états du français classique et moderne ». Le procès de la numérisation elle-même, y compris ses enjeux techniques et méthodologiques, a été décrit par Catach (2023).

Le portail du *DAF* contient les versions numérisées de toutes les éditions et offre des fonctionnalités qui s'adaptent aux besoins du XXI^e siècle. Pruvost (2021: 106) remarque que « aucun dictionnaire au monde ne dispose de cette possibilité consistant à suivre un mot [...] sur neuf éditions successives, par un simple clic en haut de l'écran ». La nomenclature a considérablement augmenté, proposant « plus de 53 000 entrées, dont 21 000 entrées nouvelles par rapport à la 8^e édition » (Académie française s.d.). De plus, une rubrique étymologique a été ajoutée systématiquement à toutes les entrées. Enfin et surtout, une fonction de recherche avancée permet d'effectuer des recherches en se fondant sur divers critères comme la catégorie grammaticale, la chronologie, le domaine ou l'étymologie.

En sélectionnant dans la recherche avancée le critère «noms et marques déposés» figurant (étonnamment) parmi les choix possibles de la recherche dans l'étymologie par langue, nous obtenons 96 entrées. De la liste des résultats obtenus, nous avons éliminé les composants des noms de marques qui figurent dans le *DAF* comme entrées indépendantes (p. ex. *box*, *cocotte*, *minute*) et les mots *robert* et *tabloïd*, qui représentent des cas de glissements sémantiques plus radicaux³, pour arriver à une liste des 88 entrées qui figurent dans le Tableau 1. Un mot de notre échantillon apparaît en deux variantes: *yo-yo* et *yoyo*. Tous les mots sont des substantif⁴.

D'un point de vue diachronique, la majorité écrasante des «noms et marques déposés» datent, pour des raisons logiques, du XX^e siècle. Seuls 10 mots datent du XIX^e siècle⁵, qui ont tous été ajoutés à la 9^e édition et dont aucun n'était intégré dans la 8^e édition datant de 1935. Les mots *minerve* et *tartan* ont été intégrés dans le *DAF* depuis la 6^e édition de 1835, mais ces entrées ne concernaient que les acceptions appellatives du mot.

La microstructure d'une entrée du *DAF* est simple (voir la Figure 1). Le mot vedette, précédé d'un astérisque s'il est nouvellement ajouté, y figure en majuscules. La catégorie grammaticale, la définition et l'étymologie sont systématiquement données pour toutes les entrées à partir de la 9^e édition du *DAF*. Les liens hypertexte dirigent les usagers vers des sites externes, parmi lesquels *FranceTerme*. D'autres rubriques apparaissent rarement. Nous trouvons par exemple une remarque sur l'orthographe de *mûroise* signalant que le mot peut s'écrire *mûroise* ou *muroise*, selon les rectifications orthographiques de 1990, une remarque grammaticale concernant la formation du pluriel (*tergals*), ou bien une remarque phonétique dans *skai* signalant que le groupe *ai* se prononce *aille*. Rares sont les notes stylistiques indiquant, par exemple, le caractère obsolète de *gramophone* ou familier de *zip*.

※ **VEDETTE** (*prononciation*) **note grammaticale** (nom déposé).

Étymologie: Siècle. Étymon, éventuellement évolution sémantique.

DOMAINE. Définition. *Exemples*.

- Locutions figurées ou familières.

Voir aussi
 - [Terminologie (FranceTerme)]:
 - (Domaine)

Liens externes

- [Francophonie (Office québécois de la langue française)] (Pays)
- [Francophonie (Base de données lexicographiques panfrancophone)] (Pays)

Figure 1: Article prototypique de nom de marque dans le *DAF*

3. Analyse des mots issus de noms de marques dans le DAF

3.1 Motivation des noms de marques

Botton et Cegarra (1994: 85-90) énumèrent plusieurs motivations des noms de marques. Entre autres, le nom de leur créateur ou du fondateur de l'entreprise (*Renault*), la raison sociale (*Sopalin* de *Société de Papier Linge*), les noms décrivant le produit (*M. Propre*), leur composition (*Coca-Cola*), leur origine géographique, les références à divers personnages (parfums *Hermès*) et les créations sans significations.

Les noms propres sont très fréquemment utilisés dans la création de noms de marques. Surtout les patronymes qui servaient dans le passé pour dénommer les entreprises selon leurs fondateurs et leurs propriétaires. Ces noms parfois opaques sont dépourvus du lien intrinsèque entre le nom et le produit. Les mots de notre échantillon⁶ proviennent par exemple de noms propres suivants:

- des noms de famille: *bakélite* (de l'inventeur, L.-H. Baekeland), *kalachnikov* (de l'inventeur M. Kalachnikov), *ripolin* (de l'inventeur C. Riep), *sandow* (selon E. Sandow, culturiste allemand), *rimmel* (selon le parfumeur E. Rimmel);
- des toponymes: *goménol* (localité en Nouvelle-Calédonie), *duralumin* (de *Düren*, ville de Westphalie, et d'*aluminium*). Parfois les noms sont tirés de toponymes classiques: *rhodoïd* (du latin *Rhodanus* 'le Rhône' et d'*-oïd*, de *celluloïd*), *rhovyl* (du même hydronyme et de *-vyl*, tiré de *vinyle*);
- des noms d'entreprises: *semtex* (de *Semtin Glassworks*, usine tchèque localisée à Semtín, actuellement un arrondissement de la ville de Pardubice, et de l'anglais *explosive*), *delco* (initiales de *Dayton Engineering Laboratories Co*);
- des mythonymes: *mélusine* (la fée Mélusine), *minerve* (la déesse Minerve);
- des prénoms: *bénédictine* (tirée d'un adjectif qui fait référence à Saint-Benoît);
- des ethnonymes: *esquimau* (le nom des habitants des terres arctiques);
- de chrématonymes: *taser* (acronyme du titre d'un roman d'aventures américain de 1911, *Tom Swift and Electric Rifle*).

Les noms communs représentent la deuxième source. Ils ont le pouvoir d'évoquer, surtout pour un usager non initié, certains aspects du produit, sa fonction, sa composition, son goût et autres caractéristiques. Selon Lalanne-Gobet (2009: 32), cette évocation peut devenir encombrante dans le cas de l'extension future de la gamme des produits, empêchant, par exemple, d'associer la marque *Orangina* aux boissons fabriquées à partir de fruits autres que des oranges. Dans notre échantillon, le nom évoque:

- diverses fonctions: *climatiseur* (de *climatiser*), *dictaphone* (de *dicter* et du grec *-phone* 'voix'), *frigidaire* (du latin *frigidarium* 'chambre froide'), *gramophone* (du grec *gramma* 'inscription' et *phone* 'voix'), *mobylette* (de *mobile* et de *bicy-*

clette), *pédalo* (dérivé de *pédale*), *photomaton* (de *photographique* et d'*automatique*), *moulinette* (de *moulinet*), *thermos* (du grec *thermos* 'chaud'), etc.;

- la composition: *fibrociment* (de *fibres* et de *ciment*), *mercurochrome* (de *mercure* et du grec *-chrome* 'couleur'), *penthotal* (de *penthiobarbital*), etc.;
- d'autres aspects: *durite* (probablement de *dur*), *cocotte-minute* (de *coquasse*, *cocas*, altération de *coquemar* et *minute*, soulignant la rapidité de ce mode de cuisson), *nylon* (de *vinyl* et de *coton*), *vespa* (du latin *vespa* 'guêpe' en allusion au bruit du scooter), etc.

3.2 Analyse formelle des noms de marques

Du point de vue formelle, nous pouvons esquisser une classification selon la matrice de création morphosyntaxique ou lexicale. Les noms de marques répertoriés dans le DAF sont créés par exemple comme:

- des composés hybrides, p. ex. franco-grecs, comme *cinémascope* (de *cinéma* et du grec *scopein* 'observer') et *dictaphone* (de *dicter* et du grec *-phone*), gréco-anglais, comme *deltaplane* (du grec *delta* et de *plane*, par analogie avec *aéroplane*) et *monotype* (du grec *mono-* et de l'anglais *linotype*), anglo-grecs, comme *cellophane* (de l'anglais *cellulose* et du grec *phainein* 'apparaître'), *celluloïd* (de l'anglais *cellulose* et du grec *eidos* 'aspect');
- des mots-valises: *bureautique* (de *bureau* et d'*informatique*), *mobylette* (de *mobile* et de *bicyclette*), *nylon* (de *vinyl* et de *cotton*), *photomaton* (de *photographique* et d'*automatique*), *mûroise* (de *mûre* et de *framboise*), *ronéo* (de *rotary* et de *néo*), *thyatron* (du grec *thura* 'porte' et de *-tron* d'*électron*), *velcro* (de *vel-* de *velours* et de *-cro* de *crochet*);
- des syntagmes figés: *linotype* (de *line of types* 'ligne de caractères'), *parabellum* (de l'adage latin *si vis pacem, para bellum*), *post-it* (impératif anglais);
- des dérivés et des composés grecs: *klaxon* (du grec *klazein* 'retentir bruyamment'), *pyrex* (du grec *pur* 'feu'), *cataphote* (du grec *cata-* et de *phos* 'lumière'), *crésyl* (dérivé savant de *créosote*), *galalithe* (de *gala-* et de *lithos* 'pierre');
- des dérivés et des composés latins: *frigoridaire* (de *frigidarium*), *sonotone* (de *sonus* et de *tonus*);
- des dérivés français: *pédalo* (de *pédale*), *sanisette* (de *sanitaire*), *solderie* (de *solde*), *climatiseur* (de *climatiser*), *moulinette* (de *moulin*), *turbulette* (de *turbulent*);
- des composés français: *cocotte-minute*, *placoplâtre* (*plaque* et *plâtre*);
- des mots abrégés: *solex* (de *Vélosorex*), *box* (de *box-calf*), *invar* (d'*invariable*), *meccano* (du français *mécanique*), *teflon* (de *(poly)te(tra)fl(uorethylene)*), acronymes: *delco*, *taser*, cités plus haut;
- le résultat d'autres procédés: *ozalide* (anagramme de *diazol*, substance utilisée pendant la fabrication du papier);
- d'une onomatopée: *zip*.

- *ex nihilo*: *dacron* dont l'étymologie n'est pas spécifiée dans le *DAF*, mais qui, selon certains, est un mot inventé sur le modèle du *nylon*, forgé par E.I. du Pont de Nemours & Co. (Douglas Harper 2024).

Du point de vue de la néologie externe, les noms de marques sont souvent des emprunts dus aux efforts d'utiliser des mots à la mode, provenant d'une langue en vogue, comme l'anglo-américain, ou résultant de l'origine géographiques du fabricant. Ainsi, notre échantillon contient des emprunts à l'italien (*pianola*, *vespa*), à l'anglais (*caddie*, *liberty*, *post-it*, *ruflette*, *scotch*, *scrabble*, *taser*), à l'allemand (*plexiglas*, du latin *plexi-* et de l'allemand *Glas* 'verre'). L'étymologie est obscure pour *yoyo/yo-yo*, mais le mot est peut-être issu d'une langue des îles Philippines d'où provient ce jeu (ATILF — CNRS et Université de Lorraine s.d.). Pour certains noms, comme *skaï*, une marque désignant un cuir artificiel, créée et déposée par le groupe allemand Konrad Hornschuch AG, nous n'avons pas pu établir une étymologie fiable, le *DAF* se contentant de remarquer qu'il s'agit du nom d'une marque.

3.3 Analyse sémantique des noms de marques

Vu le caractère des mots de notre échantillon qui désignent surtout des objets et des matières assez spécifiques, la polysémie est rare. Ceci ne veut pas dire que la polysémie n'existe pas du tout, mais elle résulte d'une divergence sémantique qui n'a pas trait au nom de marque. Par exemple, des trois acceptions d'*esquimau*⁷, une seule — 'glace enrobée de chocolat et fixée à un bâtonnet' — concerne le nom de marque. Les deux autres acceptions existaient bien avant le dépôt de la marque: (a) 'ensemble des dialectes parlés par les Esquimaux' et (b) 'vêtement d'enfant d'un seul tenant'. Le mot *triplex* désigne soit un 'appartement réparti sur trois étages', soit un 'verre de sécurité constitué de deux couches de verre entre lesquelles est inséré un film fait de celluloïd ou d'une autre matière plastique'. Cette polysémie résulte sans aucun doute d'une double formation indépendante, le premier terme étant formé sur le modèle de *duplex* et le second provenant d'un nom de marque soulignant la composition en trois couches de son produit⁸. Les deux ont néanmoins en commun leur source étymologique, l'adjectif latin *triplex*. *Polaroïd* représente une exception unique, possédant deux acceptions qui résultent d'une métonymie et qui sont associées au nom de marque: (a) 'feuille transparente de résine synthétique polarisant la lumière qui la traverse' et (b) 'appareil photographique non numérique à développement instantané'.

La polysémie peut résulter aussi de l'usage métonymique du nom de l'entreprise pour ses produits. Fèvre-Pernet et Roché (2005) proposent de distinguer les *noms de marques* et les *noms de produits* dans l'onomastique commerciale, parce que les deux catégories manifestent des différences sur le plan pragmatique, référentiel, syntaxique et morphologique. Ainsi, dans notre échantillon, le mot

velux désigne une 'fenêtre à un seul châssis percée dans la pente d'un toit' ainsi que la société danoise Velux produisant des fenêtres de toit.

Du point de vue des champs sémantiques, nous distinguons en particulier deux groupes de référents:

- (a) une cinquantaine de mots désignant des appareils, des machines, des produits, des procédés et des outils: *bureautique, caddie, cataphote, cinémascope, cinématographe, climatiseur⁹, cocotte-minute, delco, dictaphone, durite, frigidaire, gramophone, kalachnikov, klaxon, linotype, lumitype, minerve, minitel, monotype, moulinette, parabellum, photomaton, pianola, polaroid ('appareil'), post-it, rimmel, ronéo, sandow, sanisette, scotch, sonotone, ruflette, taser, technicolor, thermos, thyatron, turbulette, typon, velux, zip*, parmi lesquels figurent les sous-groupes des moyens de transport: *deltaplane, mobylette, pédalo, solex, vespa, zodiac*, des produits alimentaires: *bénédictine, esquimau, sucrète*, et des jeux *meccano, scrabble, yoyo/yo-yo*;
- (b) une trentaine de mots désignant des matériaux et des matières, comme des résines, des alliages et des tissus: *box-calf, cellophane, crésyl, duralumin, fibrociment, invar, liberty, mélusine, ozalid, placoplâtre, plexiglas, polaroid ('feuille'), pyrex, ripolin, semtex, silicagel, skaï, stretch, tartan, téflon, triplex, velcro*, avec les sous-groupes des substances pharmaceutiques: *goménol, mercurochrome, penthotal, thalidomide, vaseline*, des fibres synthétiques: *dacron, nylon, rhovyl, tergal* et des matières plastiques: *bakélite, celluloid, galalithe, rhodoïd*.

De plus, il y a quelques mots que nous n'avons pas pu classer, comme *mûroise* 'fruit issue de l'hybridation naturelle de la ronce et du framboisier' et *solderie* 'magasin où l'on revend à bas prix des invendus qui ont été achetés à moindre coût'. Certes, on reprochera à cette classification d'être peu précise ou incomplète, mais elle permet de distinguer les catégories dominantes. Force est de préciser qu'il existe une classification internationale dite de Nice, adoptée en 1957 en vue de classer les noms de marques, qui définit 34 classes de produits et 11 classes de services d'une manière détaillée qui dépasserait les fins de notre article. À titre d'exemple, citons sa Classe 1 qui inclurait certains mots de notre échantillon:

Classe 1: Produits chimiques destinés à l'industrie et aux sciences; produits chimiques destinés à la photographie; produits chimiques destinés à l'agriculture; produits chimiques destinés à l'horticulture; produits chimiques destinés à la sylviculture; matières plastiques à l'état brut; engrais; compositions extinctrices; préparations pour la trempe de métaux; préparations pour la soudure des métaux; matières pour le tannage de cuirs et peaux d'animaux; adhésifs (matières collantes) destinés à l'industrie; réactifs chimiques autres qu'à usage médical ou vétérinaire; décolorants à usage industriel (INPI 2024c).

Certains noms de marques deviennent des termes. Les noms propres se terminologisent par économie de langue, comme le remarquent Poštolková, Roudný

et Tejnor (1983: 57): par exemple à partir du nom du savant italien Girolamo Cardano, on a créé le syntagme *joint de Cardan* qui est raccourci en *cardan*. Kocourek (1982: 150) mentionne les métonymies fréquentes basées sur les relations entre l'inventeur et l'invention (*rayons roentgen*) et le lieu et le produit (*emmental*). Ainsi, une trentaine d'entrées de notre échantillon contient l'indication du domaine, parmi lesquels figurent, le plus souvent, la technique (*invar*, *fibrociment*, *téflon*, etc.) et l'imprimerie (*linotype*, *lumitype*, *typon*, etc.). D'autres domaines apparaissent moins souvent: le textile (*dacron*, *rhovyl*, *skai*, etc.), la chimie (*crésyl*, *silicagel*), la pharmacie (*mercurochrome*, *penthotal*, *thalidomide*), la couture (*ruflette*), l'électricité (*thyatron*), la mécanique (*delco*), la métallurgie (*duralumin*) et les sports (*tartan*). Cependant, l'indication du domaine n'est pas systématique. Comparons, par exemple, quatre mots désignant des matières synthétiques, dont seulement deux (*dacron*, *rhovyl*) contiennent l'indication du domaine:

DACRON nom masculin. TEXTILE. Fibre synthétique constituée de polyester.

NYLON nom masculin. Matière synthétique à base de résine polyamide.

RHOVYL nom masculin. TEXTILE. Fibre synthétique, résistante et ininflammable, obtenue par filage du chlorure de polyvinyle.

RHODOÏD nom masculin. Matière plastique transparente et quasi incombustible, fabriquée à partir d'acétate de cellulose.

La lexicalisation des noms de marques est rare dans la terminologie officielle. En France, les néologismes terminologiques recommandés par la *Commission d'enrichissement de la langue française*, publiés auparavant au *Journal officiel* et rendus obligatoires pour les agents des services publics de l'État, sont intégrés dans la base de données *FranceTerme* (Ministère de la Culture s.d.). Nous y observons une tendance à remplacer les noms de marques par des termes génériques. Citons par exemple *papillon* (au *Journal officiel* en 2005) qui se substitue à *post-it* dont l'emploi est déconseillé, *chariot* (au *Journal officiel* en 2000) dont l'usage est imposé au lieu de *caddie* (*cart*) ou *pistolet à impulsion électrique* (au *Journal officiel* en 2015) forgé au lieu de *taser*.

4. Traitement des noms de marques dans d'autres dictionnaires généraux

4.1 Comparaison entre les dictionnaires

Pour la comparaison du traitement des noms de marques dans les dictionnaires généraux français, nous avons choisi des ouvrages actuels d'une taille comparable, à savoir le *Dictionnaire de français Larousse* (ci-après *Larousse*), et le *Dico en ligne Le Robert* (ci-après *Le Robert*)¹⁰, les deux disponibles gratuitement en ligne. Selon leurs propres descriptions, le premier compte 135 000 définitions et le second 145 000 définitions régulièrement actualisées.

DAF	Larousse	Le Robert	DAF	Larousse	Le Robert
<i>bakélite</i>	–	NM	<i>penthotal</i>	–	SNM
<i>bénédictine</i>	NM	NM	<i>photomaton</i>	NM	NM
<i>box-calf</i>	SNM	–	<i>pianola</i>	NM	NM
<i>bureautique</i>	NM	NM	<i>placoplatre</i>	–	NM
<i>caddie</i>	NM	NM	<i>plexiglas</i>	NM	NM
<i>cataphote</i>	NM	SNM	<i>polaroïd</i>	NM	NM
<i>cellophane</i>	NM	NM	<i>post-it</i>	NM	NM
<i>celluloïd</i>	NM	SNM	<i>pyrex</i>	NM	NM
<i>cinémascope</i>	NM	NM	<i>rhodoïd</i>	NM	NM
<i>cinématographe</i>	SNM	SNM	<i>rhovyl</i>	NM	NM
<i>climatiseur</i>	SNM	SNM	<i>rimmel</i>	NM	NM
<i>cocotte-minute</i>	NM	NM	<i>ripolin</i>	NM	NM
<i>crésyl</i>	NM	NM	<i>ronéo</i>	NM	NM
<i>dacron</i>	NM	NM	<i>ruflette</i>	NM	NM
<i>delco</i>	NM	NM	<i>sadow</i>	NM	NM
<i>deltaplane</i>	SNM	SNM	<i>sanisette</i>	NM	NM
<i>dictaphone</i>	NM	NM	<i>scotch</i>	NM	NM
<i>duralumin</i>	NM	NM	<i>scrabble</i>	NM	NM
<i>durite</i>	NM	NM	<i>semtex</i>	NM	–
<i>esquimau</i>	–	NM	<i>silicagel</i>	SNM	–
<i>fibrociment</i>	NM	NM	<i>skai</i>	NM	NM
<i>frigidaire</i>	NM	NM	<i>solderie</i>	SNM	NM
<i>galalithe</i>	SNM	NM	<i>solex</i>	NM	NM
<i>goménol</i>	–	–	<i>sonotone</i>	NM	NM
<i>gramophone</i>	SNM	NM	<i>stretch</i>	NM	NM
<i>invar</i>	NM	NM	<i>sucrette</i>	NM	NM
<i>kalachnikov</i>	SNM	–	<i>tartan</i>	–	NM
<i>klaxon</i>	NM	NM	<i>taser</i>	NM	NM
<i>liberty</i>	NM	NM	<i>technicolor</i>	NM	NM
<i>linotype</i>	NM	NM	<i>téflon</i>	–	NM
<i>lumitype</i>	SNM	NM	<i>tergal</i>	NM	NM
<i>meccano</i>	NM	–	<i>thalidomide</i>	SNM	SNM
<i>mélusine</i>	SNM	–	<i>thermos</i>	NM	NM
<i>mercurochrome</i>	NM	NM	<i>thyatron</i>	SNM	NM
<i>minerve</i>	SNM	–	<i>triplex</i>	NM	NM
<i>minitel</i>	NM	NM	<i>turbulette</i>	–	NM
<i>mobylette</i>	NM	NM	<i>typon</i>	NM	SNM
<i>monotype</i>	SNM	NM	<i>vaseline</i>	SNM	SNM
<i>moulinette</i>	NM	NM	<i>velcro</i>	NM	NM
<i>mûroise</i>	–	–	<i>velux</i>	NM	NM
<i>nylon</i>	NM	NM	<i>vespa</i>	NM	NM
<i>ozalid</i>	NM	NM	<i>yoyo / yo-yo</i>	NM	NM
<i>parabellum</i>	SNM	SNM	<i>zip</i>	NM	NM
<i>pédalo</i>	NM	NM	<i>zodiac</i>	–	NM

Tableau 1: Comparaison de la présence des noms de marques dans les dictionnaires français (NM: nom de marque est indiqué dans l'étymologie; SNM: l'étymologie ne mentionne pas le nom de marque; –: la nomenclature ne contient pas le mot)

Le *Larousse* contient 78 sur 88 mots de l'échantillon. Pour 17 mots, il ne contient aucune référence au nom de marque dans leur étymologie. À part ces 17 entrées, les autres sont systématiquement orthographiées avec la majuscule, y compris dans les exemples. Une graphie spécifique est utilisée pour *CinémaScope*, tandis que le DAF et *Le Robert* ne connaissent que la forme *cinémascope*. *Polaroid* y est orthographié sans signe diacritique et l'orthographe anglaise est appliquée pour *Rufflette*, à la différence du DAF et du *Robert* qui utilisent *ruflette*. Le mot *esquimau* y réfère seulement aux Inuits et à leur langue.

Seuls 9 mots de notre échantillon sont absents du *Robert*. Dans 10 cas¹¹, l'origine n'est pas indiquée dans le nom de marque. Le mot *minerve* y figure seulement dans le sens appellatif 'appareil orthopédique'. Tous sont écrits avec une minuscule et seule l'étymologie avertit le lecteur qu'il a affaire à une marque déposée. Le mot désignant 'matériau composé d'une plaque de plâtre coulée entre deux épaisseurs de carton' est orthographié *placoplatre* dans *Le Robert*, tandis que la forme *placoplâtre* figure dans le DAF et dans le *Larousse*. L'INPI enregistre les marques verbales actives *Placoplatre* et *Placo* dont le déposant est la société anonyme *Placoplâtre*, ce qui complique davantage le traitement lexicographique du mot.

Les trois dictionnaires enregistrent un certain nombre de formes dérivées de ces noms de marques (p. ex. les verbes *klaxonner*, *ronéoter*, *ronéotyper* et *scotcher* dans le DAF, le *Larousse* et *Le Robert*, l'adjectif *scotché* dans le DAF et le *Larousse*, *scrabbleur* dans le *Larousse* et *Le Robert*). Le *Larousse* et *Le Robert* répertorient également un certain nombre d'apocopes des noms de marques originelles (*kalach* et *mob*).

4.2 Le dilemme des lexicographes

Selon l'Organisation mondiale de la propriété intellectuelle (2021), il y aurait 64,4 millions de marques enregistrées dans le monde en 2020 et 13,4 millions de demandes d'enregistrement de marques ont été déposées dans le monde la même année. Bien qu'une partie infime de tous ces noms se lexicalisent, on voit bien le dilemme qui se présente aux lexicographes.

Certains auteurs se sont penchés sur le problème du traitement des noms propres dans les dictionnaires de noms propres (Lecomte-Hilmy 1989), d'autres se sont interrogés sur l'intégration des noms propres dans les dictionnaires de langue (Vaxelaire 2005: par. 3-20), et d'autres encore ont traité directement des choix lexicographiques en matière de noms de marques (Kolaříková et Mudrochová 2019). Selon Fèvre-Pernet et Roché (2005: par. 52-59), sont enregistrés dans les dictionnaires de langue les noms de marques (a) qui sont utilisés comme appellatifs sans que les locuteurs aient une autre dénomination alternative, (b) les noms de marques qui sont employés dans un sens élargi aux objets de la même classe et (c) les noms de marques très notoires et très fréquents dans les corpus utilisés par les lexicographes. On voit bien que ces critères sont assez généraux et que les lexicographes doivent examiner de nombreux cas de manière tout à fait individuelle.

Les 88 items enregistrés dans le *DAF* ne sont en effet nullement une liste exhaustive des noms de marques lexicalisés. Le Tableau 1 démontre l'usage hésitant dans les dictionnaires généraux français, mais ne démontre pas l'absence, dans le *DAF*, de certains mots qui sont classés dans les autres dictionnaires. Ainsi, le *Larousse* et *Le Robert* en ligne enregistrent, par exemple, *abribus*, *fréon*, *frisbee*, *jacuzzi*, *kevlar*, *kleenex*, *néoprène* ou *silentbloc* (tous avec la mention du nom de marque), que l'usager ne trouvera pas dans le *DAF*.

Le lecteur ne trouvera ni dans le *DAF*, et ni dans le *Larousse* ou *Le Robert* quelques mots d'une certaine notoriété, comme *albal*, *eternit*, *lavomatique*. Cependant, il trouvera *audimat*, *botox* et *sopalin* dans *Le Robert*, pour ne citer que quelques exemples. En revanche, le *DAF* contient des mots issus des noms de marques actives ou expirées, sans mentionner cette origine. Par exemple *bateau-mouche* est une marque enregistrée et toujours renouvelée par la Compagnie des bateaux mouches, SA, et *linoléum* est peut-être la première marque lexicalisée, à peine quelques années après l'introduction de ce revêtement de sol. En 1878, Frederick Walton a perdu un procès contre un autre fabricant, pendant lequel le tribunal a déclaré que le mot était tant utilisé qu'il était devenu un terme générique (Pierce s.d.). Sont également incluses *aspirine* et *héroïne*, de vieilles marques enregistrées par Bayer à la fin du XIX^e siècle qui ont été confisquées avec les biens de la compagnie et dépourvues de la protection après la Première Guerre mondiale (Pierce s.d.).

5. Conclusion

Pour certains, l'entrée d'un nom de marque dans un dictionnaire général ou même dans le langage courant pourrait être vue comme «un graal absolu», mais ce passage entraîne aussi une perte de «maîtrise de son image», remarque Lherbier (2022). Cependant, cette entrée est accompagnée de choix délicats qui s'imposent aux lexicographes. Les dilemmes concernent les critères de sélection des lemmes à enregistrer, leur présentation dans le dictionnaire et les informations fournies dans les articles. Ils portent également sur leur orthographe, ainsi que sur celle des mots lexicalisés lorsque ceux-ci diffèrent de la forme officielle des noms déposés. Ils touchent aussi les aspects juridiques de leur inclusion dans le dictionnaire.

L'analyse de notre échantillon, composé de 88 entrées intégrées dans la 9^e édition du *DAF*, a révélé un groupe assez disparate de mots. Ces derniers désignent des appareils, des machines, des produits, des procédés, des outils, des matériaux, des matières et des substances. Formellement, ils sont créés à l'aide d'un large éventail de procédés morphosyntaxiques. Une quinzaine d'entre eux sont des emprunts, parmi lesquels dominent les emprunts à l'anglais. Une analyse rapide portant sur la présence des mots issus des noms de marques dans les dictionnaires français a mis en évidence leur traitement lexicographique assez variable.

En guise de conclusion, évoquons, avec Lherbier (2022), le cas instructif du

mot *Karcher* utilisé en 2005 par Nicolas Sarkozy en qualité de ministre de l'Intérieur, lors de sa visite de la cité de La Courneuve après la mort d'un enfant tué par une balle perdue. La phrase *On va nettoyer au Karcher la cité* a vite gagné du terrain dans le discours politique français (ainsi que les dérivés *karchériser*, *karchérisation*). L'entreprise allemande Kärcher, propriétaire de la marque de nettoyeurs haute pression, a publié un communiqué dans les médias français annonçant que «Kärcher ne souhaite pas que son nom et sa marque soient empruntés par le discours ou pour tout autre sujet qui désignerait autre chose que ses produits» (De Rubercy 2020). Ce souhait n'a pas été entièrement exaucé, comme le démontre Tonti (2021). L'usage de dérivés du mot s'est en effet élargi dans le discours contemporain français pour désigner des activités économiques, sociales, juridiques, écologiques et quotidiennes. Pour le moment, seul le *Wiktionnaire* enregistre *karchériser* avec le sens «nettoyer en profondeur». On peut se demander si les autres dictionnaires de langue vont eux-aussi prendre en compte cette évolution.

Notes

1. «[...] whose function is to steer the choices of consumers and investors and whose use has economic objectives».
2. En plus des marques verbales, ils existent des marques figuratives (dessins, logos, combinaisons de mots et de dessins), des marques sonores, des marques tridimensionnelles, des marques holographiques ou hologrammes, etc. (INPI 2024a).
3. *Robert* désigne un 'sein' dans le langage populaire, alors que le nom de marque désignait à la fin du XIX^e siècle un 'biberon'. *Tabloïd*, ayant pour sens 'journal à sensation et à grand tirage, généralement imprimé dans un format réduit', a été emprunté à l'anglais, où *tabloid* était le nom d'une marque déposée de médicament.
4. Il existe aussi des verbes dérivés de noms de marques, comme *scotcher* ou *ronéoter*, enregistrés dans le DAF.
5. Selon INPI (2024b), le droit de marques a été instauré par l'adoption de la loi de 1857. Le *Bulletin officiel de la propriété industrielle* est publié à partir de 1884 et l'Office national de la propriété industrielle a été créé en 1902.
6. Sauf indication contraire, les étymologies et les définitions dans cet article proviennent du DAF. Quelques-unes ont été abrégées.
7. Le mot *Esquimaux* est considéré aujourd'hui comme offensant par les peuples inuits dans toutes ses acceptions et le nom de marque a été abandonné par la société Gervais en raison de sa banalisation. Les bâtonnets glacés ont été rebaptisés et portent le nom de *Kim*. À la différence du *Larousse* et du *Robert*, le DAF ne mentionne pas la nature péjorative ou vieillie du mot.
8. Au-delà des acceptions enregistrées par le DAF, le mot *triplex* a largement essaimé en français. Comme nom propre, Triplex s'emploie par exemple pour une famille de fonts avec trois variantes de base ou pour un autre matériau tri-couches utilisé pour protéger les substrats de la corrosion produit par la compagnie Interpon. Au Canada, il désigne aussi une 'maison comprenant trois logements superposées' selon Le Petit Robert de 2012.

9. Seul le DAF mentionne le mot *climatiseur* en tant que nom de marque, tandis que les autres dictionnaires en font un nom commun. La base de données de l'INPI contient cependant la mention de la marque verbale expirée en 1993. Ces incohérences soulèvent des questions sur l'autorité lexicographique en matière de noms de marques.
10. Kolaříková et Mudrochová (2019) traitent d'une centaine de «noms déposés» dans le *Petit Robert* de 2017 en vue de comparer ses équivalents (ou traductions) tchèques.
11. Évidemment, d'autres ouvrages du même éditeur peuvent adopter une approche différente. Ainsi, *Le Petit Robert* de 2012 mentionne l'origine de *deltaplane* ou *cataphote* dans le nom de marque.

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