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## FORMATION OF NEOLOGISMS RELATED TO THE COVID-19 PANDEMIC ON CROATIAN WEBSITES

### Abstract

The COVID-19 virus pandemic affected all spheres of human life, including the language in which new words, phrases and idioms appeared in response to the emerging situation. These new terms as a linguistic reflection of a pandemic are quickly becoming part of our daily vocabulary. Therefore, it is important to investigate which new words and expressions entered the active lexis of the Croatian language. Given that the media played a key role in informing the population about everyday events related to the pandemic, lexical innovations as a reflection of the corona virus on Croatian websites are analysed in this paper. The main source are website articles. This research analyses the words related to coronavirus pandemics from the word formation perspective. In other words, the aim is to determine the most frequent word formation patterns which are used while forming new words. The analysis focuses on word formation processes of neologisms related to the COVID-19 pandemic: prefixation, suffixation, compounding, blending, analogy formation, language borrowing and calques. The research results show that the most productive formation method is compounding with the component *korona* and the abbreviation *COVID*. Furthermore, analogy formation is frequently found, as well as numerous examples of language borrowing, especially in the form of literal calques. It is clear that the Croatian media discourse accepts and creates neologisms quickly, depending on communication needs, and thus impacts their application among the wider population and within public discourse in general. Although traditional formation methods such as affixation or compounding were confirmed, the research showed that the Croatian media discourse quickly accepts formation methods which are not typical for it. This reflects the speed of the impact which extralinguistic factors have in determining linguistic elements, resulting in the passivity of the Croatian linguistic system and its speakers when providing a suitable replacement.

Key words: COVID-19, Croatian language, Croatian websites, media discourse, neologisms, pandemics, word formation

## 1. Introduction

In accordance with the definition by the World Health Organization, the coronavirus disease (COVID-19) is an infectious disease caused by the virus SARS-CoV-2 (WHO 2020a). As it is stated by the European Centre for Disease Prevention and Control, it is an acute respiratory syndrome of Coronavirus-2 (SARS-CoV-2), which is basically the name for a new type of coronavirus, and the coronavirus disease (COVID-19) is a respiratory disease caused by this virus (ECDC 2021). In the announcement made by the Croatian National Institute for Public Health, it is stated that in December 2019 certain patients suffering from pneumonia were grouped in the City of Wuhan in China, and at the beginning of January, a new type of coronavirus (2019-nCoV), which is part of a coronavirus family just as SARS-CoV, was identified as a disease agent (HZJZ 2020). Considering that epidemics of the newly discovered virus have spread all over the world, the World Health Organization declared a condition of global pandemic on 11 March, 2020 due to the extremely fast spread of the disease and its impact on humanity (WHO 2020b).

Coronavirus pandemics impacted all areas of human life, including language, as we are witnessing the formation of new words and expressions which are the consequence of a new situation. From the linguistic point of view, language changes are continuous and cannot be stopped. New expressions, which reflect the pandemic situation, quickly became a part of speech and everyday vocabulary among all social groups. However, this type of language response to the existing social circumstances is not a novelty. It is often the case that chaotic social circumstances are reflected in the language at the time of large social and historical events such as wars, financial crises, different plagues such as epidemics and pandemics, and other events which do not necessarily have a negative connotation. For example, at the beginning of the last century, the media included articles containing expressions such as *španjolska gripa* (*Spanish flu*), *španjolska bolest* (*Spanish illness*), *španjola*, *španjolica*, *španjolka*,<sup>1</sup> and *španjolska influenza* (*Spanish influenza*) as was found in the Croatian magazine entitled *Hrvatska riječ* (*Croatian Word*). It is obvious that the current coronavirus pandemic, with its global character and impact on society and consequently language, causes a similar situation.

New words and expressions related to the coronavirus pandemic are being formed in many European and world languages. Therefore, linguists are gathering the new vocabulary and forming general and specialized dictionaries. Currently, the Croatian language is undergoing a boom of neologisms. Consequently, in March 2020, the Institute for Croatian Language and Linguistics published a *Coronavirus Glossary* in electronic format<sup>2</sup> containing approximately two hundred new words, whose formation and usage were motivated by the coronavirus pandemic (IHJJ 2020). This Glossary lists the words and expressions in active usage, that is the generally accepted newly coined words and expert medical terminology which became a part of everyday speech by entering media and conversational discourse. What is more,

1 Different word forms denoting the Spanish flu.

2 See <https://jezik.hr/koronavirus>.

this Glossary provides a list of synonyms in Croatian which might act as a substitute for words which were taken from foreign languages, most frequently from English. For example, *drive-in testing* > *drive-in testiranje* > *provodno testiranje* ili *patient zero* > *nulti pacijent* > *prvozaraženi*.

Apart from the existing pandemic which has become an inevitable part of human life, it can be stated that the modern society lives in an information and mass media culture (Gupta 2019: 96). Media have become one of the most influential developmental factors of linguistic awareness and culture of a certain linguistic group and its members. Simultaneously, media content formation significantly impacts speech and linguistic awareness of the message recipients. While doing so, it tends to deviate from the Croatian standard language norm and include different conversational forms and non-Croatian linguistic features (Sapunar Knežević and Togonal 2012: 21; 33). Considering that the media has had a leading role in reporting daily pandemic-related events and news to the public, the goal of this paper is to list, describe and analyse lexical innovations in the Croatian language which are a result of the coronavirus pandemic, in the form of recorded formation patterns for words and expressions appearing in the most widely read Croatian websites, in order to determine the level and type of their realization, that is the formation and usage of the new words whose formation was motivated by the COVID-19 pandemic in Croatian, primarily its media discourse. The intention of this paper is to observe the relation between language and reality, between linguistic and extralinguistic worlds, keeping in mind that the changes in extralinguistic context project onto linguistic units and their structures, and vice versa – linguistic activity changes the extralinguistic world which might be observed as a relation of mutual dialectic permeation (Škiljan 1985: 54).

## 2. Research goal, hypotheses and methodology

As language continuously changes and develops, the most frequent changes have been recorded on the lexical level. Therefore, it is important to investigate which new words and expressions entered the active lexis of the Croatian language. Although in Croatian linguistics there already exist reflections on the topic of the impact of COVID-19 on the Croatian language (e.g. Blagus Bartolec 2020; Štrkalj Despot 2020; Mikić Čolić 2021), this research analyses words related to coronavirus pandemics on Croatian websites from the word formation perspective. In other words, the goal is to determine the most frequent word formation patterns which are used while forming new words.

Word formation has two meanings in the Croatian grammatical tradition: linguistic phenomena of forming new words pursuant to the existing vocabulary, and linguistic discipline studying word formation methods, patterns and types (Babić 2002: 23). The basic formation methods are derivation and compounding. Among these, depending on the formation manner expressing formation meaning, the following formation methods can be differed: prefixal formation, suffixal formation, prefixal-suffixal formation, complex-suffixal formation, blending, complex abbreviation formation and special formation type called transformation or conversion (Barić et al. 2005: 293).

This paper shall discuss word formation considering normativity, the purpose of which is to discover the formation system and, consequently, new word formation in accordance with the linguistic system (Babić 2002: 23). It has to be emphasized that neologisms as newly coined words, calques, loanwords and revived words are observed relying on the lexicographic theory which defines them as lexemes new or unknown to a language community or its part in a certain period of time (Samardžija 2002: 17). To be more exact, keeping in mind the assumption that *time is the only permanent factor in determining what a neologism is* (Mikić Čolić 2021: 19) and considering that we analyse words formed within a recent period of time, all the words from the studied materials shall be considered as neologisms.

Media culture, as a part of the culture of public human communication, can be considered discursive since it is formed by a certain social practice (Bogdanić 2019: 3). One of the attributes of the constitutive model of media discourse is a linguistic one, or a communication code, which is used to create, express and receive certain linguistic features in the form of three paradigms: a political one focusing on political narratives in the interest of social elites; a commercial one managed by media owners and advertising companies; and a public one meeting the informative needs of message recipients by creating content as a public good (Bogdanić 2019: 6, 10). This paper shall approach media discourse via the public paradigm prism whose main goal is informativeness as regards important social processes, events and changes in the form of informative, educational and entertaining content (Jurčić 2017: 133).

According to Fraiclough (1995: 20), media discourse analysis can be approached from the linguistic, sociolinguistic, conversational and semiotic points of view, and considering critical and cultural theory. Van Dijk (1988: 17) reduces media discourse to a dichotomous division at the microstructural level containing grammatical and rhetorical structures, and at the macrostructural level implying thematic and organizational structure. This paper takes the linguistic approach of studying media discourse into account, or analysis at the microstructural level, which focuses on certain grammatical structures, in this case formation patterns.

The research materials included the list of neologisms whose formation was motivated by the COVID-19 pandemic and which appeared on the most widely read Croatian websites (for example, *Index.hr*, *Jutarnji.hr*, *24sata.hr*, *Vecernji.hr*, *Net.hr*, *Dnevnik.hr*, *Tportal.hr*, *RTL.hr*, *Slobodnadalmacija.hr*). Material selection was conditioned by the fact that, which was confirmed by the research of the *24sata* website (2019) implemented by the IPSOS agency, the Internet is the media Croats most frequently use in order to obtain information and understand relevant events. What is more, Benzinović, Dabo and Šimić (2021) implemented research regarding the media habits and reporting methods used by Croatian websites during the coronavirus pandemic and established that, since the coronavirus pandemic appeared in Croatia, most respondents follow the websites which they access via social networks or by googling them on their mobile phones or computers. The most frequently stated reasons for consuming media content via websites are publication and content access speed as well as the amount of the available content. The abovementioned was confirmed by some previous research focusing on Internet journalism and Internet media content users. Prelog (2011: 209) states that three factors are responsible

for websites popularity: public availability of all texts, possibility of archiving and possibility of content searching.

The main sources of research were website articles. However, in certain cases, the material also included other sources of public or media discourse in the broadest sense, such as social networks and readers' comments on websites and other Internet sources (blogs, forums) as certain words and expressions started to be used among Croatian speakers and therefore, we thought they should be taken into account, especially considering the extent of their usage and formation significance. For the purpose of this research, it was decided that lexemes which are not necessarily newly coined words created during the COVID-19 pandemic shall be included as well. This refers to words which were reintroduced during the pandemic for different social or communication purposes. Such expressions were not formed for the coronavirus pandemic but started to be used and their usage frequency has increased among the population since the virus appeared.

The research was focused on the following questions:

- 1) What are the most current neologisms which have appeared during the coronavirus pandemic in the Croatian media discourse?
- 2) What are the most dominant formation models for words referring to the coronavirus pandemic that are appearing in the Croatian media discourse?
- 3) How compliant are the neologisms with the Croatian orthographic norm?

We assume that the greatest number of new words in the Croatian language was formed using the prefixoid<sup>3</sup> *korona* and the abbreviation *COVID* (eng. *coronavirus disease*), which is in compliance with the previous research on neologisms in other languages, for example English (Al-Salman and Haider 2021), German (Klosa-Kückelhaus 2021) and Spanish (Zholobova 2021), as well as other Slavic languages, for example Bulgarian (Aleksandrova 2021), Czech and Russian (Samylicheva and Gazda 2020), Bosnian and Herzegovinian (Ilić-Plauc and Šetka-Čilić 2021) and Serbian (Nikolić, Slijepčević-Bjelivuk and Novokmet 2021) public discourse. Considering the abovementioned, it is expected that the most frequent formation method in the Croatian language shall be affixation and compounding. However, secondary formation patterns such as motal and analogy formation as well as formation methods including linguistic borrowing and calques are possible as well. As in Croatia, unlike in other European Union countries, the linguistic field of public communication is not legally defined (Sapunar Knežević and Togonal 2012: 33), and a high level of deviations in neologisms recorded on Croatian websites in relation to the orthographic norm of the Croatian Orthography by the Institute of Croatian Language and Linguistics (2013), as well as variations during website comparison, are expected.

### 3. Research results and discussion

#### 3.1. Prefixation

The greatest number of recorded neologisms formed by prefixal formation refers

3 Formation terminology was well developed by Ana Mikić Čolić in her monograph entitled *Neologizmi u hrvatskome jeziku* (eng. *Neologisms in the Croatian Language*) (2021), on which this paper relies.

to nouns, followed by adjectives and verbs. These words are most often formed by derivation from existing words, and the most frequently used prefixes are *a-*, *anti-*, *ne-* and *pro-*.

As for nouns, prefixation is considered a less productive formation method (Babić, 2002: 375). Prefixes *a-*, *anti-* and *pro-* are of foreign, that is Greek or Latin, origin. Prefix *ne-* is of Croatian origin. Their meaning in the noun formation context refers to the following (Babić, 2002: 375, 379, 548):

*a-* (Greek 'no, without') and *ne-* denote a lack of meaning of the basic word, its denial or opposite

*anti-* (Greek 'against') denotes a phenomenon which is opposite to the basic word meaning

*pro-* (Latin 'for') denotes an assistant or a representative of a person indicated by the basic noun or a supporter of a person indicated by the basic noun. As for verbs, this prefix most frequently denotes that the action went through something.

Registered nouns and adjectives containing the prefix *a-* are a part of expert medical terminology, such as *afebrilan* (*afebrile*), *anosmija* (*anosmia*) and *asimptomatski* (*asymptomatic*). Some of the nouns formed by prefixation can be further formed by adding the suffix *-ičar* denoting a person being ill or having a feature determined by the meaning of the basic noun (Babić 2002: 129). Therefore, the basic word *anosmija* (*anosmia*) formed by prefixation is transformed into the noun *anosmičar* (*anosmic*) by suffixation.

Table 1 shows the examples of the usage of the words formed by prefixation.

Table 1. Neologisms with the prefix *a-* and their derived forms

Word	Word class	Usage examples	Source
<i>Afebrilan/afebrile</i>	Adjective	... bolesnik je <b>afebrilan</b> . (... the patient is <b>afebrile</b> .)	net.hr
<i>Anosmija/anosmia</i>	Noun	<b>Anosmija</b> ili smanjen osjet njuha... ( <b>Anosmia</b> or impaired sense of smell...)	tportal.hr
<i>Asimptomatski/asymptomatic</i>	Adjective	Iako se o rasprostranjenosti <b>asimptomatskih</b> slučajeva neprecizno izvještava, rane studije pokazale su da ti slučajevi čine 30 do 80 posto svih zaraženih. (Although the <b>asymptomatic</b> cases are not being well reported, earlier studies showed that these cases refer to 30 to 80 percent of all patients.)	dnevnik.hr

Some of the recorded nouns and adjectives containing the prefix *anti-* are a part of medical terminology. However, during the pandemic, they started to be used in media and conversational discourse as well: *antigen* (*antigen*), *antitijelo* (*antibody*). One part of such words was taken over from the English language and had previously been introduced in Croatian. Such a word is also *antivakser* (*anti-vaxxer*), which refers to the opponents of vaccination in general. Nevertheless, in the context of the existing pandemic, it can be considered as a revived word since it was started to be used again and since it denotes an opponent of the vaccination against coronavirus. Analogous to this term, a newly coined word occurred in English. It refers only to the context of the coronavirus pandemic, and it denotes a person opposing the use of a medical facemask as a COVID-19 protection measure: *anti-masker* (*anti-masker*),

which might be considered a loanword in the context of Croatian: *antimasker*. However, forms *vakser* and *masker*<sup>4</sup> with the suffix *-er*, which marks forms derived from a foreign base (Babić 2002: 359), can be found in the Croatian media discourse. Therefore, the terms *antimasker* and *antivakser* can be observed considering the formation processes referring to the Croatian language and not as a direct takeover from the English language.

Table 2. Neologisms with the prefix *anti-* and their derived forms

Word	Word class	Usage examples	Source
<i>Antigen (antigen)</i>	noun	Taj <b>antigen</b> u detekciji SARS-COV-2 virusa je nukleokapsidni protein... (This <b>antigen</b> is nucleocapsid protein in the detection of SARS-COV-2 virus...)	vecernji.hr
<i>Antimasker (anti-makser)</i>	noun	Priveden <b>antimasker</b> ispred škole u Krapinskim Toplicama. (An <b>anti-masker</b> was arrested in front of the school in Krapinske Toplice.)	dnevnik.hr
<i>Antitijelo (antibody)</i>	noun	Visoka razina <b>antitijela</b> i šest mjeseci nakon cijepljenja Modernom. (A high level of <b>antibodies</b> six months after being vaccinated by Moderna.)	vecernji.hr
<i>Antivakser (anti-vaxxer)</i>	noun	Ne treba generalizirati, ne možemo reći da nešto manje od 50 posto ljudi čine antimaskeri, <b>antivakseri</b> , ukoliko oni kojima nije stalo do zdravstvene zaštite... (This should not be generalized. We cannot state that a bit below 50 percent of people are anti-maskers, <b>anti-vaxxers</b> , or those not caring about health protection...)	indeks.hr

By prefixation or by adding the prefix *ne-*, a new form *necjepiša (anti-vaxxer)* was created as a Croatian synonym of the noun *antivakser (anti-vaxxer)*. The two words have a similar meaning as the Croatian version semantically denotes a person who was not vaccinated. However, it does not cover the meaning referring to a person opposing the vaccination. Therefore, a possible equivalent loanword could be *avakser*. Indicatively, the nouns *cjepiša (vaxxer)* and *necjepiša (anti-vaxxer)* were not recorded in the *Coronavirus Glossary*. Considering that the noun *necjepiša (anti-vaxxer)* is stylistically marked with the suffix *-ša*, a stylistically neutral version was recorded that is a past participle form *necijepljen (unvaccinated)*, which was formed by adding the prefix *ne-*. The infinitive verb base *cijepi-* was used when forming the verb containing the prefix *ne-*: *necijepiti (to non-vaccinate) (se)* as a decision made by a *necjepiša (anti-vaxxer)* during the pandemic. However, the Croatian prefix *ne-*, apart from being combined with a noun base having the meaning of a word of Croatian origin, is also combined with a base of foreign origin in the form of the past participle *nevakciniran (unvaccinated)*, which might be observed as a synonym of the adjective *necijepljen (unvaccinated)*, and the verbal noun *nevakciniranje (non-vaccination)*.

4 Usage example: **Vakseri, maskeri** i drugi anti-likovi, source: glasistre.hr.

Table 3. Neologisms containing the prefix *ne-*

Word	Word class	Usage examples	Source
<i>Necjepiša</i> ( <i>anti-vaxxer</i> )	Noun	Tiha većina <b>necjepiša</b> (The silent majority of <b>anti-vaxxers</b> )	rtl.hr
<i>Necijepiti (se)</i> (not to get vaccinated)	Verb	... oni koji su <b>se</b> svjesno odlučili <b>necijepiti</b> , sami plaćaju trošak... (...those who consciously decided <b>not to get vaccinated</b> pay their own expenses...)	net.hr
<i>Necijepljen</i> ( <i>unvaccinated</i> )	Noun	<b>Necijepljeni</b> pravom na <b>necijepljenje</b> uzimaju pravo drugih na liječenje... ( <b>The unvaccinated</b> take away the right to the treatment by exercising their right to <b>non-vaccination</b> ...)	vecernji.hr
<i>Necijepljenje</i> ( <i>non-vaccination</i> )	Noun		
<i>Nevakciniran</i> ( <i>unvaccinated</i> )	Adjective	<b>Nevakciniranih</b> starijih od 12 ipak je više od 6 milijuna... (There are over 6 million of <b>unvaccinated</b> older than 12...)	slobodnadalmacija.hr
<i>Nevakciniranje</i> ( <i>non-vaccination</i> )	Noun	Mislim da će 5% u ovoj zemlji izabrati <b>nevakciniranje</b> . (I think that 5% of people in this country shall choose <b>non-vaccination</b> .)	forum.roda.hr

The prefix *pro-*, same as the prefix *ne-*, appears with the meanings of the basic word referring to vaccination, and it results in the following forms: *procijepiti* (to vaccinate), *procijepljen* (vaccinated) and *procijepljenost* (vaccination level). These words were a part of Croatian vocabulary even prior to the pandemic, but within medical terminology. With the pandemic, their usage became general and consequently, a part of the media discourse. Considering that the prefix *pro-* is of Latin origin, combining of the foreign prefix and Croatian base is obvious in these words. However, formation with a base of foreign origin can be noticed as well, for example in the noun *provakser* (*pro-vaxxer*), denoting a supporter of the vaccination against coronavirus. By adding the suffix *-stvo*, the noun *provakserstvo* (*pro-vaccination*), denoting opinions held by *provakseri* (*pro-vaxxers*), was formed.

Table 4. Neologisms with the prefix *pro-* and their derived forms

Word	Word class	Usage examples	Source
<i>Procijepiti</i> (to vaccinate)	Verb	Epidemiolozi zabrinuti: „Trebalo se prije <b>procijepiti</b> .“ (Epidemiologists worried: “We should have got vaccinated already.”)	24sata.hr
<i>Procijepljen</i> (vaccinated)	Adjective	Mađarski vrh <b>procijepljen</b> (Leading Hungarian politicians <b>vaccinated</b> )	vecernji.hr
<i>Procijepljenost</i> (vaccination level)	Noun	Europski prvak <b>procijepljenosti</b> pošteđen četvrtog naleta virusa. (European champion per <b>vaccination level</b> was saved from the fourth virus wave.)	jutarnji.hr
<i>Provakser</i> ( <i>pro-vaxxer</i> )	Noun	Važne su dvije brojke, a ovo svi skupa želimo, bili <b>provakseri</b> ili antivakseri. (Two numbers are important, and we all want this, regardless whether we are <b>pro-vaxxers</b> or anti-vaxxers.)	tportal.hr

### 3.2. Suffixation

As for suffixal neologisms formation, a very interesting phenomenon which might be the focus of some future research can be noticed in the Croatian language. The above refers to the usage of the lexical morpheme *korona*<sup>5</sup> which is transformed into the new words such as *koronac*, *koronarac* and *koronaš* (*all words denoting a person infected by coronavirus*) by suffixal formation. What is more, secondary suffixation results in motal pair formation *koronašica* (*female person infected by coronavirus*). The formation of the adjective *koronski* (*corona-related*) by adding the suffix *-ski* and the verb *koronirati* (*to suffer from COVID-19*) can be noticed as well.

A similar situation also refers to the abbreviation *COVID* which is graphically adjusted to the Croatian language in the form *kovid*, which has the lexical meaning different suffixes might be added to. The result are again newly coined words such as the adjective *kovidan* (*COVID-related*), the noun *kovidaš* (*person suffering from COVID*) and the verb *kovidirati* (*to suffer from COVID*). Motal pair formation of the noun *kovidaš* (*male person suffering from COVID*) by adding the suffix *-ica*, *kovidašica* (*female person suffering from COVID*), can be noticed too.

To sum up, to denote a person of the male gender, the suffixes *-(a)c* and *-aš* are used. The suffix *-aš* is extremely productive in Croatian, and it defines something concrete: a man, an animal, a plant or a thing, but most often a male person (Babić 2002: 132). As it has a wide range of meanings, the most frequent one being 'holder of a certain feature' (Babić 2002: 133), it is no wonder that this suffix is used to form the new words *koronaš* (*male person suffering from corona virus*) and *kovidaš* (*male person suffering from COVID*) which denote a person suffering from the coronavirus disease or the COVID-19 disease. The need for the formation of words denoting a female person by adding the suffix *-ica* (*koronašica*, *kovidašica* / *female person suffering from corona virus or covid*), which has previously been determined as productive in other forms such as *antimaskerica* (*female anti-masker*) and *antivakserica* (*female anti-vaxxer*), and expressing motal pair, speaks in favour of the distribution of the above words. The suffix *-(a)c* is also very productive in the Croatian language. However, it is used to form nouns which are created using noun, adjective and verb bases (Babić 2002: 79). In case of the nouns *koronac* and *koronarac* (*both words denoting a person suffering from corona virus*), the base component cannot be classified into the above categories and therefore, this is a specific formation.

The suffix *-(a)n* appears when forming an adjective in the form of *kovidan* (*COVID-related*). It is interesting to observe that the adjective is recorded in its definite form (its indefinite form would contain the suffix *-ni*: *kovidni* (*COVID-related*) as well as the descriptive adjective). Furthermore, the adjective suffix *-ski* (*koronski*), which was previously recorded in other forms such as *antimaskerski* (*anti-mask related*) and *antivakerski* (*anti-vaccination related*), was confirmed as well. The suffix *-ski* is one of the most productive adjective suffixes, and it is added to a noun, verb, adjective and adverbial base. However, in the case of the adjective *koronski* (*corona-related*), the base component is not a part of the above categories. Therefore, this is the case of special formation, as it was with the bases suffix *-(a)c* which is added to when forming nouns. Suffixation is recorded when forming the two verbs *koronirati* (*to suffer from corona virus*) and *kovidirati* (*to suffer from COVID-19*), and their formation model is the

5 This issue shall be more thoroughly discussed in the section dedicated to compounding.

same because the suffix *-irati* is added to them, which is understandable since verbs in Croatian containing this suffix are formed from foreign bases (Babić 2002: 508). Although this suffix used to refer only to foreign basis, new literature records verbs which contain Croatian basis and the suffix *-irati*, such as *lažirati* (*to falsify*) (Mikić Čolić 2015: 90). As it is most commonly used to form biaspectual verbs from nouns (Buljan 2016: 161), it is considered to be a less frequently used suffix. However, as the number of foreign bases increased, due to, among other reasons, pandemics, the situation changed and it has recently become the most frequently used suffix when forming verbs containing foreign base (Mikić Čolić 2015: 90).

Nouns resulting from motal formation using the suffix *-ica* appear as derived forms of the abovementioned nouns: *antimaskerica* (*female anti-makser*) and *antivakserica* (*female anti-vaxxer*), as well as adjectives formed by suffix *-ski*: *antigenski* (*antigen-related*), *antimaskerski* (*anti-mask related*) and *antivakterski* (*anti-vaccination related*). When forming the motal pairs *antimasker* – *antimaskerica* (*male – female anti-makser*) and *antivakser* – *antivakserica* (*male – female anti-vaxxer*), it is interesting to notice that the female forms are formed by adding the Croatian suffix *-ica*, and when forming adjectives the Croatian suffix *-ski* can be noticed. Both are added to the suffix of foreign origin *-er* during secondary suffixation.

The most frequently found term in public discourse denoting a person supporting vaccination against coronavirus is a word of foreign origin or loan word *vakser* (*vaxxer*). However, a term *cjepiša* (*vaxxer*),<sup>6</sup> as a Croatian version with the Croatian base *cijepi*- (< prasl. \*čěpъ) and suffix *-ša*, was recorded in the media discourse as well. It is interesting to notice that this suffix is not very productive in the Croatian language and the noun base it is added to is mostly formed by an infinitive verb base and is stylistically marked (Babić 2002: 364-365). Therefore, the noun *cjepiša* (*vaxxer*) is formed from the infinitive verb base *cijepi*- in accordance with the verb *cijepiti* (*to vaccinate*).

Table 5. Neologisms created by suffixation

Word	Word class	usage examples	source
<i>Koronaš</i> ( <i>person suffering from corona virus</i> )	noun	<b>Koronaš</b> unajmio sobu i svjesno ostvario kontakt s vlasnicima. ( <b>Person suffering from corona virus</b> rented a room and consciously made contact with the owners.)	01portal.hr
<i>Koronašica</i> ( <i>female person suffering from corona virus</i> )	noun	Dnevnik jedene <b>koronašice</b> . (A diary of a <b>woman suffering from corona virus</b> .)	dalmacijadanas.hr
<i>Koronac</i> ( <i>person suffering from corona virus</i> )	noun	Si čul, u Hrvatskoj već 105 <b>koronaca</b> ! (Have you heard, 105 <b>people suffering from corona virus</b> in Croatia!)	zargonaut.com
<i>Koronarac</i> ( <i>person suffering from corona virus</i> )	noun	Koliko je stvarno grozomoran i opasan taj virus <b>koronarac</b> može se vidjeti usporedbom podataka za gripu diljem svijeta... (We can see how terrible and dangerous this <b>corona virus</b> is if we compare it with the flu data worldwide...)	Facebook

6 Usage example: *Ministar Marić drugi najseksi cjepiša*, source: dnevno.hr.

<i>Koronski (corona-related)</i>	adjective	Arheološki muzej u Splitu (...) <b>koronski</b> skromno slavi 200. rođendan. (The Museum of Archaeology in Split modestly celebrates its 200 <sup>th</sup> birthday <b>during corona times.</b> )	slobodnadalmacija.hr
<i>Kovidan (COVID-related)</i>	adjective	<b>Kovidan</b> samo u nosu ( <b>COVID</b> only in nose)	zagrebsecurityforum.com
<i>Kovidaš (person suffering from COVID)</i>	noun	Teški <b>kovidaši</b> ozbiljni su kandidati za fatalan ishod, a i lakim <b>kovidašima...</b> (Serious <b>patients suffering from COVID</b> are likely to end up with fatal consequences, and mild <b>patients suffering from COVID...</b> )	jutarnji.hr
<i>Kovidašica (female person suffering from COVID)</i>	noun	Fama oko ovog virusa je otišla predaleko utoliko da se i med. sestre dobile epitet „ <b>kovidašica</b> “. (The story about this virus has gone too far, even the nurses have been described as <b>females suffering from COVID.</b> )	24sata.hr
<i>Koronirati (to suffer from corona virus)</i>	verb	Sad sam prodao stan pa se mogu i ja <b>kovidirati</b> i <b>koronirati</b> neko vrijeme. (I sold my apartment so I can suffer from COVID and corona for a while.)	indeks.hr
<i>Kovidirati (to suffer from COVID)</i>	verb		

### 3.3. Compounding, analogy, blending

It was noticed that compounding, especially if it follows an analogous pattern, is the most productive formation method used in Croatian media discourse. The greatest number of recorded samples had the component *korona*- and the abbreviation *COVID*, which appears as a supplement of the word basic meaning in compound nouns. The issue of the component *korona* opens up two more research questions. Many scientific papers have been dealing with the first question, which refers to the relation between affixoids and the close term: bound lexical morphemes. Within the last decade, research has focused on clearly defining and separating the concepts. If we sum up recent research (Levačić 2017, Mikić Čolić 2021), it can be concluded that affixoids most commonly have general meanings (Mikić Čolić 2021: 188), or “intensifying or narrowing” meanings (Levačić 2017: 155). On the other hand, bound lexical morphemes keep their specific lexical meaning. Having in mind such new findings, the component *korona* shall be defined as a bound lexical morpheme (Initial or Final Combining Form – ICF/FCF).

The second question refers to the formative status of the component *korona*. The pandemic resulted in a great number of compounds containing the component *korona*. Due to its features (internationalisms with productive formation, etc. (Mikić Čolić 2021: 264)), it is considered to be a bound lexical morpheme, which we also agree with. Nevertheless, one of the most important features of bound lexical morphemes is that they cannot be independent, that is that they appear as a part of a compound. However, the component *korona* is becoming independent more and more often. It appears as an independent base with derivative forms such as *koronaš*, *koronac* and *koronašica* as we mentioned in the section on suffixation.

As far as the component *korona* in analogy compounds is concerned, as it was assumed, significant deviations in writing these compounds in relation to the *Croatian Orthography* (2013) could be noticed, as well as alternating and inconsistent writing of pandemic expressions on Croatian websites. If we observe the component *korona* as a prefixoid, all its components should be written as single words, monolectic models or compounds as was recorded in the *Coronavirus Glossary* (2020) issued by the Institute for Croatian Language and Linguistics (for example, *koronabolnica* (*corona hospital*), *koronafobija* (*corona-phobia*), *koronahumor* (*corona-humour*), *koronamjere* (*corona measures*)), and therefore, a more suitable name for the formation would be *prefixoidization* and for the term *prefixoid forms* (Horvat and Štebih Golub 2016: 230). However, these newly coined words were written as compounds (for example, *koronabrojevi* (*corona numbers*), semi-compounds (for example, *korona-bolesnik* (*corona patient*)) and multi-word expressions (for example, *korona aktivist* (*corona activist*)) on Croatian websites. Variations in writing the compounds containing prefixoids is not unknown. Such inconsistencies are described in detail in the available literature (Mikić Čolić and Bošnjak 2020). Furthermore, the same terms are written differently on different websites, for example the term *koronakarta* (*corona map*):

*Hrvatska je na **korona-karti** Europe cijela u tamnocrvenom. (Croatia marked dark red on the European **corona map**.)* (24sata.hr)

*Objavljena nova **koronakarta**: Hrvatska se i dalje crveni. (New **corona map** published: Croatia still in red.)* (dnevnik.hr)

*Objavljena nova **korona-karta**, Hrvatska tamnocrvena. (New **corona map** published: Croatia dark red.)* (indeks.hr)

*Stigla nova **korona karta**: Hrvatska ostala tamnocrven. (New **corona map** arrived: Croatia remains dark red.)* (jutarnji.hr)

*Objavljena nova **koronakarta** Europe, Hrvatska i dalje u tamnocrvenom. (New **corona map** of Europe published, Croatia still in dark red.)* (tportal.hr)

*Stigla nova **korona-karta**: Dijelovi Hrvatske tamnocrveni. (New **corona map** available: Parts of Croatia are marked dark red.)* (vecernji.hr)

What is more, these websites show inconsistencies in writing the same terms, such as:

*Najsnažniji udar **koronakrize** u 2020. godini pretrpjela srednja poduzeća kojih je 3 posto više. (The middle-size companies suffered the strongest **corona crisis** impact and there are 3 or more percent of such companies.)* (24sata.hr)

*Tako je tisuću najbogatijih ljudi svijeta svoje velike gubite nastale zbog **korona-krize** nadoknadilo za samo devet mjeseci. (A thousand of the richest people in the world compensated their losses caused by the **corona crisis** within nine months.)* (24sata.hr)

*Korona kriza omogućila je uspješnim ženama da pokažu svoj puni potencijal u znanosti (The corona-crisis enabled successful women to show their full scientific potential.) (24sata.hr)*

As is the case in other languages, the greatest number of neologisms refers to nouns with the component *korona-*, and forty such neologisms were recorded for the needs of this research, which is obvious from *Table 6*. Just for comparison, the *Coronavirus Glossary* contains twenty-three terms with the component *corona-*. We believe that there are even more such neologisms in the public Croatian discourse and that their number shall increase if the pandemic situation continues.

*Table 6. Neologisms with the component corona-*

Word	Word class	Usage examples	Source
<i>Koronaaktivist</i> ( <i>corona activist</i> )	noun	<b>Korona aktiviste</b> treba staviti u specijaliziranu ustanovu. ( <b>Corona activists</b> have to be placed into a specialized institution.)	logicno.com
<i>Koronabolesnik</i> ( <i>corona patient</i> )	noun	...kako bismo zadovoljili sve potrebe naših <b>korona-bolesnika</b> ... (... in order to meet the needs of our <b>corona-patients</b> ...)	slobodnadalmacija.hr
<i>Koronabolnica</i> ( <i>corona hospital</i> )	noun	... a čak je i KB Dubrava, koja je ostala <b>koronabolnica</b> , stigla do 44 posto. (... even the Clinical Hospital Dubrava, which remained to function as a <b>corona hospital</b> , reached 44 percent.)	net.hr
<i>Koronabroj</i> ( <i>corona number</i> )	noun	<b>Koronabrojevi</b> u Hrvatskoj i dalje rastu ( <b>Corona numbers</b> in Croatia are still growing)	totalinfo.com
<i>Koronacentrist</i> ( <i>corona centrist</i> )	noun	... na Twitteru predstavljao kao „militantni <b>korona centrist</b> “. (... presented himself as a “militant <b>corona centrist</b> ” on Twitter.)	jutarnji.hr
<i>Koronadiktatura</i> ( <i>corona dictatorship</i> )	noun	U ovoj <b>korona-diktaturi</b> nakotilo se puno lošega... (A lot of bad things came out of this <b>corona dictatorship</b> ...)	slobodnadalmacija.hr
<i>Koronafašizam</i> ( <i>corona fascism</i> )	noun	... usudili dignuti glas protiv „ <b>korona fašizma</b> “. (... dared to raise their voice against “ <b>corona fascism</b> .”)	jutarnji.hr
<i>Koronafobija</i> ( <i>corona-phobia</i> )	noun	Pandemija je usporila, ali buja <b>koronafobija</b> . (The pandemic has slowed down, but <b>corona-phobia</b> is thriving.)	slobodnadalmacija.hr
<i>Koronahigijena</i> ( <i>corona hygiene</i> )	noun	U četvrtak u tiskanom izdanju Jutarnjeg lista veliki specijal „ <b>Koronahigijena</b> “ (A special section on “ <b>Corona hygiene</b> ” on Thursday, in Jutarnji list printed edition)	jutarnji.hr
<i>Koronajesen</i> ( <i>corona fall</i> )	noun	Čeka li Hrvatsku mirna <b>korona-jesen</b> ? (Can Croatia expect a calm <b>corona fall</b> ?)	dnevnik.hr
<i>Koronaumor</i> ( <i>corona humour</i> )	noun	<b>Korona humor</b> : „Jeste li čuli da će Vili Beroš napuniti Arenu?“ ( <b>Corona humour</b> : “Have you heard that Vili Beroš left Arena?”)	24sata.hr

<i>Koronakarta</i> ( <i>corona map</i> )	noun	Hrvatska na <b>korona karti</b> ostala crvena (Croatia remains red at the <b>corona map</b> )	telegram.hr
<i>Koronakaos</i> ( <i>corona chaos</i> )	noun	<b>Korona kaos</b> u Osijeku ( <b>Corona chaos</b> in Osijek)	gol.hr
<i>Koronakorota</i> ( <i>corona mourning</i> )	noun	<b>Koronakorota</b> – stojeći ispred crkve svetog Stjepana... ( <b>Corona mourning</b> – standing in front of the Saint Stephen church...)	vecernji.hr
<i>Koronakriminal</i> ( <i>corona criminal</i> )	noun	<b>Korona kriminal</b> : 300 eura za lažan test ( <b>Corona criminal</b> : 300 Euros for a fake test)	ezadar.net
<i>Koronakriminala</i> ( <i>corona criminals</i> )	noun	<b>Korona-kriminalci</b> iskorištavaju strah Europe od virusa ( <b>Corona criminals</b> taking use of the European fear of virus)	otvoreno.hr
<i>Koronakriza</i> ( <i>corona crises</i> )	noun	<b>Koronakriza</b> povećala zalihe nafte i derivata. ( <b>Corona crisis</b> increased oil and oil related products supplies)	novelist.hr
<i>Koronaludilo</i> ( <i>corona madness</i> )	noun	Dolazi li <b>korona ludilo</b> ? (Is <b>corona madness</b> on the way?)	varazdinski.net
<i>Koronaljeto</i> ( <i>corona summer</i> )	noun	Pitali smo studente kako provode još jedno <b>korona-ljeto</b> (We asked the students how they spent their <b>corona summer</b> )	srednja.hr
<i>Koronamafija</i> ( <i>corona mafia</i> )	noun	<b>Koronamafija</b> : Pohapsili organiziranu grupu kriminalaca ( <b>Corona mafia</b> : organized group of criminals arrested)	gorica.info
<i>Koronamanija</i> ( <i>corona mania</i> )	noun	Zajedno smo komentirali neslužbene stručnjake, čitali, pratili i čudili se <b>koronamaniji</b> . (Together we commented unofficial experts, we read, followed and we were surprised by <b>corona mania</b> .)	vecernji.hr
<i>Koronamjera</i> ( <i>corona measure</i> )	noun	Nove <b>koronamjere</b> tek okrnule očekivanja francuskih potrošača (New <b>corona measures</b> have not impacted the expectations of French consumers)	glasistre.hr
<i>Koronaobveznica</i> ( <i>corona bonds</i> )	noun	zemlje juga koje su tražile (...) euroobveznice ili <b>korona obveznice</b> , odustale su od tog zahtjeva. (Southern countries asking for (...) euro bonds or <b>corona bonds</b> gave up this requirement.)	jutarnji.hr
<i>Koronapacijent</i> ( <i>corona patient</i> )	noun	Prvi talijanski <b>koronapacijent</b> pušten iz bolnice (The first Italian <b>corona patient</b> released from the hospital)	jutarnji.hr
<i>Koronaparty</i> ( <i>corona party</i> )	noun	Susjedi proslavu rođenja djeteta prijavili kao <b>korona party</b> . (A child's birthday party reported as <b>corona party</b> by the neighbours.)	tportal.hr
<i>Koronapartijanr</i> ( <i>corona party people</i> )	noun	Policija u Francuskoj i Njemačkoj udarila na <b>korona partijanere</b> ; (Police in France and Germany putting pressure on <b>corona party people</b> )	tportal.hr
<i>Koronapauza</i> ( <i>corona pause</i> )	noun	I sam trener Samir Toplak iskreno priznaje da im je <b>korona-pauza</b> pomogla. (The coach Samir Toplak sincerely admits that the <b>corona pause</b> helped him.)	vecernji.hr

<i>Koronapodatak</i> ( <i>corona data</i> )	noun	Novi <b>korona podaci</b> (New <b>corona data</b> )	dalmacijadanas.hr
<i>Koronapozdrav</i> ( <i>corona greeting</i> )	noun	<b>Korona pozdrav</b> uvijek izmami osmijeh na lice. (A <b>corona greeting</b> always makes us smile.)	pixsell.hr
<i>Koronapravilo</i> ( <i>corona rule</i> )	noun	U Srbiji nova <b>koronapravila</b> stupaju na snagu od ponoći. (New <b>corona rules</b> enter into force at midnight in Serbia.)	vecernji.hr
<i>Koronaprofiter</i> ( <i>corona profiteer</i> )	noun	Mi smo <b>korona profiteri</b> i od toga ne bježimo. (We are <b>corona profiteers</b> and we are not running away from this.)	vecernji.hr
<i>Koronaputovnica</i> ( <i>corona passport</i> )	noun	Od sutra počinje raditi sustav <b>korona putovnica</b> ( <b>Corona passport</b> system starts functioning as of tomorrow)	telegram.hr
<i>Koronasezona</i> ( <i>corona season</i> )	noun	Izvrсна <b>korona sezona</b> (A great <b>corona season</b> )	glasistre.hr
<i>Koronaskeptik</i> ( <i>corona sceptic</i> )	noun	Najpoznatiji hrvatski <b>korona-skeptici</b> u zajedničkom videu... (The most famous Croatian <b>corona sceptics</b> in a video together...)	faktograf.hr
<i>Koronaslučaj</i> ( <i>corona case</i> )	noun	U Hrvatskoj ukupno 101 novi <b>korona slučaj</b> . (101 new <b>corona cases</b> in Croatia.)	aktualno.hr
<i>Koronastanka</i> ( <i>corona break</i> )	noun	Neki je dojam da je <b>korona-stanka</b> pomogla neizvjesnosti lige... (There is an impression that the <b>corona break</b> helped in the league uncertainty...)	sportske.jutarnji.hr
<i>Koronasvadba</i> ( <i>corona wedding</i> )	noun	<b>Korona-svadbe</b> u Lici? ( <b>Corona weddings</b> in Lika?)	novilist.hr
<i>Koronašoping</i> ( <i>corona shopping</i> )	noun	<b>Korona-šoping</b> : Zna li što smo kupovali... ( <b>Corona shopping</b> : Do you know what we were buying...)	dnevnik.hr
<i>Koronavirus</i> ( <i>corona virus</i> )	noun	U Hrvatsku stiže kućni test za <b>koronavirus</b> ... (The home <b>corona virus</b> test arrives to Croatia...)	rtl.hr
<i>Koronazabava</i> ( <i>corona party</i> )	noun	Još uvijek se istražuje <b>korona zabava</b> ... ( <b>Corona party</b> still being investigated...)	rtl.hr

Analogy or analogy formation is an abbreviated formation process (Barić 1988: 47), and it presents a significant linguistic process resulting in new forms which are modelled after other, existing forms. Within this process, rules are generalized or applied to forms made according to some other rule (Marković 2013: 448). The form and the content of the basic word are not transferred directly. The new word is formed by analogy to the derivative form of the same type. Therefore, apart from the formative pattern, *analogy pattern* as a special type of the formative pattern should be considered as well (Barić et al. 2005: 302–303). However, usual formative patterns cannot be determined for certain compounds which are formed in accordance with foreign patterns. These are formed in accordance with the analogy pattern and are therefore, *analogy compounds* (Barić 1980: 28). This is also the case with the so-called *neoclassic compounds* with a formative prefixoid or suffixoid component (Silić and Pranjković 2005: 152), or initial or final bound lexical base or bound lexical

morpheme (Mikić Čolić 2014: 294) of Greek or Latin origin, as confirmed in the analysed material.

For example, analogous to the noun *epidemija* (*epidemic*), new words such as *infodemija* (*infodemia*),<sup>7</sup> *plandemija* (*plandemia*)<sup>8</sup> and *twindemija* (*twindemia*)<sup>9</sup> were formed. The formative pattern of the word *epidemija*, which is a compound of Greek origin, is made in a manner that the first formative prefixoid component or initial bound lexical base (*epi-*) is added to the formative element (*-dem*), which forms the noun in the meaning of a sudden plague or contagious disease together with the suffix (*-ija*). Neologisms appearing in this material took over the analogy pattern of the above word by taking over the final formative elements (*-dem-ija*) preceded by bound (*info-*) or free (*plan*, *twi*n) lexical bases of foreign origin. This process results in an increase in the number of compounds containing the same element and speaks in favour of the fact that the analogy formation, as an abbreviated formative process, is very productive in modern Croatian and as such, it is suitable for media discourse.

Table 9. Neologisms formed by analogy

Word	Word class	Usage examples	Source
<i>Infodemija</i> ( <i>infodemia</i> )	noun	Poput epidemija, i <b>infodemije</b> bi se mogle smatrati... (As epidemia, <b>infodemia</b> could be considered...)	tportal.hr
<i>Plandemija</i> ( <i>plandemia</i> )	noun	... onima koji vjeruju u „ <b>plandemiju</b> “ napali u komentarima (...those who believe in “ <b>plandemia</b> ” were attacked in comments)	indeks.hr
<i>Twindemija</i> ( <i>twindemia</i> )	noun	... <b>twindemija</b> (dvostruka epidemija) bi još više pritisnula zdravstvene sustave... (... <b>twindemia</b> (double epidemia) would make even more pressure on health systems...)	index.hr

As for the terms containing the abbreviation *COVID*, they are written as multi-word expressions in accordance with the *Croatian Orthography* (2013: 48), for example *COVID ambulanta* (*COVID clinic*), *COVID bolnica* (*COVID hospital*) and *COVID potvrda* (*COVID certificate*). The same refers to the following abbreviations as well – *PCR* (English, *polymerase chain reaction*) (for example, *PCR test*) and *PCT* (Slovenian, *prebolevniki, cepljeni, testirani*) (for example, *PCT uvjet*). However, this abbreviation was lexicalized (*kovid*) in Croatian, and it can be perceived as a prefixoid. In such cases, these forms are written as single words, for example: *kovidambulanta* (*COVID clinic*), *kovidbolnica* (*COVID hospital*), *kovidpotvrda* (*COVID certificate*). Nevertheless, a non-lexicalized form is more frequently recorded on Croatian websites. As it could be noticed in the case of the component *corona*, deviations from the orthographic norm and inconsistencies in writing these newly coined words were detected on Croatian websites. Consequently, the terms containing the abbreviation *COVID* are written as

7 Information overload primarily referring to the spread of fake news, disinformation or conspiracy theories related to coronavirus in the media, on the Internet and social networks (IHJ 2020).

8 Conspiracy theory stating that COVID-19 is a product of global elites and serves the purpose of meeting their interest at the expense of humanity.

9 Overlap between the flu virus and COVID-19.

semi-compounds (for example, *COVID-bolesnik/COVID patient*, *covid-nomadi/COVID-nomads*, *covid-odjel/COVID ward*) and multi-word expressions (*COVID test/ COVID test*, *COVID redar/COVID guard*). Apart from these, the abbreviation *COVID* is written in a partially lexicalized manner, as it can be seen in the examples *Covid fašizam* (*COVID fascism*) and *covid posljedica* (*COVID consequence*). As in the case of the component *korona*, when writing terms containing abbreviations, writing inconsistencies and deviations from the Croatian orthographic norm can be noticed. This confirms the initial assumption that there is orthographic chaos in the Croatian media discourse. Also, terms containing the abbreviation *COVID* are the second most frequent pandemic neologisms, just after terms containing the component *korona*. Eighteen were confirmed as can be seen in *Table 7*. Interestingly, the *Coronavirus Glossary* states just one word using the abbreviation form: *COVID bolnica* (*COVID hospital*) and two words using *COVID* as a prefixoid: *kovidambulanta* (*COVID clinic*) and *kovidpozitivan* (*COVID positive*), which means that this issue is challenging for linguistic circles also.

Table 7. Neologisms formed using abbreviations

Word	word class	usage examples	source
<i>COVID ambulanta</i> ( <i>COVID clinic</i> )	noun	U <b>COVID ambulanti</b> (...) stariji sugrađani naručeni... (Older citizens waiting (...) in a <b>COVID clinic</b> ...)	slobodnadalmacija.hr
<i>COVID bolesnik</i> ( <i>COVID patient</i> )	noun	... za <b>COVID-bolesnike</b> ostalo je još 100 ili najviše 120 kreveta (100 or maximally 120 beds left for <b>COVID patients</b> ).	slobodnadalmacija.hr
<i>COVID bolnica</i> ( <i>COVID hospital</i> )	noun	Popunjeni kapaciteti <b>COVID bolnice</b> u Dubravi (Capacity in <b>COVID hospital</b> in Dubrava met)	dnevnik.hr
<i>COVID fašizam</i> ( <i>COVID fascism</i> )	noun	... osvanuo je grafit koji glasi „ <b>Covid fašizam</b> “... (“ <b>COVID fascism</b> ” graffiti appeared...)	glasistre.hr
<i>COVID negativan</i> ( <i>COVID negative</i> )	noun	... bolesnik mora biti testiran i <b>COVID negativan</b> . (The patient has to be tested and <b>COVID negative</b> .)	vecernji.hr
<i>COVID nomad</i> ( <i>COVID nomad</i> )	noun	Hrvatski necijepljeni <b>covid-nomadi</b> šecu bez potvrda gdje žele. (Croatian unvaccinated <b>COVID nomads</b> walking around without certificates as they wish.)	jutarnji.hr
<i>COVID odjel</i> ( <i>COVID ward</i> )	noun	...imali su dosad 92 pacijenta na <b>covid-odjelu</b> . (they have had 92 patients at the <b>COVID ward</b> )	indeks.hr
<i>COVID posljedica</i> ( <i>COVID consequence</i> )	noun	Osvrnuo se i na <b>covid posljedice</b> . (He referred to <b>covid consequences</b> .)	tportal.hr
<i>COVID postelja</i> ( <i>COVID bed</i> )	noun	KBC Split će imati 164 <b>COVID postelje</b> (Clinical Hospital Centre in Split will have 164 <b>COVID beds</b> )	slobodnadalmacija.hr
<i>COVID plan</i> ( <i>COVID plan</i> )	noun	Konkretnog <b>covid plana</b> za jesen nema. (There is no specific <b>COVID plan</b> for fall.)	rtl.hr

<i>COVID potvrda</i> ( <i>COVID certificate</i> )	noun	... koje je trebala <b>covid potvrda</b> . (... which required a <b>COVID certificate</b> .)	24sata.hr
<i>COVID pozitivan</i> ( <i>COVID positive</i> )	noun	<b>COVID pozitivan</b> vozio cross motor, pao i teško se ozlijedio ( <b>COVID positive person</b> rode a motor bike, fell and injured himself badly)	vecernji.hr
<i>COVID propusnica</i> ( <i>COVID pass</i> )	noun	...prva europska zemlja u kojoj će <b>covid-propusnica</b> biti obvezna... (... the first European country where the <b>COVID pass</b> shall be obligatory...)	index.hr
<i>COVID putovnica</i> ( <i>COVID passport</i> )	noun	Što treba znati o <b>COVID putovnicama?</b> (What do we need to know about <b>COVID passports?</b> )	vecernji.hr
<i>COVID redar</i> ( <i>COVID guard</i> )	noun	<b>COVID redare</b> Stožer je uveo... (The staff introduced <b>COVID guards</b> ...)	vecernji.hr
<i>COVID sestra</i> ( <i>COVID nurse</i> )	noun	Gabriela (27) je vatrogaskinja i <b>Covid sestra</b> (Gabriela (27) is a fire fighter and a <b>COVID nurse</b> )	24sata.hr
<i>COVID test</i> ( <i>COVID test</i> )	noun	<b>Covid testovi</b> za europske turiste ( <b>COVID tests</b> for European tourists)	slobodnadalmacija.hr
<i>PCR test (PCR test)</i>	noun	...kupio krivotvoreni <b>PCR test</b> ... (... bought a fake <b>PCR test</b> ...)	rtl.hr
<i>PCR testiranje</i> ( <i>PCR testing</i> )	noun	...kako bi se povratnike moglo pozvati na <b>PCR testiranje</b> ... (in order to invite the returnees for <b>PCR testing</b> ...)	vecernji.hr
<i>PCT uvjet</i> ( <i>PCR condition</i> )	noun	..uvođenje <b>PCT uvjeta</b> (preboljeli, cijepljeni, testirani)... (introducing <b>PCT conditions</b> (those recovered, vaccinated, tested)...	index.hr

As other compounds resulting from compounding, nouns and adjectives of Croatian origin were recorded as can be seen in *Table 8*.

*Table 8. Neologisms formed by compounding*

Word	Word class	Usage examples	Source
<i>Javnozdravstveni</i> ( <i>public health</i> )	Adjective	...predstavljaju tako velik i ogroman <b>javnozdravstveni</b> problem. (... present a large, huge <b>public health</b> problem.)	vecernji.hr
<i>Samoizolacija</i> ( <i>self-isolation</i> )	Noun	... neki ljudi ipak morali u <b>samoizolaciju</b> . (... some people had to be in <b>self-isolation</b> .)	indeks.hr
<i>Samoliječenje</i> ( <i>self-treatment</i> )	Noun	... izbjegavati <b>samoliječenje</b> , upozorio je Salomon. (... to avoid <b>self-treatment</b> , warned Salomon.)	net.hr
<i>Samotestiranje</i> ( <i>self-testing</i> )	Noun	Slovenske učenike čekaju kompleti za <b>samotestiranje</b> . ( <b>Self-testing</b> sets expecting Slovenian students.)	tportal.hr

<i>Novooboljeli</i> ( <i>newly ill</i> )	Adjective	U HZJZ-u ističu kako su napravili analizu udjela cijepljenih i necijepljenih među <b>новооболжелима</b> . (the Croatian Public Health Institute emphasizes that they made the analysis of the portion of vaccinated and non-vaccinated persons among the <b>newly ill</b> .)	indeks.hr
<i>Novozaraženi</i> ( <i>newly infected</i> )	Adjective	Zbog brzog povećanja <b>novozaraženih</b> Slovenija je od jučer... (Due to a rapid increase of the <b>newly infected</b> , since yesterday Croatia...)	indeks.hr
<i>Prvozaraženi</i> ( <i>infected first</i> )	Adjective	<b>Prvozaraženi</b> koronavirusom dobili zahvalnice (Thank you cards provided to those who were <b>infected first</b> )	indeks.hr
<i>Drugozaraženi</i> ( <i>infected second</i> )	adjective	<b>Drugozaraženi</b> je policajac ... (Police officer <b>infected second</b> )	vecernji.hr

Blending or fusion can be defined as a type of new formation method in Croatian which results in formative or lexical blending, and which is derivatively extremely productive in the English language (Marković 2009: 229). Although the number of words formed in this manner is increasing, it has to be stated that, for the time being, only 1.6% of the total number of new words in Croatian lexis refers to blends (Mikić Čolić 2021: 207). Simultaneously, new words formed by blending can be observed as non-systematic newly coined words. Systematic newly coined words are neologisms or words formed by 'traditional' formation methods (prefixation, suffixation, prefixal-suffixal formation, complex-suffixal formation, compounding, blending and analogy formation), and non-systematic newly coined words are a result of blending (Lewis and Štebih Golub 2014: 139). An important blending feature is that they are formed by combining and fusing unmeaningful parts of two content words (Marković 2013: 93). In Croatian, blends appear as loanwords (*blog*, *motel*, *smog*), Croatian forms (*maspok* – masovni pokret/mass movement, *znanfan* – znanstvena fanstastika/science fiction) and creative newly coined words found in advertising and media discourse (*kulturizam* – kulturni turizam/cultural tourism) (Marković 2009: 232–234). Although this is the case of a new type of formation, it proved to be efficient in the Croatian language, especially media discourse, which is turning into general lexis (Marković 2009: 234–235). In this research, only the example of *kovidiot*<sup>10</sup> was recorded as a pandemic-related newly coined word which can be classified as a blend. It was formed by blending the lexicalized abbreviation *COVID* (*kovid*) and noun *idiot*. Modern blends analysis differentiates three types of blends and emphasize those where “one part of the word is inserted into the other word which remains the same” (Mikić Čolić 2021: 265). This example could be also classified in the above defined category. In our opinion, only time will show whether blending shall be implemented in Croatian formation methods (Mikić Čolić 2021: 214). Furthermore, we think that factors generating blends – fast communication, modern technologies, advertising discourse and similar – might be a trigger for their occurrence. The analysed material also indicates that other formation methods are much more productive than blending, especially when *korona* and COVID components are used.

10 Usage example: *Riješite naš kviz i provjerite jeste li kovidiot*, source: slobodnadalmacija.hr.

### 3.4. Linguistic borrowing and calques

Calques are words formed according to a foreign pattern (Turk 1993: 39). Different calque types might be differed according to the relation between formation structure pattern and calque. Most frequently, these are literal calques which faithfully copy a foreign formation model (English, *health-food* > Croatian, *zdrava hrana*). There are also partial calques which faithfully transfer one element and the other is structured according to the Croatian formation model (German, *Hochofen* > Croatian, *visoka peć*), semantic calques which are influenced by a foreign language in the sense that the word is Croatian but new meanings are attributed to it (German, *Zweig* > Croatian, *grana* meaning 'a type of activity') and semi-calques where one part is transferred directly from a foreign pattern and the other is most often literally translated (English, *global village* > Croatian *globalno selo*) (Turk and Pavletić 2002: 271; Turk 2003: 495). Apart from calques, there are also cases of the passive takeover of foreign, often non-adapted lexical solutions, especially as we are witnessing an expansion of anglicisms. Therefore, we can speak of loanwords (*fast food*, *outfit*, *selfie*) (Turk 2003: 496–497). The use of loanwords which are not adjusted to the Croatian language and which are taken from English, such as *lockdown* or *shut down* and *fakenews*, was registered on the Croatian websites during the pandemic. the expression *lock down* is frequently found in Croatian public discourse. However, the calque *potpuno zatvaranje* was registered as a Croatian equivalent as well. A literal calque *lažne vijesti* had already existed as an equivalent to the expression *fake news*. The following expressions can be classified as literal calques: *superširitelj* (< English, *super-spreader*), *drive-in testiranje* (< English, *drive-in testing*), *online nastava* (< English, *online teaching*), *socijalna distancija* (< English, *social distance*), *lokalna transmisija* (< English, *local transmission*), *delta soj* (< English, *delta strain*) and *omikron varijanta* (< English, *omicron variant*). Interestingly, the *Coronavirus Glossary* states *provodno testiranje* as a Croatian equivalent to *drive-in testiranje*. However, this expression was not confirmed in the media discourse, and therefore, it can be concluded that it is not in active use. The following expressions appear as partial calques: *imunitet krda* (< English, *herd immunity*) and *nulti pacijent* (< English, *patient zero*), with the Croatian equivalent *prvozaraženi* proposed by the *Coronavirus Glossary*. Unlike the expression *provodno testiranje*, the lexeme *prvozaraženi* was confirmed as frequently used. This might indicate the fact that its formation is familiar to Croatian speakers, and that it is economical in relation to the two-word expression *nulti pacijent*.

It is evident that literal calques are the most frequent ones. This speaks in favour of the influence foreign formation models have on the Croatian language. However, considering that calque expressions activate certain Croatian features, we can speak of more active engagement of the speakers, in this case speakers in media discourse, who do not passively take over foreign forms, but try to adjust them to the Croatian language.

### 4. Conclusion

Turbulent global changes have resulted in a great number of new words which have become a component part of everyday vocabulary in the Croatian language. Apart from the abovementioned, these fast linguistic changes might lead to language

mixing, the introduction of foreign formation elements and their assimilation into Croatian lexis. Also, such global changes shall result in a stronger influence of foreign formation elements as “recipient language” shall not have enough time to adapt to a global problem, which is confirmed by this research as well. Most recorded prefixes (*-a*, *-anti*) are of foreign origin. Their Croatian equivalent *-ne*<sup>11</sup> is less frequently recorded. Also, there is a tendency to form suffixal derivatives from such nouns: *anosmičar* (*anosmic*) and *anosmičarka* (*female anosmic*) from *anosmija* (*anosmia*), etc. In suffixal formation, the problem arose as regards to the status of the component *korona* which shall definitely be discussed more thoroughly in the future. It can be noticed that all suffixes are of Croatian origin.

The most productive formation method is analogy compounding with the component *korona* and abbreviation *COVID*. Inconsistencies in their orthographic adaptation are noticed despite clear guidelines.

Apart from the above-stated formation methods, we need to emphasize analogy formation as it is frequently found in the research material as well as in numerous examples of language borrowing, especially in the form of literal calques. Although calques mostly refer to literal ones, it has to be pointed out that internationalisms commonly take part in them. On the one hand, this speaks in favour of the awareness of media discourse participants to the need of adapting foreign forms. On the other hand, it also speaks to the inability of the Croatian language system producing an equivalent in a timely manner and therefore, substituting the internationalism.

This research opened up the question of the most recent, new neologisms in Croatian media discourse by studying one segment of their use within a certain period of time under certain circumstances, more precisely in a current situation when humanity faces the COVID-19 disease. It is clear that Croatian media discourse accepts and creates neologisms quickly, depending on communication needs and thus impacts their application among the wider population and within public discourse in general. Although traditional formation methods such as affixation or compounding were confirmed, the research showed that Croatian media discourse quickly accepts formation methods which are not typical for it. This reflects the speed of the impact which extralinguistic factors have in determining linguistic elements, resulting in the passivity of the Croatian linguistic system and its speakers when providing a suitable replacement. As for future research, materials should be expanded to other spheres of public discourse. However, the level of distribution for the recorded neologisms among the general population or within conversational discourse has to be investigated as well, in order to complete the image of so-called ‘koronizmi/coronisms’ or ‘kovidizmi/covidisms’ in the Croatian language, and in order to provide suitable guidelines for an overview of the word formation system and Croatian language word formation potential.

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<sup>11</sup> The prefix *protu-* was not recorded.

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## Appendix

### Tables

- Table 1. Neologisms with the prefix *a-* and their derived forms
- Table 2. Neologisms with the prefix *anti-* and their derived forms
- Table 3. Neologisms containing the prefix *ne-*
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## TVORBA NEOLOGIZAMA VEZANIH ZA PANDEMIJU COVID-19 NA HRVATSKIM MREŽNIM PORTALIMA

### Sažetak

Pandemija bolesti COVID-19 zahvatila je sve sfere ljudskoga života, uključujući jezik u kojemu su se pojavile nove riječi i izrazi kao odgovor na novonastalu situaciju. Nove su riječi nastale kao jezični odraz pandemije te su brzo postale dio našega svakodnevnog rječnika. Stoga je važno istražiti koje su nove riječi i izrazi ušli u aktivni leksik hrvatskoga jezika. S obzirom na to da su mediji imali ključnu ulogu u informiranju stanovništva o svakodnevnim događajima vezanima za pandemiju, u ovome se radu analiziraju leksičke inovacije vezane za koronavirus na hrvatskim mrežnim portalima. Glavni su izvor istraživanja članci na mrežnim portalima. Cilj je ustvrditi načine nastanka neologizama sa stajališta tvorbe riječi, stoga se analiza usmjerila na tvorbene procese neologizama povezanih s pandemijom COVID-19: prefiksaciju, sufiksaciju, slaganje, stapanje, analošku tvorbu, jezično posuđivanje i kalkove. Rezultati istraživanja pokazuju da je najproduktivniji način tvorbe slaganje s komponentom *korona* i pokratom *COVID*. Nadalje, često se susreće analoška tvorba, kao i mnogi primjeri jezičnoga posuđivanja, posebno u obliku doslovnih kalkova. Vidljivo je kako hrvatski medijski diskurs prihvaća i stvara neologizme velikom brzinom ovisno o komunikacijskoj potrebi utječući tako na njihovu primjenu u široj populaciji i javnome diskursu općenito. Iako su potvrđeni tradicionalni tvorbeni načini poput afiksacije i slaganja, istraživanje je pokazalo kako hrvatski medijski diskurs brzo prihvaća i tvorbena rješenja koja mu nisu izvorno svojstvena iz čega se očituje rapidnost utjecaja izvanjezičnih čimbenika koji determiniraju upliv inojezičnih elemenata, što rezultira pasivnošću hrvatskoga jezičnog sustava i njegovih govornika pri pružanju adekvatne zamjene.

Ključne riječi: COVID-19, hrvatski jezik, hrvatski mrežni portali, medijski diskurs, neologizmi, pandemija, tvorba riječi