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## CENTRES FOR DRAMA AND COMEDY – MORPHOLOGICAL PROCESSES DURING THE COVID-19 PANDEMIC\*\*\*

A community is known by the language it keeps (Algeo 1991: 1).

*Abstract:* The extraordinary COVID-19 pandemic took the world by surprise. Changes brought about by the pandemic were momentous and radical, resulting in an influx of medical terminology into the everyday vernacular. The medicalization of the language led to the emergence of pandemic-themed neologisms, with the employment of different morphological processes. The accessibility of the subject of neologisms, their collection and categorisation were facilitated through the means of the internet. The internet enabled interactivity between its users and swift dissemination of neologisms. The aim of this paper is to establish what new lexical units were created during the COVID-19 pandemic and determine whether they predominantly belong to the category of compounds as the most productive of all morphological processes, according to Plag (2002: 64). The corpus consists of tweets containing COVID-19 inspired neologisms collected from the social network formerly known as Twitter, now X. The analysis of the corpus has shown that the most productive of all morphological processes was compounding, followed by derivation, blending, analogy, conversion, clipping and abbreviation.

*Keywords:* neologisms, morphological processes, compounding, COVID-19 pandemic.

### INTRODUCTION

Since language is a social phenomenon, it is a reliable and material witness to changes in society. Changes in society change the language. Changes such as the COVID-19 pandemic that were momentous and radical brought about an influx of medical terminology into the everyday vernacular.<sup>1</sup> Newly created vocabulary associated with

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1 Thorne (2020) call this process the *medicalization* of our everyday vocabulary.

the pandemic emerged, exhibiting linguistic creativity of language speakers and their capacity for lexical invention. As Algeo (1991: 14) explains it: “Changes in society, whether material or intellectual, call for new words; and more intense the social change, the more need we have to name new things or rename old ones.”

Additionally, newly formed words previously forgotten can resurface and regain lexical recognition, if the changing times necessitate their usage. Neologisms are thus examples of words that reflect the wheel of time spinning in perpetuity. Living languages demonstrate language change as one of their universal properties (Al-Salman–Haidar 2021: 25), as they are constantly evolving.

Neologisms are newly coined lexemes, previously unobserved in a language. The trajectory of neologisms is two-fold. They either succeed in becoming part of a permanent vocabulary through usage and their use ultimately regulated by language regulators, thus enriching<sup>2</sup> the language and its lexicon. Or, their failure to do so places them under the category of *occasionalisms*, *nonce words* or *nonce formations*. Occasionalisms are ad-hoc formations which predominantly serve poetic, stylistic, deictic or contextual purposes (Kerremans 2015: 30). Well-formedness of neologisms and the likelihood of their lexicalisation and institutionalisation can be ascribed to seven criteria for new word-formation introduced by Mattiello (2017: 23, 28–29): *transparency*, *regularity*, *productivity*, *decodification*, *informativity*, *mnemonic effect* and *analogy*. Mattiello observes that although *Algeo’s Dictionary of Neologisms* (1991) does not name analogy as one of the sources of new word formations, analogy is evident in some words registered in the dictionary.

According to Algeo (1991: 3) there are six basic etymological sources for new words: *creating*, *borrowing*, *combining*, *shortening*, *blending* and *shifting*. He also proposes a seventh category of new words whose source is unknown. Combining is the most productive of all sources, which Algeo divides into two types: *compounds* and *derivatives*. Plag (2002: 181) defines compounds “as words with binary structure, in which roots, words and even phrases (the latter only as left members) are possible elements.” They are the most numerous type of combinations. Therefore, compounding is the most productive of all morphological processes, according to Plag (2002: 64, 169), who argues that productivity is viewed as a matter of gradation, with some morphological processes being more productive than others.<sup>3</sup> To deem a morphological process productive “it should be a process that can be used to form brand new lexemes, or neologisms” (Carstairs-McCarthy 2002: 96). Haspelmath–Sims (2010: 130) argue that the occurrence of occasionalisms is related to morphological productivity, since productive morphological rules are more likely to produce occasionalisms.<sup>4</sup>

Today the accessibility of the subject of neologisms, their collection and categorisation is facilitated through the means of the internet. Kerremans (2015: 42)

2 This function of word-formation is traditionally referred to as *lexical enrichment* (Koefoed–Van Marle 2000: 306).

3 For more on *morphological productivity* see Bauer (2003).

4 They also assume that *hapax legomena*, words which occur only once in a corpus, can be regarded as occasionalisms, if they occur in a large corpus.

calls the internet “the prime medium of linguistic innovation”. The internet enables interactivity between its users and fast dissemination of neologisms. Social networks play a significant role in providing, exchanging and potentially giving prominence to new words.

The COVID-19 pandemic gave rise to the field of *neology*, the study of the creation of new words, the subcategory of which includes research into the study of neologisms and social media. Al-Azzawi–Haleem (2021) used Twitter as the data source to explore new terms and expressions created during the COVID-19 pandemic, following the principles of Krishnamurthy’s model of neologisms. The three forms of neologisms of the model, namely borrowing, word formation and lexical deviation, were all observed in the corpus, thus forming the so-called *Covid vocabulary*. Krishnamurthy’s model of neologisms was also applied by Asif, Zhiyong et al. (2021) who collected their data from articles, books, Oxford Corpus, social media (Twitter) and five different websites. The authors concluded that not all types of word formation processes were present within the four months of their data retrieval span. Khalfan, Batool et al. (2020) collected new words from online dictionaries and Twitter, observing a cyclic paradigm, according to which perception prompted the creation of neologisms, while language influence on perception was evident in their usage in discourse. Covid vocabulary or *coronaspeak* was also examined by Alyeksyeyeva, Chaiuk et al. (2020) who identified three theories of neologisms relevant to the newly-formed vocabulary, namely stylistic, etymological and denotational. They isolated denotational neologisms as the most numerous group of neologisms, most of which were blendings. Samigoullina (2021) studied blends created during the COVID-19 pandemic. She used a number of online sources to compile the corpus, referencing the British press, Twitter and Instagram. She describes blends as the most original type of neologisms related to COVID-19.

## METHODOLOGY AND THE CORPUS

The aim of this paper is to establish what new lexical units were created during the COVID-19 pandemic and determine whether they predominantly belong to the category of compounds. The aim of the paper is not to differentiate which newly-formed coinages are neologisms and which are occasionalisms specifically, as their successful lexicographical confirmation would depend on a range of semantic, sociolinguistic, pragmatic, cognitive and phonological factors (Schmid 2016: 75).

The corpus consists of 190 tweets containing COVID-19 inspired neologisms collected from the social network formerly known as Twitter, now X. Unlike the previous body of research on Covid neologisms which relied on various methodological practices to generate results, we decided to use the traditional hand-and-eye method of research which would entail manually going through tweets covering the topic of COVID-19. Thus, the corpus includes tweets which may or may not include hashtags related to COVID-19, tweets in which users reply to the tweet with or without the hashtags, or tweets referencing a newspaper headline covering the topic about the new virus. The neologisms cover the period between the 11<sup>th</sup> of March, 2020 when

the World Health Organization (WHO) declared COVID-19 outbreak a global pandemic, up until the 5<sup>th</sup> of May, 2023, when the same body officially declared the end of the pandemic. The number of new words gradually decreased over time, as the pandemic waned.

New lexemes will be given in alphabetical order and in singular form, except when nouns normally appear in plural form, such as *restrictions* in *Covid restrictions*. Inflected forms are not included in the corpus, as “the productivity of most inflectional rules is a syntactic rather than a morphological phenomenon” (Koefoed–Van Marle 2000: 304). Since inflected forms exhibit different grammatical categories, they are not considered new words. Explanations for newly formed word combinations will be provided only if the meaning is not self-evident.

Three caveats need to be issued. The focus of this study is the productivity of morphological processes. Although productivity is closely related to frequency, this study does not measure frequency. Second, this study does not deal with the number of neologisms expressing specifically the favourable or grim attitude towards the pandemic. Third, due to the methodology applied in the research the total number of tweets from which tweets with COVID-19 neologisms were isolated is unknown, as it was impossible to manually count them over an extended period.

## ANALYSIS AND DISCUSSION

**Compounding** positioned itself as the most productive morphological process in the corpus, comprising the largest number of new coinages (109). Five groups of compounds have been isolated. **Group 1** has *COVID* (or its orthographic variants) as the first element of the compound:

Table 1. Compounds with *COVID* used during COVID-19 Pandemic

Covid Bureaucracy	covid mania	covid stasi
covid carrier	Covid Mask Mandate	Covid vaccination
covid cautious	covid maximize	Covid vaccine extremism
covid chaos	covid monster	covid weirdo
Covid concerns	covid narrative	covid 1984
covid contrarian	covid panic	COVID cultist
covid cult culture	covid psychosis	COVID mass hysteria
covid cult city	covid policy	COVID-minimizer
Covid DANGER ZONE	covid religion	COVID-related death
covid denier	Covid restrictions	COVID sweepstake
Covid infection	Covid rules	COVID testing site
covid hezbollah	Covid safetyism	COVID theater
covid kabuki	covid sheep	COVID ward

The semantic structure of compounds with *Covid* as their first constituent reveals scepticism towards the pandemic, calling it a *COVID theatre*, and people following *Covid restrictions covid sheep*. Questioning the *covid narrative* by calling it a *covid*

*religion*, *covid deniers* and *covid contrarians* used language to oppose the policies taking over their everyday lives and threatening their sustenance. The general feeling of skepticism and mistrust prompted individuals to employ a reference to Orwell's *1984*. A dystopian novel describing an authoritarian state with no civil rights, modelled after societies ruled by Hitler and Stalin resulted in the compound *covid 1984*. The experience of COVID-19 policies was so egregious that to describe them, a reference to Nazism was employed via *covid stasi*, the secret police which existed in communist East Germany and oversaw internal political monitoring and engaged in spying activities abroad. A Lebanese Shia Islamist political party and militant group called *Hezbollah* was used as *covid hezbollah*.

In some examples the attempt of adherence to Covid regulations was perceived by members of society as humorous. Hence the compound *Covid kabuki*, which was inspired by the now former governor of Oregon Katherine Brown who, upon one occasion, wore a very elaborate and decorative face mask. *Kabuki* is a form of traditional Japanese theatre whose performers wear rather elaborate and lavish costumes, as well as very intricate face make-up.

**Group 2** has *vaccine* (or its orthographic variants *vax* or *vaxx*) as the first element of the new coinages:

Table 2. Compounds with *vaccine* used during the COVID-19 Pandemic

vaccine apartheid	vaccine passport	vax pass charade
vaccine awareness	vaccine plus strategy	vax rates
vaccine drunk	vaccine refusenik	vax tyranny
vaccine fanatic	vaccine sceptic	vaxx fanaticism
vaccine hesitancy	vax cult	vaxx mandates
vaccine mandate	vax enthusiast	vaxx passport
vaccine narrative	vax Nazi	vaxx pusher

In this group references to Nazism continue to be employed: *vax Nazi*. The compound *vaccine refusenik* describes people who refused getting the vaccine. The original meaning of *refusnik* was used to describe Jews who, in the early 1970s, were refused permission to emigrate from the Soviet Union to Israel. This word underwent a semantic shift. Covid brought about a feeling of segregation and discrimination, so references to the South African *apartheid* (Eng. *apart hood* or *separateness*) system by which people of different races were segregated by law, were utilized in *vaccine apartheid*.

**Group 3** has the word *mask* as the first element of the compound: *mask cult*, *mask cultism*, *mask fascist*, *mask insanity*, *mask Karen*, *mask madness*, *mask mandate*, *mask Nazi*, *mask pusher*, *mask theater* and *mask zealot*. In all these compounds people were expressing their frustration towards obligatory mask wearing imposed by official bodies and private establishments, or pushed by enthusiastic individuals. Doubting their efficacy and deriding the dedication of those who persistently wore them, individuals provide more lexical units associating mask wearers with Nazism: *mask fascist* and *mask Nazi*. In a similar vein a common way of referring to originally middle-aged, white women whose behavior is regarded as excessive and immoderate produced a *mask Karen*.

**Group 4** consists of *zero covid* as the first element of the compound (or its orthographic variants), thus creating compounds with either two or three members: *zero covid*, *zero covid absolutist*, *zero covid fanatic*, *zero-COVID fantasy*, *zerocovid movement* and *zerocovid advocate*. The semantic structure of these compounds discloses criticism towards what is now considered an impossible call for the complete eradication of the virus.

**Group 5** is the last group of compounds whose elements are mostly multifarious. If they do share elements, such as lexical units with *corona* or *panic*, their total number is five or less, thus, depicting them in isolation was not warranted:

Table 3. Compounds with multifarious elements used during the COVID-19 Pandemic

clot shot	frankenstein corona virus	quarantine camp
compulsory vaccination	health fascism	safety maximalist zealot
Corona phobia	immunity denier	state-sanctioned segregation
coronaphobia	laptop class	super spreader
coronavirus	lockdown	super-spreader celebration
coronavirus world	medical apartheid	vaccinated hypochondriac
crisis religion	medical tribalism	vaccination status
death cult	pajama class	variant hysteria
diaper brigade	panic maker	variant land
face muzzle	panic mongering	zoom class
fear porn	panic pusher	

The morphological structure of these compounds has an occurrence of *Corona phobia* and *coronaphobia*, a neoclassical compound where the combining form *phobia* also appears in a free form. Other compounds in this group mostly follow the structure of compounds with two separate elements, the exception being two examples of compounds with hyphenation and three constituents (*state-sanctioned segregation* and *super-spreader celebration*), two with three combining constituents and no hyphenation (*frankenstein corona virus* and *safety maximalist zealot*), and one with three constituents, with the first two words written together (*coronavirus world*).

One reference to Nazism and one to the South African apartheid appear in the form of *health fascism* and *medical apartheid*. Questions raised about the origin of the corona virus believed by some to be created in a laboratory in Wuhan, China, also created the compound *frankenstein corona virus*. The Covid vaccine is humorously referred to as a *clot shot*, the face mask became a *face muzzle*, and people wearing masks came to be known as the *diaper brigade*.

**Blending** was another morphological process identified in the corpus. According to Mattiello (2013: 118–121), blends can morphotactically be divided into *total* and *partial blends*, and their subcategories. Total blends are words consisting of parts of lexemes, known as *splinters*. Partial blends consist of one full word and a splinter. All blendings in the corpus belong to the group of partial blends, further categorised into subgroups based on the order in which elements of a lexeme appear:

Table 4. Blends used during the COVID-19 Pandemic

full word followed by a splinter	full word preceded by a splinter
Covidiocy ← Covid + idiocy	Frankenvirus ← Frankenstein + virus
covidiot ← covid + idiot	omicold ← omicron + cold
deltacron ← delta + omicron	perma-pandemic ← permanent + pandemic
flurona ← flu + corona	vaxipass ← vaccine + pass
masksanity ← mask + insanity	
plandemic ← plan + pandemic	
pingdemic ← ping + pandemic	
full word intercalated within a discontinuous splinter	
Fraudci ← fraud + Fauci	
Tyrannydeau ← tyranny + Trudeau	

As neologisms are “an outlet for human wit and humour” (López Rúa 2007: 146), humour is apparent in many a blend from the corpus. For instance, the third subcategory of blends consisting of *Fraudci*, demonstrates a play on words embedded in orthographic similarity. The punning effect is created by one constituent echoing the word or word-fragment it replaces (Adams in Mattiello 2013: 121). *Fraud* and *Fauci* both contain the vowel cluster *au* and they share the same first letter. In a similar fashion *Tyrannydeau* was created by *tyranny* being imbedded into *Trudeau* to portray Covid policies in Canada under the rule of the incumbent prime minister Justin Trudeau.

Again, in the corpus we encounter the phenomenon of a neologism being formed as a result of two different morphological processes, this time the compound *mask insanity* appears as a blend *masksanity*. Newly created blends exhibit linguistic creativity, as evident in *pingdemic*, which refers to the British COVID-19 application informing the application users with a ping sound if they needed to self-isolate, after having contact with a registered COVID-19 positive individual. The number of identified blends is 13.

**Derivation** occurs in ten new lexical units: *anti-vaxxer* (suffixes *anti-* and *-er*), *Covidy* (suffix *-y*), *covidian* (or *Covidian*) (suffix *-ian*), *Covidianism* (suffixes *-ian* and *-ism*), *masker* (suffix *-er*), *pre-COVID* (prefix *pre-*), *pre-Omicron* (prefix *pre-*), *pro-panic* (prefix *pro-*) and *vaccinator* (suffixes *-ate* and *-or*). *Fauciites* combines *Fauci* + *-ite* + *-s*. The derivational suffix *-ite* is of Greek origin and it is used to form nouns describing a follower of someone’s work and their principles, such as: *Attenborite* (after David Attenborough), *Bennite* (after Tony Benn) or *Thatcherite* (after Margaret Thatcher). The meaning is thought to be somewhat pejorative.<sup>5</sup>

Some new coinages are a combination of different morphological processes observed in the corpus. The following units include **compounding** and **derivation**: *covidian absolutist*, *covidian calamity*, *covidian Karen*, *covidian logic*, *Covidian monomania*, *covidian policies* (suffix *-ian*), *covidian scientist*, *forever masker*, *lockdowner*, *lockdowner scientist* (suffix *-er*), and *zero-covidianism* (suffixes *-ian* and *-ism*). *Zeroocovidistan* (connective element *-i-* and suffix *-stan*) describes Covid policies in the Western world referencing countries in Central Asia with potentially authoritarian policies existing irrelevant of the pandemic.

5 Another suffix, this time of Latin origin, used to denote being a follower or supporter is *-an* (an orthographic variant of *-ian*, alongside *-ean*), as in *Anglican*, *Chomskyan* or *Smithsonian* (Plag 2002: 113).

The suffix *-stan* comes from Persian and it means *country* or *place*. *Zeroocovidistan* thus means a country with zero Covid. *Koan* in *Covidian koan* is a term borrowed from Zen Buddhism and it represents a problem given by a Zen teacher to his student, a problem which cannot be solved by intellect, but is a guiding light in the search for enlightenment (Razić 2014: 90, authors' translation). Therefore, speakers used *Covidian koan* to describe all matters concerning Covid as a type of insoluble riddle. *Great Barrington Declarationist* (suffix *-ist*) refers to the signatories of the *Great Barrington Declaration*, which includes scientists, medical practitioners and members of the general public, giving support to a different approach to the prevailing COVID-19 pandemic policies, known as *focused protection*.<sup>6</sup> The number of new lexical units created by compounding and derivation is 14.

Dual word-formation processes were also: *Coronavirus-Flu Twindemic* includes **compounding** and **blending** (*twin + pandemic*) (*flu* already underwent *ambiclippling*, by which left and right external word-fragments were removed (Bauer 2021: 63)). *Vaxschwiz Karen* which incorporates **blending** (*vaccine + Auschwiz*) and **compounding**. *Coronabro* incorporates **compounding** and **clipping** (*brother* → *bro*), as well as *Rona Ron* (*Corona* → *Rona*). *Rona Ron* is yet another mention of Ron de Santis, the Floridian governor. *Ronacracy* combines **clipping** (*Corona* → *Rona*) + **blending** (*rona + democracy*). By deleting the initial part of the word, *Corona* was abbreviated in the morphological process of **fore-clipping** to *rona*, and ultimately just *ro*. Thus, two new lexical units were formed via compounding and blending, two via compounding and clipping, one via clipping and blending, and two via just clipping.

Adjective to noun **conversion** was detected in: (*the*) *Covid-recovered*, (*the*) *indocinated*, (*the*) *new normal*, (*the*) *unvaccinated* and (*the*) *vaccinated*. The number of new lexical units created by conversion is five. The **abbreviation** process known as **initialisms** was found in *C19*, from *COVID-19*, and in *WFH*, meaning *working from home*. As Al-Salman–Haider (2021: 33) point out, the new abbreviation *WFH* dates back to 1995, but was reintroduced during the pandemic. *COVID-19* is an **acronym** for *Coronavirus disease 2019*, just as *MADE* stands for *mask-induced dry eyes*. The number of new lexical units created by abbreviation is four.

The lexical creativity of the speakers was expressed through a number of words created after the principle of **analogy**. Analogy-based neologisms were examined categorising them along different scales of similarity, namely at phonological, morphotactic and semantic levels, in accordance with similarity scales presented in Mattiello (2016). The *Centers for Disease Control and Prevention* or the *CDC* now stands for *Centres for Drama and Comedy*, while the *World Health Organization* or the *WHO* stands for *World Hysteria Organization* or *World Hoax Organisation*. All three neologisms express morphotactic similarity, since they kept the head of the original compound. Their differentiating elements are semantically unrelated. The phonological similarity in *Centres for Drama and Comedy* is attributable to the initial letters in *Centers for Disease Control*. *World Hysteria Organization* and *World Hoax Organisation* also express phonological similarity since the replacing word begins with the same letter *H*, while the second example also replicates the original compound with the number of syllables, which is one (*Health* vs *Hoax*).

6 For more on the Declaration, see: <https://gbdeclaration.org>.



The name of the current governor of Florida Ron de Santis was changed into Ron *Death-Santis*, because of the public perception of his Covid policies. Phonological similarity was identified in the neologism, as both lexical units start with the same type of vowels – close-mid vowels /də/ in *de* and /deθ/ in *Death*. *Branch Covidians* were named after Branch Davidians, an apocalyptic cult founded in the sixties, in the USA. This compound demonstrates morphotactic similarity, since both compounds share the same head, *Branch*. Phonological similarity can also be observed as both modifiers are polysyllabic words which share the vowel in the first unstressed syllable, *Covidians* /kə/ and *Davidians* /də/, the same second syllable *-vid*, the connective *-i-*, and the suffix *-an* meaning *pertaining to*. *Super cali infludelta expialodocron* was created to comprise influenza, the Delta and Omicron variants of Covid. It is morphotactically analogous to *Supercalifragilisticexpialidocious*, an expression popularised by Disney's film *Mary Poppins*.

The idiom *put all your eggs in one basket* appears as *put all their eggs in the vaccination basket*, to describe focusing only on vaccines as a risky Covid protection measure. Orwell's *Ministry of Truth* from 1984 appears as the *covidian ministry of truth*. *Halakha* in *Halakha of Rona* refers to the collection of laws in Judaism which proscribes how Jews should behave. The meaning is extended to refer to the laws or rules around Covid. These lexical units are examples of analogical extension, by which the original metaphorical meaning is kept, only with an adjustment due to the new subject matter. The number of new lexical units created after the principle of analogy is nine.

The analysis of the corpus has shown that the most productive of all morphological processes was compounding (127), followed by derivation (24), blending (16), analogy (9), conversion (5), clipping (5) and abbreviation (4). Compounding appears as a separate word-formation process in which five groups of compounds were isolated based on the first element of the compound shared within the group. Four groups of compounds include *COVID*, *vaccine*, *mask* (no orthographic variants) and *zero covid* as the first element of the compound. The last group of compounds contains various and thematically uncategorized compounds. Compounding was also played a role in dual word-formation processes, appearing together with derivation, blending and clipping. According to the type of affixes, derivation is mainly suffixation. Blending in the corpus comprises only partial blends, which were further divided into: full word followed by a splinter, full word preceded by a splinter and full word intercalated within a discontinuous splinter. Another dual word-formation process joined together blending with clipping. Clipping appeared in the form of fore-clipping, while conversion appeared as the adjective to noun type of conversion. Both types of abbreviation, initialsims and acronyms, appear in the corpus. Two types of analogies were detected in the corpus, phonological and morphotactic, with three examples of analogical extension.

References to major historical events depicting the curtailment of freedom and harsh social restrictions were discovered, pertaining to Nazism (*covid stasi*, *health fascism*, *mask Nazi* and *vax Nazi*) and South African apartheid (*medical apartheid* and *vaccine apartheid*). *Covid hezbollah* and *vaccine refusenik* were used in a similar manner. Orwell's work of fiction *1984* inspired by historical events was found in *covid 1984* and *covidian ministry of truth*. Popular culture contributed to the discourse with *covidan Karen*, *mask Karen* and *Vaxschwartz Karen*.

## CONCLUSION

The extraordinary COVID-19 pandemic took the world by surprise. Few considered that strict global lockdowns amid fear of contagion would be anything other than the subject of science fiction novels. The impact of this unprecedented situation has taken its toll upon collective psychological well-being and has caused dramatic consequences upon political public debate. The fear triggered by the pandemic caused deep frictions within society as one part placed its emphasis on protecting public health, while the other saw COVID-19 as a threat to civil liberties and freedom. These social changes were reflected in the language used to describe the pandemic. The medicalization of the language led to the emergence of pandemic-themed neologisms, resulting in the employment of different morphological processes.

In this paper morphological processes employed during the COVID-19 pandemic were examined by analysing the corpus which consisted of new lexical items registered on the social media website earlier known as Twitter. Compounding reinforced its position as the most productive morphological process, as purported by Plag (2002: 64, 169). The visibility and pollination of compounds and other pandemic-themes neologisms were made possible via the internet, specifically social media, making them a valuable source for corpus compilation.

Compounding and other morphological processes discovered in the corpus reflect the perception of the COVID-19 pandemic as a threat to civil liberties and freedom experienced by part of society. Changes in society, as global and far-reaching as the COVID-19 pandemic, affected languages and their morphological processes in a singular, exceptional fashion.

This study into morphological processes does not deal with the relationship between productivity and frequency, or the number of neologisms in relation to the positive or negative attitude of speakers towards the pandemic. Future research may benefit from looking further into addressing the semantics of COVID-19 neologisms and how in the field of neology meaning and numbers can have a linguistically meaningful relationship.

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## ЦЕНТРИ ЗА ДРАМУ И КОМЕДИЈУ – МОРФОЛОШКИ ПРОЦЕСИ ТОКОМ ПАНДЕМИЈЕ КОВИД-19

### Резиме

Пандемија КОВИД-19 изненадила је свет и довела до промена у језику које су биле значајне и радикалне, што је резултирало приливом медицинске терминологије у свакодневни језик. Медикализација језика довела је до појаве неологизама са пандемијском тематиком, уз коришћење различитих морфолошких процеса. Приступачност неологизама, њихово прикупљање и категоризација омогућена је путем интернета. Интернет је омогућио интерактивност између својих корисника и брзо ширење неологизама, нарочито на друштвеним мрежама.

Циљ овог рада јесте да се установи које лексичке јединице су настале током пандемије КО-ВИД-19 и да се утврди да ли оне претежно припадају категорији сложеница. Плаг (2002: 64) управо тврди да је творба речи слагањем најпродуктивнији морфолошки процес. Корпус се састоји од твитова који садрже неологизме инспирисане пандемијом прикупљене са друштвене мреже некада познате као Твитер (Twitter), а сада Екс (X). Анализа корпуса показала је да је најпродуктивнији од свих морфолошких процеса јесу управо сложенице, а затим и деривација, сраслице, аналогија, конверзија, скраћење и абревијација. Резултати рада дали су увид у разумевање пандемије КОВИД-19 као претње грађанским слободама, што се рефлектовало на језик. Откривене су и асоцијације на велике историјске догађаје који приказују ограничавање људске слободе, попут нацизма или апартхејда у Јужној Африци. Исто тако, инспирација за нове лексичке јединице пронађена је и у дистопијској књижевности, као и у популарној култури.

*Кључне речи:* неологизми, морфолошки процеси, слагање, пандемија КОВИД-19.