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Coronavirus-related neologisms: A challenge for Croatian standardology and lexicography

1 Introduction

Languages have always evolved to reflect societal changes, but in 2020–2021 their evolution could be seen in real-time. The appearance of Coronavirus¹ has led to an abundance of new words and phrases, both in Croatian and other languages.² As stated by Lawson, “[t]his new vocabulary helps us make sense of the changes that have suddenly become part of our everyday lives.” (Lawson 2020).

Recent epidemics have given rise to the appearance of new words and phrases which were not necessarily coined for the current COVID-19³ pandemic. Still, those words and phrases have gained a far wider usage since 2020, e.g., “the term *infodemic* was coined in 2003 for the SARS epidemic, but has also been used to describe the current proliferation of news around coronavirus.” (OED Blog 2020).

Moreover, many terms used mostly by medical experts have entered the general language (e.g. *Coronavirus*, *epidemiology*, *asymptomatic*). From spring 2020, laypersons have become familiar with terms that have been around for years but have not been used in the general language, some even dating from the 19th century but having achieved new and much wider usage. For example, “*self-isolation* (recorded from 1834) and *self-isolating* (recorded from 1841) are now used to describe self-imposed isolation to prevent catching or transmitting an infectious disease, where in the 1800s these terms were more often applied to countries which chose to detach themselves politically and economically from the rest of the world.” (OED Blog 2020).

1 In English, this term is spelled *Coronavirus* and *coronavirus*. In this paper, we use *Coronavirus*.

2 E.g., for Macedonian cf. Janusheva (2020), for Russian cf. Karachina (2020).

3 In English, this term is spelled *Covid-19* and *COVID-19*. In this paper, we use *COVID-19*.

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The media and social media have an important role in the appearance and spreading of new Coronavirus-related words, phrases, and meanings and old terms used in a new context. The appearance of Coronavirus was followed by Coronavirus jokes,⁴ memes, and puns e.g., *Ljubav u doba kolere* > *Ljubav u doba korone* > *Život u doba korone* ‘love in the time of cholera’ > ‘love in the time of corona’ > ‘life in the time of corona’.⁵ Even some Coronavirus-related nicknames appeared in Croatian media and social media. For example, *Apaurin*⁶ *Hrvatske* ‘Apaurin of Croatia’ was a nickname for the Croatian epidemiologist Alemka Markotić meaning that she can calm down Croatia.⁷ *Toni Cjepinski* ‘Toni the vaxxer’ is a nickname for Croatian singer Toni Cetinski who is well-known for his opposition to vaccination.⁸

The appearance of new words and phrases, new meanings of existing words, and the shift of words and phrases from (mostly medical) scientific terminology to the general language has been studied by linguists from different perspectives – cognitive linguistics, lexicology, ethnolinguistics, phraseology, corpus linguistics, etc. “Even a superficial glance at public discourse on the pandemic reveals that it is saturated with metaphors (we talk about epidemic epicentre, epidemic focal point, the wave of the epidemic, modern plague and flaming epidemic), and especially with war metaphors (words like headquarters, first line of defence, invisible enemy and the war against the virus).” (Štrkalj Despot/Ostroški Anić 2021: 3).

2 Methodology

This paper focuses on standardological and lexicographical aspects of Coronavirus-related neologisms in Croatian. The presented results are based on corpus analysis. The initial corpus for this analysis consists of terms collected for the *Glossary of Coronavirus*. This corpus has been supplemented by terms we collected on the Internet and from the media. The General Croatian corpora: *Croatian Web Corpus* – hrWaC (cf. Ljubešić/Klubička 2016) and *Croatian Language Repository* (cf. Brozović Rončević/Čavar 2008: 173–186) were also used, but since they do not include neologisms that entered the language after 2013, they could be used only to check terms in the language before that time. From October 2021, a specialized Corona corpus compiled by Štrkalj Despot and Ostroški Anić (2021) became publicly available on

⁴ Coronavirus jokes in Croatian were analyzed by Miloš (2020).

⁵ Štrkalj Despot (2020) lists such puns in Croatian and mentions that the phrase *u doba korone* ‘in the time of Corona’ has more than 4 million hits on Google.

⁶ *Apaurin* is the name of an anxiolytic.

⁷ However, as the pandemic continued, the nickname disappeared as quickly as it appeared.

⁸ In Croatian *cijepiti se* means ‘to vaccinate’.

request.⁹ The data from these corpora are analyzed by Sketch Engine (cf. Kilgariff *et al.* 2004: 105–116), a corpus query system loaded with the corpora, enabling the display of lexeme context through concordances and (differential) word sketches and the extraction of keywords (terms) and N-grams. The most common collocations are sorted into syntactic categories. For English equivalents, in addition to the sources found on the Internet, *enTenTen2020* corpus was consulted.

In the second part of the paper, we analyze and compare the presentation of Coronavirus terminology in the descriptive *Glossary of Coronavirus* and the normative *Croatian Web Dictionary – Mrežnik*.

3 Loanwords, loan translations or Croatian neologisms

The COVID-19 pandemic caused the appearance of many Coronavirus-related neologisms in many languages. Due to the speed and intensity of this infection, many Croatian words have been directly borrowed from English (cf. Štrkalj Despot 2020: 2).

Many Coronavirus-related neologisms in Croatian are either loanwords or loan translations from English. In some cases, it is difficult to determine whether a particular term was independently formed in Croatian or is a loan translation from English. Table 1 shows some Coronavirus-related loanwords which have entered Croatian with no or little adaptation to the Croatian language system.¹⁰

English Coronavirus-related neologisms are often compounds/multi-word units,¹¹ blends, and abbreviations. English has many compounds with the first element

⁹ “First, we compiled a specialized corpus of Croatian media texts (referred to here as the *Korona* corpus) using Sketch Engine corpus compilation tools. The corpus consists of manually selected texts dated January 29 to December 23, 2020, all closely related to the coronavirus Covid-19 pandemic topics. For free access to the corpus, please write to the authors.” (cf. Štrkalj Despot/Ostroški Anić 2021: 180). Mihaela Matešić announced the compilation of another Croatian Corona-related corpus in her presentations *Analiza stavova u društvenim medijima u istraživanju krizne komunikacije u doba pandemije* (Analysis of attitudes in social media in the research of crisis communication during the pandemic) in Rijeka, June 23, 2021 (5. simpozij SCIMETH) <https://cji.uniri.hr/scimeth-2021/>) and *Istraživanje krizne komunikacije u digitalnom okruženju u doba pandemije* (Exploring crisis communication in the digital environment during the pandemic) (with Slobodan Beliga), Osijek, September, 9–11 2021 <http://www.hdpl.hdpl.hr>). On the same symposium Mateja Šporčić, Stjepan Lacković, and Marina Baralić in the presentation *Big data resursi u istraživanju metafora* (Big data resources in the study of metaphors) announced the compilation of yet another Corona corpus. However, these corpora are in November 2021 not yet publicly available.

¹⁰ According to Croatian orthographic rules, unadapted loanwords are spelled in italic.

¹¹ It is often difficult to differentiate between compounds and multi-word units in English as the spelling of these terms varies – one or two words.

Corona. The same model is very productive in Croatian Coronavirus-related neologisms. In Table 2, some compounds with the first element *Corona* are given in English and Croatian.

Table 1: English loanwords in Croatian.

English	Croatian
drive-in	<i>drive-in</i>
fake news	<i>fake news</i>
infodemia	infodemija
targeted	targetiran
lockdown	<i>lock down</i>
Corona free	korona <i>free</i>

Table 2: Compounds with the element *Corona* in English and Croatian.

English ¹²	Definition	Croatian
Corona babies/ Corona boomers	the generation born after December 2020 and who will become teenagers in 2033–2034; the terms <i>coronals</i> and <i>quaranteens</i> ¹³ have the same meaning	koronijalci
Corona bed	hospital bed with a ventilator for Covid patients	koronakrevet
Corona crew	people one chooses to live with during the quarantine; the term <i>quaranteam</i> has the same meaning	–
Corona crisis	crisis caused by the COVID-19 pandemic	koronakriza
Corona cushion	fat acquired during lockdown due to COVID-19	koronašpek
Corona haircut	haircut performed by oneself or another unqualified person	koronafriz
Corona humor	jokes and memes which appeared on (social) media during the COVID-19 pandemic	koronahumor
Corona partner/ boyfriend/girlfriend	a partner during the lockdown period that implies brevity of the relationship	–
Corona rules	rules one has to obey during the COVID-19 pandemic	koronapravila

¹² We have consulted Alyeksyeyeva/Chaiuk/Galitska (2020) and Khalfan/Batool/Shehzad (2020) for definitions of these terms.

¹³ The term *quaranteens* sometimes has another meaning, ‘teenagers during the quarantine’.

Table 2 (continued)

English	Definition	Croatian
Corona speak	neologisms that have entered everyday discourse during the Coronavirus pandemic	–
Corona traffic light	marking of regions by different colors (green, yellow, and red) according to the number of registered newly infected by Coronavirus	koronasemafor

From Table 2, we can see that some of these terms have a Croatian equivalent formed by the same model *Corona + noun* e.g., *Corona bed* is *koronakrevet*, *Corona haircut* is *koronafriz*, *Corona traffic light* is *koronasemafor*, etc. Some terms that exist in English have not been recorded in Croatian e.g., *Corona boyfriend*, *Corona crew*, *Corona partner*.

Coronavirus-related English neologisms are often formed by blending. As this word-formation type is not typical in Croatian, the equivalent Croatian terms were usually formed differently, as shown in Table 3.

Table 3: Coronavirus-related blends in English with their Croatian equivalents.

English term	Croatian term	Word formation elements and definition
coronacession	recesija uvjetovana koronom ('recession caused by Corona')	<i>Corona + recession</i> recession caused by Coronavirus
coronials/ quaranteens	koronijalci	<i>Corona + Millennials</i> children conceived or born during the COVID-19 pandemic, reminiscent of the label <i>millennial</i> describing those raised around the turn of the millennium (cf. <i>Words We're Watching: 'Coronial'</i>)
covidiot	kovidiot	<i>COVID + idiot</i> an insulting term for someone who ignores health advice about COVID-19, hoards food unnecessarily, etc. (cf. <i>Macmillan Dictionary</i>)
covidivorce	koronarazvod (coronadivorce)	<i>COVID + divorce</i> divorce caused by the fact that partners spend too much time together due to COVID-19 lockdown

Table 3 (continued)

English term	Croatian term	Word formation elements and definition
quarantime	vrijeme (provedeno) u karanteni ('time (spent) in a quarantine')	<i>quarantine + time</i> the time during COVID-19 when all of the days blend because you are stuck inside due to a worldwide pandemic (cf. <i>Urban Dictionary</i>)
quarantini	<i>quarantini</i>	<i>quarantine + Martini</i> a drink that one drinks during lockdown
she-cession	–	<i>she + recession</i> the recession caused by COVID-19, which affected women more than men ¹⁴
twindemic	<i>twindemija</i>	<i>twin + pandemic</i> flu season paired with COVID-19

If we compare English blends with their Croatian equivalents, we can conclude:

1. Some English blends are used as loanwords in Croatian; some are adapted to Croatian orthography (*covidiot* > *kovidiot*, *coronials* > *koronijalci*), some are only partly adapted (*twindemija*), and some are spelled as in English (*quarantini*);
2. Croatian has compounds (*covidivorce* > *koronarazvod*) as equivalents of English blends;
3. Croatian uses multi-word expressions e.g., *coronacession* > *recesija uvjetovana koronom* ('recession caused by Corona'), *quarantime* > *vrijeme (provedeno) u karanteni* ('time spent in quarantine') as equivalents of English blends;
4. instead of the possible loanword *karantinci* for *quaranteens* Croatian uses the synonymous term *koronijalci* ('coronials');
5. Croatian does not have any equivalent of *she-cession*.

However, although blending is not common for Croatian these Coronavirus-related blends have been recorded on the Internet: *kupomanija* – *kupovanje* ('shopping') + *manija* ('mania') ('mania for shopping, extensive shopping'), *Zoomor* – *Zoom* + *umor* ('fatigue') ('fatigue caused by Zoom').

In English Coronavirus-related terminology, many abbreviations are used. Abbreviations and multi-word terms from which they are derived are shown in Table 4.

Some of the English abbreviations are also used in Croatian e.g., *COVID*, *SARS-CoV-2*, *PCR*.¹⁵ There are no Coronavirus-related abbreviations from Croatian terms. In Croatian, either the English abbreviation or the full Croatian term is used e.g.,

¹⁴ "Of the 20.5 million jobs lost last month, women make up to 55 percent of those now looking for work. Their unemployment rate is about 2 percent higher than that of men." (cf. Andrews 2020).

¹⁵ PCR is in Croatian read as in English [ˈpiːˈsiːˈar]. Croatian reading would be [ˈpeːˈceːˈer].

Table 4: Abbreviations in English and Croatian.

Abbreviation	Multi-word term	Croatian
ARDS	acute respiratory distress syndrome	akutni respiratorni distresni sindrom
CoV	Coronavirus	koronavirus
COVID-19	Coronavirus disease 19 (the year of onset, 2019)	koronavirusna bolest 2019
ECMO	extracorporeal membrane oxygenation	izvantjelesna membranska oksigenacija
MERS	Middle East respiratory syndrome	bliskoistočni respiratorni sindrom
NAAT	nucleic acid amplification test	test koji se temelji na umnažanju nukleinske kiseline
PCR	polymerase chain reaction	polimerazna lančana reakcija
PPE	personal protective equipment	osobna zaštitna oprema
PUI	patient under investigation	osoba pod zdravstvenim nadzorom
SARS-CoV	severe acute respiratory syndrome – Coronavirus	teški akutni respiratorni sindrom – koronavirus
WFH	working from home	rad od kuće

osobna zaštitna oprema ('personal protective equipment'), *rad od kuće* ('work from home') are never abbreviated.

4 Coronavirus-related neologisms in Croatian – descriptive analysis

Croatian Coronavirus-related neologisms can be analyzed according to different criteria:

1. single words vs. multi-word units

Coronavirus-related neologisms can be single words or multi-word units as shown in Table 5.

Single words can be analyzed according to word-formation types and can be divided into compounds, derivatives, and semi-compounds; examples are given in Table 6.

Table 5: Coronavirus-related single words and multi-word units.

Single words		Multi-word units	
Croatian	English	Croatian	English
koronazabava	coronaparty	skupni/kolektivni imunitet	group/collective immunity
samotestiranje	self-testing	drugi/treći/četvrti val	second/third/fourth wave

Table 6: Compounds, derivatives, and semi-compounds.

Compounds		Derivatives		Semi-compounds	
Croatian	English	Croatian	English	Croatian	English
koronaredar	Corona security guard	koronaš	person who has Coronavirus	delta-soj	delta strain
koronamafija	Corona mafia	antimasker	person who is against wearing masks	delta-varijanta/ delta-inačica	delta variant
kovidpozitivan	positive for Coronavirus	samoizolacija	self-isolation	alfa-soj	alpha strain
prvozaraženi	first person to be infected	superširitelj/ superširiteljica	superspreader (male, female)	alfa-varijanta	alpha variant

2. scientific/technical terms (academic jargon terms) vs. jargon words

Some Coronavirus-related neologisms are scientific terms while others are jargon words; examples of scientific terms entering the general language are shown in Table 7.

Table 7: Scientific terms entering the general language.

Croatian	English
anosmija (or anozmija)	anosmia
antigenski test	antigen test
antivakser/antivakserica	antivaxxer (male, female)
crvena zona	red zone
dezinfekcija	disinfection
epidemiolog/epidemiologinja	epidemiologist (male, female)
fizička distance/fizička udaljenost	social distancing

Table 7 (continued)

Croatian	English
izolacija/samoizolacija	isolation/self-isolation
izravnavanje krivulje	flattening the curve
komorbiditet	comorbidity
probir	screening
respirator	respirator
simptomatski/asimptomatski bolesnik/ bolesnica	symptomatic/asymptomatic patient (male, female)
superširitelj/superširiteljica	super-spreader (male, female)

Many academic terms (mainly medical terms) have entered the general discourse. Words like *symptomatic/asymptomatic*, *disinfection*, *isolation*, *self-isolation*, and *super-spreader* have become a part of general discourse, along with terms from other disciplines such as *red zone*, *social distancing*, and *flattening the curve*. “The expression *social distancing*, for example, has gone from being a relatively unknown piece of academic jargon to something we hear multiple times a day (although the World Health Organization prefers *physical distancing*). Usage of the phrase *flattening the curve* has increased exponentially. The word *super-spreader* has also spread from mouth to mouth at a dizzying rate.” (Mahdawi 2020).

Examples of neologisms in Croatian jargon are shown in Table 8.

Table 8: Jargon neologisms.

Croatian	English
cjepiša	a person who has been vaccinated, a person who is in favor of vaccination
imunitet krda	herd immunity
kašljosram	shame because of coughing
koronafriz	Corona haircut
kliconoša	a person or animal that carries microorganisms that cause disease but has no signs of a disease
koronakašljač	a person who coughs on purpose so people would think he has COVID-19
koronaš/ koronašica	a person (male/female) infected by Coronavirus
koronašpek	Corona fat

Table 8 (continued)

Croatian	English
koronizirati	infect by Corona virus
kovidaš	a person having COVID-19
necjepiša	anti-vaxxer, a person who is against vaccination

If we compare scientific terms entering the general language with jargon terms, we can see that scientific terms are mostly of Latin origin and reflect the English term, while jargon terms are mostly derivatives formed by suffixation from Croatian elements. However, there are many jargon terms with the first element *Corona*, which closely mirror the English model.

3. new words vs. words getting a new specialized meaning often through metaphorisation or specialization of meaning

The Coronavirus pandemic caused the appearance of many new terms and additional meanings of the existing words; examples are given in Table 9.

Table 9: New words and new meanings.

New words		New meanings	
Croatian	English	Croatian	English
koronakriza	Corona crisis	balon, balončić, mjehurić	bubble
kovidaš	a person having COVID-19	zatvaranje	lockdown

4. terms denoting disease and diagnosis, terms denoting human reactions, and new way of life

Terms can be roughly divided according to their meaning into these groups: 1. the disease, diagnosis, and disease-related terms; 2. human reactions to the disease and behavioral patterns; 3. new work and school life; examples are given in Table 10.

5 Questions from native speakers

From the beginning of the pandemic in February 2020, the Institute of Croatian Language and Linguistics received many questions from the media but also the general public asking for language advice. Soon it became apparent that Coronavirus-related terminology presented many problems for Croatian speakers. For example, many

orthographic variants of the same term were simultaneously used in the media, sometimes even in the same text e.g., *COVID bolnica*, *covid bolnica*, *Covid bolnica*, *COVID-bolnica*, *covid-bolnica* ('COVID hospital'). Some of these problems occur also in English but when orthographic variants are combined with lexical synonyms many terms denoting the same concept were recorded e.g., the terms *COVID potvrda*, *COVID-potvrda*, *covid potvrda*, *covid-potvrda*, *COVID certifikat*, *COVID-certifikat*, *covid certifikat*, *covid-certifikat*, *COVID putovnica*, *COVID-putovnica*, *covid putovnica*, *covid-putovnica* are all equivalents of the English term *COVID certificate*.

Table 10: Terms divided according to meaning.

Disease, diagnosis, and disease-related terms		Human reactions, prevention		New life	
Croatian	English	Croatian	English	Croatian	English
koronavirus	Coronavirus	laktovanje/ laktarenje	elbow bump	fizička/socijalna udaljenost/distanca	social distance
nulti pacijent	patient zero	samoizolacija	self-isolation	hibridna nastava	hybrid learning / blended learning
polumaska	half-mask	potvrda o cijepljenju	certificate of vaccination	rad od kuće	work from home

Most of the questions could roughly be divided into two groups: 1. the correct spelling of certain terms, 2. the correct Croatian term for an English term. Table 11 shows some characteristic questions from native speakers divided according to orthographic, grammatical, and lexical levels.

Table 11: Questions from native Croatian speakers.

Level	Questions	Answers
Orthographic level	What is the correct spelling of words derived from the word <i>cijepiti</i> ('vaccinate')?	<i>docijepiti/docjepljivati</i> ('revaccinate'), <i>procijepljenost</i> ('vaccination rate'), <i>cijepljenik</i> ('vaccinee'), <i>cjepivo</i> ('vaccine'), <i>cjepitelj</i> ('vaccination administrator'), <i>cjepilište</i> ('vaccination point') (cf. Lewis 2021: 28–33)
	What is the correct spelling of the names of some vaccines?	<i>Pfizer-BioNTech</i> , <i>AstraZeneca-Oxford</i> , <i>Johnson & Johnson</i> , <i>Sputnjik</i> (cf. Lewis 2021: 28–33)

Table 11 (continued)

Level	Questions	Answers
	What is the correct spelling of terms with the element <i>COVID</i> ?	<i>COVID incidencija</i> ('COVID incidence'), <i>COVID kredit</i> ('COVID loan'), <i>COVID krevet</i> ('COVID bed'), <i>COVID negativan</i> ('COVID negative'), <i>COVID pacijent</i> ('COVID patient'), <i>COVID planinar</i> ('COVID climber'), <i>COVID pozitivan</i> ('COVID positive'), <i>COVID redar</i> ('COVID monitor'), <i>COVID situacija</i> ('COVID situation'), post-COVID
	What is the correct spelling of terms with the element <i>korona-</i> ('Corona-')?	The element <i>korona-</i> should be spelled together with the next element <i>koronabolnica</i> ('Corona hospital'), <i>koronafobija</i> ('Corona phobia'), <i>koronahumor</i> ('Corona humor'), <i>koronakriza</i> ('Corona crisis'), etc.
	What is the correct spelling of terms <i>alfa(-)soj</i> ('alpha variant'), <i>delta(-)varijanta</i> , <i>delta(-)inačica</i> ('delta variant'), <i>delta(-)plus(-)soj</i> ('delta plus variant')?	The correct spelling is <i>alfa-soj</i> , <i>delta-varijanta</i> , <i>delta-inačica</i> , and <i>delta plus soj</i> .
Morphological level	How should we decline <i>COVID-19</i> ?	genitive: <i>COVID-a 19</i> ; dative: <i>COVID-u 19</i>
	How should we decline the names of vaccines?	genitive: <i>Pfizer-BioNTecha</i> , <i>AstraZeneca-Oxforda</i> , <i>Johnsona & Johnsona</i> ; dative: <i>Pfizer-BioNTechu</i> , <i>AstraZeneca-Oxfordu</i> , <i>Johnsonu & Johnsonu</i> (cf. Lewis 2021: 28–33)
Word-formation	What is the correct adjective derived from the noun <i>epidemija</i> ('epidemic') and <i>epidemiologija</i> ('epidemiology')?	The adjective <i>epidemiološki</i> ('relating to epidemiology') is derived from <i>epidemiologija</i> ('epidemiology'), and <i>epidemijski</i> ('relating to the epidemic') is derived from <i>epidemija</i> ('epidemic'). The measures are <i>protuepidemijske</i> ('anti-epidemic').
	Is it better to say <i>antigen-testovi</i> or <i>antigenski testovi</i> ('antigene tests')?	The Croatian term should be <i>antigenski testovi</i> .
	Is it correct to say <i>eksponencijalni</i> or <i>eksponencijski rast</i> ('exponential growth')?	<i>eksponencijski rast</i>

Table 11 (continued)

Level	Questions	Answers
Syntactic level	Is it correct to say <i>NAAT test</i> ?	As <i>T</i> in <i>NAAT</i> means ‘test’, <i>NAAT test</i> is a pleonasm and only <i>NAAT</i> should be used.
	What is the correct gender of the adjective in the term <i>glasnički/glasnička mRNK</i> (‘messenger mRNA’)?	As acronyms except those ending in <i>a</i> are of masculine gender the correct term is <i>glasnički mRNK</i> .
Lexical level	Is there a Croatian term for <i>socijalna distance</i> (‘social distance’), <i>lokalna transmisija</i> (‘local transmission’), <i>imunitet krda</i> (‘herd immunity’), <i>drive-in testiranje</i> (‘drive-in testing’)?	Croatian terms are <i>fizička udaljenost</i> , <i>lokalni prijenos</i> , <i>kolektivni imunitet</i> <i>provodno testiranje</i> .
	Are the words <i>karantena</i> (‘quarantine’) and <i>izolacija</i> (‘isolation’) synonyms? ¹⁶	<i>Izolacija</i> (‘isolation’) is the separation of a person or a group of people from the rest of the population. <i>Samoizolacija</i> (‘self-isolation’) is a form of self-imposed isolation. <i>Karantena</i> (‘quarantine’) is a legally imposed restriction of movement of people exposed to a contagious disease to see if they become sick. There is no self-quarantine. Quarantine is a stricter and controlled isolation. Every quarantine is isolation, but every isolation is not quarantine.

Some of the answers to these questions were published online in the two databases *Jezični savjetnik* (‘language advice’) and *Bolje je hrvatski* (‘better in Croatian’¹⁷), and a special issue of the journal *Hrvatski jezik (Croatian language)* on Coronavirus and e-learning during the lockdown. In the papers, the linguistic aspects of COVID-19 pandemic were analyzed from different points of view: cognitive linguistics, i.e., Coronavirus-related metaphors (cf. Štrkalj Despot 2020: 1–7), onomastics¹⁸ – names of people fighting COVID-19 (cf. Vidović 2020: 18–19), phraseology (cf. Kovačević 2020: 25–29), standardology (cf. Blagus Bartolec 2020: 30–32),

¹⁶ The speakers asked similar questions about the terms *antigen* (‘antigen’) and *antitijelo* (‘antibody’), *pandemija* (‘pandemic’) and *epidemija* (‘epidemic’), *virulencija* (‘virulence’) and *patogenost* (‘pathogenicity’), *cijepiti* and *procijepiti* (both derivatives of *vaccinate* meaning ‘to vaccinate and to obtain a vaccination rate’), etc.

¹⁷ A website that suggests Croatian equivalents for Anglicisms.

¹⁸ Onomastic analysis of the names of people leading the fight against COVID-19 in Croatia.

etymology (cf. Ivšić Majić 2020: 43–44), e-learning (cf. Hudeček/Mihaljević 2020b: 13–17 and Jozić *et al.* 2020: 20–24).

After the publication of the *Glossary of Coronavirus* in April 2020, questions and suggestions from the *Glossary* users followed. They suggested the inclusion of some terms, proposed new words (*drive-in* > *dovozni*), and asked for etymological, normative, and pragmatic explanations (why is it correct to spell *koronavirus* and not *korona virus*) and suggested corrections or changes of some terms and/or definitions. They offered praise (well done for *drive in* > *provozni*) and criticism e.g., *zaštitna maska* ('protective mask') is not the same as *kirurška maska* ('surgical mask'), *imunološki sustav* should be *imunosni sustav* ('immune system').

Some of the comments are shown in Table 12.

Table 12: Questions on the *Glossary of Coronavirus*.

Question	Answer
Is it correct to say <i>epidemiološka</i> or <i>epidemijska kriza</i> 'epidemiological crisis'?	The word <i>epidemijski</i> is derived from <i>epidemija</i> ('epidemic') and the word <i>epidemiološki</i> is derived from <i>epidemiologija</i> ('epidemiology'). So the adjective <i>epidemijski</i> is related to the <i>epidemic</i> , and the adjective <i>epidemiološki</i> is related to <i>epidemiology</i> . An epidemic causes the crisis, so the term should be <i>epidemijska kriza</i> ('epidemic crisis').
Shouldn't <i>epidemija</i> ('epidemic') be replaced by the Croatian word <i>pošast</i> ?	The word <i>pošast</i> is a synonym of <i>epidemija</i> , so <i>epidemija</i> can be replaced by <i>pošast</i> in the general language. However, <i>epidemija</i> is a medical term and <i>pošast</i> belongs only to the general language.
Could the Croatian neologism <i>raskuživalo</i> replace <i>dezinficijens</i> ('disinfectant')?	The Croatian term <i>raskuživač</i> has the same meaning as <i>raskuživalo</i> so there is no need to form a new term from the same stem with a different suffix.
Is it better to say <i>simptomski bris</i> or <i>simptomatski bris</i> ('symptomatic swab')?	As the adjective should relate to the noun <i>simptom</i> ('symptom') according to Croatian word-formation rules, it should be <i>simptomski bris</i> .

6 Coronavirus-related neologisms in Croatian lexicography

Many countries have online glossaries and dictionaries of Coronavirus-related terminology e.g., German *Neuer Wortschatz rund um die Coronapandemie*; Dutch *Coronawoordenboek*.

Coronavirus-related vocabulary presented challenges to lexicographers as they had to make many choices in a short time and without (or before) an adequate corpus. “It is a rare experience for lexicographers to observe an exponential rise in usage of a single word in a very short period, and for that word to come overwhelmingly to dominate global discourse, even to the exclusion of most other topics. *Covid-19*, a shortening of *coronavirus disease 2019*, and its various manifestations has done just that.” (cf. OED Blog 2020).

6.1 *Glossary of Coronavirus* – a descriptive dictionary

From the beginning of the pandemic in Croatia (February 2020), lexicographers from the Institute of Croatian Language and Linguistics started collecting Coronavirus-related words and expressions used in Croatian media, social media, and government briefings. They regularly followed daily newspapers *Jutarnji list* and *Večernji list*, TV news, press releases of the Civil Protection Headquarters, and some portals. As there was no Croatian corpus that included Coronavirus-related terms, the terms were collected manually by seven collaborators. The first version of the *Glossary of Coronavirus*¹⁹ was published in the daily newspaper *Jutarnji list* on March 16, 2020. In April 2020, the supplemented version of the *Glossary of Coronavirus* was posted online. In the *Glossary*, for each term a short definition is given. The phrase: *x has the same meaning as y* connects synonymous terms e.g., terms *imunitet krda* (‘herd immunity’) and *kolektivni imunitet* (‘collective immunity’). The *Glossary* included some names (and even nick names) e.g., *Stožer civilne zaštite* (‘civil protection headquarters’), *HZZJ*, acronym of *Hrvatski zavod za javno zdravstvo* (‘Croatian institute for public health’). The purpose of the *Glossary* was to meet the needs of Croatian speakers as soon as possible. It usually records terms as they are used and does not give any normative advice. It includes jargon words as well as scientific terms which entered the general language. Table 13 shows selected entries from the Croatian *Glossary of Coronavirus*. As the *Glossary of Coronavirus* is monolingual we added the English translation.

In October 2021, the *Glossary* had 168 terms. For this paper, we continued collecting new terms in a Google document (so not all terms mentioned in this paper have been recorded in the *Glossary*) and hope that this *Glossary* will be supplemented in the future. After the information on the *Glossary* was published on Facebook of the Institute of Croatian Language and Linguistics²⁰ (which has 7,700

¹⁹ The initiative for compiling the *Glossary* came from the principle of the Institute of Croatian Language and Linguistics Željko Jozić. Terms were selected by Goranka Blagus Bartolec, Lana Hudeček, Kristian Lewis, Ivana Matas Ivanković, Maja Matijević, and Milica Mihaljević and the editors of the *Glossary* were Lana Hudeček, Željko Jozić, Kristian Lewis, and Milica Mihaljević.

²⁰ <https://hr-hr.facebook.com/ihjj.hr>.

Table 13: Selected entries from the *Glossary of Coronavirus*.

Croatian term	Definition	Synonym	English term	English definition
karantena	prisilno, zakonski ili službeno izdvajanje potencijalno zaraženih osoba iz okoline ili čitavih naselja kako bi se spriječilo daljnje širenje virusa; potječe od talijanske riječi <i>quarantina</i> ('40 dana'). Prvi put kao zaštitna mjera primijenjena je odlukom Velikoga vijeća Dubrovačke Republike 1377. godine.		quarantine	forced, legal, or official removal of potentially infected persons from the environment or entire settlements to prevent further spreading of the virus; it comes from the Italian word <i>quarantina</i> (40 days). It was first applied as a protective measure by the Grand Council of the Republic of Dubrovnik in 1377.
kirurška maska	navlaka koja se stavlja na lice kao zaštita od prenošenja virusa (kašljanjem, izdisanjem, kihanjem i sl.)	zaštitna maska	protective mask	cover that is put on the face as protection against virus transmission (coughing, exhaling, sneezing, etc.)
kliconoša	osoba ili životinja koja u sebi nosi određeni mikroorganizam koji prouzročuje bolest, ali nema znakova bolesti		carrier	a person or animal that carries a particular microorganism that causes the disease but has no signs of the disease
kolapsologija	u novije vrijeme popularan pokret koji upozorava na moguću propast (kolaps) društava te proučava uzroke i posljedice urušavanja civilizacija		collapsology	in recent times, a popular movement that warns of the possible collapse of society and studies the cause and consequences of the collapse of civilization
kolektivni imunitet	imunitet koji je steklo dovoljno ljudi da se bolest prestane širiti	imunitet krda	collective immunity	immunity acquired by enough people to stop the disease from spreading
komorbiditet	istodobna pojava dviju ili više bolesti		comorbidity	simultaneous occurrence of two or more diseases
korona	kolokvijalni naziv za koronavirusnu bolest, tj. COVID-19		Corona	colloquial name for Coronavirus disease, i.e., COVID-19
koronabolnica	bolnica predviđena za smještaj i liječenje zaraženih koronavirusom		COVID hospital	a hospital designed to accommodate and treat people infected by Coronavirus

followers) we received many comments and suggestions from followers. The information on the *Glossary* had 11,619 page views; its reach was 9,921 and impression 736. It had 132 reactions from the users.

6.2 Croatian Web Dictionary – *Mrežnik* – a normative dictionary

After the compilation of the descriptive *Glossary of Coronavirus*, it was decided that some of the Coronavirus-related terms should be included in the normative *Croatian Web Dictionary – Mrežnik*, an online, free, corpus-based, monolingual, hypertext, searchable, normative dictionary compiled at the Institute of Croatian Language and Linguistics.²¹ *Mrežnik* has three modules: for schoolchildren, for adult native speakers of Croatian, and for non-native speakers (cf. Hudeček/Mihaljević 2020a). The microstructure of *Mrežnik* (module for adult native speakers) is shown in Figure 1.

The inclusion of Coronavirus-related terms in *Mrežnik* was motivated by the questions and comments from the *Glossary* users, which reflected their need for further explanation and normative guidance.

The selection of terms was made by the editors according to these criteria:

1. more frequent words;
2. words which belong to the standard language;
3. words with a normative or pragmatic problem connected to their usage;
4. Coronavirus-related medical terms used in the general language;
5. word-formation clusters;
6. the most common jargon words;
7. names are not included.

Coronavirus-related terms with compounds and derivatives were added to the *Mrežnik* wordlist, as shown in Table 14. In many cases, these are medical terms that existed in Croatian terminology but would not have been included in a general dictionary if their frequency in everyday discourse did not increase due to COVID-19.

The problem for the Croatian dictionary compilers was that most Coronavirus-related terms could not be found in general Croatian corpora *Croatian Web Corpus hrWaC* and *Croatian Web Repository*.

This meant that the lexicographers had to select examples manually. The website of the *Croatian Web Archive* (Hrvatski arhiv weba) has a thematic collection *COVID-19* in which the lexicographers could check each term and find examples.

However, in October 2021 a small Coronavirus corpus (called *Korona*) consisting of a little over 280,700 words was compiled by Štrkalj Despot and Ostroški Anić. The *Mrežnik* authors and editors used *Korona* corpus in editing Coronavirus-related

21 A demo version of *Mrežnik* (from A to F) is available online on <https://rjecnik.hr/mreznik/>.

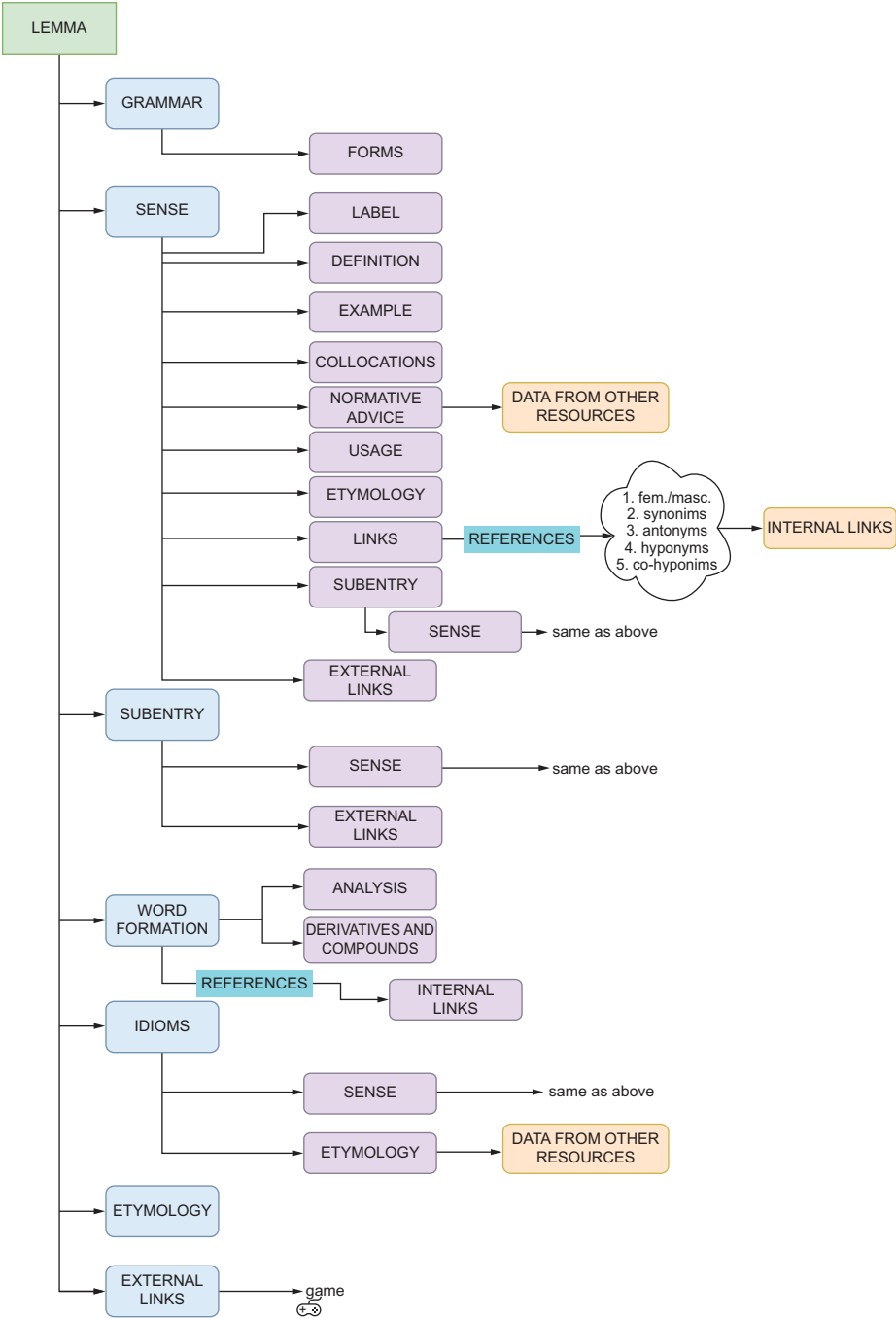


Figure 1: Microstructure of *Mrežnik* – module for adult native speakers.

entries, for supplementing the wordlist (using keywords and N-grams), adding collocations (using word sketches) and examples (using concordance).

Table 14: A sample of Coronavirus-related terms with compounds and derivatives added to the wordlist.²²

Croatian	English	Croatian	English	Croatian	English
epidemija	epidemic (noun)	dezinfekcija	disinfection	korona	Corona
epidemiolog	epidemiologist	dezinficijens	disinfectant	koronabolnica	Corona hospital
epidemiologinja	epidemiologist (female)	dezinficirati	disinfect	koronafobija	Corona phobia
epidemiologinjin	belonging to the epidemiologist (female)			koronahumor	Corona humor
epidemiologov	belonging to the epidemiologist			koronavirus	Coronavirus
epidemiološki	epidemic (adjective)				

Table 15 shows the entry *COVID-19*²³ with its subentries *COVID ambulanta* ('COVID infirmary'), *COVID bolnica* ('COVID hospital'), *COVID infekcija* ('COVID infection'), *COVID odjel* ('COVID ward'), *COVID ordinacija* ('COVID practice'), *COVID pacijent* ('COVID patient'), and *COVID pozitivan* ('COVID positive'). The terms are illustrated by examples and collocations and the etymology and usage of the term *COVID-19* is explained.

Table 15: Part of the entry *COVID-19* in *Mrežnik*.

Section	Croatian	English
definition	COVID-19 bolest je koju prouzročuje novi soj koronavirusa SARS-CoV-2 (teški akutni respiratorni sindrom, koronavirus 2).	COVID-19 is a disease caused by a new strain of the Coronavirus SARS-CoV-2 (severe acute respiratory syndrome, coronavirus 2).

²² On compiling the wordlist for *Mrežnik* cf. Hudeček/Mihaljević 2020a.

²³ The entry *COVID-19* is available on <https://rjecnik.hr/mreznik/index.php/covid-19/>.

Table 15 (continued)

Section	Croatian	English
corpus example ²⁴	Bolest COVID-19 prenosi se kapljicnim putem i izravnim kontaktom, preko kapljica sline ili sluzi govorom, disanjem ili kašljanjem zaražene osobe u blizini druge zdrave osobe.	COVID-19 disease is transmitted by droplets and direct contact, through droplets of saliva or mucus by speech, breathing, or coughing of an infected person near another healthy person.
collocations	Kakav je COVID-19? <i>dugotrajan, težak</i> Što COVID-19 može? <i>prijetiti, širiti se, ubiti, uništiti (gospodarstvo, turizam), vladati</i> Što se s COVID-om 19 može? <i>biti pozitivan na njega, oboljeti od njega; preboljeti ga</i> U vezi s COVID-om 19 spominje se: <i>bolest, borba, kriza, simptom, slučaj</i>	What is COVID-19 like? <i>longlasting, difficult</i> What can COVID-19 do? <i>threaten, spread, kill, destroy (economy, tourism), rule</i> What can be done with COVID 19? <i>be positive about it, get sick of it; get over it</i> COVID 19 is mentioned in connection with: <i>illness, struggle, crisis, symptom, case</i>
subentries	COVID ambulanta COVID bolnica COVID infekcija COVID odjel COVID ordinacija COVID pacijent COVID pozitivan	COVID infirmary COVID hospital COVID infection COVID department COVID practice COVID patient COVID positive

Entries in *Mrežnik* contain collocations introduced by collocational questions and introductory phrases (cf. Hudeček/Mihaljević 2020c: 78–111). At the beginning of the compilation process, as word sketches could not be used for Coronavirus-related collocations, the compilers had to find collocations searching the Internet and *Croatian Web Archive*. However, after the appearance of the new *Korona* corpus, some new collocations were added to the Coronavirus-related entries. Each subentry also has examples and collocations.

Internal links connect synonyms, antonyms, hyponyms, and feminine/masculine pairs.²⁵ Some of the definitions of Coronavirus-related terms in *Mrežnik* are taken from the *Glossary*. The terms that are recorded in the *Glossary* are linked with external links.

²⁴ In *Mrežnik*, 4–5 corpus examples are given for each meaning of the headword. In Table 13, only one example is given for illustration.

²⁵ Linking is important in *Mrežnik*. Internal links link one *Mrežnik* entry to another (synonyms, antonyms, male/female pairs, word-formation, etc.). External links link a *Mrežnik* entry to an external source (cf. Hudeček/Mihaljević 2019), e.g. the *Glossary of Coronavirus*.

The definitions and linking of two partly synonymous entries are shown in Table 16.

Table 16: Definition and links in the entries *SARS-CoV-2* and *Coronavirus*.

entry section	SARS-CoV-2		Coronavirus	
	Croatian	English	Croatian	English
definition 1	SARS-CoV-2 (kratica od engl. <i>Severe acute respiratory syndrome coronavirus 2</i> ('teški akutni respiratorni sindrom koronavirus 2') jedan je od sojeva virusa iz istoimene porodice koji prouzročuje koronavirusnu bolest, tj. COVID-19.	SARS-CoV-2 (short for English <i>Severe acute respiratory syndrome coronavirus 2</i>) is one of the virus strains from the family of the same name that causes Coronavirus disease, i.e. COVID-19.	Koronavirus jedan je od sojeva virusa iz istoimene porodice koji prouzročuje koronavirusnu bolest, tj. COVID-19.	Coronavirus is one of the virus variants from the family of the same name that causes Coronavirus disease, i.e. COVID-19.
references synonym	koronavirus 1		SARS-CoV-2	
definition 2	–		samo u množini: Koronavirusi su porodica virusa (<i>Coronaviridae</i>) koji imaju jednolančani DNK i lipidnu ovojnicu u obliku krune; mogu zaraziti ptice i sisavce, a u posljednje vrijeme i ljude.	only in the plural: Coronaviruses are a family of viruses (<i>Coronaviridae</i>) with single-stranded DNA and a crown-shaped lipid envelope; they can infect birds, mammals, and humans.

The headword *SARS-CoV-2* is marked with the terminological label *med.* (medical term). It has a definition and etymological explanation, followed by examples and a link to the synonym *koronavirus* ('Coronavirus'), also a headword in *Mrežnik*. The headword *koronavirus* ('Coronavirus') has two meanings, and only the first is linked to *SARS-CoV-2*.

Normative and/or pragmatic advice is given in all cases where the user might not be sure which word to use or when to use a specific term. Examples of normative and pragmatic advice in *Mrežnik* are shown in Table 17.

Sometimes, new meanings, examples, and collocations have been added to the existing entries (which were not Coronavirus-related) e.g., in the entry *val* ('wave') collocations *drugi val* ('second wave'), *treći val* ('third wave'), and *četvrti val* ('fourth wave') were added. In the entry *balon* ('balloon'), the meaning 'protective measure in which a group of people physically interact or socialize only with each other' and some examples from the Internet and/or corpus were added.

Anosmija/anozmija ('anosmia') is one of the medical terms the frequency of which has increased due to Coronavirus. This term was recorded in two forms *anosmija* and *anozmija*. In the Croatian terminological database *Struna* (cf. Bratanić/Ostroški Anić 2013), the term *anozmija* was preferred.

However, after the appearance of Coronavirus and the entrance of this term into general discourse it was used in the form *anosmija* by the media. Therefore it was decided to have the term *anosmija* as the headword in *Mrežnik* and *anozmija* as its synonym.²⁶ In the normative note, the reasons for this are explained. The entry *anosmija* in *Mrežnik* is shown in Table 18.

²⁶ The entry *anosmija* is available on <https://rjecnik.hr/mreznik/index.php/anosmija/>.

Table 17: Normative and pragmatic advice.

Headword	Croatian	English
koronavirus (Coronavirus)	Normative advice U stručnoj i široj općoj uporabi u hrvatskome su jeziku ustaljeni prilagođeni nazivi za viruse. Prema pravilu o pisanju stručnih naziva malim se početnim slovom pišu svi jednorječni nazivi te svi višerječni nazivi osim riječi koja je i sama ime ili posvojni pridjev izveden od osobnoga imena, npr. <i>ebola</i> , <i>zika</i> / <i>virus zika</i> , <i>virus Zapadnoga Nila</i> / <i>zapadnonilski virus</i> . U skladu s navedenim pravilom piše se i naziv virusa čiji je latinski naziv <i>Coronavirus</i> koji je uzročnik aktualne epidemije.	In scientific and general usage, the names of viruses are adapted to the Croatian language. According to the orthographic rule about writing scientific terms, all one word and multi-word terms that do not contain a name or possessive adjective derived from a personal name are written with small initial letters e.g., <i>ebola</i> ('ebola'), <i>zika</i> ('zika'), <i>virus zika</i> ('zika virus'), <i>virus Zapadnoga Nila</i> / <i>zapadnonilski virus</i> ('the West Nile Virus'). Following this rule, the term denoting the virus called in Latin <i>Coronavirus</i> , which caused the pandemic in 2020 and 2021, is spelled <i>koronavirus</i> .
	Pragmatic advice Često se čuje da je netko obolio od koronavirusa. U medijskim se izvještajima katkad govori o broju zaraženih, katkad o broju oboljelih. Oboje je pravilno, ali nije pravilno reći da je netko obolio od koronavirusa. Ljudi nisu oboljeli od virusa nego su njime zaraženi, a od bolesti obolijevaju. Možemo reći da je netko zaražen virusom ili da je obolio od koronavirusne bolesti ili od bolesti COVID-19.	One often says that someone has been sick with Coronavirus. In the media, we can sometimes read about the number of infected or the number of diseased. Both expressions are correct, but it is not right to say that someone is diseased with Coronavirus. Somebody cannot be diseased with a virus only infected by it, and diseased with a disease. We can say that a virus has infected somebody or that somebody is sick with the Coronavirus disease or COVID-19.
epidemija (epidemic)	Epidemija označuje naglo širenje neke bolesti. Stoga, nije pravilno govoriti o pandemiji koronavirusa, nego treba govoriti o epidemiji koronavirusne bolesti, epidemiji bolesti COVID-19 ili u razgovornome stilu o epidemiji korone.	The epidemic denotes a widespread occurrence of an infectious disease. Thus it is not correct to say Coronavirus epidemic. It is right to say an epidemic of Coronavirus disease or an epidemic of COVID-19 or in the colloquial style epidemic of Corona.
pandemija (pandemic)	Pandemija označuje širenje neke bolesti na više država, kontinenta ili na cijeli svijet. Budući da pandemija označuje 'širenje bolesti', nije pravilno govoriti o pandemiji koronavirusa, nego treba govoriti o pandemiji koronavirusne bolesti, pandemiji bolesti COVID-19 ili u razgovornome stilu o pandemiji korone.	The pandemic denotes the spreading of disease on more countries, continents, or the whole world. Thus it is not correct to say Coronavirus pandemic. It is right to say pandemic of Coronavirus disease or pandemic of COVID-19 or in the colloquial style pandemic of Corona.

Table 18: Entry *anosmija* in *Mrežnik*.

Entry section	Croatian	English
definition	Anosmija je gubitak njuha, jedan od rjeđih simptoma bolesti COVID-19, najčešće se pojavljuje u mladim pacijenata s blagom kliničkom slikom.	Anosmia is the inability to smell, one of the less common symptoms of COVID-19 disease, most often occurring in young patients with a mild clinical picture.
synonym	anozmija	
pragmatic note	U medicinske nazivlje upotrebljava se i naziv <i>anozmija</i> te je u bazi <i>Strune</i> <i>anozmija</i> preporučeni medicinski naziv, a <i>anosmija</i> dopušteni. U medijima se (povezano s pandemijom bolesti COVID-19) upotrebljava naziv <i>anosmija</i> .	The term <i>anosmia</i> is used in medical terminology, and the medical term is recommended in the <i>Struna</i> database, and <i>anosmia</i> is an allowed term. The term <i>anosmia</i> is used in the media (associated with the COVID-19 pandemic).
external links	to <i>Struna</i> database to <i>Glossary of Coronavirus</i>	

7 Conclusions

Coronavirus has influenced many walks of life, from health, medicine, sociology, and psychology to education and language. Languages change over time, but in 2020 and 2021, change had been more rapid than ever. The appearance of Coronavirus resulted in the formation of many new words and phrases, the evolution of meaning of the existing ones, and the passing of terms from the language of science to everyday discourse. The media and social media had a crucial role in the creation and spreading of these new terms.

As in many other languages, the beginning of the COVID-19 pandemic in Croatia was associated with the appearance of many new words (*koronabolnica* ‘Corona hospital’, *superširitelj* ‘super-spreader’) and phrases (*socijalna distanca* ‘social distance’) as well as additional meanings of the existing ones (*balon* ‘balloon’, *val* ‘wave’). Native speakers, especially journalists, often asked linguists from the Institute of Croatian Language and Linguistics for language advice. This was the reason for language advice posted on the portals *Jezični savjetnik* and *Bolje je hrvatski!*, for a special issue of the journal *Hrvatski jezik* connected with Coronavirus and e-learning, for the compilation of the descriptive *Glossary of Coronavirus*, and the inclusion of Coronavirus-related neologisms in the *Croatian Web Dictionary – Mrežnik*. In autumn 2021, Coronavirus-related terms were not yet included in a general publicly available corpus of the Croatian language, but a small specialized *Korona* corpus had been

compiled and was available on request. Corona-related neologisms were also not yet included in the then most recent Croatian dictionary of neologisms *Rječnik neologizama u hrvatskome* (cf. Muhvić-Dimanovski/Skelin Horvat/Hriberski 2016).

Some of the new Coronavirus-related words/phrases/meanings still belong only to the spoken jargon, and they will probably never enter the Croatian standard language (*kovidiot* ‘covidiot’). On the other hand, some Coronavirus-related terms already belong to the standard language (*koronabolnica* ‘Corona hospital’). This new terminology presented numerous challenges for linguists and especially for standardologists and lexicographers. Standardologists were faced with many questions relating to orthography, grammar (morphology, syntax, and especially word-formation) as well as to the lexis posed by journalists and general language users.

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