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COVID-19 TRENDING NEOLOGISMS IN BOSNIA AND HERZEGOVINA

The Covid-19 pandemic has affected every single aspect of life including conversational practices both online and offline. New lexical and sociolinguistic changes have become part of our lives, which is especially vivid in the emergence of Covid-19 trending neologisms. The present study utilizes the descriptive-qualitative design in the analysis of morphological structures of neologisms in Bosnian/Croatian/Serbian languages. Specifically, the paper is based on the analysis of morphological structures of the neologisms that use the discourse of the Covid pandemic as a base/modifier, i.e., that contain either *corona-* / *korona-*, *coronavirus-* / *koronavirus-*, *Covid-19-* / *Kovid-19-*, and *Covid-* / *Kovid-* as a base of the neologism. The dataset consists of over 10,000 headlines related to Covid-19 information, found and collected in online newspaper sections *Koronavirus – Dnevni Avaz* (Bosnia and Herzegovina) between March 2020 and March 2021. The results show that there is an intensive usage of the Covid-19 neologisms, which manifests the dynamics of language as new words are used, added, and integrated into conversational practices daily. Moreover, the majority of these neologisms use the discourse of the Covid pandemic as a base/modifier. This paper aims to shed light not only on the meanings of the new words and their structure and function, but it can also serve as a foundation for creating a special Covid-19 glossary on the territory of Bosnia and Herzegovina.

Key words: Covid-19; neologisms; Bosnian/Croatian/Serbian languages; word-formation

1. INTRODUCTION

Since declared a global pandemic by the World Health Organization (WHO) in March 2020, Covid-19¹ has impacted every aspect of life, adapting the most complex measures, such as social distancing measures, travel bans, self-isolation and business closures. People have been forced out of public places as the strategies of social distancing implied cancellation of mass gatherings, isolation of Covid-19-infected people, self-isolation for those who have been in close contact with Covid-19-infected people, and closure of educational, cultural, sports, and entertaining facilities. As a result, conversational practices and habits, both online and offline, have also witnessed a remarkable change, revolving around Covid-19 information (the term *coronaspeak* is developed by Thorne, as the language related to the epidemic). Many medical, sociological, scientific, and psychological terms have entered general discourse and are no longer reserved only for niche audience. What is more, the pandemic-related expressions have also showed how people's personal and social perceptions have started to evolve, and how new words have been used to elicit and express certain perspectives. Indeed, the explosion of new words, phrases, and expressions has been evident in everyday general discourse, in the news, social media, government briefings and scientific and technical domains. It is not just that many new terms related to Covid-19 pandemic have appeared, but many already known terms have been adapted for a potential new usage. Obviously, the language change today has largely been driven by social change influenced by Covid-19.

2. LITERATURE REVIEW

The Covid-19 pandemic has affected modern policies, politics, economies, societies as well as cultures and languages. In other words, every single language has started changing to accommodate new happenings and current social situation, the result being the dynamic creation of new words and expressions, as well as shifts in the usage and meaning of typically sociological, medical, technical or psychological terms (there are some new words created such as *Covid-19* itself, but, on the other hand, some words have experienced a gradual semantic shift, such as: *PPE* – *personal protective equipment*, *self-isolate(d)*, *elbow bump*).

¹ Origin: Formed within English, by clipping or shortening. Etymon: English coronavirus disease 2019. Etymology: Shortened < coronavirus disease 2019 < CORONAVIRUS, n. + DISEASE, n. + 2019, the year in which it was first identified. (OED)

Neologisms, as the objective of linguistic research, have always attracted scholars and researchers due to their novel and creative nature, but they have also remained the linguistic controversy due to some crucial issues concerning their age and classification, but also to the readiness of the receiving language to accommodate ready-made lexical units to their repository. For instance, there are languages that are not as receptive to new words and expressions as other languages considering new words as threats to the linguistic system of that language (linguistic purism found in French, Russian, Mongolian, Icelandic, Croatian). Then, there are a lot of different viewpoints concerning neologisms and their age. Some scholars claim that the word should not be older than 25 years in order to be considered a neologism (Usevičs 2012: 2). Furthermore, there is no single way of classifying neologisms as there are different classifications that depend on the adopted theory and approach (Rets 2016: 814). Thus, there are five basic theories proposed by different scholars:

- stylistic theory – defines neologisms as words which are stylistically marked by the novelty of their usage in the language (Fischer 1998; Rets 2014);
- denotation theory – defines neologisms as words which stand for new things and ideas and thus have new denotative meanings (Ulanova 2014);
- structural theory – defines neologisms as words with a completely new form and structure or unique acoustic pattern (Sari 2013);
- etymological theory – defines neologisms as words which already exist in a language, but have developed a new meaning over the recent years (Cook 2010; Rets 2014);
- lexicographic theory – defines neologisms as words which are not yet registered in reputable and respected dictionaries (Sanders, as cited in Rets 2016).

What makes the phenomenon of neologisms particularly interesting is the notion of novelty, which may be understood differently by individuals, groups, communities and societies, and in the end, the entire world (Rets 2016: 14). Rets claims that a researcher's awareness and responsibility is even greater as they need to make a decision whether the word is new for all languages or one / two national languages, for everyday language or particular sublanguage (metalanguage or jargon), for oral or written language, etc. It has long been known that rapid changes in science and technology, and especially information technology cause an increase in the number of neologisms; however, nowadays the world languages have been immensely influenced by the pandemic of Covid-19, reflecting *the ethos, mood or preoccupations of the passing year* (Oxford Languages 2019).

2.1. Definition, Origin, Formation

There are many definitions of the term neologism², but the most common is that it is ‘a newly coined word or expression’ (The Oxford English Dictionary). Newmark’s definition of neologisms is broader in a sense that the author defined it as ‘newly coined lexical unit or existing lexical unit that acquire a new sense’ (1988: 140). Crystal views neologism as ‘the creation of a new lexical item as a response to changed circumstances in the external world, which achieves some currency within a speech community’ (1992: 264). The author later offered the definition of neologism describing it as *a nonce word*, ‘a linguistic form which a speaker consciously invents or accidentally does on a single occasion’ (2008: 329). It is when these *nonce formations* come to be adopted by the community that they become neologisms. On the other hand, some scholars (Bauer 2001) claim that a neologism is a diachronic concept that can be viewed and regarded only in retrospect. The author makes a distinction between *nonce words* and neologisms:

At the moment when a word is coined, it may not be possible to tell what its eventual status will be in a language: it may become part of the norm of the language and turn out to have been a neologism, or it may not, and remain as nonce word (Bauer 2001: 40).

This viewpoint that a newly created word begins as a *nonce formation*, and it either becomes or does not become a neologism is the viewpoint supported by several researchers and scholars (Quirk et al. 1985: 1534f.; Algeo 1991; Fischer 1998; Aronoff and Fudeman 2005: 163). One may recognize these nonce formations in a discourse by the use of an explicit introduction such as ‘what one might call’, and ‘I shall refer to this as’ (Quirk et al. 1985: 1535). Nonce formations that do not turn into neologisms are labelled ‘hapax legomena’³.

Neologisms are an interesting phenomenon in that their emergence demonstrates the capability of language to accommodate according to changing circumstances. ‘Neologisms are often directly attributable to a specific person, publication, period, or event’ and they can also be found in other sciences apart from linguistics, psychiatry, theology, etc. (Usevičs 2012: 1). As they denote an appearance and innovation of new vocabulary, they are considered to signify the components of language modification, often in the domains of art, science, or technology. Without

² The term neologism comes from Greek: neos ‘new’ + logos ‘word’.

³ Hapax legomenon (the 17th century term coming from Greek. *something said only once*) is defined as a word or form occurring only once in a document or corpus (Merriam-Webster Dictionary).

doubt, the influence of digital technology on global society in the last few decades has been present in every segment of life, and it is not surprising that lexicographers have found that science and technology are by far the most prolific sources of neologisms in recent times (Crystal 2002; Van Dyke 1992). Needless to say, neologisms are at the same time generated in the media, advertising and technical domains due to the social need for naming everything new and understanding the new concepts⁴. Thus, words such as *cable television* (1966), *CD-ROM* (1988), *flashback* (1966), *environment* (1972), *hip-hop* (1985), *black hole* (1960), *laser* (1960), *homophobia* (1969) or *political correctness* (1970) used to be neologisms back in their time; today, they are no longer regarded lexical innovations and they do not belong to this linguistic category of neologisms anymore; on the contrary, these neologisms are all quite familiar to the general public today, although there are some that have become an obsolete concept or an archaism (especially, the words *CD-ROM*, *cable television*, *floppy disk*, etc.).

Regarding the formation of neologisms, there are many taxonomies presented by different scholars (Newmark 1988; Silvia 2001; Delabastita 2004). Among the first ones was Newmark's taxonomy (1988) that included the following categories: (1) semantic neologisms (existing lexical items with new senses, new meanings) and (2) new forms that may include new coinages (e.g., *Kleenex*, *Schweppes*), derived words (e.g., *chocoholic*), abbreviations (e.g., *metro*, *PC*, *ER*), collocations (e.g., *tug-of-love*), eponyms (e.g., *Joycean*, *Chomskyan*, etc.), phrasal words (e.g., *work-out*, *laid-back*), transferred words (e.g., *Nike*, *Adidas*), and acronyms (e.g., UNESCO). However, Silvia (2001) differentiates between (1) semantic neologisms (resulting from processes such as: expansion, metaphor, conversion of grammatical category where a word changes its class, and adoption from another field and (2) morphological neologisms (produced through derivation, compounding, blending, acronyms, and borrowing. Indeed, there are many taxonomies proposed by different scholars for the creation of neologisms.

Needless to say, many neologisms have been formed typically undergoing various morphological processes termed as word-formation. Word formation is a very important event because it is focused on communication and the transfer of existing knowledge about the world.

Most neologisms are derivatives, i.e., formed on the basis of existing ones and they are typically created through major or minor morphological processes (Murray 1995; Lieber 2009) such as: COMPOUNDING (produced when two or more free lexemes are put together to create a new one, such as: *video-conferencing*, *break dance*, *ego-*

⁴ <https://www.bcu.ac.uk/english/research/english-linguistics/rdues/neologisms-in-journalistic-text>

surf, etc.); REDUPLICATION (a process whereby a free morpheme is repeated or duplicated to form a new word, such as: *bye-bye*, *ding-dong*, *chit-chat*, *ping-pong*, etc.); BORROWING (a process whereby words from one language are used in other, such as *Uber*, *layperson*, *paella*, etc.); AFFIXATION (a process in which a morpheme is combined with a word, stem, or phrase to produce derived or inflected forms, typically through prefixes, infixes, and suffixes, examples being: *pre-determine*, *un-willing*, *dis-connect*, *under-cooked*, *wonder-ful*, *depend-ent*, etc.); CONVERSION (a process whereby a word changes its morphemic status without overt addition to its form, such as: nouns converted to verbs: *butter*, *google*, *email*, *ship*, etc., or adjectives converted to verbs: *better*, *clean*, *empty*, *open*, etc.); ABBREVIATION (a process of shortening a written word/phrase, used in place of the whole word/phrase, such as: *p* (page), *wd.* (word), etc.); ACRONYM (a process whereby the words are shortened to only the initials or first few letters, such as, *AIDS* (acquired immune deficiency syndrome); *NATO* (North Atlantic Treaty Organization); *ASAP* (as soon as possible); *LOL* (laughing out loud), etc.); CLIPPING (a process whereby a multi-syllabic word is shortened by subtracting one or more of the syllables, such as: *lab* (laboratory); *pub* (public house), etc.); BLENDING (a process in which two or more words are merged into one so that the blended constituents are either clipped, or partially overlap, such as: *crunk* (crazy + drunk); *emoticon* (emotion + icon); *netspeak* (internet + speak); *thumbbo* (thumb + typo), etc.); ONOMATOPOEIA (whereby the morpheme indicates the sounds involved in the meaning of that morpheme, such as: *ah-huh* (sudden realization), *bling* (jewellery, the reflection of light off of a diamond), etc.); ANTONOMASIA (a process in which a personal, place or brand name adapts a new meaning, usually referring to common noun related to the proper noun, such as: *Einstein* (a clever person)).

Nevertheless, it has been discovered that the most commonly used processes in the development of neologisms are those that shorten the existing words, mainly being clippings, abbreviations and acronyms (Shahlee & Mustaffa 2019: 1-2). In addition, some recent studies (Šetka Čilić, Ilić Plauc 2021: 133) examining neologisms on social networking sites also confirm that the most frequent types of neologisms are clippings and blend words (on Facebook, Instagram and Twitter) and abbreviations and acronyms (on WhatsApp). Morphological processes may alter stems to form new words thus changing the word's meaning or grammatical function of a word. In addition, there are different mechanisms that can be applied in the creation of neologisms in different languages. Indeed, morphological productivity is generally viewed as some kind of ability on the part of the speaker, or a feature of the language itself, to give rise to new forms.

2.2. The Impact of Covid-19: The Latest Research

The Covid-19 pandemic has been a catalyst of culture change and some of these changes manifest themselves in language use. It is evident that general discourses have dramatically altered which has been monitored and studied by many scholars and researchers (Thorne 2020; Crystal 2020; OED 2020; Merriam-Webster 2020). Many dictionaries were updated with new Covid-19-related entries, but also many terms have been revised to suit the Covid-19 context (Merriam-Webster 2020; The Oxford English Dictionary 2020; Texas Medical Center 2020). Among the most important works that made a great contribution to lexicology and lexicography is the one conducted by a British linguist and lexicographer Tony Thorne (2020), who claims that ‘there’s been an enormous amount of new language... Some of the language is newly created, some of it is re-purposed old language’ (Thorne 2020). In other words, Thorne introduces the term *coronaspeak*, i.e., the language related to the epidemic, with its three developmental stages: the first stage marked by medicalisation of vocabulary, the second stage being characterised by new words and phrases, (i.e., the rapid creation of neologisms) and finally, the third stage being bound with the institutional discourse, (i.e., the language that the government uses to pursue its strategic construction of a new world (Thorne 2020). Thorne’s massive compilation of Covid-19-related terms that also includes slang, nicknames, describing new realities, security measures, demographics, jargon, clichés, and catchphrases may suggest that *coronaspeak* represents a new language in which new concepts deliver new words and expressions and they also change and cause semantic shifts of old words and expressions presented in the English lexicon.

At this moment, the English language, as well as many other languages, is experiencing a ‘neologistic boom’. There are many new Covid-19 entries found in English as well as in other European languages, such as: Czech, Dutch, French, German, Portuguese, Russian, Serbian, Spanish and other languages presented in an International Corona glossary⁵. In the same fashion, many lexicologists and lexicographers have started compiling new Covid-19 entries in specialized and general-purpose dictionaries (The Institute of Croatian language and linguistics; The Institute of Serbian language). As very important linguistic endeavours one may propose *Pojmovnik koronavirusa*⁶, announced and published online in 2020 by the Institute of Croatian language and linguistics, with around 200 Covid-19 entries used

⁵ <https://glossaries.translatorswb.org/covid19/>

⁶ <http://jezik.hr/koronavirus>

in Croatian. The mentioned glossary lists all the active words and expressions as well as trending neologisms and special, or to be more precise, medical terminology that has become an active part of Croatian lexicon. What is more, the glossary introduced the Croatian equivalents for Covid-19-related terms and expressions (Cro. *provodno testiranje* for *drive-in testiranje* – Eng. *drive-in testing*; Cro. *prvozaraženi* for *multi pacijent* – Eng. *patient zero*). The other glossary was offered at the beginning of 2021 by the Institute of Serbian language, under the name *Rečnik pojmova iz perioda epidemije kovida*⁷. This glossary also contains around 200 Covid-19 entries used in Serbian newspapers, TV shows, social networks, and websites. Similarly, there are also neologisms listed as well as typical medical terms with expanded semantic meanings used in Covid-19 pandemics. The lists of Covid-19 entries in both glossaries are not final and they will be updated in the future. It is also to be highlighted that this Serbian glossary offers certain collocations as well as colloquial, jargon terms (Srb. *koronaš* / *kovidaš* / *koronac* – with the meaning: a person infected with Covid-19 virus).

To sum up, in the context of Covid-19 pandemic, the questions remain on how many neologisms would be created in the future and how much longer the Covid-19-inspired neologisms would remain in use after the post-pandemic era. There is a range of factors highly relevant for a word to become a neologism and a part of a lexicon, and it could only be stated that one cannot second-guess language at this point. From a linguistic point of view, language change is a natural linguistic phenomenon and a quite unstoppable process.

3. THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK

Given the importance of the emerging trend of neologisms and lexical innovations on a daily basis as well as the semantic changes of certain terms and expressions in language use, the lexicological properties of Covid-19-related terms and expressions have to be analysed in Bosnian/Croatian/Serbian languages. As the current developments in lexicography illustrate, the lexicological approach is a timely linguistic topic quite interesting for researchers, especially the domain of neologisms, their structure, function, and usage. Thus, this piece of research could, therefore, make a contribution to lexicological and lexicographical approaches to neologisms as it observes and studies the lexical change that has been in progress. It can also serve as

⁷ <http://www.isj.sanu.ac.rs/recnik-pojmova-iz-perioda-kovida/>

a foundation for creating a special Covid-19 glossary as well as a potential list of neologisms and special vocabulary that should be transferred from a special lexicon into the general lexicon.

The present study attempts to investigate the nature of the new B/C/S words and expressions that emerged in the wake of the Covid-19 crisis. To be more precise, this study will focus on the neologisms in B/C/S trying to identify the type of word-formation processes, with a special attention paid to the neologisms that use the discourse of the Covid-19 pandemic as a base/modifier, i.e., examples such as: *Covid-skeptičan* (Eng. Covid-sceptic), *korona kriza* (Eng. coronavirus crisis), *Covid pacijenti* (Eng. Covid patients), *Covid-free zona* (Eng. Covid-free zone), etc.

3.1. Research Methodology – Corpus and Analysis

This paper utilizes descriptive-qualitative design in the analysis of morphological structures of the neologisms that use the discourse of the Covid pandemic as a base/modifier, i.e., that contain either *corona- / korona-*, *coronavirus- / koronavirus*, *Covid-19- / Kovid-19-*, and *Covid- / Kovid-* as a base/modifier. The research is based on the dataset consisting of over 10,000 headlines related to Covid-19 information, found and manually collected in online newspaper sections *Koronavirus – Dnevni Avaz* (Bosnia and Herzegovina) between March 2020 and March 2021. Within the mentioned newspaper section, there appear to be around 270 Covid-19 entries in Bosnian/Croatian/Serbian languages, excerpted for the corpus. The majority of the neologisms (around 60 of them) do contain either *corona- / korona-*, *coronavirus- / koronavirus-*, *Covid-19 - / Kovid-19-*, and *Covid- / Kovid-* as a base/modifier. The process of generating the data of the Covid-19 neologisms included the identification of the neologisms, which are further manually selected and analysed according to the morphological processes. In addition, the part of speech and the online newspaper source of the mentioned neologisms have been provided and they have been also checked for the inclusion in the two new Covid-19 glossaries in Croatia and Serbia. Finally, the research results and discussions have been presented as well as recommendations for further lexicological and lexicographical research.

4. ANALYSIS AND DISCUSSION

After examining Covid-related entries in the corpus, it has been realized that there are around 270 Covid-related entries, all referring to active words and expressions

as well as trending neologisms and special medical terminology. However, one of the objectives of this paper was to find and examine neologisms that use the discourse of the Covid pandemic as a base/modifier. What is more, the objective was to identify and analyse the neologisms containing either *corona-* / *korona-*, *coronavirus-* / *koronavirus-*, *Covid-19-* / *Kovid-19-*, and *Covid-* / *Kovid-* as a modifier. Interestingly enough, there are 56 neologisms found in the corpus, in the mentioned newspaper section. Needless to say, this research paper included neologisms presented in both orthographic variants, with *k-* and *c-*, although the proper orthography of contemporary Bosnian/Croatian/Serbian would suggest the usage of *k-*, thus *korona*, *koronavirus-*, *Kovid-19-*, *kovid-*. It is also to be highlighted that many of the Covid-19 compounds are written inconsistently, i.e., solid, as one word, or, sometimes, as two separate words. However, this paper will present the Covid-19 neologism as they appear in the Bosnian-Herzegovinian media.

It is to be proposed that these neologisms that use the discourse of Covid-19 as the base/modifier of the lexeme make the meaning of a neologism easy to remember. Such neologisms are thus easy to understand, easy to memorise and also easy to create (note that there are some nonce formations that appear in the media just few times, such as *Covid gost*, *Covid otok*, *corona kaos* or *corona tenk*).

As it can be seen, there are 56 neologisms of this type found and presented in Table 1 and 2 – the first one with *Covid-19-* / *Kovid-19-* and *Covid-* / *Kovid-* as a base/modifier, the latter with *corona-* / *korona-* and *coronavirus-* / *koronavirus-*, as a modifier.

Table 1. Neologisms with Covid-19- / Kovid-19-, and Covid- / Kovid- as a base/modifier

Term	POS	Word formation	Definition
<i>Covid-19 / kovid-19</i>	noun	abbreviation	the name of the illness caused by the coronavirus SARS-CoV-2 (coronavirus disease 2019)
<i>Covid/kovid ambulanta</i>	noun	compound	an outpatient clinic which covers primary care needs of Covid-infected patients
<i>Covid/kovid bolnica</i>	noun	compound	hospitals and urgent care centres which provide treatment for Covid-infected patients
<i>covid free</i>	adjective	compound	free of Covid-19; an area/territory that does not have Covid-infected patients

<i>Covid gost</i>	noun	compound	Covid-19 virus is understood as an unwanted guest, a microscopic organism that can enter an organism unannounced
<i>Covid ID kartica</i>	noun	compound	proof of vaccination against Covid-19 that may allow us to begin resuming our normal activities in the near future
<i>Covidiot</i>	noun	derivative	a person who ignores the warnings regarding public health or safety, but also a person who panically hoards goods
<i>Covid odjel/odjeljenje</i>	noun	compound	a part of a hospital which provides treatment for Covid-infected patients
<i>Covid otok</i>	noun	compound	an area in which citizens are not inoculated against Covid 19, due to governments' incapability to obtain vaccines on time
<i>Covid pacijent</i>	noun	compound	patients infected with Covid-19 virus
<i>Covid pasoš</i>	noun	compound	a Covid-19 vaccine certificate that will enable anyone vaccinated against Covid-19, or who has tested negative, or recently recovered from the virus, to travel
<i>Covid protokol</i>	noun	compound	the ongoing effort to define measures to prevent the spread of Covid-19
<i>Covid redar</i>	noun	compound	inspectors who make Covid-secure checks as part of their normal role in visiting workplaces during the pandemic
<i>Covid-skeptična osoba</i>	adjective	derivative	having an attitude of doubt or a disposition to incredulity in Covid-19 disease
<i>Covid vakcina</i>	noun	compound	the vaccine used for the protection against the Covid-19 virus

From these 56 entries, one may realize that the majority of them are nouns, and a couple of them adjectives (3 entries). At the same time, Croatian and Serbian glossaries also show similar lexical tendencies in the creation of Covid-19 neologisms (Croatian glossary: 30 nouns; 2 adjectives and 1 verb and Serbian glossary: 36 nouns, 5 adjectives and 1 verb). The entries such as adjectives: *koronavirusni*, *koronzivan*, *koronski*, *kovidan* and *kovidpozitivan* could not be detected in the selected corpus, as well as the verb *koronirati*.

In addition, compounding, derivation and abbreviation seem to be the most common tools of word-formation in the selected corpus and compounding represents the most productive tool of word-formation among nouns, as the noun-noun

compound (*Covid odjel/odjeljenje*, *Covid pacijent*, *Covid pasoš*, *Covid protocol*, *korona kriza*, *korona mjere*, *korona obveznice*, *korona pacijenti*, *korona/korona party*, *korona pasoš*). The Bosnian-Herzegovinian media has a huge quantity of compounds with nouns as the most productive elements (although, as it can be realized, many of them are presented inconsistently, in both orthographic variants, with *k-* and *c-*, and many of them are presented with *korona-* / *korona-* and *Covid-* / *Kovid-* as a modifier).

Table 2. Neologisms with *korona-* / *korona-*, *coronavirus-* / *koronavirus-*, as a base/modifier

Term	POS	Word formation	Definition
<i>korona brojač</i>	noun	compound	a health statistics application on Covid-19 and the related information, made in Bosnia and Herzegovina
<i>korona crna ljestvica</i>	noun	compound	Coronavirus death rate
<i>korona dernek</i>	noun	compound	an organised party/event in times of Covid-19, in spite of a significantly high risk of Covid-19 spreading
<i>korona diktatura</i>	noun	compound	an act of politicians as dictators in imposing lockdowns or curfews to limit Covid-19
<i>koronafobija</i>	noun	compound	a fear of Covid 19 and contracting Covid-19
<i>korona/korona free</i>	adjective	compound	free of Covid-19; an area/territory that does not have Covid-infected patients
<i>korona fešta</i>	noun	compound	an organised party/event in times of Covid-19, in spite of a significantly high risk of Covid-19 spreading
<i>korona fudbal</i>	noun	compound	football training routines and football playing changed due to Covid-19 restrictions
<i>korona geto</i>	noun	compound	an area in which citizens are not inoculated against Covid-19, due to governments' incapability to obtain vaccines on time
<i>korona haos</i>	noun	compound	malversations in the election process due to the outbreak of Covid-19
<i>korona jesen</i>	noun	compound	a very difficult autumn and hard winter in regards to the spread of Covid-19
<i>korona karta</i>	noun	compound	maps that allow users to track and explore the latest trends in the spread of Covid-19
<i>korona kriza</i>	noun	compound	a general crisis in every aspect of life due to the Covid-19 pandemic
<i>korona mjere</i>	noun	compound	community measures and personal preventative practices to stop the spread of the coronavirus
<i>korona obveznice</i>	noun	compound	mutualised, joint debt taken collectively by all member states of the European Union
<i>korona pacijenti</i>	noun	compound	patients infected with Covid-19 disease
<i>korona/korona party</i>	noun	compound	an organised party/event in times of Covid 19, in spite of a significantly high risk of COVID-19 spreading

<i>korona pasoš</i>	noun	compound	a Covid-19 vaccine certificate that will enable anyone vaccinated against Covid-19, or who has tested negative, or recently recovered from the virus, to travel
<i>korona popust</i>	noun	compound	reduction in prices due to the Covid-19 pandemic
<i>korona pomoć</i>	noun	compound	coronavirus economic relief and aid for certain areas/territories/countries
<i>korona pozdrav</i>	noun	compound	a pandemic greeting with a recommended social distance, used instead of conventional handshaking, hugging and kissing
<i>korona pravila</i>	noun	compound	community measures and personal preventative practices to stop the spread of the coronavirus
<i>korona predsjedavanje</i>	noun	compound	presidency (of the Council of the EU) in times of Covid-19
<i>korona presuda</i>	noun	compound	verdicts and judgements during Covid-19 times
<i>korona repertoar</i>	noun	compound	theatre repertoire during Covid 19 times
<i>korona rođendan</i>	noun	compound	an organised birthday party in times of Covid-19, in spite of a significantly high risk of Covid-19 spreading
<i>korona sezona</i>	noun	compound	times of Covid 19
<i>korona stil</i>	noun	compound	Covid 19 fashion trends and styles
<i>korona stres</i>	noun	compound	the stress and anxiety caused by the Covid-19 pandemic
<i>korona tenk</i>	noun	compound	a means of transportation, i.e., a tank, for transporting Covid-infected patients from hospital to hospital
<i>korona test</i>	noun	compound	corona/Covid-19 tests
<i>korona trakavica</i>	noun	compound	a parasite - understood as metaphor referring to a perennial problem that noone can get rid of
<i>korona transfer</i>	noun	compound	football transfers during Covid-19 times
<i>korona vakcina</i>	noun	compound	a vaccine against Covid-19
<i>koronavirus</i>	noun	compound	a novel corona virus, SARS-CoV-2 (causing coronavirus disease 2019 and the Covid-19 pandemic)
<i>korona vjenčanje</i>	noun	compound	an organised wedding party in times of Covid-19, in spite of a significantly high risk of Covid-19 spreading
<i>koronazabava</i>	noun	compound	an organised event/party in times of Covid 19, in spite of a significantly high risk of Covid-19 spreading
<i>korona zakon</i>	noun	compound	the Coronavirus Act that grants the government emergency powers to handle the Covid-19 pandemic
<i>korona žurka</i>	noun	compound	an organised event/party in times of Covid-19, in spite of a significantly high risk of Covid-19 spreading

Derivation is also considered one of the most important word-formation processes in Bosnian/Croatian/Serbian, in which affixes (suffixes, prefixes and circumfixes) are attached to a lexeme base which may alter the word class. Within observed corpus,

suffix derivation seems to be the most common type of derivation (e.g., *Covidiot*, *Covid-skeptičan*). Moreover, more suffix derivation examples can be found in Serbian glossary (e.g., adjectives, such as: *koronski*, *kovidan*, *koronzivan*, but, also, nouns: *koronaš*, *koronašica*, *koronac*, *koronarac*, *kovidaš*, *kovidašica*, *koronača*, etc.).

Table 3 Neologisms with *Covid-19-* / *Kovid-19-*, and *Covid-* / *Kovid-* in Use

Term	Cro reference	Serb reference	B-H usage
<i>Covid-19 / kovid-19</i>	COVID-19	kovid 19	Od 1. aprila niže cijene testiranja na COVID-19 u Federaciji BiH (31/3/21)
<i>Covid/kovid ambulanta</i>	kovidambulanta	kovid ambulanta	Ispovijest Sarajke o iskustvu iz Covid ambulante "Omer Maslić": Medicinsko osoblje uvodi "svoje" preko reda i to ne kriju (7/3/21)
<i>Covid/kovid bolnica</i>	COVID/korona bolnica	kovid bolnica	Nova „Azra“ objavljuje: Kako žive medicinske sestre Covid bolnica u BiH (30/3/21)
<i>covid free</i>	korona free	x	Drljević nakon sjednice Kriznog štaba: Nas će zatrpati, KCUS će ostati "Covid free" (2/11/20)
<i>Covid gost</i>	x	x	Radoš Bajić iz bolnice: Podmukli i nezvani Covid gost se nije obazirao (11/12/20)
<i>Covid ID kartica</i>	x	x	Britanci će nakon vakcinacije dobiti Covid ID kartice (7/12/20)
<i>Covidiot</i>	kovidiot	kovidiot, korona idiot	Englezi objavili sastav "Covidiot XI": Igrači koji su prekršili mjere izolacije (23/4/20)
<i>Covid odjel/odjeljenje</i>	x	x	U Covid odjelu Opće bolnice 220 pacijenata, jedna osoba preminula (26/3/21)
<i>Covid otok</i>	x	x	COVID otok (18/1/21)
<i>Covid pacijent</i>	x	x	Nismo u mogućnosti napraviti više ni jedno mjesto za Covid pacijente (17/3/21)
<i>Covid pasoš</i>	x	x	Pandemija sa sobom dovodi nova pravila: Hoće li nam trebati COVID pasoši (10/12/20)
<i>Covid protokol</i>	x	x	Baraž za EURO: BiH po strogo COVID protokolu danas počinje pripreme za baraž (5/10/20)
<i>Covid redar</i>	x	x	Hrvatska uvodi "covid-redare" u kafićima, zabranjen švedski sto (13/10/20)
<i>Covid-skeptična osoba</i>	x	x	BBC: Covid-skeptični Amfilohije doprinio širenju koronavirusa i nakon sahrane (7/11/20)
<i>Covid vakcina</i>	x	x	Policija zaplijenila lažne Covid vakcine (4/3/2021)

Tables 3 and 4 present the most common Covid-19 neologisms in Bosnian-Herzegovinian media usage, particularly the neologisms containing either *korona-* / *korona-*, *coronavirus-* / *koronavirus-*, *Covid-19-* / *Kovid-19-*, and *Covid-* / *Kovid-* as a base. These neologisms have also been compared to the neologisms found in the Croatian and Serbian glossaries and checked whether they are included in the list of Covid-19 entries.

Table 4 Neologisms with *korona-/korona-*, *coronavirus-/koronavirus-* in Use

Term	Cro reference	Serb reference	B-H usage
<i>korona aplikacija</i>	x	x	Hrvatska je uvela, a Srbija uvodi: Šta je i čemu služi korona aplikacija (4/8/20)
<i>korona brojač</i>	x	x	Mladi Zeničani napravili "korona brojač" (15/8/20)
<i>korona crna ljestvica</i>	crna ljestvica	crna lestvica	EU skida Srbiju sa "korona crne liste"? (27/8/20)
<i>korona dernek</i>	koronazabava/party	korona žurka/zabava/parti	Korona - dernek u Tarčinu u organizaciji kandidata Naroda i pravde (7/11/20)
<i>korona diktatura</i>	x	x	Korona-diktatura: Aleksandar Vučić se ponaša kao da je Srbija u ratu (30/4/20)
<i>koronafobija</i>	koronafobija	koronafobija	Čelik: Koronafobija se izuzetno brzo širi i štetna je (2/4/20)
<i>korona/korona free</i>	korona free	x	"Avaz" na Vlačiću: Planina krcata turistima, ali nije corona free destinacija (16/1/20)
<i>korona fešta</i>	koronaparty/zabava	korona žurka/zabava/parti	Korona fešta usred Beograda: Inspektori nisu vjerovali kada su ušli u objekat (28/3/21)
<i>korona fudbal</i>	x	x	Korona fudbal u Njemačkoj, pridržavali se fizičke distance pa izgubili 37:0 (18/9/20)
<i>korona geto</i>	x	x	BiH postaje korona geto (28/2/21)
<i>korona haos</i>	x	x	Šta možemo očekivati u nedjelju: Slabu izlaznost, malverzacije i korona-haos (13/11/20)
<i>korona jesen</i>	x	x	Đikić napisao 10 savjeta: Kako se pripremiti na korona-jesen (27/8/20)
<i>korona karta</i>	x	x	Evropska unija objavila korona-kartu (15/10/20)
<i>korona kriza</i>	koronakriza	korona kriza	I pored korona krize: Državni nivo odbija da šteti i reže plaće u institucijama (31/8/20)
<i>korona mjere</i>	koronamjere	korona mere	Sprema se pomoć za ublažavanje krize: Šta donose nove korona mjere? (20/9/20)

<i>korona obveznice</i>	koronaobveznice	korona obveznice	Entiteti trebaju da provedu emisiju "korona obveznice" kao osnovnog izvora finansiranja predloženih mjera (18/4/20 - Article Line!)
<i>korona pacijenti</i>	x	x	Ministar Radončić posjetio Opću bolnicu "Prim. dr. Abdulah Nakaš": Spremni primiti najteže korona pacijente (5/4/20)
<i>korona/corona party</i>	koronaparty/zabava	korona parti/žurka/zabava	POLITIKA I EPIDEMIJA Trumpova proslava u izbornoj noći pretvorila se u korona-party (12/11/20)
<i>korona pasoš</i>	x	x	Danska uvodi digitalni korona pasoš (3/2/21)
<i>korona popust</i>	x	x	Nema „korona popusta“ na nekretnine (7/5/20)
<i>korona pomoć</i>	x	x	Austrija do sada isplatila 5,7 milijardi eura korona pomoći (14/4/20)
<i>korona pozdrav</i>	x	x	Debata demokratskih kandidata: "Korona-pozdrav" Bajdena i Sandersa (16/3/20)
<i>korona pravila</i>	x	korona pravila	Engleski reprezentativci prekršili korona-pravila i u hotel doveli djevojke (9/9/20)
<i>korona predsjedavanje</i>	x	x	Njemački ministar vanjskih poslova: Bit će to "korona predsjedavanje" (20/4/20)
<i>korona presuda</i>	x	x	Prva korona-presuda: Muškarac kažnjen sa 1.500 KM jer je prekršio izolaciju (1/6/20)
<i>korona repertoar</i>	x	x	Nekada ratni, a sada korona repertoar u pozorištima (9/9/20)
<i>korona rođendan</i>	x	x	Kim Karadžijan na meti kritika zbog korona rođendana (28/10/20)
<i>korona sezona</i>	x	x	Đoković zaradio najviše novca u korona-sezoni (24/11/20)
<i>korona stil</i>	x	x	Korona stil: Anticovid čizme broj 75 koje osiguravaju držanje distance (4/12/20)
<i>korona stres</i>	x	x	Bijeg od korona stresa u jedinom bh. gradu na moru (13/6/20)
<i>korona tenk</i>	x	x	Rusi napravili "Korona-tenk": Terensko vozilo sa gusjenicama za evakuaciju bolesnika (19/4/20)
<i>korona vakcina</i>	x	x	Obećane tri milijarde eura za korona vakcinu (4/5/20)
<i>koronavirus</i>	koronavirus, korona	virus korona, koronavirus	Španski eksperiment: 5.000 ljudi na koncertu nakon testa na koronavirus (28/3/21)
<i>korona vjenčanje</i>	x	x	Na korona-vjenčanju se zarazilo 12 ljudi: Pozitivni bend, zvanice, mladenka, fotograf... (7/7/20)

<i>koronazabava</i>	koronazabava	korona zabava	Opasan trend širi se Njemačkom: Mladi organiziraju koronazabave na otvorenom, piju iz jedne čaše (19/3/20)
<i>korona zakon</i>	koronazakon	korona zakon	Predstavnički dom dao podršku SDP-ovom nacrtu novog korona zakona (2/12/20)
<i>korona žurka</i>	koronaparty/zabava	korona žurka/parti/zabava	Policija rasturila korona žurku u Beogradu: Zatekli 25 gostiju kako lumpuju, a među njima je bio i Darko Lazić (15/3/21)

Even though there were several orthographic patterns that emerged within the mentioned corpus, *corona-* / *korona-*, *coronavirus-* / *koronavirus-*, *Covid-19-* / *Kovid-19-*, and *Covid-* / *Kovid-* as a base, all of them have been analysed for the purpose of this study. In addition, there appear the differences in the spelling of the word *koronavirus* (Eng. *coronavirus*) itself⁸, which is sometimes written as one word, sometimes as two separate words, and finally sometimes as a hyphenated word, the first word complementing the meaning of the second one. Such inconsistencies applied can be seen through the corpus as well, as well as in the Croatian and Serbian glossaries.

It is also important to highlight that there are many neologisms found in the Croatian and Serbian glossaries that could not be found in the selected corpus as they were expressed through a postmodifying phrase/expression (e.g., Cro. *kovidpozitivan* → CORPUS: *pozitivan na kovid/koronu*, Srb. *korona vreme* → CORPUS: *u doba korone*⁹). In addition, further research on Covid-19 neologisms in Bosnian/Croatian/Serbian will show whether these patterns repeat themselves and if there is a certain regularity in Covid-19 neologism formation.

⁸ It is surely a challenge for scholars to find ways to adjust neologisms to the B/C/S language system and language norm as well.

⁹ With the reference to the novel written by Gabriel Garcia Márquez (1985), *Love in the Time of Cholera*. There are many words and expressions translated from English to B/C/S with such reference, to the time of cholera, or better to say, the time of corona. The frequency of the headlines containing the mentioned phrase is significantly high in Dnevni Avaz newspaper headlines (e.g. Urnebesan način gašenja svjećica u doba korone; proljetna sjetva u doba korone; Nobelovac Orhan Pamuk objavio roman o kugi u doba korone; muzika uživo u doba korone; ljubav u doba korone; skupa kafa u doba korone; klasika u doba korone; virtualna ljubav u doba korone; sreća u nesreći u doba korone; uloga maski u doba korone; kako će izgledati izborni skupovi u doba korone; putovanja u doba korone; najviša plaća isplaćena u doba korone; posao u doba korone, etc.).

5. CONCLUSION

This study identified and analysed Covid-19 trending neologisms in Bosnian-Herzegovinian media. Although there are many new words and expressions evident in everyday general discourse, in the news, social media, government briefings and scientific and technical domains, the paper is based onto the analysis of morphological structures of the neologisms that use the discourse of the Covid pandemic as a base/modifier, i.e., that contain either *corona-* /*korona-*, *coronavirus-* / *koronavirus-*, *Covid-19-* / *Kovid-19-*, and *Covid-* / *Kovid-* as a base of the neologism. Identification and recognition of the mentioned neologisms have drawn the attention to the significant number of neologisms used in the Bosnian-Herzegovinian media, and in the two glossaries, Croatian *Pojmovnik koronavirusa* and Serbian *Rečnik pojmova iz perioda epidemije kovida*. As it has been seen, there are many Covid-19 neologisms, with the discourse of the Covid-19 pandemic as a base found in the corpus, and it might be claimed that there will be some novel neologisms, as the discourse around Covid-19 is still ongoing and heavily discussed worldwide. Further in-depth research into the existence of Covid-19 trending neologisms as well as a creation of Bosnian-Herzegovinian Covid-19 glossary is a recommendable and reasonable next step in linguistics, more precisely, lexicology and lexicography.

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NEOLOGIZMI IZ PERIODA COVID-19 PANDEMIJE U BOSNI I HERCEGOVINI

Sažetak

Pandemija COVID-19 je utjecala na sve aspekte života, uključujući i razgovorne navike govornika, i na mreži i van nje. Nove leksičke i sociolingvističke promjene postale su dio svakodnevnice, što je posebno živopisno u nastanku neologizama u periodu COVID-19 pandemije. Ova studija koristi opisno-kvalitativni dizajn u analizi morfoloških struktura neologizama u bosanskom/hrvatskom/srpskom jeziku. Preciznije rečeno, rad se temelji na analizi morfoloških struktura neologizama koji koriste diskurs pandemije COVID-19 kao bazu, odnosno modifikator, tj. neologizama koji sadrže ili *coronu-* / *koronu-*, *coronavirus-* / *koronavirus-*, *Covid-19-* / *Kovid-19-* i *Covid-* / *Kovid-* kao modifikator neologizma. Korpus se sastoji od preko 10.000 naslova povezanih s informacijama o COVID-u, pronađenih i prikupljenih u odjeljku Koronavirus elektronske verzije novina *Dnevni Avaz* (Bosna i Hercegovina) između marta 2020. i marta 2021. Rezultati pokazuju primjetnu dinamiku jezika u vrijeme pandemije kroz nastanak mnogobrojnih neologizama i njihovu svakodnevnu integraciju i učestalost u konverzijskim praksama. Štoviše, većina novih neologizama doista koristi diskurs pandemije COVID-19 kao bazu tj. modifikator. Cilj ovog rada je rasvijetliti ne samo značenja novih riječi i njihovu strukturu i funkciju, već poslužiti i kao podsticaj za stvaranje terminološkog COVID-19 pojmovnika u Bosni i Hercegovini.

Ključne riječi: COVID-19; neologizmi; bosanski/hrvatski/srpski jezik; tvorba riječi

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