

## CREATIVE RESPONSES TO COVID-19 PANDEMIC IN LITHUANIA: FROM NEOLOGISMS TO REINTERPRETATION OF FOLKLORE

**Background.** *The coronavirus pandemic that reached Lithuania in the early spring of 2020 left its mark on language as well. The emergence of neologisms and new phrases was observed during the first weeks of the quarantine, which was imposed in mid-March 2020.*

**Methods.** *The authors of the article reveal the manifestations of linguistic creativity observed during the pandemic. The continuously updated Database of Lithuanian Neologisms and various online resources are used to study the words and phrases that are used in Lithuania, both orally and in writing, to describe the coronavirus pandemic, and the worldview and emotional attitude of the Lithuanian people that emerges from the neologisms of the period. The primary focus here lies on Lithuanian neologisms, and compound words and blends in particular. Some cases of individual, often occasional word formation and more popular neologisms from the Database of Lithuanian Neologisms are discussed separately. The main ways of making new formations and the most popular lexemes behind the new formations are presented as well. Linguistic methods used in this article are: 1) descriptive method; 2) semantic analysis; 3) structural analysis; 4) cultural interpretation method and 5) statistical method.*

**Results.** *Analysis of the Lithuanian neologisms that appeared during the pandemic, a.k.a. coronalogisms, shows that most of them are nouns. In terms of formation, the neologisms are dominated by compounds; as far as the frequency of lexemes is concerned, most of them have the root koron- // coron-. The linguistic creativity of Lithuanian language users during the pandemic was not limited to just coining neologisms: new interpretations of the national history, language, and folklore traditions have appeared, and various elements of the national and world culture were involved in the language games. Visual content has been added to the language games and linguistic creativity as a response of caricaturists, social ad designers, and other creative people to the realities of the pandemic.*

**Conclusions.** *Analysis of the examples of new formations and other cases of linguistic creativity was employed to demonstrate how unexpected changes in life spark linguistic creativity that combines contemporary experience and cultural tradition of the language community.*

**Keywords:** COVID-19, Lithuanian language, neologisms, word formation, linguistic creativity.

### Background

All the world's languages change over time – it's a natural and inevitable phenomenon caused by political, economic, social, cultural and other changes in society. This change is particularly influenced by shocking events of global significance such as the global health crisis (COVID-19 pandemic) (Akut, 2020, p. 1; Alyeksyeyeva, Chaiuk, & Galitska, 2020, p. 204; Asif et al., 2021, p. 1; Goltsova, & Chybis, 2021, p. 45, 46); see also (Pennebaker, Mehl, & Niederhoffer, 2003, p. 564–565).

The coronavirus pandemic that reached Lithuania in the early spring of 2020 definitely made an impact of how people think, behave, how they interact with one another. Obviously, it left its mark on language as well. The emergence of neologisms and new phrases was observed during the first weeks of the quarantine, which was imposed in mid-March 2020. The monitoring of the pandemic-affected language in Lithuania took place in two directions: (a) language phenomena were registered and linguistic creativity was promoted by language users in their own right; (b) language phenomena were registered and analysed by professional linguists.

This article reveals the manifestations of linguistic creativity observed during the pandemic. The continuously updated Database of Lithuanian Neologisms<sup>1</sup> and various online resources were used to study the words and phrases

that were used in Lithuania, both orally and in writing, to describe the coronavirus pandemic<sup>2</sup>. This study looks at the worldview and emotional attitude of the Lithuanian people that emerged from the neologisms of the period. The primary focus here lies on Lithuanian neologisms, and new formations in particular. Some cases of individual, often occasional word formation and more popular neologisms from the Database of Lithuanian Neologisms are discussed separately. The main ways of making new formations and the most popular lexemes behind the new formations are presented as well.

### Methods

The research methods were chosen according to the aim and the material of the research. Thus, the following linguistic methods were utilized: 1) descriptive method (to describe the neologisms and examine their similarities and differences); 2) semantic analysis (to investigate the lexical meanings of the neologisms); 3) structural analysis (to investigate productive word formation types of neologisms, in particular compounding, blending, affixation); 4) cultural interpretation method (to investigate the remakes of Lithuanian proverbs, traditional phraseology, songs, etc.) and 5) statistical method (to calculate the neologisms and categorize them into word formation groups).

### Results

#### *Gabrielius and Eduardas Klimenka's occasionalisms.*

It is only natural that the novel coronavirus pandemic has

<sup>1</sup> *The Database of Lithuanian Neologisms* (ND) has been created and is regularly updated at the Institute of the Lithuanian Language and available online since 2011. Currently, it is the only database in Lithuania that compiles lexical innovations on a regular basis. The main sources for neologisms are online news portals, fiction, advertising, blogs, social media, etc. At the end of May 2024, the database contained 9,958 neologisms.

<sup>2</sup> This was already reported during the first wave of the pandemic (Aleksaitė, Urnėžiūtė, 2020); cf. the review of coronalogisms and other manifestations of linguistic creativity in Latvia: Liparte, 2020a; 2020b; 2021).

stirred anxiety and fear in the public. The fear of the *koronainfekcija* 'coronainfection' did more than just expose our flaws and problems: it also showed how closely language and life are related, with us being able to express a broad range of emotions with our native tongue. These emotions came in a variety of shades and with a variety of names: from *korono(a)fobija* 'coronaphobia' to *koronapanika* 'coronapanic', cf. Lith. blend *panikorona* 'panic over coronavirus' (: *panika* 'panic' + *korona* 'corona')<sup>1</sup>, *kronaisterija* 'coronahysteria', *koronapsichozė* 'coronapsychosis'. After *saviizoliacija* 'self-isolation' became a requirement and *lokdaunas* 'lockdown' was imposed, the Lithuanian public showed its emotional attitude and psychological state in the face of *koronagrėsmė* 'coronadanger, coronathreat'. Some plunged into *panikademija* 'panic over epidemic' (blend of *panika* 'panic' + *epidemija* 'epidemic'), others, submerged themselves in creating *koronalogizmai* 'coronalogisms', *kovidžodžiai* 'covidwords', *pandemžodžiai* 'pandemic words', in other words – neologisms.

On 26 March 2020, the news portal at <https://www.bernardinai.lt> published the first glossary of pandemic words – totally new additions to the language. Its authors were brothers Gabrielius and Eduardas Klimenka, who were presented to the readers of the portal as *pandemžodžiautojai* 'collectors of pandemic words'.

The authors presented:

(a) A number of remakes, such as: *makorena* [the traditional quarantine dance]<sup>2</sup>, cf. *makarena* 'macarena', *Korona Liza* [a masterpiece done during the quarantine], cf. *Mona Liza* 'Mona Lisa', *korontinas* [the specific name for today's global quarantine], cf. *karantinas* 'quarantine', *UžsiDAROM* [an action when you can finally clean up your house] (*Darom* 'Let's Do It' 'an annual national action when people clean public spaces, collect garbage' + the prefix *už-* with the reflexive particle *si-*: 'Let's close ourselves in');

(b) Occasionalisms and blends, such as: the blend *korontadienis* [a birthday that you celebrate during the pandemic] (: *korona* 'corona' + *gimtadienis* 'birthday'),

cf. compound *karantinadienis* 'a day under quarantine' (: *karantinas* 'quarantine' + *diena* 'day') (ND);

(c) A number of new-meaning words, such as: *kaukas* [a person who wears a mask, as viewed by anti-maskers<sup>3</sup>], cf. *kaukas* in Lithuanian mythology 'a creature that brings you fortune portrayed as a tiny man' (DLKŽe) and *kauké* 'a mask' (cf. names for people (not) wearing masks during the Covid-19 pandemic (in the Latvian, Lithuanian, and German languages), see Liparte, 2023; see more about the neologisms of wearing the mask over the nose, mouth, and chin (in the Hungarian language), Papp, 2022, p. 155–158), *kosulys* 'cough' [the latest defence against robbers].

On 2 May 2020, the third glossary of coronalogisms appeared at <https://www.bernardinai.lt>. This glossary mainly contains:

(a) Various occasional blends, such as: *kovidincialumas* [an obligation not to spread the coronavirus] (: *kovidas* 'covid' + *konfidencialumas*), cf. *konfidencialumas* 'confidentiality', *Koronorama* [any TV news show today] (: *korona* 'corona' + *Panorama*), cf. *Panorama* 'the TV news show by the national broadcaster', *kovidikiūras* (*pandemikiūras*) [nail care during the quarantine] (: *kovidas* 'covid' + *pedikiūras*, *pandemija* 'pandemic' + *pedikiūras*), cf. *pedikiūras* 'pedicure', *kurortinas* [mass self-isolation on the seacoast] (: *kurortas* 'resort' + *karantinas*), cf. *karantinas* 'quarantine', *Namotur* [a travel agency for repatriates] (: *namo* 'homewards' + *TezTour* 'a popular travel agency'), *Namsėda* [the benchmark of modern-day leadership] (: *namai* 'home' + *Nausėda* 'the name of Lithuania's sitting president is Nausėda, from *nau-* 'new' + *-sėd-* 'sit')<sup>4</sup>, *panditai* [dishonest businessmen that profiteer from selling masks and sanitisers] (: *pandemija* 'pandemic' + *banditai*), cf. *banditai* 'thugs', *praustarankis* [the analogue of *auksarankis* during the quarantine] (: *prausti* 'wash' + *-rankis* 'the second component of compound words that describe hands'), cf. *auksarankis* 'skilful person' (: *auksas* 'gold' + *ranka* 'hand');

(b) Remakes, such as: *Homo covidus* [the latest stage in human social evolution], cf. *Homo sapiens*.



Fig. 1. © Herta Burbé. A caricature



Fig. 2. © Mikalojus Konstantinas Čiurlionis. Fairy Tale (Fairy Tale of Kings) (1909)

<sup>1</sup> In terms of its structure, this neologism resembles the traditional Polish form of address for a lady: *pani* + *name or title*. In Vilnius region, where a lot of people can speak or understand Polish, *pani Corona* sounds like a respectful way to address a lady.

<sup>2</sup> The explanations of meanings in brackets are from the authors of the glossary, the brothers Klimenka.

<sup>3</sup> *antikaukininkas*, -ė 'a person who is set against wearing masks', see below.

<sup>4</sup> The words *namisėda*, *namsėda* 'one that forever sits, exists at home', which follow the same rules of formation and have the same meaning, have been long featured in the Lithuanian thesaurus in the LKŽe. They became relevant during the pandemic due to their association with the name of Lithuania's sitting president and his personal stance in the beginning of the quarantine: the president would rarely appear or make statements in the media.

By the way, the requirement to wash hands has inspired the caricaturist Herta Burbė to produce a remake of the *Fairy Tale*, a painting by the Lithuanian classical painter Mikalojus Konstantinas Čiurlionis (1875–1911). In the caricature, the kings from the famous picture, who are holding a Lithuanian village in their hands, have their hands under a tap in a sink (see Fig. 1 and 2).

**Coronalogisms in the Database of Lithuanian Neologisms.** As of 29 September 2023, a total of 53 coronalogisms have been included in the ND (62.5 % of the new lexis constituting neologisms with the root *coron-*). Many of the new words are nouns (cf. the research of the German language; see more Klosa-Kückelhaus, 2022, p. 39). Without the loanwords recorded in the ND (which mainly come from English, such as, *corona*, *corona bond*, *Coronaland*, *coronaphobia*, *coronavirus*, *COVID-19*, *infodemic*, *lockdown*), one can see that 45 widely used coronalogisms have been added to the layer of the new Lithuanian lexis during the coronavirus pandemic.

**Compounds.** Most of the coronalogisms were made by way of compounding (62.5 %), such as *koronaatostogos* 'holidays during the coronavirus pandemic' (: *korona* 'corona' + *atostogos* 'holidays'), *koronabėglys*, -ė 'a person who is forced to repatriate due to the coronavirus pandemic' (: *korona* 'corona' + *bėglys*, -ė 'refugee'), *koronokratija* 'a form of governance established during the pandemic' (: *korona* 'corona' + *-kratija* (< gr. *kratos* 'force, coercion'), *kauknešys*, -ė 'one that brings masks to Lithuania from China despite the country's ban on mask export' (: *kaukė* 'mask' + *nešti* 'carry'), the pejorative *kovidnešys*, -ė 'a spreader of COVID-19 who disregards the quarantine requirements' (: *kovidas* 'covid' + *nešti* 'carry'), the pejorative *virusnešys*, -ė 'a spreader of the virus who disregards the quarantine requirements' (: *virusas* 'virus' + *nešti* 'carry'). These neologisms have been coined by analogy to the historicism *knygnešys*, -ė 1. 'a smuggler of Lithuanian books printed abroad across the border and distributor of said books during the press ban'<sup>1</sup> (LKŽe) (: *knyga* 'book' + *nešti* 'carry').

The compound *rizikaamžis*, -ė 'one who falls into the risk group by age (meaning one who runs a higher risk to be susceptible to disease and such due to their age)' (: *rizika* 'risk' + *amžius* 'age') caused quite an outrage in Lithuania. The recommendation for the elderly to avoid visiting cafés, barbershops, stores, bookstores, and so on that appeared on info shows and on the news was seen as discriminatory.

On 17 June 2020, the Lithuanian National Library of Martynas Mažvydas staged a discussion titled *COVID-19 Narrative and Language: How Words have Affected the Society* (featuring the philosopher Gintautas Mažeikis and the journalist Jonas Staselis and moderated by the professor of linguistics Jolanta Zabarskaitė). The discussion addressed the impact language has on the society and tried to answer the question of why the goal of 'exceptional care for the risk group' as statement in political communication had been understood by the public as 'the risk group are low-grade people'. In the opinion of Gintautas Mažeikis, the phrase *risk group* [or the neologism *rizikaamžis*, -ė – auth.] is semantically incorrect, ambiguous and may be perceived as referring to a 'low grade'.

A lot of the coronalogisms that made their way to the ND were compounds created by Goda Juocevičiūtė, a reporter of the news portal <https://www.delfi.lt>, such as *koronadiktatūra* 'unlimited power potentially introduced

using the coronavirus pandemic' (: *korona* 'corona' + *diktatūra* 'dictatorship'), *koronadrama* 'a grievous accident (death) caused by the coronavirus pandemic' (: *korona* 'corona' + *drama* 'drama'), the ironic neologism *koronaserialas* 'a series of stories related to the coronavirus pandemic' (: *korona* 'corona' + *serialas* 'series'), *koronašou* 'a show made out of the coronavirus pandemic' (: *korona* 'corona' + *šou* 'show').

**Derivatives.** A much smaller amount of coronalogisms (mainly adjectives) were made by way of suffixation (20 %), such as *koronafobiškas*, -a 'typical of fear caused by the coronavirus pandemic' (: *koronafobija*), *koronavirusinis*, -ė 'relating to the coronavirus' (: *koronavirusas*), *kovidinis*, -ė 'relating to the disease caused by COVID-19' (: *kovidas*).

All three prefixal adjectives (two of them carrying the international prefix *anti-*, one, the Lithuanian *be-*) reflect the negative attitude of some of the people towards the coronavirus and protective measures: *antikoronininkas*, -ė 'a person who does not acknowledge the existence of the virus', *antikaukininkas*, -ė 'a person who is set against wearing masks', *bekaukis*, -ė 'a person who does not wear a mask'.

Then there is the amusing suffixal noun *Kauknės* – the name of the modern Baltic cultural festival that took place in late August 2020. The rather rare suffix *-ynės*, which is used in forming the names of holidays and rituals, is preceded by the root *kauk-*, which may have a connection with either of these three words: the nouns *kaukė* 'mask', *kaukas* 'a Lithuanian mythical creature' and the verb *kaukti* 'to howl'. All these words were featured in the festival's playbill. The night of folk songs was billed as *Kaukime vilkais* 'let us howl like wolves'. The playground was named *Kaukučių šėlionės* 'the larks of small mythical creatures // the larks of small persons wearing masks' (: *kaukė* 'mask' // *kaukas* 'mythical creature' + diminutive suffix *-utis*, -ė).

**Blends.** Blending has also been used as a method of word formation used in making coronalogisms (12.5 %) (cf. Mweri, 2021, p. 38–39; Bueno, Freixa, 2022, p. 81). For instance: *korontinas* 'the quarantine imposed due to the coronavirus' (: *koronavirusas* 'coronavirus' + *karantinas* 'quarantine')<sup>2</sup>, the facetious *relaksencija* 1. 'His Excellency the President's relaxation, inaction during the coronavirus pandemic', 2. 'a relaxed His Excellency the President' (: *relaksacija* 'relaxation' + *ekscelencija* 'Excellency').

New conditions of life dictate new needs of the society, and new words are invented to name them instantly. Once a young lady complained on Facebook about how she had forgotten a mask while on her way to a party and had no idea where to buy one. The commenters both gave her some advice and said they wanted that city streets were equipped with *kaukomatai* 'mask vending machines' (: *kaukė* 'mask' + *-matas* a compound element, cf. *bankomatas* 'automated teller machine', *knygomatas* 'book-lending machine').

**Remakes of form and meaning.** The first element of the word *koronavirusas*, *korona* has already found use in Lithuania as a stand-alone name for the disease caused by the virus. This usage has revived the old loanword from the Polish language, *koronė* (Pol. *karanie*) 'punishment, suffering', and the stable combination (*Pono*) *Dievo koronė* 'God's punishment' made with it. This loanword was perfect to convey the attitude towards the sudden hardship.

Some people's disdainful opinion of the pandemic and mistrust of the official information is evident in the phonetical remake of the word *pandemija*, *pindemija* (: *pindėti* 6. 'to go

<sup>1</sup> The press ban is the period between 1864 and 1904 when the Russian imperial regime imposed a ban on any printing, importation, and distribution of Lithuanian publications with Latin alphabet (VLEe).

<sup>2</sup> This word can also be considered a new international word.

nuts, wonky', LKŽe), the renaming of *koronavirusas* into *makaronų virusas* 'pasta virus' (a hint towards the literal translation of the Russian figure of speech (Rus.) *вешать лапшу на уши* – *makaronus (ant ausų) kabinti* 'to lie (literally: to hang pasta on someone's ears)').

The negative, even disdainful approach of some of the population towards the requirement to wear masks had a reflection in the word *antsnukis* 'muzzle' used in the sense of a 'mask'. An even stronger negative shade was conveyed by another synonym for a mask's, this one a Russian loanword *namordnikas* (Rus. *намордник* 'muzzle').

Linguistic creativity has been further sparked by cultural realities: books and movies, folklore traditions. Repatriating emigrants who could potentially carry the virus were called *Anglai ligoniai*, 'English Patients'<sup>1</sup>. There has been a suggestion to change the traditional element of the end-of-winter holiday, Užgavėnės (Shrove Tuesday): the casting out of winter. The suggestion was that the traditional song *Žiema, žiema, bėk iš kiemo* 'Winter, Winter, run away!' should instead go *Covid, Covid, bėk iš kiemo!* 'Covid, Covid, run away!'

The authors of the governmental social ads *#LiekameNamie* 'stay at home' took advantage of the figure of speech (*pa)rodyti ragus* (show horns (Lith.)) 'to oppose, yeap, be unruly' (FŽe). This figure of speech was given both a new shade of meaning – 'to be impervious, to resist' – and a visual expression. Several elderly celebrities (actors, TV hosts, and so on) appeared in the ad replicating the moves of the dance to the song by *The Roop*, Lithuania's would-be entry in the 2020 Eurovision song contest<sup>2</sup>, encouraging viewers to 'show the virus horns'.

Furthermore, there is a unique group of remakes of cultural and historical realities consisting of words, phrases, fragments of texts relating to different phenomena of the soviet era. *Socialinė distancija* 'social distancing' mockingly became *socialistinė distancija* 'socialist distancing' in Facebook comments. At one time, there was a group of Facebook users (aged around 45 and up) dedicated to producing remakes of poems by soviet poets. This generation still remembers well the ideological poems with their endless mentions of the name *Leninas* 'Lenin'. Furthermore, the parents of those people had to learn poems that contained an equal measure of the name *Stalinas* 'Stalin'. The Facebook pranksters noticed that these names can be easily replaced with the word *virusas* 'virus': *Atėjo virusas visiems laikams* 'The virus came to stay for good' (cf. orig. *Atėjo Leninas visiems laikams*, 'And Lenin came to stay for good'); *Prie paminklo mėlynos gėlės pražydėjo, / Gal kadaise virusas šia aikšte praėjo?* 'Blue flowers bloomed by the statue over there / Could be the virus once strode across this square?' (cf. orig. *Gal kadaise Leninas šia aikšte praėjo?*, 'Could be that Lenin once strode across this square?'), and so on. This kind of work could be viewed as the product of the recently frequent usage of the word *virusas* 'virus', and the overall atmosphere of anxiety and uncertainty: the virus is like a dictator who can find anyone and ruin their ordinary life.

Linguistic creativity of language users also generated new interpretations of traditional phraseology and proverbs. For example, well-known proverb *Devyni amatai, dešimtas badas* (Eng. *Jack of all trades, master of none*) was re-interpreted *Devyni amatai, dešimtas karantinas*. The last word of the sentence *badas* (Eng. *famine, hunger*) was replaced by up-to-day word *karantinas* (Eng. *quarantine*). Re-interpretation of the proverb reflected situation of small

family businesses or free-lancers during the pandemic. Some of such relevant re-interpretations were proposed to be included in the list of candidates for Phrase of the Year 2020.

### Discussion and conclusions

The sudden coronavirus pandemic has brought substantial changes to life as we know it, demanding rapid response to the shifting reality and new names for the new phenomena. All this sparked linguistic creativity in people. Quite possibly, making coronalogisms has become a kind of language games, when a lot of people had to work or study remotely or spend time in self-isolation.

Analysis of the Lithuanian neologisms that appeared during the pandemic, a.k.a. coronalogisms, shows that most of them are nouns. In terms of formation, the neologisms are dominated by compounds; as far as the frequency of lexemes is concerned, most of them have the root *koron-* // *coron-*.

The linguistic creativity of Lithuanian language users during the pandemic was not limited to just coining neologisms: new interpretations of the national history, language, and folklore traditions have appeared, and various elements of the national and world culture were involved in the language games. Visual content has been added to the language games and linguistic creativity as a response of caricaturists, social ad designers, and other creative people to the realities of the pandemic.

Another event that is having an effect on the Lithuanian language is the ongoing Russia's war against Ukraine. Our future research plans include investigation of the impact of Russia's war against Ukraine on the Lithuanian language and comparison of the effect of these two shocking events of global significance (the COVID-19 pandemic and the war) on the new lexis of Lithuanian language.

**Authors' contribution:** Agnė Aleksaitė – conceptualization, methodology, collection of empirical data and their validation, writing, viewing and editing; Rita Urnėžiūtė – conceptualization, collection of empirical data and their validation, writing, viewing and editing.

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<sup>1</sup> This is a reference to Michael Ondaatje's novel *The English Patient* (1992) and Anthony Minghella's movie (1996) with the same name.

<sup>2</sup> Fingers spread at the back of the head look both like horns and like a crown.

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Агне АЛЕКСАЙТЄ, канд. філол. наук, наук. співроб.

ORCID ID: 0000-0002-3755-7406

e-mail: ag.aleksaite@gmail.com

Інститут литовської мови, Вільнюс, Литва

Рита УРНЕЖЮТЕ, голов. ред. журналу "Рідна мова" ("Gimtoji kalba")

e-mail: urneziute@gmail.com

Науково-енциклопедичний видавничий центр при Литовській національній бібліотеці імені Мартінаса Махвідаса, Вільнюс, Литва

## ТВОРЧІ ВІДПОВІДІ НА ПАНДЕМІЮ COVID-19 У ЛИТВИ: ВІД НЕОЛОГІЗМІВ ДО ПЕРЕОСМИСЛЕННЯ ФОЛЬКЛОРУ

**Вступ.** Пандемія коронавірусу, що охопила Литву на початку весни 2020 р., залишила свій слід і в мові. Поява неологізмів і нових фраз спостерігалася вже в перші тижні карантину, який було запроваджено в середині березня 2020 р.

**Методи.** Автори статті розкривають прояви лінгвістичної креативності, що спостерігалася під час пандемії. На основі постійно оновлюваної бази даних литовських неологізмів і різноманітних інтернет-ресурсів вивчаються слова та фрази, що використовуються в Литві в усній і письмовій формі для опису пандемії коронавірусу, а також світогляд та емоційне ставлення литовського народу, що простежується в неологізмах цього періоду. Основна увага тут приділяється литовським неологізмам, зокрема складним словам і сумішам. Особливо розглядаються деякі випадки індивідуального, часто оказіонального словотворення та більш популярні неологізми з бази даних литовських неологізмів. Також представлено основні способи утворення новоутворень і найпопулярніші лексеми, що лежать в основі новоутворень. Використано такі лінгвістичні методи: 1) описовий метод; 2) семантичний аналіз; 3) структурний аналіз; 4) метод культурної інтерпретації та 5) статистичний метод.

**Результати.** Аналіз литовських неологізмів, що з'явилися під час пандемії, так званих короналогізмів, показує, що більшість із них – іменники. З погляду утворення серед неологізмів переважають сполуки; за частотністю лексем більшість із них мають корінь korp- // sorop-. Лінгвістична творчість користувачів литовської мови під час пандемії не обмежилася лише вигаданням неологізмів: з'явилися нові інтерпретації національної історії, мови, фольклорних традицій, до мовних ігор було втягнуто різні елементи національної та світової культури. У мовні ігри та лінгвістичну творчість було додано візуальний зміст як реакція карикатуристів, дизайнерів соціальної реклами й інших творчих людей на реалії пандемії.

**Висновки.** Аналіз прикладів новоутворень та інших випадків мовної творчості використовувався для того, щоб продемонструвати, як неочікувані зміни в житті стимулюють мовну творчість, що об'єднує сучасний досвід і культурні традиції мовної спільноти.

**Ключові слова:** COVID-19, литовська мова, неологізми, словотвір, лінгвістична творчість.

Автори заявляють про відсутність конфлікту інтересів. Спонсори не брали участі в розробленні дослідження; у зборі, аналізі чи інтерпретації даних; у написанні рукопису; в рішенні про публікацію результатів.

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