Adapting to the pandemic crisis through the lens of language. On the English semantic neologism *lockdown* and its adoption into Czech

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Michal Škrabal (Charles University, Prague)

ABSTRACT

The influx of neologisms associated with the coronavirus pandemic demonstrates the natural need to expand the lexicon with new words when the language community is confronted with a new reality. Neological adoptions (the word *lockdown* in Czech) and semantic neologisms (the extension of the English word *lockdown* with a new meaning) thus directly reflect the adaptation to a new reality at the linguistic level. In my article relying primarily on empirical data from monitoring corpora of Czech and English, I focus mainly on the process of adapting the individual loanword into the Czech lexical system, successively on the conceptual, formal, morphological, word-forming, and syntactic level. The unproblematic integration of the word into the Czech environment, crowned by its inclusion in the emerging monolingual dictionary of Czech, may also testify to the state of the Czech language in today's global world.

KEYWORDS

adaptation, COVID-19 pandemic, loanword, lockdown, monitoring corpora, neologism

1 INTRODUCTION

This article[1] aims to describe the life path of one neologism in contemporary Czech. The word *lockdown* — unused in Czech until recently and only used rather rarely in English, and even then in a specific context — has experienced a steep increase in frequency due to the health measures associated with the COVID-19 pandemic. We are all well aware of this, having witnessed the unprecedented situation firsthand — and the empirical data (see especially section 2) do not contradict our intuition. It is clear that the pandemic has become a fixed part of our present reality, as have some of the expressions associated with it (cf. Table 1 in Škrabal and Kavka 2021: 293).

The flood of neologisms associated with the coronavirus contagion and everything related to it[2] points to the natural need to expand the vocabulary with new expressions when the language community is confronted with a new reality. Neological adoptions, or semantic neologisms, are thus a direct reflection of adaptation at the linguistic level — or, to put it more generally: neology is an example of linguistic adaptation to a new reality *par excellence*. However, it may not be entirely obvious, especially from a lay perspective, that this is a complex process, touching on different levels and aspects. For example, the psychological element plays an important role (the need to get used to the new reality, to cope with it mentally, including the prevention of pathological consequences), along with the socio-economic (the social and economic consequences of a given novelty), political (the attitude of the political leaders and the media to the new reality, the frequency of neologisms in their statements and news coverage), and cultural aspects (the expansion of new concepts, creativity in dealing with neologisms), etc.; cf. also Dubey, Biswas, Ghosh et al. 2020. In this paper, I limit myself to the linguistic aspect, which is complex and multilayered enough in itself.

The index of possible procedures for enriching the lexicon with new lexical units is very diverse (not only) in Czech: derivatives, compounds and blends, clippings and abbreviations, multi-word units, figurative uses, or loanwords (all of which are abundantly documented in this paper by the COVID-related neologisms — see section 3). Although loanwords — the case of the neologism *lockdown* — seem to be the most straightforward way, this does not mean that such an adaptation process is not fraught with remarkable phenomena on the formal, morphosyntactic, and conceptual levels of the new expression. In this paper, all these aspects will be described, along with the process that the neologism candidate[3] goes through.

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2   There is a huge amount of literature on this topic, which has logically attracted the attention of linguists from all over the world. Neology and neography is currently in great demand — see, e.g., the series of GLOBALEX workshops on lexicography and neology, the special issue of the *International Journal of Lexicography* (2021/3), the numerous neographic repositories recording hundreds of pandemic-related words (www.neologismy.cz or www.cestina20.cz; cf. non-Czech ones such as *Pojmovnik koronavirusa*: https://jezik.hr/koronavirus/?slovo=l or *Neuer Wortschatz rund um die Coronapandemie*: https://www.owid.de/docs/neo/listen/corona.jsp#), etc. The Czech situation is reflected in Škrabal and Kavka 2021, Lišková 2021, Hampl 2021, or Entlová 2022.

3   It is of course appropriate to ask whether it is really a neologism, or how to define such a neologism, and whether the term *lockdown* fulfils the concept of a neologism. In my other research (Škrabal, in prep.), I have defined a total of seven criteria for determining neologisms: diachronic (the lexeme appeared only recently but did not appear in the previous period's lexicon), denotative (it names a new phenomenon or concept, or a concept (either new or old) is named through a new form), stratificational (it extends its original limited communication spread and impact), psychological (a speaker perceives it as new), lexicographical (it is not included in dictionaries), degree of stability (it shows signs of formal (morphological, graphic, phonetic) or semantic instability), adaptability (it is capable of lexicalization and spread in usage and is acceptable by most speakers). The loanword *lockdown* meets most, if not all, of these criteria.

Next, I introduce my sources and methodology. In section 4, I demonstrate the different aspects of language adaptation, supported by the empirical findings of section 3. The final section summarizes the whole process of adaptation of the loanword under investigation into Czech. Although the process has probably not been completed yet, some partial conclusions can already be drawn.

2 SOURCES AND METHODOLOGY

The sources of empirical data in this study are mainly the recent monitoring corpora of English (*The Coronavirus Corpus*[4] — hereafter CC) and Czech (*Online* — hereafter O). These should be taken into account despite their imbalance and unrepresentativeness, since especially in Czech the word *lockdown* is only sporadically documented before the pandemic, i.e., in older corpora. Monitoring corpora have been available to linguists for a relatively short time, yet they are an ideal research source for scrutinizing such a topical phenomenon. Regularly updated, ideally on a daily basis, they can reveal better than ever before the first occurrence of a word, its coinage and gradual spread among speakers. There is, however, a price to pay, be it a genre bias, inferior metadata, flood of identical (unduplicated) texts, or a higher level of unwanted content (boilerplate etc.).

However, I have also used older sources, which served as reference material: the *enTenTen2020* corpus[5] (hereafter enTT) and *Corpus of Contemporary American English*[6] (hereafter COCA) cover the initial part of the pandemic period. No suitable reference corpus is available for Czech, as we examine a phenomenon too recent to be captured in older corpora.[7]

CC is a subcorpus of the NOW (News on the Web) monitor corpus. It focuses on the COVID-19 discourse found on news websites in 20 English-speaking countries. First released in May 2020, it currently contains more than 1.2 billion running words, growing by 3–4 million words each day.

And in turn, I searched for Czech data in O, which in addition to online journalism also covers discussion forums and social networks, from 2017 to the end of March 2021.[8] It is divided into two disjunctive sub-corpora:

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4   https://www.english-corpora.org/corona/
5   https://www.sketchengine.eu/
6   https://www.english-corpora.org/coca/
7   In the forthcoming SYN2025 corpus, we can already expect sufficient reflection of COVID-related words in written language, especially in journalistic texts. It is also hard to imagine the absence of these words in the forthcoming spoken corpora, given that the pandemic has become a common topic of everyday conversation.
8   It would be ideal to have newer data but, unfortunately, due to a long-lasting problem with data acquisition, O is not regularly updated at the moment. In spite of this outage, it covers the key periods of the first three pandemic waves in the Czech Republic and the lockdowns that followed. A brief summary of the pandemic period in the Czech Republic can be found on Wikipedia: https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/COVID-19_pandemic_in_the_Czech_Republic.

— Online_archive (hereafter OA, Cvrček and Procházka 2020a) covers the period
from January 1 2017 to July 31 2020 (i.e., among others, the beginning of the pan-
demic through the first wave and lockdown to the release of restrictive measures
in summer 2020) and contains almost 6.3 billion tokens.
— Online_now (hereafter ON, Cvrček and Procházka 2020b) covers the period from
September 1 2020 to March 31 2021 (i.e., the second wave of the pandemic, the sec-
ond lockdown, the third wave and the beginning of the third lockdown) and con-
tains almost one billion tokens.

Based on this sample, I try to find out in which discourses and contexts the word *lock-
down* appears, and how these contexts and discourses change with time.

In addition, I also look into various monolingual and English-Czech translation
dictionaries (see section 4), but also platforms that record neologisms, regardless of
their real frequency (see section 4.6).

In this study, I combine a quantitative and qualitative approach (discourse analy-
sis of specific articles, but also discussion forums or memes, etc.). In addition to cor-
pus data, petrified and available even after a lapse of time, I also use a private archive
of various materials — not only textual but also visual ones (screenshots) — which
I was building up during the pandemic, some of which are now hard to find, if at all.

3 FROM QUALITATIVE BASIS TO QUANTITATIVE ANALYSIS

The article "What is a lockdown, and could it occur due to coronavirus in the Czech
Republic?", published on 9 October 2020 on the Seznam Zprávy server,[9] is a good ex-
ample of how the Czech media reported on this new phenomenon at that time. It is
a short informative article of 464 words, which aims to answer the reader's anticipated
questions. The text is divided into four parts, each prefaced by a question, followed by
a brief (one or two paragraphs) answer. The two-sentence lead paragraph is highly
meta-linguistic (*skloňuje se* 'literally: is declined, i.e., is discussed thoroughly'; *takzvaný*
'so-called'; *Co to ale znamená* 'but what does it mean?'). The question *Co lockdown zna-
mená* 'What does lockdown mean?' is also the title of the first subhead, followed by
a brief explanation, combining the translation equivalent (*Doslovný překlad slova lock-
down je „uzamčení"* 'The literal translation of the word lockdown is "uzamčení"') and
a monolingual dictionary definition (… *a znamená celostátní karanténu včetně zákazu
volného pohybu osob mimo jejich bydliště*… 'and means a statewide quarantine, includ-
ing a ban on the free movement of people outside their homes'). Additional informa-
tion on the conditions under which such a situation may occur follows: *Rozsah lock-
downu stanovuje vláda, záleží vždy na aktuální situaci, ve které se stát nachází, a z té vychází
přísnost daných opatření.* 'The extent of the lockdown is determined by the government,
it always depends on the actual situation that the country is in, the severity of the
measures being based on that.' This metalinguistic complexity is a good indication
of the novelty of both the lockdown phenomenon in the Czech environment and the

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9   https://www.seznamzpravy.cz/clanek/lockdown-co-znamena-123579

loanword in Czech. The rest of the article is no longer meta-linguistic, describing retrospectively the situation of the first wave of the pandemic in the spring that year, reporting on what the lockdown looks like in Israel, and finally, the author considers whether a lockdown could be declared again in the Czech Republic.

Subjecting the text to quantitative analysis,[10] *lockdown* is understandably the most frequent content word (15 hits), while also carrying thematic concentration[11] with another word: *opatření* 'measures' (7 hits). Other autosemantic keyword forms are: *nadále* 'continually' (4), *Česku* 'Czechia' (4), *lidé* 'people' (4), *koronaviru* 'coronavirus' (3), *celostátní* 'statewide' (3), *nastat* 'arise/occur' (3), *bydliště* 'residence' (3), *jaře* 'springtime' (3), *řadu* 'set (N)' (3), *znamená* 'means (V)' (3), and *české* 'Czech (ADJ)' (3). They correspond appropriately with the content of the article: lockdown is presented here as a **statewide** (*celostátní*) **measure** (*opatření*) affecting the lives of all **people** (*lidé*) in **Czechia** (*Česku*, *české*), who should preferably stay in their **residences** (*bydliště*) and not go out. The increased degree of the conditional mood (*by* 9, *moci* 5) reflects a situation where no one knew what would follow in the next days or weeks (the idiom *přijít na řadu* 'get one's turn' 3), but there were fears that the crisis would not subside soon (*nadále* 4) (cf. a similar interpretation of the collocational profile of COVID-related words at the end of this section, footnote 19).

Less than two weeks later, on October 22, the lockdown was indeed announced by the Czech government. This is reflected in the rapid increase in the frequency of the term in O. The word *lockdown* started to appear sporadically much earlier (the first document related to the pandemic dates back to January 24 2020[12]), but the beginning of mass use is linked to the second decade of November 2020, when the Czech Republic was one of the worst affected countries in the world in terms of COVID-related deaths per capita (see Fig. 1 below).

Similarly, there is a noticeable difference between the frequency of *lockdown* in COCA (1990–2019, i.e., including the start of the pandemic; 1G words) and CC (January 2020 — up to date, i.e., September 30 2021; 13.6G words). In genre-diverse (and balanced) COCA, the word is most prominent in TV/movies, spoken formats, and news, while CC is a genre monolith made up only of news websites.

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10 For this purpose, I use tools Kwords (Cvrček and Vondřička 2013) and QuitaUp (Cvrček, Čech and Kubát 2020).

11 A content word whose absolute frequency is higher than its order in the rank frequency distribution of a given text (cf. Popescu and Altmann 2011 or Čech 2016 specifically for Czech).

12 Two Twitter posts: 1. *Čína vydala zákaz prodeje jakýchkoliv domácích nebo zahraničních zájezdů. Podřídit se musí všechny cestovní kanceláře v Číně. Následovat může snad už jen **lockdown** celé Číny. Chovají se, jako by to bylo horší než chřipka...* 2. *Přemýšlel jsem, jestli to může být být takovej katalyzátor jako Černobyl v SSSR. Ani ne tak virus sám jako **lockdown** 21 milionů lidí a kdo ví kolik ještě přibude... Ale co to je ve víc jak miliardě neinformovaných...* ('1. China has issued a ban on the sale of any domestic or foreign tours. All travel agencies in China must comply. The only thing that can follow is a lockdown of the whole of China. They're acting like it's worse than the flu... 2. I wonder if this could be a catalyst like Chernobyl in the USSR. Not so much the virus itself as the lockdown of 21 million people and who knows how many more to come... But what is more than a billion uninformed ones...')

	COCA	**CC**
lockdown	1,424 hits • ipm 1.42	552,871 hits • ipm 40.7
lockdowns	63 • 0.06	78,601 • 5.79
lock-down	51 • 0.05	2,809 • 0.21

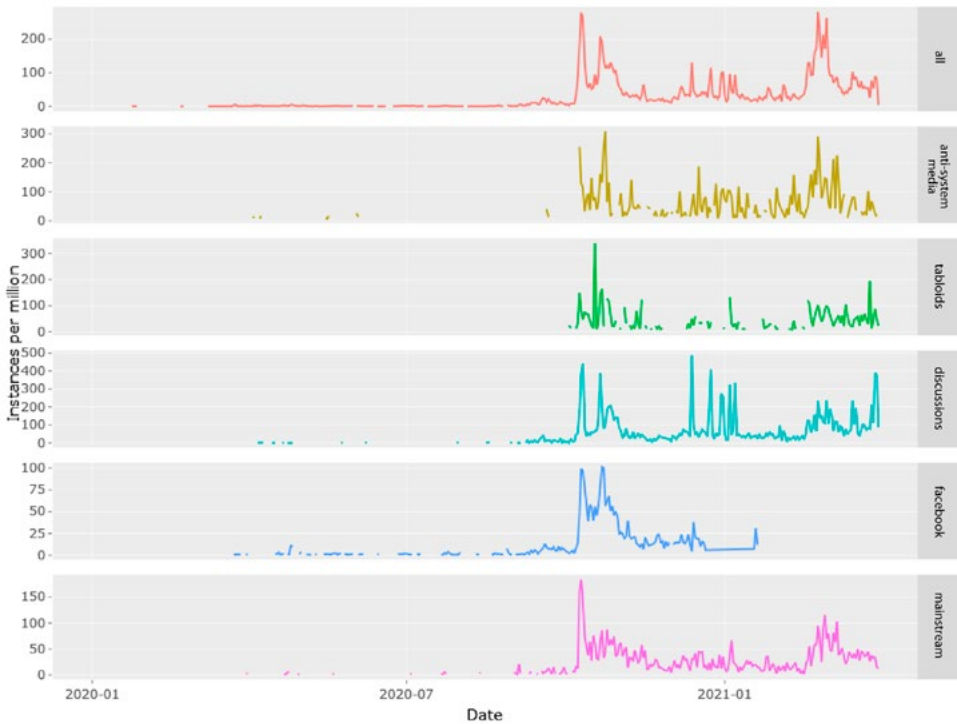**TABLE 1.** Frequency of *lockdown* in COCA and CC

FIGURE 1. Evolution of the frequency of *lockdown* in various online media types of Czech[13]

As a reference corpus one can also use, e.g., the 100 million *British National Corpus* (BNC), published in 1993. Here *lockdown* appears only 4 times (ipm 0.04), twice hyphenated — which clearly indicates the peripherality of the word in the lexicon.

control . Marin was put onto immediate	**lockdown/NN1**	-- which is where no one is allowed
out of the dash , and entered the	**lock-down/AJ0**	programs . Durium shields slid down the
Twenty-one months later it was still in	**lockdown/NN1**	. The point is that two guards
that was programmed only to reverse the	**lock-down/NN1**	upon the authority of executive-level Holderness-Manolo

FIGURE 2. Usage of *lockdown* in BNC

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13   https://jupyter.korpus.cz/shiny/cvrcek/timeline/

The following table shows the recent evolution of the usage frequency in CC:

SECTION	ALL	20.01	20.02	20.03	20.04	20.05	20.06	20.07	20.08	20.09	20.10	20.11	20.12	21.01	21.02	21.03	21.04	21.05	21.06	21.07	21.08
FREQ	595001	1077	1723	38882	103502	84197	52642	39203	31811	23999	23804	26470	16362	24070	16510	19699	19773	18689	16388	14610	10479
WORDS (M)	237	7.3	14.5	100.0	108.0	97.8	83.3	78.4	74.2	57.6	57.1	49.3	50.8	50.6	45.2	58.3	51.3	49.1	40.0	38.7	41.8
PER MIL	2,503.68	146.73	118.87	388.86	958.58	850.80	632.14	499.95	428.94	416.57	416.62	537.10	322.07	475.79	365.34	337.97	385.43	380.48	409.30	377.13	250.55
SEE ALL SUB-SECTIONS AT ONCE																					

FIGURE 3. Evolution of the frequency of *lockdown* in CC

In terms of frequency by country, South Africa (ipm 1,610), India (1,184), Pakistan (1,045), the UK (1,023) and New Zealand (968) top the list, while Canada (211) and, somewhat surprisingly, USA (202) and Jamaica (192) are at the bottom.

Unfortunately, enTT does not provide reliable data for frequency evolution as its content was automatically crawled from English-language servers, but the individual documents do not contain the necessary metadata. Only the date of the download is given, which is not the same as the date of creation. It is therefore not possible to create two subcorpora — a "pre-pandemic" and "pandemic" ones — and compare relative frequencies. Thus, we only find the total frequency of the *lockdown* lemma: 256,875 hits; ipm 5.71. Yet, where this corpus, or rather the SketchEngine interface, serves us well are the word sketches, which summarize the grammatical and collocational behavior of the selected word in a clear and user-friendly way.[14] Here we see the most prominent modifiers of *lockdown* (*coronavirus, Covid-19/COVID-19, pandemic, nationwide/nation-wide, countrywide, 21-day, four-week*) or, conversely, nouns modified by *lockdown* (*restrictions, measures, drills, easing, cornerback, curbs*), verbs with *lockdown* as an object (*reimpose, ease, impose, localise, lift, enforce*) or subject (*ease, exacerbate, impact, disrupt, lift, impose*), adjectival predicates of *lockdown* (*bearable, strict, restrictive, imminent, unnecessary*), possessors of *lockdown* (*Wuhan's, Spring's, Melbourne's, Pandemic's, March's, Newsom's, England's*) or the opposite of *lockdown* as the possessor (*the lockdown's impact on, the lockdown's effect*) and other combinations.

In addition, the following data visualization is also available (see Fig. 4 below).

3.1 THE WORD *LOCKDOWN* IN THE ONLINE CORPUS

The KonText interface (Machálek 2014), in which I process the Czech data, does not offer similar word profiles, so I will limit myself to searching:

(a) individual case forms

Initial hypothesis: *lockdown*, as a countable noun, should be represented in its declension paradigm by all case forms (except the vocative) in both numbers (cf. Kováříková 2021).

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14   Basically, it is a necessity; if we consider the resulting number of occurrences of a given lemma (over a quarter of a million), or the size of the whole corpus (over 38 billion words, or almost 45 billion tokens), even this quarter of a million is only 0.0005712% (sic).
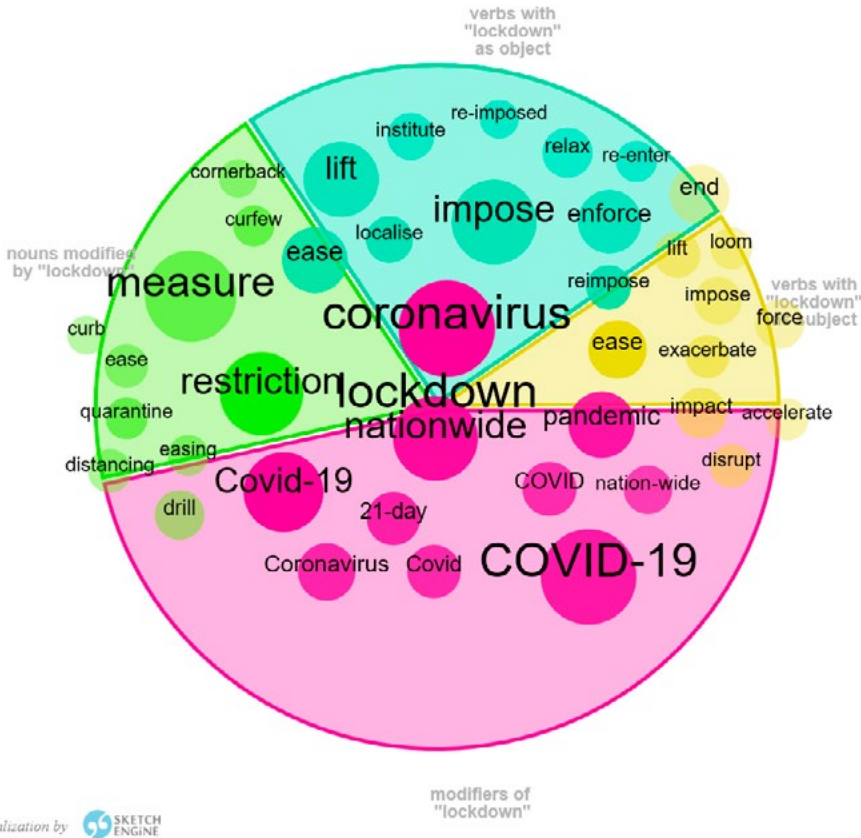
FIGURE 4. Visualization of the most common collocates of *lockdown* in the SketchEngine interface

(b) derivatives and compounds
Initial hypothesis: if the number of derived lexemes and compounds increases
(both in types and tokens), this indicates a gradual entrenchment of the loanword
in the Czech lexical system.

(c) the most common collocations
Initial hypothesis: as the collocational potential of a loanword increases, so does
the degree of its adaptation in the target language. Moreover, specifically *lockdown*
as a word connoting almost exclusively negative phenomena will show a rather
negative semantic preference.

I will conduct these three searches in both OA and ON; the inter-comparison of the
results then represents the diachronic element of the analysis — or the dynamic evo-
lution of how *lockdown* behaves during the pandemic discourse.

a)

singular			plural		
	OA	**ON**		**OA**	**ON**
lockdown (N/Asg)[15]	0.49	52.45	*lockdowny* (N/A/I/Vpl)	0.03	4.19
lockdownu (G/D/Lsg)	0.25	25.97	*lockdownů* (Gpl)	0.01	2.18
lockdownem (Isg)	0.05	3.42	*lockdownům* (Dpl)	0.0	0.55
lockdowne (Vsg)	0.0	0.05	*lockdownech* (Lpl)	0.0	0.44
singular forms	0.79	81.88	plural forms	0.04	7.37
TOTAL (lemma *lockdown*)		**OA: 0.83 • ON: 89.25**			

TABLE 2. Frequency distribution of the case forms of the lemma *lockdown* in O (in i.p.m.)

Singular forms predominate over plural forms, especially at the beginning of the pandemic (ratio in OA about 22:1[16]); later, after the lockdown is declared again (besides, there is talk of lockdowns in different countries), the use of plural forms increases and the ratio in ON decreases to about 11:1.

b)

	OA		ON	
	tokens	types	tokens	types[17]
prefixation and composition	21 hits • ipm 0.0	16	1,119 • 1.16	(284)
suffixation	28 • 0.0	21	1,258 • 1.31	(321)
gradual/combined formation	7 • 0.0	5	118 • 0.12	(83)

TABLE 3. Derivatives and compounds of *lockdown* in O

The most common derivatives include the following (only from ON; in OA hapax legomena predominate):

— prefixation and composition: *nelockdown, pololockdown, minilockdown, antilockdown, pseudolockdown*; these words also occur with a hyphen or as two separate forms (*polo-lockdown/polo lockdown, pseudo-lockdown/pseudo lockdown*), which testifies to their unstableness

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15 Relatively frequent homonymy reduces the number of potential forms (up to 14) in this example to 8 (in other words: the *lockdown* lemma can be realized in Czech by eight different case forms). In this study, however, I refrain from manually reviewing the results (occurrences of foreign language texts in the corpus, e.g., English or Slovak) and assigning homonymic forms to individual cases.
(N=nominative, G=genitive, D=dative, A=accusative, V=vocative, L=locative, I=instrumental; sg=singular, pl=plural)

16 Cf. the above-mentioned article from the Seznam Zprávy server, where Nsg appears 12 times, Gsg twice, Asg and Isg once, while plural forms are absent.

17 Results have not been controlled manually.

— suffixation: *lockdownový, lockdownovat, lockdownování, lockdownista, lockdownův*
— gradual/combined formation: *antilockdownový, zalockdownovat, nelockdownový, nelockdownovat, předlockdownový, fulllockdownový, protilockdownový*
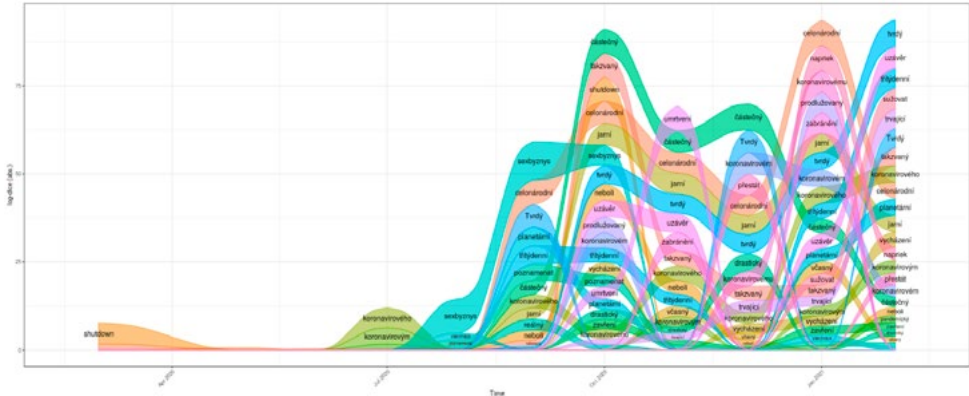

FIGURE 5. Evolution of the most significant collocates of *lockdown* in O

c) A macro-view of the most frequent collocates of *lockdown* in pandemic times was provided by the DiaColl tool prototype[18] (Cvrček and Tichý, in prep.).

The graph in Fig. 5 reflects well the evolution of the lockdown discourse: initially, it is almost zero, in October 2020 it becomes vivid (a steep increase in the collocational potential), after which it gradually stabilizes (a decrease in the number of collocates), and with the next pandemic wave the situation repeats itself (January–March 2020). Most of the collocates fluctuate, but there are also long-term elements, a kind of *epiteta constants*, in circulation for many months: *tvrdý lockdown* ('hard'), with its opposite *částečný lockdown* ('partial') and then *celonárodní lockdown* ('nationwide'), *koronavirový lockdown* ('coronavirus') and *takzvaný lockdown* ('so-called').[19] These are, coincidentally, mostly adjectives; in addition, we also find, to a lesser extent (and with greater variability), some nouns (*sexbyznys* 'sex-business,' *shutdown,*

18 https://jupyter.korpus.cz/shiny/cvrcek/diacoll/
19 This corresponds to the comparison of the collocation profiles in OA and ON using the Kon-Text interface (attribute: lemma, window span: -3 to 3, sorted according to logDice) — the only intersection of the 40 collocates consists of the adjectives *tvrdý* 'hard' and *částečný* 'partial,' maybe also a pair of semantically close words *celostátní/celonárodní* 'statewide/nationwide,' the rest (i.e., 37 collocates) differ. In a similar analysis of the collocability (Škrabal and Kavka 2021: 292), the COVID-related words are defined as expressions containing a string of *c/korona* or *covid* characters in the first and second wave (25 March vs. 25 October 2020). Out of the 40 top collocates for either period, there were only 5 (7%) in common: *boj* 'fight', *epidemie* 'epidemic', *onemocnění* 'disease', *pacient* 'patient', and *šíření* 'spread.' This overlap, however minimal, represents the invariant core which clearly refers to the semantics of the concept ('a disease that is spreading among patients until it becomes an epidemic and must be fought against'), while the variables reflect the temporal and/or

uzávěra '[the Czech equivalent of lockdown]', *umrtvení* 'deadening', *vycházení* 'going out', *zabránění* 'preventing'), verbs (*poznamenat* 'to note', *přestát* 'to endure', *sužovat* 'to torment') and even synsemantic items (*neboli* 'or [preceding the Czech equivalent of lockdown]'). Only a certain part of the collocates tend to connote with negative phenomena: the afore-mentioned verbs, the nouns *umrtvení* and *zabránění*, the adjective *drastický* 'drastic'.

These partial analyses comparing the older and newer parts of O show that *lockdown* is gradually becoming well established in Czech, at least in terms of morphology (occurrences of all inflectional forms), word formation (increasing number of derivatives and compounds) and collocations (potential to form and subsequently lexicalize multi-word units); cf. Mravinacová (2005: 203–206), Niševa (2014: 41–53, 81–115, 116–120). In the following section, I will explain these and other aspects of the adaptation of this loanword in the Czech environment.

4 LINGUISTIC ADAPTATION OF THE WORD *LOCKDOWN* INTO CZECH

During the COVID-19 pandemic, there was a natural need to label many new phenomena. This need to fill particular lexical *lacunae* was partly fulfilled by the determinologization of some terms previously linked to specific disciplines, in this case medicine (immunology, virology) and pharmaceutics, and possibly others (psychology, sociology, pedagogy). Here, however, the language draws on an already existing inventory of lexical units, even though these were previously unknown to the general public. The actual enrichment of the lexicon with new lexemes includes a wide range of possible means (not only) in Czech. Staying with the grim topic of pandemics, these are the following means, in addition to the borrowing discussed below:[20]

— derivation: *rouška* 'face mask' > *rouškař* 'a person wearing a face mask;' *bezrouškař* 'a person violating the obligation to wear a face mask during coronavirus epidemic;' *rouškarián* 'a person who has a strong belief in the benefits of face masks

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spatial specifics (e.g., *banální* 'banal', *celoplošný* 'across-the-board', *Charles*, *mikroskopický* 'microscopical', *odhalený* 'revealed', *popírač* 'denier', *princ* 'prince', *rychlotest* 'rapid test'; frequently found are also the numbers referring to statistics of infected/dead patients).
— Another alternative for tracking the evolution of the collocability of a given word is, e.g., the diachronic notion of word embeddings (Hamilton, Leskovec and Jurafsky 2016).
20 For the following examples, I adopt definitions from the collaborative dictionary *Čeština 2.0*, as created by the contributors themselves (often without hiding their subjective attitude towards a given fact). These users obviously prefer non-official, colloquial words, mostly puns and nonce words. Besides, there is also a lot of (semi-)official neologisms used and spread by the media, mainly derivatives (*koronavirový* 'coronavirus [adj.],' *předcovidový* 'pre-covid [adj.]', *rouškovné* 'face-mask allowance for pensioners'), multi-word units, often calques (*distanční výuka* 'distant learning', *tvrdý lockdown* 'hard lockdown', *chytrá karanténa* 'smart quarantine'), or compounds (*koronakrize* 'corona crisis').

against the spread of coronavirus and therefore wears it constantly'; the opposite is *bezrouškarián*

— compounding: *pandavirus* 'Chinese coronavirus (COVID-19 disease)'; *covidnáček* 'a fanatic who would gladly take away most of the freedoms of the people to protect them from COVID-19 as much as possible' (*nácek* 'Nazi' [pejoratively]); *koronadovolená*[21] (*dovolená* 'vacation') 'forced time off due to the coronavirus epidemic'

— blending: *nákazník* 'store visitor potentially infected with coronavirus' (< *nákaza* 'infection' + *zákazník* 'customer'; *zoomčastnit se* 'attend an event held online' < *Zoom* + *zúčastnit se* 'participate'; *maskurbace* 'touching a respirator or a face mask too often' (< *maska* 'mask' + *masturbace* 'masturbation')

— clipping: *prdom/prádo* (< *práce doma*) 'work at home'; *vax/antivax* (< *vaxxer/antivaxxer*), *hanadr/hanahu/hanaču* (< *hadr na držku/hubu/čuňu* 'rag for the trap') 'face mask'

— forming multi-word units: *hrát rouškovanou* 'to play the game consisting in wearing a face mask in public places during a coronavirus epidemic'; *na coviděnou* 'saying goodbye during the time of COVID-19'; *koronovirová opona* 'closed national border due to a coronavirus pandemic' (< *železná opona* 'Iron Curtain')

— transferring meaning: *náhubek* 'muzzle' > 'face mask'; *korýš* 'crustacean' > 'coronavirus'; *nechráněný styk* 'unprotected intercourse' > 'violation of coronavirus quarantine by meeting without a face mask'

As for *lockdown*, there is a significant difference between Czech and English in this respect: in Czech, it is a neologism, whereas in English it is a new meaning of a pre-existing word. According to *Oxford English Dictionary*[22] (OED), the word itself comes from a verbal phrase and is traceable back to 1832 (*That it shall be the duty of said corporation to raft all lumber in said boom without any unnecessary delay, securely and faithfully with suitable poles and lock-downs.*), originally it was "a piece of wood used in the construction of rafts when transporting timber downriver, consisting of a strip or branch bent around the horizontal poles and secured into holes in the logs. Later: a peg, pin, or similar device used to fasten something in place". The specific meaning limited to a specific discourse and environment (penitentiary: "the confinement of prisoners to their cells for all or most of the day as a temporary security measure"[23]) first appeared in 1973, according to the Merriam-Webster Dictionary. This would also correspond to the entry in earlier English-Czech dictionaries, e.g., Lingea Lexicon v 4.0 from 2002 (*uvěznění trestanců do cel po skoro celý den* 'confinement of convicts to

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21 The alternative forms *korodovolená* 'coro-vacation' or even *korolená,* suggest that blending might also be involved.

22 https://www.oed.com/view/Entry/269145?rskey=uE0vqP&result=2#eid

23 https://www.merriam-webster.com/dictionary/lockdown. Cf. the extended definition in OED (2a): "The confinement of prisoners to their cells for an extended period of time, usually as a security measure following a disturbance; the time at which such confinement begins. Also in the context of a psychiatric hospital or other secure unit. Frequently in *on lockdown, in lockdown.*"
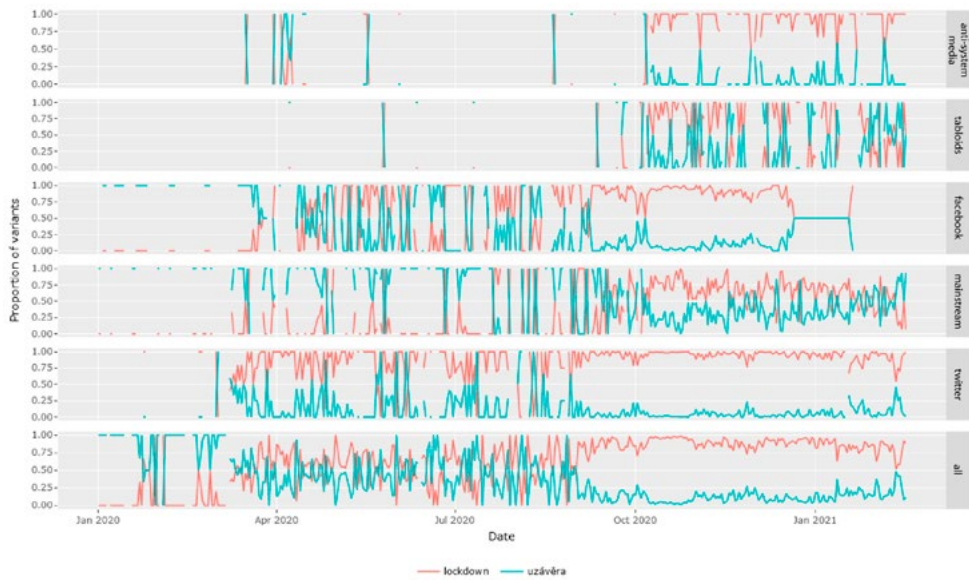
FIGURE 6. Competition between the use of *lockdown* and its most frequent Czech counterpart *uzávěra* in Czech

their cells for most of the day'), where the periphrastic definition, somewhat clumsy, instead of a simple equivalent, indicates its non-existence in the Czech lexical system (see also Fig. 1 above, or zero/sporadic occurrences in older Czech corpora). A more general meaning ('a state of isolation, containment, or restricted access, usually instituted for security purposes or as a public health measure; the imposition of this state') is documented a decade later, in 1984 (other examples in OED are from 2002 and 2005). This meaning, tucked away on the lexicon's periphery, has become absolutely dominant today. The Czech language then adopted this term, or rather its updated meaning, as a brand-new lexeme, which has also gained ground at the expense of alternative names of domestic origin (see Fig. 6).[24]

A sizeable number of Czech equivalents, relying on quotations from newspaper articles, are offered by the Czech version of Wikipedia:[25] *uzamčení, uzávěra, hromadná karanténa, celostátní karanténa, plošná karanténa* or the cumbersome variants *zákaz volného pohybu osob* and *uzavření ekonomiky a společnosti*. However, it is clear that the

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24 Many other European languages, however, prefer a domestic equivalent, such as the Romance languages (French *confinement*, Spanish *confinamiento*, Portuguese *confinamento*), Slovenian (*zapora*), Icelandic (*lokun*) or Latvian *mājsēde* (literally 'sitting at home'). The regional varieties of English also show considerable variation: alternatives for *lockdown* include *shelter-in-place* (mainly in USA), *circuit breaker* (Singapore, UK); abbreviations such as *MCO* [*movement control order*] (Malaysia) or *ECQ* [*enhanced community quarantine*] (Philippines) — cited by Salazar and Wild (2021).

25 https://cs.wikipedia.org/wiki/Lockdown

possibilities of their use are limited, e.g., derivatives cannot be easily formed from multi-word units. This is also reflected in the noticeably lower frequency of these equivalents, from which *uzávěra*[26] is the most prominent (ipm 0.66 in OA; 5.86 in ON).

In terms of frequency, the winner is the English loanword, which is gradually being adapted into the Czech environment. Adaptation is understood as "an accompanying phenomenon of borrowing in which the form and meaning of units or structures of the model language are immediately or gradually adapted to the pronunciation and spelling as well as to the meaning categories and formal structures of the replicating language" (Nekula 2017, translation M.Š.). Lexical borrowing (loanword) is then the result of linguistic contact between two languages, which is nowadays not limited to their immediate neighborhood. In fact, language contact involves the matter and pattern replication of the model (source) language in the replicating (target) language into whose system the adopted material is integrated (Matras 2009). Loanwords are forced to adapt in the new environment of the target language in terms of form (i.e., pronunciation and/or spelling — see section 4.2), morphology and word formation (4.3) and syntax (4.4). I address these levels — in relation to the word *lockdown* — in the remainder of this section, considering it important to add the psychological (4.5) and lexicographical (4.6) aspects. This ordering does not reflect any hierarchy but, rather, a logical sequence: the starting point is the conceptual content of a new phenomenon which is being adopted (4.1).

4.1 THE CONCEPTUAL LEVEL OF A LOANWORD

The conceptual level of a loanword is closely linked to the meaning of the word — and this is largely defined by the words around it (cf. J. R. Firth's dictum "You shall know a word by the company it keeps" — Firth 1957: 11). If we compare the collocational profiles of the word *lockdown* in the Czech data with foreign-language sources — English, for example — any differences we find may reveal the specifics of the "Czech lockdown".[27] Equally interesting is the diachronic aspect suggested above (3.1c), indicating potential changes in the meaning of the word, its gradual refinement and crystallization. The invariant core of the collocational profile refers to the semantics of the word, while the variables reflect local and temporal specifics of further development (see footnote 19 above). It is a feature of neologisms that this development is particularly dynamic. Thus, the originally collocationally undefined noun *lockdown* begins to be associated more and more frequently with certain adjectives, and these collocations tend to lexicalize, i.e., to begin functioning as multi-word lexemes, cf. the further modifier in *Německý „lehký lockdown" nefunguje, jak má. Spolkové země začínají přitvrzovat.* 'The German "light lockdown" does not work as it should.

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26 Also, *uzávěra* is an existing word, like *lockdown* in English, used rather sparsely (ipm 0.91 in SYN2020), limited mainly to traffic situations (roadblocks, building closures, etc.). The paronym *uzávěrka* (ipm 6.22 in SYN2020; 3.53 in ON) has another meaning, 'deadline'.

27 Cf., e.g., the idiom *travel bubble* prominent in Australian and New Zealand English due to the air corridor between these two countries, see Frequency by country in CC: New Zealand ipm 27.33, Singapore 20.78, Hong Kong 17.99, Malaysia 9.79, Australia 9.78. For 10 of the 18 countries, ipm oscillates between 0.0 and 1.45.

The federal states are starting to get tough.' — the headline of an article in Deník N;[28] the quotation marks here serve in two ways: they clearly mark out the boundary of the collocation and they indicate its unstableness. These newly emerging lexemes already have the ability to engage in paradigmatic relations, see e.g., the antonyms *tvrdý* 'hard' / *ostrý* 'sharp' *lockdown*, or the alternative expression *lockdown light* with the postpositive adjective.

The results of web search engines, or their autocomplete tools, which respond to the typing of a keyword, can also have some meaningful value. These are based on the statistics of the most frequent queries from users. In the following two screenshots, it is clear that Czech internet users felt the need to know the exact meaning of *lockdown* and its Czech equivalent in early October 2020 (*význam/vyznam* 'meaning', *překlad/ preklad* 'translation', *co znamená lockdown* 'what does lockdown mean', *význam slova lockdown* 'meaning of the word lockdown').[29]

FIGURE 7. Google.com and Seznam.cz search engine autocomplete tools (10 October 2020)

4.2 THE FORMAL LEVEL OF A LOANWORD

The formal level of a loanword covers pronunciation and/or spelling adaptation. On the phonetic level, the principle of phonetic approximation is applied (Bičan et al. 2020: 33): foreign phonemes are replaced by Czech ones on the basis of syllabic similarity (Brit. E. /ɒ/, or Amer. E. /ɑ/ > Czech /o/), the word stress is realized on the first syllable, phonotactic normalization occurs (the voiceless phoneme /k/ is changed to the

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28 https://denikn.cz/511181/nemecky-lehky-lockdown-nefunguje-jak-ma-spolkove-zeme-zacinaji-pritvrzovat/?ref=tit

29 Deliberately, I do not give any numerical results (number of pages/documents found) of the searches at that time because I think that "Googlelogy is bad science" (title of Kilgarriff's 2007 article). After all, even the results presented here may themselves be biased by customizability and other factors.

voiced /g/ as a result of regressive assimilation). In this respect, the Czech pronunciation [logdãun], also reported in the emerging monolingual dictionary of Czech (see section 4.6 below), is unproblematic, but unfortunately, it cannot be verified with data.[30] However, I have not observed any alternative pronunciation in the media, except perhaps for the voiceless variant [lokdãun], which requires some articulatory effort.

On the graphic level, the situation is more varied. In English sources, there is a hyphenated variant *lock-down*, albeit minor (in the ratio of approximately 1:225 in CC, 1:37 in enTT). The majority variant, i.e. without a hyphen, has been adopted into Czech; the hyphenated variant appears sporadically. In addition, some speakers choose a phonetic transcription of the loanword, but the difference from the written form is so striking that this variant also appears minimally.

	OA	ON
lockdown.*	0.84	90.93
lock-down.*	0.02	0.85
lokdaun.*	0.0	0.72

TABLE 4. Occurrence of graphical variants of *lockdown* in O (in i.p.m.)

Formal proximity to words of domestic origin inspires users to engage in deliberate language play (see 4.5 below).

4.3 THE MORPHOLOGICAL LEVEL OF A LOANWORD

The morphological level of a loanword concerns mainly nouns that adopt the grammatical gender according to the natural gender (in the case of *lockdown,* the inanimate masculine[31]) and the formal ending (the hard consonant suggests inflection according to the pattern *hrad* 'castle'). It is thus fully integrated into the Czech declension system, as evidenced by the representation of all the case forms (see 3.1a above).

Where the adaptive potential of the Czech language is equally evident is in word formation. *Lockdown* serves as a starting point for the derivation of numerous new words: adjectives, verbs and other nouns, compounds, diminutives, or complex forms combining multiple principles (see 3.1b above for examples).

30 The specialized Czech database from 2014, containing transcribed pronunciation variants obtained from a balanced sample of 300 speakers for 300 foreign words (https://dvucs. ff.cuni.cz/), does not contain COVID vocabulary. Similarly, the multilingual pronunciation dictionary on the Forvo.com portal (Škrabal and Machač 2021, Machač and Škrabal 2021) does not contain any recordings of *lockdown* from Czech speakers; as of September 30 2021, it contained recordings only in German, English, Italian and Luxembourgish (https://forvo.com/search/lockdown/). Perhaps the perception of the foreignness of the word by non-English speakers plays a role here.

31 However, cf. the masculine form *le covid* in continental French (under the influence of *le coronavirus*) versus the more common, especially Quebec variant *la covid* (after the pattern *la maladie* 'disease') (Koláříková 2021: 35, Kadlec 2021: 112).

4.4 THE SYNTACTIC LEVEL OF A LOANWORD

The syntactic level of a loanword follows the morphological level. By assigning a noun to a declension paradigm, it is possible to inflect it and thus integrate it into the syntax of the target language. In this respect, there are no obstacles either: the original loanword has syntactic functions typical of Czech nouns, forming the lexical basis of the nominal phrase. As such, it can function as a subject (*Do pár dnů bude lockdown* 'In a few days there will be a lockdown') or an oblique object (*Dalo se na lockdown nějak připravit?* 'Was there any way to prepare for the lockdown?'), as various other types of complements (*To by v tomhle případě ten dynamit musel být míněn jako LOCKDOWN* 'In this case, the dynamite would have to be meant as LOCKDOWN'; *Aby to nebyl lockdown forever* 'It better not be a lockdown forever'), or as an argument of deverbal nouns (*důsledky lockdownu* 'the consequences of the lockdown'; *strašení lockdownem* 'scaring [people] with a lockdown'). *Lockdown* also functions as a noun modifier in binomial structures, following the English conversion model (*a lockdown > lockdown restrictions / easing / violators*, we find the Czech *lockdown menu* 'menu' / *opatření* 'measure(s)' / *režim* 'mode'), yet these cases are isolated and modify only a limited number of nouns (*Zároveň ostatní ekonomiky v rámci různých lockdown opatření snížily nebo zastavily výrobu* 'At the same time, other economies have reduced or stopped production under various lockdown measures'). As the derivational and compound-forming potential is being fulfilled (see 3.1b above), other syntactic roles are realized too: adjectival forms function primarily as modifiers (*lockdownové procházky Prahou* 'lockdown walks through Prague'; *možná poslední předlockdownová ochutnávka* 'perhaps the last pre-lockdown tasting'), derived verbs as predicates (*S jeho návody bychom se brzy prolockdownovali do doby kamenné* 'With his instructions, we would soon lockdown ourselves into the Stone Age').

4.5 THE PSYCHOLOGICAL ASPECTS OF ADAPTATION

The psychological aspects of adaptation affect the way a language community mentally copes with a new reality. Specialist terms, previously used in narrow expert discourse, have entered the everyday media space and the speech of lay people, and have also given rise to a vast number of colloquial forms. Concepts that are alien, unknown, and anxiety-inducing for the lay public are "humanized" by speakers, converted into something familiar, safe, and as though not to be feared: e.g., *koroňák/koronáč* (augmentative expressions replacing the official term *coronavirus*); *covídek/koronáček* (diminutive suffixes "neutralizing" a dangerous disease); both suffixes — although semantically they are opposites — function here as a domesticating feature (cf. Będkowska-Kopczyk and Łaziński (2020) who speak of the Russian neologism *kovidlo* as a means of "taming COVID-19", by imitating other words (*strašidlo* 'bogeyman', *povidlo* 'plum jam')). Such casual denominations, using often unproductive and marginal means, are an example of the so-called parasystematic formation, which is based on anomaly, "on looser rules of derivation and composition and possesses distinctive formants and word-formation types" (Pleskalová 2000: 42, cf. Ziková 2001).

Language play and humor, not by any means limited to the domain of literature (Carter 2004, cf. Moon 2009), is concomitant of this strategy, bringing relief in stressful situations associated with pandemics and related constraints. Formal proximity with familiar words motivates speakers toward linguistic creativity, which flourishes

especially on social networks, blogs, and discussion forums.[32] Here, the pandemic discourse is often carried in a tense atmosphere, with emotions and political incorrectness omnipresent. Needless to say, this is not an idiosyncratic feature of the Czech language at all. Similarly, English also has been enriched with a large number of neologisms and occasional words, the primary motivation of which is not only to name the new reality, but also to relieve stress and tension (*covidiot*, *moronavirus*, *pandumbic*, *covexit*, *Rona* to name just a few).

As for *lockdown*, the homonymic pronunciation of the first component with the Czech word *lok* 'gulp, swig' prompted an unknown meme maker, who ironically refers to the Czech President Zeman's fondness for alcohol (there are two photographs on the meme: Zeman is drinking liquor in the first one, and then collapsing), but also to the brewer of the Beznoska microbrewery, who named his new 15 India pale lager *Lokdown*.[33]

The replacement of the initial *l-* by *r-* gave rise to the occasionalism *rokdown*, as in *1 rokdown za námi* '1 year-down behind us' (headline of Deník N, 16 March 2021; cf. the definition from the dictionary *Čeština 2.0* 'a year spent by restricting ordinary life'), and similarly in English the ad hoc created *shockdown* appeared ('*Shockdown': what the Sunday papers say about England's new Covid-19 lockdown*[34]). A photo-report of limited pub-crawling in locked-up Prague inspired the author to the headline *Tour de beer v Locktownu* 'Tour de beer in Locktown'.[35]

However, these modifications do not remain only on the level of individual graphemes or phonemes, even old idioms and proverbs are updated: e.g., *březen — do lockdownu vlezem, duben — ještě tam budem,* literally 'March — we will enter the lockdown, April — we will still be there' (newsletter of Seznam.cz, 5 March 2021). On another meme, a woman is greeting a man with the words: *Veselé izolace a šťastný nový lock* 'Merry Quarant-mas and a Happy New Lock'.

32　E.g., a twitter forum where people came up with ideas for the Czech equivalent of *lockdown*. There are dozens of suggestions registered here, mostly nonce words. See https://twitter.com/hosekj/status/1314961152535859200. Another example from Twitter (@lingvojazyce, 10 October 2020) illustrates the meta-linguistic reflection on the word: *LOCKDOWN do češtiny pronikl snáz než do našeho fungování. Bez lockdownu, s lockdownem, tydlencty lockdowny... Krásně od něj vytvoříme sloveso LOCKDOWNOVAT, má vazbu se 4. p.: lockdownovat někoho. Teď čekám, jestli se ujme LOCKDOWN(N)OUT. Kdy nás asi Prymula lockdowne?* ('LOCKDOWN has penetrated the Czech language more easily than our functioning. Without lockdown, with lockdown, them lockdowns... It is easy-peasy to form the [imperfective] verb LOCKDOWNOVAT, it takes the accusative: to lockdown someone. Now I'm waiting to see if [perfective] LOCKDOWN(N)OUT takes as well. I wonder when Prymula [ex-health minister] will lockdown us?')

33　The Beznoska brewery was often inspired by the current epidemiological situation when naming its beers, e.g., *Nouzový zelenáč* 'Emergency greenhorn', *Respivátor < respirátor* 'respirator' + *pivo* 'beer', *Záchranář* 'Rescuer', *Druhá/Třetí/Čtvrtá vlna* 'First/Second/Third Wave', *Domácí pohoda* 'Home well-being', *Rozvolňovač* 'Relief-bearer'.

34　https://www.theguardian.com/uk-news/2020/nov/01/shockdown-what-the-sunday-papers-say-about-englands-new-covid-lockdown

35　https://www.metro.cz/fotoreportaz-tour-de-beer-v-locktownu-dhg-/praha.aspx?c=A210310_190830_metro-praha_hyr

Moreover, words associated with COVID-19 are gaining notorious popularity. *Lockdown* itself was even named the Word of the Year 2020 by the editors of the Collins Dictionary.[36]

4.6 THE LEXICOGRAPHICAL PROCESSING OF LOANWORDS

The lexicographical processing of loanwords together with their publication in a prestigious dictionary is a kind of completion of the neologization process, confirming the "legitimacy" of a word and its entrenchment in the target language. This 'dictionarization process' (cf. Lauria 2011) may be a process of varying length, but the pandemic has managed to shorten it considerably: e.g., the word *coronavirus* was included in M-W only 34 days after its first appearance, which is the fastest ever in the history of this dictionary.[37] The authors of the emerging Academic Dictionary of Contemporary Czech reacted similarly promptly, prioritizing pandemic-related entries (Lišková and Šemelík 2020), including *lockdown*, which is defined as 'a restriction on the free movement of persons in an area to preserve the safety or health of the public'. Moreover, the explicit usage note is given that the word became more frequently used in Czech in 2020 in connection with the SARS-CoV-2 pandemic.

In addition to traditional dictionaries, there are also collaborative online dictionaries that often capture neologisms even better (Škrabal and Kavka 2021). For English, this is the *Urban Dictionary* (UD),[38] which has 29 entries for *lockdown* itself and another 61 for its use in various phrases. Nonetheless, not all entries have been added recently, during the pandemic. In fact, only 41 entries are COVID-related. Four entries date back to 2003 and a 2006 entry *lockdown* gives seven individual meanings.

The Czech equivalent of UD is the dictionary portal *Čeština 2.0*, which, besides *lockdown*, has another eight entries for its expressive synonyms (*koropakárna, domahnij, koronazávora, venikrok, babiškrť, zarach, zdravora, lokáč*[39]).

5 SUMMARY

The corona crisis has provided us with the unique chance to see the birth and establishment of new lexical units "live", so to speak, just as we witnessed the outbreak and rapid

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36 According to the Dictionary's authors, the word *lockdown* reflects the shared experience of billions of people around the world, cf. OED's winner: *unprecedented* (https://www.bbc.com/news/entertainment-arts-55016543), M-W's: *pandemic* (https://www.merriam-webster.com/words-at-play/word-of-the-year/pandemic), and *vaccine* for 2021, while *koronavirus* won the Czech poll (https://www.seznamzpravy.cz/clanek/slovo-roku-neprekvapi-je-to-koronavirus-135335).

37 https://www.merriam-webster.com/words-at-play/word-of-the-year/coronavirus

38 https://www.urbandictionary.com/define.php?term=Lockdown

39 The last entry was added to the dictionary in December 2014 with the meaning 'a pothole in the road, covered with water, also a large puddle in general'. A new meaning, based on phonetic similarity with *lockdown*, has been added during the pandemic (https://cestina20.cz/slovnik/lokac/).

combustion of lexical supernovas. The word *lockdown* is one of those that has been organically incorporated into the Czech language — the Czech-speaking community has adopted the term as its own, has become familiar with it (see especially 4.5 above), and has preferred it to its domestic equivalents. The reasons for this are simple: the pragmatic motives of the speakers prevail over any purist, protective attitudes; what matters is mainly the ability to immediately satisfy the need to name a new concept, while domestic equivalents can be cumbersome, unnatural, and impractical (limited ability to derive from multi-word units). The word has adapted easily and very quickly both to the Czech lexicon (4.1, 4.2) and grammatical system (4.3, 4.4), in terms of its content and form. Its novelty and unusualness is being erased day by day, as the high frequency of use contributes to its growing saliency. The immediate lexicographical treatment in the emerging monolingual dictionary of Czech (4.6) also contributes to its acceptability.

Freed from the mostly negative connotations associated with this term, the neologism *lockdown* is an enrichment of the Czech lexicon. Such globally shared words (cf. T. Thorne's 2020 "coronaspeak" or "covidictionary"; D. Crystal's 2020 "covocabulary") only underscore the fact that we are all inhabitants of one global village, and efforts to close our mother tongue against them so as not to 'pollute' or 'corrupt' it[40] are foolish. To the contrary, the Czech language has absorbed this foreign word (along with many others) with ease, enriching them with typical Czech elements (prefixes/suffixes, endings, a large degree of inflection). Yet, it has not completely abandoned the domestic equivalents. This testifies to its vitality in the linguistic global village.

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40 See, for example, some posts on social media: *Je zcela nepřijatelné, aby se v češtině používaly slova jako lockdown či kurzarbeit. — Lidi čeština je tak krásný jazyk, musíte ho pořád prznit výrazy jako lockdown, sickday apod. — Proč se čeština przní barbarskou angličtinou! Třeba lockdown, tak za tento cizácký humus není v češtině náhrada? Jděte s primitivní angličtinou už do hajzlu!* ('It is completely unacceptable to use words like lockdown or kurzarbeit in Czech. — Folks, Czech is such a beautiful language, do you have to keep defiling it with terms like lockdown, sickday etc. — Why is Czech being defaced with barbaric English! For example lockdown, is there no substitute for this foreign rubbish in Czech? Go to hell with primitive English!')

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Michal Škrabal
Institute of the Czech National Corpus
Faculty of Arts, Charles University
nám. Jana Palacha 2, Praha 1, 110 00
0000-0001-9358-3361
michal.skrabal@ff.cuni.cz