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Meaning through Context – The Case of Discourse Neologisms: A Lexicological Approach to
the Semiotic Nature and Function of Discourse Neologisms as an Extension to the
Lexicographical Approach of Discourse Glossaries for COVID-19

by

Evelyn Roth

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Requirements for the degree of

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in

German

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Graduate Division

of the

University of California, Berkeley

Committee in charge:

Professor Irmengard Rauch, Chair

Professor Thomas Shannon

Professor Terrence Deacon

Fall 2020

Abstract

Meaning through Context: The Case of Discourse Neologisms.
A Lexicological Approach to the Semiotic Nature and Function of Discourse Neologisms as an
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Doctor of Philosophy in German Studies

University of California, Berkeley

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This dissertation aims to contribute new terminology to the field by introducing *discourse neologism* to the lexicological and lexicographical approaches in the field of a discourse-related lexicon. The term describes a neologism that uses the discourse as an element of word-formation. The idea originates from the emergence of two COVID-19 discourse glossaries by two major German lexical institutes, from which a corpus was selected, including all the terms that could be identified as *discourse neologism*. In this dissertation, the semantic, semiotic and grammatical features of the *discourse neologism* are discussed with the examples from the corpus in order to make concluding statements on their nature and application.

This dissertation is dedicated to Professor Irmengard Rauch

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Preface or Introduction

Prefatory Notes: The following study is written in English about a topic rooted in German grammar. Since the secondary literature is mainly in German, the linguistic terminology is used in its original, written in italics with either a literal English translation in brackets or the English terminology: *German terminology* ('English translation'/'English terminology'). This is done since there is differing research on some of the concepts behind these two languages' terminology. To avoid any confusion, the usage of the original German terminology should point out that the theory behind the term as it is developed and used in German academic discourse is referred to.

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First and foremost, I would like to thank the members of my committee, who have respected and supported my interdisciplinary research and curiosity. With the invaluable input and great knowledge of Professor Irmengard Rauch, Professor Thomas Shannon, and Professor Terrence Deacon, I was able to fully flourish and advance in my academic interests.

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Chapter 1

From Discourse Glossaries to Discourse Neologisms

In April 2020, the *Leibniz-Institut für Deutsche Sprache* (IDS) announced, in the lexical section of its online neologism dictionary OWID, a newly collected glossary of lexemes used in relation to the COVID-19 pandemic (<https://www1.ids-mannheim.de/lexik/home.html>. Accessed: 28 May 2020). To date, the collection features over 200 neologisms coined and used in association with the COVID-19 pandemic (<https://www.owid.de/docs/neo/listen/corona.jsp>. Accessed 28 May 2020) and it continues to grow as the pandemic progresses. Besides neologisms, the IDS also lists a number of older lexemes that are in direct relation to the pandemic's discourse: "Im Neologismenwörterbuch wird die Übersicht [...] neuer Wortschatz rund um die Coronapandemie freigeschaltet, die sowohl einige Wortartikel zu älteren Lexemen [...] enthält" (<https://www1.ids-mannheim.de/lexik/neuer-wortschatz.html>. Accessed 28 May 2020). The introduction to the glossary, furthermore, states that new words are included, presumably meaning any type of new word formation that can be linked to the COVID-19 pandemic, as well as new sememes "bekannte Wörter mit neuen Bedeutungen, die seit Beginn der COVID-19-Pandemie aufgekommen sind" (<https://www.owid.de/docs/neo/listen/corona.jsp#>. Accessed 30 September 2020).

The new formations can be loans, such as *containment*, or native word-formations, such as *Gabenzaun* (<https://www1.ids-mannheim.de/neologismen-in-der-coronapandemie/>. Accessed 30 September 2020), which, as an example of a new sememe, the IDS explains that these words already existed before the pandemic but have acquired new meaning (<https://www1.ids-mannheim.de/neologismen-in-der-coronapandemie/>. Accessed 30 September 2020). The third type of lexeme included in the glossary are technical terms that have entered the general discourse because of the pandemic: "neben solchen [Wörtern] aus bestimmten Fachsprachen" (<https://www1.ids-mannheim.de/neologismen-in-der-coronapandemie/>. Accessed 30 September 2020). Consequently, lexical items with a new form, as well as lexical items with a new meaning, and lexical items that entered the general lexicon from technical jargon, are included in the list. The OWID, however, does not demarcate these definitions alongside the lexical items in the list; whether a word is included as a new lexeme, a new sememe, or a term from technical jargon that has crossed over to the general lexicon because of its relevance for the COVID-19 pandemic, is not specified. As a result, an undifferentiated mix of lexical items is included in the glossary, all of which belong to the communicatory network around the COVID-19 discourse and have been determined to be relevant by the authors of the glossary. Among them are lexical items created as lexical innovations because of the COVID-19 pandemic. Such words can, for example, be derivatives, such as *Coronoia* (<https://www.owid.de/docs/neo/listen/corona.jsp#coronoia>. Accessed 30 September 2020), the 'irrational fear of contracting the virus,' or compounds, such as *Balkonklatscher* ('balcony clapper') (<https://www.owid.de/docs/neo/listen/corona.jsp#balkonklatscher>. Accessed 30 September 2020). These lexical innovations tend to rely on already lexicalized lexemes, that is, they are already part of the general lexicon, but the specific word-formation or combination of lexemes creates a new lexical item with a new meaning. Note that lexical innovations created from word-formation are being called neologisms in this study – a definition that is not unchallenged in the literature, as shown in section 2.1. Another type of lexeme in the glossary

besides new word formations are new sememes, words that already existed but were given a new meaning through their usage in relation to the COVID-19 pandemic, for example *Abstandsgebot* ('distance command'), which is attested by the DWDS in written sources as early as 1990 (DWDS-Wortverlaufskurve für „Abstandsgebot“, erstellt durch das Digitale Wörterbuch der deutschen Sprache,

<<https://www.dwds.de/r/plot?view=1&corpus=zeitungen&norm=date%2Bclass&smooth=spline&genres=0&grand=1&slice=1&prune=0&window=3&wbase=0&logavg=0&logscale=0&xrange=1946%3A2019&q1=Abstandsgebot>>. Accessed 30 September 2020). By association with the COVID-19 pandemic, *Abstandsgebot* has come to denote a specific type of distance recommended between people in public during the COVID-19 pandemic

(<https://www.owid.de/docs/neo/listen/corona.jsp#abstandsgebot>. Accessed 30 September 2020). An example of terminology that entered the public discourse from technical jargon is *Herdenimmunität* ('herd immunity')

(<https://www.owid.de/docs/neo/listen/corona.jsp#herdenimmunitaet>. Accessed 30 September 2020), which is listed in the DWDS as early as 2003 (DWDS-Wortverlaufskurve für „Herdenimmunität“, erstellt durch das Digitale Wörterbuch der deutschen Sprache, <<https://www.dwds.de/r/plot?view=1&corpus=zeitungen&norm=date%2Bclass&smooth=spline&genres=0&grand=1&slice=1&prune=0&window=3&wbase=0&logavg=0&logscale=0&xrange=1946%3A2019&q1=Herdenimmunit%C3%A4t>>. Accessed 30 September 2020). Lexical items with a new meaning and lexemes from technical jargon circulated in their present form in the language before being connected to the COVID-19 pandemic. Another group of words, mentioned in the description of the glossary, is loans, that is, lexemes used in relation to the COVID-19 crisis from other languages, with English as the most prevalent foreign language within the glossaries' loans. The example mentioned earlier, *containment*

(<https://www.owid.de/docs/neo/listen/corona.jsp#containment>. Accessed 30 September 2020), is a loan from the category of new sememes from the English language, which is also present in an international Corona glossary (<https://www.english-corpora.org/corona/>. Accessed 30 September 2020), which proves that the loan is used in the same context in its source language as in the target language. *Superspreader*

(<https://www.owid.de/docs/neo/listen/corona.jsp#superspreader>. Accessed 30 September 2020) is an example of both, a loan based on a new word formation, which can be verified by an English language Corona glossary (<https://www.english-corpora.org/corona/>. Accessed 30 September 2020).

The list, therefore, contains lexemes of the following types: new formations, new sememes, loans, and technical jargon that has entered the general lexicon and the loans belonging to the same groups examined above. The OWID's glossary presents a versatile network of lexemes with the Coronavirus discourse at its center.

The DWDS's website presents a similar approach, announcing a new linguistic topic called *Themenglossar* ('topical glossary') as a result of the public interest and concern around the COVID-19 pandemic. Consequently, the first topical glossary that they decided to work on within this newly established category, is one centered on the Coronavirus discourse and its documentation: "Um dies zu dokumentieren und für unsere Nutzer greifbar zu machen, haben wir ein neues Format entworfen: Das DWDS *Themenglossar*"

(<https://www.dwds.de/themenglossar/Corona>. Accessed 28 May 2020). The DWDS's glossary, like the OWID glossary, not only features lexical innovation but also lists all words used centrally in relation to the COVID-19 pandemic, which are either neologisms, sememes, or

special vocabulary transferred from specialist lexicon to the general lexicon, i.e., direct loans: “Neologismen, Wörter die mit Bedeutungswandel für die Pandemie benutzt wurden und Fachvokabular, das durch die Krise in Allgemeinwokabular übergeht” (<https://www.dwds.de/themenglossar/Corona>. Accessed 28 May 2020). The increased attention to this set of vocabulary, that has resulted from their emergence and accumulation around the COVID-19 pandemic, has prompted the DWDS to construct the newfangled *Themenglossar*. The DWDS, however, introduces the notion that this Corona glossary is but one of multiple, possible further glossaries. Unlike the OWID, the DWDS acknowledges the possible emergence of new linguistic topics, which it calls *Themenglossare*. This acknowledgement is crucial since it marks the creation of a new focus in lexicography. The DWDS identifies the potential formation of these situational and temporary micro-lexicons in public discourse and, therefore, a lexicogenetic pattern.

Like the two German glossaries that were chosen for this study, other languages are witnessing the emergence of similar discourse glossaries. Take, for example, the emergence of an English language-based Corona glossary (<https://www.english-corpora.org/corona/>. Accessed 28 May 2020), and a comparative, cross-linguistic approach (<https://glossaries.translatorswb.org/covid19/>. Accessed 28 May 2020). Since COVID-19 is a global phenomenon, affecting all countries alike, the linguistic phenomenon of micro-lexicons around discourse becomes even more evidently productive. The efforts made by different countries to create a discourse glossary magnify the influence of discourse on the general lexicon.

The long history of the creation and usage of glossaries in general shows that the topical glossaries that emerged from the COVID-19 pandemic are not an entirely new phenomenon. The approach, however, is unique in that a glossary is usually based on one text or a collection of texts (Schubert 2007: 214) and helps the reader in decoding and facilitates access to its meaning. In the case of topical glossaries, however, the source text is replaced by a discourse, i.e., COVID-19 and all available text material related to it. The wholeness of linguistic material produced regarding the discourse serves as the textual basis for the glossary. Furthermore, unlike the typical textual glossary, the approach of the topical glossary is not entirely aimed at facilitating the understanding of a particular text or number of texts, but rather at understanding discourse-related expressions and the framing of the discourse through the glosses. What differentiates the approach of topical glossaries from other glossaries, such as specialty glossaries, is the means by which topical glossaries collect terms related to a public discourse, thereby collecting lexemes that are also already part of the *Allgemeinwortschatz* (‘general lexicon’). The usage of this type of glossary over time is very likely going to differ from the general glosses. Currently, the topical glossary records terminology used by the general public to frame the discourse, which could later serve to analyze the public discourse on the topic and its framing. As such, the topical glossary uses a slightly different approach than the one used by glossaries in general. Instead of collecting lexemes for a glossary related to a particular author or discipline, the topical glossary collects lexemes that are related to a living and productive discourse. In her article *Grübelst du noch oder weißt du es schon – Glossare erklären Corona-Schlüsselbegriffe* (https://www1.ids-mannheim.de/fileadmin/aktuell/Coronakrise/moehrs_glossare.pdf. Accessed 30 September 2020), in which she compares twenty-nine Corona related glossaries, Christine Möhrs describes the objective of this comparison as follows:

Das Zusammentragen und die Analyse der vielen Glossare zeigt eines sehr deutlich: Vieles ist derzeit neu, über vieles wird gesprochen, das erklärungsbedürftig ist. Die Glossare leisten in dieser von (neuen) Wörtern geprägten Zeit einen Beitrag, um das Bedürfnis nach Erklärungen zu stillen und sie tun dies auf unterschiedliche Art, mit unterschiedlicher Tiefe und für unterschiedliche Zielgruppen. Die Wissensvermittlung über Wörter scheint kein Eigennutz der herausgebenden Organe zu sein, sondern setzt an einer gesamt-gesellschaftlichen Herausforderung an, in diesen Zeiten nicht die Orientierung zu verlieren.

The glossaries, accordingly, serve speakers' current need to understand the new words linked to the COVID-19 pandemic that have pushed their way into the public discourse. This focus derives from a multitude of approaches from different disciplines, and, as such, the idea that certain events, or crises have an emblematic vocabulary framing their narrative is not a new one: "Jede Krise hat emblematische Wörter, die die Erzählung über sie prägen und auch rückwirkend vermitteln, wie diese diskursiv eingerahmt wurde" (<https://www.spiegel.de/kultur/sprache-in-der-corona-krise-das-sind-die-corona-unwoerter-kolumne-a-c66f14d7-7f86-422a-9f7c-7066a93ca503>. Accessed 28 May 2020). The systematic, linguistic approach of collecting the framing lexemes of a particular discourse, however, is new and promising, as it offers empirical data to a fuzzy topic. With its dynamic nature, public discourse is hard to pinpoint and observe. The topical glossary, however, could help bring research one step closer to gleaning the data necessary for targeted research. This study presents such specific research as rooted in the topical glossaries created for the COVID-19 pandemic.

While the identification of all possible neologisms coined during the discourse and of all the lexemes that underwent a semantic change through discourse is indeterminable, one particular linguistic trend stands out and can be readily and unerringly identified: Word-formations that use the discourse as a base/modifier, such as examples D/O-51 *Coronasemester* ('corona semester'), O-60 *Coronasommer* ('corona summer'), O-13 *coronaesk* ('corona-esque'). This particular kind of neologism can be found 176 times within the two German COVID-19 glossaries (see appendices). In this regard, crisis discourses seem to be productive in forging neologisms and forging a specific type of neologism that uses the discourse as an element of word-formation. In developing this term, the aim is to move our conception of lexical corpora beyond a topical domain and expand toward discourse-centered glossaries. Therefore, this study uses the term discourse glossary instead of topical glossary.

Given the importance of the emerging trend of discourse glossaries in lexicography, the lexicological properties of discourse lexemes in general have to be analyzed. In terms of method, the collection of lexemes in a manually generated topic model has to be expanded by exploring the lexicological uniqueness of the discourse neologism as an individual entity. There is, however, no lexicological approach to date that can explain this specific kind of neologism's structure and function.

This dissertation seeks to close a lexicological gap within the developing lexicographical approach to discourse glossaries by introducing the terminology *discourse neologisms*, which describes the neologisms that use the discourse as an element of word-formation. As the current developments in lexicography show, the lexicological approach to discourse neologisms is a pertinent and timely linguistic topic central to a newly emerging subfield. As such, this dissertation aims to contribute new terminology to the field of lexicological and lexicographical approaches to the discourse lexicon.

Chapter 2

Defining the Discourse Neologism

Jede lebende Sprache, die von ihren Sprecherinnen und Sprechern im täglichen Leben benutzt wird, verändert sich und passt sich den Bedürfnissen der Menschen an (Vgl. von Polenz 2000, S. 1). Würde sie das nicht tun, bestünde die Gefahr, dass sowohl die Sprache als auch die AnwenderInnen nicht mehr überlebensfähig wären (Heusinger 2004, S. 171). Eine Sprache, die sich nicht mehr ändert, droht auszusterben. (Innerwinkler 2015: 1).

As Sandra Innerwinkler states above, every language that is used on a daily basis has to adapt to the needs of its speakers in order to survive. Thus, as a dynamic tool of communication, language is never static – items leave, items are added, items remain. This study specifically focuses on the items added to the lexicon to fulfill the daily needs of communication, expanding the lexicon through lexical innovation, specifically, through what is called a ‘neologism.’ To that end, the following sections aim to work towards a definition of the term neologism, which is further used as a base for the definition of the term this study wishes to introduce: discourse neologisms. To elucidate the definition of neologisms, the next sections of this chapter take into consideration the current scientific view, as represented in the literature. Thus, in section 2.1, the definition and characteristics of neologisms in the literature are discussed in order to work towards a definition of the term neologism, which serves as a base for the following chapters. Section 2.1 offers a short introduction to the term ‘neologism,’ before moving on to a literature review on the definition of the term in section 2.1.1, along with a list of types of lexemes that are considered neologisms, which can broadly be divided into the following classes: word creations, word formations, new sememes, loans, and occasionalisms. Section 2.1.2 discusses the strong interrelation among neologisms and time, and introduces a novel phasal concept to identify neologisms as a phase in the life of a lexeme. The following chapters discuss whether lexemes of the type occasionalism 2.1.3, new sememe 2.1.4, and loan 2.1.5, should be considered neologisms, weighing in on the arguments for and against it as it is presented in the literature. Given the contentious nature of the various classification schemes that the literature presents to define the term ‘neologism,’ it was imperative to set out a differentiation and explanation of the varying terminology. Equally contentious is the prospect of determining which of the above classes of words can be qualified or categorized as neologism and, therefore, warrants its own discussion. To that end, sections 2.1.2, 2.1.3, 2.1.4, and 2.1.5 roughly follow the questions raised by Thea Schippan in her chapter on neologisms in *Lexikologie der Deutschen Gegenwartssprache* (2000: 243 ff.). Schippan poses for our consideration: (1) Is every new formation a neologism, and is the occasional word formation – for example, from a poet – to be considered a neologism? (2) How long does a lexeme stay a neologism, and how does the relative meaning of ‘new’ complicate answering this question? (3) Are new sememes to be considered neologisms? (4) Are loans to be considered as belonging to this category? In order to address these queries, this study will tackle Schippan’s questions out of order, but in such a way as to allow definitions and discussion to build upon one another. As such it is necessary to start with Schippan’s second question about the novelty of proposed neologisms (2.1.2), from which discussion of her first question, dealing with occasionalisms (2.1.3), can proceed. Next, the discussion will proceed to categorizing sememes (2.1.4), from which Schippan’s last question

concerning loanwords, will proceed (2.1.5). With Schippan's questions guiding the structure of this chapter, section 2.1.6 will draw conclusions from the collected arguments in order to produce a contextually and topically oriented definition of the linguistic phenomenon deemed neologism, which will serve as the methodological approach in this study.

After determining what to consider a neologism, section 2.2 examines the motivations, domains, and formations of neologisms. Section 2.2.1 focuses on the forces driving lexical innovation. An additional analysis from the literature on neologisms enumerates different reasons for creating new words in the literature: domain, objective, intention, and method. These categories were identified as significant to this study by analyzing positions taken in the literature on the underlying forces of lexical innovation. From the positions presented in the literature, four specific arguments emerge as central to the premise of this study: 1) that particular domains such as science, media, and the military are the predominant sources of neologisms; 2) that words develop out of the necessity to name new objects; 3) that, owing to the individual motivations such as the need for advertising, new words develop to serve targeted purposes, such as attracting potential commercial consumers; and 4) that lexical innovation is the result of particular linguistic mechanisms, such as compression, univerbation, and word variation. While section 2.2.1 illustrates the literature supporting the different categories of driving forces, *domain*, *objective*, *intention*, and *method*, section 2.2.2 presents and summarizes the findings as a model in chart form. Section 2.2.3 discusses how an additional element, *discourse*, also acts as a driving force of lexical innovation, especially for the discourse neologisms at the center of this study. After summarizing the findings of systematic investigation of neologisms, section 2.3 formulates a definition of the term discourse neologism based on analysis of the discussed material. This definition concludes chapter 2 before moving on to chapter 3, which contains the data and data analysis for the corpus collected for the discourse neologism.

2.1 Neologisms

Neologism and archaism mark the two ends of the chronology spectrum of the general lexicon if sorted by temporal criteria (Tschirner 2010: 238). The term neologism, which is synonymous with the term lexical innovation (Campbell 2007: 138), has its origins in the 18th century, as Dieter Herberg and Michael Kinne emphasize, not in Greek [- indeed, from the perspective of Classical Greek, neologism is itself a neologism!]. They point out, however, that the neoclassicist French lexeme *néologisme* was formed using Greek νέος [*néos*] 'new' and λόγος [*logos*] 'word' (Herberg and Kinne 1998: 1). A neologism is – in the broadest sense – a new word, while its counterpart, the archaism (Greek ἀρχαϊσμός '*archaismós*'), is an old word and has its roots in the adjective ἀρχαῖος (*archaios*) 'old, outdated' (Weimar 2007: 125). Just as the speaker's community perceives a neologism as a new lexical item (Schippan 2002: 244), an archaism can be identified by the speaker's community as an outdated lexical item (Schippan 2002: 248). The two counterparts delimit the dynamics of the lexicon. These dynamics in the language are needed in order to serve the communicatory needs of the speaker's community it serves (Innerwinkler 2015: 7). As language is used as an indexical sign system for the reality the speaker's community lives in, language evolves according to the changes within this reality. Additions to the general lexicon are a necessity, and although the research on word-

formation and its rules and patterns is well established and recognized, Herberg and Kinne (1998: 3) note that, despite a strong public interest in neologisms, they do not have a strong reception in linguistics. This may be due to the fact that there is a contention regarding the definition of the term neologism. To this day, as Herberg and Kinne (1998: 1) note in their bibliography on neologisms, the definitions for neologisms, both in specialist literature as well as in special linguistic dictionaries, yields vagueness, unsteadiness, and inconsistency (Herberg and Kinne 1998: 1). Other authors also note the inconsistency in definition and terminology (Innerwinkler 2015: 8; Elsen 2011: 19). In order to address this incongruity in terminology, the following section introduces the various approaches to the terminology of neologisms as present in German linguistic literature.

2.1.1 Literature Review: Neologism

It has already been mentioned that the literature on neologisms and their classification is quite diverse. In this chapter, the different terminology used for the lexical elements identified as neologisms by the authors are being compared, relying on the most prominent sources. Therefore, each section discusses the terminology used by the author and compares it to the terminology used by another author. This process is considered necessary, not only because the differing terminology can lead to confusion, but also because the comparison shows how diverse the term neologism, as discussed in the literature, is. At the end of this section, a chart serves as an overview of the different terminology used by the authors represented and compared in the following section.

A neologism has to be understood as an umbrella term rather than a uniform linguistic phenomenon. Various types of lexemes that can be understood as ‘new’ items added to the lexicon qualify as types of neologisms. Those types vary by what form of linguistic newness they represent: This newness can regard the form of a lexeme as well as the content. Furthermore, the morphological elements used to create a new lexical form can be further classified.

Schippan (2002) divides neologisms in *Neubildungen* (‘new formations’), which are words that have been formed with existing morphemes and established rules of word-formation, and *Wortschöpfungen* (‘word creations’), which is a unique creation of a lexical item not following customary rules, and thus, as Schippan notes, can display first time merging of forms and meanings and even the emerging of new morphemes (Schippan 2002: 243). The latter would prominently be found in literature, while the other is a more quotidian version. However, in both cases, a lexical item is created that has not existed before in its form, with the difference that *Neubildungen* (‘new formations’) use elements that already exist in the general lexicon to generate a new form, thus *neu-* (‘new’) and *-bildung* (‘formation’). *Wortschöpfungen* (‘word creations’) uses new material to craft a new lexeme, hence the term *Wort-* (‘word’) and *-schöpfung* (‘creation’).

Herberg and Kinne (1998) differentiate in the same way, but with a slightly different terminology, with *Neuschöpfungen* (‘new creations’) equaling Schippan’s word *Wortschöpfungen* (‘word creations’) and *Neuprägungen/Neubildungen* (‘new coinages/new formations’) equaling Schippan’s *Neubildungen* (‘new formations’). Both these categories belong to the generic term *Neulexeme* (‘new lexemes’) in contrast to *Neubedeutungen/Neusememe/Neosemantismus* (‘new meanings/new sememes’), which are new meanings that are added to an already existing lexeme (Herberg and Kinne 1998: 2). Schippan (2002) uses the term *Neosemantismen* from Herberg and Kinne’s collection

Neubedeutungen/Neusememe/Neosemantismus ('new meanings/new sememes'), although she does not include this category as belonging to neologisms.

Herberg and Kinne note that the *Wörterbuch der deutschen Gegenwartssprache* (Klappenbach and Steinitz 1961-1977) is one of the few which marks new entries with one of the following terms "Neuwort, Neuprägung, Neubedeutung" (Herberg and Kinne 1998: 4). *Neuwort* ('new word') equals Schippan's *Wortschöpfungen* ('word creations') and Herberg's and Kinne's *Neuschöpfung* ('new creation'), *Neuprägung* ('new coinage') equals Schippan's *Neubildungen* ('new formation'), while *Neubedeutung* ('new meaning') equals Herberg's and Kinne's *Neubedeutungen/Neusememe*. Innerwinkler also notes that some earlier authors prefer using terms like "Neuwörter, neue Wörter, sprachliche Innovation," such as Peter von Polenz (Innerwinkler 2015: 8), who uses the term *Sprachliche Innovation* (lit. 'linguistic innovation') in his chapter on neologisms in his standard work *Die Geschichte der Deutschen Sprache* (2000). For Polenz, *Sprachliche Innovation* ('linguistic innovation') is most obvious within the lexicon and can be divided in *Wortbildung* ('word-formation'), *Wortentlehnung* ('loan'), and *Bedeutungswandel* ('semantic change') (Polenz 2000: 36).

In Schippan's chapter on neologisms (2002), there is yet another list with terminology with a three-part division from the author of *Theoretische und praktische Probleme der Neologismuslexikographie* (Heller, 1988) into "Neulexeme ('Neubildungen'), Neuformative ('Neubezeichnungen') und Neusememe ('Neubedeutungen')" (Schippan 2002: 245). While *Neulexeme* ('new lexemes'), which is Schippan's *Neubildungen* ('new formations'), is a new lexeme, consisting of elements using established rules or existing morphemes, and *Neusememe* ('new sememe'), which is Schippan's *Neubedeutungen* ('new meanings'), is a new meaning for an already existing lexeme, the term *Neuformative/Neubezeichnungen* ('new formatives', 'new denominations') is a new addition. According to Schippan, this term is misleading. The author explains her view with an example given by Heller (1988: 8), where the job title for a cleaning lady, *Reinemachefrau* ('clean-making-lady'), is formed newly into *Raumpflegerin* ('room-caretaker-ess'), which, in the author's definition, is not a new form but equal to a *Neubildung* ('new formation'). Schippan explains this view by saying that: "Ein neues Wort ist nach den Regeln der deutschen Wortbildung entstanden. Dieses Wort ist nicht nur ‚in der Form‘ neu, sondern es erfolgt generell eine neue Formativ-Bedeutungs-Zuordnung" (Schippan 2002: 245). In short: A new lexical item emerged, which not only has a new form but also a new relation of form and meaning.

Duo Xuefu in the 1989 essay *Neologismus und Neologismuswörterbuch* presents yet another selection of terms for the partition of neologisms: *Neuentlehnungen* ('new loans') are lexemes stemming from foreign material, which is further divided into *Direktübernahmen* ('direct borrowings'), *Hybride*, and *Scheinentlehnungen* ('pseudo loans') (Xuefu 1989: 53). What the other authors merge into one category called either *Neuprägung* ('new coinage') or *Neubildung* ('new formation'), Xuefu subdivides into two different categories: *Neue Ableitungen* ('new derivation') (Xuefu 1989: 54) and *Neuprägungen* ('new coinage') (Xuefu 1989: 55). *Neue Ableitungen* ('new derivation') are lexemes stemming from existing lexemes modified by the addition of morphemes, such as, for e.g., adding affixes. *Neuprägungen* ('new coinage'), on the other hand, describes mostly compounds, compositions of two or more words, which then serve as an addition to an already existing lexeme. As an example, Xuefu's approach would count *apple cake* as a *Neuprägung* ('new coinage'), since it is a form of cake, therefore an addition to the already existing lexeme *cake*. Xuefu further identifies *Abkürzungen und Kurzwörter*

(‘abbreviations and short forms’) (Xuefu 1989: 54) and *Neosemantismen* (‘neosemantisms’) as Neologisms.

Xuefu (1989) also mentions Johannes Klare’s 1977 essay *Neologismus und Neosemantismus als lexikographisches Problem unter besonderer Berücksichtigung des französischen gesellschaftspolitischen Wortschatzes*, in which the author also counts “völlig neue Wörter, Neuprägungen, and Neosemantismen” (‘completely new words, new coinages, and neosemantisms’) into the definition of a neologism.

Hadumod Bußmann, on the other hand, in her section on the definition of the term neologism in her *Lexikon der Sprachwissenschaft* (2002), does not introduce terminology at all but instead describes three different forms of *Neuprägungen* (‘new coinage’), either (a) based on existing lexical material, (b) through *Entlehnung* (‘loan’), or (c) through the metaphorical transfer of meaning. The first one sounds comparable to Schippan’s *Neubildungen* (‘new formation’) or Herberg’s and Kinne’s *Neuprägungen* (‘new coinage’), the last one seems comparable to Schippan’s *Neusememe/ Neubedeutung* (‘new sememes/new meanings’). Interestingly, in the case of (b), Bußmann explicitly states that loans are an independent form of neologism (Bußmann 2002: 463). Furthermore, although Bußmann (2002) states that neologisms can take different forms of *Neuprägungen* (lit. ‘new coinages’), the term *Neuprägung* also has an entry in the same volume, which is labeled as synonymous with the *Augenblicksbildung* (‘ad-hoc formation, occasionalism’) (Bußmann 2002: 105). However, the lexicon article that defined the term neologisms states that in contrast to *Augenblicksbildung* (‘ad-hoc formation, occasionalism’), a neologism is to a certain degree lexicalized (Bußmann 2002: 463). The double usage of the term *Neuprägung* (lit. ‘new coinage’) is quite contradictory, especially since Herberg and Kinne (1998) use the term solely as a new word formation from existing material, which is the first of three types of *Neuprägungen* which a neologism can take according to Bußmann (2002).

Hilke Elsen (2011: 19) explains the inconsistency of the definition and of the terminology by elaborating on the varying linguistic research interests and scientific backgrounds. Indeed, neologisms are a topic of various approaches:

- Lexicography
- Lexicology
- Word-Formation
- Cultural and Social Studies (for e.g. Jugendsprache)

An overview of the German Neologism terminology by different authors				
	A new lexeme, consisting of elements not using established rules or existing morphemes	A new lexeme, consisting of elements using established rules or existing morphemes	A new meaning for an already existing lexeme	OTHER, such as abbreviations, loans and other definitions for terminology. (For the definition of these terms,

				please refer to this section).
Herberg and Kinne 1998	<i>Neuschöpfung</i> (‘new’) (‘creation’)	<i>Neuprägungen/ Neubildungen</i> (‘new’) (‘coinage’)/ (‘new’) (‘formation’)	<i>Neubedeutung/ Neusememe</i> (‘new’) (‘meaning’)/ (‘new’) (‘sememe’)	
Schippa 2002	<i>Wortschöpfung</i> (‘word’) (‘creation’)	<i>Neubildung</i> (‘new’) (‘formation’)	<i>Neosemantismen</i> (‘new’) (‘sememes’)	
Bußmann 2002	<i>Neuprägungen (a)</i>		<i>Neuprägungen (c)</i>	<i>Neuprägungen (b)</i> (‘new’) (‘coinage’)
Polenz 2000	<i>Wortbildung</i>		<i>Bedeutungswandel</i>	<i>Wortentlehnung</i> (‘word’) (‘loans’)
Klappenbach/Steinitz 1961-77	<i>Neuwort</i> (‘new’) (‘word’)	<i>Neuprägung</i> (‘new’) (‘coinage’)	<i>Neubedeutung</i> (‘new’) (‘meaning’)	
Heller 1988	<i>Neulexeme</i>		<i>Neusememe</i>	<i>Neuformative</i> (‘new formations’)
Xuefu 1989	<i>neue Ableitung</i>	<i>Neu- prägungen</i>		<i>Neosemantismen</i> types of loans: <i>Neuentlehnung</i> (‘new loans’), <i>Direktübernahme</i> , <i>Hybride</i> , <i>Scheinentlehnung</i> (‘pseudo loans’) <i>Abkürzungen und Kurzwörter</i> (abbreviations and short words)

Klare 1977	<i>Neuprägungen</i> (‘new’) (‘coinage’)	Völlig neue Wörter (‘entirely new words’)	<i>Neosemantismen</i>	

Table I

This chart concludes the summary of the varying positions as found in the literature on what can be defined as a neologism. All authors agree on the division of new form and new meaning, and the majority of authors agree on two types of new form as a new creation and a new formation (Herberg and Kinne 1998; Schippan 2002; Klappenbach and Steinitz 1961-77; Klare 1977). Types of neologisms that were mentioned only in a few cases in the literature were foremost loans. Besides these identified types, there is another category that is being discussed as a gray area, which is the occasionalism. With these types identified, the next sections work towards a definition of the term neologism and its corresponding elements by answering a set of questions raised by Schippan in her chapter on neologisms in *Lexikologie der Deutschen Gegenwartssprache* (2002):

Schippan, Lexikologie der deutschen Gegenwartssprache 2002: 244
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Ist jede Neubildung ein Neologismus? Gehört die okkasionelle Wortbildungs-konstruktion eines Dichters z.B. zu den Neologismen? - Wie lange bleibt ein Wort ein Neologismus? Die relative Bedeutung von <i>neu</i> erschwert die Beantwortung dieser Frage. - Gehören zu den Neologismen auch neue Bedeutungen, neue Sememe eines Lexems? - Sollte man auch Lehnübersetzungen und Bedeutungsentlehnungen dieser Kategorie zuordnen?

Table II

The following sections work towards answering the following questions: Deciding whether occasionalisms can be considered a type of neologism, which is partially answering Schippan’s question number 1; whether sememes can be considered a type of neologism or if only a lexeme with a new form should be considered as such, which is Schippan’s question number 3; and whether loans should be considered neologisms as asked in question 4. Before working towards answering these questions, one question regarding the general nature of the neologism has to be addressed first, which is Schippan’s question number 2: How long does a lexeme stay a neologism, and how does the relative meaning of ‘new’ complicate answering this question?

2.1.2 Neologisms and Time

It has been mentioned before that there is a strong relation between the nature of a neologism and time, rooted in the term's very etymology. However, newness is a subjective element. In this section, *newness* is framed within the general notion of temporal stages with a strong emphasis on empirical data for the date of origin of a lexeme. This idea is pushed further towards creating a phasal structure of the life of a lexeme, in which the neologistic phase serves as the beginning stage. This approach is further critically discussed with the help of the literature. The connection of neologism to time, stages, and phases, is crucial, as a neologism mainly is a temporal phenomenon, and timing is the most problematic notion in its definition:

Wann ein Wort als Neologismus zu gelten hat [...] sind grundsätzliche Probleme bei der Arbeit mit Neologismen [...].
(Elsen, 2011: 46).

Elsen (2011), in her quote above, asks *when*, instead of *if* neologisms can be called as such, drawing attention to the most crucial component for a neologism: time. Even if this emphasis was unintended by Elsen, this study sees time as the key factor in the neologism's definition. *When* a lexeme has to be called neologism is a question of how to define the term neologism. Only with clear criteria, would one be able to exactly tell *when*, or when not, a lexeme fits these criteria, and with it the definition of neologism.

As was shown in the previous section, there is a certain controversy in the scientific discourse about the margins of the term neologism and its definition, which is not entirely consistent (Innerwinkler 2015: 7/9). What can be agreed upon by most definitions is that, as Innerwinkler (2015: 7-8) states, the term neologism stands for a lexical innovation within the general lexicon with the characteristic attribute *zeitliche Markiertheit* ('a temporal designation').

A neologism can have different forms and stages: With forms, as was shown in the previous section, one can broadly differentiate between a new form and a new meaning, with different scientific approaches to categorizing them (compare: Innerwinkler 2015: 7-14; Weimar 2007: 697-699; Schippan 2002: 243-247). With stages, we can identify, as Herberg and Kinne (1998) note, that there is a certain point of coinage and a certain degree of time-limited distribution and acceptance, during which the new form or new meaning are being perceived as new by the majority of the speaker's community (Herberg and Kinne 1998: 1), or even still being perceived as new after they already entered the general lexicon, in which case they can still serve as a trigger for attention (Weimar 2007: 698), or instead of entering the general lexicon, they can also vanish (Schippan 2002: 241). Time is an important marker for a neologism, as it is mainly categorized by being a lexical item which is, in its form at a certain point of time t_x , not yet present in a certain language L_x (Weimar 2007: 697). The affix *neo-* (*neu*) in neologism might be the strongest indicator for the temporality of the concept (Schippan 2002: 243).

Ich betrachte Neologismen als Lexeme, deren Entstehungszeit bekannt ist und die zu eben dieser Zeit von der Mehrzahl der Menschen einer Sprachgemeinschaft aufgenommen, aber noch als neu empfunden werden.
(Schippan 2002: 244)

In this definition, Schippan uses the term time as a crucial marker for neologisms. First, she writes that a neologism is a lexeme with a known *Entstehungszeit* ('time of origin'). Therefore, if this time of origin is unknown, a lexeme cannot be defined as a neologism. This definition hence resolves a controversy, which Elsen (2011) points out by noting that the attribute *new* would need empirical proof, as it is rather undefined (Elsen 2011: 21). This is the same position Schippan holds, arguing that there is a problem in the relativity of the term *new* (Schippan 2002: 246). With the help of digitized corpora, however, we are able to trace back the time of origin of a term and, therefore, are able to provide data for the claim that a term is a neologism of a certain time. Hence, it is not necessary to go to such lengths as, for example, interviewing speakers and asking whether they know a certain word or not, as suggested by Elsen (Elsen 2011: 21). The advantage of referring to an exact date for the time of origin of a certain term is that it binds the attribute *new* to a distinct time in space.

Schippan continues in the definition quoted at the beginning that the second marker for a neologism is being a lexeme, of which we know the time of origin and which is to precisely this time being included in the general linguistic usage while still being perceived as new (Schippan 2002: 244). Important to note in this definition is that first, the time of origin has to be known, and second, the lexeme has to be perceived as new for a certain time span. A similar argument is made by Ludwig Eichinger (2000: 14). Eichinger claims that the new lexeme *Eiswüste* ('ice desert') could not count as a neologism as its understanding is backed up by the speaker's lexicon and therefore does not stand out as new, but is rather perceived as a standard or general element of the lexicon (Eichinger 2000: 14). The argument that a neologism makes the speaker's community note that it stands out as new is problematic from an empirical viewpoint for the following reason: While we are able to provide data for the first marker (time), as was shown above, this second marker (perception) seems to be highly subjective and fuzzy. Possible data would be the frequency of a certain lexeme in the corpus, showing the amount of usage from its emergence through time. However, it is not possible to conclude from a high frequency that the term has entered the general lexicon; for example, if the frequency is high, but the number of sources is limited. And considering semantic change, the opposite could even be true: In the beginning, a new lexeme could be used in quite creative and experimental ways in high frequency before it could settle for one meaning, which then could be more specific than before, hence being used less but closing a specific gap and hence entering the general lexicon. This is just one example to show that there is no reliable data on defining whether a term is perceived as new or as common.

The only reliable data that is available at the moment is the data on time, which is why this study suggests relying on time as the distinguishing factor of a neologism, making the definition of a neologism about a particular stage of time (*Zeitabschnitt*) in the life of a lexeme, not for the lexeme being a neologism as opposed to other definitions. *Neologism* in this study, therefore, does not categorize a certain lexeme as a neologism, but stands for a certain time period. Therefore, the term neologism can be misleading as it is not a category a lexeme can carry forever but only for a certain length of time. Hence, it would be more specific to talk about a *neologistic phase* in the life of a lexeme, where every lexeme once was a neologism. To talk about a lexeme in its *neologistic phase* would be a more fitting linguistic description of a neologism, which in this study has the following definition: a lexeme in its neologistic phase is called a neologism.

The time after the *neologistic phase* could take different paths. However, summarized from the previous definitions, there will be an *active phase* in the general lexicon of some sort,

where by trial and error, the language community will try to integrate the term. This phase can last for a long time if the lexeme is perceived as necessary for the means of communication or only last for a short time if the opposite is the case. The reasons for a short active phase are usually based on indexical problems since the discourse/concept/item/et cetera, that the lexeme refers to, is no longer needed or discussed in the general public. Semantic change can help to prolongate the active phase. The end of an active phase either ends in an *archaistic phase*, where the lexeme is still used but is perceived as outdated (compare the definition of archaism in Schippan 2002: 241), or a *vanishing phase*, in which the lexeme will completely vanish from active language usage although it might be still present in an archived form due to lexicographical efforts. It is also possible to revive a lexeme from its archived form with semantic change and reintroduce it to the general lexicon. Therefore, this study proposes the following terminology:

phasal structure of neologisms			
neologistic phase	active Phase (usuelle Phase)	archaistic phase vanishing phase	reintroduction revival phase
Coinage Introduction to the general speaker's community	assimilation into the general lexicon	move to the periphery of the general lexicon.	reintroduction to the general lexicon
this stage can have the following characteristics: Creativity, experiments with usage, variety in usage.	this stage can have the following characteristics: The active phase can vary notably in length (be shorter or longer or non-existent). There is a possibility of semantic change and polysemy.	this stage can have the following characteristics: Usage as distinct outdated word or end of active phase.	this stage can have the following characteristics: Through semantic change, an archived lexeme can be reintroduced with a new meaning.

Table III

Another argument for the usage of a phasal structure to look at neologisms is the possibility to look at neologisms in retrospect, for example, to say about a certain lexeme 'it had its neologistic phase in the '40s.' This thought is also supported by Schippan (2002), when she writes:

Mit Recht bemerkt Klare, dass ein Neologismus, wenn er erst einmal usuell wird, eigentlich schon gar kein Neologismus mehr ist. Eine Neutralisierung dieser Relativität ist dann möglich, wenn die Entstehungszeit angegeben werden kann: Neologismen des Jahres 1789, der ersten Nachkriegsjahre 1945–49, Neologismen des Jahres 1989.

(Schippan 2002: 244).

One example of the advantage of the phasal structure can be seen in precisely this notion of relativity when talking about neologisms: When talking about a lexeme in retrospect, as in the quote above, one can talk about lexemes that were neologisms in, for example, the post war era

1945-49. This relativity is important since some of the lexemes in the collection could have entered the general lexicon, making them unidentifiable as neologisms for today's speakers. By using the phasal structure, one could avoid such contradictions by stating that a particular term had its neologistic phase in the post-war era, thus being a neologism in the set time frame.

As much as the phasal structure is a solution to some of the most prominent contradictions in defining a neologism, there are also some problems that should not be left unmentioned. Through the introduction of a neologistic phase, it is possible to define a neologism quite clearly as a lexeme that is in its neologistic phase, which starts with its coinage. As the point of coinage can be determined through data, it is safe to say that a certain lexeme is, by the definition used above, a neologism at the point of coinage. However, for the same reasons Schippan's second marker for a neologism was dismissed before – that the lexeme has to be perceived by the majority of the speaker's community as new – the endpoint of the neologistic phase in the phasal structure cannot properly be backed up by data as frequency has to be ruled out due to fuzzy factors in the dynamics of language.

Nevertheless, for this study, an advantage is seen in the use of the phasal structure for defining a neologism as it is possible to clearly identify neologisms by this definition. Based on the phasal structure, the next sections discuss the status of *Okkasionalismen* ('ad-hoc formations', 'occasionalisms'), *Neusememen* ('new sememes'), and *Entlehnungen* ('loans') within the definition of neologisms that have been outlined above.

2.1.3 Occasionalisms

After answering one of Schippan's four questions in the previous section, this section works towards an answer to the next question on the list, which is: "Ist jede Neubildung ein Neologismus? Gehört die okkasionelle Wortbildungskonstruktion eines Dichters z.B. zu den Neologismen?" (Schippan 2002: 244). The question if every new lexeme can be considered a neologism, even occasional or ad-hoc formations such as in poetry, is another highly controversial issue in the literature on neologisms, and much fuzzier.

While the definition for the term neologism could be found in various works, the definition of an occasionalism is much harder to find in the literature. This is especially due to the fact that varying terminology is used in order to describe the concept. Furthermore, the definition of the term is highly subjective, lacking any empirical features. What can be seen from the various definitions is an overall notion of degrees of lexicalization that differentiate the occasionalism from the neologism.

Schippan lists *okkasionelles Wortgut* in a group of lexical material, that is not known to all people who call German their native language. Within this definition, we can also find regional, dialectal, vernacular, group lexicon, or outdated vocabulary (Schippan 2002: 10). Furthermore, occasionalisms are described by Schippan to be part of the periphery of language, also called *peripheries Wortgut*. Within this definition of *peripheries Wortgut* are *Neubildungen*, *Entlehnungen*, and *Okkasionalismen* (Schippan 2002: 78). Occasionalisms are not part of the general lexicon but exist uniquely in a single text (Schippan 2002: 95) and furthermore are a distinct type of word, although not lexicalized, hence not part of the general lexicon (Schippan 2002: 115). The notion that occasional word formations are not lexicalized is supported by several authors and can be seen as a common ground in the definition of *Okkasionalismen*.

Bußmann (2002) lists the following terminology for the concept of occasionalisms: “Neuprägung Augenblicksbildung, engl. nonce word, auch: ad-hoc-Bildung, Neuprägung, Wortneubildung” (Bußmann 2002: 105). As opposed to neologisms, *okkasionelle Ad-hoc Bildungen* are not lexicalized to a certain degree (Bußmann 2002: 463). Furthermore, in Bußmann’s definition, spontaneity and context define the occasionalism. The concept also differs from that of the neologisms by frequency, meaning an occasionalism can become a neologism with rising frequency (Bußmann 2002: 105).

Herberg and Kinne (1998: 2) name other synonymous terminology such as “Ad hoc-, Einmal-, Individual-Bildungen” and agree with the notion that lexical innovations, such as occasionalisms, should not be considered neologisms due to their lack of „Usualisierung, Akzeptierung, Lexikalisierung,“ which are also the three criteria noted by the OWID (<https://www.owid.de/wb/neo/konzept/Konzept21.html>. Accessed 9 July 2020).

Elsen (2011: 21) notes that in scientific discourse, one-time vocabulary is differentiated from more frequently used new lexical formations, mainly from the lexicological viewpoint. She names several terms for occasionalism: “Einmal-, Augenblicks-, Gelegenheits-, Ad-hoc-Bildungen,” and explains that their understanding is context bound and their function often relevant to the text, either stylistically or to fill certain lexical gaps.

Looking at the terminology, it becomes clear that the occasionalism is connected to three layers: *spontaneity* (Ad-hoc-Bildung, Augenblicksbildung), *single time use* (Einmalbildung, Gelegenheitsbildung), and *individualization* (Individual-Bildung). The first layer refers to the motivation and most apparent to a term that is coined while speaking. The second layer refers to frequency and notes that occasionalisms are used only once or occasionally. The third layer refers to the terms characteristic of being individual, noting that it often is a product of poetry that can only be understood in the individual context but not apart from it. Furthermore, an occasionalism is defined as lacking general acceptance and lexicalization. Therefore, it has a low frequency, a narrow distribution among the speaker’s community, and a low level of clarity. However, just as with neologisms, this is a snap-shot in the life of a lexeme.

Elsen writes about the life of occasionalisms, that they can develop into neologisms and furthermore into established lexical items or vanish before that (Elsen 2011: 21). Elsen also disagrees with Schippan’s quote: “Einmalbildungen, okkasionelle Einheiten nicht zu den Neologismen gezählt werden, es sei denn, sie gehen in den allgemeinen Sprachgebrauch ein” (Schippan 2002: 244). Elsen answers:

Das ist aber bei den ersten Vorkommen unmöglich vorauszusetzen. Außerdem kann der Lexikalisierungsgrad nicht bestimmt werden. Gerade unauffällige neue Wörter werden oftmals gar nicht bzw. unterschiedlich als neu empfunden (Barz 1998: 12ff.). Neue Wörter entstehen auch nicht immer im textuellen Zusammenhang. (Elsen 2011: 21).

Elsen, in the quote above, gives four arguments for why the occasionalism is part of the neologism: First, it is impossible with the early occurrences of lexemes to expect them to be part of the general lexicon. Second, the level of lexicalization (*Lexikalisierungsgrad*) cannot be determined. Third, unremarkable lexemes could not even be perceived as new. Fourth, new words do not exclusively come from text.

Important to note is that occasionalisms can have different sources. They can occur in spoken language, as the spontaneity layer hints at, but also in text. However, if they are recorded, there is a certain degree of lexicalization for the textual *Okkasionalismen* as opposed to the oral

occasionalisms. Elsen also writes that the level of lexicalization (*Lexikalisierungsgrad*) cannot be determined, which hints at the problem of empirical data that was already obvious in the definition of the neologism. Furthermore, to make it a requirement whether or not something is perceived as being new is almost impossible to realize unless one occupies human subjects for research. Elsen therefore argues for including occasionalisms into the definition of neologisms in the broader sense (Elsen 2011: 21). An important point to consider is that at some point in time, every lexeme could be thought of as an occasionalism, since for a certain amount of time, it exists uniquely as it has only been uttered once. However, this situation can change any time, as Elsen (2011) argues when talking about the possible development of an occasionalism into a potential neologism or lexeme. The case of the occasionalism as the birth of a lexeme exists in a potential retrospect, as there is no proof of a term without lexicalization, that is, written or recorded evidence. Therefore, just as with neologisms, in retrospect we could say that a certain lexeme was an occasionalism of the 70s. This lexeme could, to be fair, still be an occasionalism by the definitions collected above, but due to the dynamics in language, it is impossible to foresee the development of a lexeme and it is impossible to label something as an occasionalism forever, just as we cannot label something as neologism forever. Innerwinkler (2015: 8) argues that online dictionaries of neologisms, such as *Wortwarte* (<https://wortwarte.de/>), include sporadically used new lexemes as neologisms, because it is not clear whether or not they will succeed. It has to be stated that Innerwinkler's understanding of an occasionalism also seems to be based on data as opposed to non-recorded oral language.

With the various definitions of occasionalisms, the divide between data-driven approaches and approaches that include non-recorded oral language and do not insist on empirical data in the form of recorded data, becomes especially clear. To give an example, in the following Schippan (2002) – who uses an approach that includes oral language – is used as an example to point out the problems and challenges of the data-driven approach of this study's definition:

For Schippan, *Einmalbildungen/okkasionelle Einheiten* should not be considered as neologisms for reasons of frequency. For Schippan, neologisms are part of the societal system of language, which seems to refer to the belief that neologisms should be known by the majority of the speaker's community:

Da es sich um eine sprachwissenschaftliche Kategorie handelt, die auf das gesellschaftliche System Sprache bezogen ist, sollten Einmalbildungen, okkasionelle Einheiten nicht zu den Neologismen gezählt werden, es sei denn, sie gehen in den allgemeinen Sprachgebrauch ein.

(Schippan 2002: 244)

It is not quite clear from the quote how this contrast between *Einmalbildungen* and the societal system of language should be interpreted. However, if one would make the claim that occasionalisms, in opposition to neologisms, are less known to the public, the problem would be that with a data-driven approach one would talk about what this study would call a *potential* occasionalism. This study wishes to find empirical markers for neologisms, thus arguing from a point where a record of data has to exist. Schippan argues from a less data-driven viewpoint that includes oral language. Therefore, the study outlines in the following why parameters that work when including the possibility of oral language into the definition do not work once working with a data-only approach. The problems of a data-only approach, such as the one that this study uses, in opposition to a broader approach, that Schippan uses, are the following: If a term is so

unknown and used so sporadically that it neither spreads beyond a few people nor is recorded in any form, there would be no data about it, making this form of the occasionalism a mere possibility. With this definition of occasionalism, a data-driven approach would have no data for the form of occasionalism. Therefore, for this study, an occasionalism would have to be a term that occurs for a very short amount of time, however, which says nothing about its frequency nor its spread in society. Frequency and spread have to be identified as completely different layers. To give one example, in relation to the COVID-19 crisis, chancellor Merkel used the occasionalism “Öffnungsdiskussionsorgien” (<https://www.tagesschau.de/inland/merkel-lockdown-101.html>. Accessed 9 July 2020), which is a compound that translates roughly to ‘opening-debate orgies,’ referring to the high number of emotional debates on reopening the country. Although the term was an occasionalism, due to the popularity of chancellor Merkel and the media coverage, the term was hardly to be overlooked by the general public following any media outlets. Spread, which is measured by how many people know or use a term, is a different category than frequency, which measures how often a term is used. With an approach that includes oral language, Schippan in her argument why occasionalisms should not be counted as neologisms continues:

Auch Dou Xuefu zählt „relativ hohe Häufigkeit“ zu den Merkmalen eines Neologismus (Xuefu 1981: 51). Ich betrachte nur solche Innovationen als Neologismen, die aus der Sphäre des Individuellen hinaustreten, d.h. von Gruppen oder ganzen Sprachgemeinschaften aufgenommen worden sind. Neologismen können sehr bald in den Wortschatz integriert werden, so daß sie schon nach kurzer Zeit nicht mehr als neu empfunden werden. Dieser Prozeß kann vollendet sein, bevor das betreffende Wort lexikographisch erfaßt ist. (Schippan 2002: 244).

Here, “relatively high frequency” is seen as an attribute of neologisms, while low frequency is indicated to be an attribute for occasionalisms. For a data-driven approach, this is problematic for two reasons: It is subjective what “relatively high” refers to in terms of numbers, therefore making it hard to measure. Secondly, frequency is not synonymous with spread, although it might be on some occasions.

It should be obvious that there are a limited number of parameters to work with when using a data-only approach which also might not always reflect the dynamics in spoken language when drawing from recorded sources. What a data-driven approach calls an occasionalism therefore naturally differs from approaches that take oral language into consideration.

For this study, another point to consider is whether or not the occasionalism marks another threshold on the timeline of the lexeme. One could argue, as Innerwinkler (2015: 13,14) does, that a new lexeme starts its career as an occasionalism until it reaches a certain point of popularity, where it either remains in its social and regional domain or exits this specific domain and upgrades to being a neologism. If it furthermore loses the attribute “new,” it becomes part of the general lexicon and can no longer be seen as a neologism (Innerwinkler 2015: 13/14). From the perspective chosen in this study, a few notions in the definition of occasionalisms seem problematic here: One point that is supported in the argument is that the occasionalism is the starting point of the career of a new lexeme. From this point, the occasionalism would only mark a point in time of the development of the lexeme in general instead of defining a certain type of lexeme, adding an *occasionalistic phase* before the neologistic phase. However, the possible upgrade Innerwinkler (2015) describes from an occasionalism to a neologism seems problematic. For this study, the occasionalism is not a type of lexeme that can become a neologism but rather the occasionalism is a term to describe a lexeme without an active phase. From the discussion

above it becomes clear that *occasionalism* is a term used for a type of lexeme that is extremely rare for varying criteria. However, types of lexemes are not to be analyzed in this study. It becomes clear that the definition of an occasionalism as such is irrelevant to this study's approach, since it includes all new lexemes that have been recorded, irrespective of their frequency or spread. Low frequency just like high frequency lexemes have a neologistic phase they go through. From the definition of neologism not as a term but a time span, the definition of an occasionalism, which is a rare lexical item, is in no relation to this study's objective. Due to the inclusion of all new lexical items, what is called occasionalism in other approaches will be naturally included in this study's definition of neologism if recorded.

Occasionalisms in this study, therefore, are defined as lexical items that are used with such a low frequency and with such a low spread that they are not recorded, marking occasionalisms as potential linguistic phenomena. Occasionalisms therefore are a gray zone for an empirical, data-driven approach such as the one this study uses. One could say that they exist in spoken language, although there is no written evidence of their existence. Once they are recorded in some form, they start their neologistic phase.

2.1.4 New Sememes

Herberg and Kinne (1998: 1) note that a neologism either has a new form or a new meaning. The differentiation of new form versus new meaning within the neologism definition is yet another inconsistency in its definition. The division of new form and new meaning in the literature already became obvious in section 2.1, where all of the authors could agree on such a division among neologisms. Nevertheless, in opposition to a lexical item of a new form, a lexical item with an existing form and a new meaning remains a gray area. Elke Donalies (2002: 17) states that there is a grave difference between *Wortbildung* ('word-formation') and *Bedeutungsveränderung* ('semantic change'), as *Wortbildung* ('word-formation') brings changes to the expressive side with morphosyntactic changes, such as combination, or change of word class; *Bedeutungsveränderung* ('semantic change'), however, only changes the content of the sign.

Semiotically speaking, *Wortbildung* ('word-formation'), through modifications of existing parts of lexical formation, forges a new sign, while *Bedeutungsveränderung* ('semantic change') changes the content of the sign and what it relates to. There are advocates for having new lexemes and new sememes incorporated within the definition of the neologism, and others who do not. But there is a third possible change. Innerwinkler quotes from Theodor Lewandowski (1994: 163) when stating that the meaning of a word changes if the sign is connected to a new meaning or the meaning of the word itself changes its area of application (Innerwinkler 2015: 10), which can be identified as changes in Peircean Secondness and Thirdness. However, other authors do not make this differentiation. Schippan (2002) notes that a point for advocating for this viewpoint is that new meanings forge new signs, just as new forms (Schippan 2002: 244-45). For Herberg and Kinne (1998: 1), *Neulexeme* ('new lexemes') and *Neubedeutungen* ('new meanings') are both considered neologisms. International sources, such as Lyle Campbell (2007) or Paul Baker et al. (2006) agree: Campbell counts "semantic extension (metaphorical or otherwise) of already existing vocabulary (such as personal names, toponyms, brand names, acronyms, compounding etc.)" as neologisms (Campbell 2007: 138), while Baker

et al. include a “new word, or an existing word (or phrase) that has been given a new meaning” (Baker et al. 2006: 121). Xuefu (1989: 49) also agrees that a neologism is either new in its form or in its meaning, as well as Klaus Heller (1988: 7) and Bußmann (2002: 470). Lothar Lemnitzer (2010: 67) also lists *Neulexem* (‘new lexeme’) and *Neubedeutung* (‘new meaning’) as the two types of neologism but also answers the question, whether *Neubedeutungen* (‘new meaning’) should be incorporated in a dictionary of neologisms by pointing out the technical challenges, as new lexemes are easier to find and to prove (2010: 73). Schippan (2002: 245) also points at this challenge by noting that it is hard to pinpoint when a change of meaning occurred.

Schippan (2002: 245) is opposed to including new meanings into the definition of neologisms: “Die Annahme von Neosemantismen berücksichtigt zu wenig die Beweglichkeit der Wortbedeutung und birgt die Gefahr einer statischen Zeichenauffassung in sich.” Schippan furthermore observes that *Neosemantismen* can be seen as *Neuwörter* (‘neologisms’) under the condition of a conscious new relation of form and meaning, which forges a new lexical entity: “Eine bewußte Neuordnung von Formativ und Bedeutung [...], durch die eine neue lexikalische Einheit entsteht.” However, the emergence of new sememes in general is, for Schippan, a case of semantic change (*Bedeutungswandel*) (Schippan 2002: 246).

This study is against a broad definition of neologisms which would include new meanings as neologism and agrees with Schippan (2002) that new meanings are part of semantic change. Therefore, only new lexemes which are new in their form are considered as neologisms: “Entgegen diesem Vorschlag beschränke ich den Begriff der Neologismen auf Neubildungen, Neuwörter aus einheimischen und/oder fremden Morphemen und Wörtern” (Schippan 2002: 246).

From the discussion above, it seems reasonable to make the following distinction that new meanings belong in the field of semantic change and new lexemes in the field of word-formation.

2.1.5 Loans

From the chart in section 2.1, it can be seen that some authors include loans in their definition of neologisms: For Bußmann, a loan is a type of neologism (Bußmann 2002: 463), just as Schippan includes loans into the definition as “Neuwörter aus [...] fremden Morphemen und Wörtern” (Schippan 2002: 246). Xuefu (1989) and Polenz (2000) include loans in their definition of neologism/lexical innovation as “Neuentlehnung, Direktübernahme, Hybride, Scheinentlehnung” (Xuefu 1989: 40) and “Entlehnung” (Polenz 2000: 41 ff.).

There are indeed several ways in which *Lehngut* (‘loans’) can be part of new lexemes and different types (Schippan 2002: 263): There is a direct and an indirect loan as well as a *Rückentlehnung* (‘back borrowing’). Furthermore, one must differentiate between *Lehnwort* (‘loan words’) and *Fremdwort* (‘foreign word’) (Schippan 2002: 263). Innerwinkler notes that “Wörter, Affixe, Konfixe, Wendungen und Bedeutungen,” which are lexemes, affixes, confixes, phrases and meaning, can be object of a loan (Innerwinkler 2015: 11). These *Entlehnte Wortbildungselemente* (‘borrowed word-formational elements’) can be operationalized as morphemes and used to form new words such as the “Konfix *-tainment* in Infotainment, Dokutainment, Edutainment” (Innerwinkler 2015: 12). Nevertheless, German word-formation can use morphemes in order to change a loan to a new lexeme, such as in a *Derivat* (‘derivative’), “objektiv - durch *Objektivierung*” (Innerwinkler 2015: 12).

Additionally, it has to be noted that “Lehnübersetzung, -übertragung und -schöpfung (auch Scheinentlehnung genannt),” can also create new words (Innerwinkler 2015: 11).

This is only a brief overview of the terminology for loans in the cases where authors chose to see them as a part of lexical innovation/neologisms. There is, however, a vast amount of terminology regarding loans in the general literature on borrowing, depending on the research focus. For the ease of the general overview of types of loans, the following chart shows a version of Polenz’ (2000: 41) list for loan classes with examples, which have been abbreviated:

loan classes after Polenz (2000: 41) with examples (<i>abbreviated</i>)	
Lehnwörter	Studium, servieren, clever...
Lehnsuffixe	-ismus, -abel, -fizier(en),...
Lehnpräfixe	Anti-, de-, ex-, Mini-,...
Lehnsuffixe	Elektro-, Euro-, -therm, -krat...
Lehnwendungen	last (but) not least...
Lehnübersetzungen	Sonn/tag nach lat. dies solis
Lehnschöpfung	Umwelt nach frz. Milieu
Lehnbedeutung	Übernahme der Bedeutung fremdsprachlicher Wörter für bereits vorhandene Wörter <i>realisieren</i> neben verwirklichen auch in der Bedeutung erkennen, begreifen einsehen nach engl. <i>realize</i>

Table IV

According to the definition of neologisms this study uses, that every type of new lexeme has a neologistic phase during which it is to be called a neologism, loans of the type that form a new lexeme are to be included. This naturally excludes the types of loans from this consideration that are the product of change on the level of meaning, such as Polenz’ *Lehnbedeutung* (‘loan meanings’). In all the other variations, loans contribute to the emergence of new lexemes which, in this study’s definition, will be coined and then have their *neologistic phase* just as other new lexemes. Therefore, independent of the type of loan, they are included as a group in this study’s understanding of a neologism. Types of loans are to be called a neologism when they have their *neologistic phase*.

2.1.6 Conclusion

In the previous sections, the literature on the terminology and the types of lexemes that can be counted as neologisms was discussed. It was shown that the literature on this topic is quite diverse, offering a multitude of terms. However, from the terminology, overarching concepts could be identified: a division of new form and new meaning, two types of new form as represented in a new creation and a new formation (Herberg and Kinne 1998; Schippan 2002; Klappenbach and Steinitz 1961-77; Klare 1977), loans, and occasionalisms. Types of neologisms that either have a new meaning, are occasional formations, or loans, were discussed critically in the literature. Hence, each of the three special types was analyzed in a separate section with the conclusion that loans are to be considered part of neologisms, while occasionalisms were dismissed, but only under the presented assumption that an occasionalism is a rare linguistic phenomenon that is purely oral and does not leave any written evidence, hence no proof. However, it has to be mentioned again that there are indeed different definitions for occasionalisms, as presented, and that the conclusion made in this study is based on the selection of a definition of the term, which is not to be seen as a general reflection on how the term is discussed in the literature. Furthermore, it was decided that new sememes are a matter of semantic change and should be analyzed separately. Hence, the types of lexemes that can be counted as neologisms in this study are any type of new form as found in new formations, new creations, and loans.

The section on time served to clarify what a neologism is in reference to the relativity of the term *new*. Within the analysis, it could be shown that the determination of the time of coinage with the help of written evidence could be seen as the starting point of what has been called in this study a *neologistic phase*. The introduction of a phasal model proved to be useful in order to empirically determine a neologism by its starting point and by the notion that a neologism can change at any time to be a part of the general lexicon. Hence, it was concluded that every lexeme, at some point, was new and perceived as new before entering the general lexicon. The phasal model, in which the neologistic phase is a phase in the life of a lexeme, makes it possible to speak about neologisms in retrospect, even of those that are part of the general lexicon currently. To repeat the definition given in section 2.1.2: A lexeme in its neologistic phase is called a neologism (the neologistic phase starts after coinage and recording). Therefore, a neologism is not considered a special type of lexeme, but rather, the neologistic phase would be a certain aspect to look at when looking at any lexeme. When studying the neologistic phase, two areas would be of interest: First, the rules of word-formation, in order to see what pattern was used to create the new lexeme in case of new formations or word creations. Second, the social and cultural conditions during the neologistic phase to determine the motivation of creation/coinage and the possible development in the later stages. The first question is a functional question, how, and the latter a causal one, why.

While the formation of the discourse neologisms is the topic of chapter 3, the motivational aspects are discussed in the subsequent sections.

2.2 Motivations, Domains and Formations of Neologisms: Why New Words Are Made

While the previous section 2.1 discusses the definition of neologisms in the literature, this section explores what is said in the literature about the reason for the production of neologisms. First, the driving forces behind lexical innovation as presented in the literature are introduced in section 2.2.1. From the variety of motivators, four key factors are identified, namely *domain*, *object*, *intention*, and *method*. The different motivators named by the authors can be sorted into one of the categories, which is represented as a chart in section 2.2.2. Before getting to a definition of the new term discourse neologism in section 2.3, section 2.2.3 discusses discourse as yet another possible driving force of lexical innovation, as discourse is at the center of the term introduced in this study.

2.2.1 Driving Forces behind Lexical Innovation

Although the reasons for lexical innovations are manifold, it is not impossible to carve out those reasons and model them in a way that gives an overview of the underlying process.

Erben (2000) in his book on word-formation has a chapter on the question *Warum ist Wortbildung nötig* (Erben 2000: 19) – why is word-formation necessary? Is there still a reason for a speaker of an established language to gain new lexemes, Erben asks and answers that there is a vast need for new lexemes, due to the fluctuating reality and the communicative need to name whatever is encountered. Wolfgang Fleischer and Irmhild Barz (1995: 2) in their work on word-formation state that: “Neue Nominationsseinheiten entstehen unter dem Druck gesellschaftlicher Bedürfnisse der Kognition und Kommunikation durch das Zusammenwirken semantischer und formativ struktureller Prozesse auf unterschiedliche Weise.” In this quote and in the definition used in this study, asking for a motivation for neologisms is just the same as asking for the reason for lexical extension of the lexicon in general. Language is a dynamic, descriptive tool that reflects the reality of the speaker’s community. As Fleischer and Barz noted, new words develop out of a communicatory or cognitive necessity, no matter which definition of neologisms one uses – whether it is one that only includes words that stand out as new or are perceived as new, or a definition such as the one that this study uses, where neologism is a form that a lexeme takes in its beginning stage.

In this process of development of new words, there are certain triggers as to why the lexicon is expanded – in contrast to how the lexicon is expanded, which is discussed in the analysis section of this study in chapter 3. The shortest answer to the causal question is, that in order to match the reality that the speaker’s community faces, the lexicon has to be adjusted in order to make the dynamic reality *communicatable*. However, there are certain patterns that can be identified. A notable amount of lexical innovation is the consequence of another innovation, hence “Neologisms are often used for naming inventions or new ideas” (Baker et al. 2006: 121). Schippan (2002: 246), as well as Xuefu (1989: 41), name technical innovations in need to be named as one of the motivations for lexical innovation. However, there are more motivational factors that bring forth lexical innovations than the naming of new objects. Polenz (2000: 39) names socio-cultural factors such as new media, and the influence of science, technology, democracy et cetera on daily life as factors for the incorporation of new lexical items into the general lexicon. Schippan (2002: 246) names certain environments in which lexical innovations flourish such as: advertisement, military, politics, social sphere, health sector and certain

domains of life such as “environment” and the East and West German “reunification.” Schippan (2002: 247) also notes that in the realm of technology, the need for new words is higher than in other areas, leading to the fact that the lexicon expands irregularly as it expands more in certain areas than others. She furthermore draws attention to the production of new nouns for trade and advertisement, new technical terminology for the industrial sector and buzzwords and names for institutions for politics and culture (2000: 247). Bußmann (2002: 463) says that there are a variety of reasons for neologisms to be made: She names the naming of new items and concepts, such as in technology, science and politics, or with expressive or persuasive intention such as in advertisement.

We can see from these opinions that there are various layers that we can differentiate when talking about the mechanisms of making new words: **intention** – such as Bußmann names the need to name new items or concepts and an expressive or persuasive intention, which Elsen calls appellative-persuasive (Elsen 2011: 90) such as in advertisement. Another form of intention can be to mark one’s belonging to a certain social group or to gain attention (Peters 2003:130-131 in Innerwinkler 2015: 13).

Regarding intention however, it seems that naming a new thing or thought is not an intention. Naming a new thing is just describing what lexical extension is – making the reality of the speaker *communicatable*. An intention is why something is named the way it is named. In advertisement, for example, a name for a new object is made with persuasive intention. The new object needed a name; however, the way it was named was with a certain intention. Erben (2000: 20 ff.) differentiates subjective and objective reasons for word-formation: Objective is the need to name an object, subjective is related to the intention and has, so Erben (2000: 19), not so much to do with the thing to be named as with the intended effect on the listener. This differentiation is crucial, since it draws a line between **intention and need** – which is the need to name something, such as inventions (Baker et al. 2006: 121) and technical innovations (Schippan 2002: 246; Xuefu 1989: 41), new ideas (Baker et al. 2006: 121), new items and concepts, (Bußmann 2002: 463), or the things we feel, invent or design (Erben 2000: 20), to only name a few. In this study, we incorporate this division by dedicating one layer to **intention** and one layer to **objective**, which is the thing that is named.

Erben (2000: 21) also names another reason that is neither objective nor subjective, which is a certain lexical or grammatical need on the structural level of language (“sprachstrukturelle Notwendigkeit”); for example the replacement of lexemes which have become unmotivated or opaque. This is what is differentiated in *Erstbenennung* (‘initial designation’) and *Zweitbenennung* (‘secondary designation’) (Innerwinkler 2015: 13): *Zweitbenennung* is naming something that already has a name, for example because one intends to give the concept a new connotation or more attention. Innerwinkler (2015: 13) notes that there are certain domains that have a high need for *Erstbenennungen* and *Zweitbenennung* (which are science and technology, advertisement and politics, as well as culture and media), and that they need *Erstbenennungen* because they bring forth new findings, achievements, or products and *Zweitbenennungen* in order to, for example, correct a negative connotation that an *Erstbenennung* has gained in a political discourse.

Domain is another layer that we get from the Bußmann quote above (2002: 463), where she names the domains of technology, science and politics, and advertisement. Polenz (2000: 39) names new media, science, technology, and democracy; Schippan advertisement, military, politics, social sphere, health sector and certain domains of life such as “environment” and the

East and West German “reunification” (2002: 246), as well as technology, trade and advertisement, industrial sector, institutions, politics, and culture (2002: 247).

A fleshed-out summary of the motivations for lexical innovations can be found in Polenz (2000: 38), who has a list with what he calls *Triebkräfte/Tendenzen* (driving forces/tendencies) for lexical innovation:

Polenz (2000: 38): list of driving forces for neologisms	
Benennung neuer Sachverhalte	vor allem in Wissenschaft und Technik (Terminologisierung): <i>Zwischenhoch, Verkabelung</i>
Univerbierung	d.h. Ersatz einer syntaktischen Wortgruppe durch ein Wort zum Zweck der raschen Kurzbenennung in Titeln, Registern, auf Karteikarten, Schildern usw.: <i>Einbahnstraße, Sprachgeschichte</i>
Wortersatz	...zur Vermeidung oder Verdeutschung von ‚Fremdwörtern‘: <i>Fernsprecher für Telefon</i> ...zur besseren Motiviertheit: <i>Gehweg für Bürgersteig</i> ...zur Verallgemeinerung oder Verschleierung: <i>Familienplanung für Geburtenbeschränkung, Empfängnisverhütung</i> ...zur euphemistischen Vermeidung bewertender Konnotationen des üblichen Wortes: <i>Raumpflegerin für Putzfrau</i>
Wortzusatz	...zur polemischen Emotionalisierung: <i>Wendehals für Opportunist</i>
syntaktische Flexibilität (Wortartvariation):	...zur Verdeutlichung, Unterscheidung, Verstärkung: <i>Spitzensportler, postmodern, erzkonservativ, Quadrat - quadratisch, Kante - kanten, gelten - Geltung</i>
komprimierter Formulierungsstil	...zum ökonomischen Ausdruck komplexer Syntagmen: <i>Lehrfreiheit für Inhalt und Art des Lehrens frei wählen können.</i>

Table V

The first driving force in Polenz’ chart is the designation of a new idea or object, which was already supported by several authors as a main motivation (Baker et al. 2006: 121; Schippan 2002: 246; Xuefu 1989: 41). This very simple semiotic need – a *signifiant* for a *signifié* – might be the universal driving force behind the lexical expansion of the general lexicon. In order to communicate the perceived world, the things in it need a name. Therefore, this first driving force in Polenz’ chart should have a position above the other factors he mentions.

However, *Wortersatz*, *Wortzusatz*, *Wordvariation*, *Univerbierung*, *syntaktische Flexibilität* and *komprimierter Formulierungsstil* do not describe motivations, but rather another layer: **method**. The intention behind the method is what can be found in the second column of the chart above.

2.2.2 Model of Driving Forces behind Lexical Innovation: Intention, Domain, Objective and Method

The layers that could be identified are: *intention, domain, objective, and method*. The following chart classifies and summarizes the findings from the various authors by sorting them into the four categories. Note that the lineup in the chart is random, as each column should be seen as a list without intended connections between the items from the columns.

Table of driving forces behind lexical innovation			
domain	objective	intention	method
technology (Bußmann 2002: 463) (Polenz 2000: 39) (Schippan 2002: 247)	inventions (Baker et al. 2006: 121) (Erben 2000: 20)	expressive or persuasive	univerbation (Polenz, 2000: 38)
trade (Schippan 2002: 247)	the things we design (Erben 2000: 20)	appellative-persuasive (Elsen 2011: 90)	word replacement (Polenz, 2000: 38)
science (Bußmann 2002: 463) (Polenz 2000: 39)	technological innovations (Schippan 2002: 246; Xuefu 1989: 41)	mark ones belonging to a certain social group (Peters 2003:130-131 in Innerwinkler 2015: 13).	word addition (Polenz, 2000: 38)
politics (Bußmann 2002: 463) (Schippan 2002: 246)	new ideas (Baker et al. 2006: 121)	gain attention (Peters 2003:130-131in: Innerwinkler 2015: 13).	word variation (Polenz, 2000: 38)
advertisement (Bußmann 2002: 463) (Schippan 2002: 247)	new items (Bußmann 2002: 463)	new connotations	compressed wording (Polenz, 2000: 38)
new media (Polenz 2000: 39)	new concepts (Bußmann 2002: 463)		
democracy (Polenz 2000: 39)	the things we feel (Erben 2000: 20)		
military (Schippan 2002: 246)			
social sphere (Schippan 2002: 246)			
health sector (Schippan 2002: 246)			

industrial sector (Schippa 2002: 247)			
institutions (Schippa 2002: 247)			
culture (Schippa 2002: 247)			
certain domains of life such as “environment” and the East and West German “reunification” (Schippa 2002: 246)			

Table VI

2.2.3 Discourse as the Driving Force of Discourse Neologisms

The last element in the domain category in the chart above as mentioned by Schippa (2002: 246) makes a critical connection to the COVID-19 discourse glossaries: The historical domain of East and West German reunification. This notion introduces the idea that discourse can be seen as a domain that produces new lexemes. A discourse as a collective and communicative social phenomenon is, however, a special case, since a discourse is temporal: A topic relevant for today’s society might not be of interest next year or within the next decade. The vocabulary originating from discourse is vocabulary with the intention of talking about the discourse. When the discourse is not discussed anymore, the vocabulary is likely to not be used anymore as well, or just to refer back to the discourse, or used for a different domain altogether. The discourse vocabulary has a special status for the time the discourse exists: During this time, it is crucial to know the vocabulary related to the discourse in order to be able to communicate about the discourse and understand what others say about the discourse. Hence, this type of vocabulary is going to be widely distributed for a short amount of time. It is important to note here that Schippa mentions vocabulary resulting from the reunification (Schippa 2002: 247): When a crisis or an issue in general emerges that concerns the general public, some factors come together: Some newspapers might use neologisms to draw attention to an article about the situation. Neologisms might be coined in technical jargon in order to describe the situation accurately, politics might coin neologisms to describe plans in relation to the situation and advertisement might use neologisms to advertise certain properties of their products specifically aimed at the situation. However, all this happens under the umbrella of the situation or the general discourse. This is why all of the neologisms, although coined in various domains for various purposes, have to be summarized under the special domain of discourse. For example, O-63 *Coronatest* is a term from the medical sector that names the test used for Coronavirus, hence an object; D/O-36 *Coronakilo* is the weight people gain due to the effects of the pandemic, hence a socio-cultural phenomenon; D/O-80 *Coronoia*, is the extreme fear of contracting the Coronavirus, hence an emotion. However, the connection for these terms is the general discourse, the Corona crisis. This means that terms can have a mix and a variety of elements from the fields of domain, method and motivation. Domain therefore can be seen as an overarching type of focus that summarizes lexemes related to the discourse regardless of their

roots in the motivational factors discussed above, which does not mean, that these factors should be dismissed in favor of discourse – which of these factors one chooses to determine the driving forces behind lexical innovation is a matter of scientific focus. For the interest of this study, using domains as a crucial factor for lexical innovation, and seeing discourse as one of these domains, is essential.

2.3 Discourse Neologisms

Within the Corona glossaries, there are a lot of lexemes that cannot be related back to the discourse when seen out of that context. For example, if the word contains general terminology such as *Abstand* ('distance') or *Schutz* ('safety'), it will not be clear, in retrospect, if that term was connected to the COVID-19 pandemic or to any other field, such as technology, law, or medicine. However, there is one type of word that gets coined by discourse and is undoubtedly connected to it: The discourse neologism. It uses the discourse as a base/modifier of word-formation, such as D/O-51 *Coronasemester* ('Corona semester').

Table modelling the word-formation of discourse neologisms		
discourse as modifier/base		
<i>Corona-</i>	<i>-semester</i>	virtuelles Studienhalbjahr mit digitalen Lehrangeboten, das an die Ausgangs- und Alltagsbeschränkungen während der COVID-19-Pandemie angepasst ist (https://www.owid.de/docs/neo/listen/corona.jsp#coronasemester . Accessed 22 July 2020)
<i>corona-</i>	<i>-frei</i>	keine COVID-19-Infektion aufweisend wegen der COVID-19-Pandemie keine Schule, kein Training usw. habend ohne Sorgen und Einschränkungen wegen der COVID-19-Pandemie (https://www.owid.de/docs/neo/listen/corona.jsp#coronasemester . Accessed 22 July 2020)

Table VII

The reason why the term discourse neologism was chosen over discourse lexeme is because the moment of coinage is related to the discourse. Following the definition of this study, a neologism is a lexeme in its neologistic phase. This phase has its beginning with its coinage and an ending point at some time. Discourse, as in discourse neologism, is another temporal element in this equation. Discourses are temporal, not marking a certain point in time – like the exact time of coinage of a neologism – but a phase in time, which creates a certain bubble in which the discourse neologisms are being produced, used, and rarely exit the bubble again. Rather, they are being archived with the whole discourse, only emerging in the general lexicon in retrospect to the discourse. Therefore, the difference between discourse neologisms and neologisms is that they have a higher probability of being remembered, since a discourse usually

is remembered for a long time. The bubble of the discourse preserves its neologisms with it. Furthermore, the discourse as the base/modifier of the lexeme makes it easy to remember the meaning of a former neologism in retrospect in context through the discourse. The discourse gives meaning through context. Unlike other lexemes which can be hard to remember after they surpasses their neologistic phase, discourse neologisms have another element on their semiotic level: A part of them is a direct index to the discourse, which then serves as a Peircean third, combining the whole discourse in one word and weaving the discourse neologisms into the net of the discourse. However, a discourse neologism has a lower probability of entering the general lexicon. As it is linked to the discourse it is also determined to be archived once the discourse disappears from public opinion and media coverage.

Table of properties of discourse neologisms	
discourse neologism	Neologism
Higher probability of being remembered	Lower probability of being remembered
Higher probability of being understood	Lower probability of being understood
Lower possibility of entering the general lexicon	Higher possibility of entering the general lexicon

Table VIII

From what has been outlined so far, a discourse neologism can be defined as follows: A discourse neologism is a lexeme in its neologistic phase with its domain rooted in discourse and a discourse lexeme being the base/modifier of word-formation. Discourse neologisms seem to occur when the discourse is of vast public interest and discussed in society over the various outlets of information, such as print media, news coverage et cetera. A discourse neologism can be identified as such and linked back to the discourse in retrospect, since the discourse is a lexical part of the word-formation. Therefore, it is plausible that discourse neologisms are being used in the context of the discourse only, which consequently limits their active phase of usage to the active phase of the discourse. A discourse neologism is discourse-specific vocabulary that is used in order to communicate and frame the discourse. The motivation for discourse neologisms can be various – to devalue, advertise or alert for example, however, one aspect of motivation is always going to link the lexeme to the discourse, be it in advertising, technology or science. The relation to the discourse helps underline the special status of the discourse neologism as a term that describes something that only exists within and in relation to the discourse. A discourse neologism, therefore, contains a lot of semiotic content beyond the *signifier-signified* relation: The context of the whole discourse is always going to be a part of its meaning and crucial to its understanding, making the discourse neologism a special type of lexeme that justifies from a linguistic standpoint its own terminology and further observation.

Chapter 3 Case Study and Data Analysis

3.1 Data Collection

The data in the table below stem from two similar projects by official German linguistic institutes, the *Leibniz-Institute für Deutsche Sprache* (IDS) and *Digitales Wörterbuch der Deutschen Sprache* (DWDS). Both of their projects follow the emerging COVID-19 crisis by collecting vocabulary connected to the Coronavirus discourse and present it in the form of a discourse glossary.

The IDS's lexicographical online projects is called OWID (<https://www.owid.de/docs/neo/start.jsp>. Accessed 27 July 2020) and publishes a digital dictionary for neologisms in the German Language. The IDS is known to be a seminal, independent resource for research and documentation of the German language, its current usage, and its recent history (<https://www1.ids-mannheim.de/org/>. Accessed 12 December 20).

The DWDS, based at the *Berlin-Brandenburgische Akademie der Wissenschaften* (BBAW), is an internet-based dictionary of the German Language from 1600 to the present day. It is part of a government-funded program by the *Union der Deutschen Akademien der Wissenschaften* – focused on preserving and recording data – as well as of the governmental funded *Zentrum für digitale Lexikographie der deutschen Sprache* (ZDL) (<https://www.dwds.de/d/hintergrund>. Accessed 27 July 2020).

As described in chapter 1, the lexemes listed in the glossaries are words related to the COVID-19 pandemic that are either neologisms, sememes or special vocabulary, which either was coined for or transferred from a specialist lexicon into the general lexicon due to the pandemic. Among the various entries, a notable amount of what could be identified in the first half of this study as a discourse neologism could be found. For this study, all the lexemes that fit the definition of what has been called a discourse neologism by the author of this study, have been collected in a chart. In this chart, each discourse neologism is assigned a number, along with a letter or a combination of letters; the lexical items present in both corpora are assigned the letters D (for DWDS) and O (for OWID), the lexical items only present in one of the two corpora are assigned only the letter of the glossary they are listed in. The chart below lists all the discourse neologisms used in this study, however, it is an abbreviated version of the data as a column with the definition(s) for each term was not included. The full chart with all the definitions can be found in the Appendices.

All of the definitions used are taken from the OWID. The authors of the glossary mention that they offer a provisional and rough definition and up to two textual reference with each lexeme: “Zu jedem dieser Wörter geben wir eine (vorläufige, grobe) Bedeutungserläuterung an und illustrieren die Verwendung mit 1-2 Belegen” (<https://www.owid.de/docs/neo/listen/corona.jsp>. Accessed 12 December 20). It is not further specified, if the provisional definitions are based on the way the lexeme is used in the textual reference given, or if they are based on further sources not mentioned in the lexeme's article. However, it seems likely that the textual references given were relevant to the provisional definitions. This can be seen in the cases of polysemy in the corpus. In 37 out of 151 lexemes that use *Corona-* as a base/modifier, there is more than one definition given with the lexem. In these cases, the two definitions seem to directly refer to the ways in which the lexeme is used in the textual references.

Take, for example, the verb O-73 *coronern*. One of the definitions of the verb is the following: “(meist mündlich) sich während der COVID-19-Pandemie (unter Einhaltung der Hygiene- und Abstandsvorschriften) zum gemeinsamen Konsumieren von Alkohol auf öffentlichen Plätzen, an Straßenecken oder in der näheren Umgebung von nachts geöffneten Kiosken, Tankstellen o.Ä. treffen” (<https://www.owid.de/docs/neo/listen/corona.jsp#coronern>. Accessed 12 December 2020), which roughly translates to ‘meeting in open spaces during the COVID-19 pandemic while maintaining the prescribed distance and abiding by the official regulations.’ The textual reference that fits this definition seems to be the following: “Vor dem Kiosk abhängen und Bier trinken, aber mit Abstand zu den anderen: Coronern. (Twitterbeitrag vom 06.04.2020)” (<https://www.owid.de/docs/neo/listen/corona.jsp#coronern>. Accessed 12 December 2020). The second definition of the verb is “jemanden (trotz Einhaltung oder aufgrund der Nichteinhaltung der während der Pandemie geltenden Hygiene- und Abstandsvorschriften) mit COVID-19 anstecken,” which roughly translates to ‘infecting someone with the Coronavirus (despite complying with all regulations, or because of not complying with all of the regulations)’ (<https://www.owid.de/docs/neo/listen/corona.jsp#coronern>. Accessed 12 December 20). This definition seems to refer to the second textual reference given: “Sicherheitsscheibe gegen #Covid19. Coronern wird viel schwieriger. (Twitterbeitrag vom 08.04.2020)” (<https://www.owid.de/docs/neo/listen/corona.jsp#coronern>. Accessed 12 December 20) – ‘safety glass is going to make it much harder to *coronern*,’ i.e., ‘to infect someone with the Coronavirus’. Since almost one fourth of the definitions are polysemous, it is quite a common phenomenon amongst the lexemes in the corpus. This is especially important to note, since the sections on semantic relation and motivational meaning focus strongly on the given definition(s). Hence, the cases of polysemy are treated separately, that is, if a lexeme can belong to more than one category due to polysemy, it will appear in different sections throughout the analysis chapter. This way, the lexeme with each of its definitions is treated separately. However, in most cases, the polysemous meanings share the focus of their semantic relation.

Table of data collection (abbreviated)
<p>Source: DWDS reference letter D</p> <p>DWDS – Digitales Wörterbuch der deutschen Sprache. Das Wortauskunftssystem zur deutschen Sprache in Geschichte und Gegenwart, hrsg. v. d. Berlin-Brandenburgischen Akademie der Wissenschaften,</p> <p>URL: https://www.dwds.de/themenglossar/Corona</p> <p>Corpus collected on 17 June 2020</p> <p>Accessed last (controlled and complemented) on 22 July 2020*</p>
<p>Source: IDS OWID, reference letter O</p> <p>URL: https://www.owid.de/docs/neo/listen/corona.jsp</p> <p>Corpus collected on 7 July 2020</p>

Accessed last (controlled and complemented) on 3 August 2020			
POS	Reference	Term	Word-formation
Noun	D/O-1	<i>Corona</i>	
Noun	D/O-2	<i>Corona-Drive-in</i>	Compound
Noun	O-1	<i>Corona-V</i>	Compound
Noun	D/O-3	<i>Coronaabitur</i>	Compound
Noun	D/O-4	<i>Coronaabstand</i>	Compound
Noun	D/O-5	<i>Coronaampel</i>	Compound
Noun	D/O-6	<i>Coronaampelsystem</i>	Compound
Noun	O-2	<i>Coronaangst</i>	Compound
Noun	D/O-7	<i>Coronaapp</i>	Compound
Noun	O-3	<i>Coronaappgesetz</i>	Compound
Noun	O-4	<i>Coronaauflage</i>	Compound
Noun	O-5	<i>Coronaausbruch</i>	Compound
Noun	O-6	<i>Coronaausrede</i>	Compound
Noun	D/O-8	<i>Coronababy</i>	Compound
Adjective/Adverb	D/O-9	<i>coronabedingt</i>	Compound
Noun	D/O-10	<i>Coronablues</i>	Compound
Noun	D/O-11	<i>Coronabonds</i>	Compound
Noun	D/O-12	<i>Coronabonus</i>	Compound
Noun	D/O-13	<i>Coronabremse</i>	Compound
Noun	D/O-14	<i>Coronabriefing</i>	Compound
Noun	O-7	<i>Coronabrutstätte</i>	Compound
Noun	O-8	<i>Coronabulletin</i>	Compound
Noun	D/O-15	<i>Coronabuster</i>	Compound
Noun	D/O-16	<i>Coronacare</i>	Compound
Noun	D/O-17	<i>Coronacluster</i>	Compound
Noun	D/O-18	<i>Coronacouture</i>	Compound
Noun	D/O-19	<i>Coronacrash</i>	Compound
Noun	O-9	<i>Coronademo</i>	Compound
Noun	O-10	<i>Coronademonstration</i>	Compound
Noun	O-11	<i>Coronadetektiv</i>	Compound
Noun	D/O-20	<i>Coronaelterngeld</i>	Compound
Noun	D/O-21	<i>Coronaer</i>	Derivative
Adjective/Adverb	O-12	<i>Coronaerprobt</i>	Compound
Adjective/Adverb	O-13	<i>Coronaesk</i>	Derivative
Noun	D/O-22	<i>Coronaetikette</i>	Compound
Noun	O-14	<i>Coronafakeshop</i>	Compound
Noun	O-15	<i>Coronafall</i>	Compound
Noun	O-16	<i>Coronafamilienbonus</i>	Compound
Noun	D/O-23	<i>Coronafashion</i>	Compound
Noun	D/O-24	<i>Coronaferien</i>	Compound
Adjective/Adverb	D/O-25	<i>coronafrei</i>	Compound
Noun	D/O-26	<i>Coronafrisur</i>	Compound
Noun	D/O-27	<i>Coronafuß</i>	Compound
Noun	O-17	<i>Coronafußgruß</i>	Compound
Noun	O-18	<i>Coronageburtstag</i>	Compound
Noun	D/O-28	<i>Coronageneration</i>	Compound
Adjective/Adverb	O-19	<i>coronagerecht</i>	Compound
Adjective/Adverb	O-20	<i>coronageschädigt</i>	Compound
Noun	O-21	<i>Coronagrüß</i>	Compound

Noun	D/O-29	<i>Coronaheld</i>	Compound
Noun	O-22	<i>Coronahelfer</i>	Compound
Noun	D/O-30	<i>Coronahobby</i>	Compound
Noun	D/O-31	<i>Coronahotspot</i>	Compound
Noun	D/O-32	<i>Coronahygienepauschale</i>	Compound
Noun	D/O-33	<i>Coronahype</i>	Compound
Noun	D/O-34	<i>Coronahysterie</i>	Compound
Noun	O-23	<i>Coronaimmuner</i>	Compound
Noun	O-24	<i>Coronaisolation</i>	Compound
Noun	O-25	<i>Coronajahrgang</i>	Compound
Noun	D/O-35	<i>Coronakabinett</i>	Compound
Noun	D/O-36	<i>Coronakilo</i>	Compound
Noun	O-26	<i>Coronakindergeld</i>	Compound
Noun	O-27	<i>Coronaklausur</i>	Compound
Noun	O-28	<i>Coronaknast</i>	Compound
Noun	D/O-37	<i>Coronaknigge</i>	Compound
Noun	O-29	<i>Coronakoller</i>	Compound
Adjective/Adverb	O-30	<i>coronakonform</i>	Compound
Noun	D/O-38	<i>Coronakrise</i>	Compound
Adjective/Adverb	D/O-39	<i>coronal</i>	Derivative
Noun	O-31	<i>Coronaleugner</i>	Compound
Adjective/Adverb	D/O-40	<i>coronalos</i>	Derivative
Noun	O-32	<i>Coronalügner</i>	Compound
Noun	O-33	<i>Coronamähne</i>	Compound
Noun	O-34	<i>Coronamarke</i>	Compound
Noun	O-35	<i>Coronamasche</i>	Compound
Noun	O-36	<i>Coronamatte</i>	Compound
Noun	D/O-41	<i>Coronamode</i>	Compound
Noun	O-37	<i>Coronamoderne</i>	Compound
Noun	O-38	<i>Coronamour</i>	Compound
Adjective/Adverb	O-39	<i>coronamüde</i>	Compound
Noun	O-40	<i>Coronamüder</i>	Compound
Noun	O-41	<i>Coronamüdigkeit</i>	Compound
Noun	O-42	<i>Coronamüll</i>	Compound
Noun	O-43	<i>Coronanothilfe</i>	Compound
Noun	D/O-42	<i>Coronapanik</i>	Compound
Noun	D/O-43	<i>Coronaparty</i>	Compound
Noun	D/O-44	<i>Coronapauschale</i>	Compound
Noun	O-44	<i>Coronapause</i>	Compound
Noun	D/O-45	<i>Coronapflegebonus</i>	Compound
Noun	D/O-46	<i>Coronaprämie</i>	Compound
Noun	O-45	<i>Coronaprotest</i>	Compound
Noun	O-46	<i>Coronaradweg</i>	Compound
Noun	O-47	<i>Coronarebell</i>	Compound
Noun	O-48	<i>Coronaregel</i>	Compound
Noun	D/O-47	<i>Coronarettungsschirm</i>	Compound
Noun	O-49	<i>Coronascham</i>	Compound
Noun	D/O-48	<i>Coronascheck</i>	Compound
Noun	O-50	<i>Coronaschein</i>	Compound
Noun	O-51	<i>Coronaschichtunterricht</i>	Compound
Noun	O-52	<i>Coronaschließzeit</i>	Compound
Noun	O-53	<i>Coronaschnelltest</i>	Compound
Noun	O-54	<i>Coronaschock</i>	Compound

Noun	O-55	<i>Coronaschub</i>	Compound
Noun	D/O-49	<i>Coronaschutzschild</i>	Compound
Noun	D/O-50	<i>Coronaschutzschirm</i>	Compound
Noun	O-56	<i>Coronaschutzwall</i>	Compound
Noun	D/O-51	<i>Coronasemester</i>	Compound
Noun	D/O-52	<i>Coronasession</i>	Compound
Noun	D/O-53	<i>Coronasex</i>	Compound
Noun	O-57	<i>Coronashaming</i>	Compound
Adjective/Adverb	D/O-54	<i>coronasicher</i>	Compound
Noun	D/O-55	<i>Coronaskepsis</i>	Compound
Noun	O-58	<i>Coronaskeptiker</i>	Compound
Noun	O-59	<i>Coronasoforthilfe</i>	Compound
Noun	D/O-56	<i>Coronasoli</i>	Compound
Noun	D/O-57	<i>Coronasolidaritätszuschlag</i>	Compound
Noun	O-60	<i>Coronasommer</i>	Compound
Noun	D/O-58	<i>Coronaspeck</i>	Compound
Noun	D/O-59	<i>Coronasperre</i>	Compound
Noun	D/O-60	<i>Coronastarre</i>	Compound
Noun	O-61	<i>Coronastau</i>	Compound
Noun	D/O-61	<i>Coronastreife</i>	Compound
Noun	D/O-62	<i>Coronastress</i>	Compound
Noun	D/O-63	<i>Coronasünder</i>	Compound
Noun	O-62	<i>Coronasuperverbreiter</i>	Compound
Noun	D/O-64	<i>Coronatagebuch</i>	Compound
Noun	O-63	<i>Coronatest</i>	Compound
Noun	O-64	<i>Coronatestoffensive</i>	Compound
Noun	D/O-65	<i>Coronaticker</i>	Compound
Noun	D/O-66	<i>Coronatief</i>	Compound
Noun	D/O-67	<i>Coronatieur</i>	Compound
Noun	O-65	<i>Coronavirusdetektiv</i>	Compound
Noun	D/O-68	<i>Coronavirushotspot</i>	Compound
Noun	O-66	<i>Coronavirussturm</i>	Compound
Noun	D/O-69	<i>Coronawarnapp</i>	Compound
Noun	O-67	<i>Coronawelle</i>	Compound
Noun	O-68	<i>Coronawende</i>	Compound
Noun	O-69	<i>Coronawolke</i>	Compound
Noun	D/O-70	<i>Coronazeh</i>	Compound
Noun	O-70	<i>Coronazeit</i>	Compound
Noun	O-71	<i>Coronazettel</i>	Compound
Noun	O-72	<i>Coronazuschuss</i>	Compound
Noun	D/O-71	<i>Coronazwangspause</i>	Compound
Noun	D/O-72	<i>Corönchen</i>	Derivative
Verb	O-73	<i>Coroner</i>	Derivative
Noun	D/O-73	<i>coronexit</i>	Derivative
Noun	D/O-74	<i>coronials</i>	Derivative
Verb	D/O-75	<i>coronieren</i>	Derivative
Adjective/Adverb	O-74	<i>Coronisch</i>	Derivative
Verb	D/O-76	<i>coronisieren</i>	Derivative
Noun	D/O-77	<i>coronisierung</i>	Derivative
Noun	D/O-78	<i>coronismus</i>	Derivative
Adjective/Adverb	D/O-79	<i>coronistisch</i>	Derivative
Noun	D/O-80	<i>coronoia</i>	Derivative
Noun	D/O-81	<i>COVID-19</i>	Compound

Noun	O-75	<i>COVID-19-App</i>	Compound
Noun	O-76	<i>COVID-19-assoziert</i>	Compound
Noun	D/O-82	<i>COVID-19-Ausweis</i>	Compound
Noun	O-77	<i>COVID-19-Brain</i>	Compound
Noun	O-78	<i>COVID-19-Fall</i>	Compound
Noun	O-79	<i>COVID-19-Gehirn</i>	Compound
Noun	O-80	<i>COVID-19-Kirse</i>	Compound
Noun	O-81	<i>COVID-19-Party</i>	Compound
Noun	D/O-83	<i>COVID-19-Pass</i>	Compound
Noun	D/O-84	<i>COVID-19-Radar</i>	Compound
Noun	O-82	<i>COVID-19-Superverbreiter</i>	Compound
Noun	O-83	<i>COVID-19-Test</i>	Compound
Noun	O-84	<i>COVID-19-Welle</i>	Compound
Noun	O-85	<i>COVID-Party</i>	Compound
Noun	O-86	<i>Covidfall</i>	Compound
Noun	O-87	<i>Covidhirn</i>	Compound
Noun	D/O-85	<i>Covidiot</i>	Compound
Noun	D/O-86	<i>Covidiotin</i>	Compound
Noun	O-88	<i>Covidkrise</i>	Compound
Noun	O-89	<i>Covidtest</i>	Compound
Noun	D/O-87	<i>Covidzeh</i>	Compound
*There was a notable change on the DWDS website. When accessing the DWDS website to a later date (22 July 2020), only 16 of the lexemes present in the corpus from June 17th 2020 were included in the list. There was no indication as to the reason for this change. The corpus therefore refers to the state of the website on June 17th 2020.			

Table IX

This data collection contains 87 entries from the DWDS (as of 17 June 2020) and 176 entries from the IDS OWID, which overlapped in all 87 cases with the DWDS and had 89 additional entries that were not documented in the DWDS. There are three different bases/modifiers that are being used for the discourse neologisms: *Coron(a)-* (x151), *COVID-19-* (x14), *Covid-* (8), *Coronavirus-* (x3). *Coron(a)-* is the far most used base/modifier within the collection entries. For the following analysis, only the 151 entries with a *Coron(a)-* base/modifier are considered. From those 151 entries, 135 are nouns (with 123 *Determinativkomposita*), 13 adjectives, and 3 verbs. In the following sections, the data is divided into nouns (3.2), adjectives (3.3) and verbs (3.4), and further subdivided into compounds and derivatives. An analysis of the elements used in word-formation as well as tendencies and motivations for the respective case is offered.

The results from the data analysis are further used to identify general lexical tendencies of discourse neologisms, which are explained in the last section of chapter 3, ‘Meaning through Context’ (3.6.). The section focuses on a variety of contextual tendencies and patterns that could be identified by analyzing the data. These patterns and tendencies further prove the specifications of discourse neologisms compared to other lexical forms, and their autonomous status among neologisms.

3.2 Word-Formation in Discourse Neologisms: Nouns

While chapter 2 explains what a discourse neologism is and *why* it is formed, the chapter on analysis focuses on *how* the new lexical material is formed. Hans-Jörg Schmid (2015: 1) presents the goal of word-formation as investigating “the patterns and regularities underlying the formation of complex lexemes by means of existing building blocks with the aim of formulating rules and other types of generalizations.” Schippan (2002: 246) notes that there are characteristic attributes in the formation of neologisms in general, following the rules of word-formation in order to ensure a rapid incorporation into the general lexicon. *Wortbildung* (‘word-formation’) can be seen as an autonomous subfield of grammar, an intersection between syntax, inflectional morphology and lexicon (Fleischer and Barz 2012: 1). There are two main fields of *Wortbildung*, with the rules of word-formation on the one hand and the parts those rules are applied to on the other hand (Fleischer and Barz 2012: 1). In the German Language, most of the neologisms (83%) are a product of word-formation (Tschirner 2010: 239; Fleischer and Barz 2012: 2). Tools of word-formation include compounding, derivation, conversion and reduction (Tschirner 2010: 239), with the three main branches *Komposition* (‘composition’), *Konversion* (‘conversion’), and *Derivation* (derivation) (Fleischer and Barz 2012: 6). The three dominant ways of looking at them are in a structural, morphological or semantic way (Fleischer and Barz 2012: 3). Derivation and compounding are the most popular tools of word-formation and compounding is the most productive tool of word-formation among nouns (Tschirner 2010: 239), since almost all compounds are nominal compositions (Naumann 2002: 42). The most common type in nominal compounds is the noun-noun compound (Elsen 1999: 171). The German language has a huge quantity of compounds with nouns as their most productive elements (Barz 2009: 681). The most important type of compound is the *nominale Determinativkompositum*, an endocentric compound using two nouns, where the initial word of the compound determines the meaning of the second element (*apple cake*, the type of cake is apple). Nominal compounds are often linked with a *Fugenelement*, a single letter or multiple letters between the two nouns.

Derivation is the other most important word-formation type in German (Elsen 1999: 174). In derivation, affixes (suffixes, prefixes and circumfixes) are attached to a lexeme base which can, but does not have to, alter the word class. Within this word-formation type, suffix derivation is the most expanded type of derivation in nouns as opposed to prefix derivation and circumfix derivation (Fleischer and Barz 2012: 118). There are native and foreign suffixes that can be attached to the base *Coron(a)-*.

As this introduction has shown, only the most common types of nominal word-formation, that is, *Determinativkomposita* of the type noun-noun and nominal derivatives, have been used as models to build the nouns from the corpus.

3.2.1 Derivatives

List of Nominal Derivatives			
<p>Source: DWDS reference letter D</p> <p>DWDS – Digitales Wörterbuch der deutschen Sprache. Das Wortauskunftssystem zur deutschen Sprache in Geschichte und Gegenwart, hrsg. v. d. Berlin-Brandenburgischen Akademie der Wissenschaften,</p> <p>URL: https://www.dwds.de/themenglossar/Corona</p> <p>Corpus collected on 17 June 2020</p> <p>Accessed last (controlled and complemented) on 22 July 2020*</p>			
<p>Source: IDS OWID, reference letter O</p> <p>URL: https://www.owid.de/docs/neo/listen/corona.jsp</p> <p>Corpus collected on 7 July 2020</p> <p>Accessed last (controlled and complemented) on 3 August 2020</p>			
Reference	Term	Definition**	Ending
D/O-21	<i>Coronaer</i>	Person, die sich mit dem Coronavirus SARS-CoV-2 infiziert hat	-er
D/O-72	<i>Corönchen</i>	(verharmlosend für) das Coronavirus	-chen
D/O-73	<i>Coronexit</i>	Beendigung der gesellschaftlichen und wirtschaftlichen Beschränkungen während der COVID-19-Pandemie	-exit
D/O-74	<i>Coronials</i>	Teil einer Generation, die während der aufgrund der Ausbreitung von COVID-19 angeordneten Ausgangsbeschränkungen (in Heimquarantäne) gezeugt wurde	-ials
D/O-77	<i>Coronisierung</i>	Anpassung an die Bedingungen in Zeiten der COVID-19-Pandemie	-isierung
D/O-78	<i>Coronismus</i>	während der COVID-19-Pandemie angeordnete (politische) Maßnahmen, die als weitreichender Eingriff in die Privatsphäre und Beschneidung der Grundrechte empfunden werden	-ismus
D/O-80	<i>Coronoia</i>	irrational große Angst vor einer Ansteckung mit dem Coronavirus SARS-CoV-19	-(n)oia
<p>*There was a notable change on the DWDS website. When accessing the DWDS website to a later date (22 July 2020), only 16 of the lexemes present in the corpus from June 17th 2020 were included in the list. There was no indication as to the reason for this change. The corpus therefore refers to the state of the website on June 17th 2020.</p> <p>** All definitions are from OWID as of 3 August 2020</p>			

Of the seven nouns listed above, three are formed with what Fleischer and Barz (2012: 56) call *indigene (native) Affixe*: *-chen* (D/O-72 *Corönchen*), *-er* (D/O-21 *Coronaer*) and *-ung* (D/O-77 *Coronisierung*).

The German language, unlike Slavic or Roman languages, has specific *Deminutivaffixes* (Fleischer and Barz 2012: 231). Although it is possible to use diminutives for nouns, verbs, and adjectives, they are most common with nouns and always produce a neuter noun (Fleischer and Barz 2012: 232). The lexeme D/O-72 *Corönchen* forms with one of the two most used *Diminutivsuffixes*, which is *-chen* and shows the for diminutives common *Umlautung* (Fleischer and Barz 2012: 233; Hentschel and Weydt 2013: 182). The *Umlautung* from *o* to *ö* in this case is – as Fleischer and Barz (2012: 233) mention – also common in foreign words, such as in *Roman* – *Romänchen*. Therefore, D/O-72 *Corönchen* cannot be seen as a special case but rather a conventional formation. It can be assumed that through this convention, the word-formation is easy to decode for the speaker. Furthermore, the definition of D/O-72 *Corönchen* does not exceed the diminutive meaning: “verharmlosend für das Coronavirus” (<https://www.owid.de/docs/neo/listen/corona.jsp#coroenchen>. Accessed 10 December 2020) – i.e. ‘a trivialized form for ‘Coronavirus’.’

The suffix *-er* in D/O-21 *Coronaer* is part of a variety of derivational formations with bases in verbs, nouns and adjectives. This suffix is, as Elke Hentschel and Harald Weydt (2013: 184) note, very heterogeneous, since it brings forth a variety of categories within the *-er* nouns. Considering *Coron(a)-* as a nominal base in this case, it has to be mentioned that nominal bases for *-er* nouns can have different models (Fleischer and Barz 2012: 204 ff.): for foreign personal names ending in *-ik* (Komik – Komiker), for people inhabiting a country (Spanien – Spanier), for people working for a certain domain (Eisenbahn – Eisenbahner), or for simple bases for the same case (Schule – Schüler). *Coron(a)-* does not fit specifically in any of these categories, however, it can be considered a foreign base. Furthermore, the term describes a person belonging to a certain group of people, which is those that are infected with the Coronavirus. There is no similar word-formation model for other illnesses, since, for example, a person who has contracted the flu is not called a *Grippe* – *Gripper* (*flu* – *fluer*) in German. Considering the fact that there are verbs that use *Coron(a)-* as a base, it could be considered that a verbal base was used for this word-formation, for example O-73 *coronern*. One of the definitions of this verb is ‘to infect someone with COVID-19.’ However, due to the rapid formation of discourse neologisms and unknown lexicalization, it seems unlikely that a verb is the base for this formation. It seems that some form of abductive application of word-formation rules, or analogy, led to the form. Just the same, abductive reasoning and analogy make it easy to decode: The definition states that D/O-21 *Coronaer* is ‘a person infected with COVID-19’ (“Person, die sich mit dem Coronavirus SARS-CoV-2 infiziert hat” (<https://www.owid.de/docs/neo/listen/corona.jsp#coronaer>. Accessed 12 December 20)). The simple logic of the *-er* makes a correct decoding possible: *Spanien* – *Spanier*: ‘jemand, der in Spanien lebt/aus Spanien kommt’, *Eisenbahn* – *Eisenbahner*: ‘jemand, der bei der Eisenbahn arbeitet’ (examples taken from Fleischer and Barz 2012: 98), and consequently *Corona* – *Coronaer*: ‘jemand, der an COVID-19 erkrankt ist.’ On the one hand, this lexeme uses a model that is extremely common in word-formation. On the other hand, the model is used to form an uncommon type of lexeme, that is, one that refers to illness. Due to the popularity of the model and the analogical tendencies, it can, however, be assumed, that the lexeme D/O-21 *Coronaer* is easy to decode for the speaker.

A prerequisite for a noun ending in *-ung* in D/O-77 *Coronisierung* specifically *-ier-ung/isier-ung*, is a verb ending in *-ieren/-sieren* (for example *qualifizieren* – *Qualifizierung*)

(Fleischer and Barz 2012: 225). This indicates that the initial form of the derivative D/O-77 *Coronisierung* is not to be seen in noun *Coron(a)-*, but rather the verb D/O-76 *coronisieren* – which also has the same definition as D/O-77 *Coronisierung*. D/O-76 *coronisieren* was recorded by the OWID on April 16 and D/O-77 *Coronisierung* on April 20, which means the verb came before the noun. In this case, it could be possible that the verb motivated the word-formation of a noun. However, just like in the case discussed before, it is unlikely due to the rapid formation of discourse neologisms and unknown lexicalization.

Another possible motivation for the word-formation D/O-77 *Coronisierung* is that, again, there is a certain iconic motivation behind the formation with the ending *-ierung/-isierung*. This motivation becomes clear when looking at the definition of D/O-77 *Coronisierung*: “Anpassung an die Bedingungen in Zeiten der COVID-19-Pandemie” – ‘adjustment/adaptation to the requirements in the times of the COVID-19 pandemic’. It is due to the phonological resemblance with the noun *Kolonisierung* (‘colonization’) that an analogy was used as the motivation:

Coro	-	n	-	isierung
Kolo	-	n	-	isierung

The definition of *Kolonisierung* according to DUDEN ONLINE is “Ein Gebiet zu einer Kolonie machen” – ‘to turn an area into a colony’ (<https://www.duden.de/rechtschreibung/kolonisieren>. Accessed 10 August 2020). The first two definitions for the noun *Kolonie* are: “auswärtige Besetzung eines Staates, die politisch und wirtschaftlich von ihm abhängig ist” – ‘an external overseas territory of a state, which is politically and economically dependent on it,’ and “Gruppe von Personen gleicher Nationalität, die im Ausland [am gleichen Ort] lebt und dort die Traditionen des eigenen Landes pflegt” – ‘a group of people of the same nationality that lives abroad and cultivates the traditions of their home country’ (<https://www.duden.de/rechtschreibung/Kolonie#Bedeutung-1>. Accessed 10 August 2020). This describes a place where the rules that were valid before the act of colonization are not valid anymore and a certain adjustment/adaptation to the requirements of the colonization have taken place. The connection between D/O-77 *Coronisierung* as an act of colonization by the Coronavirus is purely abductive – in the Peircean sense –, however, easy to decode once this connection is made.

To sum up, this case can be called a common word-formational form due to the *-ung* suffix, which is called one of the most productive suffixes of present-day German (Fleischer and Barz 2012: 225). This makes this word-formation a conventional and expectable formation. However, the formation itself does not obey strict rules of word-formation, which makes it a special case. Nevertheless, it is easy for the speaker to decode correctly, since there is a remarkable resemblance with the term *Kolonisierung* in phonological and semantic respects.

The nominal suffix *-asmus/ismus* (D/O-78 *Coronismus*) is what Fleischer and Barz call *exogene Suffixe* (Fleischer and Barz 2012: 106). Derived from Greek *-ismos*, it is a highly productive suffix with adjectives or nouns as its base (Fleischer and Barz 2012: 245/46). Subject to the formations are, as Fleischer and Barz note (2012: 246), political, philosophical and religious topics, approaches to art, science and literature, as well as terminology for epochs, and sicknesses. The last notion is especially interesting for D/O-78 *Coronismus*, as it seems to follow a known pattern. However, considering its definition, *Coronismus* refers to rules that have been

established during the COVID-19 pandemic and have been perceived as an interference in the private lives as well as a restriction of fundamental rights. Therefore, the subject of this formation seems to be part of the political sphere, following terminology such as *Kommunismus*, *Sozialismus*, et cetera. Again, a phonological iconic relationship between *Coronismus/Kommunismus* can be found:

Coro	-	n	-	ismus
Kommu	-	n	-	ismus

In this case, the knowledge of the use of the nominal suffix *-asmus/ismus* as a crucial element in political forms and the analogy to political forms that follow strict rules make it easy for the speaker to decode the noun by means of abduction and the linguistic phenomenon of analogy.

It was shown that *-ung*, *-er*, and *-chen*, are among the most common nominal suffixes in German and word-formations with one of these endings are very common, although the details of the word-formations listed above show irregularities.

The foreign suffix *-exit* is fairly modern. There is little research in official sources, however, the DUDEN ONLINE lists “Brexit” as a “Kunstwort” (<https://www.duden.de/rechtschreibung/Brexit>. Accessed 12 August 2020), while an English online dictionary lists it as a suffix, “added to the first letters of the name of a country or state to indicate that it may leave a union or federation” (https://www.macmillandictionary.com/dictionary/british/exit_3. Accessed 12 August 2020). Especially after the appearance of the similar formations *Grexit* and *Calexit*, it seems reasonable to argue for the suffix status of *-exit* and this study treats it as such. The definition of D/O-73 *Coronexit*, however, differs from the definitions of the other examples: The definitions for Brexit are focused on leaving the European Union, however, the definition of D/O-73 *Coronexit* is ‘to end the social and economic restrictions during the COVID-19 pandemic.’ Figuratively, this means an exit from the restrictions caused by the COVID-19 pandemic. The COVID-19 pandemic in this case is used holistically as a situation, a certain negative state a country is in, which it consequently tries to ‘exit.’ However, this meaning is not implied or intended in the original *-exit* constructions with country names. The word-formation D/O-73 *Coronexit* uses a suffix that is so new it is not even listed as a suffix (or suffixoid) yet. However, D/O-73 *Coronexit* profits from the immense media attention the term *Brexit* gained and its wide general distribution. It can, therefore, be assumed that the international discourse made the term *Brexit* known to such a large audience, that the connection between D/O-73 *Coronexit* and *Brexit* can be made. This case seems to be one of the strongest cases of analogy – which is also the easiest to decode for the speaker.

The lexeme D/O-74 *Coronials*, just as in the former case D/O-73 *Coronexit*, seems to use an element that could be defined as a foreign suffix. However, *-ials* is not (yet) an official suffix either. Therefore, it seems much more likely that the lexeme D/O-74 *Coronials* takes the English *millennials* as a model word-formation. The English noun *millennial* is defined in the dictionary as “a person who was born in the 1980s, 1990s, or early 2000s” (<https://dictionary.cambridge.org/de/worterbuch/englisch/millennial>. Accessed 12 December 20). The lexeme “millennials,” therefore, is an inflection of “millennial,” since it is the plural of the

noun. The definition of the lexeme D/O-74 *Coronials* strengthens the assumption that this, again, is a case of analogy: “Teil einer Generation, die während der aufgrund der Ausbreitung von COVID-19 angeordneten Ausgangsbeschränkungen (in Heimquarantäne) gezeugt wurde” (<https://www.owid.de/docs/neo/listen/corona.jsp#coronials>. Accessed 12 December 20) – ‘a part of a generation, that was conceived during the stay-at-home orders during the COVID-19 pandemic.’

Another obvious case for analogy is the word formation D/O-80 *Coronoia*, which seems to refer to the term ‘Paranoia.’ The Greek *paránoia* (‘insanity’) consists of the elements *pará* (‘next to’) and *noûs* (‘sanity’) (<https://www.duden.de/rechtschreibung/Paranoia>. Accessed 14 August 2020). Although *Coro(n)-* uses the ending *-(n)oia* like a suffix, the ending *-(n)oia* is not an official suffix of the German language, since it could not be found in any source. There seems to be a strong correlation between the definitions of D/O-80 *Coronoia* and *Paranoia*: *Paranoia* is defined by DUDEN ONLINE as ‘pathological suspiciousness’ (<https://www.duden.de/rechtschreibung/Paranoia>. Accessed 14 August 2020) and *Coronoia* as ‘irrationally big fear of getting infected with COVID-19’ (<https://www.owid.de/docs/neo/listen/corona.jsp>. Accessed 14 August 2020). Furthermore, there is a strong resemblance in syllables and sounds:

Coro	-	n	-	oia
Para	-	n	-	oia

Word-formation-wise, it is also possible that the form *Corona paranoia* was contracted to *Coronoia*. Either way, D/O-80 *Coronoia* is yet another strong example for iconic reference, since there is only one word ending in *-oia* in the German language, which makes *Paranoia* the only possible source for analogy.

In this section, it was shown that there were a number of similarities between the word-formations: They all use either suffixes that are extremely common in the German language, or endings that can be derived by abduction and analogy from very popular terms. Although the word-formation itself does not strictly obey its rules or follows the prescribed pattern, the nouns can be easily decoded by the speaker by the use of analogy. A focus on easy decodeability seems to be the main motivation for these constructions, even before following correct grammatical patterns. The reliance on abduction in these cases is also an interesting factor to keep in mind when thinking about the general intention to make a concept *communicatable*. The number of nouns formed by derivation, however, is small compared to the number of compounds, which will be the topic of the following section.

3.2.2 Compounds

The Germanic languages “display regular and highly productive compounding patterns” (Olson 2015: 365). 135 out of the 151 cases of lexemes in the corpus, which use *Coron(a)-* as a base/modifier, are nouns. 123 of these 135 are nominal compounds in the form of *Determinativkomposita*. The high percentage of 81.4% of nominal compounds matches well with the overall share they have in German word-formation, which is 50-60%. Furthermore, the

Determinativkompositum with two (or more) nouns is the most frequent form, according to the *Innsbrucker Korpus*, where this form has a share of 77.9% (Fleischer and Barz 2012: 117). This is a crosslinguistic commonality, since “the most common heads cross linguistically are found among the nominal and adjectival categories” (Olson 2015: 366). Fleischer and Barz note that there is also a much higher productivity and variety to be found in the word-formational models for nouns (2012: 117). Most new nouns in German are created as a compound with two or more nouns (Tschirner 2010: 239), as “almost 80% of all German nominal compounds consist of two nominal constituents” (Barz 2016: 16). Barz (2016: 16) notes that “though for pragmatic reasons, especially due to a universal need of speakers for brevity and clarity of designations, compounds consisting of two or three simple or derived stems dominate in non-technical communication.”

Susan Olson (2015: 365) explains that “composition is a productive process of word-formation in which the component lexemes are chosen from the lexical categories of a language forming a combination in which one constituent functions as the head that is modified by the other constituent.” Composition, in general and cross-linguistically, is “a major process of vocabulary extension in natural language. It refers to the combination of two or more lexemes (roots, stems or freely occurring words) in the formation of a new, complex word, termed a compound” (Olson 2015: 364). Compounding in the German language is almost exclusively used as a tool for the expansion of nouns and adjectives (Barz 2009: 664). Although the first constituent of a nominal compound can be a noun, verb, adjective, or adverb, the noun is the most frequently used first constituent (Thurmair 2010: 229). Within the determinative compound, the main accent is on the specification in front of the main word (Hirschfeld 2010: 197). The ‘binary constituent structure’ (“*binäre Konstituentenstruktur*”) (Thurmair 2010: 229) of German compounds makes the final constituent determine the lexical category of the whole compound (in German: Thurmair 2010: 229; in general: Olson 2015: 366), which is a “generalization captured in Williams’ (1981) righthand head rule” (Olson 2015: 366). This rule states that: “the two sister constituents on one level are not equipotent but related to each other in a determinans-determinatum or modifier-head relation. The determinatum or head is the semantically and, more importantly, grammatically dominant constituent, which is specified by the determinans or modifier” (Schmid 2015: 5). In German, as Barz (2016: 16) explains, “compounds are right-headed, that is, the second element determines the morphosyntactic properties of the compound.” In nominal compounds the second constituent is a noun which also determines the genus and declension of the whole compound:

Komposita weisen im Deutschen grundsätzlich eine binäre Konstituentenstruktur auf; dabei legt die zweite Konstituente die Wortart des gesamten Kompositums fest: Substantivkomposita weisen deshalb als zweite Konstituente ein Substantiv auf, das auch Genus und Deklinationstyp der gesamten Bildung bestimmt. (Thurmair 2010: 229).

Determinativkomposita, as Innerwinkler explains (2015: 9), form when two or more lexemes are being combined to form one new lexeme. This study uses the terms *head* and *modifier*, although there is varying terminology depending on the author.

Table of elements of <i>Determinativkomposita</i>		
Apple	Pie	
Determinans	Determinatum	Innerwinkler, 2015 Donalies, 2007
Bestimmungswort (1. Hauptglied)	Grundwort (2. Hauptglied)	Elsen, 2011
Erstglied	Zweitglied	Fleischer and Barz, 2012 Motsch, 2004
'modifier'	'head'	

Table XI

Semantically, as Maria Thurmair (2010: 230) adds, there is a 'determinative relationship' (*Determinationsbeziehung*) in compounds, which results in the first constituent determining the second constituent. She adds the following example to illustrate this relationship: "*Nusskuchen, Napfkuchen* und *Apfelkuchen* sind also bestimmte, jeweils von ihren Erstgliedern genauer determinierte Arten von ‚Kuchen“" (Thurmair 2010: 230). In this example, Thurmair lists three types of different pies, which, through the use of a modifier, all are a more specific version of a pie. In all the words chosen for the corpus, *Corona(a)-* is the modifier, meaning that *Corona-* determines and modifies the second constituent.

Important to note is, as Schmid (2015: 1) reminds us, that "unlike most simple lexemes [...] complex lexemes are not entirely arbitrary signs, but instead are morphologically motivated by their constituents and by the semantic links shared with other structurally identical formations." Therefore, one crucial factor to look at is the semantic relation of the constituents (3.2.2), as well as looking at the morpho-semantic motivation (3.2.3). This might help understanding why this type of compound is the most used type – not only in lexical extensions in general, but also within this corpus of discourse neologisms.

3.2.2.1 Semantic Relation of the Constituents

Thurmair (2010: 230) calls attention to the fact that compounds potentially have a variety of possible meanings, but that there is always one that is preferred, which can usually be deduced apart from context with the help of a manageable amount of basic semantic relations. Fleischer and Barz promote the paraphrasing of a compound as a method to uncover the semantic relationships between the constituents (Fleischer and Barz 2012: 130). The definitions found in the OWID can be seen as such paraphrasing. It is to note that all the assignments of a type of semantic relationship rely solely on the definitions as given by the OWID, and the way the words are described in those definitions. The definitions either used the term *Corona* as a temporal phenomenon, most commonly expressed by *während* ('during'); a causal phenomenon, expressed by *durch/aufgrund/wegen* ('because of'); or a functional phenomenon, expressed by *zur (Eindämmung der COVID-19-Pandemie)* 'in order to (contain the COVID-19 pandemic).'

When looking at the definitions for the compounds, *während* ('during') is by far the most used word in these paraphrases, adding an explicitly temporal focus to the *Corona-* compounds.

The lexemes bound in the compounds with the modifier *Corona-* relate to that constituent mostly by being a form of their actual meaning ‘during the times of the Coronavirus pandemic.’ This type of nominal compound follows the semantic pattern described by Wolfgang Motsch (2004: 409) as:

[N & TEMP (N’_{ZEIT}, N)] (r) “Referenten sind N, die zur Zeit N’ ablaufen”.

One example is D/O-20 *Coronaelterngeld*. *Elterngeld* is a specific form of financial governmental support for parents. The compound’s head *Elterngeld*, therefore, is a well-established concept and lexeme in the German language. The specification of this lexeme, D/O-20 *Coronaelterngeld*, is defined, or paraphrased, by OWID as follows: “(angedachte) finanzielle Unterstützung für Eltern während der COVID-19-Pandemie”

(<https://www.owid.de/docs/neo/listen/corona.jsp#coronaelterngeld>. Accessed 9 December 20) – ‘a planned financial support for parents *during* the COVID-19-pandemic.’ The definition of *Elterngeld* is paraphrased as “finanzielle Unterstützung für Eltern” with the specification that it is “*während* der COVID-19-Pandemie” – ‘*during* the COVID-19 pandemic.’

D/O-51 *Coronasemester* is yet another example for a temporal focus: It is described by the OWID as “virtuelles Studienhalbjahr mit digitalen Lehrangeboten, das an die Ausgangs- und Alltagsbeschränkungen *während* der COVID-19-Pandemie angepasst ist”

(<https://www.owid.de/docs/neo/listen/corona.jsp#coronasemester>. Accessed 9 December 20), i.e., ‘a type of semester that is different *during* the COVID-19 pandemic.’

The meaning of the *Corona-* modifier within the compounds with a temporal factor therefore changes in order to be aligned with this focus. The modifier *Corona-* in nominal compounds with a temporal focus cannot be seen to refer to the illness, or a pandemic, but rather to the timespan of the pandemic, i.e., a certain temporal phase that is determined by the effects of the Coronavirus. In the temporal type of semantic relation, the meaning of the second constituent of the compound is altered by a temporal concept of the modifier *Corona-*. The determining factor is ‘for a certain timespan,’ which, in this case, is the timespan of the COVID-19 pandemic. Temporal semantic relation occurred in 68 out of 123 cases of nominal compounds – in a few cases of polysemy along with another type of semantic relation. As mentioned before, the cases of polysemy are treated separately, that is, if a lexeme can belong to more than one type due to polysemy, it will appear with the other definition(s) in different sections throughout the analysis chapter. However, in most cases the polysemous meanings shared the focus of semantic relation.

Corona as a timespan

Nominal compounds from the Corpus using [N & TEMP (N’_{ZEIT}, N)] (r)

Motsch (2004: 409)

Source: DWDS reference letter D

DWDS – Digitales Wörterbuch der deutschen Sprache. Das Wortauskunftssystem zur deutschen Sprache in Geschichte und Gegenwart, hrsg. v. d. Berlin-Brandenburgischen Akademie der Wissenschaften,

URL: <https://www.dwds.de/themenglossar/Corona>

Corpus collected on 17 June 2020

Accessed last (controlled and complemented) on 22 July 2020*

Source: IDS OWID, reference letter O

URL: <https://www.owid.de/docs/neo/listen/corona.jsp>

Corpus collected on 7 July 2020

Accessed last (controlled and complemented) on 3 August 2020

Reference	N'	N
D/O-3	<i>Corona</i>	<i>Abitur</i>
D/O-4	<i>Corona</i>	<i>Abstand</i>
D/O-5	<i>Corona</i>	<i>Ampel</i>
D/O-6	<i>Corona</i>	<i>Ampelsystem</i>
D/O-7	<i>Corona</i>	<i>App</i>
O-3	<i>Corona</i>	<i>Appgesetz</i>
O-6	<i>Corona</i>	<i>Ausrede</i>
D/O-8	<i>Corona</i>	<i>Baby</i>
D/O-10	<i>Corona</i>	<i>Blues</i>
D/O-11	<i>Corona</i>	<i>Bonds</i>
D/O-12	<i>Corona</i>	<i>Bonus</i>
D/O-13	<i>Corona</i>	<i>Bremse</i>
D/O-14	<i>Corona</i>	<i>Briefing</i>
O-8	<i>Corona</i>	<i>Bulletin</i>
D/O-17	<i>Corona</i>	<i>Cluster</i>
D/O-20	<i>Corona</i>	<i>Elterngeld</i>
D/O-22	<i>Corona</i>	<i>Etikette</i>
O-16	<i>Corona</i>	<i>Familienbonus</i>
D/O-23	<i>Corona</i>	<i>Fashion</i>
D/O-26	<i>Corona</i>	<i>Frisur</i>
O-17	<i>Corona</i>	<i>Fußgruß</i>
O-18	<i>Corona</i>	<i>Geburtstag</i>
D/O-28	<i>Corona</i>	<i>Generation</i>
O-21	<i>Corona</i>	<i>Gruß</i>
D/O-29	<i>Corona</i>	<i>Held</i>
O-22	<i>Corona</i>	<i>Helfer</i>
D/O-30	<i>Corona</i>	<i>Hobby</i>
D/O-33	<i>Corona</i>	<i>Hype</i>
O-24	<i>Corona</i>	<i>Isolation</i>
D/O-35	<i>Corona</i>	<i>Kabinett</i>
D/O-36	<i>Corona</i>	<i>Kilo</i>
O-26	<i>Corona</i>	<i>Kindergeld</i>
O-27	<i>Corona</i>	<i>Klausur</i>
D/O-37	<i>Corona</i>	<i>Knigge</i>
O-29	<i>Corona</i>	<i>Koller</i>
O-31	<i>Corona</i>	<i>Leugner</i>
O-33	<i>Corona</i>	<i>Mähne</i>
O-34	<i>Corona</i>	<i>Marke</i>
O-35	<i>Corona</i>	<i>Masche</i>
O-36	<i>Corona</i>	<i>Matte</i>

O-42	Corona	Müll
O-43	Corona	Nothilfe
D/O-43	Corona	Party
D/O-44	Corona	Pauschale
O-44	Corona	Pause
D/O-45	Corona	Pflegebonus
D/O-46	Corona	Prämie
O-46	Corona	Radweg
O-47	Corona	Rebell
O-49	Corona	Scham
D/O-48	Corona	Scheck
O-50	Corona	Schein
O-51	Corona	Schichtunterricht
D/O-51	Corona	Semester
D/O-52	Corona	Session
D/O-53	Corona	Sex
O-57	Corona	Shaming
O-60	Corona	Sommer
D/O-58	Corona	Speck
D/O-59	Corona	Sperre
D/O-60	Corona	Starre
O-61	Corona	Stau
D/O-61	Corona	Streifje
D/O-62	Corona	Stress
D/O-64	Corona	Tagebuch
D/O-69	Corona	Warnapp
O-68	Corona	Wende
O-70	Corona	Zeit
O-71	Corona	Zettel
O-72	Corona	Zuschuss
*There was a notable change on the DWDS website. When accessing the DWDS website to a later date (22 July 2020), only 16 of the lexemes present in the corpus from June 17th 2020 were included in the list. There was no indication as to the reason for this change. The corpus therefore refers to the state of the website on June 17th 2020.		

Table XII.I

Another relational type that could be identified was the causal type. A causal relation is often indicated by the use of one of the following words: “durch/aufgrund/wegen” (‘because of’). The semantic pattern of causal relation, as described by Motsch (2004: 411), is:

[N & CAUS (N', N)] (r) “Referenten sind N, die von N' verursacht werden”.

One example is D/O-16 *Coronacare*: “Hilfeleistungen für Personen(-gruppen), die *aufgrund* der in der COVID-19-Pandemie geltenden Kontakt- und Ausgangsbeschränkungen Unterstützung (im Alltag) benötigen” (<https://www.owid.de/docs/neo/listen/corona.jsp#coronacare>. Accessed 9 December 20), i.e., ‘a certain type of support that is needed by a specific group of people as a result of rules introduced because of the COVID-19 pandemic,’ or D/O-19 *Coronacrash*:

“plötzlicher Sturz der Aktienkurse *aufgrund* der COVID-19-Pandemie”

(<https://www.owid.de/docs/neo/listen/corona.jsp#coronacrash>. Accessed 9 December 20), i.e., ‘a sudden crash of the stock markets as a result of the COVID-19 pandemic.’

In these cases, *Corona-* not only determines the second constituent, but causes it in some form: In D/O-16, *Corona-* can be seen as the cause for a need for a certain type of care for individuals affected by the constraints. In D/O-19, *Corona-* causes a crash in stock markets.

Another example is D/O-34 *Coronahysterie*, which is defined as “*durch die Angst vor einer Ansteckung mit dem Coronavirus SARS-CoV-19 und wegen der Auswirkungen der COVID-19-Pandemie ausgelöste allgemeine (nervöse) Aufgeregtheit*”

(<https://www.owid.de/docs/neo/listen/corona.jsp#coronahysterie>. Accessed 9 December 20), i.e., ‘a specific form of anxiety sparked *because of* the fear of contracting the Coronavirus and also *because of* the general effects of the COVID-19 pandemic.’ This type of relation occurred 30 times within the nominal compounds.

<p>Corona as a cause</p> <p>Nominal compounds from the Corpus using [N & CAUS (N', N)] (r)</p> <p>Motsch (2004: 411)</p>		
<p>Source: DWDS reference letter D</p> <p>DWDS – Digitales Wörterbuch der deutschen Sprache. Das Wortauskunftssystem zur deutschen Sprache in Geschichte und Gegenwart, hrsg. v. d. Berlin-Brandenburgischen Akademie der Wissenschaften,</p> <p>URL: https://www.dwds.de/themenglossar/Corona</p> <p>Corpus collected on 17 June 2020</p> <p>Accessed last (controlled and complemented) on 22 July 2020*</p>		
<p>Source: IDS OWID, reference letter O</p> <p>URL: https://www.owid.de/docs/neo/listen/corona.jsp</p> <p>Corpus collected on 7 July 2020</p> <p>Accessed last (controlled and complemented) on 3 August 2020</p>		
Reference	N'	N
D/O-3	<i>Corona</i>	<i>Abitur</i>
D/O-8	<i>Corona</i>	<i>Baby</i>
D/O-16	<i>Corona</i>	<i>Care</i>
D/O-19	<i>Corona</i>	<i>Crash</i>
D/O-24	<i>Corona</i>	<i>Ferien</i>
D/O-27	<i>Corona</i>	<i>Fuß</i>
D/O-32	<i>Corona</i>	<i>Hygienepauschale</i>
D/O-34	<i>Corona</i>	<i>Hysterie</i>
O-24	<i>Corona</i>	<i>Isolation</i>
O-27	<i>Corona</i>	<i>Klausur</i>
O-29	<i>Corona</i>	<i>Koller</i>
D/O-38	<i>Corona</i>	<i>Krise</i>

O-37	<i>Corona</i>	<i>Moderne</i>
O-42	<i>Corona</i>	<i>Müll</i>
D/O-42	<i>Corona</i>	<i>Panik</i>
D/O-44	<i>Corona</i>	<i>Pauschale</i>
O-47	<i>Corona</i>	<i>Rebell</i>
O-48	<i>Corona</i>	<i>Regel</i>
D/O-47	<i>Corona</i>	<i>Rettungsschirm</i>
O-54	<i>Corona</i>	<i>Schock</i>
O-55	<i>Corona</i>	<i>Schub</i>
D/O-49	<i>Corona</i>	<i>Schutzschild</i>
D/O-50	<i>Corona</i>	<i>Schutzschirm</i>
O-59	<i>Corona</i>	<i>Soforthilfe</i>
D/O-56	<i>Corona</i>	<i>Soli</i>
D/O-57	<i>Corona</i>	<i>Solidaritätszuschlag</i>
D/O-66	<i>Corona</i>	<i>Tief</i>
O-68	<i>Corona</i>	<i>Wende</i>
O-69	<i>Corona</i>	<i>Wolke</i>
D/O-70	<i>Corona</i>	<i>Zeh</i>
*There was a notable change on the DWDS website. When accessing the DWDS website to a later date (22 July 2020), only 16 of the lexemes present in the corpus from June 17th 2020 were included in the list. There was no indication as to the reason for this change. The corpus therefore refers to the state of the website on June 17th 2020.		

Table XII.II

The functional type uses *zur* (in order to), mostly in combination with “zur Eindämmung der COVID-19-Pandemie” (‘in order to contain the COVID-19-pandemic’). One example for this type is the lexeme D/O-71 *Coronazwangspause* (lit. ‘corona forced break’): “Zeitraum, in dem fast alle wirtschaftlichen und gesellschaftlichen Aktivitäten *zur* Eindämmung der COVID-19-Pandemie auf politische Anordnung hin stillgelegt sind” (<https://www.owid.de/docs/neo/listen/corona.jsp#coronazwangspause>. Accessed 9 December 20), i.e., ‘a timespan where a cessation of all activities is forced upon economic and public activities in order to contain the pandemic.’ *Zwangspause* literally describes a compulsory or mandatory break, D/O-71 *Coronazwangspause* is a mandatory break that is mandated in order to contain the spread of the Coronavirus.

The functional type is described by Motsch (2004: 411) as

[N & ZWECK VON (N', N)] (r) “Referenten sind N, die den Zweck N' haben”.

This type occurs 13 times in the corpus’ list of nominal compounds. It is to mention that almost all cases of this type use the phrase “*zur* Eindämmung der COVID-19-Pandemie” (‘in order to contain the COVID-19-pandemic’) within their definition. Therefore, the second constituent of a compound of the functional type is the element with the purpose to contain the outbreak. The modifier *Coron(a)-*, therefore, does not stand for the illness *pe se*, but for the containment of the illness. For example, O-4 *Coronaaufgabe* (‘Corona constraint’), describes a constraint that is made in order to contain COVID-19, compared to a constraint that is made because of COVID-19 (as in the causal type) or during the COVID-19 pandemic (as in the temporal type).

Corona used functional		
Nominal compounds from the Corpus using [N & ZWECK VON (N', N)] (r) “Referenten sind N, die den Zweck N' haben”.		
Motsch (2004: 411)		
Source: DWDS reference letter D		
DWDS – Digitales Wörterbuch der deutschen Sprache. Das Wortauskunftssystem zur deutschen Sprache in Geschichte und Gegenwart, hrsg. v. d. Berlin-Brandenburgischen Akademie der Wissenschaften,		
URL: https://www.dwds.de/themenglossar/Corona		
Corpus collected on 17 June 2020		
Accessed last (controlled and complemented) on 22 July 2020*		
Reference	N'	N
O-4	<i>Corona</i>	<i>Auflage</i>
O-6	<i>Corona</i>	<i>Ausrede</i>
D/O-13	<i>Corona</i>	<i>Bremse</i>
D/O-15	<i>Corona</i>	<i>Buster</i>
D/O-18	<i>Corona</i>	<i>Couture</i>
O-11	<i>Corona</i>	<i>Detektiv</i>
O-14	<i>Corona</i>	<i>Fakeshop</i>
O-27	<i>Corona</i>	<i>Klausur</i>
O-44	<i>Corona</i>	<i>Pause</i>
O-52	<i>Corona</i>	<i>Schließzeit</i>
O-56	<i>Corona</i>	<i>Schutzwall</i>
D/O-60	<i>Corona</i>	<i>Starre</i>
D/O-71	<i>Corona</i>	<i>Zwangspause</i>
*There was a notable change on the DWDS website. When accessing the DWDS website to a later date (22 July 2020), only 16 of the lexemes present in the corpus from June 17th 2020 were included in the list. There was no indication as to the reason for this change. The corpus therefore refers to the state of the website on June 17th 2020.		

Table XII.III

Barz (2016: 17) writes: “In typical nominal compounds of German, the determinative compounds, the first element is semantically subordinate to the second element. The determined second element represents as a hyperonym the complex word, the determining first element restricts the extension of the second element, e.g., *Tagesreise* ‘day trip’ (i.e. ‘a trip which takes a day’).” In the examples shown above, the three most common types to restrict the extension of the head through the modifier are: temporal, causal and functional.

3.2.2.2 The Motivational Meaning in Nominal Compounds of Discourse Neologisms

A previous section discusses the motivation that can cause the *production* of new words; this section asks what motivation causes the *type of formation* of the new word and, therefore, the cause for the dominating presence of nominal compounds.

Fleischer and Barz (2012: 44) highlight the *morphosemantische Motivation/Motivationsbedeutung* ('motivational meaning'), which is the motivation to form a compound in such a way that its meaning can be deduced from understanding the meaning of the elements that it consists of: "Unter morphosemantischer Motivation wird die Erschließbarkeit der lexikalischen Bedeutung einer Wortbildung aus deren Motivationsbedeutung verstanden" (Fleischer and Barz 2012: 44). *Motivationsbedeutung* is the meaning a compound gains when the literal meaning of the two constituents is put together: For example, *Apfelkuchen* (apple pie) can be understood easily by putting together the meanings of each constituent; a pie made of apples. However, in more complex compounds, the *Motivationsbedeutung* may vary from the *lexikalische Bedeutung*. Fleischer and Barz use *Taschenbuch* (lit. 'pocket book', engl. paperback) as an example. The *Motivationsbedeutung*, 'book for the pocket,' does not include the additional context and information, that – as Fleischer and Barz argue – it is a cheaply made book, that has a compact format and no hard cover. The more the motivational meaning differs from the lexical meaning, the less motivated a compound is, and the lower its morphosemantic motivation (*morphosemantische Motivation*).

In general, the discourse neologism compounds from the corpus can be described as motivated, since the lexical meaning and the motivational meaning are not far apart.

One example is D/O-16 *Coronacare*: "Hilfeleistungen für Personen(-gruppen), die *aufgrund* der in der COVID-19-Pandemie geltenden Kontakt- und Ausgangsbeschränkungen Unterstützung (im Alltag) benötigen" (<https://www.owid.de/docs/neo/listen/corona.jsp#coronacare>. Accessed 9 December 20). The motivational meaning of this lexeme could be one the following: 'a form of care that is received during the COVID-19 pandemic' or 'care that is needed because of the COVID-19 pandemic.' The OWID definition describes D/O-16 *Coronacare* as 'a certain kind of care for people who need support in their daily life because of quarantine regulations.' In this example, the lexical meaning and the motivational meaning are not far apart.

Another example is O-48 *Coronaregel* ('Corona rule'). From its motivational meaning it could be assumed that it is a rule established because of Corona. The lexical meaning, as presented in the OWID definition, reads: "aufgrund der COVID-19-Pandemie erlassene Regelung, die die Ausbreitung des Virus verlangsamen soll"

(<https://www.owid.de/docs/neo/listen/corona.jsp#coronaregel>. Accessed 9 December 20), i.e., 'a rule made because of the COVID-19-Pandemic, designed to slow down the spread of the virus.'

The motivational meaning of D/O-45 *Coronapflegebonus* ('Corona care bonus') could be 'a certain bonus, usually financially, for caretakers or for people taking care of someone during the COVID-19 pandemic.' The lexical meaning, again, is not too far from this definition:

"(Angedachte) einmalige Sonderzahlung für Beschäftigte in der Pflege zum Ausgleich der besonders hohen Belastung während der COVID-19-Pandemie"

(<https://www.owid.de/docs/neo/listen/corona.jsp#coronapflegebonus>. Accessed 9 December 20), which roughly translates to 'a planned, one-time financial bonus for caretakers in order to account for their extra work during the pandemic.'

The *morphosemantische Motivation* can be seen as the main reason for a high motivation in compounds, that is, it offers an easy accessibility of the meaning of the lexemes for the

speaker. However, there is one special aspect that needs to be considered when discussing compounds that are also discourse neologisms: The discourse, i.e., the first constituent, has to be known in order to understand the compound. This special case is discussed in section 3.6.

3.3 Word-Formation in Discourse Neologisms: Adjectives

Compared to nouns, adjectives represent only a small portion of the lexicon with a 15% share (Fleischer and Barz 2012: 297). In this corpus, only 8.6% (13/151) of the words are adjectives. This confirms the general trend represented in the lexicon. The word-formation for the adjectives with the nominal base *Coron(a)-* cause a change of word class. The suffixes attached to this base carry a *Wortbildungsbedeutung* (lit. ‘word-formational meaning’) of the types *relational*, *komparativ*, *ornativ*, *privativ*, and *material* (Fleischer and Barz 2012: 297). In addition to suffixes, the adjectival word-formation uses a variety of “reihenbildenden, kompositionelle Zweitglieder” (Fleischer and Barz 2012: 297), which are often called *suffixoid* in the literature. The use of a suffixoid makes it challenging to strictly differentiate between compounding and derivation (Fleischer and Barz 2012: 300) and, therefore, this can be seen as a gray area. Barz notes that the term suffixoid indicates the interim position of such second constituents in which the bound form differs semantically from its free form and has gained individual status over it (Barz 2009: 747). Those suffixoids often produce *Reihenbildung*. *Reihenbildung* (‘row/serial formation’) is a phenomenon whereby a suffix is used to produce a large number of derivatives. To cite an English example, *-able* can be found in a lot of adjectives such as *relatable*, *notable*, *etc.*

However, there is a controversy around the status of this special type of element and whether it belongs to derivation or composition. Fleischer and Barz (2012: 300) solve the controversy as follows: If the free form is semantically equivalent with the bound form, it is categorized as a compound with a suffixoid, such as, for example, *-frei*, which in its bound form means ‘free of.’ Consequently, in this study, only bound morphemes will be considered in the derivatives sections and suffixoids can be found in the section on compounding.

3.3.1 Derivatives

There are thirteen adjectives in the corpus, of which five are a product of suffix derivation, six of suffixoid composition and two are a product of conventional compounding.

List of denominal adjective formations with bound morphemes			
<p>Source: DWDS reference letter D</p> <p>DWDS – Digitales Wörterbuch der deutschen Sprache. Das Wortauskunftssystem zur deutschen Sprache in Geschichte und Gegenwart, hrsg. v. d. Berlin-Brandenburgischen Akademie der Wissenschaften,</p> <p>URL: https://www.dwds.de/themenglossar/Corona</p> <p>Corpus collected on 17 June 2020</p> <p>Accessed last (controlled and complemented) on 22 July 2020*</p>			
<p>Source: IDS OWID, reference letter O</p> <p>URL: https://www.owid.de/docs/neo/listen/corona.jsp</p> <p>Corpus collected on 7 July 2020</p> <p>Accessed last (controlled and complemented) on 3 August 2020</p>			
Reference	Term	suffix	definition**
O-13	<i>coronaesk</i>	-esk	an die (von manchen als unsinnig oder übermäßig bewerteten) Verordnungen während der COVID-19-Pandemie erinnernd
D/O-39	<i>coronal</i>	-al	die durch die COVID-19-Pandemie entstandene Krise betreffend, in ihr entstanden oder geltend
D/O-79	<i>coronistisch</i>	-istisch	von der COVID-19-Pandemie zeugend
O-74	<i>coronisch</i>	-isch	die Sprache während der COVID-19-Pandemie betreffend Eigenschaften von Personen, Handlungen, Sachverhalten etc. mit

			Bezug auf die Umstände der COVID-19-Pandemie
D/O-40	<i>coronalos</i>	-los	keine COVID-19 Infektion aufweisend
<p><i>*There was a notable change on the DWDS website. When accessing the DWDS website to a later date (22 July 2020), only 16 of the lexemes present in the corpus from June 17th 2020 were included in the list. There was no indication as to the reason for this change. The corpus therefore refers to the state of the website on June 17th 2020.</i></p> <p><i>** All definitions are from OWID as of 3 August 2020</i></p>			

Table XIII.I

Of the four adjectives listed above, two are formed with what Fleischer and Barz (2012: 57) call *indigene Affixe*: *-isch* (D/O-74 *coronisch*) and *-los* (D/O-40 *coronalos*). The suffix *-isch* is a crucial suffix in *desubstantivischer Adjektivbildung* ('denominal adjective formation'), that is, adjectives derived from a noun. As the distinct ending for adjectives made from a foreign word (Fleischer and Barz 2012: 339/340), the suffix *-isch* is responsible for adjective formations that integrate foreign words into the lexicon. This means that the formation D/O-74 is a comparatively common adjective formation. The suffix *-isch* falls either into the category of comparative word-formational meaning and intention (Fleischer and Barz 2012: 309) or in the relational category (Fleischer and Barz 2012: 308). One of the two definitions of the term confirms the relational category: "Eigenschaften von Personen, Handlungen, Sachverhalten etc. mit Bezug auf die Umstände der COVID-19-Pandemie" (<https://www.owid.de/docs/neo/listen/corona.jsp#coronisch>. Accessed 9 December 20) – 'characteristics of people, acts, facts etc. with relation to the circumstances of the COVID-19 pandemic.'

Similarly, the suffix *-ist-isch* is part of the *-isch* suffix, but usually with the specification that it is found in adjective versions of nouns that end in *-ismus* (Fleischer and Barz 2012: 339/341) or *-ismus/istik*. Therefore, the adjective D/O-79 *coronistisch* could also be seen as an adjective derived from the noun D/O-78 *Coronismus* – instead of *Corona*. As the examples from the section on nouns indicate, it is likely that an iconic motivation underlies this word-formation.

The suffixes *-esk* and *-al* are foreign (or *exogenous*) suffixes (Barz 2009: 751). The suffix *-esk* uses a noun as its base, according to Fleischer and Barz (2012: 350), and is most commonly in the form of personal names or genres such as in literature and music. When the suffix *-esk* is used, it indicates a comparative word-formational meaning and intention (Fleischer and Barz 2012: 350) and, therefore, is comparable to the native suffix *-haft* (Fleischer and Barz 2012: 350). However, the definition of the adjective gives a hint in a different direction: "an die (von manchen als unsinnig oder übermäßig bewerteten) Verordnungen während der COVID-19-Pandemie erinnernd" (https://www.owid.de/docs/neo/listen/corona.jsp#coronahaft_2. Accessed 9 December 20) – 'reminiscent of the decrees during the COVID-19 pandemic which were perceived by some as absurd and excessive.' The notion of absurdity links O-13 *coronaesk* with a popular adjective of the same formational type: *kafkaesk*. This adjective is used not only to identify something as being in the form of Franz Kafka's narrations, but also as being threatening in a unfathomable way: "in der Art der Schilderungen Kafkas; auf unergründliche Weise bedrohlich," with its synonym being 'uncanny' (<https://www.duden.de/rechtschreibung/kafkaesk>. Accessed 16 August 2020). It can be

speculated that the motivation for the adjective is not purely rooted in word-formation, since the comparative function of the *-esk* suffix does not apply to the definition of O-13 *coronaesk*, but rather that the adjective *kafkaesk* serves as a model for analogy, which, again, would be a case of analogical motivation.

The suffix *-al* typically uses a noun as its base (Fleischer and Barz 2012: 349) and can fall into one of two categories of word-formational meaning and intention: Either comparative (Fleischer and Barz 2012: 309) and, therefore, – just like *-esk* – comparable to the native suffix *-haft* (Fleischer and Barz 2012: 350), or relational ‘in relation to’ (Fleischer and Barz 2012: 349). The definition of the term is congruent with the relational category: “die durch die COVID-19-Pandemie entstandene Krise betreffend, in ihr entstanden oder geltend” – ‘concerning the crisis that emerged from the COVID-19 pandemic, regarding this crisis or emerged from this crisis.’ This word-formation is one of the few not obviously using analogical motivation.

The suffix of the lexeme D/O-40 *coronalos* is *-los*, which is a typical native suffix used almost exclusively for the derivation of nouns (Thurmair 2010: 323; Fleischer and Barz 2012: 349). Although *los* is known as a noun (*das Los*), an adjective (*los*), and an adverb (*los*), it also has an independent adjectival suffix status and is not counted as a suffixoid – a development that came gradually (Fleischer and Barz 2012: 349). Cases like *-los* belong to a group of lexemes that “have undergone a functional and semantic shift away from the still existing base lexemes, [and thus] are regarded as suffixes” (Habermann 2015: 1804). This suffix usually uses a noun as its base and expresses ‘not having X’ in relation to the base (Barz 2009: 757). Fleischer and Barz (2012: 309) list this suffix as having an ornativ (possessive) or privative (having or not having) *Wortbildungsbedeutung* (‘word-formational meaning’). This matches the definition of D/O-40 *coronalos*: “keine COVID-19 Infektion aufweisend” – ‘not being infected with COVID-19.’

The data show that most of the word-formations are typical and common models for adjectives. Generally common in the lexicon are especially the adjectives ending in *-isch*, since their type of word-formation is typically used with a foreign base. Some of the adjectives, for example D/O-79 *coronistisch* and O-13 *coronaesk*, show tendencies toward the iconic motivation that is already mentioned in the previous sections – i.e., semiotically iconic by reference through resemblance through analogy. The other adjectives’ definitions confirmed the semantics of the suffix and were therefore standard. In general, the corpus of adjective derivatives follows the semantic and word-formational models and are therefore easily decoded for the speaker.

3.3.2 Compounds

List of denominal adjective compounds using a suffixoid			
<p>Source: DWDS reference letter D</p> <p>DWDS – Digitales Wörterbuch der deutschen Sprache. Das Wortauskunftssystem zur deutschen Sprache in Geschichte und Gegenwart, hrsg. v. d. Berlin-Brandenburgischen Akademie der Wissenschaften,</p> <p>URL: https://www.dwds.de/themenglossar/Corona</p> <p>Corpus collected on 17 June 2020</p> <p>Accessed last (controlled and complemented) on 22 July 2020*</p>			
<p>Source: IDS OWID, reference letter O</p> <p>URL: https://www.owid.de/docs/neo/listen/corona.jsp</p> <p>Corpus collected on 7 July 2020</p> <p>Accessed last (controlled and complemented) on 3 August 2020</p>			
reference	Term	suffixoid	definition**
D/O-9	<i>coronabedingt</i>	-bedingt	hervorgerufen durch die besonderen Umstände während der COVID-19-Pandemie
D/O-25	<i>coronafrei</i>	-frei	keine COVID-19-Infektion aufweisend wegen der COVID-19-Pandemie keine Schule, kein Training usw. habend ohne Sorgen und Einschränkungen wegen der COVID-19-Pandemie
O-19	<i>coronagerecht</i>	-gerecht	den Hygienebestimmungen während der COVID-19-Pandemie genügend
O-30	<i>coronakonform</i>	-konform	den Verordnungen und Empfehlungen (z.B. Abstandsregeln, Hygienevorschriften) zur

			Vermeidung einer Ansteckung mit dem die Infektionskrankheit COVID-19 verursachenden Virus SARS-CoV-2 folgend
D/O-54	<i>coronasicher</i>	-sicher	den Hygienebestimmungen während der COVID-19-Pandemie genügend
O-39	<i>coronamüde</i>	-müde	überdrüssig und erschöpft wegen allem, was mit der COVID-19-Pandemie zu tun hat
<p>*There was a notable change on the DWDS website. When accessing the DWDS website to a later date (22 July 2020), only 16 of the lexemes present in the corpus from June 17th 2020 were included in the list. There was no indication as to the reason for this change. The corpus therefore refers to the state of the website on June 17th 2020.</p> <p>** All definitions are from OWID as of 3 August 2020</p>			

Table XIII.II

The *Determinativkompositum* is not only common in nouns, but also in adjectives. As stated in the previous section, suffixoid constellations are being treated as compounds; however, the data has been divided into two charts: The first chart has a list of denominal adjectival compounds using a suffixoid, that is, a suffix that exists in a free form but also has been used for forming a variety of word formations, resulting in a somewhat independent bound form. The second chart has a list of denominal adjectival compounds using a free morpheme. The division between the two lists is based on a DUDEN ONLINE search looking for which of the second constituent of the compounds are listed by the DUDEN ONLINE as a free form and as a suffix (there is no notion of suffixoid in the DUDEN ONLINE entries).

D/O-9 *coronabedingt* ('corona conditioned') forms with *-bedingt*, which is listed by the DUDEN ONLINE as an adjective and a suffix (https://www.duden.de/rechtschreibung/_bedingt. Accessed 19 August 2020). Barz (2009: 749) notes that *-bedingt* is in a group of *departizipiale Zweitglieder* which form compounds that are extremely common in the present-day lexicon. She continues that its tendency to build series is rooted in a universal meaning such as, in the case of *-bedingt*, a cause-reaction-relation. This cause-result-relation can be confirmed through the definition of D/O-9 *coronabedingt*: "hervorgerufen durch die besonderen Umstände während der COVID-19-Pandemie" (<https://www.owid.de/docs/neo/listen/corona.jsp#coronabedingt>. Accessed 9 December 20) – 'caused by the special circumstances during the COVID-19 pandemic.'

The suffixoid D/O-25 *-frei* ('free'), O-19 *-gerecht* ('just') and O-39 *-müde* ('tired') are listed by Barz (2009: 747) as particularly common for building series with a nominal base. The suffix of D/O-25, *-frei*, is listed by DUDEN ONLINE as an adjective and a suffix (https://www.duden.de/rechtschreibung/_frei. Accessed 19 August 2020), such as *-gerecht* (https://www.duden.de/rechtschreibung/_gerecht. Accessed 19 August 2020) and *-müde*

(https://www.duden.de/rechtschreibung/_muede. Accessed 19 August 2020). Motsch (2004: 268) notes that the suffixoid *-frei* (as in D/O-25 *coronafrei*) has a similar privative (having or not having) *Wortbildungsbedeutung* as the suffix *-los*, but with the difference that *-los* has a neutral connotation and *-frei* has a positive connotation, that is ‘not having X’ is considered positive. This is, as Motsch continues, the reason that positively connotated bases are not considered for a word-formation with *-frei*. This interpretation is confirmed by the definition of D/O-25 *coronafrei*. Corona is negatively connotated as a base and ‘not having Corona’ is considered positive.

The suffixoid *-gerecht* (‘suited’) in O-19 *coronagerecht* is called synonymous with the suffixoid *-konform* (‘compliant’) in O-30 *coronakonform* (Fleischer and Barz 2012: 309). Fleischer and Barz (2012: 347) call the relational meaning obligatory. This meaning is congruent with the definition of O-19 *coronagerecht*: “den Hygienebestimmungen während der COVID-19-Pandemie genügend” (<https://www.owid.de/docs/neo/listen/corona.jsp#coronagerecht>. Accessed 9 December 20) – ‘sufficiently following the hygienic instructions during the COVID-19 pandemic,’ which can also be described as ‘it requires to follow sufficiently the hygienic instructions during the COVID-19 pandemic.’ O-30 *coronakonform* has a similar definition which differs a bit: “den Verordnungen und Empfehlungen (z.B. Abstandsregeln, Hygienevorschriften) zur Vermeidung einer Ansteckung mit dem die Infektionskrankheit COVID-19 verursachenden Virus SARS-CoV-2 folgend” (<https://www.owid.de/docs/neo/listen/corona.jsp#coronakonform>. Accessed 9 December 20) – ‘following the instructions and recommendations in order to avoid contracting COVID-19.’

The suffixoid *-müde* (tired) as in O-39 *coronamüde* uses a noun as a base and expresses that the persons it relates to do not enjoy something any longer or are weary of something (https://www.duden.de/rechtschreibung/_muede. Accessed 19 August 2020). This correlates with the definition of O-39 *coronamüde*: “überdrüssig und erschöpft wegen allem, was mit der COVID-19-Pandemie zu tun hat” (<https://www.owid.de/docs/neo/listen/corona.jsp#coronamuede>. Accessed 9 December 20) – ‘being weary of or exhausted from everything in relation to the COVID-19 pandemic.’

One of the common meanings of the suffixoid *-sicher* (safe), as in D/O-54 *coronasicher*, in word-formation with nouns and verbs is, that the person(s) it relates to is safe from something. The definition of D/O-54 *coronasicher* expresses exactly that: “den Hygienebestimmungen während der COVID-19-Pandemie genügend” (<https://www.owid.de/docs/neo/listen/corona.jsp#coronasicher>. Accessed 9 December 20) – ‘sufficiently following the hygienic instructions during the COVID-19 pandemic.’

List of denominal adjective compounds using a free morpheme			
<p>Source: DWDS reference letter D</p> <p>DWDS – Digitales Wörterbuch der deutschen Sprache. Das Wortauskunftssystem zur deutschen Sprache in Geschichte und Gegenwart, hrsg. v. d. Berlin-Brandenburgischen Akademie der Wissenschaften,</p> <p>URL: https://www.dwds.de/themenglossar/Corona</p> <p>Corpus collected on 17 June 2020</p> <p>Accessed last (controlled and complemented) on 22 July 2020*</p>			
<p>Source: IDS OWID, reference letter O</p> <p>URL: https://www.owid.de/docs/neo/listen/corona.jsp</p> <p>Corpus collected on 7 July 2020</p> <p>Accessed last (controlled and complemented) on 3 August 2020</p>			
reference	term	second constituent	definition**
O-12	<i>coronaerprobt</i>	<i>erprobt</i>	an die besonderen Umstände der COVID-19-Pandemie angemessen, erfolgreich usw. angepasst
O-20	<i>coronageschädigt</i>	<i>geschädigt</i>	von (Maßnahmen während) der COVID-19-Pandemie (in hohem Maß) negativ betroffen
<p>*There was a notable change on the DWDS website. When accessing the DWDS website to a later date (22 July 2020), only 16 of the lexemes present in the corpus from June 17th 2020 were included in the list. There was no indication as to the reason for this change. The corpus therefore refers to the state of the website on June 17th 2020.</p> <p>** All definitions are from OWID as of 3 August 2020</p>			

Table XIII.III

Although *-erprobt* and *-geschädigt* are not listed as suffixes or suffixoids, O-12 *coronaerprobt* (approved) and O-20 *coronageschädigt* ('Corona impaired') are the same form as *-bedingt*, being in a group of *departizipiale Zweitglieder*.

The *morphosemantische Motivation/Motivationsbedeutung* (motivational meaning) (Fleischer and Barz 2012: 44), which is discussed in the section on nominal compounds, is high in all of these cases, since most of the examples given can be understood almost entirely by understanding each of the constituents by itself. In general, all the adjectival compounds show a

high *Motivationsbedeutung*, just as the nouns, which means that they are easy to decode for the speaker.

3.4 Word-Formation in Discourse Neologisms: Verbs

The most common method of word-formation in verbs in German is via prefixation (*Präfixderivation* and *Partikelverbbildung*) (Fleischer and Barz 2012: 373): It is furthermore said that in both cases, the verb is expanded on the left-hand side, either with a bound morpheme, as is the case in *Präfixderivation*, or with a free morpheme, as it is the case in *Partikelverbbildung*. An expansion to the right – which is popular for adjectives and nouns – is rather uncommon for verbs (Fleischer and Barz 2012: 373). The word-formational type *Suffigierung*, which is rather uncommon for verbs according to Fleischer and Barz (2012: 428), as well as the little variety it offers, explains the low frequency of verbs in the corpus. Nevertheless, three verbs were formed with *Corona-* as a base.

There are only four productive suffix groups listed by Fleischer and Barz (2012: 428), who call this situation a *Suffixarmut* – literally a ‘suffix poverty.’ The possible suffixes are: -el(n)/-l(n), -er(n)/-r(n), -ier(en)/-isier(en)/-ifizier(en) und -ig(en).

Out of these four, the three verbs present in the corpus use two: -er(n), -ier(en) and -isier(en). The suffixes -ier(en) and -isier(en) are from one group and the meaning of the two verbs is consequently the same.

3.4.1 Derivatives

List of denominal verbal derivatives using a suffix			
Source: DWDS reference letter D			
DWDS – Digitales Wörterbuch der deutschen Sprache. Das Wortauskunftssystem zur deutschen Sprache in Geschichte und Gegenwart, hrsg. v. d. Berlin-Brandenburgischen Akademie der Wissenschaften,			
URL: https://www.dwds.de/themenglossar/Corona			
Corpus collected on 17 June 2020			
Accessed last (controlled and complemented) on 22 July 2020*			
Source: IDS OWID, reference letter O			
URL: https://www.owid.de/docs/neo/listen/corona.jsp			
Corpus collected on 7 July 2020			
Accessed last (controlled and complemented) on 3 August 2020			
Reference	term	suffix	definition**

O-73	<i>coronern</i>	-er(n)	a.(meist mündlich) sich während der COVID-19-Pandemie (unter Einhaltung der Hygiene- und Abstandsvorschriften) zum gemeinsamen Konsumieren von Alkohol auf öffentlichen Plätzen, an Straßenecken oder in der näheren Umgebung von nachts geöffneten Kiosken, Tankstellen o.Ä. treffen b. jemanden (trotz Einhaltung oder aufgrund der Nichteinhaltung der während der Pandemie geltenden Hygiene- und Abstandsvorschriften) mit COVID-19 anstecken
D/O-75	<i>coronieren</i>	ier(en)	etwas den Bedingungen in Zeiten der COVID-19-Pandemie anpassen
D/O-76	<i>coronisieren</i>	-isier(en)	etwas den Bedingungen in Zeiten der COVID-19-Pandemie anpassen
<p><i>*There was a notable change on the DWDS website. When accessing the DWDS website to a later date (22 July 2020), only 16 of the lexemes present in the corpus from June 17th 2020 were included in the list. There was no indication as to the reason for this change. The corpus therefore refers to the state of the website on June 17th 2020.</i></p> <p><i>** All definitions are from OWID as of 3 August 2020</i></p>			

Table XIV

The number of verbs created through *Suffigierung* is ten times less than in nouns and adjectives (Fleischer and Barz 2012: 373). Fleischer and Barz (2012: 428) directly mention the lack of suffixes in verbal formations, listing “-el(n)/-l(n), -er(n)/-r(n), -ier(en)/-isier(en)/-ifizier(en), -ig(en)” as the only available elements. Of the three verbs listed below, one is formed with what Fleischer and Barz (2012: 57) call *indigene Affixe*, which is native German affixes: -ern (D/O-73 *coronern*).

The suffixes -ier(en)/-isier(en)/-ifizier(en) belong to what Fleischer and Barz call *Fremdaffixe* (2012: 57), which means foreign suffixes. As rare as suffixation is in verbs, as rare are the formations: -er(n) is rarely used for denominal formations and -ier(en) is only attached in order to incorporate French into the German lexicon; and even after being used for native words, their number remains small (Fleischer and Barz 2012: 431). They continue that the suffix -ier(en) can be found in the German lexicon from the 12th century onward; from the 14th century onward it is used with native bases, the suffix -isier(en) is a variation of the suffix used

since the 17th century and is preferred with new word-formations. The verbs D/O-75 *coronieren*, and D/O-76 *coronisieren* not only share a variant of the same suffix, they also have the same definition: “etwas den Bedingungen in Zeiten der COVID-19-Pandemie anpassen” – ‘to adjust something to the requirements of the COVID-19 pandemic.’ This does not match any of the semantic descriptions of *Wortbildungsbedeutung* as summarized and listed by Fleischer and Barz (2012: 433). For comparisons, some examples from that list by Fleischer and Barz (2012: 432/33) are given below:

The meaning *agentiv* can be found in *spionieren* (‘to spy’) from the noun *der Spion* (‘the spy’) or in *tyrannisieren* (‘to tyrannize’) from the noun *der Tyrann* (‘the tyrant’). The meaning *zufügend* (‘addition’) can be found in *bandagieren* (‘to bandage’) from the noun *Bandage* (‘bandage’) or in *signalisieren* (‘to signal’) from the noun *das Signal* (‘signal’). There are ten categories in total and they all share the same features: It is a verb that links the noun it is derived from with an action. This modification results in a verb that has a very high *Motivationsbedeutung* and is easy to decode: Spy is the noun and spying is what the spy does. This logic applies to all of the examples – except for D/O-75 *coronieren*, and D/O-76 *coronisieren*.

Following the logic of the examples, the meaning of D/O-75 *coronieren*, and D/O-76 *coronisieren*, should mean ‘to be infected with the Coronavirus’ or ‘to infect someone with the Coronavirus.’ This leads to the conclusion that in these cases, an iconic motivation could be the cause for the verbal formation. The model used for analogy could be *kolonisieren* (‘to colonize’). In the section on nominal derivation, it was discussed how *Kolonisierung* (‘colonization’) could be the model for analogy used with D/O-77 *Coronisierung*. It was also shown that due to the rules of word-formation, the verb *coronisieren* would have needed to precede the noun. The same argument that was made for the noun D/O-77 *Coronisierung* can be made now for the verb D/O-76 *coronisieren*, that is, that the verb *kolonisieren* (‘to colonize’) serves as a model for analogy. Therefore, it would be easier for the speaker to decode D/O-76 *coronisieren* by means of abduction and analogy than it would be to decode D/O-75 *coronieren* by the rules of word-formation. It remains to be said that the verbs use popular suffixes; however, they use the ones among those that are least popular and partially against the rules of word-formation. This would make the verbs hard to decode for the speaker if it was not for the analogy that can be seen in D/O-76 *coronisieren*.

The suffix *-er(n)* in D/O-73 *coronern* is, as mentioned, rarely used with a nominal base. Fleischer and Barz (2012: 431) only list two examples for verbs with the suffix *-er(n)* derived from nouns and both examples are colloquial. In the other examples, the nouns already end in *-er* as in *Hunger* – *hungern*. The two formations that serve as examples follow the same formational logic as the verbs discussed before: *kleckern* from the noun *Klecks* (Fleischer and Barz 2012: 220). This logic applies at least to one of the definitions of D/O-73 *coronern*: “jemanden (trotz Einhaltung oder aufgrund der Nichteinhaltung der während der Pandemie geltenden Hygiene- und Abstandsvorschriften) mit COVID-19 anstecken“ (<https://www.owid.de/docs/neo/listen/corona.jsp#coronern>. Accessed 9 December 20) – ‘to infect someone with COVID-19.’ The second definition, however, does not fit into this logic: “(meist mündlich) sich während der COVID-19-Pandemie (unter Einhaltung der Hygiene- und Abstandsvorschriften) zum gemeinsamen Konsumieren von Alkohol auf öffentlichen Plätzen, an Straßenecken oder in der näheren Umgebung von nachts geöffneten Kiosken, Tankstellen o.Ä. treffen” (<https://www.owid.de/docs/neo/listen/corona.jsp#coronern>. Accessed 9 Decemebr 20) – ‘to meet during the COVID-19 pandemic at a corner close to a kiosk or gas station in order to drink alcohol.’

This definition, however, resembles the definition of the colloquial verb *cornern*: “Wieso in eine Bar gehen und dort teure Drinks schlürfen, wo man doch recht unkompliziert mit einem Astra für 1,20 € auf dem Gehsteig sitzen kann? Wenn Freunde mit Fremden auf den Straßen rumhängen, cornern nennt man das”

(<https://www.bento.de/trip/cornern-ist-das-neue-vorgluehen-warum-menschen-jetzt-an-der-strassenecke-haengen-a-00000000-0003-0001-0000-000000634264>. Accessed 24 August 2020) – ‘When friends hang out together in the streets.’ Therefore, this might be another case of iconic motivation. This word-formation uses a rather uncommon suffix and it uses it in a way that does not follow the known models for this suffix. However, due to the obvious resemblance with the verb *cornern*, it is easy to decode for the speaker, given that the speaker knows the source for this analogy.

The verbal formations were few compared to the other word forms present in the corpus. The word-formational types used with the verbs were rare and uncommon and the possibility to decode them correctly can be seen as low considering the word-formation without the iconic motivation/analogy. Through the help of analogy, however, they are decodable for the speaker.

3.5 Summary of the Data

The data analysis shows several patterns, which the next section tries to explain in detail. General trends of the data agreed with trends in general language use: The percentual number of nouns within the corpus in contrast to other parts of speech was 89.4% (135/151). The high percentage of 81.4% (123/151) of nominal compounds within the corpus matches well with the overall share they have in German word-formation which is 50–60% (Fleischer and Barz 2012: 117). It is not surprising to find a large number of nominal compounds in the nominal neologisms of this corpus, since most new nouns in German are created by compounding two or more nouns (Tschirner 2010: 239). The corpus mirrors the trends in the general lexicon regarding nouns and the word-formational type of compounding. As the analysis of the *motivational meaning* (refer to section 3.2.2.2) shows, the nominal compounds are highly motivated, i.e., easy to decode for the speaker.

The lexemes in the corpus formed through derivation show the same trend: even though the word-formational rules were not strictly obeyed for the formation of the adjectives, it is shown that the decoding is simplified through the linguistic principle of analogy, which relies on the iconic motivation of the lexeme and a certain indexical reference to another lexeme which serve as a role model. This principle could also be helpful in decoding the verb formations, which are in general harder to decode, since suffixation is rather uncommon in the word-formation of German verbs.

Easy decodeability can be seen as the main goal in this corpus of discourse neologisms; therefore, it is logical that the most dominant word-formational form used is the nominal compound: With its binary structure, the word meaning can always be inferred from combining the meaning of the two (or multiple) constituents. However, there is an important factor to note when mentioning how easy to decode the nominal compounds are for the speaker: The meaning of the discourse neologism’s base/modifier. Therefore, the crucial role of understanding the discourse neologism’s base/modifier, which is *Corona-* in this corpus, is discussed in the next and last section of chapter 3.

3.6 Meaning Through Context

In this last section of the analysis, the results from the previous sections are discussed in the light of the title of this study ‘meaning through context’ by highlighting certain patterns and regularities that could be identified. First, the importance of the correct decoding of the discourse neologism’s base/modifier for decoding the discourse neologism is discussed in section 3.6.1. The next topic focuses on the influence the concept of ‘time’ has on context, as well as on the similarities of and the differences between discourse neologisms and occasionalisms (3.6.2). The idea of gaining word-status through univerbation emphasizes the special semiotic properties of a discourse neologism (3.6.3). The last and most important finding from the analysis – that the word-formations used for the discourse neologisms presented in this study are aimed at constructing a readily accessible decoding process for the speaker (3.6.4) – concludes this section.

3.6.1 Context and Decoding the Discourse Neologism’s Base/Modifier

One notion made previously is that a discourse neologism is designed in such a way that it is easy to decode for the speaker. However, there are two crucial factors that have to be taken into consideration: The discourse neologism’s base/modifier and the temporal factor. In this section, the neologism’s base/modifier will be discussed before focusing on the temporal factor. It is true that by its word-formational structure and due to the methods of analogy, a discourse neologism is easy to decode if one prerequisite exists: the discourse neologism’s base/modifier – in this case *Corona-* – has to be understood, not only in its literal meaning, but also in its holistic semantic meaning as a concept. The lexeme *Corona* by itself refers to a certain virus type, which is a lexeme from the medical sphere that was not incorporated into the general language before the emergence of the crisis. *Corona* entered the general language during the COVID-19 pandemic and was exclusively used for the virus that caused the COVID-19 pandemic in public discourse. However, *Corona-* not only refers to the Coronavirus, it also refers to a whole concept; the emergence of crisis, the introduction of rules, the closing of borders, et cetera. Therefore, *Corona-* not only stands for the name of a specific virus, but also for the situation caused by the virus. The sum of the contextual knowledge connected to the term makes the discourse neologism’s base/modifier *Corona-* more than a lexeme that can be connected to one or multiple meanings. *Corona-* has to be treated with all of properties it has as a sign, hence, *Corona-* has to be understood as a concept. The difference between meaning and concept as indicated here can best be explained by semiotics, in this case the basic Peircean categories:

A sign stands for something to the idea which it produces, or modifies. Or, it is a vehicle conveying into the mind of something from without. That for which it stands is called its object; that which it conveys, its meaning; and the idea to which it gives rise, its interpretant.

(CP 1.339)

Consequently, this means the following for the discourse neologism's base/modifier:

Object	Meaning	Interpretant
Corona	The novel COVID-19 Virus	The discourse around the virus (the crisis emerged from it, the rules and measurements, safety regulations, travel bans laws et cetera)

Table XV

Every word can be seen as a sign and every word always has to be analyzed in its time to generate its meaning. This meaning can shift lightly or heavily over the course of time and the concept the word carries can therefore vary. The difference between the semantics of a general lexeme and the discourse neologism's base/modifier is that the latter is objective to the special circumstance of discourse. The discourse binds the lexeme to a very specific meaning, as the discourse in its wholeness is the concept that is attached to the discourse neologism's base/modifier, which lives and dies with its discourse. This special connection to a temporal phenomenon means, that the semiotic relationship between interpretant – referring to the interpretant as used in Peircean semiotics – meaning, and object is fixed. In other lexemes, meaning and interpretant change with the course of time. One example for a possible and very simplified sign evolution of the object lexeme *dog* could be as follows:

Object	Meaning	Interpretant
lexeme <i>dog</i>	'certain breed of mammal related to the wolf'	I1 farm animal
		I2 companion animal
		I3 pet, service dog
		In ...

Table XVI

In this simplified example, we can see that the interpretant for the lexeme *dog* could have gone from a farm animal with mostly practical duties – such as protection of property – to an animal that is the object of companionship in the form of a pet, or even in the role of a physical or psychological service dog. This dynamic within the lexeme *dog* is made possible by two factors: Its meaning is not abstract but real, since it refers to a real-world object that can be pointed to. As long as this object exists and is perceived by speakers, a lexeme for it is likely to exist. In the same way, *Corona-* is not abstract but refers to a real-world phenomenon; a virus. However, the lexeme *Corona-* as used in the discourse neologism's base/modifier is bound to a fixed meaning and a fixed interpretant, both determined by the discourse. Therefore, the discourse neologism's base/modifier is static in opposition to dynamic. One could also say it is frozen in time – within the timespan of the discourse it relates to.

The reason the exact properties of the discourse neologism's base/modifier are important to consider is the crucial part they play in understanding the discourse neologism. As the study's title indicates, the discourse neologism gains its 'meaning through context.' In order to understand the discourse neologism compounds or derivatives, the discourse – in its lexical form as a base/modifier – has to be understood as a whole. If the discourse is unknown to the speaker,

the discourse neologism compounds, and all discourse neologisms of other word-formation types, cannot be decoded. This finding is at the center of the problem of decoding discourse neologisms:

The most delicate matter is the representation of meaning. On the one hand, the referents of many lexical items have highly special extra-linguistic properties which require complex definitions. Scientific or technical terms are a case in point. Even the definition of the apparently simple item dog goes beyond the listing of properties like ‘has four legs’, ‘has fur’ and ‘barks’ if biological and evolutionary facts are taken into consideration. On the other hand, the profundity of world knowledge differs considerably among the speakers of a language. As pointed out by Moravcsik (1981), a child’s understanding of objects and concepts is definitely incomplete, and so is the knowledge of the layperson in comparison to the knowledge of the expert. (Baeskow 2015: 812)

Decoding the discourse neologisms’ base/modifier in discourse neologisms is not a matter of expert versus layperson knowledge, but a matter of a timely limited, general knowledge that is based on experience and world knowledge. Heike Baeskow (2015: 812) describes this type of knowledge as follows:

However, despite the discrepancy between the infinite complexity of facts, causal relations and events in the world and the relative narrowness of human knowledge, people are able to communicate more or less successfully. Thus, the mental lexicon in the generative sense should not be expected to deal scientifically with the referents of lexical items. Instead, it makes more sense to distinguish between semantic knowledge and world knowledge, the latter of which is also referred to as conceptual or encyclopedic knowledge. (Baeskow 2015: 812).

This is especially important when considering, for example, non-native speakers or native speakers that are not aware of the discourse. If the discourse neologism’s base/modifier cannot be decoded with world knowledge, the meaning of the construction remains cryptic for the speaker.

Since the Corona discourse is international and widespread, this problem does not affect the *Corona*- discourse neologisms as much as discourse neologisms centered around other, smaller and less discussed topics, for example, a discourse that only affects one country, with a native discourse neologism base/modifier in place of an international term like *Corona*. A discourse lexeme like this might be hard to understand, for example for individuals from other countries, not familiar with the current discourse, who speak the language but fail to identify the discourse lexeme as such, hence decoding it incorrectly. For example, the German refugee crisis of 2015 that used *Flüchtling(s)*- (‘refugee-’) as a discourse lexeme. It becomes clear why context, time, and space are crucial prerequisites for decoding discourse neologisms correctly. As Fleischer and Barz (2012:15) note, the correct decoding requires contextual knowledge: “Die richtige Decodierung setzt außer sprachlichem Wissen auch Sachwissen voraus” – ‘correct decoding needs contextual knowledge,’ which applies even more so to the decoding of discourse neologisms.

One problem that arises from this strong reliance on time is that the knowledge of the discourse, depending on its impact and spread, is bound to fade with time. This impedes the correct decoding with time. By the time of coinage, the producer (*Produzent*) – as Fleischer and Barz call the individual responsible for the lexical innovation (Fleischer and Barz 2012: 49) – has a

certain motivation for creating the discourse neologism in such a way that it is understandable for the general public. Although the producer stays the same and his intention does not change with time, the recipient – as Fleischer and Barz call the individual(s) decoding the lexical innovation (Fleischer and Barz 2012: 49) – might change. Not only is the number of recipients unclear, they also vary with time, as does their ability to correctly decode. However, it is also important to note that the usage of discourse neologisms is likely to fade with the fading of the discourse. The discourse neologisms itself, as well as its decoding, therefore, is always to be seen as a time-sensitive matter.

3.6.2 Context and Time: The Sphere of Discourse Neologisms

Occasionalisms were defined for this study as word formations that are used orally without any form of recording. However, a short differentiation between discourse neologisms and occasionalisms seems necessary because of the notable number of definitions that describe the occasionalism differently:

Wie die Durchsicht beliebiger Texte, v.a. aktueller Zeitungstexte und ihrer Überschriften, zeigt, gehen viele neu gebildete Wörter nicht in den Wortschatz ein. Sie bleiben Gelegenheitsbildungen [...]. Die bezeichneten Begriffe werden nicht auf Dauer gebraucht, es gibt in der Sprachgemeinschaft keinen Bedarf für sie. (Barz 2009: 642).

This definition of occasionalism fits the definition of discourse neologisms in many aspects: Both do not enter the general lexicon but they remain occasional formations. The formations are not used continuously because there is no long-term need for them in the speaker's community. The discourse neologisms, however, differ from the definition above by one criterion: Through their connectedness to the discourse, they do not disappear and they are not out of context. If in a certain time from now, occasionalisms are presented to speakers, it would be challenging – if not impossible – to decode them correctly without any reference to the text or context they were used in. However, if a discourse neologism is presented after a certain amount of time to the speaker, it can be assumed that the discourse neologism's base/modifier helps to make a correct reference back to the discourse. This can aid the correct decoding of the discourse neologism even after it disappeared from active usage, almost as if the discourse creates a bubble that preserves the discourse neologisms related to it, like in a time capsule. Hence, although the discourse neologism does not enter the general lexicon and remains an occasional formation, it is not forgotten, which is due to the discourse. Therefore, instead of calling discourse neologisms 'an occasional formation,' it would be more fittingly to call them 'a formation made for an occasion.' This occasion is the discourse. Discourse neologisms are not used continuously, which is not because there is no long term need for them in the speaker's community, but because the discourse they refer to does not present a long-term communicatory need in the speaker's community. Nevertheless, the definition above is close to what defines the discourse neologism: Time. It cannot be determined how long occasionalism are needed, however, a certain timespan can be determined for discourse neologisms: The timespan of active use is the timespan of the discourse. Therefore, a discourse neologism is the product of a timespan in the life of an active and ongoing discourse, in which discourse neologisms are produced as a result of the discourse. This production phase of discourse neologisms continues as long as the discourse is active. An active discourse is a discourse whose changes and actions are ongoing and relevant to

the public at the given time. However, every discourse disappears at some point and, therefore, there is a fixed time span in which discourse neologisms are produced and used. There is a specific symbiotic relationship between the discourse and the discourse neologisms: The discourse produces the discourse neologism, while the discourse neologism's lifespan is bound to the lifespan of the discourse. However, discourse neologisms also help to communicate the discourse while it is active. With its own neologisms, a discourse produces signs directly related to it. Although discourse neologisms are superfluous in most cases, especially in the cases of compounds, there is a special meaning in creating a new word and for a described situation to gain "word status" (Heibert 1993: 74).

3.6.3 Gaining Word-Status: The Case of Univerbation

Discourse neologisms seem to be a lexical as much as a social phenomenon. The words listed in the corpus were designed in response to the discourse – in this case, a crisis. The intention of these lexical innovations in response to the crisis can be identified as 'making the discourse *communicatable*.' Discourses that affect the society as a whole are consequently going to be discussed in society. Life-altering discourses create a need to discuss the changes they bring forth, which affect the daily life of society. Changes on this scale can change ordinary concepts, such as 'summer': The original idea of the concept *summer* as a time of vacation, leisure, and travel, is radically changed due to the restrictions that came into effect during the Coronavirus pandemic. Hence, the lexeme O-60 *Coronasommer* describes the summer of 2020 that is affected by the rules and regulations imposed as a result of the Coronavirus pandemic. The need to substantiate this change instead of describing how the Coronavirus pandemic affects the summer of 2020, is an interesting notion. The lexeme O-60 *Coronasommer* seems to have been coined to emphasize that changes to the language and the public perception have been made: The concept *summer* is rejected in favor of the neologism O-60 *Coronasommer*. The deeply altering effects on the concept *summer*, which the regulations that came with the Coronavirus pandemic had on vacation and travel plans, called for a lexeme that could describe the difference between the summer 2020 and the concept *summer*.

This type of compounding to forge discourse neologisms is usually a result of univerbation. Univerbation is a method where a phrase, such as 'a pie made out of apples' becomes *apple pie*. In German, as opposed to English, this is realized through a compound which is usually written as one word or separated by a hyphen (*Apfelkuchen*). But there is more to this word-formation than abbreviation or ease of communication: Frank Heibert (1993: 74) states that when a phrase experiences univerbation, it gains the status of a word: "Der Aufstieg zum Wortstatus" – 'the rise to word status.' He uses the German term *Waldsterben* ('forest dieback', lit. 'forest-dying') as an example. The phrase 'The forest is dying,' so Heibert, or 'trees are dying,' describes a situation. With the neologism *Waldsterben*, a new issue is introduced, rising from an individual case to a state, a condition, and a phenomenon, that deserves or calls for its own name.

Das Beispiel Waldsterben illustriert dies: Der Wald stirbt oder es sterben Bäume sind Sätze die eine Situation beschreiben. Mit dem Neologismus Waldsterben wird der Charakter des neuen einen Sachverhalts unterstrichen, der aus dem Status des Einzelfalls aufsteigt zu dem häufigeren, einen Zustand repräsentierenden Phänomen, das ein eigenes Wort wert ist bzw. erfordert. (Heibert 1993: 74).

As Heibert illustrates here, univerbation is much more than just the abbreviated usage of a phrase. *Waldsterben* is made a topic, an issue. This exemplifies the difference between describing a situation and creating a whole new concept: A concept is reproducible, it can be used instead of describing the situation, and will invoke special connections and connotations. Univerbation seems to be a driving force behind the discourse neologism's compounds. However, univerbation is a complex issue, since it is a method and a driving force; As a method, it describes how word formation turns 'the dying of woods' into *Waldsterben* – from description to almost proper name. However, the motivation for using the method of univerbation is a causal question with an answer rooted in semiotics: Although Polenz names the ease of communication and abbreviation as a cause for univerbation (Polenz 2000: 38), Heibert (1993) uses a much more extended idea of giving a recurring issue a proper name, which is, from a semiotic perspective, the forging of a new sign: A pie made out of apples rises to become the sign *apple pie*, a new object with a new concept. Since compounds are the most used word-formational elements found in the corpus, the discourse primarily produces discourse neologisms that have gained word status through univerbation. It can be seen that instead of describing a certain situation under the influence of the COVID-19 pandemic, such as, for example, 'the summer during the COVID-19 pandemic,' the univerbation *O-60 Coronasommer* is chosen instead. Through the discourse neologisms base/modifier, the term *O-60 Coronasommer* carries a more extensive interpretant: It includes the relational knowledge that there were travel bans, enhanced testing, security measurements in tourisms, et cetera. A discourse neologism always carries the meaning and interpretant from relational knowledge of the discourse in addition to its meaning and interpretant.

3.6.3 Rapid Incorporation, Rapid Decoding, and Iconicity

It was shown in the previous sections that, due to the help of simple and well-established word-formational forms and the linguistic phenomenon of analogy, discourse neologisms are created to be understood. Language development shows that these are all important factors to early language acquisition. Elsen (1999: 172) lists "Strukturelle Einfachheit, Durchsichtigkeit der Bedeutung, Produktivität (bei Neubildungen) und strukturelle bzw. die Häufigkeit betreffende Faktoren der Zielsprache" – 'structural simplicity, opacity of meaning, productivity in neologisms and factors related to the frequency of structure'. All these factors can be found in the corpus. There is, furthermore, a structural simplicity to be found, since the majority of lexemes are nominal compounds. These nominal compounds have an easy structure, since the two constituents give access to decode the meaning by decoding the meaning of each constituent. This also leads to an opacity of meaning. The productivity of neologisms in the general lexicon is highest for nouns and among those in nominal compounds. This can also be confirmed by this corpus. The opacity of meaning is also present in the other word-formational types that use analogy to ensure easy decoding. Elsen concludes: "Je einfacher, transparenter und produktiver eine Bildungsweise in der Muttersprache ist, desto eher wird sie beim Erwerb aktiv verwendet" – 'the easier, the more transparent and the more productive a word-formation is in the native language, the more it will be used actively in language acquisition.' This principle of simplicity can be seen throughout the corpus in the word-formations of the discourse neologisms and leads

to conclude that through their simplicity, they are easy to decode and more likely to be actively used and acquired.

To conclude this section, it has to be repeated that a discourse is a dynamic and active process that lives because it is being discussed – in the media, in public, and in the private sphere. The communicatory need arising from a public discourse is reflected in the creation of discourse neologisms. Easy to decode, they build a network around the discourse, with the discourse at their center. This network produces its own concepts with their own word-status, which highlights the special influence of the discourse on everyday commonalities such as ‘summer’ or ‘semester.’ The status O-60 *Coronasommer* and D/O-51 *Coronasemester* gain word status by being a discourse neologism in contrast to a phrase. Another interesting factor are the references made by the use of analogy. Analogy not only enables the rapid decoding of discourse neologisms by using iconicity, but also by instrumentalizing the concept of the word used for the analogy by using indexicality. A reference to *Paranoia* in D/O-80 *Coronoia*, for example, carries indexically the negative connotation of mental illness and exceeding fear. Finally, it can be summarized that discourse neologisms are made to be understood and to frame the special or unknown aspects of the discourse with familiar elements.

Chapter 4 Conclusion

In this study, the author defined and substantiated the existence of a certain type of word formation related to discourse, called discourse neologisms. Identification and recognition of the discourse neologism type was made possible by the attention drawn to the significant number of examples present in the discourse glossaries that have been produced during the COVID-19 pandemic. These glossaries made the occurrence of this special pattern of word formation obvious. This linguistic phenomenon is, however, in all likelihood not a new one. The discourse around COVID-19 is encompassing, ongoing, and heavily discussed worldwide which likely serves as a major factor in the amount of novel data found in the discourse glossaries. It is possible that in more lightly discussed discourses, the number of discourse neologisms is comparatively lower and due to the lack of discourse glossaries, their incidence and prevalence are harder to discern. It is mainly due to these two factors – the existence of such glossaries and the extent of the present discourse – that this form of word formation could be perceived and defined.

Further research into the existence of other clusters of discourse neologisms is a reasonable next step at this point, since it is clear that discourses produce new words, not just instrumentalize them for the time being. The discourse around the COVID-19 pandemic shown in this study became the proving ground for a certain form of linguistic *Reihenbildung*, comparable to the *Reihenbildung* that is seen in suffixoids. Discourse neologisms should be seen as an independent form amongst neologisms and in word-formation. In the instances this study has analyzed, its productive pattern of formation centered around a discursive base, temporally bounded emergence and occurrence, obvious ties to current discourse, symbiotic existence within the discourse, and contextual knowledge needed for its decoding are all reasons that speak for its independent status.

From what could be observed in the corpus data used for this study, several patterns emerged: First, the discourse neologism uses, by definition, the discourse as its base/modifier. In the corpus analyzed for this study, this discourse base/modifier is *Corona-*. Although other variations exist – such as *COVID-*, *COVID-19-*, and *Coronavirus-* – *Corona-* is by far the most used discourse base/modifier in the corpus. This means that for this corpus there was a preferred discourse lexeme selected from a range of available discourse lexemes, presumably for the potential of its word-formational qualities. The selected discourse lexeme is most often paired with another noun, which is at the same time one of the most common strategies of lexical innovation within the language more generally. Compounds are a prominent form in the German language and the word-formational tools chosen for the discourse neologisms reflect the most popular trends of German word formation. Examples to the contrary, however, were present in the data. Upon analyzing these exceptions, it was shown that, despite the less accessible encoding of their word-formational type, they were easy to decode by analogy. In principle, the word-formation of discourse neologisms, according to the data analyzed, aims to construct a readily accessible decoding process for the speaker. As discourse-related vocabulary is characterized by its temporal occurrence in the lexicon, it makes sense to conclude that its acquisition should be made as easy as possible, as this vocabulary serves temporary but immediate communicatory needs. A predictable word-formational structure also invites speakers to create their own words and contribute to the temporal lexicon.

Further research on discourse neologisms of other discourse will have to show whether these patterns repeat themselves and if there is a certain regularity to this type of word formation as the data from this study suggest.

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Appendices

<p>Source: DWDS reference letter D</p> <p>DWDS – Digitales Wörterbuch der deutschen Sprache. Das Wortauskunftssystem zur deutschen Sprache in Geschichte und Gegenwart, hrsg. v. d. Berlin-Brandenburgischen Akademie der Wissenschaften,</p> <p>URL: https://www.dwds.de/themenglossar/Corona</p> <p>Corpus collected on 17 June 2020</p> <p>Accessed last (controlled and complemented) on 22 July 2020*</p>			
<p>Source: IDS OWID, reference letter O</p> <p>URL: https://www.owid.de/docs/neo/listen/corona.jsp</p> <p>Corpus collected on 7 July 2020</p> <p>Accessed last (controlled and complemented) on 3 August 2020</p>			
POS	reference	term and definition**	word-formation
Noun	D/O-1	<p>Corona</p> <p>a. das Virus SARS-CoV-2 die durch das Virus SARS-CoV-2 verursachte Infektionskrankheit COVID-19</p> <p>b. die COVID-19-Pandemie und die dadurch ausgelöste Krise</p>	
Noun	D/O-2	<p>Corona-Drive-in</p> <p>mobile Station, die man zur Überprüfung einer möglichen Infektion mit dem Coronavirus SARS-CoV-2 durchfährt bzw. durchläuft</p>	Compound
Noun	O-1	<p>Corona-V</p> <p>Form der Rezession, bei der im Fall der vollständigen Eindämmung der COVID-19-Pandemie auf einen (tiefen) wirtschaftlichen Einbruch begünstigt durch staatliche Finanzierungshilfen die rasche Erholung der Wirtschaft folgt</p>	Compound
Noun	D/O-3	<p>Coronaabitur</p> <p>a. Hochschulzugangsberechtigung, die aufgrund der durch die COVID-19-Pandemie</p>	Compound

		<p>bedingten Schulschließungen ohne Abschlussprüfungen und ausschließlich basierend auf den in den letzten beiden Schuljahren erbrachten Leistungen ausgestellt wird</p> <p>b. Abschlussprüfungen an Gymnasien, die aufgrund des während der COVID-19-Pandemie angeordneten Kontaktverbots unter besonderen Bedingungen und ggf. zeitlich verzögert abgelegt wurden</p>	
Noun	D/O-4	<p>Coronaabstand</p> <p>während der COVID-19-Pandemie vorgeschriebene Entfernung von mindestens 1,5 m zwischen Personen</p>	Compound
Noun	D/O-5	<p>Coronaampel</p> <p>Warnsystem, das bestimmt, wann und unter welchen Bedingungen es während der COVID-19-Pandemie zu erneuten Einschränkungen im öffentlichen und privaten Leben kommt</p>	Compound
Noun	D/O-6	<p>Coronaampelsystem</p> <p>Warnsystem, das bestimmt, wann und unter welchen Bedingungen es während der COVID-19-Pandemie zu erneuten Einschränkungen im öffentlichen und privaten Leben kommt</p>	Compound
Noun	O-2	<p>Coronaangst</p> <p>sehr große Sorge, sich mit dem Coronavirus SARS-CoV-2 zu infizieren</p>	Compound
Noun	D/O-7	<p>Coronaapp</p> <p>zur Rückverfolgung von Infektionsketten während der COVID-19-Pandemie eingesetztes Computerprogramm, das (auf das Smartphone) heruntergeladen werden kann</p>	Compound
Noun	O-3	<p>Coronaappgesetz</p> <p>(angedachtes) Gesetz, das den zweckgebundenen, zeitlich begrenzten Einsatz der zur Rückverfolgung von Infektionsketten während der COVID-19-Pandemie entwickelten Corona-Warn-App regeln soll</p>	Compound
Noun	O-4	<p>Coronaauflage</p>	Compound

		Verordnungen und Empfehlungen (z.B. Abstandsregeln, Hygienevorschriften) zur Eindämmung der COVID-19-Pandemie	
Noun	O-5	Coronaausbruch ungewöhnlich schnelle, punktuelle Verbreitung des SARS-CoV-2-Virus	Compound
Noun	O-6	Coronaausrede a. rechtfertigende Aussage, wonach eigenes (Fehl-)Verhalten auf die COVID-19-Pandemie oder Maßnahmen zur Eindämmung des Virus zurückzuführen ist b. nicht unbedingt ernst gemeinte Entschuldigung wegen Verstößen gegen Maßnahmen und Vorschriften während der COVID-19-Pandemie	Compound
Noun	D/O-8	Coronababy a. während der aufgrund der Ausbreitung von COVID-19 angeordneten Ausgangsbeschränkungen (in Heimquarantäne) gezeugtes Kind b. Kind einer COVID-19-Patientin	Compound
Adjective / Adverb	D/O-9	coronabedingt hervorgerufen durch die besonderen Umstände während der COVID-19-Pandemie	Compound
Noun	D/O-10	Coronablues a. aufgrund der während der COVID-19-Pandemie geltenden Ausgangs- und Kontaktbeschränkungen auftretende melancholische oder depressive Stimmung b. während der COVID-19-Pandemie komponiertes, ursprünglich durch eine melancholische Grundstimmung geprägtes afroamerikanisches Volkslied	Compound
Noun	D/O-11	Coronabonds Staatsanleihen der EU-Länder mit gemeinschaftlicher Haftung (Eurobonds), die als Hilfsmaßnahme während der COVID-19-Pandemie dienen sollen	Compound
Noun	D/O-12	Coronabonus	Compound

		<p>a. Notenbonus für Abiturienten zum Ausgleich von Nachteilen, die ihnen während der COVID-19-Pandemie durch die angeordneten Ausgangs- und Alltagsbeschränkungen entstanden sind (angedachte) einmalige Sonderzahlung für Beschäftigte in der Pflege zum Ausgleich der besonders hohen Belastung während der COVID-19-Pandemie</p> <p>b. steuer- und sozialabgabefreie Sonderzahlung für Beschäftigte zum Ausgleich höherer Belastung während der COVID-19-Pandemie</p>	
Noun	D/O-13	<p>Coronabremse</p> <p>a. Stilllegung fast aller wirtschaftlicher und gesellschaftlicher Aktivitäten zur Eindämmung der COVID-19-Pandemie auf politische Anordnung hin</p> <p>c. während der COVID-19-Pandemie zur Entlastung der technischen Infrastruktur in Europa eingeführte Reduzierung der Streamingdatenrate von Streamingdiensten</p>	Compound
Noun	D/O-14	<p>Coronabriefing</p> <p>kurzes Gespräch, Konferenz o.Ä. mit (einem Austausch zu) Informationen zur aktuellen Lage und zu geltenden Maßnahmen während der COVID-19-Pandemie</p>	Compound
Noun	O-7	<p>Coronabrutstätte</p> <p>Ort, Land o.Ä. mit einer vergleichsweise hohen Anzahl von mit dem Coronavirus SARS-CoV-2 infizierten Personen, von dem aus sich die COVID-19-Pandemie (nach und nach) verbreitet</p>	Compound
Noun	O-8	<p>Coronabulletin</p> <p>regelmäßige (behördliche) Bekanntgabe von Informationen zur aktuellen Lage und zu geltenden Maßnahmen während der COVID-19-Pandemie</p>	Compound
Noun	D/O-15	<p>Coronabuster</p> <p>Arbeitnehmer, der für Maßnahmen zur Eindämmung der COVID-19-Pandemie eingesetzt wird</p>	Compound

Noun	D/O-16	Coronacare Hilfeleistungen für Personen(-gruppen), die aufgrund der in der COVID-19-Pandemie geltenden Kontakt- und Ausgangsbeschränkungen Unterstützung (im Alltag) benötigen	Compound
Noun	D/O-17	Coronacluster gehäuftes Auftreten von (Neu-)Infektionen während der COVID-19-Pandemie	Compound
Noun	D/O-18	Coronacouture besonders auffallend oder ungewöhnlich gestaltete Bedeckungen der unteren Gesichtshälfte zur Vorbeugung einer Ansteckung mit dem Coronavirus SARS-CoV-19	Compound
Noun	D/O-19	Coronacrash plötzlicher Sturz der Aktienkurse aufgrund der COVID-19-Pandemie	Compound
Noun	O-9	Coronademo (politisch und weltanschaulich unterschiedlich motivierte) Kundgebung gegen die allgemein gültigen Verhaltensregeln zur Eindämmung der COVID-19-Pandemie	Compound
Noun	O-10	Coronademonstration (politisch und weltanschaulich unterschiedlich motivierte) Kundgebung gegen die allgemein gültigen Verhaltensregeln zur Eindämmung der COVID-19-Pandemie	Compound
Noun	O-11	Coronadetektiv a. (Teilzeit-)Beschäftigter, der Infektionsketten zum Zwecke der Eindämmung des SARS-CoV-2-Virus (telefonisch) nachverfolgt b. zur Rückverfolgung von Infektionsketten zum Zwecke der Eindämmung des SARS-CoV-2-Virus eingesetztes Computerprogramm	Compound
Noun	D/O-20	Coronaelterngeld (angedachte) finanzielle Unterstützung für Eltern während der COVID-19-Pandemie	Compound

Noun	D/O-21	Coronaer Person, die sich mit dem Coronavirus SARS-CoV-2 infiziert hat	Derivative
Adjective / Adverb	O-12	coronaerprobt an die besonderen Umstände der COVID-19-Pandemie angemessen, erfolgreich usw. angepasst	Compound
Adjective / Adverb	O-13	coronaesk an die (von manchen als unsinnig oder übermäßig bewerteten) Verordnungen während der COVID-19-Pandemie erinnernd	Derivative
Noun	D/O-22	Coronaetikette Gesamtheit gesellschaftlicher Verhaltensregeln, die während der COVID-19-Pandemie (zum Zwecke der Eindämmung) gelten	Compound
Noun	O-14	Coronafakeshop vermeintlicher Online-Händler oder Privatverkäufer, der zum Schutz gegen eine Ansteckung mit dem Coronavirus SARS-CoV-2 einsetzbare Produkte (vermeintlich günstiger) anbietet, aber nach erfolgtem Zahlungseingang nicht versendet	Compound
Noun	O-15	Coronafall a. das Auftreten einer Infektion mit dem SARS-CoV-2-Virus b. mit dem SARS-CoV-2-Virus infizierte Person	Compound
Noun	O-16	Coronafamilienbonus finanzielle Unterstützung für Eltern während der COVID-19-Pandemie	Compound
Noun	D/O-23	Coronafashion a. besondere Gestaltung eines Mund-Nasen-Schutzes während der COVID-19-Pandemie b. bequeme Mode für zuhause, die während der COVID-19-Pandemie getragen wird	Compound
Noun	D/O-24	Coronaferien	Compound

		Zeitraum, in dem aufgrund der COVID-19-Pandemie Kindertagesstätten, Schulen, Universitäten o.Ä. geschlossen sind und Unterricht bzw. Betreuung nur stark eingeschränkt stattfinden kann	
Adjective / Adverb	D/O-25	coronafrei a. keine COVID-19-Infektion aufweisend wegen der COVID-19-Pandemie keine Schule, kein Training usw. habend b. ohne Sorgen und Einschränkungen wegen der COVID-19-Pandemie	Derivative
Noun	D/O-26	Coronafrisur durch die Schließung der Friseurgeschäfte während der COVID-19-Pandemie herausgewachsener bzw. durch unprofessionelles Schneiden verunstalteter Haarschnitt	Compound
Noun	D/O-27	Coronafuß Läsionen an Füßen und Zehen, die im Rahmen einer durch das Coronavirus SARS-CoV-2 verursachten Erkrankung auftreten können	Compound
Noun	O-17	Coronafußgruß während der COVID-19-Pandemie genutztes Zeichen des gegenseitigen Willkommenheißen zweier Personen, die sich mit ihren Füßen berühren, statt sich z.B. die Hände zu schütteln	Compound
Noun	O-18	Coronageburtstag Jahrestag der Geburt, an dem aufgrund der während der COVID-19-Pandemie angeordneten Kontakt- und Alltagsbeschränkungen auf persönliche Rituale, private (Groß-)Veranstaltungen, Unternehmungen o.Ä. verzichtet werden muss	Compound
Noun	D/O-28	Coronageneration a. Altersgruppe junger Menschen, die während der COVID-19-Pandemie ihren Schul-, Berufsabschluss o.Ä. abgelegt und deshalb ggf. einen schlechteren Start ins Berufsleben haben b. Altersgruppe, die durch ihre Kindheit und Jugend während der COVID-19-Pandemie besonders geprägt ist	Compound

Adjective / Adverb	O-19	coronagerecht den Hygienebestimmungen während der COVID-19-Pandemie genügend	Compound
Adjective / Adverb	O-20	coronageschädigt von (Maßnahmen während) der COVID-19-Pandemie (in hohem Maß) negativ betroffen	Compound
Noun	O-21	Coronagrüß a. während der COVID-19-Pandemie genutztes Zeichen des gegenseitigen Willkommenheißen zweier oder mehrerer Personen, die sich z.B. mit ihren Füßen berühren, statt sich die Hände zu schütteln b. etwas, dass einer Person(-engruppe) während der COVID-19-Pandemie als Zeichen der Verbundenheit übermittelt wird	Compound
Noun	D/O-29	Coronaheld a. Person, die sich während der COVID-19-Pandemie ehrenamtlich für das Allgemeinwohl einsetzt a. während der COVID-19-Pandemie besonders stark geforderte Person in einem systemrelevanten Beruf	Compound
Noun	O-22	Coronahelfer Person, die während der COVID-19-Pandemie bei Kinderbetreuung, als Erntehelfer, im medizinischen und pflegerischen Bereich usw. aushilft	Compound
Noun	D/O-30	Coronahobby Freizeitbeschäftigung, die man während der COVID-19-Pandemie für sich entdeckt hat und zuhause ausübt	Compound
Noun	D/O-31	Coronahotspot akuter Mittelpunkt der sich ausbreitenden COVID-19-Pandemie, Punkt mit der höchsten Anzahl der mit dem COVID-19-Virus infizierten Personen	Compound
Noun	D/O-32	Coronahygienepauschale	Compound

		durch Schätzungen ermittelter Betrag, durch den die aufgrund der COVID-19-Pandemie erhöhten Kosten für Schutzkleidung und -maßnahmen, die während einer zahnärztlichen Behandlung zum Einsatz kommen, ausgeglichen werden	
Noun	D/O-33	<p>Coronahype</p> <p>a. vermeintlich durch mediale Berichterstattung inszenierte, als übertrieben empfundene Aufregung um die COVID-19-Pandemie</p> <p>b. während der COVID-19-Pandemie geltenden Kontaktbeschränkungen aufgekommene große (mediale) Begeisterung für etwas oder jemanden</p>	Compound
Noun	D/O-34	<p>Coronahysterie</p> <p>durch die Angst vor einer Ansteckung mit dem Coronavirus SARS-CoV-19 und wegen der Auswirkungen der COVID-19-Pandemie ausgelöste allgemeine (nervöse) Aufgeregtheit</p>	Compound
Noun	O-23	<p>Coronaimmuner</p> <p>Person, die nach überstandener Ansteckung oder Erkrankung oder aufgrund eines Impfschutzes gegen eine Infektion mit dem Coronavirus SARS-CoV-2 geschützt ist</p>	Compound
Noun	O-24	<p>Coronaisolation</p> <p>(emotionale) Abgeschnittenheit einer Person aufgrund des während der COVID-19-Pandemie auf politische Anordnung hin begrenzten physischen sozialen Kontakts und eingeschränkten öffentlichen Lebens</p>	Compound
Noun	O-25	<p>Coronajahrgang</p> <p>von den wirtschaftlichen Folgen der COVID-19-Pandemie besonders betroffene Generation an Absolventen von (Berufs-)Schulen, Universitäten o.Ä., die während der COVID-19-Pandemie ihren Abschluss abgelegt und deshalb ggf. einen schlechteren Start ins Berufsleben haben</p>	Compound
Noun	D/O-35	<p>Coronakabinett</p> <p>Gremium aus Ministerinnen und Ministern und der Bundeskanzlerin, das sich regelmäßig trifft, um den besonderen Anforderungen an die</p>	Compound

		Regierungsgeschäfte während der COVID-19-Pandemie gerecht zu werden	
Noun	D/O-36	Coronakilo durch Bewegungsmangel, Langeweile, Stress usw. während der COVID-19-Pandemie zugenommenes Körpergewicht	Compound
Noun	O-26	Coronakindergeld (angedachte) finanzielle Unterstützung für Eltern während der COVID-19-Pandemie	Compound
Noun	O-27	Coronaklausur a. (schriftliche) Prüfung (an Hochschulen, Universitäten usw.), die aufgrund des während der COVID-19-Pandemie angeordneten Kontaktverbots unter besonderen Bedingungen und ggf. zeitlich verzögert abgelegt wird b. unter Ausschluss der Öffentlichkeit stattfindende Tagung, auf der Maßnahmen und Regelungen zur Eindämmung der COVID-19-Pandemie thematisiert werden	Compound
Noun	O-28	Coronaknast temporäre Einrichtung zur zwangsweisen Unterbringung von Personen, die bei nachgewiesener Infektion mit dem Coronavirus SARS-CoV-2 gegen angeordnete Quarantäneauflagen verstoßen	Compound
Noun	D/O-37	Coronaknigge Gesamtheit gesellschaftlicher Verhaltensregeln, die während der COVID-19-Pandemie zum Zwecke der Eindämmung gelten	Compound
Noun	O-29	Coronakoller aufgrund der während der COVID-19-Pandemie geltenden Ausgangs- und Kontaktbeschränkungen auftretende starke, z.T. zornige Frustration	Compound
Adjective / Adverb	O-30	coronakonform den Verordnungen und Empfehlungen (z.B. Abstandsregeln, Hygienevorschriften) zur Vermeidung einer Ansteckung mit dem die Infektionskrankheit COVID-19 verursachenden Virus SARS-CoV-2 folgend	Compound

Noun	D/O-38	Coronakrise gesellschaftlich und wirtschaftlich problematischer, durch viele Einschränkungen gekennzeichnete Zeitraum, der durch die COVID-19-Pandemie ausgelöst wird	Compound
Adjective / Adverb	D/O-39	coronal die durch die COVID-19-Pandemie entstandene Krise betreffend, in ihr entstanden oder geltend	Derivative
Noun	O-31	Coronaleugner Anhänger einer (vom Verfassungsschutz kritisch eingestuft) Gruppierung, der im Rahmen von Kundgebungen (auf HygienesDemonstrationen, Coronademonstrationen o.Ä.) gegen die während der COVID-19-Pandemie angeordneten Verhaltensregeln protestiert	Compound
Adjective / Adverb	D/O-40	coronalos keine COVID-19-Infektion aufweisend	Derivative
Noun	O-32	Coronalügner a. Person, die fälschlicherweise angibt, mit dem Coronavirus SARS-CoV-2 infiziert zu sein b. (abwertend für) Politiker, dem falsche Aussagen zur COVID-19-Pandemie nachgesagt und dem die Anordnung von als übertrieben empfundenen Maßnahmen dagegen vorgeworfen werden	Compound
Noun	O-33	Coronamähne durch die Schließung der Friseurgeschäfte während der COVID-19-Pandemie herausgewachsener bzw. durch unprofessionelles Schneiden verunstalteter Haarschnitt	Compound
Noun	O-34	Coronamarke während der COVID-19-Pandemie angemeldeter neuer Produkt- oder Firmenname (mit Bezug zur Pandemie)	Compound
Noun	O-35	Coronamasche	Compound

		betrügerisches Vorgehen, bei dem jemand die Umstände während der COVID-19-Pandemie dazu nutzt, um Betroffene zu Geldzahlungen zu bewegen	
Noun	O-36	Coronamatte durch die Schließung der Friseurgeschäfte während der COVID-19-Pandemie herausgewachsener bzw. durch unprofessionelles Schneiden verunstalteter Haarschnitt	Compound
Noun	D/O-41	Coronamode besonders auffallend oder ungewöhnlich gestaltete Bedeckungen der unteren Gesichtshälfte zur Vorbeugung einer Ansteckung mit dem Coronavirus SARS-CoV-19	Compound
Noun	O-37	Coronamoderne die durch die Umstände der COVID-19-Pandemie geprägte Gegenwart	Compound
Noun	O-38	Coronamour während der zur Eindämmung der COVID-19-Pandemie angeordneten Kontakt- und Alltagsbeschränkungen entstandene und durch diese geprägte Liebesbeziehung	Compound
Adjective / Adverb	O-39	coronamüde überdrüssig und erschöpft wegen allem, was mit der COVID-19-Pandemie zu tun hat	Compound
Noun	O-40	Coronamüder Person, die Überdruß und Erschöpfung wegen allem empfindet, was mit der COVID-19-Pandemie zu tun hat	Compound
Noun	O-41	Coronamüdigkeit Überdruß und Erschöpfung wegen allem, was mit der COVID-19-Pandemie zu tun hat	Compound
Noun	O-42	Coronamüll a. Gesamtheit der zusätzlich als Abfall anfallenden (medizinischen) Einmalprodukte, die während der COVID-19-Pandemie	Compound

		<p>aufgrund politisch angeordneter Hygienevorschriften eingesetzt werden</p> <p>b. (Haushalts-)Abfälle, die bei Verdacht auf eine mögliche Kontamination mit dem Coronavirus SARS-CoV-2 in besonderer Weise entsorgt werden müssen</p>	
Noun	O-43	<p>Coronanothilfe</p> <p>a. finanzielle Unterstützung (für Personengruppen, Staaten u.A.) während der COVID-19-Pandemie</p> <p>b. (materielle) Unterstützung für Personen, die aufgrund der während der COVID-19-Pandemie angeordneten Ausgangs- und Kontaktbeschränkungen, Hygienemaßnahmen o.Ä. in eine Notlage geraten</p>	Compound
Noun	D/O-42	<p>Coronapanik</p> <p>sehr große, lähmende Angst vor einer Ansteckung mit dem Coronavirus SARS-CoV-19 und wegen der Auswirkungen der COVID-19-Pandemie</p>	Compound
Noun	D/O-43	<p>Coronaparty</p> <p>gemeinsames Feiern meist junger Menschen trotz der und ggf. auch als eine Art Protest gegen die weitgehenden Kontakt- und Ausgangseinschränkungen während der COVID-19-Pandemie</p>	Compound
Noun	D/O-44	<p>Coronapauschale</p> <p>a. durch Schätzungen ermittelter Betrag, mit dem erhöhte Kosten in Arztpraxen, Ladengeschäften, Werkstätten o.Ä für während der COVID-19-Pandemie angeordnete Schutzkleidung und -maßnahmen ausgeglichen werden sollen</p> <p>b. (angedachte) finanzielle Unterstützung von (freischaffenden) Künstlern und Soloselbstständigen zum Ausgleich von aufgrund der COVID-19-Pandemie entstandenen Honorarausfällen</p> <p>c. (angedachter) Betrag zum Ausgleich von Mehrausgaben bei der Bereitstellung von medizinischen Hilfsmitteln, die aufgrund der während der COVID-19-Pandemie</p>	Compound

		angeordneten Schutz- und Hygienemaßnahmen anfallen	
Noun	O-44	<p>Coronapause</p> <p>a. Zeitraum, in dem öffentliche Einrichtungen, Veranstaltungen o.Ä. auf politische Anordnung hin zum Zwecke der Eindämmung der COVID-19-Pandemie geschlossen oder abgesagt sind</p> <p>b. durch die während der COVID-19-Pandemie angeordneten Ausgangs- und Kontaktbeschränkungen bedingte vorübergehende Unterbrechung einer Aktivität</p>	Compound
Noun	D/O-45	<p>Coronapflegebonus</p> <p>(angedachte) einmalige Sonderzahlung für Beschäftigte in der Pflege zum Ausgleich der besonders hohen Belastung während der COVID-19-Pandemie</p>	Compound
Noun	D/O-46	<p>Coronaprämie</p> <p>a. (angedachte) einmalige Sonderzahlung für Beschäftigte in der Pflege zum Ausgleich der besonders hohen Belastung während der COVID-19-Pandemie</p> <p>b. steuer- und sozialabgabefreie Sonderzahlung für Beschäftigte zum Ausgleich höherer Belastung während der COVID-19-Pandemie</p>	Compound
Noun	O-45	<p>Coronaprotest</p> <p>(politisch und weltanschaulich unterschiedlich motivierte) Kundgebung gegen die allgemein gültigen Verhaltensregeln zur Eindämmung der COVID-19-Pandemie</p>	Compound
Noun	O-46	<p>Coronaradweg</p> <p>während der COVID-19-Pandemie eingerichteter zusätzlicher temporärer Fahrradweg, mit dem die Einhaltung räumlicher Distanzregeln ermöglicht und der öffentliche Nahverkehr entlastet werden sollen</p>	Compound
Noun	O-47	<p>Coronarebell</p> <p>Anhänger einer (vom Verfassungsschutz kritisch eingestuft) Gruppierung, der im Rahmen von Kundgebungen (auf HygienesDemonstrationen, Coronademonstrationen o.Ä.) gegen die</p>	Compound

		während der COVID-19-Pandemie angeordneten Verhaltensregeln protestiert	
Noun	O-48	Coronaregel aufgrund der COVID-19-Pandemie erlassene Regelung, die die Ausbreitung des Virus verlangsamen soll	Compound
Noun	D/O-47	Coronarettungsschirm finanzielle Hilfe des Bundes für die Unterstützung von Betrieben, Firmen o.Ä., die, bedingt durch die COVID-19-Pandemie, finanzielle Einbußen erleiden	Compound
Noun	O-49	Coronascham a. (meist) als Druckmittel eingesetztes öffentliches Anprangern von Personen, die sich während der COVID-19-Pandemie (vermeintlich) nicht an die auf politische Anordnung hin geltenden Abstands- und Hygienevorschriften, Reiseempfehlungen o.Ä. halten b. unangenehm quälendes Gefühl, das [sic!] man wegen eines (vermeintlichen) Mangels persönlicher Einschränkungen während der COVID-19-Pandemie empfindet	Compound
Noun	D/O-48	Coronascheck (angedachte) einmalige finanzielle Unterstützung für Bürgerinnen und Bürger, welche das während der COVID-19-Pandemie abgeflaute Konsumverhalten beleben soll	Compound
Noun	O-50	Coronaschein schriftliche Selbsterklärung, die beim Besuch öffentlicher Einrichtungen, Veranstaltungsorte, Restaurants o.Ä. während der COVID-19-Pandemie zur potentiellen Nachverfolgung von Infektionsketten hinterlegt wird	Compound
Noun	O-51	Coronaschichtunterricht an die Abstands- und Hygienevorschriften während der COVID-19-Pandemie angepasstes Schulmodell, in dem Lehrkräfte Schülern abwechselnd und zu bestimmten Zeiten an ihrer Schule Lehrstoff vermitteln	Compound
Noun	O-52	Coronaschließzeit	Compound

		Zeitraum, in dem öffentliche Einrichtungen, Veranstaltungen o.Ä. auf politische Anordnung hin zum Zwecke der Eindämmung der COVID-19-Pandemie geschlossen oder abgesagt sind	
Noun	O-53	Coronaschnelltest medizinisches Untersuchungsverfahren (mit unterschiedlicher Technik) zur Feststellung einer Infektion mit dem Coronavirus SARS-CoV-2, dessen Ergebnis sofort oder nach kurzer Zeit vorliegt	Compound
Noun	O-54	Coronaschock a. durch die COVID-19-Pandemie ausgelöste massive Erschütterung des gesellschaftlichen und wirtschaftlichen Lebens b. durch den Nachweis einer Infektion mit dem Coronavirus SARS-CoV-2 ausgelöste große Besorgnis	Compound
Noun	O-55	Coronaschub durch die COVID-19-Pandemie bedingter wirtschaftlicher Aufschwung	Compound
Noun	D/O-49	Coronaschutzschild a. finanzielle Hilfe des Bundes für die Unterstützung von Betrieben, Firmen o.Ä., die, bedingt durch die COVID-19-Pandemie, finanzielle Einbußen erleiden b. einem Visier ähnliche, aus durchsichtigem Kunststoff bestehende gewölbte, rechteckige Scheibe, die am Kopf befestigt und vor dem Gesicht getragen wird, um sich vor einer Ansteckung mit dem Coronavirus SARS-CoV-19 zu schützen	Compound
Noun	D/O-50	Coronaschutzschirm finanzielle Hilfe des Bundes für die Unterstützung von Betrieben, Firmen o.Ä., die, bedingt durch die COVID-19-Pandemie, finanzielle Einbußen erleiden	Compound
Noun	O-56	Coronaschutzwall a. im wörtlichen oder übertragenen Sinn errichtete Barriere, die maßgeblich zur Eindämmung der COVID-19-Pandemie	Compound

		<p>beiträgt oder vor einer Infektion mit dem SARS-CoV-2-Virus schützt</p> <p>b. (Berufs)Gruppe von Personen, die maßgeblich zur Eindämmung der COVID-19-Pandemie beitragen</p>	
Noun	D/O-51	<p>Coronasemester</p> <p>virtuelles Studienhalbjahr mit digitalen Lehrangeboten, das an die Ausgangs- und Alltagsbeschränkungen während der COVID-19-Pandemie angepasst ist</p>	Compound
Noun	D/O-52	<p>Coronasession</p> <p>a. während der COVID-19-Pandemie unter außerordentlichen Bedingungen stattfindende (und diese betreffende) Tagung der schweizerischen Parlamentskammern</p> <p>b. gemeinsames Musizieren über das Internet (mit Bildübertragung) oder formloses kleines Konzert, das auf Internetplattformen und in sozialen Medien öffentlich geteilt wird</p>	Compound
Noun	D/O-53	<p>Coronasex</p> <p>a. Sex mit Schutzkleidung (wie Mund-Nasen-Schutz o.Ä.)</p> <p>b. Sex, für den man während der COVID-19-Pandemie mehr Zeit und Gelegenheit hat</p>	Compound
Noun	O-57	<p>Coronashaming</p> <p>(meist) als Druckmittel eingesetztes öffentliches Anprangern von Personen, die sich während der COVID-19-Pandemie (vermeintlich) nicht an die auf politische Anordnung hin geltenden Abstands- und Hygienevorschriften, Reiseempfehlungen o.Ä. halten</p>	Compound
Adjective / Adverb	D/O-54	<p>coronasicher</p> <p>den Hygienebestimmungen während der COVID-19-Pandemie genügend</p>	Compound
Noun	D/O-55	<p>Coronaskepsis</p> <p>Zweifel an der Sinnhaftigkeit der allgemein gültigen Verhaltensregeln zur Eindämmung der COVID-19-Pandemie</p>	Compound

Noun	O-58	Coronaskeptiker Person, die an der Sinnhaftigkeit der allgemein gültigen Verhaltensregeln zur Eindämmung der COVID-19-Pandemie zweifelt und ggf. im Rahmen von Kundgebungen (auf HygienesDemonstrationen, Coronademonstrationen o.Ä.) gegen diese protestiert	Compound
Noun	O-59	Coronasoforthilfe bis zum 31. Mai 2020 beantragbarer staatlicher Zuschuss für kleine und mittelständische Unternehmen, Solo-Selbstständige o.Ä., die infolge der COVID-19-Pandemie in eine existenzbedrohende finanzielle Notlage geraten waren	Compound
Noun	D/O-56	Coronasoli Sonderabgabe, die dabei helfen soll, Kosten wegen der COVID-19-Pandemie zu finanzieren	Compound
Noun	D/O-57	Coronasolidaritätszuschlag Sonderabgabe, die dabei helfen soll, Kosten wegen der COVID-19-Pandemie zu finanzieren	Compound
Noun	O-60	Coronasommer heiße Jahreszeit mit an die Verordnungen und Bedingungen während der COVID-19-Pandemie angepassten Reise- und Ferienaktivitäten	Compound
Noun	D/O-58	Coronaspeck durch Bewegungsmangel, Langeweile, Stress usw. während der COVID-19-Pandemie angegessenes Fettgewebe	Compound
Noun	D/O-59	Coronasperre Zeitraum, in dem fast alle wirtschaftlichen und gesellschaftlichen Aktivitäten während der COVID-19-Pandemie auf politische Anordnung hin stillgelegt sind	Compound
Noun	D/O-60	Coronastarre a. Zustand der geistigen Unbeweglichkeit, ausgelöst durch Ängste und Sorgen während der COVID-19-Pandemie	Compound

		b. Zeitraum, in dem fast alle wirtschaftlichen und gesellschaftlichen Aktivitäten auf politische Anordnung hin zur Eindämmung der COVID-19-Pandemie stillgelegt sind	
Noun	O-61	Coronastau Verzögerung in (Betriebs-)abläufen aufgrund der wirtschaftlichen und politischen Einschränkungen während der COVID-19-Pandemie	Compound
Noun	D/O-61	Coronastreife kleine Einheit der Polizei, die Fahrten oder Gänge zur Kontrolle der Einhaltung der während der COVID-19-Pandemie angeordneten Kontaktbeschränkungen im öffentlichen Raum durchführt	Compound
Noun	D/O-62	Coronastress durch die gesellschaftlichen und wirtschaftlichen Einschränkungen während der COVID-19-Pandemie bedingte starke psychische Belastung	Compound
Noun	D/O-63	Coronasünder Person, die sich nicht an die in der COVID-19-Pandemie geltenden Ausgangs- und Kontaktregelungen hält	Compound
Noun	O-62	Coronasuperverbreiter a. Person, die eine ungewöhnlich hohe Anzahl anderer Menschen mit dem die Infektionskrankheit COVID-19 verursachenden Virus SARS-CoV-2 infiziert b. Veranstaltung, Zusammenkunft, Ereignis o.Ä. an einem bestimmten Ort, wo ungewöhnlich viele Personen mit dem die Infektionskrankheit COVID-19 verursachenden Virus SARS-CoV-2 angesteckt werden	Compound
Noun	D/O-64	Coronatagebuch a. in regelmäßigen Abständen in Presse und Internet veröffentlichte (redaktionelle) Schilderungen zu persönlichen Beobachtungen, Erlebnissen, Eindrücken etc. während der COVID-19-Pandemie	Compound

		b. während der COVID-19-Pandemie zur (privaten) Rückverfolgung von Infektionsketten einsetzbares Buch, Heft o.Ä., in das Kontakte, Aufenthaltsorte oder persönliche Erlebnisse eingetragen werden können	
Noun	O-63	Coronatest medizinisches Untersuchungsverfahren (mit unterschiedlicher Technik) zur Feststellung einer Infektion mit dem Coronavirus SARS-CoV-2	Compound
Noun	O-64	Coronatestoffensive politisch angeordnete Aktion, bei der in einer Bevölkerung flächendeckend medizinische Untersuchungen zur Feststellung einer Infektion mit dem Coronavirus SARS-CoV-2 durchgeführt werden	Compound
Noun	D/O-65	Coronaticker Nachrichtenformat, das in regelmäßig wiederkehrenden Abständen über aktuelle Meldungen rund um die COVID-19-Pandemie informiert	Compound
Noun	D/O-66	Coronatief a. schlechte Wirtschaftslage aufgrund der COVID-19-Pandemie b. schlechte psychische Verfassung wegen der COVID-19-Pandemie	Compound
Noun	D/O-67	Coronatie (bildhaft für) Coronavirus SARS-CoV-19	Compound
Noun	O-65	Coronavirusdetektiv (Teilzeit-)Beschäftigter, der Infektionsketten zum Zwecke der Eindämmung des SARS-CoV-2-Virus (telefonisch) nachverfolgt	Compound
Noun	D/O-68	Coronavirushotspot a. akuter Mittelpunkt der sich ausbreitenden COVID-19-Pandemie, mit der höchsten Anzahl der mit dem COVID-19-Virus infizierten Personen	Compound

		b. Ort oder Region, wo das Risiko einer Ansteckung mit dem Coronavirus für eine Person erhöht ist	
Noun	O-66	Coronavirussturm übermäßig schnelle Verbreitung des SARS-CoV-2-Virus (während der COVID-19-Pandemie)	Compound
Noun	D/O-69	Coronawarnapp zur Rückverfolgung von Infektionsketten während der COVID-19-Pandemie eingesetztes Computerprogramm, das (auf das Smartphone) heruntergeladen werden kann	Compound
Noun	O-67	Coronawelle plötzlicher starker Anstieg der Infektionen mit dem Coronavirus SARS-CoV-2	Compound
Noun	O-68	Coronawende a. Umschwung zum Besseren im Verlauf der COVID-19-Pandemie durch die COVID-19-Pandemie ausgelöste gesellschaftliche, wirtschaftliche usw. Umkehr von früheren Verhältnissen und Verhaltensweisen b. Abkehr von bis zu einem gewissen Zeitpunkt geltenden politischen Maßnahmen in der COVID-19-Pandemie	Compound
Noun	O-69	Coronawolke a. (vermeintlich) als Schwebeteilchen nach dem Husten, Niesen o.Ä. in der Umgebungsluft eines Infizierten verbleibende Menge an SARS-CoV-2-Viren b. infolge der COVID-19-Pandemie eintretende gedrückte, düstere Stimmung	Compound
Noun	D/O-70	Coronazeh a. Läsionen an Füßen und Zehen, die im Rahmen einer durch das Coronavirus SARS-CoV-2 verursachten Erkrankung auftreten können b. Zeh mit Läsionen, die im Rahmen einer durch das Coronavirus SARS-CoV-2 verursachten Erkrankung auftretende können	Compound

Noun	O-70	Coronazeit Zeitraum, in dem die COVID-19-Pandemie fast alle gesellschaftlichen und wirtschaftlichen Aktivitäten (fast vollständig) stillgelegt hat	Compound
Noun	O-71	Coronazettel a. während der COVID-19-Pandemie (in Sachsen) angeordnete schriftliche Bestätigung des Gesundheitszustands von Minderjährigen zur Vorlage in Schulen, Kindergärten o.Ä. durch Erziehungsberechtigte b. schriftliche Selbsterklärung, die beim Besuch öffentlicher Einrichtungen, Veranstaltungsorte, Restaurants o.Ä. während der COVID-19-Pandemie zur potentiellen Nachverfolgung von Infektionsketten hinterlegt wird	Compound
Noun	O-72	Coronazuschuss als Soforthilfemaßnahme beantragbare finanzielle Unterstützung (für Personen-, Berufsgruppen u.A.) während der COVID-19-Pandemie	Compound
Noun	D/O-71	Coronazwangspause Zeitraum, in dem fast alle wirtschaftlichen und gesellschaftlichen Aktivitäten zur Eindämmung der COVID-19-Pandemie auf politische Anordnung hin stillgelegt sind	Compound
Noun	D/O-72	Corönchen (verharmlosend für) das Coronavirus	Derivative
Verb	O-73	coronern a. (meist mündlich) sich während der COVID-19-Pandemie (unter Einhaltung der Hygiene- und Abstandsvorschriften) zum gemeinsamen Konsumieren von Alkohol auf öffentlichen Plätzen, an Straßenecken oder in der näheren Umgebung von nachts geöffneten Kiosken, Tankstellen o.Ä. treffen b. jemanden (trotz Einhaltung oder aufgrund der Nichteinhaltung der während der Pandemie geltenden Hygiene- und Abstandsvorschriften) mit COVID-19 anstecken	Derivative
Noun	D/O-73	Coronexit	Derivative

		Beendigung der gesellschaftlichen und wirtschaftlichen Beschränkungen während der COVID-19-Pandemie	
Noun	D/O-74	Coronials Teil einer Generation, die während der aufgrund der Ausbreitung von COVID-19 angeordneten Ausgangsbeschränkungen (in Heimquarantäne) gezeugt wurde	Derivative
Verb	D/O-75	coronieren etwas den Bedingungen in Zeiten der COVID-19-Pandemie anpassen	Derivative
Adjective / Adverb	O-74	coronisch a. die Sprache während der COVID-19-Pandemie betreffend b. Eigenschaften von Personen, Handlungen, Sachverhalten etc. mit Bezug auf die Umstände der COVID-19-Pandemie	Derivative
Verb	D/O-76	coronisieren etwas den Bedingungen in Zeiten der COVID-19-Pandemie anpassen	Derivative
Noun	D/O-77	Coronisierung Anpassung an die Bedingungen in Zeiten der COVID-19-Pandemie	Derivative
Noun	D/O-78	Coronismus während der COVID-19-Pandemie angeordnete (politische) Maßnahmen, die als weitreichender Eingriff in die Privatsphäre und Beschneidung der Grundrechte empfunden werden	Derivative
Adjective / Adverb	D/O-79	coronistisch von der COVID-19-Pandemie zeugend	Derivative
Noun	D/O-80	Coronoia irrational große Angst vor einer Ansteckung mit dem Coronavirus SARS-CoV-19	Derivative
Noun	D/O-81	COVID-19	Compound

		durch das Coronavirus SARS-CoV-2 verursachte Erkrankung der Atemwege	
Noun	O-75	COVID-19-App zur (privaten) Rückverfolgung von Infektionsketten während der COVID-19-Pandemie eingesetztes Computerprogramm, das (auf das Smartphone) heruntergeladen werden kann	Compound
Noun	O-76	COVID-19-assoziiert mit dem Coronavirus SARS-CoV-2 in Verbindung gebracht	Compound
Noun	D/O-82	COVID-19-Ausweis offizielles Dokument, das die Immunität einer Person bezüglich des Coronavirus SARS-CoV-19 bestätigt	Compound
Noun	O-77	COVID-19-Brain infolge einer durch das Coronavirus SARS-CoV-2 verursachten Erkrankung empfundene (dauerhafte) kognitive Beeinträchtigung	Compound
Noun	O-78	COVID-19-Fall das Auftreten einer Infektion mit dem SARS-CoV-2-Virus mit dem SARS-CoV-2-Virus infizierte Person	Compound
Noun	O-79	COVID-19-Gehirn infolge einer durch das Coronavirus SARS-CoV-2 verursachten Erkrankung empfundene (dauerhafte) kognitive Beeinträchtigung	Compound
Noun	O-80	COVID-19-Kirse gesellschaftlich und wirtschaftlich problematischer, durch viele Einschränkungen gekennzeichnete Zeitraum, der durch Coronapandemie ausgelöst wird	Compound
Noun	O-81	COVID-19-Party gemeinsames Feiern meist junger Menschen trotz der und ggf. auch als eine Art Protest gegen die weitgehenden Kontakt- und Ausgangseinschränkungen während der Corona-Pandemie	Compound

Noun	D/O-83	COVID-19-Pass offizielles Dokument, das die Immunität einer Person bezüglich des Coronavirus SARS-CoV-19 bestätigt	Compound
Noun	D/O-84	COVID-19-Radar a. Gesamtheit interaktiver (grafischer) Darstellungen, mit denen aktuelle Entwicklungen und Fallzahlen zur COVID-19-Pandemie abgebildet werden b. nicht-kommerzielles Computerprogramm, das (auf das Smartphone) heruntergeladen werden kann und während der COVID-19-Pandemie freiwillig abgegebene Nutzerdaten zum Zwecke der Abbildung von Infektionsherden auf einer interaktiven Karte speichert und veröffentlicht	Compound
Noun	O-82	COVID-19-Superverbreiter Person, die eine ungewöhnlich hohe Anzahl anderer Menschen mit dem die Infektionskrankheit COVID-19 verursachenden Virus SARS-CoV-2 infiziert	Compound
Noun	O-83	COVID-19-Test medizinisches Untersuchungsverfahren (mit unterschiedlicher Technik) zur Feststellung einer Infektion mit dem Coronavirus SARS-CoV-2	Compound
Noun	O-84	COVID-19-Welle plötzlicher starker Anstieg der Infektionen mit dem Coronavirus SARS-CoV-2	Compound
Noun	O-85	COVID-Party gemeinsames Feiern meist junger Menschen trotz der und ggf. auch als eine Art Protest gegen die weitgehenden Kontakt- und Ausgangseinschränkungen während der Corona-Pandemie	Compound
Noun	O-86	Covidfall a. das Auftreten einer Infektion mit dem SARS-CoV-2-Virus b. mit dem SARS-CoV-2-Virus infizierte Person	Compound

Noun	O-87	Covidhirm infolge einer durch das Coronavirus SARS-CoV-2 verursachten Erkrankung empfundene (dauerhafte) kognitive Beeinträchtigung	Compound
Noun	D/O-85	Covidiot sich während der COVID-19-Pandemie unangemessen verhaltende Person	Compound
Noun	D/O-86	Covidiotin sich während der COVID-19-Pandemie unangemessen verhaltende Frau	Compound
Noun	O-88	Covidkrise gesellschaftlich und wirtschaftlich problematischer, durch viele Einschränkungen gekennzeichnete Zeitraum, der durch die COVID-19-Pandemie ausgelöst wird	Compound
Noun	O-89	Covidtest medizinisches Untersuchungsverfahren (mit unterschiedlicher Technik) zur Feststellung einer Infektion mit dem Coronavirus SARS-CoV-2	Compound
Noun	D/O-87	Covidzeh a. Läsionen an Füßen und Zehen, die im Rahmen einer durch das Coronavirus SARS-CoV-2 verursachten Erkrankung auftreten können b. Zeh mit Läsionen, die im Rahmen einer durch das Coronavirus SARS-CoV-2 verursachten Erkrankung auftretende können	Compound
<p><i>*There was a notable change on the DWDS website. When accessing the DWDS website to a later date (22 July 2020), only 16 of the lexemes present in the corpus from June 17th 2020 were included in the list. There was no indication as to the reason for this change. The corpus therefore refers to the state of the website on June 17th 2020.</i></p> <p><i>** All definitions are from OWID as of 3 August 2020</i></p>			