

Andreína Adelstein, Victoria de los Ángeles Boschioli

Spanish neologisms during the COVID-19 pandemic: Changing criteria for their inclusion and representation in dictionaries

1 Introduction

The COVID-19 pandemic is a global event in a globalized society, and in many ways unprecedented. One of them is that, by August 2021, it is still an ongoing phenomenon, thus any analysis or description is provisional and/or contingent. Another feature is the immediate, urgent, and changing nature of events. Nevertheless, scientific research in different areas has had to speed up its processes in order to achieve results that have social impact; among these, those about linguistic description and lexicographic records.

The urgent need to account for this extraordinary reality as expressed in language, especially in lexical creativity, can be observed in the updates of language dictionaries in 2020 and the choice of words of the year, as well as the proliferation of an unusually large amount of individual or institutional inventories (for Spanish, for example, COVIDCIONARIO, Barale 2020, Lungevity Foundation 2021); stories in mainstream press, ephemeral publications and postings in social media where analysis and reflections are outlined with varying degrees of expertise. This was also the case in academic works describing such issues as productive resources or relationships between different languages, among others, which have multiplied since the end of 2020 and throughout 2021 (see Zholoboba 2021, Baharati 2020, Klekot 2021, Haddad/Moreno Martínez 2020, Mweri 2021, Carpintero/Tapia Kwiecien 2020).

In this context, where establishing a corpus of analysis can be a particularly difficult task – due to the seemingly unstoppable surge of new words that have been appearing in parallel to the different phases of the pandemic, scientific advances and social reactions to government health policies, and the global nature of the creative phenomenon – it is worth studying if criteria traditionally applied to include and treat neologisms in different types of dictionaries have changed in any way (see Barnhart 1985, Bernal/Freixa/Torner 2020, Cook 2010, Ishikawa 2006, Klosa-Kückelhaus/Wolfer 2020, O'Donovan/O'Neill 2008).

Andreína Adelstein, CONICET, Buenos Aires, Argentina, Universidad Nacional de General Sarmiento, Los Polvorines, Argentina, Universidad de Buenos Aires, Buenos Aires, Argentina, e-mail: aadelste@campus.ungs.edu.ar

Victoria de los Ángeles Boschioli, Universidad Nacional de General Sarmiento, Los Polvorines, Argentina, e-mail: vboschir@campus.ungs.edu.ar

The aim of this work is to describe criteria used in the process of inclusion and treatment of neologisms in dictionaries of Spanish within the framework of pandemic instability. Our starting point will be data obtained by the Antenas Neológicas Network¹ (<https://www.upf.edu/web/antenas>), whose representation in three different lexicographic tools will be analyzed with the purpose of identifying problems in the methodology used to dictionarize – that is, how and what words were selected to be included in dictionaries and how they were represented in their entries – neologisms during the COVID-19 pandemic (sources and corpora of analysis, selection criteria, types of definition, among other aspects). Two of them are monolingual and COVID-19 lexical units were included as part of their updates: the *Antenario*, a dictionary of neologisms of Spanish varieties, and the *Diccionario de la Lengua Española* [DLE], a dictionary of general Spanish, published by the Real Academia Española [RAE], Spanish Royal Academy). The other is a bilingual unidirectional English-Spanish dictionary first published as a glossary, *Diccionario de COVID-19 EN-ES* [TREMEDICA], entirely made up of neological and non-neological lexical units related to the virus and the pandemic. Thus, the target lexis was either included in existing works or makes up the whole of a new tool located in a portal together with other lexicographic tools. Unlike other collections of COVID-19 vocabulary that kept cropping up as the pandemic unfolded, all three have been designed and written according to well-established lexicographic practices.

Our working hypothesis is that the need to record and define words which were recently created impacts the criteria for inclusion and treatment of neologisms in dictionaries about Spanish, including a certain degree of overlap of some features which are traditionally thought to be specific to each type of dictionary.

To this end, we will start by describing some of the most salient characteristics of the lexis of the COVID-19 pandemic in Spanish. Then, we will analyze the three lexicographic works. We will look at their headword selection procedures and how words are treated, in particular, with regard to what definition resources they deploy and how variation is recorded. Finally, we will discuss our conclusions about the peculiarities of the methodology found to be used in the inclusion and treatment of neologisms related to the pandemic.

¹ The Antenas Neológicas Network, created in 2003, is one of the networks associated with the Observatori de Neologia of the Institut Universitari de Lingüística Aplicada, Pompeu Fabra University, whose purpose is to collect neology in order to describe the varieties of some Latin American countries, in addition to that of Spain. The European node is the Observatorio de Neología of the Universidad Pompeu Fabra, which registers neologisms of newspapers published in Barcelona but that have national circulation. The Latin American nodes are research teams from: Universidad Nacional de General Sarmiento (Argentina), Universidad de Concepción and Pontificia Universidad Católica de Valparaíso (Chile), Colegio de México (Mexico), Universidad Autónoma de Manizales (Colombia) and Universidad Femenina del Sagrado Corazón (Peru).

2 Neology of the COVID-19 pandemic: Main characteristics and impact on lexicography

The pandemic has impacted exponentially the neology of national languages in every field of human activity. Many of the neologisms are, in fact, internationalisms (*coronavirus*, *COVID-19*), which can be considered, to a large extent, an extreme case of what have been called *global linguistic variants* (Sayers 2014, Buchstaller 2008, apud Sayers 2014), that is, linguistic innovations that emerge simultaneously in very distant places, such as, for example, semantic neologisms like *aislamiento*, *confinamiento*, *cuarentena* (all three referring to ‘lockdown’) in different varieties of Spanish, or *microgota* (Spanish), *microdråpe* (Norwegian), *microgoccia* (Italian) (all of them equivalents of ‘microdroplet’). From a lexicographic perspective, these global variants are likely to be included in different types of dictionaries covering the phenomenon, given the frequent use the media have made of them.

As a matter of fact, the lexis of COVID-19 in Spanish, as has been the case in other languages, includes lexical units that have a different diachronic status: words with a relatively low frequency of use that have been revitalized, which were already found in general language dictionaries (*barbijo* ‘face mask’) or that had not been included before the pandemic (*coronavirus*); non-neological terminological units that became frequent in everyday discourse (*carga viral* ‘viral load’, *oxímetro* ‘pulse oximeter’) and terminological neologisms that are rapidly used in the press (*supercontagiador* ‘super-spreader’); denominative and/or stylistic neologisms from different fields and styles (*zoompleaños* ‘Zoom birthday party’, *covidiota* ‘covidiot’); potential words or occasionalisms, of little (*coronabicho* ‘coronabug’) or no use (*coronahijo* ‘coronachild’).

How these words are recorded and treated lexicographically depends, of course, on the type of dictionary: language dictionaries will include items of almost all of these kinds (except for, perhaps, occasionalisms); language dictionaries of neologisms will also add those with a certain degree of diffusion; non-institutional or occasional glossaries (some of which claim to be “dictionaries” despite not following rigorous lexicographic practices) include mostly stylistic neologisms, ephemeral neologisms or occasionalisms. For example, the COVIDICIONARIO has, among others, *coronabirra* ‘cocktail party during lockdown’, *coronamiento* ‘corona lie’; the *Diccionario Latinoamericano de la lengua española* features *coronabobo* ‘coronamorón’, *coronamor* ‘coronalove’, *coronanoico* ‘corona paranoid’, *covicheado* ‘COVID infected’.² These informal records have had an unusual role in Spanish lexicography, which is discussed below.

² The phenomenon described in ten Hacken/Koliopoulou (2020: 129) seems to have multiplied and is repeated throughout the globe: “New words are always marked. This is illustrated by the publication of lists and discussions of words in newspapers, which are attested in many languages”.

A feature of particular relevance for lexicography is neological productivity, in terms of the productivity of neological processes (formal, semantic or loans), morphological productivity (productivity of affixes) or productivity of results (frequency of tokens). A quick look at the more than 300 neologisms recorded in 2020 by the Antenas Neológicas Network shows that the most productive processes have been syntagmatic compounds (*cuarentena intermitente* ‘intermittent lockdown’, *barbijo social* ‘non-medical face mask’), prefixation (*postpandemia* ‘post pandemic’, *pre-cuarentena* ‘pre lockdown’), suffixation (*hidroalcohólico* ‘alcohol gel’ adj., *sanitizar* ‘to sanitize’), acronymy (*covidivorcio* ‘COVID divorce’, *zoompleaños* ‘Zoom birthday party’) and loanwords (*coronacrash*, *zoomer*). However, neologisms such as *corona-crisis* and *coronabullying*, which made their way into Spanish soon after they were coined in English, may be perceived as originally Spanish acronyms rather than as loanwords. In some cases, it can be hard to decide whether a new word is a calque or an item formed in accordance with the morphological rules of Spanish. This is the case of *supercontagador* ‘super-spreader’ and *microgota* ‘microdroplet,’ which defy easy classifications, as calques from English or derived words. On the other hand, as regards regional variation, the use of lexical variants which belong to a certain national variety by the press from a different region or country (which often happens when international news stories are translated and reproduced) tends to reinforce pan-Hispanic practices, despite (and to the detriment of) the pluricentric character of the language. Thus, depending on the country, different names have been adopted or are preferred to designate social isolation measures: *confinamiento* ‘confinement’ in Spain, or *aislamiento* ‘isolation’ and *cuarentena* ‘quarantine’ in Argentina and, to a lesser extent, Chile, Mexico, and Peru.

This raises the following questions: In what type of dictionary and to what extent should variants of syntagmatic compounds, such as *inmunidad comunitaria*, *inmunidad de rebaño*, *inmunidad colectiva*, *inmunidad de grupo* (‘herd immunity’), be treated? What about those that make up a derivational paradigm, such as *barbijo social* ‘non-medical mask’, *barbijo quirúrgico* ‘surgical mask’, *barbijo casero* ‘DIY mask’? How are neologisms that were created to address a phenomenon which is specific to this pandemic, but that may have a more general reference, such as *reconfinamiento* ‘new lockdown’ or *desconfinamiento* ‘lifting of lockdown’, treated?

Summing up, so far the features of Spanish neology about the pandemic that may have a bearing on the criteria for lexicographic treatment have been found to be: (i) global variants and influence of calques in speakers’ perceptions (which may be perceived to be formed according to the rules of their own language, Klekot 2021); (ii) variants of the different varieties of Spanish that end up being used in others (e.g. *desconfinamiento* (‘lifting of lockdown’), originally coined in Spain and later used elsewhere) (iii) a high degree of terminological banalization in different everyday fields, (iv) high degree of denominative, but also expressive, neology – linked to the ephemeral or occasional use of the word, (v) high productivity of

acronymy, especially with *corona-*, *COVID-*, *cuarent-*,³ linked to stylistic neology, hence, occasional or ephemeral (and, as a result, unlikely to be included in general language dictionaries), as Navarro (2020) points out, (iv) changes in the way words circulate: words which have not been used much still get attention and diffusion through non-institutional lexicographic records (e.g. *covidiota* ‘covidiot’).

3 Theoretical framework

3.1 Neologisms and dictionaries

Neologisms are usually defined as new words; their novelty may lie in different aspects of the lexical item: morphosyntactic, such as *aplusazo* ‘communal clapping’; semantic, such as *confinamiento* ‘lockdown’; linked to loanwords, such as *pandemial* ‘born during the pandemic’. Their neological nature may be determined through different parameters, which have been the object of many studies, especially in the Romance languages tradition (Barnhart 1985, Boulanger 1979, Cabré 2002, 2016, Cook 2010, Guilbert 1975). Among these, the most widely cited criteria are the chronological (when they were first coined or recorded), psycholinguistic (speakers’ perception of novelty), lexicographic (their inclusion in dictionaries) and formal instability (variation in their written or spoken renderings).

Schmid’s definition (2008: 1) foregrounds an aspect of neologisms of particular interest when considering their inclusion in dictionaries, their “in-process” status, that justifies the claim that not every neological item can or should be included in dictionaries (i.e., not just in general language dictionaries, but also dictionaries of neologisms):

Neologisms are not simply ‘new words’. Rather, at least in theoretical terms, they are words which have lost their status as nonce-formations and are in the process of becoming or already have become part of the norm of the language [. . .], but are still considered new by most members of a speech community (Fisher 1998, 3; Hohenhaus 2005, 365). This of course implies that a word may be a neologism for one language user and familiar to another, and that in the absence of clues provided by the speaker signalling the newness of the word . . . hearers will be unsure whether either they are confronted with a new word or an existing word unfamiliar to them.

In connection to this, Adelstein/Boschiroli (2020: 296) discuss the paradoxical nature of neologisms as lexical units and how it affects lexicographic typology, which can be summed up as follows: (i) a neologism is not a full-fledged word, but must have the necessary conditions to become one in the future, (ii) the paradox also

³ They could even be thought of as affixes, as some authors have suggested about *-gate* or *-landia* (‘-land’), which the DLE describes as a compositional element.

manifests in the fact that a neologism may be the creation of an individual speaker, but it is only through its use by a speech community that it acquires its neological status, and (iii) in the case of pluricentric languages such as Spanish, a lexical unit may cease to be a neologism in one country but still be one in others.

Furthermore, distinctions have been drawn between types of neologisms based on the extension of their social use, as well as between different types of neology: Guilbert's classical distinction between *discourse* and *language neology* (1975), Cabre's opposition between *ephemeral* and *lasting neology* (1989), the distinction between *neologism* and *occasionalism* proposed by Dressler (1993), apud Mattiello (2016: 115). These distinctions tend to suggest that only those neologisms that spread beyond the personal or occasional sphere of an individual speaker should be included in general language dictionaries.

Dictionaries of neologisms are characterized in dictionary typologies as restricted, mostly on account of chronological considerations.⁴ They are language dictionaries that have a two-way relationship with general language dictionaries, which play a crucial role when determining the neological nature of a word. On the one hand, general dictionaries are used as reference points: a unit will be considered neological if it is not found in a lexicographic exclusion corpus (that is, the set of dictionaries used to corroborate whether the item is documented). On the other, once the headword list of a dictionary of neologisms has been drawn, inclusion in the general dictionary is still a central goal: the neologisms chosen for a dictionary of neologisms are likely to be included eventually in a general language dictionary. In other words, first, the general dictionary is an instrument that legitimizes the neology of words that will be included in the dictionary of neologisms, and secondly, dictionaries of neologisms are instruments that can be used to update general dictionaries.

Adelstein/Boschiroli (2020) identify three characteristics of dictionaries of neologisms. They are 'transition devices', since *some* of the lexical units they collect hold a special status: from a chronological point of view they are likely to be leaving their continuity stage and entering their final stage in their condition of neologism, in terms of Anula Rebollo (2010); 'remedial devices', since they include words that may not be neological from a chronological or psycholinguistic point of view, but which are neological from a lexicographic perspective; and 'documents', since they include words that may prove to be ephemeral and thus may never reach the status of institutionalized words. We will come back to these properties and review them after our analysis, to establish whether they are exclusive of dictionaries of neologisms in Spanish as regards COVID-19 vocabulary.

⁴ In this work we do not consider the multiple online collections recording ludic or occasional creations, most of which do not follow lexicographic criteria nor base their contents on accurate linguistic descriptions of the units.

3.2 Criteria for inclusion of neologisms in dictionaries

The process of including new words in a dictionary has usually been discussed almost exclusively in terms of the updating of general language dictionaries (see e.g. Barnhart 1985, Ishikawa 2006, O'Donovan/O'Neill 2008). Among the most cited criteria, we can identify stabilization (as opposed to the ephemeral character of neologisms), frequency of use (as opposed to hapaxes), dispersion of occurrence (as opposed to high frequency in a limited range of textual types) and, on the other hand, the witness nature of new words (Matoré 1953) and the need for naming that drives the creation of new words. Calculations to articulate criteria have also been proposed, e.g., Barnhardt (2007), Metcalf (2002), and Cook (2010).

As regards Spanish, on the premise that frequency of use is an a priori criterion for inclusion in dictionaries, Adelstein/Freixa (2013) study how neology observatories can contribute to the process of lexicographic update, concluding that a suitable proposal should take account of the different dimensions of lexis and combine formal (variants of forms previously included in dictionaries, formation rules, restrictions of the base and other elements), semantic (degrees of polysemy, polysemy production) and sociolinguistic (stability of use, extension of use, and naming needs), besides lexicographic, criteria. However, the chronological criterion is not made explicit; it is subsumed in the sociolinguist criterion of stability.

Freixa/Torner (2020) analyze dictionaryization of neology in Spanish by carrying out a comparative study of data in connection to changes of frequency of neologisms throughout time and speakers' perceptions about their novelty. Adelstein/Boschiroli (2020) discuss criteria for inclusion of neologisms in neology specific dictionaries from a pluricentric, non-panhispanic perspective of Spanish.

Within Spanish lexicography, the issue of how the RAE includes new words in the DLE (often referred to as "words accepted by the RAE" by Spanish speakers at large) has been the focus of Bernal/Freixa/Torner (2020). They analyze criteria implicit in the inclusion of words in the DLE by focusing on neologisms with a high degree of frequency. Frequency of use is found to be necessary but not sufficient: other factors related to the internal coherence of the dictionary, such as completing derivative series and lexical sets (especially specialized lexis), representing geolectal variants and orienting normative use often take precedence. Words created in accordance with Spanish word formation rules are favoured over borrowings (see also Klosa-Kückelhaus/Wolfer 2020: 151). Another important factor is the inclusion of words that were created to satisfy naming needs, such as words related to new technologies or realities. Both internal coherence and naming needs seem to have been central in the 2020 update which includes words related to the COVID-19 pandemic, as will be discussed below.

4 Methodology

Our starting point in the lexicographic analysis of criteria for inclusion and micro-structural treatment of neologisms is a list of 321 neological items detected and recorded during 2020 and 2021 by the Antenas Neológicas Network.⁵ These data are collected exclusively from the written press of the six countries that make up the network; this may be regarded as a limitation in terms of diaphasic variation in relation to pandemic vocabulary, but on the other hand, it guarantees a certain degree of institutionalization, which is an essential aspect when considering the inclusion of new words in a general language dictionary.

The following information about the number of recorded occurrences, dispersion of use in all the countries and formation processes has been found to be relevant when analyzing criteria for inclusion in dictionaries:

- Total amount: 321
- Number of hapaxes: 96
- Number of items which were recorded in all six countries: 26
- Number of neologisms which were recorded or are being compiled in the dictionaries studied: 13 (DLE), 63 (*Antenario*), 87 (TREMEDICA).

In order to verify which items were exclusive of the pandemic – i.e., whose referents belong to the pandemic and are not revitalized forms or lexicographic neologisms from previous years – the following sources were checked: *Corpus del español NOW* [NOW] by Mark Davies (2012–2019)⁶ and *Corpus del español del siglo XXI* [CORPES], updated in 2021, which is 40% press texts. This information should condition representation in the microstructure. For instance, *coronavirus* was first recorded in the

⁵ This network follows the same methodology and uses the same limited-access online platform to enter the relevant information about the neologisms detected from the main newspapers of the countries of the network (data about grammar, sources and type of neological formation) as the rest of the observatories and networks related to the Observatorio de Neología of the Universidad Pompeu Fabra (cf. <https://www.upf.edu/web/antenas/metodologia>). The results are later published in the open-access lexical database BOBNEO (<http://obneo.iula.upf.edu/bobneo/index.php>). A lexicographic criterion is applied for identification: the items recorded have not been included in the dictionaries that make up the exclusion corpus for each country or region, while every node checks the words against DLE and LEMA (<https://www.upf.edu/web/antenas/corpus-lexicografico-de-exclusion>).

⁶ Corpus NOW has about 7.2 billion words of data from web-based newspapers and magazines from 2012–2019.

CORPES in 2006,⁷ which means it would only be neological in the SARS-Cov-2 meaning.⁸ Its high frequency of use during the pandemic calls for the lexicographic inclusion of this originally specialized item in all its senses. The words documented in NOW belong to texts collected before 2019, therefore words identified as pandemic vocabulary should have a non-exclusive treatment: some examples are *aerosolización* ‘aerosolization’, *aerosolizar* ‘to aerosolize’, *aislamiento sanitario* ‘sanitary isolation’, *aislamiento social* ‘shielding’, *alcohol en gel* ‘alcohol-based gel’.

With the aim of determining if the users’ perspective (i.e. the needs of general users) was one of the criteria when considering the inclusion of new items, we focused on the number of searches of individual items made by users of the DLE between August 2020 and August 2021, as recorded in the “Registro de consultas al diccionario de la lengua española” (<https://enclave.rae.es/herramientas/registro-de-consultas-al-diccionario-de-la-lengua-espanola-dle>). These searches can also be considered an index of the degree of institutionalization of the items in the framework of the pandemic.

5 Analysis

The analysis of the lexicographic representation of COVID-19 neologisms, whose objects have changed in terms of their properties and the methodology used to study them, can be approached from two perspectives: (i) the neological processes themselves and how they are recorded and (ii) how neologisms have been dictionarized. In this section we will focus on the latter.

7 Coronavirus

Absolute frequency: 1.380 Documents: 726 Normalized frequency: 4,12 cases per million)

Period	Freq	Fnorm.
2016–2020	1.300	30,99
2011–2015	38	0,46
2001–2005	34	0,33
2006–2010	8	0,07

⁸ These, however, are limited results: none of the following are recorded: *acuarentamiento*, *aerosolizacion*, *aerosolizar*, *antiCOVID*, *anticuarentena*, *antipandemia*. There are 5 cases of *cuarentenar*, 2 of which are wrongly labelled as verbs, 3 of *antivacunas*, just 1 from 2020.

5.1 Bilingual unidirectional dictionary: *TREMEDICA*

The *Diccionario de COVID-19 (EN-ES)* [*TREMEDICA*] is an online one-way bilingual dictionary first published in May 2020 as a glossary (*Glosario de COVID-19 EN-ES*) in the webpage of *TREMEDICA* (<https://www.tremedica.org/>), an international organization that groups together translators and writers specialising in medicine and health care. Its 2.01 (June 2021) version has 6,153 headwords. The reason to publish a glossary barely two months after the pandemic had been declared was, according to the authors, to record “[not only] the spontaneous creation of many neologisms in social media, but also the widespread use of a large amount of technicalisms in texts of all kinds” (Saladrigas et al. 2020: 110–111). Although bilingual, it is the largest systematic lexicographic collection of COVID-19 vocabulary in Spanish, which, as will be discussed below, has had a probably unintended impact monolingual lexicography.

TREMEDICA collects “basic terminology around COVID-19 in English” covering different aspects related to the pandemic, including lexis created and popularized in social media, to provide Spanish equivalents. This means that, on the one hand, neither the English headwords nor their translations are always neological, and on the other, part of the equivalences are proposals which, as is often the case in bilingual dictionaries, do not claim to have been attested in use. Although this – i.e. the fact that the dictionary does not necessarily reflect actual language use in Spanish – may be seen as a shortcoming from a linguistic point of view, the dictionary clearly serves and has served an extremely useful practical purpose for its intended users – translators, interpreters, journalists and other writers, especially science writers – since, given its breadth and depth of coverage, as well as the lack of other reliable lexicographic works around the subject (Navarro 2020: 790), it is a crucial reference tool that contributes to organizing and guiding lexical choices in a situation when this is highly needed. Unlike the other general monolingual language dictionaries explored, the dictionary has a functional, user-oriented focus (Tarp 2008: 47): it is mostly aimed at production and translation from English by professionals belonging to a specialized field. Therefore, although normative issues are addressed, especially through usage notes, communicative considerations seem to take precedence. This affects both macro and microstructural decisions.

5.1.1 Neologisms in the Macrostructure of *TREMEDICA*

The headword list cannot be accessed in full from the homepage, but a sample of 810 entries – which gives a good insight into the longer list – is available as an “[a] bridged glossary of COVID-19 terms (en-es)” (Saladrigas et al. 2020). This covers the lexis of “the molecular biology of coronaviruses, clinical features of COVID-19, coronavirus detection tests, diagnostic imaging tests, protective equipment, and the

COVID-19 vaccines being developed, as well as unusual neologisms, with particular emphasis on terms that are difficult to translate” (Saladrigas et al. 2020: 111). There is no explicit explanation regarding the sources where the English headwords or Spanish equivalents have been extracted from, nor any specification as to criteria for lemma selection, other than relevance to the target user. It may be assumed the source texts and corpora are listed under “Bibliografía” (‘Bibliography’), though it is not clear how they are used other than the entries where examples are provided (see section 5.1.2. below). Most of the headwords and their equivalents are, in fact, either terminological (e.g. *alveolar exudate* ‘exudado alveolar’) or related to health care (*death toll* ‘número de muertos’), not neological for the field, and unlikely to have been collected from non-specialised texts; these are clearly addressed mainly to the kind of professionals identified in the front matter; hence we will not focus on them here. However, there is a large group of headwords which were either coined (e.g. *corona bonds* ‘coronabonos’) or popularized (e.g. *anti-vaxxer* ‘antivacunas’), during the pandemic and have relevance beyond the medical fields. Since TREMEDICA is unidirectional, strictly speaking there is no Spanish headword list; however, both English headwords and Spanish equivalents can be accessed from the same search box and are given the same label, “término” (‘term’). As will be seen when the microstructure is discussed, both English and Spanish units are analyzed and explained in the entries.

Both in the English headword list and in the Spanish equivalents there seem to be few restrictions as to the type and form of neological lexical unit presented:

- in terms of length, there are single and multiword units, both in English and Spanish (see examples above)
- in terms of formation, there are words derived by affixation, composition, and acronyms (*infector* ‘contagiador’, *infoveillance* ‘infovigilancia’, *superspreader* ‘supercontagiador’)
- in terms of type, there are examples of different kinds of borrowings: semantic loans (*contact*, ‘contacto’), calques (*plandemic* ‘plandemia’) and adapted loanwords (*anti-mask* ‘antimascarilla’) (Marello 2020: 170).

This wide range of forms and types seems consistent with a production-focused approach, characteristic of bilingual dictionaries in general and specialized dictionaries in particular, which tend to pay more attention to user communicative needs than monolingual general language dictionaries. There is one big exception, however: in accordance with RAE normative recommendations, direct loanwords used in texts in Spanish tend to be avoided, even in cases where the borrowed variant is definitely more frequent than the calque (‘fake news’, ‘homeschooling’); so are calques which have been discouraged by RAE itself (see discussion on *sanitizar*, ‘sanitize’ below). However, these represent a small percentage of words associated with the pandemic. Overall, there is a conception of lexical unit that takes account of the role of multiword units in the lexis.

As pointed out earlier, equivalences are often translation solutions proposed by the dictionary, anticipating probable needs of professional users, rather than actual uses. This happens frequently when the headword is a multiword unit, where, as is common practice in bilingual lexicography, paraphrases are given, especially when no equivalents are available. This is, for example, the case of *corona-shame*, translated with the near equivalent definitional paraphrase “recriminar (una conducta que podría favorecer el contagio del coronavirus)” ‘to reproach (someone for a behavior that could contribute to spreading coronavirus).

In some cases, equivalents coined in accordance with word formation rules of Spanish that result in calques from English are given, although, as is the case with *corona-snitch*, these have not been found to be used in Spanish texts (see Figure 1).⁹

corona-snitch

coronachivato; coronasoplón; coronabuchón^{AR}

Sinonimia (es): covichivato.

Concepto: persona que avisa a la policía para denunciar las covidiotecas del coronaburro de turno (→ *covidiot*).

Ejemplo: *Corona snitches: Police create web portal to inform on neighbours* {Zindulka, 2020} <Coronachivatos: la policía ha creado un ciberportal para delatar a los vecinos>.

Tremédica-Cosnautas 2020 ©

Figure 1: *Corona-snitch* entry (TREMEDICA).

As is to be expected, given the circumstances under which the dictionary was compiled, some of the proposals were either not taken up, or not used in all geolectal varieties (when diatopic variation is not signalled, the equivalence may be assumed to work for all varieties, which is not always the case) and other emerged which seem to have become more widespread. This is the case of *fever clinic*, for example: the equivalent given is “puesto de detección (temprana) (del coronavirus)” ‘(coronavirus) (early) detection center”, perhaps an early paraphrase solution. However, the equivalent ‘unidad febril’, used in Argentina, is not provided, probably because it had not been coined yet when the entry was first published.

⁹ “Concept: person who warns the police about the covidocieties of the latest coronamoron (see *covidiot*)” (our translation).

Some items which are not presented as equivalents, but as synonyms, may be regarded as exchangeable by the user, as will be discussed in the following section. Overall, it is clear that a user-oriented approach overrides other considerations and allows for the inclusion of neologisms with different degrees of institutionalization.

5.1.2 Neologisms in the microstructure of *TREMEDICA*

For every headword in English (in blue italics), *TREMEDICA* offers one or more equivalents in Spanish (in black bold type, see Figures 1–3); this is the only piece of information which appears in every entry in the dictionary. Often, besides the headword and the equivalent, English – “Sinonimia (en)” – and/or Spanish – “Sinonimia (es)” – synonyms are provided; these, as in the example of *essential workers*, can also work as equivalents of the lemma (see Figure 2).

essential workers

personal esencial; trabajadores esenciales (o trabajadoras esenciales)

Sinonimia (en): *key workers*.

Sinonimia (es): trabajadores (o trabajadoras) de actividades esenciales.

Ejemplo: *Another concern, depending on how the spread of the virus evolves, could be high rates of absentees among health care workers and other essential workers* (Washburn, 2020) <Otro motivo de preocupación, según cómo evolucione la propagación del virus, podrían ser las elevadas tasas de ausentismo de los profesionales de la salud y otros trabajadores esenciales>.

Tremédica-Cosnautas 2020 ©

Figure 2: *Essential-workers* entry (*TREMEDICA*).

Thus, for every headword, an entry may suggest several equivalents, which, as suggested earlier, provides the user with different alternatives. Sometimes these are geolectal variants, as *bulodemia* (marked ES because it is only used in Spain) in *infodemic*¹⁰ (see Figure 3):

¹⁰ “NOTE (Spanish) epidemic (or pandemic) of disinformation which results from a combination of information overload, compulsive consumption of information and proliferation of fake news in highly alarming global situations, such as the COVID-19 pandemic. It is a colloquial word: Fundeu approves of the calque, but some object to it arguing information cannot be regarded as bad in itself.”

Other kinds of variants, such as stylistic variants, are often included in two other optional fields in the microstructure: “Concepto” (‘Concept’, see Figure 1) or “Nota” (‘Note’) (see Figure 3). In the case of neologisms, these fields are alternatively used to:

- give a definition of the word, including when it has acquired a specific meaning during the pandemic (e.g. in *de-escalation*, *cabin fever*)
- classify the word (e.g. as neologism in *plandemic*)
- explain the origin and situation in which a word is used (in *curbside*, *mask-hole*), or even the referent (in *elbow bump*)
- explain the use of the word (in *precoronavirus*, *post coronavirus*)
- provide normative recommendations (in *herd immunity*)
- provide grammatical information (in *antivaxxer*)
- inform about synonyms (in *anti-mask*)
- cross-refer to other entries for further information (in *mask*)
- provide stylistic variants (in *corona*, *new normal*, *pandemic generation*)

infodemic

{s.} **infodemia**

Sinonimia (es): desinfodemia; bulodemia^{ES}.

Nota (es): epidemia (o pandemia) de desinformación desencadenada por la mezcla de → *information overload*, consumo compulsivo de información y proliferación de → *fake news* en situaciones de gran alarma mundial, como la pandemia de covid-19. Es término propio del registro coloquial; la Fundéu da por bueno el calco, pero otros lo critican por considerar que la información no puede considerarse algo malo en sí.

Tremédica-Cosnautas 2020 ©

Figure 3: *Infodemic* entry (TREMEDICA).

These kinds of explanations, often extralinguistic, may apply both to the headword and the equivalent and are particularly interesting in terms of how neologisms are represented, because they show the instability and newness of the words, and the additional difficulty involved in representing for production (rather than for comprehension): equivalents are not enough. To use them properly, extralinguistic data is necessary to make informed choices – among other things, regarding institutionalization matters such as style and degree of stability.

5.2 Monolingual dictionaries: *Antenorio* and DLE

In this section we will present our analysis of two monolingual dictionaries, the *Antenorio*, a restricted language dictionary, and the DLE, a general language dictionary. First, we will describe the main characteristics of each dictionary and the criteria used to select headwords. Then, we will compare how neologisms are represented in the microstructure.

5.2.1 *Antenorio*

The *Antenorio* is an online lexicographic dictionary of neologisms from six national varieties of Spanish; it was launched in September 2018 and has published 20 new entries every month ever since, allowing for a highly isomorphic representation vis-à-vis the dynamicity of language. By July 2021, 753 entries had been published. Both the headword list and the content of the entries are based on data about neologisms used in news media, detected and collected from 2003 by the Antenas Neológicas Network in Argentina, Chile, Colombia, Spain, Mexico, and Peru. The criterion for detection of new items is lexicographic. For a detailed account of methodology and a description of the microstructure, see Adelstein/Boschiroli (2020, 2021).

The possibility of monthly updates is a highly relevant feature for a dictionary of neologisms: whatever is published is not final and can be easily changed, which reflects the neological nature of the words. Finality is in fact often mentioned as one of the defining characteristics of a general dictionary – and also one of its main shortcomings. The online format also allows for the compilation of special issues, such as the one published at the end of 2020.

Due to the pandemic, during 2020 the Antenas Neológicas Network undertook oriented searches aimed at recording neology about COVID-19 in the member countries. In December 2020 the *Antenorio* published a special issue of 49 entries of neologisms linked to the pandemic, reflecting the exceptional nature of the situation we lived throughout the year. Before the end of 2021, 18 new neologisms will be published and more COVID-19 entries are expected to be included in 2022.

Neologisms in the macrostructure of Antenorio

There are two main conditions for choosing headwords for the *Antenorio*: (i) as mentioned above, they all come from data collected by the Antenas Neológicas Network and (ii) as the DLE is updated every year (see section 5.2.2.), each candidate headword is checked again against the DLE to make sure they have not been included after they were documented in the Antenas bank. Criteria for selecting the headwords are total frequency of use (number of occurrences in the member nodes in the Antenas Neológicas as recorded in BOBNEO), the witness character of the

words (*mot témoin* Matore 1953, *prominent word* Metcalf 2002) and the year they were first recorded. Thanks to the adoption of these criteria candidates are guaranteed to have a certain degree of institutionalization, which is often quite high (see in Adelstein/Boschiroli 2021 a description of how these variables have been adapted since the *Antenario* was first published).

The fact that it is updated monthly, making it possible to reconsider the criteria for the compilation of the headword lists (as well as how the items are treated in the entries), has helped, in the case of the neologisms of the pandemic, to represent in a more realistic way the gradually changing nature of the productivity of resources for lexical creation.

The data bank of Antenas Neológicas Network has recorded a large amount of what so far are considered occasionalisms (e.g. *coronaburguer* ‘corona burger’, *coronapizza*, *cuerentenaute* ‘lockdown netsurfer’) and ephemeral neologisms – most of them still hapax – (*cuarentenable* ‘able to be locked down’, *coronabullying* ‘corona bullying’, *coronabus* ‘bus for COVID-19 infected suspects’, *covidiota* ‘covidiot’, *poscoronial* ‘post coronavirus’, adj), which were deemed as unsuitable for publication in the dictionary. However, given the dynamic nature of how entries are published, if more cases were detected, they could be included in the future. For example, there have been new records of *covidiota* or *poscoronial* used in a variety of texts, which shows their distribution has changed (7 cases were documented: none of those from 2021 are mere records of the word in inventories).

From a temporal point of view, the list of COVID-19 headwords has been growing since the first one was drawn. In December 2020 a special edition of 49 pandemic lexical items was published, based on a headword list extracted from neologisms detected between March and July 2020.¹¹ Then, in April 2021, a short list of candidates was selected to be included in the updates of the last months of 2021, which includes neologisms documented between August 2020 and April 2021. For 2022, the new headword list will include pandemic words recorded in 2021.

The headwords were chosen according to the following criteria. First, raw frequency: neologisms which were highly occurring neologisms were privileged (*anti-cuarentena* ‘anti lockdown’, *infectadura* ‘dictatorship of the infectologists’) and/or documented in most of the network’s member countries (*aislamiento social* ‘shielding’, *home office*, *inmunidad de rebaño* ‘herd immunity’). Second, geolectal or graphic variants of the first choices were added, even if the number of occurrences was low (like *aplauzo sanitario* and *aplauzo* ‘communal clapping’, *nueva convivencia* and *nueva normalidad* ‘new normal’ or as *post coronavirus* and *poscoronavirus*). Third, although probably ephemeral, some frequent colloquial neologisms

¹¹ These can be accessed here: <https://antenario.wordpress.com/tag/pandemia-COVID-19/>. Many neologisms that had already been compiled were deleted from the original list because they were included in the DLE’s 23.4 version in November 2020.

were included because they were considered to be witness words and are not hapax: *corona*, *covidivorcio* ‘covidivorce’, *zoompleaños* ‘Zoom birthday party’.

Neologisms that will have been published by December 2021 were chosen with different criteria. One concern was to complete either the derivational series of the headwords published in December 2020 (e.g. *prepandemia* ‘pre pandemic’) or semantic series (*autoaislamiento* ‘self-isolation’, *autocuidado* ‘self-care’, *autoexamen* ‘self-test’). Secondly, to include synonyms or regional variants that had not been documented in other lexicographic tools (e.g. *cubre bocas* ‘face mask’). Finally, to offer some of the most frequent items detected after the special edition was written and published (*coinfeción* ‘coinfection’, *semipresencial* ‘partly face-to-face’, *oxímetro* ‘pulse oximeter’).

5.2.2 *Diccionario de la lengua española* [DLE]

The *Diccionario de la lengua española* [DLE], published by the Real Academia Española (RAE), is the monolingual general language dictionary of Spanish most widely searched by both native and non-native Spanish speakers. Its current 23rd edition (first published in 2014) is updated online once a year, around November. The main changes are the inclusion of new entries and the addition of new meanings or new information to published entries. The November 2020 update (see sample in https://dle.rae.es/docs/Novedades_DLE_23.4-Seleccion.pdf) included at least 15 changes related to the pandemic.

COVID-19 pandemic neologisms in the macrostructure of the DLE

The number of changes related to the pandemic in the DLE may look scarce when compared to TREMEDICA, Antenas, or even the words the RAE itself recorded in April 2020 as the most searched in the early months of the pandemic.¹² The changes were:

- inclusion of entries: *coronavirus*, *coronavirico* (‘coronavirus’ adj), *COVID-19*, *cuarentenar* / *cuarentenear* / *encuarentenar* (‘to quarantine’), *desconfinamiento* (‘lifting of lockdown’), *desconfinar* (‘to lift a lockdown’), *desescalada* (‘de-escalation’), *videochat* (n ‘video chat’), *videollamada* (n ‘video call’), *telemedicina* (‘telemedicine’)
- changes in existing entries: *barbijo* (‘face mask’), *confinado -da* (adj ‘locked down’), *confinamiento* (‘lockdown’, ‘confinement’), *confinar* (‘to lock down’), *cuarenteno -na* (n ‘quarantine’), *mascarilla* (‘face mask’).¹³

¹² See <https://www.rae.es/noticia/las-palabras-mas-buscadas-en-el-diccionario-durante-la-cuarentena>.

¹³ See Zoholobova (2021) for a detailed description of 2020 amends and inclusions in contrast with previous editions of the dictionary.

If we look at the new inclusions, we can identify different situations regarding their degree of neologicity:

- those that were coined and/or first documented during the pandemic: *COVID-19*
- those that existed before the pandemic but did not comply with conditions for their inclusion, such as frequency or extension (see section 3.2.): the ones derived from *cuarentena*, *confinar* and *coronavirus*¹⁴
- those that had been long in use but had not been included yet: *desescalada* ('de-escalation'), *videochat* (n 'video chat'), *videollamada* (n 'video call'), *telemedicina* ('face mask')

Something the vast majority of these items have in common is being formed from Spanish bases and morphemes and well-established rules of Spanish word formation. Even in the case of calques (such as *videollamada* and *telemedicina*), they may be interpreted as formed from Spanish bases, as the etymological information provided in the entries suggests. This is consistent with the RAE's recommendations about the use of neologisms at large, as discussed in section 3.2. Regardless of frequency or extension of use, the RAE has adopted a prescriptive stance and systematically discourages or rejects the use of loanwords or even calques. A good example is *sanitizar* 'to sanitize' (included in the *Antenorio* but not in TREMEDICA). It is a verb which has been widely used during the COVID-19 pandemic and found in all sorts of registers (including government and other official texts), which was first recorded in CORPES in 2012 and is discussed in RAE's *Observatorio de Palabras* ('Observatory of Words', a portal devoted to answering queries about words which cannot be found in the DLE). It is, by the RAE's own admission, one of the most frequently searched words during the pandemic (see note 10); however, its use is discouraged on puristic grounds (our translation):

The verb *sanitizar* (from English, 'to sanitize') has diffused lately, especially in the Americas. Despite this, it is advised to avoid the use of the word and its derivations (*sanitizado*, *sanitizante*, *sanitización* . . .) and choose instead patrimonial words [i.e. derived from Vulgar Latin] such as *sanear*, *higienizar*, *limpiar* or *desinfectar*. (<https://www.rae.es/observatorio-de-palabras/sanitizar>)

5.3 Neologisms in the microstructure of monolingual dictionaries

The fact that the pandemic was an ongoing, unstable phenomenon when the dictionaries did their COVID-19 updates also impacts features of representation at

¹⁴ All of these are documented as in use before 2019 in the press in NOW. CORPES documents pre-pandemic cases of *coronavirus*, *cuarentenar*, *desescalada*, *videochat*, *videollamada* and *telemedicina*.

microstructural level. In the following sections we will focus on two of them: definitions and treatment of geolectal variation.

5.3.1 Definitions and extension of reference

One of the most interesting aspects regarding microstructural representation of pandemic neologisms is how the relationship between the novelty of the headword and the extension of meaning has been reflected. The fact that the items being represented lexicographically are very recently created neologisms – even if some of them may have become highly frequent – requires defining words whose referential extension cannot be totally verified yet. The fact that some of these words are revitalizations (*barbijo* ‘face mask’) or banalizations of non-neological technical terms (*aislamiento social* ‘shielding’) contributes to this discrepancy between meaning-intension and extension.

Although some of the items were coined out of an apparent need to name something specific in relation to the COVID-19 pandemic, the meaning can or could have a different extension. For example, although *postcuarentena* ‘post lockdown’ (included in *Antenario*) refers to a period after any of the COVID-19 lockdowns in 2020, this meaning may have a more general extension. Bearing in mind the componential nature of meaning, in abstract this word does not refer exclusively to a 2020 lockdown, since it could be used in the future, or even for similar lockdowns in the past. In other words, the neologism has been coined to name a particular situation but may later be used for other referents.

Notwithstanding the obvious extensions of meaning every word can have in natural languages, we have observed the following strategies to overcome this difficulty in the monolingual dictionaries analyzed here, DLE and *Antenario*:

- a) Some definitions make no reference at all to the pandemic. In general, they seem to refer to words which are not neological from a chronological point of view, as queries in corpora such as NOW or CORPES attest, or are banalized technical terms. Examples of this can be found, among others, in *alcohol en gel* ‘alcohol-based gel’ (and its synonyms) or *supercontagiador supercontagadora* ‘super spreader’ in *Antenario* (see Figure 4).¹⁵

¹⁵ See *supercontagiador supercontagadora* ‘super-spreader’, sense 2: “2. *Adj* Aplicado a una persona infectada, que tiene la capacidad de contagiar el virus a un gran número de personas” (‘Of an infected person, being able to transmit the virus to a large number of people’) and example 2 “El hospital y la iglesia suponen por sí solos el 75 por ciento de los contagios del COVI –19 en Corea del Sur, que vio multiplicados casi por 30 las infecciones desde el pasado martes, cuando dio positivo la llamada “paciente 31”, una seguidora de 61 años de Shincheonji que las autoridades creen que pudo actuar como agente **supercontagiador** y transmitir la enfermedad a decenas de personas. [*El Tiempo* (Colombia), 24/02/2020]” (‘Hospitals and churches amount for 75 percent of COVID-19

supercontagiador

supercontagadora *m y f y adj*

Año de la primera documentación: 2020

Definición

1 *m y f* Persona infectada por un virus que tiene la capacidad de contagiar a un gran número de personas.

2 *adj* Aplicado a una persona infectada, que tiene la capacidad de contagiar el virus a un gran número de personas.

3 *adj* Aplicado a una situación o un evento, que tiene condiciones, como ausencia de ventilación o elevada concurrencia, para que se produzca un gran número de contagios de un virus.

Contextos

«Un **supercontagiador** es un paciente que infecta a un número desproporcionado de contactos», explica. [*Las Últimas Noticias* (Chile), 25/05/2020]

El hospital y la iglesia suponen por sí solos el 75 por ciento de los contagios del COVID-19 en Corea del Sur, que vio multiplicados casi por 30 las infecciones desde el pasado martes, cuando dio positivo la llamada «paciente 31», una seguidora de 61 años de Shincheonji que las autoridades creen que pudo actuar como agente **supercontagiador** y transmitir la enfermedad a decenas de personas. [*El Tiempo* (Colombia), 24/02/2020]

El 10 de marzo, durante el ensayo de un coro de iglesia en el estado de Washington, se contagiaron el 87% de los presentes, cuenta Lea Hammer, epidemióloga del departamento de salud pública del condado de Skagit y autora principal de un estudio que advierte sobre eventos con potencial **supercontagiador**, donde una persona o un pequeño número de personas deja un tendal de infectados. [*La Nación* (Argentina), 25/06/2020]

Nodos

ARG CHL COL ESP MEX PER

Figure 4: *Supercontagiador supercontagadora* entry (Antenarío).

infections in South Korea, whose cases have multiplied by 30 since last Tuesday, when “patient 31”, a 61-year-old Shincheonji follower who is suspected to have been a superspreader agent who transmitted the diseases to dozens of people, was tested positive”).

The only reference to the pandemic in the entry for *supercontagador supercontagadora* (Figure 4) can be found in the examples (“Contextos”). The same happens in some new entries or meanings in the DLE, as in the second sense of *confinamiento* ‘lockdown’, ‘confinement’: “2. m. Aislamiento temporal y generalmente impuesto de una población, una persona o un grupo por razones de salud o de seguridad. *El Gobierno decretó un confinamiento de un mes.*” (“Temporary isolation of a community, a person or a group, often externally imposed, for health or security reasons. The Government has declared a one-month lockdown.”) A more indirect way to refer to the pandemic is including in the definition of a headword a word whose entry has an example about the pandemic. For example, the second sense in *confinado, -da* ‘locked down’ and the new entries *desconfinar* ‘to lift a lockdown’ (see Figure 5),¹⁶ *desconfinamiento* ‘lifting of lockdown’ all include the newly-defined word *confinamiento*.¹⁷ However, many of the entries, amendments or additions make no reference at all to the pandemic, even when they are neologisms that are presumed to refer exclusively to the COVID-19 lockdown (*encuarentenar* ‘to lock down’, *COVID*).

desconfinar Conjugar

1. **tr.** Levantar las medidas de confinamiento impuestas a una población, o a parte de ella, en un territorio u otro lugar. **U. t. c. intr. y c. prnl.**

Figure 5: *Desconfinar* entry (DLE).

- b) In some definitions the extension to the pandemic or other phenomena linked to it appears restricted with formulas such as “en especial . . .” or “especialmente” (‘especially’) or similar structures (e.g. relative clauses), since, although the words were created or revitalized during the pandemic, the reference is wider: in the *Antenarío*, *aplausazo* ‘communal clapping’ is defined as “Acción colectiva de apoyo y reconocimiento, especialmente al personal de la salud, o de protesta, que consiste en aplaudir simultáneamente durante un período determinado” ‘Collective action of support and recognition, especially of health workers’, or *nueva normalidad*

¹⁶ *desconfinar* v ‘to lift a lockdown’ 1. Tr Levantar las medidas de confinamiento impuestas a una población, o parte de ella, en un territorio u otro lugar. U.t.c. intr y c. prnl. “To lift lockdown measured imposed on a community, or part of it, in a territory or any other place. Also used as intransitive and pronominal.”

¹⁷ An interesting aspect of the process of synthesis used in these definitions (referring to the noun *confinamiento* and not the verb *confinar*) is that they rely on use, rather than on the base. On the other hand, the addition of senses (in *confinado, -da* and *confinamiento*) results in a specialization of a meaning that is somehow included in the existing first sense, which highlights both the inadequacy of the original definition, and the fact that it is a semantic neologism.

‘new normal’ as “Situación posterior a una crisis que implica un cambio de hábitos o expectativas en la sociedad, como la adopción permanente de medidas de prevención e higiene en el marco de la pandemia de COVID-19” ‘Situation after a crisis that calls for a change in habits or expectations in society, like the permanent adoption of preventive and health measures around the COVID-19 pandemic’.

The DLE resorts to this kind of strategy indirectly only once, in the definition of *coronavirus* (“Virus que produce diversas enfermedades respiratorias en los seres humanos, desde el catarro a la neumonía o la COVID.”, ‘Virus that causes different respiratory diseases in human beings, from cough to pneumonia or COVID’. The reason for this may be that most of the DLE additions have a higher degree of stabilization than those in the *Antenarío*, due to, on the one hand, the different nature of the dictionaries (general language vs. neologisms), and on the other, the more conservative approach to new additions the RAE favours, as discussed in 5.2.2.1.

- c) Some of the items refer to events that happened during the pandemic and the definition reflects this, even when the componential meaning of the word could be used in the future for other situations or referents. For example, in *anticuarentena* ‘antilockdown’ all three senses refer to a reaction against “las disposiciones gubernamentales de aislamiento preventivo implementadas a causa de la pandemia de COVID-19” (‘government measures of preventive isolation taken as a result of the COVID-19 pandemic’) (see Figure 6). This strategy has not been found in DLE so far.
- d) Unsurprisingly, specific words which are unlikely to be used with other referents or in future situations, also include references to the pandemic in their definition, e.g., *coronabono* ‘coronabond’ (“título de deuda común europea de emisión única creado para mitigar la crisis económica generada por la pandemia de COVID-19” ‘Type of European bond . . . created to mitigate the economic crisis caused by the COVID-19 pandemic’), *poscoronavirus* ‘post coronavirus’ (“del periodo posterior a la pandemia provocada por el coronavirus causante de COVID-19 o relativo a él”, ‘of the period after the pandemic resulting from the coronavirus that causes COVID-19 or relative to it’). The DLE has not included this kind of headword either.

In connection to this, it is clear that the low degree of stability of the neologisms is a problem in terms of lexicographic representation since, on the one hand, they are words that can easily change meaning, in which case their definition will become outdated, and on the other, as we have seen before, their reference may change. For example, *covidivorcio* ‘covidivorce’ is defined in the *Antenarío* as “divorcio matrimonial producido en el marco de la situación de aislamiento a causa de la pandemia de COVID-19” (‘divorce that took place while in lockdown during the COVID-19 pandemic’). This definition refers indirectly to a 2020 lockdown; however, the pandemic has not finished yet and the word *covidivorcio* may end up being used to any divorce

anticuarentena *m y f, f y adj*

Año de la primera documentación: 2020

Definición	<p>1 <i>m y f</i> Persona que se opone a las disposiciones gubernamentales de aislamiento preventivo implementadas a causa de la pandemia de COVID-19.</p> <p>2 <i>f</i> Oposición a las disposiciones gubernamentales de aislamiento preventivo implementadas a causa de la pandemia de COVID-19.</p> <p>3 <i>adj</i> Que se opone a las disposiciones gubernamentales de aislamiento preventivo implementadas a causa de la pandemia de COVID-19.</p>
Contextos	<p>Además, el presidente de Argentina, Alberto Fernández, comparó a los anticuarentena con los terraplanistas: "Hacen mucho ruido y los medios de comunicación presentan como actores de grandes jornadas patrióticas", dijo. [<i>The Clinic</i> (Chile), 15/08/2020]</p> <p>Señalan a Patricia Bullrich y Miguel Ángel Pichetto por fogonear la anticuarentena y los acusan de estar detrás de las marchas. [<i>Clarín</i> (Argentina), 2/06/2020]</p> <p>Los primeros apuntan especialmente contra los grupos anticuarentena, que incluso protagonizaron una serie de marchas —la última y una de las más masivas el pasado 12 de octubre— protestando por la falta de libertad y lo que algunos llaman una «infectadura». [<i>El Universal</i> (México), 21/10/2020]</p>
Nodos	<p>ARG CHL MEX</p>

Figure 6: *Anticuarentena* entry (*Antenario*).

in this period, and not necessarily to the ones during lockdown. This may require adjusting the definition in the future if such change were observed.

To sum up, although semantic changes are a feature of every natural language and dictionaries are regularly updated to account for them, in this case, the timing has been radically different, leading to immediacy in representation, added to the fact the events referred to in the definitions are unfinished, all of which results in problems for the lexicographic representation of neologisms, including the relative accuracy of the definitions, in other words, their decreased reliability and shorter-termed validity.

5.3.2 Geolectal variation

Another aspect of the microstructure, in the case of *Antenarío*, that is affected by the unfinished nature of the pandemic is geolectal representation. Attempts were made to account for geolectal variants of COVID-19 headwords, even when not all of them were originally documented when the relevant data were collected. Also, the extension of use may have varied in different countries as the pandemic unfolded. Although in theory it would be possible to include these variations, this is difficult to do in practice given the number of changes it would involve.

As a matter of fact, the speed at which COVID-19 neologisms have been included in dictionaries affects dictionaries of neologisms – which, because of their very specificity, usually deal with phenomena which are not entirely stable – differently than other types of dictionaries. Still, the volume of new words recorded in such a short time is unprecedented.

In the case of DLE, except *barbijo*, the words and senses related to the pandemic are not marked diatopically, suggesting they are commonly used in all varieties, even if some of them were hardly used and, when they were, they were used to refer to the situation in Spain (e.g. in the Latin American nodes of the Antenas neológicas network there are no records of *desescalada*).

As regards *barbijo* ‘face mask’ (sense 2), diatopic labels have been updated, for example, Uruguay (“Ur”), excluded in DAMER (see Figure 7), is added (see Figure 8). As is usually the case with geolectal variants, instead of defining the word there is a

barbijo.

- I. 1. m. *Bo, Py, Ar, Ur*: Cinta o correa que pasa por debajo de la barbilla y sirve para sujetar el gorro, el sombrero o el casco. ◆ **barbiquejo**.
 2. *Bo, Py, Ar*: Pieza de tela que cubre boca y nariz, utilizada para mantener la asepsia, *generalmente por médicos y auxiliares*. ◆ **barbiquejo**.
 3. *Py, Ar, Ur*: Cinta de cuero o cadena pequeña que se pasa por debajo de la quijada del caballo y que tiene sus extremos unidos a las argollas superiores del freno. ◆ **barbera**.
- II. 1. m. *Ar, Ur*. p.u. Herida en la cara.
- III. 1. m. *PR*. **perdía**, ave. ◆ **barboquejo; berbequejo; berbiquejo**.

Diccionario de americanismos © 2010
Asociación de Academias de la Lengua Española © Todos los derechos reservados

Figure 7: *Barbijo* entry (DAMER).

barbijo

De *barba*.

1. m. *Sal., Arg., Bol., Par. y Ur.* **barboquejo**.
2. m. *Arg., Bol., Par. y Ur.* **mascarilla** (|| máscara que cubre la boca y la nariz para proteger de patógenos).
3. m. *Arg.* Herida en la cara.

Real Academia Española © Todos los derechos reservados

Figure 8: *Barbijo* entry (DLE).

mascarilla

1. f. Máscara que solo cubre el rostro desde la frente hasta el labio superior.
2. f. Máscara que cubre la boca y la nariz de su portador para protegerlo de la inhalación y evitar la exhalación de posibles agentes patógenos, tóxicos o nocivos. *Mascarilla quirúrgica, sanitaria.*
3. f. Vaciado que se saca sobre el rostro de una persona o escultura, y particularmente de un cadáver.
4. f. Capa de diversos productos cosméticos con que se cubre la cara o el cuello durante cierto tiempo, generalmente breve, con fines estéticos.
5. f. Cosmético comercial o preparado casero para regenerar, suavizar y dar brillo al cabello, que se aplica después del lavado y se deja actuar durante unos minutos antes del último aclarado. *Sería conveniente que además de un acondicionador te aplicarás una mascarilla.*

Figure 9: *Mascarilla* entry (DLE).

cross-reference to *mascarilla* ‘face mask’ (see Figure 9), but also a specification that adds information “para protegerlo de la inhalación y evitar la exhalación de posibles agentes patógenos, tóxicos o nocivos” (‘to protect from the inhalation and avoid the exhalation of possible pathogenic, toxic or harmful agents’). However, whereas in *mascarilla* multiword units headed by the noun which were frequent in everyday discourse during the pandemic are included as examples (*mascarilla quirúrgica, sanitaria* ‘medical mask’), no multiword units (e.g. *barbijo quirúrgico, barbijo social* ‘non-medical mask’) are included in *barbijo* although, as the Antenas Neológicas data show, they have been very frequent throughout the pandemic.

To sum up, in each of the lexicographic tools studied, much of the microstructural information is, to a certain extent, provisional.

6 Conclusions

In this final section we discuss the results of our analysis of how the characteristics of Spanish neology during the COVID-19 pandemic (extremely recent neologisms referring to a phenomenon still in process, which provides little time to evaluate frequency of use and degree of stabilization of the items) have impacted the criteria applied for the inclusion and treatment of neologisms in different types of lexicographic tools and, as a result, on dictionary typology and their social role.

As regards criteria for inclusion of neologisms, in the bilingual dictionary TREMEDICA, many of the items suggested as Spanish equivalents are proposals coined by the authors or are ephemeral, as documented by *Antenas Neológicas*. Although their inclusion may be driven by the aim to anticipate users' needs, especially translators', they are often forms which have hardly been verified in use. This can become a problem in the field of lexicography: these items are thus documented, and their documentation can be retrieved later by other lexicographic tools or the press as evidence of actual use. Furthermore, the need for urgent compilation has also impacted the lack of systematicity in the microstructure: not all entries have the same type of information in the same fields (the fields "concepto" and "nota" often seem to be used indistinctly) and the synonymous status of variants is not clear.

As regards monolingual dictionaries of Spanish, when it comes to criteria for inclusion it is apparent that relevance, dispersion of occurrence (vis-a-vis the high frequency of a narrow range of textual types), the witness nature of the items and naming needs have all been considered. However, both the chronological criterion and, more broadly, the criterion of stabilization (as opposed to the ephemeral nature of some new coinages), have not always been applied rigorously.

In the case of the DLE, questions arise about whether users' searches of what they may perceive as neologisms is a working criterion for dictionary inclusion of a functional type. In other words, if there is interest for a certain item which is shown to be in current use, it should be included in the dictionary whereas if it is not searched, its inclusion is not justified. For example, since August 2020 no searches have been made of *acuarentenamiento* 'lockdown', *anticuarentena* 'anti lockdown' or *antipandemia* 'anti pandemic', while there have been 4763 searches of *cuarentenar* 'to lock down'.

As for treatment in the microstructure, in TREMEDICA, the extremely new nature of the neologisms is evident in the amount of extralinguistic or usage explanations that are necessary to complete the information conventionally provided as equivalents or definitions. In our monolingual dictionaries, this is more clearly seen in the definitions. Even if the *Antenario*, as a dictionary of neologisms, includes non-fully stabilized lexical items, the resources deployed to anticipate the extension of reference of such recent neologisms are, in our view, more suitable than the ones used by the DLE.

Clearly, the degree of institutionalization of neologisms is a criterion that has been significantly influenced (one may dare say distorted) by the unfinished and unstable nature of the phenomenon of the pandemic, affecting both monolingual dictionaries analyzed for this study.

Indeed, stability and/or stabilisation seem to have been an important factor both in the selection and the definition of COVID-19 words in the DLE i.e. not just stability of form, but also the likelihood of permanence: most of the words included in the 2020 update are patrimonial words (which may be why a lower frequency word such as *encuarentamiento* ‘lockdown’ is included but a widely used calque such as *sanitizar* ‘to sanitize’ is not) that can be used again in the future, or that could have been included in the dictionary, i.e. not restricted or tied to a transitory situation or period. The DLE thus honours the RAE tradition. However, this condition seems to be necessary but not sufficient to include words in the dictionary. DLE users’ needs tend to take a back seat and prescriptive considerations are privileged.

This discussion would not be complete without including a few lines about an unexpected turn the situation took in April 2021, when the *Diccionario Histórico de la Lengua Española* [DHLE] was first published online, somehow modifying the lexicographic landscape in Spanish. In the presentation, the dictionary claims to “aim to describe every aspect (i.e. diatopic, diastractic and chronological) of the history of the lexis of Spanish” (our translation). Surprisingly, the headword list (which has been updated periodically since its first publication) includes a large number of recent lexical units, most of which are not included in the DLE and were created in 2020–21, derived from *corona-* (28) and *COVID-* (27) e.g., *coronoico* ‘coronavirus negacionist’, *covidilio* ‘COVID affair’. Each of these are described in detail in an entry of their own, which provides, among other pieces of information, a definition, and real examples of use, as well as the number of documents the item has been found in. See, for example, the entry for *coronachivato* ‘coronas-nitch’ (Figure 10):

Only two documents, identified as “docs. (2020–2021)” are named to support its existence and inclusion. The first one (Navarro 2020) is a light-hearted commentary about COVID-19 vocabulary by one of the authors of TREMEDICA (“The prefix *corona-* stands out because of its high productivity, used in more or less humorous neologisms such as *coronacrisis* [. . .] *coronachivatos* [. . .] and *coronaburrirse* ‘coronabore’ (practically any word, as you can see, was *coronable* in the *coronadays* of those state-of-alarm days”). The second one is *another* dictionary, TREMEDICA, which, as mentioned above, and as is common practice in bilingual lexicography, justified by user needs, often creates the equivalences, without necessarily claiming the word exists or circulates. A search on Google shows every example of use refers back to the DHLE entry, often mockingly. There is no evidence the word has been used other than in COVID-19 vocabulary inventories, not even in social media, which leaves us wondering what lexicographic methodology was used to formulate the definition in DHLE,

10.^a Entrega (marzo de 2021)
 Versión del 31/03/2021
 Equipo Real Academia Española
 Mostrando ordenación cronológica

coronachivato, a s. (2020-)

coronachivato

Familia

Etim. Compuesto de *corona* y *chivato*.

Se documenta por primera vez, con la acepción 'persona que acusa o delata [a otra] por quebrantar las normas establecidas por las autoridades durante la pandemia del coronavirus', en septiembre de 2020, en un artículo de F. A. Navarro publicado en la *Revista Española de Cardiología (Madrid)*.

1. *s. m. y f.* Persona que acusa o delata [a otra] por quebrantar las normas establecidas por las autoridades durante la pandemia del coronavirus.

Sinónimo: covichivato, a

docs. (2020-2021) 2 ejemplos:

2020 NAVARRO, F. A. "Covid-19" [23-09-2020] *Revista Española de Cardiología (Madrid)* Esp (HD)
 La mayoría de los neologismos que nos trajo la pandemia covídica, no obstante, fueron de origen popular, humorísticos y pensados como flor de un día. Si en inglés los hablantes de a pie dieron en llamar al SARS-CoV-2 *the rona* o *Miss Rona* (por abreviación de *corona*), entre nosotros vimos nacer también alias coloquiales como *coronabicho*, *acojonavirus*, *cabronavirus*, *carallovirus*, *cojonavirus*, *confinavirus*, *coñazovirus* o *coronito*. Destaca por su productividad el prefijo *corona-*, usado en neologismos más o menos jocosos como *coronacrisis*, *coronabonos*, *coronacoma* (económico), *coronacompra*, *coronadivorcio*, *coronafiestas*, *coronajeje*, *coronachivato*, *coronabibi*, *coronaplusos* y *coronaburrise* (prácticamente cualquier palabra, como puede verse, fue coronable en los coronados del estado de alarma).

2021 SALADRIGAS, M. V. ET ALII "Glosario covid-19" [01-01-2021] *Panace@: Revista de Medicina, Lenguaje y Traducción (Salamanca)* Esp (HD)
corona-nitch coronachivato; coronasoplón; coronabuchón^{RAE} [...] Persona que avisa a la policía para denunciar las coviditeces del coronaburro de turno [...].

Diccionario histórico de la lengua española
 Real Academia Española © Todos los derechos reservados

Figure 10: *Coronachivato* entry (DHLE).

other than copying from TREMEDICA (which, in fact, offers a humorous definition, see Figure 1 and footnote 9) or basing it on formal considerations.

The hasty inclusion of such neologisms – which one may even doubt to classify as ephemeral, in many cases, since they have *never* been actually used in speech – can have the effect, as suggested above, of distorting linguistic reality. The word is assumed to exist *because* it has been included and given full treatment in a RAE dictionary (the DHLE) and many users, given media coverage, assume it has been included in the DLE.

This, in turn, and understandably, weakens credibility in the general dictionary, as was evident in comments in social media, and creates confusion, given the RAE's traditionally conservative approach (Bernal/Freixa/Torner 2020) and the fact that many other words Spanish speakers use in their everyday life are excluded (or banned) from either dictionary.

This leads us to conclude there has been circularity in Spanish lexicography, between author's neologisms and occasionalisms in connection to the COVID-19 pandemic recorded in different lexicographic tools – often resulting in the non-verification of the use of those words – the DHLE, their use in the press and their social circulation as mentions.

This is all the more striking if we consider the role dictionaries play in legitimizing language use “even though, in theory, they are only supposed to provide a description of the vocabulary used by members of a community” – particularly in the

case of historical languages such as Spanish – and as reference works that develop “the standard of a language and an identity”, as pointed out in Rodríguez Barcia/Moskowitz (2019: 3).

As ten Hacken/Koliopoulou (2020: 129) suggest, “dictionaries are used as an authority and interpreted as gatekeepers”, which is why any word whose use has not been verified may still be socially regarded as sanctioned and accepted as a word belonging to the language once it is included in the dictionary.

Our claim about circularity in representation in Spanish lexicography and its impact how COVID-19 pandemic words circulated socially leads us to suggest three issues that need to be further studied: (i) marketing, (ii) the notion of neologism itself, and (iii) typology of dictionaries.

First, marketing considerations may have played a role in such circularity, modifying established criteria for inclusion (or even acknowledgment) of headwords in dictionaries such as the DHLE. As ten Hacken/Koliopoulou (2020: 129) point out: “As Kilgariff (2013: 81) notes, “[these words] might not be very important for an objective description of the language but they are loved by marketing teams and reviewers”, somehow diverting the objectives of lexicography.

Second, regarding the concept of neologism itself, in the Spanish tradition the lexicographic criterion – especially vis-a-vis the DLE – plays a defining role when considering the loss of neologicity of a neological item. Inclusion in the DLE determines a word is no longer neological. This is why the *Antenorio*, a tool which only deals with neologisms, ended up not publishing in their December 2020 special edition lexical items (e.g. *coronavírico* -ca ‘coronavirus’ adj., *COVID-19*, *desconfina-miento* ‘lifting of lockdown’,) which, from a chronological and/or psycholinguist perspective, were actually neological.

Finally, we find our starting hypothesis about the existence of a certain degree of overlap of some features which are traditionally thought to be specific to each type of dictionary, has been confirmed. Dictionaries which, unlike dictionaries of neologisms (which make no claim to finality of stability regarding the place in the language of the items collected), are not restricted to these phenomena or not supposed to collect them, ended up recording ephemeral or witness items, with a very low or null frequency of use. Those words are then defined considering an extension of reference and use that cannot be verified yet. The properties of being transition and/or remedial devices do not seem to be exclusive of dictionaries of neologisms when it comes to dealing with COVID-19 lexis.

Bibliography

Monographs and articles

- Adelstein, Andreeña/de los Ángeles Boschirolí, Victoria (2020): Dictionarization and lexical variation in dictionaries of Spanish neologisms. In: *Word* 66 (4), 292–318. [<https://doi.org/10.1080/00437956.2020.1827701>].
- Adelstein, Andreeña/ de los Ángeles Boschirolí, Victoria (2021): Semantic Aspects of National Varieties of Spanish Dictionary of Neologisms, the *Antenorio*. In: *International Journal of Lexicography* 34 (3). [<https://doi.org/10.1093/ijl/ecab010>].
- Adelstein, Andreeña/Freixa, Judit (2013): Criterios para la actualización lexicográfica a partir de datos de observatorios de neología. *Congreso Internacional El Diccionario: neología, lenguaje de especialidad, computación*. Mexico City, October, 2013. [<https://repositori.upf.edu/handle/10230/34891>; last access: March 10, 2019]
- Anula Rebollo, Alberto (2010): Neologismos denotativos de ‘golpe’ en el español áureo. In: *FHisp* 41, 171–196.
- Baharati, Adam Lal (2020): COVID 19 Neologisms in English. In: *The Saptagandaki Journal* Xi (11). 122–135.
- Barnhart, David K. (1985): Prizes and Pitfalls of Computerized Searching for New Words for Dictionaries. In: *Dictionaries. Journal of the Dictionary Society of North America* 7, 253–260.
- Barnhart, David K. (2007): A calculus for new words. In: *Dictionaries* 28, 132–138.
- Bernal, Elisenda/Freixa, Judit/Torner, Sergi (2020): Criterios para la diccionarización de neologismos: De la teoría a la práctica. In: *Revista Signos. Estudios de lingüística* 53(104), 592–618.
- Boulanger, Jean-Claude (1979): Problématique d’une méthodologie d’identification des néologismes en terminologie. In: Adda, R., et al. (eds.): *Néologie et lexicologie. Hommage à Louis Guilbert*. Paris: Librairie Larousse, 36–46.
- Buchstaller, Isabelle (2008): The localization of global linguistic variants. In: *English World-Wide* 29: 15–44.
- Cabré, María Teresa (1989): La neología efímera. In: Bassot, Josep (ed.): *Miscel·lania Joan Bastardas*. Barcelona: Publicacions de l’Abadia de Montserrat, 37–58.
- Cabré, María Teresa (2002): La neología avui: el naixement d’una disciplina. In: Observatori de Neologia (ed.): *Lèxic i neologia*. Barcelona: Observatori de Neologia/Institut Universitari de Lingüística Aplicada, Universitat Pompeu Fabra, 29–41.
- Cabré, María Teresa (2016): Principios y parámetros en una teoría de los neologismos. In: García Palacios, Joaquín, et al. (eds.): *La neología en las lenguas románicas. Recursos, estrategias y nuevas orientaciones*. Frankfurt: Peter Lang, 27–42.
- Carpintero, Pablo/Tapia Kwiecien, Martín (2020): La lengua y el COVID-19 en los medios periodísticos digitales en Argentina: un estudio de corpus contrastivo. In: Molina Mejía, Jorge M./Valdivia Martín, Pablo/Venegas Velázquez, René A. (2020): *Actas III Congreso Internacional de Lingüística Computacional y de Corpus – CILCC 2020 y V Workshop en procesamiento Automatizado de textos y Corpus – WoPATeC 2020*. Medellín: Universidad de Antioquia, 21–23.
- Cook, C. Paul (2010): *Exploiting Linguistic Knowledge to Infer Properties of Neologisms*. Ph.D Thesis, University of Toronto.
- Dressler, Wolfgang U. (1993): Word-formation: Poetic licence. In: Asher, Ronald E. (ed.): *The Encyclopedia of Language and Linguistics. Vol. IX*. Oxford: Elsevier Pergamon, 5028–5029.
- Freixa, Judit/Torner, Sergi (2020): Beyond Frequency: On the Dictionarization of New Words in Spanish. In: *Dictionaries: Journal of the Dictionary Society of North America* 41(1), 131–153.

- Guilbert, Louis (1975): *La créativité lexicale*. Paris: Larousse.
- Haddad, Amal/Moreno Martínez, Silvia (2020): COVID-19: A metaphor-based neologism and its translation into Arabic. In: *Journal of Science Communication* 19 (5)A01. [https://doi.org/10.22323/2.19050201].
- Ishikawa, Shin'ichiro (2006): When a Word Enters the Dictionary: A Data-Based Analysis of Neologism. In: JACET Society of English Lexicography (ed.): *English Lexicography in Japan*, Bunkyo-ku: Taishukan, 39–52.
- Kilgariff, Adam (2013): Using Corpora as Data Sources for Dictionaries. In: Jackson, Howard (ed.): *The Bloomsbury Companion to Lexicography*. London: Bloomsbury, 77–96.
- Klekot, Nina (2021): Procesos de la creatividad léxica durante la pandemia de COVID-19. Un estudio contrastivo. In: *Roczniki Humanistyczne* LXIX (6), 101–114.
- Klosa-Kückelhaus, Annette/Wolfer, Sascha (2020): Considerations on the Acceptance of German Neologisms from the 1990s. In: *International Journal of Lexicography* 33(2), 150–167. [DOI: 10.1093/ijl/ecz033].
- Matore, Georges (1953): *La méthode en lexicologie. Domaine français*. Paris: M. Didier.
- Marello, Carla (2020): New Words and New Forms of linguistic Purism in the 21st Century: the Italian Debate. In: *International Journal of Lexicography* 33(2), 168–186 [DOI: 10.1093/ijl/ecz034].
- Mattiello, Elisa (2016): Analogical Neologisms in English. In: *Italian Journal of Linguistics* 28(2): 103–142.
- Metcalf, Allan (2002): *Predicting New Words. The Secrets of Their Success*. Boston/New York: Houghton Mifflin Company.
- Mweri, Jefwa (2021): Corona Virus Disease (COVID-19) Effects on Language Use: An Analysis of Neologisms. In: *Linguistics and Literature Studies* 9(1), 36–47 [DOI: 10.13189/lls.2021.090105].
- Navarro, Fernando A. (2020): La COVID-19 y el lenguaje médico. In: *Revista Española de Cardiología* 73(10), 790–791.
- O'Donovan, Ruth/O'Neill Mary (2008): A systematic approach to the selection of neologisms for inclusion in a large monolingual dictionary. In: Bernal, Elisenda/DeCesaris, Janet Ann (eds.): *Proceedings of the XIII EURALEX international congress (Barcelona, 15–19 July 2008)*. Barcelona: Institut University de Lingüística Aplicada, 571–579.
- Rodríguez Barcia, Susana/Moskowitz, Andre (2019): An authentic pan-hispanic language policy? Spain as the point of reference in the Spanish Royal Academy's *Diccionario de la lengua española*. In: *International Journal of Lexicography* 32 (4), 498–527 [DOI: 10.1093/ijl/ecz012].
- Sayers, Dave (2014): The mediated innovation model: A framework for researching media influence in language change. In: *Journal of Sociolinguistics* 18(2), 185–212.
- Saladrigas, María Verónica, et al. (2020): Glosario de COVID-19 (EN-ES) abreviado. In: *Panace@ XXI* (51), 110–172.
- Schmid, Hans-Jörg (2008): New Words in the Mind: Concept-formation and Entrenchment of Neologisms. *Anglia* 126(1), 1–36.
- Tarp, Sven (2008): *Lexicography in the Borderland between Knowledge and Non-Knowledge*. Tübingen: Max Niemeyer Verlag.
- ten Hacken, Pius/Koliopoulou, Maria (2020): Dictionaries, Neologisms, and Linguistic Purism. In: *International Journal of Lexicography* 33(2), 124–134. [https://doi.org/10.1093/ijl/ecaa011].
- Zholobova, Anna (2021): Linguistic innovation during the COVID-19 pandemic: the Spanish language case. In: *XLinguae* 14(2), 331–349. [DOI: 10.18355/XL.2021.14.02.24].

Dictionaries and corpora

- Antenarío = *ANTENARIO. Diccionario en línea de neologismos de las variedades del español*. Ed. by Adelstein, Andreína/Freixa, Judit. [<http://www.antenarío.wordpress.com>]; last access: July, 30, 2021].
- Barale, J., et al. (2020): *Alguna covetimologías*. In: *Ciencia Hoy* 29. 170: 10–11.
- Calderón, P. (2021): *Guía de coronavirus: glosario de términos* [<https://academy.doctoralia.co/blog/glosario-terminos-coronavirus>], last access: July, 30, 2021].
- COVIDCIONARIO = *COVIDcionario*. Ed. by Aldamiz-Echevarría, Gabriel. Electronic publication. [<https://COVIDcionario.com/>], last access: July, 30, 2021].
- CORPES = *Corpus del Español del Siglo XXI (CORPES)*. Ed. by Real Academia Española [<https://www.rae.es/banco-de-datos/corpes-xxi>], last access: August, 13, 2021].
- DAMER = *Diccionario de americanismos*. Ed. by Asociación de Academias de la lengua Española. Madrid: Santillana, 2010. [<https://lema.rae.es/damer/>], last access: July, 30, 2021].
- Diccionario Latinoamericano de la Lengua Española*. Ed. by Link, Daniel. UNTREF Media. [<http://untref.edu.ar/diccionario/>], last access: July, 30, 2021].
- DLE = *Diccionario de la lengua española*. Ed. by Real Academia Española. Electronic edition, 23.4 edn. [<http://www.rae.es/>], last access: July, 30, 2021].
- DHLE = *Diccionario histórico de la lengua española*. Ed. by Real Academia Española. Electronic publication. [<https://www.rae.es/dhle/>], last access: July, 30, 2021].
- Lungevity Foundation. 2021. *Glosario de COVID-19*. [<https://lungevity.org/for-patients-caregivers/COVID-19-and-lung-cancer/informaci%C3%B3n-sobre-coronavirus-en-espa%C3%B1ol/glosario>], last access: July, 20, 2021].
- NOW = *Corpus del español NOW*. Ed. by Davies, Mark. National Endowment for the Humanities, 2012–2019. [<https://www.corpusdelespanol.org/now/>], last access: August, 13, 2021].
- TREMEDICA = *Diccionario de COVID-19 (EN-ES)*. Ed. by Saladrigas, María Verónica et al. Tremédica-Cosnautas. [<https://www.tremedica.org/tremediteca/glosarios/glosario-de-COVID-19-en-es/>], last access: July, 30, 2021].