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The Covid-19 Pandemic, 2020-2023

Word Formation, Borrowing, and Their Interaction in Italian

Abstract

The present paper provides a qualitative investigation into the semantics of Italian Covid-19 terms, with special attention to complex constructs that are the outcomes of contact with English in Italian foreign word formation (Iacobini 2015), and are formed with Covid *and* corona *as first or second constituent. Related questions concern the effects of matter borrowing (i.e. borrowing of individual lexical units [Ten Hacken and Panocová 2020a, 2020b]) onto Italian word formation. That is, the reinforcing effect that new foreign word formations in analogue pairs and sets of analogues might have on specific native or foreign Italian word formation patterns and schemas. The findings return an extremely varied picture. Roughly, the analysis demonstrates the general adherence of Italian to the Left-Hand Head Rule principle in case of Adjective-Noun and Noun-Noun constructs, e.g.* tassa Covid, *a classificatory noun and a pseudo-Anglicism, vis-à-vis English* Covid tax. *Second, Anglicisms increase contact with right-headed word formations in Italian, and local analogy can be established with earlier Anglicisms, based on formal similarity, and with an identical second element, e.g. the semantic pseudo-Anglicism* Covid Tax, *a Name, possibly formed after English* Tobin Tax. *Luxury loans—or, according to Öhmann's (1961) canonical definition, borrowings that can be considered semantic equivalents of words in the receiving language—are another way to reinforce contact with Anglicisms and awareness of mirror structures, e.g.* green pass, *a pseudo-Anglicism, and the hybrids* Covid pass *and* pass Covid. *Third, reinforcing effects can be observed for specifications of [Prep-N]A,N and [Adv-N]A,N schemas—as in* non-Covid.N *'anti-Covid vaxxer,' a hybrid, and* no-Covid.N *'anti-Covid vaxxer,' either a hybrid or a pseudo-Anglicisms. These effects are also demonstrated in word-formations within Italian, for instance the pseudo-Anglicisms* Fontanavirus *and* Contevirus, *which are formed locally on the Anglicism and model analogue* Coronavirus, *with a shift from Noun to Name in left position, and different context-based processes of meaning building.*

Keywords: *Covid-19 terms, Italian foreign word formation,* Covid-*compounds, corona-compounds*

1. Introduction

The World Health Organization declared the Covid-19/SarS-COV-2 outbreak a pandemic on 11 March 2020 (WHO 2020). They determined that it was "an established and ongoing health issue which no longer constitute[d] a public health emergency of international concern (PHEIC)" on 5 May 2023 (WHO 2023). Meanwhile, the unprecedented circumstances of the Covid-19 pandemic necessitated coining terms in virology, health and medicine, economics and the social sciences, as well as, more generally, coining and using new words related to those aspects of life that were impacted by the pandemic.

When new concepts need to be named, there are usually three options: extending the meaning of an existing word (and phrase) in neosemanticisms, creating a new word (or phraseological unit) based on existing rules, also complex words relying on grammatical and extra-grammatical morphology, and borrowing words and phraseological units in loans (Ten Hacken and Panocová 2020a, 2020b, adapted). In the particular context of the pandemic, coining Covid-19 terms in Italian is witness to the critical need to name new concepts and mediating them to laypeople. This was a concomitant of round-the-clock news coverage extensively based on reporting, statements and publications by international news agencies, organizations and research institutes, as well as of the critical need for local and national government to reach out to the public at large.

Taking a broadly cognitive-functional perspective, the present paper investigates the semantics of Italian Covid-19 terms, with special attention to complex constructs that are the outcomes of contact with English in Italian foreign word formation (Iacobini 2015) and are formed with *Covid* and *corona* (in its pandemic-related sense) as first or second constituent. Table 1 provides working definitions and examples for the categories under investigation.

Category	Working definition and example
Anglicism (AN)	A borrowing from English (Görlach 2001): AN *Covid-girl* (34).
	International terminology formed in English: AN *Covid-19* (15).
Pseudo-Anglicism (PA)	A false Anglicism (Furiassi 2007). A coinage in Italian that uses English forms (Görlach 2001): PA *green pass* vs. BrEN *(NHS) Covid pass* (7, 43); EU *coronabond* (52), coined in the European Union.
Semantic pseudo-Anglicism (semantic PA)	An English word that acquires a different meaning in the receiving language: semantic PA *Covid Tax*, a name (9, 49).

English-Italian hybrid (HY)	A hybrid Anglicism (Furiassi 2007), with a mix of English and Italian forms: HY *Fontanavirus* 'virus affecting Fontana' (23), formed on AN *Coronavirus*.
Calque (IT)	A loan translation (Furiassi 2007): IT *distanziamento sociale*, which translates EN *social distancing* (2).

Tab. 1: Outcomes of contact with English in Italian (foreign) word formation

Related questions concern the effects of matter borrowing (i.e. borrowing of individual lexical units [Ten Hacken and Panocová 2020a; 2020b]) onto Italian word formation. That is, the reinforcing effect that new foreign word formations in analogue pairs and sets of analogues might have on the specific native or foreign Italian word formation patterns and schemas that they instantiate.

2. Data selection and theoretical underpinnings

Coining new words and phrases in the Covid-19 pandemic was part of a major effort in medical journalism (Hettiarachchi and Noreen 2020, 38), official government communication, and the press, towards accomplishing related objectives—from increasing public awareness and disseminating knowledge about Covid-19 research, health and policies (Keshvari et al. 2018, 14), through promoting specific measures and countering fear,[1] to providing round-the-clock news coverage of reports, statements and publications by national and international news agencies, health organizations, research centers, institutes and institutions.

In the context of this chapter, we share with Booij's (2010) Construction Morphology the basic idea of constructs, of constructional schemas and of a hierarchical lexicon. *Constructs* are empirically attested tokens of constructions, or constructional schemas with different degrees of abstractness. They unify properties at the phonological, morpho-syntactic and semantico-pragmatic levels, thus forming the bottom level of a specific pattern or schema. Since it is not easy to determine whether a construct would count as a compound or phrase (Lieber and Štekauer 2009), we do not try to draw a line between the two but rather follow Radimský (2015, drawing on Booij 2010) and concentrate quite liberally on constructs that are compounds (PA *bonus-Covid* 'Covid-19 bonus, Covid bonus'), phrasal units, and *polirematiche* (Grossmann and

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[1] See, e.g., the *#iorestoacasa* 'I stay at home' campaign, promoted by the Italian Ministry of Health, especially designed to convince Italian citizens to accept highly stringent measures at a time of crisis. Particularly, to isolate: https://www.salute.gov.it/portale/news/p3_2_1_1_1.jsp?lingua=italiano&menu=notizie&p=null&id=4177. Last visited 01/09/2022.

Rainer 2004), i.e. phrasemes or multiword expressions that behave like lexical units (HY *furbetto del Covid* 'Covid hustler'; see (25) below).

Our constructs come from a data pool of approximately 250 items. The initial collection is comprised of neologisms (or institutionalized new words), neosemanticisms (words with new meanings) and occasionalisms (or nonce formations)—with few exceptions,[2] nouns and adjectives—which we manually collected from the macrostructures of the 2019-2023 editions of Treccani's *Neologismi* 'New words' (NT), and from the *Neologismi Treccani della Settimana* 'Treccani's new words of the week' blog (NS). NT is a lexicographic reference tool with yearly updates on established Italian new words and phrases. On the other hand, while not a professional reference tool, NS provides weekly updates on extant words (Rainer 2012) from the press and the media, including occasionalisms and words that have been institutionalized in lexicographic references, which Italian word lovers and amateur lexicographers perceive and record as new.[3]

2.1 Methodology and data analysis

This paper provides a qualitative investigation into the meaning of new Covid-19 terms that are primarily formed with AN *Covid* and with *corona*, following contact with international respiratory disease terminology and other pandemic-related English word formations. Additionally, we want to assess whether or not they form pairs or sets of analogues, and are capable of evoking patterns or specifying low-level schemas. Another question concerns the effects, if any, that borrowing of individual lexical units, or matter borrowing (Ten Hacken and Panocová 2020a, 2020b) might have on Italian word formation patterns and schemas. Section 3 represents a preliminary attempt at addressing these points, based on information about etymology, date of first attestation and meaning descriptions provided in the relevant lexicographic articles of the *Neologismi Treccani* (NT), as well as in Italian and English encyclopaedic dictionaries and dictionaries of new words, English-Italian dictionaries, online encyclopaedias and the quality press.

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[2] E.g., IT *in modalità* A 'in A mode,' IT *negativizzarsi* 'to test negative after testing positive,' IT *remotizzare* 'to shift to remote,' IT *salutarsi con il gomito* 'to greet with one's elbow, i.e. to elbow bump.'

[3] Within the economy of this paper, we concentrate on 'new' terms as 'extant' (Rainer 2012), i.e. existing, lexical and phraseological units. That is, we are interested in 'existing words and phrases' (Benczes 2006, adapted), whether or not they are occasionalisms, item-familiar, or have become established in reference works (Bauer 2001).

Unless otherwise specified in the footnotes where details for additional sources and webpages were provided, we use the following reference works and online materials:

- Italian encyclopaedic dictionaries and collections of neologisms: De Mauro's (2007) *Grande Dizionario Italiano dell'Uso* (GRADIT) and *Nuovo De Mauro* (NDM, n.d.), Devoto, Oli and Serianni's (2022) *Nuovo Devoto-Oli. Il vocabolario dell'italiano contemporaneo. Edizione digitale 2022.* (DO22), and *Vocabolario Treccani* (VT, n.d.); *Osservatorio Neologico della Lingua Italiana* (ONLI, n.d.), Adamo and Della Valle's (2008) *Il vocabolario Treccani. Neologismi. Parole nuove dai giornali* and Adamo and Della Valle's (2018) *Il vocabolario Treccani. Neologismi. Parole nuove dai giornali 2008-2018*;

- Italian encyclopaedias, quality press, specialized reference tools and publications returned by Google searches restricted to Italian (.it domain extension): Treccani's (n.d.) *Enciclopedia online* (EO); Sgroi's (2020) *Nuovo Lessico famigliare*; *Il Sole 24 Ore* (S24h, n.d.), etc.

- English-Italian desk dictionaries: *ilRagazzini 2023 digitale. Dizionario Inglese-Italiano, Italiano-Inglese di Giuseppe Ragazzini* (RZ23, 2023);

- English encyclopaedic dictionaries and collections of new words: *Oxford English Dictionary online*, 3rd edn. (OED, n.d.); *Urban Dictionary* (UD, n.d.); *Wordspy* (WS, n.d.); google pages with .com, .org, .uk regional extensions.

Subsequent searches for specific constituents and complex units were therefore carried out, so as to determine and assess any reinforcing effect of foreign word formation on native or foreign patterns and (low-level) schemas in Italian. We proceeded on the assumption that forming pseudo-Anglicisms and hybrids, or turning to loan translations with native constituents and English word order, is witness to the ability of native Italian speakers to analyze borrowings, identify and use foreign word-formation patterns and low-level schemas (Cacchiani 2020).

2.2 Analogy, patterns, schemas

We address (matter) borrowing (i.e. borrowing of individual lexical units), word formation and similarity across patterns in term of proportional analogies of the type a:b=c:x. That is, the relation between 'a' and 'b' serves as a model analogue for the formation of 'x' on the basis of some perceived similarity between the elements of the equation (Arndt-Lappe 2015). In its turn, similarity can be graded in the fuzzy categories of local analogy and schemas. With *local*

analogy, the language user analyzes the composite structure of the analogue—here, also adapted borrowings—and substitutes one component. Ideally, analogy is strictly 'local,' or based on one particular analogue or analogue base, it involves a high degree of similarity and might bring about a limited pattern (Arndt-Lappe 2015). However, it is not always possible to trace the new word to one analogue. Sets of analogues may give rise ta relevant *pattern* and bring about a gradual shift from local analogy to *schemas*, or more general representations with different degrees of abstractness. Analogy-based and schema-based accounts, Booij's (2010, 91) argument goes on, can coexist when the base word is still easily and immediately recognizable among a number of complex words and reinforces the entrenchment of the symbolic schema to which it is linked (Cacchiani 2020). In this connection, Mattiello (2017) argues for distinguishing two forms of analogy between model words and new target words: in *surface analogy*, "the target can be associated with the model as far as it shares with it similarity in some (or more) trait(s)" (Mattiello 2017, 9); on the other hand, *analogy via schema* occurs when a word is formed "after a set of concrete prototype words which share the same formation (i.e. series) or some of their bases/stems" (Mattiello 2017, 12).

Coining new words within Italian can then be explained in terms of analogical processes, patterns and schemas (Cacchiani 2020), e.g. the very many instantiations of the low-level schema [*furbetto del/della* + N_2]NP < N_2 hustler >,[4] as in examples (1) and (25).

(1)   IT *furbetto del green pass* 'green pass hustler;' IT *furbetto della zona rossa* 'red zone swindler'

One important point concerns headedness. Broadly, English nouns and phrases follow the Right-Hand Head Rule (Williams 1981), while Italian favors left-headedness. Thus, left-headed Italian terms are found to render English words in calque translations, e.g. IT *distanziamento sociale* (2), with relational adjective.

(2)   IT *distanziamento sociale* ← EN *social distancing*

Right-headed constructs, however, are also present in Italian. The category comprises remains from Latin, like IT *terremoto* 'earth movement, i.e. earthquake,' and specifications of numerically marginal schemas, like IT *antitutto* [Prep-N]A,N and AN *no-logo* [Adv-N]A,N (3). A more represented category consists of the outcomes of neoclassical compounding (Scalise 1992;

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[4] The following conventions for category labels are adopted throughout: A: Adjective; Adv: Adverb; N: Noun; N_{PR}: name, i.e. Proper Noun; NP: Noun Phrase; V: Verb; IMP: Imperative. For the relative positioning of constituents within the construct, we use '1' and '2', subscript.

Bisetto 2004), as in (4). Neoclassical compounding is still available and highly profitable (Corbin 1987; Bauer 2001) in Italian and foreign Italian word formation, also in combinations with non-learned elements (Cacchiani 2020, based on Iacobini 2017), e.g. AN *corona party* (5; see also (38)).

(3)   IT *terremoto* 'earth movement, i.e. earthquake;' IT *antimafia* 'anti-mafia;' AN *no-logo*

(4)   EN, IT *adenovirus*

(5)   PA *corona party* ← EN *corona party*

Another source of right-headed instances are Anglicisms like *lockdown* (6), without neoclassical combining forms, pseudo-Anglicisms (*green pass*, 7, 43), hybrids (*no-vax*, 8, 28). And, of course, the coexistence of right-headed Italian word formations, and various types of left-headed foreign word formations works towards reinforcing awareness of right-headed patterns in Italian. E.g. PA *pass Covid*, with constituent-head reversal, vis-à-vis PA *green pass* (7, 44), or HY *tassa Covid* and AN *Covid tax*, also used as name (or N$_{PR}$, i.e. Proper Noun) in semantic PA *Covid Tax* (9; see also (49)).

(6)   AN *lockdown* ← EN *lockdown*

(7)   PA *green pass*, PA *pass Covid* 'NHS Covid Pass'

(8)   HY/PA *no-vax* ← EN *anti-vax*, *no-vaxxer*

(9)   HY *tassa Covid*, AN *Covid tax*, AN/semantic PA *Covid Tax*.N$_{PR}$ ← EN *Covid tax*

Regarding the relationship between form and meaning, we argue for the significance of *conceptual integration* (Fauconnier and Turner 2002, 353-406) in the semantics of the construct at hand, and of flexibility in negotiating the frame structures evoked in the context (and co-text) in which Covid-related terms are given. This can be observed in creative word formations, or those word formations that variously utilize conceptual metaphor and metonymy, and the creative associations that exist between concepts based on similarity, analogy, or contiguity (Benczes 2006). More particularly, *conceptual metonymy* is the cognitive process in which one conceptual entity—the vehicle—(Langacker 1993, 30), provides mental access to another conceptual entity—the target—(Langacker 1993, 30) within the same *idealized cognitive model* (Lakoff 1987). *Conceptual metaphor* is the understanding of one conceptual domain in terms of another conceptual domain (Lakoff 1987), mostly in single scope mappings (Fauconnier and

Turner 2002). With reference to compounding, Benczes (2006) further establishes a number of types, based on the part of the composite structure that is activated by conceptual metaphor and metonymy in the modifier, in the head (or profile determinant), in the relationship between modifier and determinant, or in the composite structure as a whole. To illustrate this point, we can consider examples (10) to (12).

(10)   IT *bolla sociale* ← EN *social bubble*; IT *bolla familiare* ← EN *family bubble*

(11)   AN *Dracula sneeze*; AN *Dracula cough*

(12)   AN *Goblin mode*

IT *bolla sociale* (11) translates EN *social bubble*; IT *bolla familiare* renders EN *family bubble*, with metaphorical head or profile determinant—BUBBLE IS A CONTAINER, where CONTAINER IS A BOUNDED SPACE. During the pandemic, positive connotations for the family of *bubble* emerge if appealing to the moral frame of Fairness and Loyalty (Haidt 2012; Charteris-Black 2021).

AN *Dracula sneeze* and AN *Dracula cough* (11) are motivated by mappings between the maneuver of sneezing or coughing into the crook of one's elbow (so as to help prevent spreading germs) and the dramatic way in which Count Dracula uses his iconic cape to cover up his face. *Dracula* does not appear to serve as an eponym—which would describe a grotesque or terrifying person.

AN *Goblin mode* (12) is English slang for unapologetic embrace of lazy, sloppy, or hedonistic behavior. Mappings are established between ugly fantasy creatures that are not aspirational and do not partake in normal human social behavior, and the behavior of individuals venturing out of their homes as Covid lockdown restrictions eased. They are described as not willing or unable to return to real clothes, normal life and normal social interactions.

The examples discussed in this paper are less creative and exotic constructs, mainly specifications within the families of *Covid*-compounds and *corona*-compounds (e.g. AN *Covid hospital* vis-à-vis HY *ospedale Covid*, in (42)).[5] For the semantics of the linking rule in Noun-Noun constructs, we will loosely refer to Jackendoff's (2016) work on argument and modifier schemas in nominal compounding, and more specifically to concepts such as basic functions, proper function, and cocomposition:

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[5] For discussion of Covid-19 terms in Italian, see Cardinale (2021); Chiusaroli and Pierucci (2021); Farroni (2021); Frenguelli (2021); Principato (2021); Pollicino (2021); Cassandro (2020); Lubello (2020); Sgroi (2020).

- 'Basic functions' are the semantic relations that link the components in the complex unit, such as general Classify, or more specific functions like Against, Be (also covering metaphorical relationships), Cause/Caused by, Have, In, Location, Make, Temporal location (Jackendoff 2016, adapted). With names, we can observe the functions Commemorate/Named After (Schlücker 2016). 'Promiscuous' (i.e. superimposed) relations are possible (Jackendoff 2016).
- 'Proper function' is the habitual, regular function that we can identify, for instance, for artifacts.
- 'Cocomposition' incorporates material and reprofiles events from the internal structure of the noun's meaning (e.g., from its proper function) when pieces of meaning that are expressed syntactically cannot link up semantically (Jackendoff 2016, 24).

For the semantics of Affix-Noun schemas, reference is made to textbooks of Italian and English morphology (Grossmann and Rainer 2004; Bauer, Lieber and Plag 2013). For the sake of conciseness, we will expand on the relevant points as the paper unfolds.

3. Covid-19 terms, 2019-2023

This section discusses the semantics of complex Covid-19 related nouns and adjectives in Italian, with an eye to the reinforcing effect that borrowing of individual Anglicisms from English and the formation of Italian foreign words might have on Italian word formation and phrases. In Section 3.1 we shall concentrate on international respiratory disease terminology (*Covid-19*, *Covid*, *Coronavirus* and *SarS-COV-2*). In Section 3.2, attention is devoted to constructs within the *Covid* and *corona* families.

3.1 Respiratory disease terminology

The acronym EN *SARS* (Severe Acute Respiratory Syndrome) became first known to the vast public in the years 2002-2003. It refers to a type of causative agent in the genus *coronavirus* (*CoV*), which is part of the *Coronaviridae* family. There is a metaphorical relationship (Benczes 2006) 'be' between modifier (*corona*) and profile determinant (*virus*, from Latin; L. *-viridae*): the virus surface is surrounded by large petal-shaped projections that form an image resembling the solar corona (Latin for EN 'crown') (13). Hence the provisional term *2019 novel coronavirus* (*2019-nCoV*) in the nomenclature, which was formally named *Severe Acute Respiratory Syndrome Coronavirus 2 (SARS-CoV-2)* (16) in March 2020 (OED: Covid-19, n.), and the related acronyms *SarS-CoV-2* (14) and *COVID-19* (15) for this second agent and the virus. The modifier *2* is a sign metonymy (Benczes 2006) in *Sars-CoV-2*; the form *19* is related to the form *2019*

based on a PART-WHOLE metonymy, and temporal location is the function that links *COVID* and *19.*

(13) AN *coronavirus* ← EN *coronavirus* '*corona-* 'crown-like' + *virus*'

(14) AN SARS-CoV ← EN SARS-CoV '[internationalism] SARS 's(evere) a(cute) r(espiratory) s(yndrome)' + [internationalism] CoV 'co(rona)v(irus)''

(15) AN *COVID-19*, AN *Covid* ← EN *COVID-19*, EN 'Covid 'co(rona) v(irus) d(isease)' + 19 '2019''

(16) AN *SARS-CoV-2* ← EN SARS-CoV-2 '[internationalism] SARS 's(evere) a(cute) r(espiratory) s(yndrome)' + [internationalism] CoV 'c(orona) v(irus)' + 2'

According to De Mauro's (2016) *Nuovo Vocabolario di base della Lingua litaliana* (NVdB 2016), *virus* is part of the highly frequent core vocabulary of Italian (AU). In medicine, virology and biology, *virus* denotes an infectious agent or biological entity which can function only within the living cells of a host animal, plant, or microorganism. Also, in spoken language, we can observe metonymical reductions to the modifier, from IT *infezione da virus* or EN *virus infection*, to *virus*. That is, when claiming that a person is fighting against a virus, we refer to the infection that is caused by the virus. Sense extensions emerge via modelling biological evolution on computers in a double scope blend (Fauconnier and Turner 2002, 274-276): IT *virus informatico* 'computer virus' is a program or code that propagates itself within the memory of a computer or spreads within a network, with nefarious outcomes. Additionally, figurative senses based on metaphorical operations may denote quasi-pathological emotions and behavior (e.g. IT *il virus del razzismo* 'the virus of racism') including (morally or intellectually) harmful or corrupting influence.

Virus is the second constituent of left-headed compounds formed in medical nomenclature, e.g. neoclassical compounds (17) with combining forms of Latinate and Greek origin (so-called learned word formations), and compounds with current use in general English (18). For instance, *cold virus* refers to any self-limited virus (including learned word formations *rhinoviruses*, *adenoviruses*, *coronaviruses*) that is capable of causing colds, while *mumps virus* is the *paramyxovirus* that causes mumps.

(17) EN *rhinovirus*, EN *adenovirus*, EN *coronavirus*, EN *paramyxovirus*

(18) EN *cold virus*, EN *flu virus*, EN *mumps virus*

In Italian, right-headed *virus* compounds are terms in the nomenclature, with neoclassical combining forms (3, 19) or international acronyms as first constituents (20). As an initialism that was phonologically adapted to Italian, *HIV* is no exception. And yet, it is also used as the second element in IT *virus HIV* 'HIV virus.'[6] Possibly due to the different impact on the Italian public, EN *H5N1 virus* is only rendered by IT *virus H5N1* (21).

On the other hand, left-headed compounds are the outcome of contact with English when the first constituent is not a neoclassical combining form or a word acronym (22). Consider the Angliscism *poxvirus*, which is highly unlikely to compete with IT *virus del vaiolo* 'smallpox virus' in general Italian. Both are based on the metonymy SYMPTOM FOR DISEASE. A slightly different case is IT *vaiolo delle scimmie*, which follows the metonymy VICTIM/VEHICLE FOR DISEASE, used in general Italian to render EN *Mpox virus*, EN *monkeypox* virus and the related acronyms in medicine and biology (e.g., EN *MPV*, EN *MPXV*, EN *hMPXV*).

(19)   IT *cytomegalovirus* 'cyto- + megalo- + virus', IT *enterovirus* 'entero- + virus', IT *picornavirus* 'pico- + RNA + virus', 'IT *poliovirus* 'polio- + virus', IT *rinovirus, rhinovirus* 'rhino- + virus'; IT *provirus* 'pro- + virus', IT *retrovirus* 'retro- + virus'

(20)   IT *echovirus* 'echovirus' ← '[internationalism] ECHO (E(ntheric) C(ytopathogenic) H(uman) O(rphans) (organisms)) + virus'
       IT *papovavirus* 'papovavirus' ← '((human) pa(pilloma) + virus) + ((mouse) po(lioma) + virus) + (simian va(cuolantis) + virus)'

(21)   IT initialism *HIV* /ˈakkaˌivvˈu/, IT *virus dell'immunodeficienza umana*, IT *virus HIV* 'HIV virus' ← EN initialism *HIV* /ˌeɪtʃʌɪˈviː/, EN *H(uman) I(mmunodeficiency) V(irus)*, EN *HIV virus*
       IT *virus N5H1* ← EN *N5H1 virus*

(22)   IT *virus del vaiolo* 'virus of smallpox,' IT *virus vaioloso* 'smallpox.A virus' i.e 'variola virus'; *poxvirus* (late XX) ← EN *poxvirus* (DO22: poxvirus)
       IT *vaiolo delle scimmie*; AN *Mpox*, AN *Mpox virus*, AN *monkeypoxvirus* ← EN *monkeypoxvirus*, EN *Mpox virus*, EN *MPV*[7]

AN *Coronavirus*, AN *SARS-CoV-2*, and AN *COVID-19* belong with the instances in (19) and (20). The relation between head and modifier is a generic 'classify.' This pattern appears to be

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[6] 'HIV, AIDS e infezioni sessualmente trasmesse': https://www.salute.gov.it/portale/hiv/ dettaglioContenutiHIV.jsp?lingua=italiano&id=5210&area=aids&menu=vuoto. Last visited 01/08/2023.
[7] 'Mpox': https://www.salute.gov.it/portale/vaioloScimmie/homeVaioloScimmie.jsp. Last visited 01/09/2023.

extended by occasionalisms like IT *Fontanavirus* (23) and IT *Contevirus* (24), with surface analogy among constructs.

(23) IT *Fontanavirus* '(Attilio) 'Fontana + virus, i.e. Covid-19 virus affecting Fontana, governor of the Lombardia region during the pandemic, and the crisis management team he had organized'

(24) IT *Contevirus* '(Giuseppe) 'Conte + virus, i.e. the pernicious refusal of Giuseppe Conte, Prime Minister of Italy 2018-2023, to collaborate with the opposition during the pandemic'

They are right-headed compounds that substitute initial combining forms and acronyms with names. *Fontanavirus*, with paronymy (or phonemic substitution and overlap of *Fontana* /fonˈtana/ and *corona* /koˈroːna/), and *Contevirus* appear to be formed via formal analogy on *Coronavirus*, with a 'commemorate' or 'named after' function that links the constituents in the compound. As another option, we can suggest they expand the foreign pattern or low-level schema $[N_{PR1}\text{-}virus]N,N_{PR} < >$ 'virus named after N_{PR1}' (where the name N_{PR1} stands metonymically for virologist), with specifications like EN *Epstein-Barr virus*, and right-headed counterparts in multiword expressions (phrasemes) like IT *virus di Epstein-Barr*. While they follow the metonymy PERSON'S NAME FOR DISEASE, the person is not the EXPERT, but a POLITICIAN instead.

One superimposed semantic relation in *Fontanavirus* is 'have' ($[N_{PR1}\text{-}virus]N < >$ 'Coronavirus that N_{PR1} has'), with *Fontana*—governor of the Lombardia region during the pandemic—and his whole crisis intervention team self-quarantining after testing positive for Covid-19 (Mantovani 2020). On the other hand, *Contevirus* is a metaphor- and metonymy-based compound (Benczes 2006). Based on a double-scope network (Fauconnier and Turner 2002), *virus* is the metaphorical profile determinant of the construct. That is, Giuseppe Conte, Italian prime minister 2018-2023, is like a virus, with a metaphorical relationship between constituents (Benczes 2006). The name (N_{PR1}) stands metonymically for the referent's pernicious political behavior and refusal to cooperate with opposition parties during the pandemic (Damato 2020).

3.2 Corona- *and* Covid- *compounds*

Covid is used in Italian to denote the disease *Covid-19* (as in *furbetto del Covid*, 25). Conversely, *coronavirus* can refer via antonomasia and metonymy to *Sars-CoV-2*, its causing agent, and is also extended to denote its effect, the Covid-19 disease. Additionally, in spoken language *coronavirus* is often shortened to the first constituent, *corona* (NT: Coronavirus), based on a

hyponymy (type-of) relation. Thus, IT *corona*—which is part of the highly frequent vocabulary of Italian (NVdB 2016: AU) in the sense 'crown'—has now developed one novel sense in connection with the Covid-19 pandemic. It is not just 'a' coronavirus, or 'an infection or disease caused by any corona agent': it denotes especially the Covid-19 corona agent, infection and disease (as in, e.g., *anti-corona*, 26, and *coronalove*, 38).

(25)   IT *furbetto del Covid-19* 'COVID-19 hustler'

(26)   IT *anti-coronavirus*.A,N 'against Covid-19,' IT *anti-corona*.A,N 'against Covid-19;' *anti-Covid19*.A,N 'against Covid-19,' *anti-Covid*.A,N 'anti-Covid19'

With HY *furbetto del green pass* 'green pass hustler' and IT *furbetto della zona rossa* 'red zone swindler' (1), IT *furbetto del COVID-19* (25) instantiates and reinforces the native Italian schema [*furbetto del/della* + N₂]NP < > 'N₂ hustler,' which appeals to the moral frame of Loyalty (Haidt 2012).

IT *anti-coronavirus* (26) is one of many compounds (27) that specify the low-level schema [*anti*-N]A,N, and the relatively more abstract [P-N]A,N schema. With A to N conversions, the whole compound is metonymical. Like the compounds in (8, 28), (29) and (30), examples (26) and (27) are based in the metonymy DEFINING PROPERTY FOR CATEGORY. Category is HUMAN in (26-29), and TIME in (30), with prepositions of time.

(27)   HY *anti-lockdown*.N; HY *anti-green pass*.N, HY *anti-pass*.N

(28)   HY/PA *no-vax*.N 'anti-vax, no-vaxxer;' PA *yes-vax*.N, HY *sì-vax*.N 'pro-vaxxer;' HY *ni-vax*.N, HY *boh-vax*.N 'vaccine sceptic

(29)   HY/PA *no-Covid*.N 'anti-Covid vaxxer;' *no green pass*.N 'anti-Covid vaxxer'

(30)   AN *pre-Covid*.A,N; AN *post-Covid*, A,N

Corona and *Covid* are relational nouns, and the first constituents of several Anglicisms and other foreign and native Italian word formations which do not appear to form sets of analogues within Italian. In the Personal Relationship frame (FrameNet; Ruppenhofer et al. 2016), there are classifying nouns with the semantic relation 'temporal location' (based on TIME IS SPACE) between constituents. They comprise AN *coronalove* (31) (pairing with English *summer love*) and AN *coronadating* (32) (coined within English after EN *summer dating* and, perhaps, its antonym, EN *summer shading*). As far as the second constituent is concerned, *love* is part of the core vocabulary of Italian ('AU' in NVdB 2016), while *dating* is first attested in Italian in 1997,

and *online dating* in 2002. AN *coronacuffing* (33) is another compound with metaphorical profile determinant and mappings from the space of law enforcement to the space of romantic relationships with long-term commitments. Appeal is also made to the moral frame of Oppression (Haidt 2012).

(31)   AN *coronalove* 'love during the Covid pandemic'

(32)   AN *corona dating* 'dating during the Covid pandemic'

(33)   AN *coronacuffing* 'tethering during and caused by the Covid pandemic' (UD: Cuff)

As regards life cycle and age cohorts, AN *Covid girl* (34) is one of many specifications of [N-*girl*]N < > 'girl with attributes related to time N/location N' (e.g. AN *summer girl*, AN *disco girl*, AN *party girl*). The semantic relation between constituents is 'temporal location;' *girl* is part of the Italian vocabulary and the subcategory refers to the Feelings and Emotions of the Experiencer (*girl*) in the pandemic, with special reference to the consequences of compliance with the Lockdown rule.[8]

AN *coronials* (35) is a formal, morphological blend (Fauconnier and Turner 2002) of *corona (virus)* and *millennials* (Beliaeva 2019: blend with overlap and first word entirely present), denoting babies born in the pandemic. IT *Generazione Millennium*, the pseudo-Anglicism *Millennium Generation* and AN *Millennium* (36) have been recorded as neologisms in Italian since 2018 (NT: Generazione Millennium, Millennium generation, Millennial(s)). Synonyms for the generation born after January 1 2020 are EN *COVID generation*, the left headed *Generation C*, and the left-headed calque translation, IT *generazione COVID*, with EN-IT cognates.

(34)   AN *Covid girl* 'person that is a girl during the pandemic'

(35)   AN *coronials* ← 'corona(virus) + millenials, i.e. babies born in the pandemic'

(36)   IT *generazione COVID*, *Generazione C*, AN *COVID generation* ← EN *COVID generation*, *Generation C*

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[8] EN *lockdown*, originally meaning 'confinement of prisoners in a cell, usually for security measures' (OED: lockdown, n., 2.a), refers more generally (to 'a state of isolation and, the imposition of this state for security or as a public health measure' (OED: lockdown, n., 2.b), via metonymy operating on the compound as a whole. In the Italian context, AN *lockdown* denotes the state of stringent house-bound isolation and containment that was enforced 9 March 2020 through 2 May as a nation-wide public health measure to mitigate the spread of the virus, then gradually relaxed after 3 May 2020, and lifted in October 2020.

Italian has several specifications of the low-level schemas or patterns [*generazione*-Letter]N/N$_{PR}$ and [*generazione*-N]N/N$_{PR}$, including instances formed within Italian (HY *generazione no-children* 'generation without children,' and the expansion HY *generazione boh* 'generation without ideas'). Calque translations and left-headed Anglicisms have a reinforcing effect on these native patterns.

In the frames for Covid-19, *girl*, *millennials*, and *generation* in (34-36) are in the role of Experiencers and potential long-term victims of the psychological and social impact and consequences of the pandemic. The form-meaning pairings in (37-38) select other roles and properties. Covid-19 created chaos throughout the globe (IT *Covid caos* 'Covid chaos,' i.e. chaos caused by Covid and during the pandemic (37)). Social gatherings known as *corona parties* (5, 38) or *Covid parties* (38) were rocket fuel for coronavirus, that is, they enabled corona to spread (Henley 2020).

(37)   HY *Covid caos* 'Covid chaos'

(38)   AN *Covid party*, AN *corona party* 'party that enables Covid'

AN *party* is a highly frequent word in the core vocabulary of Italian, also found in recent Anglicisms like *wedding party* (alternating with IT *ricevimento di nozze* 'wedding reception'), with a 'location' relation (for the 'assemblage of characteristically invited persons at a wedding'), or AN *botox party*, with co-composition and a specific proper function for 'a gathering of characteristically invited persons whose proper function is to provide discounted or free botox treatment.'

Special measures were taken to implement social and physical distancing as one of many directed actions or Responses by individuals and communities in a Disaster scenario. Let us consider the *corona*-compounds in (39-43), with nouns of places and spaces as a second constituent ([*corona*-Place/Space N$_2$]N < > 'coronavirus in time-N / place-N'). AN *corona zone* is a luxury loan, that is to say, according to Öhmann's (1961) canonical definition, a semantic equivalent of IT *distanza interpersonale* 'interpersonal distance.' It is to be interpreted exactly in the frame for Social Distancing Guidelines and the frames of Danger, Disaster and Death, where *corona* has the role of Agent, and human beings are the likely Victims and Patients affected by the virus: *corona zone* refers to legalized corona-safe physical space, or 'space around individuals whose proper function (and size) is to protect against coronavirus infections.'

(39)   IT *distanza interpersonale* 'interpersonal distance,' AN *corona zone* ← EN *corona zone*

(40)   HY *area Covid*, AN/ semantic PA *Covid area* ← EN *Covid area*

(41)   HY *area Covid-free* ← EN *Covid-free area*

(42)   AN *Covid hospital*, IT *ospedale Covid* ← EN *Covid hospital*, EN *temporary Covid-19 hospital*, EN *Nightingale hospital*

(43)   PA *Covid hotel* ← EN *quarantine centre*, EN *quarantine facility*

IT *zona*, a cognate of EN *zone*, is used differently, from regional administrative areas to local city councils, in compounds like IT *zona rossa* 'red zone,' IT *zona arancione* 'orange zone,' IT *zona gialla* 'yellow zone,' and IT *zona verde*, where colors variously signify (strength of) rules, (extent of) danger and (applicability of) restrictions on an antonymic scale, based on the conventional frame for Safety Color Codes.

This also explains PA *green pass* (7, 44), alternating with IT *certificazione Covid*, and PA *pass Covid*. A green pass was a 'certificate that demonstrated COVID-19 status.' On the English pages of the Italian Ministero della Salute (Ministry of Health), it is rendered by the backtranslation *COVID-19 green pass* (7, 44).[9]

(44)   PA *green pass*, PA *pass Covid*, HY *certificazione Covid*, PA [IT-EN backtranslation] *COVID-19 green pass*, PA [EU, i.e. EU English variant] *Covid-19 Green Certificate*.N_PR ← BrEN *NHS Covid Pass*, AmEN *Covid-19 vaccination card*, *Covid-19 card*

(45)   HY *Super Green Pass* 'proof of vaccination or Covid-positive status;' HY *Green Pass Base* 'proof of Covid-positive status'

AN *pass*, a conversion from EN *pass*.V.IMP, retains the meaning 'permit, access badge' in *green pass*. Italian is also familiar with *green* as a color term (e.g. in AN *green* and AN *putting green*, the special areas with the greenest turf around the gold hole in the golf course), and with uses of AN *green* in the sense 'related to environmental concerns' (AN *green economy*, AN *green new deal*, AN *green tax*, AN *green washing*). PA *green pass* and, for that matter, PA *Super Green Pass* (with initial second-generation neoclassical combining form) and PA *Green Pass Base* (45) select another metaphorical meaning. They expand the schema [Color Code + N]N: while not relating to perception, and therefore excluding green-colored signals such as ink or paper, green

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[9] 'Covid-19, travellers':
https://www.salute.gov.it/portale/nuovocoronavirus/dettaglioContenutiNuovoCoronavirus.jsp?lingua=english&id=5412&area=nuovoCoronavirus&menu=vuoto. Last visited 01/07/2023.

passes are used to give permission to the pass holder, provide relief from (part of the) constraints on movement, and indicate safety from Covid, for the community.

Left-headed HY *area Covid* and the mirror compound PA *Covid-area* (40), with semantic relation 'have' between constituents, are interpreted metonymically as 'areas with people affected by Covid.' *Covid areas* cover all zones, from red to yellow. The antonym is phrasal HY *area Covid-free*, rendering EN *Covid-free area*, with modifier on the right (41). It means an 'area where people are not affected by Covid-19,' based on the low-level schema [N-*free*]A. Along with recent specifications such as EN *cruelty-free*, EN *mafia-free*, EN *gluten-free*, and HY *glutine-free*, formed within Italian, PA *Covid-free* requires the integration of a counterfactual situation with the real one, via disanalogy (Fauconnier and Turner 2002). The noun is in the role of Effect of Harm to an Entity in the situation (*cruelty*), of Doer of Harm in the Socio-economic and Danger frame (*mafia*), or Doer of Harm in the Socio-economic and Health frame (*Covid, gluten, glutine*).

HY *area Covid* (40) can refer to the effect of hospital-ward adaptation during Covid-19. In this sense, it renders EN *Covid-19 ward*, whose proper function is 'to treat Covid-19 in-patients.' There is metonymic extension from the hospital division to medical professionals, and from medical condition to patients in a ward, collectively.

Directed actions intended to mitigate the effects of Covid-19 and lead to recovery included setting up new facilities. AN *Covid hospital* and HY *ospedale Covid* (42) mean 'temporary Covid-19 hospital.' In Italian, *Covid hospital* may be seen as formed by analogy on AN *day hospital*, first attested in 1983.

PA *Covid hotel* (43) is formed with *hotel*, a highly frequent word in Italian. It renders EN *quarantine centre*, EN *quarantine facility*: *Covid* refers metonymically to quarantining and isolating during Covid, while *hotel* provides access to the hosting function of all kinds of facilities involved.

PA *Covid manager* (46) renders EN *Covid administrator*, EN *Covid-19 administrator*. Again, the construct is formed with a highly frequent word in the core vocabulary of Italian (*manager*). 'Temporal location' is the semantic relation between constituents. In all industries and organizations, the administrator's proper function is to ensure compliance with regulations related to controlling and eradicating Covid-19 in the pandemic.

   (46)   PA *Covid manager* 'Covid administrator'

The constructs in (46) through (51) are related to Covid-19 regulations and reliefs (IT: *ristori*).

(47)   AN *coronanomics* ← EN *coronanomics*

(48)   PA *Covid debito* 'debt caused by the Covid-19 pandemic' ← EN *Covid debt*

(49)   HY *tassa Covid*, AN *Covid tax*, AN/semantic PA *Covid Tax*.N$_{PR}$ ← EN *Covid tax*

(50)   PA *bonus Covid* ← EN *Covid bonus*

(51)   PA *Superbonus 110%*, PA *Superbonus* 'additional economic aid & 110% credit'

(52)   EU *coronabond*, IT *Covid bond* 'bonds issued by all the member states of the European Union, creating an EU-wide mutualized debt'

AN *coronanomics* (47) refers to providing economic and financial advice to meet "the challenges imposed by the pandemic on a country's economy and the global economy […] while at the same time containing the virus. […] A similar meaning […] refer[s] to the consequences of the pandemic on individuals and how to survive the COVID–19 crisis financially" (Lalić–Krstin, Silaški and Đurović 2022, 145). In the Opinion frame, *corona* is the Topic or Issue. This is slightly different from the pattern that appears to have recently originated in Italian following matter borrowing and pattern borrowing from English: [N$_{PR}$-*nomics*]N < > 'the economic views and policies of N$_{PR}$, politician,' with N$_{PR}$ as Cognizer, as in PA *Veltronomics* 'economic views and policies of Walter Veltroni, former secretary of the Italian Democratic Party,' or in PA *Melonomics* 'economic views and policies of Giorgia Meloni, current prime Minister of Italy.'

To respond to the challenges stemming from the Covid-19 crisis, countries around the world accumulated significant debt. This is described by HY *Covid-debito* (48), possibly a calque translation of EN *Covid-19 debt*, where 'Covid causes debt.'

To offset the costs, members of the Partito Democratico (Italian Democratic Party) made a strong case for a/the *Covid tax*.N,N$_{PR}$ (9, 49), meaning 'a tax whose proper function is to redistribute income during Covid' via co-composition. The Covid tax would increase the income tax rate on the highest earners. No doubt, the construct might be seen as an Anglicism or pseudo-Anglicism, from EN *Covid tax*, EN *Covid-19 tax*. However, it might as well have been coined via paronymy between modifiers (*Tobin* /ˈtobin/ and /ˈkovid/) on the analogue base *Tobin Tax*, an Anglicism first attested in Italian in 1994 but widely popularized by the Italian Democratic Party in 2017, who first introduced the bill proposal and then passed it into law. Given the specificity of particular national legislation and legal systems, we suggest considering the name *Covid Tax* a semantic pseudo-Anglicism.

Within the coronanomics scenario, the Italian government introduced a number of measures to mitigate the economic impact of the Covid-19 crisis on individuals, households and businesses, with a semantic relation 'relief against the economic impact caused by Covid and aid whose proper function is to mitigate the economic effects of Covid.' The hyperonym PA *bonus Covid* (50) thus covers coronavirus reliefs like temporary unemployment benefits (that is, subsidies), Covid-19 essential employee premium pay programmes (for additional payments), and tax credit to companies and households. One such example is the *Superbonus 110%* (51), an instrument under the Piano Nazionale di Ripresa e Resilienza (National Recovery and Resilience Plan) in Italy, which uses Next Generation Europe funds, and was renewed after the pandemic was officially over. AN *bonus*, originally a borrowing into English from Latin, is an early borrowing in Italian (1909), meaning 'reward or prize.' PA *bonus Covid*, PA *Superbonus 110%* and its reduction to the left, PA *Superbonus* (50), with second-generation neoclassical combining form (IT *super-*), thus denote 'additional economic aid' that can be accounted for within the moral frames of Care versus Harm, and Fairness versus Cheating (Charteris-Black 2021; Haidt 2012). This motivated the idea of EU *coronabonds* (52), a term which refers via promiscuity and cocomposition to 'bonds without borders, whereby all the member states of the European Union would issue a joint debt and create an EU-wide mutualized debt' (Parimisetty 2020).

The sport, cultural and entertainment industries were subject to government-mandated closure when lockdown was announced, while essential businesses and critical trades remained open. Cinemas were shut down through Christmas 2020 and well into 2021. This is captured by (53) and (54).

(53) IT *Covidpanettone* 'Christmas movie released during the Covid-19 lockdown'

(54) PA *coronavirus shop* 'coronavirus + shop, i.e. price gaugers selling essentials at grossly inflated prices'

To help battle the Covid-19 blues, TV channels and online platforms aired holiday movies originally meant for theatres during the Christmas lockdown. IT *Covidpanettone* (52) is a subtype of IT *cinepanettone*, 'feel-good Christmas movie by Italian directors.' In IT *cinepanettone*, the initial combining form IT *cine-* stands for the action of going to the cinema and watching movies, it is a second-generation neoclassical combining form. *Panettone* is a traditional cake prototypically eaten at Christmas; both are part of the Christmas Holidays and Christmas Celebration scenario, which prompts images of relaxing days and feel-good movies.

Based on surface analogy in an analogical pair, then, IT *Covidpanettone* is the traditional feel-good movie, released on TV and online platforms during Covid.

Local grocery shops and supermarkets in Italy were not suspended during lockdown in the interest of the community. To much public outcry, however, some became notorious for selling essentials at grossly inflated prices during the first phase of lockdown. There is emergent structure in the compound PA *coronavirus shop* (54), meaning not just a shop open during lockdown, but, with metonymical constituents, 'price gaugers selling essentials at grossly inflated prices.' Consideration of the moral frames of Harm and Cheating (Haidt 2012; Charteris-Black 2021) encourages us to take a negative view on the phenomenon.

4. Conclusions

Our goal in the present paper was to analyze Covid-19 terms in Italian. Special attention was devoted to *Covid-* and *corona*-constructs. Qualitative data analysis was meant to highlight the semantics of Anglicisms, pseudo-Anglicisms, hybrids, calques, as well as words coined within Italian. One related question concerned the effects of matter borrowing, and, in that regard, the ability of Italian foreign word formations to enter pairs or sets of analogues, instantiate foreign patterns and low-level schemas, or reinforce Italian patterns.

The findings return an extremely varied picture. English Covid-related terms have entered Italian as loan translations that reshuffle constituent order, calques and Anglicisms. *Covid* and *corona* may be also found to combine with English-Italian cognates (e.g. HY *ospedale Covid* vis-à-vis AN *Covid hospital*), and appear in pseudo-Anglicisms and hybrids that are formed with long-established simplex Anglicisms (e.g. PA *green pass* 'Covid pass') and Anglicisms that are part of the core vocabulary of Italian (PA *Covid manager* 'Covid-19 administrator'). The analysis demonstrates the general adherence of Italian to the Left-Hand Head Rule principle in case of Adjective-Noun and Noun-Noun constructs, as in IT *distanziamento sociale* vis-à-vis EN *social distancing*, or PA *tassa Covid* vis-à-vis EN *Covid tax*. Notice, however, that *Covid Tax*, a semantic pseudo-Anglicism with conversion from Noun to Name (N$_{PR}$), suggests analogy with AN *Tobin Tax*, a right-headed alternate of IT *Imposta sulle transazioni finanziarie* 'tax on financial transactions.'

Crucially, English Anglicisms increase contact with right-headed word formations in Italian, and local analogy can be established with earlier Anglicisms, based on formal similarity, and with an identical second element, as in AN *corona dating* and AN *online dating*, or AN *corona party*, AN *Covid party* and AN *wedding party* (alternating with IT *ricevimento di nozze*). Recourse to luxury loans in Italian, that is, might be seen as another way to reinforce contact

with Anglicisms and awareness of mirror structures, e.g. IT *distanza interpersonale* 'interpersonal distance' and AN *corona zone* (with surface similarity to *comfort zone*). Likewise with combinations with reverse modifier-head order and mirror compounds, e.g. PA *green pass*, HY *Covid pass* and HY *pass Covid*.

At the same time, it is apparent that learned word formations for respiratory disease terminology with first neoclassical constituent or international word acronym (e.g. AN *Coronavirus*, AN *SARS-CoV-2*, and AN *Covid-19*) have a reinforcing effect on parallel word formation patterns within Italian. Ability to analyze the compound results into PA *Fontanavirus* and PA *Contevirus*: they are formed locally on the model analogue AN *Coronavirus*, but seem to instantiate another subschema, with a shift from Noun to Names in left position (that is, from N_1 to N_{PR1}), and different context-based processes of meaning building. Additionally, the findings seem to suggest a reinforcing effect on [Prep-N]A,N and [Adv-N]A,N schemas, as specified by AN *pre-Covid*.A,N and by combinations formed within Italian, e.g. HY *non-Covid*.N 'anti-Covid vaxxer,' HY/PA *no-Covid*.N 'anti-Covid vaxxer,' PA *yes-vax*.N, HY *sì-vax*.N 'pro-vaxxer,' HY *ni-vax*.N, and HY *boh-vax*.N 'vaccine sceptic,' which evoke paradigmatically related subschemas.

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