ON NAMES FOR PEOPLE (NOT) WEARING MASKS DURING THE COVID-19 PANDEMIC (IN THE LATVIAN, LITHUANIAN, AND GERMAN LANGUAGES)

Evija LIPARTE
MA, independent researcher, freelancer translator
(Latvia)

Abstract

The article deals with one of the semantic fields of the specific vocabulary of the COVID-19 pandemic: the names that would be given to people who would (not) wear protective facemasks. These names were present in different languages as the said equipment was used to curb the spread of the pandemic in many countries. And there were always people who would use this equipment (masks) correctly (i.e. to cover their mouth and nose) or incorrectly (without it covering their nose and/or mouth), or would not use it at all.

The samples that had been collected for the three languages online have been classified according to these methods of (not) wearing the mask. The empiric material has been dissected from a lexical-semantic angle, observing the groups of people that would be singled out, the emotional-stylistic-evaluative charge that the specific names would carry, and the semantic components that these names would involve.

The analysis and comparison of the material that had been sampled for the article have shown some of the names for persons in different languages to have been of a comparable nature (made with semantically identical components). Many of the names have a negative connotation, a derogatory charge, and can even be dysphemistic (including vulgarisms), reflecting the mutual (verbal) aggression between the antagonists with a diametrically opposite disposition towards wearing masks. Some of the occasional neologisms are the product of people's linguistically creative work; they follow certain formation patterns present in the languages and stand to prove that the vernacular of the COVID-19 pandemic was also defined by a degree of wit, especially in the early days of the pandemic. The trilingual examples addressed in the article are dominated by names made with the lexeme *mask* as their root (these include both word combinations and composite words and derivatives). There have been occasional cases when such dysphemisms for a mask as *muzzle* or *rag* were used. Sometimes, the names would indicate the

parts of the body (face), such as the chin or the neck, that were covered by the mask, or the parts that would be left uncovered (such as the face, the nose, as well as the sex organ as an object of comparison).

Résumé

L'article porte sur l'un des domaines sémantiques du vocabulaire spécifique de la pandémie de COVID-19 : les noms donnés aux personnes qui portaient (ou non) des masques de protection. Ces noms étaient présents dans différentes langues, car cet équipement était utilisé pour freiner la propagation de la pandémie dans de nombreux pays. Il y avait toujours des personnes qui utilisaient cet équipement (masques) correctement (c'est-à-dire en couvrant leur bouche et leur nez) ou incorrectement (sans couvrir leur nez et/ou leur bouche), ou qui ne l'utilisaient pas du tout.

Les échantillons collectés pour les trois langues en ligne ont été classés en fonction de ces méthodes de port (ou non) du masque. Le matériel empirique a été examiné sous un angle lexical-sémantique, en observant les groupes de personnes qui étaient distinguées, la charge émotionnelle-stylistique-évaluative portée par les noms spécifiques, et les composants sémantiques que ces noms impliquaient.

L'analyse et la comparaison du matériel échantillonné pour l'article ont montré que certains noms pour désigner les personnes dans différentes langues avaient une nature comparable (composés de composants sémantiquement identiques). Beaucoup de ces noms ont une connotation négative, une charge dérogatoire, voire dysphémique (y compris des vulgarismes), reflétant l'agression mutuelle (verbale) entre les antagonistes ayant une disposition diamétralement opposée à l'égard du port du masque. Certains des néologismes occasionnels sont le produit du travail linguistiquement créatif des gens ; ils suivent certains modèles de formation présents dans les langues et montrent que le langage vernaculaire de la pandémie de COVID-19 était également marqué par un certain esprit, en particulier au début de la pandémie. Les exemples trilingues abordés dans l'article sont dominés par des noms construits à partir du lexème "masque" comme racine (y compris des combinaisons de mots, des mots composés et des dérivés). Il y a eu des cas occasionnels où des dysphémismes pour désigner un masque, tels que "muselière" ou "chiffon", ont été utilisés. Parfois, les noms indiquaient les parties du corps (visage) couvertes par le masque, comme le menton ou le cou, ou les parties laissées découvertes (telles que le visage, le nez, ainsi que l'organe sexuel en tant qu'objet de comparaison).

Introduction

Latvian sociolinguist Ina Druviete (2021: 7) has noted that the '2020's came with new trials for the mankind, adding the pandemic caused by the novel virus to the list of the global challenges such as the climate change, violent conflicts, income inequality, to name a few'. The pandemic of the so-called novel coronavirus (SARS-CoV-2) and the COVID-19 disease caused by it[1] severely impacted the human life for roughly for years: between the spring of 2020 and the spring of 2023.[2] The efforts to control it have seen a variety of restrictions being implemented. New realities would emerge, requiring new names. That is one of the reasons why new words would emerge and new meanings would be given to commonplace words across all languages during the pandemic. Another reason for this was as they were ordered to shelter in place during the pandemic, many people would engage in all kinds of creative activity, which would sometimes include thinking up new (and witty as often as not) words. The third reason was that at certain times during the pandemic, coining new words to name the new realities was even specifically encouraged.[3]

Unfortunately, another reason for this kind of linguistic creativity that needs to be mentioned here was that the COVID-19 pandemic saw a clear division of the society into two opposing camps that were verbally aggressive towards one another.[4] Internationally, those were referred to (in anglicised terms) as vaxers (i.e. supporters of vaccination for COVID-19) and anti-vaxers (objectors of the vaccination). However, while COVID-19 vaccines were still in development and many states would require, as a protective measure, people to wear facial protection covering the nose and the mouth in venues where recommended social distancing could not be enforced[5], the public began to split into several groups that differed in their stance

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[1] This article draws on the distinction between the coronavirus and its disease, it being irrelevant to the subject of the study. For the sake of brevity and simplicity, the term COVID-19 is used instead.

[2] „WHO Director-General's opening remarks at the media briefing on COVID-19 11 March 2020" (*https://www.who.int/director-general/speeches/detail/who-director-general-s-opening-remarks-at-the-media-briefing-on-covid-19---11-march-2020*) ir „WHO chief declares end to COVID-19 as a global health emergency", 05/05/2023 (*https://news.un.org/en/story/2023/05/1136367*).

[3] For details of this situation in Latvia, see Liparte (2021b: 111).

[4] For more on this, see Liepa & Liparte (2022: 211–214), Liepa (2022: 158, 160–165), Liparte (2021a: 113), Aleksaitė & Urnėžiūtė (2020: 6), Köhler (XI 2020).

[5] As this study is not concerned with the types of facial protection (for more of this, see Liparte 2023), the overarching term 'mask' (exclusive of its different attributes such as

on wearing this kind of protection. In 2020, the different social media became peppered with witty cartoons describing the situation. One of them, a tweet published in the fall of 2020, can be seen in Figure 1. It shows four ways people are (not) wearing masks during the first year of the COVID-19 pandemic.

Fig. 1. The Four COVID Personality Types. (Source: https://twitter.com/louiseofresco/status/1307181068894769152)

This article is built around the types of people shown in Figure 1, only in a slightly different order, with the names for people who wear the mask correctly juxtaposed to the descriptions of people who do so incorrectly (without it covering their nose and/or the nose and the mouth) and the names for people who do not wear the mask at all.

The goal of the study was to select and analyse the names for people that were used during the COVID-19 pandemic from a lexical and semantic point of view, approaching their semantics from the following three angles:

    (1)   the groups of people that are identified,

    (2)   the emotional-stylistic-evaluative charge that certain names carry,

    (3)   the semantics of the components that are present in these names.

The article uses material from the database compiled by the author (said database consisting of hundreds of thousands of Latvian, Lithuanian, and German examples of coronalexis found in different portals, articles by specific authors and comments thereon, social media, databases available to the public).[6]

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medical, disposable, cloth, and so on) has been chosen for the sake of simplicity and brevity, to the extent this does not create any kind of misunderstanding.

[6] For the precise list of sources used for the purposes of this study, see the end of the article.

This synchronous study is grounded on a descriptive, componential, and (to an extent) contrastive method of analysis. A comparison of the material for several languages makes it possible to measure both the universal character of the realities and language phenomena covered by the study and the similarities of the trends of linguistic creativity. The article only features a qualitative analysis and disregards the quantity of examples of the specifics lexical semantic groups, their proportion, and frequency of usage.

1. Names for people wearing the mask (correctly)

Notably, different countries imposed different requirements to wear masks (such requirements applied at different times, for different public places, with types of facial protection permitted at the start of the pandemic varying from that which was permitted later on, and so on.).[7] For instance, during the first half of 2020, when Latvia tried to contain COVID-19 with other measures, it was people who wore masks that were considered to be in error. In fall, when mask-wearing was made mandatory in certain public places, people who wore masks became the just ones[8], yet those who perceived mask-wearing as a restriction of their rights and freedoms would still frown upon the mask-wearers.

The dichotomy in the stance on wearing masks is further evident in the names for the people who would wear them and even the definitions of these meanings in lexicographical sources.

Descriptions of mask-wearers have been found in large numbers, ranging from stylistically neutral or connotationally positive to ironic or negative in connotation, or even dysphemistic.[9] Some of the examples are presented in Table 1 below; they are split by semantic connotation based on references in the lexicographic sources or the context of the examples given.

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[7] For more on this, see Liparte 2023.

[8] It is one of the reasons why for some examples, especially those that are occasional and bear a negative connotation, the time of writing is important as well. For the sake of brevity, the article does not provide the specific dates of the examples, only stating the year and the month. Examples from journalist texts also have reference to the author, with the texts as such featured in the bibliography of this article.

[9] This article uses the following definition of dysphemism: 'Dysphemism: a derogatory or unpleasant term used instead of a pleasant or neutral one.' (COD 1999: 447).

Table 1. Names for people wearing masks (by semantic connotation)

Language	Stylistically neutral or connotationally positive examples	Ironic or connotationally negative examples, including dysphemistic cases
Latvian	***masku valkātāji*** (c. [10], X 2020) [mask wearers][11]; /tas/, *kurš **ir uzvilcis masku*** (c., X 2020) [/one/, who is putting on a mask]; *vairākums ir **nomaskējušies*** (c., X 2020) [the masked (i.e. mask-wearing) majority]; ***maskots indivīds*** (gigulis, X 2020) [a masked individual]; *pārliecināts **masku nēsāšanas piekritējs*** (pietiek.com, XI 2020) [an ardent advocate of mask-wearing]; *neesmu **masku cienītājs** /.../, tomēr /.../ uzliku pašdarinātu masku* [benzīntankā] (S. Ģirģens, then Latvia's Minister of the Interior, FB[12], X 2020) [I am not a fan of masks /.../, still /.../ I put on a mask of my own making [at a gas station]]; ***maskinieki*** (c., XII 2020) // ***maskainie*** (c., XI 2020, also see Liparte 2021a: 113) [the masked-ones]; *Ģimenes daktere – vaxere, **maskere*** (=a tweet by a lady about herself in late 2020) [a GP who is a vaxer and mask-wearer], cf. English *masker*; *Visi notestēti, **nomaskoti*** (Vanzovičs, I 2022) [Everyone has been tested, everyone wears a mask]; cf. Latvian *nomaskot* '(to) mask, (to) put a mask (on someone)'[13].	***paklausīgie masku cilvēki*** (c., XI 2020, also see Liparte 2021a: 113) [obedient mask people]; ***maskmīļi*** (F.[14], I 2022) [mask-lovers] < *maska* 'mask' + *mīļš* 'lovely'; ***covidsektanti maskās*** (c., XII 2020) [covid-sect members in masks]; ***covidticīgie masku nēsātāji*** (c., XI 2020) [covid believers mask-wearers]; *uzcītīgākie **covidioti** pat pie zobārsta nenovelk masku!* (c., XII 2020) [the most assiduous of covidiots won't even take their masks off at the dentist's!]; *Alegorijā – **pa pilsētu maskās staigājoši atkritumu laukumi*** (c., XI 2020) [By allegory – dumps in masks walking around the city]; *tie, kas tic lupatas gabaliņam* (A. Gobzems, a Latvian member of parliament; minutes of a parliamentary sitting, X 2020) [those who believe in a swatch of rag]; /tie,/ *kas lupatiņu apzinīgi praktizē* (F., XI 2020) [/those/, who practice the use of a rag in good faith]; *Lidmašīnā saslima arī **karnevālisti**!!* (c., X 2020) [Carnival attendees got sick on the plane, too!!]; *Nez nevar planētu sadalīt divās daļās? **Tupāru** puse un loģiski domājošu cilvēku puse. **Klauni** varēs tad izvērsties ar visiem gadžetiem, maskām, varavīksnēm un nebūs jāklausās tajos nenormālajos(normālajos) par viņu bezatbildību pret "valdības" regulācijām.* (FB, VII 2020) [I wonder if we could split the planet into two halves? One of fools, and one of logical thinkers. The clowns could then go wild with all their gadgets, masks, rainbows and would not have to listen to the abnormal

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[10] This is the tag for the comment by an unidentified person to an article on a news portal.

[11] All coherent examples featured herein have been translated from the subject languages by the author.

[12] FB – Facebook.

[13] The definitions of all stand-alone Latvian words in this article are translations of their entries in the online dictionary *Tēzaurs*.

[14] This is the tag for the example of one of online forums.

		(normal) ones venting their irresponsible views on the regulation by the 'government'.]; *Pilna Rīga ar vergiem, slāps nost zem tās maskas, bet būs paklausīgi, kā dresēti sunīši* (FB, VI 2020) [Riga is full of slaves; they will suffocate in those masks but will remain obedient like trained puppies]; *Reku bildē – nu pilnīgi pēc mērkaķiem ar tām mutes apenēm!* (c., II 2022) [Here, in this picture: just like monkeys in their underwear for the mouth!]; *nomīzies ar lupatu uz sejas* (c., X 2020) [pants pissed and a rag on his face]; *Pilns autobuss ar cilvēkiem uzpurņos.* (FB VI 2020) [A bus full of people in muzzles.][15]; *uzpurņains skolotājs* (c., II 2021) [a muzzled teacher]; *Šie maskotie suņi uzpurņos nav cienīgi tikt saukti par cilvēkiem.* (c., X 2021) [These masked dogs in muzzles are not worth being called humans.]; *uzpurņu kviecēji* (c., XI 2020) [muzzle squealers, i.e. those who speak in favour of using masks]; *Kareivīgie namordņiku valkātāji* (c., X 2020) [Belligerent muzzle-wearers], cf. Russian *намордник* 'muzzle'; *Aitveidīgie aplaudē, stāvot uz balkona un slienājoties /.../ vīrusus sasūkušā maskā.* (c., X 2020) [Those who are like sheep clap their hands while standing on their balcony and drooling /…/ into the virus-ridden mask.]; *Aitas var nēsāt uzpurņus, elite ballītē var to nedarīt un pa ņirgt par aitām.* (c., X 2020) [The sheep can wear muzzles; the elite is free to not to do so at a party and make fun of the sheep.].
Lithuanian	*žmonės, devintys kaukes* (www.pajurionaujienos.com, X 2022) [people who wear masks]; *Žmonės su veido kauke.* (lrt.lt, VII 2022) [People with a facemask.]; *Šiuo atveju valstybės pareiga – garantuoti, kad* **pimpianosio** *ir*	***kaukininkas, -ė // kaukiaveidis, -ė // maskininkas, -ė*** everyone carrying a derogatory expressive charge and a uniform definition: 'someone who, in reliance of pseudo-science, zealously believes that the masks will protect from the spread of the coronavirus' (DN[16]; the word *kaukininkai* is

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[15] *Muzzle* is one of the dysphemistic names for a mask in many languages (for more on this, also see Liparte 2021: 111).

[16] The definitions of all stand-alone Lithuanian words in this article are translations/extracts of their entries in the Lithuanian Language Resources Information System *E. kalba*, which

	antivakserio laisvė netrukdytų **save ir kitus saugančio piliečio** *laisvei.* (Valatka, XII 2020) [In this case, it is the duty of the state to guarantee that the freedom of a dick-noser and antivaxer does not interfere with the freedom of a citizen keen on protecting themselves and others.]; *Du* **kaukėtieji** *toli nuo urbanizuotų erdvių.* (Šimkus, XI 2020) [Two masked-ones far from urban space.].	also mentioned by Aleksaitė & Urnėžiūtė 2020: 6); **kaukinis, -ė** (substantive) 'someone who wears a medical mask during the coronavirus pandemic' (DN: e.g., *Miestų gatvėse stebint praeivius nesunku įsitikinti, kad jie yra pasidaliję į tris grupes arba kastas:* **kaukinius,** *pimpanosius ir bekaukius.* (Andronovas, I 2021) [As you watch passers-by on the streets of towns and cities, it is easy to see that they are divided into three groups or castes: people with masks, dick-nosers, and people without masks]); *liaudyje dar vadinami* **antsnukiniais** (Andronovas, I 2021) [people also call them muzzle-wearers]; **Kaukas** *– asmuo, dėvintis kaukę, antikaukininkų akimis.* (Klimenka, Klimenka 1, III 2020)[17] [*Kaukas*, a person who wears a mask as seen by anti-maskers.]; **durneliai** *tegu kankinasi su tom kaukėm* (c., XI 2020) [let the idiots torture themselves with those masks]; **paranojikai durniai** *ir* **vergai** (F., XI 2020) [paranoid fools and slaves]; **„Antsnukiuoti ir Gerbiantys save vergai"** (FB, VIII 2020) ['Muzzled slaves with respect for themselves'].
German	**Maskenträger** (Hartmann, VII 2020) [mask-wearers]; **die Träger*Innen** (FB, IV 2020) [wearers]; **mit einer Maske im Gesicht** (FB, IV 2020) [with a mask in the face];	**die Corona-Streber // die Maskenstreber** (Werner, VII 2020) < *Corona* + *Streber* (derogatory, 'greedy for fame'); *Maske* 'mask' + *Streber*[18]; */.../ wenn wir uns das Teil von den Ohren flippern und uns fühlen wie* **Hygiene-Ritter** (Klosa-Kückelhaus 2021: 41, an example from

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also features the Database of Lithuanian Neologisms (DN) and the various bilingual dictionaries (including a Lithuanian–English dictionary).

[17] In addition to a slew of witty occasional neologisms, during the pandemic these authors deliberately would also wittily give new, pandemic-specific names to Lithuanian words and sayings just as they would rephrase the titles or fragments of works of art to reflect the COVID-19 realities. In the Lithuanian language, the word *kaukas* ('sprite') means 'an entity, a bringer of fortune portrayed as a tiny person' (*E. kalba*), yet in the narrative of the COVID-19 pandemic it can be perceived as a homonymous derivative of the root *kauk-* 'mask-' with the masculine ending -*as*.

[18] The definitions of all stand-alone German words in this article are translations of their entries in the *Bünting* dictionary.

	Wir Maskenmenschen (Bischof, VIII 2020) [We, the mask people]; *Inzwischen sind wir selbst zu Schutzmaskenmenschen geworden.* (Bischof, VIII 2020) [In the meantime, we have become the people of protective masks ourselves]; *Masken-Freund* (dw.com, VII 2020) [a friend of masks].	VIII 2020) [/.../ when we feel like the knights of hygiene as we take that thing off our ears]; *die Sklaven* (c., XI 2020) [slaves].

Some of these names were created using a stylistically neutral word *mask-* as the root (also see Chapter 3); others still contain other names for facial protection, such as the dysphemisms *muzzle* or *rag*. Other lexemes in relation to covering one's face for other purposes (such as concealment) are present as well, e.g.: carnival attendees; clowns; knights; as well as names of animals or their body parts, which are dysphemisms (vulgarisms) used to denominate people or parts of their bodies (such as sheep; dog; monkey; snout 'face').

1.1. Names for people who do not always wear the mask correctly

During the pandemic, people were very aware and had little tolerance for each other, which with a number of special occasional names reserve for people who would only wear a mask when someone was looking (overseeing), e.g., German: ***Die Solidaritäts-Totalverweiger.*** */.../ Ein Pärchen Anfang 30 betritt den Laden artig mit Maske, läuft ein paar Meter vom Security-Mann an der Tür weg und dann ziehen sich beide an der Auslage mit dem offenen Gemüse und Obst die Masken runter.* (Werner, VII 2020) [Persons who have abandoned solidarity completely. /…/ A couple of over thirty enter a shop, obediently donning masks; once they are a few steps past the security man stationed at the door, they remove their masks at the open case with vegetables and fruit.]. Another word to that effect that describes people who act like that is this Lithuanian example of wordplay[19]: ***Kaukolakis*** *– itin pavojinga apsimetėlių rūšis, kuri nešioja kaukę tik dėl akių, o ne dėl nosies ir burnos uždengimo.* (Klimenka, Klimenka 5, XI 2020) [***Kaukolakis –*** a highly dangerous type of impostors that only wear a mask when others can see it rather than to cover their nose and mouth.], cf. *vilkolakis* ('werewolf' – a Lithuanian word of a similar

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[19] For more on how the language of the COVID-19 pandemic, especially its early days, was also defined by a high degree of deliberately wit – all kinds of wordplay, witty occasional neologisms (compounds as often as not), see Liparte 2021b: 114–116, Aleksaitė & Urnėžiūtė 2020: 4.

pattern of formation) and a wordplay with the component *akis* '(an) eye' and *dėl akių*, a figure of speech that means '(to do something) fictitiously, as a pretence' (*E. kalba*). No special names for this group of people have been found in the online sources for the Latvian language.

It would appear that all of the subject languages have placed an emphasis on people who remove their mask from the nose when they sneeze or from the mouth, when they talk; however, special occasional names for people who act like that have only been found in the German language: ***Nies-Lüpfer // Masken-Lüpfer.*** */.../ Die sich die Maske zum Niesen vom Gesicht reißen* (Werner, VII 2020) [Those who tear off the mask from their face to sneeze] < *niesen* '(to) sneeze' + *lüpfen* '(to) lift, raise'; *Maske* '(a) mask' + *lüpfen*. Another German example: ***Kinners*** (Werner, VII 2020) < *Kinn* '(the) chin'; presented here is the occasional derivative in its plural form.

1.2. Names for people who would seem to wear the mask correctly

On top of that, the German language has a special compound word to occasionally denominate even people who wear a mask without it touching their face: ***Vorbeiatmer*** (doccheck.com, I 2021) < *vorbei* 'past' + *atmen* '(to) breathe'.

2. Names for people who do not wear the mask correctly or at all

When wearing masks was mandatory, some people would do so in deviation from the official instructions, opting for a way that seemed right and comfortable to them instead, or refusing to wear masks altogether. Even though the exact variant cannot be inferred from the very context (such as, in German: ***die Maskenidioten*** (www.reddit.com, summer 2020, and FB, VIII 2020: people who do not wear masks or people who pull them down below the nose?)), the descriptions of people nonetheless are quite specific as to how they are (not) wearing the mask. Several types of such people were identified during the pandemic.

2.1. Descriptions of people who would not cover their nose

One of the most widespread ways of (not) wearing the mask was to wear one so that it does not cover one's nose. Ever since the outbreak of the pandemic, a picture comparing this method of wearing the mask to wearing one's underwear without it covering the male sex organ (as referenced by Hartmann, too) had been spreading online in different languages. In Vilnius, the capital of Lithuania, a woman's figure was added to this picture, and the picture as such was used as social advertising on the streets of the city (Fig. 2).
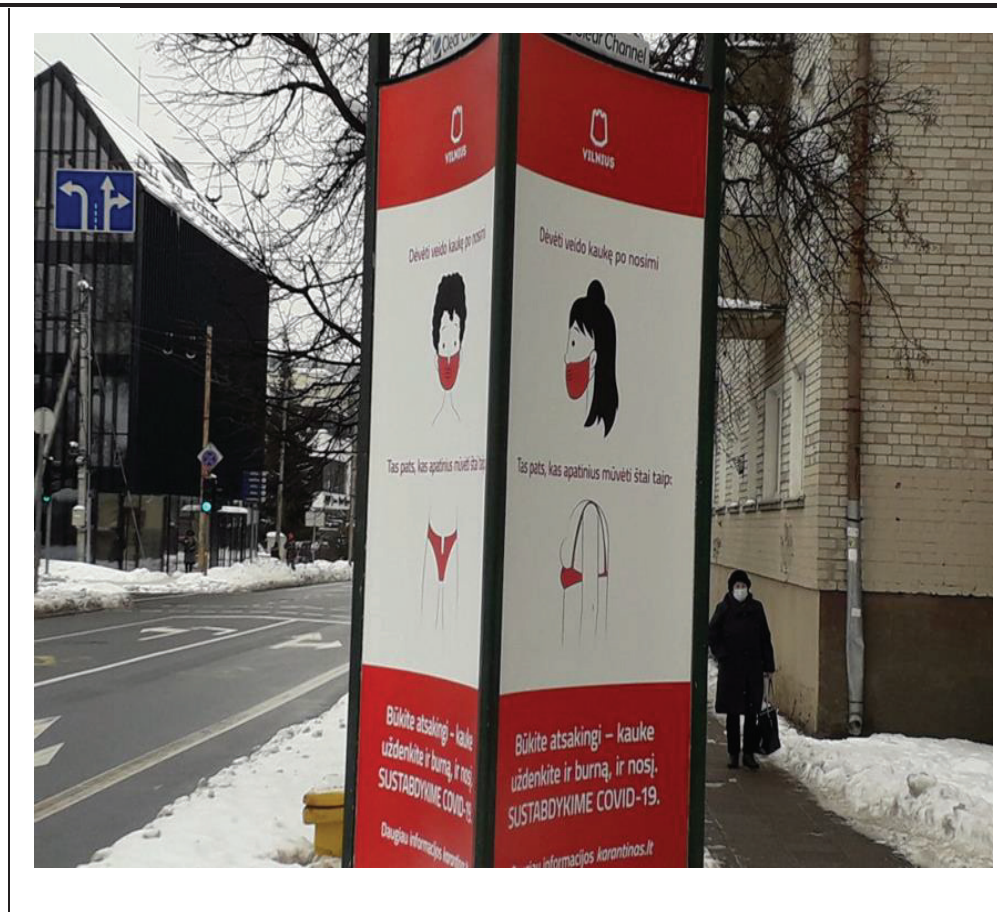
Fig. 2. An ad in the city of Vilnius: 'Wearing the mask under your nose is the same as wearing your underwear like this. Be responsible: use the mask to cover both your mouth and your nose. Let's stop COVID-19 from spreading' (photo by Slaptai.lt, 04/02/2021. Source: https://slaptai.lt/lietuvoje-nustatyta-721-naujas-koronaviruso-infekcijos-atvejis/)

As a result, people who would wear their masks like so, would be given the Lithuanian name of ***pimp(i)anosis // byb(i)anosis*** < *pimpa // pimpalas // bybis* 'male sex organ' + *nosis* 'nose'. It would be now difficult to say, which came first: the names or the ad campaign grounded on the respective images.[20]

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[20] This ad campaign also highlighted the schism in the society. As a case in point, Andrius Tapinas, the popular Lithuanian journalist and writer, even presented a special song about a penis-noser in one of his satire shows on YouTube (15/11/2020), which explains how you should wear the mask. While other people would look at this campaign and quip of comparing the nose and sex organs with scorn and disdain (see Andronovas I 2021).

A similar occasional compound of the semantically comparable nouns: ***Nasenpimmler*** (OWID) [< *Nase* 'nosis' + *Pimmler* (< *Pimmel* 'penis, the male sex organ')[21]] was used to name people who would wear their masks like that in the German language as well.

However, no words with the same meaning and of the same word-formation with vulgarisms have been found online in the Latvian language. The sole exception was the tweet with the Latvian translation *[pimpjdegunis]* of the Lithuanian word *bybianosis* in October 2020, accenting this was but verbatim translation.[22] One could only guess what was the reason behind the absence of such vulgarisms in the Latvian language in the discourse of the COVID-19 pandemic: was it a more reserved national mentality, a higher degree of sophistication of the people, a larger amount of tolerance (or indifference) towards those who would wear their masks that way, less frequent occurrences when of it happening, or was it something else? All in all, the Latvian language has been found to have fewer names for people who would wear their masks in this fashion, but a larger number of descriptive characterisations (phrases or even full sentences), consisting of stylistically neutral lexis, of the method of wearing the mask as such (the mask over the mouth, the nose is bare, not all or the breathing orifices are covered – see the left column for the Latvian language in Table 2). Just a few occasional subordinate word-groups to this effect have been found, and only one compound word that was used by Gatis Šļūka, the famous Latvian caricaturist. By analogy to animal names that contain the component *degun-* 'nose-' in Latvian (*degunlācis* 'coati', *degunradzis* 'rhinoceros'), in October 2021 he coined the compound *deguncilvis* [verbatim: nose-man] (see Fig. 3).

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[21] In the COVID-19 narrative, the nose sticking above the mask in German was called *Nasenpimmel* 'the uncovered nose visible above the mouth and nose protection (worn incorrectly)' (OWID) < *Nase* 'nose' + *Pimmel* 'penis, the male sex organ'.

[22] The author of this article has addressed this group of names on multiple occasions. At a science conference in Latvia in November 2020, I predicted that similar names would pop up in Latvia as well, if the requirement to wear masks persevered. However, at further conferences in January 2022 and in January 2023, I had but to admit that my predictions had fallen short for no such names had appeared online. I can only mention one name: ***pupdegunes*** 'women who do not cover their nose with the mask' [< Latvian: jargon *pupi* '(female) breasts' + *deguns* 'nose'], which my friends coined, quite spontaneous, in November 2020 while we were watching a live stream of a concert, after I had shown them the Vilnius ad and told them the Latvian translation of the name for this kind of people that was written on Twitter.

Fig. 3. A caricature. © Gatis Šļūka. *Deguncilvis*. In Latvia, many people use the protective facemask incorrectly, only to cover the mouth, while the nose stays out in the open. 19/10/2021. (Source: https://www.la.lv/karikaturas/gatis-sluka-deguncilvis)

In the table below (see Table 2), names containing vulgarisms denoting the sex organ have been distinguished from other kinds of lexis that also carry a derogatory or ironic charge.

Table 2. Names for people who do not cover the nose with the mask (by semantic connotation, with a distinction made for names that contain vulgarisms)

Language	Stylistically neutral examples	Names that contain vulgarisms	Other ironic or connotationally negative names
Latvian	*/.../* **kuri maskas valkā**, *taču nepareizi, proti,* ***atstājot atsegtu degunu*** (jauns.lv, X 2020) [/.../ those who wear masks, however incorrectly, i.e.	*[pimpjdegunis]* (Twitter, X 2020) [penis-noser]; *[pupdegunes]* (XI 2020) [pap-noser women].	*neesmu vilcienā un stacijās redzējis nevienu policistu pīķa stundās, kas izķer bezmasku vai* ***degunu cilvēkus*** *(c., XII 2020) [I have never*

	leaving their nose uncovered]; *Ja sabiedriskajā transportā /.../ daļai **ir maska /.../ uz mutes (deguns gan ir pliks)**, tad /.../* (c., XII 2020) [if some people wear masks on their mouth (with the nose bare) /.../ in public transport /.../, then /.../]; *Apmēram katram piektajam vai sestajam* [pircējam veikalā] ***nebija kārtīgi nosegtas visas elpojamās atveres.*** (F., XI 2020) [About one [shopper] in every five or six did not have their breathing orifices covered properly.].		seen a police officer on a train and at stations during rush hours who would go around arresting people without masks or nose-people]; ***deguncilvis*** (G. Šļūka, X 2021, Fig. 3); ***„lieldeguna īpašnieki"*** (F., I 2022.) ['owners of big noses'].
Lithuanian	***iškištanosis, -ė*** (derogatory) 'someone who wears a facemask during the pandemic without it covering their nose' (DN, also see Aleksaitė & Urnėžiūtė 2020: 6; this word was voted Neologism of the Year 2020 in Lithuania).	***pimpianosis, -ė*** (derogatory) 'someone who wears a facemask during the pandemic without it covering their nose' (DN) // ***pimpanosis*** (Tapinas XI 2020; Andronovas, I 2021) [both names means: penis-noser]; *„**bybianosiu**" /.../ apskelbto pasiklydėlio realybėje kvailinimas* (Jakučiūnas, XI	***Pinokis*** *– asmuo, kuriam iš po kaukės kyšo nosis* (Klimenka, Klimenka 5, XI 2020) [Pinocchio, a person who has a nose sticking from beneath the mask][24].

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[24] This is an allusion to the famous lead character in the children's book by Carlo Collodi, the wooden boy with the long nose. The image of this kind of person and their title was used in social advertising in Kaunas, another major city in Lithuania (for more on this, see https://m.kauno.diena.lt/naujienos/kaunas/miesto-pulsas/i-kaukiu-devejima-kaunas-zvelgia-su-humoru-paskleista-reklama-nebuk-pinokis-995313).

		2020) [making fool of a proclaimed 'dick-noser' /.../ lost in reality]; *apie /.../ **bybnosius*** (c., XI 2020) [about /.../ dick-nosers]; */.../ kaip dėl **pyzdasnukiu**? ir **kurvaveidziu**? Ar 15min diskriminuoja pagal lytį?* (c., XI 2020) [/.../ what about pussy-nosers? and bitch-facers? Or is it that /the portal/ 15min.lt discriminates by gender?]; ***byxxxxianosiai*** (c., XI 2020) – with a graphic euphemia[23].	
German	*Nacktnase* 'a person who (contrary to the hygiene requirements during the COVID-19 pandemic) only wears a mask to cover their mouth so that the nose remains uncovered' (OWID) < *nackt* 'naked' + *Nase* 'nose'; *die **'Nase draussen' Menschen*** (juststyle.ch, IV 2021) ['nose-out' people]; ***Nase-frei-Träger*** (doccheck.com, I 2021) [nose-free-wearers]; ***Nasentölpel, die die Maske auf Halbmast tragen**, sprich: nur über dem Mund.* (Hartmann,	*Nasenpimmler* 'a person who (contrary to the hygiene requirements during the COVID-19 pandemic) only wears a mask to cover their mouth so that the nose remains uncovered' (OWID).	***Der Nase-frei-Club hat viele Mitglieder*** (doccheck.com, I 2021) [The free-nose-club has a lot of members]; ***Nasen-Depp // Nasendepp*** (Werner, VII 2020) [a nose moron]; ***Maskentrottel // Maskentrottel mit Nacktnase*** 'who only covers the mouth, leaving the nose /.../ exposed' (Fahringer 2021: 1, 2) < *Maske* 'mask' + *Trottel* 'oaf'.

[23] For more on this, see Kudirka 2012.

VII 2020) [Nasal oafs who only wear the mask at half-mast, i.e. only on their mouth]; *die Halbmast-Träger* (Hartmann, VII 2020) [wearers at half-mast].		

2.2. Descriptions of people who keep the mask on their chin

Another incorrect way to wear the protective facemask is to do so with the mask pulled down to or below the chin, leaving the nose and the mouth uncovered. Descriptions of people who use the mask that way are presented in Table 3, split by semantic connotation.

Table 3. Names for people who do not cover the nose and the mouth with the mask (split by semantic connotation)

Language	Stylistically neutral examples	Ironic or connotationally negative names
Latvian	*/.../ **kuri maskas valkā**, taču nepareizi, proti, /.../, **turot to vienkārši uz zoda**.* (jauns.lv, X 2020) [those who wear the mask but do so incorrectly, /.../ keeping it simply on the chin.]; *Un pārējie, **kam** masku nav vai **tās ir zem zoda**, kā minimums, ir folijcepurīšu meklējumos.* (F., 26.10.2020) [And others who do not have any masks with them or keep the mask under the chin are, to say very least, looking for a tinfoil hat.]; *Pareje iar masku **aisarga** vai **kaklu** vai tikai mutti* (c., XI 2020) [Others use the mask to protect their neck or just the mouth]; */.../ visiem konsultantiem un pardevējiem **maskas nolaistas uz kakla*** (c., X 2020) [/.../ every sales or	**maskas „silda" zodus** (la.lv: J. Perevoščikovs, Head of the Department of Infectious Disease Risk Analysis and Prophylactics at the Latvian Centre for Disease Prophylactics and Control, XII 2020) [masks as 'chin-warmers']; *tie, **kuri** apzināti ignorē masku nēsāšanu – vai **nēsā tās nošļukušas uz saviem nošļukušajiem zodiem*** (c., XI 2020) [those who wilfully ignore the requirement to wear masks or wear the mask down on their drooping chin].

	checkout person has their mask down on the neck].	
Lithuanian	*/.../ dažnai kaukės **dengia** keleivių **barzdą**, o ne nosį ir burną.* (kauno.diena.lt, XI 2020) [/.../masks often cover commuters' chins, rather than noses and mouths.].	***Žandikaukis** – asmuo, dėvintis kaukę po apatiniu žandikauliu.* (Klimenka, Klimenka 5, XI 2020) [***Žandikaukis*** – a person who wears the mask under their lower jaw]; ***nusmauktakaukis, -ė*** (derogatory) 'one that wears the protective facemask pulled way down during the pandemic' (DN); // ***nusmuktkaukiai*** (FB, II 2021), with the same meaning (Plural form).
German	***Kinnträger** (Entweder kommt der MNS als Kinnschutz zum Einsatz oder er wird als Alternative zum Halstuch getragen).* (doccheck.com, I 2021) [Chin-wearers (the mask is used as a chin-guard or worn instead of a scarf)].	

A comparison of the material for different languages has revealed a number of differences in this group.

Apparently, there was a special focus placed on this method of mask-wearing in Latvia. This is evident both in the volume of the examples featuring the phrase *uz zoda* 'on the chin' (with just a few examples presented herein) and in the fact that this way to wear the mask was also highlighted in official communication (such as statements by politicians and key infectologists).

In turn, just three groups of people would usually be distinguished in Lithuania: those who would wear the mask, those who would not, and those who would leave their nose uncovered (as clearly portrayed in L. Andronov's article featuring three illustrations by its author). This is probably why the following example is given in the DN as interchangeable with the lexemes *iškištanosis // pimpianosis* that were referred to in Chapter 2.1:

> ***nusmauktakaukis, -ė*** (derogatory) 'one who walks around with their mask pulled down during the pandemic', e.g.: *Dėkoju tarnyboms, policijos personalui - kurie saugojo kelius, kad nelakstytų **nusmauktakaukiai** iš vieno miesto į kitą tik tam, kad aplankytų tėvus, kurių niekada nelankė.* (delfi.lt, XII 2020) [I want to thank the services and the police for guarding the roads lest those who have their masks pulled down **would travel from one town to the next only to visit their parents, whom they had never visited before**.].

In this article, it has been classified as falling into Chapter 2.2.

Only a few examples have been found in the Lithuanian language that emphasise wearing the mask to cover the chin only. One of them: the occasional wordplay of *žandikaukis* < *žandikaulis* 'jawbone'. In another example from the Lithuanian language featured here, the phrase *dengia barzdą* 'covers the chin' is used to describe the method of wearing the mask rather than the person who wears it.

2.3. Names for people who do not wear facial protection

At the time when wearing protective facemasks (covering the mouth and the nose) was considered a measure to curb the rapid spread of the coronavirus by many countries worldwide, people who would not wear any facial protection would stand out the most and would receive a lot of condemnation from others. As often as not, people who would not cover their nose and mouth would be given names consisting of phrases or occasional words (compounds or derivatives) including the component *mask-* and another component to express absence or denial (such as 'less', 'without', 'non', 'against', 'anti'). The table below (Table 4) attempts to draw a distinction between the examples that constitute a stylistically neutral identification of the absence of a mask and connotationally negative examples that additionally underscore the person's negative stance on the mask.

Table 4. Names for people who would not wear the mask (split by semantic connotation and the person's opposition towards mask-wearing as highlighted by these names)

Language	Stylistically neutral or ironic examples	Connotationally negative examples that highlight the person's wilful opposition towards the requirement to wear a mask
Latvian	*Kareivīgie* **masku nevalkātāji** *ir neganti egoisti* (Nāgels, X 2020) [Belligerent non-mask-wearers are bitter egoists]; /.../ *pasažierus,* **kuri nevalkās mutes un deguna aizsegus** (jauns.lv, X 2020) [/.../ passengers who will not wear mouth and nose protection]; /.../ *tām* **personām, kuras noteiktās publiskās vietās izvēlēsies nelietot mutes un deguna aizsegu** (Arājs, X 2020) [/.../ for those persons who will gather in	*es no mērenas* **masku nīdējas** *tūlīt pārvērtīšos par masku kvēlāko aizstāvi.* (F., XI 2020) [from a moderate mask-hater, I am about to become the most ardent mask advocate]; **tie, kuri apzināti ignorē masku nēsāšanu** (c., XI 2020) [those who wilfully ignore mask-wearing]; **bezatbildīgie bezmasku cilvēki** (Twitter, X 2020) [maskless people without any sense of responsibility];

designated public places to not wear mouth and nose protection];

*/.../ izsēdināt pasažierus, **kuri neievēros normatīvos par epidemioloģiskajiem ierobežojumiem noteiktās prasības*** (jauns.lv, X 2020) [/.../ debark passengers who will not observe the requirements set forth in the regulations relating to epidemiological restrictions];

bezmasknieks (c., X 2020, also see Liparte 2021a: 113) [a maskless-person];

bezmaskinieki (c., XII 2020) // **bezmasķinieki** (c., XII 2020) [maskless-persons];

*/.../ **bezmasku** vai degunu **cilvēkus** (c., XII 2020) [/.../ maskless people or nose-people];

*no **nemaskota pieaugušā** jābēg* (F., XI 2020) [you should run away from an adult who does not wear a mask];

*Tas ka pastà un maximà dzís laukà **nemaskotos**?* (F., XI 2020) [The fact that they will be ushering maskless people out of post offices and Maxima stores?];

*Tirdzniecības zālē kādi 3–4 pircēji **bija bez visiem zināmā atribūta**. (F., XI 2020) [There were 3–4 shoppers on the floor that were not wearing the accessory that everyone knows so well.];

*Aizmirsu pieminēt, ka bez folijcepurisu meklējumiem ie vēl **noklīdušie laikā. Iezīme-nav maskas veikalā**.* (F., X 2020) [I forgot to mention that, in addition to the quest for the tinfoil hat, there are also those who are lost in time. You can recognise them by their not wearing a mask while shopping.].

*Un diezgan pretīgi, ja kāds **principiālais maskas pretinieks** sāk audzināt pārdevēju.* (F., XI 2020) [It is rather disgusting when some principled anti-masker begins to school the sales person.];

masku noliedzēji (c., X 2020) [mask deniers];

pretmasku kustība (E. Levits, then the president of Latvia, la.lv, XII 2020) [the anti-mask movement];

Anti-maskeru tupums (c., X 2020) [the stupidity of Anti-maskers], cf. English *anti-masker*;

*par skolotāju **antimaskisti*** (F., XI 2020) [about the anti-masker teacher];

maskufobi (F., XI 2020) [mask-fears];

maskuhistēriķi, maskidioti (F., XI 2020) [mask-hysterics, mask-idiots];

*Visur maskaas un neredzu nevienu **pret-maskotaaju, kas demonstratiivi masku neliek**.* (F., X 2020, regarding Switzerland) [There are masks everywhere and I can see not one anti-masker who would refuse to wear one ostentatiously];

*/.../ katrs pasažieri **antikovidists, kuri /.../ nelietos tās maskas**?* (c., X 2020) [/.../ every covid-denier passenger who /.../ would not use those masks?];

Anarhists bez maskas (=nickname, c., XI 2020) [Anarchist without a mask];

Anarhistiem vai „varoņiem" ar selfījiem no veikala vai autobusa **bez maskas** (S. Ģirģens, then Latvia's Minister of the Interior, FB, October 2020) [Anarchists

		of 'heroes' with maskless selfies from a shop or a bus]; *lopi, kuri nevelk maskas* (c., XI 2020) [beasts, who do not wear masks].
Lithuanian	*Nevienodai baudžiami* **nekaukėti pažeidėjai** (77.lt, XII 2021) [Unequal punishment for unmasked offenders]; ***bekaukis, -ė*** (adjective) 'someone who does not wear a medical mask during the coronavirus pandemic' (DN: e.g., ***Bekaukių žmonių*** *pustuščiais krepšiais vaizdas išmuša iš vėžių* (delfi.lt, IV 2020) [The sight of maskless people carrying half-empty baskets is upsetting]); ***Bekaukiai*** *(juos dar galima vadinti* ***atviraveidžiais)*** */.../ valdžios akyse jie yra* ***maištininkai,*** ***eretikai,*** ***disidentai*** (Andronovas, I 2021) [The maskless (you can also call them the open-faced) /.../ are the rebels, the heretics, the dissidents in the eyes of the government]; ***Įkvėpėjas*** *–* ***žmogus, nedėvintis kaukės***. (Klimenka, Klimenka 3, V 2020) [Inhaler – a person who does not wear a mask], cf. Lithuanian *įkvėpėjas* 'inspirer' (*E. kalba*), and this is a wordplay: the name of the actor derives from the verb *įkvėpti* in its underlying sense of '(to) breathe in, (to) inhale' (*E. kalba*); ***ponai be namornikų*** (c., VIII 2020) [misters without muzzles], cf. Russian *намордник* 'muzzle'.	***antikaukininkas, -ė*** 'one who ignores protective facemasks during the coronavirus pandemic' (DN; the word *antikaukininkai* is also mentioned by Aleksaitė & Urnėžiūtė 2020: 6).
German	*Wer ohne Gesichtsmaske unterwegs ist, wird als* ***Maskensünder*** *bezeichnet.* (uepo.de, XII 2020) [Someone who steps outside without a facemask is called a *mask sinner*.]; in Switzerland, linguists voted the word	***renitente Maskenverweigerer*** (FB, VI 2020) [those that refuse to wear masks as an act of disobedience]; ***Maskenverweigerer*** 'a person who refuses to wear a facemask (during the

	Maskensünder into the second place among the Top 3 German words in 2020; ***Maskentrottel*** 'a person who will not wear a mouth and nose cover (during the COVID-19 pandemic) in public places despite the official orders' (OWID) < *Maske* 'mask' + *Trottel* 'oaf'; ***Maskenmuffel*** 'a person who will not wear a mouth and nose cover (during the COVID-19 pandemic) in public places despite the official orders' (OWID) < *Maske* + *Muffel* 'grouch, grumbler'.	COVID-19 pandemic) in public places (regardless of official orders)' (OWID) < *Maske* + *Verweigerer* 'someone who will not do something that is expected from them'; ***Mundschutzgegner*** 'a person who refuses to wear a facemask (during the COVID-19 pandemic) in public places (regardless of official orders)' (OWID) < *Mundschutz* 'mouth protection' + *Gegner* 'antagonist'; ***Maskengegner*** (c., XII 2022) [mask antagonist]; ***die besserwisserischen Maskenignoranten*** (doccheck.com, summer 2020) [the mask ignorers who knows better]; ***die Maskenfeinde*** (Köhler, IX 2020, with reference to the German publicist H. Prantl) [mask adversaries].

3. Analysis based on the names of things used in the descriptions of people

In this chapter, the names for people (not) wearing masks are analysed based on the names of specific things[25] that were used to describe such people.

Even though no quantitative analysis has been carried out within the framework of the study, the examples clearly point to a prevalence of the component (root) *mask-*. It is present in many different derivatives, compounds, and subordinate word-groups across all languages covered by the analysis. A negative attitude towards mask-wearing is also reflected by the descriptions of people that include such dysphemistic names of the mask as *muzzle* and *rag*.

The other lexemes that are presented in the names for mask (non-)wearers and are covered in this chapter refer to either parts of the body (face) covered by the mask (such *chin*, *neck*), or parts of the body (face) that are not covered by it (such as *face*, *nose*, as well as *sex organ* as an object of comparison).

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[25] Conditionally, the list of the objects also includes specific parts of the human body (face) that are covered or not covered by the mask (as the objects of this action).

The table below (Table 5) only features isolated words (nouns or adjectives and participles possessing some of the qualities of the noun) and subordinate word-groups containing the subject lexemes (roots), which are underscored. Some of them are complete names for people (non) wearing masks, others, parts distilled from them. This table no longer differentiates the lexemes by language (even though the sequencing still follows the same Latvian–Lithuanian–German pattern) and does not offer the meanings of the examples; however, the groups of examples of comparable formation and meaning are accompanied (in brackets) by the number of the chapter of this article, where the specific examples are described in more detail. The table includes all phonetical and morphological variants of the subject lexemes that have been found.

Table 5. Descriptions of people (not) wearing masks by method of formation and specific lexeme used

Lexeme	Derived words	Composite words	Subordinate word-groups (containing the noun specified in column 1 only)	Prepositional structures
mask	(1): *maskere;* *maskinieki;* *maskainie;* *kaukininkas;* *kaukinis;* *kaukas;* *kaukėtieji;* *maskininkas* (2.3): *bezmasku;* *bezmaskainais;* *bezmasknieks;* *bezmaskinieki;* *bezmaskinieki;* *nemaskotie;* *Anti-maskeri;* *antimaskiste;* *antikaukininkas;* *bekaukiai*	(1): *maskmīļi;* *kaukiaveidis;* *Maskenträger;* *Maskenmenschen;* *Schutzmaskenmenschen* *Masken-Freund;* *Maskenstreber* (1.1): *kaukolakis;* *Masken-Lüpfer* (2): *Maskenidioten;* (2.1): *Maskentrottel;* (2.2): *nusmauktakaukiai;* *nusmuktkaukiai* (2.3.): *maskufobi;* *maskidioti;* *maskuhistēriķi;* *pretmasku;* *pretmaskotājs;* *Maskensünder;* *Maskentrottel;* *Maskenmuffel;* *Maskenverweigerer;* *Maskengegner;* *Maskenignoranten;* *Maskenfeinde*	(1): *masku valkātāji;* *masku nēsātāji;* *masku cilvēki;* *masku cienītājs* (2.3): *masku nevalkātāji;* *masku nīdēja;* *maskas pretinieks;* *masku noliedzēji*	(1): *ar maskām;* *zem maskas;* *su kauke;* *mit einer Maske* (2.3): *bez maskas;* *be kaukės*

muzzle	(1): *antsnukiniai*		(1): *uzpurņu kviecēji;* *cilvēki uzpurņos;* *suņi uzpurņos;* *namordņiku valkātāji*	(2.3): *be namornikų*
rag			(1): *kas tic lupatas gabaliņam;* *lupatiņu praktizē*	(1): *ar lupatu*
face		(2.1): *kurvaveidė ?*[26] (2.3): *atviraveidžiai*		(1): *uz sejas;* *im Gesicht*
nose		(2.1): *deguncilvis;* *„lieldeguna“;* *[pimpjdegunis];* *[pupdegunes];* *pimpanosis;* *pimpianosis;* *bybanosis;* *bybianosis;* *bybnosis;* *iškištanosis;* *Nasendepp;* *Nacktnase;* *Nasenpimmler;* *Nase-frei-Träger;* *Nasentölpel*	(2.1): *degunu cilvēki;* *atsegtu degunu;* *die „Nase draussen“ Menschen*	
chin	(1.1): *Kinners*	(2.2): *Kinnträger*	(2.2): *„silda“ zodus*	(2.2.): *uz zoda;* *zem zoda*
neck			(2.2): *aizsargā kaklu*	(2.2.): *uz kakla*
sex organ		(2.1): *[pimpjdegunis];* *[pupdegunes];* *pimpanosis;* *pimpianosis;* *bybanosis;* *bybianosis;* *bybnosis;* *pyzdasnukė ?* *Nasenpimmler*		

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[26] Question marks next to words mean that the nominative forms have been reconstructed for the purposes of this study, but the author of the study is not certain as to the precise gender of these words.

The names of people (not) wearing masks also include some adjectives and participles with the root *mask-* (e.g. Latvian: (1): *maskotie*, (2.3): *nemaskots*, Lithuanian: (2.3): *bekaukis*). Several isolated examples of occasional derivatives with the root 'muzzl-' have been found as well: Latvian: (1): adjective *uzpurņains*, Lithuanian: (1): participle *antsnukiuoti*.

Conclusions

The semantic analysis and comparison of the empirical material sampled for several languages allows us to draw the following conclusions:

1. The attitude towards people who wore masks, regardless of the way of doing it (correct vs incorrect), or people who would not wear them alone, was similar across different countries. However, methods of wearing the mask incorrectly that were given the largest and the least amount of attention varied from country to country.

2. Different languages follow similar patterns (consisting of the same set of components) to create names describing people based on how they wear (or do not wear) masks: both those that are stylistically neutral and were used in official communication (such as Latvian *masku valkātāji*; Lithuanian *kaukių dėvėtojai*; German *Maskenträger*; all of them meaning 'mask wearers'), and the different derivatives with the root *mask-* in unofficial sources (such as Latvian *maskinieki*; Lithuanian *kaukininkai // kaukiniai*, all of them denoting people wearing masks, vs. Latvian *bezmaskainie*; Lithuanian *bekaukiai*, which stand for people who do not wear masks), and stylistically charged, connotationally negative dysphemisms (for instance, people wearing masks were called slaves in all of the subject languages, and those who would not wear masks or would wear them incorrectly, idiots and fools) as well as dysphemistic occasional compounds (such as Lithuanian *pimpanosis // bybianosis*; German *Nasenpimmler*, all of them sharing the same meaning of 'penis-noser'). Sometimes, the same set of components is used to create an occasional word in one language and a subordinate word group in another (such as Latvian *masku cilvēki* // German *Maskenmenschen*, both verbatim: 'mask people'; Latvian *cilvēki uzpurņos* 'people in muzzles' // Lithuanian *antsnukiniai* 'ditto').

3. Most of the names for people (not) wearing masks contain the lexeme (root) *mask-*. The dysphemistic mask names of *muzzle*, *rag* were used on occasion. Sometimes the names point to the parts of the body (face) covered by the mask (such as *chin*, *neck*) or parts of the body (face) not covered by it (such as *face*, *nose*, also *sex organ* as an object of comparison).

4. Some of the occasional words (such as Lithuanian *kaukinis*; Latvian *deguncilvis*; German *Maskenmuffel*) covered in this article convey people's linguistic creativity through certain widespread models of word formation and confirm that the language of the COVID-19 pandemic, and its early days in particular, is also defined by a certain degree of wit.

5. Speaking about emotional-expressive connotations, connotationally positive lexis has been found to exist in reference to people who wore their masks correctly only, while those who wore the masks incorrectly would be described with neutral or connotationally negative (derogatory) words. In turn, dysphemisms (including vulgarisms) have been found to exist in all of the lexical groups covered by this article. All of that mirrors the mutual (verbal) aggression between the antagonists with a completely opposite disposition.

6. The existence of verbal aggression has further proof in the abundance of examples of negative and ironic connotations across all groups. Another possible reason why this may be so is that while there are many ways to wear the mask incorrectly, the correct way is just one.

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