

# #CovidEaster – Humour in the Digital Sharing of Easter Festive Material During the COVID-19 Pandemic

ŽELJKO PREDOJEVIĆ



DOI: <https://doi.org/10.31577/SN.2023.4.34> © Ústav etnológie a sociálnej antropológie SAV, v. v. i. © 2023, Željko Predojević. This is an open access article licensed under the Creative Commons

*Željko Predojević, independent researcher, Ilirska 74, 31000 Osijek, Croatia; e-mail: zeljkopredojevic@yahoo.com*

During the COVID-19 pandemic, social media usage increased due to limitations on physical gatherings. As a result, social media platforms also became important outlets for celebrating holidays. This study therefore analyses the role of humour in the digital sharing of Easter festive material during the COVID-19 pandemic in the context of digital folklore. The research was conducted on the social media platform Instagram using Easter-related hashtags (#covidEaster) to collect a digital corpus consisting of various visual-verbal internet genres, mainly internet memes and their subgenres. The corpus was divided into six thematic-motif groups and analysed in relation to topical cycle jokes, newslure, political humour, and disaster humour. Two groups present typical Easter symbols incorporated into pandemic-related memes, reflecting a modified typical image of Easter before and after the pandemic. They deliver humorous messages through incongruity resolution using familiar Easter-related imagery and news-inspired pandemic verbal messages. The remaining four groups present Easter in atypical ways, incorporating elements from popular culture, politics, classic jokes, and a parody of Leonardo da Vinci's *Last Supper*. It was concluded that the role of humour in the digital sharing of Easter festive material during the pandemic served various purposes. It provided a means of coping with the situation, acted as a communication tool for conveying important safety messages, and fostered a sense of community and connection among Instagram users.

*Keywords:* digital folklore, Easter celebration, COVID-19 pandemic, internet genres, internet memes, topical jokes

*How to cite:* Predojević, Ž. (2023). #CovidEaster – Humour in Digital Sharing of Easter Festive Material During the COVID-19 Pandemic. Slovenský národopis, 71(4), 365–383. DOI: <https://doi.org/10.31577/SN.2023.4.34>

It is evident that in modern times, the way holidays are celebrated has changed (Cash, 2011; Hebert, Kallio, Odendaal, 2012; Popelková, 2017). Non-religious elements have begun to dominate or become equal in importance as religious ones, and consumer culture elements have become predominant (Barna, 2014; Popelková, 2017: 183; Popelková, 2023: 131). In the contemporary digital era, social media has also influenced the transformation of holiday practices by shaping how greetings are exchanged; virtual messages and festive posts have become commonplace expressions of celebration (see Hu, 2013; Gooch, Kelly, 2016; Nabyty-Grover, Cheung, Thatcher, 2023, ¶ 9). During the COVID-19 pandemic, the number of social media users increased (Nabyty-Grover et al., 2023, ¶ 1) as people turned to these platforms as safe spaces. Consequently, due to limitations on physical gatherings during the pandemic, social platforms became important for celebrating holiday moments and practising religious rituals<sup>1</sup> (Parker, Spennemann, 2021; Kapoor, Belk, Goulding, 2022). The human needs for socialisation and sharing, especially during the holidays, have shifted to the safe space of social media, where users engage in more frequent self-disclosure (see Nabyty-Grover et al., 2023, ¶ 2).

As one of the fundamental characteristics of contemporary internet communication is the practice and spread of humour (Shifman, 2007: 187; Laineste, Voolaid, 2016: 27; Yus, 2021a: 1), and as humour plays an important role in creating solidarity and identity within computer-mediated communication (Baym, 2004; Vásquez, 2019: 30), many users turned to humour as a way to celebrate Easter during the coronavirus pandemic. Viewing humorous holiday posts on social media provided comfort. The interaction among internet users in creating, sharing, and commenting on humorous internet genres influenced the formation of collective identities within internet communities and fostered solidarity among them, helping them collectively cope with the COVID-19 crisis. Humour during the pandemic was also important for mental well-being and served as a defence mechanism for people to cope with the situation (Torres-Marín, Navarro-Carrillo, Eid, Carretero-Dios, 2020).

This research therefore aims to explore the impact of the COVID-19 pandemic on the digital sharing of humorous festive material during the Easter holidays in the context of digital folklore. The analysis will focus on visual-verbal internet genres, specifically internet memes and their subgenres, like image macro memes, posted on the social media platform Instagram during the Easter holidays in the early stage of the COVID-19 pandemic. The study will explore these genres within the broader

---

1 Given that this study focuses on Easter, which was celebrated during the first wave of the pandemic when knowledge about the virus was minimal, the role of faith also had a significant impact (Willot, 2023). Indeed, turning to faith in times of crisis is a historical, cross-national phenomenon (Ganiel, 2021), and practising religious rituals on social platforms provided comfort to many. This digital sharing helped to preserve a sense of normalcy and encouraged a collective experience of celebration. For example, on Good Friday, the Vatican channel streamed Pope Francis' worship and passion ceremony live in St. Peter's Basilica on the YouTube platform, and many churches offered their services through social media platforms (Ganiel, 2021).

context of digital folklore, particularly focusing on topical humour with a specific emphasis on topical (cycle) jokes. Topical jokes tend to arise shortly after a significant event and maintain popularity for a limited period until the subject matter becomes less relevant to the public (Laineste, 2002: 8; Marsh, 2019: 218). Although such jokes were told previously, they have become much more popular since the rise of the internet and mass media (Davies, 2003: 30; Blank, 2013). The latest significant wave of such humour revolves around the COVID-19 pandemic (Dynel, 2021; Predojević, 2021a; Torres-Marín et al., 2022).

It is important to consider that Easter occurred during the first wave of the pandemic and the significant lockdown period when there was limited knowledge about the virus. Therefore, pandemic-related Easter posts on social media often directly or indirectly referenced the safety measures that were heavily covered in the media. Given that these memes frequently emerge as a response to news reported in the media, Russell Frank (2011: 7) refers to this type of internet genre as newslore. Additionally, a smaller number of these memes are related to politicians and their decisions regarding restrictions on Easter celebrations. These memes can be interpreted within the context of political humour (Young, 2018).

## Humorous Internet Genres Studied Within Folklore Genres

With the rise of social media, internet users have become active creators of humour rather than passive consumers of jokes on internet platforms (Weitz, 2016: 2). As a result, various internet genres, specifically adapted to internet or computer-mediated communication, have emerged. This study examines the analysis of various visual-verbal internet genres, mainly focusing on internet memes<sup>2</sup> and their subgenres. Although the differences between the analysed internet genres, such as image macro memes<sup>3</sup> and viral photos<sup>4</sup>, are evident, this study considers the genre differences between them to be insignificant. This is because the analysed visual-verbal internet genres can be viewed as virtual substitutes for traditional humorous folklore genres like

---

2 Memes have become a significant object of study for academic research; media and communication scholars understand them as groups of digital objects collectively created, transformed, and circulated online (Rogers, Giorgi, 2023). Limor Shifman (2013: 11) defines an internet meme as: “(a) a group of digital items sharing common characteristics of content, form, and/or stance; (b) that were created with awareness of each other; and (c) were circulated, imitated, and/or transformed via the Internet by many users.”

3 One very common, rather large meme is the image macro. An image macro is a set of stylistic rules for adding text to images. Some image macros involve adding the same text to various images, and others involve adding different text to a common image (Davison, 2012: 127).

4 Viral photos are an internet genre that often combines photographs with text. However, they are not variations of the same photo, meaning they do not appear in various versions based on the same foundation as internet memes. Instead, viral photos are unique instances that quickly become extremely successful (“viral”) on social media and spread rapidly across the internet (Shifman, 2014: 66–98, Miltner, 2018: 414).

(canned) jokes, forming humorous units of digital culture within the context of topical humour related to the pandemic during Easter.

What qualifies them as digital folk expressions is the fact that they are not attributed to a single author. Like traditional folklore expressions, the creation, dissemination, and reception of these internet genres rely more on the internet community than on individual contributors (Laineste, Voolaid, 2016: 32). These online communities of people with shared interests also play a significant role in shaping their members' identities (Miltner, 2014; Gal, Shifman, Kampf, 2016; Yus, 2018). Users within these communities interact and engage with each other, creating, editing, and sharing internet genres like memes for other users of the community, activities that align with traditional folklore practices (McNeill, 2009: 84; Frank, 2011: 9, de Seta, 2019: 14).

The humorous discourse of internet genres has many structural connections with oral folklore genres. These internet (humorous) genres often establish a certain relationship with oral folklore genres, as their structures and content can be recognised in or behave similarly to oral communication (Baran, 2012; Dynel, 2016; Laineste, Voolaid, 2016; Oring, 2016: 129–146; Predojević, 2021b; Banić Grubišić, 2023). According to Weitz (2016: 1–2), the principles of humour production in computer-mediated communication on social media remain similar, but the technologies we use shape the way we joke. Sometimes, simply using familiar genres in a new context is enough to create humour, as pointed out by Liisi Laineste (2016: 21).

## The Methodology

The research was conducted on the social media platform Instagram using hashtags to collect a digital corpus for analysis. This approach is a common method in scientific research on digital social platforms, mainly used on Twitter (Small, 2011; Tsur, Rappoport, 2021) but also adopted on other platforms like Instagram (Highfield, Leaver, 2015; Ichau, Frissen, d'Haenens, 2019; Kim, Song, Lee, 2020). Hashtags serve as a convenient and effective way to identify and track specific topics or themes on social media platforms, providing a means to categorise and organise content. As Tamara Small (2011: 872) explains, “designated by a ‘hash’ symbol (#), a hashtag is a keyword assigned to information that describes a post and aids in searching. (...) Hashtags organize discussion around specific topics or events.”

Furthermore, by using and following the same hashtag, online communities of users with similar interests are formed. As previously mentioned, these internet communities of like-minded users take on an identity role and can be considered online folk groups. Moreover, these communities can be associated with the concept of bonding (Zappavigna, 2017; Page, 2018: 83–100), which explains the connection between internet users and their sense of belonging to virtual communities on social media without direct communication, i.e., the practices that connect them. Michele Zappavigna (2017: 216) explains bonding through the concept of “ambient affiliation”,

## Proportion of Represented Thematic-Motif Groups

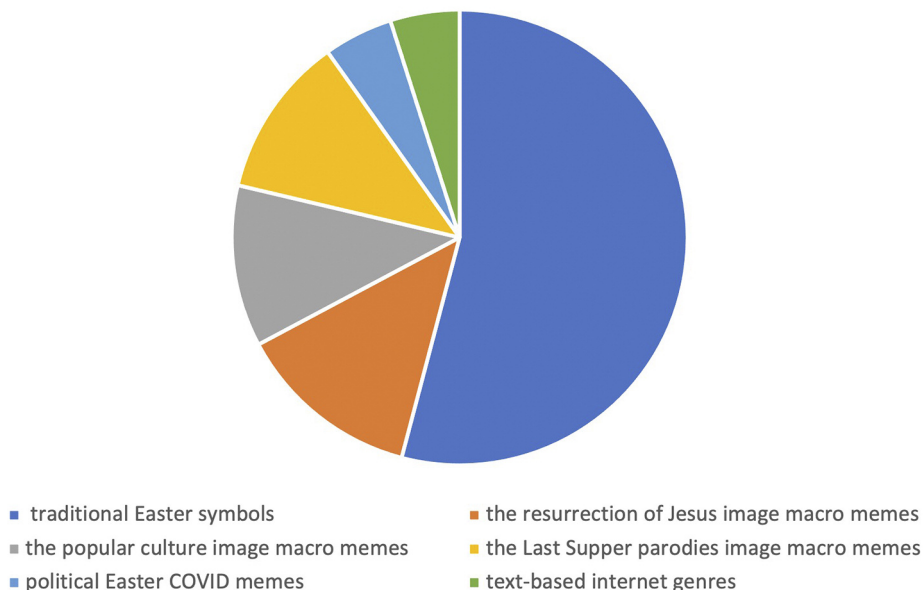


Fig. 1. *Proportion of Represented Thematic-Motif Groups*

which refers to social bonding where individual internet users do not necessarily have to communicate directly to participate in certain forms of “belonging”. Ruth Page (2018: 96–100) explains bonding among users through the “like” option, which also indicates taking positions on a particular topic. Through the concept of bonding, users are seen as a community of like-minded individuals, and the thematic focus of posts under the mentioned hashtags is a humorous discourse, which plays an important role in creating solidarity and identity within computer-mediated communication (Baym, 2004; Vásquez, 2019: 30; Yus, 2021a: 1).

The analysis will focus on humorous content shared on the social networking platform Instagram, specifically under the hashtag #covid Easter or #coronaeaster as well as its variations (#eastercorona; #eastercovid) during April 2020, specifically during the Easter holidays. It is important to note that under the same hashtags, there are a multitude of photographs representing a normal way of celebrating Easter, featuring decorated holiday tables and other typical non-pandemic Easter motifs. This suggests that many people have chosen to celebrate the holiday in the usual manner despite the pandemic. These posts are not included in the further analysis, as the research specifically targets internet visual-verbal genres related to the pandemic.

In total, the research includes 61 posts that met the criteria to be considered internet visual-verbal genres. These analysed examples can be categorised into six thematic-motif groups related to the portrayal of the Easter holidays during the

pandemic. They depict the transformation of holiday motifs in the spirit of the pandemic, encompassing: 1) traditional Easter symbols (eggs, rabbits and Easter baskets) with pandemic-related motifs (33); 2) the resurrection of Jesus image macro memes (8); 3) the popular culture image macro memes (7); 4) the *Last Supper* parodies image macro memes (7); 5) political Easter COVID memes (3) and 6) text-based internet genres (3).

## Thematic and Motif Analysis of Internet Visual-Verbal Genres Focusing on the Humorous Discourse of the Easter Holiday During the Coronavirus Pandemic

Traditional Easter symbols, such as eggs, rabbits, and baskets, have been creatively incorporated into pandemic-related memes to add a humorous or satirical twist to the current situation. This thematic group represents the majority, comprising 54% of the collected corpus. Examples can be observed in which Easter symbols such as rabbits or eggs with masks are featured alongside Easter greetings, reminding people to practice mask-wearing and follow safety protocols. Easter baskets have been humorously presented with additional items such as hand sanitizers, face masks, and toilet paper rolls. However, many of these memes also incorporated safety messages that were prevalent in the media<sup>5</sup>, such as “Stay home, that’s how we cope” or “Happy Easter (from 6 feet away)”. Users play with words, using puns and wordplay to create humorous effects. For instance, one message states that people with “pre-“egg”sisting conditions” should be particularly cautious, alluding to Easter eggs and vulnerable groups of people who need to take extra precautions because of pre-existing conditions like diabetes or other chronic diseases. There are also examples of vulgar messages that allude to individuals not following safety measures (“Happy Easter. Stay the Fuck Home.”). During the pandemic, there was an increase in social shaming of people on social networks who did not follow precautionary measures, especially during the holiday season (Nabity-Grover et al., 2023, ¶ 2). One of the motifs in this group of examples is toilet paper, which is shown as part of Easter baskets or as Easter eggs, alluding to news in the media about the lack of toilet paper due to panic buying.<sup>6</sup> Additionally, messages of support and encouragement can be found, where users uplift and cheer each other on with messages such as “Make the best of it!” These memes playfully combine the traditional Easter symbols with the pandemic context, emphasising the importance of staying safe. It is interesting to note that internet

5 See Iftikhar, N. *Coronavirus (COVID-19) prevention*. Healthline.

<https://www.healthline.com/health/coronavirus-prevention> (accessed April 8, 2020).

6 See WP Company. *Flushing out the true cause of the global toilet paper shortage amid coronavirus pandemic*. The Washington Post. [https://www.washingtonpost.com/national/coronavirus-toilet-paper-shortage-panic/2020/04/07/1fd30e92-75b5-11ea-87da-77a8136c1a6d\\_story.html](https://www.washingtonpost.com/national/coronavirus-toilet-paper-shortage-panic/2020/04/07/1fd30e92-75b5-11ea-87da-77a8136c1a6d_story.html) (accessed April 8, 2020).

memes in various languages appear under the English hashtag, which indicates the global nature of internet meme culture.

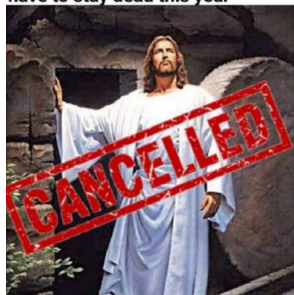


The Resurrection of Jesus image macro memes form the second most numerous thematic group, but it is important to note that it is far less represented compared to the first one, comprising 13% of the examples. These memes incorporate depictions of the resurrection of Jesus, such as the empty tomb or the ascension, and add humorous captions related to lockdown or quarantine: “Lockdowns historically haven’t worked around Easter”; “Due to COVID-19, Jesus will stay in his tomb this year.” The memes humorously depict photoshopped police officers preventing Jesus from leaving the tomb, alluding to current pandemic restrictions. Also, they present typical pandemic-related situations that have emerged, such as the obligation to wear masks. In one meme, a post-resurrection Jesus states, “So when I came back, everyone was wearing masks.” Other memes reference social distancing, maintaining safe distances, and similar measures in memes with the following text: “That’s far enough Jesus, we’re on lockdown” or “I’m off to see the 12 Apostoles. ‘No, you’re fucking not.” Similar memes have already been studied within religious responses to social distancing (Campbell, Sheldon, 2021). One meme humorously, yet also advisably, warns about the deadly risk of infection: “Christ has risen! But you won’t if you die from COVID-19.” Although the textual messages on these memes are short, there is a noticeable influence of the typical journalistic discourse used in media reporting on canceled events<sup>7</sup> in phrases like “Due to COVID-19, Jesus will stay in his tomb

7 See Cookies. Gasworks. <https://www.gasworks.org.uk/exhibitions/exhibition-cancelled-due-to-covid-19-outbreak-2020-04-09/> (accessed April 1, 2020); Glasgow’s “Trnsmt” Festival cancelled due to covid-19 pandemic. DGWGO. <https://www.dgwgo.com/music-festivals-news/glasgows-trnsmt-festival-cancelled-due-to-covid-19-pandemic/> (accessed April 25, 2020).

this year” or “Due to coronavirus Jesus is gonna have to stay dead this year”, indicating that the language of media influences the textual messages in memes (Sámelová, Stanková, 2018).

Due to coronavirus Jesus is gonna have to stay dead this year



Due to Covid-19, Jesus will stay inside his tomb this year

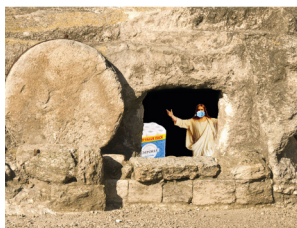


Fig. 3 Examples of Memes, Group 2 – Resurrection of Jesus image macro memes

The popular culture image macro memes include memes that may not visually relate to Easter motifs but have been created based on well-known meme templates adapted to the context of the pandemic and Easter holidays. This group is the third most represented group with 11% of examples, along with the *Last Supper* parodies, and its main theme revolves around Easter holidays in the context of the pandemic using examples from popular culture. This type of humour within popular culture is a common motif in disaster jokes (Oring, 1987: 284). These memes indicate the adaptability of the meme format to any topic, relying solely on human creativity and ingenuity for their success. For instance, the *Legally Blonde* meme illustrates the differences between a pandemic Easter and the one in 2019, while others like the Guess I’ll die meme<sup>8</sup>, *Fleabag* meme, standing cat meme<sup>9</sup>, and *The Grinch* poster parodies<sup>10</sup> use humour to comment on the unique circumstances of the pandemic and Easter.

The *Last Supper* parodies image macro memes form the third most represented group with 11% of examples, along with the previous group. The *Last Supper* parodies are photoshopped or redrawn images that play off Leonardo da Vinci’s painting depicting the last supper of Jesus and his twelve disciples.<sup>11</sup> These memes combine the solemnity of the original artwork with pandemic-related themes and references to create humorous commentary. One common theme in these memes was the incorporation of social distancing measures. The original painting depicts Jesus and his apostles gathered closely

8 See Qnomei. *Guess I’ll die.: Guess I’ll die.* Know Your Meme.

<https://knowyourmeme.com/photos/1231999-guess-ill-die>. (accessed February 22, 2018).

9 See CuntLicker. *Da F--- Dey doing ova der: Standing cat.* Know Your Meme.

<https://knowyourmeme.com/photos/1856682-standing-cat>. (accessed May 31, 2023).

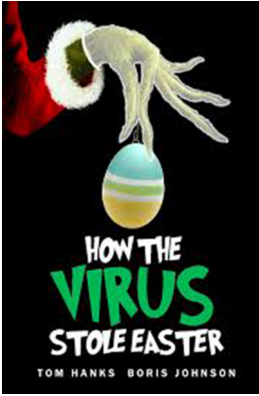
10 Matt. *The Grinch poster parodies.* Know Your Meme.

<https://knowyourmeme.com/memes/the-grinch-poster-parodies> (accessed October 23, 2018).

11 See Mandrac. *The last supper parodies.* Know Your Meme.

<https://knowyourmeme.com/memes/the-last-supper-parodies>. (accessed March 14, 2012).





Easter 2019.

Easter 2020.



Jesus waking up on Easter just to see the world in shambles:



Fig. 4 Examples of Memes, Group 3 – The popular culture image macro memes

together at the table, but the parodies would often modify the scene by placing the characters at a distance from one another, emphasising the need for social distancing during the pandemic. Given the surge in online communication during the pandemic, many *Last Supper* parody memes reimaged the scene as a virtual gathering via platforms like Zoom. In one example, a phrase spoken when a person crosses themselves, “In the name of the Father, Son, and Holy Spirit” is paraphrased into “Father, Zoom, and Holy Spirit”. Characters would be depicted in separate video call windows, often with humorous additions such as technical difficulties: “OK, OK. Hello everyone. Judas you on?”, or Jesus sitting alone at the table with a notebook in front of him, indicating the current situation of social distancing, staying at home, and using video calls to connect with friends and family during Easter celebrations. Also, this image macro meme comes in different languages like those mentioned before.



This year, out of an abundance of caution, Jesus will not be attending Easter Sunday church services in person as He usually does.



Instead, He will be sheltering in place and watching them being streamed online.

I don't care who your dad is, this is an illegal gathering



Fig. 5 Examples of Memes, Group 4 – The Last Supper Parodies

Political Easter COVID memes combine political themes with the context of the COVID-19 pandemic and Easter celebrations. They feature political figures who are associated with decision-making related to the pandemic. Although this group of memes is the least represented with only 5% of examples, alongside text-based internet genres, it is not unimportant for the complete interpretation of Easter holidays in the spirit of the COVID-19 pandemic. There are only three memes like this, one portraying Doug Ford, the premier of Ontario, Canada, and two of them portraying Donald Trump, the president of the USA in the time of the pandemic. One of the memes refers to the controversy between Donald Trump and Dr Anthony Fauci about the measures that should have been observed at the beginning of the COVID-19 pandemic. Donald Trump hoped to jumpstart the American economy by Easter by slowly reducing the measures,<sup>12</sup> to which Dr Fauci replied that he cannot make a timeline; rather, the timeline should be determined according to the behavior and spread of the virus.<sup>13</sup> Another meme portraying the American president shows him as infected with the coronavirus. Users of this meme allude to disagreeing with his political decisions. The meme portraying the Canadian prime minister as a chocolate rabbit refers to his decision that despite the pandemic, all children should receive a chocolate rabbit,<sup>14</sup> which caused a lot of public reaction due to fear of spreading the infection. The memes use their images or quotes as a basis for humour or critique regarding news reports about political decisions during the pandemic. Therefore, they can be analysed within the context of political humour, where satire plays an important role (Young, 2018). Political actors are inherently subjected to satirical depictions within humorous internet genres (Chagas, Freire, Rios, Magalhães, 2020). Statements made by Donald Trump during the pandemic served as motivation for the creation of humorous memes, extending beyond the borders of the United States. His remarks and actions related to the pandemic often garnered attention and became subjects of satire and parody in internet meme culture globally (Predojević, 2021a: 8).

Text-based internet genres form the least represented group with only 5% of examples, alongside political memes. Within this category, three instances of text-based visual-verbal artefacts of digital culture exist. They cannot be classified as internet memes because for a piece of content to become memetic, users need to modify it; if a piece of content is passed along intact and unaltered, it is viral, not

---

12 See Lopez, G. *Why Trump's goal to end social distancing by Easter is so dangerous*. Vox. <https://www.vox.com/policy-and-politics/2020/3/24/21193165/coronavirus-trump-press-briefing-social-distancing-experts>. (accessed March 24, 2020).

13 See LeBlanc, P. *Fauci: "You don't make the timeline, the virus makes the timeline" on relaxing public health measures* | CNN politics. CNN. <https://edition.cnn.com/2020/03/25/politics/anthony-fauci-coronavirus-timeline-cnn-tv/index.html>. (accessed March 26, 2020).

14 See Patton, J. *Premier Doug Ford declares Easter Bunny "essential service" amid COVID-19 outbreak*. Global News. <https://globalnews.ca/news/6789878/coronavirus-easter-bunny-essential-service-ontario/>. (accessed April 8, 2020).

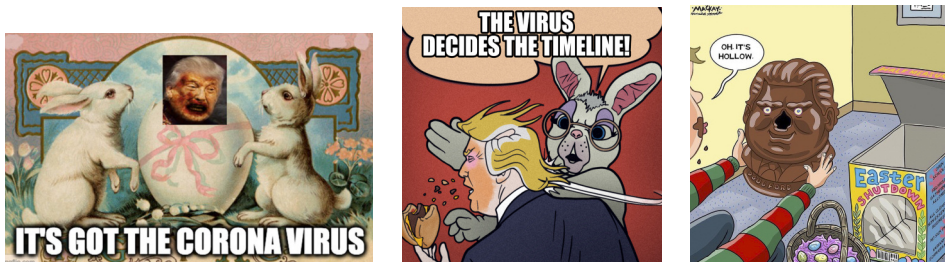


Fig. 6 Examples of Memes, Group 5 – Political memes

memetic (Miltner, 2018: 414). These examples are classic oral jokes written as statuses on social media, which are then screenshotted and posted on Instagram as photos. One example within this category humorously points out the changes in the way Easter was celebrated before the pandemic, particularly referring to celebrating the Easter holidays through travelling, as previously indicated by scholars studying transformations in holiday celebrations (Popelková, 2017: 183). The viral post humorously suggests “travelling” to the living room or bedroom due to movement restrictions, playfully acknowledging the impossibility of travelling to typical holiday destinations. Another example deviates from the Easter holidays directly, but the user cleverly uses the #eastercovid hashtag to emphasise the irony of pandemic-related holiday situations.



Fig. 7 Examples of Memes, Group 6 – Text-based internet genres

## Analysis of Humorous Discourse and Easter Portrayal in Internet Genres

Through thematic and motivational analysis of selected examples, it is evident that humorous discourse emerged as a reaction of internet users to the newly arising situations during the Easter celebrations amid the pandemic. Many examples are responses to news in the media (see examples from groups 1 and 5), which is inherent to topical jokes (Frank, 2011). Internet genres that emerged in response to media news also indicate issues encountered during attempts to contain the initial wave of

the pandemic when knowledge about the virus-induced disease was minimal. As Easter holidays traditionally entail gatherings with family, internet memes emphasised the importance of adhering to precautionary measures. Since this thematic cycle of humour is conditioned by the pandemic, a natural disaster, and the way it is portrayed in the media, it can also be analysed in the context of disaster humour (Oring, 1987; Davies, 2003; Predojević, 2021a). According to some scholars, disaster humour serves as a form of collective mental hygiene and a defence mechanism (Blank, 2013: 23; Dundes, 1987), while others believe that such humour arises purely for entertainment purposes (Davies, 2003: 33). Satirical depictions criticise statements made by political leaders, clearly pointing out their controversial nature and expressing the dissatisfaction of internet users with these decisions (see examples from group 5). Humour plays a significant role in the formation of group solidarity and identity in computer-mediated communication (Baym, 2004; Vásquez, 2019: 30). Therefore, it can be concluded that a humorous depiction of Easter holidays during the coronavirus pandemic brings internet users closer together, especially those who use the same hashtag. Humour during the pandemic is crucial for mental well-being and serves as a coping mechanism through which people confront the situation. However, it is essential to be mindful of negative reactions to such humour; it may offend religious individuals, given that it parodies one of the most important Christian holidays. Previous studies on religious memes have already highlighted the importance of understanding the context in their analysis. Analysing and interpreting humour, especially in the context of religious themes, requires a thoughtful and nuanced understanding of the underlying social, cultural, and historical factors to ensure a comprehensive perspective on its implications (Bellar et al., 2013).

In studies analysing humour in visual-verbal digital folklore expressions, it is noted that the humorous effect arises from a specific type of incongruity resolution (Oring, 2016: 16–33, Marković, 2019: 218–221) where the humorous clash occurs (Kuipers, 2002; 2005), there are contradictions or incompatibility of elements (Baran, 2012), or the incongruity resolution is achieved through different combinations of visual and verbal elements (Dyner, 2016; Yus, 2021b). Indeed, this can be observed in examples of pandemic Easter memes, where traditional Easter symbols or religious motifs of resurrection are combined with seemingly unrelated pandemic themes, resulting in a humorous clash. The ways of creating a humorous effect in the case of visual-verbal humorous internet genres are associated with both the visual and verbal elements of the examples. In most cases, the photographic background provides the context, while the verbal message delivers the incongruent punchline (see examples of group 2 memes).

In most analysed examples, allusion is used to achieve a humorous situation. For instance, in the case of memes from the second and fourth groups, there is a visual allusion to Jesus' resurrection or Leonardo da Vinci's *Last Supper*, combined with text contributing to the creation of a humorous clash. In the examples from the popular culture group, image macro memes use a well-known visual template that does not represent Easter symbols, while the verbal part alludes to it. Irony is also a common

stylistic figure, where the humorous effect is achieved through the incongruity of verbal messages and visual templates, i.e., the verbal message conflicts what is uttered with what is (antithetically) meant (Dynel, 2018: 91). One example is portraying toilet paper as Easter eggs (see the last example in the first group). Such an ironic approach to humorous discourse is common in computer-mediated communication (Alamán, Rueda, 2016). The verbal part of the message is usually directly related to the Easter conditions during the pandemic, but there are also examples where the humorous situation is achieved through intertextuality (Laineste, Voolaid, 2018), where the incongruity resolution occurs by fitting a certain well-known text into the newly created situation, i.e., it is recontextualised. In an already mentioned example, a phrase spoken when a person crosses themselves, “In the name of the Father, Son, and Holy Spirit”, the word “Son” is replaced with the word “Zoom”, a digital platform for video calls that was most used during the pandemic. Besides intertextuality, paraphrasing movie titles (*How the Grinch Stole Christmas* to *How the Virus Stole Easter*), or visual interventions, like photoshopping the image of the US president into photographic templates, are also observed. In these examples, elements from tradition, art history, and well-known movie titles are evoked, but they are applied to entirely unexpected experiences, leading to a short circuit and thus a humorous effect (see also Predojević, 2021b).

Although the analysed corpus comes from various countries, there are only three examples not in the English language. This can be explained by the fact that English is the *lingua franca* of social media (Laineste, Voolaid, 2018: 27; Szerszunowicz, 2018: 4). Even when the examples are not in English, they are found under an English-language hashtag. This further emphasises the fact that internet memes are a global phenomenon, and hashtags are a popular way of tagging posts among users as well as an efficient way of searching for digital content on social media platforms. Additionally, it should be emphasised that in the analysed material, there is a significant influence of (American) popular culture. This can be explained by the fact that such popular culture is a common motif in disaster humor (Oring, 1987: 284).

Regarding the ways of portraying Easter holidays on social media platforms before, during, and after the pandemic, it is observed that the first and second analysed groups of memes are most similar to the typical representations of Easter on social media, which can be seen using the hashtag #easter. Specifically, these are the most common Easter symbols – Easter eggs, bunnies, Easter baskets, and the resurrection of Jesus Christ. However, during the pandemic Easter, these representations differ by incorporating typical pandemic motifs such as bunnies and eggs wearing masks, Easter baskets with pandemic supplies, and depictions of Jesus’ tomb with pandemic-inspired captions, etc. Nevertheless, they still convey a typical but modified Easter image in the spirit of the COVID-19 pandemic. The four other analysed groups show more significant deviations from the typical Easter image on social media before/after the pandemic. While Leonardo da Vinci’s *Last Supper* is associated with the final days of Jesus Christ, it was not frequently used in Easter portrayal on digital platforms until the pandemic, when it was modified in various ways to fit the

pandemic context. During the pre-pandemic period, political memes were not a typical representation of the Easter season, as politics did not have a significant impact on the organisation of the Easter holidays. However, during the pandemic, politicians emphasised the ban on gatherings, and interestingly, in the early stage of the pandemic analysed in this study, political decisions allowing gatherings during the holiday period were criticised by internet users. Consistent with the most common way of presenting disaster topical jokes, one of the frequent ways of representing Easter during the pandemic was through popular culture (Oring, 1987: 284). Various popular meme templates were creatively used to illustrate the differences in celebrating Easter on social media platforms during the pandemic. In text-based genres, a commentary on the changes in the way Easter is celebrated in the modern era can be noticed, where religious practices have been replaced by new ways of observing the Easter holidays, such as travelling and other consumerist practices of society. From these examples, it can be concluded that a humorous portrayal of a pandemic Easter does not differ much from a humorous portrayal of a pandemic in general, where internet memes and other online genres mainly used humorous situations to warn about adhering to measures and were inspired by news from the media but also had a role in bringing internet users together, creating solidarity among them and helping them collectively overcome the coronavirus crisis (Dyrel, 2021; Predojević, 2021b; Torres-Marín et al., 2022).

## Conclusion

The study is focused on the role of humour in the digital sharing of Easter festive material during the COVID-19 pandemic in the context of digital folklore. Visual-verbal humorous internet genres were analysed under specific Easter pandemic hashtags. These genres were examined as digital folklore and in relation to classic jokes. They were observed in the context of topical humour as they were relevant during the time when the coronavirus topic was current; in the context of newslore, as they humorously comment on and criticise the news that appeared in the media; in the context of political humour, as some of them satirically portray decisions made by politicians; and finally in the context of disaster humour, as they humorously depict problems caused by the coronavirus pandemic.

The study identified six thematic-motif groups, with the most numerous portraying typical Easter symbols with pandemic themes (54%), such as an Easter bunny wearing a protective mask. The second largest group consisted of memes depicting the resurrection of Jesus Christ (13%), also with pandemic-related messages about the importance of staying at home. The purpose of memes in these two groups was mainly to remind users to follow the pandemic measures aimed at preventing the spread of the virus. It was concluded that these two groups closely resemble the typical portrayal of Easter on social media before and after the pandemic, as they show a typical Easter image adapted to the pandemic time. The other four groups

deviate more from the typical Easter image on social media. These groups include those oriented towards popular culture (11%), parodies of Leonardo da Vinci's *Last Supper* (11%), memes expressing dissatisfaction with political decisions during the Easter lockdown (5%), and screenshots of pandemic-related Easter jokes (5%). Except for the examples of parodies of Leonardo da Vinci's *Last Supper*, which also serve as reminders to follow precautionary measures, the other mentioned examples portray atypical Easter images on social media. They either parody the extraordinary situation using popular culture references or provide political commentary, which does not align with typical Easter portrayals on social media before or after the pandemic.

As inherent in visual-verbal humorous expressions, the humorous effect in these examples is most often achieved through incongruity resolution, where the photographic background primarily provides the context and the verbal message delivers an incongruent punchline. Stylistic devices also contribute to the humorous effect, with allusion being the most common in these visual-verbal genres, along with the presence of irony and paraphrasing.

It can be concluded that a humorous presentation of a pandemic Easter does not differ much from a humorous presentation of the COVID-19 pandemic in general. The lockdown resulted in increased social media usage, and as one of the fundamental characteristics of contemporary internet communication is the practice and spread of humour, internet users started to create and share humorous internet genres. They were mainly used to deliver humorous messages with warnings to take precautionary measures to prevent the spread of the virus and were inspired by news from the media but also provided support and encouragement to other users and fostered a sense of community and connection, offering a means of coping with the situation. However, they do show a difference in the representation of Easter on social media during the pandemic within the context of politics, popular culture, classic jokes, and parodies of Leonardo da Vinci's *Last Supper*, which were not as common before it.

## REFERENCES

- Alamán, A. P., Rueda, A. M. (2016). Humor and advertising in Twitter: An approach from the General Theory of Verbal Humor and Metapragmatics. In: L. Ruiz-Gurillo (Ed.), *Metapragmatics of humor* (pp. 35–56). Amsterdam/Philadelphia: John Benjamins.
- Banić Grubišić, A. (2023). *Internet mimovi između folklor a i popularne kulture*. Beograd: Univerzitet u Beogradu – Filozofski fakultet, Odeljenje za etnologiju i antropologiju.
- Baran, A. (2012). Visual humour on the Internet. In: L. Laineste, D. Brzozowska, W. Chłopicki (Eds.), *Estonia and Poland: Creativity and Tradition in Cultural Communication* (pp. 171–186). Tartu: ELM Scholarly Press.
- Barna, G. (2014). *Saints, Feasts, Pilgrimages, Confraternities. Selected Papers / Heilige, Feste, Wallfahrten, Bruderschaften. Ausgewählte Schriften*. Szeged: Department of Ethnology and Cultural Anthropology.

- Baym, N. K. (2004). Izvedbe humora u računalno posredovanoj komunikaciji. In: I. Pleše, R. Senjković (Eds.), *Etnografije interneta* (pp. 161–193). Zagreb: Institut za etnologiju i folkloristiku.
- Bellar, W., Campbell, H. A., Cho, K. J., Terry, A., Tsuria, R., Yadlin-Segal, A., Ziemer, J. (2013). Reading Religion in Internet Memes. *Journal of Religion, Media and Digital Culture*, 2(2), 1–39. <https://doi.org/10.1163/21659214-90000031>
- Blank, T. J. (2013). *The last laugh: Folk humor, celebrity culture, and mass-mediated disasters in the digital age*. Madison: The University of Wisconsin Press.
- Campbell, H. A., Sheldon, Z. (2021). Religious Responses to Social Distancing Revealed Through Memes during the COVID-19 Pandemic. *Religions*, 12(9), 787. <https://doi.org/10.3390/rel12090787>
- Cash, J. R. (2011). Capitalism, Nationalism, and Religious Revival: Transformations of the Ritual Cycle in Postsocialist Moldova. *Anthropology of East Europe Review*, 29(2), 181–203. Retrieved from <https://scholarworks.iu.edu/journals/index.php/aeer/article/view/1283>
- Chagas, V., Freire, F., Rios, D., Magalhães, D. (2019). Political memes and the politics of memes: A methodological proposal for content analysis of online political memes. *First Monday* 24(2–4). <https://doi.org/10.5210/fm.v24i2.7264>
- Davies, C. (2003). Jokes that follow mass-mediated disasters in a global electronic age. In: P. Narváez (Ed.), *Ofcorpse: Death and humor in folklore and popular culture* (pp. 35–82). Logan: University Press of Colorado.
- Davison, P. (2012). The language of internet memes. In: M. Mandiberg (Ed.) *The social media reader* (pp. 120–134). New York: NYU Press.
- de Seta, G. (2019). Digital Folklore. In: J. Hunsinger, M. M. Allen, L. Klastrup (Eds.), *Second International Handbook of Internet Research* (pp. 1–17). Dordrecht: Springer.
- Dundes, A. (1987). At Ease, Disease—AIDS Jokes as Sick Humor. *American Behavioral Scientist*, 30(3), 72–81. <https://doi.org/10.1177/000276487030003006>
- Dynel, M. (2016). “I Has Seen Image Macros!” Advice Animals Memes as Visual-Verbal Jokes. *International Journal of Communication*, 10(29), 660–688.
- Dynel, M. (2018). *Irony, Deception and Humour: Seeking the Truth about Overt and Covert Untruthfulness*. Walter de Gruyter GmbH & Co KG.
- Dynel, M. (2021). COVID-19 memes going viral: On the multiple multimodal voices behind face masks. *Discourse & Society*, 32(2), 175–195. <https://doi.org/10.1177/0957926520970385>
- Frank, R. (2011). *Newslore: Contemporary folklore on the Internet*. Jackson: University of Mississippi.
- Gal, N., Shifman, L., Kampf, Z. (2016). “It gets better”: Internet memes and the construction of collective identity. *New media & society*, 18(8), 1698–1714. <https://doi.org/10.1177/1461444814568784>
- Ganiel, G. (2021). Online Opportunities in Secularizing Societies? Clergy and the COVID-19 Pandemic in Ireland. *Religions*, 12(6), 437. <https://doi.org/10.3390/rel12060437>
- Gooch, D., Kelly, R. (2016, May). Season’s Greetings: An Analysis of Christmas Card Use. In: *Proceedings of the 2016 CHI Conference Extended Abstracts on Human Factors in Computing Systems* (pp. 2105–2111). <https://doi.org/10.1145/2851581.2892341>
- Hebert, D., Kallio, A. A., Odendaal, A. (2012). Not So Silent night: Tradition, Transformation and Cultural Understandings of Christmas Music Events in Helsinki, Finland. *Ethnomusicology forum*, 21(3), 402–423. <https://doi.org/10.1080/17411912.2012.721525>
- Highfield, T., Leaver, T. (2015). A methodology for mapping Instagram hashtags. *First Monday*, 20(1), 1–11. <https://doi.org/10.5210/fm.v20i1.5563>



- Hu, W. (2013). Real-time Twitter Sentiment toward Thanksgiving and Christmas Holidays. *Social Networking*, 2, 77–86. <https://doi.org/10.4236/sn.2013.22009>
- Ichau, E., Frissen, T., d’Haenens, L. (2019). From #selfie to #edgy. Hashtag networks and images associated with the hashtag #jews on Instagram. *Telematics and Informatics*, 44, 101275. <https://doi.org/10.1016/j.tele.2019.101275>
- Kapoor, V., Belk, R., Goulding, C. (2022). Ritual Revision During a Crisis: The Case of Indian Religious Rituals During the COVID-19 Pandemic. *Journal of Public Policy & Marketing*, 41(3), 277–297. <https://doi.org/10.1177/07439156221081485>
- Kim, Y., Song, D., Lee, Y. J. (2020). #Antivaccination on Instagram: A computational analysis of hashtag activism through photos and public responses. *International Journal of Environmental Research and Public Health*, 17(20), 7550. <https://doi.org/10.3390/ijerph17207550>
- Kuipers, G. (2002). Media culture and Internet disaster jokes: Bin Laden and the attack on the World Trade Center. *European Journal of Cultural Studies*, 5(4), 450–470. <https://doi.org/10.1177/1364942005004296>
- Kuipers, G. (2005). “Where Was King Kong When We Needed Him?” Public Discourse, Digital Disaster Jokes, and the Functions of Laughter after 9/11. *The Journal of American Culture*, 1(28), 70–84. <https://doi.org/10.1111/j.1542-734X.2005.00155.x>
- Laineste, L. (2002). Take it With a Grain of Salt: The Kernel of Truth in Topical Jokes. *Folklore: Electronic Journal of Folklore*, 21. <https://doi.org/10.7592/FEJF2022.21.jokes>
- Laineste, L. (2016). From Joke Tales to Demotivators. A Diachronic Look at Humorous Discourse in Folklore. *Traditiones*, 45(3), 7–25. <https://doi.org/10.3986/traditio2016450302>
- Laineste, L., Voolaid, P. (2016). Laughing across borders: Intertextuality of internet memes. *The European Journal of Humour Research*, 4(4), 26–49. <https://doi.org/10.7592/EJHR2016.4.4.laineste>
- Marković, I. (2019). *Uvod u verbalni humor*. Zagreb: Disput.
- Marsh, M. (2019). American jokes, pranks, and humor. In: Simon J. Bronner (Ed.), *The Oxford Handbook of American Folklore and Folklife Studies*, (pp. 210–233). <https://doi.org/10.1093/oxfordhb/9780190840617.013.10>
- McNeill, L. S. (2009). The end of the Internet: A folk response to the provision of infinite choice. In: T. J. Blank (Ed.), *Folklore and the internet: vernacular expression in a digital world* (pp. 80–97). Utah: Utah State University Press.
- Miltner, K. M. (2014). “There’s no place for lulz on LOLCats”: The role of genre, gender, and group identity in the interpretation and enjoyment of an Internet meme. *First Monday*, 19(8). <https://doi.org/10.5210/fm.v19i8.5391>
- Miltner, K. M. (2018). Internet memes. In: J. Burgess, A. Marwick, T. Poell (Eds.), *The SAGE Handbook of Social Media* (pp. 412–428). SAGE Publications Ltd.
- Nabity-Grover, T., Cheung, C. M., Thatcher, J. B. (2023). How COVID-19 stole Christmas: How the pandemic shifted the calculus around social media Self-Disclosures. *Journal of Business Research*, 154, 113310. <https://doi.org/10.1016/j.jbusres.2022.113310>
- Oring, E. (1987). Jokes and the Discourse on Disaster. *Journal of American Folklore*, 100(397), 276–286. <https://doi.org/10.2307/540324>
- Oring, E. (2016). *Joking asides: The theory, analysis, and aesthetics of humor*. Utah: University Press of Colorado.
- Page, R. (2018). *Narratives online: Shared stories in social media*. New York: Cambridge University Press.
- Parker, M., Spennemann, D. H. (2021). Stille Nacht: COVID and the Ghost of Christmas 2020. *Heritage*, 4(4), 3081–3097. <https://doi.org/10.3390/heritage4040172>

- Popelková, K. (2017). Holidays – the Mirror of Society, The Social and Cultural Contexts of Present-Day Holidays in the Slovak Republic. *Slovenský národopis*, 65(2), 171–186.
- Popelková, K. (2023). Easter Holiday and the Pandemic – the Case of Slovakia in 2020. *Slovenský národopis*, 71(2), 126–146. <https://doi.org/10.31577/SN.2023.2.14>
- Predojević, Ž. (2021a). Humor katastrofe i internetski memi u vrijeme pandemije koronavirusa na primjeru dvaju instagramskih profila. *Anafora: Časopis za znanost o književnosti*, 8(1), 1–20. <https://doi.org/10.29162/ANAFORA.v8i1.1>
- Predojević, Ž. (2021b). Humorističan prikaz školskog sustava u vrijeme pandemije koronavirusa na primjeru vizualno-verbalnih internetskih žanrova. *Narodna umjetnost*, 58(1), 107–128. <https://doi.org/10.15176/vol58no106>
- Rogers, R., Giorgi, G. (2023). What is a meme, technically speaking?. *Information, Communication & Society*, 1–19. <https://doi.org/10.1080/1369118X.2023.2174790>
- Sámelová, A., Stanková, M. (2018). Some ideas on facts and no facts within media language. *European Journal of Media Art and Photography*, 6(2), 118–122.
- Shifman, L. (2007). Humor in the Age of Digital Reproduction: Continuity and Change in Internet-Based Comic Texts. *International Journal of Communication*, 1(1), 187–209. Available at: <https://ijoc.org/index.php/ijoc/article/view/11/34>
- Shifman, L. (2013). *Memes in digital culture*. Cambridge – Massachusetts: The MIT Press.
- Small, T. A. (2011). What the hashtag? A content analysis of Canadian politics on Twitter. *Information, Communication & Society*, 14(6), 872–895. <https://doi.org/10.1080/1369118X.2011.554572>
- Szszunowicz, J. (2018). Typowy Janusz and Bad Luck Brian: On meme characters from a cross-linguistic and cross-cultural perspective. *The European Journal of Humour Research*, 6(2), 3–22. <https://doi.org/10.7592/EJHR2018.6.2.230.szszunowicz>
- Torres-Marín, J., Navarro-Carrillo, G., Eid, M., Carretero-Dios, H. (2022). Humor Styles, Perceived Threat, Funniness of COVID-19 Memes, and Affective Mood in the Early Stages of COVID-19 Lockdown. *Journal of Happiness Studies*, 23(6), 2541–2561. <https://doi.org/10.1007/s10902-022-00500-x>
- Tsur, O., Rappoport, A. (2021). Don't Let Me Be #Misunderstood: Linguistically Motivated Algorithm for Predicting the Popularity of Textual Memes. *Proceedings of the International AAAI Conference on Web and Social Media*, 9(1), 426–435. <https://doi.org/10.1609/icwsm.v9i1.14603>
- Vásquez, C. (2019). *Language, creativity and humour online*. London/New York: Routledge.
- Weitz, E. (2016). Editorial: Humor and social media. *The European Journal of Humour Research* 4(4), 1–4. <https://doi.org/10.7592/EJHR2016.4.4.weitz>
- Willot, M. (2023). Religion in times of epidemics, a matter of public health: great plague of Marseille (FRA, 1720–1723) Covid-19 (2020–...), a narrative review. *Ethics, Medicine and Public Health* 29, 100922. <https://doi.org/10.1093/j.jemep.2023.100922>
- Young, D. G. (2018). Theories and effects of political humor: Discounting cues, gateways, and the impact of incongruities.” In: K. Kenski, K. Hall Jamieson (Eds.). *The Oxford handbook of political communication*. [https://doi.org/10.1093/oxfordhb/9780199793471.013.29\\_update\\_001](https://doi.org/10.1093/oxfordhb/9780199793471.013.29_update_001)
- Yus, F. (2018). Identity-related issues in meme communication. *Internet Pragmatics*, 1(1), 113–133. <https://doi.org/10.1075/ip.00006.yus>
- Yus, F. (2021a). Pragmatics, humour and the internet. *Internet Pragmatics*, 4(1), 1–11. <https://doi.org/10.1075/ip.00067.yus>
- Yus, F. (2021b). Incongruity-resolution humorous strategies in image macro memes. *Internet Pragmatics*, 4(1), 131–149. <https://doi.org/10.1075/ip.00058.yus>

Zappavigna, M. (2017). Twitter. In: Ch. Hoffmann, W. Bublitz (Eds.). *Pragmatics of Social Media* (pp. 201–224). Berlin/Boston: De Gruyter.

### Internet sources

- Cookies.gasworks. <https://www.gasworks.org.uk/exhibitions/exhibition-cancelled-due-to-covid-19-outbreak-2020-04-09/> (accessed April 1, 2020).
- CuntLicker. *Da F—- Dey doing ova der: Standing cat*. Know Your Meme. <https://knowyourmeme.com/photos/1856682-standing-cat> (accessed May 31, 2023).
- Glasgow's "Trnsmt" Festival cancelled due to covid-19 pandemic. DGWGO. <https://www.dgwgo.com/music-festivals-news/glasgows-trnsmt-festival-cancelled-due-to-covid-19-pandemic/> (accessed April 25, 2020).
- Iftikhar, N. *Coronavirus (COVID-19) prevention*. Healthline. <https://www.healthline.com/health/coronavirus-prevention> (accessed April 8, 2020).
- LeBlanc, P. *Fauci: "you don't make the timeline, the virus makes the timeline" on relaxing public health measures | CNN politics*. CNN. <https://edition.cnn.com/2020/03/25/politics/anthony-fauci-coronavirus-timeline-cnntv/index.html> (accessed March 26, 2020).
- Lopez, G. *Why Trump's goal to end social distancing by Easter is so dangerous*. Vox. <https://www.vox.com/policy-and-politics/2020/3/24/21193165/coronavirus-trump-press-briefing-social-distancing-experts> (accessed March 24, 2020).
- Mandrac. *The last supper parodies*. Know Your Meme. <https://knowyourmeme.com/memes/the-last-supper-parodies> (accessed March 14, 2012).
- Matt. *The Grinch poster parodies*. Know Your Meme. <https://knowyourmeme.com/memes/the-grinch-poster-parodies> (accessed October 23, 2018).
- Patton, J. *Premier Doug Ford declares Easter Bunny "Essential Service" amid covid-19 outbreak*. Global News. <https://globalnews.ca/news/6789878/coronavirus-easter-bunny-essential-service-ontario>. (accessed April 8, 2020)
- Qnomei. *Guess I'll die.: Guess I'll die*. Know Your Meme. <https://knowyourmeme.com/photos/1231999-guess-ill-die> (accessed February 22, 2018).
- WP Company. *Flushing out the true cause of the global toilet paper shortage amid coronavirus pandemic*. The Washington Post. [https://www.washingtonpost.com/national/coronavirus-toilet-paper-shortage-panic/2020/04/07/1fd30e92-75b5-11ea-87da-77a8136c1a6d\\_story.html](https://www.washingtonpost.com/national/coronavirus-toilet-paper-shortage-panic/2020/04/07/1fd30e92-75b5-11ea-87da-77a8136c1a6d_story.html) (accessed April 8, 2020).

### ABOUT THE AUTHOR

ŽELJKO PREDOJEVIĆ (ORCID: 0000-0003-0064-4108) – is an independent folklore researcher. He obtained his PhD in 2017 from the Faculty of Humanities and Social Sciences at the University of Zagreb. In his research, he focuses on topics related to the southern Baranja region in Croatia, pre-Christianity, and digital folklore. He has worked as a schoolteacher and as a lector of Croatian language and literature at the Faculty of Humanities of the University of Pécs (2010–2013) and at the Faculty of Arts of Comenius University in Bratislava (2015–2021).