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## LEXICAL CHANGES IN THE UKRAINIAN AND RUSSIAN LANGUAGES SINCE THE FALL OF COMMUNISM

*The objective of the paper is to trace and analyze Ukrainian and Russian language use, paying particular attention to lexical innovations, neologisms, and satirical allusions. These changes are presented as the continuation of a steady process of democratization or liberalization of the Ukrainian language, a phenomenon some researchers attributed only to Russian. The analysis of new words not registered in the dictionaries is provided.*

**Key words:** lexical and morphological changes, language, lexical innovation, neologisms, satirical allusions.

*Метою статті є прослідкувати і проаналізувати використання української та російської мов з особливою увагою на лексичні інновації, неологізми та сатиричні натяки. Ці зміни представлені як продовження стабільного процесу демократизації і лібералізації української мови, феномену, який вважався невід'ємною властивістю російської мови. Представлено аналіз нових слів не зазначених у словниках.*

**Key words:** лексичні і морфологічні зміни, мова, лексичні інновації, неологізми, сатиричні натяки.

*Цель статьи проследить и проанализировать использование украинского и русского языков с особым вниманием на лексические инновации, неологизмы и сатирические намеки. Эти изменения представлены как продолжение стабильного процесса демократизации и либерализации украинского языка, феномена, который считался неотъемлемым свойством русского языка. Представлен анализ новых слов не отмеченных в словарях.*

**Key words:** лексические и морфологические изменения, язык, лексические инновации, неологизмы, сатирические намеки.

Ukrainian has managed to develop and re-connote its vocabulary referring to the new status in the post-USSR period and distancing itself to a certain extent from Russian [the concrete examples of this vocabulary has been presented in the article], though influence of Russian has not disappeared altogether. Trends of extensive borrowings from English in Russian and Ukrainian have been analyzed.

Extreme colloquialization of Russian and Ukrainian press leads to low-level style of the language and further to criminal argot/jargon and vulgarity. What was forbidden and not allowed previously flooded the pages of Ukrainian and Russian press.

Knowledge of political context is required for understanding the language of contemporary mass media. The research is based mostly on the source data taken from contemporary Ukrainian and Russian press (newspapers, magazines, etc.).

Development of the lexical innovations in both Ukrainian and Russian of the 90-ies and the end of the century has been traced and compared with recent (2001-2013) innovations.

**Recent publications on Ukrainian language issues in the West.** As Michael M. Naydan (2006: 150)<sup>1</sup> remarks: «While the Ukrainian language (like many of the other Slavic «less commonly taught languages» [LCTLs] but from their perspective no less significant languages [NLSLs] of the former USSR) had been relegated to secondary status and was under constant pressure to assimilate to the politically more powerful Russian language, its East Slavic neighbor, it survived and has perhaps been removed from the endangered language list – with at least the possibility of developing in a natural way». The beginning of this century saw (witnessed) some increase in publications on Ukrainian language issues. This macropicture from the sociolinguistic perspective was probably the best covered in Laada Bilaniuk's (2005) monograph<sup>2</sup>. Articles in scholarly journals complemented this picture. Issues of language and ethnicity (see Kulyk 2006)<sup>3</sup>, Russian-Ukrainian confrontation (see Fournier 2002)<sup>4</sup>, gender and language (see Bilaniuk 2003)<sup>5</sup>, language and politics (see Polkovsky 2005)<sup>6</sup> have been researched and touched upon.

**Language Change.** We witness unprecedented language change. Researchers pay close attention to this phenomenon. Among the recent publications it is worthy to notice thorough publication by Jonathon Keats<sup>7</sup>.

Keats (front cover of the book) talks about «... the interplay between words and ideas in our fast-paced tech-driven use-it-or-lose-it society». For him scientific and technological neologisms are very important. According to Keats (vii) «we live in an age of specialization». We are amazed by «fascinating glimpse of novel language as it comes into being» (Keats, front cover).

<sup>1</sup> Naydan, Michael. *Slavic and East European Journal* and Fifty Years of Ukrainian Studies. In *Slavic and East European Journal*, Vol. 50, No.1 (2006): 150-58.

<sup>2</sup> Bilaniuk, Laada (2005). *Contested Tongues: Language Politics and Cultural Correction in Ukraine*. Ithaca and London: Cornell University Press, 2005.

<sup>3</sup> Kulyk, Volodymyr. *Constructing common sense: Language and ethnicity in Ukrainian public discourse*. In *Ethnic and Racial Studies*, Vol. 29, No. 2 (March 2006): 281-314.

<sup>4</sup> Fournier, Anna. *Mapping Identities: Russian Resistance to Linguistic Ukrainisation in Central and Eastern Ukraine*. In *Europe-Asia Studies*, Vol. 54, No.3 (2002): 415-33.

<sup>5</sup> Bilaniuk, Laada. *Gender, language attitudes, and language status in Ukraine*. In *Language in Society* 31: 1(2003): 47-78

<sup>6</sup> Polkovsky, Valerii. *The Language of the Presidential Election Campaign in Ukraine*. In *Canadian Slavonic Papers*, Vol. XLVII, Nos. 3-4 (2005): 317-31.

<sup>7</sup> Keats Jonathon. *Virtual Words: Language on the Edge of Science and Technology*. – Oxford: Oxford UP, 2011. – 177 pp.

All living languages are susceptible to change. However, specific periods in their development bring more radical dimension to the change than others. Constant change is becoming the norm of life and it is not an easy task to talk about (and even more difficult to reflect on) the current state of a language that is being molded by this ongoing process of change.

#### Recent literature on lexical and morphological changes in Contemporary Russian and Ukrainian.

Among the recent publications on lexical and morphological changes in Contemporary Russian and Ukrainian the following articles could be commended: Vinogradova Valentina. Slovoobrazovanie i aksiologiya [Word-Formation and Axiology] // *Reflection of History and Culture...*<sup>8</sup> (2010): 60-66; Iermakova Olga. Nekotorye osobennosti russkogo mentaliteta, otrazhennyye v slovoobrazovanii [Some Peculiarities of Russian Mentality, Reflected in Word-Formation] // *Reflection of History and Culture...* (2010): 85-90; Karpilovs'ka Ievheniia. Nova Ukraina u slovotvornii nominatsii: Zminy u movnomu «kreslenni» svitu [New Ukraine in Word-Formation Nomination: Changes in the Language «Drawing» of the World] // *Reflection of History and Culture...* (2010): 91-109. [Karpilovs'ka notices that the changes in the society for 19-year independence period have been reflected in Ukrainian language<sup>9</sup>. She comments various types of lexical innovations, reaction of language on sociodynamics. According to Karpilovs'ka 92 we have the fund of innovations in the Ukrainian language for the period of independence with over 17 000 units and fund of the Ukrainian language of the Soviet period with over 170 000 units. Sociodynamics of new Ukraine is fascinating (Karpilovs'ka 93)]; Koriakovtseva Elena. Proizvodnye Nomina Actionis i iazykovyi obraz postsotsialisticheskogo obshchestva (na materiale russkogo, pol'skogo i cheshskogo iazykov) [Derivative Nomina Actionis and Language Image of Post-Socialist Society (Based on the Material of Russian, Polish and Czech Languages)] // *Reflection of History and Culture...* (2010): 133-144 [Mass media are the main «delivers» of neologisms – considers Koriakovtseva 133. Russian *nomina actionis* ending in *-izatsiia* are becoming very popular.

*Izmenenie obshchestvennogo stroia, povliivshhee na sovremennuiu russkuiu lingvokulturu i obuslovivshee smenu leksicheskikh paradigm, privedo k poiavleniiu neologizmov ...*

‘Change of the social order, influencing current Russian linguistic culture and determining the change of lexical paradigms led to the neologisms appearance...’<sup>10</sup>.

Koriakovtseva talks about social dialogue aggression<sup>11</sup>, *banditizatsiia vsei strany* – ‘banditization of the whole country’, change of political lexicon and political jargon in particular, rapid fall of speech culture and general culture in all social and age groups, including people working in mass media, TV and radio.<sup>12</sup>

*Konfliktno-agressivnyi i konfliktno-manipulatorskii tip rechevogo povedeniia zhurnalistov, eskalatsiia rechevoi agressii v SMI vysvobozhdaet v ikh adresatakh otvetnuiu agressiiu*

‘Conflict-aggressive and conflict manipulative type of journalists’ speech behavior, escalation of speech aggression in mass media relieves in their addressees responsive aggression’ – considers Koriakovtseva 137. Internet-forums are full of derogatory terms, the communication style is very aggressive]; Lukashanets Elena. Argo i kul'tura: Slovoobrazovatel'nyi aspekt [Argot and Culture: Word-Formation Aspect] // *Reflection of History and Culture...* (2010): 155-164; Miloslavsky Igor. Rol' slovoobrazovaniia v rasshirenii kognitivnogo prostranstva russkogo iazyka [Word-Formation Role in the Expansion of Cognitive Space of Russian Language] // *Reflection of History and Culture...* (2010): 176-180 [Miloslavsky 176 talks about «word deficit». Direct loans and calques – their importance (179)]; Ohnheiser Ingeborg. (Anti-) utopicheskoe slovoobrazovanie v romane G. Orwell-a «Nineteen Eighty-Four» i ego perevodakh na russkii, pol'skii i cheshskii iazyki [(Anti-) Utopian Word-Formation in G. Orwell's Novel «Nineteen Eighty-Four» and its Translations into Russian, Polish and Czech Languages] // *Reflection of History and Culture...* (2010): 222-235. The features of Newspeak (noviaz), according to Ohnheiser (2010: 223) are: metaphors based on the opposition «*my: oni*» (we-they) (*my- edinaiia sem'ia sovetskikh narodov; bratskii; otets rodnoi (Stalin): oni = otreb've, svalka, iazva*)» (we- the unified family of Soviet nations; brotherly; dear father (Stalin): they – dump);

Limited choice of lexical material and high predictability of word combinations; active neology, including various types of abbreviations and their derivatives; tautology (*demokratiia – narodnaia demokratiia*) ‘democracy – people’s democracy’. The author speaks about totalitarian experience of the Ukrainian language during Soviet period (Ohnheiser 224); Ulukhanov Igor. K voprosu ob otrazhenii v slovoobrazovanii iavlenii real'nogo mira [On Reflection of Real World Phenomena in Word-Formation] // *Reflection of History and Culture...* (2010: 298-307).

[In his article Ulukhanov (2010: 298) talks about «*iazykovaia kartina mira*» (language world picture), «*model' mira*» (world model), «*kartinka zhizni*» (life picture)].

Kysliuk Larysa. Natsional'nomovni resursy vidobrazhennia sotsiodynamiky [National Language Resources of Social Dynamics Reflection] // *Reflection of History and Culture...* (2010: 393-408). The lexeme *derzhava* ‘state’ got the status of «key word» since 1991.<sup>13</sup> *Stabil'nym vzhivanniam vidrizniaet'sia derzhbiudzheth, zafiksovane v usikh slovnykakh, pochynaiuchy z 1930-kh rr.* ‘The word *derzhbiudzheth* ‘state budget’ has been enjoying stable usage, fixed

<sup>8</sup> *Vidobrazhennia istorii ta kul'tury narodu v slovotvorenni: Dopovidi XII Mizhnarodnoi konferentsii Komisii zi slovians'koho slovotvorennia pry Mizhnarodnomu komiteti slavistiv (25-28 travnia 2010 r., Kyiv, Ukraina)/ Uporiadkuvannia ta naukovie redahuvannia N. F. Klymenko i Ie. A. Karpilovs'koi. – K.; Vydavnychi dim Dmytra Buraho, 2010. – 472 s. «Reflection of History and Culture of the People in Word-Formation:» Papers of XII International Conference, the Commission on Slavic Word-Formation at the International Committee of Slavists within its session in Kyiv on May 25-28, 2010»*

<sup>9</sup> see Karpilovs'ka 91.

<sup>10</sup> Koriakovtseva 134.

<sup>11</sup> Koriakovtseva 134.

<sup>12</sup> Koriakovtseva 137.

<sup>13</sup> Kysliuk 393.

in all dictionaries, beginning from 1930's'. This statement can be supported by numerous examples: *derzhdopomoha* 'state support/assistance' [title of the article *Problemnym bankam obitsiaiut' derzhdopomohu* 'State Assistance has been promised to Problematic Banks'<sup>14</sup>, *derzhbanky* 'state banks', *Derzhsluzhba turyzmu i kurortiv* 'State Service of Tourisms and Resorts'<sup>15</sup>.

Adjective *ukrains'kyi* 'Ukrainian' as well as acronyms with this component have been widely used (see, for example: *Ukrains'ka Hreko-Katolyts'ka Tserkva zminiuiie svoie kerivnytsvo* 'Ukrainian Greek-Catholic Church Changes Its Leadership'<sup>16</sup>; *UHKTs bula zaboronena* 'Ukrainian Greek-Catholic Church was Forbidden/Prohibited'<sup>17</sup>.

**Use of *radians'kyi* 'Soviet' in Contemporary Discourse.** Has the adjective *radians'kyi* 'Soviet' (in rare cases adjectivized noun *radians'ki* 'Soviet ones/the Soviets') been enjoying popularity in contemporary discourse (in particular mass media discourse)? Some linguists claim that it has been falling out of active use and joining the category of passive lexemes. Our examples show that the situation is opposite (some of the examples only found in the journal<sup>18</sup>: *Tserkva perezhyla radians'ki represii i zaborony, periody pidpil'noho isnuvannia, ii ne zlamaly radians'ki, ne zlamaiut' i donets'ki*», – *hovoryt' lider VO «Svoboda» Oleh Tiahnybok* '«The church survived Soviet repressions and prohibitions, periods of underground existence, it was not bent/broken by the Soviets, it will not be by Donetsk ones» – says leader of the All-Ukrainian Union «Svoboda» Oleh Tiahnybok', p. 5); «*Mozhlyvo, hraie rol' radians'ke mynule – molodym ukrainsiam tsikavo spilkuvatysia z inozemtsiamy*», – *reziumuie ekspert* '«Maybe, the Soviet past has some importance – young Ukrainians like to communicate with foreigners» – sums up the expert' (p. 15); *U sil's'komu «supermarketi» bulo praktychno vse – vid soli do pral'nykh mashyn, khocha sirstiu i obsharpanistiu mahazyn nahaduvav radians'ki 80-ti* 'In the rural/village «supermarket» there was practically everything – from salt to washers/washing machines, though by its grayness and shabbiness the store reminded Soviet 80's' (p. 34); *Tsentr korablebuduvannia Radian'koho Soiuzu*», – *os' tak neshchodavno nazyvaly Mykolaiv. A radians'ke korablebuduvannia posidalo odne z chil'nykh mist' v sviti* '«The center of ship-building in the Soviet Union,» – this is how Mykolaiv was recently called. And the Soviet ship-building was one of the world's leaders' (p. 36); *Radians'ka promyslovist' vyrobliala tretynu viis'kovykh korabliv u sviti i bula v pershii desiattsi lideriv iz tsyvil'noho sudnobuduvannia* 'Soviet industry produced 1/3 of world's military ships and was among first ten in civil ship-buiding' (p. 37).

*SRSR* 'the USSR' is also used (*Vil'noho rynku novykh avtomobiliv u Venesueli nemaie, iak kolys' u SRSR, treba stoiaty v cherzi abo pereplachuvaty* 'There is no free market of new cars in Venezuela, the same as it was in the former USSR, one has to be on a waiting list or overpay' (p. 33). *Radians'kyi Soiuz* 'the Soviet Union' is also known as simply *Soiuz* 'Union':

*U den', koly rozsyypavsia «Soiuz',  
Ia vtishyvsia i vidchuv smertel'nu vtomu*  
'That day when «the Union» collapsed,  
I felt satisfaction and mortal fatigue'.<sup>19</sup>

*Postradians'kyi* 'post-Soviet' has been used as well (*rynky postradians'koho prostoru* 'markets of post-Soviet space'<sup>20</sup>; *postradians'kyi svit ukrains'koi literatury* 'post-Soviet world of Ukrainian literature'<sup>21</sup>; *postradians'ka solom'iana vdova* 'post-Soviet straw widow'<sup>22</sup>. New discourse brought also derogatory terms: *sovdepivs'kyi*<sup>23</sup>, *komuniaky*<sup>24</sup>, *Sovdepia* 'the USSR', *Sovok* 'Soviet Union', *sovok* (citizen of the Soviet Union, or post-Soviet states nostalgic about former regime), *sovkovyi* etc. Vladimir Novikov (2008:144)<sup>25</sup> mentions that *sovok* was one of the main language concepts of Gorbachev-Yeltsin epoch. According to him, it has been actively used for about ten-fifteen years and now has been going to the passive fund of the Russian vocabulary. But not in Ukraine. It has been used even more than earlier. People are not willing to live according to the imposed Soviet/Russian model regarding development of their country, culture, education, etc.

**Internationalisms (primarily English borrowings).** Borrowings from English are abundant and quite often their Ukrainian equivalents could be found, but are not registered. Among the internationalisms found in one issue of the journal<sup>26</sup>: *shopinh*, *mediabainh*, *loukoster*, *developers'kyi proekt*, *developery*, *rieltory*, *volontery* (though Ukrainian equivalent *dobrovoltsi* has been provided), *maister-klas*. TV announcer<sup>27</sup> uses the following announcement that does not require any translation: *Brend, trend i boifrend*.

**Activation of truncated components in word combinations.** Truncated adjectives/nouns + noun (in rare cases other adjective plus noun) are abundantly used in Contemporary Ukrainian and they find their registration. Typical examples

<sup>14</sup> journal weekly.ua, N. 7, 18-24.02.2011: 7.

<sup>15</sup> weekly.ua, N. 7, 18-24.02.2011: 7.

<sup>16</sup> weekly.ua, N. 7, 18-24.02.2011: 5.

<sup>17</sup> weekly.ua, N. 7, 18-24.02.2011: 5.

<sup>18</sup> weekly.ua, N. 7, 18-24.02.2011.

<sup>19</sup> Bastiuk Bohdan. *Tsilushka*. – Ternopil': Dzhura, 2000. – 84 pp: 65.

<sup>20</sup> weekly.ua, N. 7, 18-24.02.2010: 30.

<sup>21</sup> Kononenko Ievheniia. *Bez muzhyka: Prosus nostalgos*. – L'viv: Kal'variia, 2006. – 208 pp: 29.

<sup>22</sup> Kononenko 94.

<sup>23</sup> Kononenko 16.

<sup>24</sup> Kononenko 17.

<sup>25</sup> Novikov Vladimir. *Novyi slovar' modnykh slov*. – M.: AST: Zebra E, 2008. – 192 pp. – (Biblioteka Modnoi Zhizni).

<sup>26</sup> weekly.ua, N. 7, 18-24.2011.

<sup>27</sup> TSN program, 16.03.2011.

are: *Kabmin (Kabinet ministriv)* ‘Cabinet of Ministers/Government’<sup>28</sup>, *vetklinika (vetrynarna klinika)* ‘veterinary clinic/hospital’<sup>29</sup>, weekly.ua, N. 7, 18-24.02.2011: 5), *Minekonomrozvytku (Ministerstvo ekonomichnoho rozvytku)* ‘Ministry of Economic Development’ (weekly.ua, N. 7, 18-24.02.2011: 5), *Ukrhazbank (Ukrains’kyi hazovyi bank)* ‘Ukrainian Gas Bank’<sup>30</sup>, *finustanovy (finansovi ustanovy)* ‘financial institutions’<sup>31</sup>, very popular current *adminreformy (adminisratyvni reformy)* ‘administrative reforms’<sup>32</sup>.

**Vogue words.** Soviet Union concepts/notions/things are quite often being replaced with more catchy/flashy/prestigious words:

.. *slovo «magazin» napominalo o zhutkikh mnogochasovykh ocherediakh v GUMe i TsUMe, a «butik» stalo oboznacheniem zavedeniia nebol’shogo, no roskoshnogo i nestandartnogo* ‘... the word «store» reminded of terrible lines/ques in State Universal Store or Central Universal Store, and «boutique» became the symbol of small institution, but comfortable and non-standard’<sup>33</sup>. Among vogue words one can find *Maidan* ‘square’ in Ukrainian. It has become popular during Orange Revolution where there were protests against Viktor Yanukovich clan’s manipulations. *Maidan* means not only the physical space, but «revolt of the people fighting for their rights». This meaning is now present in word combinations like *druhyi Maidan* ‘second Maidan: *Iakshcho vlada ne zupynytsia, bude druhyi Maidan* ‘If the authorities do not stop, there will be second Maidan’<sup>34</sup>; *«zhytlovyi Maidan»* ‘accommodation/dwelling/housing Maidan’: *Provokuvaty «zhytlovyi Maidan» vladi zaraz ne z ruky, os’ i vidkladaiut’ do zruchnishoi sytuatsii* ‘It is not the right time for the authorities to provoke «housing Maidan», that is why they have been postponing it to a more appropriate situation’<sup>35</sup>; *«podatkovi Maidan»* ‘«taxation Maidan»’<sup>36</sup>. Unpopular reforms in housing and taxation sectors. Unpopular reforms led to the appearance of neologisms/slangisms like *sproshchentsi (pidpriemtsi na sproshchenii systemi opodatkovannia)* ‘entrepreneurs on simplified system of taxation’; *iedynnyky (platnyky iedynoho podatku)* ‘payers of the only tax’<sup>37</sup>.

**Background knowledge.** Background knowledge plays an extremely important role for decoding the meaning of the sentence/text/information. What does the sentence

*Odni stverdzhuiut’, shcho polityk vidpochyvaie v Hruzii, za slovamy inshykh – poprosyv politychnoho pryutulku v Izraili, dekhto navit’ zhartuvav shchodo povernennia mera v kosmos* ‘Some people state, that the politician has a rest in Georgia, according to the words of others – he sought political asylum in Israel, and some have been even joking regarding mayor’s return into space’<sup>38</sup>. The article is about ‘legendary’ Kyiv’s mayor Leonid Chernovetskyi, famous for his goofy and baloony ideas (nickname *L’onia-Kosmos*). Another sentence has also to be decoded/reconstructed: *Navit’ kharyzma Iulii Tymoshenko, shcho dobylasia dostrokovykh vyboriv u stolytsi, ne zmohla spravytysia z uliublentsem stolychnykh babus’* ‘Even Yulia Tymoshenko’s charisma who got preempt elections in the capital, could not cope with capital grannies’ pet/toyboy’<sup>39</sup>. Who is this *uliublentse stolychnykh babus’*? Again Leonid Chernovetskyi, who was bribing grannies before his election campaign with packages of buckwheat.

Political discourse lowered its standard in Ukrainian and Russian: *A iz Tihipka prosto namahaiut’sia zrobyty «tsapa-vidbuvaila»* ‘They try to make Tihipko a scapegoat’<sup>40</sup>. Serhii Tihipko is Vice-PM in charge of reforms various sectors of Ukrainian social life. Russian: *V politicheskomye smysle perspektivy bezradostny, i chinovniku khorosho by nachat’ podyskivat’ mesto v partiinomye spiske «regionalov», daby ne stat’ kozlom otpushcheniia bez zapasnogo aerodroma* ‘In political sense prospects are bleak and the clerk would better try to seek the spot in the party list of «Regions», in order not to become scapegoat without extra airfield’<sup>41</sup>. It is about Viktor Tikhonov, Vice-PM, Minister of Regional Development, Construction and Communal Services of Ukraine. The names of political parties are widely used (see, for example, ruling *Partiia rehioniv* ‘Regions’ Party’, hence its members are called «*rehionaly*» ‘«Regionals»’, *Narodna partiia* ‘People’s Party’, hence its members are known as «*lytvynivtsi*» (its leader is current Speaker of Ukrainian Parliament Volodymyr Lytvyn).

Ukrainian politics has been closely interconnected with business interests and lobbying as well as criminality:

... *shche za kil’ka misiatsiv pered ioho vidstavkoiu deputat vid Partii rehioniv Volodymyr Iaroshchuk zaiavyv, shcho Sivkovykh «spryiaie reiderstvu», «kryshuie» zakhoplennia pidpriemstv, napravliaie reideriv na ti chy inshi ob’iekty, aktyvno korystuiet’sia telefonnym pravom u roboti z suddiamy»*.

‘... a couple of months before his resignation Party of Regions MP Volodymyr Iaroshchuk stated that Sivkovykh «supports raidership, «protects» enterprises’ seize, sends raiders to various businesses, actively uses telephone right in his work with judges’<sup>42</sup>, *Telefonne pravo* is an undestructible heritage from the Soviet times. Volodymyr Sivkovykh is ex-Vice PM, Deputy Head of the Council of National Security and Defense.

<sup>28</sup> weekly.ua, N. 7, 18-24.02.2011: 4.

<sup>29</sup> weekly.ua, N. 7, 18-24.02.2011: 4.

<sup>30</sup> weekly.ua, N. 7, 18-24.02.2011: 7.

<sup>31</sup> weekly.ua, N. 7, 18-24.02.2011: 28.

<sup>32</sup> weekly.ua, N. 7, 18-24.02.2011: 10.

<sup>33</sup> Novikov 28.

<sup>34</sup> Hazeta po-ukrains’ky, 19.11.2010: 1.

<sup>35</sup> weekly.ua, N. 7, 18-24.02.2011: 5.

<sup>36</sup> weekly.ua, N. 7, 18-24.02.2010: 6.

<sup>37</sup> see weekly.ua, N. 7, 18-24.02.2010: 6.

<sup>38</sup> weekly.ua, N. 7, 18-24.02.2011: 8.

<sup>39</sup> weekly.ua, N. 7, 18-24.02.2010: 11.

<sup>40</sup> Hazeta po-ukrains’ky, 15.03.2011: 1.

<sup>41</sup> Glavred, 12.03.2011: 1.

<sup>42</sup> weekly.ua, N. 7, 18-24.02.2010: 12.

*Podeikuiut', shcho prychnoiu ponyzhennia Horbalia staly biznes-konflikty z krylom L'ovochkina-Khoroshkovs'koho-Firtasha*

'They say that the reason for Horbal's lowering became his business conflicts with L'ovochkin-Khoroshkovs'kyi-Firtash'<sup>43</sup>. Vasyl' Horbal' is ex-Governor of Lviv Region, MP; Serhii L'ovochkin is almighty Head of Presidential Administration; Valerii Khoroshkovs'kyi is Head of Ukrainian Security Service (*Sluzhba natsional'noi bezpeky Ukrainy*, billionaire himself and the owner of TV channels, embodying the paradox of post-Soviet situation); Dmytro Firtash is billionaire and co-owner of RosUkrEnerho (Russian-Ukrainian Energy Company, embezzling billions of dollars from Ukrainian taxpayers for gas supply and services in Ukraine).

Ukrainian MPs quite often have criminal nicknames:

*Vidpovidaty za sil's'ke gospodarstvo v uriadi zalyshyly ministra ahropolityky Mykolu Prysiazhniuka, iakoho pov'iazuiut' z odiozным deputatom vid partii rehioniv Iuriiem Ivaniushchenkom (Iuroiu Ienakiivskym)*

'To be in charge of agriculture in the government they left the Minister of Agrarian Policy Mykola Prysiazhniuk, who has been tied to odiose MP from the Party of Regions Iurii Ivaniushchenko (Iura Ienakiivskiy)'<sup>44</sup>.

*Nynishnia problema «vidstavyka» poliahaie v tomu, shcho u n'oho nemaie «donets'koi propysky» – vin iz Kharkova*

'The current problem of «resignee» is that he does not have «Donets'k registration» – he hails from Kharkiv'<sup>45</sup>.

Russian influence on Ukrainian is reflected in informal housing neologisms (see, «*dvushka*» 'two-room apartment', «*tr'oshka*» 'three-room apartment'<sup>46</sup>. Though Ukrainian equivalents exist (see, for example, *trykimnatka* 'three-room apartment', *odnokimnatka* 'one-room apartment'<sup>47</sup>.

### INNOVATIONS IN CONTEMPORARY UKRAINIAN AND RUSSIAN

– A kym zhe zh vin pratsiuiet? 'And what is his occupation?'

– A khto zh tsykh novykh ukraintsiv zaraz rozbere? Chy to *dylrom*, chy to *kilerom*... 'Who can tell for sure about these new Ukrainians? Either dealer, or killer...'<sup>48</sup>

Lexical innovations as a direct result of post-communist transformations in Ukraine and Russia are abundant. Special attention has been paid to the redistribution of active and passive vocabulary of both languages.

Ukrainian has managed to develop and re-connote its vocabulary referring to the new status in the post-USSR period and distancing itself to a certain extent from Russian, though influence of Russian has not disappeared altogether. Is the speaker/reader ready to perceive/understand massive lexical innovations? Can they lead to a certain misunderstanding and confusion?

Extreme colloquialization of Russian and Ukrainian press leads to low-level style of the language and further to criminal argot/jargon and vulgarity. What was forbidden and not allowed previously flooded the pages of Ukrainian and Russian press.

Mass media nowadays experience not only influx of colloquial and vulgar words, but also slang, foreign borrowings, abbreviations, hidden implied meanings, etc. I want to point out here at two things:

1. Passivization of communist and ideologically charged lexicon, abandoning of the so called 'ideological vocabulary', mocking it, etc. Creation of new words, expressions. This process still continues. In the press one can find allusions to the communist past, play with the catchy phrases, famous communist slogans, etc. Role of language play in both languages is enormous. Role of context (political, cultural, you name it) has tremendously increased and is enormous too.

2. But one cannot ignore the second tendency. August 2014 will witness the 23<sup>rd</sup> anniversary of independence of Ukraine, quite a long period of time. Further development of new vocabulary is actively taking place (creation of new adjectives from nouns, verbs from nouns, etc.). *Velykyi tumachnyi slovnyk suchasnoi ukrains'koi movy*<sup>49</sup> with 170 000 words included presents a new word *pi-ar* (noun). But other words, based on this one, such as *piarty* (verb), *piarivs'kyi* (adjective), *piarshchyna* (noun), *piarnyk* (noun) are formed.

I can mention here about influx of terminology (business, technical, even medical, philosophic and literary discourse, etc.) into mass media and communication. Late 90's can be characterised as the period of reevaluation/reinterpretation of «perestroika discourse, perestroika words and expressions». New century witness their falling out of active use or passivization, though some elements obviously remain. VTSSUM has included the Ukrainian equivalent of Russian '*perestroika*» (*perebudova*), but does not explain it properly. The word *perestroika*, which has been used in Ukrainian, is not included. VTSSUM presents the word *radians'kyi*, but *radianshchyna* is absent. The word *isteblyshment* is also included in the same dictionary, but *isteblyshmens'kyi*, *isteblyshmentstvo* are not included. The word *diaspora* is registered, but *diaspornyk*, *diasporyt*, *diaspornyi*, *diasporytians'kyi* are not. Judging from the aforementioned examples one can mention about active process of further development of foreign borrowed words. Previously really alienated, foreign, sometimes dead in the language, now they are adjusted, acculturated through word-building suffixes and prefixes:

Ukrainian noun *sekond-khend*, adjective developed *sekond-khendovyi* (*zvychainisin'ke sekond-khendove smittia*

<sup>43</sup> weekly.ua, N. 7, 18-24.02.2010: 12.

<sup>44</sup> weekly.ua, N. 7, 18-24.02.2010: 12.

<sup>45</sup> weekly.ua, N. 7, 18-24.02.2010: 13.

<sup>46</sup> weekly.ua, N. 7, 18-24.02.2010: 28.

<sup>47</sup> Hazeta po-ukrains'ky, 19.11.2010: 3.

<sup>48</sup> Ternopil's'ka hazeta, 25.09-1.10.2002.

<sup>49</sup> VTSSUM, (Kyiv-Irpin', 2002).

‘ordinary second-hand garbage’<sup>50</sup>, and *sekondkhendivs’kyi* (*sekond-khendivs’ka barakholka* ‘second-hand flea market’<sup>51</sup>). Language is developing so quickly that even the best dictionaries are unable to register all recent changes in the lexicon. For example: VTSSUM: noun *veto* is present, but there is no verb *vetuvaty*: *Putin vetuvav popravky do zakonu pro ZMI* ‘Putin vetoed amendments to the legislation on mass media’<sup>52</sup>. Traditional word combination *naklasy veto* is also used in the article. There is noun *potiah* ‘train’, *potiahovi* (adjective, *potiahovi kradii* ‘train thieves’<sup>53</sup>, is absent in VTSSUM. Among recent borrowings from English in both languages *raider/ raider*, *snoubording/ snoubordynh*, *snoubordist/ snoubordyst* (used extensively). Foreign derived words carry some prestige, enigma for the reader:

Ukrainian language– Correspondent asks celebrity: *U vas bezlich khobi: katannia na lyzhakh, daivinh, kartynh* ‘You have lots of hobbies: skiing, diving, carting’<sup>54</sup>. It is high time to write the article «Suffix *-inh/ynh* as an indicator of prestige in Contemporary Ukrainian». Ukrainian tries to expand its word-building potential, utilizing analogy. For example, there are such words as *ukrainofil* and *ukrainofob*. The students’ newspaper of Kyiv-Mohyla Academy called *Koleha/Koliiega* uses occasionalisms *l’vovofil* and *l’vovofob*.

In my Ph.D. dissertation<sup>55</sup> I prepared the list of new words with *narko-* ‘drug’, *ievro-* ‘Euro’, *tele* «TV» as the first components + normal word. New ones appeared recently: Ukrainian *narkotrafik* ‘drug traffic’, *narkokanal* ‘drug channel’, Russian *narkotochki* ‘drug spots’, *narkooborot* ‘drug circulation’, etc.

*Ievro* – Ukrainian *ievroparlamentarii* ‘European/EC MPs’, *ievrodeputaty* ‘European/EC MPs’, *ievroterapiia* ‘European therapy’, *ievrokabinet* ‘European-style study’, *ievrovikna* ‘European-style windows’, *ievrodveri* ‘European-style doors’, etc. Some of them can easily be occasionalisms and will not survive the test of life.

The practice of presenting some English written words continues. For example, Russian<sup>56</sup>: *Ona sexy* ‘She is sexy’.

The acronym *VIP* is used excessively in both languages, with Russian leading the race. The word is written in Latin as well as in Russian script. The word is not new and has been actually introduced at the end of the 20<sup>th</sup> century. Now the word expanded its potential from *VIP* to *superVIPy*.

I want a little bit to dwell on play of language, play with the public, play with the reader. As an example I will use Russian parallel *star* – [short form of the adjective *staryi* ‘old’ and borrowed from English ‘star’] and *superstar* [adequately ‘superold’ and ‘superstar’, which in many cases obviously can go together]. All examples are taken from one newspaper «KP». It started with the article about Alla Pugachova, comical allusion to her age. Later it continued with the article *Belmondo – star... superstar* (title of the article, devoted to his 70<sup>th</sup> anniversary)<sup>57</sup>, *Koz’ mich ne star, a superstar* (It is about Valentin Koz’ mich Ivanov, devoted also to his 70<sup>th</sup> anniversary, when he became the head coach of the Russian A-soccer league team «Torpedo-Metallurg»). Neutral *Russkii superstar v NBA Andrei Kirilenko*<sup>58</sup>, obviously no allusion to his age.

Certain notions/concepts are not represented in Ukrainian or Russian. Then dilemma appears- to use a lengthy explanation, not actually the term or to use borrowed term (with the problem that readers/speakers mostly do not know it): Ukrainian – *Dzhon Kerri peremih na poperednikh vnutrishn’o-partiinykh vyborakh* («*praimeriz*») ‘John Carry won the primaries’<sup>59</sup>. Later «*Praimeriz*» *vidbudut’sia...* ‘Primaries will take place’» Borrowed form is used because of its shortness, original Ukrainian – four words. This is the big difference why borrowed terms have been used. Quite often purists do not take it into account (especially in the Ukrainian context). It is relatively easy to explain most terms and quite awkward (and practically impossible) to use them in an attributive function.

Previous exceptions or abnormalities are often pushed to the forefront of language evolution and become the markers of that period or epoch.

A couple of researchers mention about general tendency towards colloquialisation, vulgarization, lowering the standard of the Russian language, rejection of literary standard in many cases. Ryazanova-Clarke & Wade<sup>60</sup> 116 present the list of active criminal argot used in contemporary Russian discourse: *bespredel* ‘lawlessness’, *vyrubit’sia* ‘to pass out’, *kachat’ prava* ‘to throw one’s weight around’, *kinut’* ‘to con’, *naezd* ‘a rough time’, *tusovat’sia* ‘to hang around’, etc. My examples show the abundant use of these as well as the other words from Ryazanova-Clarke and Wade’s list. I will try to show certain tendencies on concrete examples taken from contemporary Russian mass media as well as from books by Limonov<sup>61</sup> and Karyshev<sup>62</sup>. I also used the following dictionaries: Skliarevskaia<sup>63</sup> and Shlyakhov and Adler<sup>64</sup>.

<sup>50</sup> Ternopil’s’ka hazeta, 20-28.02.2002.

<sup>51</sup> Uriadovyi kur’ier, 28.10.2002.

<sup>52</sup> Den’, 27.11.2002.

<sup>53</sup> Ternopil’s’ka hazeta, 6-12.11.2002.

<sup>54</sup> Vysokyi zamok, 30.12.2003.

<sup>55</sup> Polkovsky, Valerii. *Lexical Change and Business: The Case of Contemporary Ukrainian (1991-2001)*. Edmonton: University of Alberta, 2003.

<sup>56</sup> Komsomol’skaia pravda, 14.01.2004.

<sup>57</sup> Komsomol’skaia pravda, 8.04.2003.

<sup>58</sup> Komsomol’skaia pravda, 19.02.2004.

<sup>59</sup> Vysokyi zamok, 19.02.2004.

<sup>60</sup> Ryazanova-Clarke, Larissa & Terence Wade. *The Russian Language Today*. New York: Routledge, 1999.

<sup>61</sup> Limonov Eduard. *Okhota na Bykova: Rassledovanie Eduarda Limonova* ‘Hunt on Bykov: Inverstigation by Eduard Limonov – SPb, Limbus Press, 2001.

<sup>62</sup> Karyshev Valerii *Vorovskoi obshchak Pashi Tsirulia* [Pasha Tsirul’ Thieves’ Obshchak – M. : EKSMO – Press, 2000.

<sup>63</sup> *Tolkovyi slovar’ sovremennogo russkogo iazyka. Iazykovye izmeneniia kontsa XX stoletia / ILI RAN; Pod. red. G. N. Skliarevskoi*. [Explanatory Dictionary of Contemporary Russian Language. Language Changes at the end of the XX Century]. – M. : OOO «Izdatel’stvo Astrel’»: OOO «Izdatel’stvo AST», 2001.

<sup>64</sup> Shlyakhov, Vladimir & Eve Adler. *Dictionary of Russian Slang & Colloquial Expressions*. – New York: Barron’s,

Among the tendencies – abundant use of vulgar words, expressions, allusions, connotations, etc. When Ryazanova-Clarke and Wade 114-115 among the vulgar words list *suka* ‘bitch’, *zasranets* ‘shitty person’, *morda* ‘mug’, *padla* ‘bastard’ these ones sound very mild in comparison with my examples from newspapers of the 21<sup>st</sup> century. Vulgarisms are everywhere:

*Oni trakhaiutsia vozle musorok, a v duzhe u nikh tsvetut romashki?* ‘They fuck each other close to the garbage bins, and romashki blossom in their soles?’<sup>65</sup>;

*Etot Fattakh trakhaet vse, chto dvizhetsia. On trakhaet bab, kak Al’binos – zavody.* ‘This Fattakh fucks everything that moves. He fucks women, like Albino plants’<sup>66</sup>.

Skliarevskaia 791 presents the following meaning of the word *trakhat’sia*. *Razg. Snizh. 1) Vstupat’ v polovuiu sviaz’* ‘Coll. Low. 1) To have sexual intercourse.

Vulgarisms are becoming an inseparable part of political discourse. Looks like some of the leaders like the former President of Ukraine Leonid Kuchma or Deputy Chairman of the Russian Parliament, leader of LDPR Vladimir Zhirinovskii can not build a single separate sentence without using them. Just an example of Vladimir Putin’s lowered style: *Pochemu u nas tak (kak v Evrosoiuzie – Red.) ne poluchaetsia? Potomu chto, izviniatus’, vse sopli zhuem i politikanstvuem* ‘Why we cannot do it (as in the EU –Ed.)? Because, I am sorry, all the time are chewing sopli and involved in politicking’<sup>67</sup>, Very mild in comparison with Zhirinovskii’s and Kuchma’s «pearls».

The word *sranyi* ‘worthless, useless’ is used in other contexts: from the interview of Slava Zaitsev, famous Russian clothes designer: *Etot sranyi bantik snimu s golovy* ‘I will take off that shitty ribbon off the head’ (talking about Nikita Mikhailkov’s wife)<sup>68</sup>.

The expression *iapona mat’* ‘Japanese mother’ is reactivated and resurrected: *Davno pora, iapona mat’, v finale nam v futbol sygrat’* ‘It is high time, Japanese mother, for us to play in the soccer final’<sup>69</sup>; *Ne otdadim Kurily, iapona mat’* ‘We will not give away Kuryly, Japanese mother’<sup>70</sup>.

In distant 1982 Dreizin and Tom Priestly<sup>71</sup> noted: «Mat is a shadow-image of the Russian language as a whole». V. M. Mokienko<sup>72</sup> mentions about popularization of argotisms by contemporary writers and mass media. Mokienko (75) talks about 2900 argotisms (~8.4% of their total number) in *obshchenarodnyi iazyk* ‘popular/national language’.

Indirect allusions are becoming more and more popular:

*Bush nakazhet Rossiuu po samye neftedollary* ‘Bush will punish Russia up to its oil dollars’<sup>73</sup> [*po samye iaitsa* ‘up to the balls’ is implied]

Another interesting observation has found complete proof in my data: «*Nashi politiki matom ne rugaiutsia, oni an nem razgovarivaiut*» – *prishel k vyvodu correspondent «Komsomol’skoi pravdy» i bol’shoi liubitel’ politiki Aleksandr Gamov* ‘«Our politicians do not swear using mat, they talk in it» – arrived to the conclusion correspondent of «Komsomol’skaia gazeta» and a great lover of politics Alexander Gamov’<sup>74</sup>.

Criminalization of life, business, entrepreneurial, any activity is clearly reflected in the language. *Liubov’ Kazarnovskaia: Segodnia operoi pravit mafia* ‘Today opera is being ruled by mafia’<sup>75</sup>. Artem Troitskii: «... *nashe stoprotsentno korrumpirovano* ‘... Our TV is 100 % corrupted’<sup>76</sup>.

Together with *politicheskaiia i ekonomicheskaiia elita* ‘political and economic/business elite’ (Skliarevskaia 869) more often expression *kriminal’naia elita* ‘criminal elite’ is used. Mokienko (76) talks about the notion of «*bizhargonnoe pole*» (bijargon field) – *leksika, ob’ediniavushchaia rech’ predstavitelei pravookhranitel’nykh organov s rech’iu prestupnikov (bol’nichka, polosaty, krytka* ‘lexicon, uniting speech of representatives of law-enforcement officers with criminals’ speech (hospital, striped, prison)’. The phenomenon of the 21<sup>st</sup> century is much, much broader – «*bizhargonnoe pole*» combines quite often the speech of politicians, legislators with the speech of criminals. Quite often in the Russian reality criminals become politicians and legislators:

Ryazanova-Clarke and Wade (118) refer the word *krutoi* ‘serious, tough, cool’ to youth slang. Shlyakhov and Adler (119) provide the following meaning of *krutoi*: 1 strong, strong-willed, strict, tough, pushy. 2 making a strong impression, frightening, terrific. My data show that this word broadened its semantic meaning and is not used only by youth. Semantic component ‘having financial success’ is becoming stronger in its meaning. What can be *krutoi* nowadays in Russia? Without any classification I provide the whole list: *mini-disk* ‘mini-CD’ (expensive), *mesto (tantsploshchadka)* ‘spot (dancing hall)’, *zhizn’* ‘life’, *rebiata* ‘guys’, *vyskazyvaniia* ‘sayings’, *vorota [iz stali]* ‘steel gates’, *shestisoty i «mers»* ‘Mercedes -600’, *ugolovniki* ‘criminals’, *dela* ‘things/affairs’, *biznesmen* ‘businessman’, *liudi* ‘people’, *politiki* ‘politicians’, *ment* ‘policeman’, *kurtka* ‘jacket’, *zakony* ‘laws’, *otets* ‘father’. *Sotnia golykh*

1995.

<sup>65</sup> title of the article in *Komsomol’skaia pravda*, 9 October 2002.

<sup>66</sup> *Komsomol’skaia pravda*, 1.04.2003.

<sup>67</sup> *Argumenty i fakty* #6, February 2003, p.2.

<sup>68</sup> *Ogonek*, #34, September 2000.

<sup>69</sup> *Komsomol’skaia pravda*, 4 December 2001.

<sup>70</sup> *Pravda*, January 2003.

<sup>71</sup> Dreizin and Tom Priestly in the article «A Systematic Approach to Russian Obscene Language» // *Russian Linguistics* 8: 2.

<sup>72</sup> V.M. Mokienko in the article *Issledovanie russkogo zhargona* ‘Research of the Russian Joargon’ // *Russian Linguistics* 1999, 23: 67-85, p.75.

<sup>73</sup> title of the article, *Komsomol’skaia pravda*, 26.03.2003.

<sup>74</sup> *Komsomol’skaia pravda*, 15 August 2002.

<sup>75</sup> title of the article, *Nezavisimaia gazeta*, 21.03.2003.

<sup>76</sup> *Nezavisimaia gazeta*, 21.03.2003.

*liudei – eto kruto* ‘One hundred naked people is cool’<sup>77</sup>. And, obviously, when so many things can be described by крутой, degrees of comparison and other additives appear: *naikruteishii* ‘the coolest’<sup>78</sup>; *superkrutoi* ‘super cool’<sup>79</sup>. A few comparisons with Ukrainian: Vitia, 9-year old, answering the question: *Khto takyi biznesmen?* ‘Who is businessman?’<sup>80</sup>, says: *Vin izdyt’ na krutii mashyni «Lambordzhini», u n’oho krutyi budynok, a u kvartyri – basein i bahato televizoriv ta kom»iuteriv* ‘He drives the cool car «Lamborghini», he has the cool house, and in his apartment the swimming pool and many TVs and computers’.

Verbs *mochit’* [1. To kill (lit. to wet) 2. To hit, beat<sup>81</sup>] and *naezzhat’* [youth, neg. To demand, insist, exert pressure] are still very popular and even gaining in popularity. Who can be «beaten/killed»? (*normal’nye grazhdane* ‘normal people/citizens’, *Saddam* ‘Saddam’, *babushka* ‘granny’). *Glavnoe, chtoby svoi ne «zamochili»!* ‘The main thing is not to be «beaten/killed» by your own guys!’<sup>82</sup>.

Very popular is the combination of Latin VIP + noun. For example: *VIP-krugi* ‘VIP-circles’, *VIP-patsienty* ‘VIP-patients’, *VIP-prostitutki* ‘VIP-prostitutes’, *prostutitsiia VIP-klassa* ‘prostitution of VIP-class, *VIP-bordeli* ‘VIP-brothels’, *VIP-ubiistva* ‘VIP-killings’, *VIP-zal* ‘VIP-hall’, *VIP-zal’chik* ‘VIP-small hall, *VIP-persony* ‘VIP-persons’, *VIP-pliazhi* ‘VIP-beaches’, *VIP-bankety* ‘VIP-banquets’, *VIP-gosti* ‘VIP-guests’, *VIP-zriteli* ‘VIP-spectators’, *VIP-sektor* ‘VIP-sector’. In Skliarevskaia (2001: Prilozhenie) only 7 examples with VIP are presented. Latin VIP also serves as an adjective with Russian ending –*ovskii*: *VIP-ovskaia publika* ‘VIP-public’. Then corresponding noun is created: *VIP-y* ‘VIPs’. «Purely Russian» *supervipovskii* developed.

What words are used to describe former compatriots (ex-USSR nations and nationalities)? Chechens (standard *chechentsy*) are called *checheny*, «*chekhi*», «*dukhi*», *chechy*, *chichiki* (You remember famous slogan of LDPR «*Khoroshii chichik – mertvyi chichik*» [Good Chechen is dead Chechen]). People from Caucasus are termed *churki*, *chernomazye*, *khachiki*, *uriuki*, *arbuzniki*, *chernozhepye*.

Terence Wade,<sup>83</sup> mentions: «... non-Russians are termed *chernye* ‘blacks’, *nerus’* ‘non-Russians’ or *zapadency* (from Western Ukraine)». Ukraine and Ukrainians are derogatorily called *Khokhliandiia*, *Samostiinaia* (*championat Samostiinoi*), *khokhlobaks*, etc.

And now a couple of words about nicknames of VIPs. Putin at different stages of his career was termed *prodolzhatel’ eltsinskikh idei*, «*naslednik*», *Yeltsin posledefoltovskogo perioda*, *Pauk*, *Vovan*, *VVP*. Anatolii Chubais, responsible for the process of privatization in Russia, probably, has the biggest amount of nicknames: *Rzhavyi Tolik*, *Ryzhii*, *Vaucher*, *Zheleznyi Drovosek*; Kirienko – *Kinder-siurpriz*, Boris Nemtsov – *Kudriavyyi*, *Dumskii Kazanova*, *Luzhkov* – *Luzhok*, *Kepka*, *Kolobok*, *Lavrentii Palych Meriia*, Boris Berezovskii- *BAB*, *Bereza*.

How can you translate into normal language the title of the article *Pasha-Mercedes stal Pashei-Katafalkom?* (about Pavel Grachev, Russia’s Minister of Defense during El’tsin’s period) [lobbying of the interests of the funeral agency Memorial]. Irina Khakamada – *Khirosima*, Grigorii Iavlinskii – *Iavlo*. Boris Eltsin – *Rukovodiashchii stakan*, *Alkoholissimus Vseia Rusi*, *Ded*, *Vsenarodno izbrannyi*, *Garant*, *Tsar’ Boris*, *BEN*, *Elkin*, *EBN*. Ukrainian President Leonid Kuchma – *Harant*, *Papa*, *Pakhan*. Sportsmen have their nicknames: former Loko’s goalkeeper (Moscow) Sergei Ovchinnikov – *Boss*, former AC Milan’s (and current «Dynamo» Kyiv’s) striker Andrii Shevchenko-*Sheva*, etc. Nicknames are especially popular among actors, pop singers: *Zemfira* – *Zema*, *Filipp Kirkorov* – *Zaika*, *Zaika rossiiskoi estrady*, *Alla Pugachova* – *Primadonna*. Madonna, excuse me, please, according to<sup>84</sup>: *Glavnaia trakhal’ shchitsa* ‘The main fucker’. The word is a neologism and is not registered in the dictionaries.

My conclusion is pretty optimistic about the development of the Russian language lexicon in the 21<sup>st</sup> century.

#### **Business terminology.**

*Ukrains’ka stala movoiu i maloho, i velykoho biznesu*

‘Ukrainian became the language of small as well as big business’ – states Antonina Berezovenko (21)<sup>85</sup>. I cannot agree with this statement. Russian has been mostly used for big business. Berezovenko (22) points out at influence of Internet and parliamentary speech. The second factor nowadays is minor and cannot be considered as a very serious one.

#### **The Language of marshrutka.**

In her article<sup>86</sup> Lesia Stavys’ka remarks that marshrutky appeared about ten years ago in Ukrainian urban space. Stavys’ka (26) talks about *ahresyvni formy povedinky, zokrema zastyhloho v chasi sovkovoho khamstva z chipkoiu pryv»iazanistiu do radians’koi lozungovoi rytoryky, avariina svidomist’ postradians’koi liudyny, infkivanoi permanentnym strakhom* ‘aggressive forms of behavior, in particular frozen in time Soviet rudeness with tight attachment to Soviet slogan rhetoric, alarming consciousness of post-Soviet person, infected with permanent fear’.

My observation was conducted in marshrutka «Ostroh – Rivne» (Ukraine), February 27, 2011, time of departure from Ostroh – 9: 30 a.m., arrival time to Rivne – 10: 20 a.m.

<sup>77</sup> Komsomol’skaia pravda, 1.04.2003.

<sup>78</sup> Komsomol’skaia pravda, 2.09.2000.

<sup>79</sup> Fakty i komentarii, 15.08.2000.

<sup>80</sup> Den’, 02.07.2002.

<sup>81</sup> Shlyakhov and Adler 140.

<sup>82</sup> title of the article, Komsomol’skaia pravda, 21.02.2003.

<sup>83</sup> book review, published in The Slavonic and East European Review, Vol. 79, No.2, April 2001, p.308.

<sup>84</sup> Komsomol’skaia pravda, 11.08.2000.

<sup>85</sup> Berezovenko Antonina. Kalynovy diskurs i vlada slova [Kalyna’s Discourse and Word Power]// Krytyka. – November – December 2009: 21-24.

<sup>86</sup> Diskursyvne pole ukrains’koi marshrutky ‘Discursive Field of Ukrainian Marshrutka/Minibus’ //Krytyka. – November-December 2009: 24-26 (2009: 24)

The instructor of physical culture of Ostroh School No. 1 is Russian speaking, students (their age approximately 12-15) going to the baseball competition are Ukrainian speaking. The instructor communicates all the time in Russian. The instructor is female, age approximately 25-30 (the students called her «Vasylivna»). She uses all the time slang, jargon, vulgarisms (for example, *gani bablo* ‘give me money’ – rude, vulgar, used approximately 12-15 times, *kapiets vsiem* ‘all will be finished’, *atpad* ‘’, used several times, *blin* ‘gosh’, *rubliei* ‘roubles’ instead of *hryven* ‘hryvnias’). The students also used several times *rubliei* instead of *hryven*, but some do not. They used only *hryvni*. All the students are communicating in Ukrainian. But one of the students in his Ukrainian inserted words like *sieichas* ‘now’, *pazhaluista* ‘please’. The instructor only once made an awkward attempt to use Ukrainian word. She said: *Dienieg nima* ‘No money’. (twice). The students immediately started to laugh and said: «*Vona nima. Zavzhdy nima* ‘She is deaf. Always deaf’. She does not even know the simplest Ukrainian word *nemaie* ‘there is not’. The instructor did not talk quietly, she was mostly yelling at her students and the whole marshrutka heard this ‘interaction’. The students did not use many slang/jargon words, though there were some, like *shyriaieshsia*, *sharyshsia* ‘fussy, running too much’.

Among the recent publications on slang we can mention Mini Dictionary of Local Slang published in Ostroh Academy National University (360 widely used slang expressions in Rivne region). The respondents’ age was 14 – 30. Among unusual ones in this dictionary one can mention: *zieliki* ‘US dollars’, *kafedra filosofii* ‘washroom’, *mitynhailo* ‘talkative person’, *monia* ‘slow person’, *iuki-puki* ‘fantastic’, *iushch* ‘unreliable person’, *iaha* ‘woman with wrong make-up’.

**Conclusions.** Ukrainian has been trying hard to overcome its colonial status. For the recent more than twenty years there have been tremendous positive gains as well as sizeable losses. Russian was entering this 20-year period in much better shape and form. But it suffered certain losses as well. The 21<sup>st</sup> century will be decisive for both languages functioning and expansion the sphere of their application.