

Valerii Polkovsky

**WORD FORMATION AND NEOLOGICAL GROWTH IN THE  
CONTEMPORARY UKRAINIAN LANGUAGE  
SINCE INDEPENDENCE**

**Ukrainian language in the 70s and 80s**

Before dealing with the Ukrainian language since independence, a couple of brief comments and observations have to be made regarding at least the last two decades prior to that period.

**1970-1985.** This period was especially unfavorable for the development of the Ukrainian language. The policy of Russification intensified. There was creation of clumsy phraseological/ideological expressions. It was marked by the use of 'ideologically correct Ukrainian language,' widespread use of Soviet "newspeak". During the 1970s Ukrainian linguists researched certain aspects of the development of vocabulary such as international elements in the lexicon of different languages (Akulenko 1972), the development of various subsystems (Pan'ko 1979) or general consideration of the Ukrainian lexicon (Lysychenko 1977).

**Perestroika (perebudova period).** This period witnessed the beginning of the neological boom in the Contemporary Ukrainian language. Some new stump compounds were formed: *derzhzhamovlennia* 'state standards control,' *inofirma* 'foreign firm,' *telemarafon* 'telethon', resembling an American word. Clipped compounds<sup>1</sup> like *oboronka* (*oboronna promyslovist'*) 'defence industry', *humanitarka* 'humanitarian aid'<sup>2</sup> definitely recall Russian ones, as well as zero-suffixed derivatives like *mizhrehional* 'member of an inter-regional group of people's deputies' (Ryazanova-Clarke & Wade 1999: 72), *nelehal* 'illegal worker'<sup>3</sup>, *avtokefal* 'member of the Ukrainian Autocephalous Orthodox Church'<sup>4</sup>, *rehional* 'member of the regional group.'

<sup>1</sup> Terms originated in *perebudova* period (1985-1991), but examples are taken from the period (1991-2005).

<sup>2</sup> *Ievrosoiuz ne zabuv pro "humanitarku" Ukraini* 'The European Union did not forget about "humanitarian aid" to Ukraine'.

<sup>3</sup> "Nelehaly" na zarobitkakh "Illegals" working for payment'.

<sup>4</sup> *Avtokefaly na porozh vyznannia* 'Autocephals are on the eve of recognition'.

New acronyms appeared calquing Russian: *ZMOP* (*zahir militsii osoblyvoho pryznachennia*) 'special police unit' (analogous to Russian *OMON* 'otriad militsii osobogo naznacheniiia'), *VKV* (*vil'no konvertovana valiuta*) 'freely convertible currency' (analogous to Russian *SKV* 'svobodno konvertiruemaia valiuta') (see Ryazanova-Clarke & Wade 1999: 73). The interesting tendency with *ZMOP* is that to name this branch of the police the word *zmopivtsi* was at first used, but nowadays only *omonivtsi* (Ukrainianized Russian form *omonovtsy*). This tendency is evident with other Russian acronyms, which previously were translated into Ukrainian and now are used in their Russian form. Quite often the modified Russian form *soviets'kyi* for 'Soviet' is used, though in the former Soviet Union the form *radians'kyi* was used.

New expressions appeared describing the previous economic and political system: *komandno-administratyvna systema* 'command and administrative system,' *komandno-administratyvni metody* 'command and administrative methods,' *partokratiia* 'partocracy' (see analogous forms in Russian in Ryazanova-Clarke & Wade 1999: 73). The following words, phrases and expressions were formed: *arkhitektoz perebudovy* 'the architect of perestroika'; *bili pliamy istorii* 'skeletons in the historical cupboard', literally meaning 'white spots of history'; *humanitarna dopomoha* (later *humanitarka*) 'humanitarian aid'; *zahal'noievropeis'kyi dim* 'the common European home'; *zahal'noliudski tsinnosti* 'shared human values'; *mitynhuvaty* 'to rally'; *nove myslennia* 'new thinking'; *parad suverenitetiv* 'declaration of sovereignty by Soviet republics and national regions'; *pravova derzhava* 'state based on the rule of law' *tin'ovyk* 'shady businessman'; *shokova terapiia* 'shock therapy' (for Russian examples, see Ryazanova-Clarke & Wade 1999: 73-75).

In Ukrainian society Communist rhetoric is still heard often: *zakhyst prav znedolennykh (robotnychoho klasu, selian, intelihentsii)* 'protection of the rights of unfortunate people (working class, peasants, intelligentsia).'

## Sources

For this article I analyzed examples from the following Ukrainian periodical press, covering 1998-2004 period: *Literaturna Ukraina (LU)* 2000, *Krytyka* 2001, *Suchasnist'* 2001, *Panorama* 2000, *Rivne vechirnie (RV)* 2004, *Ukraina moloda (UM)* 2004, *Den'* 2000, 2001, *Nova Ternopil's'ka hazeta (NTH)* 2000, 2004, *Vechirni Kyiv (VK)* 2000, 2001, *Ukrains'kyi holos (UH)* 1998, *Ukrains'kyi kur'ier (UK)* 1998, *Ukrains'kyi futbol (UF)* 2001, *Dzerkalo tyzhnia (DT)* 2000, 2001 and *TAK!* 2004.

### Ukrainian's new role as a state language

The period of Ukrainian independence (1991 – 2005) is an indicator of the revitalization of Ukrainian language.

The disintegration of the Soviet Union, the collapse of the totalitarian system, the period of perestroika and glasnost and Ukrainian independence have resulted in considerable changes in the conditions in which the language functions. The rather bewildering developments in Ukrainian society today are reflected in what several observers characterize as a particularly dynamic state of the Ukrainian language.

The bureaucratic language of the totalitarian society has been gradually giving way to new forms of expression. While formerly political terms and expressions were limited to the sphere of official and professional communication, now they are used in active vocabulary. It is, for all practical purposes, the first time that the Ukrainian language is employed in the role of a state language since 1991. During this recent period of independence, the Ukrainian lexicon has been extensively expanded.

On 24 August 1991 the independence of Ukraine was proclaimed and in December of the same year it was approved in a referendum. This fourteen-year span (1991-2005) marks a totally new situation with regard to the functionality of Ukrainian language. For the first time, Ukrainian is functioning in the conditions of statehood. Ukrainian had to develop and improve totally new functional domains, in that its sphere of use had previously been very limited or quite neglected (e.g., the language of politics, business, the language of diplomacy and computer science, sports, etc.), though in the rural regions it has been used in the Western, and partially Central Ukraine.

Considering the process of revitalization of the contemporary Ukrainian language, Berezovenko (1997: 121) comes to the conclusion that

*Analiz suchasnoi movnoi dynamiky v Ukraini pokazuie, shcho protses revitalizatsii zumovliuiet 'sia dvoma holovnymy chynnykamy:*

*(1) vidkodom vid totalitaryzmu;*

*(2) derzhavnym statusom ukrains'koi movy v umovakh real'noho suverenitetu ukrains'koi derzhavy.*

'an analysis of the contemporary language dynamics in Ukraine shows that the process of revitalization is caused by two main factors:

(1) the departure from totalitarianism;

(2) the state status of the Ukrainian language in the conditions of real sovereignty of the Ukrainian state.'

The sociolinguistic situation has not improved significantly even under independence. The everyday use of Ukrainian is limited in certain (mostly eastern and southern) regions of Ukraine. Ukrainian authors draw close attention to this burning issue (see Ivanyshyn and Radevych-Vynnyts'kyi 1994, Masenko 1999, 2001, Radevych-Vynnyts'kyi 1997).

As mentioned previously, the conditions of statehood are very important for the functioning and development of the Ukrainian language. The fifteen-year span of the Ukrainian independence marked the creation of a new state administration, a new political system, a diplomatic service and the subsequent use of the language in political, diplomatic and to a lesser extent business discourse. Ukraine has the opportunity to build its ties and relations with other countries, developing its culture and image, though the usage of Russian is still extensive in the Ukrainian establishment (we remember the situation when the former President of Ukraine, Leonid Kuchma, had basically to learn Ukrainian, having been already elected to the post).

Under the Communist regime the political vocabulary, for example, was official, and it did not include any words for criticism of official political course or reality of that time. The transition from the clumsy language of the "socialist society" to the vocabulary of the post-totalitarian society deserves close attention.

At present, the Ukrainian language tries to reflect all the complex processes taking place in the political, business, cultural life of the modern Ukrainian society.

These connections between processes in language and society are tight and many dramatic changes are reflected in language. Political democratization and liberalization have created an atmosphere in which "everything is permitted". This mind set has shaped attitudes about language use and is reflected in widespread rejection of previous linguistic norms and a radical preference for novelty. Now, language decisions are neither "top-down" [decreed by government apparatus] nor centralized; therefore, there is a kind of uncontrolled "free-for-all". Language becomes more flexible and mobile, reacting to minute switches. I call this process 'from *mobilizatsiia*<sup>5</sup> to *mobilizatsiia*<sup>6</sup>.'

In contemporary Ukrainian society, language has become more dynamic and personal. The bureaucratic language of the pre-capitalist period (especially during the aforementioned 1970-85 period) is now no longer accepted in everyday use. The difference between the official language of the totalitarian society and

<sup>5</sup> Massive recruitment of people to serve in the army in case of state emergency (like war, armed conflict, coup d'etat). The term was excessively used during the communist regime.

<sup>6</sup> Massive use of mobile phones by people. This is the recent meaning of the term, created in the mid 1990s.

the language of the epoch of post-totalitarianism is evident (for the Russian language case see Zemskaja 1996: 19).

The changes in Ukrainian are enormous. They are taking place on all levels (phonetic, morphological, syntactic, semantic, etc.).

### Democratization of the Ukrainian language

"The changes are often seen as corruption, decay, degeneration, deterioration, as due to laziness or slovenliness, as a threat to education, morality and even to national security" - a point that is emphasized by Campbell (1999: 3). In my research I will concentrate on considering change<sup>7</sup> as a means for filling in referential gaps rather than criticizing these changes.

The process of democratization<sup>8</sup> is unfolding fast in Ukrainian (contrary to Krouglov's statement (1999: 40): "The slow acceptance of linguistic democratization in Ukrainian ...").

The process of democratization in Ukrainian prevails over puristic or archaizing tendencies (often puristic processes do not conflict with democratization; when they do so, the process of democratization prevails over them). This is contrary to the same author's statement: "A purist or archaizing tendency, therefore, prevails over democratisation in Ukrainian, while democratisation has been taken the upper hand over archaizing tendencies in Russian" (Krouglov 1999: 40).

Kostomarov (1999: 5) uses the other term *liberalizatsiia* 'liberalization' in regards to these stormy processes that are taking place in the language. *Naibolee iarko demokratiziruiutsia takie sfery literaturnogo obshcheniia, kak massovaia kommunikatsiia, vključaia siuda pis'mennyi iazyk periodiki* 'Such spheres of the literary communication, as mass media communication, including here the written language of the press (periodicals), are undergoing the most vividly process of democratization' (Kostomarov 1999: 5).

By *liberalizatsiia* he means that *V tselom literaturno-iazykovaia norma stanovitsia menee opredelennoi i obiazatelnoi; literaturnyi standart stanovitsia menee standartnym* 'In general, the literary-language norm becomes less defi-

<sup>7</sup> "All languages change through time" - remark Thomason and Kaufman (1991: 9). "...we cannot understand how languages change unless we have an accurate view of what language systems are like" - considers Hudson (1996: 145-146). See also Aitchison 1991 on language change.

<sup>8</sup> By democratization I mean transition from the authoritarian 'prescribed' linguistic norm of totalitarian society to a diversity of linguistic means and the devices of post-totalitarian society, expressed in a variety of competing lexical, stylistic and other forms. In other words, it is a loosening of one literary standard, a rejection of strict language normativism. The term *demokratizatsiia* 'democratization,' regarding linguistic processes, was first introduced by V.K. Zhuravlev 1982, 1989 (according to Kostomarov 1999: 5).

nite and obligatory; the literary standard becomes less standard' (Kostomarov 1999: 5). Ryazanova-Clarke and Wade (1999: viii) also use this term, considering the role of the media in the 'liberalization' of the language. The Ukrainian language is in a constant state of flux, with a new and revived vocabulary evolving day by day.

The Ukrainian language has changed tremendously, keeping pace with the changes in Ukrainian society brought about by independence. What has been written with reference to Russian is also true of Ukrainian: These changes are the "logical continuation of the tendencies that were present in the language at a prior stage" (Comrie, Stone and Polinsky 1996: 2).

## Quantitative Changes

### Derivation

Many new words are created by derivation. In this subsection I will discuss the suffixes *-izatsii(a)* (active, not new), *-izm* (active, not new), *-ukha* (not active, not new), *-ets'* (active, not new)<sup>9</sup>, *-abel'nyi* (currently not active, but with good possibilities to become active in future, not new), and prefixes *anty-* (extremely active, not new), *bez-* (not active, not new), *pro-* (active, not new), *post-* (active, not new), *hiper-* (not active, not new), *ul'tra-* (not active, not new), *neo-* (not active, not new), *psevdo-* (not active, not new), *super-* (active, not new), *meha-* (not active, new), *kvazi-* (not active, rather new), *eks-* (active, not new). My timeline for considering a suffix or a prefix 'new' is approximately the same fourteen-year span (1991 - 2005). Though the majority of these affixes are not new, they have expanded their sphere of usage and often create new words that are not yet registered in popular Ukrainian dictionaries. Answering the question: "What is a new word?", Algeo (1991 : 2) writes: "The form of the word itself may be novel, a shape that has not been seen or heard in English (*flexitime*, *phil-lumenist*, *ecotage*), or the newness may lie in a novel use of an existing form. In the latter case, the novelty may be in what the word refers to (*turf* as 'a location, subject, or responsibility claimed as one's own'), the word's grammar (*looney tunes* developing from the name of an animated cartoon to an adjective 'erratic, absurd'), or even its relationship to those who use it (British *toyboy* entering American use via supermarket tabloids)."

<sup>9</sup> The suffixes *-ukha* and *-ets'* are the only native suffixes; all others are of foreign origin, some of them may have even come into Ukrainian in the nineteenth century.

## Suffixes

### *-izatsii(a)*

Among the most widely used is the suffix *-izatsii(a)* (for names denoting processes):

*barteryzatsiia* 'barterization'; *bomzhyzatsiia mist* 'homelessnessization of cities'; *harmonizatsiia natsional'nykh zakonodavstv* 'harmonization of the national legislation' (this word has been used for a long time in music); *hlobalizatsiia* 'globalization'; *gettoizatsiia* 'ghettoization'; *gloryfikatsiia* 'glorification'; *ekonomizatsiia zovnishn'oekonomichnykh vidnosyn* 'economization of foreign economic activity'; *komertsializatsiia* 'commercialization'; *"kontrabandyzatsiia"*<sup>10</sup> *ukrains'koho rynku* "'contrabandization" of the Ukrainian market'; *kryminalizatsiia ta "tinizatsiia" ekonomiky* 'criminalization and "shadowing" of economy'; *liumpenizatsiia hromadian*<sup>10</sup> 'impoverishment of citizens'; *marginalizatsiia* 'marginalization'; *minimizatsiia vplyvu nehatyvnykh chynnykiv* 'minimization of influence of negative factors'; *minimalizatsiia inflitsii* 'minimalization of inflation'; *monetaryzatsiia VVP (valovoho vnutrishn'oho produktu)* 'monetarization of GDP'; *restrukturyzatsiia borhiv* 'debt restructuring'; *"synkronizatsiia" roboty z AP (Administratsiieiu Prezydenta)* "'synchronization" of work with the Presidential Administration'; *synkronizatsiia systemy politychnoi reformy* 'synchronization of the system of political reform'; *strukturyzatsiia suspil'stva* 'structuring of society' and even such an enigmatic expression as *rosavizatsiia krainy* 'rosavization of the country'<sup>11</sup>.

### *-izm*

The suffix *-izm* 'ism' for denoting political movements, groups, affiliations, etc. is quite actively used: *kuchmizm* 'Kuchmism,' *kravchukizm* 'Kravchukism,' etc.<sup>12</sup>

<sup>10</sup> Quotation marks here and in all following data examples represent exact reproductions of the original. In my opinion, they are used because the words are new and the authors are not sure whether people know them. They are like a testing ground for acceptance by a general public.

<sup>11</sup> From *rosavizatsiia – tin'ova pryvatyzatsiia "Rosavy"* 'shadowy (unfair) privatization of the firm "Rosava".'

<sup>12</sup> *Ideolohiia kuchmizmu*, *artykul'ovana ioho aparatom, vyavylasia shche efemernishym iavyshchem, nyzh "ideolohiia kravchukizmu"*, *artykul'ovana natsional-demokratychnoiu, perevazhno humanitarnoiu inteligentsiieiu*. '... the "ideology of Kuchmism", articulated by his staff, appeared to be an even more ephemeral phenomenon than "the ideology of Kravchukism", articulated by national democratic, mostly humanitarian intelligentsia' (Riabchuk 2000: 171-172).

**-ukha**

Suffixed forms of the type *chornukha* 'negative information,' *pornukha* 'pornography,' *hrupovukha* 'group sex,' etc. are formed, and some observers consider them examples of strong Russian influence. Oleksa Syniavs'kyi (1941: 128) wrote that *-ukha*, *-iukha* is very widespread suffix in various roots (*dosyt' poshyrenyi narostok pry riznykh pniakh*).

**-ets'**

The suffix *-ets'* is used to create nouns denoting members of certain organizations (derived from the names of organizations or surnames, like previously used *komsomolets'* 'Komsomol member,' *leninets'* 'follower of Lenin's ideas'):

*Kolyshnii rukhivets'* (*vchorashnii "kostenkivets'"*, *pozavchorashnii "chornovolivets'"*), *a nyini lider PPVV Yaroslav Fedoryn*.

'The former member of Rukh (yesterday's member of Kostenko's party, the day-before-yesterday's member of Chornovil's party), and now the leader of PPVV Yaroslav Fedoryn.'

**-abel'nyi**

Among the reactivated affixes is the adjectival suffix *-abel'nyi* (from English -able). One of the most popular words with this suffix is the adjective *chytabel'nyi* 'readable,' which was used already in the 1960s, but expanded its semantic combinability recently:

*naichytabel'nishyi pys'mennyk* 'the most readable writer'; *naichytabel'nishi romany* 'the most readable novels'; *nechytabel'na proza* 'non-readable prose'; *chytabel'na literatura* 'readable literature'; *chytabel'nyi tvir* 'readable work.'

The noun *chytabel'nist'* 'readability' was also created. All these examples are from a dialogue between two Ukrainian writers Roman Kukharuk and Anatolii Dimarov in an article called "*Pro chytabel'nist' literatury i ne til'ky (Polemichni rozmovy)*" 'About the readability of literature and not only about it (A polemic conversation)' (*LU*, 20.01.2000: 3). Suffice it to mention that *Literaturna Ukraina* is not partial to foreign borrowings. An analogous form is *dysertabel'nyi* 'dissertationable' (*Vasha tema dysertabel'na?* 'Is the topic of your dissertation modern and up-to-date? Are you able to defend a dissertation with this topic?'). Corresponding nouns *dysertabel'nist'/nedysertabel'nist'* 'dissertation-ability/un-dissertationability' are created.



The bound morpheme - *heit* or - *geit* 'gate' recently is becoming more and more popular. Starting with traditional *Voterheit/Votergeit*<sup>13</sup> 'Watergate,' the morpheme in Ukrainian first was actively applied to American scandals<sup>14</sup> and later to Ukrainian ones (*ukrains'kyi "Votergeit" "Ukrainian "Watergate"*):

*Kuchmageit* 'Kuchmagate' (*Chy mozhna za takykh obstavyn zbahnuty "Kuchmageit", iak nazyvaiut' na Zakhodi zvyuvachennia proty prezydenta Kuchmy u prychnosti do znyknennia nezalezhnoho zhurnalista Heorhiiia Honhadze? (Krytyka 2001, 1-2: 4).*

'Under such circumstances, is it possible, to understand "Kuchmagate", as in the West accusations against President Kuchma in his involvement in the disappearance of independent journalist Heorhiy Gongadze are called?'

derivative *kyivgeitivs'kyi* 'Kyivgate' (adj.).<sup>15</sup>

Other examples of this morpheme are also found: "*Zhuchok-heit*" u *Bolharii* "'Bug gate" in Bulgaria' (when bug devices were found in the apartment of the public prosecutor of Bulgaria), "*internetheit*" "'Internetgate"<sup>16</sup>.

**Prefixes** (except for *bez-*, all prefixes are of foreign origin)

The period investigated here is characterized by the activization of prefixes that denote negation, rejection.

**anty-**

The prefix *anty-* 'anti-' is among the most active ones:

*antypolitychna vystava* 'antipolitical performance'; *antyprosvitnyts'ka liberal'na demokratsiia* 'anti-enlightenment liberal democracy'; *antysuspil'ni i antykonstruktyvni rechi* 'antisocietal and anticonstructive things'; *antyprezydents'ka koalitsiia* 'antipresidential coalition'; *antykryzovi doslidzhennia* 'anticrisis research'; *antystalinizm* 'antistalin-

<sup>13</sup> Both variants are found in the newspapers.

<sup>14</sup> See, title of the article *Voterheit, Monikaheit, ... Hor-heit?* 'Watergate, Monicagate, ... Goregate?' (*Den*, 27. 06. 2000).

<sup>15</sup> "*Kyivgeitivs'ki*" *plivky* "'Kyivgate" tapes'.

<sup>16</sup> when documents that possibly contained state secrets appeared in the Internet edition of "*Ukraina kryminal'na*" 'Criminal Ukraine'.

ism'; *antykunitsyns'ka aktsiia* 'action against Kunitsyn'<sup>17</sup>; *antikorup-tsiina prohrama* 'anticorruptional program'; *antikorup-tsiinyi rukh* 'anticorruptional movement'; *antydempinhova sprava* 'antidumping affair'; *antydempinhove rozsliduvannia* 'antidumping investigation'; *antydempinhovi problemy Ukrainy* 'antidumping problems of Ukraine'; *antydempinhovi protsedury* 'antidumping procedures'; *antymih-rants'ki rukhy* 'antiimmigrant movements'; *antyrossiis'ki nastroi* 'anti-Russian feelings'; *antyukrains'ki nastroi* 'anti-Ukrainian feelings'; *antyinfliatsiini zakhody* 'antiinflational measures (actions)'; "*antyyoliharkhichni*" *nastroi* "'antioligarchal" feelings'; *antyyoliharkhi-chna bil'shist'* 'antioligarchal majority'; *antyyoliharkhichni syly* 'antio-ligarchal forces'; *antyvatorytarni (chytai – antyputins'ki) zaiavy* 'anti-authoritarian (read – anti-Putin) declarations'; *antyyutelivs'ke* "lobi" 'anti "UTEL" lobby'<sup>18</sup>; "*antyyukrainizm*" "'anti-Ukrainianism"; *antyykoalitsii* 'anticoalitions'; *antyyterorystychni navchannia* 'antiterrorist instruction'; *holovnyi "antyyteroryst" Rosii Volodymyr Putin* 'the chief "antiterrorist" of Russia Vladimir Putin'; *politychnyi antykapitalizm* 'political anticapitalism.'

Not a single aforementioned word is listed in SUM (1970-1980) or in the new NTSUM (2000). Two terms have already appeared in VTSSUM (2002): *antykryzovyi* 'anticrisis (adj.)' and *antyinfliatsiinyi* 'antiinflational' which may be an indication of the degree to which these words are being given legitimacy.

### *pro-*

"With the increasing diversification of political groups, leaders and trends, affixes that denote affiliation to people, groups, theories and events have gained in popularity..." – state Ryazanova-Clarke & Wade (1999 : 126). The prefix *pro-* is also popular in Ukrainian. Among some of the examples I might mention are:

*proderzhavnyts'ki syly* 'pro-state forces'; *proderzhavni, proreformators'ki syly* 'pro-state, proreformist forces'; *proievropeis'kyi kabinet* 'pro-European government'; *proprezydents'ki fraktsii* 'propresidential factions'; *proprezydents'ki partii* 'propresidential parties'; *proiel'tsyns'ki kroky* 'pro-Yeltsin steps'; *prokuchmivs'ki syly* 'pro-Kuchma forces'; *prozakhidnyi uriad* 'pro-Western government'; *prozakhidni nastroi* 'pro-Western feelings'; *proiushchenkivs'kyi blok* 'pro-Yushchenko block'; *proiushchenkivs'ki natsional-demokratychni partii* 'pro-

<sup>17</sup> Till April 2005, the Head of the Government in the Crimea.

<sup>18</sup> UTEL = Ukrainian Telecom.

Yushchenko national democratic parties'; *proukrains'kyi* 'pro-Ukrainian'; *prolukashenkivs'kyi prysmak* 'pro-Lukashenka taste.'

The following quotations from the newspaper can serve as a vivid example of this tendency, that is an excessive use of the words with the prefix *pro-*:

*Oskil'ky nasha stratehiia bula to prorosii's'koiu, to proievropeis'koiu, to proamerykans'koiu, zaraz Ukraina pochala fatal'no vidstavaty vid tiiei zh Rosii v rusi do Ievropy (Den', 3.10.2001).*

'Since our strategy was alternately pro-Russian, pro-European or pro-American, now Ukraine began a fatal lag behind Russia in its movement to Europe.'

*My povynni zabuvaty pro taki poniattia, iak prorosii's'ka, proamerykans'ka abo prozakhidna zovnishn'oekonomichna polityka. (Den', 16.06. 2001).*

'We have to gradually forget about such notions as pro-Russian, pro-American or pro-Western foreign economic policy.'

### *bez-*

Among the native affixes prefix *bez-* 'without' is used: "*bez kuchmysty*" 'anti-Kuchma forces' rallied in *Natsional'nyi Front Poriatunku* 'National Salvation Front' versus *bez kuchmisty* (the same meaning, although a slightly different orthography). Some of the native affixes like *ne-* 'non,' *do-* 'pre-' are sometimes used in combination with international affixes (*nepostradians'kyi prostir* 'non-post-Soviet space,' *dopostradians'kyi period* 'pre-post-Soviet period').

The traditional prefix *bahato-* 'multi-, many' (*bahatovektornist* 'multidirection,' *bahatokul'turnist* 'multiculturalism') is now competing for use with international *poli-* 'poly-' (*polivariantnist* 'polyvariancy,' *mul'ty-* 'multi-' (*mul'tykul'turalizm* 'multi-culturalism').

### *post-*

"In the Soviet period, the international prefix *post-* 'post-' was rarely found" – state Ryzanova-Clarke & Wade (1999: 125) with respect to the Russian language. SUM (1970-1980) mentions only *postfiks* 'postfix' (368), *postpozytyvnyi* 'postpositive (in a postposition)' (378-379), and *postpozytsiia* 'postposition' (379). All three terms are marked as *linh.* (linguistic). NTSUM mentions only *postfiks* (2000: 626). The prefix is so widely used in Contemporary Ukrainian discourse nowadays that it is necessary to mention some of these usages:

*postindustrial'na modernizatsiia* 'postindustrial modernization'; *postkolonial'na nepovnotsinnist'* 'postcolonial inferiority'; *postmodernists'ki oskolky* 'postmodernist splinters'; *postsocialistychni krainy* 'postsocialist countries'; *postradians'ki krainy* 'post-Soviet countries'; *postradians'ki terytorii* 'post-Soviet territories'; *postradians'ki derzhavy* 'post-Soviet countries'; *postradians'kyi prostir* 'post-Soviet space'; *postradians'kyi osvittii prostir* 'post-Soviet educational space'; *postradians'ka sytuatsiia* 'post-Soviet situation'; *post-radians'ka epokha*<sup>19</sup> 'post-Soviet epoch'; *post-radians'ki vyborchi kampanii* 'post-Soviet election campaigns'; *postradians'ka sotsial'na nerozchlenovanist'* 'post-Soviet social integrity'; *postradians'kyi servis* 'post-Soviet service'; *postkomunistychni krainy* 'postcommunist countries'; *postkomunistychna transformatsiia v Ukraini* 'postcommunist transformation in Ukraine'; *postsotsialistychna zona* 'postsocialist zone'; *postkomunisty* 'postcommunists'; *postfashysts'ki rukhy* 'post-fascist movements'; *postfashyzm* 'postfascism'; *post-SRSR* 'post USSR'; *posthorbachovs'ki chasy* 'post-Gorbachev times.'

As an example of the extensive use of prefix *post-* I can quote:

*Suchasne liudstvo v postindustrial'nu, postmodernists'ku, postkul'tovu, postinformatsiinu, postelitaro-zorianu, postkhvoroblyvu, postsuper-uskladneno-zaplutanu dobu, pevno, ne duzhe seriozno stavyt'sia do takoho sobi patriarkhal'no-naviiuvanoho drib'iazku, iak spovid, hrikh, kaiattia* (Suchasnist' 2001, 4: 143).

'Modern mankind in postindustrial, postmodernist, postcultural, postinformational, postelitist-star, postsick, postsupercomplicated epoch, probably, does not consider very seriously such patriarchally instilled trifles as confession, sin, repentance.'

### **super-**

Among other popular prefixes is *super-* 'super,' to denote the highest possible degree of something:

*dvomisnyi "superkar"* 'double seated "supercar"'; *prezydent-superintelektual* 'president-superintellectual'; *superhravets* 'superplayer'; *superpopuliarne podruzzhzia* 'superpopular couple'; *superkomp'iutery*

<sup>19</sup> These words occur with different spelling in Ukrainian press (*postradians'kyi* and *post-radians'kyi*).

'supercomputers'; *superkluby* 'superclubs'; *supervazhka katehoriia* 'super heavyweight category'; *supermodel'ka* 'supermodel'; *superaktual'nyi zmist* 'super urgent content'; *superforvard* 'superforward'; *superprosunena ideia* 'super advanced idea'; *status supervystavy* 'status of super performance'; *superdefitsytni chobitky* 'super deficit (impossible to buy) women's boots'; *super-poet* 'superpoet'; *superovyi* 'super' (adj., derivative from *super*); *futbol'na superzirka* 'soccer superstar.'

### **hiper-**

*hiper-* 'hyper': *velyche-e-eznyi hipermarket* 'hu-u-uge hypermarket';

### **ul'tra-**

*ul'tra-* 'ultra-': *ul'trasuchasnyi vyhliad* 'ultra-modern appearance,' *ul'tra-natsionalisty* 'ultra-nationalists';

### **neo-**

*neo-* 'neo-': *neoliberal'na doktryna* 'neoliberal doctrine,' *neo-SRSR* 'neo-USSR',<sup>20</sup> *neokatastrofa* 'neocatastrophe,' etc.;

### **psevdo-**

*psevdo-* 'pseudo-': *pseudosotsializm* 'pseudosocialism,' *pseudonarodna pryvatyzatsiia* 'pseudonational privatization';

### **meha-**

*meha-* 'mega-':

*mehasystema* 'megasystem'; *mehaproekt* 'megaproject'; *mehavplyvovyi upravlinets* 'megainfluential manager'; *meharivnevi systemy vyshchoi osvity* 'megalevel systems of higher education'<sup>21</sup>.

### **kvazi-**

*kvazi-* 'quasi-': *kvazipolitychni instytutsii* 'quasi-political institutions,' *kvazi-zhytkovist* 'quasi-loss (damage)';

<sup>20</sup> *U mene henetychna vidraza do bud'-iakykh proiaviv post-, abo shche bil'she – neo-SRSR* 'I have a genetic revulsion to any manifestations of post-, or moreover to neo-USSR,' from the interview by Oksana Zabuzhko, *Den*, 30.05.2001.

<sup>21</sup> Used in the sentence: *Uzhe try roky pospil' nasha vyshcha osvita maie pravo na prefiks "meha" (mehasystema), oskil'ky zahal'na chysel'nist' studentiv perevyshchyla odyin mil'ion* 'Three years in a row our higher education has earned the right for the prefix "mega" (megasystem), as the overall number of students exceeded one million' (*Den*, 9. 08. 2000).

**re-**

re- 're-': *reinzhynerynh* 'reengineering.'

**eks-**

The prefix *eks-* 'ex' had a rather limited circulation in the Communist times. Now it is widely used, often instead of *kolyshnii* 'former,' 'ex':

*eks-kantsler* 'ex- Chancellor'; *eks-SRSR* 'former USSR'; *eks-tsar* 'ex-tsar'; *eks-bitl* 'ex-Beatle'; *eks-kandydat* 'former candidate'; *eks-perezmozhyntsia konkursu* 'former winner of the competition'; *eks-prezydent* 'former President'; *eks-vitse-prem"ier* 'ex-vice-prime minister'; *eks-hlava uriadu* 'ex-Head of the Government'; *eks-holova* 'ex-Chairman'; *eks-bombardyr* 'ex-top scorer'; *eks-hromadivtsi* 'former members of the Hromada party'; *eks-komunisty* 'former Communists'; *eks-pershij vitse-prem"ier* 'former first deputy Prime-Minister.'

The temporal prefix *eks-* is often interchangeable with *kolyshnii*: *Kolyshnii shef MVF pratsiuvatyme u Vatykani*. 'The former chief of the IMF will work in Vatican,' used in the title, though in the text itself *eks-shef MVF* is found.

**Compounds**

New stump compounds have appeared: *medstrakh* (*medychno strakhuvannia*) 'medical insurance,' not the best choice, because there is Ukrainian word *strakh* 'fear' and in combination with 'medical' *med* an undesirable connotation is created<sup>22</sup>, *terakt* 'terrorist act,' *henkonsul* 'Consul General'.

There is strong tendency to create clipped compounds (short ones, usually with suffix *-ka*) for broader concepts: *nichlizhnyi budynok dlia bezdomnykh* (*nichlizhka*) 'shelter for homeless,' *Universytet "Kyievo-Mohylians'ka akademiia"* (*Mohylianka*) 'University "Kyiv-Mohyla Academy",' *vyshka* 'A league' and also 'capital punishment,' *mobil'nyi telefon* (*mobilka*) 'cell phone.' There are actually two short competing words for 'mobile phone' in Ukrainian: *mobil'nyk* and *mobilka*: *U Rosii, napryklad, kazhut* "'mobil'nyk", a ne "'mobilka" ... 'In Russia, for example, they say 'mobil'nyk', and not "'mobilka"' (VK, 29.05.2001), *Mobil'nyk zrobyv svoiu spravu* 'The mobile phone did its duty' (*Den*, 15.06.2001), *mobilka Buriaka* 'Buriak's mobile phone' (*Panorama*, 13.10.2000).

<sup>22</sup> Proof can be found in the title of the article "*Medstrakh*" – *medzhakh?* "'Medical fear" – medical horror?'

Truncated adjectives, called by Ryazanova-Clarke & Wade (1999: 172) semi-abbreviated words, plus full nouns are excessively used (this is a continuation of a strong Soviet tradition, e. g., *derzhkomitet* 'State Committee'):

*adminreforma* (*administratyvna reforma*) 'administrative reform'; *adminresurs* (*administratyvnyi resurs*) 'administrative resource'; *derzhfinansuvannia* (*derzhavne finansuvannia*) 'state financing'; *ekolykha* (*ekolohichne lykha*) 'ecologic disaster'; *inofirma* (*inozemna firma*) 'foreign firm'; *turbiznes* (*turystychnyi biznes*) 'tourist business.'

### Acronyms and their derivatives

Many new acronyms appeared denoting new political amalgamations, companies, and new realia in general, though this tradition goes back to the first years of the Soviet state, e. g., *URSR* 'Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic':

*DKNS* (*Derzhavnyi Komitet z Nadzvychainykh Sytuatsii*)  
'State Emergency Committee' (translation from Russian *GKChP* (*Gosudarstvennyi Komitet po Chrezvychainomu Polozheniiu*))

*SND* (*Spivdruzhnist' Nezalezhnykh Derzhav*)  
'CIS' (Commonwealth of Independent States) (translation from Russian *SNG* (*Sodruzhestvo Nezavisimykh Gosudarstv*))

*MVF* (*Mizhnarodnyi Valiutnyi Fond*) 'IMF (International Monetary Fund)'

*VR* (*Verkhovna Rada*) 'Supreme Council.'

*HUUAM* (*Hruziia, Ukraina, Uzbekystan, Azerbaidzhan, Moldova*)  
'Georgia, Ukraine, Uzbekistan, Azerbaijan, Moldova'

*KSP* (*kolektyvni sil'hosppidpriumstva*)  
'collective agricultural enterprises' (instead of *kolhospy* (*kolektyvni hospodarstva*)) 'collective farms')

*MFK* (*Mizhnarodna Finansova Korporatsiia*)  
'International Financial Corporation.'

The acronym *PMZh* (*PMZh za kordon*) (*postiine mistse prozhyvannia*) 'permanent place for residence' (abroad) is used instead of *PMP* for initial Ukrain-

ian letters (Russian *PMZh, postoiannoie mesto zhitel'stva*). Many new derivatives on the basis of acronyms appeared:

*endeerivka* 'female citizen of former German Democratic Republic'<sup>23</sup>; *esendeshne turne ministra oborony* 'CIS tour of the Minister of Defence'<sup>24</sup>; *esendeshni susidy* 'CIS neighbours'; *ieesivs'kyi memorandum* 'EU memorandum'<sup>25</sup> or even taking this form: *SNDivs'ki kinoprostory* 'CIS movie territory (space).'

Many derivatives are formed from Russian acronyms though Ukrainian analogues exist: *kagebeshna okhorona* 'KGB guard.' This is derived from the Russian *KGB, Komitet Gosudarstvennoi Bezopasnosti* 'Committee of the State Security,' though the Ukrainian equivalent *KDB, Komitet Derzhavnoi Bezpeky* existed, and its derivative could be *kadebeshna okhorona* 'KGB guard,' *kadebeshnyk* 'KGB officer'; but preferred is *kahebeshnyk/kagebeshnyk*, sometimes pronounced *kehebeshnyk/kegebeshnyk*. These derivatives did not occur in the press. The recent derivative *esenhoviia* 'CIS territory' is formed from Russian acronym *SNG*, instead of Ukrainian *SND*. Russian words are often used to create ironic effect:

*vseievropeis'ka "zhytnitsa"* 'All European bread basket' (written in Ukrainian Russian word *zhitnitsa*, although there is Ukrainian word *zhytnytsia*), *soviets'ka vlada* 'Soviet power' (Ukrainian equivalent *radians'ka vlada*) (title of the article '*Khai zhyve soviets'ka vlada?* 'Long live Soviet power?').

The parallel usage of words are quite common, that is, of Ukrainian words and words with strong Soviet coloring (often formed on Russian basis): *bezprytul'nyi, bezdomnyi* 'homeless' and *bomzh* 'homeless'<sup>26</sup>. Other Ukrainian equivalents exist: *liudyna bez vyznachenoho mistsia prozhyvannia, osoba bez pevnoho mistsia prozhyvannia* (*VK*, 19.09.2000). The acronym *bomzh* was used in the former Soviet Union with a negative meaning. Now, because of its short form, many Ukrainian derivatives have appeared. The verbs *bomzhuvaty* 'to lead homeless way of life,' "*zbomzhity*" "to become extremely poor"<sup>27</sup>, nouns *bomzhuvannia* 'the process of leading homeless way of life'<sup>28</sup>, *bomzhykha* 'female homeless', *bomzhyzatsiia* 'growing number of homeless people,' *bomzhuiuchy*

<sup>23</sup> Ukrainian *NDR, Nimets'ka Demokratychna Respublika*.

<sup>24</sup> From the acronym *SND*.

<sup>25</sup> From *Ievropeis'kyi Soiuz* 'European Union'.

<sup>26</sup> From Russian acronym *bez opredelenного mestozhitel'stva* 'of no fixed address'.

<sup>27</sup> *Ostannia [intelihentsiia] davno "zbomzhila", i do elity vzhe tomu ne vidnosyt'sia* 'The intelligentsia became extremely poor long ago and that is why it does not belong to the elite,' where the words *ne vidnosyt'sia*, a hybrid, should be better replaced by *ne nalezhyt*'.

<sup>28</sup> *Vel'my skhyl'nyi do bomzhuvannia i kontynhent kolyshnykh v'iazniv* 'The contingent of former prisoners is also very much inclined to leading a homeless way of life'.



'homeless.' A justification for the use of *bomzh* is that it is easy to create new words on its basis<sup>29</sup>.

Certain concepts can be used as abbreviations (for example, *piar* 'PR'), borrowed words (*pablik ryleishnz* 'public relations,' the title of the textbook *Osnovy pablik ryleishnz* 'The basics of public relations'), or its Ukrainian equivalent (*zv"iazky z hromads'kistiu* 'public relations'). Sometimes it is written in Latin (*Ukrains'kyi PR*), sometimes written as *Pi-Ar* (*Khytre slovo "Pi-Ar" s'ohodni u bahat'okh na slukhu* 'The sly word "PR" today is heard by many'), and even as *Pyar* (*Den*, 20.09.2000). Many word combinations are built with this word:

"*chorny PR*", "*chorny piar*" "black PR"; *PR-tekhnologii* 'PR technologies'; *PR-vlada* 'PR power'; *PR-kampanii*, *piar-kampanii* 'PR campaigns'; *PR-opozytisia* 'PR opposition'; *PR-aktyvnyist* 'PR activity'; *PR-zasib* 'PR means'; *piar-firma* 'PR firm'; *piar-audyt* 'PR auditing'; *piar-tekhnologhy* 'PR technologists'; *piar-fakhivtysi* 'PR specialists'; *piar-zakhody* 'PR actions.'

All kinds of possible derivatives appear: noun *piarnyk* 'PR man'<sup>30</sup>, the adjective *piarivs'kyi/pyarivs'kyi* 'PR' (*piarivs'ki tradytzii* 'PR traditions,' *pyarivs'ka kampaniia* 'PR campaign,' *piarivs'ki viiny* 'PR wars,' *piarivs'ki aktsii vlady* 'PR actions of the authorities'), verb *piaryty* 'to PR' ("*po-chornomu*" *piaryty ministra* 'to PR the minister in black tones'), nouns "*piarnist*"', *piarivshchyna* 'PR campaign,' *piartekhnoloh* 'PR technologist.'

### Folk neologisms

Neologisms were used during recent 2004 Presidential election campaign in Ukraine. Comparing neologisms (or rather occasionalisms) *hrantozher* (used by pro-Yanukovych camp regarding some Yushchenko's campaign supporters) and *bihmordy* (folk neologism describing Yanukovych's monstrous billboards), we can clearly see that in both cases there is some strong native Ukrainian component added in a different way:

1) *hrant* + *zherty* = *hrantozher*

2) *bihbordy* – *bihmordy* (phonetic adjustment, replacing *b* with *m*).

*Mordy* (mugs) and *zherty* 'to eat excessively' are both strong colloquial vulgar (to some extent) words. Both camps were trying to appeal to the native public, incorporating strong colloquial components.

<sup>29</sup> In Russian even such new word combination as *internet-bomzh* 'Internet-homeless' (*Forum*, 5.06.2001) appeared.

<sup>30</sup> *Ale nikhto inshyi iak Maiakovs'kyi dlia svoho chasu buv ideal'nym piarnikom* 'None other than Mayakovsky was the ideal PR man for his time'.

## Conclusions

Derivation is extremely important for the Ukrainian language in this period, where often old means like affixes *-izatsii(a)*, *anty-*, *pro-*, *post-* are used to form new words for describing new concepts. New stump compounds (the phenomenon itself is not new, only the components are; the floodgates to this were opened in the early years of Soviet power, i.e., back in the 1920s), acronyms, derivatives based on acronyms and changes in non-standard lexis (informal and slang words) have appeared. The Ukrainian language examples are provided in detail because mostly they are not registered in the dictionaries of Contemporary Ukrainian like NTSUM (2000) and VTSSUM (2002).

The role of derivation is drastically increased (such as having nouns as the first component, which were previously restricted to certain 'fixed' word combinations). Freedom brought a loosening of standards and norms evidenced by a tremendous increase of clipped compounds. The Soviet period in the development of the Ukrainian language was marked by an abundant use of acronyms and other abbreviations. Most abbreviations of that period are now defunct and many new abbreviations have appeared, primarily dealing with finance and politics. Acronym-based derivatives are also very popular not only in speech but in the mass media.

Recent neological development in Ukrainian needs further serious and thorough research and analysis. Neologisms attract constant attention (see, i.e., Bevz, Korol' 2001, Kostiuk, Venzhyk 2001, Slobodyns'ka, Odyntsova 2001).

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**Dictionaries**

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