

2017

# Lexical Blending in Ukrainian: System or Sport?

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Winters, S. (2017). *Lexical Blending in Ukrainian: System or Sport?* (Doctoral thesis, University of Calgary, Calgary, Canada). Retrieved from <https://prism.ucalgary.ca>. doi:10.11575/PRISM/26753  
<http://hdl.handle.net/11023/3756>

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UNIVERSITY OF CALGARY

Lexical Blending in Ukrainian: System or Sport?

by

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A THESIS

SUBMITTED TO THE FACULTY OF GRADUATE STUDIES  
IN PARTIAL FULFILMENT OF THE REQUIREMENTS FOR THE  
DEGREE OF DOCTOR OF PHILOSOPHY

GRADUATE PROGRAM IN LINGUISTICS

CALGARY, ALBERTA

APRIL, 2017

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## **ABSTRACT**

This dissertation examines the formal, semantic, and syntactic mechanisms involved in the formation and processing of blends in Ukrainian. The objectives pursued in this research are (i) to provide a comprehensive definition of blending, (ii) to determine whether there are any formal, semantic, and syntactic regularities in the formation of blends in Ukrainian, and (iii) to learn what factors facilitate recognition of source words, as well as interpretation of meanings of Ukrainian blends. The objectives are achieved by critically analyzing the relevant literature, conducting an analysis of a corpus of Ukrainian blends, and running three psycholinguistic experiments with native speakers of Ukrainian. Based on the analysis, a comprehensive definition of blending is proposed, which establishes the boundaries between blends and other complex words that resemble them (for example, clipped compounds). The analysis of the corpus of Ukrainian blends compiled in the course of this research reveals a number of regularities in blending. Based on these regularities, a system of formal, semantic and categorial rules which account for the formation of blends in Ukrainian are proposed. Finally, the results of the psycholinguistic experiments reveal that the following factors affect the likelihood of recognition of the source words and accurate understanding of the meaning of blends: the structure of the blend, the modality of presentation of the blend, and the amount of time allotted for its processing.

*To my fantabulous family*

## ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

I dare disagree with the statement made by Charlie Chaplin in his Oscar speech in 1972: “Words seem so futile, so feeble.” This icon of silent film had an occupation very different from mine. My work has demonstrated to me on many occasions how important and powerful words can be (an idea which will appear as a leitmotif throughout my dissertation). Therefore, I would like to express in words my deep gratitude—which so far often remained silent—to the people who helped me in working on this dissertation.

First of all, my deepest appreciation goes to my supervisor, Dr. Amanda Pounder. Dr. Pounder has been a perfect supervisor for me, as she is kind, knowledgeable, demanding, fastidious, has high moral principles and a brilliant sense of humour. She has greatly influenced the researcher that I am today by constantly encouraging me to think critically, analyze, pay attention to detail, and always dig deep. I attribute my obvious growth within the last few years to Dr. Pounder’s wise guidance. Most importantly, Dr. Pounder is the kind of supervisor who cares. Throughout the years of my doctoral studies, she cared not only about my academic progress, but also about my physical and emotional well-being, as well as my future. When over five years ago Dr. Pounder believed in me and agreed to be my supervisor, she changed my life in many ways, for which I will be forever grateful to her.

I owe a part of the success of this project to the members of my supervisory committee, Dr. Darin Flynn and Dr. Elena Bratishenko. I am grateful to Dr. Flynn for his shrewd comments on my research, his help in searching for new blends, and his contagious excitement about my project, as well as about linguistics in general. I would like to thank Dr. Bratishenko for her positive energy in many discussions of various issues pertinent to my dissertation and for her constructive feedback.

My external examiners helped me look at some issues from a different perspective, which greatly improved my analysis. I am very grateful to Dr. Elke Ronneberger-Sibold for her thought-provoking questions during my oral examination and her open-mindedness to my analyses. I would like to thank Dr. Ozouf Sénamin Amadegnato for his deep questions, genuine interest in my research and very interesting suggestions for future research.

I would like to thank a number of professors at the School of Language, Linguistics, Literatures and Cultures, whose courses I took and who I worked with as a Teaching Assistant, namely (in alphabetical order), Dr. Susanne Carroll, Dr. Carlos de Cuba, Dr. Robert Murray, Dr.

Elizabeth Ritter, Dr. Julie Sedivy, and Dr. Dennis Storoshenko. These professors taught me to conduct linguistic analysis and to clearly present my research, as well as giving me confidence in my abilities as a linguist, all of which facilitated my work on the dissertation.

My dissertation would not have included the experimental studies if it weren't for the help of Dr. Julie Sedivy and Dr. Steve Winters. Julie's lectures and books awakened my interest in experimental psycholinguistics, which inspired me to conduct experiments in my research. Julie also provided me with tremendous help in working on the design of my experiments. Steve, who is referred to by other students as "stats guru" and "programmer extraordinaire", provided me with invaluable assistance in conducting statistical analysis of the data, as well as allowing me to use the resources of the Phonetics Laboratory at the University of Calgary. I am immensely grateful to Julie and Steve for enabling me to experience this exciting side of linguistic research.

My heartfelt gratitude goes to the supervisor of my MA thesis, Dr. Anatoliy Oleksiyovych Khudoliy. He was the first person to spark my interest in linguistics and to teach me some fundamental skills of linguistic analysis. Anatoliy Oleksiyovych also taught me the importance of having a clear plan in achieving my goals, which has ever since greatly helped me in my professional life. I will always be grateful for everything he taught me and for his faith in my abilities.

I would also like to thank our Graduate Program Administrator Biljana Arnautovic and our Department Administrator Francey Piscicoli. These are the people who know answers to a million program-related questions, who are always friendly and supportive, and who create warm atmosphere at the department for students and professors alike.

I was lucky to study with a group of wonderful people, from whom I learnt a lot and who made my studying at graduate school an enjoyable experience. The knowledge I gained from them in classes, during after-class group discussions, in Brown Bag Lunch presentations, and in conferences shaped my interests in linguistics and helped me succeed in getting my degree. The fun activities which we organized and enjoyed together—department hikes and snowshoeing, talent shows, Ultimate Frisbee games on the best-spirited team "Flinguists", trivia contests, etc.—helped me stay happy and sane during the arduous journey through graduate school. Special thanks go to the following people (in alphabetical order): Aysun, Danica, Duaa, Jeong-Eun, Joey, Kelly, Lindsay, Salma, Sarah and Vinny.

My Mom and my Sister have always been the two pillars which gave me support throughout my life. They give me the courage to dare. This courage stems from their faith in my ability to succeed in anything my mind is set on and from my understanding that even if I do not succeed, I will always have a home full of love, kindness, support, and sympathy that I can return to. Having dared cross the ocean in order to pursue a doctoral degree in linguistics, I found dedicated research assistants in my Mom and my Sister. My Mom spent hours on skype talking to me about my research, which helped me distil my “stream of consciousness” into a coherent analysis and clarify many questions pertaining to my dissertation. My Sister assisted me in producing the stimuli for the psycholinguistic experiments, and—together with her husband, my brother-in-law—greatly extended my corpus with Ukrainian blends which they encountered in newspapers, books and on television. I owe much of the success of this project to my family and will always be grateful for their help and, even more so, for their wholehearted support and love.

Above all, I would like to thank my husband Steve for making me so happy. When a person is this happy, every academic challenge is exciting, any criticism is constructive, every lexeme in the corpus is amusing, every professor is friendly, every linguistic paper is inspiring, conferences are informative, scientific discussions are deep and lively, no door is impassible, nothing is impossible.

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## LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

FR	Form Rule
n. pag.	No pagination
RT	Reaction Time
SR	Semantic Rule
SW	Source Word

Door: Why it's simply impassible!

Alice: Why, don't you mean impossible?

Door: No, I do mean impassible. (*chuckles*) Nothing's impossible!

— Lewis Carroll, *Alice's Adventures in Wonderland and Through the Looking-Glass*

## CHAPTER 1: INTRODUCTION

### 1.0 The Issues

Today, blends are encountered in many spheres of human activity. In a grocery store, festive cereal boxes with amusing names “Count Chocula”, “Booberry”, and “Frankenberry” distract us from the customary “Wheatables”. Fashion experts encourage us to dispose of dated “shorteralls” and buy a pair of fashionable “skorts” or “jeggings”, which, by the way, will go well with “flatform” shoes. Radio stations play “Californication” and “Bootylicious”. Car advertisements catch our attention with witty lines like “Mercedes-Benz. Fabuttractive...” and “Longergevity... It’s part of every Toyota”. Newspaper headlines scream about Brexit and Labourgy. New hobby options include “piloga”, “jazzercise” and “frolf”. Choosing the latter (or any other sport involving frisbee), you are sure to play against teams with clever names like “Frisbeasts”, “Diskpickable” or—if you are in real trouble—even against “Flinguists”.

Kelly (1998:586) describes blends as “lexical teases”. Many blends are playful and jocular by nature. They excite a speaker with the prospect of deciphering their clever meaning, which, however, appears to come at a cost of considerable intellectual effort. The intellectual challenges faced by speakers who attempt to solve a riddle hidden in a blend, nevertheless, can hardly be compared to the challenges faced by linguists who attempt to describe the phenomenon of blending.

One of the first major problems confronted by a linguist analyzing this type of word-formation is that blends are very poorly defined and that the limits of the phenomenon of blending are rather uncertain. Some linguists adopt a very inclusive approach to blends, claiming that the clipping of one source word (SW) or the overlap of homophonous sequences in SWs is enough to qualify for membership in the category of blends (Lehrer 2007, Brdar-Szabó and Brdar 2008, Renner 2014). Others, however, exclude the following formation types from the category of blends: words which are formed by SWs that are combined in a way that preserves each SW intact, for example, *slanguage* (see Ralli and Xydopoulos 2012:46); words which are formed by combining initial fragments of SWs in a way that does not involve an overlap, for example, *agitprop* (Arcodia and Montermini 2012:94 refer to such words as reduced compounds); words whose SWs are not in a semantically coordinate relation, for example, *textrovert* (see Dressler 2000:2, Plag 2003:123), etc. The lack of exact delimitation of the

concept of lexical blending makes it difficult to collect homogeneous data for the analysis of this phenomenon.

The second contentious issue which arises in linguistic analyses of blending is the lack of clarity as to whether there is any regularity and predictability in this phenomenon. On the one hand, Grésillon (1984:138–139), Cannon (1986:744), Berman (1989:45–61), and Hong (2004:118) claim that blending is irregular and, therefore, cannot be described in terms of rules. On the other hand, a number of linguists analyze corpora of blends and propose generalizations regarding blending patterns in various languages. Tendencies in phonological structure of blends are described in Kubozono 1990, Plag 2003, Bat-El 2000, 2006, Bauer 2012, Shaw 2013, Renner 2014, while tendencies in semantic modifications of bases in the process of formation of blends are analyzed in Kemmer 2003, Lehrer 2003, Bauer 2012, Renner 2014, and others. The generalizations presented in these works, however, can be questioned because some types of blends are excluded from these analyses either due to their irregularity or due to the differences in the criteria for identifying words as blends used by the authors of these analyses (for example, Plag's (2003) analysis does not include a discussion of intercalative blends, e.g. *chortle* < *ch(uck)le (sn)ort*).<sup>1</sup>

The third major problem faced by a linguist analyzing blending is the questionable status of blending in morphology. Some linguists view blending as a type of compounding (see, for example, Renner 2006, Lehrer 2007, Arcodia and Montermini 2012, and others). Others claim that it is a type of abbreviation (see, for example, Gridina 2009:92, Lopez Rua 2004:124, Zemskaja 2009:286–287, and others). Yet other linguists argue that blending is an independent type of word-formation, separate from compounding and abbreviation (e.g. Bat-El 2006, Bauer 2012, Ronneberger-Sibold 2006, Xruščeva 2009, 2011, Gries 2012, and others). Linguistic description of blending is further complicated by the submorphemic status of the units forming blends (for example, Renner et al. 2012:2 and Beliaeva 2014:1 refer to the fragments of words forming blends—e.g. *br•* and *•unch* in *brunch*—as submorphemic elements). In addition, there are claims that blending cannot be described with word-formation rules because it is irregular

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<sup>1</sup> Kemmer (2003:72) defines intercalative blends as “formations in which the two words involved in the blend are so tightly integrated in the blended word that the sounds of one source lexeme are interspersed between the sounds of the other”.

and unpredictable (see, for example, Mattiello 2013:130). All these problems with identifying the status of blends and of the components which form them lead some linguists to disregard blending, claiming that it is an extra-grammatical and marginal phenomenon in the system of word-formation (see Ronneberger-Sibold 2006:159, Mattiello 2013:128).

The issues outlined above make studying blending both challenging and appealing. The grey areas in our understanding of blending offer an opportunity to make a contribution to the theory of blending by filling some gaps in our knowledge of this phenomenon. There are many points of contention regarding the nature of blending which need to be resolved. Furthermore, the findings of this study may require reconsideration of certain questions pertaining to the theory of word-formation (for example, if this analysis leads to the conclusion that blending is a regular type of word-formation, we have to accept submorphemic elements as possible input into word-formation operations). Finally, due to their creative and often amusing nature, blends constitute interesting material for a linguist to work with.

### **1.1 The data**

Lexical blending is attested and studied in a number of languages; namely, in Germanic, e.g. English (see Mattiello 2013, Beliaeva 2014) and German (Ronneberger-Sibold 2006, 2012), Romance, e.g. French (Renner 2014, Ronneberger-Sibold 2015) and Italian (Cacchiani 2007, 2015), Sino-Tibetan, e.g. Chinese (see Arcodia and Montermini 2012), Semitic, e.g. Hebrew (Bat-El 2000), Slavic, e.g. Serbian (Renner and Lalić-Krstin 2011), Russian (Xruščeva 2009, Arcodia and Montermini 2012), Polish (Konieczna 2012), Ukrainian (Kulish 2009, Borgwaldt et al. 2012), and others. It is often claimed in the literature that in Slavic languages, blending is a relatively new word-formation process, which has recently become quite productive (see this claim in Stamenov 2007:230 for Bulgarian, Renner and Lalić-Krstin 2011:270 for Serbian, Xruščeva 2011:54 for Russian, Konieczna 2012:51 for Polish, and Kulish 2009:18 for Ukrainian). The analysis of blending in this dissertation will be based on the data from Ukrainian. Since blending has started gaining productivity only recently in Slavic languages, including Ukrainian, this type of word-formation has not yet been given a thorough treatment. For example, in-depth linguistic analyses of blends in Ukrainian are limited to Kulish 2009 and Borgwaldt et al. 2012. However, these works discuss spoken ad-hoc spontaneous blends elicited

as a result of a hybrid-object naming experiment, which differ in many respects from intentional blends created to achieve a certain pragmatic effect, which abound in modern Ukrainian mass media. Studying blending in Ukrainian promises to be rewarding, since, on the one hand, very little is known about it to date and, on the other hand, blending is increasingly gaining productivity in Ukrainian, which results in a considerable number of clever newly formed blends in the language. The insights into blending in Ukrainian, which can be gained as a result of a linguistic analysis of the phenomenon, can be used in our discussion of blending in general. For example, if blending in Ukrainian is found to follow certain regular patterns, this observation can be used as evidence from one more language that blending is regular and at least partly predictable.

The data which are to be analysed come from two sources. First, the core of the study is based on the analysis of a corpus of 501 Ukrainian blends which I compiled using modern Ukrainian mass media as my sources (see Appendix A for the corpus). The corpus was compiled from blends encountered in Ukrainian newspapers, books, blogs, forums, advertisements, placards, billboards, televised comedy shows and movies, as well as conversations with Ukrainian speakers. Second, data collected in three psycholinguistic experiments are analyzed. The data consist of reaction times measured in two semantic priming experiments involving 40 novel Ukrainian blends, which I created myself, as stimuli (see Appendix B for the list of the blends), as well as subjects' written definitions of the blends. The data were collected from native speakers of Ukrainian (85 subjects in total).

## **1.2 Research objectives and proposals of the study**

The first objective of this study is to provide a comprehensive definition of blending, establishing the boundaries between blends and other complex words which in some way resemble them. After thorough examination of this phenomenon, I will propose the following definition: blending is a grammatical type of word-formation that produces new words by merging two or more SWs which do not constitute an existing compound or phrase; this merging of the SWs must involve either clipping of the SWs—normally of the inner edges—or an overlap of the SWs' homophonous fragments and is intentional. This definition is rather inclusive; however, it does exclude some formations from the category of blends. Namely, it excludes

speech errors (for example, *terrible < terrible horrible*) and clipped compounds (for example, *sitcom < situation comedy*).

The second objective is to determine whether there are any regularities in the formation of blends in Ukrainian and to propose rules of blending in Ukrainian if such regularities are identified. My analysis will lead to the following proposal: blending in Ukrainian is characterized by a high degree of regularity and predictability. The form of the output is determined by the position of homophonous sequences in the SWs, the length and syllable structure of the SWs, as well as position of the main stress in the SWs. The meaning of the output is determined by the meaning of the semantic head of the blend and one of a limited number of semantic relations between the SWs. The syntactic category of a blend is inherited from the semantic (and categorial) head of the blend. Based on all the regularities which have been identified in the analysis, form, semantic, and categorial rules of blending are proposed. The regularities identified and the rule-based account of mechanisms of this type of word-formation in Ukrainian are viewed as evidence that blending is a grammatical type of word-formation, characterized by systematicity and predictability.

The third objective is to learn what factors facilitate recognition of SWs, as well as correct interpretation of meanings of Ukrainian blends. The results of the psycholinguistic experiments conducted for this dissertation will reveal that the following factors affect the likelihood of recognition of the SWs and accurate understanding of the meaning of blends: the structure of the blend, the modality of presentation of the blend, and the amount of time allotted for its processing. Interpretability of the meaning of blends is one of the prerequisites for achieving certain communicative goals through the use of blends (for example, changing the addressee's attitudes and behaviours, establishing the sense of solidarity with the addressee, etc.).

### **1.3 The structure of the dissertation**

Chapter 2 provides a review of linguistic literature on blending. Points of contention among linguists regarding the nature of blending are discussed and my views on these controversial issues, along with the arguments to support them, are presented. As a result, I provide my own definition of blending based on the discussion in the chapter. Additionally, an overview of

regularities observed in formation of blends—in particular, regarding formal, semantic and syntactic aspects of blending—is presented, as discussed in the relevant literature.

Chapter 3 introduces the first stage of the analysis of the corpus of Ukrainian blends. First, a description of the corpus of Ukrainian blends which are to be discussed in Chapters 3–5 and the challenges faced in analyzing the corpus are presented. In this chapter, brief overviews of the phonological and morphological systems of Ukrainian are provided. Next, the chapter presents an analysis of formal characteristics of Ukrainian blends, as well as a discussion of the factors which determine them.

Chapter 4 develops the discussion of the corpus of Ukrainian blends, approaching it from a different perspective. To begin with, Ukrainian blends are analyzed with respect to their semantic, categorial and morpho-syntactic headedness and it is demonstrated how heads determine the core of semantic content of the blends, as well as their category and morpho-syntactic properties. Next, semantic transparency of Ukrainian blends and recognizability of their SWs are discussed.

Chapter 5 formalizes the generalizations regarding mechanisms of blending, which are presented in Chapters 3 and 4, in the Process-and-Paradigm Morphology framework. First, I discuss the theoretical framework and its main components (three types of rules which form word-formation operations, as well as the word-formation paradigm). Next, I propose form, semantic, and categorial rules that account for the formation of blends in Ukrainian. The rules are formulated in the framework of Process-and-Paradigm Morphology (Pounder 2000). Furthermore, I combine the rules into word-formation operations that are applied to bases in producing Ukrainian blends. Finally, I present fragments of the word-formation paradigm which are relevant to the formation of blends in Ukrainian.

Chapter 6 discusses three psycholinguistic experiments. Experiment 1 investigates whether Ukrainian speakers recognize SWs in blends during online processing thereof in speech. Experiment 2 studies whether Ukrainian speakers identify SWs in spoken blends when they are given additional processing time. Experiment 3 investigates whether Ukrainian speakers can recognize SWs of blends and interpret them correctly when the blends are presented in a written medium.

Chapter 7 recapitulates the main findings of the present dissertation, presents conclusions and discusses the implications, as well as theoretical and empirical significance of the findings of this research.

## CHAPTER 2: THEORETICAL OVERVIEW OF LEXICAL BLENDING

### 2.0 Introduction

Hardly any other type of word-formation appears to have made as many linguists “confuzzled” as blending. One source of confusion is the definition of lexical blends, as there has been little agreement in the literature on what kind of lexical items can be considered as blends. Even those characteristic features of blending which are found in most definitions of lexical blends are often subject to debate. Namely, most treatments of blending converge on a definition of blends as words formed by combining two or more SWs, which may have been “clipped” (as in (1a)) and/or which may overlap (as in (1b)).

- (1) a. beaulicious < bea(utiful) (de)licious  
b. predictionary < prediction dictionary  
c. agitprop < agit(ation) prop(aganda)  
d. beefalo < beef buffalo

(Mattiello 2013:303–310)

However, while some scholars admit clipping of any part of SWs in the formation of blends, others argue that a word is a blend only if the inner edges of its SWs are clipped. Thus, the former view words formed by initial fragments of the SWs, as in (1c), as blends (cf. e.g. Algeo 1977, Renner 2014), while the latter do not (cf. e.g. Plag 2003, Bat-El 2006). In addition, on the one hand, some linguists agree that the overlapping sequences in blends do not have to be fully homophonous and that the overlapping phonemes do not have to be arranged contiguously (cf. Kelly 1998:587, Hong 2004:131, Mattiello 2013:122). For example, in (1d), the fragments /bif/ and /bʌf/ are not fully homophonous, but they can be viewed as overlapping in the blend *beefalo*. On the other hand, other linguists call words like *beefalo* in (1d) “imperfect blends” (Algeo 1977:53) and claim that their SWs share only one segment (in this case, /f/ can be viewed as the only segment that overlaps in the blend) (Xruščeva 2009:63). The latter approach ignores the fact that if it were not for such “imperfect” phonological similarity (for example, between /bif/ and /bʌf/) the two words would have been considerably less likely to be combined into one and to have a certain effect on the audience (e.g. surprising and amusing the audience).

Another source of confusion in the discussion of lexical blending is inconsistency in terminology. First of all, lexical blends are occasionally referred to as “portmanteau words” (cf. Veale and Butnariu 2010, Konieczna 2012), “telescoped words” (cf. Xruščeva 2009, Suxorukova 2004), “contaminations” (cf. Nikolina 1996, Nefedova 2003), etc. Moreover, the words which are combined to form a blend are referred to as “source words” (cf. Cook and Stevenson 2007, Lehrer 2007, Brdar-Szabó and Brdar 2008, Gries 2012, Beliaeva 2014), “source lexemes” (cf. Mattiello 2013), “base words” (cf. Bat-El 2012, Cohen 2012), “constituent words” (cf. Kelly 1998, Konieczna 2012, Ralli and Xydopoulos 2012), “parent words” (cf. Smith 2010) and “etymons” (cf. Cannon 2000). The fragments of SWs, which remain after clipping, are referred to as “splinters” (cf. Lehrer 2007, López Rúa 2012, and Ronneberger-Sibold 2012, Mattiello 2013, Beliaeva 2014, Renner 2014), “submorphemic elements” (cf. Smith 2010) and “fracto-lexemes” (cf. Renner and Lalić-Krstin 2011). In the present dissertation, the following terms will be used for the respective concepts: “blends”, “source words” and “splinters”.

Finally, there are also a number of disagreements regarding broader questions pertaining to the nature of blending. While the vast majority of scholars view blending as a separate type of word-formation—along with, for example, derivation or compounding—some consider it a subtype of compounding (cf. Kubozono 1989, Renner 2006, Lehrer 2007, Arcodia and Montermini 2012), abbreviation (cf. Adams 1973, Cannon 1986, Djužykova 1997, Kelly 1998, López Rúa 2002, 2004, Gridina 2009:92) or a combination of both processes (cf. e.g. Gries 2004, 2006, 2012). What is more, it is often argued that blending is part of extra-grammatical morphology, which is characterized by a low degree of predictability of the output (cf. e.g., Mattiello 2013, Ronneberger-Sibold 2015).<sup>2</sup> In contrast, Bat-El (2000) and Plag (2003) include blending in the system of regular (or grammatical) word-formation and argue that predictability of output in blending is comparable to other grammatical types of word-formation. Attempts to find evidence for regularity and predictability in blending are at the heart of a great number of works, including the present dissertation.

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<sup>2</sup> According to Mattiello (2013:1), extra-grammatical morphology produces “a set of heterogeneous formations (of an analogical or rule-like nature) which do not belong to morphological grammar, in that the processes through which they are obtained are not clearly identifiable and their input does not allow a prediction of a regular output”.

In this chapter, the following research questions will be addressed: (i) What is blending? (ii) What regularities are there in formation of new blends? First, some points of contention regarding the nature of blending encountered in the literature will be discussed. In this discussion, I will present my views on the controversial issues and provide arguments to support these views. As a result, a definition of blending will be provided, which will enable me to create a homogeneous corpus for further analysis, excluding the items which do not fit the definition. Next, an overview of regularities observed in formation of blends will be presented, with the focus on formal, semantic, and syntactic aspects of blending. Since the regularities have been observed and studied in a number of typologically different languages—such as English (Mattiello 2013, Beliaeva 2014), French (Renner 2014), Hebrew (Bat-El 2000), Ukrainian (Borgwaldt et al. 2012), Russian and Chinese (Arcodia and Montermini 2012), and others—the illustrative examples will be extracted from various languages in order to create a fuller picture of the complex phenomenon of blending. This overview will later help me identify directions in the analysis of Ukrainian data (for example, as will be discussed in 2.2, length, position of the main stress and order of SWs have been found to be predictable in blending in other languages; thus, examining whether this holds for Ukrainian will be an interesting direction for the analysis of Ukrainian data).

## **2.1 Brief historiographical overview of the literature**

Even though blends have been attested in English for over five centuries (Xruščeva 2011:50, Mattiello 2013:110), the earliest detailed linguistic accounts of blending in English date back to the beginning of the 20<sup>th</sup> century (see Bergström 1906 and Pound 1914). The way in which the term “blend” is used in these early accounts gave rise to some of the modern approaches. For example, Bergström (1906:9) defines a blend as a formation which “is made up of two (or more) previously existing, generally synonymous or similar elements, each of which contributes one part to it”. The particularly noticeable part of the definition is the claim regarding the similarity or even synonymy of the elements being combined, which is reminiscent of the considerably later approach of Plag (2003:156), who stresses that the words composing blends must be semantically related and claims that blends are similar to copulative compounds. Bergström’s (1906) material, however, consists mostly of speech. Bergström (1906:25) writes: “Blendings

like other analogical formations are, as a rule, unintentional”. However, he then agrees that “there occur some intentional or conscious ones, especially words. Often they are very handy and suitable for the purpose.” (Bergström’s 1906:26). As I will discuss in 2.2.5, some of the later analyses of blending also focused on both intentionally formed blends and speech errors (for example, Berg 1998, Kelly 1998, Gries 2004, 2012). A similar approach is taken by Pound (1914) who analyses both intentional blends and speech errors and emphasises semantic similarity between SWs. Pound (1914:1) defines blends as “two or more words, often of cognate sense, telescoped as it were into one; as factitious conflations which retain, for a while at least, the suggestive power of their various elements”.

Following the earliest works discussed above, valuable descriptions of this phenomenon are provided in seminal works on English word-formation, e.g. Marchand (1969) and Bauer (1983), as well as in the study focusing on blending by Algeo (1977). It is Marchand (1969) who raises the question regarding grammaticality of blending and the morphological status of splinters. The status of the constituents of blends, according to Marchand, is different from that of other, more traditional, word-formation units, because the constituents of blends are “morphemes only for the individual speaker who blended them, while in terms of the linguistic system as recognized by the community, they are not signs at all” (Marchand 1969:451). In Algeo (1973:142), blends are defined as words containing “shorter substitutes” of words, which usually are “irregular in form”. Later, Bauer (1983:234) expresses a similar view of component parts of blends, saying that a blend “may be defined as a new lexeme formed from parts of two (or possibly more) other words in such a way that there is no transparent analysis into morphs.” However, in Bauer’s (1983) analysis, blends are part of a general system of word-formation of English. Similarly, Adams (1973) summarizes the systematic characteristics of blending in his detailed classification of blends with respect to their formal structure and semantic properties. Unlike Bergström (1906) and Pound (1914), Marchand (1969), Adams (1973), and Bauer (1983) focus on intentionally created blends, rather than on speech error blends. According to Marchand (1969:451), blending “can be considered relevant to word-formation only insofar as it is an intentional process of word-coining”. In the present dissertation, Marchand’s (1969:451) approach to blending will be adopted.

Despite the controversy regarding regularity of blending and its status in the system of word-formation, interest in blending has been gradually growing, which has resulted in a number of new publications describing various aspects of this linguistic phenomenon: structure (Cannon 1986, Kubozono 1990, Kelly 1998, Hong 2004, Bat-El 2006, Bauer 2012, Mattiello 2013, Renner 2014), semantics (Kemmer 2003, Lehrer 2003, Bauer 2012, Renner 2014), psycholinguistics (Lehrer 2003, 2007, Lehrer & Veres 2013), cognitive aspects of blending (Kemmer 2003, Gries 2006), etc. These works will undergo careful scrutiny in what follows in this dissertation; therefore, I will not discuss them in great detail in this section. It is worth noting, however, that Beliaeva (2015:14) observes, based on the overview of the current literature on blending, that today “blends are not always (in fact, less and less often) perceived as a marginal phenomenon or as a grammatical anomaly”. In this dissertation, I intend to support the view of blending as a systematic phenomenon with some evidence from Ukrainian.

## **2.2 Defining lexical blending**

The goal of this section is to provide a definition of lexical blending that will exclude those formations which, although sharing some similarities with blends, are not products of this type of word-formation. Prior to the discussion of lexical blending, however, I will provide some clarification regarding the basic units of my analysis: words (specifically, source words), lexemes, word-forms, bases, stems, morphemes and splinters.

### *2.2.1 Definitions of the key terms*

The non-technical term “word” ambiguously covers two distinct linguistic concepts, the “word-form” and the “lexeme”. “Lexeme” refers to a minimal lexical unit and has an abstract representation uniting meaning, form, and lexico-syntactic properties. The concrete manifestation of a lexeme in a sentence context is a “word-form”. In terms of morphology, a word-form may be a complex inflected form, which is distinct from other related inflected forms (for example, *walk*, *walks*, *walked* are three distinct word-forms). According to Pounder (2000:57), “a lexeme can be said to have an abstract form; it has a meaning that is more general than that of word-forms, as it has no sentence relevance; it has lexico-syntactic properties such as class, gender, etc.” Word-forms and lexemes are concrete and abstract signs respectively

(Pounder 2000:57). However, where the difference between lexeme and word-form is not pertinent I will use “word” in this dissertation. It should also be mentioned that the term “word-formation” is actually somewhat misleading, as it is a lexeme that is formed and not a word.

A frequently-discussed problem concerns the nature of the items which are operated on in the process of word-formation. A lexeme is represented in a word-formation operation as a base. A base can be viewed as either concrete or abstract and is normally an uninflected stem. According to Aronoff (1994:40), stems differ from bases in that stems are purely sound forms, while the base is “a complete lexeme or syntactico-semantic defined set of lexemes”. For example, the base of the word-formation rule that derives abstract nouns of the form *X-ation* in English is the set of English verbs, and the base of the single abstract noun *pulverization* is the verb lexeme *pulverize*, not simply the sound form of this verb lexeme (Aronoff 1994:40). A given lexeme may have more than one base because there may be more than one stem of a word: for example, the stem in *bihty* ‘run-INF’ is *bih-*, while the stem in *bižu* ‘run-1.SG’ is *biž*. In such cases, the stems of the specific lexemes are listed in the lexicon. Mono-morphemic stems coincide with roots, but there are also poly-morphemic stems which can include suffixes, prefixes, etc. For example, the verb *ukrasty* ‘steal’ and *kradij* ‘thief’ share the same root (*krad-*), but their stems are different: *ukras-* and *kradij-* respectively (as discussed in Jakobson 1982: 19, *-ty* is an infinitive inflection in *ukrasty*, while the word-form *kradij* has a zero inflection).

A base is modified at several levels: the form of the base (a stem) is modified at a lower level where concrete units are transformed, but the semantic and syntactic modifications take place at an abstract level as every base corresponds to an abstract lexeme. It is important to note that sound and meaning are treated as separate systems in the lexeme-based (or word-based) approach to morphology, which is adopted in this dissertation (see 5.1.1). This is in tune with Beard’s (1981, 1987) separation hypothesis, according to which there is no direct connection between the side of morphology that deals with sound and the sides which deal with syntax and semantics. Word-formation occurs “top-down”, i.e. a certain meaning is created first and then realized in terms of a sound form. If the sound form of the input carries some syntactic meaning, it is insignificant in this approach, as the syntactic properties of the input are not transferred to the new lexeme. For example, in Pounder’s (2000:59) discussion of the issue, she claims that if a German noun appears to be formed on the base of the past tense of the verb, that semantic

element (the “pastness”) will be irrelevant for the meaning of the noun, as it is the lexemic meaning only which speakers transfer, e.g. RITT<sup>3</sup> ‘ride’ from REITEN ( preterite stem *ritt-*), TRITT from TRETEN (preterite stem *tritt*). After a lexeme, which is represented as a base, is formed, it can undergo inflection, which “concretizes” it, thus creating a word-form.

Bases are normally thought of as elements analyzable into a sequence of morphemes (specifically, uninflected stems); however this is not always the case. Fandrych (2008:109) claims that there are concatenative word-formation processes which do not make use of morphemes: “Non-morphematic word-formation is defined as any word-formation process that is not morpheme-based... , that is, which uses at least one element which is not a morpheme; this element can be a splinter, a phonaestheme, part of a syllable, an initial letter, a number or a letter used as a symbol” (Fandrych 2004:18). Therefore, there are concatenative word-formation processes in which bases may be submorphemic elements. In blending, such submorphemic elements are normally referred to as splinters (the term was originally introduced by Berman (1961:279)). López Rúa (2002:37) defines splinters as “those graphic and phonemic sequences... which are neither inflectional nor derivational morphemes, nor combining forms (*electro-*, *-scope*), and whose length generally allows their identification as belonging to a previous word.” Thus, the bases which are modified in the process of blending may not be sequences of morphemes, but rather sequences of phonemes.

Having defined word-level units and identified bases as linguistic units which are used in word-formation operations, I will now explain the term “source word”. The term “source word” is used exclusively in descriptions of blending in current linguistic studies. It refers to the words whose bases are selected for modification through the process of blending. Like any other word, a SW has an abstract representation in the lexicon (a lexeme) and concrete representations (word-forms). For clarity, I will present the SWs of every blend discussed in this dissertation both in the text of the dissertation and in Appendix A. The words will be presented in citation form. Lyon (1977:19) defines this term as follows: “By the citation-form of a lexeme is meant the form of the lexeme that is conventionally employed to refer to it in standard dictionaries and grammars of the language.” Thus, as emphasized by Aronoff (1994:40), a citation form is a

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<sup>3</sup> Departing from the standard convention, I represent stems in *capitas* throughout this dissertation.

metalinguistic notion not necessarily meant to be of significance in a theory of language. In the present dissertation, I will use Nominative-case singular forms for nouns, infinitives for verbs and masculine-gender Nominative-case singular forms for adjectives as citation forms where relevant. It should be emphasized, however, that the fact that SWs are presented as fully inflected word-forms should not be interpreted as a suggestion that these forms are used in the word-formation operations producing the respective blends.

The meanings of the terms which will be used in subsequent analysis have been explained and now I will proceed to clarify certain grey areas in definition of lexical blending with a focus on the following: segmental overlap and clipping of SWs, relation of blending to other types of word-formation, relation of blending to speech errors, as well as grammaticality of blending.

### 2.2.2 Segmental overlap of SWs or splinters

Blends can be formed by combining two words which share homophonous sequences in such a way that the sequences overlap. For example, the sequence shared by *fling* and *linguist* is *ling*. As demonstrated in (2a), a blend derived from these SWs has *ling* as an overlapping sequence.

- (2) a.    flinguist        <        fling            linguist  
           (a member of an Ultimate Frisbee team formed by linguists)
- b.    criticular        <        critic(al)        (par)ticular

(Mattiello 2013:305)

The SWs of the blend in (2a) are intact (however, for a contrary viewpoint, see Ralli and Xydopoulos (2012), who claim that one of the SWs in blends like *flinguist* is clipped). Formation of overlap blends can also involve clipping of SWs, as in (2b), in which the inner edges of the SWs are clipped. In addition, while the SWs in (2a) and (2b) overlap both phonologically and orthographically, there are cases in which sequences are either solely homophonous (as in (3a)) or solely homographic (as in (3b) where the letter <i> stands for /aj/ in SW<sub>1</sub> and for /i/ in SW<sub>2</sub>).

- (3) a.    sinema            <        sin                cinema  
       b.    bit                <        bi(nary)        (un)it

(Mattiello 2013:309, 304)

In addition, as pointed out by Mattiello (2013:134), the overlapping sequences are not always fully homophonous. This means that segments can overlap even if they share some but not all phonological features. For example, the overlapping sequences in (4) are nearly—as opposed to fully—homophonous (compare /dæfi/ and /dɛfi/): /æ/ and /ɛ/ differ in the phonological feature [low] (the former is [+low] and the latter is [-low]), while /i/ and /ɪ/ differ with respect to the phonological feature [tense] (the former is [+tense] and the latter is [-tense]). However, there is sufficient amount of phonological similarity between /dæfi/ and /dɛfi/ to motivate the combination of the SWs to form a new blend.

(4) daffynition < daffy definition

(a pun format involving the reinterpretation of an existing word on the basis of its phonemic resemblance to another word)

(Mattiello 2013:306)

To my knowledge, there has been no attempt in the literature to quantify how much phonological similarity is enough to motivate formation of an overlap blend. Presumably, in each individual case, the decision whether there is enough phonological similarity in SWs is left to the discretion of a creative language user who forms a new word.

Finally, sometimes overlapping segments are distributed discontinuously (Mattiello 2013:122). For example, in *suspose* in (5a), the SWs share the segments /sʌ/ and /p/, however, /s/ intervenes between /sʌ/ and /p/ in the resulting blend. Some scholars choose to analyze such blends as if the only overlapping segment is /p/, i.e. as shown in (5b) (cf. e.g., Xruščeva 2009:63). However, I will follow Hong (2004:131) and Mattiello (2013:122) in claiming that this is a case of discontinuous overlap, as it seems obvious that the formation of this blend was motivated by the considerable similarity of the SWs (not by merely one homophonous segment /p/). Discontinuous overlap can also be clearly illustrated by intercalative blends, i.e. blends in which one SW or its splinter is incorporated in the other SW, as in (6).<sup>4</sup> Blends in which overlapping segments are distributed discontinuously are often excluded from analyses of blending (cf. e.g. Hong 2004), because their formation is hard to account for by

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<sup>4</sup> The term “intercalative blends” is adopted from Kemmer 2003:72. Blends of this structural type are also referred to as “noncontiguous” or “implanted blends” (see Hong 2004:119).

word-formation rules, since according to Mattiello (2013:130), “word-formation rules do not allow discontinuous bases”.<sup>5</sup>

- (5) a. suppose < susp(ect) suppose  
 b. suppose < susp(ect) (su)ppose  
 ‘to suspect and to suppose’

(Mattiello 2013:310)

- (6) askility < a(b)ility skill  
 ‘an ability that is a skill’

(Mattiello 2013:303)

Overlap blends, like *flinguist*, are identified as blends both in early works on blending (see Bergström 1906, Wood 1911, Pound 1914, and Jespersen 1922) and in contemporary analyses of blends. However, to my knowledge, there is one exception in the contemporary literature. Namely, Ralli and Xydopoulos (2012) do not consider words involving segmental overlap as blends. In their analysis of Modern Greek blends, Ralli and Xydopoulos (2012:35) consider a word as a blend only if no SW used for deriving it remains intact. Ralli and Xydopoulos (2012:46) claim that one of the SWs in examples like *flinguist* is clipped via haplology, i.e. via elimination of a sequence when two consecutive identical or similar segments occur (for example, *fling + linguist* or *fling + linguist*).<sup>6</sup> One problem with this approach is that it is not clear which one of the SWs containing the homophonous sequence is clipped, which in Ralli and Xydopoulos’ (2012) approach determines whether a given item is a blend (if both SWs are clipped) or not a blend (when at least one SW is intact). For example, if one accepts Ralli and Xydopoulos’s (2012) formal requirements for blends, should one consider the French example in (7) below as a blend?

- (7) a. franglais < fran(çais) (an)glais  
 b. franglais < fra(nçais) anglais

<sup>5</sup> See 5.1.2 for examples of word-formation rules which account for non-concatenative morphological processes, contrarily to Mattiello’s (2013:130) claim.

<sup>6</sup> This view contrasts with that of a number of linguists, who view words like *flinguist* in (2a) above as preserving both SWs intact (Grésillon 1984, Plag 2003, Bat-El 2006, Konieczna 2012).

‘Frenghish’

‘French’

‘English’

(Partos 2015: n. pag.)

It can be postulated that the SW *français* is clipped to the remaining splinter *fran•*, while the SW *anglais* is clipped via haplology to the splinter *•glais* (see (7a)).<sup>7</sup> Accepting this postulation would mean recognizing *franglais* as a blend. Alternatively, one can view *français* as being clipped to *fr•* and *anglais* as remaining intact (see (7b)), in which case *franglais* would not be considered as a blend. The latter clipping pattern is possible since a SW can be clipped on the border of syllable constituents, e.g. an onset and a rhyme (Plag 2003: 123–124, Bat-El 2006: 69, Xruščeva 2011: 50–51, and Bauer 2012: 17), and there is a tendency to preserve more segments of the rightmost SW, compared to the leftmost one (Bauer 2012:13; Gries 2004:654). Therefore, the claim that words which demonstrate the overlap of homophonous segments always involve clipping is problematic, since it is not clear which of the SWs is clipped. Below, I will discuss different alternatives with regard to this issue.

One may argue for the clipping of the homophonous sequence either in SW<sub>1</sub> (e.g. *flinguist* < *f(ling) linguist*) or in SW<sub>2</sub> (e.g. *flinguist* < *fling (ling)uist*) via haplology in blends with overlap. Accepting either argument, however, means assuming that clipping can occur within syllable constituents, i.e. only a part of a complex coda or onset can be clipped.<sup>8</sup> For example, if the homophonous sequence /mor/ is clipped in SW<sub>2</sub> and preserved in SW<sub>1</sub> in the Russian example in (8), then the deletion of a part of the coda of SW<sub>1</sub> occurs.

- (8)    muxomorg                    <    muxomor    morg  
          ‘fly-agaric morgue’            ‘fly-agaric’    ‘morgue’  
          (morgue full of victims of mushroom poisoning)

(Xruščeva 2011:219)

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<sup>7</sup> Following Bat-El (2006), I will use the symbol • to mark the edge of the splinter from which certain phonological material has been clipped.

<sup>8</sup> Syllable constituents are a nucleus (a vowel or a syllabic consonant), an onset (one or more consonants occurring before the nucleus), and a coda (one or more consonants following the nucleus). The combination of a nucleus and a coda is referred to as a rhyme (Duanmu 2009:6). The combination of an onset and a nucleus is referred to as a body (Hong 2004:127).

Such assumptions regarding the clipping of homophonous sequences are challenged by the observation made by a number of linguists (Kelly 1998:585, Plag 2003:123–124, Bat-El 2006:69, Xruščeva 2011:50–51, and Bauer 2012:17) that cross-linguistically clipping occurs on syllable boundaries, i.e. on the boundaries between onset and nucleus or nucleus and coda, as opposed to within complex onsets or codas. Moreover, the preservation of a one-phoneme splinter (e.g. •g in *morg* in (8)) is unlikely as it would greatly diminish the recognizability of the SW. Finally, attempts to find the switch point, i.e. where the first SW ends and the second SW begins, within the homophonous sequence will complicate identification of tendencies in the clipping mechanisms. As I will discuss in 3.2, viewing such sequences as unclipped and basing the analysis of clipping patterns on blends without overlap enables one to reveal clear tendencies which would otherwise not be obvious, at least in the analysis of Ukrainian data.

Another problem with Ralli and Xydopoulos’s (2012) approach is that it is not clear how they classify words with overlap like *flinguist* in (2a) or their own Modern Greek example in (9).

- (9)    panoleθriamvos                      <        panoleθria    θriamvos  
          ‘disaster and triumph’                      ‘disaster’        ‘triumph’

((15b) in Ralli and Xydopoulos 2012:46)

I assume that they view such words as clipped compounds, since they claim that they “are built in accordance with the compounding processes, but are reduced via haplology” (Ralli and Xydopoulos 2012:46). I will discuss the criteria I use for discriminating between blends and (clipped) compounds in 2.2.4.1. For now, it will suffice to say that these criteria are not limited to formal characteristics of splinters. For example, I support Plag’s (2003:121) claim that clipped compounds (he refers to them as “shortened compounds”) are simply a shortened form of existing compounds. For example, the use of the clipped compound in (10) is paralleled by the use of the corresponding non-clipped compound *situation comedy*.

- (10)    sitcom                      <        si(tuation)                      com(edy)

Since, as far as I know, there are no corresponding non-clipped compounds to *flinguist* in (2a), or *panoleθriamvos* in (9), I conclude that they should not be considered as clipped compounds.

Bauer (2012:19) claims that some blends are more prototypical than others. If this is true, blends involving segmental overlap are perhaps the most prototypical of all blends. It seems that blends with segmental overlap are the best compromise between two competing goals pursued when forming a blend: to truncate the SWs in order to allow the blend to have the length of a single word, on the one hand, and to preserve the maximum number of segments of the SWs in order to facilitate recognizability of SWs in the blend, on the other hand (Ronneberger-Sibold 2006:167).

To sum up, formations coined by combining two words, so that their homophonous or homographic sequences overlap, are considered as blends in the present dissertation, and thus will be selected for the corpus of blends, which will be analyzed in Chapters 3–5. Moderate phonological differences of nearly homophonous sequences and discontinuity of distribution of homophonous sequences will not exclude lexical units from the group of overlap blends and from the analysis of blending.

### 2.2.3 *Clipping and combining of SWs*

The formation of blends can involve clipping of one or more SWs (cf. e.g. Algeo 1977, Bauer 1983, Plag 2003, Gries 2004, Bat-El 2006, Bauer 2012). The splinters remaining after the clipping of SWs can be either initial or final fragments of the SWs. Potentially, the combination of splinters into blends can be achieved in a number of different ways. Plag (2003) formalizes the possible combinations using letters of the alphabet, presenting SW<sub>1</sub> as “AB” and SW<sub>2</sub> as “CD”. For convenience, I will adopt this notation in order to demonstrate which combinations of SWs have been attested and discussed in the literature. I will begin with the description of so-called “total blends”, i.e. those in which all SWs are reduced to splinters (Mattiello 2013:118). Next, “partial blends”, i.e. those in which only one SW is reduced, the other being left in its full form (Thornton 1993:148, Mattiello 2013:120), will be discussed.

Most commonly, clipped blends are presented as having the AD structure, where AB + CD → AD (cf. Plag 2003:123). Such blends are formed by combining the first part of the SW<sub>1</sub> and the second part of the SW<sub>2</sub>. Examples of this structural type are provided in (11).

- (11) a. hurricoon < hurric(ane) (typh)oon (Mattiello 2013:307)  
 b. popocrat < pop(ulist) (dem)ocrat (Beliaeva 2014:6)

According to Ronneberger-Sibold (2006:170), in words like those in (11), one SW provides the rhythmical contour, i.e. the number of syllables and the location of the main stress, to the blend. She refers to the SW whose rhythmical contour is adopted by a blend as the matrix word. Thus, the matrix word in (11a) is *hurricane* and the matrix word in (11b) is *democrat*.

Formations of the AC type have led to some controversy in the literature. On the one hand, Plag (2003:123) claims that in a blend, “it is always the first part of the first element that is combined with the second part of the second element” and Bat-El (2006:66) asserts that “blends refer only to cases where the inner edges are truncated”, emphasizing that formations of the AC type should be viewed as clipped compounds (also “shortened/abbreviated compounds” in Plag 2003:122, “complex clippings” in Gries 2012:146, and “reduced compounds” in Arcodia and Montermini 2012:93–94). On the other hand, Lehrer (2007), Brdar-Szabó and Brdar (2008) and Renner (2014) describe formations with such structure as blends. Yet others claim that formations of the AC type can be either clipped compounds or blends (see Mattiello 2013:119). These scholars view the examples in (12) below as blends. However, Mattiello (2013:119) observes that “this type is less frequently attested and generally includes names for chemicals or substances obtained from the mixture of two elements”. A detailed discussion of differences between blends of the AC type and clipped compounds will follow in 2.2.4.1.

- (12) a. cloral < clor(ine) al(cohol)  
 b. cabsat < cab(le) sat(ellite) (Mattiello 2013:119)

Configurations of the BD type also seem to be a point of contention in the literature: while Lehrer (1996, 2007) claims that blends of this structural type are impossible (at least in English), Mattiello (2013:119) asserts that “although it is rather infrequent, this is not an impossible pattern” and provides four English examples, presented in (13) below.

- (13) a. Bullgarita < (Red) Bull (mar)garita  
 b. Bullmeister < (Red) Bull (Jaeger)meister  
 c. Kittylicious < (Hello) Kitty (de)licious  
 d. Kongfrontation < (King) Kong (con)frontation

(Mattiello 2013:119)

Presumably, the rarity of blends of the BD type is linked to a low degree of recognizability of SWs in such formations. Bauer (2012:13) claims that recognizability is easier for word beginnings than for endings, which leads to the assumption that creators of blends would tend to preserve initial rather than final fragments of SWs for the sake of recoverability of the meaning of a blend. To be fair, it should be noted that there are very few splinters in the sense of Plag 2003 and Bauer 2012—i.e. submorphemic elements remaining after SWs containing them were clipped—in the four examples provided by Mattiello (2013). First, all the SW<sub>1</sub>s in (13), which are compounds, are clipped to components which can serve as fully-fledged words in English. Due to this, blends in (13) are considerably easier to process than blends of BD type which have submorphemic elements as B and D. In addition, the final syllables of SW<sub>1</sub>s in (13c) and (13d) are phonologically similar to the initial syllables of the respective SW<sub>2</sub>s. Therefore, one could analyze (13c) and (13d) as blends with partial overlap, rather than blends in which beginnings of SW<sub>2</sub>s were clipped.

Despite the reservations regarding Mattiello's (2013:119) examples, I agree with her claim that blends of the BD type are not impossible. I have been able to find one example of a blend formed by final splinters of the SWs (see (14)), which was pointed out to me by A. Pounder (personal communication, 6 August 2013). Such cases, however, appear to be very rare, which is in tune with Bauer's (2012) observation regarding recognizability mentioned above.

- (14) a. Sippi-see-kansas < (Missi)ssippi (Tenne)ssee (Ar)kansas

(Hanson 2010)

So far the discussion has revolved around total blends; however, in what follows partial blends—namely, blends of the ABD and ACD types—will be discussed. Words of the ABD type occur much less frequently than those of the ACD type, presumably due to recognizability

considerations, as discussed above (Bauer 2012:13). Examples of ABD blends, in which a full SW is followed by a splinter, are presented in (15).

- (15) a. mumzilla < mum (God)zilla  
b. cussnation < cuss (dam)nation

(Mattiello 2013:120)

Blends of the ACD type are those in which a full lexeme is preceded by a splinter. Like AC formations, words of this structural type are often considered as clipped compounds (see, for example, Bat-El 2006:66), which will be discussed in the following section. Mattiello (2013:120), according to whom both blends and compounds can have the ACD structure, provides the following examples of ACD blends:

- (16) a. copyleft < copy(right) left  
(the practice of offering people the right to freely distribute copies a work with the stipulation that the same rights be preserved in derivative works down the line)  
b. Frankenfish < Franken(stein) fish  
(a genetically modified fish)

(Mattiello 2013:120)

The overview in this section provided some insight into the structure of words which can be considered as blends. It was pointed out which formations require more elaborate analysis, reaching beyond structural characteristics, in order to be classified either as blends or as clipped compounds. Criteria for evaluation of such formations will be presented in the following section.

#### *2.2.4 Relation of blending to other types of word-formation*

In what follows, I will discuss the claims presented in the literature regarding the status of blending in word-formation. It will be argued that blends are a separate type of word-formation and not a part of compounding or abbreviation.

#### 2.2.4.1 Relation of blending to compounding

Although compounding and blending share some characteristics, I will follow many linguists (e.g. Bat-El 2006, Ronneberger-Sibold 2006, Xruščeva 2009, 2011, Bauer 2012, Gries 2012) in arguing that they are two separate types of word-formation, so that blends are not a subtype of compounds (as argued, for example, by Kubozono 1989, Renner 2006, Lehrer 2007, Arcodia and Montermini 2012). Below, I will provide some arguments to support my claim.

The most obvious characteristic shared by blends and compounds is that they combine two or more words into one. In this work, it is assumed that the combination of the SWs or splinters in the formation of blends results from the application of the compounding operation. However, the compounding operations which result in forming blends are different from those which result in forming compound words in the following ways. Namely, the possible combinations of the formal, semantic, and categorial rules which trigger the formation of blends may be different from the combinations of the rules which produce compounds (see 5.1 for an account of word-formation operations in the framework of Process-and-Paradigm Morphology). For example, in Ukrainian, while the categorial rule combining a noun and an interjection can be combined with a formal rule of compounding in the formation of a blend (e.g. *xv<sup>er</sup>enyk* ‘perogie which is not tasty’ < *xv<sup>e</sup>* ‘eww’ *v<sup>ar</sup>enyk* ‘dumpling’), such a combination cannot be used to produce a compound (e.g. \**xvev<sup>ar</sup>enyk*). The assumption that the operations of compounding and clipping are applied when forming blends explains the observation that languages exhibiting more compounding and clipping are more likely to have many blends (Brdar-Szabó and Brdar 2008: 183).

Another similarity between compounds and blends is their headedness: both blends and compounds can be either headed (i.e. endocentric) or non-headed (i.e. exocentric) (cf. Bat-El 2006, Xruščeva 2009, 2011, Bauer 2012, Konieczna 2012, Shaw 2013, Renner 2014). However, the difference between blends and compounds with respect to this characteristic is emphasized by Bat-El (2006): in some languages, endocentric compounds demonstrate a fixed order of the head and the modifier, while blends do not. For example, in both French and Hebrew, compounds are strictly left-headed, but blends can be either right- or left-headed (Bat-El 2006:67, Arcodia and Montermini 2012:94–95). This can be illustrated by the left-headed



- b. Gosduma < gos(udarstvennaja) Duma  
 ‘State Duma’ ‘state’ ‘Duma’  
 (the Parliament of the Russian Federation)

It has been noted in the literature that such words are quite different from prototypical blends which involve clipping (i.e. the AD type) from the point of view of their form. For example, Bauer (1983:233) argues that while blends “take simple word stress”, i.e. the stress of either the leftmost or the rightmost component can be preserved as the main stress (see Shaw 2013:36 for experimental evidence for this claim), AC-type formations “retain compound stress”, i.e. the stress of the leftmost component is preserved, as in *sitcom*, where the first syllable carries the main stress. In addition, corpus analyses conducted by Gries (2012) and Beliaeva (2014) reveal that more phonological material (i.e. segments) is preserved in AD-type blends, compared to AC-type formations.<sup>9</sup> It has also been claimed in the literature that blends and AC-type formations differ in that blends, unlike clipped compounds, are subject to stem-level phonological processes, which leads to the conclusion that there is no prosodic word boundary between the splinters of a blend (see, for example, Bat-El 2006:68). For example, Canadian Raising, i.e. a vowel shift in many dialects of North American English that changes the pronunciation of diphthongs before voiceless consonants, is observed in blends, as in (21a) whereby the diphthong is pronounced as [ʌj], but not in AC-type formations, as in (21b) whereby the diphthong is pronounced as [aj] (see Chambers 1973 for a detailed discussion of Canadian Raising). However, as it has been pointed out to me by D. Flynn (personal communication, 27 June 2016), there are multiple examples of formations generally classified as blends which demonstrate internal phonological word boundaries (for example, *Kittylicious* in (13c), *Kongfrontation* in (13d), *mumzilla* in (15a), etc.). Therefore, in this dissertation, this criterion will not be used to distinguish formations as either blends or clipped compounds, and other criteria discussed in this Section will be employed instead.

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<sup>9</sup> Beliaeva (2014:206) proposes the following explanation for this finding: clipped compounds are formed from words which often co-occur, which is why it is easier to recognize their SWs even if not much of their phonological form is preserved. In contrast, blends are formed by SWs which are not necessarily used together, which is why more phonological material may be needed to recognize the SWs.

- (20) a. skycago [skʌj'kagou] < sky(scrapers) (Chi)cago  
 ‘a part of Chicago that has many skyscrapers’  
 (Xruščeva 2011:195)
- b. Chicom [tʃaj'kɒm] < Chi(nese) comm(unist)  
 (Mattiello 2013:77)
- (21) a. nichrome /'najkroum/ < nick(el)<sup>10</sup> chrome  
 b. bichrome /'bajkroum/

While the formations considered indeed appear to differ significantly in terms of phonological characteristics, it appears unreasonable to classify one type as blends (AD formations) and the other type as clipped compounds (AC formations) without considering criteria other than the structural type. This seems sensible, taking into account that there are proposals in the literature to the effect that both blends and clipped compounds can have AC- and ACD-type structure (cf. Mattiello 2013, Beliaeva 2014).

Clipped compounds are different from blends in the following ways. First, as claimed by Plag (2003:121), they tend to have existing non-reduced compound correspondents (e.g. *situation comedy* corresponds to *sitcom*), while the SWs of blends are separate, and not attested as constituents of compounds (Cannon 1986:730, Mattiello 2013:114). Kubozono (1990:2) views clipped compounds as contractions of “words which occur side by side” and Gries (2012:155) claims that clipped compounds “have quite a strong preference to involve contractive relations”. In addition, Beliaeva (2015:206) claims that “the result of merging two words together is more likely to take the form of a clipping compound if those two words co-occur”. This is related to the difference in meaning of the SWs of reduced compounds, on the one hand, and blends, on the other hand. Namely, SWs of a reduced compound have a composite meaning, often of the type determinant-determinatum (e.g. *mocamp* is a type of camp: a camp is which some space is dedicated to motor vehicles). In contrast, in most blends, each SW has an autonomous meaning which is entirely retained in the final form (e.g. *boatel* is both a boat and a hotel) (Mattiello

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<sup>10</sup> Crucially, the diphthong is only used in the blend, the SW<sub>1</sub> being pronounced with /ɪ/.

2008:146, 2013:116). This semantic criterion can be very useful in drawing the distinction between AC or ACD blends and AC or ACD clipped compounds and generally between any blends (including overlap blends and AD structural type) and clipped compounds. In sum, it seems to be fair to say that if a word of this structure does not have a corresponding full compound or fixed expression (in Beliaeva’s 2014:206 terms) and has a meaning composed of the autonomous meanings of the SWs, it can be considered a blend.

Finally, blending is often claimed to be part of “creative morphology”, which means that its products (blends) are used with a goal of exerting a certain effect on the listener/reader (Bach and Harnish 1979, Lehrer 2003:370, and others). For example, blends can be used to persuade, entertain, catch someone’s attention, etc. In this respect, blends differ from clipped compounds, which to my knowledge have not been observed to perform such a function. The difference between blends and clipped compounds appears especially stark in Slavic languages (see Xruščeva’s (2011) analysis of Russian and Konieczna’s discussion of Polish). For example, in Russian, the formation of clipped compounds was very productively employed, mostly in coining names for various institutions and professions, during the Soviet era (see (22a)) and is still very productive (see (22b)) (Comrie et al. 1996:139–140, Arcodia and Montermini 2012:97).

- |      |    |                   |   |                |                  |
|------|----|-------------------|---|----------------|------------------|
| (22) | a. | kolxoz            | < | koll(ektivnoe) | xoz(jajstvo)     |
|      |    | ‘collective farm’ |   | ‘collective’   | ‘farm’           |
|      | b. | gazprom           | < | gaz(ovaja)     | prom(yšlennost’) |
|      |    | ‘gas industry’    |   | ‘gas’          | ‘industry’       |

While the clipped compounds like those in (22) do not appear to be meant to have any special communicative effect on the audience, Russian blends, like those in (23), are used in order to add some wit to the rhetoric. These clever, eye-and-ear-catching words, as Lehrer (2003:371) describes blends, serve this purpose very well, which makes them very different from clipped compounds in Russian.

- |      |    |                          |   |                 |                         |
|------|----|--------------------------|---|-----------------|-------------------------|
| (23) | a. | (gadjij) <u>Put</u> ěnok | < | <u>Put</u> (in) | (gadjij) <u>u</u> těnok |
|      |    | ‘(ugly) duckling Putin’  |   | ‘Putin’         | ‘(ugly) duckling’       |

(Xruščeva 2011:215)

- b.     ložung                    <     lož'                    lozung  
           'misleading slogan'            'lie'                    'slogan'

(Xruščeva 2011:219)

For all the reasons listed in this section, it can be concluded that blends and compounds should be analyzed independently as products of two separate types of word-formation. This conclusion will be incorporated in my definition of blending (see 2.2.7). Moreover, the knowledge of criteria necessary for distinguishing blends from clipped compounds will help me exclude clipped compounds from my corpus of blends.

#### 2.2.4.2 Relation of blending to abbreviation

A number of linguists view blending as a type of “abbreviation” (see Djužykova 1997:8, Saxibgareeva 1998:5, Gridina 2009:92, Lopez Rua 2004:124, Zemskaja 2009:286–287 and others).<sup>11</sup> The main reason for such a classification is that blends, similarly to abbreviations, are formed by combining two or more SWs which undergo clipping. Below, I will discuss how the formation of blends differs from abbreviation, arguing that these are two different types of word-formation.

The combination of the SWs involved in blending differs from that used in abbreviation. First, as observed by Muradjan (1978:134) and Xruščeva (2011:38), while abbreviations are often formed by three or more SWs (as in (24a)), the vast majority of blends are coined as a result of combining just two SWs. Even though examples of blends formed by three SWs can be found (e.g. (24b)), they are very rare.

- (24) a.     U.S.A.F.            <     U(nited) S(tates) A(ir) F(orce)  
        b.     Fritalux            <     Fr(ance) Ital(y) (Bene)lux (Economic Union)

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<sup>11</sup> In this work, I will follow Plag (2013:161) in using the term “abbreviation” in a narrow technical sense: the formation of a new word from initial letters of multiword sequences. According to Plag (2003:163), abbreviations are divided into initialisms (abbreviations which are pronounced by naming each individual letter, as in *USA*) and acronyms (abbreviations which are pronounced like non-abbreviated words by applying regular reading rules, e.g. *NATO*).

Second, according to Xruščeva (2011:38), blends are formed by combining content words (also called open-class words). However, SWs used in forming abbreviations can be function words (closed-class words). For example, in (25), the function word *of* is clipped to *o•* and is a part of the emerging abbreviation. Finally, abbreviation, unlike blending, never involves overlap of the SWs.

(25) FOE < F(riends) o(f) (the) E(arth)

(Xruščeva 2011:38)

With regard to the clipping of the SWs, the form of abbreviations is considerably more economical, compared to blends, i.e. more phonological material is deleted in forming abbreviations (Mattiello 2013:115). Based on her corpus study of English abbreviations and blends, Muradjan (1978:134) claims that the majority of English abbreviations are clipped by 70% or more, while most English blends are clipped by up to 30%.

Abbreviations and blends also differ from the point of view of semantics. The meaning of an abbreviation is equivalent to the meaning of the corresponding phrase composed of the SWs (Mattiello 2013:115). The meaning of a blend, however, is normally a combination of certain features of each SW, often with an added shade of meaning (see Chapter 4). Moreover, while the components of a blend can be related either syntagmatically—i.e. they occur sequentially in speech (see (26a))—or paradigmatically—i.e. they are related through synonymy, antonymy, hyponymy or hyperonymy (see (26b))—the relation between the components of abbreviations is always syntagmatic (see (26c)) (Kreidler 2000:957, Mattiello 2013:116).<sup>12</sup>

(26) a. dumbocracy < dumb democracy  
(a democracy with stupid voters)

b. Christmakkuh < Christma(s) (Chanu)kkah

(urbandictionary.com)

c. USA < U(nited) S(tates) (of) A(merica)

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<sup>12</sup> Even though components of a blend can be related syntagmatically, their SWs do not constitute a fixed phrase (in Beliaeva's 2014:206 terms) which is simply reduced by clipping.

Based on the arguments above, I conclude that blending and abbreviation are two different types of word-formation, even though they share some characteristics. This conclusion is essential for the accurate location of blending in the system of word-formation. It is also important for excluding significantly different formations from my corpus of blends.

### 2.2.5 Unintentional speech-error blends versus intentionally formed blends

In the literature, the term “blend” has been used to refer to both the expressions resulting from production errors and intentional coinages. Most linguists study one of these two types of blends separately from the other (cf. e.g. Fromkin 1973, MacKay 1973, Kubozono 1990, Laubstein 1999 for the analyses of blends produced as speech errors, on the one hand, and Kaunisto 2000, Kemmer 2003, Lehrer 2007 for the analyses of intentionally formed blends, on the other hand). However, there are also works in which parallels between these two types of blends are drawn (see, for example, Berg 1998, Kelly 1998, Gries 2004, 2012 and others). The findings presented in the latter works show that the formation of unintentional error blends crucially differs from that of deliberately formed blends and that therefore it is necessary to study the two groups separately. Namely, they differ with regard to semantic and syntactic characteristics of their SWs (cf. Fromkin 1973, Jaeger 2005, Gries 2012), as well as their structure (cf. Gries 2004, 2012), as I will discuss below.

In analyses of slips of the tongue, blends are said to occur where the SWs mean more or less the same and when either word would have been appropriate (Fromkin 1973:235, Levelt 1989:183, Kubozono 1990:3, Berg 1998:156 and Jaeger 2005:301). For example, *switched* and *changed* in (27a), as well as *aggravates* and *intensifies* in (27b), are synonymous and therefore could be used in a sentence interchangeably.

- (27) a. swindged < switched changed ((29b) in Fromkin 1973:235)
- b. aggrafies < aggravates intensifies ((2a) in Gries 2004:201)

In contrast, intentionally created blends frequently combine SWs with different meanings, as in (28). The humorous meaning of the resulting blend combines elements of the meanings of the SWs.

- (28) Frisbeeterianism < Frisbee presbyterianism  
 (the belief that when a person dies, his/her soul rises and is thrown like a frisbee onto a roof, where it becomes attached and remains)  
 (urbandictionary.com)

The claims regarding semantic relationships between SWs presented above are supported by Gries's (2012) analysis of error blends (both authentic and induced) and intentional word-formation blends. Gries (2012:154) classifies the semantic relationships between SWs of blends in general into the following categories: synonymy (see (29a)), co-hyponymy (see (29b)), contractive, i.e. when the blend contracts two SWs that would have been adjacent as in a compound (see (29c)), frame relation (see (29d)), and others (e.g. antonymy, derivation, etc.).

- (29) a. tummach < tumm(y) (s)tomach  
 b. magalogue < maga(zine) (cata)logue  
 c. skurfing < sky (sur)fang  
 d. confrotalk < confronta(tion) talk  
 (Gries 2012:154–155)

Gries's (2012) corpus analysis of English data reveals the following tendencies: "... error blends are characterized very much by their SWs being synonymous, and the induced error blends ... unsurprisingly exhibit the same tendency. Intentional blends, on the other hand, involve very many different semantic relationships..." (Gries 2012:155). In other words, semantically, intentional blends differ markedly from speech errors.

Lexico-syntactic similarity of SWs forming speech-error blends has been widely discussed in the literature (see Fromkin 1973:233, MacKay 1987:34, Levelt 1989:217, Berg 1998:153, and others). It is claimed that the two words simultaneously retrieved from the lexicon which form a speech-error blend always or nearly always belong to the same syntactic category. For example, both SWs in (30a) are verbs, while both SWs in (30b) are adverbs.

(30) a. shell < shout yell  
((2b) in Gries 2004:1)

b. maistly < mainly mostly  
((29a) in Fromkin 1973:235)

However, the formation of an intentional blend often involves combination of SWs which belong to different syntactic categories. For example, a verb is combined with a noun in (31a), while an adverb is combined with a particle in (31b).

(31) a. buyagra < buy Viagra  
(a fictional drug which makes men want to buy expensive gifts for their wives)  
b. absonotly < absolutely not  
(respectively (182) and (12) in Xruščeva 2011:167, 158)

Analysis of the formal aspects of unintentional error blends, on the one hand, and intentionally formed blends, on the other hand, also shows that the two groups are significantly different. Among other contrasts, Gries (2004) highlights the differences in the ordering of the SWs depending on the length of SWs and the frequency of their use, as well as differences in the phonemic and graphemic contributions of the SWs to the blends of the types considered. Firstly, in two-word intentional blends, SW<sub>1</sub> was found to be significantly shorter and significantly more frequent than SW<sub>2</sub>. In contrast, the two words fused in speech error blends do not demonstrate any significant differences in their length, whereas SW<sub>2</sub> is much more frequent than SW<sub>1</sub> (Kelly 1998:582, Gries 2004:205–206). Secondly, unlike unintentional error blends, intentional blends are characterized by the goal of maximizing the degree of the recognizability of SWs, which is reflected in maximizing the phonemic and graphemic contributions to the resulting blend. On the one hand, if a certain percentage of the shorter word and the same percentage of the longer word are preserved in a blend, the longer word is more likely to be recognized, since more phonological material of the longer word is preserved. Therefore, for better recognizability the shorter word normally contributes a larger percentage of itself to the blend (Kaunisto 2000: n. pag., Gries 2004:205). On the other hand, a certain number of segments of the beginning of a word increase its chance of being recognized more than the same number of segments of its end (Nooteboom 1981:410), given that the normal way one encounters words is from beginning to

end rather than vice versa. Therefore, if both SWs are equally long, the SW<sub>2</sub> normally contributes more because this would enhance its recognizability by compensating for the fact that it is not processed in the normal way (Kaunisto 2000: n. pag., Gries 2004:205). These two tendencies, which are clearly observed in intentional blends, do not emerge in unintentional speech-error blends (Gries 2004:215).

Finally, speech errors and blends differ with regard to the degree to which they are established in the language. Cannon (2000:953) observes that speech errors are nonce forms which rarely remain in the language. On the other hand, blends are recognized neologisms which have entered or are likely to enter the lexicon (Mattiello 2013:118).

In sum, due to all the differences described above, blends produced as unintentional speech errors and intentionally formed blends should be viewed as two separate groups of blends. In this dissertation, I will study only one of the afore-mentioned groups, namely, Ukrainian blends formed intentionally, leaving Ukrainian blends produced as speech errors for future research.

#### 2.2.6 Neoclassical elements in blends

Plag (2003) defines neoclassical elements as lexemes originally borrowed from Latin or Greek, but whose combinations are of modern origin, e.g. *bio-*, *photo-*, and *-logy* in (32a), (32b), and (32c), respectively.

- (32) a. *biochemistry*  
b. *photograph*  
c. *geology*

(Plag 2003:74)

Such elements have a questionable status in word-formation because they exhibit features of both affixes and roots (see Warren 1990, Bauer 1998, Plag 2003 and others for the discussion of the status of such elements). It is important for us to decide which status to assign to such elements for the following reason. On the one hand, if we consider *orto-* in (33) as an affix, then *orto-dushka* is an affixed clipping. On the other hand, if we view it as a root, then *orto-duška* is a

blend. In this study, I will consider neoclassical elements as bound roots for reasons outlined below.

(33) ortoduška < orto- (po)duška  
'ortho-pillow' 'ortho-' 'pillow'

On the one hand, it is true that neoclassical elements share some properties with affixes: they have a stable position, e.g. *narco-* (e.g. *natcotics*) is word-initial and *-holic* (e.g. *alcoholic*) is word-final (Konieczna 2012: 65), and they can only be used as bound morphemes. On the one hand, firstly, as Konieczna (2012: 65) points out, they preserve lexical meaning, rather than acquiring more general meaning, like affixes (e.g. *narco-* and *-holic* as used to mean 'drug' and 'addicted to', respectively). Moreover, in certain cases neoclassical elements can be attached not only to stems, but also to other neoclassical elements, as in (34). Considering the neoclassical elements in (34) as affixes would undermine the basic assumptions about the general structure of words (Plag 2003:174).

(34) *ecology* < *eco-* *-logy*

Finally, Plag (2003: 174) notes that words formed by combining a neoclassical element with a base behave exactly like compounds formed on the basis of native words: for example, a *kitchen sink* is a kind of sink, while *biochemistry* is a kind of chemistry. The only difference between neoclassical forms and native compounds is that the non-native elements are obligatorily bound.

Assigning neoclassical elements the status of a bound root allows me to consider the Ukrainian example in (35) as a compound, and, most importantly, the Ukrainian examples in (36a,b) as blends.

(35) orto-poduška  
'ortho pillow'

- (36) a. ortoduška < orto- (po)duška  
           ‘ortho pillow’                    ‘ortho-’           ‘pillow’
- b. akvas < akva kvas  
           ‘kvas diluted with water’   ‘aqua’           ‘kvas’

In (35), the bound root is combined with a full base (as opposed to a clipped base). In (36a), it is combined with a fore-clipped source word, i.e. the splinter *duška*, while in (36b), there is a segmental overlap of the neoclassical element and the source word *kvas*.

Based on the arguments presented above, neoclassical elements will be viewed as bound roots. Reaching a conclusion regarding their status enables us to define blends more accurately.

### 2.2.7 Grammaticality or extra-grammaticality of blending

The status of blending in word-formation is a point of contention among linguists. Mostly, the disagreement revolves around whether blending is part of extra-grammatical or grammatical morphology. In what follows, I will outline the differences between extra-grammatical and grammatical morphology and discuss some proposals in linguistics regarding the place of blending in this taxonomy.

The most well-known account of characteristics which make extra-grammatical morphology distinct from grammatical morphology is provided by Dressler and Merlini Barbaresi (1994).<sup>13</sup> In their seminal work on the theory of morphopragmatics, Dressler and Merlini Barbaresi (1994:38–39) claim that morphological grammar “consists of categories, rules (or processes) expressing or manipulating them, and principles governing rules”, while extra-grammatical morphology is a set of “heterogeneous morphological phenomena which do not belong to morphological grammar”. Based on the literature, it appears that the main criterion for differentiating grammatical morphology from extra-grammatical morphology is that the former operates in terms of morphological rules. This excludes all the formations created by means of analogy, like those produced in child language (e.g. *papa pia* by analogy with *mama*

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<sup>13</sup> “Morphological grammar” is how Dressler and Merlini Barbaresi (1994) refer to what Mattiello (2013) calls “grammatical morphology”, which in both sources is contrasted to “extra-grammatical morphology”.

*mia*), from the domain of grammatical morphology (Dressler and Merlini Barbaresi 1994:34). The other characteristics differentiating grammatical morphology from extra-grammatical morphology proposed by Dressler and Merlini Barbaresi (1994), which seem to stem from the proposal regarding morphological rules, are the following: in grammatical morphology, “rules manipulate meaning and form in a regular, that is, predictable way” (Dressler and Merlini Barbaresi 1994:39) and “apply to a distinct class of bases”, which leads to “formation of new words distinct from their bases” (Dressler and Merlini Barbaresi 1994:40). Based on Dressler and Merlini Barbaresi’s (1994) proposal, accountability in terms of rules, predictability of the output and homogeneity of input bases are sufficient criteria to classify a type of word-formation as grammatical. It is important to note, however, that these criteria apply to word-formation, as opposed to modifications of bases which are merely language games, like Pig Latin. A phenomenon can be viewed as word-formation only if it involves modification of bases along three dimensions: form, meaning, and syntactic category. While blending involves formal modification of input bases, formation of a new meaning composed of meanings of input lexemes and occasionally a change of syntactic category of one input base, Pig Latin is limited to the modification in terms of the phonological form of the base. Even though formal rules can be proposed for both blending and Pig Latin, the latter cannot be discussed in the context of grammatical versus extragrammatical word-formation simply because it is not word-formation.

Fradin et al. (2009) supplement the list of criteria proposed in Dressler and Merlini Barbaresi (1994) with a number of new criteria. These criteria include the following: in extra-grammatical morphology, new formations are produced consciously and intentionally, have a limited applicative domain and are not productive.

The criterion of intentionality is reminiscent of the distinction between “expressive morphology” versus “plain morphology” presented by Zwicky and Pullum (1987). Namely, according to Zwicky and Pullum 1987:335–336), expressive morphology produces formations which are created with a certain intention (specifically, that of exerting a certain “pragmatic effect” on the addressee). However, the intentions involved in “extra-grammatical morphology” and “expressive morphology” may differ. While language speakers are said to employ extra-grammatical morphology” with the “intention to condense linguistic information into shorter forms or to find more specific denominations”, expressive morphology normally applies to those

phenomena that have a humorous or artistic effect (Mattiello 2013:32). Generally speaking, even though “extra-grammatical morphology” and “expressive morphology” share some properties (e.g. “imperfect control” over the output, as Zwicky and Pullum (1987:337) put it), they do not entirely overlap (Mattiello 2013:32) and therefore should be differentiated.

Intentionality of blending is strongly associated with ephemerality of blends, which may appear as a characteristic differentiating blending from grammatical types of word-formation. Indeed, at least some blends are created *ad hoc*, i.e. for a specific communicative purpose, and may never be used outside of one specific communicative situation. As observed by Walaszewska (2015: 182–183), in the literature, low viability of some blends is normally accounted for by two factors. From a meaning prospective, language users may not employ a blend because they are not able to capture the original insight of a blend coiner, his or her communicative intention or the associations originally triggered by the blend (see, for example, Cannon 1986: 738). From a form prospective, SWs in a blend may be unrecognizable, which makes a blend opaque to language users (see, for example, Brdar-Szabo and Brdar 2008: 190). It can also be suggested that due to certain socio-political changes, certain meanings rendered by blends (especially those used in the context of politics) may become obsolete or irrelevant. Even though the observation that some blends are short-lived is accurate, it can hardly be considered as evidence that blending is extragrammatical, unlike those types of word-formation whose products tend to be more long-lived. When a new word is formed, it is hard—if at all possible—to predict how long it will stay in a language and how frequently it will be employed by language users. Irrespective of these considerations, language users who coin the new word employ either grammatical or extra-grammatical word-formation. Whether the new formation is ephemeral or not becomes clear only at a later stage. In this dissertation, the analysis of blending as a type of word-formation focuses on the stage at which blends are formed and the regularity on particularly this stage is what serves as evidence that blending is grammatical.

Some of the features of extra-grammatical morphology have been mentioned in linguistic analyses of blending as being typical of blends. For example, Grésillon (1984:138–139), Cannon (1986:744), Berman (1989:45–61), as well as Hong (2004:118), claim that this type of word-formation does not follow any systematic principles, is extremely unpredictable, and therefore cannot be described in terms of rules. Mattiello (2013:128) and

Ronneberger-Sibold (2006:159) also view blending as irregular, though their claims are less strong, as they admit that there is a certain degree of regularity in blending. Another feature of extra-grammatical morphology which is associated with blending is intentionality in the formation of blends, as discussed in Lehrer 1996:360, 2003:380. Mattiello (2013:48) also argues that blending is not productive. In fact, her definition of productivity relies on accountability of formations in terms of rules, thus, not surprisingly, it excludes blending from the domain of productivity, as Mattiello views formation of blends as not rule-governed.

In contrast, a significant number of linguists have made a number of generalizations regarding the formation of blends. To be specific, tendencies in phonological structure of blends are described in Kubozono 1990, Plag 2003, Bat-El 2000, 2006, Bauer 2012, Shaw 2013, Renner 2014, while tendencies in semantic modifications of bases in the process of formation of blends have been described in Kemmer 2003, Lehrer 2003, Bauer 2012, Renner 2014. In fact, Plag (2003:123) observes “a surprising degree of regularity”, which leads him to propose rules of blending. Blending rules are also presented in Kubozono 1990. These regularities will be discussed in detail in 2.3.2 and 2.3.3. Bat-El (2006:63) suggests that those cases in which there is irregularity in the formation of blends are “not a sufficient reason to dismiss blends from grammatical morphology, since derivational morphology is often irregular in one way or another.” The amount of irregularities can perhaps vary depending on the language in question. For example, Bat-El (1996) demonstrates that “the grammar of Hebrew blends is regular, where the limited degree of irregularity does not go beyond the familiar degree of irregularity found in derivational morphology” (Bat-El 2006:63).

The evidence of regularities found in blending in various languages is quite convincing. It suggests that, despite a number of exceptions from rules, blending may be considered as part of “grammatical morphology”. A direction for further research could be a comprehensive study of blending in another language, in which existing blends have not been analyzed to date, like Ukrainian. If it is possible to identify some tendencies in formation of blends in this language and propose a small number of rules to account for formation of these blends, I will consider this as evidence (from Ukrainian) supporting the claim that blends are products of “grammatical morphology”. The analysis of the corpus of Ukrainian blends will be presented in Chapters 3–5.

Based on all the argumentation provided above, I can now propose a definition of blending which is to be used in this dissertation. Thus, blending is a grammatical type of word-formation that produces new words formed by merging two or more SWs which do not constitute an existing compound or phrase. Such merging of the SWs must involve either clipping of the SWs or an overlap of the SWs' homophonous fragments and is intentional.

### **2.3 Factors influencing mechanisms of blending**

As discussed in 2.2.7, many scholars report observing certain tendencies in formation of blends and attempt to explain what determines their various characteristics in linguistic analyses of blending. In this section, an overview of such analyses will be presented, with a focus on factors which are claimed to determine formal, semantic and syntactic characteristics of blends.

#### *2.3.1 Headedness in blending*

There is general agreement in the literature that blends, like compounds, may or may not have a head, i.e. may be endo- or exocentric (cf. Bat-El 2006, Xruščeva 2009, 2011, Bauer 2012, Konieczna 2012, Shaw 2013, Renner 2014). Identifying a head of a blend is of importance, since a number of properties of a blend's head are imposed on the blend itself. Namely, the head determines meaning a blend expresses, the syntactic category a blend belongs to, its morpho-syntactic features and, as claimed by Shaw (2013), at least partly the length of a blend and the position of its main stress. Depending on which property a head transmits, there are three distinct types of heads: semantic, categorical, and morpho-syntactic heads (see e.g. Scalise et al. 2009, Scalise and Fábregas 2010, Renner 2014 for detailed discussion of the concept "head").<sup>14</sup> The semantic head is the input element which gives its dominant conceptual features to the output (e.g. *goditorium* in (37a) is an auditorium, but not a god, therefore the SW *auditorium* is the semantic head). The categorical head can be defined as the input element which gives its syntactic

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<sup>14</sup> Scalise et al. (2009:59) and Scalise and Fábregas (2010:112) refer to the latter head as morphological, even though they include some features relevant to syntax in the class of features determined by such heads, provided they are relevant for morphological processes in the language considered (for example, gender). I adopt their approach but for the sake of clarity I will refer to such heads as morpho-syntactic heads. For the discussion of exclusively morphological features, which are determined by morphological heads, see, for example, Corbett and Baerman 2006.

category to the output (e.g. the noun *homonym*, as opposed to the adjective *nimble*, is the categorial head of the noun *homonymble* in (37b)). Finally, the morphological head is the input element which gives its morphological features to the output (e.g. *Obummer* in (37c) retains the masculine gender of its head *Obama*, as demonstrated by the masculine pronouns used in the same sentence, which have the blend as their antecedent). The three types of heads tend to coincide (Scalise and Fábregas 2010:113, Renner 2014:58).

- (37) a. goditorium < god auditorium  
(slang term for a church)
- b. homonymble < homonym nimble  
(a clever pun that plays on distinct meanings of the same word)
- (Shaw 2013:9)
- c. Obummer < Obama bummer  
(a nickname for Obama which communicates a negative feeling towards him)
- (thewire.com)

Scalise and Fábregas (2010:113-114), as well as Renner (2014:58) note, however, that there are cases in which different types of heads do not coincide. For example, in (38), the semantic head is different from the categorial head. According to Scalise and Fábregas (2010:113-114) the fact that the compound in (38) is a noun suggests that the constituent *lettere*, a noun, is the head and that *porta*, a verb, cannot be the head. However, the semantics of the compound are closer to the semantics of *porta*, since the compound refers to someone who carries something, and not to a type of letters (Scalise and Fábregas 2010:113-114). However, I have not found any attestations of such cases in the literature on blending.

- (38) *porta-lettere* ‘to carry + letters, postman’
- ((12a) in Scalise and Fábregas 2010:113-114)

The position of heads in a given language is often said to be fixed; for example, Germanic languages tend to have their head consistently to the right, while Romance languages generally have their head to the left (Scalise and Fábregas 2010:115–116). While this is true for

compounding in some languages (Bat-El 2006), endocentric blends in those languages do not demonstrate any fixed order of the head and the modifier (Bat-El 2006:67, Arcodia and Montermini 2012:94–95).<sup>15</sup> For example, as discussed in 2.2.4.1, while French compounds are strictly left-headed, blends can be either left-headed or right-headed, as demonstrated in (39), where the heads are italicised.

- (39)=(17)
- |    |                         |   |                  |                         |
|----|-------------------------|---|------------------|-------------------------|
| a. | <i>nostalg</i> érie     | < | nostalg(ie)      | <i>Alg</i> érie         |
|    | ‘nostalgia for Algeria’ |   | ‘nostalgia’      | ‘Algeria’               |
| b. | mus <i>ic</i> tionnaire | < | mus <i>iq</i> ue | (d)ic <i>tion</i> naire |
|    | ‘music dictionary’      |   | ‘music’          | ‘dictionary’            |
- ((2b) in Arcodia and Montermini 2012:95)

As I will discuss in the following sections, identifying a semantic head is necessary for predicting the meaning of a blend and perhaps even some of its phonological characteristics. Locating a categorial head provides an insight into the category of a blend, while morpho-syntactic head provides a blend with morpho-syntactic features. These functions of heads will be brought up in some of the discussions in the sections that follow (2.3.2–2.3.3).

### 2.3.2 Formal characteristics

Contradictory views on grammaticality of blending lead to the question of whether there is a degree of predictability in this type of word-formation. For example, is the formation in (40) completely random, or do some properties of the SWs determine the structure of *shirtique*? If formation of the blend considered is determined by some general principles, then what are those principles? Why is the output disyllabic, as opposed to, for example, monosyllabic °*shirque* or trisyllabic °*shirtoutique*?<sup>16</sup> Below, I will summarize how the phonology of SWs determines the

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<sup>15</sup> Having studied an areally and genetically representative sample of the world’s languages, Bauer (2001:697) concludes that 16 out of 34 languages, or about half of them, have inconsistent head position. This finding is consistent with other analyses of headedness in compounds found in the literature (Renner 2014:58). For example, there is no canonical head position in Chinese verbal compounds (Packard 2000:95, Scalise and Fábregas 2010:118) or in Nizaa nominal compounds (see Pepper 2010).

<sup>16</sup> The symbol “°” will be used in what follows to indicate unattested forms.

phonological structure of a blend. I will focus on the following three aspects: (i) the length of the blend; (ii) the position of the main stress in the blend; (iii) the order of SWs in the blend.

(40) shirtique < shirt (bou)tique  
(boutique in which shirts are sold)

(Xruščeva 2011:209)

To begin with, the literature on blending focuses on two main factors which determine the length of a blend: (i) combination of bases of SWs which share homophonous sequences in such a way that they overlap (Bat-El 2006:68) and (ii) preservation of the number of syllables of the longer SW base (Cannon 1986:741, Hong 2004:134, Bat-El 2006:68, Bauer 2012:14, Ronneberger-Sibold 2012:122, Mattiello 2013:133) or the rightmost SW (Kubozono 1990:12). On the one hand, the overlap of homophonous sequences allows for the maximum preservation of the phonological material in the bases of the SWs, which leads to higher recognizability of the SWs. The position of the shared segments is the decisive factor in how the bases of the SWs are ordered and combined (Bat-El 2006:68, Mattiello 2013:134), which in turn determines the length of the resulting blend. For example, the base of the SW<sub>1</sub> in (41a) is clipped to *econo•* (here, • symbolizes the switch point, i.e. where the first SW ends and the second begins), precisely so that the end of the splinter could overlap with the beginning of the base of SW<sub>2</sub>, which determines the length of *econnoisseur*. On the other hand, preservation of the number of syllables of one of the SW bases also aids the recognizability of this SW, which is especially important for the SW<sub>2</sub>, as it is harder to retrieve an SW from its final part, as opposed to its initial part (Bauer 2012:13). According to Bat-El (2006:67), adopting the number of syllables from the base of the longer rather than the shorter SW allows the blend to have the structure of one word while maximizing its size for semantic recoverability. This observation is illustrated by the example in (41b), where the blend *Texmati* is trisyllabic, like *Basmati*, rather than disyllabic, like *Texas*. However, there are some exceptions contradicting the claim that the size of a blend is identical to the size of the SW with the greatest number of syllables, as demonstrated in (41c). In (41c), the general principle determining the number of syllables in a blend (i.e., the principle of maintaining the number of syllables in one SW base) is overridden by the tendency to preserve the maximal number of segments by combining SWs with segmental overlap (Bat-El 2006:68).

- (41) a. econnoisseur < econo(my) connoisseur  
 (a person who has good knowledge of economy) (Beliaeva 2014:202)
- b. Texmati < Tex(as) (Bas)mati  
 (Basmati rice grown in Texas) (Xruščeva 2011:209)
- c. Chicagorilla < Chicago gorilla  
 (a gangster) (Bat-El 2006:68)

Another intriguing question is what factors determine the switch point, i.e. what determines the edges of the splinters of SWs? It appears that syllable structure is the decisive factor in this case. In cases where no phonemic and/or orthographic material is shared, the break between the splinters forming a polysyllabic blend tends to fall at the syllable boundary (Bat-El 2006:69, Xruščeva 2011:50, and Bauer 2012:17). As observed by Bat-El (2006:69), *camera* and *recorder* yield *cam•corder*, in which syllables remain intact in the splinters considered, rather than *°cam•order*, where the onset of the second splinter's initial syllable is clipped. Such preservation of intact syllables allows for maximization of the segmental material (Bat-El 2006:69). However, in those cases where, due to universal or language-specific constraints, the switch point cannot be at the syllable boundary, it normally is on the boundary between syllable constituents, i.e. onset, nucleus, and coda (with nucleus and coda forming the rhyme) (Plag 2003:123–124, Bat-El 2006:69, Xruščeva 2011:50–51, Bauer 2012:17). For example, according to the Syllable Contact Law (Vennemann 1988), in AD, where A ends in a consonant and D begins with a consonant, the second consonant cannot be more sonorant than the first. When such a constraint is violated or when the distance in sonority between the coda and the onset is insufficient, the switch point falls at the onset-nucleus boundary of the base of the SW<sub>2</sub>, just as in monosyllabic blends. As a result, Bat-El (2006:69) observes, *rocket* and *balloon* do not yield *°rock•lloon*, due to the offending /kl/ contact and therefore the surface form is *rock•oon*.

- (42) a. camcorder /kæmkɔrdə/ < cam(era) /kæməɾɹ/ (re)corder /rɪkɔrdə/

- b. rocklloon /rɑ́klun/ < rock(et) /rɑ́kɪt/ (ba)lloon /bəlún/<sup>17</sup>  
 (Bat-El 2006:69)

In blends whose SWs have homophonous sequences, the SWs bases are combined in such a way that the homophonous sequences overlap. As noted in 2.2.2, in this paper I consider the bases of SWs used in formation of blends like *flinguist* as unclipped. Combining bases of SWs in this way, without clipping them, contributes to the maximization of the amount of the preserved phonological material (Bat-El 2006:69).

A new proposal regarding the factors influencing the length of a blend is presented in Shaw 2013. Her analysis of a corpus of English blends leads Shaw (2013:52) to conclude that a blend's semantic headedness affects the segmental content of established blends in the following way: heads preserve more phonological material than non-heads. Firstly, it was found that in blends composed of SWs of the same length both of which undergo clipping, a higher percentage of right-headed than non-headed blends preserve more of the rightmost word base. Secondly, more right-headed than non-headed blends were discovered to contain all of the SW<sub>2</sub> base but only part of the SW<sub>1</sub> base. While this proposal deserves attention, it is important to remember that the tendency to preserve more of SW<sub>2</sub> irrespective of headedness—presumably, due to the challenge associated with recovering a word from its final part—has been reported more than once (see, for example, Bauer 2012:14). In support of the findings resulting from her corpus analysis, Shaw (2013) conducted an experiment in which she found that the greater the amount of phonological material of a SW base is preserved in a splinter, the more likely the SW base is to be perceived as a semantic head of a blend. Shaw's (2013) subjects were asked to match one of the blends in (43) with one of the definitions in (44).<sup>18</sup> It was found that subjects defined *buccanarrator*—in which more of the base of SW<sub>2</sub> than SW<sub>1</sub> is preserved, according to Shaw (2013:48)—as 'someone who tells pirate stories' significantly more often than as 'a pirate who tells stories'. In contrast, when more of the base of SW<sub>1</sub> was preserved, like in *buccaneerrator*, SW<sub>1</sub> was viewed as the semantic head and the following definition was chosen: 'a pirate who tells stories'. This experiment provides some insight mostly into how language speakers perceive

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<sup>17</sup> The phonemic transcription is mine.

<sup>18</sup> Unlike Shaw (2013:49), I consider the SW bases in (43) as intact, involving an overlap of nearly homophonous sequences.

the meaning of blends based on their phonological form and does not necessarily extend to claiming that when forming new blends language speakers preserve more phonological material of the head. However, the correlation between semantic headedness and phonological form of blends is undoubtedly a compelling direction for further research.

- (43) a. buccanarrator < buccaneer narrator  
 b. buccaneerrator < buccaneer narrator

- (44) a. someone who tells pirate stories  
 b. a pirate who tells stories

Another issue to be discussed here is the position of the main stress in a blend. The commonly accepted view in the discussion of blending in English is that the main stress position of at least one of the SW bases is retained in the resulting blend (Cannon 1986:741, Hong 2004:132, Bauer 2012:14, and Mattiello 2013:132). Some linguists assume the position-based approach and argue that there is a tendency for the stress position of the base of the rightmost SW to be retained (e.g. Bauer 2012:14). Other linguists, however, assume the size-based approach and argue that the blend preserves the position of the main stress of the base of the longer SW (e.g. Hong 2004:137). The two approaches are exemplified respectively in (45a) and (45b). In (45a), the longer SW is SW<sub>1</sub>, the base of which consists of four syllables the third one being stressed. However, the position of the main stress in the blend *agflation* is inherited from the base of SW<sub>2</sub>, where the second of the three syllables is stressed. In (45b), on the other hand, the stress is transferred from the shorter (monosyllabic) SW<sub>2</sub> base *ruck*. It appears, however, that most of the time the rightmost SW and the longest SW coincide, as in (45c).

- (45) a. agflation < ag(riculture) (in)flation  
 (an increase in the price of agricultural food products caused by increased demand, especially as a result of the use of these products in alternative energy sources)

b. camruck < cam(era) ruck  
(multitude of cameras)

(Beliaeva 2014:201–202)

c. gimongous < gi(ant) (hu)mongous  
(extremely large; gigantic and humongous)

(Beliaeva 2014:205)

Again, Shaw (2013) argues that there is a strong connection between the head of a blend and the position of the main stress in a blend. Namely, the subjects in Shaw's (2013) experiment were asked to match *zebráffe* and *zébraffe* (see 46) to one right-headed definition—'a giraffe with zebra stripes'—and one non-headed definition—'a cross between a giraffe and a zebra'. The subjects were found to select the right-headed definition when the stress was located on the SW<sub>2</sub> splinter and the left-headed definition when the stress was on the splinter of SW<sub>1</sub> (Shaw's 2013:28). While this finding is intriguing, it shows how language speakers perceive and interpret blends, rather than how they produce them.

(46) zebraffe < zebra (gi)raffe

Finally, the formal property which determines the ordering of the SWs in English blends without overlap is the length of the bases of the SWs. According to Kelly (1998:582) and Hong (2004:138), the shorter SW normally becomes SW<sub>1</sub> and the longer SW normally becomes SW<sub>2</sub> (see (47a)).<sup>19</sup>

(47) a. phablet < ph(one) (ta)blet  
(a mobile device designed to combine or straddle the form of a smartphone and a tablet)

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<sup>19</sup> Bauer (2012:12) claims that SW length, in addition to some other – non-formal – factors, determines the order of the SWs only in coordinate blends. In determinative blends, according to Bauer (2012:12), it is surface order that determines the order of the SWs, i.e. SWs are ordered in the same way as the components of corresponding phrases or compounds. Ukrainian has freer word order than English and there are no fixed phrases or compounds that would correspond to determinative blends in my corpus. Since the word order of the corresponding fixed phrase or compound cannot be considered as the factor determining the order of SWs in Ukrainian blends, I consider length as the factor determining the order of SWs not only in coordinate but also in determinative blends in Ukrainian.

(theguardian.com)

- b. guyliner < guy eyeliner  
(eyeliner for men)

(Beliaeva 2014:206)

However, when the SWs share homophonous sequences, their position determines how the bases of the SWs are ordered (Bat-El 2006:134, Mattiello 2013:68), irrespective of the length of the bases of the SWs (see (47b)).

The observations described above can be viewed as evidence showing that formation of blends is not completely arbitrary or unconstrained. On the contrary, it is controlled by general principles. In Chapter 3, I will examine whether and how such principles work in the formation of Ukrainian blends.

### 2.3.3 *Semantic and syntactic characteristics*

The present discussion of regularity (or irregularity) of blending requires consideration of systematicity in the semantic relations between lexemes of SWs and their contribution to the meaning of a blend, as well as the assignment of a syntactic category to a blend. Is there any degree of regularity in these aspects of blending? Is there any similarity between the syntactic and semantic processes taking place in blending—a type of word-formation whose status in grammar has been questioned—and those taking place in other types of word-formation whose grammaticality is generally not doubted (for example, compounding)?

There is general agreement in the literature that blends (both coordinate and determinative) may or may not have a semantic head, i.e. may be endo- or exocentric (cf. Bat-El 2006, Bauer 2012, Konieczna 2012, and Xruščeva 2009, 2011). For example, *underwear* is the semantic head in (48a) modified by *fun*, while the SWs in (48b) can both be viewed as semantic heads.

- (48) a. Funderwear < fun underwear  
(trademark for underwear that is gaily coloured)

(Mattiello 2013:124)

- b. fantabulous < fantaa(stic) (f)abulous

(urbandictionary.com)



determinative blends can be divided into two subgroups, those with a subordinate relationship between the SWs (see the Polish example in (51a)) and those with an attributive relationship (see the Polish example in (51b)) (Konieczna 2012). According to Bisetto and Scalise (2011: n. pag.), subordinate relationship between word constituents is observed when one constituent is a complement of the other constituent, which includes an “of relation” between them. In the Polish example in (51a), there is an “of relation” between *marszałek* ‘marshall’ and *Warszawa* ‘Warsaw’, thus *warszałek* can be considered as a blend with a subordinate relation between its constituents. An attributive relationship, according to Bisetto and Scalise (2011: n. pag.), is observed either between a noun and an adjective, where the adjective expresses a property and is in a modifier relation to the noun, or by two nouns, where the non-head very often is used metaphorically, expressing an attribute of the head. In the Polish example in (51b), the adjective *perfidny* ‘perfidious’ modifies the noun *Fidiasz* ‘Fidias’; thus, the SWs in (51b) are in an attributive relationship.

- (51) a.     warszałek                    <     Warsza(wa)    (m)arszałek  
           ‘president of Warsaw’        ‘Warsaw’        ‘marshall’
- b.     perfidiasz                <     perfidny        Fidiasz  
           ‘perfidious sculptor’        ‘perfidious’    ‘Fidias’ (sculptor in Ancient Greece)
- (Konieczna 2012:67)

This approach, however, suggests that the syntactic meaning of SWs is preserved in the process of word-formation. To be precise, it is suggested that the complement relation, which is marked as an inflection on the SW *Warszaw-a* ‘Warsaw’, is operative in the formation of *warszałek* and is preserved in the output. As a consequence, it appears that under this approach, these are inflected word-forms, rather than lexemes, that participate in word-formation operations. As discussed in 2.2.1, this approach is not compatible with the lexeme-based approach to morphology adopted in the present dissertation. I agree with Aronoff (1994:39) in that the information relevant to syntax in a word-formation operation is limited (for example, it can include the syntactic category, as dictated by the semantics of the lexeme in question), while the syntactic information expressed by inflection is not relevant to word-formation. The division of blends into subordinate and attributive is still valid in the lexeme-based approach. However, it is

based on the word-formation meaning, rather than on the relations between SWs as indicated by inflections (see 5.1.3 for a detailed discussion of word-formation meaning).

As for coordinate blends, Bauer (2012:17–19) adopts the four types of semantic relations proposed by Renner (2006) in his analysis of the main semantic relationships between elements in coordinate blends. Renner (2006) identifies these relations in his analysis of compounds; however, they appear to work for blending as well. The four types of relations between coordinate blends identified by Renner (2006) and Bauer (2012), are hybrid (52a), addition (52b), polyvalence (52c), and tautology (52d).

- |      |    |                  |   |                   |                  |
|------|----|------------------|---|-------------------|------------------|
| (52) | a. | edutainment      | < | edu(cation)       | (enter)tainment  |
|      | b. | semant <u>ax</u> | < | semant <u>ics</u> | (sy) <u>ntax</u> |
|      | c. | spork            | < | sp(oon)           | (f)ork           |
|      | d. | wuss             | < | w(imp)            | (p)uss(y)        |

(Bauer 2012:17–19)

According to Bauer (2012:17–19), in (52a) the blend denotes a hybrid of the entities denoted by its elements, while the example in (52b) denotes the addition of the two parts; in (52c) the blend denotes an entity which has features of both elements (polyvalence), and the example in (52d) is made up of two synonyms, which denote more or less the same things.<sup>22</sup> Bauer (2012) provides a brief critique of this classification introduced by Renner (2006), making the following observations: firstly, the difference between having features which come from the two elements and being a hybrid of the two elements is not always clear; secondly, the relationship of addition can be not clear, since, for example, the difference between saying that semantax is all of semantics and all of syntax and saying that it has both syntactic and semantic features is sometimes moot (Bauer 2012:18).

Division of blends into coordinate and determinative types, as well as their headedness, is linked to the following question: what determines the syntactic category of a blend? Xruščeva

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<sup>22</sup> As discussed in 2.2.5, the combination of synonyms into one word is typical of speech errors. However, it is not exclusive to speech errors, as intentional blends are also sometimes formed by combining synonymous SWs. Such intentional blends are referred to as contaminations in Paul 1920:160 and Ronneberger-Sibold 2006:158. It should be mentioned, however, that while speech error blends nearly always combine words which denote the same entity or idea, intentional blends of this type are very rare.

(2009:68) claims that in cases where both SWs belong to the same syntactic category, which according to Plag (2003:123) is always the case with coordinate blends, identification of the syntactic category of the blend poses no difficulty. For example, in (52) above, all four SWs are nouns, therefore the blends considered are nouns as well. However, the syntactic category of a determinative blend whose SWs are different parts of speech is inherited from one of the SWs (Xruščeva (2009:68) refers to such a SW as “the main component of a derived blend”). In my understanding, such a “main component”, for example, of the determinative blend *daffynition* is *definition*, which is a head modified by the SW *positive*. Since the head (*definition*) is a noun, the whole blend (*daffynition*) is also a noun, and not an adjective like the modifier (*daffy*).

(53)=(4)      daffynition    <      daffy            definition

(a pun format involving the reinterpretation of an existing word on the basis of its phonemic resemblance to another word)

(Mattiello 2013:306)

Due to the insufficient discussion of this issue in the literature, it is not clear whether there are any universal constraints on which syntactic categories the SWs of blends can belong to. As mentioned before, however, based on Arcodia and Montermini’s (2012:95) observations regarding French blends and Bat-El’s (2006:67) claims about blending in general, I can conclude that in at least some languages, the restrictions on the syntactic categories of SWs forming compounds do not apply to SWs forming blends and that generally blends are flexible in allowing various types of syntactic category combinations to partake in their formation.

The final question to address in this section is the following: what factors help one accurately interpret a blend? In order for a blend to be successful, it must be possible to recognize the SWs and deduce the meaning of the whole blend. Mattiello (2013:133) includes tendency towards recognizability of SWs (in her terms, semantic transparency) as one of the regularities involved in the formation of blends. Based on the results of her experiments, Lehrer (2007) lists the following conditions which appear to contribute to the identification of the SWs making up a blend and to facilitate its interpretation: the context, the amount of phonological material of the SWs present in the blend, the frequency of the SWs with respect to the frequency of its neighbours (to be defined below) and the number of the neighbours, and the semantic

compatibility of SWs of the blend (Lehrer 2007:126). Below, I will briefly discuss each of these conditions.

Firstly, it seems to be a well-known fact that context facilitates accurate identification and interpretation. For example, in an experiment conducted by Lehrer (1996), the subjects found it hard to decompose the blend *swacket*, as in (54a), in isolation. However, when the blend was presented in context (a line from an advertisement, as demonstrated in (54b)), subjects identified the SWs more easily.

- (54) a. swacket < swea(ter) (j)acket  
 b. The way to a Golfer’s Heart. Our all-wool double knit... tailored **swacket**.  
 (Lehrer 2007:126)

Secondly, the greater the amount of material (measured in phonemes or letters) preserved in a blend, the higher the recognizability of the SWs and more accurate the interpretation of the whole blend seems to be. Ronneberger-Sibold (2006:168–169) proposes a classification of blends according to the degree of recognizability of their SWs. In this classification, she makes it clear that the formal characteristics of a lexical blend influence the recognizability of its SWs: the most transparent are blends which involve an overlap, as in (55a). This claim is also presented by Kaunisto (2000:49), Gries (2004:650) and Mattiello (2013:133), who emphasize that overlapping blends “ideally combine the source words where they display homophonous segments”, which results in “no deletion at all”. The least transparent blends, on the other hand, according to Ronneberger-Sibold (2006:169), are those in which all SWs are clipped and none of the SWs provides the overall contour for the blend considered, i.e. the blend does not have the number of syllables and position of the main stress of one of the SWs (as in 55b). Specifically, the blend *Persil* in (55b) has two syllables, unlike its SWs, which have, respectively, six and three syllables, and its stressed syllable •*sil* is not stressed in the SW<sub>2</sub>.

- (55) a. Kamelefant < Kamel Elefant  
 ‘a cross between a camel and an elephant’ ‘camel’  
 ‘elephant’

b. Persil < (Wasserstoff)per(oxyd) Sil(ikat)  
 ‘Persil’ ‘water fibre peroxide’ ‘silicate’  
 (name of laundry detergent)

(Ronneberger-Sibold 2006:168–169)

The third condition discussed by Lehrer (2007) is the frequency of the SWs with respect to the frequency and the number of the “neighbours”. Lehrer (2007:127) defines neighbours as “any word that could be a possible source for a splinter because it contains the same letters (or phonemes) as the source”. For example, in a blend like *applicious* in (56), any word ending in *-cious* would be a neighbour. Lehrer’s (2007:127) claim is that blends are easiest to identify when the frequency of the SWs is greater than the frequency of any of their neighbours. Moreover, SWs with no or few neighbours are identified more quickly than those with many neighbours (Lehrer 2007:127).<sup>23</sup>

(56) applicious < apple (de)licious

(Lehrer 2007:127)

Finally, Lehrer (2007) notes that the semantic connection of the SWs plays a significant role in their identification. For example, in *applicious*, *vicious* is a more frequent neighbour than *delicious*, but *vicious apple* is much less plausible than *delicious apple* (Lehrer 2007:127).

Lehrer (2007) focuses on the accuracy of identifying and interpreting novel blends by speakers, not on the mechanisms of formation of blends. However, it can be assumed that in those cases when speakers consciously form blends, they take the above mentioned factors into account in order to facilitate recognizability of SWs and facilitate accurate interpretation of blends.<sup>24</sup>

In summary, the arguments in this section suggest that the formation of blends is not unconstrained semantically and that operation of syntactic constraints needs to be studied in more detail. Categorization of blends follows certain patterns. The type of relationship between the SWs seems to be limited to certain established patterns, which determine semantic

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<sup>23</sup> Frequency of words was determined based on Kučera and Francis 1967.

<sup>24</sup> See Lieberman 1963, as well as Fowler and Housum 1987, for the discussion of how language users adjust their speech in order to facilitate recognizability of words and correct interpretation of a message by the audience.

interpretation and syntactic categorization of blends. Additionally, semantic interpretation of a novel blend is facilitated by certain other factors, which are presumably taken into account when forming new blends in order to ensure a higher degree of recognizability of their SWs.

## **2.4 Conclusions**

In this chapter, various debatable issues regarding the nature of blending, which have been presented in the literature, were discussed. Thorough analysis of those issues led to the following conclusions about blending: this type of word-formation is independent from compounding and abbreviation and it is characterised by a certain degree of regularity in the formal, semantic and syntactic mechanisms involved in it. In addition, formation of blends is intentional (which excludes speech errors). It has also been concluded that formation of blends may involve clipping of various fragments of the SWs. Normally but not always, these are the inner edges of SWs that are clipped in formation of blends. In some instances, however, accurate identification of the status of a formation which involves clipping of SWs requires application of semantic criteria in addition to the structural (mostly for distinguishing blends from clipped compounds). Words formed by combining bases of SWs in a way that ensures the overlap of homophonous sequences are unarguably blends. They have the advantage of demonstrating higher recognizability of SWs, compared to blends of other structural types, since their SWs do not undergo clipping. Based on all these conclusions, a definition of blending, which is to be used in the present dissertation, was elaborated.

Since regularity of blending is one of the major issues which cause disagreement among linguists, a separate section of this chapter was devoted to an overview of regularities observed by a number of linguists in their analyses of blending in different languages. Such observations are mostly related to the factors which have been found to affect the structural and semantic characteristics of blends, as well as the assignment of syntactic category to a blend. Headedness of blends has been claimed to be one of these factors. When analyzing a corpus of Ukrainian blends in Chapters 3–5, I will rely on the overview presented in this chapter in order to identify whether the tendencies found in formation of blends in other languages hold for Ukrainian.

## CHAPTER 3: FORMAL CHARACTERISTICS OF UKRAINIAN BLENDS

### 3.0 Introduction

Blending in Ukrainian has been studied very little, compared to blending in other languages. To my knowledge, there are only two in-depth linguistic analyses of the structure of Ukrainian blends, namely Kulish (2009) and Borgwaldt et al. (2012). However, these works discuss spoken ad-hoc spontaneous blends which were elicited as a result of a hybrid-object naming experiment, and which differ in many respects from the data to be analyzed here. Therefore, an analysis of blending in Ukrainian is needed and it promises to fill some of the many gaps in our knowledge of the phenomenon as it manifests itself in Ukrainian. The general questions addressed in this chapter are the following: (i) What are the mechanisms of formation of Ukrainian blends? and (ii) Is it possible to predict formal properties of a new blend, based on the input into the blending process?

The analysis of blending in Ukrainian can make a contribution to the ongoing debate in the literature regarding the place of blending in word-formation. As mentioned in 2.2.7, on the one hand, Dressler (2000), Ronneberger-Sibold (2006, 2012, 2015), and Mattiello (2013) describe blending as a case of extra-grammatical morphology, which is distinct from grammatical morphology. One of their major arguments is non-predictability of the output in blending (cf. e.g. Mattiello 2013:56). On the other hand, Bat-El (2000) and Plag (2003) treat blending as grammatical word-formation, claiming that the properties of “grammatical” morphology apply to blending. In this chapter, it will be examined whether blending in Ukrainian is regular and predictable (and therefore grammatical) or irregular and unpredictable (and therefore extra-grammatical).

In order to answer the research questions, I analyze a corpus of 501 Ukrainian blends which I have compiled using modern Ukrainian mass media as my sources. The analysis is presented in seven sections. Section 1 contains a brief description of the corpus of Ukrainian blends which are to be discussed in Chapters 3–5. Section 2 discusses the challenges faced in the analysis of the corpus and provides motivation for some of the decisions relevant to the analysis. Sections 3 and 4 present a brief overview of, respectively, phonological and morphological systems of Ukrainian. In Section 5, I analyse the formal characteristics of Ukrainian blends in the

corpus and discuss the factors which determine them. In doing so, I focus on the following three aspects of blending, which have been amply discussed in the literature on blending in other languages (see 2.3.2): (i) the length of the blend; (ii) the position of the main stress in the blend; (iii) the order of SW bases in the blend. After providing a summary of the findings with some conclusions in Section 6, I present a discussion of some remaining questions regarding formal characteristics of blending in Ukrainian in Section 7.

### 3.1 Data description

Blends can be found in various outlets of the Ukrainian mass media. The corpus was compiled from the entire text of all articles appearing in the print newspapers “Dzerkalo Tyžnja” (‘Mirror of the Week’) and “2000”, as well as the online newspaper “Ukr.net” between January 2010 and September 2014. Even though the productivity of blending is increasing in Ukrainian (Karpilovs’ka 2016:2914), the frequency of occurrence of blends in newspaper articles is not very high; therefore, the corpus was supplemented with blends encountered elsewhere, e.g. from other newspapers, books, blogs, forums, advertisements, placards, billboards, televised comedy shows and movies, and conversations with Ukrainian speakers. The result is a corpus of 501 Ukrainian blends. While the vast majority of blends in the corpus were found in written sources, 20.7% of the corpus (104 items) consist of blends encountered in speech. It should be noted that while working on this dissertation, I had better access to written sources than to speech of different Ukrainian speakers, which may have contributed to the fact that almost 79% of the blends in the corpus were found in writing.

The vast majority of the blends analyzed in this dissertation (99.4%) are composed of two SWs, as in (57a). Only three three-component Ukrainian blends, as in (57b), were found.<sup>25</sup>

- (57) a.      Ukrujína                      <      rujína      Ukrajína  
                  ‘Ukraine in ruins’                      ‘ruin’      ‘Ukraine’

(www.poetryclub.com.ua)

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<sup>25</sup> All the blends in this corpus which were found online were last retrieved from the sources indicated in this dissertation on April 12, 2016.

b.    sePARAŠŷst<sup>26</sup>            <            separatŷst            (f)ašŷst            paráš(a)  
           ‘foul separatist fascist’            ‘separatist’            ‘fascist’            ‘crapper’

(sl.)

(used as an offensive nickname for those who use violence to promote the separation of the eastern regions of Ukraine from the rest of the country)

The number of syllables of the blends in the present corpus ranges from two to nine. Interestingly, to my knowledge, there are no monosyllabic blends in Ukrainian (compare with English *grog* < *gro(up) (bl)og*, *frolf* < *Fr(isbee) (g)olf*, etc.). Presumably, when forming blends, Ukrainians do not form monosyllabic blends because they pursue the goal of maximizing the recognizability of the resulting blend by preserving a considerable amount of the phonological material of its SWs. Certainly, this assumption suggests that when forming a blend, Ukrainian speakers may take into account the word-form of the final product of the word-formation process, as opposed to merely creating a lexeme without considering its phonological realization. As discussed in 2.2.5, the formation of blends is deliberate and can involve revisions, depending on how effective the resulting output is at achieving a language user’s communicative goals (see 6.4.4 on how when creating words, language users adjust the output based on communicative goals and the needs of the audience). To be fair, however, it should also be mentioned that in general there are fewer monosyllabic word-forms in Ukrainian compared to English, since Ukrainian nouns have inflectional endings which contain vowels in all forms except Nominative and Accusative cases of Declension 1 and Declension 3 nouns (see Filonik 2013 for a discussion of Ukrainian noun inflections). Nevertheless, in the corpus analyzed in this work, the Declension 1 blends (e.g. (58a)) and Declension 3 blends (e.g. (58b)) are polysyllabic. In addition, the SWs of the Ukrainian blends are exclusively open-class items. As discussed in 2.2.4, the use of the bases of exclusively open-class words is typical of blending, which is one of the characteristics differentiating blends from abbreviations (cf. e.g., Xruščeva 2011:38). Presumably, Ukrainian speakers do not employ closed-class items (i.e. pronouns, prepositions, conjunctions and

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<sup>26</sup> The capitalisation is not mine; it was taken from the source, i.e. the poster at the demonstration.





the vast majority of blends are formed in order to have a certain affect on the addressees, for example, to attract attention of the addressees, to impress them, to persuade the addressees, etc.<sup>28</sup>

Interestingly, the majority of the SWs whose bases are combined in the formation of blends are loanwords. To be precise, there are 406 blends in the corpus (80.9% of the corpus), one or all SWs of which are loanwords. For example, in (60a), one of the SWs is a loanword: namely, *kaban* ‘hog’ is originally a Turkic word (Mel’nyčuk et al., vol. 2 1982: 330), while *babusja* is of Slavic origin. In (60b), both SWs *dehenerat* ‘degenerate’ and *henerator* ‘generator’ in (60a) originate from Latin (respectively, *degeneratus* and *generātor*) (Mel’nyčuk et al., vol. 2 1982: 23 and vol. 1 1982: 494).

(60)	a.	<u>k</u> ababúsja	<	kabá(n)	<u>b</u> abúsja
		‘old lady resembling a hog’		‘hog’	‘old lady; grandmother’
		de <u>h</u> enerátor (idej)	<	de <u>h</u> enerát	<u>h</u> enerátor
		‘degenerator (of ideas)’		‘degenerate’	‘generator’

(“Rozsmišy komika”, www.1plus1.ua)

It should be specified that whenever “The Ukrainian Etymological Dictionary” (edited by Mel’nyčuk et al.) only indicates Proto-Slavic as the origin of a word and does not indicate whether the word entered Ukrainian by means of another Slavic language, I will assume that the word in question should be analyzed as a native Ukrainian word. For example, the SWs in (61) originate from Proto-Slavic: *did* ‘old man’ from “děď” (Mel’nyčuk et al., vol. 1 1982:86) and

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<sup>28</sup> There are also examples of emotionally uncoloured blends in Ukrainian, mostly found in scientific discourse. However, these are either loanwords, as in (i), or were formed by combining loanwords by analogy with already existing scientific terms, as in (ii) (see Onufrienko 1994, Korunec’ 2004, and Misjac’ 2007).

(i)	biónika	<	bio(lóhija)	(elektr)ónika
	‘bionics’		‘biology’	‘electronics’
(ii)	askofén	<	as(pirýn)	kofe(jín)
	‘askofen’		‘aspirin’	‘caffeine’



that blending is used in those cases when language users cannot recognize the morphological structure of a word.

- (62) *dezinforméc'* < *dezinformácija* *pyzdéc'* (expletive)  
 'fatal disinformation' 'disinformation' 'hell, Armageddon'  
 (disinformation which leads to serious trouble)

(“Rozsmišy komika”, [www.1plus1.ua](http://www.1plus1.ua))

According to Juščuk (2008: 192), loanwords constitute about 10% of the Ukrainian lexicon. This estimate, however, should be considered with caution, since Juščuk (2008) does not provide any explanation of the methodology used to obtain this number or describe the units which were considered to be words. To my knowledge, however, no other work provides an estimate of the number of loanwords in Ukrainian based on linguistic research. The assumption that merely 10% of the Ukrainian lexicon is constituted by loanwords leads to the question of why such a considerable number of blends in the corpus analyzed here is formed with the use of one or more loanwords. In this discussion, it is important to note that, as mentioned above, a great number of Ukrainian borrowings are assimilated fully and, as a result, Ukrainian speakers may not even perceive them as loanwords. A possible explanation for why loanwords are prevalent among SWs of Ukrainian blends will be presented in 3.7 in the context of the discussion of the origin of blending in Ukrainian.

Another observation regarding SWs the bases of which form Ukrainian blends is that many of them are proper names. In 74 blends (i.e. 14.7% of the corpus), one or more SWs are proper names, including names of people (for example, *Lucenko* in (63a)) and names of places (for example, *Xreščatyk* in (63b)).

- (63) a. Luzénko < lúze(r) Lucénko  
 'loser Lutsenko' 'loser' 'Lutsenko'  
 (used to discuss failures of the former Minister of Internal Affairs of Ukraine)

- b. Vytriščátyk < vytriščáty(sja) Xreščátyk  
 ‘Khreshchatyk Street which is good for people warching’ ‘stare’ ‘Khreshchatyk Street’  
 (the main street in Kiev)  
 (Kulich 2009:18)

Four proper names in the corpus are used as common names: the name of the ancient Greek god of medicine (Asclepius) is used to name doctors, the name of the sportsman who attacked protesters during anti-government protests in Ukraine (Titushko) is used as a common name for people beating up participants of peaceful protests, the name of the angel who rebelled against God’s rule in heaven (Lucifer) is used to name beasts, and the name of the character from *The Jungle Book* by R. Kipling (Mowgli) is used to name the homeless. These names are used in formation of the total of 11 blends (see selected examples in (64)).

- (64) a. mjáuhli < mjáu Máuhli  
 ‘miaowgli’ ‘miaow’ ‘Mowgli’  
 (street cats)
- b. eskuljápsus < Eskuláp ljápsus  
 ‘lapsus of Asclepius’ ‘Asclepius’ ‘lapsus’  
 (professional mistake made by a medical doctor)  
 (“Večirnij kvartal”, www.1plus1.ua)

What proper names and loanwords have in common is that language users do not always analyze their inner structure. Most Ukrainian speakers are likely to analyze the name Lucenko (see (63a)) as one morphological unit, as opposed to the root *Luc*– followed by the derivational suffix *-enk*. Similarly, language users are likely to adopt a loanword and view it as one morphological unit (a root) if it is not obvious to them that the loanword has complex inner structure. For example, when borrowing the word *computer* ‘computer’, Ukrainian speakers may or may not recognize that the word is composed of a root and an affix. As a result, they may or may not know that the suffixation with *-er* provided the word *compute* with the general meaning ‘the agent of an action’. Adopting loanwords and using them in word-formation involves the possibility of false interpretation of a word’s structure and even of folk etymology.



Another intriguing observation regarding blends in Ukrainian is that a number of SWs used in the formation of blends come from colloquial speech. Such blends were identified in forums, blogs, and placards, perhaps due to the emotional colouring and absence of any censorship. Such blends occasionally involve expletives (i.e. profanities) as SWs (see (66a)). Also, in some cases such blends combine Ukrainian and Russian words into one word, since a considerable part of the Ukrainian population speaks “surzhyk”, i.e. a variety that combines words and rules of the Ukrainian and Russian languages (see (66b)) (cf. Bilaniuk (2003)).

- (66) a. Xútin < xú(j) (P)útin  
 ‘penis Putin’ ‘penis’ (expletive) ‘Putin’  
 (used by protesters referring to Russia’s annexation of Ukraine)  
 (vk.com)
- b. stróza < stráz róza  
 ‘rose with sparkle’ ‘sparkle’ ‘rose’

In (66b), the use of the Russian SW<sub>2</sub> ensures the phonological resemblance of a part of the SW<sub>1</sub> and the SW<sub>2</sub> (compare /stɔɹaz/ and /roza/) and thus the overlap of the partially homophonous sequences. The overlap would be not as extensive if the Ukrainian correspondent *trojanda* was used.

Before concluding this chapter, it is important to mention that while I used citation forms in representing SWs of blends, in a few cases the phonological form of the stem of the citation form differs from the phonological form of the stem modified in the word-formation operation. This is not surprising, since, as discussed in Jakobson 1982: 16, a verbal stem in Slavic languages “may present alternating variants within one and the same paradigm”. For example, the non-past<sup>30</sup> perfective form of the verb *ukrasty* ‘steal’ has the stem *ukrad-*, which in the infinitive is represented as *ukras-*. In Jakobson’s (1982: 16) terms, this case illustrates “convergence of final consonants in closed full-stems”, whereby “all terminal dentals and labials

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<sup>30</sup> Jakobson (1982: 49) views Ukrainian as a language with a binary tense system: Past and Non-Past, whereby the Non-Past includes both the ongoing present (represented by the Non-Past Imperfective) and the future (represented by Non-Past Perfective) (see also Binnik 2012: 510).

of the broadly-closed full-stems coalesce into *s* before infinitive desinence”, i.e. before the infinitive inflection *-ty* (Jakobson 1982: 21). In this dissertation, *ukrad-* and *ukras-* are viewed as two alternating variants of the same stem, or root allomorphs<sup>31</sup>, which is in tune with Jakobson’s (1982: 16) approach. It should also be mentioned that, in tune with the definition of the term *stem* presented in 2.2.1, and following Jakobson 1982:8, I will view the prefix *u-* as part of the complex (i.e. poly-morphemic) stem *ukrad-*, *krad-* being merely the root of the word in question. The analysis of the blend in (67) makes it clear that the base which took part in the formation of this blend was phonologically represented as UKRAD-, rather than UKRAS-.

(67) <u>Ukrady</u> na	<	ukrásty	<u>Ukraj</u> ina
‘corrupt Ukraine’		‘steal’	‘Ukraine’
		<u>(ukrad-y)</u>	
		‘steal-SG.IMP.’	
(“Večirnij Kiev”, www.1plus1.ua)			

The most extensive overlap of the SWs in (67) above occurs if we assume that the base of the SW<sub>1</sub> is phonologically represented by a fully inflected imperative-mood word-form *ukrady*. As discussed in Section 2.2.1, I normally assume that only bare bases of words, as opposed to inflected bases, take part in word-formation processes. However, in three cases in my corpus inflections appear to be part of the overlap. For example, as mentioned above, it appears that the inflectional suffix *-y* in *ukrad-y* in (67) above is part of the overlap of the sequences /ukraji/ and /ukradʲ/, due to the phonological similarity of the high front and high central vowels /i/ and /i̯/, even though the overlap is discontinued due to the lack of similarity between /j/ and /d̪/. The other two cases in which inflections appear to be part of the overlap are provided in (68). In (68a), the base of the infinitive of the verb *kljuvaty* ‘to peck’ is KLJUVA- (which in the inflected form is followed by *-ty*) and the base of this verb in the present-tense 3<sup>rd</sup> person singular is KLJU- (which in the inflected form is followed by the inflectional suffix *-je*).

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<sup>31</sup> In this dissertation, root allomorphs are viewed as variants of a root which share a meaning but are somewhat different phonologically due to some type of historical change (Juščuk 2008:103) If two roots share a significant amount of phonological material, are in complementary distribution and derive words which share lexical meaning, they will be viewed as allomorphs.

- (68) a. kljujént < kljuváty klijént  
 ‘pecking client; biting client’ ‘peck’ ‘client’  
klju-je  
 ‘peck, accept (slang)-3.SG’  
 (client who accepted something, e.g. an offer)
- b. intryharyfmétyka < intryha aryfmétyka  
 ‘arithmetic intrigue’ ‘intrigue’ ‘arithmetic’  
 (arithmetic puzzles)

(“Večirnij kvartal”, [www.1plus1.ua](http://www.1plus1.ua))

The whole 3<sup>rd</sup> person singular word-form *klju-je* ‘pecks’ is easily identifiable in the blend *kljujent*. Viewing the word-form *kljuje* as the phonological sequence participating in the formation of the blend *kljujent* is appealing, since it maximizes the amount of overlap. In addition to sharing the sequence /kɫj/ with the SW<sub>2</sub> (like the infinitival base KLJUVA-), the SW<sub>1</sub> can also be perceived as sharing the sequence /jɛ/ with SW<sub>2</sub>. The phonological features of the high front and high back vowels /i/ and /u/ (namely, [+high] and [+tense]) overlap between /kɫj/ and /jɛ/. Moreover, selecting this form of the SW does not require any clipping of the base, in contrast to selecting the base of the infinitive KLJUVA-, whereby /va/ would have to be clipped. Finally, a very unusual example is provided in (68b), whereby there is an overlap of the inflectional suffix *-a* of SW<sub>1</sub> and the initial segment of SW<sub>2</sub>. The three examples discussed above suggest the possibility of inflected word-forms, rather than bases, being operated on in word-formation operations.

In analyzing cases like the three discussed above, it is important to remember that lexemes do not contain the grammatical meaning of word-forms: for example, as discussed in Aronoff (1994:33), even if the future participle form *lātūr-* of the verb *fer-re* (present active infinitive) in Latin is formed from the stem which in its phonological form coincides with the perfect participle stem *lāt-*, the meaning of the lexeme *lātūr-* does not include the completeness of action before the present moment, which is a part of the meaning of the perfect participle *lāt-*. Similarly, even if UKRAD- served as a base in forming the lexeme *Ukradyn-*, there is no reason to think that the imperative meaning of *ukrady* ‘steal-SG.IMP.’ is in any way reflected in the new lexeme *Ukradyn-*. This approach is in tune with the Separation Hypothesis, whereby form is

separate from meaning, which has been adopted in this dissertation (see 2.2.1), and with Aronoff's proposal that inflections can serve merely as morphemes—morphological building blocks devoid of meaning (see Aronoff 1994:24). When a stem other than the citation form stem was used in the formation of a blend, I provided the respective word-form (for example, *ukrad-y* 'steal-SG.IMP' in (67)) underneath the citation form (*ukrasty* 'steal' in (67)), separating the inflection from the stem, when presenting and discussing the blend in question.

The possibility of inflected word-forms serving as input to word-formation operations is also exemplified by the Italian compound *porta-lettere* ('to carry' + 'letters') 'postman' discussed in (38) (Scalise and Fábregas 2010:113-114). In this compound, one of the components appears to be in the plural; however no plural meaning is transferred to the resulting compound. Taking into account that under the approach adopted here, form and meaning are separate, I argue that the phonological sequence which takes part in a given word-formation operation can be anything, including inflected word-forms, as long as the meaning marked by the inflections is not transferred onto the new formation. The following assumption appears valid: when Ukrainian speakers select the phonological form to express the intended meaning in the formation of blends, they may consider inflected forms in order to maximize the overlap. Thus, the possibility of the overlap of the inflection can serve as additional motivation to select a specific word, since it can considerably maximize the overlap. However, the small set of three words in the corpus of 501 blends does not appear to provide sufficient grounds for any strong claims. Therefore, I will leave the discussion of the role of inflection in blending for future research.

The present section described the corpus of Ukrainian blends to be analyzed in Chapters 3–5. In the following section, the challenges faced when analyzing the corpus will be discussed. I will discuss alternative ways of analyzing the data and provide motivation for my analysis.

### **3.2 Challenges in analyzing the data**

The analysis of the corpus of Ukrainian blends was not always straightforward. As expected, trying to explain how and why someone created new words the way they did involves a certain amount of guessing. For example, it was not always clear exactly which lexeme a Ukrainian speaker had in mind when forming a blend. In order to avoid or at least reduce subjectivity in my

judgements, I used some assumptions about blend formation discussed in the literature and relied on the context when analyzing the Ukrainian blends. In what follows, I will discuss the challenges encountered in analyzing the data, explain how I analyzed the unclear cases and provide justification for some of my decisions. I will focus on the following issues: identifying whether a word is a product of blending or affixation, determining the syntactic category of the SWs of blends and selecting the appropriate meaning of polysemous SWs.

### 3.2.1 *Affixation versus blending*

The corpus contains a number of items the formation of which could potentially be analyzed either as blending or as affixation (namely, a total of 23 blends or 4.6% of the corpus). My judgements regarding morphological decomposition and analysis of such items are based on a number of cues, including the context, word-formation meaning, and morphological structure of the words in question. In what follows, I will discuss examples of such formations and provide arguments to support my claim that they are products of blending rather than affixation.

Interesting and potentially challenging examples are the following words: *mentuško*, *bytuško*, *putinuško*, *kapituško*. Encountering these words outside of context may lead to the following interpretation of their morphological structure (see (69)): the bases (roots) MENT- ‘police officer’ (pejorative), BYT- ‘bat’ and PUTIN- ‘Putin’ are followed by the derivational suffix *-ušk* and the inflectional suffix *-o*; the word *kapituško* under the same analysis would be viewed as the suffixation of the base KAPIT- with the suffix *-ušk* and the inflectional suffix *-o* (presumably KAPIT- is a clipping from one of the following bases which share the root *kapitul-*: KAPITULJANT- ‘defeatist’, KAPITULJUVA- ‘capitulate’, KAPITULJACI- ‘capitulation’).

- (69) a. ment-ušk-y  
b. byt-ušk-y  
c. putin-ušk-y  
d. kapit-ušk-y

In general, the occurrence of the suffix *-ušk* in Ukrainian is extremely rare. Kuzems’ka (2009: n. pag.) claims that it is never used in Ukrainian word-formation, unlike in Russian,

whereby the suffix *-ušk* is quite productive: compare, for example, *golov-ušk-a* (Russian) and *holiv-on'k-a* ‘head-DIM’ (Ukrainian), *sirot-in-ušk-a* (Russian) and *syrit-k-a* (Ukrainian) ‘orphan-DIM’, *bab-ušk-a* (Russian) and *bab-us-ja* (Ukrainian) ‘grandmother-DIM’. While I agree that this suffix is never used in standard Ukrainian, it is necessary to emphasize that sometimes Ukrainian speakers use Russian affixes in forming Ukrainian words or simply borrow Russian words and use them instead of Ukrainian equivalents, both of which are manifestations of “surzhyk” (see 3.1). For example, along with the standard Ukrainian way of addressing an Orthodox priest and his wife as *Pan-Otec* ‘Father’ and *Matinka* ‘Mother’, one can hear the less-educated Ukrainian speakers use the Russian way of addressing an Orthodox priest and his wife: *Bat-jušk-a* and *Mat-ušk-a*. Thus, affixation of Ukrainian words with the suffix *-ušk* is unlikely, but possible. In what follows, I will discuss an alternative analysis of words in (69) and give reasons why the words in question should not be considered as examples of affixation with *-ušk*.

An alternative to the analysis presented in (69) would be viewing the words in question as blends, one of the SWs of which is *Tituško* ‘Titushko’ (the last name of the sportsman who physically attacked reporters and protesters during anti-government protests in Ukraine, which is now widely used as a common name for people beating up participants of peaceful protests and demonstrations). Analysis of the words in question as blends and their decomposition into SWs is demonstrated in (70).

(70)	a.	ment <u>ú</u> ško ‘Titushko police officer’	<	m <u>é</u> nt ‘cop’	(Ti)úško ‘Titushko’	(blogs.lb.ua)
	b.	by <u>t</u> úšky ‘Titushko with bats’	<	b <u>ý</u> ta ‘bat’	(T)itúško ‘Titushko’	
	c.	put <u>ín</u> úšky ‘Putin’s Titushko’		P <u>ú</u> tin ‘Putin’	T <u>ít</u> úško ‘Titushko’	
	d.	kapit <u>ú</u> ško ‘defeatist Titushko’	<	kapit <u>ul</u> jánt ‘defeatist’	T <u>ít</u> úško ‘Titushko’	(www.vk.com)

Contexts in which the words presently analyzed were found have multiple cues suggesting the connection between these words and the concept “Titushko”. First, the word *mentuško* was found in the same text as the word *titulicija* (see (71)), whereby the initial fragment of the SW *Tituško* ‘Titushko’ was preserved, making the blend more transparent from the point of view of its components.

(71) titulicija < titú(ško) (po)licija  
 ‘Titushko police officers’ ‘Titushko’ ‘the police’

(blogs.lb.ua)

The two terms are used in the context interchangeably, which suggests that they are synonymous blends formed by combining synonymous *ment* ‘police officer (pejorative)’ and *milicija* ‘Ukrainian police’ with the SW *tituško* ‘Titushko’. In addition, the word *putinuško* was identified in the same context as *rostituško* and *prostituško* (see (72)), in which the whole word *tituško* is preserved. The context itself was a discussion of various types of Titushkos.

(72) a. rostitúško < Rostóv titúško  
 ‘Rostov Titushkos’ ‘Rostov (Russia)’ ‘Titushkos’

b. prostítuško < prostitútka titúško  
 ‘prostitute’ ‘prostitutes’ ‘Titushkos’

(Titushkos, who provide their services—e.g. organizing violent provocations in Ukraine—for money)

(www.vk.com)

Morphological analysis of the word *kapituško* suggests another reason to view this word as a blend. Suffixation in Ukrainian is normally applied to bases which are intact roots that may or may not have been affixed. For example, *pry-stos-uvá-n-ec* ‘conformist’ is formed as a result of multiple applications of the operation of affixation to the base STOS-, which is the root of the word. Blending, however, combines splinters of words, i.e. submorphemic fragments of clipped bases. Assuming that the word *kapituško* is a product of affixation, rather than blending, suggests that the base undergoing affixation (KAPIT-) is a fragment of the root *kapitul-*. Affixation of

clippings does occasionally occur in colloquial Ukrainian: for example the compound *video-mahnit-o-fon* ‘video recorder / VCR’ is clipped to *vid* and modified with the suffix *-yk*, producing *vid-yk* ‘video recorder / VCR’. However, this phenomenon is rare (Juščuk 2004:282).

Collocations are another cue that help me in identifying whether a word is a blend composed of two SWs or a word formed as a result of affixation. I consider a collocation as a pair or group of words which co-occur more often than would be expected by chance (McCarthy and O’Dell 2005:6). For example, the expletive *pyzdec* ‘the end’ very often co-occurs with the adjective *povnyj* ‘complete’. The words *armahedec*’ and *dezinformec*’ (see (73)) were found in the contexts in which they were preceded by the word *povnyj* ‘complete’, which serves as a cue that *pyzdec*’ ‘the end’ is likely to have been involved in the formation of these words.

- |      |    |   |   |                  |                                |
|------|----|---|---|------------------|--------------------------------|
| (73) | a. | armahed <u>é</u> c’                             | < | armahed(ón)      | (pyz) <u>é</u> c’ (expletive)  |
|      |    | ‘Armageddon’                                    |   | ‘Armageddon’     | ‘the end’                      |
|      | b. | dezinform <u>é</u> c’                           | < | Dezinform(ácija) | (pyzd) <u>é</u> c’ (expletive) |
|      |    | ‘dire disinformation’                           |   | ‘disinformation’ | ‘hell; Armageddon’             |
|      |    | (disinformation which leads to serious trouble) |   |                  |                                |

(“Rozsmišy komika”, www.1plus1.ua)

Analyzing the possible word-formation meaning of *armahedec*’ can also shed light onto the components involved in their formation. Juščuk (2004:304) provides some generalizations regarding the word-formation meaning acquired by nouns which undergo affixation in Ukrainian with examples of specific suffixes that tend to be involved in such operations. Namely, according to Juščuk (2004:304), the suffix *-ec*’ is normally used in the following word-formation operations: 1) the formation of diminutive forms of nouns (for example, *baran* ‘sheep’ → *baran-ec*’ ‘little sheep, lamb’), 2) the formation of names of inhabitants based on the name of the origin (for example, *Ukrajina* ‘Ukraine’ → *ukrajin-ec*’ ‘a Ukrainian’), 3) the formation of deadjectival nouns to name males possessing a certain characteristic (for example, *star-yj* ‘old’ → *star-ec*’ ‘an old man’), 4) the formation of deverbal agent nouns (for example, *kur-y-ty* ‘to smoke’ → *kur-ec*’ ‘a smoker’). Taking into account these generalizations, it is possible to predict how Ukrainian speakers are likely to interpret the meanings of *armahedec*’ if it is a product of affixation. First, it can be interpreted as a diminutive form of the word *Armageddon*. Considering

that the word *armahedec* ' was identified in the name of a movie "Povnyj armahedec' abo vsim xana", where *povnyj* means "complete" and *vsim xana* means "everyone's dead", it appears unlikely that the Ukrainian speaker who coined the word *armahedec* ' attempted to diminish the effect of the word *armagedon*. Next, since *armahedon* 'Armageddon' is not a place name, an adjective or a verb, it appears unlikely that the word *armahedec* ' was coined through affixation as a name of an inhabitant, a deadjectival noun or a deverbal agent noun.

In this section, I discussed the cases in which a word could be analysed either as a blend or a product of affixation. The cues which helped me decide on how to analyse the words included the context, word-formation meaning and morphological structure of the words.

### 3.2.2 Syntactic category of SWs

In my corpus, there are cases in which it was difficult to identify the category of a SW (to be precise, there are 51 such blends, i.e. 10.2% of the corpus). My intuitions in identifying which syntactic category a Ukrainian speaker selected when creating a blend are quite strong. For example, I claim that the SW<sub>1</sub> in (74a) is the adjective *škurnyj* 'skin', the SW<sub>1</sub> in (74b) is the adjective *fašysts'kyj* 'fascist', and the SW<sub>1</sub> in (74c) is the noun *pozor* 'disgrace'.

- |      |    |  |   |  |  |
|------|----|--|---|--|--|
| (74) | a. | <u>škurnalíst</u><br>'journalist with vested interest'   | < | <u>škúrnyj</u> (interes)<br>'skin (literally);<br>vested (interest)' | <u>žurnalíst</u><br>'journalist'   |
|      | b. | <u>fašyzójidnyj</u><br>'fascizoid'<br>(used to describe Russia; Russia ruled by schizoid Putler)   | < | <u>fašysts'kyj</u><br>'fascist'                                      | <u>šyzójidnyj</u><br>'schizoid'  |
|      | c. | <u>pazírivka</u><br>'Azarov's speech which is a<br>disgrace'<br>(hint at the tendency of Mykola Azarov to make mistakes when speaking Ukrainian) | < | <u>pazír</u> <sup>32</sup><br>'a disgrace'                           | <u>azírivka</u><br>'Azarov's speech'<br><br>(“Rozsmišy komika”, www.1plus1.ua) |

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<sup>32</sup> The spelling of the word *pozor* 'disgrace' was altered to reflect Azarov's pronunciation of this word (namely, he pronounces the back mid vowel as the central low vowel and as the high front vowel).

However, one can question my judgements and suggest that SW<sub>1</sub> in (74a) could potentially be the noun *škura* ‘skin’, the SW<sub>1</sub> in (74b) could be the noun *fašyst* ‘fascist’ and the SW<sub>1</sub> in (74c) could be the adjective *pozornyj* ‘disgraceful’. In what follows, I will explain what my intuitions in identifying which syntactic category a Ukrainian speaker had in mind when creating a new blend were based on.

It has often been claimed in the literature that the similarity of (splinters of) SWs at the switch point is an important condition in blending (see, for example, Kelly 1998:587, Kemmer 2003:5, Mattiello 2013:134). When selecting bases which are to be combined, language users make sure that the selected SWs share as many identical or similar phonemes as possible. Taking this assumption into consideration when decomposing blends into SWs, I proposed those SWs which are maximally similar from the phonological point of view. For example, the adjectival base ŠKURN- is more phonologically similar to the noun base ŽURNALIST- than the noun base ŠKUR-. The adjectival SW<sub>1</sub> base and the base of SW<sub>2</sub> share a sequence including three identical phonemes (/u/, /r/, /n/) and two retroflex fricative consonants which share some phonological features (/ʂ/ and /ʐ/ are [+coronal], [-anterior], [+continuant], [+strident]). In contrast, the potential noun base of SW<sub>1</sub> ŠKUR-, on the one hand, and the base of SW<sub>2</sub> ŽURNALIST-, on the other hand, only share two identical phonemes (/u/ and /r/), as well as the retroflex fricative consonants. Since the overlap of ŠKURN- and ŽURNALIST- is greater than that of ŠKUR- and ŽURNALIST-, I selected the former as the combination of SWs forming *škurnalist*. As in most controversial cases, there were more cues that helped me identify the SW<sub>1</sub> in the blend in question as an adjective. The additional cue was that there is an Adjective + Noun collocation *škurnyj interes* ‘skin interest’ or ‘vested interest’ in Ukrainian. It is only in this collocation that the word *škurnyj* (importantly, adjective, rather than noun) has a meaning related to gaining something. The fact that this meaning is present in the blend *škurnalist* serves as additional evidence that SW<sub>1</sub> is an adjective.

Next, coordination is often claimed to be one of the most common semantic relations between the components of blends (see Plag 2003:125, Mattiello 2013:134). Therefore, it appears logical to assume that the adjective *fašyzojidnyj* ‘fascizoid’ (see (75)) is composed of two adjectives which are in relation of coordination with each other: *fašysts’kyj* ‘fascist’ and *šyzojidnyj* ‘schizoid’.

(75) fašyzójidnyj < fašýs(ts'kyj) šyzójidnyj  
 'fascizoid' 'fascist' 'schizoid'  
 ("Rozsmišy komika", www.1plus1.ua)

Under this analysis, both SWs modify the noun *Rosija* 'Russia' to an equal extent in the context in which the adjective was found. An alternative analysis, whereby SW<sub>1</sub> is the noun *fašyst* 'a fascist', unnecessarily complicates the analysis of semantic relations between the SWs. It is conceivable to claim that the adjective *šyzojidnyj* 'schizoid' is in relation of comparison with the noun *fašyst* 'a fascist', meaning "schizoid like a fascist". However, this analysis would presuppose that all fascists are schizoid, which may not be true.

Finally, when two potential SWs allowed for an equal amount of overlap with the other SW and the alternative semantic relations between SWs of the blend in question were equally plausible, I selected the SW which required fewer modifications in the process of blending, i.e. I selected the base which would not have to be clipped before being combined with the other SW base. For example, *pazirivka* 'Azarov's speech which is a disgrace' in (76) can be decomposed as either the adjective *pazirnyj* 'disgraceful' or the noun *pazir* 'disgrace' and *azirivka* 'Azarov's speech'.

(76)=(74c) pazirivka < pazir azirivka  
 'Azarov's speech which is a disgrace' 'a disgrace' 'Azarov's speech'

Both bases PAZIRN- and PAZIR- allow for the overlap of the identical sequences /azjir/ in the two SWs. In addition, the semantic relation observed between the SWs in both alternative cases is that of ascription, which can be interpreted as "Y who/which is X" (Giegerich (1990:10)): "Azarov's speech which is disgraceful" or "Azarov's speech which is a disgrace". Since phonological similarity and semantic relations between words do not lead to any obvious preference in which syntactic category to select as SW<sub>1</sub>, I choose the noun *pazir* 'disgrace', because it requires only one word-formation operation in coining the blend (specifically, the overlapping of the SW bases PAZIR- and AZIRIVK-). In contrast, selecting the adjective *pazirna* 'disgraceful' as the SW would require the application of two word-formation operations:

clipping to the base PAZIRN- and the combination of the clipped base PAZIR- with the SW<sub>2</sub> base AZIRIVK-. My approach makes the formation of blends more economical.

There are also cases in which the identification of the syntactic category of a word is straightforward, but within that category more than one word can be considered as the potential SW. For example, SW<sub>1</sub> in *blondynozávr* in (77) can be either the feminine-gender noun *blondynka* ‘a blonde’ or the masculine-gender noun *blondyn* ‘a blond man’.

<p>(77) <i>blondynozávr</i>          ‘dinosaur blonde’          (unattractive or scary blonde)</p>	<p>&lt;</p>	<p><i>blondýnka</i>          ‘blonde’</p>	<p><i>dynozávr</i>          ‘dinosaur’</p>
			<p>(vse-grani.com)</p>

SW<sub>1</sub> in (77) is the semantic head of the blend (see Section 4.1 for the discussion of semantic headedness of Ukrainian blends) and, therefore, its accurate identification is essential for the correct interpretation of the meaning of the blend. The context provides ambiguous cues, since, on the one hand, it is clear that the blend is used to refer to a specific woman (Yuliia Tymoshenko) and, on the other hand, the inflections of the blend in the Nominative and the Dative case indicate that the noun *blondynozávr* is a Declension 1 noun, which is traditionally associated with the masculine gender.<sup>33</sup> A closer analysis of the SW<sub>2</sub> reveals that *dynozavr* ‘dragon’ can be used to name either male or female referents, which holds true for the whole blend as well. Since in the two contexts in which I found the blend *blondynozávr*, it referred to women, I selected the feminine gender noun as SW<sub>1</sub>. However, it is possible that the blend may be used to refer to men, in which case I would identify the masculine gender noun as SW<sub>1</sub>.

*Alkoholevycja* in (78) also presents a challenge in identifying which noun was used as SW<sub>1</sub> in the formation of this blend. SW<sub>1</sub> could be the noun *alkoholik* ‘alcoholic’ or the noun

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<sup>33</sup> I base my analysis on the system of 5 declensions proposed by Nessel (2006) for Ukrainian, which was subsequently revised by Filonik (2013). In this system, declension 1 nouns have the following inflectional suffixes: Ø (Nominative), -u, -ovi (Dative).



- (79) a. = (68a) kljujént < kljuváty < kljént  
 ‘pecking client; biting client’ ‘peck, accept (slang)’ ‘client’  
kljuje  
 ‘peck, accept (slang)-3.SG’  
 (client who accepted something, e.g. an offer)
- b. kljuvalízm < kljuváty < (p)ljurálízm  
 ‘antagonistic co-existence of many individuals’ ‘peck; fight (fig.)’ ‘pluralism’

(“Večirnij kvartal”, [www.1plus1.ua](http://www.1plus1.ua))

For example, the word *kljujent* was found in the sentence provided in (80). The context contains two metaphors: *the bird is in the cage* and *the fish is on the hook*, which were transformed for the humorous effect. These metaphors can roughly be interpreted in the following way: someone was persuaded to accept an offer or an idea, i.e., figuratively speaking, someone got the food from the hook and, as a result, got caught. Therefore, I conclude that the most appropriate meaning of the SW *kljuvaty* is the fourth meaning provided in the dictionary if it is considered as a figurative meaning of the word.

- (80) a. Baču, ptašečka na hačku... Tobto rybka v klitci... Nu, slovom, *kljujent* hotov.  
 ‘I can see that the bird is on the hook... That is the fish is in the cage... Well, in a word, we’ve got a “biting client”.

(“Večirnij kvartal”, [www.1plus1.ua](http://www.1plus1.ua))

The blend *kljuvalizm* was found in the following sentence:

- (81) b. Iz tak zvanoji družby narodiv zarodylasja dyka bezhluzda nenavyst’, a z poxapcem prohološenocho pljuralizmu ne vynyklo ničoho, okrim pljuvalizmu i *kljuvalizmu*—xto koho zapljuje, xto koho zakljuje.  
 ‘The so-called friendship of nations gave rise to senseless hatred, and the rushed pluralism gave rise to nothing but spitting pluralism and *pecking pluralism*—it’s all about who will win in spitting at each other and pecking each other.’

(Jurčenko 2007: n. pag.)

The phrases “senseless hatred” and “spitting at each other” serve as cues leading me to select the second meaning provided in the dictionary. Even though the literal meaning “to fight with a beak” is inappropriate in this case, it works well if we consider it as the figurative meaning of the word *kljuvaty* ‘to peck’.

Another interesting example of a blend containing a polysemous SW is provided in (82).

- (82) Jevroláš < Jevrokúbok Jeraláš  
 ‘ridiculous Euro Cup’ ‘Euro Cup’ ‘Jeralash’ (comic show)  
 (a comic account of the poor performance of Ukrainian soccer team at Euro Cup)

The word *jeralaš* is defined in the following way by the “Dictionary of Ukrainian Language” (ukrlit.org): 1) disorder, indecency; confusion; 2) an old card game similar to preference and whist. The dictionary also provides a note that the word is colloquial and dated. Indeed, the word *jeralaš* can hardly ever be encountered in Ukrainian speech, except when it is used in talking about the comic show named “Jeralaš” (episodes filmed since 1974 till present). Thus, when an account of the poor performance of the Ukrainian National Soccer Team at Euro Cup 2012 was presented as a parody of an episode of the comic show “Jeralaš”—with the familiar soundtrack and opening of the episode—under the name “Jevroláš”, Ukrainian speakers, including myself, interpreted this newly coined blend as a comic account of embarrassing moments at Euro Cup, especially of Ukrainian National Team’s ridiculously poor performance.

To conclude, in this section, I provided some of my reasoning in analyzing blends which presented a certain challenge. However, it is important to keep in mind that in most cases my judgements were based on the context in which a blend in question was found. A detailed analysis of the contexts in which every Ukrainian blend was identified would make this dissertation too voluminous. Thus, I will simply emphasize that in those cases in which the reasoning presented in this section does not explain my analysis, there is need to examine the particular context in which the blend in question was found. Multiple cues provided by the context often serve as strong evidence supporting the analysis in this dissertation.

### 3.3 Overview of the phonological system of Ukrainian

This section will provide some background for the further analysis of phonological characteristics of Ukrainian blends. In what follows, I will discuss the system of Ukrainian phonemes, stress patterns and syllable structure in Ukrainian, as well as systematizing the correspondence between Ukrainian letters of the alphabet and Ukrainian phonemes. The discussion of these aspects of Ukrainian phonological system will lay the foundation to subsequent analysis.

Ukrainian has 38 phonemes: 6 vowels and 32 consonants (Bilodid 1969:5, Danylenko and Vakulenko 1995:3, Buk et al. 2008:65, Juščuk 2008:106). The system of Ukrainian consonant phonemes is presented in Table 1 below and the system of Ukrainian vowel phonemes is presented in Figure 1 below.

	bilab.		labiod.		dental		alveolar		retrofl.	palatal	velar	glotta l
	p	b			velarized t̪	d palatalize dʲ	velarized r̪	palatalize rʲ				
plosive	p	b			t̪	dʲ					k	g
nasal		m			n̪	nʲ						
trill							r	rʲ				
fricative			f		ʂ	ʐ			ʝ	x		ɦ
affricate					tʂ	dʂ			tʂ			
approx.			ʋ									
lateral approx.					ɬ	ɬʲ						

Table 1. Consonants in Ukrainian.

	front	central	back
high	i	ɨ	u
mid			
	ɛ		ɔ
low		a	

Figure 1. Vowels in Ukrainian.

My analysis of the Ukrainian phonological system is based on analyses presented in Danylenko and Vakulenko 1995, Buk et al. 2008 and Juščuk 2008. In some cases, judgements regarding the nature of Ukrainian phonemes and, therefore, their representation in the International Phonetic Alphabet (IPA) differ in the sources above: for example, Danylenko and Vakulenko (1995:6) propose that words like *vona* ‘she’ and *mavpa* ‘monkey’ have a voiced bilabial approximant /w/ as, respectively, the first and the third phoneme, while Buk et al. (2008:67) view this phoneme as a voiced labiodental approximant /v/, and Juščuk (2008:106) claims that it is a voiced labiodental fricative /v/. In such cases, I relied on my own intuition as a native speaker of Ukrainian in identifying the phoneme (for example, following Buk et al. (2008:67), I consider the phoneme in question to be the voiced labiodental approximant /v/). Dental and alveolar consonants in Ukrainian can be palatalized (“soft”) or velarized (“hard”). Minimal pairs, like those presented in (83), suggest that palatalized consonants are phonemes, rather than allophones of velarized dental and alveolar consonants.

- (83) a. kin /kin/ ‘stake’ (Nom. Sg.) – kin’ /kinʲ/ ‘horse’ (Nom. Sg.)  
 b. luka /lʲuka/ ‘meadow’ (Nom. Sg.) – ljuka /lʲuka/ ‘manhole’ (Gen. Sg.)

Labial, retroflex, velar and glottal consonants in Ukrainian can appear as semi-palatalized (‘semi-soft’) variants (Danylenko and Vakulenko 1995:5). Semi-palatalized consonants are commonly considered as allophones (Danylenko and Vakulenko 1995:5, Buk et al. 2008:66, Juščuk 2008:106), as they are in complementary distribution with the respective velarized consonants. Danylenko and Vakulenko (1995:6) note that semi-palatalized consonants occur before high front vowel /i/ while velarized consonants occur before high central vowel /ɨ/, which leads linguists to a choice between granting a phonemic status to the central close vowel /ɨ/ or to

13 semi-palatalized consonants. For the purposes of economy, I will follow Danylenko and Vakulenko (1995:5), Buk et al. (2008:66), Juščuk (2008:106) in treating semi-palatalized consonants as allophones and the high central vowel /i/ as a phoneme.

Danylenko and Vakulenko (1995:5) and Buk et al. (2008:66) agree that Ukrainian the six Ukrainian vowels “undergo no perceptible reduction, whether quantitative or qualitative, regardless of their position or stressing”. The few exceptions discussed in these sources concern allophones and, therefore, will not be discussed in the present account of phonemic system of Ukrainian.

Ukrainian orthography is largely based on the pronunciation of Ukrainian words, with a fairly strong tendency towards a one-to-one correspondence between phonemes and letters (Danylenko and Vakulenko 1995:3, Buk et al. 2008:69). Table 2 presents the correspondence between Ukrainian graphemes and phonemes. In Column 1, the graphemes which I will use to transliterate Ukrainian letters will be presented (the International System of Cyrillic Transliteration), while column 2 provides the corresponding letters in Cyrillic alphabet, and column 3 presents the corresponding phonemes. I consider assimilatory changes in Ukrainian words, e.g. regressive voicing and regressive palatalization, as allophonic modifications of Ukrainian phonemes. These changes are not reflected in spelling or phonemic representation of words and therefore will not be discussed in detail in the present study (see Buk et al. (2008:68–69) for a detailed discussion of assimilation in Ukrainian).

Transliteration symbols	Ukrainian letters	Phonemes
a	а	/a/
b	б	/b/
v	в	/v/
h	г	/h/
g	г	/g/
d	д	/d/

		/dʲ/ when followed by <i>, <j>, <'>
dz	дз	/dʒ/
		/dʒ/ when followed by <i>, <j>, <'>
dž	дж	/dʒʲ/
e	е	/ɛ/
je	є	/ɛ/ with the preceding consonant being palatalized /jɛ/ word-initially and following <'>, <'> or a vowel
ž	ж	/ʒ/
z	з	/z/
		/zʲ/ when followed by <i>, <j>, <'>
y	и	/i/
i	і	/i/
ji	ї	/ji/
j	й	/j/
		∅ when following a consonant and preceding a, u, e
k	к	/k/
l	л	/l/
		/lʲ/ when followed by <i>, <j>, <'>
m	м	/m/
n	н	/n/
		/nʲ/ when followed by <i>, <j>, <'>
o	о	/ɔ/
p	п	/p/
r	р	/r/
		/rʲ/ when followed by <i>, <j>, <'>
s	с	/s/
		/sʲ/ when followed by <i>, <j>, <'>
t	т	/t/

		/tʃ/ when followed by <i>, <j>, <'>
u	у	/u/
f	ф	/f/
x	х	/x/
с	ц	/t͡s/ /t͡s/ when followed by <i>, <j>, <'>
č	ч	/t͡ʃ/
š	ш	/ʃ/
'	ь	signifies palatalization of the preceding consonant
”	’	signifies pronunciation of /j/ in <ja>, <ju>, <je>
ju	ю	/u/ with the preceding consonant being palatalized /ju/ word-initially and following <”>, <'> or a vowel
ja	я	/a/ with the preceding consonant being palatalized /ja/ word-initially and following <”>, <'> or a vowel

Table 2. Grapheme – phoneme correspondence in Ukrainian.

As demonstrated in Table 2, there is a strong correspondence between Ukrainian letters and phonemes. For example, it is easy to produce phonemic transcription for the words *palatalizacija* ‘palatalization’ and *linhvistyka* ‘linguistics’ based on their spelling (respectively, /paɫatəlɪzɑt͡ʃɪjɑ/ and /lɪnhvɪstɪkɑ/).<sup>34</sup> Therefore, providing both a graphemic representation and a phonemic transcription of Ukrainian blends and their SWs in my analysis would be superfluous. In the following analysis of Ukrainian blends, I will provide the graphemic representation of the words being analysed and if there are exceptions to the generalizations presented in Table 2, I will make sure to provide phonemic transcription of the words in question.

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<sup>34</sup> I will discuss the position of the main stress when analyzing the corpus where necessary.

Stress in Ukrainian is dynamic, free, and movable, the last two parameters being conditioned by the morphological properties of the word (Danylenko and Vakulenko 1995:13, Juščuk 2008:127). The main stress can be found on any morpheme in a word, as well as on any syllable in a word. For instance, consider the examples from Danylenko and Vakulenko 1995:13 in (84), where the morphemes are separated with hyphens and roots are underlined, while syllables are separated with periods.

- (84) a.      vý-rax-uva-n-yj ‘calculated’  
                  vý.ra.xu.va.nyj
- b.      za-lják-uva-ty ‘to intimidate’  
                  za.ljá.ku.va.ty
- c.      po-vidóm-yty ‘to inform’  
                  po.vi.dó.my.ty
- d.      pry-stos-uvá-n-ec’ ‘conformist’  
                  pry.sto.su.vá.nec’
- e.      pere-po-vis-tý ‘to relate’  
                  pe.re.po.vi.stý

In (84a), the stress of the word is on the prefix (initial syllable), while in (84b) and (84c) the stress is on the roots (respectively, the second and the third syllable) and in (84d) and (84e) suffixes the stress is on suffixes (respectively, the penultimate and ultimate syllables). Shift of stress may occur in some inflectional forms, as demonstrated in (85). To specify, in (85a,b) the stress shifts from the suffixes to the roots.

- (85) a.      xod-ýty ‘to go’            vs.      xód-yt’ ‘go-3SG.PRES.INDIC’  
                  xo.dý.ty                        vs.      xó.dyt’
- b.      verb-á ‘willow’            vs.      vér-by ‘willows’  
                  ver.bá                                vs.      vér.by

While Juščuk (2008:127) provides a few generalizations regarding specific affixes that tend (not) to be stressed, he suggests verifying the position of each word’s stress in a dictionary due to

significant unpredictability of stress in Ukrainian. In what follows, I will mark stress in Ukrainian blends and their SWs with a stress mark above the stressed vowel.

Although Ukrainian has both open and closed syllables (see, respectively, (86a) and (86b), whereby the period is used to indicate the boundary between the syllables), it has a preference for open syllables. According to Danylenko and Vakulenko (1995:3), whenever a consonant cluster in intervocalic position can potentially occur in word-initial position (i.e. can be an onset), it forms an onset rather than a coda of a syllable. For example, the consonant clusters *str* and *zdr* can be found in a word-initial position in Ukrainian (e.g. in *strixa* ‘thatched roof’ and *zdrastujte* ‘hello’ or literally ‘be well’). Thus, when these consonant clusters are located within a word, they form an onset, rather than a coda, as demonstrated in (87a,b). In contrast, consonant clusters *stk* and *zk* do not appear word-initially in Ukrainian. Therefore, when they are located within a word, the consonants are separated forming codas of the initial syllables and onsets of the second syllables, as in (87c,d).

- (86) a. rik ‘year’  
b. ri.ka ‘river’
- (87) a. se.stra ‘sister’  
b. za.zdro ‘enviously’  
c. zvist.ka ‘news’  
d. kaz.ka ‘tale’

This section provides some background for the further discussion of phonological characteristics of Ukrainian blends from the corpus analyzed in the present dissertation. After the discussion of the morphological system of Ukrainian, which will be presented immediately after this section, I will proceed to discuss phonemic representation of Ukrainian blends and their SWs, division of SWs into syllables and location of the main stress in blends and their SWs.

### **3.4 Overview of the morphological system of Ukrainian**

Ukrainian is a synthetic language, which means that different grammatical categories in Ukrainian (for example, Tense, Case, Person, Number, Gender, Mood, etc.) are expressed

through a variety of inflectional affixes. Since this dissertation focuses on word-formation, I will not discuss the complex inflectional system of Ukrainian and will focus on the types of word-formation instead. The following types of word-formation operate in Ukrainian: affixation, compounding, conversion, reduplication and blending. While affixation plays a leading role in modern Ukrainian word-formation, an increase has been observed in the productivity of compounding and blending within the last few decades, which Karpilovska (2016: 2914) attributes to “the wide and intensive contact of Ukrainian with other languages, primarily, English”. Conversion and reduplication are less developed. In what follows, I will discuss these types of word-formation in turn. All the examples in this section will be borrowed from Karpilovska (2016).

Affixation is the most productive type of word formation in Ukrainian. Affixal or derivational word-formation in Ukrainian includes suffixation (for example, (88a)), prefixation (for example, (88b)) and the combination of both (see (88c)).

- (88) a. hum-a ‘rubber’ (N) + -ov + -yj → hum-ovyj ‘rubber’ (Adj)  
 b. klas ‘class’ (N) + pid- → pid-klas ‘subclass’ (N)  
 c. doroh-a ‘road’ (N) + pry- + -n + -yj → pry-dorož-n-yj ‘wayside’ (Adj)

Various syntactic categories can be formed through affixation: nouns (namely, denominal, deadjectival, and deverbal nouns), adjectives (specifically, denominal, deadjectival, and deverbal adjectives), verbs (namely, denominal and deverbal verbs), and adverbs (deadjectival and deadverbial adverbs). Examples of formation of all these syntactic categories through affixation can be found in Karpilovska (2016:2917–2925).

Compounding is the most productive means of word-formation after affixation in Ukrainian (Kulish 2009:12). It is the most active in the formation of nouns, adjectives and adverbs, the formation of verbs via compounding being extremely rare (Karpilovska 2016:2914). Most compounds in Ukrainian are determinative, with the minority being coordinative compounds.

The two main ways of forming compounds in Ukrainian are: 1) with the help of the linking or interfixal vowels (for example, *rybolov* ‘fisherman’) and 2) by juxtaposition (placement) of the determining and the determined parts (for example, *ryba-meč* ‘swordfish’) (Korunets’ 2004:122). The principal way of forming compound words in Ukrainian is that by means of linking interfixes, which, however, is generally restricted to nouns and adjectives (Kulich 2009:114). Juxtaposites are compound words formed without a linking vowel. A number of sources claim that currently there is a tendency towards a constant growth of juxtaposites (Kulich (2009: 14), Karpilovska (2016: 2914)). Karpilovska (2016: 2914) suggests that such a tendency is observed due to the language contact of Ukrainian with English, since juxtaposites are quite common in English (for example, *boyfriend*, *sunshine*, etc.).

Various syntactic categories are combined in Ukrainian compounding. First, nouns can be formed via a combination of an adjective and a noun (see (89a)), a numeral and a noun (see (89b)), a noun and a verb (see (89c)), and an adjective and a noun (see (89d)), where *-o-* and *-e-* are interfixes).

(89)	a.	čornozem	<	čorna	zemplja
		‘black soil’		‘black’	‘soil’
	b.	peršodžerelo	<	perše	džerelo
		‘primary source’		‘first’	‘source’
	c.	burevij	<	burja	vij (from vij-aty)
		‘hurricane, storm-blower’		‘storm’	‘blow’
	d.	pravopys	<	pravyl’no	pys (from pys-aty)
		‘orthography’		‘correctly’	‘write’

Adjectives are formed by combination of two adjectives (see (90a) where *-o-* is an interfix) and a particle and an adjective (see (90b)).

(90)	a.	temno-synij	<	temnyj	synij
		‘dark blue’		‘dark’	‘blue’

- b.      nibytoxvoryj                      <      nibyto              hvoryj  
           ‘malingerer, simulator’              ‘as if, like’      ‘sick’

Karpilovska (2016:2916) also singles out as a separate group the adjectival formations which were produced as a result of compounding and affixation combined. She refers to them as synthetic adjectival compounds, which is reminiscent of synthetic compound (see, for example, Lieber 1983), which is a type of compound that parallels a verbal construction, with the head derived from a verb and the other element functioning as an object (for example, *peacekeeping*). Ukrainian examples of compounds which Karpilovska (2016:2916) classifies as synthetic adjectival compounds are provided in (91) below.

- (91) a.      [Adv + N]<sub>Adj</sub>:              bahatovodnyj <      bahato              vod-a              -n(yj)  
           ‘high-water’              ‘much’              ‘water’              SUFF
- b.      [Adj + N]<sub>Adj</sub>:              karrokyj              <      kar-yj              -o-      ok-o      -yj  
           ‘hazel-eyed’              ‘hazel’              INTF      ‘eye’
- SUFFIX
- c.      [N + V]<sub>Adj</sub>:              slovotvorčyj              ‘slov-o’              -o-      tvor-yty –c(yj)  
           ‘word-building’              ‘word’              INTF      ‘create’
- d.      [Adv + V]<sub>Adj</sub>:              hustoroslyj              husto              ros-ty              -l(ij)  
           ‘thick-growing’              ‘thick(ly)’              ‘grow’ SUFF
- e.      [Num + N]<sub>Adj</sub>:              peršoklasnyj              ‘perš-yj’              -o-      klas      -n(yj)  
           ‘first-class’              ‘first’              INTF      ‘class’ SUFF

Karpilovska (2016:2914) provides only one example of a verbal compound (see (92)) and emphasizes that verbal compounds are rare in Ukrainian.

- (92) bohovyryty                      <      boha      tvoryty  
           ‘to deify, idolize’                      ‘god’      ‘create’

Adverbial compounds can be formed by combining adverbs and nouns, as in (93a) or even prepositions, numerals and adverbs (see (93b)).

- (93) a. bosoniž < bosyj -o- niž  
 ‘barefoot’ ‘bare’ INTF ‘foot’ (with alternation *noh-* → *niz-*)  
 b. vobidviruč < v obydvj ruky  
 ‘by both hands’ ‘in’ ‘both’ ‘hands’ (with alternation *ruk-* → *ruč-*)

As for copulative compounds, Karpilovska (2016: 2916) observes that they are represented in various parts of speech, but are not numerous (see some examples in (94) below).

- (94) a. dyvan-ližko ‘sofa bed’ (N+N)  
 b. čorno-bilyj ‘black and white’ (Adj+Adj)  
 c. dumaty-hadaty ‘to think and to suppose’ (V+V)  
 d. tyškom-nyškom ‘on the sly; secretly; lit. quietly-quietly’ (Adv+Adv)<sup>35</sup>

Conversion in Ukrainian is illustrated by examples in (95): see nominal conversion of an adjective in (95a), nominal conversion of a participle in (95b) (Karpilovska 2016: 2925), and verbal conversion of an adjective in (95c).

- (95) a. hvoryj ‘sick’ (Adj) → hvoryj ‘a sick person’ (N)  
 b. polonenyj ‘captivated’ (Participle) → polonenyj ‘a captivated person’ (N)  
 c. bil-yj ‘white’ (Adj) → bil-ity (Verb) ‘whiten’

Reduplication in Ukrainian is most commonly observed when language users intend to intensify the meaning of a word. It can be applied to adjectives (as in (96a)), interjections (as in (96b)), adverbs (as in (96c)), verbs (as in (96d)), etc.

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<sup>35</sup> Karpilovska (2016: 2916) also regards this example as a type of reduplication.

- (96) a. synij-synij ‘blue-blue; extra blue’  
 b. oj-oj ‘auch-auch’  
 c. tyxo-tyxo ‘quietly-quietly; extremely quietly’  
 d. sydity-sydity ‘to sit and to sit; to sit for a long time’

Blending is normally ignored in accounts of Ukrainian word-formation. The only account which discusses blending is that by Karpilovska (2016). Karpilovska (2016:2914) claims that the productivity of blending increased quite dramatically in the last decades. However, her (2016) discussion is limited to a definition of blending and four examples of blends (for example, (97)). This demonstrates quite vividly that blending in Ukrainian is understudied. Therefore, the indepth analysis of blending in Ukrainian to be presented in the remaining chapters of this dissertation will fill the existing gap in accounts of Ukrainian word-formation.

- |      |  |   |                          |           |
|------|--|---|--------------------------|-----------|
| (97) | čuhrajína                                  | < | čuhrá                    | Ukrajína  |
|      | ‘Ukrainian indifferent to his/her culture’ |   | ‘cut branches of a tree’ | ‘Ukraine’ |

In the following section, the blends in the Ukrainian corpus will be discussed in greater detail. I will focus on their formal characteristics (as opposed to, for example, semantic properties) and discuss whether tendencies reported for English blends are observed in the Ukrainian data.

### 3.5 Structural characteristics of Ukrainian blends

This section analyzes the following structural characteristics of blends in the corpus: length of the blends, the position of the main stress and the order of SWs in the blends. In my analysis, I will rely on the proposals made in the literature regarding the factors which determine the structure of blends. I will study whether these factors are at work when blends are formed in Ukrainian.



b. Donbábve < Donbá(s) (Zim)bábve  
 ‘Donbas Zimbabwe’ ‘Donbas’ ‘Zimbabwe’  
 (comparison of the self-proclaimed republics in Donbas to Zimbabwe, i.e. a country where, according to some Ukrainian stereotypes, human rights are often violated by armed groups)

(dramatica.org.ua)

(99) movčál’ < movčá(nnja) (pe)čál’  
 ‘silence and sorrow’ ‘silence’ ‘sorrow’

(vsiknygy.net.ua)

As for the substitution blends, the goal of preservation of the number of syllables of the base of SW<sub>2</sub>, and more generally its rhythmical contour, appears to be the crucial factor determining the length of the resulting blend. For example, in (100), the blend *minrarium* is composed of four syllables, whereas the second syllable carries the main stress, as does the SW<sub>2</sub> *terarium*. Thus, the rhythmical contour of the SW<sub>2</sub> *terarium* is preserved in the blend *minrarium*.

(100)=(58a) minrarium > min(istérstvo) (te)rarium  
 ‘terrarium ministry’ ‘ministry’ ‘terrarium’

(placards of protesters, Maidan 2014)

Of the 34 substitution blends in the corpus, 23 blends preserve the rhythmical contour of SW<sub>2</sub>, as demonstrated in (100) above. In the 11 blends in which the SW<sub>2</sub> contour is not maintained, more phonological material is preserved, presumably for the increase of recognisability of the SWs. For example, in (101a) the base of the blend consists of 3 syllables, while the base of SW<sub>2</sub> consists of 2 syllables. The preservation of an additional syllable in the SW<sub>1</sub> is necessary for the correct interpretation of the blend, which results from the exclusion of all the neighbours (in Lehrer’s (2007) terms, as discussed in 2.3.3) of the SW in question. Presumably, in (101a) the amount of the phonological material of SW<sub>1</sub> is increased in order to exclude, for example, such neighbours as *azijats’kyj* ‘Asian’, *Azimov (Ajzek) ‘Asimov (Isaak)’* or *Aziz (Nesin) ‘Aziz (Nesin)’*, which would lead, respectively, to the interpretations “speech errors of a speaker of



(102)	Putvjédjev	<	Pút(in)	(Med)vjédjev
	‘Putin Medvedev’		‘Putin’	‘Medvedev’
	(united political force of the two Russian politicians named)			
				(www.pravda.com.ua)

It may seem that 11 blends in the corpus are in insufficient number to make the generalization presented here, but it is also supported by a great number of Ukrainian reduced phrases, the formation of which also involves clipping operations, as in (103).<sup>36</sup> Even though the words in (103) are products of compounding, as opposed to blending, their formation, like that of blends, involves application of clipping operations to bases; thus, words in (103) can be analyzed in order to make generalizations regarding mechanisms of clipping in Ukrainian.

(103)	a.	filfák	<	fil(olohíčnyj)	fak(ul’tét)
		‘Department of Philology’		‘philological’	‘faculty’
	b.	zavmáh	<	zav(iduvač)	mah(azýnom)
		‘Head of the store’		‘head’	‘store’

Importantly, the data show that SW<sub>1</sub> is clipped to one or more syllables or syllable constituents, rather than to one or more morphemes. Examples like *minrarium* in (104) serve as evidence for this generalization, as *min•* is not a complete morphological unit, but a part of the root *ministr-*. There are 15 blends without overlap in which SW<sub>1</sub> is clipped; in 13 of those blends, the splinter can undoubtedly not be considered as a morphological unit.

(104)=(58a)	minrarium	>	min(istérstvo)	(te)rarium
	‘terrarium ministry’		‘ministry’	‘terrarium’

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<sup>36</sup> Formations like those in (103) differ from blends both structurally and semantically. Therefore, along with, for example, Bat-El (2006:66), Bauer (2012:(20), and Mattiello (2013:116), I do not consider them as blends, but rather as reduced phrases (e.g. (103)) or reduced compounds (see 2.2.4 for the discussion of differences between blends and clipped phrases/compounds).

The data also demonstrate a clear tendency in SW<sub>2</sub> clipping patterns: the syllables preceding the one carrying the main stress are clipped, while the stressed syllable and all the syllables to the right of it make a splinter. For example, in (104) above, the second syllable /ra/ in *terarium* carries the main stress. Therefore, *terarium* is clipped to *•rarium*. Of the 32 blends without overlap in which SW<sub>2</sub> is clipped, 22 show this clipping pattern. Interestingly, in the corpus the breakpoint does not always fall on the boundary between two syllables of SW<sub>2</sub>. In 15 of 32 examples, the onset of the stressed syllable is clipped, e.g. /n/ in (105a) and /r/ in (105b).

- (105) a. arbitrál'ti < arbitr (pen)ál'ti  
 'penalty imposed by the referee' 'referee' 'penalty'  
 ("Rozsmišy komika", www.1plus1.ua)
- b. Pavukóvs'kyj < pavúk (Kašpir)óvs'kyj  
 'spider Kashpirovsky' 'spider' 'Kashpirovsky'  
 (spider which hypnotizes with a gaze like the healer Anatoliy Kašpirovsky)  
 ("VusoLapoXvist", stb.ua)

Preservation of the onsets in the SW<sub>2</sub> splinters in (105) would lead to one of the following two consequences. On the one hand, it could lead to the formation of blends containing consonant sequences which are hard to pronounce (e.g. <sup>o</sup>*arbitrnal'ti* vs. *arbitral'ti* in (105a)). As observed by Mattiello (2013:138), pronounceability and euphony are important criteria for the well-formedness of blends. On the other hand, it could lead to the formation of blends containing an existing word which is not intended to be a constituent part of the blend. For example, preserving the onset /r/ in SW<sub>2</sub> in (105b) would lead to the formation of <sup>o</sup>*Pavukrovs'kyj* instead of *Pavukovs'kyj*. This formation, however, would be felt to contain the existing Ukrainian word *krov* 'blood', which would change the intended meaning of the blend. Mattiello (2013:139) claims that the formation of a blend whose part or the full form coincides with an existing lexeme must be prevented. I assume that Ukrainian speakers clip the onsets of the stressed syllables in the SWs in question in order to avoid the two possibilities described above.

In those cases where the clipping patterns presented above are not followed (4 SW<sub>1</sub> examples and 11 SW<sub>2</sub> examples), additional syllables are preserved, which allows for the

preservation of the rhythmical contour of SW<sub>2</sub>, in addition to aiding the recognizability of the SWs (see, for example, (106a) for SW<sub>1</sub> and (106b) for SW<sub>2</sub>).

- (106) a. majdaljúcija < Majdá(n) (revo)ljúcija  
 ‘revolution on Maidan’ ‘Maidan’ (Independence Square) ‘revolution’  
 (“Večirnij Kiev”, www.1plus1.ua)
- b. meriózi < mér (maf)iózi  
 ‘mayor Mafioso’ ‘mayor’ ‘Mafioso’  
 (“Skazočnaja Rus”, www.1plus1.ua)

### 3.5.2 Position of the main stress

The analysis of the corpus of Ukrainian blends confirms the claim that blends preserve the stress position of at least one of their SWs. The location of the main stress in 253 blends in the present corpus (50.4%) is indisputable. By this I mean that either the position of the main stress of SW<sub>1</sub> and SW<sub>2</sub> coincides in the overlapping fragment (as in (107a)) or the stressed syllable of only one of the SWs is preserved in the blend (as in (107b)). For example, in (107a) /o/ is stressed in the homophonous sequences in both SWs and therefore it is stressed in the overlapping fragment of the blend. In (107b), the stressed vowel of SW<sub>1</sub> /i/ is clipped and thus the stressed vowel of SW<sub>2</sub> /o/ is stressed in the blend.

- (107) a. xruščóba < Xruščó(v) (t)ruščóba  
 ‘Khrushchev slum’ ‘Khrushchev’ ‘slum’  
 (low-cost, concrete-paneled or brick three- to five-storied apartment building  
 built during the time Nikita Khrushchev directed the Soviet government)  
 (tema.in.ua)
- b. Vladól’f < Vlad(ímir) Adól’f  
 ‘Vladimir Adolf (Putler)’ ‘Vladimir’ ‘Adolf’  
 (patriot-news.info)

In the remaining 249 blends (49.6% of the corpus) there is a conflict between two potential stress locations. These are blends in which the stressed vowels of both SWs are preserved (see (108)), and thus there is a need to choose which vowel will be stressed in the resulting blend. The analysis shows that in all 249 such blends (100% of such cases) the location of the main stress of SW<sub>2</sub> is preserved.<sup>37</sup> For example, in (108a) the second syllable carries the main stress, /o/ being stressed, while /e/ loses the main stress when it becomes a part of the blend. Similarly, the location of the stress of the SW *kamikadze* is preserved in the blend *komikadze* in (108b).

- (108) a. Hejrópa < héj (Jev)rópa  
 ‘gay Europe’ ‘gay’ ‘Europe’  
 (used by those who are against Ukraine joining the European Union and against gay people with the aim of emphasizing that the EU countries are liberal towards gay people)  
 (demotivators.org.ua)

- b. komikádze < kómik kamikádze  
 ‘kamikaze comic’ ‘comic’ ‘kamikaze’  
 (comedian who is not afraid to joke about taboo topics, e.g. about Ukrainian politics)  
 (www.ruhzvu.com)

My corpus shows that in Ukrainian it is SW<sub>2</sub>, rather than the longer SW, which determines the position of the stress in the blend, i.e. it provides evidence for the position-based approach. While it is true that most SW<sub>2</sub>s in my corpus are the longer SWs, there are 17 examples in which SW<sub>2</sub>, which determines the main stress position in the blend, is shorter than SW<sub>1</sub> (as in (109)).

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<sup>37</sup> In cases where the SWs are combined non-linearly and therefore one of the SWs is located at neither of the word edges of the blend, as in (i), I considered the longer word as SW<sub>2</sub>, as it provides the rhythmical contour for the resulting blend.

- (i) eloxtorát < lóx elektorát  
 ‘electorate consisting of losers’ ‘loser’ ‘electorate’  
 (demotivators.org.ua)





- |    |      |  |   |  |  |
|----|------|--|---|--|--|
|    | (ii) | <u>h</u> ópkin<br>'gopnik Dopkin'  | < | <u>h</u> óp(nik)<br>'gopnik, hooligan' | (D) <u>ó</u> pkin<br>'Dopkin'<br>(plus.googleapis.com) |
| c. | (i)  | <u>P</u> ujló<br>'penis Putin'   | < | <u>P</u> ú(tin)<br>'Putin'             | (x) <u>u</u> jló<br>'penis' (expletive)<br>(vk.com)    |
|    | (ii) | <u>X</u> útin<br>'penis Putin'<br>(used by protesters referring to Russia's annexation of Ukraine) | < | <u>x</u> ú(j)<br>'penis' (expletive)   | (P) <u>ú</u> tin<br>'Putin'<br>(vk.com)                |

The examples in (111) show that when the length of the new blend does not affect the order of splinters in a blend, alternative outputs can emerge.

As for Ukrainian substitution blends (34 blends), there is a tendency to choose the shorter SW as SW<sub>1</sub> and the longer SW as SW<sub>2</sub> (see, for example, (112a)). This tendency is illustrated by 19 blends. However, in 5 cases in the corpus SW<sub>1</sub> is longer, as demonstrated in (112b). Interestingly, Ukrainian speakers use both *Putvjedjev*, as demonstrated in (102) above, and *Medvutin* in (112b). The remaining 10 blends without overlap are formed by combining SWs which are equal in size (see (112c)).

- |       |    |  |   |                              |   |
|-------|----|--|---|------------------------------|---|
| (112) | a. | kučmonómika<br>'Kuchma economics'<br>(economic policy promoted and practised by the former President of Ukraine Leonid Kuchma) | < | Kúčm(a)<br>'(Leonid) Kuchma' | (ek)onómika<br>'economics'<br><br>("Večirnij kvartal", www.1plus1.ua) |
|       | b. | Medvútin<br>'Medvedev Putin'   | < | Medv(jédjev)<br>'Medvedev'   | (P)útin<br>'Putin'<br>(www.diletant.com.ua)                           |
|       | c. | epihraméska<br>'epigram humoresque'<br>(concise humorous poem)   | < | epihrá(m)a<br>'epigram'      | (humor)éska<br>'humoresque'<br><br>(web.znu.edu.ua)                   |

To sum up, it appears that the factors which have been claimed to affect the structure of blends in other languages also determine the structural characteristics of Ukrainian blends. These factors are the following: presence and location of homophonous sequences shared by the SWs, number of syllables and the position of the main stress in the SWs.

### **3.6 Conclusions**

This chapter fills a number of gaps in our knowledge of blending in Ukrainian. The description of the corpus of Ukrainian blends in 3.1 reveals the spheres of use of blends in Ukrainian, as well as many nuances of forming blends in the language (e.g. combination of Russian and Ukrainian SWs in creating a blend, occasional use of profanities, etc.). Furthermore, I have presented some background for subsequent analysis by providing an overview of the phonological and morphological systems in Ukrainian. Finally, Section 3.5 presents a comprehensive overview of formal transformations of SWs in the formation of blends and discussed the factors which affect the formal properties of blends. It establishes what determines the length of a blend, position of the main stress in a blend and the order in which the SWs are combined to form a blend.

All the observations regarding formal mechanisms of blending in Ukrainian lead to the following answer to the research question presented in 3.0: the formation of blends in Ukrainian is characterized by a high degree of regularity, as one can predict formal properties of a new blend based on the input into the blending process. By making generalizations regarding the formation of blends in Ukrainian, I have presented some evidence in support of grammaticality of blending into the ongoing debate of whether blending is part of grammatical or extra-grammatical morphology.

### **3.7 Discussion**

The connection between blending in Slavic languages, on the one hand, and blending in English, on the other hand, is emphasized in several linguistic sources (see, for example, Xruščeva 2011, Konieczna 2012, and others). These sources claim that blending is a relatively new word-formation process in Slavic languages (see Kulish (2009:18) for Ukrainian, Stamenov (2007:230) for Bulgarian, Renner and Lalić-Krstin (2011:270) for Serbian, Xruščeva (2011:54) for Russian, and Konieczna (2012:51) for Polish), which started gaining productivity in these

languages as a result of their intensified contact with English in the 1990's (Konieczna 2012:52). Thus, speakers of Slavic languages are said to have borrowed a number of English blends and started creating new words (Slavic blends) by analogy with these borrowings (Xruščeva (2011:54–55)). Konieczna (2012:52) claims that the contact between Slavic languages and English was intensified “after the fall of communism in Eastern Europe, which triggered an attitude of openness and susceptibility to the influence of languages traditionally associated with Western Europe, especially English”. Whether these claims hold for Ukrainian is outside of the scope of this dissertation; therefore, no claims will be made as to whether blending was not part of Ukrainian word-formation before the 1990's and whether it was borrowed from English. It should be noted, however, that the tendencies in formation of Ukrainian blends described in 3.5 were also found in formation of English blends, which may be used as an argument in the discussion above regarding the connection between blending in English and Ukrainian.

Similarities in formation of blends in English and Ukrainian are described in the detailed comparative analysis of blending patterns in English and Ukrainian presented in Filonik 2015. The corpus which is being analyzed in this dissertation served as data for analysis in Filonik 2015 (at the time it consisted of 468 blends, as opposed to 501). The generalizations regarding blending patterns in English were adopted from the relevant literature (for example, Cannon 1986, Kubozono 1990, Kelly 1998, Hong 2004, Bat-El 2006, Bauer 2012, Mattiello 2013, Renner 2014). A brief summary of the similarities, as well as a few differences, as they are reported in Filonik 2015, will be presented in what follows.

First, the same two factors determine the length of blends both in Ukrainian and English; namely, the position of homophonous sequences and the number of syllables of the longer SW. Second, both English and Ukrainian blends preserve the position of the main stress of the longer SW. Third, the formal property which determines the ordering of the SWs in both English and Ukrainian is the length of the SWs in substitution blends and the position of the homophonous sequences in overlap blends. In addition, creative language speakers who form blends both in English and Ukrainian pursue the goal of preserving the maximum amount of phonological material of SWs in the new blends.

Even though the same fundamental principles are at work in the process of blending in both languages, Filonik (2015) points out certain differences in the resulting outputs in Ukrainian

and English. For example, first, no monosyllabic blends were found in Ukrainian, which can be attributed to a stronger need for a high degree of recognisability of the SWs in Ukrainian blends to achieve the communicative goals of Ukrainian speakers. Second, due to the high degree of regularity of the clipping patterns of the SWs, the form of the splinters forming Ukrainian blends without overlap is highly predictable, which does not apply to English blends. Moreover, unlike English, Ukrainian was reported to have a very strong preference for coining blends with overlap, i.e. choosing SWs which share homophonous sequences for the formation of blends.

The similarities in the formation of blends in English and Ukrainian can be viewed as evidence suggesting that the English mechanisms of blending tend to be employed in Ukrainian and, in general, in Slavic languages, as claimed, for example, by Konieczna (2012). If the claims presented above are accurate, the differences, even though not ample, show us that the languages which adopt blending from English adapt this type of word-formation in a way that satisfies their rules or constraints. The question of whether blending truly is relatively new to Ukrainian and whether English indeed served as a source of borrowing of this type of word-formation will be left for future research.

## **CHAPTER 4: SEMANTIC AND SYNTACTIC CHARACTERISTICS OF UKRAINIAN BLENDS**

### **4.0 Introduction**

This section will further develop the discussion regarding the regularity of blending and its place in the system of word-formation. In Chapter 3, it was revealed that there is a high degree of predictability in blending with regard to the formal properties of the output in Ukrainian. This chapter will investigate what the analysis of semantic and syntactic aspects of blending in Ukrainian can contribute to this discussion. The research question addressed in this chapter is the following: Can one predict semantic and morpho-syntactic properties of a new blend, based on the input into the blending process?

The research question will be addressed in several stages. First, in Section 4.1, Ukrainian blends will be analyzed with respect to their semantic, categorial, and morpho-syntactic headedness. This will demonstrate what determines the core of semantic content of the blends, as well as their category and morpho-syntactic properties. Section 4.2 is devoted to the discussion of semantic transparency of Ukrainian blends and recognizability of their SWs. Here, I will discuss the semantic contributions made by each SW to the semantics of the new blend and analyse factors which facilitate recognizability of the SWs. Section 4.3 is devoted to the analysis of figurative meaning in Ukrainian blends. Next, I will present a summary of my findings with some conclusions, based on the analysis presented in the preceding sections. Finally, I will discuss some controversial theoretical questions presented in the literature, including whether high recognizability of SWs indeed hinders a blend's effectiveness.

### **4.1 Headedness of Ukrainian blends**

As discussed in 2.3.1, there are three distinct types of heads of blends (semantic, categorial, and morpho-syntactic), each of which determines certain properties of a newly formed blend. Namely, the semantic head of a blend provides the blend with the core of its meaning, that is, as explained by Starosta (2003:123), it contributes significant parts of its meaning to the new word as a whole, while the non-head only narrows the meaning of the whole word. The categorial head imposes its syntactic category on the whole blend, while the morpho-syntactic head transfers its morpho-syntactic properties to the blend, which determines how the blend is used in sentences

and in word-formation, as well as inflection. With the aim of better understanding the aforementioned properties of Ukrainian blends, I determined headedness of the blends in my corpus.

In order to identify the heads in the Ukrainian blends, I used the criteria found in Bloomfield 1933, Allen 1978 and Renner 2014 (for semantic heads), as well as Kageyama 2008, Scalise and Fábregas 2010 (for categorial and morpho-syntactic heads). First, in identifying the semantic head of a blend, I used the so-called “IS A” condition, which is also called “a test of hyponymy” (Bloomfield 1933:235, Allen 1978:11, Renner 2014:58). According to this condition, if one can say that in  $[[X]_Y]_Z$ , Z “IS A” Y, then Y is the head. This principle dictates that whatever concept the whole word Z expresses, it is a subclass of the concept that its head denotes. In other words, the whole compound must be a hyponym of its head. Second, in order to identify the categorial head of a blend, I used the category test, as suggested in Scalise and Fábregas 2010:110, as well as Kageyama 2008:70. In this test, the constituent which determines the syntactic category of a word is the head of this word. Third, my decision regarding the morpho-syntactic head of a blend was based on how other words in the sentence agreed with the blend and how it was inflected (every blend in my corpus was found in the context of a sentence). This provided me with some insight into which SW transferred its morphological features to the blend. It should be recalled from 2.2.1 that the abstract manifestation of a word containing its semantic and morpho-syntactic characteristics is a lexeme; thus, when discussing a SW which is a head of a blend, I actually discuss the lexeme corresponding to this SW.

As discussed in Section 2.3.1, the three types of heads tend to—but do not always—coincide (Scalise and Fábregas 2010:113, Renner 2014:58). While there are few instances in which semantic and categorial heads do not coincide (see Scalise and Fábregas 2010:113–114), it appears that cases in which morpho-syntactic heads do not coincide with semantic and categorial heads are quite numerous. For example, the semantic head in (114) is SW<sub>1</sub>, i.e. *blondynka* ‘blonde’, since *blondynozávr* ‘dinosaur blonde’ refers to a kind of *blondynka* ‘blonde’.<sup>39</sup> Both

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<sup>39</sup> In this case, the identification of the semantic head heavily relies on the context in which the blend is found, since *blondynozavr* can be analyzed either as a type of blonde or a type of dinosaur (metaphorically speaking). The blend in question was found in the sentence in (i). The change of state expressed by the verb *peretvorylasja* ‘transformed’ clearly refers to Tymoshenko’s conduct, rather than the colour of her hair: as Tymoshenko got upset, she became

SWs are nouns, like the blend itself, so identifying which one of the SWs is the categorial head is not straightforward. Taking into account Scalise and Fábregas's (2010:113) generalisation that normally "the category head and the semantic head are the same unit", I will consider SW<sub>1</sub>, i.e. *blondynka* 'blonde', as the categorial head of the blend in (114). Interestingly, however, the whole blend is a Declension 1 noun, like SW<sub>2</sub> *dynozavr* 'dinosaur', unlike the Declension 2 noun *blondynka* 'blonde' (see Filonik 2013b for a classification of declensions in Ukrainian). Therefore, the morpho-syntactic head is *dynozavr* 'dinosaur', which does not coincide with the semantic and categorial head.

(114)=(77) <i>blondynozávr</i> 'dinosaur blonde' (unattractive or scary blonde)	<	<i>blondýn(ka)</i> 'blonde'	<i>dynozávr</i> 'dinosaur'
			(vse-grani.com)

The analysis of the corpus of Ukrainian blends revealed that all the blends it contains are endocentric. This means that every Ukrainian bipartite blend in the corpus has one or two semantic heads, as well as a categorial head and a morpho-syntactic head. If one SW was dominant (i.e. imposed its meaning, category or morpho-syntactic features onto the output), it was considered as the head of the blend, while the other SW was by default called the non-head. If two input elements were equally dominant, they were regarded as co-heads.<sup>40</sup> The analysis of the corpus of Ukrainian blends revealed that 376 blends (75%) have one head and 126 blends (25%) are double-headed. Let us consider some examples. In (115a) *barančo* 'ranch in which sheep are bred' is a type of *rančo* 'ranch', so *rančo* 'ranch' is the semantic head of the blend. Since both SWs are nouns in (115a), like the resulting blend, by analogy with (114), I identify

vicious and scary like a dinosaur, while presumably remaining a blonde. Thus, in this case, the context helps to determine that *blondynozavr* is a type of blonde, rather than a type of dinosaur.

- (i) *Oburena systemoju sposterežennja v kameri, zavždy stryjmana Tymošenko peretvorylasja v spravžnjoho blondynozavra.*  
'Upset by the surveillance cameras in her ward, Tymoshenko, who is always composed, transformed into a real dinosaur blonde.'

<sup>40</sup> Renner (2014:59) notes that double-headedness is a subject of debate in the literature. While Dressler (2006:34), as well as Scalise and Fábregas (2010:120–121) claim that compounds of the *student-athlete* type have two semantic heads, Anderson (1992:317), Booij (2007:80), as well as Haspelmath and Sims (2010:141), consider that they have none.

*rančo* ‘ranch’ as the categorial head of the blend. Finally, the blend itself is an indeclinable noun, i.e. it preserves the same form in all seven cases both in singular and plural, like the SW *rančo* ‘ranch’, which is a loanword in Ukrainian (see Filonik 2013b:12 for discussion of indeclinable loanwords in Ukrainian). Thus, *rančo* ‘ranch’ is also the morphological head of the blend. Next, let us consider the blend in (115b). Its meaning is composed of the meanings of both SWs, as *Puhalkin* is the couple equally composed of Alla Pugacheva and Maksim Galkin, while the blend itself is not a type of one of the aforementioned people (akin to *Brangelina* < *Brad (Pitt)* + *Angelina (Jolie)*). Since both SWs equally contribute to the meaning of the blend, I identified them both as semantic heads. Both SWs are proper nouns and so is the blend; therefore, following the same principle as in the previous example, I consider both SWs to be categorial heads of the blend. In the given example the two SWs differ in gender: predictably, *Puhačeva* is feminine and *Halkin* is masculine. Since the resulting blend is masculine, as evidenced by the gender of the verb which is in agreement with the blend in question (see (116)), the morphological head is the masculine proper noun *Halkin*.

- (115) a.        baránčo                      <                      barán                      ránčo  
                  ‘ranch in which sheep are bred’                      ‘sheep’                      ‘rancho’
- b.        Puháلكin                      <                      Puha(čéva)                      Háلكin  
                  ‘Puhalkin’    ‘Pugacheva’                      ‘Galkin’  
                  (famous Russian couple consisting of a Russian singer and a Russian  
                  comedian)

- (116) Puhalkin                      kontaktuv-av                      iz                      surohatnoju                      matir’ju  
       Puhalkin-MASC’                      contacted-MASC                      with                      surrogate                      mother
- anonimno                      čerez                      poserednyka.  
       anonymously                      through                      intermediary  
       ‘Puhalkin contacted the surrogate mother anonymously through an intermediary.’



semantic heads are normally also categorial heads. However, the morpho-syntactic head appears to always be the rightmost component of a blend, i.e. SW<sub>2</sub>, in Ukrainian blends (an example of a mismatch in semantic and categorial head, on the one hand, and morpho-syntactic head, on the other hand, was demonstrated in (117) above). The property which interacts, or rather interferes, with the coincidence of the semantic and morpho-syntactic head in the process of formation of blends in Ukrainian can be the homophony of phonological sequences in SWs. As proposed by Renner (2004:65), preference for segment overlap plays an important role in the linear ordering of splinters, which can account for those cases in which the preference for the right-headedness is not observed. As a result, Ukrainian blends can sometimes be semantically and categorially left-headed.

As mentioned earlier in this chapter, all the blends in the corpus analyzed in the present dissertation are endocentric, without a single case of an exocentric blend. Exocentricity is a common phenomenon in world languages (Scalise and Fábregas 2010:117). One could interpret the absence of exocentric blends in the corpus in one of the following two ways. On the one hand, the number of tokens in the corpus may be insufficient and it is impossible to know whether all the possibilities for this word-formation process in the given language have been exhausted or not, i.e. extending the corpus could possibly provide examples of exocentric blends. On the other hand, it is likely that Ukrainian speakers go to great lengths to make sure that the meaning of a blend can be computed from the meanings of its SWs, which will enable them to communicate the meaning, as well as achieving certain communicative goals. This latter proposal would be appropriate if in general exocentricity was typical of Ukrainian, for example in compounds. This question, however, calls for some additional research. On the one hand, Scalise et al. (2009:51) report that 13.9% of Slavic compounds in their dataset are exocentric. On the other hand, linguistic analyses of compounding in Ukrainian do not mention headedness of compounds (see, for example, Horpynyč 2004, Lypyč 2014, Myslyva-Bun'ko 2014). In Ukrainian linguistic sources, endo- and exocentricity are only discussed when analyzing foreign languages (see, for example, Dmytroškin's (2010) analysis of English compounds). This suggests the possibility that exocentricity is not typical of Ukrainian. One could argue that Ukrainian compound in (118) below is semantically exocentric.

- (118) *serpoklýl*  
‘sickle-wing’  
‘*Apus apus*, common swift’

When analyzing compound formations like those in (118), I am inclined to agree with Bauer (2008:65), who says: “There are some apparently exocentric compounds which name an entity to which the denotatum of the compound is compared. ...these compounds should probably be considered to be endocentric compounds used metaphorically, rather than exocentric compounds.” Bauer (2008:65) illustrates this point with the Canadian English example *moose milk* ‘a drink made from rum and milk’ (originally found in Harris 1989:63) and the Mandarin example *tiān qì* ‘heaven breath, i.e. weather’ (originally found in Li and Thompson 1981:47). A more common English example, like *sabre tooth*, demonstrates a compound which can be interpreted as an endocentric compound used metonymically (in particular, synecdoche, i.e. naming a whole (animal) with a term for a part (tooth)), rather than an exocentric compound. Similarly, the bird name in (118) should be interpreted metaphorically, based on similarity. *Serpokryl* ‘common swift’ in (118), which is composed of the bases SERP- ‘sickle’ and KRYL- ‘wing’ joined by an interfix *-o-*, has wings which look like sickles. Therefore, through similarity, both constituents contribute their meanings to that of the compound as a whole and *krylo* ‘wing’ can be considered as the semantic head of the compound. Similar examples of blends abound in the corpus of blends analyzed here.<sup>42</sup> Although it seems likely that exocentric formations are not typical of Ukrainian, I will refrain from making any definite claims and leave this question for future research.

While compounds like those in (118) can be viewed as debatable with respect to their headedness, there are no grounds for debate when classifying blends in my corpus based on their headedness. There are cases in which one of the SWs is used metaphorically and the relationship

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<sup>42</sup> It appears quite possible that some languages do not have exocentric formations or only have very few attestations thereof. Bauer (2008:67–68) notes “it may be that some languages do not have them, either because they do not have compounds (Eskimo languages, for example), or because they do not have exocentrics specifically (Athpare perhaps; see Ebert 1997)... It also seems to be the case that exocentric compounds may exist as a minor option in languages which otherwise use endocentric compounds (Yimas, Indonesian), sometimes not mentioned (e.g. Sneddon 1996 does not mention exocentrics in Indonesian) or scarcely mentioned (Foley 1991 gives a single example in Yimas) in the standard descriptions, but nevertheless found in those languages.”



Even though the transfer of meaning from one of the SWs in each case is involved, these SWs are undoubtedly semantic heads, as they provide the core of meaning of the resulting blends.

As discussed in Section 2.3.1, blends can be subdivided into two distinct groups, based on their headedness and the relationships between their SWs: determinative and coordinate blends (Bauer 2012:17, Mattiello 2013:123). In the corpus analysed here, determinative blends dominate over coordinative blends in terms of quantity.<sup>44</sup> All the single-headed blends in my corpus—376 (75%)—are determinative and all the double-headed blends—126 (25%)—are coordinative.

To sum up, the analysis of Ukrainian blends has provided us with a few illuminating insights. First, it was found that Ukrainian blends have a clear tendency for endocentricity. Second, heads determine the meaning, category and morphological properties of a blend, but the three types of heads do not always coincide. Semantic and syntactic heads coincide, while morphological heads are normally the rightmost SWs. In general, Ukrainian shows a preference for right-headedness, but there are a number of cases in which the semantic and categorial heads are the leftmost constituents. Finally, Ukrainian double-headed blends have a coordinative relationship between their constituents, while single-headed blends have determinative relationship between the SWs.

#### **4.2 Recognizability of SWs and semantic transparency of Ukrainian blends**

The question of exo- and endocentricity, which was discussed in the previous section, is related to that of semantic transparency or compositionality (Ralli and Andreou 2011:5). On the one hand, a formation is viewed as semantically exocentric if none of its constituents provides the bulk of the semantic content of the whole and if the compound refers to something that is very different from the referents of the constituents. On the other hand, a formation is considered semantically opaque if its meaning cannot be computed from the meanings of its constituents (Libben 2005:267). The absence of exocentric compounds in the corpus of Ukrainian blends means that every blend in the corpus has at least one semantic head, which provides the blend with the bulk of semantic content. A close analysis of one-headed endocentric blends has

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<sup>44</sup> The prevalence of determinative blends over coordinative blends has been observed in a number of other languages, e.g. in English and French (Renner 2014:63), Polish (Koniczna 2012:67), etc.

revealed that in each instance the non-head also contributes its meaning to the meaning of the blend. Therefore, Ukrainian blends appear to have a strong tendency for semantic transparency.

Semantic transparency in blending is also linked to recoverability of SWs, since it would not be possible to compute the meaning of the blend based on the meanings of its constituent parts, were a speaker not able to recognize the constituent parts. Depending on their structure, blends can be characterized by a higher or lower degree of recognisability of their SWs (see Ronneberger-Sibold 2006, 2012, 2015). According to Ronneberger-Sibold (2006:167, 2012:119, 2015:119), blends with overlap in which both SWs are intact (complete blends) are the type with the highest degree of recoverability of SWs. Blends of this type (see, for example, (121a)) constitute 23% of blends in my corpus. I presume that SWs are also highly recognizable in blends with overlap in which one or both SWs were clipped, like the example in (121b). Such blends constitute 69.7% of my corpus of Ukrainian blends. Finally, a mere 7.3% of blends in the corpus are substitution blends (see (121c)), which consist of juxtaposed fragments of the SWs, and manifest the lowest degree of recognizability of SWs, according to Ronneberger-Sibold (2006:169, 2012:124, 2015:121). The finding that the majority of Ukrainian blends in the corpus considered are characterized by a high degree of recognizability of SWs suggests that Ukrainian speakers tend to maximize recognizability of SWs in blends.

- (121)=(59a) a. Kapútin < kapút Pútin  
 ‘Kaputin’ ‘defeated; kaput’ ‘Putin’  
 (used in calls for resisting cooperation with V. Putin) (www.express.ua)
- b.=(59c) uzurpártija < uzurpá(tory) pártija  
 ‘usurparty’ ‘usurpers’ ‘party’  
 (Party of Regions which is said to have seized and held power by force)  
 (“Večirnij Kiev”, www.1plus1.ua)

c.=(59d) Medútin < Medv(jédjev) (P)útin  
 ‘Medvutin’ ‘Medvedev’ ‘Putin’

(united political force of the two Russian politicians, hinting at the regular job exchange between them, whereby one is the President and the other one is the Prime Minister)

(www.diletant.com.ua)

As discussed in Chapter 2.3.3, Lehrer’s (1996) experimental study shows that one of the factors facilitating recognizability of SWs in a blend is the context in which it is presented. As mentioned in 3.2, the blends analysed in the present dissertation have all been extracted from sentences. While analysis of the sentences will be left for future research, it is necessary to note that they all appear to contain cues which help the hearer or reader recognize the SWs in blends. By this I mean that other words in the sentences are semantically related to the SWs in the blend and potentially activate the concepts corresponding to those words, as well as the SWs (see, for example, Collins and Loftus 1975:427, Anderson 1983:261, Burke and Yee 1984:903, Yee and Sedivy 2006:1 for the discussion of semantic activation). For example, the blends in (122a) and (122b) were extracted from one of the sentences in (122c) below.

(122) a. Luhánda < Luhán(s’k) Uhánda  
 ‘Luganda’ ‘Lugansk’ ‘Uganda’

(used to compare Luhans’k Oblast’ of Ukraine to Uganda, due to similarity in establishment of political regimes)

b. Donbábve < Donbá(s) (Zim)bábve  
 ‘Donbas Zimbabwe’ ‘Donbas’ ‘Zimbabwe’

(used to compare Donbas Region of Ukraine to Zimbabwe, due to similarity in establishment of political regimes)

(dramatica.org.ua)

c. Faktyčno usix hromadjan Ukrajiny “za ukrajins’kist” namahajut’sja abo ubyty, abo terorom sxylyty na svij bik. Pry cjomu cej “bik” duže riznyj u riznyx band formuvan’ – vid samostijnosti “**Luhandy ta Donbabve**” do vxodžennja u sklad RF.

‘In fact, “for being Ukrainian” Ukrainian citizens are either murdered or terrorized into joining the other side. This “other side” is different for different gang formations – it ranges from independence of “**Luhanda** and **Donbabve**” to becoming a part of the RF (Russian Federation).’

On the one hand, in (122c) *samostijnist* ‘independence’ and *vxodžennja u sklad RF* ‘becoming a part of the RF’ are nowadays strongly associated with the eastern regions of Ukraine, namely Lugansk and Donbas. On the other hand, words pertaining to violence—e.g. *ubyty* ‘murder’, *teror* ‘terror’ and *banda* ‘gang’ are highly associated with Zimbabwe and Uganda through stereotypes, as well as with modern-day Lugansk and Donetsk. These words and phrases serve as cues, which make it easier for Ukrainian hearers/readers to recognize the SW.

To sum up, it appears that Ukrainian speakers go to great lengths in order to ensure that the blends they form are both semantically transparent and easy to decompose into SWs. This is achieved by ensuring that the meaning of a blend can be computed from the meanings of the SWs, by selecting SWs which share homophonous sequences and therefore allow for the overlap of the SWs, as well as by providing context with a number of cues semantically associated with the SWs.

#### **4.3 Figurative meaning of Ukrainian blends**

The analysis of the corpus reveals that in a number of cases the blends or their SWs are used as figures of speech. The literature on blending presents unanimous agreement that one of the goals of forming and using blends is to exert some effect on addressees, for example, to attract their attention, to affect their attitudes or behaviours, to impress them in some way, etc. (see Lehrer 2003:380, Mattiello 2013:211). These effects are reminiscent of those normally attributed to figures of speech. For example, it has been frequently claimed that tropes have a strong persuasive effect on people (Reinsch 1971, Read et al. 1990, Tom and Eves 1999, Sopory and Dillard 2002, Sopory 2008, Jeong 2008). Therefore, it is not surprising that Ukrainian speakers

often use figures of speech—for example, metaphor, antonomasia, and euphemism—when creating blends.<sup>45</sup>

In the corpus of Ukrainian blends analyzed here 75 blends (i.e. 14.9% of the corpus) contain a metaphor. 65 blends—which constitute 13% of the corpus—highlight the resemblance between two concepts, which are named by two SWs of the blends. For example, in (123a) the focus is on the resemblance between *putana* ‘prostitute’ and *deputatka* ‘deputy’ in that both *putana* ‘prostitute’ and *deputatka* ‘deputy’ change partners on a regular basis. In (123b), the resemblance between *demokratija* ‘democracy’ and *dym* ‘smoke’ lies in the fact that they can both easily disappear.

- (123) a.     deputána                    <     deputá(tka)                    putána  
               ‘deputy prostitute’                    ‘deputy’                    ‘prostitute’  
               (a deputy who constantly changes political parties)
- b.     dýmokratija                    <     dým                    demokrátija  
               ‘smoke democracy’                    ‘smoke’                    ‘democracy’  
               (democracy which can easily disappear, like smoke)
- (“Rozsmišy komika”, www.1plus1.ua)

It could be claimed that blends in (123) exemplify the use of simile, rather than metaphor. The challenge in identifying the figure of speech used in the formation of blends stems from the fact that both metaphor and simile highlight similarities between entities or people. However, definitions of simile normally emphasize that it compares two things through the explicit use of connecting words, such as *like*, *as*, *so*, *than*, or various verbs such as *resemble* (see, for example, Merriam Webster Online Dictionary). Since in the formation of blends no words other than the ones naming the concepts being compared are used, I am inclined to consider Ukrainian blends in (123) as containing a metaphor. Moreover, metaphors are normally considered to be rhetorically stronger than similes in that they equate two things rather than simply compare them. Presumably, in order to increase the likelihood of exerting a certain pragmatic effect on the

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<sup>45</sup> I will follow, for example, Colston (2015) in viewing euphemisms as figures of speech.



‘canary’ or *amazonka* ‘Amazon’ in (124) creates a somewhat humorous effect. Such clever metaphors can impress the audience with their wit and make the addressees laugh.

Metaphors are not the only figures of speech identified in the formation of blends in the corpus. As it was observed in Section 3.1, a considerable number of Ukrainian blends (74 blends, i.e. 14.7% of the corpus) are formed with the use of a proper name. While most of these proper names refer to an existing person, in other cases they are used to refer to a group. I view the latter as an example of antonomasia. In (125a), the proper name Asclepius (the Greek God of Medicine) is used as a generic term referring to doctors. As discussed in 3.2.1, the proper name *Tituško* ‘Titushko’ (see (125b)) has recently been quite productive in coining Ukrainian blends: there are seven blends in the present corpus which have been formed by combining *Titushko* with another SW. Originally, the proper name *Titushko* referred to the sportsman who attacked reporters and organized various provocations during anti-government protests in Ukraine. These days everyone who supports or behaves like the sportsman is referred to by the name *Titushko*. In addition to using antonomasia in (125b), the Ukrainian speaker who coined the blend used the SW *prostitutky* ‘prostitutes’ metaphorically, highlighting the following resemblance: both Titushkos and prostitutes provide their services for money. Using antonomasia in (125b) enables Ukrainian speakers to express an idea succinctly and cleverly.

- (125) a. eskuljápsus < Eskuláp ljápsus  
‘lapsus of Asclepius’ ‘Asclepius’ ‘lapsus’  
(professional mistake made by a medical doctor)
- b.=(72b) prostitúško < prostitútka titúško  
‘prostitute’ ‘prostitute’ ‘Titushko’  
(Titushko, who provides services—e.g. organizing violent provocations in  
Ukraine—for money)
- (“Večirnij kvartal”, www.1plus1.ua)

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(reduction in counter-argumentation), Sopory and Dillard 2002 (activation of multiple semantic associations leading to better understanding).



reveals that these descriptions hardly apply to Ukrainian blends. First, when forming blends, Ukrainian speakers ensure a high degree of their transparency by selecting the SWs which are to be combined in such a way that they obligatorily contribute to the semantics of the new blend. In addition, they facilitate the recognizability of the SWs by forming blends with overlap, whereas a considerable amount phonological material from the SWs is preserved, compared to substitution blends. Second, semantic and syntactic heads are easily identifiable in Ukrainian blends. Importantly, semantic endocentricity of every blend in the corpus contributes to its greater semantic transparency, which often makes them more semantically transparent than exocentric compounds, whose status in grammatical morphology has not been questioned. I agree with Mattiello (2013:59–60) that blends can exhibit two semantic heads and that there are instances of both left- and right-headed blends; however, these can hardly be considered as arguments for excluding blending from grammatical morphology. As claimed by Scalise and Fábregas (2010:117), compounds can also be double-headed and left- or right-headed. Third, my data provide evidence for the claims made in Bat-El (2000:78) and Plag (2003:122–123) that there is a high degree of regularity in blending. Earlier in the present section, I specifically addressed the question of predictability of the meaning of a new blend. To be specific, the relationship between SWs and the status of each SW with respect to headedness predict how the meaning of the emergent blend is composed. The selection of the SWs in such a way that each contributes (a part of) its meaning (literal or figurative) to the overall meaning of the blend and adopting the structure that will make SWs recognizable determines the semantics of the blend. These findings suggest that blending in Ukrainian should not be viewed as an extra-grammatical morphological process, but rather as part of grammatical morphology.

#### **4.4 Discussion**

In this section, I will investigate a theoretical question pertaining to the discussion in the previous sections of this chapter. Namely, I will discuss whether high recognizability of SWs hinders the potential effectiveness of a blend. There are some thought-provoking proposals in the literature regarding the correlation of recoverability of SWs of a blend and its effectiveness in

communication (see, for example, Lehrer 2003, Cacchiani 2015).<sup>48</sup> Cacchiani (2015:179) claims that high recoverability (she refers to it as transparency) “...detracts from effectiveness (de Beaugrande, Dressler 1981) and memorability (Lehrer 2003) and, consequently, from the ability of complete blends to serve as attention-seeking devices (Hohenhaus 2007).” Recoverability in the sense of Cacchiani 2015 is determined by the structure of blends, as she partly adopts Ronneberger-Sibold’s (2010, 2012, 2015) classification discussed in Chapter 4.2. Blends with overlap in which SWs are preserved in their full form, like the Italian examples in (127) (complete/telescope/syntagmatic blends in Cacchiani’s (2015:179) terms), are considered as “the most transparent type—and, consequently, the less effective and memorable” (Cacchiani 2015:174).

- (127) a.      farfallegre      <      farfalle      allegre  
                  ‘butterfly happy’      ‘butterfly’      ‘happy’
- b.      docchiabatta<sup>49</sup> <      doccia      ciabatta  
                  ‘shower slipper’      ‘shower’      ‘slipper’

(Cacchiani 2015:174)

The formations on the opposite side of the transparency scale in Cacchiani 2015 are semi-complete blends (see the Italian example in (128a)) and complex clippings (see the Italian example in (128b)), both of which I classify as clipped compounds.<sup>50</sup> According to Cacchiani (2015:179), such formations are characterized by a decrease in morphotactic transparency, which is a fundamental requirement for attention-seeking devices.

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<sup>48</sup> The term “effectiveness” will be used here in the sense of de Beaugrande and Dressler 1981. According to de Beaugrande and Dressler (1981:180), effectiveness presumes leaving a strong impression and creating favourable conditions for attaining a communicative goal, which presupposes the use of creative (original, imaginative) language. This approach contrasts effectiveness and efficiency, the latter being determined by the amount of effort required to understand a message. Efficiency requires the use of plain (stereotyped and unimaginative) language which, however boring and unimpressive, is easy to produce and comprehend (de Beaugrande and Dressler 1981:180).

<sup>49</sup> The overlapping sequence is underlined for clarity.

<sup>50</sup> Cacchiani (2015) acknowledges that complex clippings are formed via “a word-formation technique other than blending” (Cacchiani 2015:180), but analyses them along with blends as products of “neighbouring word-formation process” (Cacchiani 2015:170).



however, the challenge in question does not need to be of a formal nature. This means that the challenge of recovering the SWs of a given blend is in no way privileged over the challenge of recovering the meaning of a novel blend from the meanings of its SWs. For example, in order to compute the meaning of the blend in (130), one has to identify the case of *antonomasia* involved—a proper name (Asclepius, who is known as the Ancient Greek God of Medicine) is used to substitute the name of a social group (doctors)—as well as the relationship between the meanings of the two SWs. This presents a considerable processing challenge, especially taking into account that the two SWs involved are not frequently used by Ukrainian speakers, even though the SWs of this blend with overlap are easy to recover. When language speakers compute the meaning of the blend, they are as likely to remember the blend and have positive associations with the experience, as they would be if the challenge was to recover SWs of a blend whose SWs are clipped. This example demonstrates that blends with overlap whose SWs are intact can also present a processing challenge to a reader/hearer and be memorable and amusing.

(130)=(125a)	eskuljǎpsus	<	Eskuláp	ljǎpsus
	‘lapsus of Asclepius’		‘Asclepius’	‘lapsus’
			(“Večirnij kvartal”, www.1plus1.ua)	

Second, there are different ways of making a word captivating and memorable, other than adding a challenge to its processing. Namely, the attention of the audience is likely to be captured if a word does not match their expectations in one way or another (Bedanokova 2008:28).<sup>51</sup> For example, as will be discussed in noted in 5.2.2, combining a noun with an interjection to form a new word is extremely uncommon in Ukrainian and perhaps is exclusive to blending. Thus, the blend in (131) is highly likely to attract the attention of Ukrainian speakers and to be remembered by them, even though decomposing it into two SWs presents no challenge.

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<sup>51</sup> See Loftus and Mackworth (1978) for an experimental study demonstrating how introducing an unexpected object in pictures affects people’s attention, as well as Sedivy and Carlson (2011:66–69) for a discussion of how advertisers manipulate their audience’s attention by introducing unexpected elements in their advertisements.

(131) t'fut**u**ból < t'fú fut**u**ból  
 'disappointing football' 'tfu' (interjection for spitting) 'football'  
 ("Rozsmišy komika", www.1plus1.ua)

Third, Cacchiani's (2015) claims contradict the findings of an experimental study presented in Lehrer 1996. In this study, Lehrer (1996) instructed her subjects to first identify SWs in the blends provided, define the blends and then to give each blend a rating in terms of whether it was "a good one (clever or useful) or a bad word (stupid or irritating)" (Lehrer 1996:386). As a result, subjects evaluated blends as more appealing when they were able to identify both SWs, as opposed to those blends whose SWs they were unable to identify. Lehrer's (1996) findings show that blends whose SWs are easier to recognise create a positive impression on language speakers.

The examples in (130) and (131) demonstrate that overlap blends, which Cacchiani (2015:179) deems to be ineffective, can in fact attract attention of the audience and be quite memorable. This is also true for the formations referred to as inclusive blends by Cacchiani (2015:179). Since I do not consider Cacchiani's (2015) semi-complete blends and complex clippings as blends, I will refrain from discussing them in detail. However, it should be said that the long-standing Soviet tradition of forming words of these structural types to name state institutions and professions (Arcodia and Montermini 2012:97) shows that at least in Russian, as well as in Ukrainian, reduced compounds are not used as expressive lexical means, so the discussion of their effectiveness as defined by de Beaugrande and Dressler (1981) is irrelevant. To conclude, the claim that blends with a high degree of recognizability of SWs are less effective than those with lower degree of recognizability of SWs appears counterintuitive and does not seem to be underpinned with any evidence. Blends of the latter type are much more likely to not be decomposed into SWs and remain a mystery to a language speaker, in which case no intended pragmatic goal will be achieved. In contrast, blends whose SWs are easier to recognise will not only communicate the meaning, but also will fulfill its communicative function of entertaining a speaker, amusing them, etc.

## CHAPTER 5: PROCESS-AND-PARADIGM ANALYSIS OF BLENDING IN UKRAINIAN

### 5.0 Introduction

The analysis of a corpus of Ukrainian blends presented in Chapters 3 and 4 revealed tendencies regarding the structural, semantic, and categorial modifications of the bases which participate in the formation of blends in Ukrainian. Based on these findings, I proposed generalizations about blending in Ukrainian. The analysis presented in this work so far can be further developed by formalizing these generalizations as rules of Ukrainian word-formation. If it is possible to account for the formation of Ukrainian blends in the corpus with a set of rules, blending can be considered as a grammatical type of word-formation, since the formation of outputs of extra-grammatical morphology cannot be accounted for by rules (Mattiello 2013:130). Thus, formalizing the rules which produce blends in Ukrainian is essential for the present discussion of the status of blending in word-formation. The research question addressed in this chapter is the following: Can morphological rules account for the formation of blends in Ukrainian?

Since the generalizations proposed in Chapters 3 and 4 describe the modification of bases with respect to their form, semantics, and syntactic category, an account of blending in Ukrainian must include form rules, semantic rules, and categorial rules in order to be complete. The framework which includes the three types of rules and, thus, works well for my purposes, is Process-and-Paradigm Morphology (e.g. Pounder 1996, 2000, Kunduracı 2013). While this framework has been used in analyses of compounding, derivation, and conversion (cf. e.g., Pounder 1996, 2000, Kunduracı 2013), it has not been employed to date in analyzing blending. Therefore, there is a void in the theory of Process-and-Paradigm Morphology which needs to be filled. In this chapter, I will contribute to the development of Process-and-Paradigm Morphology by extending its rule inventory with rules employed in blending. Therefore, I will adopt Process-and-Paradigm Morphology as the theoretical framework for the analysis in this chapter.

In what follows, I will discuss the Process-and-Paradigm Morphology framework in more detail and apply it in the analysis of the corpus data. Section 1 will be dedicated to the discussion of the main assumptions in this theory and of its components (rules, operations, and word-formation paradigm). Section 2 will present the analysis of the Ukrainian data in the Process-

and-Paradigm Morphology framework: rules and operations involved in blending in Ukrainian will be proposed and a fragment of the word-formation paradigm relevant to blending will be described.

The fact that blending has not yet been described in Process-and-Paradigm Morphology framework provides an opportunity to develop the framework by filling this gap. In Section 2, I will expand the rule inventory in the framework of the Process-and-Paradigm Morphology by proposing form rules which account for the formation of blends in Ukrainian, as well as by building a fragment of a paradigm of word-formation in Ukrainian.

## **5.1 Process-and-Paradigm Morphology**

### *5.1.1 Main assumptions*

In Process-and-Paradigm Morphology, morphology is considered as a component of grammar, along with syntax, semantics, and phonology (Pounder 2000:35). While it is recognized as a separate component, it is assumed to interact with other components of the grammar (cf. e.g., Pounder 2000:35–44) and the lexicon. Morphology comprises word-formation and inflection; however, this work will be concerned with word-formation only.<sup>52</sup> Word-formation is assumed to modify bases, which are stored in the lexicon. Therefore, word-formation (and morphology in general) is viewed as dynamic, while lexicon—the repository of bases and any non-predictable information regarding those bases—is viewed as static (Pounder 2000:45).

The basic principle underlying process morphology is that a base of a lexeme, i.e. a stem, is formally modified in some way, and that this maps onto semantic and/or syntactic modifications. The principal formative mechanism for producing morphological complexes is a rule or process operating on a base. In this framework, the morphology of a language contains a number of operations, i.e. sets of rules, which serve to modify complex or simplex bases. There are three kinds of such rules: form (“morpholexical rules” in Stump’s (1991) terms), semantic (referred to as “rules of logical representation” by Stump (1991)), and categorial rules (or syntactic rules in Pounder’s (2000) terms). Form rules express a change to the form of the base(s) involved in the operation, semantic rules express a change to the meaning(s) of the

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<sup>52</sup> See Scalise (1988:562-563) and Pounder (2000:47–49) for the discussion of differences between word-formation and inflection.

lexeme(s) by means of a function, and categorial rules express a modification with regard to the syntactic category of the lexeme(s), among other things.<sup>53</sup> This division demonstrates that in this framework morphological form and meaning are to be considered separately, as in Beard's Separation Hypothesis (1988, 1995), but they are mapped onto each other in systematic ways, as claimed in Aronoff 1976, 1994, Pounder 2000, Kunduracı 2013.<sup>54</sup> The mapping of these rules onto each other constitutes a "morphological operation". An operation specifies what kind of units the rules apply to in Stem Conditions (s.c.) and how the rules apply in Rule Conditions (r.c.). Each type of rule will be discussed in detail in sections 5.1.2–5.1.4.

Another principal postulate in the framework discussed is that word-formation is paradigmatic (Stump 1991, Pounder 2000, Blevins 2001, Kunduracı 2013). This means that word-formation is a system in which words derived from the same base are interrelated and products of the same operations are connected. As discussed by Pounder (2000:82–84), evidence for paradigmaticity of word-formation is demonstrated, for example, by the following: 1) the accessing of a derived or compound word results in the activation of other derived or compound words (cf. e.g. Laudanna and Burani 1985), 2) the occurrence of a word in a text functions as an activating signal for further word-formation activity and may lead to the formation and use of words formed from the same base (e.g., *child*, *childish*, *childlike*, *childhood*) or via the same morphological operations (*childhood*, *adulthood*, *puppyhood*), which can be exploited as a cohesive device in texts (cf. e.g., Kastovsky 1982), etc. In addition, according to Pounder (2000), change in word-formation can be shown to be paradigmatic, similarly to that in inflection. The basic components of a word-formation paradigm are bases and word-formation operations. As will be discussed in 5.1.5, a word-formation paradigm can be generally defined as a complex network structure formed by lexical units with a common base, in which those units are interrelated, and operations applied to these units. Building a word-formation paradigm enables

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<sup>53</sup> Note that categorial or syntactic rules, as discussed in Pounder (2000) and Kunduracı (2013), also account for systematic changes in other categories of the output: for example, inflectional class, gender, etc.

<sup>54</sup> Pounder (2000:50–52) provides a number of convincing arguments for the separation of form and meaning; for example, the following: 1) one affix often has more than one meaning and one meaning can often be expressed via more than one affix, which means that rather than there being objects with a one-to-one form-meaning relation, there are mappings between a set of forms and a set of meanings; 2) the cases of zero morphology, whereby the meaning changes without any change in form (e.g. conversion: CLEAN<sub>Adj</sub> - CLEAN<sub>V</sub>), demonstrate that meaning is not necessarily bound to form; 3) it can be presumed that there is a universal set of morphological meanings, but each language has a different set of morphological units which express those meanings, etc. (see also Beard 1988, 1995).

one to graphically represent the systematic nature of word-formation, the connection between words produced on the basis of one base, and all the modifications to which a base (abstract or concrete) can be exposed in a given language. Word-formation paradigms, as well as other components of the framework of Process-and-Paradigm Morphology, will be further discussed in this chapter (see 5.1.2–5.1.5).

### 5.1.2 Form rules of word-formation

Form rules modify the form of the input in word-formation. In its most general notation, a form rule can be presented as in (132) below, which should be read “X becomes Y” (Pounder 2000:68).

(132)  $\langle X \rightarrow Y \dots \rangle$ <sup>55</sup>

(Pounder 2000:68)

For example, the adjective *golden* is formed as a result of modifying the noun base GOLD with the suffix *-en*. The form rule applied in the formation of *golden* is provided in (133).

(133)  $\langle X + -en \rightarrow Y \dots \rangle$ <sup>56</sup>

(Pounder 2000:78)

Pounder (2000) and Kunduracı (2013) claim that in the case of compounding, form rules can apply to more than one base. For example, the formation of the compound *goldmine* is conditioned by the combination of the bases GOLD and MINE. The following form rule accounts for the formation of this compound:

(134)  $\langle X + Y \dots \rangle$

(Pounder 2000:74)

In the representation above, X and Y are the bases and “+” is the means of binding them together (Pounder 2000:74).

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<sup>55</sup> The ellipsis indicates that the rule may include additional information (for example, a stem condition may specify what kind of base the rule can apply to).

<sup>56</sup> Where possible, the following part of the rule will be omitted for the purposes of simplicity, as in Pounder 1996: “ $\rightarrow Y$ ”.

While the form rules referred to above are applied in concatenative processes, there are also form rules to be applied in non-concatenative morphological processes. For example, in the formation of the German verb *hämmern* ‘hammer’ from the noun *Hammer* ‘hammer’, a process of vowel fronting (“umlaut”) is involved. In this case, the formal modification of the base can be expressed as in (135) below (Pounder 2000:73).

(135)  $\langle V_{bk} \rightarrow V_{-bk} \dots \rangle$

Another example of a non-concatenative process, which will be relevant to the further discussion of blending, is the clipping of a base. For instance, the disyllabic base DOCTOR can be clipped to the initial syllable, producing *doc* as the output. This modification of the base can be accounted for by the rule in (136).

(136)  $\langle \sigma_1 \sigma_2 \rightarrow -\sigma_1 - \dots \rangle$

As I have previously mentioned in the introduction of this chapter, Pounder’s (2000) study is focused on compounding, conversion, and affixation (with some exceptions, e.g. the discussion of “umlaut”), while Kunduracı’s (2013) analysis focuses solely on compounds. This means that blending has not yet been described in the Process-and-Paradigm Morphology framework, which provides an opportunity to develop the framework by filling this gap. In Section 5.2, I will expand the rule inventory in the framework of the Process-and-Paradigm Morphology by proposing form rules which account for the formation of blends in Ukrainian.

### 5.1.3 Semantic rules of word-formation

In the framework adopted here, word-formation meaning is viewed as distinct from lexical meaning (Pounder 2000:97, Kunduracı 2013:25). In what follows, I will discuss word-formation and lexical meaning of complex lexemes, using the compound *firefly* as an example. Word-formation meaning is the general and abstract meaning which relates a base to a product is devoid of any extra-linguistic information (Pounder 2000:100, Kunduracı 2013:23–25). In compounding, the word-formation meaning is the semantic relation between the two constituents

forming the compound, the relation being expressed as a function.<sup>57</sup> For example, the word-formation meaning involved in the formation of the compound *firefly* is LIKE ('X'), which in Pounder 2000:112 and Kunduracı 2013:36 is referred to as the relation of comparison. This meaning, reflecting the relation between the constituents of the compound, is a semantic element which is necessary for the correct semantic interpretation of the compound, as well as for the accurate combination of the lexical meanings of the constituent nouns. Murphy (2010:36) defines lexical meaning as "some abstract representation of what the referents of a word have in common, in other words the qualities that something needs to have in order for us to apply a certain label to it". For example, the lexical meaning of *firefly*, as provided by the Longman Dictionary of Contemporary English, is the following: 'an insect with a tail that shines in the dark'. Lexical meaning provides us with much additional information regarding the referent, compared to the very general word-formation meaning. It is the lexical meaning that provides us with specific details regarding the referent (for example, that precisely the shine of fire, as opposed to its heat, is the characteristic on which the comparison is based). In compounding, when two or more bases enter the word-formation process, their lexical meanings are modified by a certain word-formation meaning, which specifies the semantic relation between these bases. For example, in the operation deriving *firefly*, the semantic relation LIKE ('X') modifies the lexical meanings of the constituents *fly* ('a small flying insect with two wings') and *fire* ('uncontrolled flames, light, and heat that destroy and damage things'), as a firefly is a fly that looks like fire.<sup>58</sup>

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<sup>57</sup> A function can be generally defined as a rule which relates the value(s) of the independent variable(s) to the value of the dependent variable in such a way that the value of the dependent variable is determined by—i.e. is a function of—the value(s) of the independent variable(s). It appears appropriate to express the semantic relationships as functions, whereas the meanings of the constituents in the compounds are the independent variables (or, as Kunduracı (2013:110) puts it, arguments).

<sup>58</sup> Aronoff (2007: 814) proposes that meanings of complex words are never entirely determined by linguistic factors because words refer to objects and entities outside of language and are given idiosyncratic, noncompositional, meanings by their users due to non-linguistic factors, like historical circumstances. For example, the words *cowboy*, *refugee*, and *skinner* are synonymous in one sense: 'one of a band of loyalist guerillas and irregular cavalry that operated mostly in Westchester County, New York, during the American Revolution' (Aronoff 2007: 813). According to Aronoff (2007: 814), these words acquired the idiosyncratic meaning above due to the historical context in which they are used. While Aronoff (2007:814) considers pragmatics to be the main factor determining the meaning of a word, he admits that "new complex words cannot be entirely arbitrary in meaning, because... we use them expecting our interlocutors to understand us". While I agree that pragmatics can change a word's intended meaning, this chapter will focus exclusively on the linguistic meaning of complex words.

Pounder (2000) and Kunduracı (2013) propose a list of word-formation meanings, i.e. relations between components of word-formation processes. Pounder (2000) demonstrates how these relations modify the meanings of bases in the processes of compounding, affixation and conversion in German and English, while Kunduracı (2013) establishes that they are applied in formation of the NN compounds in Turkish.<sup>59</sup> Pounder (2000:108) notes that the list is suggestive rather than exhaustive and that the relations may be universal (Pounder 2000:100). In what follows, I will present some of these relations, illustrating them with compounds as examples, since the formation of compounds—like that of blends—involves two or more bases.

Kunduracı (2013) proposes the following word-formation relations, which are to a significant extent based on those in Pounder 2000:110–121.

- (137) ABOUT ('X') (association): *driving licence, eye doctor*<sup>60</sup>  
 FROM ('X') (source): *apple juice, war wound*<sup>61</sup>  
 OF ('X') (belonging to): *finger nail, apron string*  
 FOR ('X') (purpose): *can opener, sewing machine*  
 WITH ('X') (part-whole): *scarface, apple tree*<sup>62</sup>  
 IN-ON-AT ('X') (location): *ice skating, world tour*  
 BY ('X') (means): *air travel, phone message*  
 LIKE ('X') (comparison): *moonface, iccold*  
 BE ('X') (ascription): *singer-songwriter, actor-director*<sup>63</sup>

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<sup>59</sup> The proposed relations are partly based on Mel'čuk's (1974) "lexical functions", which represent relations between lexical items, and on Giegerich's (2009) types of attribution in compounds and phrases (associative vs. ascriptive).

<sup>60</sup> Pounder (2000:110) formalizes this relation as REL ('X') and interprets it as a general reference relation to the content of 'X'.

<sup>61</sup> Pounder (2000:110) formalizes this relation as EX ('X') and interprets it as a relation of origin.

<sup>62</sup> Pounder (2000:114) interprets this relation in the following way: "'X' is a possessed object or property or is in some sense present".

<sup>63</sup> The examples illustrating the relation of ascription were taken from Giegerich (2009:187), who claims that when constructions under consideration are appositional constructions, "the compound-phrase distinction is most difficult to draw". However, most linguists identify such constructions as compounds (cf. e.g., Bloomfield (1935), Ward (1973), Olsen (2001) Bauer (2008), Bissetto and Scalise (2009)).

In the system adopted in the present work, the morphological component combines a given function with the lexical meanings of the two bases, which are represented as X and Y. For example, the function FOR ('X', 'Y') is combined with the lexical meanings of the bases in *woodshed* discussed above in this section, which yields the meaning 'Y FOR X' (i.e. shed for wood). Kunderacı (2013:110) refers to such functions as combinatory semantic rules.<sup>64</sup> The function combines the meanings of the two lexemes by creating a modification relation. In this relation, the function determines one constituent as the modifier (Argument 1), and the other constituent as the semantic head (Argument 2). The formal representation of the semantic rule which accounts for the formation of the compound *woodshed* is presented in (138):

(138) < FOR ('X', 'Y') ... >

In 5.2.2, I will examine whether a system of semantic rules in the framework of Process-and-Paradigm Morphology can account for the formation of the Ukrainian blends in the corpus analyzed in the present work. If blending in Ukrainian can be described in terms of rules, this can be viewed as an argument supporting the claim that this type of word-formation is systematic and grammatical.

#### 5.1.4 *Categorial rules of word-formation*

The third component of a word-formation operation is a categorial rule (Kunderacı 2013). Categorial rules express modifications of a base with respect to its syntactic category. A categorial rule has a general representation demonstrated in (139) below.

(139) <  $\Sigma_X \rightarrow \Sigma_Y \dots$  >

X and Y in (139) stand for a syntactic category, for example, a noun, a verb, etc.

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<sup>64</sup> In the present study, the approach proposed by Kunderacı (2013) is adopted, whereby a semantic rule applies to the meanings of both constituents of the compound, combining their meanings via one of the relations described in this section. This approach differs from that of Pounder (2000), who claims that the semantic rule in compounds applies only to the first constituent. For example, the function WITH ('X') is considered to be applied in formation of *salt water* from SALT in the same way as in the formation of *salty* with SALT'.

Similarly to form rules and semantic rules, categorial rules can apply to two bases, as well as one base. In what follows, I will provide examples of categorial rules involved in compounding operations. In some cases, words which form a new compound belong to two different syntactic categories. The resulting compound normally—but not always (Scalise and Fábregas 2010:123)—belongs to the syntactic category of one of the input words. As discussed in 2.3.1, the syntactic category of the semantic and syntactic head of the compound is normally inherited by the output. This can be illustrated by the formation of the compound noun *freshwater*, which is formed by combining the adjective *fresh* and the noun *water*. The corresponding categorial rule is provided in (139) below.

$$(139) \quad \langle \Sigma_{\text{Adj}} + \Sigma_{\text{N}} \rightarrow \Sigma_{\text{N}} \rangle$$

In other cases, however, a new compound belonging to a certain syntactic category is formed by combining two bases of words belonging to the same syntactic category. For example, the compound noun *finger nail* is formed by combining two nouns: *finger* and *nail*. The formation of this compound can be expressed via the categorial rule in (140).

$$(140) \quad \langle \Sigma_{\text{N1}} + \Sigma_{\text{N2}} \rightarrow \Sigma_{\text{N2}} \rangle$$

The categorial rules will be further discussed in 5.2.2. Since blends are known to combine words belonging to different syntactic categories into one word, it will be discussed how the syntactic category for the new formation is selected from the available options.

### 5.1.5 Word-formation paradigm

Another principal postulate in the Process-and-Paradigm framework is that word-formation is paradigmatic (Guilbert 1975, Van Marle 1985, Stump 1991, Pounder 2000, Blevins 2001, Kunduracı 2013). Pounder (2000:95) defines a word-formation paradigm as a “set of possible paths defined by series of operations applicable to a given base of a given lexico-syntactic category producing correct/possible complex lexemes”. This definition describes an abstract word-formation paradigm, which should be differentiated from a lexical or individual word-

formation paradigm. A lexical word-formation paradigm is a complex network structure formed by attested lexical units with a common base, and one in which those units are interrelated and may compete with each other. While a lexical word-formation paradigm is stored in the lexicon, an abstract word-formation paradigm is located in the morphological component of grammar. Complex lexemes are derived from a given base by the application of word-formation operations to this base, i.e. by the application of a set of rules (form, semantic, and categorial). The competition may occur, for example, when two possible units are available to communicate one meaning (*impractical* vs. *unpractical* meaning ‘not practical’). Which of the two possible forms will be selected depends on stem and rule conditions, as well as extra-linguistic factors (e.g. intended pragmatic effects, standardization pressure, etc.).

A product of a word-formation paradigm can be further modified by the application of a new word-formation operation. For example, the Ukrainian adjective *blakytnij* ‘blue’ is produced as a result of applying the operation of suffixation to the noun base *blakyt* ‘blue’. The resulting member of the paradigm can undergo further word-formation, since new members can be formally built on it. For example, the compound adjective *žovto-blakytnyj* ‘yellow-and-blue’ can be formed using *blakytnij* by means of compounding.

I will adopt Pounder’s (2000) adaptation of the formal representation of a word-formation paradigm proposed by Guilbert (1975). Word-formation paradigms can be built in two ways. First, a paradigm can be represented in a fan shape, whereas an abstract base X (in an abstract paradigm) or a base of a specific lexeme (in an individual paradigm) is presented in the centre and a number of operations depart from this base (Pounder 2000:91). The simplified ad-hoc model in Figure 2 illustrates such a hypothetical word-formation paradigm. In Figure 2, X is a noun, while Operation A (Op. A), Operation B (Op. B), and Operation C (Op. C) respectively represent the operations of suffixation, prefixation, and compounding. Under each abstract base, I demonstrate which individual base can potentially correspond to the abstract one. The formation of *xlibn(-yj)* and *bezxlibn(-yj)* resulting from affixation has been described above. As for the compound *xlib-sil* ‘bread-salt’ (‘food’), it is formed via combination of two bases (*xlib* ‘bread’ and *sil* ‘salt’) in operation C.



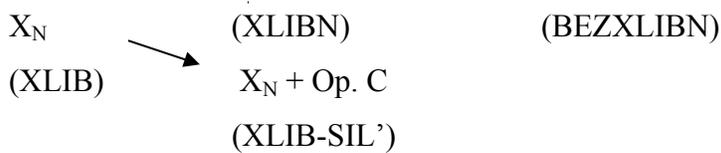


Figure 2. Ad-hoc abstract model of a word-formation paradigm.

Second, a paradigm can be limited to a “cumulative series”, in which every member is formally built upon the preceding one (Pounder 2000:91). For example, a fragment of the paradigm presented in Figure 1 can be represented as a “cumulative series” in the way demonstrated in (141) below.

$$(141) \quad X_N \rightarrow X_N + \text{Op. A} \rightarrow (X_N + \text{Op. A}) + \text{Op. B}$$

Building the model of the word-formation paradigm enables me to graphically represent the systematicity of various types of word-formation (including blending). The model demonstrates that the formation of new words follows general patterns, which are observed within specific syntactic categories (nouns, adjectives, verbs, etc). In 5.2.4, I will discuss the model of word-formation paradigm for blending in Ukrainian.

## 5.2 Analysis of the corpus

### 5.2.1 Form rules of blending in Ukrainian

In this section, I develop a set of rules which will account for the formation of blends in my corpus. I propose that the formal transformation of SWs in the process of blending involves more than one step: on the one hand, clipping of fragments of the SWs and, on the other hand, combination of the inputs into a new word. It does not matter for the present purposes how these steps are ordered: for example, whether *camera* and *recorder* are first clipped to *cam•* and *•corder* and then combined into *camcorder* or whether *camera* and *recorder* are first combined to form a compound *camerarecorder* and then clipped to *camcorder*. However, I assume that in blending final and initial parts are clipped first and then the outputs are combined in the following operation, since mid-clipping (e.g., *procurator*  $\rightarrow$  *proctor* and, in this case,  $\circ$ *camerarecorder*  $\rightarrow$  *camcorder*) is far rarer than back-clipping (e.g., *advertisement*  $\rightarrow$  *ad* and, in

this case, *camera* → *cam*) and fore-clipping (e.g. *caravan* → *van*, and, in this case, *recorder* → °*corder*) both in English (Mattiello 2013:75) and Ukrainian (Juščuk 2008:124). Assuming that SWs are modified in two (or more) stages in the process of blending, it will often be necessary to propose two or more rules, applied sequentially. For example, the formation of substitution blends involves two rules of clipping applied to the SWs and a rule of compounding applied to the outputs of the clipping rules. The formation of overlap blends can also involve application of clipping rules to SWs and of an overlap rule to the outputs of the clipping rules, which ensures the combination of splinters in such a way that they overlap in the newly formed lexical units. The proposal that the formation of blends involves more than one operation is in tune with the assumption in the Process-and-Paradigm Morphology that the output of one word-formation operation can become an input in another word-formation operation (cf. e.g., Pounder 2000:91). In the following sections, the rules and operations involved in blending in Ukrainian will be discussed in detail and examples illustrating their application will be provided.

### 5.2.1.1 Clipping rules

In order to make generalizations regarding the clipping operations applied to SWs, it is necessary to analyze blends in which splinters of the SWs are combined without any overlap, as shown in (142a).

- (142)=(102) a. Putvjédjev < Pút(in) (Med)vjédjev  
 ‘Putin Medvedev’ Putin Medvedev  
 (www.pravda.com.ua)
- b. Don**á**bve < Don**á**(s) (Zim)**á**bve  
 ‘Donbas Zimbabwe’ ‘Donbas’ ‘Zimbabwe’  
 (used to compare Donbas Region of Ukraine to Zimbabwe, due to similarity  
 in establishment of political regimes)  
 (dramatica.org.ua)

Putting aside overlap blends, like the one in (142b), is important for our present purposes since the priority in forming such blends is ensuring that the homophonous sequences are located at the edges of the splinters or the SWs. Clipping of SWs in the absence of homophonous

sequences, as in (142a), however, demonstrates how Ukrainian speakers execute clipping with the goal of shortening SW<sub>1</sub>, rather than ensuring the possibility of overlap.

Clipping of SW<sub>1</sub> will be discussed first in the present section. 34 blends in my corpus (6.8%) are those in which SW<sub>1</sub> is clipped and combined with the splinter of SW<sub>2</sub> without any overlap involved. As discussed in the previous section, normally the splinter of SW<sub>1</sub> in Ukrainian blends is the full first syllable of SW<sub>1</sub>. Importantly, SW<sub>1</sub> splinters in the vast majority of cases end in a consonant. In those cases when the first syllable of SW<sub>1</sub> has no coda, e.g. /pu/ in *Putin* in (142a), the onset of the following syllable is attached to the first syllable to form a splinter (*put•*). I propose the rule below to account for formation of such splinters:

(143) Rule of clipping of SW<sub>1</sub> (FR<sub>1</sub>):

$$\langle -\sigma_1 \sigma_2(\sigma_3\dots) \rightarrow -\sigma_1\text{-*}; \dots \text{r.c.: } -\sigma_1\text{-*} = (\text{C}\dots)\text{VC}(\text{C}\dots) \rangle$$

According to the rule of clipping of SW<sub>1</sub>, a polysyllabic word base in Ukrainian undergoes clipping which results in the output consisting of the first syllable ending in a consonant.<sup>65</sup> According to the rule condition, the splinter, which is the output of the rule, must end in one or more consonants (even if the first syllable in the input does not have a coda).<sup>66</sup> The brackets indicate that the material in them is optional, i.e. the input can but need not contain more than two syllables, while the output syllable can but need not have an onset and its coda can but does not have to be complex.

Next, I will discuss clipping of SW<sub>2</sub>. For this analysis, the list of substitution blends analyzed above, i.e. blends in which both SWs have been clipped, is supplemented by those blends which include a full SW<sub>1</sub> and a splinter of SW<sub>2</sub> without an overlap. In (144) for example, the SW *arbitr* is attached to the splinter of SW<sub>2</sub>.

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<sup>65</sup> No attestations of clipping of monosyllabic words in my corpus and the fact that, being a native speaker of Ukrainian, I cannot come up with examples of clipping of individual monosyllabic words suggests that monosyllabic words in Ukrainian perhaps do not undergo clipping.

<sup>66</sup> The respect for the syllable boundaries of the base is not exclusive to blending. For example, Booij (2000: 342) points out that in Yidin nominal reduplication, the first two syllables of the input form are copied: for example, *mulari* ‘initiated man’ – *mulamulari* ‘initiated men’ and *kintalpa* ‘lizard’ – *kintalkintalpa* ‘lizards’. “In this case the copying process has to be defined in terms of syllables, and this accounts for the fact that we get a CVCV copy in the first example, but a CVCCVC copy in the second case.” (Booij 2000: 342)

- (144) arbitrál'ti < arbitír penál'ti  
 'penalty imposed by the referee' 'referee' 'penalty'  
 ("Rozsmišy komika", www.1plus1.ua)

As discussed in Section 3.5.2, the Ukrainian data demonstrate a clear tendency: the syllables preceding that bearing the main stress are clipped, while the stressed syllable and all the syllables to the right of it make a splinter. *Arbitral'ti* in (144) illustrates this point, as *penál'ti* (in which the second syllable is stressed) is clipped to •*alti*.<sup>67</sup> Therefore, for initial clipping in Ukrainian, I propose the rule below, where  $\sigma_s$  stands for "strong syllable," i.e. the syllable carrying the main stress.

- (145) Rule of clipping of  $SW_2$  (FR<sub>2</sub>):  
 < -...  $\sigma_s$  (...) -  $\rightarrow$  - $\sigma_s$  (...) - ... >

The form rule in (145) states that a given  $SW_2$  undergoes clipping so that the output is the strong syllable of the base and all the syllables to the right of it (if there are any).

Which rule of clipping (FR<sub>1</sub> or FR<sub>2</sub>) is to be applied to a SW is left to the discretion of the language user who is forming a new blend. As discussed in 3.1, it appears that blends in Ukrainian are formed as a result of careful elaboration. Based on my experience of creating blends (e.g., for the experiment which will be described in Chapter 6), I assume that native speakers of Ukrainian tend to plan the formation of a new blend before they apply any operations to the selected SWs. This means that rather than exclusively using attested clippings to form a blend, Ukrainian speakers decide how to clip the selected SWs in a way that works best for their purposes. As discussed in 3.5.3, the longer SW tends to be selected as  $SW_2$  and thus it is modified with FR<sub>2</sub>.

Recoverability of SWs plays an important role in how SWs are clipped. The rules of clipping can be violated if it is difficult to recognize the SW from the resulting splinter. As discussed in 3.5.1, the amount of the phonological material preserved may increase up till the moment when the possible neighbours (in Lehrer's (2007) terms) are excluded. For example,

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<sup>67</sup> The onset of the second syllable is clipped presumably in order to avoid a consonant cluster which is hard to pronounce ([trn]).

according to the rule of clipping of  $SW_1$ , *Aziriv* in (146a) must be clipped to *az•*. However, it would be hard for a language speaker to recover the SW due to a large number of neighbours (for example, *azijats'kyj* ‘Asian’, *Azimov* (Ajzek) ‘Asimov (Isaak)’ or *Aziz* (Nesin) ‘Aziz (Nesin)’). Thus, the amount of the phonological material preserved may be increased up to the moment when the last neighbour, likely to be the SW, is excluded.

(146)=(101) a. <i>azirmóvka</i>	<	<i>Azír(iv)</i>	<i>(ob)móvka</i>
‘Azarov’s speech error’		‘Azarov’	‘speech error’
(hint at the tendency of Mykola Azarov to front all vowels when speaking Ukrainian)			
(“Večirnij Kiev”, <a href="http://www.1plus1.ua">www.1plus1.ua</a> )			
b. <i>meriózi</i>	<	<i>mér</i>	<i>(maf)iózi</i>
‘Mayor Mafioso’		mayor	Mafioso
(“Skazočnaja Rus”, <a href="http://www.1plus1.ua">www.1plus1.ua</a> )			

Another example is provided in (146b).  $SW_2$  *mafiozi* must be clipped to *•ozi*, according to the rule of clipping of  $SW_2$ . However, *•ozi* does not have enough phonological material for the  $SW_2$  to be recognizable. This is likely why  $SW_2$  is clipped to *•iozi* instead. The combination of two consecutive vowels, which is unusual for Ukrainian, coupled with the same contour (i.e. the number of syllables and the position of the syllable carrying the main stress) facilitate the recovery of the SW. Thus, the amount of phonological material preserved according to the clipping rules can be increased if it is required for the sake of recognizability of SWs.

The rules proposed in the current section reflect the regularities in the mechanisms of clipping in Ukrainian. Since the concept of rhythmical contour preservation is relevant in the description of the mechanisms of lexical blending, one may wonder why it has not been incorporated in the rules proposed above. As discussed in Section 3.5.1, the  $SW_2$  contour is not maintained. Thus, while the preservation of a rhythmical contour of  $SW_2$  certainly appears to be a tendency across languages—for example, German and French—(see Ronneberger-Sibold 2012, 2015), the Ukrainian corpus discussed here does not provide sufficient grounds to modify the rules of clipping in Ukrainian to ensure that the rhythmical contour of the  $SW_2$  is preserved.

### 5.2.1.2 Compounding rule

I claim that even though blends are in many respects different from compounds, the formation of blends always involves compounding operations (see section 2.2.4 for discussion of how compounding operations involved in forming blends are different from compounding operations resulting in the formation of compound words). In the process of formation of a blend, combining of two splinters or a SW and a splinter occurs following the clipping operation(s). For example, in (147) two splinters *hreč•* and *•otto* are combined.

- (147) hrečóttó < hréč(ka) (riz)óttó  
'risotto with buckwheat (instead of rice)' 'buckwheat' 'risotto'  
(newsme.com.ua)

I propose the rule in (148) to account for such cases. According to this rule, two bases can be combined to form a new complex word.

- (148) Compounding rule (FR<sub>3</sub>):  
< X + Y → XY ... >

### 5.2.1.3 Overlap rule

The majority of units in my corpus are blends in which the rightmost fragment of the SW<sub>1</sub> and the leftmost fragment of the SW<sub>2</sub> overlap, as discussed in 3.1. For example, in (149) there is an overlap *anan*.

- (149) bananás < banán ananás  
'hybrid of a banana and a pineapple' 'banana' 'pineapple'  
(Tepla 2012:156)

I propose the following overlap rule that accounts for the formation of blends like the one in (150):

- (150) Overlap rule (FR<sub>4</sub>):  
< -(...A)BC(D...)- + -(...X)BC(Y...)- → -(...A)BC(Y...)- ... >

According to the overlap rule, when the  $SW_1$  and the  $SW_2$  have a homophonous sequence of phonemes, the two bases are attached so that the identical phonemes overlap. As discussed in 2.2.2, the sequences indicated as BC in the overlap rule (FR<sub>4</sub>) can be nearly homophonous, i.e. not identical. For example, the sequences *mut* and *mut'* in (150a) differ in palatalization of the final consonant and the sequences *BJuT* and *bjud* in (150b) differ in the voicing of the final consonant. The brackets in the overlap rule indicate that the fragments enclosed in them are optional. For example,  $SW_1$  in (150a) does not contain any phonological material after the sequence *mut* (i.e. there is no (D...)), while  $SW_2$  in (150a) does not contain any phonological material either before or after the sequence *mut'* (i.e. there is no (...X) or (Z...)). In addition, there is no phonological material before the homophonous sequences *BJuT* and *bjud* in (150b) respectively in  $SW_1$  and  $SW_2$  (i.e. there is no (...A) or (...X)).

- (150) a. vermút' < vérmút mút'  
 'vermouth slime' 'vermouth' 'slime'  
 (low-quality vermouth) (gazeta.ua)
- b. BJuTžét < BJúT (Blok Juliji Tymošenko) bjudžét  
 'BJuT budget' 'BYuT' (Block of Yulia Tymoshenko) 'budget'  
 (Ukraine's State Budget proposed by the former Prime Minister Yulia  
 Tymoshenko, who was the leader of the political party *BJuT*)  
 (www.radiosvoboda.org)

Somewhat more complicated cases are presented in (151), where the overlapping segments are distributed discontinuously (see 2.2.2 for the discussion of such cases). There are only 5 blends of this kind in the corpus analyzed here; thus, it is impossible to make any strong generalizations regarding the mechanisms of their formation. Based on the material available for analysis, it can be concluded that the SWs of blends like those in (151) are combined in such a way that the nearly homophonous sequences overlap, whereby the blend inherits the order of the overlapping segments in  $SW_1$ , which normally is the shorter SW, as discussed in 3.5.3. Alternatively, I could claim that one of the SWs in (151a) and (151b) is clipped and combined with the other SW without any overlap (for example, respectively, *intryha* + •*cija* → *intryhacija* and *protest* +

•*ucija* → *protestucija*). This analysis, however, is less appealing for two reasons. First, it adds murkiness to the description of the patterns of clipping in Ukrainian: the very clear patterns observed in the clipping of substitution blends, as described in 3.5.1, do not hold for such blends if we analyse them as being formed from splinters. Second, blends like those in (151) appear to resemble overlap blends considerably more than substitution blends because the combination of their SWs is mainly motivated by the phonological similarity of the SWs. Thus, I will consider blends in (151) as overlap blends.

(151) a. intryhácija < intryha intehrácija  
 ‘intriguing integration’ ‘intrigue’ ‘integration’  
 (integration involving the intrigue regarding which union Ukraine will join, e.g. the European Union, the Customs Union with Russia or any other one)  
 (www.bbc.com/ukrainian)

b. protestúcija < protést prostyťucija  
 ‘protest prostitution’ ‘protest’ ‘prostitution’  
 (actions of “FEMIN” – a Ukrainian organization famous for the naked protests of its members)  
 (consultingsub.ru)

The application of the overlap rule does not require the prior application of one or more clipping operations, since it presupposes the deletion of the phonological material to the right of the (...A)BC(D...) sequence in SW<sub>1</sub> and to the left of the (...X)BC(Y...) sequence in SW<sub>2</sub>, as a result of its application. The advantage of such an approach is that it disposes of the problem of identifying how words in blends with an overlap are clipped (for example, identifying whether in (149) SW<sub>1</sub> and SW<sub>2</sub> are clipped to the respective splinters *ba•* and *•nanas*, *ban•* and *•anas*, *bana•* and *•nas*, or in any other way).

The data analyzed here show that the overlap rule works even when it causes violation of other word-formation rules in Ukrainian. For example, as discussed in section 2.3.2, cross-



between their constituents. Finally, I will present categorial rules of formation of Ukrainian blends.

Before discussing semantic rules of blending in Ukrainian, it is necessary to explain to what degree these rules can predict the meaning of a new blend. As discussed in Chapter 5.1.3, the lexical meaning of a blend is determined by the lexical meanings of the SWs and the word-formation meaning, which specifies the semantic relation between these SWs. I assume that when two words are combined in a word-formation process, the meaning of the output can—but need not—include all the semantic components of the two inputs. When the words are polysemous, it appears that one meaning is selected for each word, from which semantic components are retrieved and combined to form the lexical meaning of the new word. The relation between the SWs is what at least partially determines which semantic components are to be preserved and how much each input contributes semantically to the new word (presumably, the new word potentially inherits the semantic structure of the head in full, which, however, is modified by some semantic component(s) of the non-head). For example, the lexical meaning of the head *paxar* ‘ploughman’ is fully preserved in the formation of the blend in (153) below, but it is modified by the semantic component (slow manner) inherited by the blend from the non-head *čerepaxa* ‘turtle’.

(153) *čerepáxar* < *čerepáxa*      *páxar*  
       ‘turtle ploughman’    ‘turtle’                    ‘ploughman’  
       (slow ploughman)

(vse-grani.com)

The headedness and semantic relation between SWs can provide some insight into the meaning of a new blend. However, on the level of lexical meaning, it can hardly be fully predicted exactly which semantic components will be selected for the combination into a new meaning (meaning of a blend) and how much weight each of them is to have in the meaning of the new word. For example, based on the context in which the blend *čerepaxar* ‘turtle ploughman’ in (153) was found, I assumed that the creator of this blend intended the meaning which is presented in (153). However, a language speaker could as well create a blend phonologically identical to the one in (153) with the meaning ‘a hard worker who has the

patience of a turtle'. This example is intended to demonstrate that while a semantic rule can make a general prediction regarding the meaning of the new blend (by specifying the relationship between SWs and the semantic head of the output), one cannot expect to predict with certainty how semantic components of lexical meanings of SWs will be selected and combined in the formation of a blend.<sup>68</sup> The goal of the present chapter is therefore to analyze how meaning of a new blend can be predicted on the level of word-formation, rather than on the level of combination of semantic components of lexical meanings of SWs.

In the framework of Process-and-Paradigm morphology, a semantic rule represents a function defining the relation between the meaning of the base and the meaning of the newly-formed lexeme. Since the formation of blends involves at least two bases, I will show the relation between the bases (X and Y) and the formed blend.

As reported in 5.1, endocentric single-headed blends constitute the vast majority of the blends in my corpus. The great variety of determinative relations which are observed between the SWs in this corpus are presented in (154) below.

(154) Relations between SWs in Ukrainian single-headed endocentric blends:

- a. LIKE ('X') (comparison)
- b. WITH ('X') (part-whole)
- c. ABOUT ('X') (association)
- d. BE ('X') (ascription)
- e. OF ('X') (belonging to)
- f. IN-ON-AT ('X') (location)
- g. FROM ('X') (source)
- h. FOR ('X') (purpose)

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<sup>68</sup> Such low predictability of the lexical meaning is not exclusive to blending. For example, the adjective *čerepaxov-* 'turtle' can be formed from the noun *čerepax-* 'turtle' through affixation with the suffix *-ov-*. The semantic relation between the base and the output can be either that of comparison (like a turtle) or source (made from a turtle). While the general word-formation meaning can be predicted, it is hard to foresee which lexical meaning the base will transfer to the new formation. The adjective *čerepax-* 'turtle' can potentially mean one of the following: 'slow (like a turtle)', 'introspective (like a turtle)', 'covered with hexagons (like a turtle)' or 'made from meat of a turtle' (of soup), 'made from fat of a turtle' (of cosmetics), etc.





The semantic rule which I propose for the formation of the blends in (158) is presented in (159) below.

(159) SR<sub>2</sub>: < WITH ('X', 'Y') ... >

The relation of association expressed in (154c) as ABOUT ('X') is perhaps the most general among all the relations presented in (154).<sup>71</sup> According to Kunduracı (2013:35), when a relationship between SWs is not clear, this one can be used as a default. It can be paraphrased as “with respect to ‘X’”, “as far as ‘X’ is concerned” (Pounder 2000:110), “about ‘X’” (Downing 1977:832). This semantic relation is illustrated in (160) below. For example, (160a) can be paraphrased as “the news about cinema” and (160b) as “the expert as far as sex is concerned”. The relation between the SWs in (160c) and (160d) may be less obvious, since the head nouns are used figuratively in these examples. However, one can paraphrase them, respectively, as “impotence/inability as far as import is concerned” and “rheumatism/inability as far as rhymes are concerned”. There are 60 blends with such a relation in my corpus (12%).

- |       |    |   |   |                            |  |
|-------|----|---|---|----------------------------|--|
| (160) | a. | <u>kinov</u> ýny<br>'cinema news'   | < | <u>kin</u> ó<br>'cinema'   | <u>nov</u> ýny<br>'news'<br><br>(www.br.com.ua)            |
|       | b. | <u>seks</u> pért<br>'sexpert'   | < | <u>sé</u> ks<br>'sex'      | <u>eks</u> pért<br>'expert'<br><br>(www.br.com.ua)         |
|       | c. | <u>import</u> éncija<br>'import      impotence'<br>(inability of a country to import any goods) | < | <u>ím</u> port<br>'import' | <u>ím</u> poténcija<br>'impotence'<br><br>(business-x.biz) |

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<sup>71</sup> In Pounder 2000:110, this function is expressed as REL ('X').

- d. rymatýzm < rýma revmatýzm  
 ‘rhyme rheumatism’ ‘rhyme’ ‘rheumatism’  
 (poet’s inability to find rhymes)

(www.dt.ua)

The semantic rule which accounts for the formation of the blends in (160) is provided in (161) below.

(161) SR<sub>3</sub>: < ABOUT (‘X’, ‘Y’) ... >

39 blends in the corpus (7.8%) analyzed here demonstrate the semantic relation between SWs expressed as BE (‘X’) in Kunduracı 2013:35. Giegerich (1990:10) proposes the following interpretation for this relation: “Y who/which is X”. The relation of ascription is unusual in that it can combine either one semantic head and a non-head or two semantic heads. This is the only type of semantic relation identified in the present work which can apply to both single- and double-headed blends (with single-headed blends constituting the vast majority). For example, the blend in (162a) is single-headed: *pidpolkovnyk* ‘lieutenant colonel’ is the semantic head and *alkaš* ‘alcoholic’ is a non-head. In some cases, the context provides clues that help identify the semantic head (for example, the context of the blend in (162a) was a story about a lieutenant colonel who in the end became an alcoholic). In addition, there are instances in which both SWs serve as semantic heads. For example, one can say that the blend in (156a) names a child who is also an erudite or an erudite who is also a child. Similarly, in (156b) the toy named by the blend is equally an acrobat and a robot.

- (162) a. *pidpolkáš* < *pidpolkóvnyk* *alkáš*  
 ‘alcoholic lieutenant colonel’ ‘lieutenant colonel’ ‘alcoholic’
- b. *erudytjátko* < *erudýt* *dytjátko*  
 ‘erudite child’ ‘erudite’ ‘child’  
 (“Večirnij Kiev”, www.1plus1.ua)

c.	<u>akróbot</u>	<	<u>acrobát</u>	<u>róbot</u>
	‘acrobot’		‘acrobat’	‘robot’
	(name of a toy)			

The semantic rule which accounts for the formation of the blends in (162) is proposed in the semantic rule (SR<sub>1</sub>) in (163) below:

(163) SR<sub>1</sub>: < BE (‘X’, ‘Y’) ... >

The function in (163) combines the meanings of the two SWs. In (163), either ‘X’ or ‘Y’ or both ‘X’ and ‘Y’ can be the head(s) of the blend.

The relation of ascription BE (‘X’) is the additional semantic component which is necessary for the accurate combination of the meanings of the SWs, as well as for the correct semantic interpretation of the blends in (162). In the process of formation of the blends analyzed, the meaning of the end product is a combination of lexical meanings of the SWs with the word-formation meaning, which specifies the semantic relation between these SWs. As discussed in 5.1.3, word-formation relations are expressed as functions in semantic rules of word-formation.

The next relation which is to be discussed here is that of belonging or possession: OF (‘X’). It can be interpreted as “belonging to X” or “X is the possessor” (Pounder 2000:111). There are 34 blends with such a relation between SWs in my corpus (6.8%). For example, *titušky* ‘Titushkos’ in (164a) are presumably Putin’s employees, in the same fashion as *janyčary* ‘Janissaries’ in (164b) are Yanukovych’s employees. Interestingly, the non-heads are used figuratively both in (164a) and (164b). (164a) demonstrates a case of antonomasia (a proper name is used to denote a group), while *janyčary* ‘Janissaries’ in (164b) are used as a metaphor based on similarities between Janissaries and police officers (e.g. both are supposed to protect their leader).

- (164)=(70c)a.    putinúško                    <                    Pútin                    *titúško*  
                   ‘Putin’s Titushko’                    ‘Putin’                    ‘Titushko’  
                   (titushko hired by Putin for organizing violent provocations in Ukraine)  
                   (www.theinsider.ua)
- b.    Janučár                    <                    Janu(kóvyč)                    *janyčár*  
                   ‘Janukovyč Janissaries’ ‘                    Yanukovyč’                    ‘Janissaries’  
                   (the Ottoman Sultan’s household bodyguard)  
                   (Ukrainian police officer who served Ukraine’s former president Viktor  
                   Yanukovyč)  
                   (maidan.org.ua)

In (165) below, I propose a semantic rule which accounts for the formation of blends in (164).

(165) SR<sub>4</sub>: < OF (‘X’, ‘Y’) ... >

Next, I will discuss the relation of location between SWs in a blend: IN-ON-AT (‘X’).<sup>72</sup> One can interpret this relation as “located in/on/at”. The corpus contains 28 blends with this relation between SWs (5.6%). For example, in (166a) *sum*’*játycja* ‘fuss’ is taking place in *CUM* ‘Central Universal Mall’, while the blend in (166b) is used to criticize the lack of conveniences in a certain place (namely, the countryside).

- (166) a.    CUM’*játycja*                    < CÚM (Central’nyj Universal’nyj Mahazyn) *sum*’*játycja*  
                   ‘Central Mall fuss’                    ‘Central Universal Mall’                    ‘fuss’  
                   (www.dt.ua)
- b.    provincyvilizácija                    <                    provinc(ija)                    *cyvilizácija*  
                   ‘countryside civilisation’                    ‘countryside’                    ‘civilisation’  
                   (ironic, used to talk about the lack of conveniences, which are expected in a  
                   civilized society, in the countryside)  
                   (“Rozsmišy komika”, www.1plus1.ua)

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<sup>72</sup> Pounder (2000:112) views this relationship as ‘belonging to’ or OF(‘X’).



(169) SR<sub>6</sub>: < FROM ('X', 'Y') ... >

The relation between SWs observed in a relatively small number of cases is that of purpose: FOR ('X'). It can be interpreted as "X is the goal or purpose" (Pounder 2000:112). The corpus considered includes 14 blends of this kind (2.8%). For instance, in (170a) *literature* 'literature' is meant for *elita* 'élite' and the purpose of using *lopatka* 'shovel' is *kopannja* 'digging'.

- (170) a.        eliterátúra                      <                      elít(a)                      *literátúra*  
                  'literature for the élite'                      'élite'                      'literature'  
(www.2000.ua)
- b.        kopátka    <                      kopá(nnja)                      (*l*)opátka  
                  'shovel for digging'    'digging'                      'shovel'  
(http://vseslova.com.ua)

The semantic rule in (171) below accounts for the formation of blends like those in (170). An analysis whereby <FROM ('X', 'Y')> would serve as the semantic rule in (172) appears inappropriate, since it would yield interpretation 'pollution originating from gadgets spewing fumes' rather than 'gadget pollution, i.e. too many gadgets around'.

(171) SR<sub>7</sub>: < FOR ('X', 'Y') ... >

Another semantic relation between SWs in single-headed blends, which is observed quite rarely in the present corpus, is that of the means: BY ('X') (Kunduracı 2013:34). It can be interpreted as "by means of X". There are 12 blends demonstrating such a semantic relation between its components (2.3%). For example, (172a) suggests that the changes to one's exercising routine, as well as the way they look, are to be made by means of using Reebok sportswear. (172b) describes the annoying presence of gadgets in everyday life. The word *pollution* is used metaphorically meaning 'the annoyance in the environment caused by the wide use of gadgets'.

- (172) a. REEformuváty < Reébok *reformuváty*  
 ‘reform with *Reebok*’ ‘Reebok’ ‘reform’  
 (*Reebok* advertisement)
- b. zagádžennja < zahádžennja *gádže(t)*  
 ‘pollution by means of gadgets’ ‘pollution’ ‘gadget’
- (www.2000.ua)

The semantic rule which can account for the formation of the blends in (172) is provided in (173).

(173) SR<sub>g</sub>: < BY (‘X’, ‘Y’) ... >

So far, partly with the exception of the relation of ascription, I discussed the semantic relations between a head and its modifier in single-headed Ukrainian blends and proposed semantic rules which account for their formation. In what follows, I discuss the relations between two heads in double-headed blends.

The relation between constituents of double-headed blends is that of coordination. My analysis demonstrates that SWs of Ukrainian double-headed blends equally contribute elements of their meaning to a new blend. Therefore, I could perhaps propose one rule for all double-headed Ukrainian blends, which states that the meaning of a new blend combines elements of lexical meanings of its SWs. However, in the corpus analyzed in this dissertation, I identified three groups of two-headed blends, which significantly differ in how much of the lexical meaning of SWs is inherited by a blend. Following Renner (2006), I will view these blends as different groups and propose three different semantic rules of their formation. Proposing three rules instead of one ensures that the semantic rules are more informative and have greater predictive value in terms of the meaning of a new blend. Below, I will discuss the three groups of two-headed blends in more detail.

First, the relation whereby each head contributes some characteristics to the output, producing a brand new concept, is referred to as the relation of polyvalence by Renner (2006:110). I suggest the following interpretation of this relation: the derived lexeme names something that has characteristics of both ‘X’ and ‘Y’. 23 blends in the corpus (4.6%)



Since a rule which would account for the formation of the blends in (174) and (175) has not been proposed in the Process-and-Paradigm Morphology literature, I will propose a new rule (see (176)). The symbol “⊂” in the rule indicates a subset. Introducing the notion of subset enables the rule to account for the blends in both (174) and (175).

(176) SR<sub>11</sub>: < ADD (⊂‘X’, ⊂‘Y’) ... >

Finally, a limited number of blends in my corpus are composed of two synonyms (6 blends, i.e. 1% of the corpus). Such blends (pleonastic blends in Cacchiani’s (2007:109) terms) are viewed as “the purest examples of associative blends” by Algeo (1977:57). I view the emergent concept named by a blend as identical to the input concepts. For example, both SWs and the newly formed blend in (178a) mean “a face” (all three with humorous and slightly pejorative connotation). The SWs in (178b) also have the same meaning as the emerging blend. The semantic relation in (177) and (178) can be interpreted as follows: the resulting lexeme has the same meaning as ‘X’ and/or ‘Y’.

(177)	fiziomórdija	<	<i>fizionómija</i>	<i>mórd(a)</i>
	‘face’		‘face’ (pej.)	‘snout’
				(“Rozsmišy komika”, www.1plus1.ua)
	cyharósy	<	<i>cyhar(ký)</i>	<i>(papi)rósy</i>
	‘cigarettes’		‘cigarettes’	‘cigarettes’
				(vk.com)

Instead of proposing a new function TAUTOLOGY to account for the formation of blends in (178), I will use the IDENTITY (I) function proposed by Pounder (1996, 2000), as in (179) below, which indicates that the meaning of the input is identical to the meaning of the output of the operation, and thus felicitously accounts for the formation of the blends in (178).

(179) SR<sub>12</sub>: < I (‘X’, ‘Y’) ... >

It should be mentioned that the semantic rules proposed for two-headed blends do not identify the relation between the two constituents forming a blend in the same way as semantic rules proposed for one-headed blends. While SR<sub>1</sub> – SR<sub>9</sub> indicate various ways in which non-heads modify heads of blends with determinative relation between constituents, SR<sub>10</sub> – SR<sub>12</sub> simply indicate that the relation between SWs is that of coordination. The value of SR<sub>10</sub> – SR<sub>12</sub> is in that they enable one to predict how much of the meaning of SWs will be preserved in a new blend.

To sum up, I have proposed some semantic rules which participate in the word-formation operations resulting in the formation of the blends discussed above. In order to account for the formation of both determinative and coordinate blends, I extended the set of semantic rules proposed by Pounder (2000) for affixation, compounding and conversion, as well as those proposed by Kunduracı (2013) for Noun+Noun compounds, in the framework of Process-and-Paradigm morphology. The new functions I proposed here are based on Renner's (2006) classification of coordinate blends.<sup>73</sup> The list of the word-formation functions provided so far is kept to a minimum and therefore can be expanded. However, general and inclusive as the functions above are, they can account for the formation of the blends in my corpus.

A strong correlation between a word being a semantic head and it being a categorial head is frequently discussed in the literature (see, for example, Hippisley et al. 2005:132, Scalise and Fábregas 2010:125, Wang and Huang 2011:517). This correlation can be illustrated by the observation that generally whenever two constituents equally co-define the semantics of a compound or a blend, they always belong to the same syntactic category (Scalise and Fábregas 2010:125) and that there are no cases in which a semantically endocentric compound or blend are categorially exocentric (Scalise and Fábregas 2010:125). This suggests that semantic and syntactic heads must coincide in words composed of two or more lexemes (i.e. compounds and blends). My data support this claim. Namely, in all cases considered the blend maintains the syntactic category of the semantic head. Thus, I propose the following categorial rule of formation of Ukrainian blends:

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<sup>73</sup> As discussed in Chapter 2.2, Renner (2006:110) also views “hybrids” as having the relationship of coordination between the constituents (e.g. *tigon* < *tiger lion*). However, I will follow Bauer (2012:17) in claiming that one of the constituents of such blends is a semantic head, and therefore classify them as determinative blends.

(180) CR<sub>1</sub>: < I (Σ<sub>H</sub>); r.c.: H = semantic head; H = N / Adj / V >

The syntactic rule indicates that the output will belong to the same syntactic category as the semantic head. Since all the blends in my corpus are nouns, adjectives or verbs, I also specify in the rule condition that the head is a noun, an adjective or a verb. There is no apparent reason why a Ukrainian blend could not belong to any other syntactic category (e.g. an adverb, a pronoun, etc.) but specifying that the semantic head can be a noun, an adjective or a verb seems reasonable when proposing a rule to account for the formation of blends in my corpus.

Nouns are by far the most abundant syntactic category in my corpus. They constitute 97.8% of the corpus (491 blends). In addition, there are ten adjectives (2%) and one verb (0.2%). Examples of a noun, an adjective and the verb are provided, in (181a), (181b) and (181c), respectively.

- (181) a. koopiráty < *kooperát(ory)* piráty  
 ‘pirate cooperators’ ‘cooperators’ ‘pirates’  
 (groups of people who sell pirated goods, e.g. unlicensed CDs, DVDs, etc.)  
 (ukrbukva.net)
- b. hlokál’nyj < *hlobál’nyj* *lokál’nyj*  
 ‘glocal’ ‘global’ ‘local’  
 (ekursova.in.ua)
- c. =(172a) naspartáčyty < “Spartá(k)” *naportáčyty*  
 ‘fail like the soccer team “Spartak”’ “Spartak” ‘fail’  
 (“Večirnij Kiev”, www.1plus1.ua)

Even though all the blends in my corpus belong to three syntactic categories, the list of syntactic categories which are combined to form a blend is more varied. Namely, in my corpus, nouns are formed by combining the following syntactic categories: two nouns (see (181a) above), two adjectives (181b), an adjective and a noun (see (182a)), a verb and a noun (see (181c) and (182b)) an interjection and a noun (see (182c)) or an adverb and a noun (see (182d)). The example in (182c) is particularly interesting and it can be said to serve as the evidence for

the uniqueness of blends in Ukrainian, since such a combination of syntactic categories is ungrammatical, for example, in formation of compounds.

- (182)=(74)
- |    |  |   |                                       |                                    |
|----|--|---|---------------------------------------|------------------------------------|
| a. | <u>šk</u> urnalíst   | < | <u>šk</u> úrnyj (interes)             | <u>ž</u> urnalíst                  |
|    | ‘journalist with vested interest’  |   | ‘skin (literally); vested (interest)’ | ‘journalist’                       |
| b. | <u>Bréš</u> njev   | < | <u>bréš</u> (e)                       | <u>Bréž</u> njev                   |
|    |  |   |                                       | (www.dt.ua)                        |
| c. | t’ <u>f</u> utból  | < | t’ <u>f</u> ú                         | <u>f</u> utból                     |
|    | ‘disappointing football’   |   | ‘tfu’ (interjection for spitting)     | ‘football’                         |
|    |  |   |                                       | (“Rozsmišy komika”, www.1plus1.ua) |
| d. | adx <u>ok</u> rátija   | < | ad x <u>ók</u>                        | ( <u>bjur</u> ) <u>ok</u> rátija   |
|    | ‘ad hoc’   |   | ‘ad hoc’                              | ‘bureaucracy’                      |
|    | (bureaucracy recognized by higher officials only in those cases when they benefit from it) |   |                                       |                                    |
|    |  |   |                                       | (www.irbis-nbuv.gov.ua)            |

Formation of adjectives in the corpus results from the combination of the following syntactic categories: two adjectives (see (181b) above) or a noun and an adjective (see (183) below). As shown in (181c), the verb is formed by combining a noun and a verb.

- (183)
- |  |   |              |                       |
|--|---|--------------|-----------------------|
| <u>x</u> lamúrnyj                          | < | <u>x</u> lám | <u>h</u> lamúrnyj     |
| ‘looking trashy’ (as opposed to glamorous) |   | ‘trash’      | ‘glamorous’           |
|  |   |              | (www.umoloda.kiev.ua) |

In sum, semantic and syntactic heads coincide in Ukrainian blends. A limited number of semantic and syntactic rules can account for the formation of blends in my corpus. This strongly suggests that in Ukrainian blending is a systematic type of word-formation.

### 5.2.3 Word-formation operations in blending

In the framework of Process-and-Paradigm morphology, form, semantic, and syntactic rules are united to form word-formation operations, which are applied to bases. Based on my analysis of

the corpus of Ukrainian blends, I will propose operations applied to bases when forming blends in Ukrainian. These operations include the following: an operation of clipping SW<sub>1</sub>, an operation of clipping SW<sub>2</sub>, a compounding operation, and an overlap operation.

First, the operation of clipping of SW<sub>1</sub> modifies the form of the input, but not its meaning or syntactic category. The form rule in the operation in (184), which was proposed in 5.2.1, modifies the input by shortening it to the initial syllable. The rule condition specifies that the output must end in a consonant. Since the meaning of the base does not change in the process of clipping, the semantic rule in the proposed operation is an identity function. Similarly, a clipping operation does not change the syntactic category of the base; thus, the categorial rule is a syntactic identity function. Combination of the three rules composes the Operation of clipping of SW<sub>1</sub> in (184) below.

$$\left( \begin{array}{l}
 (184) \text{ The operation of clipping of SW}_1: \\
 \\
 \langle X \rightarrow X', \text{ where } X = -\sigma_1 \sigma_2(\sigma_3\dots)- \\
 \qquad \qquad \qquad X' = -\sigma_1-; \quad \text{r.c.: } X' = (C\dots)VC(C\dots) \rangle \\
 \\
 \langle I ('X') \rangle \\
 \langle I (\Sigma_X) \rangle
 \end{array} \right) \text{ s.c.: } X = N_1/\text{Adj}_1/\text{V}_1/\text{Adv}_1$$

The stem condition on the operation specifies the syntactic category to which the base must belong (the subscripts show that they belong to SW<sub>1</sub>). This generalization is based on the data in the corpus analyzed in this work. However, I cannot exclude the possibility of this operation being applied to another syntactic category.

Let us consider a specific example of application of the operation in (184). The SW<sub>1</sub> *ministerstvo* in the blend *minrarium* in (185) below undergoes the following transformations as a result of application of this operation. First, it is clipped to one syllable. Since the initial syllable of SW<sub>1</sub> is codaless, the onset of the following syllable is attached to it, which results in the output *min•*. The meaning of the word (“a government department that is responsible for one of the areas of government work, such as education or health”, according to the Longman Dictionary of Contemporary English) does not change when the word is clipped. In addition, the



operations are identity rules, since the meaning and syntactic category do not change after clipping. As for the form rules, they normally appear to uniformly apply to all words which are to be used as SWs of substitution blends.

One compounding operation that would account for all cases of forming substitution blends cannot be provided, since there is a considerable number of semantic rules, as opposed to only one, which can be selected for the operation, depending on how the meanings of the SWs are combined. For the purposes of illustration, I will select the ascription function BE ('X', 'Y') for the operation of compounding in (187). However, any other semantic rule can be used instead, depending on how the meaning of the SWs is (or is not) modified. The form rule in this operation is the rule of compounding proposed in 5.2.1. As for the categorial rule, it indicates that the syntactic category of the semantic head must be preserved. The data in my corpus seem to show that there is no restriction on which pairs of SWs with respect to the syntactic category the operation can be applied to, since the unusual combinations like interjection and noun or a verb and a noun are permitted. Therefore, I will not restrict the application of the operation with a condition requiring only a certain limited number of combinations.

(187) Operation of compounding:

$$\left( \begin{array}{l} < X + Y \rightarrow XY \dots > \\ < BE ('X', 'Y') \dots > \\ < I (\Sigma_H); r.c.: H = \text{semantic head} \\ \quad H = N / \text{Adj} / V > \end{array} \right)$$

The combination of the outputs of clipping operations discussed above, namely *min•* and *•rarium*, can illustrate the application of the operation of compounding. The form rule combines the two inputs in a way that produces the output form *minrarium*. The semantic rule indicates that the relation between the components can be paraphrased as 'X which is Y', i.e. 'a ministry which is a terrarium', where the semantic head is X (ministry). Finally, the categorial rule requires that the syntactic category of the semantic head be the syntactic category of the

output. Thus, the output substitution blend *minrarium* is a noun, like its semantic head *ministerstvo*.

Like in the case of compounding operation, one overlap operation cannot account for the formation of all overlap blends, due to variability in semantic modifications of the input. The operation of overlap which will be proposed below is subject to change, as the form rule and categorial rule in it can be combined with semantic rules other than that of ascription. As indicated in the form rule, the two input bases in an overlap operation must share a homophonous sequence. The bases are combined in such a way that the homophonous sequences overlap.

(188) Overlap Operation:

$$\left( \begin{array}{l} < \dots A > BC(D \dots) - + < \dots X > BC(Y \dots) - \rightarrow < \dots A > BC(Y \dots) - \dots > \\ < BE ('X', 'Y') \dots > \\ < I (\Sigma_H); r.c.: H = \text{semantic head} \\ \quad H = N / \text{Adj} / V > \end{array} \right)$$

The semantic relation BE ('X', 'Y'), which has been selected as an example here, indicates that the relation between the head and the modifier is that of ascription. The categorial rule specifies that the output inherits the syntactic category from the semantic head.

To illustrate the application of the overlap operation, let us consider the combination of the Ukrainian words *čerepaxa* and *paxar* in (189) below. The homophonous sequences overlap in the output of the overlap operation (to be specific, in *čerepaxar*). From the point of view of meaning of the output, *čerepaxar* can be metaphorically viewed as 'a ploughman who is a turtle'. The syntactic category of the semantic head ploughman (noun) is inherited by the blend *čerepaxar*.

(189)=(153)    čerepáxar    <    čerepáxa    páxar  
                   'turtle ploughman'    'turtle'    'ploughman'  
                   (slow ploughman)

(vse-grani.com)

To summarize, in this section, four operations which account for the formation of blends in Ukrainian have been proposed. These are operations which result in clipping of SWs, as well as in their combination, which may or may not include an overlap. The following section will discuss the role of these operations in word-formation paradigm in Ukrainian.

#### *5.2.4 Word-formation paradigm and blending in Ukrainian*

As discussed in 5.1.1, in Process-and-Paradigm morphology, word-formation is viewed as paradigmatic. Having proposed word-formation operations in 5.2.3, I can now build a model demonstrating how the operations proposed above are applied to bases, producing blends as the output. The complete model of the word-formation paradigm, involving all operations that can potentially be applied to the bases considered is too complex to present in the present work. Thus, the fragment of word-formation paradigms presented below in Figures 3 and 4 will not present an exhaustive list of operations applicable to the bases. However, I will demonstrate how blending fits in the system of word-formation by presenting various word-formation operations applied to bases (including operations of compounding and affixation).

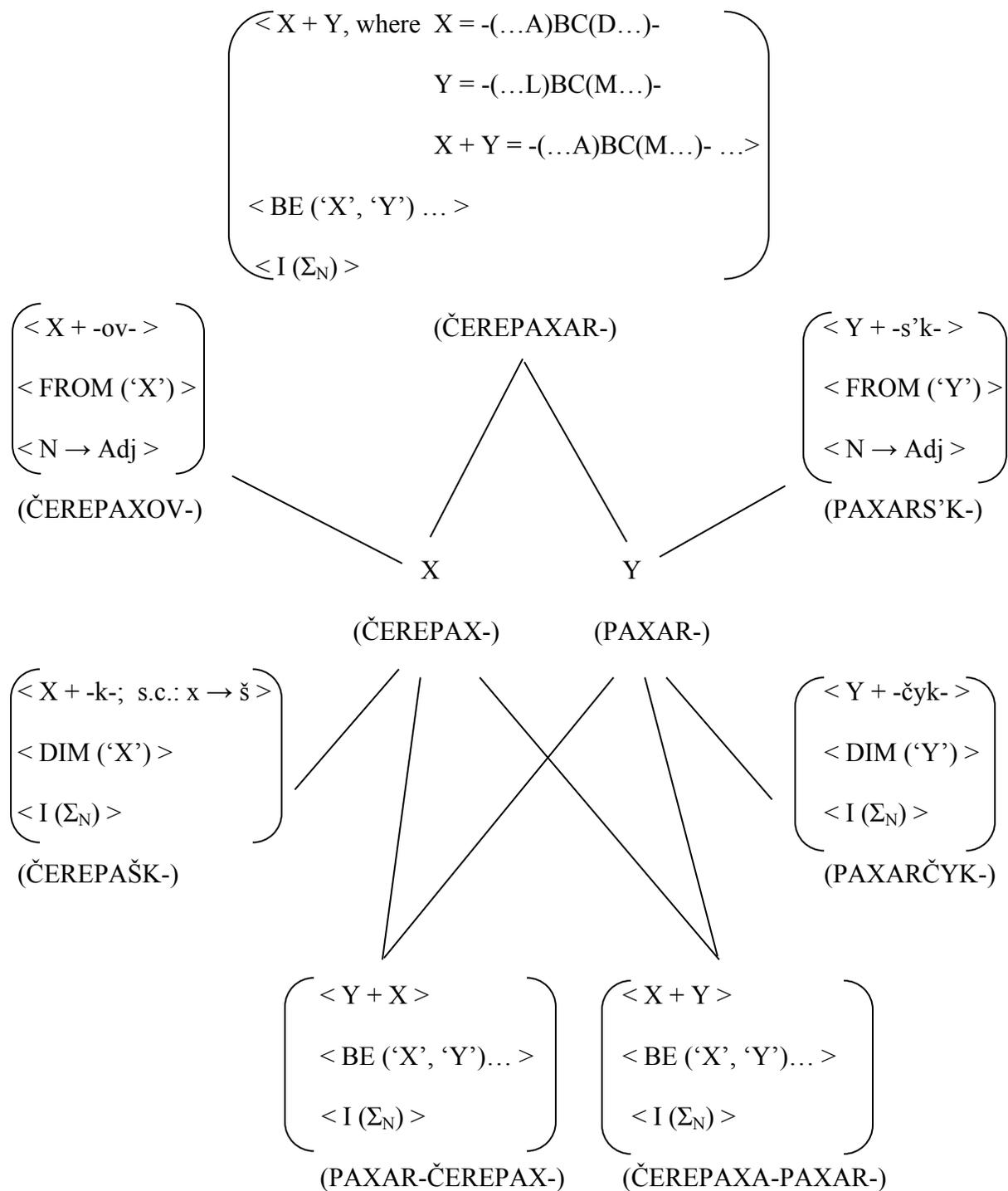


Figure 3. Ad-hoc model of word-formation paradigm for Ukrainian overlap blends.

In Figures 3 and 4, X and Y stand for abstract bases to which the operations are applied. In order to demonstrate that specific bases can be used in place of the abstract X and Y, bases forming the blends *čerepaxar* and *minrarium* will be provided in brackets in Figures 3 and 4. Thus, the figures below demonstrate fragments of both abstract word-formation paradigms and a specific paradigms, for example, of the words *čerepaxa* ‘turtle’ and *ministerstvo* ‘ministry’.

A fragment of a paradigm which illustrates the formation of an overlap blend will be provided in Fig. 3. As demonstrated in Figure 3, the bases *čerepax-* and *paxar-* can be modified by application of various operations: affixation (producing the adjectives *čerepaxov-*, *paxars’k-*, and diminutive nouns *čerepašk-*, *paxarč-*), compounding (producing *čerepaxa-paxar* ‘ploughman turtle’ and *paxar-čerepaxa* ‘turtle ploughman’), and blending (producing an overlap blend *čerepaxar*).<sup>74</sup> The operation of blending is of special interest for our purposes. As demonstrated in Figure 3, since the two SWs share a homophonous sequence, application of the Overlap Operation to the input bases X (*čerepax-*) and Y (*paxar-*) results in the formation of an overlap blend (*čerepaxar*). The semantic relation between the semantic head (SW<sub>2</sub>) and the non-head (SW<sub>1</sub>) is that of ascription. The syntactic category of the semantic head (noun) is transferred to the blend.

Interestingly, the paradigm demonstrates that there are two words which communicate the meaning ‘a ploughman who is a turtle (perhaps due to being slow)’: *paxar-čerepaxa* and *čerepaxar*. It is left to the discretion of a language user which word to form or select in order to communicate this meaning. As demonstrated in the respective operations in Figure 3, the two alternatives differ only in form, but not in semantics and syntactic category. The question is what can motivate a language user to select a blend rather than a compound? It seems that the economy of phonological material is not a very convincing argument for selecting a blend, especially since the blend is presumably more challenging to process. I assume that the main factor which can motivate a language user to select a blend rather than a compound is the likelihood of exerting a certain pragmatic effect on the audience: for example, attracting their

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<sup>74</sup> The compounds *čerepaxa-paxar* ‘ploughman turtle’ and *paxar-čerepaxa* ‘turtle ploughman’ differ in meaning, because in Ukrainian compounds it is the leftmost constituent that serves as a semantic head. However, as discussed in 2.2.4, even in languages in which compounds are semantically exclusively left-headed or right-headed, blends can be semantically both right- and left-headed. Therefore, it is not surprising that the semantically right-headed blend *čerepaxar* has the same meaning as the left-headed compound *paxar-čerepaxa*.

attention, making them laugh and remember the word, etc. (pragmatic effects exerted by blends will be discussed in detail in Chapter 7). Based on this assumption, my claim is that what makes blends different and special lies outside of word-formation and, thus, blending fits into the system of Ukrainian word-formation in the same way as other regular types of derivation (e.g. compounding, affixation, etc.).

While Figure 3 demonstrates the formation of overlap blends, in Figure 4, I will illustrate the formation substitution blends (specifically, *minrarium*). Similarly to the bases in Figure 3, the base *ministerstv-* can be modified by application of various operations: for example, that of affixation (producing the diminutive noun *ministerstvočk-*), compounding (producing, in combination with the base *terrarium-*, the compound *ministerstvo-terrarium-*), and clipping (producing the clipped noun *min-*). The base *terrarium-* can also undergo various modifications, including compounding (producing *ministerstvo-terrarium-*, as discussed above, and, in combination with the clipping *min*, producing the reduced compound *minterrarium*) and clipping (producing *-rarium-*). In this paradigm, the substitution blend *minrarium*, which is presently of special interest to us, is formed by application of the operation of compounding to the two outputs of clipping operations: *min-* and *-rarium-*.

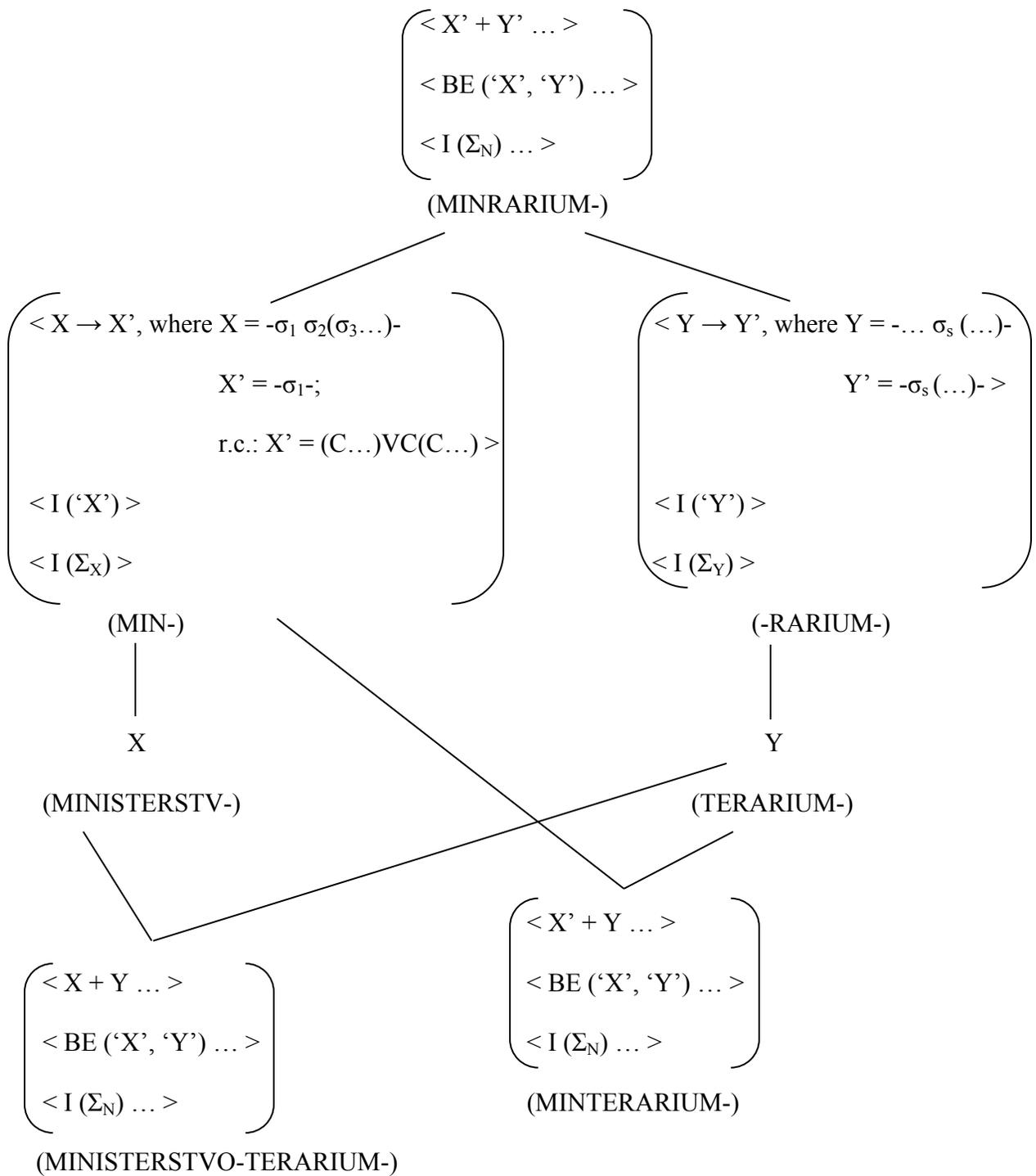


Figure 4. Ad-hoc model of word-formation paradigm for Ukrainian substitution blends.

In the particular case of formation of the blend *minrarium*, the semantic head *ministerstvo* is related to the non-head *terarium* via the relation of ascription. The output of the operation inherits the syntactic category of the semantic head (noun). In the paradigm in Figure 4, three words have the meaning ‘ministry which is a terrarium’: *ministerstvo-terarium*, *minterarium*, and *minrarium*. Similarly to the discussion of the overlap blend *čerepaxar*, I assume that Ukrainian speakers will select the substitution blend *minrarium*, rather than the two compounds, if they intend to exert a certain pragmatic effect on the audience.

In this section, I presented fragments of abstract and individual word-formation paradigms, which enabled me to achieve a number of goals. First, I demonstrated that blending is one of the elements constituting the system of word-formation in Ukrainian, along with other types of word-formation. Second, I showed how operations which were proposed in 5.2.3 are applied to Ukrainian bases producing new blends as outputs, which contributes evidence to my claim that blending is regular and predictable in Ukrainian. Third, I demonstrated that there may be other words similar to blends (e.g. compounds) which can communicate the same meaning as blends in the system of Ukrainian word-formation, and that blends may be preferred for reasons outside of word-formation, e.g. in order to have a certain pragmatic effect. Fourth, I illustrated the modification of the abstract bases resulting from the application of the operations with specific examples, which demonstrated both abstract paradigms and individual paradigms at work.

### **5.3 Conclusions**

The Process-and-Paradigm approach to morphological analysis involves the following components necessary for my purposes. First, it involves three types of rules (form, semantic, and categorial) composing word-formation operations. Analysis of blends along these three dimensions—form, meaning and syntactic category—provides a relatively exhaustive account of blending, which is what I aim for in this work. Second, this framework enables me to build a word-formation paradigm model, involving bases and word-formation operations. This is useful for the formal representation of systematicity of word-formation. Therefore, Process-and-Paradigm morphology is the theoretical framework which is optimal for achieving my goals in the present work and for answering my research question.

Based on the generalizations regarding the mechanisms of blending in Ukrainian presented in 5.2, I proposed rules which account for the formation of blends in the corpus analyzed in the present work. These rules were combined to form operations which are applied to bases in formation of blends in Ukrainian. As a result, three operations involved in blending in Ukrainian were proposed. Moreover, it was demonstrated how these operations are organized in a word-formation paradigm. To my knowledge, this was the first attempt to graphically represent word-formation in Ukrainian by building a word-formation paradigm.

This section makes a contribution to the discussion of grammaticality of blending. Building the model of the word-formation of blends enabled me to graphically represent the systematicity of blending. The model demonstrates that the formation of blends follows general patterns and thus is predictable. As discussed in 2.2.7, based on Dressler and Merlini Barbaresi's (1994) proposal, accountability in terms of rules, predictability of the output and homogeneity of input bases are sufficient criteria to classify a type of word-formation as grammatical. If blending is a rule-governed type of word-formation, as it was shown in the present analysis in the framework of Process-and-Paradigm Morphology, then it is a grammatical phenomenon.

In addition, the present analysis develops the theory of Process-and-Paradigm Morphology. The only analyses of formation of words from two bases which was done in this framework to date focused on compounding (see, for example, Pounder 1996, 2000, Kunduraci 2014). This is the first analysis of blending done in the framework of Process-and-Paradigm Morphology, and thus it extends the application of this theory.

## CHAPTER 6: PSYCHOLINGUISTIC EXPERIMENTS ON PROCESSING UKRAINIAN BLENDS

### 6.0 Introduction

The formation of Ukrainian blends can be viewed as what Zwicky and Pullum (1987:332) call “expressive morphology”. Blends normally have a pragmatic function, for example, of providing pleasure, amusement and entertainment, persuading, attracting attention, etc. (Lehrer 1996:360, 2003:380, Mattiello 2013:211, Cacchiani 2015:179). A blend can be considered as effective in fulfilling its function only if the readers or hearers recognize its SWs, which presumably is one of the prerequisites for understanding of the meaning of the blend. Just like any other expressive lexical means, e.g. puns or metaphors, a blend can hardly be considered successful if it has to be explained.

The goal of the current chapter is to learn whether native Ukrainian speakers understand meanings of Ukrainian blends and whether the structure of a blend affects its processing. Presumably, the processing of blends is challenging, as it involves a number of stages. Namely, a language speaker has to decompose a blend into two or more components, match the splinters to the corresponding SWs or compute the overlapping sequences as constituent parts of both SWs, and finally combine the meanings of the SWs into one whole meaning which would be appropriate for the blend in question. I attempted to gain some insight into how Ukrainian speakers cope with this multi-stage process through a series of psycholinguistic experiments.

Experimental studies of blending are relatively uncommon. The few experiments focusing on blending include Lehrer 1996, Borgwaldt, Kulish and Bose 2012, Lehrer and Veres 2010, Connolly 2013, Shaw 2013, Beliaeva 2014. These studies present analyses of various aspects of blending. As discussed in 3.0, Borgwaldt et al. 2012 investigate structural characteristics of Ukrainian blends by having Ukrainian speakers form novel blends when naming hybrid objects presented in pictures. Shaw (2013) tests whether participants infer morphological headedness from a novel blend’s phonological structure through a definition matching task (for example, matching *zebráff* and *zébraffe* to one right-headed definition—‘a giraffe with zebra stripes’—and one non-headed definition—‘a cross between a giraffe and a

zebra’) (Shaw 2013:28; see also 2.3.2).<sup>75</sup> Lehrer (1996) studies what factors make English blends more appealing to language speakers by asking subjects to rate blends of different structural types as “a good word (clever or useful)” or “a bad word (stupid or irritating)” (Lehrer 1996:386). Lehrer (1996) and Connolly (2013) also investigate what factors make English blends easier to decompose into SWs and to interpret, as they present blends to their subjects manipulating various factors (for example, the amount of SW phonological material preserved in a blend). Beliaeva (2014) specifically studies the effect of structure of a blend on recognizability of its SWs by instructing subjects to decompose English blends presented on a computer screen into SWs and also by studying whether blends of different structural types have a priming effect on the subsequently presented SWs of those blends in a lexical decision task. Finally, the mechanisms of automatic processing of blends are studied by Lehrer and Veres (2010). They use the lexical decision task paradigm with masked priming in their pursuit to find evidence for rapid automatic processing in decomposition of blends.<sup>76</sup> Of all the findings presented in the studies discussed above, of special interest are those relevant to my goal in the present chapter, i.e. those focusing on decomposition of blends into SWs and processing of meanings of blends. These findings will be discussed in what follows.

The following insights regarding recognizability of SWs and interpretability of a blend’s meaning are provided in the accounts of experimental studies conducted by Lehrer (1996), Lehrer and Veres (2010) and Beliaeva (2014).<sup>77</sup> First, recognizability of SWs in English blends is facilitated by the amount of SW material preserved,<sup>78</sup> frequency of the SWs, neighbourhood

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<sup>75</sup> I consider the latter as a semantically double-headed blend.

<sup>76</sup> While the works discussed above focus on blending and its various aspects, there are also a small number of studies which use blends as material for analysing other linguistic phenomena. For example, Broad et al. 2015 study effects of proper-noun faithfulness constraints in a definition-matching experiment involving blends one SW of which could be interpreted either as a proper or a common noun (e.g. *turcoon* < *Turkey/turkey tycoon*). Moreton et al. (2015) present a study investigating the effects of positional faithfulness constraints in morphologically strong positions (heads, nouns and proper nouns) in a definition-matching experiment involving blends. Finally, Jones (2015) studies the influence of self-grammar on merger of /æ/ and /ɛ/ before /g/ in Western Canadian English, asking subjects to create novel blends based on the presented pictures (e.g. pictures of brain and an egg would produce *bregg*).

<sup>77</sup> Note that in these experiments, blends were presented to subjects on paper or on a screen, i.e. these results should not be generalized to processing of spoken blends.

<sup>78</sup> Connolly’s (2013) study did not confirm the hypothesis that higher syllable number led to better chances of consensus between language speakers regarding the SW. However, I am inclined to disregard this finding, as well as some other ones presented in Connolly 2013, due to an insufficient number of subjects involved (sixteen) and heterogeneity of the stimuli.

density of the SWs and frequency of the neighbours, as well as semantic compatibility of the SWs (Lehrer 1996:385).<sup>79</sup> Subjects in Lehrer 1996 performed significantly better when they were asked to decompose and interpret blends containing a considerable number of segments and composed of more frequent SWs which have few neighbours (i.e. words phonologically similar to them) and which are semantically related. Second, SWs of English overlap blends are easier to identify than SWs of substitution blends when blends are presented visually in isolation (Beliaeva 2014:170–172). It was found that correct identification of SWs of overlap blends was significantly more frequent compared to that of SWs of substitution blends (Beliaeva 2014:147) and that the priming effect of overlap blend primes was stronger than that of substitution blend primes (Beliaeva's (2014:172). These discoveries are in tune with Lehrer's (1996) finding regarding the effect of the amount of phonological material on SW recognizability. Third, English speakers do not process English blends automatically, i.e. unconsciously, immediately following presentation of a blend (Lehrer and Veres 2010). Lehrer and Veres (2010) did not find any significant priming effect on target SWs (e.g. *dynamic*) preceded by masked primes (e.g. the blend *dynetic*). Fourth, English speakers are capable of recognizing SWs of an English blend and interpreting its meaning when blends are presented in a written context, as shown in Lehrer 1996:368. Investigating whether the results presented above could be replicated for Ukrainian blends appears to be a worthwhile direction for further research. The findings and recommendations presented in the experimental studies discussed above were taken into consideration when designing the experiments described later in 6.1–6.3 below (for example, the blends were presented in context, the primes were not masked, etc.)

In the present chapter, I will discuss three experiments. In Experiment 1, I investigate whether Ukrainian speakers recognize SWs in blends during online processing thereof in speech. In Experiment 2, I study whether Ukrainian speakers identify SWs better in spoken blends when they are given additional processing time. Finally, in Experiment 3, I investigate whether Ukrainian speakers can recognize SWs of blends and interpret them correctly when the blends are presented through a written medium. In all three experiments, I also study whether the

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<sup>79</sup> See Libben (2007:272) regarding the positive influence of high semantic combinability of the components of complex words—namely, compounds—on decomposition of the compounds by speakers.

structure of a blend affects recognizability of its SWs, i.e. whether overlap blends are easier to process than substitution blends.

## 6.1 Experiment 1

### 6.1.0 Introduction

In the present experiment, my goal is to study the comprehension of Ukrainian blends. I address the following research questions: (i) Do native speakers of Ukrainian recognize SWs in Ukrainian blends during online processing of blends in context? (ii) Does structure of the blend affect the recognizability of SWs (for example, is *Kapútin* in (190a), in which neither SW is clipped due to the overlap of the identical sequences, easier to analyze than *minrarium* in (190b), in which inner edges of the SWs are clipped)?

- (190) a.(=59a) Kapútin < kapút Pútin  
 ‘Kaputin’ ‘defeated; kaput’ ‘Putin’  
 (used in calls for resisting cooperation with V. Putin) (www.express.ua)
- b.(=58a) minrarium < min(istérstvo) (te)rarium  
 ‘terrarium ministry’ ‘ministry’ ‘terrarium’  
 (Ukrainian ministry composed of ministers who are said to metaphorically resemble snakes by being treacherous, cold-blooded, etc.)  
 (placards of protesters, Maidan 2014)

The observation presented in 3.1 that Ukrainian speakers avoid forming substitution blends suggests that perhaps Ukrainians do not often form blends of this structural type, as opposed to overlap blends, due to the challenges associated with their processing. One such challenge is the small amount of phonological material from at least one SW, which makes it hard to recover the SWs. Taking into consideration this idea, I propose the following hypothesis: Ukrainian speakers will recognize the SWs of blends with overlap, but not of substitution blends, during online processing. In the present experiment, I test this hypothesis by examining whether

Ukrainian speakers are capable of automatically decomposing blends of each structural type into their SWs and processing meanings of the SWs.

I adopt the cross-modal semantic priming paradigm, which was first introduced by Swinney (1979) and has ever since been successfully used in multiple studies of on-line spoken word comprehension (see Neely, Keefe and Ross 1989, Zwitserlood 1989, McKoon, Ratcliff and Ward 1994, Zwitserlood and Schriefers 1995, Moss, McCormick and Tyler 1997, Janse and Quené 2003, Hoedemaker and Gordon 2014 and others). One of the fundamental assumptions of semantic priming experiments is that comprehension involves semantic activation. This means that perception of a word activates the corresponding concept in memory, resulting in retrieval of the word's meaning (Burke and Yee 1984:903).<sup>80</sup> The activation also spreads to concepts which are semantically related to the concept behind the word perceived, therefore making them more accessible (Collins and Loftus 1975:427, Anderson 1983:261, Burke and Yee 1984:903, Yee and Sedivy 2006:1, Sedivy 2014:255). Evidence for semantic activation comes from studies using a lexical decision task in which subjects decide whether or not a sequence of letters is a word. Reaction time (RT) is shorter to a word target following a semantically related word in isolation (Meyer and Schvaneveldt 1971:227, Neely 1977:226, Fischler and Goodman 1978:455) or in a sentence (Swinney, Onifer, Prather and Hirshkowitz 1979:162, Burke and Yee 1984:906). Such an effect has been found both in uni-modal experiments (e.g. Meyer et al. 1975, Fishler 1977) and cross-modal studies (e.g. Swinney 1979, Swinney et al. 1979, Zwitserlood and Schriefers 1995).<sup>81</sup>

The rationale in designing the present experiment is as follows. When a prime results in the activation of the intended SW, then responses to the target related to the SW, following the logic of semantic priming and of spreading activation, should be faster in comparison to an unrelated target. The hypothesis presented above will be confirmed if we observe the following in the experiment: 1) the RT to the target semantically related to an overlap blend prime is significantly shorter than the RT to the target semantically unrelated to an overlap blend prime;

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<sup>80</sup> Following Gunina (2011:249), I view a concept as a mental representation or an abstract mental image, which can be represented though linguistic means, i.e. through words. Such a general definition appears to correspond to most psycholinguistic works on semantic activation (Burke and Yee 1984, Yee and Sedivy 2006, etc.).

<sup>81</sup> See Nicol et al. (2015:9) for argumentation that cross-modal lexical decision tasks are in fact advantageous over uni-modal lexical decision tasks in their discussion of congruence effects in processing.

2) the RT to the target semantically related to a substitution blend prime is not significantly different from the RT to the target semantically unrelated to a substitution blend prime. If, however, the RTs to unrelated and related target words following overlap blends do not differ significantly, one can conclude that Ukrainian speakers do not automatically recognize SWs in overlap blends. Similarly, significant difference in RTs to related and unrelated targets preceded by a substitution blend prime can be interpreted as evidence that Ukrainian speakers automatically process substitution blends.

### *6.1.1 Design*

The experiment described here is a cross-modal semantic priming experiment involving a lexical-decision task. It was designed in the program *Superlab 4.0* (Cedrus Corp.). In the present experiment, subjects were exposed to recordings of Ukrainian sentences which contained novel blends. Blends in these sentences were intended to serve as primes. At the offset of each prime, a sequence of letters appeared on the screen. According to the instructions, the subjects were supposed to immediately press the green button if the given sequence was a Ukrainian word or the red button if the sequence was not a word in Ukrainian. The reaction times (RTs) of the subjects to words and non-words were registered by *Superlab 4.0*.

The RTs to target words under two conditions were compared for each of the two independent factors and the interaction between the conditions for the two independent factors were studied. The two independent factors in this experiment were the following: Prime Type and Semantic Relatedness. The Prime Type factor was comprised of two factor levels (or conditions), which were represented by two structural types of blends in the sentences, i.e. two structural types of the primes: overlap blend primes and substitution blend primes. The Semantic Relatedness factor was comprised of two factor levels (or conditions): semantically related and semantically unrelated target. Therefore, I compared the RTs to targets semantically related to overlap blend primes to RTs to targets semantically related to substitution blend primes. I also compared the RTs to targets semantically related to primes and RTs to targets semantically unrelated to primes for both structural types of blend primes. Finally, the interaction between the four factor levels was studied.



50 compounds, 30 of which were clipped compounds (see, for example, (192a)) and 10 blends (see, for example, (192b)). All the fillers were similar to primes in that they were formed by combining two words, which in some cases involved clipping of fragments of those words or an overlap of homophonous sequences they shared (see (192) below). The use of complex words of all these structural types—both similar and different at the same time—was meant to prevent subjects from singling out blends when partaking in the experiment.

- (192) a.      harbézp                      <      har(ántija)      bezp(éky)  
                  ‘guarantee of security’      ‘guarantee’      ‘security.GEN’
- b.      čerepáxar                      <      čerepáxa      páxar  
                  ‘turtle ploughman’                      ‘turtle’                      ‘ploughman’  
                  (slow ploughman)

(Komarovs’kyj 2014)

The second step was forming the target words, the RT to which was expected to be affected by the primes. The target words were words semantically related to one of the SWs in the newly coined blends. For example, the target word *xustka* ‘scarf’ is semantically related to the SW *aksesuar* ‘accessory’ and the target word *sujicyd* ‘suicide’ is semantically related to the SW *xarakiri* ‘hara-kiri’ respectively in (191a) and (191b). I involved 10 native speakers of Ukrainian in the process of selection of the target words. Their task was to come up with words which were semantically related to the SWs on the list given to these Ukrainian speakers. The list contained 40 such SWs, including *aksesuar* ‘accessory’ and *xarakiri* ‘hara-kiri’. The subjects were asked to come up with five words for each item on the list. From the words suggested by the subjects, I selected the target words taking into account the following three criteria: the target word had to be a frequently used Ukrainian word spelled with 6 or 7 symbols and had to be suggested by at least 5 subjects.<sup>83</sup> As for the fillers, I came up with 20 words semantically related to 20 fillers and formed 40 non-words. I formed the non-words by deleting one consonant from consonant clusters in different positions in existing Ukrainian words, following Ukrainian phonotactic rules. For example,

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<sup>83</sup> To my knowledge, there is no Ukrainian frequency dictionary; therefore, I had to rely on my intuition in selecting frequently used Ukrainian words.

by deleting the consonant /v/ in the Ukrainian word *dolivka* ‘floor’, I formed the non-word *dolika*. The words which were transformed into non-words matched the target words in number of letters, part of speech, and frequency. Then I created a .jpeg file for each word or non-word in order to present them to the experiment subjects as visual stimuli. In these image files, the subjects were presented with words or non-words in black capitals on a white computer screen.

The third step in producing stimuli for the present experiment consisted in forming sentences with the primes and fillers discussed above. The psycholinguistic experiments conducted by Lehrer (1996) demonstrated that subjects identify SWs of a blend more easily if they are exposed to the blend in context and find it hard to recognize SWs if the blend is presented in isolation (Lehrer 1996:385, 2007:126). Thus, I decided to present the blends in context, which corresponds to how Ukrainian speakers normally encounter blends in their everyday lives. When a prime is presented in a sentence, there is always a risk that the RT to the target will be affected not by the prime itself but by some other factor. For example, the RT to the target word *tree* following the sentence in (193) will perhaps be shorter no matter whether a language speaker recognizes the SW *baobab* in the prime *baobaba* or not, since *stoljar* ‘carpenter’ will activate the semantically related concept “tree” in any event. This is why I attempted to form sentences in such a way that the target word following the sentence would be semantically related only to the blend prime (specifically, one of the SWs of the blend) and not to any other words in the given sentence. The somewhat modified version of the sentence considered, which is presented in (193b) below, does not contain any words which are semantically related to the word *tree*, except *baobaba* ‘baobab woman’. Unlike (193a), the sentence in (193b) can serve as a stimulus in the current experiment, since in this case the shorter RT to the target word “tree” can be accounted for by nothing but effect of the prime *baobaba* ‘baobab woman’.

(193) a. *Žinka stoljara Hryc’ka Hostronosoho zovsim ne bula sxoža na super-model’ – švydše, na baobabu.*

‘The wife of the *carpenter* Hryc’ko the Pointy Nose was far from being a super-model – rather, she was a baobab woman.’

b. Žinka moho *susida* Hryc'ka Hostronosoho zovsim ne bula sxoža na super-model' – švydše, na baobabu.

'The wife of my *neighbour* Hryc'ko the Pointy Nose was far from being a super-model – rather, she was a baobab woman.'

Avoiding the possibility of priming effect by any sentence constituent other than the blend, I placed the blends *kuxarakiri* and *aksflikt* discussed above in context by forming the sentences (194a) and (194b). Primes appeared in the sentences in various positions (the beginning, the middle and the end of a sentence). Sentences with all the fillers were formed as well. All the sentences in the experiment were declarative and complex, on average consisting of 14 words.

(194) a. Xoč prysutni ne zvernuly uvahu na aksflikt, jakyj Tymošenko prohledila, eksperty maly, ščo skazaty z c'oho pryvodu.

'Although those present did not pay attention to the accessory conflict overlooked by Tymoshenko, some experts had a lot to say about it.'

b. Raptom čornjava kurka-nesuška z"javylasja na porozi kuxni mojeji babusi – mabut' bula hotova do kuxarakiri.

'Suddenly, the black egg-laying chicken appeared on the doorstep of my Grandma's kitchen – it was ready for hara-kiri by a cook.'

All the sentences were recorded as .wav files on a Shure SM48 microphone with pop-filter in order to be presented to the subjects as audio stimuli. The recordings were made with Adobe Audition 2.0 in mono at 44100Hz in a sound-attenuated booth at the Phonetics Lab of the University of Calgary.

The final step in preparing the stimuli was constructing two stimuli lists. Each list contained 100 sentences with blends or fillers, as well as 60 words (including 40 target words) and 40 non-words. The sentences and words/non-words were the same on both lists. The two lists were different only in how the sentences and target words were paired up. Such a difference

in pairing was necessary in order for me to be able to compare RT to a target word which was semantically related to the preceding prime to RT to a target word which was not semantically related to the preceding prime. Example fragments of the two lists are provided in Table 1 below.

List 1	List 2
<p>Xoč prysutni ne zvernuly uvahu na <u>aksflikt</u><sup>84</sup>, jakyj Tymošenko prohledila, eksperty maly, ščo skazaty z c’oho pryvodu.  ‘Although those present did not pay attention to the <u>accessory conflict</u> overlooked by Tymoshenko, some experts had a lot to say about it.’</p>	
<p>Target word (related): XUSTKA  ‘scarf’</p>	<p>Target word (unrelated): SUJICYD  ‘suicide’</p>
<p>Raptom čornjava kurka-nesuška z”javylasja na porozi kuxni mojeji babusi – mabut’ bula hotova do <u>kuxarakiri</u>.  ‘Suddenly, the black egg-laying chicken appeared on the doorstep of my Grandma’s kitchen – it was ready for <u>hara-kiri by a cook</u>.’</p>	
<p>Target word (related): SUJICYD  ‘suicide’</p>	<p>Target word (unrelated): XUSTKA  ‘scarf’</p>
<p>Jakščo chočete švydše zasadyty horod, to krašče najmit’ Ivana, bo z takym <i>čerepaxarem</i>, jak Petro, i za tyžden’ ne vporajetesja.  ‘If you want to plant your garden faster, you should hire Ivan, because with a <i>turtle ploughman</i> like Petro, you won’t cope even in a whole week.’</p>	
<p>Filler (non-word): DOLIKA</p>	
<p>Jak pokazaly nam neščodavni podiji, dorožnje pokryttja možna vykorystovuvaty pry nahodi jak <u>brukrojennja</u>.  ‘As demonstrated by the recent events, paving materials can at times be used as <u>cobblestone weapons</u>.’</p>	
<p>Target word (unrelated): DEREVO</p>	<p>Target word (related): SOLDAT</p>

<sup>84</sup> In Table 1, the primes are underlined and the complex words which serve as fillers are italicized. Each blend which serves as a prime is either a blend with overlap or a blend without overlap.

‘tree’	‘soldier’
<p>Žinka moho susida Hryc’ka Hostronosoho zovsim ne bula sxoža na super-model’ – švydše, na <u>baobabu</u>.</p> <p>‘The wife of my neighbour Hryc’ko the Pointy Nose was far from being a super-model – rather, she was a <u>baobab woman</u>.’</p>	
<p>Target word (unrelated): SOLDAT ‘soldier’</p>	<p>Target word (related): DEREVO ‘tree’</p>
<p>Taku velyčeznu kil’kist’ valjuty v Ukrajinі sjohodni majut’ xiba ščo til’ky oliharxy, deputaty, mafiozi abo <i>hrošopysci</i>.</p> <p>‘Nowadays only oligarchs, deputies, mafiosi and <i>money-painters</i> (counterfeiters) can possibly have such an enormous amount of money in Ukraine.’</p>	
<p>Filler (word): MONETA ‘coin’</p>	

Table 3. Sample of auditory and visual stimuli.

In Appendix B, one can find the stimuli used in the present experiment. Namely, I provide 40 blends, which served as primes (see (a) in Appendix B), as well as the 40 sentences containing them (see (b)). Every sentence is followed by a target word (see (c)) that is semantically related to the corresponding SW, which is presented in bold.

### 6.1.3 Subjects

Thirty native speakers of Ukrainian participated in the experiment. 18 of the 30 subjects were male and 12 female. The average age was 22.8 years (range: 18 to 35).<sup>85</sup> 16 subjects had university education (53.3%), while 1 subject had college education (3.3%)<sup>86</sup> and 13 were

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<sup>85</sup> In a number of psycholinguistic works, it has been found that age influences processing abilities (see, for example, Cohen 1979, Burke and Yee 1984 and others). In order to ensure the relative homogeneity of the pool of subjects in this experiment, I required that the subjects be between 18 and 45 years of age.

<sup>86</sup> In Ukraine, college is a higher education establishment which gives students a BA degree, but not a higher degree.

university students working towards a BA degree (43.3%).<sup>87</sup> All subjects had native proficiency in Ukrainian and spoke one or more languages in addition to Ukrainian.<sup>88</sup> Subjects were given a small sum of money for their participation in the experiment. All but one subject succeeded in reaching the performance criterion of 75% correct on the recognition test.<sup>89</sup>

#### *6.1.4 Procedure*

The experiment was run on an HP Protect Smart laptop. Each subject was seated in front of the laptop screen, wearing head-phones KOSS UR-20, with their right-hand index finger positioned on the green button of the keyboard and their left-hand index finger positioned on the red button of the key-board. Subjects were instructed to listen to each sentence carefully because their memory of the sentences would be tested throughout the experiment, and to make the lexical decision as rapidly as possible while keeping errors at a minimum. After reading the instructions presented in *Superlab 4.0* on the screen, the subject was prompted to press any button to initiate the presentation of the stimuli. First, the subject was exposed to an audio stimulus, i.e. a recording of one of the 100 sentences on each list. Immediately after the offset of each prime, a visual stimulus was presented on the screen, i.e. a target word presented in capital letters. Each target word remained on the screen until the subject pressed either the green key (indicating that the sequence of letters on the screen is a Ukrainian word) or the red key (indicating that the sequence of letters on the screen is not a Ukrainian word). RT was measured from the onset of the visual stimulus till the moment the subject pressed one of the keys. Next, the subject saw the instruction on the screen to press any button when ready for the next trial. Thus, the experiment was self-paced, the subjects having an opportunity to take a break at any time. At the beginning, 10 filler sentence-target pairs were presented for practice, which was followed by the presentation of the remaining 90 sentence-target pairs in random order. The recognition tests

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<sup>87</sup> Subjects with different levels of education give us a fuller picture of the process under consideration. The effect of the level of education on blend processing abilities could be an interesting direction for future research.

<sup>88</sup> Bi- and multilinguals show patterns of linguistic performance that differ from those of monolinguals (Libben 2014:2); therefore, the pool of subjects who speak two or more languages provided the present study with a certain homogeneity, as well as reflecting linguistic reality in Ukraine where most people are bilingual (Bilaniuk 2010:106).

<sup>89</sup> In this experiment, it is not important whether a subject is right- or left-handed. I compare the RTs resulting from pressing the green button only, since the RTs to non-words are of no interest in the present experiment. Subsequently, the RTs were normalized for all the subjects, which means it does not matter whether a subject takes more time to press the green button (which is located on the right) due to left-handedness.

were given to participants following the practice trial and then after each fifteen sentence-target pairs.

### *6.1.5 Results*

I ran a two-way analysis of variance (ANOVA) on the data obtained from the experiment. The dependent factor was the Reaction Time (RT) to the target words, which was converted to normalized z-scores. The independent factors, as discussed above, were the Prime Type (with overlap blends and substitution blends as factor levels) and the Semantic Relatedness of the target word to the prime (with semantically related and semantically unrelated targets as factor levels). The analysis revealed a significant main effect of prime type,  $F(1, 853) = 19.703$ ,  $p < 0.001$ . No other significant main effects or interactions emerged from the analysis.

With respect to the main effect of prime type, the mean normalized RT to target words following overlap blend primes equaled  $-0.076$  and the mean normalized RT to target words following substitution blend primes equaled  $-0.33$ . I ran a Welch two-sample t-test to determine whether these means were significantly different from each other. This test revealed that the mean RT to targets following overlap blend primes was significantly less than the mean RT to targets following substitution blend primes:  $[t(661.11) = -4.4571, p < 0.001]$ .

### *6.1.6 Conclusions and discussion*

A possible interpretation of the results presented above is that the amount of the sensory information in the primes (i.e. the acoustic representations of the SWs or their splinters) is not sufficient for the online activation of the intended SWs, as well as spreading of this activation to the semantically related targets. In other words, the fragments of the SWs, or splinters, which form the blends in question are too short for Ukrainian speakers to be able to immediately recognize the SWs which they represent. This applies to both the substitution blends, which are formed by combining two splinters of corresponding SWs, and overlap blends, if we assume that Ukrainian speakers process them as one complete SW combined with a splinter of another SW (e.g. *ka• + Putin* or *kaput + •in*). While this interpretation appears plausible, one should consider other factors which may have affected the results of the Experiment 1. Such factors, as well as some directions for future research, will be discussed in what follows.

According to Zwitserlood and Schriefers (1995:123), activation is a function of time. By inserting a time interval between prime fragment offset and presentation of the visual target in their cross-modal partial priming study, Zwitserlood and Schriefers (1995:125) found that information even in short word fragments leads to a priming effect, but only when this information is given sufficient time to become operative. This finding is consistent with that reported by Brown (1990) in his cross-modal partial priming study. Namely, Brown (1990) revealed a positive effect of processing time on the level of activation of word candidates, with faster reaction times when targets were followed by longer pauses (500 msec) as compared to shorter pauses (100 msec). The results of the two studies discussed above appear to conflict with results in a great number of studies showing the priming effect even when a visual target was presented immediately at the offset of a prime (see, for example, Swinney 1979, Swinney et al. 1979, McKoon and Ratcliff 1989 and others). However, the primes in Brown 1990 and Zwitserlood and Schriefers 1995, unlike in Swinney 1979, Swinney et al. 1979 and McKoon and Ratcliff 1989, were word fragments, which could have increased the processing load. Similarly, the primes in my Experiment 1 described in this section are very different in that they contain word fragments in their structure, while their form and meaning are at least partially composed of the form and meaning of two existing words combined. These characteristics of the primes in my study could make them more ambiguous and harder to process. Therefore, investigating whether an increase in processing time of Ukrainian blends would lead to the activation of the SWs and spreading of the activation to the semantically related targets could provide us with some interesting insight.

The question of processing time is closely related to the discussion regarding online versus offline processing. Swinney (1979) introduces online measures of comprehension, i.e. tasks examining the process during its operation, in which subjects have to respond to a target immediately after the presentation of an ambiguous prime (e.g. online lexical decision tasks, as in Swinney 1979, McKoon et al. 1994 and others). An alternative to online measures are offline measures of comprehension, i.e. tasks examining the process after it is finished, whereas subjects are asked to respond to an ambiguity in a sentence only after the entire sentence had been comprehended (e.g. phoneme monitoring tasks, as in Foss and Jenkins 1973). Swinney (1979:647) stresses that one should carefully select one of the two types of tasks, since they shed

light on two different processes. While online tasks measure immediate lexical access, offline tasks shed light on post-access processes. In Experiment 1, the immediate lexical access was studied, as the targets were presented immediately following the presentation of a prime. If a priming effect had been observed, one would conclude that Ukrainian speakers access the SWs immediately after being exposed to a blend. However, my overall goal is to learn whether Ukrainian speakers recognize SWs in blends when they encounter them in natural speech and thus understand their intended meaning. An offline measure of comprehension can help me achieve this goal as much as an online measure of comprehension, since knowing at which point during the comprehension the meaning of the blend is accessed is not essential for my purposes. Therefore, a possible direction for future research is learning whether the SWs are accessed at any point in comprehension of sentences containing blends by significantly extending the temporal gap between a prime and a target, presenting the target after the whole sentence.

Another factor that could have affected the results of the Experiment 1 is the possible disruption caused by the acoustic input. In 67% of the sentences, a prime was located at the beginning or in the middle of a sentence. Thus, when performing the lexical decision task, subjects were exposed to the recording of the remaining part of the prime-carrying sentence. The subjects had been previously instructed to listen to the sentences carefully and the fact that only one subject did not fulfill the sentence recognition requirement of 75% correct answers shows that the subjects indeed diligently attended to the sentences. Therefore, the acoustic input could have acted as a disruptor, affecting the subjects' performance in the lexical decision task. Disruptive effects of background speech on performance of cognitive tasks are well-documented (see Martin, Wogalter and Forlano 1988 and Sörqvist, Halin and Hygge 2010 for the discussion of the detrimental influence of background speech on reading comprehension, Ransdell and Gilroy 2001, Ransdell, Levy and Kellogg 2002, Sörqvist, Nörtl and Halin 2012 and van de Poll, Ljung, Odelius and Sörqvist 2014 on writing, Jones, Miles and Page 1990, Venetjoki, Kaarlela-Tuomaala, Keskinen and Hongisto 2006, Smith-Jackson and Klein 2009 on proofreading and Banbury and Berry 1998, as well as Sörqvist 2010, on prose memory). Moreover, sensitivity of lexical decision tasks to disruptions, e.g. case mixing—i.e. altering the size of letters—in visually presented targets, has also been observed in the literature (see, for example, Besner and McCann 1987, Mayall and Humphreys 1996 and Mayall, Humphreys and Olson 1997).

Therefore, the assumption that background acoustic input could contribute to disruption during the experiment appears reasonable. One could object that the literature discusses many successful lexical decision priming experiments in which the ongoing presentation of the audio stimuli did not inhibit their results (e.g. Swinney 1979, Swinney et al. 1979). However, unlike in those studies, our Experiment 1 involved blends composed of fragments of two words as primes. In all likelihood, the selection point for each SW of the blend does not happen by the end of the acoustic presentation of the prime.<sup>90</sup> This means that multiple candidates for each SW are activated at the offset of the prime, when a visual stimulus is presented for the lexical decision task. According to Marslen-Wilson (1987:99) and Zwitserlood and Schriefers (1995:122–123), the level of activation is dependent on the goodness-of-fit with the sensory input. I assume that all the candidates matching the acoustic input which presents SW fragments are only mildly activated at the offset of the prime, which may mean that the disruption may have a stronger effect during a lexical-decision task and the activation is too weak to be measured. Therefore, it would be interesting to see whether the study would have a different result had the disruptor been eliminated, enabling the subjects to focus solely on the lexical decision task.

Taking into account the considerations above, I designed and ran Experiment 2, in which the debatable issues highlighted above were manipulated differently, compared to Experiment 1. Namely, I studied the offline processing of blends, providing subjects with additional time for processing and eliminating the background acoustic input distraction. Experiment 2 is described in detail.

## **6.2 Experiment 2**

### *6.2.0 Introduction*

Experiment 2 is designed to address the following research questions: (i) Do native speakers of Ukrainian recognise SWs in Ukrainian blends during offline processing of blends in context? (ii) Does structure of the blend affect the recognizability of SWs during offline processing of blends?

I propose the following hypothesis for this experiment: Ukrainian speakers will recognize the SWs of the blends with overlap during online processing, but not the substitution blends. The

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<sup>90</sup> Selection point (also called “uniqueness point” in Zwitserlood and Schriefers 1995:133, as well as Sedivy 2014:253) is the moment in time when there is only one word form which matches the sensory input.

hypothesis above will be confirmed if we observe the following in the experiment: 1) the RT to the target semantically related to an overlap blend prime is significantly shorter than the RT to the target semantically unrelated to an overlap blend prime; 2) the RT to the target semantically related to a substitution blend prime is not significantly different from the RT to the target semantically unrelated to a substitution blend prime.

### *6.2.1 Design and materials*

The current experiment is a cross-modal semantic priming experiment with a lexical-decision task. The design of the experiment, as well as the materials, are the same as in Experiment 1, with the only difference consisting in the time of presentation of the lexical-decision task. Namely, in the present experiment, subjects were presented with the lexical decision task no sooner than 1 second after the whole sentence containing a prime had been played.

### *6.2.2 Subjects*

Twenty-five native speakers of Ukrainian participated in the experiment. 10 of the 24 subjects were male. The average age was 31.6 years (range: 19 to 45). Most subjects had university education (54.2%), while some had college education (25%) and others were university students working towards their BA degree (20.8%). Subjects were given a small monetary incentive for their participation. One subject failed to reach the performance criterion of 75% correct on the recognition test and was excluded.

### *6.2.3 Procedure*

The procedure was the same as in Experiment 1, with the only difference that the subjects performed the lexical decision task not sooner than 1 second after the whole sentence had been played.

### *6.2.4 Results*

A two-way analysis of variance (ANOVA) was run on the response data collected from the experiment. The dependent factor was the Reaction Time (RT) to the target words, which was converted to normalized z-scores. The independent factors, as discussed above, were the Prime

Type (with overlap blends and substitution blends as factor levels) and the Semantic Relatedness of the target word to the prime (with semantically related and semantically unrelated targets as factor levels). The analysis revealed significant main effects of prime type,  $F(1, 569) = 148.38$ ,  $p < 0.001$ , and semantic relatedness of the target word to the prime (i.e. the blend in the sentence),  $F(1, 432.5) = 27.84$ ,  $p < 0.001$ . Importantly, the two-way analysis of variance revealed an interaction of the two independent variables:  $F(1, 0.76) = 10.59$ ,  $p < 0.0013$ .

Next, in order to analyze this interaction, I ran post-hoc Welch two-sample t-tests to determine the conditions under which RT was shorter or longer. I calculated the mean normalized RT for the following four subsets of stimuli (see Figure 5): (i) target words, which were semantically related to the substitution blend prime (mean = 0.4560886), (ii) target words, which were semantically unrelated to the substitution blend prime (mean = 0.6143029), (iii) target words, which were semantically related to the overlap blend prime (mean = -0.6730443), and (iv) target words, which were semantically unrelated to the overlap blend prime (mean = -0.04019416).<sup>91</sup>

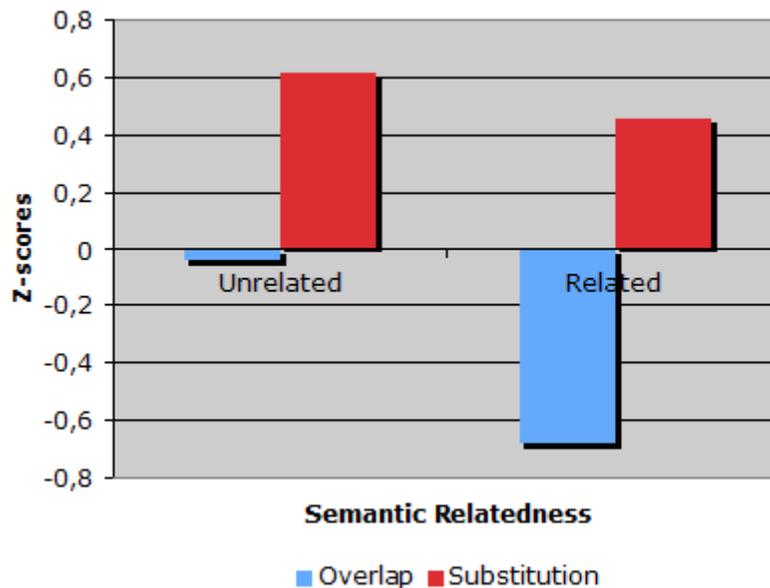


Figure 5. Normalized mean reaction times.

<sup>91</sup> The negative values are due to the fact that the RTs were converted to normalized z-scores.

First, I ran planned post-hoc t-tests comparing the means in (i) through (iv) above. The post-hoc tests revealed a significant difference between (iii) and (iv) [ $t(267.494) = -5.5387$ ,  $p < 0.001$ ], showing that RTs were shorter when target words were semantically related to overlap blend primes. There was also a significant difference between (i) and (iii) [ $t(230.621) = 11.222$ ,  $p < 0.001$ ], showing that RTs were shorter for semantically related words when they followed overlap blend primes. Finally, there was a significant difference between (ii) and (iv) [ $t(284.989) = 6.1023$ ,  $p < 0.001$ ], indicating that RTs for semantically unrelated words were shorter when they followed overlap blend primes. No significant difference was found between the means in (i) and (ii) [ $t(270.568) = [-1.7089$ ,  $p = 0.08862$ ].

#### 6.2.5 Conclusions

The results of the experiment confirmed the proposed hypothesis. Ukrainian speakers recognize the SWs of blends with overlap during offline processing, but do not recognize the SWs of substitution blends. On the one hand, when subjects were exposed to words semantically related to overlap blend primes, their RT was significantly shorter than when they were exposed to words semantically unrelated to overlap blend primes. This happened because the SW in the considered blend (e.g. *xarakiri* ‘hara-kiri’ in *kuxarakiri* ‘hara-kiri by a cook’) activated the concept ‘hara-kiri’ and the semantically related concepts, including ‘suicide’, which facilitated the reaction to the word *sujicyd* ‘suicide’ and did not appear to have any effect on the reaction to the semantically unrelated word *šarf* ‘scarf’. On the other hand, subjects’ RT to words semantically related to the substitution blend prime did not differ significantly from that to words semantically unrelated to the substitution blend prime. This means that the SW in a blend in question (e.g. *aksesuary* ‘accessory’ in *aksflikt* ‘accessory conflict’) did not activate the concept ‘accessory’ and the semantically related concepts, including ‘scarf’.

The result obtained in this experiment provides us with some insight into the complexity of processing of blends. Processing of overlap blends appears to be a manageable task, even though language speakers would have to compute that the overlapping sequence should be viewed as part of both SWs or would have to recognize a SW based on its fragment (if they process overlap blends as a full word combined with a splinter). However, recognizing both SWs

on the basis of two splinters presents a processing challenge too difficult for Ukrainian language speakers to meet. Had the processing load been not as heavy, our experiment would perhaps have replicated some of the reported findings regarding the incremental nature of word-recognition and activation. Namely, a splinter of SW<sub>1</sub> (e.g. AKS for *aksesuar* ‘accessory’) would have activated a concept semantically related to the corresponding SW (e.g. ŠARF ‘scarf’), as initial word fragments (e.g. KAP for the Dutch *kapitein* ‘captain’) activated targets which were semantically related to the primes (e.g. ADMIRAAL ‘admiral’) in Zwitserlood and Schriefers 1995 (the same effect was obtained in Zwitserlood 1989 and Moss et al. 1997). Similarly, a splinter of SW<sub>2</sub> (e.g. FLIKT for *konflikt* ‘conflict’) would have activated the semantically related concept (e.g. VIJNA ‘war’), as the final fragment of a prime (e.g. PEAR) activated the target which was semantically related to a word with the same final fragment (e.g. TIGER being semantically related to BEAR) in Yee 2005:42.<sup>92</sup> However, in my experiment, the splinters of the SWs did not appear to activate the SWs, which I attribute to the complexity of the processing of words consisting of two word fragments, i.e. substitution blends.

The present study provided experimental evidence for the claim made in the literature that one should preserve as much SW material as possible in a blend in order to make the blend transparent (Lehrer 1996:385, Ronneberger-Sibold 2006:167). In the present experiment, subjects processed overlap blends—which are known to always have more phonological material preserved from their SWs—while they appeared to not be able to process substitution blends—which have considerably less phonological material preserved from SWs (in Ronneberger-Sibold’s (2006:168) typology of blends based on transparency, overlap blends are viewed as the most transparent, while substitution blends are the least transparent). Indeed, the amount of material preserved in the splinter of a Ukrainian SW<sub>1</sub> is normally very limited (mean length of SW<sub>1</sub> splinter in my experiments equaled 3.5 speech segments, compared to, for example 4.9 speech segments in Zwitserlood and Schriefers 1995) and therefore may be insufficient for the

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<sup>92</sup> As far as I know, semantic priming experiments to date have not provided evidence for activation of rhyme competitors and spreading thereof to semantically related concepts. For example, Marslen-Wilson and Zwitserlood (1989) and Marslen-Wilson et al. (1996) were not able to obtain significant priming effect in their experiments. However, strong evidence of semantic and phonological priming comes from eye-movement tracking studies (see, respectively, Yee 2005 and Allopenna et al. 1998).

recognition of the SW.<sup>93</sup> While splinters of SW<sub>2</sub> tend to preserve considerably more SW material, it is generally more difficult to find semantic priming effects when a word's rhyme serves as a prime (Sedivy 2014:258). Presumably the inability of Ukrainian speakers to decompose a substitution blend into SWs (and thus access its meaning) accounts for my observation that they form new blends of this structural type very rarely. On the contrary, blends with overlap are easy to decompose into SWs (which presumably leads to interpretation of their meaning), and therefore Ukrainian speakers coin them considerably more often.

Finally, it should be noted that the results of the experimental studies above do not in any way undermine the claims in Chapters 3 – 5 regarding systematicity of blending as a type of word-formation in Ukrainian. Those claims revolve around the mechanisms employed at the moment of forming a new blend (for substitution blends, these mechanisms are clipping and compounding operations). Even if the processing of a substitution blend presents a challenge for a Ukrainian speaker, this observation can hardly be used as an argument demonstrating that the word-formation mechanisms involved in forming that blend were not regular or a part of the system of Ukrainian word-formation. Similarly, a challenge in the processing of novel exocentric blends cannot undermine the claim that compounding is a systematic type of word-formation. Even if there is a link between the word-formation stage and the processing stage in that creative language users who form Ukrainian blends try to predict whether a blend will be hard to process, the mechanisms which they use to form blends are systematic.

## **6.3 Experiment 3**

### *6.3.0 Introduction*

The findings in Experiments 1 and 2 can be applied to the spoken language modality only. Spoken language offers some challenges for hearers which are not involved in the processing of writing. In particular, when one reads a word in a sentence, one can see the whole word at once, focus on it for as long as it takes to recognize it and go back to it after reading the whole sentence. Spoken language, however, unfolds one sound at a time in a continuous acoustic stream, and once it has been uttered, it is gone. It would be interesting to learn whether the

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<sup>93</sup> When creating the new blends for the present experiment, I followed the clipping rules described in Chapter 4, which appear to operate in Ukrainian.

results obtained in Experiments 1 and 2 would be replicated if the challenges resulting from the fleeting nature of speech in time were removed.

Another interesting question which Experiments 1 and 2 left unanswered is how Ukrainian speakers interpret the meaning of a blend. Recognizing the constituents of a blend does not necessarily mean understanding its meaning. In fact, Connolly's (2013:7) hypothesis that consensus about the SWs entails consensus about the meaning of a blend was not confirmed in his experimental study of English blends. Analyzing the interpretations of blends by Ukrainian language speakers with the aim of learning whether correct identification of SWs leads to correct interpretation of a blend's meaning is an interesting direction for further research.

The intriguing questions presented above motivated me to run another experiment in order to gain more insights into the processing of Ukrainian blends.

### *6.3.1 Method*

In this experiment I addressed the following research questions: (i) Do Ukrainian speakers recognize SWs in blends when they are exposed to these blends in written text without any time constraints? (ii) Does recognition of SWs depend on the structural type of a blend, i.e. are Ukrainian speakers better at recognizing SWs in overlap blends when they are presented through a written medium? (iii) Do speakers compose a blend's meaning from the (fragments of) meanings of its SWs?

I assume that elimination of all the challenges posed by the spoken medium will substantially simplify the processing of blends. Thus, I propose the following hypotheses: (i-ii) Ukrainian speakers recognize SWs in blends when they are exposed to these blends in a written text, irrespective of the blends' structure; iii) Ukrainian speakers compose a blend's meaning from the meanings of its SWs, so that the correct identification of two SWs leads to correct interpretation of a blend's meaning.

### *6.3.2 Design and materials*

This experiment investigates whether Ukrainian speakers understand the meaning of a blend when being exposed to a blend in a written sentential context. In the current experiment, I used the same sentences as those in Experiments 1 and 2. The only difference was in the presentation

mode: in this experiment, the sentences were presented in writing on a print-out given to the subjects, while in Experiments 1 and 2 they were presented as audio stimuli. Each subject was given a list of 20 sentences, which contained underlined blends (10 overlap blends and 10 substitution blends). Subjects were asked to cite the SWs of each underlined word and provide a definition of each underlined word. Instructions on the hand-out contained a definition of blends, as well as their examples.

### 6.3.3 Subjects

Thirty native speakers of Ukrainian participated in the experiment. 13 of the 30 subjects were male. The average age was 32.9 years (range: 25 to 41). 26 subjects (86.7%) had university education and 4 subjects (13.3%) were university students working towards BA degree (20.8%) and others had college education (25%). Subjects were given a small monetary incentive for their participation.

### 6.3.4 Procedure

Every subject took part in the experiment individually. Participants were presented with a list of 20 sentences containing unfamiliar blends, all of which were invented by myself, and asked to identify their SWs and meanings. There was no time constraint on fulfillment of the given task (all subjects coped with the task within less than 45 minutes).

### 6.3.5 Evaluation of answers

In some cases, during the identification of SWs, subjects suggested words which were possible candidates, even though they were not the SWs which I intended when coining them. For example, a subject decomposed the blend in (195a) as *buržuaznyj* ‘bourgeois’ and *parlament* ‘parliament’, defining it as “parliament composed of the representatives of the middle class”, while another subject decomposed the blend in (195b) as *kurjoznyj* ‘curious’ and *parlament* ‘parliament’, defining it as “parliament which makes curious decisions, behind which nobody can see any logic”. Another interesting case demonstrated that subjects can think in terms of “surzhyk” (see 3.1) when processing blends. For example, a subject decomposed the blend in (195c) as *oliharxy* ‘oligarchs’ and *puhaty*—which is a surzhyk phonological adaptation of the

Russian verb *pugat* ‘to frighten, scare’—defining it as “oligarchs who use their power to intimidate people”. In such cases, I marked the SW identifications as correct. As long as the corresponding definitions were consistent with the identified SWs, I viewed them as correct interpretations which were based on the meanings of two SWs.

- (195) a. burhláment < bur(dá) (re)hláment  
 ‘chaotic protocol’ ‘chaos’ ‘protocol’
- b. kurláment < kur(nýk) (par)láment  
 ‘hen coop parliament’ ‘hen coop’ ‘parliament’  
 (the parliament in which the members make noise and peck each other all the time)
- c. ol’púha < ol(ihárx) (pa)púha  
 ‘parrot oligarch’ ‘oligarch’ ‘parrot’  
 (oligarch who surrounds himself with expensive distasteful things, which make him look gaudy)

There were also instances, whereas subjects correctly identified SWs which were polysemous, and when defining the blends, they chose the meanings of the SWs which I did not intend. For example, the SW *saljut* in Ukrainian can be interpreted both as ‘fireworks’ and as ‘salutation’. One subject chose the latter meaning, defining the blend in (196a) as “salutation to salsa or the opening of a new season of vegetable canning”. Another example is illustrated in (196b). While *moroz* is normally interpreted as ‘frost’, there is also a slang verb *morozyty* ‘to utter nonsense’, so one can potentially interpret the word *moroz* as ‘nonsense’. As a result, several different interpretations were provided by subjects for the blend in (196b); namely, in addition to the intended “emotionless presentation”, I received “a scary story – the one that causes goose bumps” and “a presentation made by an incompetent person”. Finally, there were cases in which the subjects did not recognize an intended metaphoric meaning of a SWs and therefore relied on the literal meaning of the SW when interpreting the blend. For example, one subject defined the blend in (196c) as “the contest in which the most good-looking reptile is



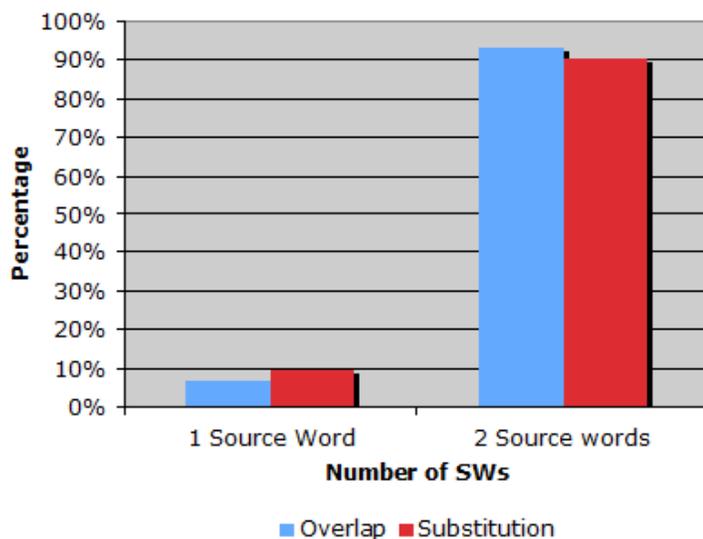


Figure 5. Number of source words identified correctly.

Next, in order to determine whether the results obtained for overlap blends are significantly different from those obtained for substitution blends, I ran a paired t-test. Predictably, the results of the t-test revealed no significant difference between the mean of correct identifications of both SWs in overlap blends and that in substitution blends: [ $t(29) = 0.941, p = 0.3545$ ]. Such a result indicates that Ukrainian speakers are successful in identifying two SWs in blends of both structural types.

Finally, I analysed to what extent the identified SWs determine the interpretation of the blends' meanings provided by the subjects. I found that in 100% per cent of the cases in which two SWs were identified, the perceived meanings of both SWs were combined in the definition of the corresponding blend. Similarly, when only one SW was identified, its meaning was incorporated into the definition.

### 6.3.7 Conclusions

The results presented above provide us with two interesting insights into processing of meaning of Ukrainian blends. First, when blends are presented in written contexts, Ukrainian speakers succeed in correctly identifying their SWs. This is equally true for both overlap blends and substitution blends. Therefore, my hypotheses (i-ii) presented above were confirmed. Second,

Ukrainian speakers retrieve the meaning of a blend by combining the meanings of the two SWs composing the blend. This observation also appears to be true across different structural types of blends. My hypothesis (iii) was confirmed as well.

## **6.4 General discussion**

### *6.4.1 Processing and activation*

The experiments discussed in this chapter have important implications for the discussion of the role of time in word processing, namely in processing of blends. The results of Experiment 1, in which the recognition of SWs immediately after the presentation of a blend was studied, demonstrated no priming effect, while the results of Experiment 2, in which the amount of processing time of blends was increased, demonstrated a strong priming effect. These results can serve as evidence that blends are not processed online, i.e. subconsciously, immediately following the presentation of a blend, and that indeed more time is needed for their processing (this is at least true for overlap blends). This observation is in tune with Lehrer's (2003:380) claims regarding the goals pursued by creators of blends: "if the goal is to capture someone's attention with a clever or puzzling new word, a slowed-down response is desirable; it suggests that the hearer/reader is paying attention to the form of the stimulus". The assumption that language speakers who create blends do not want the hearer/reader to respond to blends quickly and automatically appears plausible. The experiments show that their goals are fulfilled. The findings regarding processing times raise an interesting question: what level of word recognition changes due to the increase in processing time, leading to priming effect? Zwitserlood and Schriefers (1995:131) suggest the following answers: 1) additional time may be necessary to establish contact with lexical candidates; 2) additional time may result in an increase in the activation of candidate words, such that priming becomes measurable; and 3) additional time may lead to the further or more effective spreading of activation from prime to target. I will leave it for future research to establish on which one(s) of the three levels discussed above additional processing time makes a difference.

The experiments described in this chapter also revealed that blends have a special place in the system of word-formation with regard to their processing. As discussed in 2.2.4, blends share some features with such types of word-formation as compounding and clipping. It has been

demonstrated in the literature that compounds produce semantic priming of their constituent parts (Zwitserslood 1994:363) and that constituent parts of compounds have a semantic priming effect on the compounds they form (Sandra 1990:544), as well as that word fragments (which are akin to clippings) prime the targets semantically related to the corresponding words (see, for example, Zwitserslood 1989, Zwitserslood and Schriefers 1995, and Moss et al. 1997).<sup>94</sup> However, whether a blend produces a semantic priming effect is dependent on its structure: overlap blends do, while substitution blends do not. I assume that the lack of priming effect in processing of substitution blends in my experiments can be accounted for by the following factors: excessive processing load involved in recognition of SWs from two word fragments when processing substitution blends and insufficient amount of SW material preserved in splinters of substitution blends.

#### 6.4.2. *Processing of spoken vs. written language*

The experiments discussed above revealed that the modality of presentation of blends at least to some extent affected their processing. In Experiment 2, whereby blends were presented auditorily, no priming effect was observed for substitution blends, which suggests that Ukrainian speakers were not able to process them properly. In contrast, when the same substitution blends were presented in writing in Experiment 3, Ukrainian speakers successfully decomposed them into SWs and were able to correctly interpret their meaning. Differences between spoken and written language are ample and the ways we process speech presented in these two different modalities differ (Caplan et al. 2015:87).

Generally speaking, processing of spoken language may be preferred by human beings over processing of written language. According to Caplan et al. (2015:68) this happens for the following reasons: because infants hear spoken language before they encounter written language;

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<sup>94</sup> These results, however, appear to be true only for compounds whose meaning can be fully derived from the meanings of their constituent parts (e.g., *bedroom*) (Sandra 1990) or partially derived from constituent part meanings (e.g. *strawberry*) (Zwitserslood 1994), but not for opaque compounds (e.g. *hogwash*) (Sandra 1990, Zwitserslood 1994). While Libben et al. (2003) found a priming effect for all compound types in their constituent priming study, they also found a significant main effect of compound type (RTs to compounds with opaque morphological heads—e.g. *jailbird* and *hogwash*—were found to be longer than RTs to compounds with transparent heads—e.g. *carwash* and *strawberry*) (Libben et al. 2003:61).

because infants and young children hear auditory language in an affective and purposeful, interactive context (Tomasello 2003) and generally encounter written language in an environment that does not have these features (Perfetti 1987, Watson and Olson 1987); because of a genetically determined preference to acquire and use spoken language. While this preference may be strong in speakers whose reading skills are poor, it appears that experienced language users whose reading skills are well-developed will not have a strong preference for processing spoken rather than written language.

Most linguistic works focusing on language processing highlight the features of spoken language which make processing challenging, while focusing on the features of written language which facilitate processing. In what follows, I will discuss such features and talk about their relevance to the present discussion.

First, speech is generally temporary, while writing is permanent. The permanence of writing provides readers with some very useful options not available to listeners. For example, readers can set their own pace in written speech processing, while listeners have to adjust to the pace of the speaker. In addition, readers have the option of returning to the previously read parts of the text. One may argue that a listener can also return to a certain part of a conversation in an interaction with the speaker; however, this option is not available when the speech is recorded (which was the case with the experiment discussed here). Taylor (1957) reports that 15% of all eye movements in college level readers are regressive. Wanat's (1971) analysis of adults' eye movements when reading sentences reveal that regressive eye movements are likely to occur when the text does not match readers' expectations. For example, having read sentences containing locative passives (*The ball was hit by the park*), Wanat's (1971) subjects moved their eyes back to the word *by* significantly more often compared to when reading sentences containing agentive passives (*The ball was hit by the boy*). According to Wanat's (1971), this happened because since passive sentences usually specify the agent at the end, readers are more likely to expect an agent, such as *boy*, than a location, such as *park*. Going back to the experiments discussed in this section, it is important to keep in mind that the blend primes, which served as the experiment stimuli, were words specifically invented for the experiments, which means that they were all new to the subjects of the experiment. Due to the complex nature of

blends, it is very likely that the options of setting the optimal pace and returning to the blend (which were available to the subjects of Experiment 3, but not experiment 2) could have greatly facilitated the processing of blends in the experiments.

The perception of spoken language is complicated for a number of reasons. For example, acoustic stream may be continuous, i.e. it may not contain pauses which could help a listener segment speech into words (compare to written language, in which words are visually separated). In addition, the pronunciation of an individual speaker can vary depending on his or her age, gender, regional dialect and individual characteristics of the vocal tract (Sedivy 2014:241). Coarticulation effects can also present a challenge in perception and processing of spoken language. None of these issues are of concern in the perception and processing of written language. The question is: How can such variable acoustic input be consistently mapped onto phonemic units of representation (in linguistic sources, this phenomenon is normally referred to as “perceptual invariance”)? Literature on speech perception suggests that language users rely on various cues outside of the acoustic stream in mapping the input onto words. For example, as emphasized by the proponents of the motor theory of speech perception, visual input contributes to the perceptions of sounds of speech. The well-known McGurk effect serves as evidence for this claim (see Dekle et al. 1992). The McGurk effect can be defined as an illusion in which a mismatch between auditory information and visual information pertaining to a sound’s articulation results in altered perception of that sound; for example, when people hear an audio recording of a person uttering /ga/ while viewing the video of the speaker uttering /ba/, they often perceive the syllable as /da/, which is produced in between the places of articulation of /ga/ and /ba/ (Sedivy 2014:261). In addition, language users greatly rely on contextual cues in spoken language perception. If, based on the contextual cues, a listener expects to hear a certain word, he or she is likely to report perceiving that particular word even if its pronunciation is altered. This phenomenon is called “the phoneme restoration effect” and can be defined as an auditory illusion showing that when a speech sound within a word is replaced by a different speech sound or a non-speech sound (for example, a cough in place of /s/ in *legislature* (Warren 1970)), people often report hearing the expected speech sound, which they were not exposed to. Returning to our discussion of the experiments in the processing of Ukrainian blends, once again it should be emphasized that the blends were new to the subjects, which could lead to difficulties in singling

the blends out from the continuous acoustic stream. Moreover, they could have been perceived inaccurately, taking into account that no visual cues were available and that the design of the experiment required that there be no cues priming for one of the SWs of the blend prime.

The feature of spoken language which is discussed in the literature as the one which actually makes processing of spoken language easier than that of written language is the presence of prosody in speech (see, for example, Schallert et al. 1977:7). Prosodic features provide listeners with information helpful to comprehension: prosodic cues help language users divide speech into manageable units and determine the sentence type (assertion, question or command) (Schallert et al. 1977:8). The experiments discussed here focus on the processing of specific words rather than sentences; thus, this advantage of spoken language is not essential for our present discussion. However, it should be made clear that written speech has features which can at least partly compensate for the absence of prosodic information in written speech. Readers must compensate for the lack of prosody in text. For example, in writing, punctuation marks designate sentence boundaries and provide information about the type of sentence (Schallert et al. 1977: 9).

The literature on the processing of written language suggests that the processing of a written word is accompanied by the activation of the phonological representation of this word (see, for example, Gough and Tunmer 1986, Orden et al. 1987, 1988, Sedivy 2014). The evidence for this claim is provided, for example, in a series of experiments conducted by Orden et al. (1987, 1988). The subjects in one of these experiments were asked to decide whether the words or non-words which they saw on the screen were part of a larger category (e.g. whether *tulip* / *shirt* / *roze* / *rows* / *robs* was part of the category “flowers”). The subjects’ reaction time to *roze* and *rows* was longer than to *tulip*, *shirt* and *robs*. Presumably, this effect was observed because the subjects automatically sounded out the target stimuli *roze* and *rows*, which were homophones of the relevant word *rose*, which caused some confusion leading people to be slower to respond “No” to the target stimuli. However, the orthographically similar word *robs* did not slow down the response time, indicating that the source of the confusion really was at the level of sound. Considering that this analysis is accurate, one could claim that the processing of written language is complicated because an extra layer of complexity is added by the need to activate the phonological form corresponding to the graphemic form in question. However, it

appears logical to assume that skilled readers do this automatically and that mapping the visual form on the phonological form does not present a considerable challenge to such readers.

To conclude, written and spoken language differ along several dimensions and these differences are what leads to distinct processing of written and spoken language. The claim presented here is that the processing of spoken language is more challenging, which potentially explains some of my findings in the experiments described in the present chapter.

#### 6.4.3. *Recognizability of SWs and recoverability of meaning*

The findings in this chapter give us a better understanding of the concepts of recognizability of SWs and recoverability of a blend's meaning. Discussion of recognizability of SWs in analyses of blending creates an impression that SWs of blends of a certain structural type are either recognizable or not (see, for example, Ronneberger-Sibold's (2006: 168) typology of blends based on recognizability of SW, which she refers to as "transparency").<sup>95</sup> To my knowledge, the only discussion of blending whereas recognizability of SWs is viewed as a relative phenomenon is presented in Lehrer 2007. According to Lehrer (2007: 126), a SWs of a blend are more recognizable when it is presented to a reader or hearer in a context. Our experiments, however, have shown another way in which recognizability of SWs is relevant. Namely, SWs of the same blend can be more or less recognizable and the blend's meaning can be more or less recoverable

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<sup>95</sup> It appears that linguists who study blending define "transparency" differently from those who study compounding. Namely, in the view of Libben (1998:32), Libben et al. (2003:51) and Libben (2007:270) transparency of a compound is determined by the degree to which the meaning of each constituent contributes to the meaning of the whole compound. For example, in the fully transparent compound *bedroom*, the meanings of each of the constituents are transparently represented in the meaning of the compound as a whole, while in *strawberry*, only the head, i.e. the second constituent, contributes to the meaning of the compound, in *jailbird*, only the non-head, i.e. the first constituent, adds to the meaning of the whole compound, while in the opaque *hogwash*, neither of the two constituents does. In contrast, works on blending view transparency as the degree to which it is possible to recover SWs of a blend (Ronneberger-Sibold 2006:167, Mattiello 2013:133) and is determined by the structure of a blend: overlap blends are considered as the most transparent and substitution blends (or—in Ronneberger-Sibold's (2006) terms—fragment blends) are considered as the least transparent (Ronneberger-Sibold 2006:169, Mattiello 2013:133). It appears that such an approach to transparency does not take into account the contribution that each SW makes to the meaning of the whole blend. For example, Ronneberger-Sibold (2006:174) rates the German blend *denglisch* in (i) below very low on transparency scale, even though it is relatively easy to recover the meaning of the blend from the meanings of its SWs.

(i) *denglisch* 'Genglish' < deutsch 'German'      englisch 'English'

depending on the modality in which it is presented. More specifically, while subjects in Experiments 1 and 2 did not recognize the SWs of substitution blends (in those experiments, blends were presented as audio stimuli), subjects in Experiment 3 successfully identified the SWs and defined the same blends (in that experiment, blends were presented in the written form).

This study also provided evidence for the claim that SWs of those blends are more recognizable which have more material from their SWs (Lehrer 1996: 385, Ronneberger-Sibold 2006: 167). There is no doubt that overlap blends contain more material from the SWs than substitution blends. Results of the experiments discussed here show that at least during offline auditory processing of blends in context, one is significantly better at identifying SWs of overlap blends, i.e. blends with more SW material, compared to substitution blends, i.e. blends in which fragments of SWs have been clipped. Therefore, one can conclude that maximizing the amount of SW material preserved in a blend is essential for recognizability of its SWs, at least when the blend is meant to be used in spoken language.

The process of inventing the stimuli for the present experiment, namely blends of two structural types, also provided some insight into why language speakers normally succeed in forming overlap blends so that they are unambiguous, but often fail to avoid ambiguity in formation of substitution blends.<sup>96</sup> My observation is that formation of overlap blends on the one hand and substitution blends on the other hand involves different ordering of the stages engaged in word-formation. When inventing overlap blends, I first selected lexical items which shared homophonous sequences and then thought of the meaning that would match the combination of meanings of the two selected SWs. When inventing substitution blends, however, I first selected the meaning which I wanted to convey and then matched the meaning with lexical items, which were to be clipped and combined into one word. I assume that most Ukrainian speakers form blends following the same mechanism. Thus, when forming overlap blends, I was able to detect polysematicity of some of the SWs as I was matching the form with meaning at an early stage of word-formation. Unless such ambiguity was necessary for the humorous effect, I would normally avoid forming blends using SWs that could match up with different meanings making

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<sup>96</sup> In this study, I assume that a blend is ambiguous when the unique candidate selected for a SW has more than one meaning.

the meaning of the resulting blend confusing. On the other hand, during the formation of substitution blends, the intended meaning of the resulting blend was particularly prominent in my mind, so when I was selecting the lexical units to match this meaning, I was likely to not register that the selected words could be linked to other meanings or that the splinters could be perceived as fragments of words with other meanings. Thus, when a language speaker goes from form to meaning it is easier for them to detect potential lexical ambiguity compared to going from meaning to form (Sedivy 2014: 452), which is why whenever substitution blends are formed, they are more likely to be ambiguous than overlap blends. It is also important to note, however, that inventors of blends go back to revise them in order to make sure that in addition to communicating a certain meaning, these words fulfill their aesthetic goal of providing pleasure, amusement and entertainment (Lehrer 1996: 360, 2003: 380). When revising blends, their creators can detect the ambiguity and either reject and dispose of such a blend or solve the ambiguity in one way or another (e.g. by placing the blend in a context with many cues).

#### *6.4.4 Audience design*

Experiments 1 and 2 have demonstrated that Ukrainian speakers do not recognize SWs in substitution blends when they are presented in spoken language. There may be a connection between this finding and the finding presented in 3.1 that substitution blends are rare in Ukrainian. Namely, in the corpus of 468 blends discussed in 3.1, there are only 34 substitution blends (7.3% of the corpus), 32 of which were extracted from written sources. It is possible that Ukrainians avoid forming substitution blends because they realize that the audience (or at least hearers) will hardly be able to process them and correctly interpret their meaning. If we accept this assumption, the present study can be viewed as evidence that speakers adapt their language to their listeners on the lexical level. In the literature, this process is referred to as “audience design” and is defined as the practice of adjusting aspects of one’s language with the goal of communicating effectively with a particular audience or hearer (Sedivy 2014:450). This idea is also consistent with Gricean view of language use. Namely, according to Grice’s Maxim of Manner, speakers try to express themselves in ways that reflect some orderly thought and that avoid ambiguity or obscurity (Grice 1975).

In the literature, there is evidence that this adjustment—whether conscious or not—can take place on various levels of human activity, both linguistic and non-linguistic. For example, Lieberman (1963) found that language speakers regularly produce lower-quality output—or in other words mumble—when the words they are saying are more predictable, frequently used or when they have recently been uttered in the conversation. On the other hand, unpredictable words have been found to be pronounced with what Lieberman (1963) described as more precise articulation (this observation was also replicated in Fowler and Housum 1987).<sup>97</sup> Other examples include speakers' tendency to avoid ambiguity. Non-linguistic ambiguity avoidance can be exemplified by referential ambiguity, whereas there are multiple referents of the same category that have to be distinguished from each other. According to Ferreira, Slevc and Rogers (2005:265) and Sedivy (2014:450), speakers consistently avoid referential ambiguity: when they describe two referents from the same basic-level category (e.g. shoes), they always use subordinate labels (e.g. *sneakers*, *loafers*, etc.). Ferreira et al. (2005) also investigated the process of avoiding linguistic, namely lexical, ambiguity. They found that when there was a possibility of lexical ambiguity, speakers were obviously adapting their speech to avoid it (only 40% of the subjects used the ambiguous bare noun *bat* instead of more specific *baseball bat* or *flying bat* when being presented with images of both the baseball implement and the flying mammal).<sup>98</sup> They also found that in the cases when the articulated descriptions were ambiguous, speakers immediately detected the ambiguity and either clarified their descriptions or consistently avoided the ambiguous expression in the subsequent descriptions. Extending these findings to our discussion of Ukrainian blending, we can assume that substitution blends are found in spoken language only on rare occasions mostly because the pre-production mechanism which filters out

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<sup>97</sup> See Sedivy 2014: 453 for a different interpretation of the observed result, whereas she claims that it is possible that speakers put in less articulatory effort on words that are easy to produce without necessarily considering the effect on the hearer.

<sup>98</sup> Despite speakers' efforts, they detected and avoided some but not all ambiguous expressions before speech production, which resulted in ambiguity in a large portion of trials (Ferreira 2005: 279). Sedivy (2014: 452) explains that avoiding lexical ambiguity may be harder than avoiding referential ambiguity because it can be detected only on a later stage of speech production. On the one hand, referential ambiguity can be detected when the speaker is deciding on the meaning they want to convey and can be avoided by adding enough conceptual material to distinguish among similar referents. On the other hand, lexical ambiguity can only be detected at the stage of choosing specific words provided the speaker becomes aware that the same form can be linked to two different meanings. At that point, the intended idea may be so prominent in speakers' minds that the competing meaning may never become active enough for them to register the ambiguity.

at least some of the ambiguous words or utterances does not allow them to appear in speech. However, when substitution blends do appear in speech, in cases when they sound too ambiguous to be understood by the hearers, Ukrainian speakers clarify them and/or simply avoid using them again. Due to reluctance of language speakers to use words whose meaning will potentially be inaccessible, such words do not proliferate and eventually cease to exist (Connolly 2013:1).

#### *6.4.5 Interpretation of meaning of blends*

My findings presented in this chapter also contribute some evidence to the discussion of the following question: does recognition of SWs lead to accurate understanding of the meaning of a blend (see, for example, Connolly 2013: 7)? With remarkable consistency, Ukrainian speakers composed the meaning of a blend from the meanings of its components. Therefore, I can conclude that as long as the language speakers who coin blends avoid opacity and intend the interpretations which can be derived from the meanings of the constituent parts of blends, speakers will succeed in processing their meanings.

## **CHAPTER 7: CONCLUSIONS**

### **7.0 The objectives of the dissertation**

The following three objectives were pursued in this dissertation: to provide a comprehensive definition of blending, to determine whether there are any regularities in the formation of blends in Ukrainian, and to learn what factors facilitate recognition of SWs, as well as the correct interpretation of meanings of Ukrainian blends. I pursued these objectives in several stages. First, I conducted a critical overview of the relevant literature and produced a definition of blending, which established the boundaries between blends and other complex words that in some way resemble them (for example, clipped compounds). Second, taking into account the definition, I compiled a corpus of Ukrainian blends, the analysis of which revealed a number of regularities in blending. Based on this analysis, I formulated the rules of blending in Ukrainian and built a fragment of the word-formation paradigm in Ukrainian that demonstrates systematicity of blending. Next, I conducted three psycholinguistic experiments which revealed factors that facilitate recognition of SWs in blends and lead to the accurate interpretation of their meaning. The main findings of this research, as well as their implications and directions for future research will be presented below.

### **7.1 The main findings**

The analysis of the corpus of Ukrainian blends revealed a considerable degree of regularity in blending. With respect to the formal characteristics of the output, the following can be predicted based on the input SW bases: the patterns of clipping of the SW bases, the pattern of combination of the SW bases forming a blend, the position of the main stress in a blend, and the order in which the bases of the SWs are combined. The following factors have been found to affect the formal structure of blends in Ukrainian: the presence and location of homophonous sequences shared by the bases of the SWs, the number of syllables in the SW bases, the syllable structure of the SW bases, and the position of the main stress in the bases of the SWs. The semantics of the output in blending is determined in the same way as that in other regular types of word-formation. The lexical meaning of a blend is determined by the lexical meanings of the constituents forming it and the word-formation meaning, which specifies the semantic relation

between these constituents. The functions expressing the word-formation meaning are limited in number and apply in other types of word-formation as well (for example, compounding). The core of the meaning of the blend is provided by the semantic head. The semantic head was also found to transfer its syntactic category to the output, therefore also serving as categorial head. In sum, regularities were identified in formal, semantic and syntactic characteristics of the output of blending.

Another finding is that blending in Ukrainian can be described in terms of rules, word-formation operations, and the word-formation paradigm. Based on the generalizations regarding the mechanisms of blending in Ukrainian, I have proposed rules which account for the formation of blends in the corpus. These rules are combined to form operations which are applied to bases in formation of blends in Ukrainian. It has also been demonstrated how these operations are organized in a word-formation paradigm, which was the first attempt to graphically represent word-formation in Ukrainian by building a word-formation paradigm.

In the experimental part of the dissertation research, I studied whether Ukrainian speakers recognize SWs in blends as they are used in Ukrainian today and interpret the meaning of blends correctly. I found that with regard to this question the following factors are significant: the structure of the blend, modality of presentation of the blend (whether it is presented in speech or in written text), and the time allocated for the processing of the blend. Specifically, I found that when blends are presented in written contexts, Ukrainian speakers succeed in correctly identifying their SWs and interpreting their meaning accurately. This is equally true for both overlap blends and substitution blends. On the other hand, when blends are presented in speech, Ukrainian speakers recognize the SWs of blends with overlap during the offline processing thereof, but do not recognize the SWs of substitution blends. The experiment examining the online processing of blends presented as an auditory signal did not produce significant results. Additionally, it was found that Ukrainian speakers compute the meaning of a blend by combining the meanings of the two SWs composing the blend. The findings in the experiments are consistent with the tentative conclusion drawn from the analysis of the corpus of Ukrainian blends. On the one hand, the experiments revealed that the SWs of substitution blends are harder to process. On the other hand, the analysis of the corpus showed that substitution blends are created considerably less often than overlap blends (presumably, because those who form blends

are aware that there is a certain challenge involved in the processing of substitution blends). In addition, no exocentric or monosyllabic blends were identified in Ukrainian, which can be viewed as evidence that creative language speakers who form them make an effort to maximize recognizability of SWs and interpretability of the meaning of a blend.

## **7.2 The implications of the research**

The findings presented in this dissertation have far-reaching implications for our understanding of the phenomenon of blending, as well as for the theoretical frameworks adopted here. First, the regularities identified in the formation of blends make a contribution to the ongoing discussion regarding the status of blending in word-formation, in particular regarding grammaticality of blending. The following arguments are presented in the literature as evidence of extragrammaticality of blending: the output of a blending process cannot be predicted from the given input (Mattiello 2013: 56), and blending cannot be described in terms of word-formation rules (Mattiello 2013: 130). The analysis presented in this dissertation reveals that neither of these claims is true for blending. In fact, I was able to account for the formation of all blends in my corpus with a limited number of word-formation operations composed of rules. In addition, I graphically demonstrated the regularity of blending by building a fragment of word-formation paradigm for blends in Ukrainian. The analysis presented in this dissertation serves as convincing evidence that blending is a regular type of word-formation, the output of which can be predicted based on its input. Furthermore, the commonly accepted characteristics of extragrammatical morphology have either not been identified in Ukrainian blends or have been argued to not constitute sufficient criteria for classifying the type of word-formation as extragrammatical. To be precise, Ukrainian blends, which are found in various domains of human activity, have easily identifiable heads, are endocentric, and are composed of SWs all of which contribute to the meaning of the whole blend, which means that such characteristics of extragrammatical morphology as limited applicability, uncertain headedness and reduced transparency do not apply to this type of word-formation. Even though most, but not all, Ukrainian blends are created intentionally with the aim of achieving a certain communicative function, this characteristic alone can hardly serve as grounds to classify blending as

extragrammatical word-formation. Based on the arguments presented above, blending should be viewed as part of grammatical morphology.

Second, the findings in this dissertation provide us with important insights into the processing of blends. It was found that recognizability of SWs in blends is a relevant phenomenon (to my knowledge, this idea was previously expressed only in Lehrer 2007:126 in the discussion of the role of context in recovering the meaning of blends). Namely, it was discovered that SWs of the same blend can be more or less recognizable and the blend's meaning can be more or less recoverable depending on the modality in which it is presented. Another factor which affects recognizability of SWs and interpretability of the meaning of blends is the structure of the blend. This claim, which was previously made by Beliaeva (2014: 170-172) in her analysis of recognizability of SWs in English blends presented visually in isolation, was supported by my analysis, even though my experiment differed from that conducted by Beliaeva (2014) along a number of dimensions. To be specific, my study provided evidence for the claim that SWs of those blends are more recognizable which have more material from their SWs (Lehrer 1996: 385, Ronneberger-Sibold 2006: 167), i.e. overlap blends are easier to process than substitution blends. Next, it was found that recovering the SWs leads to accurate interpretation of the meaning of the blend, since Ukrainian speakers compute the meaning from the meanings of its components. A similar claim is made by Lehrer (1996) based on her analysis of blends in English, and it receives support in the analysis described here. Finally, similarly to English blends (see Lehrer and Veres 2010), Ukrainian blends were found to not be decomposed into SWs during their online processing, which perhaps indicates that processing of blends is considerably more challenging than processing of other words. All the findings regarding recognizability of SWs in blends and recovering of their meaning provide knowledge regarding ways in which the recognizability and recoverability can be facilitated.

The analysis presented here made a contribution to the development of the theory of Process-and-Paradigm Morphology. This approach to morphology had not been used in analysing this type of word-formation before. Thus, presenting the comprehensive analysis of blending in the framework of Process-and-Paradigm Morphology extended the scope of application of this theory. The mechanisms of blending were mostly described via rules which had been proposed in this framework in analyses of other types of word-formation. However, a

small number of new rules necessary for describing all transformations of bases involved in blending were proposed, which developed the theory by extending the inventory of its rules.

Some of the findings presented in this dissertation provide new insights into semantic priming as a paradigm for experimental research. To be specific, my analysis provided more evidence for the claim made by Zwitserlood and Schriefers (1995: 123) that semantic activation is affected by the amount of time provided for processing. It was also found that the environment in which a word fragment is presented in a semantic priming experiment affects semantic activation. When word fragments were presented in isolation in previous research (see Zwitserlood and Schriefers 1995, Zwitserlood 1989 and Moss et al. 1997 for experiments involving initial word fragments, as well as Yee 2005, Allopenna et al. 1998 for experiments involving final word fragments), a semantic priming effect was found. However, in my experiment, the splinters of SW<sub>1</sub> and SW<sub>2</sub> juxtaposed in a substitution blend did not activate the SWs, which I attribute to the complexity of the processing of words with such structure. Thus, the results of semantic priming experiments presenting word fragments in isolation should perhaps be interpreted with caution.

The implications described above demonstrate the theoretical significance of the analysis presented in this dissertation. In addition, it has some practical applications. This research offers some recommendations for creative speakers as to how to form and present blends to maximize their interpretability and increase the chances of achieving the intended effect on the addressees.

### **7.3 Limitations of the study and directions for future research**

The scope of this research is rather broad. I focused on the structure of blends, their semantics, syntactic categories to which they belong, and processing of blends. This approach provides a comprehensive analysis of the phenomenon in question. However, some room for expanding the analysis of each aspect of blending remains. For example, the discussion of semantics of blends could have been extended by separating the rather numerous blends containing tropes and studying them in more detail. As discussed in Section 4.3, the figures of speech identified in Ukrainian blends include metaphors (whereby either the two SWs constitute a metaphor, as in *deputana* ‘deputy prostitute’ < *deputatka* ‘deputy’ + *putana* ‘prostitute’, or one SW is used metaphorically, as in *kankanerejka* ‘can-can-dancing canary, i.e. a singer who dances can-can’ <

*kankan* ‘can-can dance’ + *kanarejka* ‘canary’) and antonomasia (whereby the proper name *Eskulap* is used as a common name, as in *eskuljapsus* ‘lapsus of Asclepius’ < *Eskulap* ‘Asclepius’ + *ljapsus* ‘lapsus’). The transference of meaning involved in the formation of blends could be an interesting direction for future research.

Another aspect of blending in Ukrainian which warrants further examination is the pragmatic effect which blends are intended to exert on the audience. The literature on blending presents a unanimous agreement that one of the goals of using blends is to exert some pragmatic effect (for example, see Mattiello 2013:211, Zwicky and Pullum 1987:335), such as attracting the addressee’s attention to the blend, making them remember the word or concept in question, affecting their attitudes or behaviours, impressing them in some way, and creating a sense of solidarity. Many of the elements observed in Ukrainian blends (namely, metaphors, challenges in processing, unusual combinations of concepts, syntactic categories, languages, etc.) are commonly associated with the effects above. For example, in experimental studies, metaphors have often been found to have a strong persuasive effect on people (Reinsch 1971, Read et al. 1990, Tom and Eves 1999, Sopory 2008, Sopory and Dillard 2002, Jeong 2008) by enhancing the communicator’s credibility (Bowers and Osborn 1966), reducing counter-argumentation (Guthrie 1972), and activating multiple semantic associations which leads to better understanding (Sopory and Dillard 2002). In addition to their persuasiveness, metaphors are known for their ability to establish a sense of intimacy between interlocutors (Cohen 1978:9–10, Gibbs and Colston 2012:224). Moreover, as discussed in Chapter 6, the processing of blends often involves a certain challenge which requires a language user to devote a certain amount of time and effort to reaching the insight, i.e. to computing the meaning of the blend. The sensation of pleasure accompanying the insight creates a positive association with the stimulus that led to it (Hanrahan 1998:8, Gruber 2005:203, Topolinski and Reber 2010:1, Sedivy and Carlson 2011:70). In addition, insight has been found to have a facilitating effect on the retention and recall of puzzles (Danek et al. 2013:659) and, therefore, blends which contain them. Finally, introducing an extraordinary or unexpected stimulus (for example, unusual combinations of concepts, syntactic categories, languages, etc.) can serve as a good way way to capture the audience’s attention and facilitate the memory of the stimulus (Johnston, Hawley, Plewe, Elliott and De-Witt 1990, Johnston, Hawley and Farnham 1993, Hawley, Johnston and Farnham 1994).

Therefore, a promising direction for future research is studying how the aspects of Ukrainian blends described above affect the audience's perception of the meanings communicated by blends and whether they indeed facilitate the exertion of intended pragmatic affects. Based on this analysis, it will be feasible to propose some strategies which can be employed in blending in order to maximize the likelihood of the pragmatic goals being achieved.

Additionally, a further analysis of the origin of SWs of Ukrainian blends could lead to some thought-provoking discoveries. As observed in Section 3.2, a considerable number of SWs in the corpus analysed in this dissertation are loanwords. The analysis of this issue and the discussion of the relevant implications will be left for further research.

The number of blends in the corpus studied in the present dissertation may be viewed as a limitation of this study. As discussed in Section 3.1, the corpus is composed of 501 blends. This number of items may have not demonstrated all possible patterns of blending in Ukrainian. In some cases, the number of items of a certain type was insufficient to make any generalizations about their formation. For example, the corpus analyzed here includes only 5 blends in which the overlapping segments are distributed discontinuously (for example *protestucija* 'protest prostitution' < *protest* 'protest' *prostyucija* 'prostitution'). Due to such a small number of blends of this structural type, it is impossible to make any strong generalizations regarding the mechanisms of their formation. Presumably, increasing the corpus could lead to new findings in the tendencies involved in the formation of blends in Ukrainian.

Some important theoretical questions remained unanswered due to either insufficient evidence or space limitation. For example, three blends in the corpus suggest the possibility of inflected word-forms, rather than bases, being operated on in word-formation operations. Thus, the important question of what units participate in word-formation—and particularly whether word-forms can be these units—has been left for future research. In addition, the question of how blending is integrated in the word-formation paradigm in Ukrainian as a whole and how it interacts with other types of word-formation is undoubtedly worth being pursued in the future.

Intuitively, one could assume that blends are decomposed into SWs and interpreted more easily by those speakers who are more educated, speak more languages and generally are more creative with language. Therefore, an interesting direction for future research would be adding the following independent factors in the semantic priming experiments discussed in

Chapter 6: level of education of the subjects and number of languages spoken by the subjects. It is possible that recognition of the SWs (and thus the RTs) would be affected by these factors.

To conclude, while the dissertation provides insight into structure, semantics, syntax, and processing of blends in Ukrainian, it by no means exhausts the subject of blending in Ukrainian. Some intriguing questions are open for further investigation in future analyses. Answers to these questions promise to contribute some discoveries to such spheres of linguistics as morphology, semantics, and psycholinguistics.

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## APPENDIX A

### Corpus of Ukrainian Blends

1	abituminóz 'bitumen avitaminosis' (used to describe bad roads which lack in bitum)	<	avitaminóz 'avitaminosis'	bitum 'bitumen'
2	advokánhel 'angel-like advocate'	<	advokát 'advocate'	ánhel 'angel'
3	adxokrátiija 'ad hoc bureaucracy' (bureaucracy recognized by higher officials only in those cases when they benefit from it)	<	ad xók 'ad hoc'	bjurokrátija 'bureaucracy'
4	Ajfónja 'Iphone Afonja'  (careless person with an iphone)	<	Ajfón 'iphone'	Afónja (movie character's name used as common name) 'Afonja' (careless person)
5	ajtitúško 'IT Titushko'	<	ajtí 'IT'	Titúško 'Titushko'
6	akadémon 'academy demon' (jargon nickname for a student of "Ostroh Academy")	<	akadémija 'academy'	démon 'demon'
7	akróbot 'acrobat robot' (name of a toy)	<	acrobát 'acrobat'	róbot 'robot'

8	Aktymeliáda 'Aktymel' Iliad' (poem about the yoghurt <i>Aktymel</i> presented in a commercial)	<	Aktymél' 'Aktymel''	Iliáda 'Iliad'
9	akvás 'kvas diluted with water' (a type of drink)	<	ákva 'aqua'	kvás 'kvas'
10	alimentárnyj (sprava) 'elementary (case) of alimony'	<	aliménty 'alimony'	elementárnyj 'elementary'
11	alkoholevýčja 'female socialite alcoholic'  (image created in the show <i>Comedy Woman</i> by the actress Polina Sibagatullina)	<	alkohólik 'male alcoholic'	(svits'ka) levýčja 'lioness; female socialite'
12	alkoholodránec' 'deadbeat alcoholic'	<	alkohólik 'male alcoholic'	holodránec' 'male deadbeat'
13	Amázija 'America and Eurasia'	<	Améryka 'America'	Jevrázija 'Eurasia'
14	anarxitektúra 'anarchic architecture' (buildings designed in a way that shows no adherence to commonly accepted rules)	<	anárxija 'anarchy'	arxitektúra 'architecture'
15	anaxrinýzm 'useless anachronism'	<	anaxronízm 'anachronism'	xrín 'damn; something useless' (expletive)
16	anónsens	<	anóns	nónsens

	‘nonsensical announcement’		‘announcement’		‘nonsense’
17	antysanatórija ‘anti-sanitary conditions at a sanatorium’	<	antysanitarija ‘anti-sanitary’		sanatórija ‘sanatorium’
18	apofihéj ‘apogee of indifference’	<	apohéj ‘apogee’		pófiĥ (colloquial) ‘indifferently’ <sup>99</sup>
19	arbitrál’ti ‘penalty imposed by the referee’	<	arbítr ‘referee’		penál’ti ‘penalty’
20	armahedéc’ ‘Armageddon’	<	armahedón ‘Armageddon’		pyzdéc’ ‘the end’ (expletive)
21	arobústa ‘mixture of two kinds of coffee: arabica and robusta’	<	arábika ‘arabica’		robústa ‘robusta’
22	aromáhija ‘aroma magic’	<	aromát ‘aroma’		máhija ‘magic’
23	Arximídnyj (Lenin)	<	Arximéd		mídnyj

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<sup>99</sup> The adverb *pofih* is used to express indifference, as in (i) below:

(i) *Meni pofih.*  
 Me-DAT. indifferently.  
 ‘I do not care.’

	‘copper Archimedes (Lenin) (used to describe a statue of Lenin, who is said to be an intellectual, like Archimedes)		‘Archimedes’		‘copper’
24	arystobrát ‘aristocrat brother’	<	arystokrát ‘aristocrat’		brát ‘brother’
25	avant-hardýna ‘avant garde curtain’ (store name)	<	avant hárd ‘avant garde’		hardýna ‘curtain’
26	avtópíja ‘automobil utopia’	<	avtomobil’ ‘automobil’		utópíja ‘utopia’
27	azirmóvka ‘Azarov’s speech error’ (hint at the tendency of the former PM of Ukraine Mykola Azarov to front all vowels when speaking Ukrainian)	<	Azírov (Azarov) ‘Azarov’		obmóvka ‘speech error’
28	babmentón ‘badminton game between female cops’	<	bába ““ old bag””	mént ‘cop’	badmintón ‘badminton’
29	bal’zámivs’kyj (vik) ‘Balzac (age) for balsam intake’ (used in the commercial of balsam for thirty (something)-year-old women)	<	bal’zákivs’kyj ‘Balzac’		bal’zám ‘balsam’
30	BÁMs’kyj (dohidnyk) ‘BAM (hailer)’ (hailer of those women who were involved in the construction of Baikal-Amour Mainline)	<	BÁM ‘BAM (Baikal-Amour Mainline)’		dáms’kyj (dohidnyk) ‘ladies’ (hailer)’

31	banakúja 'banana maracuya'	<	banán 'banana'	marakúja 'maracuya'
32	bananás 'hybrid of a banana and a pineapple'	<	banán 'banana'	ananás 'pineapple'
33	Bandjukóvyč 'bandit Janukovych'	<	bandjúk 'bandit' (pejorative)	Janukóvyč 'Janukovych'
34	baobábočka 'baobab butterfly'	<	baobáb 'baobab'	bábočka 'butterfly'
	(N. Demurova's translation of <i>Rocking-horse-fly</i> in "Through the Looking Glass (And What Alice Found There)" by Lewis Carroll)			
35	baránčo 'rancho in which sheep are bred'	<	barán 'sheep'	ránčo 'ranch'
36	Bardán 'chaotic Maidan' (chaotic protests on the Independence Square in Kiev)	<	bardák 'chaos'	Majdán 'Square'
37	basturmátory 'basturma reformers' (cooks who experiment with recipes of highly seasoned air-dried cured beef)	<	basturmá 'basturma'	reformátory 'reformers'
38	Bat'karús 'Bat'ka's Belarus'	<	Bilorús 'Belarus'	Bát'ka 'Bat'ka/Father' (nickname of the

			President of Belarus Alexander Lukashenko)
39	Baxčýn's'kyj 'Bach Halchynsky' (virtuoso economic advisor, who played first fiddle in President Kučma's team)	< Bák 'Bach'	Hal'čýns'kyj 'Halchynsky'
40	Bazárov 'bazaar Azarov' (former Prime Minister of Ukraine Azarov whose Ukrainian skills are very poor)	< bazár 'bazaar, speech (slang)'	Azárov 'Azarov'
41	bdžolámpa 'lamp bee' (V. Orel's translation of <i>Snap-dragon-fly in "Through the Looking Glass (And What Alice Found There)"</i> by Lewis Carroll)	< bdžolá 'bee'	lámpa 'lamp'
42	Bdžolí 'bee Joli' (Angelina Joli, who can sting like a bee)	< bdžolá 'bee'	(Andželina) Džolí '(Angelina) Joli'
43	behemóška 'hippo midge' (N. Demurova's translation of <i>Bread-and-butterfly in "Through the Looking Glass (And What Alice Found There)"</i> by Lewis Carroll)	< behemót 'hippo'	móška 'midge'
44	benderláh 'monkey-like Bandera'	< bendéra 'Bandera' (nickname for a supporter of S.Bandera)	banderláh 'bandar-log/monkey person'

(used as a pejorative term to refer to the Euromaidan protesters from Western Ukraine who are said to be supporters of the leader of Ukrainian nationalist movement in Western Ukraine Stepan Bandera, who is frequently referred to as Bendera by uneducated people)

45	benzokolónija 'gas station colony' (ironic nickname of Russia)	<	benzokolónka 'gas station'	kolónija 'colony'
46	bih-mórd 'big snout' (big-board with the photograph of the face of Viktor Janukovych)	<	bih-bórd 'big-board'	mórda 'snout'
47	bjurakrostýx 'bureaucratic acrostic' (document which was creatively written by a bureaucrat)	<	bjurokrát 'bureaucrat'	akrostýx 'acrostic'
48	bjurokrálja 'good-looking female bureaucrat'	<	bjurokrátka 'female bureaucrat'	králja 'beautiful woman'
49	bjustžét 'bust budget' (name of the Ukraine's State Budget project proposed by the female Prime Minister Yulia Tymoshenko in an animation film)	<	bjúst 'bust'	bjudžét 'budget'
50	BJuTžét 'BJuT budget'	<	BJúT (Blok Juliji Tymošenko)	bjudžét 'budget'

‘BYuT’ (Block of Yulia  
Tymoshenko)

(Ukraine’s State Budget proposed by the former Prime Minister Yulia Tymoshenko, who was the leader of the political party *BJuT*)

51	blondynozávr ‘dinosaur blonde’ (unattractive or scary blonde)	<	blondýnka ‘blonde’	dynozávr ‘dinosaur’
52	bolýtva ‘prayer caused by pain’	<	bolíty ‘hurt’ bolyt’ ‘hurts’	molýtva ‘prayer’
53	borzájec’ ‘bold hare’ (hare which runs very fast)	<	borzá ‘greyhound’	zájec’ ‘hare’
54	bravosúddja ‘bravo justice’ (used to express approval of just punishment)	<	brávo ‘bravo’	pravosúddja ‘justice’
55	Bréšnjev ‘Brezhnev, who lies’	<	brexáty ‘lie’ breše ‘lie-3.SG’	Bréžnjev ‘Brezhnev’
56	brexeréndum ‘referendum with falsified results’	<	brexnjá ‘lie’	referéndum ‘referendum’
57	brexláma	<	brexlývyj	rekláma

	‘false advertising’		‘lying’		‘advertisement’
58	Bukinátor ‘Bukin Terminator’ (character of a popular comedy show who behaves like an uncontrolled robot)	<	Búkin ‘Bukin’		Terminátor ‘Terminator’
59	búlyk ‘bun and bublik’ (name of a bakery)	<	búlka ‘bun’		búblyk ‘ublik’
60	burmotát ‘mumbling male deputy’	<	burmotíty ‘mumble’		deputát ‘male deputy’
61	burmoturhíja ‘dramatic mumbling’	<	burmotíty ‘mumble’		dramaturhíja ‘dramaturgy’
62	buvšovýk ‘former bolshevik’	<	búvšyj ‘former’		bil’šovýk ‘bolshevik’
63	Bykovščýna ‘bull-headed “Bat’kivshchyna” members’	<	býk ‘bull’		(partija) “Bat’kivščýna” ‘(party) “Motherland”’
64	bytúško ‘Titushko with a bat’	<	býta ‘bat’		titúško ‘Titushko’ (used as a common name)
65	ČaRívne ‘wonderful Rivne’	<	čarívnyj ‘wonderful’		Rívne ‘Rivne’ (town)

(newspaper title)

66	<p>Čeburátor ‘Cheburashka Terminator’ (a made-up character, a hybrid of a Soviet cartoon character Cheburashka and Terminator)</p>	<	<p>Čeburáška ‘Cheburashka’</p>	<p>Terminátor ‘Terminator’</p>
67	<p>čeburényk ‘Chiburekki perogy’ (hybrid of Crimean Tatar fried turnover and Ukrainian perogies)</p>	<	<p>čeburék ‘Chiburekki’</p>	<p>varényk ‘perogy’</p>
68	<p>čerepáxar ‘turtle (slow) ploughman’</p>	<	<p>čerepáxa ‘turtle’</p>	<p>páxar ‘ploughman’</p>
69	<p>Čerkizóna ‘Cherkizon zone’ (territory of the Cherkizovskiy Market where many illegal activities took place)</p>	<	<p>Čerkizón ‘Cherkizon / Cherkizovski Market’</p>	<p>zóna ‘criminal zone’ (slang)</p>
70	<p>čubáučer ‘Chubajs voucher’ (document of a questionable value)</p>	<	<p>Čubájs ‘Chubajs’</p>	<p>váučer ‘voucher’</p>
71	<p>čuhrajína ‘Ukrainian indifferent to his/her culture’</p>	<	<p>čúhra ‘cut branches of a tree’</p>	<p>Ukrajína ‘Ukraine’</p>

72	CUM''játycja 'Central Mall fuss'	<	CÚM (Central'nyj Universal'nyj Mahazyn) 'Central Universal Mall'	sum''játycja 'fuss'
73	cygánsta (rep) 'gypsy gangsta rap' (gangsta rap with elements of gypsy music)	<	cyháns'kyj 'gypsy'	gánsta (rep) 'gangsta (rap)'
74	cyharósa 'cigarette'	<	cyhárka 'cigarette'	papirósa 'cigarette'
75	Daunbás 'down-like Donbas Region'	<	dáun 'person suffering from the Down Syndrome'	Donbás 'Donbas'
76	Daunéc'k 'down Donetsk'	<	dáun 'a person suffering from the Down syndrome'	Donéc'k 'Donetsk'
77	defektýv 'detective with a defect' (ironic name for an incompetent detective)	<	defékt 'defect'	detektýv 'detective'
78	deflimpíjec' 'deaf Olympian'	<	déf 'deaf'	olimpíjec' 'Olympian'

79	dehenerál 'degenerate general'	<	dehenerát 'degenerate'	henerál 'general'
80	dehenerátor (idej) 'degenerate generator (of ideas)'	<	dehenerát 'degenerate'	henerátor 'generator'
81	dekretýn 'decree cretin' (stupid bureaucrat who issues decrees)	<	dekrét 'decree'	kretýn 'cretin'
82	demokrád 'democracy thief'  (person who betrays the ideals of democracy)	<	demokrátijsa 'democracy'	krásty 'steal'  krade 'steal-3.SG'
83	demokratúra 'democracy dictatorship'	<	demokrátijsa 'democracy'	dyktatúra 'dictatorship'
84	deputána 'deputy prostitute' (a female deputy who constantly changes political parties)	<	deputátka 'female deputy'	putána 'female prostitute'
85	dezinforméc' 'fatal disinformation' (disinformation which leads to serious trouble)	<	dezinformácija 'disinformation'	pyzdéc' (expletive) 'hell; Armageddon'
86	didýnstvo 'infantile behaviour of an old man'	<	díd 'old man'	dytýnstvo 'infancy'

87	dokarykaturíkatysja 'caricature cockadoodledee'  (to be punished for provocative caricatures)	<	dokukuríkatysja 'cockadoodledee/earn punishment (slang)'	karykatúra 'caricature'
88	Donbábve 'Donbas Zimbabwe'  (used to compare Donbas Region of Ukraine to Zimbabwe, due to similarity in establishment of political regimes)	<	Donbás 'Donbas'	Zimbábve 'Zimbabwe'
89	Dópnik 'gopnik Dopkin'	<	Dópkin 'Dopkin' (presidential candidate from the Party of Regions)	hópnik 'gopnik, hooligan'
90	dosvídčennja 'marriage proposal by someone experienced'	<	dosvídčenyj 'experienced'	osvídčennja 'marriage proposal'
91	došyrárx 'Dosirak' oligarch'  (oligarch with low income)	<	"Došyrák" 'Dosirak' (company producing cheap noodles)	olihárx 'oligarch'
92	drakonát 'dragon-like people working at the dean's office'	<	drakón 'dragon'	dekanát 'dean's office'
93	Dúrij 'foolish Yuriy (Lutsenko)'  (used in the discussion of the notorious unwise behaviour of the drunk Ukrainian politician)	<	dúren' 'fool'	Júrij (Lucenko) 'Yuriy (Lutsenko)'

Yuriy Lutsenko at the Frankfurt airport in 2009)

94	dymokrátija 'smoke democracy' (democracy which can easily disappear, like smoke)	<	dým 'smoke'	demokrátija 'democracy'
95	dynjabúz 'hybrid of melon and pumpkin'	<	dýnja 'melon'	harbúz 'pumpkin'
96	dyryžáivoronok 'lark airship' (airship as light as a lark)	<	dyryžábl' 'airship'	žáivoronok 'lark'
97	dyvljúdysja 'people-watching'	<	dyvýtysja 'watch' dyvljusja 'watch-1.SG'	ljúdy 'people'
98	džazofrenija 'jazz schizophrenia' (obsession with jazz)	<	džáz 'jazz'	šyzofrenija 'schizophrenia'
99	dzjudojárka 'milkmaid who does judo'	<	dzjudojíst 'judoist'	dojárka 'milkmaid'
100	džugašfil'kina (hramota) 'Stalin's constitution' (derogatory)	<	Džugašvíli 'Dzhugashvili' (Stalin's surname)	fil'kin (hramota) 'useless document'
101	Džyhurdáška	<	Džyhurdá	Dáška

	‘Dzhygurda Daška’ (a blend of a person’s first and last name)	‘Dzhygurda’	‘Dashka’
102	džyntujícija ‘gin intuition’ (the ability to predict things which is said to be stronger after consumption of alcohol)	< džýn ‘gin’	intujícija ‘intuition’
103	ekojíznm ‘ecology egotism’ (prioritizing ecological issues over anything else)	< ekolóhija ‘ecology’	ehojíznm ‘egotism’
104	ekonomikádze ‘economy kamikaze’ (politicians who make decisions which harm the economy of their country)	< ekonómika ‘economy’	kamikádze ‘kamikaze’
105	ekspropirát ‘expropriating pirate’ (someone who takes away property in an illegal way)	< ekspropriácija ‘expropriation’	pirát ‘pirate’
106	elitariát ‘élite proletariat’ (the leaders of proletariat)	< elíta ‘élite’	proletariát ‘proletariat’
107	eliterátúra ‘literature for the élite’	< elíta ‘élite’	literátúra ‘literature’
108	eloxtorát ‘electorate consisting of losers’	< lóx ‘loser’	elektorát ‘electorate’
109	emigrén’	< emihrácija	mihrén’

	‘headache involved in emigrating’		‘emigration’		‘migraine’
110	encyklopúdiya ‘encyclopaedia that weighs a pood’ (very heavy encyclopaedia)	<	encyklopédiya ‘encyclopaedia’		púd ‘pood (measurement unit: 16.38kg)’
111	epihraméska ‘epigram humoresque’ (concise humorous poem)	<	epihráma ‘epigram’		humoréska ‘humoresque’
112	eroláš ‘erotic “Jeralash”’ (short erotic film)	<	erótyka ‘erotica’		“Je”raláš” “Jeralash” (short comic film)
113	erudytjátko ‘erudite child’	<	erudýt ‘erudite’		dytjátko ‘child’
114	eskuljápsus ‘lapsus of Asclepius’ (professional mistake made by a medical doctor)	<	Eskuláp ‘Asclepius’		ljápsus ‘lapsus’
115	fantamashórija ‘Fantomas phantasmagoria’ (used to refer to a fantasy involving villains like the fictional character Fantomas)	<	Fantomás ‘Fantomas’		fantasmahórija ‘phantasmagoria’
116	fantomát ‘Fantomas machine’ (game machine shaped like the fictional character Fantomas)	<	Fantomás ‘Fantomas’		avtomát ‘game machine’

117	fašyzójidnyj (Rosija) 'fascist schizoid (Russia)'	<	fašýsts'kyj 'fascist'	šyzójidnyj 'schizoid'
118	fašýzyk 'fascist schizoid'	<	fašýst 'fascist'	šýzyk 'schizoid'
119	federást 'pederast federalist' (pejorative term for someone supporting the idea of transforing Ukraine into a federation)	<	federalíst 'federalist'	pederást 'pederast'
120	FEMENízm 'FEMEN feminism' (ideology propagated by the feminist group founded in Ukraine, which is described by the group members as sextremism serving to protect women's rights, namely fighting patriarchy in its three manifestations: exploitation of women, dictatorship, religion)	<	FEMÉN 'FEMEN'	feminízm 'feminism'
121	fijestyvál' 'festival with elements of folkloric traditions'	<	fijésta 'fiesta'	festyvál' 'festival'
122	filantrúp 'philanthropist kamikaze' (a person who suffers from his/her own generosity)	<	filantróp 'philanthropist'	trúp 'corpse'
123	fiziomórdija 'face'	<	fizionómija 'face' (pej.)	mórda 'snout'
124	fjuranója 'fuhranoia'	<	fjúrer 'Fuhrer'	paranója 'paranoia'

(obsession with fascist ideas)

- 125 fortyfikcija < fortyfikácija fikcija  
'fortification fiction' 'fortification' 'fiction'  
(non-existent military constructions which are needed for the defence of the territory in warfare)
- 126 frylánoser < "Lános" frylanser  
'freelancer on *Lanos*' '*Lanos* (make of a car)' 'freelance'
- 127 Fritaljúks < Fráncija Itálija Beneljúks  
'Fritelux (economic union)' 'France' 'Italy' 'Benelux'
- 128 Furión < fúrija Farión  
'Fury Farion' 'Fury' 'Farion'  
(the Ukrainian politician Iryna Farion who is thought to resemble a Greek infernal goddess due to her scandalous obsession with ideas of nationalism)
- 129 futbolizátor < futból totalizátor  
'football totalizer' 'football' 'totalizer'  
(a device showing the number and amount of bets staked on a football game)
- 130 futboljáčka < futból boljáčka  
'football "disease"' 'football' 'disease'
- 131 GREENdióznyj < greén hrandióznyj  
'grandiose due to the beer' 'Green' 'grandiose'  
*Green*'

132	Halidé ‘Halia Valide’  (character from a comic show)	<	Hálja ‘Halja’	Validé (Sultan) ‘queen mother of a ruling Sultan of the Ottoman Empire’
133	haljúr ‘Halja glamour’  (village glamour)	<	Hálja ‘Halja’ (typical village female name)	hlamúr ‘glamour’
134	hartjár ‘President card-game player’	<	haránt ‘President’	kartjár ‘card player’
135	hazprómt ‘speech off the cuff by Hazprom (representative)’	<	hazpróm ‘Gazprom’	eksprómt ‘speech off the cuff’
136	hejniál’nyj ‘ingenious gay’ (used when talking about gay people)	<	hėj ‘gay’	heniál’nyj ‘ingenious’
137	hejrój ‘gay hero’	<	hėj ‘gay’	herój ‘hero’
138	Hėjropa ‘gay Europe’ (used by those who are against Ukraine joining the European Union and against gay	<	hėj ‘gay’	Jevrópa ‘Europe’

people with the aim of emphasizing that the EU countries are liberal towards gay people)

139	hijeniál'nyj 'hyena ingenious' (used to describe an unpredictable and treacherous genius, namely, V. Lenin)	<	hijéna 'hyena'	heniál'nyj 'ingenious'
140	hlamazónka 'glamorous Amazon'	<	hlamúr 'glamor'	amazónka 'Amazon'
141	hlamúročka 'glamorous woman'	<	hlamúr 'glamor'	Múročka 'Murochka' (common cat name)
142	hlokál'nyj 'global local'	<	hlobál'nyj 'global'	lokál'nyj 'local'
143	Hópkin 'gopnik Dopkin'	<	hópnik 'gopnik, hooligan'	Dópkin 'Dopkin' (presidential candidate)
144	horlodránci 'the screaming homeless'  (the homeless who are hired to become provokers at mass protests)	<	holodránci 'the homeless'	hórlo dráty 'tear throat, i.e. scream (fig.)'
145	Hosdúra 'stupid Gosduma'	<	Hosdúma 'Gosduma'  (lower house of the Federal Assembly of Russia)	dúra 'fool'
146	hrečótto	<	hréčka	rizótto

	‘risotto made from buckwheat (instead of rice)’		‘buckwheat’		‘risotto’
147	hrejpel’sýn ‘hybrid of grapefruit and orange’	<	hrejpfrúkt ‘grapefruit’		apel’sýn ‘orange’
148	hrývro ‘money (hryvnias and Euros) (Ukrainian and European Union currency)’	<	hrývnja ‘hryvnia’		jévro ‘Euro’
149	hubarnátor ‘corrupt governor’	<	hubernátor ‘governor’		hubá (ne dura) ‘lip not stupid’ (idiom) (describes people who always know how to get the best for themselves)
	(governor who takes advantage of their position)				
150	hurmaníst ‘gourmet humanist’ (someone in the position of power who care for other people only when they have been bribed, for example, with a gourmet treat)	<	hurmán ‘gourmet’		humaníst ‘humanist’
151	husaksofón ‘gander saxophone’ (saxophone which sounds like a gander)	<	husák ‘gander’		saksofón ‘saxophone’
152	idejatýzm ‘idea idiotism’ (the habit of coming up with stupid ideas)	<	idéja ‘idea’		idiotýzm ‘idiotism’

153	importéncija 'import impotence' (inability of a country to import any goods)	<	ímport 'import'	impoténcija 'impotence'
154	ingóblino 'disguised as a Goblin'	<	incógnito 'anonymously'	Góblin 'Goblin' (D. Puchkov, interpreter who dubs movies in a humorous way)  (used to describe the parodical dubbing of movies, also done by someone other than D. Puchkov)
155	internetcionál 'international internet'	<	internét 'internet'	internacionál 'international'
156	intryhácija 'intriguing integration' (integration involving the intrigue regarding which union Ukraine will join, e.g. the European Union, the Customs Union with Russia or any other one)	<	intehrácija 'integration'	intryha 'intrigue'
157	intryharyfmétyka 'arithmetic intrigue' (arithmetic puzzles)	<	intryha 'intrigue'	aryfmétyka 'arithmetic'
158	jahuárija 'Jaguar car aria' (sound produced by the motor of a Jaguar car)	<	Jahuár 'Jaguar car'	árija 'aria'
159	Jajcenjúk 'ballhead Yatsenyuk'	<	jajcé 'ball'	(Arsenij) Jacenjúk 'Arsenij Yatsenyuk'

- 160 Jalynkóvyč < jalýnka Janukóvyč  
‘fir-tree Janukovych’ ‘fir-tree’ ‘Janukovych’  
(hints at the notorious speech of Yanukovych, while devivering which he could not come up with the Ukrainian word for “fir-tree”)
- 161 janučár < Janukóvyč janyčár  
‘Janukovych Janissary’ ‘Yanukovych’ ‘Janissary’  
(the Ottoman Sultan's household bodyguard)  
(Ukrainian police officer who served Ukraine’s former president Viktor Yanukovych)
- 162 Janukódlovyč < Janukóvyč kódllo  
‘Janukovych from a criminal group’ ‘Janukovych’ ‘criminal group; ragtag’
- 163 Janukóvoč < Janukóvyč óvoč  
‘vegetable Janukovych’ ‘Janukovych’ ‘vegetable’
- 164 Janušésku < Janukóvyč Čaušésku  
‘Janukovych Ceausescu’ ‘Janukovych’ ‘Ceausescu’  
(hinting that Yanukovych led to his country’s poverty in the way Nicolae Ceausescu led to Romania’s poverty)
- 165 Jehoár < Jehór Jaguár  
‘Jehor’s Jaguar car’ ‘Jehor’ (male name) ‘Jaguar’

166	Jevroláš 'ridiculous Euro Cup'  (poor Ukrainian soccer team's performance at Euro Cup)	<	Jevrokúbok 'Euro Cup'	Jeraláš 'Jeralash' (comic show)
167	Jevrosýma 'Europe Hiroshima' (Europe under the threat of nuclear bombing)	<	Jevrópa 'Europe'	Xirosýma 'Hiroshima'
168	johojíst 'yogi egotist' (comic character from the show who causes inconveniences to people surrounding him with his yoga exercises)	<	jóh 'yogi'	ehojíst 'egotist'
169	kababúsja 'old lady resembling a hog'	<	kabán 'hog'	babúsja 'old lady'
170	kafetórija 'cafeteria auditorium'	<	kafetérija 'cafeteria'	audytórija 'auditorium'
171	kalamburdá 'calembour' (nonsensical word play or joke)	<	kalambúr 'calembour'	burdá 'nonsense'
172	kalamburýl'sčyk 'calembour driller' (a person who comes up with clever wordplays)	<	kalamburýst 'wordplay maker'	burýl'sčyk 'driller'
173	KAMAZónka	<	KAMÁZ	amazónka

	‘tall, strong and muscular female driver of KAMAZ truck’		‘KAMAZ truck’		‘Amazon’
174	kanibalísimus ‘cannibal generalissimus’ (used to describe Stalin with the reference to his cruelty towards people)	<	kanibál ‘cannibal’		heneralísimus ‘generalissimus’
175	kankaneréjka ‘can-can-dancing canary’ (a singer who dances can-can)	<	kankán ‘can-can dance’		kanaréjka ‘canary’
176	kanklér ‘éclair chancellor’ (sweet chancellor Angela Merkel)	<	káncler ‘chancellor’		eklér ‘éclair’
177	kapitúško ‘defeatist Titushko’	<	kapituljánt ‘defeatist’		titúško ‘Titushko’
178	kaplínđr ‘hybrid of panama hat and cylinder hat’	<	kapeljúx ‘panama hat’		cyllínđr ‘cylinder hat’
179	Kapútin ‘kaput Putin’  (used in calls for resisting cooperation with Vladimir Putin)	<	kapút ‘defeated; kaput’		Pútin ‘Putin’
180	kar”jerást ‘pederast careerist’ (used to refer to men who are meticulous about their appearance and, as a result, get	<	kar”jerýst ‘careerist’		pederást ‘pederast’

promoted because the management views them as good representatives of their company due to their good looks)

181	karmát 'hybrid of potato and tomato'	<	kartóplja 'potato'	tomát 'tomato'
182	karykaródija 'caricature parody'	<	karykatúra 'caricature'	paródija 'parody'
183	katastrójka 'perestroika which led to catastrophe'	<	katastrófa 'catastrophe'	perestrójka 'perestroika'
184	ketčunéz 'ketchup mayonnaise'	<	kétčup 'ketchup'	majonéz 'mayonnaise'
185	kinovýny 'cinema news'	<	kinó 'cinema'	novýny 'news'
186	klavýstor 'hybrid of keyboard and resistor'	<	klaviatúra 'keyboard'	rezýstor 'resistor'
187	kljujént 'pecking client'  (client who accepted something, e.g. an offer)	<	kljuváty 'peck, bite (fig.)' kljuje 'bite (fig.)-3.SG'	klijént 'client'
188	kljuvalízm 'antagonistic co-existence of	<	kljuváty 'peck; fight (fig.)'	pljuralízm 'pluralism'

many individuals'

189	(Džordž) Klóuni 'clown George Clooney' (used to ridicule George Clooney's political ambitions)	<	klóun 'clown'	Klúni 'Clooney'
190	klubóta 'Saturday for clubbing'	<	klúb 'club'	subóta 'Saturday'
191	kníher 'book slave' (people who write books for clients who publish those books under their own (i.e. clients') names)	<	knýha 'book'	níher 'black person; slave'
192	knyhilízm 'book nihilism' (denial of the usefulness of books as a result of popularization of technologies)	<	knýha 'book'	nihilízm 'nihilism'
193	koka-kolonizácija 'Coca-Cola colonization'	<	koka-kóla 'Coca-Cola'	kolonizácija 'colonization'
194	koketérija 'bijouterie for coquetting'	<	koketuvánnja 'coquetting'	bižutérija 'bijouterie' (imitation jewellery)
195	komikádze 'kamikaze comedian' (comedian who is not afraid to joke about taboo topics)	<	kómik 'comedian'	kamikádze 'kamikaze'

196	komóša 'insect flea'	<	komáxa 'insect'	vóša 'flea'
197	komp''juteroryzácija 'terrorist acts involving computers'	<	komp''juteryzácija 'computerization'	terór 'terror'
198	komp''jutéra 'computer land' (title of a computer journal)	<	komp''júter 'computer'	téra 'land'
199	komsomólist' 'komsomol youth'	<	komsomól 'komsomol' (communist youth union)	mólist' 'youth'
200	komutánt 'communist mutant' (modern communists with new communist ideology)	<	komuníst 'communist'	mutánt 'mutant'
201	Kondiséja 'informal name for confectionery „Odyssey”'	<	kondýters'ka 'confectionery'	Odiséja 'Odyssey'
202	konvúl'sium 'concilium with seizures' (concilium at which a very hard decision is made)	<	konvúl'sija 'seizure'	konsýlium 'concilium'
203	koopiráty 'pirate cooperators'	<	kooperátory 'cooperators'	piráty 'pirates'

204	kopéc'(podvijnyj) '(double) cop Armageddon'	<	kóp 'cop'	kapéts' 'hell; Armageddon'
205	(Don) Korleólja 'Don Corleone Olja'	<	Korleóne '(Don) Corleone'	Ólja 'Olja' (female name)
206	korovéj 'singing cow'	<	koróva 'cow'	solovéj 'ningale'
207	kosmodránec' 'hobo travelling into space'	<	kósmos 'cosmos'	holodránec' 'hobo'
208	kráblja 'damn drop' (interjection used to express frustration)	<	kráplja 'drop'	bljá 'damn'
209	kradonačál'nyk 'corrupt mayor'	<	kradíj 'thief'	hradonačál'nyk 'mayor'
210	Kraduncóv 'corrupt Karpuntsov'	<	kradún (colloquial) 'thief'	(Valerij) Karpuncóv '(Valeriy) Karpuntsov' (deputy from the political party <i>The Punch</i> )
211	krislólóhija 'armchair ideology'	<	krislo 'armchair'	ideológija 'ideology'
212	krokodýler 'dealer who tends to attack'	<	krokodýl 'crocodile'	dýler 'dealer'

	unexpectedly and do harm'			
213	kruporóšno 'mixture of grains and flour'	<	krupá 'grains'	bórošno 'flour'
214	krutélyk 'spinning butterfly'	<	krutýty 'spin'	metélyk 'butterfly'
	(V. Kornijenko's Ukrainian translation of an insect name in <i>Alice's Adventures in Wonderland</i> , which may correspond to <i>Rocking-horse-fly</i> , <i>Snap-dragon-fly</i> , or <i>Bread-and-butter-fly</i> )			
215	Kryčkó 'Klitschko who yells'	<	kryčáty 'yell'	Klyčkó 'Klitschko's party member'
	(member of Vitalii Klitschko's party <i>The Punch</i> who yell and argue a lot)			
216	krymdíty 'chatter about Crimea'	<	Krým 'Crimea'	tryndíty 'chatter uselessly'
	(uselessly chatter about Russian annexation of Crimea)			
217	Krýml'	<	Krým 'Crimea'	Kréml' 'Kremlin'
	(name for Crimea proposed by Putin as he plans to establish his new capital there in a comic show)			
218	krýmljanyn 'Roman Crimean'	<	krymčányn 'Crimean person'	rýmljanyn 'Roman'
219	kučmonómika 'Kuchma economics'	<	(Leonid) Kúčma '(Leonid) Kuchma'	ekonómika 'economics'

- (economic policy promoted and practiced by the former President of Ukraine Leonid Kuchma)
- 220 (Pryhody Robinzona) < kukurúdzja Krúzo  
 Kukurúdzjo ‘corn’ ‘(Robinson) Crusoe’  
 ‘(Adventures of Robinson) Corn  
 Crusoe’  
 (Vsevolod Nestajko’s parody on the novel by Daniel Defoe)
- 221 kurnikustýčnyj (versija < Kúrnikova akustýčnyj  
 hry) ‘Kurnikova’ ‘acoustic’  
 ‘acoustic a la Kurnikova (game  
 version)’  
 (used to describe Anna Kurnikova’s loud style of playing tennis)
- 222 Kuz’mýtró < Kuz’má Dmytró  
 ‘Kuz’ma Dmytro’ ‘Kuz’ma’ ‘Dmytro’  
 (a new name created by parents who could not choose between the two names for their  
 child)
- 223 Kydálóv < kydáty Kiválóv  
 ‘unreliable Kivalov’ ‘betray’ ‘Kivalov’  
 (politician Kivalov who never fulfills his promises)
- 224 lajmón < lájm lymón  
 ‘lime lemon’ ‘lime’ ‘lemon’  
 (drink with the flavour of lime and lemon)
- 225 lamájster < lamáty májster

	‘unskilled craftsman’		‘break’ lamaj ‘break-IMP.SG.’	‘craftsman’
226	Las Knýhas ‘Las Vegas book’ (name of a book store)	<	Las Véhas ‘Las Vegas’	knýha ‘book’
227	lavaštrúd ‘lavash strudel’	<	laváš ‘lavash’	štrúdel’ ‘shtrudel’
228	Leterbúrh ‘Leningrad St. Petersburg’	<	Leninhrád ‘Leningrad’	Peterbúrh ‘St. Petersburg’
229	lilipútč ‘liliput(in) Putsch’ (attempt to overthrow Putin’s government)	<	lilipút(in) ‘liliput(in)’	pútč ‘putsch’
230	Lilipútín ‘lilliput Putin’ (pejorative nickname hinting at Putin’s insignificant height)	<	lilipút ‘Lilliput’	Pútín ‘Putin’
231	litáčka ‘flying car’	<	litačók ‘plane’	táčka ‘car’ (slang)
232	ljucyférma ‘Lucifer farm’ (a farm at which devils are bred)	<	Ljucyfér ‘Lucifer’	férma ‘farm’
233	Luhánda	<	Luháns’k	Uhánda

	‘Lugansk resembling Uganda’ (used to compare Luhans’k Oblast’ of Ukraine to Uganda, due to similarity in establishment of political regimes)		‘Lugansk’		‘Uganda’
234	Luhandón ‘Luhans’k condom’ (offensive nickname used to refer to the political chaos in Luhans’k)	<	Luháns’k ‘Luhans’k’		handón ‘condom’
235	lukašýzm ‘Lukashenko fascism’ (fascist political ideology of Belarus’ which is headed by the President Aleksander Lukashenko)	<	Lukašénko ‘Lukashenko’		fašýzm ‘fascism’
236	Luzénko ‘loser Lutsenko’ (used to discuss failures of Yuriy Lutsenko, the former Minister of Internal Affairs of Ukraine)	<	lúzer ‘loser’		Lucénko ‘Lutsenko’
237	m’jasoriánec’ ‘meat vegetarian’ (someone who is not vegetarian and therefore eats meat, but not many vegetables)	<	m’jásó ‘meat’		(veheta)riánec’ ‘vegetarian’
238	mahistrávlja ‘hounding of MA students’	<	mahístr ‘MA student’		trávlja ‘hounding’
239	májčup ‘mayonnaise ketchup’		majonéz ‘mayonnaise’		kétčup ‘ketchup’
240	Majdák ‘chaotic Maidan’ (chaotic protests on the Independence Square in Kiev)	<	Majdán ‘Square’		bardák ‘chaos’

241	majdaljúcija 'revolution on Maidan'	<	Majdán 'Maidan (Independence Square)'	revoljúcija 'revolution'
242	majdáun 'Majdan down'	<	Majdán 'Majdan'	dáun 'a person suffering from the Down syndrome'  (protester on the Independence Square in Kiev who is referred to as retarded)
243	Majdošénko 'Poroshenko on Maidan'	<	Majdán 'Maidan'	Porošénko 'Poroshenko'
244	Majdukóvyč 'Janukovych deprived of power by Maidan'	<	Majdán 'Maidan'	Janukóvyč 'Janukovych'
245	majkrosóvok 'Microsoft sneaker'  (a sneaker which, according to a folk joke, is worn by Bill Gates)	<	majkrosóft 'Microsoft'	krosóvok 'sneaker'
246	mandražé 'pill against panic attack'	<	mandráž 'panic'	dražé 'pill'
247	Manhorýta "Mango Margarita"	<	mánho 'mango'	"Marharýta" "Margarita"
248	marazmantýzm	<	marázm	romantýzm

	‘senile romanticism’		‘senility’		‘romanticism’
249	Medvútín ‘Medvedev Putin’	<	Medvjédjev ‘Medvedev’		Pútín ‘Putin’
250	Mejerhohólevs’kyj (“Revizor”) ‘Meyerhold and Gogol’s (“The Government Inspector”)’ (“The Government Inspector” by Nikolai Gogol directed and staged by Vsevolod Meyerhold)	<	Mejexól’fivs’kyj ‘Meyerhold’		Hóhol’evs’kyj ‘Gogol’
251	memuarázm ‘memoire senility’	<	memuár ‘memoire’		marázm ‘senility’
252	mentúško ‘Titushko police officers’	<	mént ‘cops’		titúško ‘Titushkos’ (used as a common name) (Titushko is the sportsman who attacked reporters during anti- government protests)
253	meriózi ‘mayor Mafioso’	<	mér ‘mayor’		mafiózi ‘Mafioso’
254	Merkeavéli ‘Merkel who is like Machiavelli’	<	(Anhela) Mérkel’ (Angela) Merkel’		Makiavéli ‘(Niccolo) Machiavelli’

(Angela Merkel whose statecraft is said to be characterized by deception and duplicity)

255	merskvýč ““Moskvýč” car with the label saying “Mercedes””	<	“Mersedés” ““Mercedes””	“Moskvýč” ““Moskvych””
256	merynčá ‘grasshopper merino sheep’ (merino sheep which are said to eat vegetation like grasshoppers)	<	merynós ‘merino sheep’	sarančá ‘grasshopper’
257	milicáj ‘police officer’ (pejorative)	<	milicionér ‘militia officer’	policáj ‘cop’
258	milionéhr ‘millionaire black person’ (hard-working millionaire)	<	milionér ‘millionaire’	(pracjuvaty jak) néhr ‘(work like) a black person’
259	minrárium ‘terrarium ministry’ (Ukrainian ministry composed of ministers who are said to metaphorically resemble snakes by being treacherous, cold-blooded, etc.)	<	ministérstvo ‘ministry’	terrárium ‘terrarium’
260	mjáuhli ‘miao Mowgli’ (street cats)	<	mjáu ‘miaow’	Máuhli ‘Mowgli’
261	Mobi Díkens ‘Moby Dick Dickens’ (book store name)	<	Mobi Dík ‘Moby Dick’	Díkens ‘(Charles) Dickens’
262	morda-balét	<	mórda	korde-balét

	‘face corps de ballet’ (corps de ballet with excessive mimics)		‘snout’		‘corps de ballet’
263	mordal’jón ‘medallion with a photograph’	<	mórda ‘snout’		medal’jón ‘medallion’
264	morosálo ‘lard with ice-cream’	<	sálo ‘lard’		morózyvo ‘ice-cream’
265	mosKál’ka ‘tracing paper made in Moscow’	<	moskál’ka ‘Moskovite’ (pej.)		kál’ka ‘tracing paper’
266	movčál’ ‘silent sorrow’	<	movčánnja ‘silence’		pečál’ ‘sorrow’
267	mozhfíl’m ‘brain Moscow film’ (thought-provoking film)	<	mózh ‘brain’		Mosfíl’m ‘Moskow film’
268	muzykájf ‘pleasure from music’	<	múzyka ‘music’		kájf ‘pleasure’
269	muzyktór ‘musician and actor’	<	múzyka ‘musician’		aktór ‘actor’
270	mylodráma ‘melodrama with elements of soap operas’	<	mýlo ‘soap (opera)’		melodráma ‘melodrama’
271	načxál’sstvo	<	načxáty		načál’sstvo

	‘indifferent managers’		‘sneeze (not care)’		‘management’
272	naspartáčky ‘screw up like the soccer team “Spartak”’	<	naportáčky ‘screw up’		“Sparták” “Spartak”
273	natjurmórd ‘nature morte of faces’ (collage made of photographs of faces)	<	natjurmórt ‘nature morte’		mórda ‘snout’
274	neanderstálinec’ ‘neanderthal Stalin supporter’	<	neandertálec’ ‘neanderthal’		stálinec’ ‘Stalin supporter’
275	nerobílok ‘lazy Monday’ (Monday, the day when it’s hard to work after the weekend)	<	neróba ‘lazy bone’		ponedílok ‘Monday’
276	nimféja ‘fairy nymph’	<	nímfa ‘nymph’		fėja ‘fairy’
277	nouvýna ‘not news’ (information that is already known)	<	nóu ‘no’		novýna ‘news’
278	obamánija ‘Obama mania’	<	Obáma ‘Obama’		mánija ‘mania’
279	Obamáó ‘Obama Mao’	<	Obáma ‘Obama’		Máo ‘Mao’

280	Obémbi 'Obama Bambi' (President Barack Obama who seemed to be meek in the pre-election campaign)	<	Obáma 'Obama'	Bémbi 'Bambi'
281	odnoškil'čányn 'compatriot from the same school'	<	škóla 'school'	odnosel'čányn 'compatriot'
282	okupéndum 'referendum on the occupied territory (in Ukraine)'	<	okupácija 'occupation'	referéndum 'referendum'
283	OONÁTOvec' 'member of UNO and NATO'	<	OÓN 'UNO'	nátovec' 'NATO member'
284	operatjávka 'meeting full of yapping' (meeting in which everyone talks in a loud insistent way)	<	operatývka 'meeting'	tjávkanja 'yapping'
285	oranhutánho 'orangutan tango' (tango dance performed by clumsy people)	<	oranhután 'orangutan'	tánho 'tango'
286	osannatórija 'osanna sanatorium' (sanatorium for rabbi)	<	osánna 'save, we pray (prayer)'	sanatórija 'sanatorium'
287	Ostrjádča 'sharp-tongued Osadcha' (character from an animation film, whose prototype is the Ukrainian TV presenter	<	ostrjáčka 'sharp-tongued woman'	(Kateryna) Osádča '(Kateryna) Osadcha'

Kateryna Osadcha who is known for her harsh manner of interviewing people)

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|-----|---|---|-----------------------------|--|
| 288 | P”jedestálin<br>‘pedestal Stalin’<br>(Stalin’s monument on a pedestal)  | < | p”jedestál<br>‘pedestal’    | Stálin<br>‘Stalin’                             |
| 289 | papasypéd<br>‘bicycle for the Pope’<br>(new means of transport designed for the Pope)                                   | < | pápa<br>‘Pope’              | velosypéd<br>‘bicycle’                         |
| 290 | PaRáša<br>‘toilet Russia’<br><br>(used as an offensive name for Russia)   | < | paráša<br>‘crapper’ (slang) | Ráša (humorous name<br>for Rosija)<br>‘Russia’ |
| 291 | Paryžél’<br>‘Paris Jello’ (candy)   | < | Parýž<br>‘Paris’            | želé<br>‘jello’                                |
| 292 | Pavukóvs’kyj<br>‘spider Kashpirovsky’<br>(spider which hypnotizes with its look like the healer Anatolij Kašpirovs’kyj) | < | pavúk<br>‘spider’           | Kašpiróvs’kyj<br>‘Kashpirovsky’                |
| 293 | pazírivka<br>‘Azarov’s speech which is a<br>disgrace’   | < | pazír<br>‘disgrace’         | azírivka<br>‘Azarov’s speech’                  |

(hint at the tendency of the former PM of Ukraine Mykola Azarov to make many mistakes when speaking Ukrainian)

294	pedalúrĥ 'pederast metallurgist'	<	pederást 'pederast'	metalúrĥ 'metallurgist'
295	pederalíst 'pederast federalist' (pejorative term for those supporting the idea of transforming Ukraine into a federation)	<	pederást 'pederast'	federalíst 'federalist'
296	PedeRáša 'pederast Russia'  (used as an offensive name for Russia)	<	pederást 'pederast'	Ráša (humorous name for Rosija) 'Russia'
297	pel'rényk 'pelmeni perogy' (hybrid of Russian pelmeni and Ukrainian perogies)	<	pelmén' 'pelmeni'	varényk 'perogy'
298	pentahónija 'Pentagon agony' (consequence of the terrorist attack on Pentagon on Sept. 11, 2001)	<	Pentahón 'Pentagon'	ahónija 'agony'
299	pentaperehón 'Pentagon weapon race'	<	Pentahón 'Pentagon'	perehón 'race'
300	perejúkos (ekonomiky) 'economy wreck caused by Yukos'	<	perekós 'wreck'	Júkos 'Yukos' (petroleum company)

301	perlóttó 'risotto with purl barley (instead of rice)'	<	perlóvka 'purl barley'	rizóttó 'risotto'
302	perokrátija 'pen bureaucracy' (administrative procedure which involves lots of writing)	<	peró 'pen'	bjuokrátija 'bureaucracy'
303	PIDARéšt 'pederast under arrest' (used in calls for arresting Viktor Yanukovych)	<	pídar (expleteve) 'pederast'	pid aréšt 'under arrest'
304	pidpolkáš 'alcoholic lieutenant colonel'	<	pidpolkóvnyk 'lieutenant colonel'	alkáš 'male alcoholic'
305	piškárusom (jty) '(go) on foot like by <i>Ikarus</i> bus' (used to emphasize that <i>Ikarus</i> bus is very slow, and one can get to destination on foot as fast as by <i>Ikarus</i> )	<	píšky 'on foot'	Ikárus(om) 'by <i>Ikarus</i> bus'
306	plastylístyka 'plastic stylistics'	<	plástyka 'plastics'	stylístyka 'stylistics'
307	pljuvalízm 'co-existence of many indifferent individuals'	<	pljuváty 'spit, not care (fig.)'	pljuralízm 'pluralism'
308	plutaznýk 'road sign which confuses'	<	plútaty 'confuse'	pokaznýk 'road sign'

309	Pocénko 'penis Lutsenko' (used by those who oppose Euro-Maidan to refer to the Euro-Maidan supporter, former Minister of Internal Affairs of Ukraine, Yuriy Lucenko)	<	póc 'dick' (Yiddish)	(Jurij) Lucénko '(Yuriy) Lutsenko'
310	pocriót 'dick patriot'	<	póc 'dick' (Yiddish)	patriót 'patriot'
311	pofihitleryzm 'Hitler-like indifference to people's fates'	<	pofihízm (expletive) 'indifference; not giving a damn'	Hítler 'Hitler'
312	pokučmaníty 'go crazy like Kuchma' (used to describe the state of Kuchma's government officials, who went crazy like Kuchma and made too many promises)	<	(Leonid) Kúčma '(Leonid) Kuchma'	počmaníty 'go crazy'
313	policionér 'police and militia officer'	<	policijánt 'cop'	milicionér 'militia officer'
314	pollitinformácija 'political information shared after a drink'	<	pollítra 'half a litre (of vodka)'	politinformácija 'political information'
315	pollitróloh 'a person who talks about politics when drunk'	<	pollítra 'half a litre (of vodka)'	politóloh 'political scientist'
316	pompuljárnyj	<	pompéznyj	populjárnyj

	‘pompous and popular’		‘pompous’		‘popular’
317	poponént ‘butt opponent’ (used to refer to an opponent in an offensive way)	<	pópa ‘butt’		oponént ‘opponent’
318	Portuhólija ‘Portugal scoring many goals in soccer’	<	Portuhálija ‘Portugal’		hól ‘goal’
319	Potrošénko ‘Poroshenko the Ripper’	<	Porošénko ‘Poroshenko’		potrošýtel’ ‘ripper’
320	Pozór’kin ‘disgraceful Zor’kin’ (characteristic of the Chair of the Constitutional Court of the Russian Federation due to his political views)	<	pozór ‘disgrace’		Zór’kin ‘Zor’kin’
321	pravokátor ‘right provoker’ (provoker from the Right Sector, i.e. Ukrainian nationalist extremist political party)	<	právyj ‘Right Sector supporter’		provokátor ‘provoker’
322	pravooporónec’ ‘resisting police officer’ (police officer who put up resistance to terrorist attacks)	<	pravooxorónec’ ‘police officer’		ópir ‘resistance’
323	pravopoxorónec’ ‘police officer who lead to funerals’	<	pravooxorónec’ ‘police officer’		póxoron ‘funeral’

324	priključečéns'kyj (tryler) 'adventure (thriller) about the Chechen War'	<	priključen'českij 'adventure' (Russ.)	čečénskij 'Chechen'
325	proézija 'prose and poetry'	<	próza 'prose'	poézija 'poetry'
326	profěšn 'profession of a fashion designer'	<	profěsija 'profession'	fěšn 'fashion'
327	prokurórt 'the Prosecutor of Crimea Nataliya Poklons'ka'	<	prokurór 'prosecutor'	kurórt 'resort'
328	propahátor 'propagandist and agitator'	<	propahandýst 'propagandist'	ahitátor 'agitator'
329	propauhánda 'propaganda Uganda' (Russia's propaganda which draws the parallel between the seizing of power by opposition in the west of Ukraine and the west of Uganda)	<	propahánda 'propaganda'	Uhánda 'Uganda'
330	prostitúško 'prostitute Titushko'	<	prostyútko 'prostitute'	titúško 'Titushko' (used as a common name) (Titushko is the sportsman who attacked reporters during anti-

			government protests)
	(Titushko, who provides his services—e.g. organizing violent provocations in Ukraine— for money)		
331	protestúcija 'protest prostitution' (actions of "FEMIN" – a Ukrainian organization famous for the naked protests of its members)	<	protést 'protest'
			prostyttúcija 'prostitution'
332	protestútka 'protesting prostitute' (used to describe "FEMIN" – a Ukrainian organization famous for the naked protests of its members)	<	protést 'protest'
			prostyttútka 'prostitute'
333	protypahánda 'propaganda against something'	<	próty 'against'
			propahánda 'propaganda'
334	provincyvilizácija 'countryside civilisation' (ironic, used to talk about the lack of conveniences, which are expected in a civilized society, in the countryside)	<	províncija 'countryside'
			cyvilizácija 'civilisation'
335	prozelíto 'green summer'	<	prózelen' 'greenery'
			líto 'summer'
336	Prymatónna 'Primadonna who weighs a ton' (Prymadonna, Alla Pugacheva, who gained a ton of weight)	<	Prymadónna 'Primadonna'
			tónna 'ton'
337	prystaváci 'harassing paparazzi'	<	prystaváty 'harass'
			paparáci 'paparazzi'

338	pryvvdóněčka 'ghost of the daughter'	<	prývyd 'ghost'	dóněčka 'daughter'
339	pryxvatyzácija 'privatization involving corruption'	<	pryxvatýty 'steal'	pryvatyzácija 'privatize'
340	psevdonímka 'note signed with a pseudonym for secrecy'	<	psevdoním 'pseudonym'	anonímka 'anonymous note'
341	Pšókin 'Shokin who accomplished nothing'	<	Pšónka (former general prosecutor of Ukraine)	Šókin 'Shokin' (former general prosecutor of Ukraine)
	(term used to refer to two politicians who are similar in many respects)			
342	Pšýkin 'Shokin who accomplished nothing'	<	pšýk 'nothing'	Šókin 'Shokin' (former general prosecutor of Ukraine)
343	psyxolodánnja 'cold psychosis' (psychosis caused by cold weather)	<	psyxóz 'psychosis'	poxolodánnja 'cold weather'
344	Puhálkin 'Pugačeva and Galkin'	<	Puhačěva 'Pugačeva'	Hálkin 'Galkin'

(famous Russian couple consisting of a Russian singer and a Russian comedian)

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|--|---------------------------------------|---|--|--------------------------------|
| 345  | Pujló<br>'dick Putin'                 | < | Pútín<br>'Putin'                       | xujló <sup>100</sup><br>'dick' |
| (used by Ukrainian protesters with the reference to Russia's annexation of Ukraine)                |                                       |   |  |                                |
| 346  | púntaksys<br>'punctuation and syntax' | < | punktuácija<br>'punctuation'           | sýntaksys<br>'syntax'          |
| 347  | Pútčyn<br>'Putin and Sen'chin'        | < | Pútín<br>'Putin'                       | Sjénčyn<br>'Sen'chin'          |
| (used to discuss the cooperation between the Russian President and the Head of Rosneft)            |                                       |   |  |                                |
| 348  | Putinočét<br>'Pinochet Putin'         | < | Pútín<br>'Putin'                       | Pinočét<br>'Pinochet'          |
| (used to refer to Vladimir Putin emphasizing his dictatorial leadership style)                     |                                       |   |  |                                |
| 349  | Putinójid<br>'humanoid Putin'         | < | Pútín<br>'Putin'                       | humanójid<br>'humanoid'        |
| (hinting that Putin is not human, but only resembling one)   |                                       |   |  |                                |
| 350  | putinómika<br>'Putin ecoomics'        | < | (Vladimir) Pútín<br>'(Vladimir) Putin' | ekonómika<br>'economics'       |
| (economic policy promoted and practiced by the President of the Russian Federation Vladimir Putin) |                                       |   |  |                                |

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<sup>100</sup> This word is used in Ukrainian similarly to the "F-word" in English, i.e. not necessarily referring to a part of human body.

351	putinúško 'Putin's Titushko'	<	Pútín 'Putin'	titúško 'Titushko' (used as a common name) (Titushko is the sportsman who attacked reporters during anti- government protests)
(titushko hired by Putin for organizing violent provocations in Ukraine)				
352	Pútlér 'Putin Hitler'	<	Pútín 'Putin'	Hítler 'Hitler'
353	puturýst 'Putin's tourist'	<	Pútín 'Putin'	turýst 'tourist'
(refers to Russian soldiers who fight in the war in the east of Ukraine, while Putin claims that the Russians in Ukraine are tourists, as opposed to soldiers; possibly an association with the word <i>futurysty</i> 'futurists' is intended)				
354	Putvjédjev 'Putin Medvedev'	<	Pútín 'Putin'	Medvjédjev 'Medvedev'
(united political force of two top Russian politicians named)				
355	pyvonér 'pioneer in the beer industry' (liquor store name)	<	pývo 'beer'	pionér 'pioneer'
356	randomokratija 'random democracy'	<	rándom 'random'	demokrátija 'democracy'

(in science fiction, the political system in which government members are randomly assigned by a computer)

357	rašýst 'racist from Russia'	<	Ráša 'Russia'	rasýst 'racist'
358	raxitektúrnyj (proekt) 'weak architectural project'	<	raxítnyj 'rachitic'	arxitektúrnyj 'architectural'
359	REEformuváty 'reform with <i>Reebok</i> '	<	Reébok 'Reebok'	reformuváty 'reform'
360	reforNÁTO 'NATO-focused reformer' (politician who support the idea of Ukraine joining the NATO)	<	reformátor 'reformer'	NÁTO 'the NATO'
361	rehínovyj (žinka) 'rubber woman from Regina' (rubber woman from sex shop owned and run by the TV presenter Regina Dubovitskaya)	<	Rehína (Dubovyc'ka) 'Regina (Dubovitskaya)'	rezýnovyj 'rubber (woman)'
362	rekláment 'time limitation on advertising'	<	rekláma 'advertising'	rehláment 'time-limitation'
363	repúx 'bur burdock'	<	rep''jác 'bur'	lopúx 'burdoch'
364	Revizórro 'restaurant inspector Zorro'	<	revizór 'restaurant inspector'	Zórro 'Zorro' (movie character)

(restaurant inspector who works for the benefit of people, like Zorro)

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|-----|---|---|----------------------------------|---|
| 365 | revoljucyfér<br>'revoltionary Lucifer'  | < | revoljucionér<br>'revolutionary' | Ljucyfér<br>'Lucifer'   |
|     | (evil revolutionary)  |   |                                  |   |
| 366 | robokálipsys<br>'robot apocalypse'<br>(fiction movie title)                               | < | róbot<br>'robot'                 | apokálipsys<br>'apocalypse'   |
| 367 | rostitúško<br>'Rostov Titushko'   | < | Rostóv<br>'Rostov (Russia)'      | titúško<br>'Titushko' (used as a<br>common name)<br>(Titushko is the<br>sportsman who<br>attacked reporters<br>during anti-<br>government protests) |
| 368 | rukanstrúkcija<br>'reconstruction by hand'  | < | ruká<br>'hand'                   | rekonstrúkcija<br>'reconstruction'  |
| 369 | Ruxlána<br>'movement and Ruslana'<br>(Ruslana Lyžyčko, who supported the Maidan movement) | < | rúx<br>'movement'                | Ruslána<br>'Ruslana'  |
| 370 | ryhionál<br>'sickening <i>Party of Regions</i>  | < | rýhaty<br>'vomit'                | rehionál<br>'regional'  |

	member’			
371	rymatýzm ‘rhyme rheumatism’ (poet’s inability to find rhymes)	<	rýma ‘rhyme’	revmatýzm ‘rheumatism’
372	rysóttó ‘risotto with too much rice’	<	rýs ‘rice’	rizóttó ‘risotto’
373	sajhinčák ‘‘Saigon’’ hound’ (police officer who is hunting after the underground artists who perform at café ‘‘Saigon’’)	<	‘‘Saihón’’ ‘‘Saigon’’	hinčák ‘hound’
374	Salov’’jánenko ‘lard-eater Solovianenko’  (singer Solovianenko who is humorously referred to belonging to the nation of lard-eaters, i.e. Ukrainians)	<	sálo ‘lard’ (major ingredient in traditional Ukrainian cuisine)	(Anatoliy) Solov’’jánenko ‘(Anatoliy) Solovianenko’
375	salubéc’ ‘lard cabbage roll’	<	sálo ‘lard’	holubéc’ ‘cabbage roll’
376	Sančóus ‘anchovy Sanja’ (cartoon character)	<	Sánja ‘Sanja’	ančóus ‘anchovy’
377	sarančádo ‘grasshopper child’	<	sarančá ‘grasshopper’	čádo ‘child’

	(child who eats a lot)			
378	sarančajnyk 'kettle-shaped grasshopper'	<	saranča 'grasshopper'	čajnyk 'kettle'
	(V. Orel's translation of <i>Bread-and-butter-fly</i> in "Through the Looking Glass (And What Alice Found There)" by Lewis Carroll)			
379	sarančáška 'grasshopper shaped like a cup'	<	saranča 'grasshopper'	čáška 'cup'
	(V. Kornijenko's Ukrainian translation of an insect name in <i>Alice's Adventures in Wonderland</i> , which may correspond to <i>Rocking-horse-fly</i> , <i>Snap-dragon-fly</i> , or <i>Bread-and-butter-fly</i> )			
380	šaurmén 'shawarma showrman' (shawarma restaurant network)	<	šaurmá 'shawarma'	šoumén 'showrman'
381	sekretútka 'prostitute secretary'	<	sekretárka 'secretary'	prostytútka 'prostitute'
382	sekskonávčyj (dyrektor) 'sex executive (director)' (executive director at the company providing sex on the telephone service)	<	séks 'sex'	vykonávčyj (dyrektor) 'executive (director)'
383	sekspért 'sex expert'	<	séks 'sex'	ekspért 'expert'
384	sekspionáž 'sex espionage' (espionage which involves sexual relationship between the spy and the victim)	<	séks 'sex'	špionáž 'espionage'
385	seksplózija	<	séks	eksplózija

	‘sex explosion’ (frequent discussions of sexual matters)		‘seks’		‘explosion’
386	séksport ‘sex export’ (used to talk about sexual slavery of women who go to work abroad)	<	séks ‘sex’		ékспорт ‘export’
387	sektremístka ‘sex extremist’ (used to refer to a member of FEMEN, the feminist protest group founded in Ukraine which is known for organizing controversial topless protests against sex tourism, religious institutions, sexism and other social, national and international topics)	<	séks ‘sex’		ekstremístka ‘extremist’
388	seksťyl’ ‘sexy textile’ (sexy lingerie)	<	séks ‘sex’		tekstýl’ ‘textile’
389	sePARAŠýst ‘foul separatist fascist’	<	separatýst ‘separatist’	fašýst ‘fascist’	Paráša ‘crapper’
390	ševerkót ‘cheviot covercoat’	<	ševiót ‘cheviot’		koverkót ‘covercoat’
391	ševroletariát ‘proletarians who make Chevrolets’	<	ševrolét ‘Chevrolet’		proletariát ‘proletariat’
392	(kinder) sjurprývd	<	(kinder) sjurprýz		prývd

	“”Kinder Surprise” ghost’ (toy hidden inside the Kinder Surprise egg)		“(Kinder) Surprise”	‘ghost’
393	(Mytnyj) Škojúz ‘damaging (Customs) Union’ (Customs Union with Russia, which would damage Ukraine’s prospects of Eurointegration)	<	škóda ‘damage’	sojúz ‘union’
394	škoolád ‘schooling chocolate’ (title of an article discussing positive effect of chocolate on brain activity)	<	škóla ‘school’	šokolád ‘chocolate’
395	škurnalíst ‘journalist with vested interest’	<	škúrnyj (interes) ‘skin (lit.); vested (interest)’	žurnalíst ‘journalist’
396	skutenér ‘pimp on a scooter’	<	skúter ‘scooter’	sutenér ‘pimp’
397	šljaškó ‘prostitute Lyashko’ (a character in the animation film whose prototype is the Ukrainian politician Oleh Lyashko, who is known to have been involved in a sex scandal)	<	šljátysja ‘prostitute (oneself)’	(Oleh) Ljaškó ‘(Oleh) Lyashko’
398	slováryvo ‘word soup’ (used ironically to describe bad poems)	<	slóvo ‘word’	váryvo ‘soup’
399	šmonohráma ‘police search report (prison	<	šmón ‘police search (slang)’	monohráma ‘monogram’

jargon)’

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|-----|--|---|-------------------------------|---|
| 400 | Šnélja<br>‘schnell/quick Nelja’<br>(nickname of the former governor of Slavjans’k, Nelja Štepa)  | < | šnél’<br>‘quick (German)’     | Nélja (Štepa)<br>‘Nelja (Shtepa)’             |
| 401 | šnóbelivs’ka (premija)<br>‘Schnobel prize/Ig Nobel Prize’<br>(jocular international prize awarded to scientists whose discoveries or inventions are more ridiculous than useful) | < | šnóbel<br>‘Schnobel/big nose’ | nóbelivs’kyj (premija)<br>‘the Nobel (Prize)’ |
| 402 | sobakalávr<br>‘dog bachelor’<br>(angry bachelor)   | < | sobáka<br>‘dog’               | bakalávr<br>‘bachelor’                        |
| 403 | sobakálipsys<br>‘dog apocalypse’<br>(a parody on the fiction movie “Robocalypse”)  | < | sobáka<br>‘dog’               | apokálipsys<br>‘apocalypse’                   |
| 404 | šokolálo<br>‘chocolate-covered lard’   | < | šokolád<br>‘chocolate’        | sálo<br>‘lard’                                |
| 405 | šokolápka<br>‘Chocolate Paw’<br>(brand of chocolates)  | < | šokoládka<br>‘chocolate’      | lápka<br>‘paw’                                |
| 406 | sóvoronok<br>‘night owl and early bird’  | < | sová<br>‘owl’                 | žájvoronok<br>‘lark; early bird’              |

	(a person that does not have any specific sleeping schedule)			
407	specvypravďacija 'special operation as an excuse' (special operation of Ukrainian separatists which Russia uses as an excuse to send Russian troops in support of the separatist movement)	<	specoperacija 'special operation'	výpravdannja 'excuse'
408	spivučájnyk 'singing counterpart in the boy band Čaj vdvojem 'Tea for Two''	<	spivučasnyk 'counterpart'	čaj spív 'tea' 'singing'
409	Sportuhálja 'Sporty Portugal' (used in discussion of Portugal's football success)	<	spórt 'sport'	Portuhálja 'Portugal'
410	spyrtuózyty 'play under the influence of alcohol like a virtuoso'	<	spýrt 'spirit'	virtuózyty 'play like a virtuoso'
411	spys'ménnyk 'cheating writer'	<	spýsuvaty 'cheat/plagiarize'	pys'ménnyk 'writer'
412	Šréjx 'Shrek sheikh' (unattractive sheikh)	<	Šrék 'Shrek'	šéjx 'sheikh'
413	stabilizéc' 'end to stabilization'	<	stabilizacija 'stabilization'	pyzdéc' 'hell, Armageddon' (expletive)
414	starpérec' 'old fart pepper' (old men capable of bravery)	<	starpér (star(yj) per(dun)) 'old fart'	pérec' 'pepper'

415	strésija 'stressful session' (stressful part of the term when examinations are held)	<	strés 'stress'	sésija 'session'
416	stróza 'rose with sparkle'	<	stráz 'sparkle'	róza 'rose'
417	studikádze 'kamikaze student' (used to refer to students who express their political views in demonstrations, not fearing possible dire consequences)	<	stúdík 'student' (diminutive)	kamikádze 'kamikaze'
418	štukatúrcija 'Turkey plasterboard' (make-up made in Turkey)	<	štukatúrka 'plasterboard'	Túrcija 'Turkey'
419	štundéra 'Stundist and Bandera'  (pejorative term used to refer to Protestants from western Ukraine)	<	štúnda 'Stundist'	Bandéra 'Bandera'  (leader of Ukrainian nationalist movement in Western Ukraine)
420	sušápka (ne po Sen'ci) 'sushi hat'  (used to describe situations in which professional ambitions of a person – in this case, making sushi – are much greater than their skills)	<	súšy 'sushi'	(ne po Sen'ci) šápka 'hat doesn't fit Sen'ka/a bad cat deserves a bad rat'

421	šútočni 'ridiculous daily allowance'	<	sútočni 'daily allowance'	šútka 'joke'
422	sverlývyj (družyna) 'quarrelsome (wife)' (wife who drills ideas into her husband's brain by constantly quarreling)	<	sverló 'drill'	svarlývyj 'quarrelsome'
423	svolakátor 'foul provoker' (a person who dresses up like Euromaidan protesters and takes illegal actions in order to discredit Euromaidaners)	<	svolóta 'scum'	provokátor 'provoker'
424	svynalíst 'swine finalist' (finalist who succeeded by cheating)	<	svynjá 'swine'	finalíst 'finalist'
425	svynocýd 'swine genocide' (mass killing of pigs due to an epidemic)	<	svynjá 'swine'	henocýd 'genocide'
426	šýfryč 'cipher Shufrych' (chronicler, an animation film character whose prototype is the Ukrainian politician Nestor Shufrych)	<	šýfr 'cipher'	Šúfryč 'Shufrych'
427	Symonénin 'Symonenko Lenin'	<	Symonénko 'Symonenko'	Lénin 'Lenin'

(character from an animation movie, whose prototype is the First Secretary of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Ukraine Petro Symonenko)

428	synktuácija 'syntax and punctuation'	<	sýntaksys 'syntax'	punktuácija 'punctuation'
429	t'futból 'disappointing football'	<	t'fú 'tfu' (interjection for spitting)	futból 'football'
430	tabloidiotyzácija 'tabloid idiotisation' (decrease in the level of mass media)	<	tablóid 'tabloid'	idiotyzácija 'idiotisation'
431	tanhédija 'tango tragedy' (tango choreography which depicts a tragedy)	<	tánho 'tango'	trahédija 'tragedy'
432	teatrárium 'theatre terrarium' (theatre actors who metaphorically resemble snakes by being treacherous)	<	teátr 'theatre'	terárium 'terrarium'
433	terorétyk 'terror theorist' (theorist who plan terrorist operations)	<	terór 'terror'	teorétyk 'theorist'
434	Timbldón 'Tim Wimbledon'	<	Uimbldón 'Wimbledon'	Tím (Henman) 'Tim (Henman)'

(victory of Tim Henman at Wimbledon)

435	titulícija 'Titushko police'	<	Titúško 'Titushko'	polícija 'police'
436	Tjahnybenjúk 'Tjahnybok Benjuk' (comic character from the animation film who combines behaviour styles of the Ukrainian politician Tjajnybok and the Ukrainian TV presenter Benjuk)	<	Tjahnybók 'Tjahnybok'	Benjúk 'Benjuk'
437	Tjahnybýk 'bull-headed Tjahnybok' (Ukrainian politician)	<	Tjahnybók 'Tjahnybok'	býk 'bull'
438	toršéršen' 'torchere hornet' (V. Orel's translation of <i>Rocking-horse-fly</i> in "Through the Looking Glass (And What Alice Found There)" by Lewis Carroll)	<	toršér 'torchere'	šéršen' 'hornet'
439	torsét 'torso corset'	<	tórs 'torso'	korsét 'corset'
440	tovstopárd 'fat guy leopard' (tank name in a computer game)	<	tovstún 'fat guy'	leopárd 'leopard'
441	tryndéncija 'tendency to chat'	<	tryndíty 'chat' (slang)	tendéncija 'tendencies'
442	Uhrajína	<	Ukrajína	hrá

	‘Ukraine as a part of Putin’s political games’		‘Ukraine’		‘game’
443	Ukradýna ‘corrupt Ukraine’	<	ukrásty ‘steal’ ukrady ‘steal-SG.IMP.’		Ukrajína ‘Ukraine’
444	Ukrujína ‘Ukraine in ruins’	<	rujína ‘ruin’		Ukrajína ‘Ukraine’
445	universytútka ‘university prostitute’ (a student who takes courses at many different universities)	<	universitytét ‘university’		prostytútka ‘prostitute’
446	Urkajína ‘corrupt Ukraine’	<	úrka ‘crook’		Ukrajína ‘Ukraine’
447	Uti-Pútín ‘uti-puti Putin’  (image of an innocent kind politician created for Putin by the Russian mass media)	<	uti-púti ‘uti-puti’  (interjection hinting at childish innocence of the one to whom it’s addressed)		Pútín ‘Putin’
448	uzurpártija ‘usurparty’ ( <i>Party of Regions</i> which is said to have seized and be holding power by force)	<	uzurpátor ‘usurper’		pártija ‘party’

449	uzurpátor 'usrper pastor'	<	uzurpátor 'usurper'	pátor 'pastor'
450	Vabánkova (vulytsja) 'va-banque Bankova (Street)'	<	va-bánk 'va banque' (putting everything at stake on a single card)	(vulycja) Bánkova 'Bankova (Street)' (President's Administration location)  (location of Euromaidaners' protests in Kyiv, where the protesters behaved as if they had nothing to lose)
451	varatár 'goal-keeper's avatar'	<	vorotár 'goal-keeper'	avatór 'avatar'
452	vermút' 'vermouth slime'	<	vérmút 'vermouth'	mút' 'slime'
453	videóke 'video karaoke'		vídeo 'video'	karaóke 'karaoke'
454	videosxlýp 'video weep' (music video that is so bad that it makes you want to cry)	<	videoklíp 'music video'	sxlýp 'weep'
455	vidsydént 'dissident who did time'	<	vidsydíty 'do time'	dysydént 'dissident'
456	Vijnúkovyč 'Star Warrior Janukovyč'	<	vijná '(Star) War'	Janukóvyč 'Janukovyč'

(Janukovyh dressed up as Darth Vader in a Ukrainian animated film)

- |     |   |   |  |  |
|-----|---|---|--|--|
| 457 | Vitaliáda<br>'Vitali Iliada'<br>(the epic poem written by the comic character Vitalia (prototype: politician Vitali Klitschko) about himself in the animation film) | < | Vitálíj<br>'Vitali (Klitschko)'          | “Iliáda”<br>'Iliad'                      |
| 458 | Vladól'f (Pútler)<br>'Vladimir Adolf (Putler)'  | < | Vladímir<br>'Vladimir' (Russ.)           | Adól'f<br>'Adolf'                        |
| 459 | vovčeryzácija<br>'wolf voucherization'<br>(distribution of vouchers which resulted in fights between people who wanted to get more)                                 | < | vóvčyj<br>'wolf'                         | vaučeryzácija<br>'voucherization'        |
| 460 | vpályvo<br>'fallen wood fuel'<br>(fallen branches which people collect to use as wood fuel)   | < | vpásty<br>'fall'<br>vpaly<br>'fall-3PL'  | pályvo<br>'fuel'                         |
| 461 | Vrublyóv<br>'Vrubel' Rubljov'   | < | (Mikhail) Vrubel'<br>'(Mikhail) Vrubeł'' | (Andrzej) Rubljóv<br>'(Andrzej) Rublyov' |
| 462 | Vujkovél'<br>'vujko Bukovel''<br>(name of a ski resort in a movie)  |   | vújko<br>'a man' (Carpathian<br>dialect) | Bukovél'<br>'Bukovel''                   |
| 463 | vybrobáčennja   | < | výbory                                   | Jevrobáčennja                            |

	‘election Eurovision’ (competition in the comic show in which every candidate has some peculiarity (trademark), by analogy with the Eurovision 2014 winner Conchita Wurst)	‘election’	‘Eurovision’
464	výskočen’ ‘student who is too ambitious’	< výskočka ‘arriviste’	účen’ ‘student’
465	Vytriščátyk ‘Khreshchatyk Street which is good for people watching’	< vytriščátysja ‘stare’	Xreščátyk ‘Khreshchatyk Street’
466	(vzjaty za) xabárky ‘interrogate about a bribe’	< xabár ‘a bribe’	(vzjaty za) bárky ‘grab by the lapels; interrogate, charge with something (figurative)’
467	x”okėj ‘okay hockey’	< xokėj ‘hockey’	o”kėj ‘okay’
468	xalturné ‘poorly organized tour’	< xaltúrnyj ‘done poorly’	turné ‘tour’
469	xameleopárd ‘chameleon leopard’ (a character from a folk joke)	< xameleón ‘chameleon’	leopárd ‘leopard’

470	xamil'járnyj 'rude, unceremonious'	<	xamovýtyj 'rude'	famil'járnyj 'unceremonious'
471	xanastezióloh 'bad anaesthesiologist'	<	xaná 'something bad, Armageddon'	anastezióloh 'anasthaesiologist'
472	Xapútin 'corrupt Putin'	<	xapúha 'thief'	Pútín 'Putin'
473	xerój 'hero who are worth nothing' (used by opponents of Euromaidan to refer to Euromaidan heroes)	<	xér 'dick'	herój 'hero'
474	xičkóknytyj 'crazy as a result of reading A. Hitchcock'	<	Xičkók 'Hitchcock'	kóknytyj 'crazy'
475	xlamúrnyj 'looking trashy' (as opposed to glamorous)	<	xlám 'trash'	hlamúrnyj 'glamorous'
476	Xolérij (Karpuncov) 'choleric Valeriy' (an ironic nickname of the deputy from the political party <i>The Punch</i> Valeriy Karpuntsov)	<	xoléryk 'choleric'	Valérij (Karpuncov) 'Valeriy (Karpuntsov)'
477	xoraóke 'choir karaoke' (karaoke in which several people sing, as if in a choir)	<	xór 'choir'	karáoke 'karaoke'

478	Xorošenko 'good Poroshenko'	<	xoróšyj 'good'	Porošenko 'Poroshenko'
479	xrinýtel' 'treasurer who cannot save money'	<	xrín (expletive) 'dick'	xranýtel' 'treasurer'
480	Xruščátyk 'Khreshchatyk Street crawling with cockchafers'	<	xrúšč cockchafer	Xreščátyk 'Khreshchatyk Street'
481	xruščóba 'Khrushchev slum'	<	xruščóvka 'Khrushchev apartment building'	truščóba 'slum'
(an overcrowded low-cost, concrete-paneled or brick three- to five-storied apartment building built during the time Nikita Khrushchev directed the Soviet government)				
482	Xútin 'penis Putin' (used by protestants referring to Russia's annexation of Ukraine)	<	xúj 'penis' (expletive)	Pútin 'Putin'
483	xverényk 'perogie which is not tasty'	<	xvé 'eww' (interjection used to express disgust)	varényk 'perogie'
484	Zabraravý 'fun Brovary'	<	zabáva 'fun activity'	Brovarý 'Brovary' (a town in Ukraine)
485	zabezpétčer 'employee who provides coordination of actions'	<	zabezpéčuvaty 'provide'	dyspétčer 'controller'

486	zadornovýna 'Zadornov's news' (news program from the humorist Mikhail Zadornov)	<	Zadórnov 'Zadornov'	novýna 'news'
487	zagádžennja 'pollution with gadgets'	<	gádžet 'gadget'	zahádžennja 'pollution'
488	zakusérij 'cafeteria for snacking'	<	zakúska 'snack'	kafetérij 'cafeteria'
489	zarbljáda 'damn low salary'	<	zarpláta 'salary'	bljád' 'damn' (expletive)
490	zarobidčányn 'an unsuccessful contractor'	<	bidá 'ordeal'	zarobitčányn 'a contractor'
491	zbéřežen' 'March full of sales'	<	zberéžennja 'saving'	bérezen' 'March'
492	zdyrbánk 'fraudulent bank'	<	zdyráty 'rip-off'	"Sberbánk" "Sberbank"
493	zefilét 'omlette with marshmallows'	<	zeřír 'marshmallows'	omlét 'omlette'
494	zekón 'prisoner law'	<	zék 'crook; prisoner'	zakón 'law'
495	znevóljujuče 'addictive pain-killer'	<	znevóljuvaty 'captivate'	znebóljujuče 'pain-killer'

znevöljuje  
'take captive-3.SG'

496	Zoloxúška 'loser Cinderella'	<	Zóluška (Russ.) 'Cinderella'	loxúška 'loser'
497	zubrordynácija 'nerd subordination' (hierarchy in academia)	<	zúbr 'nerd'	subordynácija 'subordination'
498	žurnahlýst 'weasely journalist'	<	žurnalíst 'journalist'	hlýst 'worm'
499	žurnašljúxa 'hooker journalist' (journalist who hails ad supports those who pay them)	<	žurnaljúha 'journalist (pej.)'	šljúxa 'hooker'
500	zustríčka 'river which is a meeting place for lovers'	<	zústrič 'meeting'	ríčka 'river'
501	zxolodníty 'get cold and hungry'	<	xólod 'cold'	zholodníty 'get hungry'

## APPENDIX B

### Experiment stimuli

1. a. kuxarakíri < kúxar **xarakíri**  
'hara-kiri by a cook' 'cook' 'hara-kiri'  
(a form of suicide in which the actual killing is done by a cook)
- b. Raptom čornjava kurka-nesuška z"javylasja na porozi kuxni mojeji babusi – mabut' bula hotova do kuxarakiri.  
'Suddenly, the black egg-laying chicken appeared on the doorstep of my Grandma's kitchen – it was ready for hara-kiri by a cook.'
- c. SUJICYD  
'suicide'
2. a. baobába < **baobáb** bába  
'baobab woman' 'baobab' "'old bag'"  
(a squat woman)
- b. Žinka moho susida Hryc'ka Hostronosoho zovsim ne bula sxoža na super-model' – švydše, na baobabu.  
'The wife of my neighbour Hryc'ko the Pointy Nose was far from being a super-model – rather, she was a baobab woman.'
- c. DEREVO  
'tree'
3. a. sal'saljút < sál'sa **saljút**  
'salsa fireworks' 'salsa' 'fireworks'

(explosion of a jar of salsa)

- b. Šanovni hospodynji, take javyšče jak sal'saljut pid čas litn'oji ta osinn'oji konservaciji sposterihajet'sja časten'ko.  
'Dear cooks, salsa fire-works during summer and winter vegetable conservation is not an uncommon phenomenon.'
- c. VOHNYKY  
'lights'
4. a. lošampún' < **lošá** šampún'  
'horse shampoo' 'foal' 'shampoo'
- b. Bahato xto z divčat dijsno viryt', ščo rozkišne huste volossja možna otrymaty, korystujučys' lošampunem.  
'Many girls do believe that horse shampoo can make one's hair look luxuriously thick.'
- c. ŽEREBEC'  
'stallion'
5. a. reformát < refórma **mát**  
'checkmate to a reform' 'reform' 'checkmate'  
(failure to carry out a reform)
- b. Ukrajinci movčyky sposterihaly reformat za pravlinnja novoho prezydenta, ščo obicjav bahato švydkyx zmin.  
'Ukrainians silently observed the checkmate to reforms when the new president, who promised many quick changes, came to power.'

- c. ŠAXIST  
‘chess player’
6. a. leprykónkurs < leprykón **kónkurs**  
‘leprechaun contest’ ‘leprechaun’ ‘contest’
- b. Na rizdvjani svjata žvavi čarivnyky vlaštuvaly miž soboju riznomanitni veseli ta aktyvni leprykonkursy.  
‘At Christmas, lively elves organized various fun active leprechaun contests for themselves.’
- c. VYHRAŠ  
‘victory’
7. a. morózpovid’ < **moróz** rózpovid  
‘frosty presentation’ ‘frost’ ‘presentation’  
(emotionless presentation)
- b. Na zustriči zi studentamy-aspirantamy vin hovoryv tak, ščo joho vystup peretvoryvsja u spravžnju morozpovid’.  
‘His manner of speaking turned the speech, which he delivered to graduate students, into a frosty presentation.’
- c. POHODA  
‘weather’
8. a. kadetectýv < **kadét** detectýv  
‘cadet detective story’ ‘cadet’ ‘detective story’  
(a story which involves crime at a military school)

- b. Na naš pryvelykyj žal', rozv"jazky cjoho kadetektyvuu misceva milicija do cjoho času tak I ne znajšla.  
'To everyone's great disappointment, the local police still have not solved the cadet detective puzzle.'
- c. OFICER  
'officer'
9. a. toksynjúxa < toksýn synjúxa  
'toxic Tricholoma (blue mushroom)' 'toxin' 'blue mushroom  
(Tricholoma)'
- b. Pid čas čerhovoho poxodu do lisu my zibraly cile vidro hrybiv, aki vrešti-rešt vyjavylsja spravžnymy toksynjuxamy.  
'During our last trip to the forest we picked a pailful of mushrooms, which turned out to be Tricholomas full of toxins.'
- c. OTRUTA  
'poison'
10. a. limítynh < limít mítynh  
'limited meeting' 'limit' 'meeting'  
(meeting (protest) which is limited to only an insufficient number of people)
- b. Na pryvelykyj žal', naličujučy lyše trydcjat' visim ocib, limitynh v misti Mariupoli ne dosjah svojeji mety.  
'Unfortunately, involving only thirty-eight persons, the limited meeting in Mariupol' did not achieve its goal.'
- c. PROTEST

11. a. drakónkurs < **drakón** kónkurs  
 ‘dragon contest’ ‘dragon’ ‘contest’  
 (beauty contest with tough competition and rough participants)
- b. Drakonkursy krasy bulo provedeno po vsix oblastjax Ukrajiny, I bulo vyznačeno holovnu mis.  
 ‘Dragon beauty contests were held in the spring in all oblasts of Ukraine, and finally, they announced the winner.’
- c. MONSTR  
 ‘monster’
12. a. tistakáto < tísto **stakáto**  
 ‘staccato dough kneading’ ‘dough’ ‘staccato’  
 (dynamic dough kneading, which involves alternating the fingers pressing the dough very quickly)
- b. Na stoli vidbuvalosja spravžnje tistakato – tak žvavo šef-kuxar restoranu “Sonet” lipyla varenyky.  
 ‘In the kitchen, one could observe staccato dough kneading – this is how energetically the chef of the restaurant “Sonet” was working on perogies.’
- c. MUZYKA  
 ‘music’
13. a. volonterapíja < **volontér** terapíja  
 ‘volunteer therapy’ ‘volunteer’ ‘therapy’  
 (physical and psychological help provided by volunteers to victims of some tragedy, e.g. the military actions in Ukraine)

- b. Skladno pereocinyty rol' volonterapiji v zoni Anty-Terorystyčnoji Orhanizaciji, nadanoji žertvam vijny.  
 'One cannot be grateful enough for the valuable volunteer therapy in the Anti-Terrorist-Operation zone provided for the victims of the war.'
- c. LIKARI  
 'doctors'
14. a. zahálas < zahál hálas  
 'people noise' 'people' 'noise'  
 (noise produced by a group of people)
- b. Mynuloji p''jatnyci važko bulo ščos' zrozumity v umovax zahalasu na Majdani nezaležnosti u Kyjevi.  
 'Last Friday, it was hard to understand something because of the people noise on the Independence Square in Kiev.'
- c. NATOVP  
 'crowd'
15. a. dobrobutafórija < dobróbut butafórija  
 'fake wealth' 'wealth' 'props; superficial decorations'
- b. Čym bil'she my čujemo zamanlyvyx obicjanok, tym virohidniše, ščo vse vyjavyt'sja dobrobutaforijeju.  
 'The more exciting promises we hear, the more likely these promises are to turn into fake wealth.'

- c. ILUZIJA  
'illusion'
16. a. žebrakon'jérstvo < žebrák **bra**kon'jérstvo  
'pauper poaching' 'pauper' 'poaching'  
(poaching caused by the poverty)
- b. Perš, niž robyty vysnovky, varto vzjaty do uvahy, ščo žebakon'jerstvo neridko je naslidkom finansovoji skruty.  
'Before making any conclusions, one should take into account that pauper poaching is often the consequence of serious financial difficulties.'
- c. ZLOČYN  
'crime'
17. a. rjušarm < **rjúša** šárm  
'frill charm' 'frill' 'charm'  
(charm provided by clothes with frills)
- b. Jiji nezvyčajnyj smak nadavav cij žinci osoblyvoho rjušarmu, ščo neodminno pryvertav uvahu otočujučyx.  
'Her unusual taste provided this woman with special frill charm, which always attracted attention of everyone around.'
- c. VOLANY  
'pleats'
18. a. universytétris < universytét **tétris**  
'university Tetris' 'university' 'Tetris'

(the process of matching a student to a university, based on, for example, the students' performance at school)

- b. Cjoho roku škil'na vlada znovu vykorystala rezul'taty zovnišnjoho testuvannja dlja universytetrisu.  
'This year the school council used the results of the standardized test for university Tetris again.'
- c. IHRAŠKA  
'toy'
19. a. lypánk < **lý**pa pánk  
'fake punk rock music' 'linden; fake (slang)' 'punk'  
(poorly played punk rock music, which almost sounds like a parody of punk rock)
- b. Jakyjs' lypank vexodyt' u cyx dyvakuvatux xlop''jat, jaki tak zavzjato namahajut'sja stvoryty svij styl'.  
What these weird guys, who are trying hard to create their style, play sounds like some kind of punk rock parody.'
- c. BEREZA  
'birch tree'
20. a. parkandydát < **park**án kandydát  
'fence candidate' 'fence' 'candidate'  
(candidate whose face is known thanks to multiple posters on the fence)
- b. Nixto ne pam''jataje joho polityčnoji prohramy, ale vsi znajut' joho v lyce: os' takyj sobi parkandydat.

‘Nobody remembers his political program, but everyone knows his face. Another one of those fence candidates.’

- c. VOROTA  
‘gate’
21. a. aksfíkt < **aksesuár** konfíkt  
‘accessory conflict’ ‘accessory’ ‘conflict’  
(the conflict in the image caused by non-matching accessories)
- b. Xoč prysutni ne zvernuly uvahu na aksfíkt, jakyj Tymošenko prohledila, eksperty maly, ščo skazaty z c’oho pryvodu. ‘Although those present did not pay attention to the accessory conflict overlooked by Tymoshenko, some experts had a lot to say about it.’
- c. XUSTKA  
‘scarf’
22. a. vedbijnyk < **vedmíd’** rozbijnyk  
‘outlaw bear’ ‘bear’ ‘outlaw’
- b. Mynuloji noči u susidky Parasky stalosja velyke lyxo: vedbijnyk pereliz čerez parkan ta narobyv lyxa na horodi.  
‘Last night something terrible happened to neighbour Paraska: an outlaw bear climbed over the fence and did lots of harm in her yard.’
- c. BARLIH  
‘lair’
23. a. ol’púha < olihárx **papúha**



‘Little Katrusia put on her pretty new dress and turned into a real candy.’

- c. IRYSKA  
‘toffee’
26. a. kurláment < **kurnýk** parláment  
‘hen coop parliament’ ‘hen coop’ ‘parliament’  
(the parliament in which the members make noise and peck each other all the time)
- b. Misce roboty tyx, koho obrav ukrajins’kyj narod na ostannix vyborax – ce spravžnisin’kyj kurlament.  
‘The workplace of those elected by Ukrainians in the recent elections is a real hen coop parliament.’
- c. PIVEN’  
‘rooster’
27. a. rozmýsto < rózpovid’ **namýsto**  
‘bead story’ ‘story’ ‘bead necklace’  
(a coherent well-written story full of beautiful figures of speech)
- b. Slova lylysja potokom, pryľahaly odne do odnoho, vnaslidok čoho opovidannja peretvorylosja na riznobarvne rozmysto.  
‘The words were flowing, fitting next to each other -- as a result, the story turned into a beautiful multi-coloured bead necklace story.’
- c. SEREŽKY  
‘earrings’

28. a. brexrántija < **brexnjá** harántija  
 ‘deceptive guarantee’ ‘deceit’ ‘guarantee’
- b. Rezul’taty cjohoričnyx prezidents’kyx vyboriv pokažut’, jak narod spryjnjav brexrantiji kandydativ.  
 ‘The results of this year’s presidential elections will show us how people felt about the deceptive guarantees given to them by the candidates.’
- c. PRAVDA  
 ‘truth’
29. a. burhláment < **burdá** rehláment  
 ‘chaotic protocol’ ‘chaos’ ‘protocol’
- b. Sukupnist’ pravyl, ščo veznačaje poejadok dijál’nosti, v sjohodnišnix ukrajins’kyx realijax je burhlamentom.  
 ‘In today’s Ukraine, the set of rules defining the order of an activity is a protocol full of chaos.’
- c. DURNYCI  
 ‘nonsense’
30. a. šul’bíznyk < **šulíka** hrabíznyk  
 ‘thief kite’ ‘kite’ ‘thief’  
 (the bird—kite—which steals chickens)
- b. Na žal’, pislja čerhovoho vizytu šul’bíznyka na našomu podvir”ji znovu na odne kurča stalo menše.  
 ‘Unfortunately, after another visit of the thief kite in our yard, we were one chicken short.’

- c. SYNYCJA  
‘titmouse’
31. a. kredbúnok < kredýt **hrabúnok**  
‘robbery credit’ ‘credit’ ‘robbery’  
(the arrangement for deferred payment of a purchase in dollars which turned out to be very disadvantageous for Ukrainians, because the exchange rate has risen dramatically since the beginning of the conflict between Ukraine and Russia)
- b. Valjutna pozyka “UkrEksimBanku” neočikuvano obernulasja spravžnim kredbunkom dlja ukrajins’koho narodu.  
‘Foreign currency credit from «UkrEximBank» unexpectedly turned out to be sheer robbery for Ukrainians.’
- c. KRADIJ  
‘thief’
32. a. šardévr < šaráda **šedévr**  
‘pathetic (“masterpiece”) charade’ ‘charade’ ‘masterpiece’
- b. Rozhnivanyj redactor hazety zajavyv, ščo rozhaduvaty šardevry cjoho žurnalista-počatkivcja vin ne zbyrajjet’ sja.  
‘The infuriated newspaper editor said that he was not going to guess the “masterpiece” charades of this novice reporter.’
- c. VYTVIR  
‘creation’
33. a. brukrójennja < brukívka **ozbrójennja**

‘cobble-stone weapons’                      ‘cobble stones’                      ‘weapons’  
 (cobble stones from the pavement used as weapons)

b. Jak pokazaly nam neščodavni podiji, dorožnje pokryttja možna vykorystovuvaty pry nahodi jak brukrojennja.

‘As demonstrated by the recent events, paving materials can at times be used as cobble-stone weapons.’

c. HRANATA  
 ‘grenade’

34. a. vdačsjašnennja                      <                      vdáča                      dosjašnennja  
 ‘accidental achievement (due to luck)’                      ‘luck’                      ‘achievement’

b. Moja podruha zauvažyla, ščo u ljudej ledačyx ta beztalannyx u roboti neridko sposterihajut’sja vdačsjašnennja.

‘My friend observed that lazy and talentless people often have accidental achievements in their careers.’

c. FORTUNA  
 ‘fortune’

35. a. žindózer                      <                      žínka                      **bul’dózer**  
 ‘bulldozer woman’                      ‘woman’                      ‘bulldozer’  
 (a woman who does not pay attention to obstacles when she sees the goal)

b. Inkoly, ščob dosjahty kar”jernocho zrostu, ukrajins’kij žinci dovodut’sja peretvorytysja na spravžnjoho žindozera.

‘Sometimes, in order to achieve her career goals, a Ukrainian woman has to turn into a bulldozer woman.’

- c. MAŠYNA  
‘machine’
36. a. bur’bórka < **búrja** prybórka  
‘storm cleaning’ ‘storm’ ‘cleaning’  
(a kind of cleaning which results in complete chaos)
- b. Dity vyrišyly poraduvaty svoju matir sjurpryzom v jiji den’ narodžennja: vony pryhotuvaly bur’borku jixnjoji oseli.  
‘Children decided to please their mother with a surprise on her birthday: the storm cleaning of their house.’
- c. TORNADO  
‘tornado’
37. a. dytsýcja < dytýna **lysýcja**  
‘fox child’ ‘child’ ‘fox’  
(sly manipulative child)
- b. Dosvid pokazuje, ščo plačem ta skarhamy, dytsycja zavždy zdatna dosjahty bud’-čoho ta unyknyty pokarannja.  
‘Experience shows that by crying and complaining, a fox child can get anything they want, as well as getting away with anything they want.’
- c. TVARYNA  
‘animal’
38. a. jajstrácija < **jajcé** ljustrácija

‘egg lustration’                      ‘egg’                      ‘lustration’  
 (throwing eggs at corrupt politicians, which is a form of lustration, i.e. the purge of government officials once affiliated with the Communist system in Central and Eastern Europe)

b. Na pryvelykyj žal’, marnoslavnyj deputat, ščo stav žertvoju jajstraciji, znovu povernuvsja na svoju posadu.  
 ‘Unfortunately, the notorious MP who became the victim of eggstration is back in his job.’

c. KURNYK  
 ‘chicken coop’

39. a. cuklityka                      <                      cukérka                      polityka  
 ‘candy policy’                      ‘candy’                      ‘policy’  
 (indecisive policy of Petro Poroshenko, who owns a confectionery business)

b. Sjohodni narod napolehlyvo vymahaje novyx metodiv vyrišennja problem, a ne cuklityky.  
 ‘Today, people persistently demand new methods of solving social problems, not the candy policy.’

c. DESERT  
 ‘dessert’

40. a. mosnjáčka                      <                      moskál  
**konjáčka**  
 ‘Moscow horse’                      ‘Moscovite’ (pejorative name for Russians) ‘horse’  
 (“the Trojan horse” delivered from Russia as humanitarian aid for Ukraine)

- b. Humanitarnu dopomohu vid Rosiji ne možna pryjmaty bez kontrolju Červonoho Xresta: inakše mosnjačka nam zabezpečena.  
'Humanitarian aid from Russia cannot be accepted without the control of the Red Cross - otherwise, we are guaranteed to get a Moscow horse.'
- c. NAJIZNYK  
'rider'