Feminitives in the Ukrainian Argot: Attempt of Complex Analysis

Yevhen REDKO
School of Philosophy, Ukrainian Studies Department
V. N. Karazin Kharkiv National University (Ukraine)
sonsimon@i.ua

REZUMAT: Femininele în argoul ucrainean: încercare de analiză complexă

Acest articol prezintă încercarea unei analize complexe a femininelor în argoul ucrainian. Mai precis, am studiat femininelor din punctul de vedere al originii lor, al formării şi al uzului cotidian, precum şi al principiilor definite şi al metodelor de derivare feminină, cu schimbările şi consecinţele lor. Ţinând cont de varietatea de tipuri şi mijloace a proceselor nominative, un fapt care atrage atenţia este partea conotativă a fenomenului menţionat mai sus, dar şi rolul componentelor subiective emoţional-expresive în structura unui înţeles lexical al argoului. Pe de altă parte, am descris mai multe fenomene lingvistice şi sub-lingvistice care însoţesc formarea feminină de cuvinte la diferite niveluri ale limbii şi am scos în evidenţă particularităţile pragmatice ale femininelor în sisteme sub-standard. Mai mult, am analizat relaţiile de gen în mediul sociolectului, afişarea şi implementarea lor în structura nominativă a sociolectelor ucrainene. Pornind de la rezultatele obţinute, am ajuns la concluzia unui caracter sistematic al nominativului femininelor în argoul ucrainian şi, corespunzător, la continuitatea structurală şi teoretică a proceselor nominative comune din cadrul limbii ucrainene la toate nivelurile evoluţiei sale istorice. Astfel de concluzii permit studierea aprofundată a numelor analizate ca obiect al comparaţiei cu argoul slav (rus, ceh, polonez) şi cel non-slav, precum şi promovarea interesului în studiul dinamic al argoului şi jargonului.

CUVINTE-CHEIE: *argou, formare feminină de cuvinte, semantică, pragmatică, conotaţie*



ABSTRACT

This article describes an attempt of a complex analysis of feminitives in the Ukrainian argot. In particular, we have considered feminitives from the point of view of their origin, formation and every day usage, as well as defined principles and methods of female derivation, its changes and consequences.

BDD-A26391 © 2016 Editura Universitaria
Provided by Diacronia.ro for IP 216.73.217.142 (2026-11-14 12:55:15 UTC)

Taking into account variety of ways and means of nominative processes, the special attention is drawn to a connotation part of the phenomenon mentioned above, as well as to a role of subjective emotional-expressive components in the structure of a lexical meaning of argot. Besides, we have spelt out a number of lingual and sub-lingual phenomena accompanying female word-formation on different lingual levels and emphasized on pragmatic specifics of feminitives in sub-standard systems. Moreover, we have analysed gender relations in sociolect environment, their display and implementation in the nominative structure of the Ukrainian sociolects. Basing on all received results, we have concluded about a systematic character of nominative of feminitives in the Ukrainian argot and correspondingly structural and notional continuity of common nominative processes within the Ukrainian language at all stages of its historical development. Such conclusions make possible the further studying of analysed nomens as an object of comparison with the other Slavic (Russian, Czech, Polish) and non-Slavic argot, as well as promote the interest to the dynamic studying of argot, jargon and slang.

KEYWORDS: *argot*, *female word-formation*, *semantics*, *pragmatics*, *connotation*

RÉSUMÉ : Les Féminines dans l'argot ukrainien : essai d'analyse complexe

Cet article décrit l'essai d'une analyse complexe des féminins dans l'argot ukrainien. En particulier, nous avons considéré les féminins du point de vue de leur origine, de leur formation et de leur usage quotidien, ainsi que des principes définis et des méthodes de dérivation féminine, avec leurs changements et leurs conséquences. En prenant en compte la variété des types et moyens des processus nominatifs, la partie connotative attire une attention particulière, ainsi que le rôle des composantes émotionnelles-expressives subjectives dans la structure d'un sens lexical de l'argot. En outre, nous avons énoncé un certain nombre de phénomènes linguistiques et sous-linguistiques accompagnant la formation de mots féminins à des différents niveaux de la langue et nous avons mis l'accent sur les spécificités pragmatiques des féminins dans les systèmes sous-standard. De plus, nous avons analysé les relations de genre dans l'environnement du sociolecte, leur affichage et leur mise en œuvre dans la structure nominative des sociolectes ukrainiens. En nous basant sur tous les résultats obtenus, nous avons conclu sur un caractère systématique du nominatif des féminins dans l'argot ukrainien et, par conséquence, sur la continuité structurelle et notionnelle des processus nominatifs communs dans la langue ukrainienne à tous les stades de son développement historique. De telles conclusions permettent de poursuivre l'étude des noms analysés comme objet de comparaison avec l'argot slave (russe, tchèque, polonais) et non slave, et de promouvoir l'intérêt pour l'étude dynamique de l'argot et du jargon.

MOTS-CLÉS : *argot, formation de mots féminins, sémantique, pragmatique, connotation*

BDD-A26391 © 2016 Editura Universitaria
Provided by Diacronia.ro for IP 216.73.217.142 (2026-11-14 12:55:15 UTC)

Introduction



SIGNIFICANT POSITION of a person in the outlook picture of the world (anthropocentrism) is an important feature of any developed language. Such a peculiarity extremely influences the nominative processes promoting a big number person's names. They are concentrated in a separate onomasiological category – *nomina personalia*, within of which a person may be named accounting various individual or socially important features (ethnicity, occupation, features of a character, etc.).

One of the fundamental criteria on which this category is based, is the definition of persons by sex that enables us in *nomina personalia* to emphasize on two correlation groups – male and female person's names. Their opposition is special and permanently represented in the language: in spite of the opposition of masculinitives and feminitives, there is some dependence of female nomens on males ones caused by sociocultural and socio-gender factors. That is why we supposed to be necessary to study namely such female person's names, as well as principles of their formation and functioning in the language on the material of the Ukrainian argotic systems.

1. Feminitives in the Ukrainian Philology: State and Status

Female person's names drew the attention of the Ukrainian linguists many years ago in particular as an important onomasiological phenomenon, because the Ukrainian language differs by a high level of female derivation, presence of big number of female nomens, various by their structure and semantics. Such an interest of linguists is represented in different "feminitive" studios, which fully and systematically consider names of women: in particular, diachronic research dedicated to feminitives word-formation in the context of the common development of the Ukrainian language of a certain period[1] or history of any formant[2]. Moreover, names of women are an object of interest of the Ukrainian linguists not only in the historical aspect. There are a number of papers, in which feminitives are considered in the aspect of language innovation. We may even emphasize that the search in the system mentioned above becomes a base for linguistic discussions about

[1] Such a consideration of feminitives is presented in papers that analyze a word-formative system of old Ukrainian language; for example, see in HUMETSKA (1958: 88-89) or BEVZENKO (1960: 120-122). In early XXI century there have appeared monographs and theses, dedicated to personal names as a whole, as well as names of women; for example, see BRUS (2001) and KROVYTSKA (2002).

[2] See BILOUSENKO & NIMCHUK (2002) and BILOUSENKO & NIMCHUK (2009).

BDD-A26391 © 2016 Editura Universitaria
Provided by Diacronia.ro for IP 216.73.217.142 (2026-11-14 12:55:15 UTC)

some tendencies of modern female word-formation. The evidence of this is a "competition" of Alla ARKHANHELSKA and Anatoliy NELYUBA, the representatives of different approaches to the problems of female nominating[3]. However, such a big attention to feminitives in the modern Ukrainian derivation study is a common thing and represents general Slavic tendencies, the reasons of which are stated by Halina NESCSHIMENKO: "*Under certain circumstances detailed studying of this lexical layer traditionally refers to onomasiological or word-formative category Nomina mota. It became extremely important to solve a wide range of theoretical questions*[4]*, both in word-formation and sociolinguistics*." (NESCSHIMENKO 2010: 192).

In spite of active studying of feminitives in the Ukrainian linguistics and relative systematicness of this process, beyond the attention of linguists still argotic female nominating is left[5]. It is explained by low study of the Ukrainian argot, because nowadays we have only several basic papers on this problem (e.g., HORBACH 2006 and STAVYTSKA 2005); as well as about twenty articles that convey some sociolects and their main characteristic features[6]. Instead, onomasiological problems in papers mentioned above are almost unsolved: the authors, in particular, represent etymological information without detailed consideration of nominative principles. Correspondingly, such a state of feminitives research causes the actuality of given article as an attempt to analyze argotic feminitives concerning specifics of their formation, mechanisms and consequences of this process in the context of interaction of different parts of national language.

---

[3] Anatoliy NELYUBA accentuates on dynamics and activity of national feminitives as a marker of "Russian-free" and antiglobalization of Ukrainian language, turning to the widest opportunities of female word-formation (see detailed in NELYUBA 2011: 202), while Alla ARKHANHELSKA considers so excessive and unlimited potential of motia processes as unusual, first of all from point of view of stylistic and linguistic appropriateness (ARKHANHELSKA 2011).

[4] To such issues Halina NESCSHIMENKO refers "*division of centre and periphery of word-formative system, definition of productivity criteria of derivative formants*" (NESCSHIMENKO 2010: 192). According to linguist's point of view, it enables better realize synchronic and diachronic dynamics of a language.

[5] Even in studies about modern Ukrainian jargons, this problem is almost unstudied. There is the limited number of papers, dedicated to sociolect derivation (for example, KARPETS 2006; NELYUBA 2014; STARCHENKO 2013).

[6] Oleksa HORBACH has initiated the tradition of article studying and analysis of the Ukrainian argot. In his scientific heritage there is a paper which is called "Argot in Ukraine", as well as publications written while teaching in Frankfurt-on-Mein and Munich and issued as a book in Germany (see HORBACH 1993). Also as results of such articles may be papers by Yosyp DZENDZELIVSKYI (DZENDZELIVSKYI 1977; DZENDZELIVSKYI 1979) and his pupil Hryhoriy ARKUSHYN (ARKUSHYN 1996).

BDD-A26391 © 2016 Editura Universitaria
Provided by Diacronia.ro for IP 216.73.217.142 (2026-11-14 12:55:15 UTC)

2. Woman in the Ukrainian Sociolect Picture of the World

A role and a place of a woman in the Ukrainian argotic environment are uncertain, evidence of which is some specifics of sociolect systems, mostly represented on nominative and communication levels.

First, argots as closed lingual formation represent male identity and communication[7], because their speakers were men (it refers to all registered Ukrainian argot). So realizing and nominating of reality in such sociolects are based on masculine outlook, stated by Lesya STAVYTSKA, commenting gender relation in the lyrist environment:

> In the system of family communication the lyrist argot belonged to the men, because this language was hidden from wives. This fact proves the secret lyrist argot (as well as other argotic systems of those times) to be a feature of social-group affiliation, as well as a means not only of professional segregation and men's corporativity, to some extent segregation of men's world from women's one.
>
> (STAVYTSKA 2005: 79)

Such a corporativity was typical for all Eastern Slavic sociolect systems on certain stage of their development. Paper by Oleksa HORBACH about using of language of Russian vagrant merchants (ofeni) is interesting for us in the gender context, in particular: "*Evidence about language of suzdal ofenia proves that ofenia used their argot only beyond their homes, and their wives didn't know it; "they do not need, they go nowhere"* (HORBACH 1957: 11). Thus, over time, the masculine feature of argot faced to neutrality: sociolect widened a sphere of its usage, having become a language of all women. The materials of dialect expeditions gathered in the 1970-80s in Volyn, where even women knew handcraft or lyrist argot, prove these statements[8]. In particular, Hryhoriy ARKUSHYN informs about one agent, adding about her/his knowledge of local sociolects the following: "*A. Ladan possessed this language from her husband, so didn't give any oath*" (ARKUSHYN 1996: 231). Possessing mentioned above of a male language by females contributed to a change of a status of sociolects, its adoption as a family slang, although a main pragmatic feature of any argot is its secrecy, by the way always constant in spite of increasing number of experts of such substandard languages.

---

[7] Men as a social group are vulnerable to corporativity, uniting by sex; communication in such a society is based on group statements and implemented in-group forms. While women prefer individual communication even within a sex group.

[8] DZENDZELIVSKYI spells out (DZENDZELIVSKYI 1979: 291) that women knew argot of their husbands.

BDD-A26391 © 2016 Editura Universitaria
Provided by Diacronia.ro for IP 216.73.217.142 (2026-11-14 12:55:15 UTC)

Second, the male affiliation of argot causes its invective character[9] [9], unusual for female speech, because as a rule, using of invectives or obscenities is not typical for women. Boris USPENSKII writes about so female view on invectives:

> We'll point out as well that attitude to an obscenity may significantly differ depending on a sex of a speaker and a listener. An obscenity is accepted mostly as a male feature of behaviour, moreover, sometimes it is considered to be appropriate only among men. E.g., according to observations of Grigorii Potanin, Ukrainians, as a rule, don't use obscenities in the presence of women. In some places prohibition of obscenities spreads exclusively on women, while men's obscenity is not considered to be something reprehensible.
>
> (USPENSKII 1994: 56)

Correspondingly, argot and invectives/obscenities are to be considered as a display of a language aggression, as a means of male expressive reality. That is why a woman in argot is very often an object of nominating, interesting exclusively by practical or sexual reasons; in such a case her assessment is extremely reduced and achieved on the language level that is by using obscenities[10]. The information stated above correlates to general tendency of euphemism of language women self-determination, their language stability on choosing necessary words and word combinations (STAVYTSKA 2005: 164) that contributes to elimination of women from the sphere of obscenity usage, that means from the sphere of argot-formation.

From the other hand, argot reflects to some extent nationality, mentality, a traditional Ukrainian outlook, where a woman is highly appreciated. Such a connotation influences sociolect nominating, basing on a specific argotic system of values reflected the often in the dichotomy inner-foreign. In such an opposition positively assessed feminitives have a big role represented in feminitive word-formation by certain notional and formal instruments on semantic and derivation levels. In addition, such nomens have logical connections with negatively assessed feminitives, promoting an integral system of women names in the Ukrainian argot depending on pragmatic trying of argot speakers, their level of language-creativity and language freedom.

---

[9] The example is a statement by Kost SHYROTSKYI (SHYROTSKYI 1998a: 177) about pornography in seminarian argot, and 20% of all lexicon is names of sex organs and their relations.

[10] In KHIMIK 2000: 99-100 see about connotation mentioned above on the example of Russian sociolects.

BDD-A26391 © 2016 Editura Universitaria
Provided by Diacronia.ro for IP 216.73.217.142 (2026-11-14 12:55:15 UTC)

We consider specifics mentioned above to be stable for all Ukrainian sociolects, spelling out their unequal representation in different argots. This fact enables to define a number of specific features applicable to female nominating in argot and represented in appropriate groups, basic of which we are going to consider more detailed.

3. Argotic Woman as Sexual Object

Sexual relations and sexuality take one of the most important places in the Ukrainian argotic female word-formation that is caused in particular by "male feature" of analysed sociolects and corresponding attitude to a woman in the male closed environment. E.g. Lesya STAVYTSKA provides a special psychological portrait of an argot speaker emphasizing namely specifics important for our research: "*Social-psychological aspects of lyrists living characterize them as social outcasts (love to easy life, alcohol addiction) with asocial conduct, interpersonal relations and connections to the criminal contingents*" (STAVYTSKA 2005: 69).

The information mentioned above obviously reveals that sexual relations were quite natural for argot speakers. Besides, sexual relations are interpreted by patriarchal-corporative outlook. In some cases so patriarchal character was replaced by ritual one and used for initiating woman and incorporation to the limited circle of "the closed". There is evidence of the poor who passed different challenges; for women such "a challenge" was sometimes very specific and differed from male one: "*The novices had to pass special exam in "kalipska" (the old) language and awareness of repertoire processionals, psalms and songs) and then they organized various treats… Women sometimes had the other conditions ("To have sex with the senior")*" (ARKUSHYN 1996: 230).

Moreover, it is necessary to take into account that argots functioned as corporative languages in the closed environment with no women (the same refers to seminarian, thief and military sociolects). Under certain circumstances unimplemented physiological demands of speakers are quite obvious in argot; in addition, there might be imposed teens' sexual dreams causing a high interest in a woman as a sexual object. E.g. Kost SHYROTSKYI determining reasons and conditions of the development of "*seminarian jargon in Podillya*," states about following specifics:

> Where to find distraction and delight from the alert Jesuit eye, from constant giddy of fresh and young head by venal scholasticism, from constant disgust? The answer is in alcoholism, shameless songs and orgies in public dens. There we see a root of that pornography, as well as obscene names in this dictionary 20% of those words are names of sexual organs and relations.
>
> (SHYROTSKYI 1998: 182)

BDD-A26391 © 2016 Editura Universitaria
Provided by Diacronia.ro for IP 216.73.217.142 (2026-11-14 12:55:15 UTC)

These specific are the best represented in the Ukrainian argot, where women nominating is conducted through a number of sexual features. In particular, the typical for analysed sociolects is nominating women from names of reproductive organs that are under such condition the main sexual identifier of a human: *sukhtia*, *sukhtylka*[11] 'a woman' from *sukhtia* 'a vulva'[12]. This semantic model is one of the most productive in sociolects and implements general principles of metonymy. Additional transformation means in such a case is adaptation to argotic system into nomens through borrowings (*pinda* 'a woman' from *pinda* 'a vulva') or through using of atypical associative connections (*pichka* 'a girl' in which an appropriate name of vagina – *pichka* 'a vulva' is connected to heating equipment on the basis of identity of influence on the speaker – a girl is so "hot" in a bed (see Ukrainian standard *pichka* 'a stove').

These nominative principles prove disrespect towards woman implemented through conscious reduction of turning to utilitarian objects, available of using or that have some influence on a speaker's living: *mebel* 'a woman' from *mebel* 'furniture'. Simultaneously we define in the similar nomens a display of consumption attitude of men towards women as sexual objects. Abusive and vulgar markers such as *pyzda* 'a woman' or cynical identifiers of some specifics of sexual acts as *stanok* 'a girl' prove this statement (*pyzda* is a vulgar name of vulva; *stanok* 'a machine' focuses on the productivity of woman in a bed).

Turning to sexual organs in female argotic nominating can be considered also as any human characteristics, her assessment through some sexual association. The similar is represented in colloquial argot *raionufka* 'a girl with a luxury bosom': the size of bosom is caused by milk in it, that's why the person mentioned above is compared to *raion* (district) *milkmaid* (comp. with modern jargon *vymia* or *doyky* 'bosom'). Such a turning to the sexual object signifies substandard systems and focuses on great interest of nominators in sexual organs of a woman as an identifier of her features. Such "sexual" aspects cause the other feminitives in which various internal or inner features of motivation base may be emphasized on:

a) names of female clothes (*pantalonchyky*, *triko*, *yubka* 'a girl' from *pantalony* 'knickers', *triko* 'tights', *yubka* 'a skirt') – in such a case very obvious is the influence of intersexual relations on the development of semantic transfer, because nominators turn to intimacy clothing of female famous for men only after sexual relations;

[11] All the argotic words are written in Latin script.

[12] We wrote about these aspects in more detail in REDKO 2016: 87-90, 97-100.

BDD-A26391 © 2016 Editura Universitaria
Provided by Diacronia.ro for IP 216.73.217.142 (2026-11-14 12:55:15 UTC)

b) berry as an indicator of special features (*malyna* 'a girl' from *malyna* 'a raspberry' – we consider semantic components relating to a conduct of a young girl to be significant: in particular, her promiscuity, positive impressions of argot-speakers from "communication" with such a person or a desire of this "communication";

c) products (*kuriatyna* 'a young woman', *tistechko* 'a teenager aged 13-16' from *kuriatyna* 'chicken meat', *tistechko* 'a cake') – in such a case the Ukrainian argot is compared to food consumption, where even intermediate links of processes mentioned above may be compared. Such a nomen as *biksa* 'a girl' (from *biksa* 'canned food'), where wooing and that is a sexual act (deprivation of virginity) refers to opening canned food. This fact proves utilitarian attitude towards women (compared with modern jargon verbs *nakrutyty rizbu* or *zahnaty bolt* – to deflower, have sex – from *nakrutyty risbu* 'to make a screw-thread' and *zahnaty bolt* 'to screw a bolt');

d) musical instrument (*skrypochka* 'an young lady', connected to *graty* 'to have sex'). This is an example of atypical development of sociolect metaphor: dependence between motivation base and original name was formed by present nomens in substandard system on the basis of notional comparability. This enables the implementation of nominative potentials through linguistic appropriateness. The last one causes the appearance of person's names through new associative-motivation connections.

Very often such features points out a social status of a woman, forming a meaning 'prostitute' in nomens on the basis of semantic components, that is 'virtue', 'easy woman', 'sexual freedom', etc. In criminal argot a woman-prostitute is a popular object of nominating implementing disrespect connotation, connected to utilitarian-sexual attitude to representatives of the "most ancient profession". In such a case even nomens to signify sexual features of a person with common "female" semantics acquire some negative sides. But such features may be implemented in a hidden way, in assessment of internal and inner features of a prostitute represented in actualization of corresponding semes – e.g 'passionate', 'young', 'uneducated' (*rymunda*, *mamzelia* and *syksa* with initial meaning 'woman or girl'). This is typical for prostitutes names in the Ukrainian argot, because the main means of semantic nominating of such women are transferring of attributive motivation elements (*shuya* 'a prostitute' and *deshovka* 'a prostitute' are focused on spiritual and material poverty of nominating object, reflected through components 'unexpensive'; *flondra* ' a prostitute' and *zdzira* 'an old prostitute' identify inner features of a person in notional components 'untidiness', 'oldness' and 'carelessness').

BDD-A26391 © 2016 Editura Universitaria
Provided by Diacronia.ro for IP 216.73.217.142 (2026-11-14 12:55:15 UTC)

In argotysm *zdzira* we consider appealing to animalistic metaphors as a demeaning additional element, which also shows typical social expression of irony. It is interesting, that a pig is chosen as the most typical indicator of such "animalistic" humiliation in the denomination of prostitutes, what represents both woman's external body roughness and also her behavioural features (*liocha* 'a prostitute' from *liocha* 'a sow', *matsiora* 'an old prostitute' from *matsiora* 'a farrowing sow'). They point at "sexual" aspect of nomination, indicating "professional" activity of prostitutes or increased inclination to fornication, spiritual "impurity".

In particular, sexuality is revealed more clearly in prostitutes' names that indicate physiological characteristics of women. In this case, we denote the tendency to acquire this meaning by nominations indicating at the sexual attributes and formed from the names of reproductive organs. Accordingly we can observe syncretic metonymical and metaphoric semantic model *organ → woman → prostitute*, where vulgarization of woman as a sexual object forms professional attribute (*mona* 'a prostitute, whore'). Sometimes such a model undergoes through some modifications, particularly in *belkha* 'prostitute' initial attribute points to other external features of woman – her bright clothes in the traditional patriarchal society is considered as a sign of frivolity, availability, and hence possible sexual immorality. It suggests the possible formation of professional meaning in argot without taking into account the essential base of semantic nomination on condition of excessive expressiveness connected with determined realities of life.

4. Age Characteristics of Women in the Ukrainian Argot

Evaluation of women on age is associated with curiosity and attraction to a woman in a male environment and essentially depends on specific outlook of substandard's speakers. As a result, feminitives prevail among personal "sex" nominations, usually combining several different features, with exception of age. Actually it indirectly confirms word *beybyr* 'a woman' (nomination borrowed from Heb. *Bejtler* 'an old woman, beggar') in which social feature extends as a result of the functioning in a homogeneous society, indicating general (sex) attributes or even identical to their family ties – typical expansion of the concept to 'woman' in the sense of 'man's wife'. In this case, we can note that extra-linguistic factors affect identifying nominative characteristics, leading to estimate transformation and enhanced marking of secondary nominations.

Often in Ukrainian sociolects it leads to a combination of "female" names of age and gender features by over-expressed active motivation. As typical implementer of these phenomena, we can consider animalistic metaphor

BDD-A26391 © 2016 Editura Universitaria
Provided by Diacronia.ro for IP 216.73.217.142 (2026-11-14 12:55:15 UTC)

that consists in giving to person features of animals based on behavioural similarity that causes age characteristics of the object of nomination. For example, in *pernati* 'ladies' from *pernati* 'birds' these processes expressed in sameness of young girls' noise and sounds of birds, followed by estimation of a person by brightness, colourful clothes with parallel actualization of seme 'youth'. In some cases this estimation can be found inwardly through language associations. In particular, in the argotic *zhaba* 'an young woman' (from *zhaba* 'a frog') obviously we are talking not about external unattractiveness of girl, but about the semantic and linguistic comparability of concepts 'green' and 'young', realized in the person's name (young girl is "green" as a frog). Such external behavioural similarity is obviously incorporated in words *huska* 'an young girl' and *chaika* 'a girl' (from *huska* 'a goose', *chaika* 'a seagull') with emphasis on typical features of behaviour of a young woman; for example, in *huska* transference of semes 'arrogance', 'disdain' is enucleated.

Such phenomena are in fact also found in typical subprime comparison of women and a horse in words *rymunda* 'a girl, woman' and *kobyla* 'a woman' by the transfer of semes 'wilfulness', 'passion', 'power', 'endurance' and 'diligence' (from Germ. *Remonte* 'an young unbroken horse' and Ukr. *kobyla* 'mare'). At the same time in Lviv *shkapa* 'a woman' (from *shkapa* 'a nag') such comparison increases the age characteristic of a person giving it low expressive components. The reason for this phenomenon can found in a specific negative attitude of young sociolects' speaker to old women, reflected in nomens *klyacha*, *lupa* 'an old woman', in which attention is focused on external unattractiveness or uselessness of an old woman (cf. *grat* 'an old woman' from *grat* 'an old stuff, stuff', *giba* 'a woman, poor woman' from *giba* of 'an old horse or cow'; *klyacha*, *lupa* 'an old horse').

5. Argotic Woman and her individual Characteristics

The rating of women's personal qualities is closely tied in argot with its sexual characteristics. The basis for such a comparison/crossing is extra-linguistic implicit associations that relate different aspects of women's lives and behaviour. For example, in *fastryga* 'an old woman who likes to stare at men', where it is ridiculed the impossibility of an old woman to realize her sexual attraction to men through the work as a tailor, who is sewing something very hastily and poorly (from the Pol. *fastryga* 'temporary thread seam'). This discourse is about the actualization of an active seme based on the semantic identity, which is represented by the general language metaphor to *chypliatysia* 'to cavil to somebody', which is realized through its primary semantics (*chypliatysia* 'to join').

BDD-A26391 © 2016 Editura Universitaria
Provided by Diacronia.ro for IP 216.73.217.142 (2026-11-14 12:55:15 UTC)

The similar nominating principles are used in the number of feminitives. In particular, in word *koza* 'a puny girl' (from *koza* 'a goat') we can see an example of the derisive attitude towards an object of nomination, which was increased with general language negative connotation of feminine and masculine sociolect systems. In this case the indicator of the girl's weakness is her psychological (a possible compatibility of a goat; in comparison with a *vivtsia* that means "a commensurate woman" – from *vivtsia* 'a sheep') or physiological feature of the foregoing beast (a young goat confidently stands on its feet) are connected with the perception of a woman by waives only as a potential sexual object. Such weakness can be interpreted as the girl's inability to resist flirting or more active acts of lads, and it can be realizes first of all in such semes like 'silly', 'stupid' etc. It can be observed in a Lviv criminal word *niunia* 'a virgin girl', where a seme 'virginity' consists of the elements which was formed on the base of person's behaviour. Accordingly the virgin girl's actions, while the lad's flirting and coitus, determine the attribute, with which speakers confer the girl: the analysed nomen points to the girl's tears (compared with a *niunia* 'a whiner'), her silence because of fear of unexplored (Pol. *niunia* 'a demure person') or testify about her sexual ineptitude (*niunia* 'a lifeless person'). It reveals the general tendency of such argot names to motivational conditioning on the basis of extra-lingual activity person's features.

However in some words a sexual aspect is secondary or it is not involved at all. Usually it concerns appreciation of woman's appearance, her anthropometric data, which surely are not connected with sexual characteristics of a person. However an external negative connotation is typical for these words, it's conditioned by pragmatically ironic attitudes of men, who call a woman. This phenomenon can also be observed in a sociolect *fislia* 'a voluble woman', where another motivation is realized: the volubility is connected with roughness (*fislia* 'a thick woman, girl') based on inactivity of thick people, who don't do anything, but talking. In this case an ironic or sarcastic derision of the fatness or thinness is noticeable, and it is certified in the "youthful" argot systems. The underground of this mark is general negative relation to any difference in comparison with the settled appearance standard. In this case we can observe a kind of exaggeration of a feature, expressed in granting to a person maximal disclosure of the feature. With the help of the exaggerating the comparison with big objects or persons becomes a metaphor, and it is reduced by appealing of utilitarian things: *hak* 'a thin, bad girl' from *hak* 'a hook'.

Speakers of argot use such reducing methods to motivate person's names with zoo-names, based on nomination of beasts with such remarkable behavior features. For example, a woman is compared with an old horse in the

BDD-A26391 © 2016 Editura Universitaria
Provided by Diacronia.ro for IP 216.73.217.142 (2026-11-14 12:55:15 UTC)

nomen *habeta*, as a bone covered with skin (in comparison with *shkira* 'an old, bad girl' from *shkira* 'a skin'). In return, in *barza* 'a voluble woman' means 'a sheep, a goat' because of the similarity of the goat's big stomach or the sheep's thick layer of wool and body structure of a thick woman. It testifies the formation of snub to an object of nomination in early stages of the process, which is hold by using connoted words or that words which contain unrealized connotative potential.

Conclusion

The foregoing features make isolation of general features possible, which are inherent for the argot female nominating as a systematic phenomenon. First we should determine the close relationships between substandard and standard nomination, which are connected with exemplar of the last one for sociolect speakers. On the formal level duping of the semantic models becomes an implementer of the process. These models are widely represented in the standard language. It (the process) determines the direction and the course of meaning transformations.

The main notional characteristic of the argotic female nomination is a specific metaphoricity, which is realized in structure of analysed words through a big number of lingual and extra-lingual factors. This fact makes a conclusion about its systematicity in Ukrainian standard and substandard language and makes possible further developing language as synthesis of traditional and specific ways, means and mechanisms of nomination.

Bibliography

ARKHANHELSKA, A. [Архангельська, А.] (2011). "Новотвори-фемінативи в українській мові нової доби: неологізми, оказіоналізми чи ефемеризми?" (Neological Feminitives in Modern Ukrainian Language: Neologisms, Occasionalisms or Euphemerisms?). In: Г. ВОКАЛЬЧУК, А. АРХАНГЕЛЬСЬКА, А. СТИШОВ, О. МАСЛОВА, В. МАКСИМЧУК (eds), *Неологічні назви осіб у сучасних слов'янських мовах (Neological Person's Names in Modern Slavic Languages)*. Рівне-Острог, 67-122.

ARKUSHYN, H. [Аркушин, Г.] (1996). "«Старицька мова» (Арґо сліпців-жебраків Західного Полісся)" («Starytska mova». Argot of blind Beggars from West Polissya), *Slavia Orientalis*, 14/2, 229-236, 267-277

BEVZENKO, S. [Бевзенко, С.] (1960). *Історична морфологія української мови (Нариси із словозміни та словотвору) (An Old Ukrainian Morphology.*

BDD-A26391 © 2016 Editura Universitaria
Provided by Diacronia.ro for IP 216.73.217.142 (2026-11-14 12:55:15 UTC)

Studies of Accidence and Word-Formation). Ужгород: Закарпатське обласне видавництво.

BILOUSENKO, P. & NIMCHUK, V. [Білоусенко, П., Німчук, В.] (2002). *Нариси з історії українського словотворення (суфікс -иця) (Studies of Old Ukrainian Word-Formation. Suffix -ytsia*). Запоріжжя: ЗДУ.

BILOUSENKO, P. & NIMCHUK, V. [Білоусенко, П., Німчук, В.] (2009). *Нариси з історії українського словотворення (суфікс -иня) (Studies of Old Ukrainian Word-Formation. Suffix -ynia*). Запоріжжя: ЗДУ.

BORZHKOVSKYI, V. [Боржковський, В.] (1889). "Лірники" (The Lyrists). *Киевская старина*, 26/9, 653-708.

BRUS, M. [Брус, М.] (2001). *Загальні жіночі особові номінації в українській мові XVI-XVII ст.: словотвір і семантика (General feminine personal Names in the XVI-XVIIcc Ukrainian language: Word-Formation and Semantics)*: дис.…канд. філолог. наук. Івано-Франківськ.

DZENDZELIVSKYI, Yo. [Дзендзелівський, Й.] (1977). "Арго нововижвівських кожухарів на Волині" (Argot of Leatherworkers from Nova Vyzhva in Volyn), *Studia Slavica*, 23/3-4, 289-333.

DZENDZELIVSKYI, Yo. [Дзендзелівський, Й.] (1979). "Арго волинських лірників" (Argot of Volyn Lyrists), *Studia z filologii polskiej i słovian□skiej*, 16, 179-216.

HNATIUK, V. [Гнатюк, В.] (1896). "Лірники. Лірницькі пісні, молитви, слова, звістки і т.п. про лірників повіту Бучацького" (The Lyrists. Lyrists Songs, Prayers, Words, Messages and other about Lyrists of Buchach Region). *Етнографічний листок*, 2, 1-76.

HORBACH, O. [Горбач, О.] (1957). "Арго українських лірників" (Argot of Ukrainian Lyrists). *Наукові записки Українського Вільного Університету. Філософічний факультет*, 1, 5-44.

HORBACH, O. [Горбач, О.] (1963). "Арго українських вояків" (Argot of Ukrainian Soldiers). *Наукові записки Українського Вільного Університету. Філософічний факультет*, 7, 138-173.

HORBACH, O. [Горбач, О.] (1966). "Арго українських школярів і студентів" (Argot of Ukrainian Scholars and Students). *Наукові записки Українського Вільного Університету. Філософічний факультет*, 8, 3-55.

HORBACH, O. [Горбач, О.] (1993). *Арго на Україні* (*Argot in Ukraine*). Мюнхен.

HORBACH, O. [Горбач, О.] (2006). *Арго в Україні* (*Argot in Ukraine*). Львів: Інститут українознавства ім. І. Крип'якевича.

HUMETSKA, L. [Гумецька, Л.] (1958). *Нарис словотворчої системи української актової мови XIV-XV ст. (Studies of word-formative System of Ukrainian Documents of XIV-XVcc*). Київ: Видавництво АН УРСР.

BDD-A26391 © 2016 Editura Universitaria
Provided by Diacronia.ro for IP 216.73.217.142 (2026-11-14 12:55:15 UTC)

KARPETS, L. [Карпець, Л.] (2006). *Український спортивний жарґон: структурно-семантичний аспект (Ukrainian Sports Jargon: Structural-semantic Aspect.)*: дис.…канд. філолог. наук. Харків.

KHIMIK, V. [Химик, В.] (2000). *Поэтика низкого, или Просторечье как культурный феномен (Poetics of Low Language, or Colloquialisms as Cultural Phenomenon)*. Санкт-Петербург: СПбу.

KROVYTSKA, O. [Кровицька, О.] (2002). *Назви осіб в українській мовній традиції XVI-XVII ст. Семантика і словотвір (The Person's Names in Ukrainian Lingual Tradition of XVI-XVII cc. Semantics and Word-Formation)*. Львів: Інститут українознавства ім. І. Крип'якевича.

NELYUBA, A. [Нелюба, А.] (2011). "Жінки. Гендер. Словотвір" (Women. Gender. Word-Formation), *Збірник Харківського історико-філологічного товариства: Нова серія*, 14, 189-204.

NELYUBA, A. [Нелюба, А.] (2014). "Жарґоновий «жіночий» словотвір на тлі літературномовних інновацій" (The Jargon "Woman" Word-Formation in the Context of Literary Innovations), *Лінгвістичні дослідження*, 38, 90-97.

NESCSHIMENKO, H. [Нещименко, Г.] (2010). "Отражение «гендерных» проблем в славянском словообразовании" (Reflection of Gender Problems in Slavic Word-Formation). In: *Відображення історії та культури народу в словотворенні: Доповіді XII Міжнародної наукової конференції Комісії зі слов'янського словотворення при Міжнародному комітеті славістів (25-28 травня 2010 р., Київ)*, 192-207.

REDKO, YE. [Редько, Є.] (2016). *Типи і способи номінування осіб в українських арґотичних системах (Types and Ways of Nominating Persons in the Ukrainian Argot Systems)*: дис.…канд. філолог. наук. Дніпропетровськ.

SHYROTSKYI, K. [Широцький, К.] (1998a). "Бурсацький жарґон української мови на Поділю" (The Ukrainian Seminarian Slang in Podillya), *Збірник Харківського історико-філологічного товариства: Нова серія*, 6, 175-179.

SHYROTSKYI, K. [Широцький, К.] (1998b). "Словарець бурсацького говору" (A Dictionary of the Seminarian Slang), *Збірник Харківського історико-філологічного товариства: Нова серія*, 6, 181-206.

STAVYTSKA, L. [Ставицька, Л.] (2005). *Арґо, жарґон, сленґ: Соціяльна диференціація української мови (Argot, Jargon, Slang: The Social Differentiation of the Ukrainian Language)*. Київ: Критика.

STARCHENKO, Ya. [Старченко, Я.] (2013). *Лексико-словотвірні інновації в жарґонах української мови (від середини 80-их років минулого століття) (The Word-Formative Innovations in Ukrainian Jargons from 1980-s)*: дис.…канд. філолог. наук. Дніпропетровськ.

BDD-A26391 © 2016 Editura Universitaria
Provided by Diacronia.ro for IP 216.73.217.142 (2026-11-14 12:55:15 UTC)

USPENSKII, B. [Успенский, Б.] (1994). "Мифологический аспект русской экспрессивной фразеологии" (The Mythological Aspect of Russian Expressive Phraseology). In: Б. УСПЕНСКИЙ. *Избранные труды*. Т. 2, 53-128.



BDD-A26391 © 2016 Editura Universitaria
Provided by Diacronia.ro for IP 216.73.217.142 (2026-11-14 12:55:15 UTC)