

## CREATIVITY OF REGIONALISMS ON THE LEVEL OF WORD BUILDING

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*Abstract.* The article deals with the peculiarities of creating and functioning of regionalisms: regional words and word combinations used by the residents of a certain region. Regionalisms are studied on the material of Chelyabinsk regional dialect (regiolect). The authors argue that regional words and word combinations form a unique part of the national language, being the markers of the regional identity, and creatively reflecting the regional picture of the world.

The study employs a comprehensive approach to the exploration of Chelyabinsk regional lexicon including cognitive, sociolinguistic, and linguo-cultural methods, structural-semantic analysis and continuous sampling. It shows that the creative character of regionalisms is reflected in their structure and meaning.

Creative regionalisms include unofficial toponyms, microtoponyms and urbanyms that undergo transonymization and function alongside with official toponyms, microtoponyms, official ergonyms – names of firms, language schools, shops, tourist centers – and nonstandard regionalisms used in colloquial speech. The main tendencies of regional creativity realization are revealed in word building types, the most productive of which and most frequently used are compounding (30% of the empirical material) and affixation (30% of the examples). Creative regionalisms are also formed by blending (25% of the examples) and by abbreviations (15% of the studied regionalisms). The findings prove that the nomination processes among regionalisms reflect both local and global nomination tendencies. One of the main universal tendencies of nomination is globalization revealed in the English influence on the formation of regional ergonyms, on the one hand, and glocalization realized through hybrid English-Russian words and word combinations, on the other hand. Hybrid regionalisms dominate among ergonyms.

*Key words:* linguocreativity; regionalisms; regional words; word combinations; toponyms; ergonyms; microtoponyms; hybrid regionalism; regional identity; onomastics

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## КРЕАТИВНОСТЬ РЕГИОНАЛИЗМОВ НА УРОВНЕ СЛОВООБРАЗОВАНИЯ

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*Аннотация.* Целью настоящего исследования является изучение создания и функционирования регионализмов: слов и словосочетаний, характерных для использования жителями определенной области. Регионализмы анализируются в работе на материале Челябинского регионального диалекта (региолек-

та). Авторы статьи утверждают, что региональные слова и словосочетания составляют уникальную часть национального языка, являясь маркерами региональной идентичности, креативно отражая региональную картину мира.

В работе применяется интегральный подход к анализу лексикона Челябинской области, включая когнитивный, социолингвистический и лингвокультурный методы, структурно-семантический анализ и прием сплошной выборки эмпирического материала. Доказано, что креативный характер регионализмов отражается в их структуре и значении.

Креативные регионализмы включают в себя неофициальные топонимы, микротопонимы и урбанонимы, которые претерпевают трансонимизацию и функционируют в разговорной речи наряду с официальными топонимами, микротопонимами, официальными названиями фирм, туристических центров, языковых школ, а также с просторечными региональными словами, используемыми в разговорной речи жителей области.

Выявлены основные тенденции реализации креативности в регионализмах на уровне словообразования. Самыми продуктивными словообразовательными способами являются словосложение (30% всех примеров) и аффиксация (30% всех примеров). Креативные регионализмы также образуются при помощи блендинга (25% примеров) и сокращения (15% эмпирического материала).

Результаты исследования показали, что процессы номинации регионализмов отражают как глобальные, так и локальные тенденции номинации. Одной из универсальных тенденций создания регионализмов можно считать влияние английского языка на региональные эргонимы, с одной стороны, и процесс глокализации, проявляющийся в возникновении и функционировании гибридных англо-русских регионализмов, с другой. Следует отметить, что гибридные регионализмы доминируют в эргонимах.

*Ключевые слова:* лингвокреативность; регионализмы; региональные слова; словосочетания; топонимы; эргонимы; микротопонимы; гибридный регионализм; региональная идентичность; ономастика

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## Introduction

Lexicon is an open multilayered part of a language system in which regional words occupy a considerable part making their research relevant. We agree with the opinion that former dialects are being transformed into regional languages (regiolects) and that the notion regiolect does not have a stable definition [Terkulov 2019: 45]. According to V. I. Terkulov, regiolect can be studied as:

1. A combination of city idioms reflecting regionally marked peculiarities of urban vernacular.
2. A combination of all idioms functioning on one territory both in the country and in cities and towns [Ibid: 46].

We suppose that regiolect denotes a type of the national language possessing markers of regional language peculiarities being a significant constituent of regional identity. Regional lexemes are usually not fixed in dictionaries of the literary language or such lexemes are marked as colloquial or local words. Regional words are called differently in scientific works: “regionalisms” [Zagryazkina 1995; Zvarykina 2013], “localisms” [Erofe-

eva 2020; Popov 2019], etc. A detailed analysis of the existing synonymous terms to regionalisms is given by Yu. A. Rezvukhina [Rezvukhina 2015]. The term “regionalism” is used by the authors of this study because we suppose that it reflects the empirical material precisely. Regionalisms represent an important constituent of the local picture of the world and regional identity. Studies of regional words and word combinations help reveal unique peculiarities of a concrete regional lexicon. Such studies attract both Russian and foreign linguists. Local words of Perm region have been successfully studied in the works by T. I. Erofeeva [Erofeeva 2020], T. I. Erofeeva and S. V. Shustova [Erofeeva, Shustova 2020] and other Perm linguists. Regional lexicon as a manifestation of multiculturalism is viewed by T. A. Kadalo [Kadalo 2011]; R. V. Popov analyses urban localisms in the speech of Severodvinsk [Popov 2019]. Minor place names occupy a significant part of regional lexicon and are in the center of studies of many Russian and foreign linguists [Pitina, Taskaeva 2021; Kharchenko, Man Shu 2019]. Moscow street names are analyzed by T. A. Golikova as a special

type of transonymization of godonyms [Golikova 2014]; unofficial names of Yekaterinburg are researched by E. N. Klimenko and T. V. Popova [Klimenko, Popova 2012]. I. N. Potanakhina studies most productive models of urban unofficial place names and colloquial micro-urban place names [Potanakhina 2008]. Local naming is viewed in detail in the works by M. V. Golomidova [Golomidova 2012], O. S. Issers [Issers 2017], I. V. Kryukova [Kryukova 2017]. M. A. Borodina outlines narrow and broad regionalisms, narrow being used only in the concrete territory, while broad ones can be found in several regions [Borodina 1982: 35].

Regional words and word combinations are, as a rule, creative language units. Linguistic creativity is viewed from a cognitive perspective in the work by B. Zawada [Zawada 2006]. V. I. Zabolotkina researches cognitive bases of linguistic creativity, creativity in lexicon as a result of interaction of cognition and communication [Zabolotkina 2018; 2019]. Creativity in language production is studied by R. J. Gerrig and R. W. Gibbs [Gerrig, Gibbs 1988]. Lexical creativity in word formation is explained as a function of language use in the collective work edited by J. Munat [Munat 2007]. Creativity in word formation and word interpretation is in the center of interdisciplinary research of L. Körtvélyessy, P. Štekauer and Kačmár P. [Körtvélyessy et al 2022]. The authors focus on linguistic creativity in general and word building creativity in particular.

Many regional words result from creative cognitive processes of categorization and classification. The paper is aimed at revealing and systematizing manifestations of creativity in regional words and word combinations. Chelyabinsk region has been chosen to study regional creativity for several reasons.

1. Favourable geographical position of the region. Situated in the two continents, Europe and Asia with the Ural mountain range in the middle, Chelyabinsk region is rich in natural resources which attracted and attracts business and manpower from various parts of the Russian Empire, Soviet Union and modern Russia.

2. Permanent geographical migration. The region has been formed by several waves of voluntary and forced migrations caused by construction of plants, wars, evacuations, repressions.

3. Cultural and ethnic diversity. As a result of historical and economical development Che-

lyabinsk region is a multicultural territory inhabited by over 3 million people of 40 ethnicities represented not only by Russians but by Turkic peoples, namely Tatars and Bashkirs, Ukrainians, Germans, etc.

Multicultural population of the territory has inevitably led to the formation of the specific regional dialect in which vocabulary often reveals creativity of the users' cognition processes and makes its study relevant.

The paper is targeted at revealing, describing and systematizing creativity realization in regional unofficial place names, minor place names and other types of regional words and word combinations. The hypothesis of the paper is that creativity of regional cognition is realized in local words and word combinations by various means of word building and meaning transformation.

### Methods and materials

This study is an integral cognitive, sociolinguistic, linguistic and cultural approach to analyzing Chelyabinsk regional lexicon. The target of such integral analysis is to gather information about: (1) the cognitive mechanisms of regionalisms creation; (2) structural and semantic peculiarities of regional words and phrases. The integral approach to regionalisms study is supposed to resort to some actual linguistic analysis methods. Cognitive approach is used to reveal mechanisms of regionalisms creation and perception by the residents, while the usage of language and cultural approach is helpful in outlining unique peculiarities of Chelyabinsk region lexicon. Structural and semantic analyses have been used in studying creativity in regionalisms structure and meaning. Semantic analysis helps trace peculiarities of transonymization realized by using metaphor, metonymy, hybrid words. Continuous sampling is useful in verifying the hypothesis and results of the research.

Data collection consisted in the content analysis of over 200 toponyms – place names, 2,000 microtoponyms – minor place names including 1,200 ergonyms – commercial names understood as secondary informative, pragmatic and most often positively motivated minor place names created for marketing reasons. Empirical material has been retrieved from Internet-sites with official and unofficial regional place names, minor place names and colloquial words, the sur-

veys of 250 respondents of Chelyabinsk region residents.

### Results and discussion

Regionalisms can be official as in ergonyms and unofficial which frequently occur in local place naming, in toponyms and microtoponyms such as names of streets (godonyms), squares (agonyms), etc. Creativity of regional lexicon has been analyzed in the paper on the level of word building. The illustrative material is represented in the following way: the Russian place name or minor place name is followed by transliteration into English and then translated into English.

All word building types except conversion are typical of regional lexicon creation.

1. **Compounding** is the most productive word building type (30% of the examples) of regional words. It is often found in hybrid commercial names by adding a Russian word to another Russian word, combining Russian and English word and even two English words. Hybrid ergonyms are complex structurally and semantically contaminated commercial names that reflect mechanisms of place names formation, influence of language fashion, various degrees of creativity and stereotype nature of naming [Pitina 2020: 62–66] because such names are more open to changes, successful and unsuccessful borrowing in attempts to attract customers. A tourist firm *МноГо туров* (MnoGoturov – many tours) is an original mixture of the beginning of the Russian adverb много (many), the capitalized English verb go and another Russian word туров (tours). Such original commercial name is supposed to be attractive and unusual for perspective customers. The beginning of the transliterated place name Chelyabinsk is added to the Russian noun concretizing and localizing the commercial name: *Челнуво* (*Chelpivo* – Chelyabinsk beer), *Челмкани* (*Cheltkani* – Chelyabinsk draperies). Anglicized beginning sounds ironical as the place is not the leader in beer and drapery production. In ergonym *Челси* (*Chel-si* – Chelyabinsk city) the compound abbreviation is used as the name of the large supermarket of construction materials. Commercial names *Челси* and *Мегачел* (the night club) are the examples of minor place names with initial and final positions of the abbreviated official regional toponym). The reverse type of hybridization is found in the ergonym *Челсити* (*Chelcity* – Chelyabinsk plus city)

which is the hybrid compound word consisting of the Russian abbreviated toponym Челябинск and transliterated into Russian the English word city. Creative regional educational ergonyms include composite neologisms built by adding two English words: *Englishland*, *Studyland*, *Englishup*, compressed slogans: *FasTrackEnglish*. There are many completely anglicized compound commercial names: *Ecolife*, *Ecoboath*. *Enerjeans* is an ironical compound word formed from the abbreviation of the noun energy and jeans, ergonym *IQ007* is equally ironically perceived language school name. *ZanziBar* and *BarBados* are creatively coined names of local cafes in which geographical names are turned into compounds by graphical means.

Love to hyperbole in commercial naming is reflected in the usage of the abbreviation евро – euro (European) in anglicized hybrid compounds *Евромех* (*Evro-meh* – *Eurofurs*), *Евростиль* (*Evro-stil'* – *EuroStyle*, *Евроокна* (*Evro-okna* – *Euro-windows*), although the goods are locally produced. Partially anglicized names of commercial organizations are represented by *Проавто* (*Proavto* – professional automobiles), *Провижение* (*Provizhenie* – professional vision), the last component is transliterated into Russian creating a strangely sounding for the Russian ear word). Ergonym *Прозрение* (*Prozrenie*) is an ambiguous word meaning either professional restoration of vision or insight). *Pro* in the first part of the examples is used with English spelling, while the second part of the compounds is in Russian, creating glocalized hybrid words (glocalization is understood as the manifestation of the coexistence of English and local characteristics of Russian minor place names). In the example of hyperbole and hybrid compounding *Шопомир* the English beginning shop is added to the transliterated into English Russian noun mir (world), with the typical Russian connecting vowel -o- between the two stems. *Англомир* (*Anglomir* – English world) is the hyperbolized language school name registered in Russian. Ironically perceived hybrid compounds are *Веерлога* (*Beerloga* – beer plus den), *Колбаскинг* (*Kolbasking* – sausage plus king) is the example of broad regionalism; *Фриедом* (formed from the English adjective free and the Russian noun dom – house) is a hybrid compound homonymous to the partially transliterated English noun freedom.

2. **Affixation** (30% of the examples) is represented by the abundant usage of diminutive suf-



fixes in place names and minor place names. Most frequently found suffix is *-k-*: *Zlatka* – unofficial name of the city Zlatoust; *Magnitka* – unofficial name of Magnitogorsk. In the above toponyms official composite place names Magnitogorsk and Zlatoust underwent abbreviation and addition of the diminutive suffix making unofficial names less formal and positively connoted. Unofficial minor place name *Kolupaevka* is used for the unattractive part of Chelyabinsk Soviet district, losing its association with the surname of its founder Kolupaev. *Topolinka* is a more positively connoted derivative of the newly constructed part of Chelyabinsk, although the poplar (*topol'* in Russian) valley was cut several years ago. *Kashirka* is the name of the market on Kashirinykh Brothers st. and the folk name of the street. *Kirovka* (Kirov st.) is the diminutive and positively connoted unofficial name of the godonym and pedestrian part of the street. *Khokhriachka* is a negatively connoted unofficial minor place name of Khokhryakov st. Analogous example includes *Son'ka* (Sonya Krivaya st.). Folk names of microtoponyms reflect the attitude of the residents to the local space. If *Kirovka* is a positively connoted godonym, *Kashirka* is perceived as neutral, the last two unofficial godonyms have unjustified negative connotations. Folk street names are mainly used by teenagers and young people who do not associate these commemorative names with the outstanding people: Semen Vasilievich Khokhryakov, twice Hero of the Soviet Union and revolutionary Sonya Krivaya.

Productive diminutive suffix *-k-* (*-k-*) is used not only in place names and minor place names godonyms but also in colloquial words: *публичка* (*publichka* – public library); *мороженка* (*morozhenka* – icecream); *гροхотка* (*grohotka* – metaphorical name for a container for eggs); *зеленка* (*zelenka* – certificate of the private property of the house, land, apartment, etc. which is another example of the metaphorical transformation of the word meaning because several years ago the color of the document was green not pink and brown or black and white as at present); *полуторка* (*polutorka* – one room apartment, the word is often mixed by the residents of other regions for the name of the light small lorry popular during the Great Patriotic War or a bed); *круглосутка* (*kruglosutka* – 24 hour shop, drugstore); *стекляшка* (*stekliashka* – a shop with large glass windows). Abbreviation and suffixation are characteristic

of the vernacular student words to name some subjects: *зарубежка* (*zarubezhka* – foreign literature); *отечка* (*otechka* – Russian literature). Everyday regional university student words include: *оборотка* (*oborotka* – the used A4 paper one side of which can be for economy distributed for written work in class); *стипенешка* (*stipeshka* – stipend); *стекляшка* (*steklyashka* – a local word for the originally supposed temporally study-room in Chelyabinsk State University built in the recreation halls due to the lack of classrooms for practical studies with small groups. Compare with the above mentioned example of the local word *stekliashka* for shop). *Ягодка* (*Yagodka* – little berry); *Маринка* (*Marinka* – diminutive from the female anthroponym Marina) are examples of the official regional commercial names of local shops. Vernacular words with the suffix *-k-* are mainly neutral in meaning. It should be noted that according to the data analysis unofficial regionalisms and official regional commercial names with this suffix are always used in the feminine gender.

Another diminutive suffix found in regional words is *-ик-* (*-ik-*): *Южник* (*Yuzhnik* – unofficial name of the town Yuzhnouralsk); *Златик* (*Zlatic* – unofficial name of the city Zlatoust); *Снежик* (*Snezhik*) is a folk name of the town Snezhinsk; *Челик* (*Chelik*) is one of the numerous unofficial abbreviations of Chelyabinsk. Folk toponyms with this suffix are positively connoted or neutral. The same is true of some official commercial names: ergonym *Салончик* (*Salonchik* – a small salon) is the unpretentious name of Chelyabinsk hairdresser; *Перчик* (*Perchik* – little pepper) is the café name.

Diminutive suffix *-ишк-* (*-ishk-*) creates negative connotation in the folk place name *Каслишки* (*Kaslishki*) which used instead of the official place name Kasli, but positive connotation can be traced in the ergonym *Пельмешка* (*Pel'meshka* – little dumpling).

Less frequently met diminutive suffixes *-ок-* (*-ok-*); *-ушк-* (*-ushk-*); *-юшк-* (*-yushk-*); *-ин-* (*-in-*); *-бург-* (*-burg-*) are found mainly in commercial names of cafes and shops, less often in urban city names: *Северок* (*Severok* – north) for the new district; *Блинк* (*Blinok* – little pancake); *Ватрушка* (*Vatrushka* – a ring-form pie with dough and cottage cheese in the middle); *Хозяюшка* (*Hozyayushka* – hostess); *Индюшкин* (*Indyushkin* – turkey). In regional ergonyms used by means of contraction and suffixation *Сладбург* (*Sladburg* – sweet plus

suffix -burg as in Yekaterinburg) and *Пиццбург* (*Pitszburg* – pizza plus suffix -burg, which is typical of place names, is used to hyperbolize the type of café.

One of the words in phrases naming ergonyms can contain diminutive suffix making the whole word combination creative and colloquial: *Бьюти штучки* (*Beauty shtuchki* – beautiful little things); *Сытый кабанчик* (*Sytyj kabanchik* – well-fed little boar); *Мое солнышко* (*Мое solnyshko* – my sun), etc.

**3. Blending** (25% of the empirical material) is found to be a productive word building type in the studied regional lexicon. In place names blending can realize an extremely negative attitude to the city: *Чердачинск* (*Cherdachinsk* – (Chelyabinsk + attic) to manifest the backward character of the place; *Чикагинск* (*Chicaginsk* – Chicago + Chelyabinsk) to express the high level of crimes in the city; *Челяба* (*Chelyaba* – Chelyabinsk plus the end of the Turkic variant of the city name Seliaba, Selebe), *Захолуст* (*Zaholust*) is the blend created by adding the beginning of the noun *захолустье* (*zakholustie* – backwater, outback) to the end of the place name Zlatoust. The above mentioned blends are negatively connoted revealing the attitude of the people to the place where they live.

Blending is found in various commercial names:

a) *Labridge School* (language + Cambridge), *Kinglish* (king + English), *Foleng* (foreign + language) are the blends of language schools names formed from the two English words concretizing the type of educational activity.

b) *Ариант* (*Ariant*) is the blended name of the famous not only in Chelyabinsk region but in Russia and abroad successfully functioning agricultural and heavy industry holding which used to be in joined ownership. It was founded by Chelyabinsk businessmen A. Aristov and Yu. Antipov and named by blending the beginning and the end of their family names. The long partnership has recently split but the name remained. Another well-known in the Russian Federation blend *Макфа* (*Makfa*) sounds original but denotes macaroni plus factory.

**4. Abbreviation** (15% of the examples) is often found in the unofficial names of the districts: *ЧТЗ* (*ChTZ* – tractor plant district), *ЧМЗ* (*ChMZ* – Metallurgical district) where *Ч* (*Ch*) is the abbrevi-

ation of Chelyabinsk. Chelyabinsk, Magnitogorsk and some other cities and towns of the region grew as industrial centers from former settlements with unofficial names after the constructed plants. *КБС* (*KBS*), *ЧЭМК* (*ChEMK*) and *АМЗ* (*AMZ*) are unofficial local abbreviations to name the residential area built up around the industrial enterprise or power station: forging and pressing plant (*KBS*), Chelyabinsk electrical and metallurgical plant (*ChEMK*) or automotive plant (*AMZ*). Such examples are numerous for the region with over 150 industrial enterprises reflecting the principle of language economy and concretizing the special attribution of the residents.

*Ч* (*Ch*), *Че*, (*Che*); *Чб* (*Chb*); *Chel* with the spelling in English; *Челси* (*Chelsi*) illustrate some unofficial abbreviations of Chelyabinsk. *Емак* (*Emak*); *Еман* (*Eman*) are used instead of Emanzhelinsk; *Злат* (*Zlat*) for Zlatoust. The above mentioned examples are neutral or positively connoted, but abbreviation *Чебара* (*Chebara* – unofficial place name of Chebarkul') has a definitely negative connotation.

Abbreviations are not often met in local creative ergonyms. They can function both in abbreviated and complete forms as in *К&Б* (*K&B* – Krasnoe & Beloe, the chain of cheap shops selling not only red and white wine). *Торгаш* (*Torgash* – derogatory substantivized derivative from the adjective *торговый* – trade) is the colloquial name of Chelyabinsk Trade center.

### Conclusion

Creativity in Chelyabinsk regionalisms is realized both in official and unofficial lexemes. The analysis of the empirical material including place names and minor place names has revealed the types of word building used in creating regionalisms. Most productive ways of replenishing regional lexicon are represented by compounding, affixation. Blending and abbreviation are also typical of the analyzed regionalisms. Creativity of regionalisms is also revealed in the formation of hybrid words and word combination reflecting the influence of language fashion in commercial place naming process, on the one hand. Emotiveness is realized in numerous unofficial place names and minor place names by creating positively or negatively connoted regionalisms.

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