

OCCASIONALISM AND NEODERIVATIVES AS A REFLECTION OF LINGUISTIC CREATIVITY (BASED ON THE COMMENTS ON YOUTUBE SOCIAL NETWORK)

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This paper investigates figurative linguistic expressions that reflect features of creative thinking, pragmatic potential, value stereotypes, and evaluative attitudes and opinions of participants in discussions of comment sections under video content. Here special consideration is given to the thematic polyphony of comments under socio-political videos, including remarks, dialogues, ideological and emotional narratives, as well as those associated with participants in communicative interaction speech acts and interjectional phraseology. This study investigates mechanisms behind the formation of neologisms, through the phenomena of affixations, contaminations, phraseological and nominal derivatives, and wordplays with precedent names. The resulting analysis suggests a high prevalence of complex derivative occasionalisms that emerge from slang, substandard language, and colloquial forms, all of which often carry a pejorative connotation.

The adopted methodology allows for identification of diverse strategies of language play in social media discourse, including semantic polysemy (combining literal and phraseological associated meanings), homonymy, wordformation and paronymic attraction, figures of double repetition, allusions, assonance, graphic hybridisation and deformation, as well as transformation of established expressions.

KEYWORDS:

comment, language play, linguo-creativity, occasionalism, social network



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1. INTRODUCTION

Contemporary scholars often consider the current milieu of the internet as a laboratory that organically “produces linguistic experiments”¹ (Ivanova and Klushina 2025: 75). Although several aspects on the phenomena of the formation of discourse on the internet have previously been described (e.g., Akhrenova 2017; Beloedova 2020; Goroshko 2012; Moshtyleva 2021), the focus on specifically documenting the evolution of the creative function of language in online communication has only recently emerged (Mesnyankina 2024; Ivanova and Klushina 2025). It is worth noting that several authors emphasise making a distinction between creativity in internet-discourse and language play, which are often discussed or used interchangeably by researchers: “We believe that these are not synonyms, since the playful function is merely derivative, whereas the creative function fulfils a fundamental role; it is more closely aligned with the poetic function, as understood by R. O. Jakobson” (Ivanova and Klushina 2025: 77). From this perspective, language play is understood to evolve from the realisation of the creative function of a language in internet communication (ibid).

This paper therefore examines a form of linguistic development found in contemporary internet communication that is often prevalent in interactions in comment sections under the Russian-speaking content of YouTube. This social media platform is a form of computer-mediated communication (mediated via an electronic (Galichkina 2004: 56) or digital (Kutuzov 2006: 310) channel) on which users are able to create a distinctive form of discourse that presents some unique characteristics.

According to the Oxford Learner’s Dictionary, a social network can be defined as any “social media site or application through which users can communicate with each other by adding information, messages, images, etc.”. Additionally, the definition offered by the Cambridge Dictionary supports this idea and supplements this with “a social network is a website or computer program that allows people to communicate and share information on the internet using a computer or mobile phone”. Thus, this paper contends that YouTube is considered to be a social network, which is a scientific opinion shared by both Russian-language and English-language scientific publications. For example, A. D. Dayanna considers YouTube “a social network that is used for online communications, social contacts, and self-presentations that is based on the ‘user-content-user’ model” (Dayanna 2019: 5). M. Wattenhofer et al. underline that “YouTube is, distinctly, as much a social network as it is a content-diffusion

¹ All the translations from Russian were done by the authors of this article.

platform” (Wattenhofer et al. 2021: 354). These authorities regard YouTube as “a new class of social network (...), a type that facilitates indirect socialisation via a gluing content layer in between directed users-to-user interaction” (ibid.) and finally acknowledge that “the content-driven nature of the YouTube social network differentiates itself from other ‘traditional’ social networks in terms of user linking and interaction behaviours” (Wattenhofer et al. 2021: 361).

2. THE RESEARCH MATERIAL AND AIMS

We analysed the texts posted under videos on the following socio-political channels:

Channel	Total number of comments	Number of comments with language play	Percentage of comments with language play
Антон Хардин @AntonHardin	8459 ²	16	0,19 %
	5520 ³	33	0,6 %
	8824 ⁴	52	0,59 %
вДудь @vdud ⁵	39547	21	0,05 %
И Грянул Грэм @i_gryanul_grem ⁶	2560	63	2,46 %
Максим Кац @Max_Katz	5149 ⁷	41	0,8 %
	9992 ⁸	12	0,12 %
МИНАЕВ LIVE @MINEVLIVE ⁹	1729	34	1,97 %
Обманутый Россиянин @ОбманутыйРоссиянин ¹⁰	21971	17	0,08 %
Осторожно: Собчак @sobchak ¹¹	19341	58	0,3 %

² URL: <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=fZb9T4RNseI> (12. August 2025)

³ URL: <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=231UHnZAxzA> (19. May 2025)

⁴ URL: https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=iUDsPRsZ1_0 (2. March 2025)

⁵ URL: <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=WAJhkHpDdDQ> (12. August 2025)

⁶ URL: <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=sPHACFj1Zmk> (7. March 2025)

⁷ URL: <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=PBmx7IErgy0> (19. May 2025)

⁸ URL: <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=qxM1I7f8Axc> (9. March 2025)

⁹ URL: <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=UETAPR24Onw> (28. February 2025)

¹⁰ URL: <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=qvIcQHVF6N4> (8. March 2025)

¹¹ URL: <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=ltfddz9Eyi8> (26. May 2025)

Channel	Total number of comments	Number of comments with language play	Percentage of comments with language play
Популярная политика @Popularpolitics ¹²	10370	118	1,14 %
Послезавтра @posle_zavtra ¹³	6356	34	0,53 %
Редакция @redactsiya ¹⁴	3346	18	0,54 %
Руслан Усачев @usachevshow ¹⁵	903	8	0,89 %
Скажи Гордеевой @skazhigordeevoy ¹⁶	2205	23	1,04 %
Файб @faib ¹⁷	5564	31	0,56 %
Юрий Швец -- официальный канал @yuryshvets ¹⁸	3226	23	0,71 %
BBC News - Русская служба @bbcnewsrussian ¹⁹	1224	29	2,37 %
DW на русском @dwrussian ²⁰	1306	1	0,08 %
NEXTA Live @NEXTALive ²¹	2870	14	0,49 %
Om TV @omtvreal ²²	1063	22	2,07 %
The Breakfast Show @The_Breakfast_Show ²³	3958	29	0,73 %
Total number of comments	165483	Average percent- age of comments with language play	0,83 %

¹² URL: <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=bnoLYSqmelg> (6. March 2025)

¹³ URL: <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=8DRpHQDJnWc> (24. June 2025)

¹⁴ URL: <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=zmcNRulxMHE> (14. August 2025)

¹⁵ URL: <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=LdcGnHODQj8> (4. July 2025)

¹⁶ URL: <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=qVT4stpkvqY> (11. August 2025)

¹⁷ URL: https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=LuJYt_hXaI0 (26. June 2025)

¹⁸ URL: https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=xaaldIO_K3E (27. February 2025)

¹⁹ URL: <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=jq8Lp2OieDk> (27. February 2025)

²⁰ URL: <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=kXCNjdwXPX0> (8. March 2025)

²¹ URL: <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=8fKmD3zIKAE> (23. May 2025)

²² URL: <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=extra74kndAM> (11. August 2025)

²³ URL: <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=U2wlpYSi3gs> (15. August 2025)

Within the framework of this article, we demonstrate the potential of internet word formation as represented in the comments found on the YouTube social media platform. This study examines fundamental derivational mechanisms that underscore the functioning of non-standard lexical innovations, including analogical formations, unconventional affixal derivatives, associated abbreviations, as well as their structural and semantic modelling. This is achieved through an analysis conducted from the perspective of wordplay, lexical and phraseological puns, and transformation of proper names. The study further illustrates how such units of secondary nomination could function as specific logo-epistemes and pragmemes that reflect values and anti-values within the virtual, communicative, and semiotic space of the internet.

3. METHODOLOGY AND THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK

For the purpose of this study, in addition to the method of structural transformations, several other methodological approaches also proved to be appropriate. With specific reference to the method of word-formation patterns which was developed through the works of N. Yanko-Trinitskaya, I. Ulukhanov, and others (see Tyshchenko 2002: 36, 101, 129), aimed at identifying productive synonymous derivational patterns of agent nouns, such as *заинтересант*, *подписант*, as well as formations like *надеждище*, which belong to paradigms of words with augmentative or diminutive suffixes conveying ironic or derogatory meanings (e. g., *европка*, *немчики*, etc.). Conversely, the method of structural and semantic modelling focuses on the systematic description of semantic fields and groups of figurative and evaluative nomination units within social media discourse (N. Alefirenko, D. Dobrovolsky, V. Koval, V. Mokienko, among others). In addition to purely considering semantic procedures (such as synonymy, variation, and motivation) and semantic-ideographic analysis (including thematic and conceptual word classes and derivational paradigms), this approach involves the application of linguocultural methodologies as developed by V. Maslova, N. Alefirenko et al., and thus draws on data from ethnography, ethnosemiotics, and, to some extent, ethnolinguistics. For example, the method of linguoculturemes, as proposed by V. Vorobyov, made it possible to identify national and culture-specific idioethnic connotations of ideologemes and realia that reveal the contextual experience and social status of commentators, as well as their cultural and pragmatic narratives and beliefs. Within the cognitively oriented discourse-analytic framework postulated in numerous studies, this research relies on the distinction between informemes (that is, meaning units that convey primarily intellectual, rational, and often linguopolitical

information) and pragmemes, which are understood to represent units designed to regulate human behaviour and therefore reflect phenomena of the emotional-volitional sphere of the human psyche (Mokienko 2016: 8). The latter is frequently associated with the processes of linguistic manipulation and the reproduction of established ideological narratives.

From the perspective of the proposed methodological toolkit engaged in this study, the technique of identifying logo-epistemes may also prove to have significant potential for future research. This terminology was introduced by V. Kostomarov and E. Vereshchagin and refers to symbols of underlying meanings that function as indicators of an individual's background knowledge, thus prompting the perception of a given text as condensed symbolism (Kostomarov and Burvikova 1999: 27, as cited in Maslova 2008: 138). The empirical material analysed in this study contains a wide range of allusions, precedent-related names, and intertextual images.

New models of social interaction and formation of virtual communities, which are largely established in online communication, represent changes in linguistic norms in such an active, large-scale, and global manner that some linguists speak of the emergence of a networked or electronic language (Badrakh and Shirnen 2015: 134). Russian-language social media discourse constitutes a hybrid phenomenon that combines features of both spoken and written communication and may be described as a "new functional substyle" (Valiakhmetova 2001: 8). Its specificity is determined by a range of technical parameters, including asynchronicity, the associated electronic mode of textual existence, multimodality, an unlimited number of participants in individual acts of communicative interaction, partial conditional anonymity, continuity, discreteness, and brevity. Galichkina (2021: 96) identifies the following constitutive features of internet discourse: bimodality, presentationality, polycode nature, linguistic creativity, juvenilisation, virtualisation, interactivity, and the mode of communication (instrumentality). The same type of discourse can be referred to as internet-mediated communication discourse (Chelak 2013: 197).

Texts in social media discourse are generally not intended to defend an academic or any other formal position; rather, they are geared towards encouraging clickbait to purposefully attract attention to themselves. These texts are not constrained by conventional grammatical rules and, therefore, readily engage in and invite language play, which results in an immediate and swift response to the current agenda. As it is known, "both the production and perception of the associative context (...) appeal to the linguistic reflexivity of speakers, i.e., the conscious effort to analyse the form and content of verbal cues" (Gridina and Talashmanov 2019: 32), which allows commentators to participate in the play at any stage of the discourse.

Compared to the time before social media platforms and engaging content became commonplace, the attitude towards correct speech has changed dramatically. Previously, any mistakes and lexical inaccuracy in unprepared speech might have been attributed to a low level of education, today “enlightened authors of numerous virtual jokes find in the effect of surprise and spontaneity of malapropisms an excellent opportunity to jest, deliberately violating phonetic norms and usage, replacing the correct with the incorrect, the logical with the illogical, and the neutral with the comic” (Mesnyankina 2024: 45). It should also be noted that the unserious form of communication (*non-bona fide*) is often related to, and may even be based on, the serious (*bona fide*) type (see Shilikhina 2019: 812–813). More importantly, language play is not limited by place, language (see Korshunova 2007, Baranov 2011), or time.

The perceived verbal liberties that emerge from the freedom, or non-regulation, of virtual platforms, thus encourage the emergence and development of linguistic innovations. As a consequence, this sets the trend for the evolution of language play in new directions. It is also a testament to the “creative initiative of the virtual personality, producing a real text that represents an existing referent in the light of a new lexical unit” (Mesnyankina 2024: 177). Language play found in YouTube comments in 2025 is not confined to a single sublanguage unique to previous user generations, such as the speech of kashchenites²⁴ or padonkaff²⁵, but is realised through a wide variety of strategies and models.

Researchers have identified several consistent trends in the development of online discourse. These tendencies include such examples as the intensification of “reactive” user interactions and a gradual increase in the degree of its synchronicity, conversational tone, and emotionality, as well as a high level of user engagement in the creation of informational and communicative content (Galichkina 2021). This type of discourse can be interpreted as distant and retail-like, where messages are addressed not to a specific recipient but to a simultaneously massive, dispersed, and unknown collective audience (G. Trofimova).

A marked trend in previous studies on online discourse (see Kakorina 2008: 552) highlights the thematic polyphony of video comments, its associated user-discussion

²⁴ Kashchenism is a style of communication on forums characterised by provocative, mainly ethnonationalistic, aggressively petty-bourgeois or psychiatric statements, and situational mockery of the interlocutor. The lexeme derives from the name of Moscow Psychiatric Hospital No. 1, which bore the name of Pyotr Kashchenko until 1994.

²⁵ Padonkaffsky jargon, also known as Olbanian, is the style of using the Russian language that spread on the Runet in the early 2000s, with phonetically almost correct, but deliberately incorrect spelling of words, frequent use of profanity and certain clichés characteristic of slang. It is most often used when writing comments on texts in blogs, chat rooms, and web forums.

forums, and similar platforms, as participants' replies may relate to different original messages or different parts of the same message, while posts themselves may contain references to other texts. Participants in the discussion may often directly address the author of the video, leading politicians, make remarks directed at a specific user in the discussion, or towards all commentators in the online interaction simultaneously. Typically, each message identifies the addressee and a thesis or remark from the original text that is subject to further discussion (*ibid*). The defining stylistic feature of the genre is its theme, which can be characterised as "current socio-political events and phenomena." In describing contemporary linguistic trends, N. Yudina makes particular note of the interplay of the following features: the democratisation and liberalisation of language that becomes intertwined with vulgarisation and criminalisation, as well as the emergence of internationality alongside barbarisation, creativity coupled with stereotyping, dynamism combined with the careless use of linguistic units, and (implied) intellectuality alongside a general decline in language culture (Yudina 2010: 127–128). Other characteristics include avalanche-like word formations that result from deliberate violations of existing orthographic norms and value stereotypes, puns, structural-semantic deformations, and other similar phenomena. The analysis of lexical innovations that have appeared in the Russian language over the past two decades allows N. Basko (Basko 2014: 80) to note the increased activity of word-formation methods such as affixation, abbreviation, and lexical-semantic derivation.

Recently, researchers have focused on both usual (suffixation, prefixation, prefixoidation, etc.) and unusual (contamination, graphic hybridisation) methods of word formation that are examined through the lens of structural-semantic and pragmatic analysis of new nominations (Zamaldinov 2019: 13). Additionally, this lens confronts the inherent and adherent evaluation of neologisms in the media and their differentiation according to various semantic-motivational and stylistic features (Ratsiburskaya and Toropkina 2013: 187–188), as well as reporting on word-formation patterns based on intertextual elements in Russian-language print media of the early twenty-first century (Fokina 2012: 100). Word-formation tools of rhetorical impact across several languages have also been considered in the context of information warfare (Kuznetsova 2025: 92). At the same time, several studies draw attention to the growing use of coarse expressions and suggestive language, allusions, and double entendres associated with obscene vocabulary. There has been an expansion of phraseological units from various stylistic layers and thematic fields, as well as the lexical composition of journalistic discourse which has become significantly more thematically and stylistically diverse, poly-evaluative, and stylistically dynamic. Elements of language play are increasingly present, often manifesting as familiarly rough, intrusive, or aggressive, with deliberate

ambiguity designed to create a humorous or ironic subtext (see Sternin 2003: 101).

In his time, I. Ulukhanov presented a detailed and comprehensive classification of word-formation methods, encompassing both usual and unusual vocabulary. The main advantage of this classification is that it allows for the observation of the wide array in which derived words are formed, including some that are used only once, rather than forcing all word-formation models into a relatively small set of previously identified types. Traditional methods of classification reflect frequent derivational processes and are also sufficient for typical vocabulary (Ulukhanov 2005).

As E. Zenskaya notes, the possibility of creating new words based on existing patterns or through analogy to a single word is virtually limitless. This potential is referred to as the word-formation potential, and the words that can be formed in this way are considered potential words (Zenskaya 2004). In the material under study, that is, the comment sections under socio-political videos, such neologisms include various affixal formations and contaminations. As N. Samylicheva aptly observes that “the emergence of occasionalisms marks an important stage in comprehending objective reality, which represents the peak of the process of renewing the cognitive-discursive potential of the Russian language, a stage of discursive mastery of the nominated objects and phenomena of reality and their features significant for human life. The creation of authorial nominations is a unique result of cognitive-discursive assimilation and interpretation of reality” (Samylicheva 2011: 4, as cited in Markova and Grigoryanova 2016: 113).

4. DESCRIPTIVE RESULTS

Cases of contaminated neologisms are rare (they may appear both in nicknames and in the text of comments), although most contaminated neologisms occur based on existing patterns or models. For example, @*Кинотизер* Он был учителем в начальной школе *соус парка*²⁶ {«Cayc парка» - South Park}; here, an allusion stands out to the transliterated English lexeme *south* (“southern”) versus *соус*, a sauce served with a dish. As seen in interactive communication, such neologisms can often provoke confusion, indicate overt sarcasm, as well as other negative impressions or connotations among participants. This underscores the increasing role of emotionally expressive phraseology with a heightened evaluative significance and negative modality. At the

²⁶ Here and hereafter, quotations from comments posted under videos on YouTube channels are reproduced in the authors’ original spelling.

same time, the personal frame of reference for the participant related to wordplay is identified (cf. below *умач* as an evaluation of a person, their inherent intellectual abilities, and as a national reality or dish). In this context, one cannot fail to mention the non-standard derivatives that can be used to designate an agent or bearer of a trait, which are employed together with phraseological units. In the cognitive-image-ry structure of the latter, for example, the idea of something murky, impure, dirty, or involving clandestine activities and schemes is conceptualised: @МихаилК-39у Многие пишут, что (...) умный. Не могу понять в чем заключается его ум? В умении ловить рыбу в мутной воде? @Владислав-64и5г Зато ты умач до невозможного... @МихаилК-39у Умач это татарский суп. Что сказать то хотел? Lexical designations of individuals of a similar internal form can also be included in this category: @Sergei-е6х Заинтересантов это не устраивает. It is possible that this derivative emerged through an analogy with words such as *подписант* (signatory) and *similarly*.

In occasional word formation, formatives in verbs that express the result of an action can fulfil a unique function, formed through prefix-suffix methods or affixation (e. g., the prefix *про-* + the stem *рэн*). @Альбина_Скуфыня объясняю человеку, который ни одной ногой не был в музыкальной школе или прорэпил все уроки музыки в школе. It is evident that the evaluative pragmatics of this narrative is enhanced and amplified through the introduction of transformed phraseological expressions, such as “*ни ногой*” (never to set foot) and “*ни на йоту*” (not a jot), and carries negative connotations.

Verbal-derived nouns can also be engaged in creative wordplay due to the polysemy of their semantic structures, sometimes implying sexual-erotic subtext or presuppositions, particularly when activating slang based on word-formation (e. g., *маман*, *папан*). @АРТУР-29ц7е Распад Римской империи также до сих пор обсуждают) @А9хромов Можно обсуждать распад твоей маман под твоим папан.

Derogatory-augmentative affixes in nouns are not typical, but they play a significant role in expressing emotions, expressiveness, and the subjective modality of narrators. @введитеникнейм когда совсем плохо и снова накатывает - я просто вспоминаю о том, что я (...) ... Это нельзя изменить, в нашем времени нет. А значит, у меня есть не просто надежда, у меня НАДЕЖДИЩЕ и ГАРАНТ. Хэй, все, помните об этом! Conversely, occasional diminutives can be observed, for example, in the structure and semantics of well-wishes or optative replies. Sometimes such acts of speech are associated with indicating ethnic affiliation or a negative attitude towards EU citizens, often accompanied by a notable degree of irony and mockery. @odri23 это про нагиева правильно написали, пусть едет в европку

работать; @Петрович-на-Дону Немчики совсем разбушлатились! (here the implied meaning was replaced, “разбушевались”). Cf. also the adverb formed with both a diminutive-affectionate suffix and a prefix conveying the meaning of opposition: @NoaNaomi Так приятно было в этот раз слуш ать такое. Успокаивающе и антидепрессивненько. @АнаМ-о1r Информативненько...спасибо. Using a negative affix, a univerb hence also emerges to denote a specific typical, usually negative, phenomenon (model ending in -изм). @igornet5164 Наконец-то Максим уменьшил уровень Антироссиизма.

Individual instances of the *nomen agentis* model emerge based on phraseological expressions, for example *встать с колен* (to rise from one’s knees). @JuliaHomenko Сколеновставатель, тебе не понять. A similar word-formation mechanism underscores the nomination characterising a person (*вешать лапшу на уши*, translated literally “to hang noodles on someone’s ears” or to lie): @Владимир-ц5ь1d @АнатолийРуденко-с3и думает о «своём народе», население в категорию «свой народ» не попадает, лапшегон ты.

Another prime example of a neologism which originated from the participants of an online discourse, which is formed through distortion and syllable transposition, i. e., metathesis: @GalinaKabkova жить на что-то надо! Не все могут уехать. Спасибо, что не присоединяются к хору пропагандистов, как чичерина или облохастин. {About I. Okhlobystin, who, according to the commentator, is infested with fleas}. The phenomenon of paronomasia, bordering on phonetic syllable transpositions in rhyming word pairs, is clearly visible in contexts such as these: @ANTGPRO Хорошо разложил по полочкам. Особенно про политические аспекты бизнеса и их провал; @harry.cromberg ... и их порвал; @DemosKratos-ee2tz Несменяемая власть становится невменяемой. These also include a type of speech that expresses indignation and outrage: @ВалентинаПетровнаХакимова Это уму не растяжимо что происходит, сколько молодых ребят полегло, за что? да, жить становится не просто страшно, а очень страшно.

Interjectional phraseology is also capable of undergoing transformations. In the texts of comments found under socio-political videos, the pragmatics of wishing emerges as a thinly veiled insult that belies another meaning, with a clearly expressed pejorative modality (cf. the meaning of indifference combined with the modality of wanting to get rid of someone or something, presented in a transformed form): @Zakrity зори все пропадом. надоела такая жизнь. Upon closer inspection of this expression, a clear amalgamation of parts from two phraseological units is identified: *зори оно все синим пламенем* (let it all burn with a blue flame) + *пропади пропадом* (perish utterly).

In such communicative interactions and dialogues, a peculiar chaining of lex-

ical contaminants can be observed, formed through contraction and lexicalisation, cf. @laramiron8888 *Профиманипул! Улыбайтесь, господа, улыбайтесь!* {профи+манипулятор → профиманипул}; @PsyVitkova *ЛюБоль ... Грусть* {любовь+боль} etc. Without doubt, the following formation also emerged through fusion: @miketcduck78 *У меня тесть (80 лет), человек, воспитанный телевизором и «невсётакооднозначник» уже тоже говорит, что (...) ...* J. Miturska-Bojanowska provides several examples of what she terms “pandemic contaminants”: *ковидло*, whose meaning preserves only the semantic component *ковид* (COVID), while the second component *повидло* (jam) is used solely as a building material, cf.: *ковидло* ← *ковид* + *повидло* (Miturska-Bojanowska 2021: 409).

Researchers refer to these neosemantisms in different ways. For instance, I. Ulukhanov categorises these as “inter-word superposition (or merging)”, emphasising the expressive character of such associations (Ulukhanov 2005: 105). J. Miturska-Bojanowska suggests that such blended neologisms are created through amplification, that is, the superimposition of homonymous (isophonous) elements of the base components that form an inter-word graphical or phonetic overlay (Miturska-Bojanowska 2021: 409). Those who analyse them in the context of telescoping are also correct and thus describe a process in which “a new word usually consists of the initial part of the first word and the final part of the second, i. e., one word slides into another like a telescope” (Miturska-Bojanowska 2004: 427).

In emotional phraseology, such expressions can fulfil the function of exclamation, surprise, or indignation, quite often appearing alongside derogatory and offensive nicknames, invectives, and other negative markers. For example, through the use of slang vocabulary: @Wonders3.14 *И какого лешего их шлендры пасутся в запрещенной сети хвастограм???* Such composite contaminants also carry an evaluative load: @Ritta-fbs *Туфтоплем!* (“*плести (знать) туфты*” as a synonym for “*нести чушь*” (to talk nonsense) and similar expressions); @Sneplton *Фейкомёт* (from “*метать фейки*” – to spread fake news), obviously, having the corresponding base and derivational model. These linguistic facts support the view of N. Samylicheva that the most common methods of contemporary occasional word formation are through the creation of complex derivatives, and the formation of derivatives by occasional methods. According to the researcher, such non-standard word formation is associated with the liberation of language and the weakening of boundaries between different linguistic domains (Samylicheva 2012: 298).

Another productive type of language play in the comments under study is word-formation convergence, in particular the double repetition of cognate words and its various types of reduplication and precedent names that are often combined with phrase-

ological puns. Substandard, colloquial, and vernacular vocabulary is also frequently used in this context. As the material shows, proper names, anthroponyms, and toponyms are often drawn into such wordplay. According to N. Danilevskaya, this kind of creativity in linguistic structures can be regarded as a type of “speech behaviour of speakers based on (...) the destruction of linguistic norms in order to create non-canonical linguistic forms and structures, which acquire, as a result of this destruction, expressive value and the ability to evoke an aesthetic and, more generally, stylistic effect in the listener/reader” (Danilevskaya 2003: 657). Most often, this stylistic figure is associated with conveying comedic meanings in speech or with a desire to create a “fresh, new image” (ibid).

Similarly, this paper also investigates the polysemy of verbs, the clash of polysemantic word structures, or the combination of literal and phraseologically linked meanings. For example, @vv-cy5sk на кладбище ничего нельзя выбить) Если ты не заслуженный официально!) (Выбить можно только твои панталоны); @k7fcy-jgn Все кто принимает законы должны лечиться в Кащенко; @ElenaWaleryev-na Особенно те, кто их принимает всерьез. И исполняет. A similar device is used in this ironic-derogatory or playful context: @ВеселыйВятскийПасечник Старая шутка: Те, кто должны принимать таблетки, у нас почему-то принимают законы. As Gridina aptly notes in this context, the effect of language play here is based on the associative potential of a word: its associative valence which allows variation when combining its expression plane and content plane (Gridina 1996: 33–63, as cited in Danilevskaya 2006: 658). Some researchers, in this case, refer to so-called vertical puns that are based on divergent polysemy when words split into homonyms, in particular the relationship between literal, nominative, and several metaphorical meanings of verbs, cf. *выбить* 2²⁷ and *выбить* 9²⁸. In contrast, in horizontal, motivational convergence, the attraction of the two associatively related elements occurs, forming the basis of a special type of pun, such as @pavelpavel7450 Трамп закончил Нью-Йоркскую военную академию, типа (...) мучилища {училища, в котором мучат—an educational institution marked by harsh treatment}. We should also mention the deliberate ambiguity, in which the figurative–metaphorical meaning of the comparative expression becomes more prominent over the course of the indirectly derived nomination of the verb *снести* (“to lay down” or “to demolish”). @TumaT-

²⁷ Перех. Ударяя, очищать от чего-л.; выколачивать (БАС 3 2005: 344) (By striking, to clean from something; to knock out).

²⁸ Перех. Прост. Получать, применив силу, путем принуждения. // С трудом, усилиями добиваться чего-л. (БАС 3 2005: 344) (To receive by using force, by coercion. // To achieve something with difficulty, effort.).

д2й Снесите29 ролик про Медичи?

Different types of homonyms are represented in the material. Full lexical homonyms, in particular, set an unusual, expressively marked tone in the narrative discourse of the comments under study, especially in dialogues. These are accompanied by allusions to the controversial well-known individual and contain corresponding intertextual insertions and phraseological units: @svak1961 *обещанного три года ждут. Но для соловья (...) это не срок, обычно смертный приговор заменялся 25-ю годами тюрьмы. Будет вам и белка, будет и свисток {А. Плещеев «Старик»}—дайте только30срок*. Without doubt, the poem refers to a period, but the context implies a prison theme. In connection with the negative perception in certain circles of the image of the person mentioned, the motive associated with the use of slang, *белочка* (“catch the squirrel”, i. e., a state of delirium), harmonises and aligns with this, as if activated by the literal meaning of the phrase: @АлексейКравченко-у2е *Соловей (...) бабочку поймал!*

Instances of wordplay using homophones are rare: @mariaibgui1203 *Напряжение отношений с Азербайджаном... Это острая боль в боку... Или в Баку?*, as of homographs (when accentual variants of words differ, with corresponding graphic highlighting of letters carrying the main semantic load and pejorative connotations within these actional predicates): @SadinExe *ПонОсуть или все же поносИть :)*

Word-formation derivatives, in the process of their semantic derivation, can develop highly specialised meanings (cf. “*растение*”—“plant” and “*вид оружия*”—“type of weapon” as a result of metaphorisation): @LehaVola *А орешник?* @lenapica9591 *Скорее боярышник* {Both words denote plants, but *орешник* is also a rocket, while *боярышник* is a medicine containing 70% alcohol, which is why it is popular among alcoholics}. Following a similar semantic model, secondary meanings of nouns are activated (meteorological phenomena, natural and weather events, elemental forces—as names of weapons, also based on metaphorical associations with the character and function of the action produced by the object). For example, @Исрудин (...) *с улыбкой на лице рассказывала, как во время первой Чеченской войны на стенде у группировки российских войск, был прогноз погоды в Грозном, утром град, а вечером ураган!!* {Град (hail) and ураган (hurricane) are multiple rocket launch systems}.

²⁹ Снести 7. Уничтожать, ломая, разрушая и т. п. (Destroy, break, ruining, etc.) 11. Отложить яйцо (Lay an egg) (Also metaphorically to give a start to something new) (БАС 26 2019: 459–460).

³⁰ Срок 1. Промежуток времени, обычно определенный, установленный для чего-л. (A period of time, usually defined, set for something.) 3. Прост. Тюремное заключение определенной продолжительности (A prison sentence of a certain length) (БАС 27 2021: 468–470).

In our empirical material, the greatest number of attractions are attested, including numerous word-formation pairs of words from different lexical–grammatical categories, allusions to proper and precedent names in particular, as well as alliteration and assonance: @PICKSAR-x1p *В сверхдержаве сверхдержись*; @eugens.8342 *ведущая писклявым сбивчивым голосом: “у меня есть один знакомый государственный академический (...) Так он пошёл на сво искупать. И искупался..., where morphemic homonymy is also observed in the given verb forms, creating a special type of phraseological pun. Consider thus the following examples: @KolyanKenipa Это Брехта, им главное лайков собрать на брехне. Журналистика в сторонке курит, как обычно; @KolyanKenipa Брехали, брешем и будем брехать! Девиз Брехты {About the Belarusian channel “NEXTA”}. In this case, pragmatic constructions are actualised, in particular slogans formed according to the model of multiple repetition: @rokke8846 *Через кровь и пот, получается Пол Пот. @SvetloyarTaiga Пол Поту надо было вступать в Тяп-Ляп*. The addition of partial repetition here goes well with the play on the homonyms *пот* and *Пол Пот*. This idea is further reinforced by the following context, where the corresponding regime is played upon through explication, by adding the adjective *целый*: @vikt0r1981 *Камбоджийцам сильно повезло, что у них было только Пол Пота. Был бы целый Пот, то мы бы сейчас говорили о Камбодже в прошедшем времени*. Let us also mention the following examples: @ТатьянаТатьяна-нбй96 *Всё в руках Маска в маске. А нам только ждать* {About Elon Musk} (the play on “Musk” surname when combined with the word “mask”, serving as a figurative reflection of carnivalisation, concealment of certain actions or deeds, usually negative, etc.) along with formations that arise through associative-derivational convergence with the names of politicians, in particular the Prime Minister of Israel: @azizparadero *Думал по превью, что видео будет про шайтаньяху*. Here the play on anthroponyms and ideonyms should be noted: @АндрейАндреевич-з7т *Бабка Кадышева станет крутой как только сможет основать деревню ЗаМКАДышево*, where, in this case, the graphic rendering of the abbreviated word at the end of the phrase, along with the associative alignment of toponyms with semi-fixed medical terms, plays a significant role @СветланаЗельченко *Но! Кто-то сказал, что он не в коме, а на Комо, вы уверены, что он не смылся?**

Figures of partial repetition model associative-semantic links in addressing individuals, often with an ironic undertone: @TheDuhammer @apboods *дружочек-пирожочек, может ты можешь объяснить, почему в Ирак можно было?* Onomatopes (sound imitations of bird voices with the meaning of a call) can be used together with other types of repetitions. Cf. @DjohnWick-ur1th *Бюджет принадлежит ЧИНОВНИКАМ. Но не (...) что его наполняют. Отдал деньги*

Государству - забудь. А если оно тебе ещё что-то ВЕРНУЛО! Ты должен три раза ему КУ сказать и ещё налог заплатить назад с этого. {Also, a reference to a popular phrase from a famous “Kin-dza-dza!” movie (directed by G. Daneliya in 1986)}. As O. Kryuchkova rightly notes, “doubled interjections are used both to express emotional states and for a directive function. Through directive (imperative) interjections, various types of prompts, signals, and prohibitions are conveyed” (Kryuchkova 2004: 80). When root-related words are strung together, a partial reduplication may be reflected in the fictional nicknames used by participants in social media interactions: @ФиглиМигли-р1ж Наблюдаю тревожную картину сворачивания демократии по всему миру...

Assonance, consisting of the symmetrical repetition of identical or similar vowel sounds or sound clusters, serves to impart rhythmic organisation and a distinctive expressive quality, both sonically and intonationally. Some examples are provided below: @ТатьянаМ-чбю Недавно прочла в одном из комментариев: «Раньше была страна СОВЕТОВ, а теперь – ЗА-ПРЕТОВ!»!!!; @Уважение-25ъ Страх верхушки остаться без кормушки. И для них неважно кто у руля; @ФиглиМигли-р1ж (...) вынужден просрочить свой срок. The contexts presented demonstrate that the emphasis is placed on the phonetic harmony of lexical components, which ensures rhythm, establishes the dynamic potential of the narratives, and sets the stylistic tone of the text as a whole, enhancing its expressiveness. See also @alexanderdiesel7609 Хватит производить и потреблять опиум {about opium}; @katerinas788 Почка_росии {about Russian Post}.

A similar mechanism underscores the play with precedent names: @КВБК-сбж Че за Паша, с Уралмаиш? Complex abbreviated terminological compounds can also generate a distinctive linguistic creativity in the participant's online communication, especially when anthroponymic designations converge in a coincidental, naively derivational manner: @laplacesdemon9371 Фамилия ИВЛев, умер под ИВЛ. Совпадение? Не думаю; @jimmas а Цой подавился маЦой! In the examples provided, grapho-derivation also plays a significant role as a typically observed phenomenon in social media discourse (genre). The importance of this process is equally evident in the following communicative situation: @pgfacepalm Кодировка от ОПЯТ? Дайте мне этого мастера кодировщика!!! @BusyaEndMusya ОнИам (the play on the names of mushrooms and the *narcotic drug*).

Lexical and word-formation devices may be woven into the discourse of social media comments with the aim of deliberately distorting words, using obscure lexemes, and employing condensed colloquial forms of predicatives: @poklonnayagora73 Дык всё логично и последовательно, чего уж так перевозбуждаться. Сначала

масочку оденьте, потом самоизолируйтесь, шмурдяком не побрезгуйте, кукарекодом (formed from “QR code”) обзаведитесь, а то и на работу или ещё куда не допустят. (...) . Теперь смотреть уже НИЗЯ, ничего не разрешают... Another example: *@ДольчеВитасан Только юридически безграмотные. Как в кавидлу. Вы намордник носили? Я нет вообще, всем все разъяснила. То же касается шмурдяка, куриных кодов и пр.* (Here, it is evident that an ellipsis occurs, with the implied word replaced by a semantically related one). Cf. other evaluative non-standard designations: *@IvTorisoman Купитман? А почему не Продайман*, in which the lexical conversives *купить-продать* are played upon, combined with the low-productivity affixoids *-ман* and the fact that *Ivan Kupitman* is a popular character in the Russian comedy television series “Interns”.

5. CONCLUSION

The analysis demonstrates that linguistic creativity and language play are actively manifested in social networks, particularly in comments under socio-political video content, and operate across all linguistic levels. They reflect pragmatic and cognitive-value capacities of the participants, their background knowledge and presuppositions, communicative-social and ideological competence, as well as their reactions to current events and processes (such as the realities of the Special Military Operation and its media coverage, negative attitudes towards EU countries, the growing role of the Russian Federation in contemporary geopolitical processes, the phenomenon of Russophobia, and the cultivation of enemy images and hatred in politically oriented television programmes and talk shows in Russia).

Such discourse frequently challenges existing stereotypes, undermines thematic taboos and normative conventions, and is expressed through unusual word formation, such as the use of euphemisms, and original nominative units that nonetheless follow established linguistic models. Particularly widespread are non-standard mechanisms of word creation, such as contamination, graphic hybridisation, and structural deformations or rearrangements. Of special note are lexico-phraseological resources that are formed through compounding and affixation (e.g., pejorative labels for individuals based on actions or characteristics, subjective evaluative suffixes), playful manipulations of proper names, and paronymic convergences.

A distinctive feature is the chaining of lexical contaminants that is produced through semantic condensation and subsequent lexicalisation. Additional semantic and connotative weight is carried by figures of double repetition, full and partial reduplication,

onomatopoeia, word-formation parallels between literal and phraseologically bound meanings, homo-acronyms, and derivatives of phraseological units. A productive subgroup is also formed by nominations that enter different semantic fields through polysemy, or more rarely homonymy, often in combination with puns of both vertical and horizontal types.

Textual comments are characterised by a range of features that manifest at lexical, textual, cognitive-discursive, and phraseological levels, all of which are permeated by a distinctive axiological modality of nomination units. Researchers identify two main reasons for the emergence of such innovations: (1) extralinguistic factors, namely the need to name new objects and phenomena, and (2) intra-linguistic factors associated with speakers' desire to provide new figurative (evaluative and emotionally marked) designations for objects and phenomena that already possess established names (Shulezhkova 2001: 51).

Their expressiveness and high pragmatic intensity are further reinforced by specific graphic codes and non-verbal elements of communication that shape the nature of speech situations and narratives produced by participants in online interaction. These include verbal forms of speech aggression, ranging from threats, wishes, and allusive references to warnings, declaratives, and other types of expressive speech acts. Such units may not only contribute to the construction of an antagonistic image but also function as verbalised manifestations of speech aggression, anti-values, and ethnocultural stereotypes, including pejoratively marked ethnic nicknames and stylistically downgraded pragmatic formulas. Compare, for instance, elliptically incomplete syntactic constructions such as *земля стекловатой*, *земля железобетоном*, (directed at an addressee), or *Чемодан, вокзал, заграница* which are characterised primarily by a negative imperative modality towards the recipient.

In the network discourse analysed in the present study, particularly within the examined internet communication texts, the research focused primarily on structural-semantic and functional-pragmatic characteristics of non-standard acts of word-formation nomination, their relationship to language play and linguistic creativity, the potential for their structural-semantic modelling, as well as their variability and transformations. In the corpus under investigation, the emergence of a new word does not occur according to a fixed structural pattern; rather, it is formed analogically based on a specific word by extracting its root (base) and replacing it with a different root.

This approach made it possible to identify the situationally and contextually conditioned mechanisms underlying the formation of "potential words", a term introduced by E. Zemskaya, across units of different lexical-grammatical categories and interlevel strata (verbs, adverbs, derivations from phraseological units, etc.). It also

allowed us to determine the stylistic tone of the comments under investigation and to elucidate mechanisms of semantic derivation manifested in polysemy, phraseological puns, allusions, lexicalisation of word combinations and entire constructions (e.g., *невсётакоднозначник*), and the playful use of precedent-related proper names from an intertextual perspective. The analysis further revealed instances of intentional word distortion, the use of obscure lexical items and contracted colloquial forms, as well as techniques that involve the rearrangement of syllables with corresponding allusions to proper names. Noteworthy examples, in this respect, include sequences of non-sensical, distorted words, often rhythmically organised and rhymed in posts, which imitate foreign-language realities or onomatopoeic vocabulary within composite formations (see *кукарекод* and similar examples). Overall, the analysis demonstrated the productivity of abbreviations in combination with grapho-derivation and puns, driven by the interaction of verb semantic structures and the activation of additional connotative meanings in certain types of lexical repetitions, homonyms (homographs and homophones), paronymic convergences, as well as the presence of contaminated formations resembling telescopic words.

As a potential signpost for future research, this study proposes an examination of precedent names in Russian-language social media, as well as allusive practices and structural and semantic transformations of fixed paroemias and comparative constructions, including anti-proverbs.

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ОККАЗИОНАЛИЗМЫ И НЕОДЕРИВАТИВЫ КАК ОТРАЖЕНИЕ ЛИНГВИСТИЧЕСКОЙ КРЕАТИВНОСТИ (НА МАТЕРИАЛЕ КОММЕНТАРИЕВ В СОЦИАЛЬНОЙ СЕТИ YOUTUBE)

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РЕЗЮМЕ

Статья посвящена рассмотрению образных номинаций, отражающих особенности лингвокреативного мышления, прагматический потенциал, ценностные стереотипы и оценки участников обсуждений информационно-коммуникационного видеоконтента. Внимание обращено на тематическую полифонию комментариев под видео общественно-политической направленности (реплики, диалоги, идеологические и эмоциональные нарративы участников коммуникативной интеракции, сопряженные с ними речевые акты и междометная фразеология), выяснены механизмы образования новых слов (аффиксация, контаминация, отфразеологические и отыменные дериваты, обыгрывание прецедентных имен и т. п.). Анализ продемонстрировал высокий удельный вес сложных дериватов-окказионализмов, возникших на основе сленга, языкового субстандарта и просторечных форм, несущих, как правило, пейоративную оценку.

Предложенный подход дал возможность выявить разнообразные способы моделирования языковой игры в дискурсе социальных сетей, среди которых выделяются полисемия семантических структур (соединение прямого и фразеологически связанного значений слов), омонимия, словообразовательная и паронимическая аттракция, фигуры двойного повтора, аллюзии, ассонанс, графическая гибридизация и деформация, трансформация устойчивых сочетаний.

Ключевые слова:

комментарий, лингвокреативность, окказионализм, социальная сеть, языковая игра

OKAZIONALIZMI I NEODERIVATI KAO ODRAZ LINGVISTIČKE KREATIVNOSTI (U KOMENTARIMA NA DRUŠTVENOJ MREŽI YOUTUBE)

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SAŽETAK

Rad je posvećen razmatranju figurativnih nominacija koje odražavaju specifičnosti lingvističke kreativnosti, pragmatički potencijal, vrijednosne stereotipe i evaluativne sudove sudionika rasprava o informacijsko-komunikacijskom videosadržaju. Posebna se pozornost posvećuje tematskoj polifoniji komentara ispod videozapisa društveno-političke usmjerenosti (replikama, dijalozima, ideološkim i emocionalnim narativima sudionika komunikacijske interakcije, s njima povezanim govornim činovima te uzvičnoj frazeologiji). Utvrđeni su mehanizmi tvorbe novih riječi, uključujući afiksaciju, kontaminaciju, frazeološku i imensku derivaciju te poigravanje precedentnim imenima i sl. Analiza je pokazala visok udio složenih derivata – okazionalizama nastalih na temelju slenga, jezičnog substandarda i kolokvijalnih oblika, koji u pravilu nose pejorativnu evaluaciju. Predloženi pristup omogućio je identificiranje različitih načina modeliranja jezične igre u diskursu društvenih mreža, uključujući polisemiju semantičkih struktura (povezivanje doslovnih i frazeološki vezanih značenja riječi), homonimiju, tvorbenu i paronimijsku atrakciju, figure dvostrukoga ponavljanja, aluzije, asonancu, grafičku hibridizaciju i de-formaciju te transformaciju ustaljenih izraza i dr.

KLJUČNE RIJEČI:

društvena mreža, jezična igra, komentar, lingvistička kreativnost, okazionalizam