

WORD-FORMATION AND ORIGINS OF ETHNOPHOBIC TERMS IN THE AMERICAN AND UKRAINIAN NON-STANDARD LANGUAGES

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Abstract: The article aims to outline extralinguistic factors of the emergence of American and Ukrainian ethnophobic terms and to study the means of their word-formation. The methods applied in the research include the analysis of dictionary definitions, as well as semantic, structural, conceptual, comparative, and linguocultural analyses. Metaphor, metonymy, and antonomasia are established as the semantic means of ethnophobic terms formation, whereas compounding, suffixation, clipping, and onomatopoeia – as the predominant means of structural word-formation in both American and Ukrainian non-standard languages. Blends and acronyms are established as typical of American ethnophobic terms formation only, while the combination of semantic and structural word-formation is evident in both languages. Borrowings are determined as a significant means of replenishing the corpora of ethnophobic terms in both American and Ukrainian non-standard languages.

Keywords: Ethnophobic terms, non-standard language, metaphor, metonymy, compounding, shortening

Introduction

Through the history of humankind, the international relations of people belonging to different nations, races, and religions have been engendering the whole range of feelings, among which negative ones, including suspicion, mistrust, dislike, and mere hatred, have often predominated (Díaz Legaspe, Liu, and Stainton; D'Urbino; Liu; Sellito). The negative feelings, preconditioned by various factors, among which scholars distinguish cultural, religious, mental or/and linguistic differences among people, generate hundreds and thousands of slur words characterized by prevailing negative connotations, called N-words, slurs, derogatory terms, ethnic slur terms, or ethnophobic terms (Ashwell 228-

229; Croom 30; Jdetawy 27048-49; Orlando and Saab 599-600; Wilson).¹ People's international relations have manifested not only in peaceful cooperation, like trade, commerce, cultural exchange but also in military conflicts and wars, when belligerent nations became objects of hatred as whole entities (Croom; Altwaiji; Sales).

In the era of globalization, when cultural differences seem to be gradually leveled, thus increasing overall cooperation, language behavior might be expected to grow more tolerant and amenable (Díaz Legaspe et al.; Kavalir and Chudoba 548). Nevertheless, the generation of new slur words and phrases does not seem to ebb, which is reflected in various dictionaries of non-standard languages, in particular, in the dictionaries of ethnophobic terms compiled in different languages. Slur words and phrases (ethnophobic terms) are considered to belong to non-standard language, which, in its turn, includes slang, jargon, argot, cant, taboo words and phrases. It is worth noting that slang is widely used in everyday life, except for official communication, when it, both oral and written, is unacceptable. This type of highly informal and unconventional vocabulary is normally employed as an expressive, catchy and undignified alternative to standard vocabulary to convey some extra information of a psychological, social or rhetorical nature (Liu; Wyhatt-Popa and Wyhatt 2880).

Despite numerous attempts by the scientific community and mass media to spread political correctness, slur words and phrases have widely been *popularized* by means of intercultural communication, in particular, due to massive global digitalization of the world, which gives the opportunity of access to numerous non-standard dictionaries (Liu), among which are specialized dictionaries, for example, *The Racial Slur Database (RSDB) On-line Dictionary*.

Resentment toward *strangers* is preconditioned by the stereotypical simplified vision of foreigners, which results in the appearance and usage of ethnophobic terms and can be regarded as a prejudiced attitude to or the display of xenophobia (Sviatiuk 182; Croom 34). Ethnophobic terms are considered a distinctive manifestation of xenophobia in language (Ponomarenko 265).

Some researchers emphasize the fact that American writers cultivated a negative image of some nations in the past, in particular, the image of Arabs as animal-like nomads who were irrational, untrustworthy, anti-American and potential criminals (Altwaiji 264). Moreover, the negative image of Arabs is still fostered by regular news reports about Muslim terrorists to secure support for

¹ **Warning and Excuse:** In this article, we use slur or ethnophobic terms (both words and phrases). In no way, we endorse the beliefs, perspectives or attitudes associated with their usage, nor the way and manner the individuals targeted by these slur terms are presented. All the ethnophobic terms are utilized for the purpose of this article only.

public policies affecting Muslims domestically and internationally (Orfalea; Saleem 841).

On the other hand, non-standard language, including ethnophobic terms, can be found in abundance in fiction literature and cinema, which requires adequate translation; that is possible due to the existence of ethnophobic terms in many languages (Díaz Legaspe et al.; Liu).

The paper **aims** to identify and compare quantitative and qualitative features of the word-formation means of the coinage of American and Ukrainian ethnophobic terms.

Methodology

The study is aimed at selecting and comparing American and Ukrainian (which are less numerous) ethnophobic terms from the online (*Racial Slur Database (RSDB)*) dictionary of American non-standard language and paper dictionaries of Ukrainian non-standard language (*The Dictionary of Ukrainian Youth Slang* by Pyrkalo, *The Dictionary of Ukrainian Jargon* by Stavvytska, and *The Dictionary of Modern Ukrainian Slang* by Kondratyuk).

Ethnophobic terms were selected following two criteria: 1) the reference to a national / racial group in American dictionaries and 2) the existence of corresponding ethnophobic terms denoting the same race or nation in Ukrainian dictionaries. The study is limited to American ethnophobic terms due to: 1) the necessity of restricting the number of analyzed material and 2) the omnipresent role of the USA in international affairs in all parts of the world, which secures intense cross-cultural relations with numerous nations and thus engenders a constant stream of ethnophobic terms.

While the American dictionary (*Racial Slur Database (RSDB)*) comprises ethnophobic terms denoting almost all nations, the corresponding Ukrainian dictionaries of slang include slur words denoting fewer numbers of nations, mostly those with which the Ukrainians have had intense relations in the course of history within the Russian and Austro-Hungarian Empires, the Soviet Union, Poland, and independent Ukraine.

The methods applied are chosen considering the aim, objectives, and the material of the study. They include semantic, structural, conceptual, comparative, and linguocultural analyses, as well as the analysis of the definitions provided in different dictionaries.

Discussion

Extralinguistic Conditions for Creating Ethnophobic Terms in American and Ukrainian Non-standard Languages

Ethnophobic terms appear as a result of intense cross-cultural communication within a country among people, belonging to different races and nations, as well as due to international activities. Among the most numerous

ethnophobic terms in the American non-standard language are words and phrases denoting African Americans (925), Jews (539), Arabs (116), Mixed races (126), Asians (118), Native Americans (79), Hispanics (Latin Americans) (73), Mexicans (65), Indians (65), Chinese (57), Italians (55), Irish (49), Germans (32), Canadians (31), Japanese (30), and others.

According to the population census of 2019, the African Americans constituted 13.4% of the total population of the United States, including more than 45 million people (ACS Demographic and Housing Estimates). Although the last segregation laws were overturned in 1964, the centuries of slavery and segregation fostered derogatory, and ironic and superior attitudes of the White-skinned majority to the Americans of African origin and mulattos. Therefore, a great number of slur words and phrases have appeared. The majority of such words include iterative components – *black*: *Black Barbie*; *black magic*; *blackie*; *black time*; *Blacky Chan* and – *nigger*: *buck nigger*; *canigger*; *field nigger*; *house nigger*; *niggerino*; *niggerette*; *niggerachi*; *niggeroid*; *nigglet*; *nignorant*; *nigonometry*; *nigra*; *ningress*; *nigloo*; *schwarzernigger*.

The cross-cultural contacts of Ukrainians and Africans have been limited to the field of education, where African students have been common in Ukrainian educational establishments and trade (there are many Africans working at the Ukrainian markets). Nevertheless, the number of slur words and phrases in the Ukrainian non-standard language is 19, which ranks it first among other Ukrainian ethnophobic terms: *чорнопикий* (*black-muzzled*), *рулон толі* (*roll of tar paper*), *чорномазій* (*black-colored*), *негритос* (*negritos*), *нігерман* (*niggerman*), *білосніжка* (*Cinderella*), *лумумба* (*Lumumba*), *шоколадка* (*chocolate*), etc.

Asian Americans include only people of East and South-east Asian origin and reached the number of about 21 million (6.5% of the total US population) in 2018 (ACS), among whom Chinese, Japanese, Vietnamese, Koreans, Indians, and Filipinos predominate, and have corresponding slur names. Thus, the Chinese have been numerous immigrants since the mid-1800-s and the people of Chinese ancestry constituted 1.5% of the total US population in 2018 (ACS), which makes them the most numerous people of Asian origin in America. Unlike European major powers, the United States of America did not have its sphere of influence in China in the 19-th and 20-th centuries. The Americans tried to prevent Europeans and Japanese from dismembering China into Japanese and European colonies, hence helping the Chinese to preserve at least formal independence. The Americans also assisted the Chinese in their struggle against Japanese invaders. However, after WW2, America supported the government of Chiang Kai-shek against Mao Tse-Tung, also known as Mao Zedong. During that period, the slur words and phrases, such as *Chang-Ke*, *Mao*, *red monkeys*, *Gong Fei* (*communist bastard* in Chinese), appeared.

The Japanese began migrating to America during the Meiji restoration period in 1868 and were not very significant, compared to immigrants from other countries. The US citizens of Japanese origin were about 774.000 in 2018, which is 0.2% of the total US population (ACS). The main internal factor, contributing to the deterioration of cross-cultural relations, was WW2 against Japan and the United States being belligerent sides, which engendered the following slurs: *bomb watcher*, *harbor-bomber*; *kamikaze*, *Nagasaki*, *tojo*.

East Asians have never been numerous in Ukraine, mostly students from Vietnam during the Soviet period and since the independence of Ukraine. In the 2000-s, Vietnamese often traded at the markets of big Ukrainian cities. Nonetheless, the slur words *жовтопузий* (*yellow-bellied*), *жовтопукий* (*yellow-muzzled*), *вузькоокий* (*slant-eyed*), *азиака* (*aziaka*) denoting people of East Asian origin, as well as *кутайоза* (*kitayoza*) denoting Chinese, are in use in the Ukrainian non-standard language.

The number of American ethnophobic terms denoting Arabs is 116 (The Racial Slur Database). Furthermore, some terms even constitute lexico-semantic groups with iterative components, for example: *camel cowboy*, *camel jockey*, *camel jacker*, etc. Motivated by a biased attitude to people of Arab descent, a great number of slurs refer to them as potential terrorists: *bomb-builder*, *box-cutter* (*reference to September 11th*), *center-denter*, *firecracker*, *jacker* (many hijackings over the past 25 years were allegedly made by Arabs), *osama*, etc.

Unlike the USA, Ukraine has never been in favor with people of Arab origin in terms of any significant immigration. There have been students from different Arabic countries, mostly during the period of the USSR, but even they have never been numerous in Ukraine. Consequently, there are only two ethnophobic terms in the Ukrainian language: *арабеск* (*arabesque*) and *абдун* (*Abdul*). It is not possible to consider these terms offensive, as *arabesque* means *a typical oriental pattern*, *Abdul* is a widely-spread name or last name in Arab countries. Ukrainians have never shown any prejudiced attitude to Arabs, as people who tend to generate terrorists.

On the contrary, people of the Caucasian region (Armenians, Azerbaijani, Georgians, etc.) as representatives of other republics of the Soviet Union have been named as *хач* (*hach*), *хачик* (*hachyk*), *абрек* (*borrowed, lit. robber*), *банабак* (*banabak*), *носоріз* (*rhinoceros*), Azerbaijani as *айзер* (*aizer*), *азік* (*azik*), *азербон* (*azerbon*), and Armenians, being the most numerous and most ancient (settled in Ukraine since the 13-th century) among Caucasian ethnic groups, – *ара* (*ara*), *арік* (*arik*), *армен* (*arman*), *хач* (*hach*), *хачик* (*hachyk*). People from Central Asia (Kazakhs, Uzbeks, Tadjiks, and Turkmens) have been traditionally named as *чурка* (*churka* – *piece of wood*), *чуркістан* (*churkistan* – *piece of wood land*), *урюк* (*uryuk* – *dried apricots*), *чіча* (*chicha*), *чума* (*plague*), *чучмек* (*chuchmek*), *щупий* (*slanty*).

Russians, Poles, and Jews are the most numerically represented national minority in the Ukrainian non-standard language after Africans and Asians. It is possible to explain this fact due to constant intensive relations of the Ukrainians with these nations. The relations between the Russians and the Ukrainians have fluctuated from peaceful coexistence within single states (the Russian Empire, later the Soviet Union) to the open military belligerence (siege and massacre of hetman Mazepa's capital Baturyn by the army of Menshykov in 1708, the Soviet-Ukrainian War of 1917-1921, and the aggression of the Russian Federation against Ukraine starting since 2013). These uneven relations have engendered the following ethnophobic terms: *кацап (katsap)*, *кацапура (katsapura)*, *кацалап (katsalap)*, *москаль (moskal)*, *лапотник (bast shoe)*, *коробочник (korobochnik)*, *маркитан (markitan)*, *пилипон (pylypon)*, *ватник (quilted jacket)*, *раша (Russia)*, and others.

Similarly, the relations between the Ukrainians and the Poles differentiated in the course of history of their neighborhood from living peacefully in the confines of Rzeczpospolita in 1569-1795 and 1918-1939 to the Cossack-Polish War of 1648-1657, the Polish-Ukrainian War of 1918-1919, and finally, to the times of the strategic partnership nowadays. Consequently, the ethnophobic terms, including *бзденик (farter)*, *зденек (zdenek)*, *подляк (podlyak)*, *пшек (pshek)*, *лях (lyah)*, *пацьки (podlyak)* appeared.

Jews have been living in Ukraine and playing important social, cultural and political roles within the country since the times of Kyivan Rus'. The coexistence of the two nations has not always been peaceful and sometimes even resulted in pogroms. The ethnophobic terms denoting people of Jewish origin are *жид (zhyd)*, *аїд (aiid)*, *маланець (malanets)*, *щирий українець (authentic Ukrainian)*, *Ізя (Izya)*, *Сарочка (Sarochka)*, *абраша (Abrasha)*; *плюшкін (Pliushkin)*. The quantity of ethnophobic terms denoting Jewish people in the American substandard is 539 (RSDB). This number is explained by a very significant Jewish population in America, which was estimated at between 5.5 million and 8 million, constituting between 1.7% and 2.6% of the total US population (Dashefsky and Shekin 175).

Therefore, the coinage of ethnophobic terms is closely connected with the degree of intensity in relations of people of the dominant culture and ethnic minorities within a single state, as well as with international relations, ranging from friendship and cooperation to open hostilities, including military conflicts and wars.

Numerical Differences of American and Ukrainian Ethnophobic Terms

The numerical comparison of American and Ukrainian ethnophobic terms shows a great discrepancy in thousands of Americans and only about one hundred of Ukrainian racial and ethnic slur words. This insignificant number of ethnophobic terms in Ukrainian is accounted for by several reasons: 1) the

Ukrainians have mostly been restricted to the confines of Europe in their close contacts with the neighbors; their historical relations have been accorded within the Soviet Union or other states of which the Ukrainians were a part. Ukraine (both being a Soviet republic and an independent state) always invited foreign students (mostly from African and Asian countries); 2) the long-lasting impact of the policy of linguistic Russification in Ukraine has led to the situation of oppressing the Ukrainian language in the USSR and even in the independent Ukraine, which resulted in a slow development of all strata of the language, including Ukrainian slang. The constant influence of the Russian language on the Ukrainian one and vice versa partially explains the fact that many Ukrainian ethnophobic terms structurally and semantically coincide with Russian ethnophobic terms; though, it does not necessarily mean that they all have been borrowed.

On the contrary, as the United States has been the major political and economic power since WW1 and even the only superpower since the demise of the bipolar world, the Americans have been present in all countries of the world, exerting political and economic might. This prolonged omnipresence of the Americans has resulted in thousands of ethnophobic terms naming representatives of all races and a very significant number of nations. Moreover, America has always been a *melting pot* where immigrants from different parts of the world have been undergoing a long period of linguistic and cultural adaptation, temporarily contrasting their identity with the predominant American Anglo-Saxon majority.

However, these numbers are limited to the slur words and phrases registered by dictionaries (Racial Slur Database (RSDB; Pyrkalo; Stavytska; Kondratyuk), while occasional ethnophobic terms, which have not been enlisted in the dictionaries due to their infrequent usage, could increase the number of ethnophobic terms considerably in both English and Ukrainian languages.

As the paper aims to compare and analyze lexis naming the representatives of nations and races, which have ethnophobic terms in both languages, it is significant to single out the following races: Africans, Asians, and the following nations: Americans, Russians, Polish, Czech, Italians, French, British, Spanish, Jews, Japanese, Chinese, Armenians, and Hungarians.

The table below includes all Ukrainian ethnophobic terms selected from the dictionaries of Ukrainian slang by Pyrkalo, Stavytska, Kondratyuk and an insignificant part of American ethnophobic terms denoting the same races and ethnicities, selected from the Racial Slur Database on-line dictionary.

Table 1. American and Ukrainian ethnophobic terms

Race or nationality	American ethnophobic terms		Ukrainian ethnophobic terms	
	Number	Word or phrase	Number	Word or phrase
American (USA)	47	<i>A.I., Jumbo Jaws, Buddy Blaster, Septic Tank, Yankee Doodle</i>	6	<i>америкос, америкашка, американо, макдональдс</i>
Asian	118	<i>Simpson, Table Face, Woggle, Yellow Devil, UFO</i>	12	<i>жовтопузий, вузькоокий, азіака, урюк, чіча</i>
Arab	116	<i>Urban Turban, Terrorist, Sun Goblin, Double D, 7-11</i>	2	<i>Арабеск, абдул</i>
African and Black American	929	<i>Antique Farm Equipment, Banjo Lips, Billy Reuben, Chocolate Drop, Hendrix</i>	19	<i>чорнопикий, білосніжка, зефір, лумумба, сніжок</i>
Ukrainian	7	<i>Dub, kogut, perogy, ukey, onionhead</i>	4	<i>Хохол, малорос, укр, укроп, бандера</i>
Russian	26	<i>Vanilla Asian, Ruble Head, Sputnik, Natasha, Rasputin</i>	9	<i>Кацап, москаль, лапотник, пилипон, ватнік</i>
People from the Caucasian region (Georgia, Azerbaijan, Armenia)	0		6	<i>Хач, хачик, абрек, банабак, носоріг</i>
Armenian	9	<i>Arm Pits, Glendale, Kabob, Rabiz, Walking Carpet</i>	5	<i>Ара, арік, армен, хач, хачик</i>
Azerbaijani	1	<i>Azeri</i>	3	<i>айзер, азік, азербон</i>
Jew	539	<i>Morta Cristo, Penny Chaser, Pinocchio, Red Sea Pedestrian, Zhidan</i>	9	<i>жид, аїд, маланець, ізя, сарочка</i>
Polish	11	<i>Chuck, cleaning lady, DP, hunyak, polski</i>	6	<i>зденок, подляк, пшек, лях, пацьки</i>
Czech	3	<i>Checker back, cheskey, pepik</i>	1	<i>пепічка</i>

Hungarian	6	<i>Bohun, bozgor, gadzso, goulash, hunkie</i>	1	<i>мадяр</i>
British	23	<i>Guffie, Island Monkey, Fog-Breather, Limey, Rosbif</i>	1	<i>брит</i>
French	18	<i>Crouton, Crapaud, Turtleneck, Kermit, Tad Pole</i>	2	<i>Жабодд, франсуа</i>
Italian	55	<i>Calzone, Garlic Bread, Grape-Smasher, Katzenfresser, Tony Soprano</i>	6	<i>Італьяшка, макаронник, італьяно, капоне, мачо</i>
Spanish	4	<i>Dago, uda, harnego, yerd</i>	1	<i>іспан</i>
German	32	<i>Adolf, Bosch, Hans Bitterman, Kaiser, Kartoffel</i>	9	<i>Німчура, німак, фріц, герман, дойч, штандартен фюрер</i>
Belarusian	0		6	<i>Бацька, бульбоід, бульбаш, гомельлрев, сябр</i>
Gypsy	4	<i>Cygan, etnikum, gyp / gip</i>	2	<i>будулай, аза</i>
Chinese	57	<i>Bamboo Coon, Chankoro, Chinksta, Dancing Dragon, Mao</i>	2	<i>Китайоза, суньхуйвчай</i>
Japanese	30	<i>Bomb Watcher, Godzilla Snack, Hentai, Kamikaze, Nippopotomus</i>	2	<i>Япошка, якудза</i>
Afghan	3	<i>Bee-keeper, locust-eater, nanner</i>	1	<i>душман</i>
Total number	2038		117	

Therefore, the table demonstrates that only 117 Ukrainian ethnophobic terms denoting 22 races and nations correspond to 2038 American ethnophobic terms. The table also includes 6 ethnophobic terms denoting Belorussian people that do not have corresponding American ethnophobic terms. The above table does not include American ethnophobic terms that have no corresponding Ukrainian ethnophobic terms.

Word-formation and Etymology of Ethnophobic Terms

Ethnophobic terms in both languages have a bright connotative component of meaning with predominant pejorative coloring, stipulated by derogatory, ironic, superior, and negative stereotypical attitudes to other national and racial minorities.

Ethnophobic terms are coined in compliance with the word-formation rules of the languages, in particular, with the rules of substandard word-formation. Such ways of word-formation, as blending, acronyms, compounding, and suffixes typical of non-standard (including borrowed suffixes), and borrowings from other languages predominate in the American non-standard language. In the Ukrainian non-standard language, suffixation is a leading way of word-formation, employing both Ukrainian and borrowed suffixes. Compounds and acronyms are less numerous; borrowings are mostly from the Russian language. However, recently the number of the borrowed words from English has been increasing. Frequently, the process of borrowing new words in the Ukrainian slang is combined with native suffixes etc. Furthermore, the common linguistic feature in the American and Ukrainian non-standard languages is a wide usage of metaphor, metonymy, and often their combination. Metaphorical or/and metonymical meanings are evident in the words of variable structure: compounds, acronyms, or suffixed words.

Unlike stylistically neutral ethnic terms, ethnophobic terms always have a bright expressive figurative meaning conveyed by metaphor, metonymy or other associations, which refers a speaker or listener to certain extralinguistic information (physical or anthropological feature, historical or well-known event, famous or well-known personality or situation, habit or custom, etc.) underpinning the appearance of ethnophobic terms. This makes ethnophobic terms a significant means of preserving important extralinguistic information.

In both languages, metaphor, metonymy, and antonomasia are the most important means of semantic word-formation, while compounding, affixation, clipping, and onomatopoeia are the prevailing means of structural word-formation (Plag; Strazny; Malmkjær; Dawson and Phelan; Ratih and Gusdian; Horpynych; Taranenko; Ponomarenko; Styshov). Blending and acronyms are established only in American ethnophobic terms. Borrowings are an essential source of the replenishment of the ethnophobic terms corpora in both languages.

Semantic Word-formation

Metaphor is one of the leading semantic word-forming means applied to create American and Ukrainian ethnophobic terms. Among the corpus of Ukrainian ethnophobic terms, the following ones have obvious metaphorical meanings: *чобіт* (*boot*), *білосніжка губаста* (*big-lipped Cinderella*), *мавпа* (*monkey*), *зефір* (*marshmallow*), *сніжок* (*snowflake*), *шоколадка* (*chocolate*), *подляк* (*tean*), *пацьки* (*piglets*).

There are thousands of metaphorized ethnophobic terms in the American non-standard language: *dancing dragon*; *forty-fiver*; *red monkey* – Chinese; *turtleneck* – French (many Frenchmen are uncircumcised); *butterfingers* – French; *button-head*; *cow-kisser*; *elephant jockey* – Indian; *carrot top*; *fire crotch*; *pot-licker* (during the potato famine, Irish would lick their pots clean to get every last morsel of food) – Irish; *grease-ball*; *hothead*; *meat-ball*; *pizza-nigger*; *spaghetti-slurper* – Italian; *bukakke warrior*; *butterhead* – Japanese; *clip-tip* (reference to circumcision); *hooknose* – Jew (RSDB).

In the American non-standard language, some words are used for the coinage of many compound slurs that are simultaneously metaphorized. The examples of such slur words are the component *-monkey*: *red monkey* – Chinese; *island monkey*; *fog monkey* – British; *surrender monkeys* – French; *tailless monkeys* – Filipinos; *ice monkey* – Finnish; *mangrove monkey* – Black. The component *-nigger* has its original meaning almost erased and renders only derogatory connotation: *olive nigger*; *pineapple nigger*; *lava nigger*; *border nigger*; *napkin nigger*.

Metonymy also plays a significant role in the formation of ethnophobic terms in both languages: *жовтопузий* (*yellow-bellied*), *жовтопикий* (*yellow-faced*), *чорнопикий* (*black-faced*), *чорномазий* (*black-colored*), *чорносракий* (*black-assed*), *нігер* (*nigger*), *нігерман* (*niggerman*), *снікерс* (*Snickers bar*), *шоколадка* (*chocolate*). The basic feature, underlying metonymy, is the color of the skin, as one of the most distinctive characteristics of people of a certain race or nationality. That explains the fact that the predominant colors are *black* and *yellow* in Ukrainian. However, there are other colors, triggering coinage of American slur words and phrases, for example, and the *brown* color: *brown trumpets* – Black American jazz musicians or *brownie* (Black American) (RSDB). In the ethnophobic term *ink-face*, a metaphorical word *ink-* is combined with a metonymy *-face*. The *blue* color is observed in the term *blue gums* (it refers to a myth that a person bitten by a Black turns blue before dying (RSDB)). Another possible motivation is the bluish color of the Africans' gums. Such colors as *purple*, *red*, and *white* are less typical for denoting people of African origin: *chalkie*; *snowflake*; *eggplant* – a slur used mainly by Italians, *papolo* – Hawaiian for *purple*; *redbone* – a slur used by Black Americans to denote those Blacks with lighter complexion; *high yellow* – the same (RSDB). Other colors and shades employed in the coinage of American slur words and phrases are: *ashy*; *bourbon*; *burnt cracker*; *burnt toast*; *chocolate drop*; *chocolate-covered marshmallow*; *cocoa puff*; *cotton ball*; *maroon*; *pink-heel*; *smoke*; *smokey*; *vanilla gorilla* – a black guy who acts like a white.

In many slur words and phrases, metaphor and metonymy can be combined within one word or phrase: *shnozzle* (*Jews have large noses, or shnozzes*); *forty-fiver* – Asian; *carrot top*; *fire crotch* – Irish; *hothead* – Italian; *butter-head* – Japanese; *clip-tip*; *hooknose* – Jew.

Antonomasia, a kind of metonymy, where a proper name is used to name people, is often applied in both the American and Ukrainian non-standard languages and sometimes constitute corresponding pairs: *fritz* – *фріц* (German); *German* – *герман* (German); *плюшкин* (referencing to a greedy character of Gogol's novel)² (Jew). Other antonomastic words in the Ukrainian non-standard language include the following: *лумумба* (African); *капоне* (Italian); *сарочка* (a Jewish woman); *армен*; *хач*; *хачик* (Armenian); *бандера* (a Ukrainian from Western Ukraine); *будулай* (a Gypsy man); *аза* (a Gypsy woman)³; *франсуа* – French.

Some American ethnophobic terms are coined antonomastically: *Chang-Ke*, *Mao* – Chinese; *Goldberg* – Jews; *bin Laden*; *Muhammad*, *Mohammed*, *Osama*, *Alladin* – Arabs; *Casabooboo* (from 1960s African leader Joseph Casa-Vubu) – Black; *Mulan* (a female character in a Chinese story and film) – Chinese; *Hitler* – German; *Othello* – a Black man who dates a white woman; *Gandhi* – Indian; *Natasha* – a Russian woman or girl; *Rasputin*, *Ivan* – Russian; *Hochi*, *Viet Cong* – Vietnamese, and others.

Structural Word-formation

Compounding, i.e. the word-formation by means of combining two independent structurally simple or affixed words, is of great significance in forming American ethnophobic terms, for instance, *frog-eater* (French are well-known to adore eating frogs); *pan-face* (Chinese having pan-like faces); *bushmen* (Arabs living in the areas with no or very poor vegetation); *bomb-builder* or *box-cutter* (as a result of the September 11th attacks, Arabs are referred to terrorists); *camel-cowboy*, *camel jockey* (Arabs, who usually ride camels as a means of transport); *six-nose*, *nickel nose*, or *hooknose* (Jews having long noses); *rail-hopper* (American authorities send Chinese to build railroads in the USA in the 19th century); *penny-chaser* (Jews who are very greedy); *matza-gobbler* (Jews eat matza, which is unleavened bread). The US soldiers used terms *harbor-bomber* and *butter-head* to name the Japanese who attacked Pearl Harbor in 1941, thus making America go to the Second World War. The term *butter-head* emphasized that Japanese have a yellow tone of skin, which resembles butter. The US movie industry, producing different films during the war period, popularized the use of the above-mentioned terms in America.

Many ethnophobic terms appeared during WW2 to name the Jews, including *firewood*, *oven-dweller*, *oven-backed*, and *snowflake*. The Nazis burnt Jews in special cameras since the former regarded the latter as an inferior race.

² Main characters in popular Soviet films *Gypsy* (1979) and *Aza, the Gipsy* (1988).

³ Gogol, Mykola, the well-known writer and the author of *Dead Souls*, first published in 1844.

The term *snowflake* comes from the film *Schindler's List* by Steven Spielberg.⁴ The Germans used other slurs to nickname the French army soldiers who easily surrendered during the Second World War.

Some compounds can have rhyming components, which is typical of American ethnophobic terms: *pajama mamma*; *urban turban*; *magila gorilla*; *dot-knot*; *cliptip*. The connotation of the slurs with rhyming stems is reinforced by their metaphorical or metonymical meaning.

Compounding is also widely used to create Ukrainian ethnophobic terms. However, a typical feature of compounding in the Ukrainian language and in the Ukrainian substandard language, in particular, is that the Ukrainian compound slur words are usually combined with suffixes. This way of word-formation is also known as parasynthesis: *жовтопикий* (Chinese or Asians); *вузькоокий* (Asians); *чорнопикий*, *чорномазий* (Africans who came to the former USSR to go to different educational institutions); *жабоїд* (French people due to their cuisine preferences). The Ukrainian compound slur words are usually formed with the help of the linking vowel *-o*, which connects the components within a compound word, for example, *жовтопикий*, *вузькоокий* (Asians having the yellow tone of skin and narrow eyes); *чорнопикий*, *чорномазий*, *чорносракий*, *чорножопий* (Africans who have the black color of skin). It is evident that in the majority of the analyzed cases, structural compounding is combined with semantic word-formation, employing metonymy or metaphor.

Shortening or clipping is one of the word-forming processes when either initial, final or both segments of the word are purposely deleted or omitted. It is observed in a great number of American ethnophobic terms: *jap* (from *Japanese*); *nip* (the shortened version of the *Nipponese* used to name *Japanese*); *kano*, a Pilipino slangy word for Americans (from *Americano*); *brew* (from Hebrew); *boche* (from *alcaboche* or *cabbage-headed*; the French called the German in the Second World War); *yom* (from the holiday Yom Kippur, also known as the Day of Atonement in Judaism); *heeb* or *hebe* (from Hebrew); *goloid* (from Mongoloid) (RSDB). This type of ethnophobic terms formation is found only in several Ukrainian slur words: *брум* (from stylistically neutral ethnic term *британець*), *іспан* (from stylistically neutral ethnic term *іспанець*), *нем* (from stylistically neutral ethnic term *німець*).

Blending is another type of word-formation, where initial and terminal segments of two words are joined together to create a novel term, for instance, *Yelvis* (*yellow* + *Elvis*) – an Asian; *yigger* (*yellow* + *nigger*); *American't* (from *American* and *cannot*); *vodkalky* (*Vodka* and *alcoholics*); *junk* (from *Japanese* and *yankee*, a Japanese who lives in America); *Ikey-Mo* (*Isaac Moses*); *Hebro* (from *Hebrew* and *brother*, or *Hebrew* and *Negro*); *Jewbrew* (from *Hebrew* and *Jew*);

⁴ As displayed in *Schindler's List* (1993), when the Jews were burnt in the cameras, their ashes were coming out the smokestacks.

Jewpidity (from *Jewish* and *stupidity*); *Yiddiot* (from *Yiddish* and *Idiot*); *Africoon* (from *African* and *Coon*) (RSDB). On the contrary, the following type of word-formation has not been established in any Ukrainian ethnophobic terms.

Acronyms or **abbreviation** as a kind of shortening is a very popular way of the coinage of slur words and phrases in the American non-standard language, but no examples are found in the corpus of the Ukrainian ethnophobic terms. The vivid examples of the acronyms and abbreviations used in American English are as follows: *AA* (African American); *ABC* (American born Chinese); *CBC* (Canadian Born Chinese); *BBC* (British born Chinese); *O.T.W* (Other Than White); *TNB* (Typical Nigger Behavior); *San* (Stupid as Nigger); *MOB* (Morbidly Obese Body); *P.O.A* (Previously Owned American); *Bun* (Big Ugly Nigger); *TAP* (Typical American Prick); *BMO* (Black Moving Object); *NASA* (North American Street Ape); *JAP* (Jewish American Princess); *BAP* (Black American Princess); *IROC* (Italian Retards Our Cruising); *SBH* (Straight Black Hair); *YBM* (Yong Black Male) (RSDB). The acronym *Yen* (Yellow-eyed Nigger) refers to male Blacks who have the whites of the eyes become yellow due to drug abuse. *AMF* (*Arbeit Mach Frei*) is one of the slur words used to name the Jews. The translation of the complete form of the acronym from German means *Work Brings Freedom*.⁵

Therefore, it is possible to conclude that blending and acronyms or abbreviations are widely utilized to form ethnophobic terms in English, but they are not used to create slur words in Ukrainian.

Affixation, in our case suffixation, is one of the means of word-formation in both American and Ukrainian non-standard languages. The suffixes used to create ethnophobic terms are characteristic of both standard and substandard types of language. The most frequently used suffix in forming slur words in English is *-er (or)*. The following suffix has several meanings, including *the doer of the action* or *the object t used to do something* (Open Etymology Dictionary). The most productive models are as follows: $V + er (or) = N$ or $N + er (or) = N$. For example, such slur words as *Jew Yorker* (since many Jews reside in New York); *nipper* (Japanese people, also referred to as Nippon, which is an unofficial name of Japan, meaning *the place where the sun rises*); *nanner* (Afghans whose favorite bread is called Nann) are formed in accordance with the model $N + er (or) = N$. The ethnophobic terms, including *Bible-shortener*, *Christ killer*, *Jesus killer* (Jews); *snail-snapper* (French); *Jew-burner* or *Jew killer* (Germans) are formed by means of compounding and adding the suffix *-er*. The term *Bible-shortener* appeared due to the difference between the Jewish Bible and the Christian one. The former does not include the *New Testament*, whereas the latter does. German soldiers used other compound words, such as *rifle-dropper*,

⁵ The following slogan was put on the gates of one of the concentration camps built by the Nazis to slaughter Jews in Auschwitz, Poland.

six-weeker or *whiteflagger*, to nickname the French who quickly surrender in wars or military conflicts during the 19-th and 20-th centuries.

The derogatory suffix *-ie* is also frequently used to create new slur words: *blackie*; *buppie*; *chalkie*, *homie*; *hootie* – Blacks; *twinkie* (Asian); *muzzie* (Arab); *towlie* (Arab); *koshie* (Jew); *bulgie* – Belgian, etc. Some other suffixes can also be found, for instance, the suffix *-ian*: *stinkian* – Armenian.

A widely used suffix in creating slur terms in Ukrainian is *-ник* (*нік*), meaning *the doer of the action*, for instance, *макаронник* (Italians who like eating pasta), *лапотник* (Russians who wore specific shoes made of plant fiber) (Мойсценко et al. 120-121).

However, the corpus of Ukrainian ethnophobic terms includes some suffixes that are typical of non-standard language and are not employed to create stylistically neutral words. Such suffixes render bright connotative meaning of the slur words: suffixes *-аша/ашка*: *америкашка*; *італьяшка*; *абраша/абрашка*; suffix *-ек*: *чучмек*; *абрек*; *зденек*; *пшек*; suffixes *-ак/як*: *банабак*; *подляк*; suffix *-ос*: *негритос*; *америкос*; *малорос*; suffix *-ура*: *німчура*; *кацапура*; suffix *-ан*: *маркітан*; *балабан*; suffix *-ака*: *азгіака*; suffix *-юк*: *зюзюк*; suffix *-оза*: *китайоза* (Горпуньч 10-39; Krysin 5; Styshov 133).

Ономатопоеія, i.e. the formation of a word from a sound associated with what is named, can be found in many American ethnophobic terms: *durka-durka*; *hucka-lucka* – Arab; *Ho De Doz* – Black (from the way Black porters in big hotels pronounced *Hold the doors*); *choo-choo* – Chinese (Chinese immigrants helped build the Pacific railroad); *buk-buk* – Filipinos; *halee-halaa* – Indians, etc.

In the corpus of Ukrainian ethnophobic terms, three slur words created by onomatopoeia are established: *пшек* is associated with hissing sounds in the Polish language; *шпрехен* comes from the German word *sprechen*, meaning *to speak*.

Borrowings are abundant in the corpus of American slur words and phrases: *abeed* – Black African (an Arabic word, meaning *black*); *schlitzauge* – Asian (from the German word, meaning *eye like a slit*); *chiquita* (*girlie* from Spanish); *el chino* (*Chinese* from Spanish); *czaurnuch* (*black* from Polish); *kala* (*black* from Hindu); *kooshi* (Hebrew for *Africans*); *kurochan* (Japanese for *black children*); *schwartz* (Yiddish for *black*); *jjanggae* (Korean slur term denoting *Chinese*); *kartoffel* – German (a German word for *potato*); *kaaskop* – Dutch (a Dutch word for *cheese head*); *sassenach* – English (Gaelic for *Southerner or Saxon*); *cabezita negra* – Hispanic (*black head* from Spanish); *chico* – Hispanic (*boy* from Spanish); *mojado* – Hispanic (*wet*, meaning *drunk*, from Spanish); *babu* – Indian (*child* from Hindu), etc.

The following borrowings can be found in the corpus of Ukrainian slur words and phrases: *америкен*, *американо*, *америкос*, *янкі*; *нігер*, *нігерман*, *ара*, *арік*, *італьяно*, *дойч*, *хач*, *хачик*. The analysis of the borrowed slur words shows that the majority of the Ukrainian slurs are borrowings of stylistically

neutral ethnic terms (except for *нізер* and *нізерман*). The words *apa* and *apik* come from the Armenian language and are used as a friendly address to a person of male gender in Armenia. The word *apik* is an adapted variant of *apa* to the Ukrainian and Russian languages, in which the suffix *-ik* is utilized (Horpynych 38-39).

Therefore, metonymy, metaphor, and antonomasia are the most important means of semantic word-formation, whereas are compounding, affixation, onomatopoeia and clipping are the widespread means of structural word-formation in both languages. Acronyms and blends are established only in American ethnophobic terms. Borrowings are an important source that contributes to the corpora of ethnophobic terms in both languages. The Ukrainian ethnophobic terms include a wider range of suffixes, many of which are typically non-standard language suffixes, rendering pejorative derogatory connotations. In many cases, structural word-formation is combined with semantic word-formation (metaphor, metonymy, or both), which contributes to the bright expressive meaning of American and Ukrainian ethnophobic terms. Some American compounds have rhyming components within their morphological structure, which also contributes to their expressive meaning.

Conclusion

Being a part of non-standard language, ethnophobic terms are preconditioned by stereotypical visions of and prejudiced attitudes to people of different races or nations and considered the manifestation of xenophobia in language. The era of globalization has not leveled cultural and mental differences and thus the quantity of ethnophobic terms continue to appear. The coinage of ethnophobic terms is closely connected with the degree of intensity in relations of people of the dominant culture, and national minorities within a single country, as well as with international relations, ranging from cooperation and friendship to open hostility, including wars and military conflicts. As evident from the comparative analysis, 22 races and ethnicities are denoted by 117 Ukrainian ethnophobic terms, whereas the same races and ethnicities are presented by 2038 American ethnophobic terms.

In both languages, the most important means of semantic word-formation are metaphor, antonomasia, and metonymy, while the prevailing means of structural word-formation are clipping, compounding, onomatopoeia, and suffixation. Blends and acronyms or abbreviations are established only in the corpus of American ethnophobic terms. Borrowings are an important source for replenishing the corpora of ethnophobic terms in both languages. The Ukrainian ethnophobic terms include a great variety of suffixes, many of which are typically non-standard language suffixes, rendering pejorative and derogatory connotations. In many cases, structural word-formation is closely combined with

semantic word-formation, hence contributing to the bright and unique expressive meaning of the American and Ukrainian ethnophobic terms.

Future research may focus on studying the cases of translation of ethnophobic terms used in fiction, news, social media, and movies as well as suggesting the best ways of slurs translation in the Ukrainian language.

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**СЛОВОТВОРЕННЯ ТА ПОХОДЖЕННЯ ЕТНОФОБІЗМІВ В АНГЛІЙСЬКІЙ ТА
УКРАЇНСЬКІЙ НЕСТАНДАРТНИХ МОВАХ**

Мета статті полягає у встановленні екстралінгвістичних факторів появи американських та українських етнофобізмів та вивченні способів їх словотворення та походження. Методи, використанні у дослідженні, включають аналіз словникових дефініцій, а також семантичний, структурний, концептуальний, порівняльний та лінгвокультурологічний аналізи. Встановлено, що метафора, метонімія та антономазія є семантичними засобами творення етнофобізмів, а словоскладання, суфіксація, ономапія (звукослідування) та усичення виявились основними засобами структурного словотворення в обох мовах. Виявлено, що акроніми та блендінг є типовими для творення американських етнофобізмів, а поєднання семантичного та структурного словотворення спостерігається в обох мовах. Запозичення виявились основним засобом поповнення корпусів етнофобізмів в американській та українській мовах.

Ключові слова: етнофобізми, нестандартна мова, метафора, метонімія, словоскладання, усичення