

**LANGUAGE PLAY TECHNIQUES IN MASS MEDIA: THE USE OF
OCCASIONALISMS IN PUBLICISTIC TEXTS**

***TÉCNICAS DE JOGO DE LINGUAGEM NA MÍDIA DE MASSA: O USO DE
OCASIONALISMOS EM TEXTOS PÚBLICOS***

***TÉCNICAS DE JUEGO DE IDIOMAS EN LOS MEDIOS DE
COMUNICACIÓN: EL USO DE OCASIONALES EN TEXTOS PÚBLICOS***

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ABSTRACT: The article analyzes graphic occasionalisms created through the graphic instruments of language play. The material for the study includes the new formations taken from the texts of the modern Russian-language publicistic discourse. The studied material shows that capitalization as one of the techniques of graphic language play is widely represented in the texts of mass media. The novelty of the study lies in the fact that, unlike other works, it examines modern graphic occasionalisms formed through the combination of capitalization and other methods of graphic play: polycodification, reduplication, holophrasis, and the techniques associated with the division of the usual word in different ways. The practical material allows for the analysis of the linguistic situation of the present period of time.

KEYWORDS: Publicistic discourse. Mass media. Language play. Ways of graphic transformation. Graphic occasionalism. Capitalization.

RESUMO: *O artigo analisa occasionalismos gráficos criados por meio dos instrumentos gráficos do jogo de linguagem. O material para o estudo inclui as*

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novas formações extraídas dos textos do discurso publicitário moderno em língua russa. O material estudado mostra que a capitalização como uma das técnicas de jogo da linguagem gráfica está amplamente representada nos textos dos meios de comunicação de massa. A novidade do estudo reside no fato de que, diferentemente de outras obras, examina ocasionalismos gráficos modernos formados pela combinação de maiúsculas e outros métodos de jogo gráfico: policodificação, reduplicação, holofrase e as técnicas associadas à divisão da palavra usual de maneiras diferentes. O material prático permite a análise da situação linguística da época atual.

PALAVRAS-CHAVE: *Discurso publicitário. Mídia de massa. Jogo de linguagem. Formas de transformação gráfica. Ocasionalismo gráfico. Capitalização.*

RESUMEN: *El artículo analiza los ocasionalismos gráficos creados a través de los instrumentos gráficos del juego del lenguaje. El material para el estudio incluye las nuevas formaciones tomadas de los textos del discurso publicitario moderno en lengua rusa. El material estudiado muestra que la capitalización como una de las técnicas de juego del lenguaje gráfico está ampliamente representada en los textos de los medios de comunicación de masas. La novedad del estudio radica en que, a diferencia de otros trabajos, examina ocasionalismos gráficos modernos formados mediante la combinación de mayúsculas y otros métodos de juego gráfico: policodificación, reduplicación, holofrasis y las técnicas asociadas a la división de la palabra habitual. En maneras diferentes. El material práctico permite analizar la situación lingüística del momento actual.*

PALABRAS CLAVE: *Discurso publicitario. Medios de comunicación. Juegos de lenguaje. Modos de transformación gráfica. Ocasionalismo gráfico. Capitalización.*

Introduction

The language of publicistic discourse is distinguished by its social nature, and social changes lead to noticeable transformations in it. These changes are manifested in the content and in the formal planes of language. V.G. Kostomarov (2005) notes the change of the language taste of modern Russian society which is

formed in a clash of the opposing principles – the simultaneous aspiration to bookishness and to deliberate colloquialism.

Following T.G. Dobrosklonskaia (2005), by mass media, we understand the totality of technical means, public organizations, and human resources involved in the mass distribution of information, in mass communications. Analysis of the concept of mass media reveals the narrow and broad approaches to it. According to the narrow approach, mass media include the main types of mass media: the press, radio, and television. Adhering to the broad approach, we attribute to mass media cinema, book publishing, sound and video recordings, new computer technology (Internet), advertising, video texts, teletexts, billboards and panels, and home video centers combining television, telephone, computer, and other communication lines. In a broad sense, all types of mass media are united by their orientation on the audience, accessibility to a large number of people, and the corporate nature of the production and distribution of information. The media strive to achieve interactivity among communicators.

Methods

Expressiveness and emotional impact on the reader are achieved in the publicistic discourse through the use of language play. The very notion of language play is ambiguous.

Language play denotes a situation when the author “plays” with the form of speech. The free attitude to the form is regulated by the aesthetic function (ZEMSKAIA, 2021). Language play is also interpreted as a non-canonical use of language, which allows the speaker to show their creative abilities and express their unique language personality standing out from other speakers (GRIDINA, 2008).

Language play adheres to the following rules: 1) the presence of the participants of communication (the recipient and the addresser); 2) the presence of

linguistic instruments used by the participants in communication; 3) the presence of the rules of the game; 4) familiarity and agreement of the participants in the play with its conditions; 5) the behavior of the participants of the game in accordance with the agreement. If one of the participants in communication does not fully master the specified rules of the play, there may be a communicative failure. Thus, successful language play presupposes a communicative fellowship of the addresser and the recipient, in which the addresser can hope that their word-creation, i.e. an occasional new formation created through the transformation of a usual phenomenon, will be understood.

Language play reflects the creative, non-standard thinking of a person. It is manifested in a meaningful violation of literary norms and linguistic stereotypes. Language play is realized at different levels of language: phonetic, graphic, morphological, and word-formation. In this study, we will consider the peculiarities of the graphic type of language play.

Results and discussion

The present study interprets capitalization by the definition offered by Iliasova and Amiri (2015) as a type of graphic play realized through an unusual poorly motivated or unmotivated alternation of lowercase and uppercase letters.

This particular graphic highlighting of a segment in a word can be performed on a segment of varying length. In this regard, we should mention the classification of structural varieties of capitalization proposed by S.V. Iliasova and L.P. Amiri (2015), which we also adhere to. The analyzed material demonstrates that capitalization can be performed on a segment consisting of: 1) one letter: *mUchenie s pelenok* (uchenie s pelenok [learning from the cradle] + muchenie [torture]), 2) two letters: *SamoKAlechenie* (samolechenie [self-medication] + samokalechenie [self-harm]), 3) three letters: *bEDA na skoruiu ruku* (eda na skoruiu

ruku [fast food] + beda [trouble]), 4) four letters: *Saakashvileva poBEDA* (Saakashvileva pobeda [Saakashvili's victory] + beda [trouble]), 5) five letters: *delo PRINTSipa* (prints [prince] + printsip [principle]), 6) six letters: *Sbitye nasTROIKI* (sbitye nastroiki [confused settings] + troiki [threes]), 7) seven letters: *besPROSVETnye kartinki* (besprosvetnye kartinki [hopeless images] + prosvet [enlightenment]), 8) the full word, except for one letter in it: *SEMia* (sem [seven] + semia [family]).

Capitalization can also be characterized by the location of the highlighted segment:

1) the highlighted part located in the absolute beginning of the word: *VUZniki s diplomami* (overlap of the words *VUZ* [higher educational institution] and *vypuskniki s diplomami* [graduates with diplomas]),

2) the highlighted segment located in the middle of the word: *BespriMERnye skandaly* (*besprimernye skandaly* [unprecedented scandals] + *mer* [mayor]),

3) the position of the highlighted letters at the absolute end of the word: *Deti plagiADA* (*deti plagiata* [children of plagiarism] + *ad* [hell]).

The collected empirical material gives reason to conclude that at the moment, journalists increasingly often deploy the technique of capitalization highlighting several letters in a usual word and not one. Let us offer some examples:

- *StRaSHuToCHki* (Neposeda, August 2021) – an overlap of the words *strashnyi* [scary] and *shutochki* [jokes] with alternating upper-case letters,

- *SKaZKa* (Moskovsky Komsomolets (MK), January 20, 2022) – unmotivated accentuation of vowels with lowercase letters against uppercase letters in a usual word *skazka* [fairytale],

- *SMIrotvorets* (Argumenty i Fakty (AIF), December 25, 2021) – an overlap of the abbreviation *SMI* [mass media] and the word *mirotvorets* [peacemaker],

- *STOlichnost* (AIF, December 25, 2021) – an overlap of the words *sto* [hundred] and *lichnost* [person] playing with the lexeme *stolichnyi* [metropolitan].

In addition to highlighting the segment by alternating lowercase and uppercase letters, color palette can also be used for such purposes.

Consider the heading of the article **SEMia ... ILI TRIia** (AIF, September 22-28, 2021) talking about the problem of the family in Russia. The letter *IA* in the words *SEMia* and *TRIia* is highlighted with red, while the segments *SEM* and *TRI* are spelled with uppercase letters. The lexeme *IA* in the Russian language is a personal pronoun denoting the speaker's own self (Ozhegov, Shvedova, 1992). In this case, *IA* also refers to a family member, so the word *SEMia* implies a family of seven people (which is the number of family members characteristic of older times), and, by analogy, the occasionalism *TRIia* denotes a family consisting of three people (the number of people in a family typical of the present). The use of this technique focuses the reader's attention on the problems associated with the fall in the number of marriages in Russia and the decreasing birth rate in the country.

The highlighting of a segment of a usual word may be accompanied by the addition of letters or their removal resulting in occasionalisms that are filled with additional meaning and have great expressiveness. For instance, the article heading **LaifZHKKHak** plays with the word *laifkhak* [*lifhack*] adding to it the consonantal letters *ZH* and *KH*. The word *laifkhak* [*lifhack*] borrowed from the English language (life hacking) is a neologism that means useful, practical advice or trick that helps to save time or money. The segment *ZHKKH* highlighted in the word *laifZHKKHak* is the abbreviation for *zhilishchno-kommunalnoe khoziaistvo* [*municipal engineering*]. Creating the occasionalism, the author combines the meanings of the words *laifkhak* [*lifhack*] (meaning *tricks of living*) and *ZHKKH* (meaning *municipal engineering*) to lead the reader to the idea that funds allocated to housing and utilities can be spent with cunningness and practicality for different purposes (*LaifZHKKHak: Kak Konstantin Tsitsin i ego komanda zhivut s milliardov vydeliaemykh iz biudzheta na kommunalku* [*LifeZHKKHack: How Konstantin*

Tsitsin and his team live off the billions allocated from the budget for communal services] (NASHA VERSIA, 2021).

Noteworthy, some graphic occasionalisms have already become well-established models. In particular, journalists actively use such a neologism as **EdRo** and its derivative **EdRoNYI**, in which the graphic emphasis on the upper-case letters *E* and *R* recreates in memory the abbreviation *ER*, which is the official abbreviation of the name of the party “Edinaia Rossiia” (United Russia). Some examples of the use of this neologism include: *EdRoNOE Edinstvo [EdRoISH Unity]* (Versiia, 2007, № 6); *Rasshcheplenie EdRa [The Split of EdRo]* (Versia, 2007, № 48); *Vyberi EdRo: Golosui ili... [Choose EdRo: Vote, or else...]* (livejournal.com); *Ministry EdRa [EdRo Ministers]* (NASHA VERSIA, 2021).

Another neologism actively used in the language of mass media is **SMIrotvorcheskii** (*SMIrotvorchestvo*, *SMIrotvorets*). This word is formed by highlighting the segment *SMI* (mass media) in the structure of the lexeme *smirotvorcheskii*, which refers to the usual word *mirotvorcheskii* [*peacekeeping*] (adjective from *mirotvorets* [*peacekeeper*] denoting a person who helps to end a fight (Ozhegov, Shvedova, 1992).

Let us review some examples of the use of the occasionalism **SMIrotvorcheskii**: *SMIrotvorcheskaia missiia zavershilas pobedoi [The media-peacekeeping mission ended in victory]* (MILLIY FIRQA, 2010); *ZHurnalistsov Komi priglashaiut priniat uchastie v SMIrotvorcheskom konkurse [Komi journalists are invited to take part in a media-peacekeeping contest]* (Komiinform, July 14, 2015); *SMIrotvorcheskii uroven! Nasha gazeta stala pobeditelem Vserossiiskogo konkursa “SMIrotvorets-2019” [The media-peacekeeper level! Our newspaper is the winner of the All-Russian Contest “SMIrotvorets-2019”]* (Volga Gazette, November 29, 2019); *Dlia SMIrotvorcheskoi missii: kak mediaprostranstvo dolzhno spravliatsia s vyzovami 21 veka [For a media-peacekeeping mission: how should the media space cope with the challenges of the*

21st century] (AIF, December 25, 2021); *SMIrotvorcheskie sily: kakova rol zhurnalistiki v mezhnatsionalnom voprose* [*The media-peacekeeping powers: what is the role of journalism in the international issue*] (AIF, 2021).

The definition of the term capitalization provided above indicates that many such neologisms emerge on the basis of an unusual weak motivation, however, the author may also create graphic neologisms without any motivation. S.V. Iliasova (2015) notes that true motivation is observed quite rarely since it has a weak expressive effect. Some examples include: *FONDovye manipuliatsii* [*FUND manipulations*] (Izvestia, September 28, 2004); *POLITaktsii* [*POLITactions*] (AIF, 2008, № 28); *EtnoTok: kak ne zaputatsia v seti* [*EthnoTalk: how not to get tangled up in the web*] (AIF, December 25, 2021). The exceptions are the cases using antonymy, e.g.: *NEperekhodnoi most* [*NONcross bridge*] (AIF, 2004, № 30); *BesPLATNAIA meditsina* [*PAY-free healthcare*] (AIF, 2008, № 38).

In most cases, pseudo-motivation and pseudo-articulation come to the fore in the creation of graphic occasionalism. In the process of pseudo-motivation and pseudo-articulation, a new context for an existing word is formed and new connections between words are created. The technique of capitalization acts as a signal of intentional violation of the norm, while simultaneously impacting the viewer's perception (ILIASOVA, 2015). M.F. Shatskaia notes (2013) that the appearance of such linguistic units is determined by the law of economy of linguistic means: words become shorter but more semantically dense. The impenetrability of the word is broken, the boundaries of the word become transparent, the principle of "matryoshka doll" comes into play: a word is enclosed within a word, which leads to a higher concentration of semantics.

Print media widely use graphic neologisms created with references to anthroponyms, toponyms, names of cultural and sports phenomena of public life, abbreviations, taboo, and obscene vocabulary.

Let us give some examples.

- **EKOnomnyi**: EKOnomnyi raskhod. Banki gotovy snizhat stavki na “zelenuiu” ipoteku [EConomical use. Banks are ready to cut rates on “green” mortgages] (Izvestia, November 1, 2021) – an overlap of the word *eko* [eco] (short for *ekologicheskii* [ecological]) and *ekonomnyi* [economical], combination of the meanings of the lexemes *ecological* (eco-friendly) and *economical* (cost-effective);

- **EtnoTok**: Zavershil rabotu mezhdunarodnyi forum mediaekspertov i blogerov “EtnoTok”, organizatorom kotoroi vystupila Molodezhnaia assambleia narodov Rossii [The international forum of media experts and bloggers “EthnoTalk”, organized by the Youth Assembly of the Peoples of Russia, concluded its work] (AIF, December 25, 2021) – an overlap of the words *etno* [ethno] (short for *etnicheskii* [ethnic]) and the neologism *tok* [talk];

- **NIKAkoi**: Vselennaia pobeditelei, ili NIKAkikh kompromissov [A Universe of Winners, or N[ika]o Compromises] (Men’s Health, October-November 2021) – superimposing the meanings of the name of the watch manufactory “Nika” and the word *nikakoi* [no, nothing] and emphasis of the segment *NIKA* in capital letters;

- **AUE**: Vy tam ne AUEli? [Are you fAUEking crazy out there?] (Nasha Versia, September 2021) – an overlap of meanings of the acronym AUE, which expresses approval and agreement (an abbreviation of the phrase of thieves’ jargon “Arestantskii uklad edin” [“The prisoner’s way of life is one”]) and a profane word *o*uet* [to be f*cking crazy].

The material shows that journalists, striving for more expression and wishing to make the written word catch the reader’s eye, often intentionally make spelling mistakes in words, modifying through the technique of capitalization. For example,

- **UBERatsia**: UBERaisia, klient! [Get out, client!] (Komsomolskaia Pravda (KP), December 8, 2017) – an overlap of the jargon word *наложение жаргонного*

слова *ubiratsia* (meaning *to go away*) and the name of the cab ordering service *Uber*, intentional misspelling in order to play around with the company name;

- **SUMOshedshii**: *SUMOshedshaia zhenshchina* (Vremia, December 8, 2018) – an overlap of the words *sumo* [*sumo*] and *sumasshedshii* [*crazy*];

- **VASkhitelno**: *VASkhitelno! Khotia Ovechkin poka na nule* [*AstYOUnishing! Although Ovechkin is still at zero*] (VEK, 2019) – a play with the word *vas* [*you*] through emphasis on a segment in the word *voskhitelnyi* [*astounding*] and a deliberate spelling mistake.

Similar examples include: *AviaKOTastrofa* [*AviaCATastrophe*] (Versiia, November 18, 2019); *MARALnyi kodeks* [*Moral code*] (*maral* – *made dirty*) (Ekspress, August 18, 2020); *OSIZaemyi mir: kak regiony gotoviatsia k golosovaniiu po Konstitutsii* [*A Tangible World: How Regions Prepare for the Constitutional Vote*] (*SIZ* – *personal protective equipment*) (IZVESTIIA, 2020).

The spread of neologisms with a violation of a norm, in which the intentional error is not highlighted by the author in any way, is of concern to researchers of the Russian language. Such a graphic play may decrease the literacy of readers. On the other hand, an educated addressee, when presented with a word with a clear violation of the spelling norm, may not immediately detect the intentionality of the error made by the author and react negatively, and the higher the level of literacy, the more intense the reaction (PETROVA; RATSIBURSKAIA, 2016).

As previously noted, in their desire for colorful and unusual language, journalists resort to the technique of capitalization along with *polycodification* (or graphohybridization), i.e., create occasionalisms using the graphic means of different languages (POPOVA, 2007), for instance, Russian and English.

In the book “Modern Russian: Active processes at the turn of the 20th and 21st centuries” (2008), R.I. Rozina notes that the new words created with the help of polycodification have not yet passed the first, essential stage of assimilation of a

borrowed word in the Russian language, so the lexeme is spelled with the graphical means of the recipient language. Although peculiar, these words are no more than foreign-language inclusions in speech because only one part of them is alien to the language, while the other is a normal word. Certainly, many neologisms of this kind, being frequently used in various discourses, including publicistic discourse, have become customary, and the foreign-language segment is not experienced by native speakers as a foreign phenomenon, for example, *QR-kod* [QR code], *IT-kooperatsiia* [IT cooperation], *IT-kadry* [IT personnel], *IT-professiia* [IT profession], *IT-spetsialnost* [IT specialty], *IT-industriia* [IT industry], *sakhar-FREE* [sugarfree], *Zoom-vecherinka* [Zoom party], etc.

Let us offer some examples:

- **INTERnet**: *INTERnet. Zachem nuzhen Internet, kogda est pochta Rossii. Rossiuu gotoviatsia otkliuchit ot vsemirnoi seti* [INTERnet. Why do we need the Internet when we have the Russian Post? Russia is about to be disconnected from the World Wide Web] (Nasha Versia, March 2021) – play with the foreign-language component *INTER* (meaning *international*) in the word *Internet* by highlighting it with capital letters and the Russian word *net* [no];

- **AUKUSnutsia**: *Komu AUKUSnetsia: skandal vokrug podlodok provotsiruet Frantsiiu na vykhod iz NATO* [Who will pay the price: the submarine scandal is provoking France's exit from NATO] (Izvestiia, September 21, 2021) – an overlap of the name of the alliance *AUKUS* and the word *auknutsia* [make pay the price];

- **ChelovekZERO**: *ChelovekZERO. Rossiianin vot uzhe bolee 20 let ne mozhet vspomnit, kto on takoi* [ManZERO. A Russian man can't remember who he is forover 20 years] (Zhizn, January 10-25, 2022) – combination of the meanings of the words *chelovek* [man, human] and *zero*;

- **AzARTnyi**: *AzARTnyi forum [ARTventurous forum]* (Soiuznoe veche, June 17, 19) – play with the segment *ART* by highlighting and writing with Latin letters in the Russian word *azartnyi [adventurous, gambling]*;

- **FOODbolnyi**: *FOODbolnaia karta sokrovishch. V Rossii razrabotali turisticheskii marshrut po odinnadtsati gorodam CHM-2018. Otlichnaia vozmozhnost ustroit prazdnik zhivota i “poprobovat na vkus” vse goroda mundialia [FOODball treasure map. Russia has developed a tourist route through eleven cities of the 2018 World Cup. A great opportunity to have a feast of the belly and “taste” all the cities of the mundial]* (Soiuznoe veche, June 18, 2018) – play with the component *FOOD* by highlighting and writing with Latin letters in the word *futbolnyi [football]*.

Some neologisms of this type have become models actively used by journalists:

- **RuSSkie**: *RuSSkie? Kto eto? Nea, ne znaiu [RuSSians? Who’s that? Nah, don’t know them]* (livejournal.com); *RuSSkie vospitanniki [RuSSian pupils]* (SS, May 2019);

- **PRoval**: *PRoval Batki [Batka’s failure]* (Versia, January 12, 2021); *Po slovam D. Belova, na futbolke ktorogo krasovalas nadpis: “PRoval PRezidenta Ctrl+Alt+Del”, cherez nektoroe vremia posle zaderzhaniia odin iz sotrudnikov militsii, pocheshav zatylok kontsom rezinovoi dubinki, zadumchivo proiznes: “Esli by ne vse eti nabezhavshie generaly, naveshat by vam ..., da i otpustit” [According to D. Belov, whose T-shirt bore the inscription: “Failure of the PRezident Ctrl+Alt+Del”, sometime after the arrest, one of the police officers, scratching the back of his head with the end of a rubber truncheon, thoughtfully said: “If it weren’t for all these generals who have come running around, I would have kicked your asses and let you go...”]* (kprf.ru); *Predvybornyi PProval mera Sadovogo [Election failure of Mayor Sadovy]* (KievVlast, October 9, 2014); *Ob etom govoriat: Kak kupit \$200, ili PProval Valerii Gontarevoi [They talk about it: How to buy \$200, or*

The failure of Valeria Gontareva] (Politrada, October 7, 2014); *PRoval [Failure]* (Inaia gazeta, March 5, 2008).

- **BeZOOMmnyi**: *BeZOOMnyi mir [Crazy world]* (Ekspress-K, April 1, 2020); *Uzhe seichas mozhno prisoedinitsia k prazdniku i razmestit sobstvennyi chellendzh ili fleshmob, posviashchennyi poslednemu zvonku, v ofitsialnoi gruppe sobytiia "BEZOOMnyi zvonok" [You can already join the festivities and post your own prom challenge or flash mob in the official event group "Crazy Prom"]* (permkrai.ru); *BeZoom-zoomnaia Matreshka [Crazy Matryoshka]* (www.auto.az).

- **SOSulka**: *SOSulki vletaiut v okna [Icicles are flying through the windows]* (Mayak, January 18, 2010); *SOSULKI! Obstrel nachalsia... V minivshee voskresene 16-letniaia devushka postradala ot padeniia lda s kryshi doma na Srednem prospekte [The bombardment began... Last Sunday, a 16-year-old girl got injured by ice falling from the roof of a house on Sredny Prospect]* (Nevskoe vremia, March 14, 2020); *SOSulki pod kontrolem kommunalshchikov [Icicles are under the control of the communal services]* (Rodniki, February 16, 2021); *SOSulki, ili Vnimanie - na verkh! [Icicles, or Attention – look up!]* (<http://vpered21.ru>).

The situation with the spread of the novel coronavirus infection COVID-19 has prompted the emergence of neologisms created by capitalization using the polycodification technique, as evidenced by the following examples:

- **COVIDlo**: *COVIDlo ekonomika: polet normalnyi, padaem [COVIDjam economy: the flight is normal, we are falling]* (<https://e-news.su/in-world>, May 6, 2020) – play with the abbreviation *COVID-19* and the word *povidlo [jam]* (the neologism *COVIDlo* means *jam without any taste or smell*);

- **COVIDiot**: *Serbiia vedet borbu na dva fronta: protiv epidemii i "COVIDiotov" [Serbia is fighting on two fronts: against the epidemic and the "COVIDiots"]* (<http://balkanist.ru/>, April 30, 2020) – a combination of *COVID* and the word *idiot* (the neologism *COVIDiot* has two meanings – 1) *a panic-stricken*

person stocking up on groceries and toilet paper, и 2) a person who believes that the coronavirus is a hoax);

- **COVIDarnost**: *COVIDarnost. V Kuzbasskom kolledzhe arkhitektury, stroitelstva i tsifrovyykh tekhnologii prodolzhaetsia proekt "COVIDarnost" [COVIDarity. The Kuzbass College of Architecture, Construction and Digital Technology continues the "COVIDarity" project]* (<https://kasict.ru/>, October 9, 2020) – a combination of *COVID* and the word *solidarnost* [*solidarity*]; the occasionalism means *solidarity in the fight against COVID-19*); *"Novaia gazeta" sovместno s volonterskim dvizheniem "COVIDarnost" zapustila COVID-Info-bot ["Novaia Gazeta", together with the volunteer movement "COVIDarity", launched the COVID Info-Bot]* (Mir Peterburga, March 27, 2020);

- **COVIDeo**: *Ocherednoi onlain-kontsert v redaktsii "Kur'era" pod nazvaniem COVIDeo sostoitsia v chetverg [Another online concert in the editorial office of "Kur'er" called COVIDeo will be held on Thursday]* (<https://kurjer.info/>, May 20, 2020) – an overlap of *COVID* and *video*; the occasionalism means *a video on the topic of coronavirus*;

- **ZOOvolonter**: *ZOOvolonteryy berut na perederzhku sobak i koshek [ZOO volunteers are taking in dogs and cats]* (<https://radulova.livejournal.com/>, April 26, 2020) – a combination of the words *ZOO* and *volonter* [*volunteer*]; the occasionalism denotes *a person who volunteers to help people in quarantine or self-isolation take care of their pets*.

Journalists quite often resort to the simultaneous use of capitalization and *reduplication*. Reduplication is the repetition of a letter or several letters in a word.

By creating such transformations, authors usually pursue the following goals: they want, first, to play with abbreviations, various nominatives, or, second, they want to bring the phrase closer to live colloquial speech. In pursuing the first goal, journalists usually use the repetition of letters, namely the doubling of consonants or vowels.

Here are some examples of double consonants, which are usually highlighted by uppercase letters, for example:

- **MaMMAMia** (Ekspress-K, October 19, 2018) – play with the lexeme *MAMMA MIA*, which has the meaning of a gasp of surprise *mother dear*, and the acronym of the *MMA* mixed martial arts organization (*MMA* + *mama*);

- **NadyshALLAs** (Zhizn, February 24, 2020) – play with the component *Alla* (*Alla Pugacheva*) by doubling the consonant letter *L* in the verb *nadyshatsia* [*breath in a lot or too much*], given in past tense (*Alla* + *nadyshalas*);

- **Alien SKOTTilsia**. *Ridli khochet novogo “Chuzhogo” ... bez Chuzhogo* [*The Alien is not the same anymore. Ridley wants a new Alien... without the Alien.*](<https://shakal.today/kinokishochki/novosti-kino>, May 28, 2019) – play with the component *SKOTT* (*Ridley Scott*) in the verb *skatitsia* [*to become worse, not the same as it used to*] by doubling the consonant *T* and making an intentional spelling mistake.

In addition, the repetition of letters can be exercised in the writing of vowels by doubling them, while the repetition of letters is accompanied by the use of capitalization, for example:

- *Gaz berut OOPTom* (Kommersant, June 26, 2020) – an overlap of the abbreviation *OOPT* (conservation areas) and the word *optom* [*in bulk*] with doubled vowel *O*;

- *Sami s UUSami* (Kommersant, August 26, 2021) – an overlap of the abbreviation *UUS* (universal communication services) and the component *usami* part of the phraseme *sami s usami* [*we were not born yesterday*] with reduplication of the vowel *U*.

Wishing to convey people’s manner of speech, journalists also resort to the combined use of capitalization and reduplication, for example, **GIBRIIIID** (*XC 60: Skazhite GIBRIIIID!* [*XC 60: Say HYBRIIIID!*] (Dni.ru, July 31, 2020)). In this case, the vowel *I* in the usual word *gibrid* [*hybrid*] is deliberately repeated to

mirror the manner of speech of people preparing to smile for a picture (analogous to the phrase “*Say cheese*”).

In addition, imitating the sounds of animals, journalists also use the technique of reduplication in conjunction with capitalization. For instance, to create a language play at the phonetic-phonological level, the author of one article uses the method of reduplication of the sound [r], conditionally reproducing the sound of a lion or a tiger, using the words **RRRyknut [to RRRoar]** and **RRRyk [RRRoar]** (*Prezident uzhe RRRyknul! Iurii Pronko i ekonomist Mikhail Khazin o Rrryke prezidenta i urovne zhizni naseleniia [(The president has already RRRoared! Yuri Pronko and the economist Mikhail Khazin on the President’s Rrroar and the standard of living]* (tsargrad.tv, December 19, 2020).

In the language of journalism, this simultaneous use of capitalization and holophrasis is also noted. By holophrasis (fusion, integration) we mean writing a combination of words of a whole sentence without spaces. Holophrasis constructions are one lexical mega unit (KOVYNEVA, 2017) and are used to save linguistic means, as well as to draw attention to the reported information. These kinds of constructions are of interest because they acquire a new meaning that differs from the meanings of the words in the initial holophrasal construction.

Some examples include:

- **MYIMDALI** (Rossiiskaia Gazeta, June 25, 2019) – merged together phrase *My im dali [We gave it to them]*, resulting in the effect of Georgian speech, which is played with by the journalist;

- **IAZHEMAT, IAZHMat**: *IAZHEMAT ili mamochki, kotorye schitaiut sebia luchshimi! [IMAMOTHER or moms who think they're the best!]* (womanadvice.ru); *IAZHMat* (mediasole.ru); *#IAZHeMat // Subbota!* (<http://molsport.ru>) – the examples play with the phrase *I am a mother (Imma mother)*, the use of holophrasis generates a new feminine nominative unit with a broader connotative background than the word *mother*;

- **IAzheBatia**: Ryzhik okazalsia tem eshche IAzheBatei [The Readhead turned out to be one ImaFather] (Mediasol, July 2, 2021) – words from the phrase *IA zhe batia* [I am a father] merged together (a neologism similar to *IMAMOTHER*);

- **OnVamNeDimon**: Valerii Rashkin: zhalkie opravdaniia i bred OnVamNeDimon [Valerii Rashkin: pathetic excuses and nonsense of HeIsNotDimon to You] (Echo of Moscow, April 18, 2019) – merging of the words in the phrase *On vam ne Dimon* [He Is Not Dimon to You]; the unit formed by means of holophrasis refers the reader to the title and content of the Anti-Corruption Foundation’s investigative documentary published on YouTube on March 2, 2017;

- **UKRALvagonzavod** (Versia, May 28, 2019) – words from the phrase *Ukral vagonzavod* [Stole the railcar factory] merged together with simultaneous play with the name of the *Uralvagonzavod* plant by writing a segment in uppercase letters;

- **SIDIDOMETS**: *POGULIANTSY I SIDIDOMTSY. Kak pandemiia «zarazila» nashu rech i ischeznet li mat? [GOFORASTROLLERS AND STAYATHOMERS. How the pandemic “infected” our speech and will profanity vanish?]* (AIF, June 29, 2020) – merged together words of the phrase *sidet doma* [to stay at home]; the occasionalism denotes a person complying with total quarantine.

Some other examples include: **#MYVMESTE**: *Pensioneram pomogaiut 2.5 tysiachi volonterov []* (AIF, November 11, 2021); **OnIOna** [HeANDShe] (DOMASHNII, January 1, 2022).

The following techniques widely used by journalists for the purposes of expressiveness when creating graphic occasionalism are associated with the division of a usual word in different ways: 1) graphic morpheme actualization – the division of a word or line with spaces (or highlighting certain letters using the capitalization technique), leading to an unconventional division of a word into

morphemes and the actualization of its inner form, 2) hyphenation – the division of a word by hyphens into parts or syllables giving it another meaning, 3) parenthesis – the partitioning of a word with the placement of a segment in brackets, 4) quotation – the partitioning of a word with the placement of its segment in quotation marks, 5) slashing – the partitioning of a word with a slash, 6) apostrophizing – partitioning of a word with an apostrophe mark, 7) exclamation – the partitioning of a word into two or more lexemes using punctuation marks.

Graphic morpheme actualization implies the non-traditional division of a word into morphemes intended to actualize the internal form of the word (Popova, 2007). This technique is often implemented together with capitalization.

Several examples of graphic morpheme actualization are as follows:

- **VyMUCHenNYE** *problemy* (Karavan, May 26, 2017) – the division of the word *vymuchennye* [exhausted] by highlighting the *muchnye* [flour] segment in capital letters actualizes another key word, referring to the content of the article, which tells about the problems with importing low-grade flour;

- **Ot Metki:** *kak budut rabotat QR-kody v raznykh otrasliakh* [On Mark: how QR codes are going to work in different industries] (Izvestia, November 12, 2021) – play with the words *otmetki* [grades, marks] and *metka* [mark] (a reference to QR codes);

- **DIZEL GENERATOR** (about Vin Diesel) (Men's Health, №10, October-November 2021) – play with the name of the actor Vin Diesel and the word *diesel generator*;

- **GLU BO KO, UVA ZHAE MYI** (Men's Health, №10, October-November 2021) – division of the word *glubokouvazhaemyi* [deeply respected] into parts by placing the segments in a column on the page; the comma placed after the *KO* component actualizes the meaning of the word *gluboko* [deep], enhancing the nuance of the meaning of the article about freediving).

Let us offer some other examples: **Mega polis**: *TSB otsenil podorozhanie OSAGO v 48%* [*Mega Polis: The Central Bank estimated the increase in the cost of Compulsory Civil Liability insurance at 48%*] (Izvestia, January 13, 2022); **Robota tekhnika**: *Vazhnye obekty nachnut okhraniat umnye pulemety* [*Robot technology: Important facilities will be guarded by smart machine guns*] (Izvestia, January 13, 2022).

The capitalization technique is often combined with the *hyphenation* technique, when a word is broken into parts or syllables by hyphens, giving this newly formed lexical unit another meaning (POPOVA, 2007). The technique of placing hyphens in words should be considered as a means of helping to perceive the printed text as oral speech. Hyphenation, according to S.I. Iliasova (2016), implies playing with the word-formation structure of a word, rather than morphemic analysis, when breaking a word into morphemes (in terms of synchronicity) generates expressiveness.

Consider the examples:

- **PO-letaem**: *aviakompanii khotiat perevesti na otechestvennuiu sistemuu bronirovaniia* [*Let's fly: airlines may be transferred to the domestic reservation system*] (Izvestiia, June 30, 2020) – division of the word *poletaem* [*let's fly*] into segments with a hyphen with the segment *PO* written in uppercase letters actualizes the meaning of the abbreviation hidden in the neologism (*PO* – software);

- **SPA-senie** *ot kovida* [*Salvation from COVID*] (Versia, December 8, 2020) – actualization of the meanings of the words *SPA* and *spasenie* [*salvation*];

- **Re-Missiia** *liubvi* [*Re-Mission of love*] (Moskovskii komsomolets, February 25 – March 4, 2015) – a combination of the words *remissiia* [*remission*] and *missiia* [*mission*]; the marking of the *RE* segment refers to the meaning of the prefix *re-* (the meaning of renewability), which gives additional connotations to the word *mission* (repeated mission);

However, it is not always possible to trace back the motivation behind the creation of an occasionalism, for instance: *TRENI-ROVKI PROTIV DIET [TRAINING SESSIONS AGAINST DIETS]* (*Men's Health*, №10, October-November 2021); *ELKI-PALKI-SHCHEPKI: Elochnyi krugovorot startuet v Moskve 2 ianvaria [PINES-FALLS-SCHEELS: The Christmas Tree Cycle Starts in Moscow on January 2]* (AIF, December 30, 2021).

In the texts of modern journalism can be found the simultaneous use of capitalization and *parenthesis*, which consists in playing around with the semantics of two words that differ in their spelling by one letter, which is taken in brackets. As a rule, the motivation behind such play is given in the text. Let us consider the following examples: *Bez(z)umnyi Siurf [Crazy Surf]* (steamcommunity.com) – actualization of the meanings of the words *bezumnyi [out of mind, crazy]* and *bez zum (without Zoom)*; *Mir postavili (I)rakom [The world was bent over]* (Izvestia, February 11, 2013) – an overlap of the word *Irak [Iraq]* and the phrase *postavit rakom [to bend someone over]*.

The placement of a word segment in brackets can accentuate the antonymic relationship, e.g.:

- *(Ne)zhdannyi prints [(Un)expected prince]* (<https://www.kino-teatr.ru>) – an overlap of the words *nezhdannyi [unexpected]* and *zhdannyi [expected]*; reinforcement of the antonymy of these words by highlighting the prefix *ne [un]* with parentheses;

- *Massirovannaia (dez)informatsionnaia, administrativnaia i zakonodatelnaia ataka, napodobie toi, chto grazhdane Rossii ispytali v 1990-e [A massive (dis)informaitonal, administrative, and legislative onslaught, similar to what Russian citizens experienced in the 1990s]* (<https://zen.yandex.ru/media>) - a combination of the words *dezinformatsionnyi [disinformaitonal]* and *informatsionnyi [informaitonal]*; putting the *dez- [dis-]* component in brackets emphasizes the antonymic relationship of these words.

The technique of *quotation*, that is, splitting a word by putting a certain segment in quotation marks, is often accompanied by highlighting a part of the word with uppercase letters. The word highlighted by quotation marks acts as a keyword, drawing the reader's attention to the main point in the message. The evaluative function of quotation marks is that they are used for pseudo-quotation, the play with the meaning is ensured by breaking the usual structural relationships in terms of the expression of the words (AMIRI, 2013) in order to make it expressive in a concise form.

Let us review some examples:

- **“REAL”nyi**: *“REAL”naia poteria [A “REAL” loss]* (Vremia, June 7, 2018) – a combination of the words *REAL* and *realnyi [real]*; emphasis on the component *REAL* with quotation marks refers the reader to the name of the football club “*REAL*”; *Polmilliarda evro dlia usileniia – eto “REAL”naia summa. Madridskii Real cherez paru mesiatsev zhdet globalnaia perestroika [Half a billion euros for reinforcements is a “REAL” good amount. Real Madrid will undergo a global rebuild in a couple of months]* (<https://zen.yandex.ru/media>, 29.03.19);

- **pol“Mira”**: *Na pol“Mira”: natsionalnaia karta est u kazhdogo vtorogo rossiianina [Half the “World”: Every second Russian has the national debit card]* (Izvestiia, September 30, 2020) – an overlap of the word *polmira [half the world]* and the name of the debit card “*Mir*” [“*World*”];

- **“SAMO”izoliatsiia**: *Rezko zakruchivaia s etoi tseliu takie gaiiki kak svoboda pravdy, nalogi, pensii, rabota, migratsiia, prazdniki, na fone psikhoza vokrug koronavirusa, shtrafov i “SAMO”izoliatsii [By sharply tightening to this end such screws as the freedom of truth, taxes, pensions, jobs, migration, holidays, amidst the psychosis around the coronavirus, fines and “SELF”isolation.]* (<https://zen.yandex.ru/media>) – a combination of the words *samostoiatelno [independently, by oneself]* and *izoliatsiia [isolation]*.

The studied material demonstrates that on the pages of newspapers and magazines, it is quite rare to see the combined use of capitalization and such methods of graphic play as *slashing* (splitting a word with a slash sign), *exclamation* (splitting a word into two or more lexemes with punctuation marks – an exclamation mark, question mark, or period) and *apostrophizing* (splitting a word with an apostrophe).

The use of various means of emphasis – slashes, exclamation or question marks, quotation marks, apostrophes – serves to highlight the keyword within a usual lexeme, which entails a rethinking of the word-formation structure of a normative lexical unit: pseudo-division and pseudo-motivation. Let us consider examples of the use of various techniques of the division of a usual word.

Slashing: *RUKI V B/Ubriuki: pochemu odezhda sekond-khend stala populiarna* [Hands in the P/Uants: why second-hand clothes have become popular] (AIF, December 25, 2021) – a combination of the phrase *byvshii v upotreblenii (b/u)* [previously used] and the word *briuki* [pants]; *Razgovory o/raz//oruzhenii* [Talks about dis/arm//ament] (<https://stylopedia.ru/>) – an overlap of the phrase *o razoruzhenii* [about disarmament] and the occasionalism *ob oruzhenii* [about weapons].

Exclamation: *Napishite “SK,a?ZK,a!” – liuboi ekspert skazhet, chto deiatel'nost SK s pomosh'ch'iu voprositel'nogo znaka postavlena pod somnenie, a ZK s pomosh'ch'iu vosklitsatel'nogo torzhestvuet pobedu* [Write “SK,a?ZK,a!” – any expert will tell you that the performance of SK (Investigation Committee) is questioned with a question mark, and the ZK (the imprisoned) triumphs with an exclamation point] (MK, January 20, 2022) – unmotivated separation of the letters of the word *skazka* [fairy tale] with commas and a question mark; *Zhivi priPIVA!iuchi* (<http://tmregister.ru/>) – a combination of the words *pripevaiuchi* [happily] and *pivo* [beer], the emphasis on segment *PIVA* with uppercase letters

and the exclamation mark draws the reader's attention to the fact that the segment *PIVA!* acts as an imperative component.

Apostrophizing: *Tsennost doveriia kak beZoom'no vazhnyi urok pandemii* [*The value of trust as an insanely important lesson in the pandemic*] (www.crn.ru/news, March 20, 2020) – an overlap of the word *bezumno* [*insanely*] and the name of the video conferencing platform *Zoom*; *REAL'naia vygodna dlia izdatelei* [*A REAL benefit for publishers*] (mediaguide.ru) – an overlap of the word *realnyi* [*real*] and the name of the supermarket *REAL*; *Dell'ovoi monoblok: obzor Dell Inspiron One 2350* [*Business monoblock: a review of Dell Inspiron One 2350*] (www.mics.ru/ru/news) – an overlap of *delovoi* [*busyness*] and the name of the corporation *Dell*.

Conclusion

The analyzed lexical material testifies to the diversity of language play techniques used in the language of mass media, including the graphic play, and confirms the need for a comprehensive study of the various neologisms emerging as a result of journalists' creativity.

The analyzed material demonstrates that graphic play is represented in publicistic discourse by the active use of capitalization in combination with other techniques of graphic play, in particular polycodification, reduplication, and holophrasis, as well as the various ways of dividing the word into segments (with the help of spaces, hyphens, brackets, quotation marks, slashes, apostrophes, and various other punctuation marks), which is analyzed in detail in the present study.

The use of occasionalisms formed through language play in publicistic discourse contributes to its expressive function and gives it an element of playfulness. Journalists' deliberate violation of the rules of spelling and grammar serves the purpose of engaging readers in the play, drawing their attention to the

key points of the message. According to S.V. Iiasova (2015), the main role of graphic play in the media is increasing the competitiveness of media products, and this play takes a much more visual form than the other types of language play.

All the considered examples of the use of occasionalisms demonstrate the importance of the study of language play, particularly the graphic game, as an element of media language that provides for further developments in this type of discourse.

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