

CALL NAMES IN UNOFFICIAL COMMUNICATION OF THE MILITARY: SPECIFICITY OF CREATION AND LEXICO-SEMANTIC BASE

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Abstract: The article identifies and analyzes call names in the unofficial communication of the military, evidenced in journalistic texts from the beginning of the full-scale invasion of Russia (based on the material of such media as "Gazeta po-ukrainskyi", "Konkurent", "Suspilne Novosti", "VolynPost", "Apostrophe TV", "Pyatyy.yua", etc.). The functional nature, combat history, motivational status, lexical-semantic base and peculiarities of creation, connotative coloring of the "second" names of Ukrainian fighters were studied. It has been observed that military pseudonyms actively function in journalistic materials, as evidenced by their large number in texts on military topics, as well as their appearance in headlines and leads. Unofficial anthroponymic factage is differentiated into ten lexical-semantic groups by the keyword-motivator: names by external or internal features of denotations; nominations by occupation, profession or hobby of a person; floronyms; faunonyms; naming other persons (movie and multi-heroes, fairy-tale characters, biblical or mythical creatures, actors, athletes, politicians, writers, etc.); ethnonyms or names of other nationalities, countries; lexemes denoting family relations; Ukrainian or foreign names (own or foreign). Usually, the colloquial version of one's personal name is reflected at the base of the call sign, consonant name as an association to the official surname, names of appliances and household appliances, nominations of phenomena of nature, space, landscape. Some call signs of the Ukrainian military are not included in any motivational group, because these names are single or creative lexemes with multiple meanings. In media materials, such terms as military pseudonyms are used mainly, such as call sign, call name, combat nickname, military nickname, less often – pseudo and nickname. Journalists have repeatedly researched the nicknames of Ukrainian fighters themselves, devoting entire publications to them. The most diverse cases of the appearance of "second" names in the military have been revealed: they are invented by the soldiers themselves, they are given by comrades in the service, given by the military leadership; this is facilitated by a combat history or some unusual incident. Military call signs usually meet a number of criteria: there cannot be the same names; the word that identifies the person should sound clear, be short, and have masking properties. The motivational nature of unofficial designations in the mass media is presented mainly in the quotes of the military themselves, where they explain the origin of their name, or in the testimony of their combat comrades. The nominative base of the unofficial military noun is made up of anthroponyms with unknown motivation, as well as those whose creative lexemes do not cause direct associations in the minds of Ukrainian speakers. It is noted that the fixation and research of this anthroponymic category is important not only for its linguistic and communicative features, but also because today it is very important to preserve these names in popular memory through scientific studies, since over time they may be lost and fall out of use.

Keywords: Nickname, Military, Unofficial communication, Mass media, Russian-Ukrainian war, Motivational group, Lexical-semantic base.

1 Introduction

The anthroponymic space of modern Ukrainian mass media is traditionally represented by a two-component naming system (personal names and surnames). Patronymic names, pseudonyms, and nicknames are occasionally presented. Since 2014, in connection with the Anti-terrorist operation in the East of Ukraine, such an anthroponymic unit as a call name or a call sign has gained special activation in the domestic print and electronic media. Despite the distinct anonymity of the nickname and its narrow scope of distribution, today we are witnessing the active penetration of the military pseudonym into the journalistic context, which is obviously due to the rapid pace of information transmission and the development of social networks. Combat nicknames, as they are also called "call signs", are an inseparable component of the military personal designation, which has a long tradition of existence. Let us recall, for example, the use of military call signs during national liberation struggles in the 20th century by the Organization of Ukrainian nationalists and the Ukrainian Insurgent Army.

Nowadays, call signs are used not only when communicating by radio, but also on a daily basis in the military team, as evidenced

by the practice of penetration of these units into the language of mass media. Call names are often defined as heteronyms, since their bearers consistently use these names while in the war zone, and return to their real names in civilian life.

After the full-scale invasion of Russia on February 24, 2022, old military designations appeared in a new perspective, because a large number of new call signs appeared, different in terms of national-mental structure, motivation, specifics of creation, nominative base, combat history, etc. Sometimes it is extremely difficult, if not practically impossible, to establish the motivational character of such names. After all, only the members of a separate military structure, within which the call sign functions, directly know the reason, time, place, and motivational sign. For all other people who are not directly related to a certain military unit, are not members of it, the motivational nature of this name is practically unknown. We perceive such an anthroponym already at the level of lost motivation. We can establish it only through associative interpretation and supposition of possible ways and reasons for the appearance of this or that unofficial name of a fighter. In general, ready-made anonymized or transonymized units of the communicative process appear before us as before recipients. Often, nicknames have a closed nature; they are common only among like-minded people and those people who carry out joint military work. In view of this, it is almost never possible to compile a complete list of all conscripts or those who are involved in it to some extent. We usually learn about the "second names" of combatants through such information channels as journalistic materials, the pages of military brigades in social networks, and the families of the soldiers themselves. Analyzing the publications in the media covering the Russian-Ukrainian war, we observe the active inclusion of various call names both in the actual news texts and in the headline complex. Precisely through the electronic, printed, and television media, we first learn about those unofficial anthroponyms assigned to the defenders of Ukraine. Taking into account the powerful linguistic and communicative potential of these units, occasional creative nature, motivational specificity, richness of the nominative base, we consider their systematization and analysis appropriate. Fixation of these anthroponyms is also important because nicknames can be lost over time, go out of use, especially after the death of a soldier, so it is our duty to preserve these names in popular memory through scientific research. In this we see the relevance of the presented article.

2 Literature Review and Methodology

In modern linguo-Ukrainian studies, the unofficial anthroponymicon has repeatedly been the subject of various aspects of study. In this context, it is appropriate to mention a number of works devoted to a comprehensive description of secondary proper names of members of the Organization of Ukrainian Nationalists and members of the Ukrainian Insurgent Army. The specified problem became the scientific interest of V.V. Nimchuk [8], M.P. Lesyuk [6, 7], N.M. Pavlykivska [9], and others. The conceptual basis of their research is an emphasis on the factors that influenced the choice of pseudonyms, the analysis of the specified language units in the plane of semantics, emotional load, productivity/unproductivity, etc. The thorough description of the socio-political pseudonym of the Ukrainian rebels of the 20s of the 20th century, built on the material of Yuri Gorlis-Gorskyi's documentary novel "Cold Yar", deserves appreciation. In the specified work, N.M. Pavlykivska focused attention on the methods of nomination of field commanders, captains, centurions, characterized in detail the features, as well as functional and informative potential of this type of anthroponyms, differentiated them based on their content [9].

Military actions that have been ongoing in the Donetsk and Luhansk regions since 2014 became important external factors

that led to the intensification of the creation and use of unofficial names of Ukrainian defenders. This type of unofficial anthroponymicon was reflected in the works of many linguists. In particular, L. Kravchenko [3; 4], N.M. Khrustyk, S.A. Petrova, T.S. Serkal [5] focused on the motives for the nomination of call-up Ukrainian servicemen participating in hostilities in the East of Ukraine. According to L. Kravchenko, such names characterize a person according to his appearance, internal features, habits, peculiarities of speech, etc. [3]. N.M. Khrustyk, S.A. Petrova, and T.S. Serkal claim that the motivational approach provides insight into the worldview, intelligence, psychological and physical features, preferences, habits of a warrior, his place of residence, field of activity, ethnicity, etc. [5]. L.M. Pidkuymukha also applied a similar research model, and found out the ways of the origin of call names, their semantic range, outlined the factors affecting the choice of an unofficial name [11]. S.A. Petrova collected and studied appellative and onymic vocabulary as a basis for creating call signs for female Ukrainian servicemen [12]. A fairly extensive semantic amplitude of the nominative characteristics of the unofficial names of military personnel - participants of the ATO is presented in the article by N.M. Shulska [13]. The most typical models and methods of creating nicknames-callsigns of Ukrainian fighters were presented by L.L. Beley. In addition to the functional features of the indicated nominations, the scientist focused on the formal requirements for them, emphasized the typical number of syllables of these language units, considered them in terms of such parameters as regional origin, ethnic identity, gender, education, language of communication, profession, hobbies, traits character, intellectual features, appearance, military history, etc. Among the advantages of the analyzed work is the fact that, on the basis of an anonymous questionnaire, it revealed the frequency of use of call signs after the end of the service of their bearers, as well as outside the limits of military communication [1].

A multidimensional model of the description of the motivational base of anthroponyms is provided by their consideration in the context of comparison. This aspect of the research was proposed by R. Yatskiv, who, having chosen the pseudonyms of participants in the liberation struggles of the 40s and 50s of the 20th century, as an object of scientific study and servicemen of the Anti-terrorist Operation (ATO), found that the derivational basis of both types of nominations is mainly lexemes of the Ukrainian literary language, to a lesser extent - words of foreign origin. In addition, the author emphasized certain differences: among the small number of derivatives of unofficial names of participants in the liberation struggles of the mid-20th century, she found linguistic units characteristic of Southwestern dialectal speech, and Russianisms among the nominations of ATO participants [14].

As one can see, the analyzed linguistic works are mainly devoted to the study of the unofficial anthroponymicon of the 20th century, as well as the description of the call signs of the ATO and OOS participants. As it is known, on February 24, 2022, a new phase of full-scale war initiated by the Russian Federation began in Ukraine. Thousands of Ukrainian soldiers stood up to defend their country, each of whom received his call sign. They are actively used by the military in communication among themselves, and we also come across such anthroponyms in mass media communication, in particular in newspaper reporting. The specified linguistic units, their semantic palette, motivation, functional specificity have not yet served as an object of scientific study, which emphasizes the relevance and scientific novelty of our research.

The purpose and task of the research is to identify and analyze call signs in the unofficial communication of the military, evidenced in journalistic texts from the beginning of the full-scale invasion of Russia (based on the material of such media as *Gazeta po-Ukrainskyi*, *Konkurent*, *Suspilne Novosti*, *VolynPost*, *Apostrophe TV*, *Pyatyy.yua*, and others); we aim to investigate their functional nature, combat history, motivational status, lexical-semantic base, peculiarities of creation, connotative coloring, to establish the lexical potential of unofficial

nominations; differentiate the most productive motivational groups of military nicknames by the keyword motivator. We also focus attention on gender features, camouflage features, features of the appearance of a "second" name in a military person, which is used both for radio communication during combat missions and in daily communication during the war.

3 Results and Discussion

Giving soldiers appropriate nicknames is an ancient Ukrainian military tradition. For example, the governor of St. Volodymyr was a boyar with the nickname Wolf's Tail; the first Hetman of Ukraine, Prince Dmytro Vyshnevetsky, was called Bayda, and the commander-in-chief of the UPA Shukhevych was known as Tur and Taras Chuprinka. A false, alternative name is an important regalia of underground military activity at any time. Research into the archives of the pseudonyms of OUN and UPA figures showed that one person could use several pseudonyms. At the same time, several people who did not even know each other had the same unofficial name.

Military call signs can be special words, sound or digital combinations. These names are usually assigned to officials, management bodies, nodes, communication stations for the purpose of quick recognition in the process of communication. The second purpose of using such unofficial names is to keep the real names and surnames of military personnel a secret for a certain professional purpose and for personal safety. It is clear that during military operations, the participants must clearly coordinate their actions and keep in touch with each other. Radio communication is usually used for this. That is why, in order to remain anonymous, the military call each other by call signs. Also, unofficial anthroponyms are given in order not to waste time when addressing people with the same first or last name.

Since 2014, when Russia waged an undeclared war in the East of Ukraine, the crossing of two anthroponymic categories – military nicknames and callsigns – took place in the volunteer battalions, i.e., the long-standing tradition of using a nickname in war and the tactical necessity of masking the person during the coordination of combat operations in the process of radio communication. Just since then, the term *call word* (*call sign*) began to be used in the sense of a universal military nickname. The term *call sign* is also found in the normative documents of the Armed Forces of Ukraine, where it is stated that for the control of units and fire, the senior command appoints uniform landmarks, signals, conventional designations and call signs, which are strictly prohibited to change.

With the beginning of the full-scale invasion of the Russian Federation, the anonymous corpus of Ukrainian electronic and print media was actively replenished by such an anthroponymic category as military call names. If we analyze the tag "call sign" through electronic search engines, we will come across a large number of journalistic materials that have an indication of the call sign of the military person they are writing about. Using the method of cross-checking of domestic media, it was possible to reveal more than 100 combat call signs. We can see that journalists most often use terms such as call sign, nickname, combat or military nickname, and rarely use pseudo names.

These anthroponymic units not only occur in the language of journalists' texts, but they are often included in the heading complex. For example, let us cite the following titles of mass media publications: *"The coach asked not to develop a "killer" blow": Little Billy serves in the Volyn Teroboron* ("VolynPost", August 21, 2022); *call sign "Komarik"* [little mosquito]: *a fighter with a disability serves in the Volyn Teroboron* ("VolynPost", July 27, 2022); *"Either you kill the monster and live, or you die". War, fear, rage and the erection of an infantryman with the call sign "Viking"* ("Ukrainska Pravda", July 22, 2022); *"This is a war of annihilation", - a junior sergeant of the 10th with the call sign Gryphon about the fight against the Russian occupiers* ("Suspilne. Novosti", July 20, 2022); *Knopa call sign: "I plan to remain in the ranks of the Armed Forces even after our victory. I realized that it was mine.*

And no matter how strange it sounds, the war drags on" ("Censor.net", August 22, 2022); *"I went to the military commissariat three times to ask to be sent to war", - a fighter with the call sign "Batya" [father] defends Donetsk region* ("Vchasno", August 26, 2022); *Callsign "Baptist": paratrooper about war and religious beliefs* ("NTA.yua", August 08, 2022); *A military man from Vinnytsia with the call sign "Poet" worked on a tractor before the war, and now he is a driver of a grenade launcher unit* ("Vinnytsia. Info", August 25, 2022).

Journalists have repeatedly researched the call signs of Ukrainian fighters themselves, devoting whole materials to them, such as: *"Volunteer"*, *"Thunder"*, *"Dandelion"*, and others: *stories of the call signs of famous Ukrainian defenders* ("Pyatyy.yua", July 11, 2022); *The mystery of the call sign: how the Ukrainian military chooses a front-line name* ("Apostrof.tv", July 18, 2022); *What are the call signs talking about* ("Apostrophe.tv", March 08, 2022), etc. As one can see, media people use different ways of presenting nicknames: some put them in quotation marks (most often), while others do not.

According to the survey conducted among the military, soldiers usually come up with nicknames for themselves. Sometimes during the war they are given "second" names according to special tables of call signs drawn up by the military leadership.

By their motivational nature, these are anthroponyms mainly in honor of famous persons, region or place of origin, ethnicity, childhood nicknames, distinctive formations, names of occupations, professions or hobbies. Other people's authorship is mostly associated with call signs that arose against the background of a wide variety of military stories [2]. Analyzing the corpus of creation of Ukrainian military nicknames, we observe that such characteristics as education, language of communication, origin do not have a significant impact on the formulation of call signs, although they often become a reference for the meaningful content of an unofficial military name. Examining the content of all-Ukrainian and regional online media, we note that formally, the nicknames of fighters from different parts of Ukraine, unequal in terms of educational level or linguistic behavior, do not differ significantly, because, among their lexical base, there are Russianisms, Anglicisms, allusions to American and Soviet pop culture, admiration for famous people from other countries: writers, actors, athletes, politicians, directors, artists, etc. The only parameter that can be partially detected is the gender aspect, because female military call signs are present in all formation models except for combat history. However, this does not mean that women do not take part in active military operations, but such call signs are ten times less than men.

Despite the fact that the process of creating an unofficial noun is usually spontaneous, according to the requirements of military tradition, call signs must meet a number of criteria. First of all, there are never two identical call signs in the same team, because this name masks a specific person. Also, the word that forms the basis of a nickname should sound clear and be short, two-word names are less common. Disguising properties are not inherent in all call signs, because we find isolated cases when the combat nickname is simply the last name of a military man or its abbreviated version, name or distinctive formation, patronymic form, name of a person's real profession. However, most of the unofficial designations of fighters still have a high level of camouflage. There are recorded cases when women participating in military operations even use masculine call signs to confuse the enemy, as in this example: *She learned to drive a military vehicle in two weeks, men praise the stepmother with the call sign "Tail". The exercise is repeated several times, trying to approach the enemy from different sides. Svitlana with the call sign "Tail" has a stern look, but she happily tells everyone how she learned to drive an armored personnel carrier* ("Ukrainian newspaper", July 16, 2022).

In general, according to the functional nature of the military pseudonym, there are four main types: operational (created for a specific operation, which is then changed); official (fixed for individual positions - they can be transferred to other people who

hold this position); positional (names of individual positions, observation points, etc.); heteronymous (these are names invented specifically for war) [2]. Official, operational, and positional call signs are characterized as those that have a statutory use, because they are usually invented by the higher command. Heteronyms are identified by both the bearers themselves and their militias. For the most part, these names are used not only during communication by means of radio communication in war, but they are used daily in the military team.

The peculiarity of the call names of military personnel in the conditions of war is that they mainly testify to the motivations of the nomination hidden at the level of the mass media audience, which are obviously known only to a narrow circle of recipients of a specific military group. We cannot claim that there are no reasons for the appearance of second names of fighters, because every unofficial name always has a motivational story. Such anthroponymic units cannot be asemantic, therefore, if the military nickname is preserved, then the tendency to its semantic content is also preserved, at least of an approximate or generalized nature. With this in mind, we establish that each nickname of a male or female Ukrainian soldier definitely has a motivational feature, which is often unknown to remote recipients for security purposes in modern military realities. It is not always revealed in journalistic materials, and only in some cases we can learn not only about the reason for the nomination by the call name, but also find out the detailed combat history of its origin. The study of the motivations for the nomination of call names requires special attention, because this makes it possible not only to explain the mechanism of the production of new anthroponyms in the media space during the war, which is extremely important, but also to find out what motivational features reflect the self-expression and identification of the fighters who defend Ukraine today. After the end of the war, unofficial anthroponyms may be lost or generally fall out of use, although military practice shows that call signs "live" with those who receive them for a long time, even in civilian life.

In mass media discourse, we sporadically come across publications in which Ukrainian military personnel themselves talk about their call signs, sharing their combat history, such as: *"My callsign is Khokhol". "The child of the sun", another defendershares. "It just happened that way - "Ivanich" and "Ivanich", - admits another military man. "I have a Javelin. This RPG-22, "Fly". In short, I climbed, climbed - took a marker and wrote "Javelin" on it. This is how the tank will meet. That's how it took root," says the serviceman. One of the soldiers chose a call sign based on history. "Legend". Ivan Klimov "Legend" was the Minister of War in the government of Stepan Bandera. And he was from the village where my grandfather is, he also taught him," says the soldier. "Under the call sign "Whatsapp". We arrived and created a joint group of border guards to know if there was any line-up. I collected everyone's numbers and created a WhatsApp group. That's how they came up with the call sign "Whatsapp" for me", the border guard smiles* ("Apostrophe TV", July 18, 2022). Often these can be funny stories: *"No matter how much you say in your mouth that you are Caesar, you will still be called a stumbling block, because you stumbled as soon as you entered the barracks, for example"* ("Piyaty.yua", July 11, 2022). The well-known businessman Leonid Ostaltsev has had a pseudonym *Oduvanchik (Dandelion)* since 2014, which he uses until now, and explains the reason for its emergence as follows: *"I did not want pathetic names, but came up with a pseudo, standing with my brothers in the middle of a field of dandelions"* ("Pyatyy.yua", July 07, 2022). An interesting explanation about the origin of his unofficial name *Said* is given by actor and director Akhtem Seitablaev to Channel 5: *"The call sign should be short enough so that it can be remembered well, and it was important for me that the call sign had meaning, and the meaning is that this is Seitablayev Akhtem and, friends, there is another secret hidden there, but more on that later"* ("Pyatyy.yua", July 11, 2022).

We also found publications in the mass media in which representatives of the Ministry of Defense explain the presence

of call signs in the military, such as, for example, the testimony of press officer Oleksiy Godzenko: “First, in order to mislead the enemy, even if he only theoretically took over the staff of the unit, he knows which unit Petrenko soldier belongs to, and if the call sign is “Hans” he won't know who it is. There can be several people with the same name in one unit, so addressing everyone by their first and last names is a waste of time, no one does that, that's why they are given call signs” (“Pyatyy.yua”, July 11, 2022).

Sometimes, there are situations when the same name is attached to different people due to different naming motives, after which unusual cases also occur. For example, people's deputy and cyborg Roman Kostenko and former chief of the General Staff Viktor Muzhenko have the same nickname - *Thunder*. On this occasion, Roman Kostenko himself made the following comment in the mass media: “There have often been cases where I arrive at some position, they say - who arrived? I say - tell that “Thunder” has arrived, oh, I was so interested, then I was met by everyone who was there, from the higher command, they say - but where is “Thunder?” - I am “Thunder”, and Muzhenko is “Thunder-2”, because he took it after me, thus there were such curiosities” (“Pyatyy.yua”, July 11, 2022).

Today, we can learn from the media about the military call signs of famous people, which, as we can see, are not classified. For example, the Commander-in-Chief of the Armed Forces of Ukraine Valery Zaluzhnyi has a nickname *Volunteer*, which has been attached to him since 2014. Oleksandr Turchynov, the former secretary of the NSDC, came to the front with the call sign *Pastor*. The director and writer Oleg Sentsov has the call sign *Grunt*, and the former Prosecutor General Yuriy Lutsenko received the pseudonym *Pilat* on the front lines.

The practice of marking with call signs proves that they are used not only during radio communication, but also every day in front line positions, in the ranks of the Teroboron, displayed on clothes, body armor, weapons, etc. The military believes that, ideally, call signs should be kept secret, and they should be changed often in order to mislead the enemy, although in practice this does not always happen. Also, those call names that have absolutely nothing to do with people, but arose by chance, have the most masking properties. We identify unofficial anthroponyms with the highest frequency of use. According to the press officer of the Ministry of Defense, “you will definitely meet a fighter with the call signs “Ded” [grandfather], “Boroda” [beard], “Malyy” [little]” (“Pyatyy.yua”, July 11, 2022).

It is appropriate to differentiate the call names of the Ukrainian military into motivational groups only on the basis of associations that arise through creative lexemes-motivators, since the real reason for the appearance of a soldier's “second” name is not always known. On the other hand, it is necessary to conditionally qualify combat nicknames according to specific motivational characteristics, because a creative lexeme can be misinterpreted as managing only its own associations. We have observed this in real examples in the mass media since the war in Eastern Ukraine: “The call sign *Psych* is not because of character. Serhii is a military psychologist and currently serves in the Luhansk region in the SIMIS military-civilian cooperation unit” (“Hromadske”, January 19, 2015). We are also convinced of this by reading the journalistic material on the official TSN.ua website: “We warn the world community that the nicknames of Azov people: *Indus*, *Algiers*, *Americos*, *Latinos* are not related to any other country, except Ukrainians. *Homer*, *Petrarch*, *Salvador*, *Shakespeare* are fighters of “Azov”” (“TSN”, February 12, 2016).

Among the recorded call names of Ukrainian soldiers, the following lexical-semantic groups can be distinguished, which served as dominant factors for the creation of an unofficial anthroponymicon during the war:

I. Names that indicate external features or internal features of denotations: *Lysysy* [bald], *Kulak* [fist], *Livsha* [Left-handed], *Khmuriy* [grumpy], *Lentjay* [Lazy]. We record the following examples of usage in the mass media: *A fighter of the National*

Guard of Ukraine, a scout-sniper with the call sign Bald, who was seriously wounded during one of the “forays”, got married (“Gazeta po-ukrainsky”, May 08, 2022); *According to a fighter with the call sign Kulak, the task of their unit is to hold out* (“Gazeta po-ukrainsky”, April 04, 2022); *On July 8, the Major of the 72nd Separate Mechanized Brigade named after Andriy Verkhoglyad of the Black Zaporozhians with the call sign Livsha. He died in a battle with the occupiers on June 22* (“Gazeta po-ukrainsky”, August 07, 2022); *Behind the camouflage balaclava, only gray eyes are visible. A man with the nickname “Black” comes from Blystavitsa, which is 6 km from Lubyanka. - I joined the DFTG after the Russian soldiers were expelled from the Kyiv region, four days later, - says “Black”* (“Gazeta po-ukrainsky”, July 16, 2022); *“The result is 200 prisoners. Because we are at home, on our land, we fight it back. And they - no one wants to die for this land”, explains the fighter with the call sign “Khmuriy” [gloomy]* (“Gazeta po-ukrainsky”, May 08, 2022). Individual combat nicknames of this variety demonstrate antonymic properties according to the lexeme and motivational characteristic: “I adore your boredom, with the help of which you forced me to “prompt” everything to your brigade. That's right, because your nickname is “Lazy” - you had to heat me up. You were able to. I adore your projects, which will now be a memory of you...” - wrote Biryukov (“Gazeta po-ukrainsky”, July 29, 2022). This example reveals the use of a colloquial lexeme among the creative pseudonymous base.

II. Nominations indicating the occupation, profession, or hobby of a person: *Fireman*, *Boatswain*, *Lawyer*, *Musician*, *Surgeon*, *Artist*. In the mass media, we come across the following textual examples of military call signs: In the team, Oleksandr Kukurba had the call sign “*Kochegar*” [stoker]. – *As a stoker loads fuel into the furnace of a locomotive, so did Oleksandr felt Muscovites with rockets, – says the hero's teammate. - He was 100 percent in his place* (“Gazeta po-ukrainsky”, August 08, 2022). The figurative context of the specified name of the military is created through a comparative turn in the form of a quote. Other call signs of the analyzed type function in the following fragments of journalistic texts: *Killers from the special services of the Russian Federation hunted a veteran of the “Azov” regiment with the callsign “Boatswain”. They planned to liquidate him. The name of the “Azov man” is Serhiy Korotkykh, reports TSN.ua with reference to information received from one of the special services of Ukraine*. According to our data, we are talking about “*Boatswain*”, *Korotkykh*, - informed the source of the publication (“Gazeta po-Ukrainsky”, August 08, 2022); *The bodies of two Russian invaders who broke into the city but were killed were dug up in Kharkiv. They were found near the Industrialna metro station. Anton, a military serviceman with the call sign “Jurist” told “Suspilne” about this* (“Gazeta po-Ukrainsky”, July 05, 2022); *On April 22, 31-year-old Anatoly Logunov, a medic, died during the liberation of the village of Ruska Lozova in the Kharkiv region from the Russian occupiers. On the first day of the war, he went to the front as a volunteer. He had the call sign “Surgeon”* (“Gazeta po-Ukrainsky”, June 16, 2022); *On April 18, a combat medic, 23-year-old Valentin Moskivets, nicknamed “Doc”, died during the war with the Russian invaders. He was buried in his native village of Khreschate in Poltava Oblast. Before the war, he took third place in the competition as the best specialist in tactical medicine of Ukraine* (“Gazeta po-ukrainsky”, June 16, 2022); *Before the start of the full-scale war, Volodymyr worked as a tattoo artist, but after February 24, 2022, he changed his profession and became a military man. Already at the front, he received the callsign Artist* (“Suspilne.Novosti”, September 11, 2022). It has been observed that in some contexts the motivational nature of the unofficial name of a fighter by occupation is transparent, as, for example, in the above constructions: *Surgeon*, *Doc* - doctors by profession. In the media, we come across occasional cases when, for example, a man has the nickname *Musician*, although in the journalistic text we read about his sports interests: *Artem Borodavka with the nickname “Musician” died during the battles for the liberation of Kharkiv Oblast. Ultimatum player Artem Borodavka died in battles with the enemy* (“Gazeta po-ukrainsky”, June 21, 2022).

III. Nominations based on floronomes: *Kalina*: The “Azov” regiment believes that the de-blockade of Mariupol is possible. This was stated by the deputy commander of the “Azov” regiment with the call sign “Kalyna” in a commentary on Radio Liberty (“Gazeta po-ukrainsky”, April 04, 2022).

IV. Call signs of faunan origin: *Buffalo, Bison, Tyra, Swallow, Bat, Bear, Crook, Scorpion, Honeydew*. We learn about the functional nature of these unofficial names from the media context: *During the defense of Mariupol in Donetsk region, a 20-year-old Ukrainian soldier with the call sign “Buffalo” and his partner came under mortar fire. Shrapnel pierced his legs. – My partner crawled into the basement, he couldn’t pull me, – says the defender of Mariupol. – Shouted: “Buffalo”, crawl, you have to live* (“Gazeta po-ukrainsky”, August 11, 2022); *The 42-year-old soldier introduced himself only by the call sign “Bison”. He is dressed in a worn British uniform with a British flag embroidered on it. He is a mechanical engineer from Dnipro. After the start of the war, he bought a hunting rifle to practice shooting and now works as a medic* (“Gazeta po-ukrainsky”, August 05, 2022); *Yulia Paevska with the call sign “Tyra” - volunteer, volunteer, paramedic, commander of the “Tyra Angels” unit* (“Gazeta po-ukrainsky”, August 01, 2022); *Ukrainian medic with the call sign “Swallow” who treats our defenders. In her social networks, she publishes shots from the front line. She says that the smell of gunpowder is now forever imprinted in her memory* (“Gazeta po-ukrainsky”, July 10, 2022); *The chief of staff of the art division with the call sign “Kazhan” [flyer] says that relatives quite often serve together* (“Gazeta po-ukrainsky”, June 24, 2022); *“Good guys, the British. They invited us to visit them when the war is over,” said the commander of the call sign “Bear”* (“Gazeta po-Ukrainsky”, April 16, 2022); *On March 15, the legendary nationalist, historian-scientist Mykola Kravchenko died in a battle with Russian enemies. Call sign “Kruk”* (“Gazeta po-Ukrainsky”, March 16, 2022); *“Scorpion” turned to the Military Commissariat on February 17, because he understood that a full-scale invasion of the Rashists was inevitable. In his peaceful life, “Scorpion” was the head of a commercial enterprise, and also worked as a political technologist - since 2004, he conducted election campaigns of candidates for local authorities. At dawn on February 24, “Scorpion”, who lives near the Lutsk airfield, was awakened by the strong roar of airplanes* (“Konkurent”, July 25, 2022); *Behind the shoulders of “Medoid” [honey bee], there is participation in the Revolution of Dignity, during which he received a concussion from a light-noise grenade in Mariinsky Park. But his current callsign was already chosen by his comrades from the 100th unit of the TrO - they drew attention to the stubbornness, uncompromisingness and truthfulness of this thin, but surprisingly tough man* (“Konkurent”, August 09, 2022). Analyzing the nominative content of the names of this group, we find a tendency to assign male fighters with masculine appellatives (*Bear, Crook, Bison*), and women – with female ones (*Tyra, Swallow*)

V. Naming of other persons (movie and multi-heroes, fairy-tale characters, biblical or mythical creatures, actors, athletes, politicians, writers, etc.): *Titan, Mr. X, Achilles, Tamerlan, Otaman, Primara, Zhukov, Athena*: *“A scout should be like prodigy. It all depends on the goals for which he enters enemy territory: whether to obtain information or to carry out sabotage work. Or identify the enemy’s reconnaissance group and destroy it”, said the commander of the combined group of the GUR special unit with the call sign “Titan”* (“Gazeta po-ukrainsky”, August 08, 2022); *Gleb Babich was calm in life, his friend with the call sign “Mr. X” told at the farewell ceremony* (“Gazeta po-ukrainsky”, August 08, 2022); *– I personally did not know Andrii, but I knew him from the words of my comrades, – says Olena Trepilchenko, the mother of the scout of the 93rd OMBr Eduard “Achilles”, who died in May. – He was a very bright and kind person, a good soldier* (“Gazeta po-ukrainsky”, June 07, 2022); *– We met during the war, during the preparations for 2017. He was a platoon leader. It so happened that we are from the same city, – says the friend and brother of the hero, 28-year-old Yuriy with the nickname “Tamerlan”. “Tamerlan” learned from a friend to be an optimist in any situation* (“Gazeta po-

ukrainsky”, June 07, 2022); *Pavlo Usov graduated from the National Academy of Ground Forces named after Hetman Petro Sahaidachny. A month after receiving his diploma, he went to war to command a platoon. He fought in Luhansk region and Donetsk region. With the beginning of a full-scale war, he defended Kyiv region. He had the call sign “Otaman”* (“Gazeta po-ukrainsky”, June 23, 2022); *– On the front line, most of the work has to be done manually. No one will bring construction equipment here. Digging the ground here is very difficult. Half a meter is soil, and further – stone, – says a military man, 38-year-old Vitaly, call sign “Primara” [ghost]* (“Gazeta po-ukrainsky”, June 23, 2022); *The head of the patrol police department of Ukraine Yevhen Zhukov (call sign Marshal) talked about how the Kadyrivites “fight” in Ukraine* (“Gazeta po-ukrainsky”, March 03, 2022); *Margarita Rivchachenko received the call sign “Athena” in the ranks of the Teroborona. She was named so because she has been fascinated by ancient Greek mythology since childhood* (“Gazeta po-ukrainsky”, April 28, 2022).

VI. Ethnonyms or names of other nationalities (countries): *Tubilets* ‘associative to own surname Tuboltsev’, *Yalta* ‘from the occupied Crimea’, *Greek, Brest* ‘volunteer of the Belarusian regiment’, *Khmelnitskyi* ‘from Khmelnytskyi city’, *Finn, Scythian, Kyiv, Baghdad* ‘participated in missions in Iraq’, *Khan*. In the media context, we record the following textual expressions of these anthroponyms: *Dmytro Tuboltsev at the front has the call sign “Tubilets”. Although the actor is known to most as “Lito” from the non-politically correct comedy about the ATO “Our Cats” by Volodymyr Tykhi or as “Uncle” from the TV series “Guard”* (“Gazeta po-Ukrainsky”, August 22, 2022); *Oleksandr Razyantsev. Defender with the call sign “Yalta”. The woman origins from the currently occupied Crimea. Before the war, she worked as a stylist and costume designer and dressed famous Ukrainian actors* (“Gazeta po-ukrainsky”, July 10, 2022); *– He was a man and a commander from God, as they say, – remembers the character of Andriy, a soldier Yuriy with the call sign “Greek”. – He was highly respected, because he was intelligent* (“Gazeta po-ukrainsky”, July 06, 2022); *In the battle for Lysychansk, Luhansk region, the commander of the “Volat” battalion from the Belarusian volunteer regiment named after Kastusya Kalinovsky Ivan Marchuk with the call sign “Brest”* (“Gazeta po-ukrainsky”, July 06, 2022); *“Young, zealous, courageous and conscious patriots. Don’t expect names and surnames. A precise shot was made by Khmelnytskyi (he chose the call sign as a tribute to the area where he comes from),” the report says* (“Gazeta po-ukrainsky”, July 02, 2022); *Dmytro, a seriously wounded soldier of the National Guard of Ukraine with the call sign “Fin”, spent two days on the battlefield in the Luhansk region* (“Gazeta po-ukrainsky”, June 15, 2022); *The commander of the Ukrainian special forces with the call sign “Skif” said that the 112th battalion also underwent training last week. This information was confirmed by his senior commander* (“Gazeta po-ukrainsky”, April 16, 2022); *An intern at a Kyiv hospital, a surgeon at the First Volunteer Medical Hospital with the call sign Skif notes: the team he is a part of is currently working at evacuation and stabilization points* (“Konkurent”, Jun 15, 2022); *They threw pontoons, which we destroyed,” recalled a soldier of the 72nd brigade with the call sign “Kyiv”* (“Gazeta po-ukrainsky”, April 15, 2022); *Ruslan Borovyk, call sign “Baghdad”, at one time served under contract in the Armed Forces, twice participated in missions in Iraq (2004–2005)* (“Konkurent”, May 01, 2022); *Despite the injury and contusion. A soldier of the 102nd brigade, with the call sign Khan, took four wounded comrades out of the shelling* (“Suspilne.Novosti”, April 09, 2022).

VII. Names to indicate family relations. Such anthroponyms are few, for example call sign *Ded* [grandfather] in several media publications: *– I’m about to become a great-grandfather. I am already retired – Chernobyl cleanup veteran, served in the police. Although I myself was not very friendly with the police. Protestant by nature. I am against all such unfairness. And there is enough injustice everywhere, – a 59-year-old man tells about himself under the pseudonym “Ded”* (“Gazeta po-ukrainsky”, March 31, 2022); *– A plane flew overhead and then something thumped. That’s how I understood that something was*

happening, – explains “Ded” (“Gazeta po-ukrainsky”, March 31, 2022).

VIII. Ukrainian or foreign names (own or foreign), usually the colloquial version of one's personal name is displayed at the base of the call sign; a consonant name as an association to the official surname: *Adam, Austin, Elvis, Mamuka, George, Oleksii, Felix, Orest, Antonio: Scouts, anti-tank and air reconnaissance came under the command of a military man with the call sign “Adam”. Namely in this battalion a musician serves* (“Gazeta po-ukrainsky”, July 21, 2022); *On July 4, Ukrainian defender Maksym Ostryak with the call sign “Austin” died in the Kharkiv region* (“Gazeta po-ukrainsky”, July 18, 2022); – *Guys from another brigade made a shower from a used rocket, – says a fighter, 39-year-old Oleksii, call sign “Mamuka”* (“Gazeta po-ukrainsky”, July 21, 2022); *The fighter of the “Azov” regiment “Georgiy” told why the defenders of Mariupol rejoiced the most when one of the helicopters landed in their location* (“Gazeta po-ukrainsky”, September 07, 2022); *A Ukrainian sniper with the call sign “Olexii” eliminated a Russian general* (“Gazeta po-ukrainsky”, April 17, 2022); – *The orcs began to create a solid line of defense. We decided to knock them out of there until they finally settled down, – says the soldier with the call sign “Felix”* (“Gazeta po-ukrainsky”, April 14, 2022); *Volhynian Ivan Antonyuk (call sign Antonio) gave his life in the war with Russia* (“Konkurent”, July 03, 2022). Sometimes we discover the motives of the nomination when the call sign is a name completely unrelated to the official anthroponyms of the soldier: *Head of the press service of the “Azov” regiment Dmytro Kozatskyi (call sign Orest), the author of the famous photos from “Azovstal”, got in touch with natives* (“Konkurent”, May 27, 2022). Such combat pseudos obviously have a high degree of camouflage. In one journalistic material, we record a case of non-standard use of a military call sign, placed in the text between the official name and surname of a soldier: *In Kyiv, at the Baikovo cemetery, a farewell was held for the commander of the platoon of the Armed Forces of Ukraine, the instructor of the soldiers of the “Foreign Legion” Yevgeny “Elvis” Olefirenk* (“Gazeta po-ukrainsky”, July 10, 2022);

IX. Names of devices and household appliances. Such examples are infrequent among military pseudonyms: *Celt: On June 27, Kyiv said goodbye to 44-year-old Oleg Katrych, a soldier of the “Azov” regiment with the call sign “Celt” from Mariupol* (“Gazeta po-ukrainsky”, July 07, 2022).

X. Names of phenomena of nature, space, landscape: *Thunder, Frost, Sky, Mountain*, for example: *Yevhen Hromadskyi graduated from the National Academy of the National Guard. He went to war as an officer. Has the call sign “Thunder”* (“Gazeta po-Ukrainsky”, July 14, 2022); *A soldier with the call sign “Moroz” [frost] told “The Washington Post that with their old equipment, they avoided the trajectories of missiles passing through any populated areas* (“Gazeta po-Ukrainskyi”, July 02, 2022). *One of the representatives of creative professions serves in the ranks of the Ukrainian army - a fighter with the call sign “Sky”. In his pre-war life, he was a photographer and usually photographed theater artists and ballerinas, the National Guard said on Facebook. “I really like ballet. This is sacred for me. Portraits, people. I photographed a lot of girls from the Kharkiv National Academic Theater of Opera and Ballet. I also worked with the Shevchenko Theater”, said Sky* (“Gazeta po-ukrainsky”, July 03, 2022); *The Military of the Armed Forces of Ukraine with the call sign “Hora” [mountain] together with its partners purchased “Pinzgauer” armored all-terrain vehicles for the Ukrainian army* (“Gazeta po-ukrainsky”, July 06, 2022).

Among the unofficial anthroponymic facts in the mass media space, we find the call names of the Ukrainian military, which, according to the creative component, are not included in a separate motivational group, since such names are single, or the lexeme reveals many meanings: *It is not so easy to get into our regiment, – says a resident of Azov, 37-year-old Oleksii, call sign “May”. – For those who previously served, an interview with the commander and a month of probation await* (“Gazeta po-ukrainsky”, July 14, 2022); *During the battles for Mariupol,*

the Ukrainian military helped the local population, which could not evacuate, with food. Oleg, a soldier of the Azov regiment with the call sign “Gallery”, told about this in an interview with Radio Svoboda (“Gazeta po-ukrainsky”, June 25, 2022); *The commander of the department with the call sign “Mohyla” also shared his impressions of working on the new equipment* (“Gazeta po-ukrainsky”, June 17, 2022); *“The importance of the first flight was that many people looked at this operation as impossible, so we wanted to show other pilots and military that it is possible”, said the soldier with the call sign “Flint”* (“Gazeta po-ukrainsky”, June 09, 2022); *The self-styled “court of the DNR” sentenced two soldiers of the “Azov” regiment to be shot. In particular, they want to execute the fighter Konstantin Nikitenko with the call sign “Fox” and Mykola with the call sign “Frost”* (“Day”, July 10, 2022); *The Russian occupiers greatly overestimated and underestimated the capabilities of the Ukrainian defenders. A military pilot of a MiG-29 fighter with the call sign “Juice” stated this in an interview with “TSN”* (“Gazeta po-ukrainsky”, July 25, 2022); *An “Azov” fighter with the call sign “Tork”, who managed to get out of Russian captivity, saw his beloved for the first time after his release* (“Gazeta po-ukrainsky”, July 14, 2022); *As the head of Mariupol defense communications with the call sign “Molfar” admits, it was expected that the main forces of the Russians would go from the direction of Bezimenny* (“Gazeta po-ukrainsky”, July 09, 2022); *The vehicle has already been marked with three marks for successful hits, but the fighter with the call sign “Kuzya” specified that there were six successful attacks* (“Gazeta po-ukrainsky”, July 02, 2022); *In the photo in the middle, there is a defender with the call sign “Fartovy” [lucky]. It was he who blocked the attackers on the stairs and prevented them from reaching the children* (“Gazeta po-ukrainsky”, March 02, 2022).

Interesting military nicknames are numerical names that are extremely rare in general: *This was told by Acting the commander of the “Azov” regiment, Major Mykyta Nadochyi with the call sign “Raz-Dva” [one-two] in an interview with “Radio Svoboda”* (“Gazeta po-ukrainsky”, June 18, 2022); *The 45-year-old colonel has the call sign “122”. He is the commander of the regiment for the protection of important state facilities* (“Gazeta po-ukrainsky”, May 26, 2022).

Journalists pay special attention to the call signs of Ukrainian fighters when they present several of them in small text fragments, such as: *A team of Ukrainian soldiers with the callsigns “Khmelnyskyi”, “Turok” [Turkman], “Green”, and “Salamandra” destroyed an enemy cruise missile X-22* (“Gazeta po-ukrainsky”, July 02, 2022); *In Kyiv, they said farewell to the fallen soldiers of the “Azov” regiment Vitaly Krasovsky with the call sign “Kros” and Danylo Rybalchenko with the call sign “Fish”* (“Gazeta po-ukrainsky”, June 30, 2022); *“The most interesting missions take place behind enemy lines. This is the installation of explosives behind the front line, abroad”, said fighters with the callsigns “Handsome” and “Twenty-two” – 25-year-old sergeants who have been fighting with the Russian Federation since the beginning of its invasion in 2014* (“Gazeta po-ukrainsky”, June 27, 2022); *According to the press service, the video is the result of the coordinated work of border guards with the callsigns “Rubizh” [border], “Muscat”, “Johny”, and “Rose”* (“Gazeta po-ukrainsky”, June 04, 2022).

Despite the fact that the military nickname is usually short for the purpose of ease of use, we sporadically come across two-component names: *“I decided that I had to go. Not to wait for them at home, but go to meet them closer to Moscow”, a soldier with the call sign “Vas Vas” commented on his decision to join the Armed Forces* (“Gazeta po-ukrainsky”, August 07, 2022); *Abigail, 30 years old, is the communications director of the “Foreign Legion”. The last name is withheld for security reasons. She has the call sign “Mockingjay”* (“Gazeta po-ukrainsky”, July 17, 2022); *Height 194 cm, weight in the range of 125-130 kg: a hero with the callsign Little Billy serves in the Volyn Teroboron* (“Expresso”, August 22, 2022). But such a phenomenon is usually unproductive among military pseudonyms.

The analysis of the contextual presentation of the unofficial designations of the participants in the hostilities showed that most often the call sign appears in the mass media, represented by the quotation material of comrades in the service or presented in an interview with the fighter himself. Less often, next to the unofficial name that a person uses in war, journalists provide the official surname and first name, sometimes - just the first name. We rarely find out about the reason for the appearance of such a name, although in some publications we still come across extensive combat stories and interesting cases. For example, a soldier with the call sign *Santa* tells the following story: *I came with my beard, wearing a New Year's hat, which I received at the beginning of the year and took with me. The look is like in Santa Claus. Everyone in the "Legion" knows me as Santa, because the deliveries named "With love, from Santa" are gifts to our combat units on the front lines* ("Gazeta po-ukrainsky", July 31, 2022). The communication director of the "Foreign Legion" admits the humorous nature of the appearance of her "second" name: *"Nobody here chooses their nicknames. It was given to me by co-workers, a roommate. "Mockingjay" (a fictional bird in the "Hunger Games" film and book trilogy, a cross between a mockingbird and a genetically engineered spy bird, a jabberjay. – Gazeta.ua). In addition, she looks like a character from the Hungarian national game. The image is also associated with superhero characters who fight against evil and a totalitarian state. So I became such a "Mockingjay" only in the field of PR. This nickname stuck to me as a joke* ("Gazeta po-ukrainsky", July 17, 2022).

Sometimes, the process of the appearance of a call sign goes through several stages, since the unofficial military name can change for various reasons, in particular, due to the presence of similar names, as we can see in the examples: *My call sign is "Vognyk". True, Serhiy Pantyuk first gave his brother another one – "Fire", which lasted for several hours. (Serhiy Pantyuk is a Ukrainian writer, translator, editor and publisher. He serves with Dmytro in the Teroboron of Kyiv. – Gazeta.ua). Once we were passing through the corridor and someone called me loudly: "Fire!" And everyone who stood with weapons responded to this command. Therefore, we decided that this case is hopeless, because they will shoot each other. Then they started calling me "Vognyk". Probably because I have fire inside. I don't think it's a tie to the role, because it's stereotyped thinking (Dmytro Linartovych's most famous role is "The One Who Walked Through the Fire". – Gazeta.ua) ("Gazeta po-ukrainsky", April 15, 2022); *"In May 2014, when one of the volunteer battalions was being organized in Dnipro, I joined the unit. When the question arose of choosing a call sign, I initially called myself "Docent, because I was a teacher at a university. But at that time, the unit already had its own "Docent". So I got a "mathematical" pseudo from my brothers, he says. "Mathematician" comes from Donetsk. With the beginning of the Russian-Ukrainian war, he took his family to Poltava. He took part in hostilities, and later started working with veterans. In the first days of the large-scale Russian aggression, he was at the origin of the organization of voluntary formation. He is responsible for the organization and operation of mobile patrols. – I fired the first shots in this war on May 2, 2014. Being then a retired lieutenant colonel, I drew my weapon in Donetsk. Since that time, I am permanently at war and keep myself in good shape, – says "Mathematician" ("Gazeta po-ukrainsky", March 31, 2022).**

There are also motivational stories when factors related not to the soldier himself, but to his family, served as the reason for the appearance of the nickname, as in this case: *the grandfather and grandmother of the grenadier "Slovak" were deported from Czechoslovakia in 1947 as part of Stalin's operation "Visula" – this is the explanation of the call sign chosen by the man. The physically gifted boy has been fond of weightlifting, karate, and boxing since childhood – so even now he manages to maintain himself in excellent physical shape* ("Konkurent", August 09, 2022).

4 Conclusion

Therefore, the anthroponymic corpus of call signs in the unofficial communication of the military, recorded in the mass media texts of the domestic Ukrainian mass media since the beginning of the full-scale Russian-Ukrainian war, testifies to the lexical-semantic diversity, stylistic uniqueness, motivational feature, combat context, and gender specificity of this variety of units in the linguistic and communicative space of Ukrainians. The "second" names of the Ukrainian military actively function in journalistic materials. This is indicated not only by their large number in the texts of mass media, but also by the fact that military pseudonyms often appear in headlines and leads. On the basis of processed media materials from the context of quotations or interviews with the military themselves, it was possible to find out the real motivational characteristics of the call names of the fighters who are defending Ukraine today, or those who, unfortunately, have already died. Among the analyzed base of military pseudonyms, anthroponyms with unknown motivation were found, as well as those whose creative lexemes do not cause direct associations in the minds of speakers. Usually, such names appear as linguistic puns, word-forming modifications, occasional names. According to structural features, one-component formations prevail; occasionally we come across two-component units. For the lexical component, both Ukrainian and borrowed words are used. Due to the emotional nature, among the call names of the Ukrainian military, there are both neutral nouns and diminutives or augmentatives. The dynamic nature of such unofficial anthroponyms in the direction of increasing the actual base and non-standard creation models indicates the great heuristic potential of these linguistic units in the future, because it will allow expanding the range of research studies by involving nicknames in detailed analysis at the level of pragmatics, sociolinguistics, psycholinguistics, etc.

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Primary Paper Section: A

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