

UKRAINIAN-LITHUANIAN LINGUO-CULTURAL PARALLELS AND DIFFERENCES IN ETHNONYMY AND RELATED LEXICAL UNITS

Ukrainiečių ir lietuvių kalbų lingvokultūrinės paralelės ir skirtumai etnonimijoje bei su ja susijusios leksikos vienetuose

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ABSTRACT

The article offers a comparative linguo-cultural analysis of ethnonymic, and choronymic, lexicon, as well as word combinations containing related elements, in the Ukrainian and Lithuanian languages, along with facts from other, primarily neighbouring, languages of the European linguistic and cultural space. In particular, it deals with etymology, which testifies to both common Indo-European (first of all, Balto-Slavic) features and historical differences. The study also explores semantic changes, such as the transfer of meaning in ethnic names, new meanings of feminine word forms and diminutives, and other derivatives. The relevant topics include, from the semantic point of view, ethnicity, everyday life realia, nature, and more. Phrases and figurative expressions are presented, a significant part of which belong to interlanguage universals: different (also terminological) lexical units, covering such areas as science, medicine, sports, household equipment and utensils, tools and instruments, substances and materials, and food. Phraseologies with ethnonymic components are also examined. The study aims to demonstrate certain common features of Slavic, Baltic, and other genealogically related languages of the European linguistic and cultural area, as well as divergences arising from different language and cultural contacts.

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KEYWORDS: ethnonyms, choronyms, Ukrainian language, Lithuanian language, etymology, language contacts, semantic change, phraseology.

ANOTACIJA

Straipsnyje pateikiama lyginamoji lingvokultūrinė ukrainiečių ir lietuvių kalbų etnoniminių, choroniminių leksikos vienetų ir žodžių junginių, turinčių susijusių elementų, analizė, taip pat ir faktai apie kitas, pirmiausia kaimynines, Europos kalbinės bei kultūrinės erdvės kalbas. Visų pirma nagrinėjama etimologija, liudijanti tiek bendrus indoeuropiečių (pirmiausia baltų–slavų) bruožus, tiek istorinius skirtumus. Tyrime nagrinėjami ir semantiniai pokyčiai, tokie kaip prasmės perkėlimas etnonimuose, naujos moteriškos giminės žodžių formų ir deminutyvų bei kitų vedinių reikšmės. Aktualios temos semantiniu požiūriu apima etniškumą, kasdienio gyvenimo realijas, gamtą ir kita. Pateikiamos frazės ir perkeltinės reikšmės išraiškos, kurių nemaža dalis priklauso tarpkalbinėms universalijoms: skirtingiems leksikos vienetams (be minėtų ir terminologijos), apimantiems tokias sritis kaip mokslas, medicina, sportas, namų apyvokos ir kiti reikmenys, įrankiai ir instrumentai, substancijos ir medžiagos bei maistas. Taip pat nagrinėjami ir frazeologizmai su etnonimiais komponentais. Tyrimo tikslas – parodyti tam tikrus bendrus slavų, baltų ir kitų genetiškai artimų Europos lingvokultūrinio regiono kalbų bruožus bei skirtumus, kylančius dėl skirtingų kalbinių ir kultūrinių kontaktų.

ESMINIAI ŽODŽIAI: etnonimai, choronimai, ukrainiečių kalba, lietuvių kalba, etimologija, kalbų kontaktai, semantinė kaita, frazeologija.

1. INTRODUCTION

Ethnonymic and choronymic, lexicons make up distinct categories in the vocabulary of modern languages. It is an essential lexical layer, closely related to historical and socio-cultural aspects of the existence of ethnic groups and areas, and to the people's mentality. For example, studies on Slavic ethnonyms have allowed researchers to reach meaningful conclusions regarding the ethnolinguistic branching of Indo-European languages (Taraneč 2013: 16). This has also prompted the need for a comparative study of ethnonymy, as well as choronymy.

Comparing Baltic and Slavic language material holds special interest. In our opinion, it is appropriate to incorporate examples from other languages, primarily neighbouring ones, within the European linguistic and cultural area, in the analysis. We'll focus on the names of European ethnic groups, ethnonymic derivatives, word combinations with ethnonymic and close in essence choronymic components, since (in a linguistic and cultural context) notional connection between ethnonyms and most choronyms seems to be obvious, and also phraseological units. Therefore, the objective of this research is to describe and compare from a cultural and historical ethnolinguistic perspective factual material of two languages that in the genealogical sense belong to different Indo-European groups, namely Baltic and Slavic, as an example of a particular (albeit ambiguous) "areal and typological similarity" (Nepokupnyj 1964: 162). In this context, the corresponding lexical units of the Ukrainian and Lithuanian languages appear to be indicative from a linguo-cultural point of view, reflecting certain features of ethnic mentality, as well as consequences of language contacts. The primary method used is comparative semasiological and, to some extent, ethnolinguistic analysis with a referential approach, taking into consideration the semantic and stylistic ambiguity of ethnonymic lexical units.

2. ETYMOLOGICAL REMARKS AND LEXICO-SEMANTIC ASPECTS

2.1. To initiate, we'll go back to a well-known etymological classification of ethnonyms, which provides for their division into two main groups: words of ancient origin “with lost initial semantics”, and “with etymology that has been preserved or acquired secondarily” (Superanskaja 1978: 83). Therefore, according to this criterion, the Lithuanians' self-name should be included in the first group (together with the names of Latvians, Belarusians, Czechs, Macedonians, Slovenians, Croats, Norwegians, Danes, English, Italians, Spaniards, Greeks, as well as Hungarians, Estonians, Finns), while the Ukrainians' name enters the (smaller) second group (self-names of Poles, Bulgarians, Serbs, Montenegrins, Icelanders, Swedes, Germans, Romanians, French, Portuguese, Albanians, Welsh, Irish, Scots).

It is worth noting that among the numerous etymological versions (known to us), concerning the origin of the name of Lithuania and, accordingly, Lithuanians (Ponomarenko 2023: 24–26), in our opinion, the suggestion of Simas Karaliūnas (1995: 55, etc.), supported by modern researchers (cf. Dini, Subačius 2019: 104–105), deserves special attention. Besides, the studies of Ukrainian linguists, first of all Anatolij Nepokupnyj (1994: 290; 1998: 88 etc.; cf. Skopnenko 2023: 32) testify in its favor.

Ukr. *україни* (Lith. *ukrainiečiai*) and Lith. *lietuviai* (Ukr. *литовуї*) are supposed to belong to typical endonyms representing most of the ethnic names, cf. Ukr. *чехи*, Lith. *čekai* and Cz. *Češi*, Ukr. *болгари*, Lith. *bulgārai* and Bulg. *българи*, etc. In the Lithuanian context, we should take note of the presence of the (closer to Ukrainian doublet) form *ukrainai* ‘Ukrainians’ and, accordingly, the adjective *ukrainiškas* ‘Ukrainian’, in addition to the “standard”, i.e. *ukrainiečiai* and *ukrainietiškas* (LKŽ_e). The peculiarly Lithuanian *lėnkai* (Ukr. *поляки*, Pol. *Polacy*, Latv. *poļi*) is thought to come from an (Eastern) Slavic background (Fraenkel 1962: 356; Smoczyński 2016: 896), being connected etymologically with the Ukrainian historicism *лях* (ESUM III 343–344), as well as with borrowed names of contact origin in some non-Indo-European languages, like Hun. *lengyelek* and Gag. *Lählär*, belonging to the same etymological nest.

The table below is made on the basis of modern lexicographic sources, and the principle of ordering is mainly areal.

Table. European peoples: ethnic names

Ethnos	Language	Self name	Ukrainian name	Lithuanian name
Ukrainians	Ukrainian	українці	українці	ukrainiečiai / ukrainai
Belarusians	Belarusian	беларусы	білоруси	baltarusiai
Russians	Russian	русские	росіяни	rusai
Bulgarians	Bulgarian	българи	болгари	bulgarai
Macedonians	Macedonian	Македонци	македонці	makedoniečiai
Serbs	Serbian	Срби (Srbi)	серби	serbai

Montenegrins	Montenegrin	Црногорци	чорногорці	juodkalniečiai
Bosniaks	Bosnian	Bošnjaci	босняки / боснійці	bosniai
Croats	Croatian	Hrvati	хорвати	kroatai
Slovenes	Slovene	Slovenci	словенці	slovėnai
Czechs	Czech	Češi	чехи	čekai
Slovaks	Slovak	Slováci	словаки	slovakai
Poles	Polish	Polacy	поляки	lenkai
Lithuanians	Lithuanian	lietuviai	литовці	lietuviai
Latvians	Latvian	latvieši	латиші / латвійці	latviai
Germans	German	Deutsche	німці	vokiečiai
Dutch (people)	Dutch	Nederlanders	нідерландці / голландці	nyderlandiečiai / olandai
Flemish (people)	Dutch	Vlamingen	фламандці	flamandai
English (people)	English	English	англійці	anglai
Icelanders	Icelandic	Íslendingar	ісландці	islandai
Norwegians	Norwegian	nordmenn	норвежці	norvegai
Danes	Danish	danskere	данці / датчани	danai
Swedes	Swedish	svenskar	шведи	švedai
Irish (people)	Irish	Éireannaigh	ірландці	airiai
Scottish (people) / Scots	Scottish Gaelic	Albannaich	шотландці	škotai
Welsh	Welsh	Cymry	валлійці	valai / velsiečiai
Romanians	Romanian	români	румуні	rumunai
Italians	Italian	italiani	італійці	italai
French (people)	French	Français	французи	prancūzai
Walloons	French	Wallons	валлони	valonai
Catalans	Catalan	Catalans	каталонці	katalonai
Spaniards	Spanish	españoles	іспанці	ispanai
Portuguese (people)	Portuguese	Portugueses	португальці	portugalai
Greeks / Hellenes	Greek	Έλληνες	греки	graikai
Albanians	Albanian	shqiptar	албанці	albanai
Hungarians / Magyars	Hungarian	magyarok	мадяри (угорці)	vengrai
Estonians	Estonian	eestlased	естонці	estai
Finns	Finnish	suomalaiset	фіни	suomiai

2.2. One should also point out the semantically peculiar Ukr. *литвин*, which has no equivalent in the Lithuanian lexicon (except for the surname *Litvinas*). It is known that this ethnic name is reflected in surnames like Ukr. *Литвин*, *Литвиненко*, *Литвинчук*, Bel. *Літвінаў*, etc. (Matora, Nepokupnyj 1989: 50–51; Laučiūtė 2004: 72–73), has been used historically not only for Lithuanians, but also for Belarusians and Ukrainians from the Polissia lands (SUM 499; SUM IV 494), and Rus. *литвин* could also refer to a Pole (Nepokupnyj 1994: 290). Other specific samples are borrowings from Yiddish, such as Ukr. *литвак(и)* and

Lith. *lìtvakai*, cf. Eng. *Litvaks* (see Friedlander 1994: 243), historicisms referred to Ashkenazi Jews who lived in the Baltic region and neighbouring Slavic areas. In the past, collective names, such as Ukr. *литва*, were widely used applying to both Lithuanians and Belarusians (ESUM III 245; cf. Hrinčenko 1908: 363). In the last source, we also find the uniquely affectionate Ukr. *Литвонька*. Concerning Ukr. *литва* in historical terms, a well-known Ukrainian researcher of Balto-Slavic language relations recorded the specific meaning of “traveling circus people” (who came from the territory of the Grand Duchy of Lithuania), caused, in particular, by “ethnic inflation” of the onym *Литва*, which was extended to a part of Latvians, Poles, Belarusians and Ukrainians (Nepokupnyj 1994: 288–291). Another historical meaning of Ukr. *литва* (as well as Bel. *літва* and Pol. *litwa*) refers to the designation of the groom’s companions at the wedding, reflected in folk songs of the Ukrainians, Belarusians, and Poles (Nepokupnyj 1998: 88–104).

The Eastern Slavic ethnonymic lexicon is characterised by the presence of several partial synonyms, such as Ukr. *латиши* ‘indigenous inhabitants of Latvia, the titular nation’ and *латвійці* ‘citizens of Latvia’ (Bel. *латыши* and *латвійцы*), cf. Lith. *lātviai* and Latv. *latvieši* (at the same time, partly synonymous names in the singular coexist in Latvian: *latvietis* and, less frequently, *latvis*), as well as (on the one hand) Pol. *Lotyši* and (on the other hand) Bulg. *латвийци*, Bosn. *Latvijci*.

The exonyms of European ethnic groups in the two compared languages generally match the registry, for example, Ukr. *албанці* and Lith. *albānai* (probably of Caucasian origin, cf. Bel. *албанцы*, Pol. *Albańczycy*, Latv. *albāņi*, etc.). The differences can be seen in telling examples, such as Ukr. *німці* (Bel. *немцы*, Pol. *Niemcy*, etc.) and Lith. *vokiečiai*, along with Latv. *vācieši*, respectively, of Slavic (with some reservations) and, presumably, Germanic origin. However, it should be noted that there are alternative borrowed names, such as Lith. *niēmčius* (Smoczyński 2016: 1119), *pliūkas* or *germānas* (LKŽ_e). Ukr. *угорці* (of Turkic origin) and the borrowed self-name *мадяри* (Hun. *magyarok*) is another instance that can be noticed, cf. Latv. *ungāri* and (somewhat obsolete and colloquial) *maġāri*, Bel. *венгры* and *мадзьяры*, Pol. *Węgrzy* and *Madziarzy/Madziarowie*, while Lith. *veñgrai* is considered to be an ancient borrowing from Slavic languages (cf., e.g., LSorb. *Hungory*). Furthermore, Ukr. *фіни* (of Scandinavian origin, cf. Pol. *Finowie*, Ger. *Finnen* and other Slavic and Germanic names, as well as Hun. *finnek*) differs from Lith. *súomiai* (borrowed self-name; cf. Fin. *suomalaiset*, Latv. *somi*, Est. *soomlased*).

Another case involves tracing of ethnonyms from other languages, in particular Slavic, in Baltic and other non-Slavic languages, cf. Ukr. *білоруси* (Bel. *беларусы*, Pol. *Białorusini*, etc.) and Lith. *baltarùsiai*, Latv. *baltkrievi*; one should also mention the historical ethnic name *gùdai*, supposedly of Germanic origin (Karaliūnas 2004: 146–150; cf. Roback 1944: 104, where Ger. *Gudde/Guddas* ‘Pole, Lithuanian or Russian’ is interpreted as “obviously, a nickname of an Eastern (northern) Slav”; cf. Lith. dial. *báltgudis* ‘Belarusian’), or Ukr. *чорногорці* (Serb. *Црногорци*, Bel. *чарнагорцы*, Pol. *Czarnogórcy*, etc.) and Lith.

juodkalniēčiai (Latv. *melnkalniēši*, Rum. *muntenegrenii*, Gr. *Μαυροβούνιοι* or Tur. *Karadağlılar*).

3. SEMANTIC EXTENSION: COMPARATIVE PLAN

Semantic transformations are a characteristic feature of ethnonyms due to connotations that go beyond the limits of the onomastic sphere. In this connection, we should mention the theory of Andrej A. Beleckij, reliable Ukrainian linguist (Beleckij 1972: 190–191), who added a function of individualisation to the concept of semantics of proper names, including ethnonyms.

3.1. Let us start with figurative meanings of ethnonyms. Under the conditions of comparable non-closely related languages, it is difficult to trace “paradigmatic” parallels (the only exception is for historicisms of international nature, such as Ukr. *вандали* or Lith. *vandālai*), since semantic extension is influenced by extralinguistic factors and is also connected to the presence of ethnic stereotypes.

Figurative meaning of certain ethnic names is rather characteristic of both (mainly colloquial) languages, e.g. Ukr. *турок* (‘Turk’) in the old regional meaning of “weedy person” or *француз* (‘French’): in some regions, a euphemistic designation of a Jew, mostly humorous (from the author’s own observations in the 60s and 70s of the last century); cf. Lith. *vókiētis* ‘protestant’, *tuŗkas* ‘non-Christian’, etc. (Butkus 1995: 223 etc.).

3.2. There are also similar examples somewhat different in character, like Ukr. (modern) *німець* “German-made motorcycle” or *швед(ка)* “Swedish-style wrench”, here we can state a kind of substantivation of word combinations with nationality adjectives. In some instances, the meaning can be terminological: cf. (borrowed from English) Ukr. *фін* (a kind of sports sailboat) and Lith. *finn* (opposed to the ethnonym *súomių*).

3.3. Specific semantic transformations frequently apply to feminine word forms of ethnic names; in this regard, typical examples are Ukr. *литовка* (< *Литва*) identifying a kind of scythe, “obviously, it refers to the name of the area from which the scythe with a long straight holder spread” (ESUM III 248; Kregždys 2015: 150), as well as another item (with the same name, from Pol. *litewka* (SJP IV 172), incorporated into various European languages): name of a uniform (or jacket) worn during the First World War. Ukr. *летовка*, denoting a variety of potatoes (ESUM III 227), is presumably related to Lithuania. Another area is addressed in the case of Ukr. *шведка* (*шведська ніч*, literally: “Swedish stove”) ‘brick stove for residential premises’, cf. Lith. *švėdiška órkaitė*. Such terms of a rather choronymic nature associated with economic activities usually indicate realia originating in specific areas, and their names reflect their geographical origins. For example, thanks to the Arabs, the Europeans got acquainted a long time ago with exotic buckwheat and its grains: cf. Fr. *sarrasin*, It. *grano saraceno*. However, some Slavic and Baltic names, in particular Ukr. *гречка*, Bel. *грэчка*, Pol. *gryka* (also *litewka* and *tatarka*, as well as Ukr. *татарка*, cf. the ethnic names like Ukr. *грекиня* | *гречанка*, Blr. *грэчанка*, Pol. *Greczynka*), Lith. (of Slavic origin) *grìkis*, *grìkiai* (Gritėnienė et

al. 2022: 121), Latv. *griķi* (cf. Lith. *graiķė*, Latv. *grieķu*) presumably (since the presence of the seme ‘Greek’ is hypothetical) point to another way for the same culture to reach other territories (cf. also borrowed from Ukrainian Rum. *hriščă*, cf. *greakă*, feminine ethnonym). The feminine gender of the word is explained in most cases by the original noun, which fell out of use due to elliptical shortening of a word combination, as in the case with Ukr. (colloquial) *болгарка* (popular name for a grinding machine, its initial samples arrived in the 60s from Bulgaria); cf. Az. *bolqarka*, Uzb. *bolgarka*, etc.). When it comes to Lith. *bulgárkė* (slang name, opposed to the feminine ethnonym *bulgārė*), mentioned in electronic sources, it’s more about a semantic tracing. At the same time, realia like Ukr. *узорка* (plum variety) or *фінка* (‘Finnish knife’), in Lithuanian are called *vengrinė slyva*, *suomiškas peilis* (Ibid.: 513, 530). In the context of the given examples, we can observe certain “universalization” of noun phrases including choronymic adjectives.

Other etymological issues are debated. Moving on to other thematic areas, it is worth mentioning, for example, a well-known dance genre: (Eng.) *polka*. According to some etymologists (Václav Machek, Max Vasmer, Pavel Chernych), it is of Czech origin and its name, used in multiple languages, is not associated with ethnonymy, thus Pol. *polka* is defined as “unclear” in a modern source (Bańkowski 2000: 688). The ethnonymic connection is stated in the *Etymological Dictionary of the Ukrainian Language*, according to which Ukr. *полька* (like some other Slavic names) “was borrowed, possibly via Polish mediation, from Czech; Cz. *polka* is the result of a semantic modification of the ethnonym *polka*, besides, it is a “symbol of solidarity with Poland, which fought against tsarist oppression” (ESUM IV 506). This is confirmed to a certain extent by the names traced in other languages, including Lith. *pòlka* (DLKŽ₁ 606). There is also a transparent case with the names of polonaise, a musical genre from Poland rooted in Polish folklore, in the 16th century, it became a court dance in France and other European countries; therefore, the original name was French, i.e. Fr. *polonaise*, borrowed in other (including Slavic) languages, and even Polish itself, cf. Ukr. *полонез*, Bel. *паланэз*, Pol. *polonez*, Lith. *polonėzas*. Another example of this type is Ukr. *алеманда* ‘French court dance derived from German roots dating back to the 16th century’ and Lith. *alemándė* as a sort of calque. The interest extends to composites with foreign choronyms, cf. Ukr. *падеспань* and Lith. *padespānas* derived from Fr. *pas d’Espagne*, name of a ballroom dance incorporating Spanish elements that has been known since the beginning of the 19th century. At the same time, Ukr. *іспанський крок* (Fr. *pas espagnol*) is one of the basic elements of horse riding.

3.4. Diminutive forms represent a particular interest. We can classify them as morphologically and semantically equivalent Ukr. *україночка* and Lith. *lietuováitė* ‘Lithuanian girl’ (Lyberis 2005: 391), but significant semantic differences can be determined, however, by comparing, for instance, Ukr. *німчик* and Lith. *vokietùkas*, which are not only devoid of diminutive or affectionate meaning: the first word has a negative connotation (SUM V 425), while in the second case we can observe several figurative meanings, in particular ‘ancient dance’ and ‘mushroom *Rozites caperata*’, which also encompasses other “folk” names: *gudùkas*

or *tuřkas* (LKŽ_e), cf. some names in other languages: Bel. *турак*, Serb. *цуганчић*, Cr. *ciganček* or *ciganin*, Ger. *Zigeuner*. No less interesting is the folkloric use of Lith. *vokietùkas* / *vokiečiùkas* referring to a devil, cf. Pol. *niemczyk* (Roback 1944: 123). An example of pluralia tantum is the popular name of a plant: Ukr. *литвинчики* (Hrinčenko 1908: 363), or *смїлка литовська* (Lat. *Silene lithuanica*), cf. Lith. *lietuvinė naktižiedė*, Pol. *lepnica litewska*. Grammatical parallelism and semantic differences attest to the peculiarity of the historical evolution of morphosemantic means of different (although genetically related) languages.

3.5. Another part of relational lexemes consists of internationalisms with historical “experience” (borrowed for most languages, including Baltic and Slavic), retaining traces of choronyms. Let us recall, for instance, Ukr. *indigo* and Lith. *indìgas* (the etymology is Greek), or the names of turquoise based on the seme ‘Turkish’: cf. Ukr. (obsolete) *туркуч* (Тумченко 2003: 405), derived from Fr. *turquoise* (ESUM V 682), and Lith. *tuřkis*. Among the names of clothes, we find, for example, Ukr. *далматика* and Lith. *dalmātika*, cf. Fr. *dalmatique* (NPL 1970: 284) or It. *dalmatica* (Zingarelli 2005: 494), coming from Latin. According to a similar principle, artificial terminological names for several chemical elements have been formed on a choronymic basis, depending on the location of discovery: Ukr. *полоній, германій, францїй, галїй, рутенїй* and Lith. *polònis, germānis, frāncis, gālis, rutėnis*.

It also seems expedient to mention botanical names with a historically conditioned geographic nature and that overlap with/come from some choronymic word combinations, such as Ukr. *персук* and Lith. *peřsikas* (this Chinese culture reached Europe via Persia), cf. Latv. *persiks*, Pol. *piersik*, etc. Zoonyms can be represented by names like Ukr. *індик*, with semantic equivalents or similarities in many European languages: it can be compared to Pol. *indyk*, Bel. *індык*, Fr. *dinde* (based on the name *poule d’Inde*), It. *gallo d’India*, Tur. *hindi*; cf. Lith. *kalakùtas* (Fraenkel 1962: 207). Most names of this type denote breeds of animals related to certain countries or historical regions: cf. Ukr. *далматин* and Lith. *dalmatìnas* (Latv. *dalmācietis*; Pol. *dalmatyńczyk*, Cr. *dalmatinac*, Eng. *Dalmatian*, etc.). Sometimes a name related to another area of origin spreads, as in the case with Fr. *spaniel* < OFr. *espagnol* (NPL 1970: 284), cf. Ukr. *спанїєль* and Lith. *spaniėlis*, as well as Pol., Eng. *spaniel*, Latv. *spaniels*, etc.

3.6. Word combinations and figurative expressions can also be identified as examples of metaphorical deonymization of choronymic idioms. Thematic sections cover various spheres of human activity.

3.6.1. A significant part of stable word combinations belongs to the category of (inter) language universals. Many of these phrases have a historical (in particular, biblical) origin. Nowadays they are used figuratively in many languages: cf. Ukr. *египетська неволя, вавилонська вежа* and Lith. *Egìpto neláisvė, Bābelio bókštas* (Gritėnienė et al. 2022: 53).

3.6.2. It should be pointed out that there are also international terminological names with components of a specific (close to ethnonymic or choronymic) nature: Ukr. *арабські числа* and Lith. *arābiški skaiťmenys*; Ukr. *турецьке сїдло* (anatomical term) and Lith. *tuřkiřkas baĩnas* (in this case, the reason is just external similarity).

3.6.3. As it is known, an international system of Latin names has been introduced to systematise botanical names, and there are quite a lot of samples with choronymic components (with generalised meanings) among them that pertain to the plant's origin or ways of acquainting and assimilation of various cultures: cf. Ukr. *пшениця польська* (Lat. *Triticum polonicum*) and Lith. *lénkinis kvietys*, Ukr. *китайський фінік* and Lith. *kiniška datulė* (cf. Latv. *Ķīnas datele*, Eng. *Chinese date*), Ukr. *конопли індійські* (Lat. *Cannabis indica*) and Lith. *iñdinė kanāpė*, etc. However, cross-language comparison can reveal different geographical references to the name of the same culture across languages, as well as demonstrate variability in terms within the same language: cf. Ukr. *дуб австрійський* (Lat. *Quercus cerris*) and Lith. *tuñkiškas ážuolas*, cf. Pol. *dąb burgundzki*, Latv. *Austrijas ozols*, Eng. *Austrian / Turkish oak*, Fr. *Chêne lombard / de Bourgogne / de Turquie*): this species is found in South-Western Europe and Asia Minor. One of the particularly revealing series is represented by names like Ukr. (variant) *грецький горіх* and Lith. *graiķinis rėšutas* (Gritėnienė et al. 2022: 117); similar names are used in Romanian and other languages, while, for example, in Irish the same nut is called “Gallic”, it can also be called “Germanic” (as in Finnish, indicating a further migration of an Asian culture towards the northern direction). The most used Ukrainian name for this nut is *волоський*, which comes from Ukr. *волох* ‘Romanian’, cf. Pol. *orzecch włoski*, literally “Italian walnut”. So far, “national” semantic content in generic names of this kind may be blurred. The same refers to names-phrases with choronymic references used to identify animal breeds: cf. Ukr. *перський кіт* and Lith. *peřsu katė*, Latv. *Persijas kaķis*, Pol. *kot perski*, etc., Ukr. *німецька вівчарка* and Lith. *vókiećiu aviganis* (cf. Bel. *нямецькая аўчарка*, Pol. *owczarek niemiecki*, Latv. *vācu aitu suns*, Eng. *German shepherd*) or Ukr. *німецький дог* and Lith. *vókiećiu dógas* (cf. Ger. *Deutsche Dogge*, Bel. *нямецькі дог*, Pol. *dog niemiecki*, Latv. *vācu dogs*, etc.).

3.6.4. Natural phenomena are also reflected in some similar word combinations. Lith. *iñdiška vāsara* is the calque of Eng. *Indian summer*; there is no well-founded explanation for the “ethnic” origin of this name, borrowed or copied in other European languages (cf., e.g., Ger. *Indian Summer* or Slv. *Indiansko poletje*), perhaps it is an impression of the weather experienced by Europeans in Indian lands. Most Slavic languages (as well as the Baltic) have their own expressions, both with another ethnonymic component (cf. Bulg. *циганско лято*) and without it: cf. Ukr. *бабине літо* and Lith. *bóbu vāsara* (LKŽ_e).

3.6.5. Most of the international medical vocabulary with choronymic elements is comprised of disease names: cf. Ukr. *мальтійська (гібралтарська) гарячка* (brucellosis, of Mediterranean origin) and Lith. *Máltos kařstligė* or Ukr. *іспанський грип* and Lith. *ispāniškasis grėpas*, cf. Ukr. (colloquial) *іспанка* (SUM 408), etc.

3.6.6. Let us also explore the sports and recreation spheres. Set terminological expressions can sometimes replace traditional names in other languages. For example, in most of them, “Greco-Roman” is the term (rather ethnical) used to describe the classical style of sports wrestling: cf. Ukr. *греко-римська боротьба* (formerly *класична боротьба* and Lith. *graiķų-romėnu imtynė*, etc. The situation pertaining to such idioms as Ukr. *летючий голландець* and Lith. *skrajórantis olándas* is somewhat different, not only because they are

based on an ancient European legend, but also because the well-known expression is used in the sports field as the designation for a sailboat, which is a tracing of the English term. One can call paradoxical the case with the choronymic designations of roller coasters, known as Ukr. *американські гірки* and Lith. *amerikietiški kalnėliai* (LKŽ_e). In many languages, including English, the same thing is called “Russian mountains”, but the explanation is straightforward: the entertainment originated in America and was given the “exotic” name of the Russian mountains, but in other places it was named according to its place of origin.

3.6.7. A distinct thematic group includes names of household equipment and utensils, based on the same principle. An exemplary sample is Eng. *Dutch oven*, traced in other languages: cf. Ukr. *голландська піч* and Lith. *olándų órkaitė*. It’s worth noting that “national” names may lose their relevance or national belonging over time, as the realities they represent become common knowledge. To illustrate, this applies to Ukr. *шведський стіл* (Scandinavian way of serving food) and Lith. *švėdiškas stālas* (Gritėnienė et al. 2022: 559). Tool and instrument names are generally international, but there are instances where the picture may be ambiguous. So, for example, what is Lith. *švėdiškas rāktas* (literally “Swedish key”), in Ukrainian is called *розвідний ключ* (in professional jargon, *шведський ключ* or *швед*).

3.6.8. Let us concentrate on the thematic group with the greatest amount of actual material. It is about gastronomic and culinary vocabulary. International exchange in this important sphere of life is usually conducted rather quickly. But, unlike most of the names mentioned above, a large number of “gluttonyms” are not standardised, that is, there are not so many internationalisms, and a considerable number of corresponding “ethnic” or “national” designations exist mainly in one or several languages. For instance, these are popular names of certain flour products, including Ukr. *литовський (чорний) хліб* and Lith. *lietuviška dúona* (Nepokupnyj, Taranenko 2004: 53), internationalisms like Ukr. *французька булка* and Lith. *prancūziška dúona* (Latv. *franču maize* or Eng. *French bread*), cf. Ukr. *французький батон* and Lith. *prancūziškas batonas* (Gritėnienė et al. 2022, 35). Ukr. *швейцарський сир* (as a specific name) and Lith. *šveicāriškas sūris* (Ibid., 559) are also representative samples, cf. Pol. *ser szwajcarski*, Latv. *Šveices siers*, Eng. *Swiss cheese*, etc. In general, when it comes to hard cheese, the first association that arises is probably “Dutch”, in Ukraine it is still often referred to as *голландський сир* “by tradition”, while Lith. *olāndiškas sūris* (Ibid., 115) is mainly associated with the Netherlands.

The names of dishes (mainly of choronymic type) form a mobile lexical-semantic complex that includes interlingual isoglosses with similar forms and meanings, names that have not been acknowledged worldwide, as well as names that emerge spontaneously. At the same time, it’s worth noting that there are a number of mainly borrowed set names that are common in many European languages, The main cause is not language-related, but rather the spread and recognition of corresponding realities. Let us mention, for example, “Russian salad” (cf. Teixeira da Silva 2025: 1, 4), which is common in many languages; this dish is known in Ukraine under the French anthroponymic name *олив’є*, it has another name in Lithuanian: *baltóji mišrainė*, cf. Pol. (*polska*) *sałata jarzynowa*, Slv. *francoska solata*, Dan.

Italiensk salat, while Ger. *Italienisches Salat* is the historical name of vegetable macedoine (of French origin), cf. Rus. *итальянский салат* (Sohlman Interpreter No 2: 40) and Lith. *itāliškos salōtos*, but Ukr. *италійський салат* refers to various vegetable salads. Another case is that of the internationally renowned “Greek salad”, which in Greece is known as *χωριάτικη σαλάτα* (literally “village salad”), cf. Ukr. *грецький салат* and Lith. *graĩkiškos salōtos*, Pol. *salatka grecka*, Latv. *grieķu salāti*, Eng. *Greek salad*, etc. It’s important to mention the famous Ukrainian borscht: Ukr. *український борщ* and Lit. *ukrainiėtiški bařšciai* (Gritėnienė et al. 2022: 45), which can be misinterpreted in certain external sources as (Eng.) *Russian style beetroot and cabbage soup* (Lexus 1999: 71); cf. Pol. *barszcz ukraiński* (Nebesky 2001: 244); however, in Poland this name is associated with the distinction of varieties; cf. also Pol. *chlodnik litewski* and Bel. *літоўскі халаднік*, Latv. *lietuviėšu aukstā zupa*, Eng. *Lithuanian cold soup* and Lith. *lietūviški šaltibarščiai*. Typical Lithuanian national dishes include Lith. *siļkė lietūviškai* or *lietūviškos salōtos su kumpiū* (Aras 2001: 245, 246). There are also many names for popular meat and fish dishes, but cases of tracing are rare. Uncertainty of a single source of origin (of realia, in this case, for sweets) is evidenced by interlingual equivalents, such as Lith. *dāniškas pyrāgas*, Fr. *gâteau danois* or Eng. *Danish coffee bread* and Ger. *Kopenhagener*; in Denmark sweet products made of puff pastry are called *wienerbrød*, and the word *даниш*, which originates from Eng. *Danish pastry* (Webster’s 1973: 209), made its way into Ukrainian not too long ago. Although the product’s origin is known, the names in different languages can vary: cf. Lith. *čigōniškas pyrāgas* and Ukr. *пляцок «Циганська дорога»* (“Gypsy Road” cake). One of the most popular kinds of Oriental sweet stuff (Ukr. *лукум*, Lith. *lukumas*, cf. Tur. *lokum*) in many languages has descriptive names, cf. Lith. *tuŗkiškas malonūmas* or Latv. *Turku saldumi* (found only in some electronic sources), Pol. *Turecka rozkosz*, Eng. *Turkish delight* and (less used) Ukr. *турецька насолода*; a similar case is exemplified by Ukr. *каталонський крем* and Lith. *katalōniškas krėmas*, cf. Pol. *krem kataloński*, Latv. *kataloniešu krėms*, Eng. *Catalan cream*, etc.

The names traced to indicate geographical or national origin, like Tur. *türk kahvesi*, can become popular in different languages: cf. Ukr. *кава по-турецькому* and Lith. *tuŗkiška kavà*; at the same time, in Greece, the same drink is also known as *ελληνικός καφές*. In some instances, these names are translated from an intermediate language (English), in which the ethnonymic/choronymic adjective became a generic noun: cf. Lith. *aĩriška kavà* and Ukr. *кава по-ірландському* (Lexus 1999: 511), or just copied, as in the case with It. *Irish coffee* (Zingarelli 2005: 950). In European countries, coffee that is light and contains a lot of water is referred to as “American”: cf. Lith. *amerikiėtiška kavà*, Fr. *café américain*, Sp. *café americano*, It. *caffè americano*; the spread of Italian coffee culture in Ukraine has led to the widespread use of the name (*кава*) *американо*. The given examples, due to their different linguistic characteristics, are of particular interest in country (regional) studies.

4. PHRASEOLOGICAL ASPECTS

4.1. Phrases and expressions of eponymic nature should be noted separately, e.g. Eng. *American Dream*, Ukr. *американська мрія* and Lith. *amerikietiška svajõnė* (cf. Latv. *amerikāņu sapnis*). It should be emphasised that ethnonymic elements are not an exception when it comes to semantic change. The material demonstrates that this phenomenon has a long history and spans across the most diverse thematic groups. Considering phraseological word combinations with ethnonymic or choronymic components that have an overall figurative meaning seems to be the appropriate approach. The comments above focused primarily on noun phrases that denote realities (in the material sense of this word) or characteristics; their meaning is generally neutral. Moreover, there is a significant number of similar phrases that combine the named features with elements of imagery.

Often the basis of a set phrase is a well-known literary work that contains “winged” words. Thus, for example, thanks to F. Cooper, the title of his novel “The Last of the Mohicans” gained a figurative sound in many languages (Koval, Koptilov 2011: 428), cf. Ukr. *останній із могокан* and Lith. *paskutinis iš mohikāņu* (Latv. *pēdējais no mohikāņiem*). Expressions like Ukr. *російська рулетка* and Lith. *rūsiška rulėtė* or Latv. *krievu rulete* (“Russian roulette”) have another origin, like Ukr. *іспанський сором* and Lith. *ispāniška gėda* (“Spanish shame”). We mean not only and not so much the primary meaning of the respective name, which is already figurative, but also further, even more abstract, meanings. A modern illustration: the history of the “Polish plumber” as a symbolic designation of labour force coming from Eastern Europe, originated in 2004, when Fr. *plombier polonais* was featured in a satirical newspaper and spread a year later thanks to a French conservative politician (unlike another image he used: *architecte estonien*). Corresponding phrases in other European languages have acquired the same figurative meaning: cf. Pol. *polski hydraulic* (although there was a natural adverse reaction when such a symbol appeared), Cz. *polský instalatér*, Eng. *Polish plumber*, It. *idraulico polacco*, Sp. *fontanero polaco*, Port. *encanador polaco*, etc. It should be noted that in this case, there is a partial loss of choronymic semantics, which is accompanied by an expansion of the original meaning. However, Ukr. *польський сантехнік*, as well as Lith. *lėnky santėchnikas* or Latv. *Poļu santehniķis*, mentioned in some (mainly electronic) publications, do not have the status of phraseological units.

4.2. Let us examine set expressions with ethnonymic/choronymic elements and verbs as their basic components. In this field, similar thematic categories can be identified, many of which are extended versions of the samples mentioned above.

Discussing pan-European phraseological isoglosses, we will start with a farewell, i.e., Ukr. *ніти по-англійському* (translated into Lithuanian: *palikti āngliškai*), etc., coming obviously from Fr. *filer (s'en aller) à l'anglaise*, just one example of how the French can perceive ‘English behavior’, based on historical context. Lith. *taĩ mán kaiř kìnų kalbà* and Latv. *tā man ir ķīniešu ābece* can be compared to Gr. *για μενα Κινεζικα*, while the history behind Ukr. *китайська грамота* (“Chinese script”) is likely to be different. There are also figurative expressions with choronyms (or without them in some languages), such as Lith. *statyti smėlio*

pilis, equivalent of Fr. *bâtir des châteaux en Espagne*, cf. Ukr. *будувати замки на ніску*, Eng. *to build castles in the air/sky*, etc.

As for proverbs, the negative significance of ethnonymic components that eventually appear in them is generally neutralised: Ukr. *непроханий гість гірше татарина* (“uninvited guest is worse than a Tatar”) can serve as a typical illustration, cf. Lith. (traced) *nekviestas svėčias yrà blogėsnis už totōrių*, Pol. *nieproszony gość gorszy od Tatarzyna*, Latv. *nelūgts viesis ir sliktāks par tatāru*. It’s not a random fact that Lith. *Neprašytas svėčias blogėsnis už Gagāriną* is among the occasional “anti-proverbs” recorded by a modern Lithuanian researcher (Zaikauskienė 2004: 133).

5. CONCLUSION

Baltic and Slavic languages, in our case Lithuanian and Ukrainian, are example of specific genetic affinity, as evidenced, in particular, by ethnonymic and choronymic material. The noted differences concern primarily the linguistic and cultural plan and are largely due to historical circumstances.

Mutually borrowed self-names, Ukr. *українці* and Lith. *ukrainiėčiai*, Lith. *lietuviai* and Ukr. *литовці*, in the historical aspect, differ to some extent in semantic characteristics. Different origins refer to some other ethnic names, such as Ukr. *поляки*, *німці* and Lith. *lėnkai*, *vokiečiai*. An etymological comparison reveals both common Indo-European features and differences in the origins of certain names. Semasiological characteristics that have been historically determined relate to Ukr. *литвини*, which has no equivalent in the Lithuanian lexicon, and Lith. *gudai*, without an equivalent in Ukrainian, as well as collective names like Ukr. *литва*, which referred to both Lithuanians and Belarusians and was also distinguished by its “deethnonymised” meanings.

The endonyms and exonyms of European ethnoses in the comparable languages generally coincide in nomenclature.

Original figurative meanings of some different ethnic names are a common feature of both languages. A peculiarity of Ukrainian lies in the modified semantics of certain specific feminine designations formed on a choronymic basis (e.g., *литовка*, *полька*, *іспанка*).

Thematic classes encompass various areas of human activity. The lexico-semantic differences relate, in particular, to the figuralization of diminutive names (like Ukr. *німчик* and Lith. *vokietukas*).

Related word combinations and figurative expressions are examples of deonymization of ethnonymic/choronymic elements; they also cover various thematic categories. Interlanguage universals, particularly those of historical origin, make up a significant portion of them.

Phraseological expressions with ethnonymic components hold a special place. They demonstrate the commonality or significant similarity of cultural and historical factors across the languages of the European (in particular, Balto-Slavic) language area, as well as most ethnic and national stereotypes.

The material reviewed above contains diverse information that is shared mainly with Ukrainian, Lithuanian, and other European ethnicities, their cultural, psychological and other features, adding illustrative elements to develop more detailed linguistic world images. The topic addressed calls for further studies and therefore offers prospects for future research in the fields of language contacts, ethno- and cognitive linguistics.

ABBREVIATIONS

Az. – Azerbaijani; Bel. – Belarusian; Bos. – Bosnian; Bulg. – Bulgarian; cf. – compare; Cr. – Croatian; Cz. – Czech; dial. – dialectal; e.g. – for example; Eng. – English; Est. – Estonian; et al. – and others; Fin. – Finnish; Fr. – French; Gag. – Gagauz; Ger. – German; Gr. – Greek; Hun. – Hungarian; Ibid. – in the same place; i.e. – that is; It. – Italian; Lat. – Latin; Latv. – Latvian; Lith. – Lithuanian; LSorb. – Lower Sorbian; OFr. – Old French; OUkr. – Old Ukrainian; Pol. – Polish; Port. – Portuguese; Rum. – Romanian; Rus. – Russian; Serb. – Serbian; Slv. – Slovenian; Sp. – Spanish; Sw. – Swedish; Tur. – Turkish; Ukr. – Ukrainian; Uzb. – Uzbek

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