Psycholinguistics in Ukraine – From emerging ideas of the late 19th century to its birth and development during totalitarian and post-totalitarian era

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Abstract. This article presents a comprehensive overview of the historical roots, emergence and contemporary development of Ukrainian psycholinguistics, emphasising its distinct national trajectory and intellectual legacy. It challenges the misconception that Ukrainian psycholinguistics was absent or insignificant during the Soviet era, arguing instead for the recognition of a robust but suppressed scholarly tradition shaped by figures such as Olexander Potebnia, Ivan Franko, Dmytro Ovsianyko-Kulykovskyi, and others. During the totalitarian regime, many Ukrainian contributions were published in Russian or attributed to Soviet science, contributing to a colonial narrative that marginalised national achievements. Employing an aspectual-fragmentary approach, the article delineates the evolution of psycholinguistics in Ukraine from the mid-20th century to the present, outlining the methodological, thematic, and institutional developments that characterize both the totalitarian and post-totalitarian periods. It highlights the formation of prominent Ukrainian psycholinguistic schools and research centres - particularly in Pereiaslav, Lutsk, Odesa, Kharkiv, Lviv - and explores their contributions in areas such as psychosemiotics, suggestive linguistics, neurolinguistic programming, linguistic personology, and associative lexicography. The study also underscores the revival of previously prohibited theoretical paradigms, such as the "spirit of language," language's divine origin, and the unconscious in speech. Special attention is given to the current push toward nation-centered historiography, which seeks to restore historical memory and counter lingering colonial influences. The paper advocates for a Ukrainian psycholinguistic historiography shift toward institutionalization of a new academic discipline: the History of National Psycholinguistics. Ultimately, this work affirms Ukraine's independent and innovative contribution to global psycholinguistics, proposing a critical re-evaluation of Soviet-era publications and the reclamation of intellectual heritage obscured by linguistic and cultural suppression. The study

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contributes to both the academic reconstruction of Ukrainian psycholinguistics and the broader project of decolonizing national science.

Keywords: history of Ukrainian psycholinguistics, nation-centeredness, scientific schools, and centres, traditions of the totalitarian era, innovations of the post-totalitarian period.

Папіш Віталія, Космеда Тетяна. Психолінгвістика в Україні – від зародження ідей наприкінці XIX століття до народження та розвитку в тоталітарний та посттоталітарний періоди.

Анотація. У статті запропоновано всебічний огляд історичних коренів, особливостей виникнення та сучасного розвитку української психолінгвістики, водночас підкреслено її унікальний національний шлях та інтелектуальну спадщину. Спростовано хибне уявлення про те, що українська психолінгвістика була відсутня загалом або не мала належного розвитку в радянський період. Натомість доведено потребу визнання міцної, хоча й придушеної наукової традиції, сформованої такими постатями, як Олександр Потебня, Іван Франко, Дмитро Овсянико-Куликовський та інші. За часів тоталітарного режиму чимало українських наукових праць було опубліковано російською мовою або приписано радянській науці, що сприяло поширенню колоніального наративу, у якому було маргіналізовано національні досягнення. На основі аспектуально-фрагментарного підходу у статті окреслено еволюційний шлях психолінгвістики в Україні від середини ХХ століття до сьогодення, висвітлено методологійні, тематичні та інституційні зміни, що характеризують тоталітарний і посттоталітарний періоди. Презентовано формування видатних українських психолінгвістичних шкіл і наукових центрів, зокрема в Переяславі, Луцьку, Одесі, Харкові, Львові, та частково досліджено внесок представників цих осередків у психосеміотика, сугестивна лінгвістика, нейролінгвістичне програмування, лінгвістична персонологія та асоціативна лексикографія. У дослідженні наголошено на факті відродження раніше заборонених теоретичних парадигм, у фокусі яких розглянуто поняття «дух мови», гіпотеза про божественне походження мови та вчення про несвідоме в мовленні. Особливу увагу приділено сучасному поштовху до національно-орієнтованої історіографії, яка прагне відновити історичну пам'ять та протидіяти залишкам колоніального впливу. Обґрунтовується методологійний перехід до української психолінгвістичної історіографії та інституціоналізації нової наукової дисципліни - історії національної психолінгвістики. Наукова розвідка підтверджує незалежний та інноваційний внесок України у світову психолінгвістику, запропоновано критичну переоцінку радянських публікацій та відновлення інтелектуальної спадщини, прихованої мовним та культурним пригніченням. Розвідка сприяє і академічній реконструкції української психолінгвістики, і ширшому проєкту деколонізації національної науки.

Ключові слова: історія української психолінгвістики, націєцентризм, наукові школи й осередки, традиції тоталітарної епохи, новаторство потстоталітарного періоду.

Introduction

Psycholinguistics, as a landmark phenomenon in Ukrainian linguistics, originated in the works of Potebnia, Ovsianyko-Kulykovskyi, Franko, and

others. Over the course of time, the field has accumulated a substantial body of scholarly knowledge, which now necessitates systematic generalisation and rigorous presentation to the wider academic community. To date, a comprehensive synthesis of the formation, development, and advancement of Ukrainian psycholinguistics has not been fully realised. During the totalitarian period – when Ukraine was part of Tsarist Russia and later the Soviet Union – the achievements of Ukrainian scholars in psycholinguistics were frequently subsumed under the scientific output of those dominant regimes. This practice contributed to the erroneous perception that psycholinguistics was altogether absent from Ukraine in that era.

This article provides an aspectual and fragmentary overview of the major tendencies and processes characterising the development of Ukrainian psycholinguistics. It highlights both the continuity of scholarly tradition and contemporary advancements in the field. The term 'tendencies' is used here to refer to qualitative and quantitative shifts associated with the evolution of Ukrainian psycholinguistic paradigms, including methodological advancements, the development of novel techniques, and the identification of patterns within Ukrainian linguistics throughout both totalitarian and post-totalitarian periods. There is a clear scholarly need for a detailed historiographical reconstruction of national psycholinguistics.

Historiographical studies that delineate the major tendencies in the development of Ukrainian psycholinguistics include the works of Zasiekina (2007) and Leshkova (2012), which primarily address the theoretical and methodological challenges facing Ukrainian psycholinguistics in the 21st century. Zasiekina (2007) emphasised the centrality of interdisciplinarity and its application to psycholinguistics. particularly in the erasure of boundaries psycholinguistics, discursive psychology, psychological hermeneutics, psychosemiotics. However, both Zasiekina and Leshkova relied predominantly on Russian-language sources - an unsurprising fact, given that Ukrainian-language scholarship in psycholinguistics had not yet been adequately distinguished or studied. Until recently, most psycholinguistics courses in Ukrainian higher education institutions used Russian-language textbooks.

Ukrainian scholars are now increasingly overcoming the epistemic consequences of colonial dependence, linguocide, and ethnocide perpetuated under authoritarian rule. Since the onset of the Russian–Ukrainian war, there has been a growing effort to liberate psycholinguistic research from both the ideological and linguistic influence of Russian scholarship, as well as from Russian-language publications that promote the narrative of the "Russkiy mir" ("Russian world") and advance pseudo-scientific claims such as the assertion that Ukrainian is a dialect of Russian, or that Ukrainian linguistics lacks historical continuity and scientific legitimacy. In light of hese challenges, there is a

pressing need to discredit such narratives and to reaffirm the fact that many Ukrainian researchers were compelled to publish in Russian due to the banning (as in the Tsarist period) or marginalisation (as in the Soviet period) of the Ukrainian language. At the same time, it is important not to disregard significant Russian-language works authored by Ukrainian scholars during the totalitarian period; while these works reflect a specific historical context, they constitute a valuable part of the national intellectual heritage and merit critical engagement. As Ishchenko and Stepanenko (2024) observed:

"If one examines the biographies of prominent Ukrainian scholars—particularly those active in the second half of the 20th century—it becomes evident that their academic legacy often consists of publications in Moscow-based presses or Russian-language works published in Kyiv. For a Soviet scholar, the language of science was, first and foremost, Russian" (pp. 57–58).

Encouragingly, contemporary Ukrainian scholars are gradually moving beyond the legacy of the so-called "older brother" narrative (i.e., Russian intellectual hegemony). For example, in their interpretations of Potebnia's psycholinguistic concepts, Kryshko and colleagues (2022) rightly present his work as part of the Ukrainian scholarly tradition, specifically within the framework of its totalitarian-period development.

The aim of this article is to provide a descriptive and aspectual-fragmentary synthesis of the development of Ukrainian psycholinguistics from the late 19th century (totalitarian era) to the present (post-totalitarian period). This review takes into account the continuity of established traditions and the emergence of scholarly innovations. Ultimately, it seeks to substantiate the need for a new academic subfield, "Ukrainian psycholinguistic historiography", and for the inclusion of a dedicated university-level discipline titled "History of National Psycholinguistics".

The relevance of the study lies in the necessity of foregrounding the national dimension within psycholinguistics. The principal methodological orientation of this research is nation-centredness. A thorough description of the Ukrainian scientific tradition and its contribution to contemporary psycholinguistic inquiry represents one element of a broader effort to restore the historical memory of the Ukrainian people.

Methodology

The research employs several general scientific methods. The descriptive method is used to present the main achievements of Ukrainian psycholinguistics and to illustrate the development of psycholinguistic theory.

The comparative method is applied to analyse selected features of Ukrainian psycholinguistics across totalitarian and post-totalitarian periods. The study also draws on historiographica and systematic analysis methods to identify, classify, and critically interpret key issues in contemporary Ukrainian psycholinguistics, including the contributions of major research centres and individual scholars.

Among the specialised linguistic methods, the structural method is used to explore the hierarchical organisation of psycholinguistic knowledge; the conceptual–analytical method is employed for the theoretical evaluation of the field's methodological foundations; and the contextual–interpretative method is used to construct the historiographical narrative of psycholinguistics.

Results and Discussion

The nation-centred approach to the study of Ukrainian psycholinguistics highlights five key priorities:

- 1. Restoration of historical memory, particularly through the recovery of works by Ukrainian scholars that were previously forgotten or wrongly attributed to Russian science.
- 2. Refinement of the conceptual and methodological foundations of national psycholinguistics.
- 3. Expansion of research themes and disciplinary directions within the field.
- 4. Development and institutionalisation of psycholinguistic schools and research centres in Ukraine.
- 5. Promotion of broader interdisciplinary engagement and increased informational depth within psycholinguistic scholarship.

The development of psycholinguistic theory has been significantly shaped by prominent intellectuals. Among those who have contributed to the modern profile of Ukrainian psycholinguistics are Larysa Kalmykova, Oleksandr Kholod, Tetiana Kovalevska, Lidiia Lysychenko, Heorhii Pocheptsov, Olena Selivanova, Larysa Zasiekina, Serhii Zasiekin, and others. These scholars have diversified the field's problematics, established psycholinguistic schools and academic centres, enriched the body of educational literature, and advanced the development of psycholinguistic terminology and subfields.

In the context of post-independence Ukraine, there has been renewed scholarly interest in the psychological functions of language as articulated by classical Ukrainian linguists. Unsurprisingly, Potebnia has received substantial attention, particularly given continued attempts by Russian scholars to appropriate his intellectual legacy. Ukrainian researchers such as Isaeva (2011),

Kosmeda (2016), Kovalevska (2001b), Kovalova (2004), Lysychenko (2006), Osipova (2016), and Shevchenko (2011) consistently affirm that Potebnia should be regarded as a figure of pride within Ukrainian linguistics.

Similarly, the psycholinguistic and philosophical contributions of Ovsianyko-Kulykovskyi - also claimed by Russian academia - have been foregrounded by Zahurska (2017), Papish (2024a), Svyshcho (2012), and others, who stress his significance for Ukrainian psycholinguistics. The psychological ideas of Franko have been reconstructed in detail by Kosmeda (2006; 2024) and Papish (2024b). Even in an era prior to the formal establishment of independent psycholinguistics discipline, Ukrainian as an demonstrated keen sensitivity to the interplay between language and psyche, revealing an intuitive grasp of the principles governing speech activity. Nonetheless, certain foundational studies - critical to understanding the development of psycholinguistic thought in Ukraine - remain underexplored and require further scholarly attention, which this study aims to initiate.

Franko's work *From the Secrets of Poetic Creativity* (Franko, 1898) holds methodological significance for contemporary psycholinguistics. In this work, the writer not only offers a profound analysis of the fundamental philosophical tenets of the ancient Greeks (Aristotle, Herodotus, Hesiod, Homer, Plato, among others) and of the psychological, philosophical, and linguistic investigations by leading scholars of his time (Wundt, Hartmann, Dessoir, Kant, Fechner, Schopenhauer, Steinthal) regarding the psychological nature of language, but also proposes innovative ideas for his era concerning the nature of poetic speech. He examines the phenomenon of poetic creativity and its mechanisms of generation, crafting a metalanguage for his conceptual framework within a psycholinguistic perspective.

Franko's concept is projected onto the specification of psychology's tasks with reference to poetic, scientific, and critical creativity. He thereby outlines the origins of psycholinguistics. The scholar argues that the task of "modern psychology" is to investigate the categories of aesthetics ("aesthetics is essentially the science of feelings, especially of the perception of artistic beauty, and thus, a part of psychology") using psychological methods, including experimental techniques. He considers the "general psychological foundations" influencing the process of poetic creativity and highlights the "connection between poetic disposition and mental illness." He distinguishes between the categories of the conscious and the unconscious (subconscious), and interprets higher and lower types of consciousness. At the same time, Franko emphasises that mental activity cannot be defined by a "universal formula" because the problem is overly complex; in his view, the phenomenon of the unconscious requires urgent investigation.

The scholar focuses on the notion of suggestibility, which he applies to poetic ("the poet's suggestion"), scientific ("the scientist's suggestion"), and critical ("the literary critic's suggestion") types of intellectual activity. He introduces the concept of the "poet's temperament," describing it as a "means of sensing and even momentary moods," and argues that temperament influences the characteristics of the creative process. He insists that a "psychologist <...> must recognise the poetic disposition as a separate psychological type" and must be able to identify the linguistic capabilities of the "born poet." This concerns the role of consciousness in poetic creativity, the "features of poetic imagination," and the "connection between poetic disposition and mental disorders." Franko isolates the poetic self and masterfully elaborates this concept by analysing the poetry of Shevchenko, offering a definition of "poetic creativity" as a distinct psychological activity in which the unconscious element plays a central role. He contrasts the conscious self with the second (hidden, inner) self, that is, the higher and lower consciousness (after Dessoir) (cf.: "Every person, besides their conscious 'I', must have within themselves another 'I', which has its own separate consciousness and memory, its own judgement, feelings, choices, reasoning, and actions - in a word, it possesses all the features that constitute a psychological person"). Franko views suggestion as a consequence upbringing, the result of "many millennia of cultural labour of the entire human race" stored in the upper consciousness. The lower consciousness is the "cradle of 'prejudices' and 'biases', unclear impulses, sympathies and antipathies"; "in mental illnesses such as mania and acute frenzy, we see how an excess of impressions renders any organic thinking impossible. This great absorptive power of the lower consciousness, however, has not only this negative effect; it also possesses immense positive value, for it turns the lower consciousness into a vast, inexhaustible repository of thoughts and emotions..." Thus, the foundations of pathological speech research were laid.

The philosopher reflects on the peculiarities of associative poetic thinking in the poet's soul, using such terms as "abstract-intellectual spiritual process," "features of the psychic constitution," and "general laws of association of ideas," which, following Wundt, he classifies into (a) the law of similarity and (b) the law of habit (analogy). One can observe the actualisation of terms such as "psychic laws of cohesion," "poetic imagination," "associations of images and ideas," "special poetic association of ideas," "old links," "common" and "uncommon" associations, "easiest associations of ideas," "natural path of idea association from part to whole," "associative chain," "senses," "psychological details," "chambers of our brain matter," and "poetic feeling." He adopts Steinthal's classification, which articulates three laws of association of ideas ("1. The soul more easily returns from an unusual state to a usual one than to the

opposite. 2. The soul follows the course of actual motion more readily than against it. 3. An independent object reproduces a dependent one with more difficulty than the reverse; a whole reproduces a part with more difficulty than the reverse") and applies these laws to the analysis of Shevchenko's texts. The scholar also considers the problem of understanding genius.

Interpreting the concept of 'poetic imagination,' Franko compares poetic fantasies to 'dreamlike phantoms' ('dream visions,' dreams) and hallucinations. He attempts to describe their emergence, emphasising "mechanical or chemical impulses" that "nerves transmit to specific brain centres, and within the cells of our brain substance, an image arises of the centre from which the impulse originated." He concludes: "This is the source and mechanism of our sensory perception (the reception of external impressions) and simultaneously the source of our sensory illusions." This refers to the unconscious brain activity in creating a particular "world of images" in poetic speech, a corresponding "mental illusion." Franko elucidates the mechanism of the power and richness of "dream fantasy," affirming that "our spiritual life within the boundaries of consciousness consists of two categories of phenomena: (a) impressions - images and their combinations - thought, and (b) affects feelings - passions"; he explores their symbolism and prophetic potential. Imagination, according to the writer, "was the sovereign mistress of an enormous treasure of impressions and ideas," while the human psyche "is merely the receptive apparatus." The concept of the soul is presented as the sum of the "functions of the internal organs," and "mental life" is based on the manifestations of consciousness associated with its impulses, memory, the "inner self of feeling," imagination (the capacity to combine and transform images), and will (the ability to realise "our physical or spiritual powers").

However, in the writer's view, not all senses are "equally important for the development of our soul," and even "elementary psychology" differentiates between higher and lower senses – those with specialised, well-developed organs (sight, hearing, taste, smell) and those without (touch). Franko devotes special attention to the emergence of verbal (poetic) meanings based on the actualisation of the laws of association linked to basic human senses. He asserts that there is "least representation of gustatory and olfactory impressions, more of tactile and auditory impressions, and the most of visual impressions," a claim he substantiates by analysing poetic texts. Notably, employing a comparative method, he demonstrates the specificity of the verbalisation of sensory reactions across cultures: "Oriental peoples, the ancient Egyptians, Jews, Babylonians" are more inclined than Europeans to verbalise smells. In Ukrainian poetry, "such a hypertrophy of the olfactory sense is not encountered." Like Potebnia, Franko believes that "gustatory

impressions appear far more frequently in our poetry, if only because the abstractions of these impressions in our language and in many others are used to express pleasant and unpleasant feelings in general. 'Sweet,' 'bitter,' 'sour,' 'salty,' 'astringent' possess diverse meanings." He provides compelling poetic illustrations of the modelling of visual images (meanings), which are the most frequent and offer "the richest material for our psychic life" (contrasts of light and darkness, the infinite scale of colours, corresponding colouristic verbal effects).

Worthy of attention is Franko's comparison of poetry as an art form with other forms (music, painting, sculpture). This concerns the high creative function of the "human spirit" and the exceptional power of the "spirit of language," which finds its most vivid expression in poetry. Consequently, we observe the formulation of key postulates in the development of such psycholinguistic theories as the psychology of creativity, associative linguistics, the theory of the conscious and the unconscious, the psychology of perception of poetic art in comparison with other forms of art, the specificity of poetic verbalisation of basic sensory images, and the theory of genius.

Other methodologically significant theories of psycholinguistics, previously prohibited during the post-totalitarian period of its development within Ukrainian linguistics and now revitalised, have been reintroduced into the scientific discourse. These include the postulates of Potebnia, regarded as the founder of the psychological school in Ukrainian linguistics. Notably, Potebnia proposed:

- (1) a strong interrelation between psychology and linguistics, encouraging the interpretation of linguistic phenomena through the lens of psychology and vice versa;
- (2) the concept of the "spirit of language," which he defined as a complex construct reflecting elements of ethnic psychology, cognitive activity, behaviour, worldview, perception, belief systems, and mythology as expressed in a particular ethno-idiolect. This idea is now being projected onto research concerning cognitive processes of the human psyche, linguistic and linguistic and cognitive worldviews ethnoconsciousness, (Bardina, Zasiekin, & Kulish);
- (3) Potebnia's hypothesis on the divine origin of language, positing that language was initially oriented toward positive and exclusively truthful communication, is also revisited. This notion aligns with contemporary understandings of the human capacity for deception in speech and how language may facilitate distortions of reality. It supports the idea of an identification between word and referent, thus concealing the fact that environmental communication is not always truthful. This has implications for

the study of "special languages," such as those attributed to angels or the devil (see: Vakulenko, 1999; 2011).

Contemporary psycholinguistics, following Potebnia and Franko, also demonstrates renewed interest in the phenomenon of apperception, i.e. the influence of previous experience on knowledge perception—a concept now developed in linguistic cognitivism and theories of linguistic and cognitive worldviews (see: Isaeva, 2011).

Additionally, Potebnia's categorical assertion that children should be educated exclusively in their mother tongue remains significant. He argued that denationalisation results in intellectual degradation (Potebnia, 1992). His ideas concerning the roles of the conscious and unconscious in speech continue to evolve, currently explored by scholars such as Batsevych (2012, 2019) and Bondarenko (2002). The role of experiment in language, extensively analysed by Ovsianko-Kulikovsky in the wake of Potebnia and Franko, is being actively advanced today by researchers such as Druzhynets (2019), Kovalevska (2014), and Martinek (2021) (see: Papish, 2024a).

Dmytro Ovsianyko-Kulykovskyi, a direct intellectual successor of Potebnia, expanded his teacher's psycholinguistic ideas by applying them to: (1) the psychology of gifted individuals and the connection between mental processes, artistic vision, and intuition; (2) the psychological nature of the word and the expression of emotion in speech; (3) psychological interpretation of texts and the creative nature of language; (4) associative-apperceptive processes in speech; (5) considerations of normal versus pathological speech, approaching the issue of accentuated writing. The psycholinguistic orientation of his work is evident from his Russian-language publications, such as On the Significance of Scientific Linguistics for the Psychology of Thought (1901), The Psychology of Thought and Feeling: Artistic Creativity. Foundations of Vedaism (1909), Introduction to an Unwritten Book on the Psychology of (Scientific-Philosophical Artistic) (1909), Creativity and and Questions of the Psychology of Creativity: Pushkin, Heine, Goethe, Chekhov (1909) (see: Papish, 2024a).

Scholars have identified numerous theoretical concepts developed by Ukrainian classics that not only paralleled but at times anticipated those of foreign psycholinguists, though they were often unrecognised due to the constraints of the totalitarian regime. For instance, Ivan Franko's discussion of "dreamlike visions and hallucinations" in the creative process prefigured Sigmund Freud's theory of dream interpretation (Papish, 2022, p. 30). Potebnia's phenomenological psycholinguistic theory preceded the ideas of Heidegger and Merleau-Ponty (Stratan, 1998), and his studies on speech generation and the interrelation of language and thought anticipated those of

many Western European theorists of linguistic consciousness, including Wundt. Later, the ideas of Potebnia and Ovsianyko-Kulykovskyi resonated in the works of Vygotsky, Luria, and Leontyev. Potebnia laid the groundwork for a paradigm in which language is conceived not only as a communicative tool but also as a cognitive instrument intimately connected to cultural and historical experience. His concept of the internal form of the word has proved contemporary particularly fruitful, resonating linguistics in psycholinguistics with notions such as linguistic representation, gestalt, and worldview. Potebnia thus unified individual-psychological and collectivecultural aspects of language, providing a productive basis for contemporary interdisciplinary research.

Particularly noteworthy for Ukrainian psycholinguistics are the somewhat neglected contributions of Soviet Ukrainian scholar Leonid Bulakhovskyi, a follower of Potebnia who notably received and interpreted his teacher's legacy (see: Bulakhovskyi, 1951; 1953; 1961). Bulakhovsky elaborated the affinity between linguistics and psychology (in the section "Linguistics and Psychology"), presenting the foundational elements of psycholinguistics. He defined the concept of 'the psychology of language,' advocated for the development of 'psychological semantics,' interpreted the term 'psychology of peoples,' and emphasised the dependence of individual mental acts on those typical of the nation to which the individual belongs (Bulakhovskyi, 1975, pp. 94–96).

He developed a theory of the psychological basis of children's speech, laying the foundations of ontolinguistics (section "The Social Aspect of Child Speech"). He noted that children sometimes introduce words into adult language through playful alterations; highlighted the influence of caregivers' speech on children; observed that most of children's lexicon originates from interjections; and described the active use of reduplication by children (Bulakhovskyi, 1975, pp. 293–295).

He formulated postulates of gender linguistics regarding male and female speech (in the section "Remarks on Women's Speech," he observed that each language contains two psychologically motivated varieties—'female speech' and 'male speech'). Due to women's historically subordinate status, a "secret" language developed among them for communication hidden from men. Female speech, as contrasted with male speech, was expected to be more polite, eschew swearing, employ euphemisms, and observe speech taboos. It was also closely associated with child speech (Bulakhovskyi, 1975, pp. 293-294). These ideas were later interpreted and expanded by Tetiana Kosmeda and her school (Kosmeda, 2008; Kosmeda et al, 2015, pp. 212-218), who asserted that the methodological postulates of gender linguistics as a modern branch of psycholinguistics Ukrainian were originally laid Bulakhovskyi. by

Contemporary gender linguistics in Ukraine distinguishes between feminine and masculine linguistics, identifies primary features of male and female speech, and outlines strategies and tactics of their verbal and nonverbal communication.

This list of unrecognised achievements by Ukrainian scholars during the colonial phase of scientific development could be extended further (see Fig. 1).

Figure 1
The Emergence of Psycholinguistic Ideas in the Works of Franko, Potebnia,
Ovsianyko-Kulykovskyi, and Bulakhovskyi



The problem of exploring the relationship between language and psychology, first addressed in the works of Franko, Potebnia, Ovsianyko-Kulykovskyi, and Bulakhovskyi, found further development in a comparatively new field within modern Ukrainian philology – the psycholinguistics of literary texts/discourse. This area was actively advanced by Lysychenko, a prominent representative of the Kharkiv School of Philology. The central idea of her theoretical framework is the psychological determination of literary speech (Lysychenko, 1996; 2001). According to this perspective, an author's linguistic choices are not accidental but conditioned by their individual psychological traits. Consequently, it becomes possible to reconstruct the psychological portrait of a writer through the analysis of linguistic material (taking into account all levels of the language

system and viewed through the prism of stylistic features), as well as on the basis of intertextual evidence (e.g., biography, including psychobiography and contemporary evaluations).

Together with Skorbach, Lysychenko (2001) proposed an original model for analysing literary texts, which was tested using the poetry of Mykhail Semenko and Valerii Polishchuk. This model effectively revealed individual-typological features of the authors' linguistic personalities. Linguistic analysis of the literary texts led to the conclusion that Semenko was an introvert + choleric, whereas Polishchuk was an extrovert + choleric. Lysychenko (2007) also investigated the psychology of text perception by readers, thereby continuing to develop the ideas of Potebnia and Franko regarding textual apperception. She highlighted the crucial role of the interaction between writer, language and reader, which is socio-culturally conditioned.

In postcolonial Ukrainian psycholinguistics, we observe the formation and active development of scholarly schools and research centres whose aims include: (a) disseminating and deepening traditional knowledge – thus actualising the principle of continuity in Ukrainian scholarship, and (b) elaborating and refining innovative theoretical frameworks.

One such example is the school of thought entitled "Polyfunctional Interpretative Linguistic Paradigm: Current Directions", headed by Professor Kosmeda, the founder of Ukrainian linguoaxiology. This school features explicitly psycholinguistic orientations in its research, including:

- 1. Psychosemiotics (Kosmeda, Osipova, Piddubna, & Khaliman);
- 2.Psychological aspects of gender linguistics (Kosmeda, Osipova, Salionovych, & Khaliman);
 - 3. The theory of linguo-psychoaccentuation (Papish);
 - 4. Linguopersonology (Kosmeda, Mykytiuk, Osipova, & Piddubna);
 - 5. Linguistics of emotions (Kosmeda & Slipetska);
 - 6. The theory of the ego-text (I-linguistics) (Kosmeda & Papish);
 - 7. The linguistics of deception, or linguo-mentiology (Kosmeda) and
- 8. The theory of discursive word as a factor in determining the psychotype of the linguistic personality (Kosmeda & Papish).

The research focus of this school encompasses the linguistic and psychological interpretation of texts/discourses, specific linguistic phenomena, and the phenomenon of collective and individual consciousness, among other topics.

Within the currently prominent cognitive-discursive paradigm, psycholinguistic concepts that were previously stifled under the totalitarian regime have gradually been revived. A pertinent example is the theory of speech influence, interpreted by Olena Selivanova as "a branch of applied linguistics situated at the intersection with communicative linguistics, discourse studies, and psycholinguistics" (Selivanova, 2012, p. 226). In more

recent studies, this approach has increasingly been classified as psycholinguistic in nature. The theory of speech influence has been applied to contexts such as advertising language (Kutuza, 2018; Shcherbak, 2018), education (Myronenko & Puliak, 2022; Nikolaienko, 2009; Palchevskyi, 2005), and, in the context of the Russian–Ukrainian war, the manipulation of consciousness (Pryshchepa, 2017).

Suggestion, recognised as one of the most powerful forms of speech and communicative influence, was discussed by both Potebnia and Franko. This naturally led to the development of suggestive linguistics, aimed at influencing interlocutors through specific linguistic constructions. This direction is being actively developed in Ukraine by scholars of the unique Odesa School of Psycholinguistics, comprising 36 researchers and led by Professor Kovalevska of Odesa I. I. Mechnikov National University. According to the school's research dossier, its primary areas of study include:

- 1. Suggestive linguistics (Kovalevska);
- 2. Psycholinguistics and communicative linguistics (Kovalevska);
- 3. Political linguistics and pragma-linguistics (Kondratenko);
- 4. Sociolinguistics and linguistic conflict studies (Formanova);
- 5. Linguopersonology (Romanchenko);
- 6.Pathogenic political discourse, spin-suggestology, and profiling (Kovalevska-Slavova).

The school's overarching aim is the development of a new theory of verbal and non-verbal suggestion in various types of discourse. Its researchers have proposed a comprehensive set of strategies and tactics to counteract negative influence, contributing to the ecologisation of the information space and the development of programmes in the sphere of Ukraine's information security. Notable publications by members of this school include:

- Communicative Aspects of Neuro-Linguistic Programming (Kovalevska, 2001);
- Communicative Suggestion in Advertising Discourse: A Psycholinguistic Aspect (Kutuza, 2018);
- Ukrainian Spoken Language: Psycho- and Sociophonetic Aspects* (Druzhynets, 2019);
- The Elite Linguistic Personality in the Space of Scientific Discourse: Communicative Aspects (Romanchenko, 2019) and
- The collective monograph *Current Directions in the Study of Verbal Suggestion*. The Odesa Linguistic School: Coordinates of Contemporary Research, edited by Kovalevska (see in detail: Kovalevska, 2014).

Based on the methodological foundations of neuro-linguistic programming, a number of doctoral dissertations by Bronikova, Kyseliova, Anastasiia Kovalevska, Oleksiuk, Petrenko, Stankevych, & Hovorenko have been completed,

"the results of which will prove useful for further development of the theoretical foundations of the theory of speech and communicative influence and other related fields of the humanities" (ibid., p. 116).

The Odesa Linguistic School is also represented by Professor Bardina, who has explored English anthroponyms within the psycholinguistic epistemological space (Bardina, 2016) and addressed the issue of linguistic harmonisation of consciousness (Bardina, 1997).

The expansion of the research domain is also reflected in contemporary associative lexicography, particularly in the compilation of associative dictionaries based on psychological experiments conducted with respondent groups. Researchers from Odesa I. I. Mechnikov National University have compiled The Associative Dictionary of Ukrainian Advertising Vocabulary compiled by Kovalevska and colleagues (Kovalevska, Sologub, & Stavchenko, 2001) and The Concise Associative Dictionary of Advertising Slogans compiled by Kutuza and Kovalevska (2001), which have no analogues in Ukraine and represent a significant contribution to the theory of speech influence. These dictionaries enable the identification of priority groups of appellative and onomastic vocabulary in the process of their perception (specifically in response to advertising messages) and contribute to uncovering common mental orientations in decoding processes within both rhetorical and interindividual communication. This, in turn, facilitates the modelling of appropriately suggestively marked discourses and adequate, harmonious communicative contexts (Kovalevska, 2014, p. 113).

A similar dictionary was later compiled by Karpenko (2006). Though modest in volume, containing just 60 entries, each headed by a proper noun stimulus, the dictionary records the reactions of 100 recipients, listed by frequency.

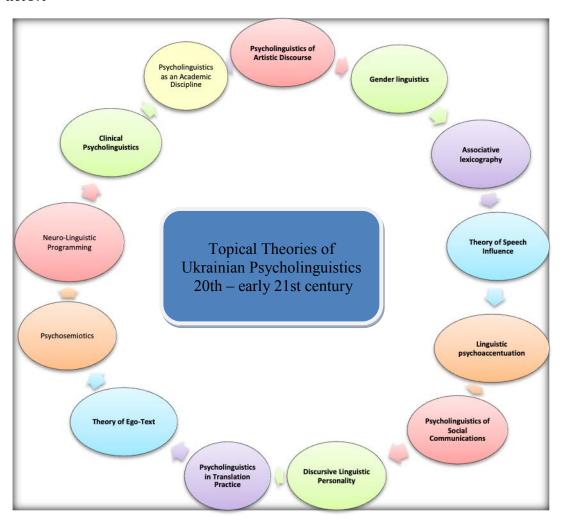
The tradition of compiling such dictionaries has been continued by Pasterchuk (2019), who created *The Associative Dictionary of Personal Proper Names*. This Associative Dictionary is distinctive in that it pertains not only to the theory and practice of onomastics, but also to linguocognitology, psycholinguistics, and sociolinguistics. Its subject matter comprises "associations with personal proper names that arise in the linguistic consciousness of members of a specific linguoculture and corresponding linguistic community, gathered through the experimental method of questionnaire surveys" (Kosmeda, 2020, p. 180).

However, the origins of Ukrainian associative lexicography are most often linked to the work of Butenko (1979), author of *The Dictionary of Associative Norms of the Ukrainian Language* – one of the earliest dictionaries of its kind globally – and *The Dictionary of Associative Modifiers of Nouns in the Ukrainian Language* (Butenko, 1989). Also well known are the works of Martinek (2007),

namely the two-volume *Ukrainian Associative Dictionary*, and volumes 3–4 of *The Ukrainian Associative Dictionary*, co-compiled by Martinek and Mitkov (2021), representing the Lviv Psycholinguistic Centre (for further details, see: Papish, 2024b).

A summary of contemporary theories in Ukrainian psycholinguistics of the 20th and early 21st centuries is presented in Fig. 2.

Figure 2
Contemporary Ukrainian Psycholinguistics: Continuity of Tradition and Innovation



In addition to the aforementioned Ukrainian psycholinguistic schools, the national and cultural identity of domestic psycholinguistics is also represented by several scholarly centres, classified according to territorial principles: Vinnytsia (Donetsk School: Zahnitko, & Koval), Kamianets-Podilskyi (Marchuk & Rarytskyi), Kyiv (Bilodid, Bondarenko, Kulish, Kuranova, Sakharova, Terekhova, & Kholod), Lviv (Batsevych, Butenko, Kosmeda, Martynenko, &

Mitkov), Lutsk (Zasiekina & Zasiekin), and Pereiaslav (Kalmykova, Karpiuk, Navalna, Kharchenko). Each of these psycholinguistic centres comprises research collectives focused on particular aspects of psycholinguistics and the development of psycholinguistics teaching materials for Ukrainian universities. To date, only the activity of the Lviv psycholinguistic centre has been thoroughly documented (see: Papish, 2024b).

Arguably the most influential centre of psycholinguistics has emerged in Pereiaslav, where the All-Ukrainian Association of Psycholinguists was led by Kalmykova. established. In 2006, this centre psycholinguistic research school "The Dynamics of Psycholinguistic and Linguodidactic Issues in the Context of National and Global Scientific Development." This school coordinates the publication and reissue of collective and individual monographs, textbooks, and teaching manuals under the auspices of the Ministry of Education and Science of Ukraine. It also initiated the creation of the new academic specialisation 19.00.12 -"Psycholinguistics." One of the school's major contributions is the student textbook "Psychology of Speech and Psycholinguistics" authored by Kalmykova (2008). Annual psycholinguistic conferences are held in Pereiaslav, alongside the publication of the journal "Psycholinguistics", which addresses theoretical and applied issues in the field. Published in both Ukrainian and English since 2008, the journal holds Category "A" status (Scopus indexed), with Englishlanguage contributions increasingly prevalent in recent issues.

Also noteworthy is the Lutsk psycholinguistic centre, active since 2014. Key figures include Professors Zasiekina and Zasiekin, whose joint work primarily concerns the conceptualisation of psycholinguistics as an academic discipline, early ontogenesis, and the current state of the field. These scholars founded East European Journal of Psycholinguistics (Editor-in-Chief: Serhii Zasiekin), a Category A Scopus-indexed journal. Its thematic focus includes clinical psycholinguistics, cognitive linguistics, cognitive bilingualism, psychology, discourse analysis, forensic linguistics, acquisition of first and second foreign languages, neurolinguistics, and the psychology of language and speech, as well as translation studies. It is important to note the crucial role of psycholinguistics in translation practice, where the accurate transmission of not only semantic content but also emotional-pragmatic load is essential. From the perspective of contemporary neuroscience, Zasiekin (2012) has explored psycholinguistic categories of literary translation, as reflected in his monograph "Psycholinguistic Universals in the Translation of Literary Text. Zasiekina, a member of the International Society for Applied Psycholinguistics (ISAPL) and founder of the field of clinical psycholinguistics, researches normal and pathological speech (Zasiekina, 2012, 2014, 2018).

It is also important to highlight the research potential of studying the literary texts of Ukrainian classical authors, many of which may be viewed as a kind of "psycholinguistic laboratory." Ukrainian classical literature offers remarkable examples of character portrayals with clinically suggestive speech disturbances. For example, Miriam in Lesia Ukrainka's drama Woman Possessed exhibits impulsive speech akin to a trance-like state or mental instability (manifestations of glossolalia). Counsellor Stalskyi in Franko's novel The Cross-Paths displays chaotic, jargon-laden speech, filled with metaphors and clichés (indicating verbal self-presentation disorder and psychopathic traits). The protagonist in Khvylovyi's I (Romance) experiences inner voices, split speech, internal dialogue, and referential disorientation (suggesting schizoid or dissociative symptoms); the tsar in Shevchenko's satirical poem The Dream speaks in confused, fantastical imagery (a form of speech desynchronisation). These episodes are not diagnostic in nature but symbolic psychological. This area remains underexplored in psycholinguistics, yet it offers rich potential. Its development could contribute to the popularisation of Ukrainian literature and reinforce the idea that the classics of Ukrainian literature have produced exemplary works of psychological prose.

Some notable contemporary scholars work on psycholinguistic issues outside the aforementioned schools and centres. For instance, the psycholinguistics of social communication is represented by Oleksandr Kholod, Co-Chair of the Ukrainian Association of Psycholinguists and Professor at Vasyl Stefanyk Precarpathian National University. Kholod investigates the psychological markers of societal inmutation and has developed a theoretical model for the psycholinguistic media toolkit used to shape political image. He also initiated the founding of the Ukrainian Association of Psycholinguists and its official journal "Psycholinguistics", editing its first three issues. For further reference, see Kholod's numerous works (Kholod, 2004, 2006, 2008, 2009, 2010-2012, 2011, 2013). Under Kholod's leadership, a research school has formed, specialising in applied sociocommunicative technologies, the history and theory of social communications, psycholinguistics, and sociolinguistics. Key outputs of this school include the collective monograph "Social Communications: Research Results" (five volumes, 2011-2015); the collective monograph "Media Transformations" (2014-2015); international symposia "The World of Social Communications" (2011and international research conferences "Applied Socio-Communicative Technologies" (2011–2014, Kyiv).

Psycholinguistics in Ukraine is also institutionalised as a university discipline, as demonstrated by such teaching manuals as *Introduction to*

Psycholinguistics by Zasiekina and Zasiekin (2002) published in Ostroh, and Fundamentals of Psycholinguistics by Kuranova (2012) published in Kyiv. These and other resources have been critically analysed and reviewed by Kosmeda and Papish (see: Kosmeda & Papish, 2024; Papish, 2022).

Conclusions

Ukrainian psycholinguistics has deep-rooted traditions that were partially preserved even during the totalitarian period when Ukraine was part of first the Russian Empire and then the Soviet Union. The achievements of Ukrainian scholars in this period were either suppressed and forgotten (e.g., the work of. Franko) or appropriated by Russian academics (e.g., the concepts of Potebnia, Ovsianyko-Kulykovskyi, among others). As a result, the global academic community developed the mistaken impression that psycholinguistics in Ukraine had no coherent development and lacked any continuous tradition. Today, this misconception is being challenged, with growing evidence pointing to a national tradition of psycholinguistic inquiry.

Modern Ukrainian national psycholinguistics is experiencing dynamic growth. Research efforts are focused both on the reclamation of Ukraine's intellectual heritage and the development of new directions and theoretical frameworks. The high degree of academic freedom achieved after Ukraine gained independence in 1991 has allowed for a reevaluation of the classical legacy and its further development. Special attention is paid to the exploration of the unique features of the national speaker, who embodies the "spirit" of the Ukrainian language and contributes to the anthropologisation of linguistic consciousness.

The field of 'psycholinguistics of literary discourse', initiated by Lysychenko and her school, continues to evolve. Research has also expanded into the psychology of language, linguopersonology, linguoaxiology, linguomentiology, and gender linguistics. Scholars within Kosmeda's school are increasingly investigating personal discourse genres, such as diaries, memoirs, letters, and autobiographies, while Kholod's school focuses on the psycholinguistics of social communication. New paradigms are constantly emerging, bringing attention to previously marginalised topics such as suggestive linguistics and pathogenic discourse (Kovalevska's school).

Within regional centres (Kharkiv, Lviv, Odesa, Lutsk, Pereiaslav), diverse scholarly intentions can be observed. Despite methodological differences, these groups are united by a shared scientific mission: the advancement of key issues in Ukrainian psycholinguistics in connection with translation studies, lexicography, linguodidactics, and communication. Ukrainian associative

lexicography remains unparalleled globally, having produced pioneering lexicographic innovations. Contemporary psycholinguistic research by Ukrainian scholars constitutes a significant contribution to national science. Nonetheless, some areas – such as psychosociology, which explores the intersection of social psychology and linguistics – remain underdeveloped. Experimental methodologies are still in the formative stage, and Ukrainian psycholinguistic terminology awaits systematic clarification.

The future of this field lies in expanding Ukrainian linguistic historiography by establishing a dedicated subdiscipline: the national historiography of psycholinguistic theories. This includes the formation of a standalone section within the academic discipline of psycholinguistics entitled "History of Ukrainian Psycholinguistics", aiming to comprehensively document the contributions of individual scholars within their historical, ideological, and disciplinary contexts. There is also a need to develop traditional historiographic genres applied to psycholinguistics: bibliographies of major scholars and schools, indexes of works, bibliographic databases of psycholinguistic journals, and biobibliographic directories and anthologies.

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