
17 Ukrainian

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1 Introduction

Present-day standard Ukrainian is based primarily on the south-eastern group of dialects, more precisely those spoken in the south Kievan, Čerkasy and Poltava regions. But it has also been significantly influenced by the south-western dialects where Lviv (Lvov) was an important cultural centre. This influence has been exerted, especially in lexis, but also in phonology, since the Middle Ages; in modern times it was quite strong in the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. As a result one may with some justification speak of a bidialectal basis of standard Ukrainian, even though the eastern contribution is certainly more important. The direct impact of the northern group of dialects in modern times has been negligible. But it was substantial indirectly through the participation of Northern Ukrainian in the very formation of the south-eastern dialects, the mainstay of standard Ukrainian. This was caused by the country's historical circumstances. Beginning in the thirteenth century, under the pressure of Turkic-speaking nomadic tribes the south-eastern part of the country was lost, so that Kiev became an outpost of the realm. Both northern and south-western Ukrainians participated in the later reconquest of the lost territories in the south and east. This new settlement took about two centuries, ending in the eighteenth century, and the south-eastern dialects arose from the dialectal mixture of the underlying dialects. For more details see section 6.

The history of the literary language was less complicated. The oldest literary language of the Ukraine was imported from other Slavonic countries, primarily from Bulgaria and Macedonia, as a linguistic tool of the newly introduced Christianity, from the tenth century. It was common to all Christianized Slavs of the Byzantine rite; only individual slips into the colloquial local languages appear in these texts, Old Ukrainian in the texts

Editorial note: Following Professor Shevelov's preference, the term 'Common Slavonic' is used in this chapter where other chapters have 'Proto-Slavonic'.

written in the Ukraine. With the incorporation of the country into the Grand Duchy of Lithuania (and partly into Poland) in the fourteenth century, there evolved, especially in the chanceries of the time, a new literary language which united Belorussians and Ukrainians. All these components – Church Slavonic, Ukrainian, Belorussian and Polish – participated in various proportions in the literary languages of the sixteenth to the eighteenth centuries. But in the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries the literary language underwent a radical revolution: many of the non-native components were eliminated and the literary language was restructured on the Ukrainian dialectal basis as outlined above. Consequently, literary (standard) Ukrainian is a language that has gone through certain interruptions in its tradition and several new starts.

A further complication was created, especially in 1863–1905, for the bulk of Ukrainians, namely those who lived in the Russian Empire, when St Petersburg prohibited the use of Ukrainian in public life and, in particular, in schools (until 1917): even the name ‘Ukrainian’ was forbidden and replaced by the politically more suitable term ‘Little Russian’. After the Revolution of 1917 the development and standardization of Ukrainian had their ups and downs, sometimes rather drastic. All the above have left an imprint on the status of the language and on its use. Specifically, Ukrainian was to a great extent crowded out in many big cities, especially among the upper classes.

The long-lasting division of Ukrainian territory among various states, changing at different times, such as Poland, Russia, Austro-Hungary, Czechoslovakia, Rumania and others, has also left its trace in the history of both the standard and the spoken languages. Particularly in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries, the language standard in Galicia and in the (greater) central-eastern part of the country reflected some differences in language habits and norms. To some extent this state of affairs survives today in the differences between the language standard of the former Soviet-governed or influenced areas and that of the emigrants to other countries. The most important of these differences will be referred to at the relevant points below.

2 Phonology

2.1 Segmental phoneme inventory

Modern standard Ukrainian has six vowels, four unrounded and two rounded. See table 17.1. The phoneme /o/ is usually open [ɔ], but is close [o], by assimilation, if unstressed, before a stressed syllable with *u* or *i*. Such an [o] is allophonic and is not reflected in spelling: голубка/h[ɔ]lúbka, feminine of голуб/h[ɔ]lub ‘dove, pigeon’. A peculiar sound in the Ukrainian vocalism is [y]. Although in the Latin transliteration it is

Table 17.1 Vowels of modern standard Ukrainian

i		u	
	y		
	e	o	
	a		

denoted by the same letter as Russian and Belorussian **ы**, phonetically it is not a central back high vowel (as in Russian **сын**/*syn* 'son'), but a central front mid vowel. Historically, this vowel is the result of a merger of the older **и**/*i* and **ы**/*y*, which took place in the late thirteenth century in most dialects of the west of the country and was completed in the east by the mid-fifteenth century. In modern standard Ukrainian this vowel is articulated in the zone of *e*. Accordingly, in unstressed non-word-final position it is as a rule not distinguished from *e*, that is, unstressed *e* and *y* are merged phonologically, the phonetic realization depending on the quality of the stressed vowel in the next syllable. Thus **менé**/*mené* 'I (GEN)' and **минé**/*myné* 'pass (3 SG)' have identical realizations. Hence typically the unstressed vowels in standard Ukrainian are five and not six.

Like Belorussian and Russian, Ukrainian developed *polnoglasie* in the place of Common Slavonic sequences **or*, **er*, **el*/**ol* between consonants (**морóз**/*moróz* 'frost', **бéрег**/*béreh* 'shore', **хóлод**/*xólod* 'cold'). Word-initially, a metathesis took place in these sequences, the results of which depended on the pitch: under rising pitch they were *ra-*, *la-*, under falling pitch *ro-*, *lo-*: **раменó**/*ramenó* 'arm of cross', but **робóта**/*robóta* 'work'. (Reliable examples with *e* are lacking.) These changes occurred about AD 800.

The Common Slavonic nasal vowels *ǣ*, *ǫ* generally developed in Ukrainian by the mid-tenth century in the same way as in Belorussian and Russian into, respectively, *'a* and *u*: **п'ять**/*pjat'* 'five', **суд**/*sud* 'court'. There is, though, some evidence that in North Ukrainian, *ǣ* became *e* if unstressed: **п'ят'**, genitive singular **петý**, versus standard Ukrainian **п'ять**/*pjat'*, **п'яти**/*pjatý*.

The vowels denoted in Old Church Slavonic by the letters **ъ** and **ь** (the so-called *yers*), originating from Common Slavonic *ǔ* and *ǚ*, respectively, were lost in Old Ukrainian. In the weak position (including word-finally), that is, if not followed in the next syllable by a weak *jer*, they were dropped; if followed in the next syllable by a weak *jer* they yielded *o* and *e* respectively: **къто** > *kto* (now **хто**/*xto*) 'who', **рьсь** > *pes*/*pes* 'dog', **бъзь** > *boz*/*boz* 'lilac'. These changes developed about 1150, spreading from certain phonetic environments to others. In sequences of consonant + *jer* + *r* or *l* + consonant, **ъ** always yielded *o*, while **ь** split: it gave *e* before *r* but *o* before *l*: **търговля** > *torhivlja*/*torhivlja* 'commerce', **вьрхи** > *vérxu*/*vérxu*

'top (GEN SG)', **vьlky* (original root **vilk-*) > *вoвкѣ/vovký* 'wolves'. The reflexes of *yers* in the configuration consonant + *r* or *l* + *jer* + consonant depended on the position. In the strong position there were the usual reflexes of strong *yers*, in the weak position we find *y*: *крѣвь* > *кров/krov* 'blood', but *крѣвань* > *кривав[ий]/кряв[у]* 'bloody'. There is no evidence that Ukrainian ever had syllabic sonants *r* and *l* except possibly in word-final position after a consonant.

In addition to the coalescence of *y* and *i* in the specifically Ukrainian *y*, discussed above, and the overall change of *ě* into *i* (*дѣти* > *діти/dity* 'children'), the most peculiar development in Ukrainian vocalism, one which is unique among the Slavonic languages as spoken nowadays, was the evolution of *o* and *e* in the position before a lost weak *jer*. For *o* in that position the following stages may be uncovered: *o* > *ô* (that is, close [o], since, at the latest, the thirteenth–fourteenth centuries; in some texts denoted by the Greek letter omega, ω) > *u* (attested since the fourteenth century) > *ü* (attested since 1600, spelled ю) > *i* (attested since 1653): *котъ* > *kot* > *kut* > *küt* (spelled кют/kyut) > *кіт/kit* 'cat'. For *e* the development was twofold, before a lost *ь* and before a lost *ъ*. Before the lost *ь* it was: *e* > *ě* (attested since 1161, the so-called 'new' *ě*) > *i* (along with the original *ě*, in the fourteenth–fifteenth centuries): *печь* > *pěč* > *піч/річ* 'stove'. Before lost *ъ*, except in some western dialects, *e* did not undergo any changes, except possibly under retracted stress: *медъ* > *мед/med* 'honey', but *утекль* > *утік/utik* 'fled (M)', contrast *утекло́/utekló* 'fled (N)'.

All these developments of *e* and *o* occurred in southern dialects. In northern dialects, instead, *o* and *e* before the syllable which lost a *jer* developed into diphthongs. This diphthongization affected only stressed syllables.

Modern standard Ukrainian as well as all Ukrainian dialects does not have phonemically relevant length and pitch in vowels. It only preserves free dynamic stress (with concomitant lengthening), which can fall on any syllable and which can shift within a paradigm. The distribution of paradigms with fixed and with shifting stress is unpredictable unless morphological rules interfere. The chronology of the loss of phonemic pitch and length in Ukrainian is uncertain. But since no phonetic changes have depended on them in the time since the tenth century, nothing precludes the assumption that they were lost at that time or soon after, that is still in the Proto-Ukrainian period.

The consonant system of Ukrainian is set out in table 17.2. Several of these consonants have limited distribution. /*r*'/ never occurs syllable-finally. The consonants /*f*/ and /*g*/ occur only in foreign (and onomatopoeic) words. The former was introduced in loan-words which entered Old Ukrainian with Christianization, mostly from Greek. In the spoken language it was replaced by *p*, *v* or *x*, as in the Christian names Stepan, Vekla, Oxrim, but later, with the growing influx of loan-words from Greek,

Table 17.2 Consonants of modern standard Ukrainian

	<i>Labial</i>		<i>Dental</i>				<i>Palatal</i>	<i>Velar</i>	<i>Laryngeal</i>
			Plain		Palatalized				
Plosive	p	b	t	d	t'	d'		k g	
Fricative	f	v/w	s	z	s'	z'	š ž	x	h
Affricate			c	ʒ	c'	ʒ'	č ʒ̣		
Nasal		m		n		n'			
Lateral				l		l'			
Trill				r		r'			
Glide							j		

western European and other sources a new sound and phoneme was introduced, namely the labialized fricative x^w , which is still widely used in non-standard language. However, in the language of the educated, x^w was considered vulgar and f was accepted, probably on the Russian and Polish pattern. Common Slavonic /g/ changed in Old Ukrainian into h (or [ɣ]) in the late twelfth or early thirteenth century. /g/ was introduced anew, mostly in loan-words of western origin as well as from other sources, and is attested since 1388. In writing it was rendered by a digraph $кг$ and in other ways, until a special letter $г$ was introduced in 1619. This special letter was, however, abolished in 1933 in the Soviet Ukraine (in favour of plain $г$), so that now it is only used outside the country. The affricates $ʒ$, $ʒ'$ and $ʒ̣$ do not have special letters either and are denoted by digraphs $дз/дз$ and $дж/дж$. These affricates also have limited distribution, primarily in onomatopoeic words and in words of foreign origin; only $ʒ̣$ is better adopted in that it participates in alternation with d in verbal and verb-derived forms, as in $водіти/vodyty$ 'to lead', $воджy/vodžy$ (1 SG), $воджений/vodženyj$ (PAST PART).

As a rule voiced consonants preserve their voicing in all positions, except in the preposition and prefix $з/z$, which is prone to devoice before voiceless consonants. This may be accounted for historically by its origin: it continues two original prepositions/prefixes: $зь$ and $из(ь)$. On the other hand, voiceless consonants become voiced before voiced obstruents: $боротьба́/borot'ba$ 'struggle' is pronounced with [d']. The consonant presented in table 17.2 as v/w is realized in syllable-final position as [w], in other positions its realization varies between [v] and [w], more often [w].

There are also long consonants. Usually they appear at morpheme boundaries and, consequently, are phonemically double and not long consonants: $вiддати/vi[d̄]aty$ 'to give away' from $вiд/vid$ 'from' and $дати/daty$ 'to give'; $вiнна/vy[n̄]a$ 'guilty (F)', with the adjective-forming suffix $-н$, compare $вина́/vyná$ 'guilt'. Palatalized long consonants occur in some morphological categories, most usually in deverbal nouns of the type

знання/znannjá 'knowledge' and in the instrumental singular of feminine nouns ending in a consonant: тiнь/tin' 'shadow', instrumental singular тiнню/tinnju. Historically, this length arose from the consonantal cluster palatalized consonant + *j*. Its phonemic status is debatable: /Ĉ'/ or /C'j/.

Common Slavonic palatalized /r'/, /l'/, /n'/ were preserved in Old Ukrainian longer than in Old Russian, but their palatalization was lost by the late twelfth century. The question of whether Old Ukrainian automatically palatalized all consonants before front vowels is to be answered in the affirmative for *ě* and for 'a from *ę*; for the position before *e* and *i* (> *y*) the situation is not so obvious, but there seem to be more arguments in favour of the negative answer.

For the relation between Ukrainian orthography and the phonological system, reference should be made to table 17.3 and to the following notes. There are no special letters for the affricates *ʒ*, *ʒ'* and *ʒ̣*, the digraphs *дз* and *дж* being used, respectively; in the former Soviet Ukraine, *г* was used for both *h* and *g*. The phoneme /j/ is indicated by *й* only if syllable-final or before the vowel *o*; word-initially or after a vowel, *ja*, *je*, *ji*, *ju* are indicated by the special letters *я*, *є*, *ї*, *ю*; after labials and *r*, the same symbols are used, though separated from the labial by an apostrophe (not represented in the transliteration). A sequence of palatalized consonant plus vowel is indicated by using the letter for the equivalent plain consonant plus the following letter or letter combination: *я*, *є*, *ї*, *ьо*, *ю*; syllable-finally, palatalization is indicated by adding *ь* after the letter for the corresponding plain consonant.

2.2 Morphophonemic alternations inherited from Common Slavonic

The best-preserved Common Slavonic alternations of consonants are those of velars (including the laryngeal) with dental and palatals (table 17.4). They originate in the first and second palatalizations of velars. Today, however, they are devoid of phonetic motivation and, mostly, are morphologized. The alternations of velars with (palatalized) dentals is basically limited to the pre-desinential position (that is, the position before the inflectional ending) before word-final *-i* in the dative and locative singular: рука/ruká 'hand', dative/locative singular руці/ruci; круг/kruh 'circle', locative singular крүзи/krúzi. The only survival of this alternation in the nominative plural is друг/druh 'friend', plural дрүзи/drúzi, although the alternation is extended to the other plural cases, as in genitive plural дрүзів/drúziv. The alternation of velars with palatals encompasses more instances, namely: vocative singular in *-e* of masculine nouns: чоловік/čolovik 'man', vocative singular чоловіче/čoloviče; the present, imperative and past participle passive in verbs of the first conjugational class: пекти/pektý 'to bake', печу́/pečú (1 SG PRS), печй́/pečý (2 SG IMP), печений/pečenyj (PAST PART PASS); and finally, before suffixes which begin in *-(o)k*, *-(e)c'*, *e* and *y* (except the suffix *-yn(ja)* to denote female

Table 17.3 Ukrainian alphabet

<i>Ukrainian</i>		<i>Transliteration</i>
А	а	a
Б	б	b
В	в	v
Г	г	h
(Г	г	g)
Д	д	d
Е	е	e
Є	є	je
Ж	ж	ž
З	з	z
И	и	y
І	і	i
Ї	ї	ji
Й	й	j
К	к	k
Л	л	l
М	м	m
Н	н	n
О	о	o
П	п	p
Р	р	r
С	с	s
Т	т	t
У	у	u
Ф	ф	f
Х	х	x
Ц	ц	c
Ч	ч	č
Ш	ш	š
Щ	щ	šč
Ю	ю	ju
Я	я	ja
	ь	'

Table 17.4 Alternations from Common Slavonic palatalizations

k	:	c'	:	č
x	:	s'	:	š
h/g	:	z'	:	ž

persons, of the type княгиня/кнѣгѣнѣ 'princess'), as in рука/рукá 'hand', diminutive рѹчка/ручка, affective рѹченька/ручен'ка.

Other alternations of consonants (labials and dentals) of Common Slavonic origin historically originated in clusters of consonants followed by *j*. These alternations typically characterize verbs of the second conjugation when they occur in the first person singular present and the past participle passive, as shown in table 17.5. Examples are: молотѣти/молотѣту 'to thresh', молочѹ/молочѹ (1 SG) молочений/молоченуѣ (PAST PART PASS); любѣти/любѣту 'to love', люблю/люблю (1 SG), люблений/любленуѣ (PAST PART PASS).

Table 17.5 Alternations from Common Slavonic *j

t	: č	d	: ž	s	: š	z	: ž	labial	: labial + l'
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Alternations of vowels going back to Common Slavonic and even Indo-European times appear now unsystematically and only in a limited number of roots. They are typical relics. They are relatively better preserved in verbal roots where they may be utilized to mark aspectual changes. They are of three types (table 17.6). Examples are: пожертѣти/пожертѣту 'to devour (PRFV)', imperfective пожирати/пожирати; заместѣти/zamestѣtu 'to sweep (PRFV)', imperfective замѣтати/zamitati; допомогѣти/dopomohtѣtu 'to help (PRFV)', imperfective допомагати/dopomahati. Particularly eroded is the type *o* : *a*, limited to three verbal roots.

Table 17.6 Vowel alternations inherited from Common Slavonic

e (as a rule fugitive)	: y
e	: i
o	: a

2.3 Morphophonemic alternations resulting from changes after Common Slavonic

There are no alternations of consonants that arose in Ukrainian after the completion of its formation as a separate language.

A number of vowel alternations arose specifically in Ukrainian, but, as with those of Common Slavonic origin, motivation of the alternation and by the same token its productivity is lost in most instances. These alternations are the following:

e, o : y грóми/hrómy 'thunderstrokes', гримѣти/hrymity 'to thunder'; хрест/xrest 'cross', христѣти/hrystѣtu 'to baptize' (about five roots)

with active alternation); this alternation derives from the different developments of *jers* adjacent to liquids depending on stress and openness/closeness of the syllable.

- e* : *o* after palatals: четвѣртий/četvėrtij 'fourth', чотѣри/čotýru 'four' (about nine roots with the active alternation, and also the suffix *-ev/-ov-* in adjectives). Originally, *e* was preserved before syllables with a front vowel, but after Old Ukrainian *i* and *y* merged as *y* this motivation was lost, as in шестѣ/šestý 'six (GEN)', шостѣий/šostyj 'sixth', from older *šesti, šestъ*, respectively, now both with *y* in the next syllable.
- e, o* : \emptyset (the so-called 'fugitive' or 'fleeting' vowels, with historically *e* from *ь*, *o* from *ъ* or *ь*), as in вітер/viter 'wind', genitive singular вітру/vitru. This alternation is totally unproductive even though it has been partly morphologized: for the most part *e, o* are typical of the nominative singular of masculine nouns, the genitive plural of feminine and neuter nouns, and the residual short forms of adjectives with the suffix *-n-*.

The most widespread alternation of vowels is that of *o, e* : *i* (on its origin, see section 2.1), but its phonetic motivation has been lost entirely and the alternation has been morphologized. The main forms in which *i* occurs instead of *o, e* are:

- nominative singular of masculine nouns, versus oblique cases: лід/lid 'ice', genitive singular льоду/l'odu (but as a rule not in *polnoglasie* groups);
 nominative and instrumental singular of feminine nouns ending in a consonant: ніч/nič 'night', instrumental singular ніччю/ničču, genitive singular нощі/noči;
 pre-suffixal syllables in feminine and neuter diminutives: сирітка/syritka, diminutive of сиротá/syrotá 'orphan';
 neuter nouns of the type весілля/vesillja 'wedding', compare веселий/veselyj 'joyful';
 adjectives whose root ends in a consonant followed by a suffix beginning with a consonant: потрібний/potribnij 'needed', compare потріба/potrėba 'need';
 past tense masculine and past gerund of verbs with a stem in a consonant: ніс/nis 'carried (M), нісши/nisšy 'having carried', compare нести/nestý 'to carry'.

Besides these cases there are many isolated instances of the alternation, so that there cannot be any absolute predictability in the choice between *o, e* on the one hand and *i* on the other.

In summary, the alternations discussed in sections 2.2 and 2.3 are either merely traditional (not motivated synchronically) or partially motivated morphologically. Of phonetically conditioned vowel alternations in modern

standard Ukrainian there is only one, namely *e*, *y*: *y*^ε, conditioned by stress placement (section 2.1).

3 Morphology

3.1 Nominal morphology

3.1.1 Nominal categories

Nominals in modern standard Ukrainian are declined for case and number. There are two numbers, singular and plural. The dual was lost as a productive category in the sixteenth to seventeenth centuries; individual case forms of the dual survive as irregularities in the plural, for example *óči/óči*, plural of *óko/óko* 'eye', instead of the regular neuter plural in *-a*. The most important and consistent trace of the dual is found in the stress of the nominative of nouns with movable stress in sequences with the numerals '2' to '4'. While their normal stress in the nominative plural is word-final, in phrases with the above numerals stress is on the preceding syllable: *браті́/bratý* 'brothers', *жінокі́/žinky* 'women', but *два бр́ати/dva brátý* 'two brothers', *дві жінокі́/dvi žinky* 'two women'.

Ukrainian preserves the original set of cases: nominative, accusative, genitive, dative, instrumental and locative. In addition, the vocative is preserved even though the vocative singular in colloquial speech is occasionally replaced by the nominative and in the plural the vocative has no forms of its own, except in the word *панове/panóve* 'gentlemen' (nominative plural *пані́/pany*).

There are three genders, masculine, feminine and neuter, in the singular; these genders are not distinguished in the plural.

3.1.2 Noun morphology

The Common Slavonic distribution of nouns according to their (Indo-European) stem, a system which started decaying in late Common Slavonic, lost its motivation completely in Old Ukrainian. A new basis for the distribution of declensional types was found in genders and, within a gender, in the types of endings. Modern standard Ukrainian has the following fully fledged declensional types: masculine, feminine in a vowel, feminine in a consonant, neuter. Within each of these types (except the third) there is a division into the 'hard' and the 'soft' subtypes; their interrelation is manifest basically in the choice of the vowel in the endings. The set of correspondences between the two subtypes is the following: when the hard subtype has *o* or *y* the soft subtype substitutes *e* (in neuters also 'e) and *i* respectively. (But the opposite is not true: *e* and *i* do appear in the hard paradigm.)

The basic declensional types are set out in table 17.7. The soft subtype is

Table 17.7 Declensional patterns of nouns

(a)	<i>Masculine</i> 'kitchen garden'	<i>Neuter</i> 'city'	<i>Feminine</i> in vowel 'sister'	<i>Feminine</i> in consonant 'night'
Singular				
NOM	горòд	місто	сестра́	ніч
VOC	горòде	місто	сестро́	но́че
ACC	горòд	місто	сестру́	ніч
GEN	горòда	міста	сестри́	но́чі
DAT	горòдови	місту	сестрі́	но́чі
INST	горòдом	містом	сестро́ю	ні́ччю
LOC	горòді	місті	сестрі́	но́чі
Plural				
NOM/VOC	горòди	міста́	сестри́	но́чі
ACC	горòди	міста́	сесте́р	но́чі
GEN	горòдів	міст	сесте́р	ночэ́й
DAT	горòдам	міста́м	сестра́м	ноча́м
INST	горòдами	міста́ми	сестра́ми	ноча́ми
LOC	горòдах	міста́х	сестра́х	ноча́х
(b)				
	<i>Masculine</i> 'kitchen garden'	<i>Neuter</i> 'city'	<i>Feminine</i> in vowel 'sister'	<i>Feminine</i> in consonant 'night'
Singular				
NOM	horòd	misto	sestrá	nič
VOC	horòde	misto	sestró	nóče
ACC	horòd	misto	sestrú	nič
GEN	horòdu	mista	sestrý	nóči
DAT	horòdovi	mistu	sestrí	nóči
INST	horòdom	mistom	sestróju	niččju
LOC	horòdi	misti	sestri	nóči
Plural				
NOM/VOC	horòdy	mistá	sestry	nóči
ACC	horòdy	mistá	sester	nóči
GEN	horòdiv	mist	sester	nočéj
DAT	horòdam	mistám	sestram	nočám
INST	horòdamy	mistámy	sestra-my	nočámy
LOC	horòdax	mistáx	sestrax	nočáx

not represented in this table because, generally, it derives from the hard subtype by the above-mentioned substitutions; examples would be князь/knjaz' 'prince' for masculines, поле/pòle 'field' for neuters, будівля/budivlja 'edifice' for feminines in a vowel.

This relatively simple structure of noun declension might be further simplified by regarding masculine and neuter as one paradigm, for they are

very close to each other. But on the other hand, it is complicated by the presence of desinential doublets in some instances and of some remnants of basically lost declensional types.

Desinential doublets exist in the following instances. Among masculines in the nominative singular there are also nouns ending in *-o*, such as Павло/Pavlo 'Paul', Дніпро/Dnipro 'Dnieper'. In the vocative singular, some isolated masculine hard nouns take the ending *-u*: батько/bát'ko 'father', vocative батьку/bát'ku; син/syn 'son', vocative сину/synu. Neuters have no special vocative form. In masculine nouns of the soft subtype, the normal ending *-e* appears only after the suffix *-(e)c'*; otherwise the ending *-u* is used: хлопець/хлорес' 'lad', vocative хлопче/хлорче, but коваль/kovál' 'smith', vocative ковалю/koválju.

The accusative singular in neuters is identical to the nominative. In masculines the basic factor is animacy versus inanimacy. Animate nouns take a form identical to the genitive. In the singular this is obligatory for nouns denoting persons and animals; in the plural the form of the nominative may still be used in the names of animals: бачив брата, коня, братів, коней (кони)/bačyv bráta, konjá, brativ, kónej (kóni) 'he saw the brother, the horse, the brothers, the horses'. In the masculine singular the ending of the genitive singular may also be used, with a certain amount of affectivity, for names of well-shaped concrete objects other than persons and animals, as in послáv листá/posláv lystá 'he sent a letter', дав карбóванця/dav karbóvancja 'he gave a rouble'. Here, then, the category of animacy tends to be broadened into that of being (well) shaped. In feminines and neuters the category of animacy applies only in the plural.

In the genitive singular beside the ending *-u* the ending *-a* is also widespread. The distinction between them is based partly on tradition but more often on semantic criteria. Generally, *-a* is taken by nouns which denote clearly outlined or shaped objects, including persons, while *-u* characterizes names of objects seen as collective, abstract, shapeless; this ending easily conveys also a partitive meaning. Examples are лист/lyst 'letter', genitive листá/lystá; брат/brat 'brother', genitive брата/bráta; but колектів/kolektýv 'collective', genitive колектіву/kolektývу; рóзум/rózum 'mind', genitive рóзуму/róзуму. In neuters only the ending *-a* is used. In the dative singular masculine nouns have *-ovi* alongside *-u*. In neuters, only *-u* is used.

In the locative singular (the locative is always used with a preposition), beside the ending *-i* there are in the masculine and neuter the endings *-u* and *-ovi*. The choice among them is governed by both morphophonemic and semantic criteria. The ending *-u* is taken by those nouns that end in a suffixal velar, usually *-k*, as in гáнок/gánok 'porch', locative гáнку/gánku, личко/lyčko 'face', locative личку/lyčku, versus óко/óko 'eye', locative óці/óci (where *k* belongs to the root; velars before the locative ending *-i* alternate with palatalized dentals: see section 2.2). The semantic

factor is visible in that nouns denoting persons may take the ending *-ovi* (transferred from the dative): селянин/*seljanyn* 'peasant', locative селянинові/*seljanynovi*. Finally, masculine monosyllabic nouns with root stress in the singular oblique cases may take the ending *-u* but with stress on the ending in the locative, as in степ/*step* 'steppe', genitive степену/*stěpu*, locative степену́/*stěpu*.

In the nominative and instrumental plural there are a few deviations from the general pattern due to the incorporation of isolated forms of the dual: in the nominative plural masculine вуса/*vusa* 'moustache' and рукава/*rukava* 'sleeves', in the neuter nouns очі/оці 'eyes', вуші/*vushi* (also вуха/*vuxa*) 'ears' and плечі/*plěci* 'shoulders', and in the instrumental plural очіма/*ošyma*, вушіма/*vušyma*, but also грошіма/*hrošyma* 'money'.

In the two feminine declensions there are very few doublet endings. Of greater significance is only the competition between the endings *-ej* and *-iv* in the genitive plural of the consonantal declension (підорож/*pódorož* 'trip', genitive plural підорожей/*pódorožej* or підорожив/*pódoroživ*; the standard language gives clear priority to *-ej*) and the transfer of the ending *-ej* from the consonantal declension to several nouns of other declensional types such as feminines свиня/*svynja* 'pig', миша/*múša* 'mouse', воша/*vóša* 'louse', стаття/*stattja* 'article', genitive plural свиней/*svyněj*, мишей/*myšěj*, вошей/*vóšej*, стат(т)ей/*stat(t)ěj*; masculines кінь/*kin* 'horse', гість/*hist* 'guest', genitive plural коней/*kónej*, гостей/*hostěj*; and neuters око/око 'eye', плечé/*plěčé* 'shoulder', genitive plural очей/*očěj*, плечей/*plěčěj*.

The present-day noun declension of Ukrainian is the result of many mergers of Old Ukrainian declensional types inherited from Common Slavonic. Common Slavonic *o-*, *jo-* and *u-* stems supplied most endings in the Modern Ukrainian masculine and neuter declension; *a-* and *ja-* stems were most substantial in the shaping of the Modern Ukrainian feminine vocalic declension, while *i-* stems and consonant stems were decisive in the formation of the feminine consonantal declension. Most nouns are now declined according to these productive types.

There are, however, a few noun declensional types which so far have not been engulfed by the productive types. They survive in a limited number of nouns, as words of long-lasting tradition, as a rule. Genetically, these types go back to various consonant stems: *t-* stems (which is the only type that may still absorb newly arising nouns, albeit rarely), *n-* stems and *r-* stems. Nowadays, the main characteristic of these declensional types is that they take in the oblique cases an 'insertion' (*-at-*, *-en-*, *-er-*) between the root (stem) and the ending: дівчá/*divčá* 'girl', genitive дівчати/*divčaty* (*t-* stem) ім'я/*imja* 'name', genitive імені/*imeni* (but usually pronounced as if *imeny*) (*n-* stem), мати/*máty* 'mother', genitive матері/*máteri* (*r-* stem). Nowadays *r-* stems are limited to the one noun just quoted; only *t-*

stems are a relatively open group, owing to their semantic unity: as a rule they denote young or small beings.

3.1.3 Pronominal morphology

The inflectional endings of some pronouns are like those of nouns, of others like those of adjectives, but with some peculiarities, the crucial ones being suppletion of the root in some pronouns and in some the use in certain cases of peculiar case forms. For the forms, see table 17.8, noting that adjective-based patterns which have a plural do not differ in their declension from adjectives (table 17.9), and that the reflexive pronoun *себѣ/себѣ* is declined like *ти/ты*, apart from the lack of a nominative.

Suppletion takes place in the personal pronouns of the first person singular (*я/ја* (NOM); *менѣ/менѣ* (ACC-GEN), *мені/мені* (DAT-LOC); *мною/мноју* (INST)), of the second person singular (*ти/ты* (NOM); *тебѣ/тебѣ* (ACC-GEN); *тобі/тобі* (DAT-LOC), *тобою/тобою* (INST)), of the first person plural (*ми/мы* (NOM); *нас/нас* (ACC-GEN-LOC), *нам/нам* (DAT), *нами/намы* (INST)), of the third person (nominative *він/він* (M), *вона/вона* (F), *воно/воно* (N)); oblique cases with the stem *j-*, in the instrumental and after prepositions *n-* or *n'-*, as in *його/јого* (ACC-GEN-M-N) but *до нього/до н'ого* 'to him'), and in two interrogative pronouns *хто/хто* (NOM) 'who', oblique stem *k-*; *що/що* (NOM-ACC) 'what', oblique stem *č-*).

The peculiar pronominal endings, that is, those that do not occur in the declension of nouns and adjectives, are those in the personal pronouns mentioned above (*-e* in accusative-genitive *менѣ/менѣ*, *тебѣ/тебѣ* and *-s* in accusative-genitive-locative *нас/нас*, *вас/вас*) and the following in demonstrative pronouns: *-oj*, *-ej*, in the nominative-accusative singular masculine (*той/той* 'that', *цей/цей* 'this'), *-ijeji* in the genitive singular feminine (*тієї/тієї*, *цієї/цієї*) and *-ijeju* in the instrumental singular feminine (*тією/тією*, *цією/цією*). In many pronouns the root consists of only one consonant, which is not typical of nouns and adjectives.

Clitic forms of personal and anaphoric pronouns, which were used in Old and Middle Ukrainian and are still current in south-western dialects (such as accusative *mja*, *tja*, *sja*, *ho*, dative *my*, *ty*, *sy*, *mu*), have been lost in standard Ukrainian. The reflexive clitic *sja* (after vowels and sonants optionally *s'*) has become a verbal postfix (that is, an element inseparable from the verb and occurring after all other endings). It is placed after verbal endings, with the final consonant of which it merges by assimilation: *смієшся/смijěšsja* 'you laugh', pronounced $-[s':a]$, *сміється/смijět'sja* 'he laughs', pronounced $-[c':a]$.

An accentual peculiarity of pronouns in their disyllabic forms is that after governing prepositions the stress is retracted by one syllable: *менѣ/менѣ*, *кого/кого*, but *до мене/до мене*, *до кого/до кого*; contrast trisyllabic *цієї/цієї*, *до цієї/до цієї*. This stress shift does not occur if

Table 17.8 Declensional patterns of pronouns

(a)	<i>Noun-based patterns</i>			<i>Adjective-based patterns</i>				<i>Gender-free</i>	
	'I'	'thou'	'we'	'he, she, it'		'that'		'who'	'what'
				M/N	F	M/N	F		
NOM	я	ти	ми	він/вонó	вона́	той/те	та	хто	що
ACC	мене́	тебе́	нас	його́	її́	= NOM/GEN	ту	кого́	чого́
GEN	менé	тебé	нас	його́	її́	того́	тієї́	кого́	чого́
DAT	мені́	тобі́	нам	йому́	їй	тому́	ті́й	кому́	чому́
INST	мно́ю	тобо́ю	на́ми	ним	не́ю	тим	тіе́ю	ким	чим
LOC	мені́	тобі́	нас	ньо́му/нім	ні́й	то́му/ті́м	ті́й	ко́му/кі́м	чо́му/чі́м

(b)	<i>Noun-based patterns</i>			<i>Adjective-based patterns</i>				<i>Gender-free</i>	
	'I'	'thou'	'we'	'he, she, it'		'that'		'who'	'what'
				M/N	F	M/N	F		
NOM	ja	ty	my	vin/vonó	voná	toj/te	ta	xto	ščo
ACC	mené	tebe	nas	johó	jiji	= NOM/GEN	tu	kohó	ščo
GEN	mené	tebe	nas	johó	jiji	tohó	tijéji	kohó	čohó
DAT	meni	tobi	nam	jomú	jij	tomú	tij	komú	čomú
INST	mnóju	tobóju	námy	nym	néju	tym	tijéju	kym	čym
LOC	meni	tobi	nas	n'ómu/nim	nij	tómu/tim	tij	kómu/kim	čómu/čim

the preposition governs the following noun: contrast до нього/do n'oho but до його дому/do johò domu 'to his house'.

Indefinite and negative pronouns are formed by adding a pre- or post-positive particle to an interrogative pronoun. Thus, on the basis of хто/hto 'who', we have аби́хто/abǔhto 'whoever', будьхто́/bud'xto or хто-будь/hto-bud' 'anybody', дехто́/dexto 'someone', хтось/xtos' 'someone (unidentified or irrelevant)', ніхто́/nixto 'nobody'. In prepositional phrases with the negative pronouns the preposition is usually placed immediately after the particle, cutting the word in two: ні на ко́го/ni na koǔ ho 'onto nobody'.

3.1.4 Adjectival morphology

Of the two Common Slavonic adjectival paradigms, short (like nouns) and long (like pronouns), Ukrainian has preserved the long forms; see table 17.9. Short forms exist only residually and only in the nominative singular masculine. Such short forms are obligatory in possessive adjectives (ба́тьків дім/bat'kiv dim 'father's house', сестри́н дім/sestrǔn dim 'sister's house'); in recent years there has appeared a tendency to use the long form, ба́тьковий дім/bat'kovyj dim, although this is considered non-standard. The choice of form is optional in ко́жний/koǔznyj, ко́жен/koǔžen 'each' and, though with the short form only in predicative function, in up to a dozen or so adjectives including the following: ва́ртий/vartyj or варт/vart 'worth', ви́нний/vǔnnyj or ви́нен/vǔnen 'guilty', зго́дний/zhodnyj or зго́ден/zhoden 'agreeing', ла́дний/ladnyj or ла́ден/laden 'apt, ready', пе́вний/pǔvnyj or пе́вен/pǔven 'sure', по́вiнний/povǔnnyj

Table 17.9 Adjective declension

(a)	<i>Masculine</i>	Singular <i>Neuter</i>	<i>Feminine</i>	Plural
NOM	новий	нове́	нова́	нові́
ACC	= NOM/GEN	нове́	нову́	= NOM/GEN
GEN	ново́го		ново́ї	нові́х
DAT	новому́		нові́й	нові́м
INST	нові́м		ново́ю	нові́ми
LOC	новому́/нові́м		нові́й	нові́х
(b)	<i>Masculine</i>	Singular <i>Neuter</i>	<i>Feminine</i>	Plural
NOM	нову́й	нове́	нова́	нові́
ACC	= NOM/GEN	нове́	нову́	= NOM/GEN
GEN	ново́го		ново́ї	нову́х
DAT	новому́		нові́й	нову́м
INST	нові́м		ново́ю	нову́ми
LOC	новому́/нові́м		нові́й	нову́х

or повинен/повынен 'most'. Even in these adjectives all forms but the nominative singular masculine follow the regular adjectival declension. The present-day adjectival declension has undergone many simplifications. Genders are no longer distinguished in the plural. The stress undergoes no shifts. There are no doublet endings, except for the two options in the locative singular masculine-neuter. There is no soft subtype: stems ending in palatalized consonants take the same endings as those ending in non-palatalized consonants.

Participles (the widely used past participles passive in *-nyj* and *-tyj* and the extremely rare present participles active in *-čyj*) decline following the pattern of adjectives.

Beside the normal adjectival forms of the nominative-accusative feminine, neuter and plural there are, in poetic language only, the so-called 'non-contracted' forms: *нов́ая/нов́аја, нов́ую/нов́ују, нов́еє/нов́еје, нов́ії/нов́іји*. The term is misleading. Actually, they are petrified forms of the full long-form adjectives before these underwent truncation under the influence of the pronominal declension, with its monosyllabic endings. Historically, thus, there were three stages in the development of Ukrainian adjectival declension. Exemplified by the form of the nominative singular feminine they were: (1) noun-like *nova*; (2) pronominalized by addition of the Common Slavonic pronoun *ja* 'she' into *novaja*; (3) truncated to *nova* with a monosyllabic ending as in pronouns of the type *ta* 'that', formally identical with the oldest of the three forms.

Ukrainian adjectives, wherever their semantics allows, may have comparative and superlative degrees. The comparative degree is usually formed by the suffixes *-š-* and *-iš-*: *молод́ий/molodýj* 'young', comparative *молод́ший/molodšyj* or *молод́іший/molodišyj*. The suffix *-š-* is non-productive and is used with a fixed set of about twenty-five adjectives. It entails some consonant alternations: *h* or *z* plus *š* gives *žč*, as in *дороѓий/dorohýj* 'dear', comparative *дорóжчий/doróžčyj*, *вузький/vuz'kýj* 'narrow', comparative *вúжчий/vúžčyj*; *s* plus *š* gives *šč*, as in *висóкий/vysokýj* 'tall', comparative *вищ́ий/vúščyj*; after *ž* the suffix changes into *č*, as in *дúжий/dúžyj* 'strong', comparative *дúжчий/dúžčyj*; the suffix *-(o)k* (see the forms just given for 'tall') and the consonant *h* after another consonant are lost before the suffix *-š-*, as in *дóвгий/dóvhyj* 'long', comparative *дóвший/dóvšyj*.

The suffix *-iš-* entails no phonetic changes. It is productive and subject to no limitations, except that it is not applied to adjectives with the suffix *-s'k-*, to participles and to some adjectives with affective suffixes.

The superlative is derived from the comparative by adding the prefix *naj-*: *вищ́ий/vúščyj* 'taller', *найвищ́ий/najvúščyj* 'tallest'.

Alongside these synthetic forms, but much less frequently used, there are analytical comparative and superlative forms, the basic form of the adjective preceded by the word *більш(е)/bil'sh(e)* 'more' for the com-

parative and найбільш(е)/najbil'sh(e) 'most' for the superlative. Typically, these constructions are used in chains of comparatives or superlatives and in the opposition менш(е)/ménsh(e) 'less', більш(е)/bil'sh(e) 'more', but also occasionally in competition with the synthetic forms. There are a few suppletive comparatives: малий/malýj 'small', comparative менший/ménšyj; великий/velýkuj 'big', comparative більший/bil'shuj; поганий/pohányj 'bad', comparative гірший/hiršuj; добрий/dóbryj and гідний/hárnyj 'good', comparative кращий/kraščuj. All comparatives and superlatives decline like other adjectives and stand in agreement with their nouns.

Adverbs derived from adjectives follow the same pattern in forming degrees of comparison: тонко/tónko 'thinly', comparative тонше/tónše.

3.1.5 Numeral morphology

All numerals decline, except masculine–neuter півторá/pivtorá, feminine півторí/pivtorý 'one and a half', but their declension types are varied.

'One', masculine одін/odýn, feminine одна/odná, neuter одне/odné (less commonly одно/odno) declines like the pronoun той/toj 'that' (see table 17.8). In the function of an indefinite article одін/odýn is also used in the plural, as it is with pluralia tantum as in одні граблі/odni hrabli 'one rake'.

The numerals '2' (masculine–neuter два/dva, feminine дві/dvi), '3' (три/try), '4' (чотири/čotyry) have a declension of their own (see table 17.11).

The numerals п'ять/pjat' '5' to вісімдесят/visimdesjat' '80' (as well as the regional, South-western Ukrainian дев'ятдесят/devjatdesjat' '90'), with the exception of сорок/sórok '40', decline in two ways, either on the pattern of чотири/čotyry or, maintaining this pattern only in the instrumental, they have the ending -ý in all other oblique cases.

The numerals сорок/sórok '40', дев'яносто/devjanósto '90' and сто/sto 'hundred' have the ending -a in all oblique cases except the accusative: genitive–dative–instrumental–locative сорока́/soroká, дев'яноста́/devjanósta, ста́/sta (though also instrumental стомá́/stomá). In the higher hundreds, both parts of the numeral are declined, with the following oblique plural forms of the second part: genitive -сот/-sot, dative -стам/-stam, instrumental -стами/-stamy, locative -стах/-stax.

The numerals тисяча/týsača 'thousand' and above follow the declension of nouns with the same ending (тисяча/týsača like кру́ча/krúča 'precipice').

In a broad historical overview Ukrainian numerals preserved their ability to decline with just one exception, but regrouped fairly radically the types of declension inherited from Common Slavonic. On the syntax of quantifiers, see section 4.10.

Table 17.10 Numerals

	<i>Cardinal</i>	<i>Ordinal</i>
1	один/odyn	перший/përšyj
2	два/dva	другий/drūhyj
3	три/try	третій/trètij
4	чотири/čotyry	четвертий/četvërtyj
5	п'ять/pjat'	п'ятий/pjätuj
6	шість/šist'	шостий/šostyj
7	сім/sim	сьомий/s'omyj
8	вісім/visim	восьмий/vos'muj
9	дев'ять/dèvjat'	дев'ятий/devjätuj
10	десять/dèsjat'	десятий/desjätuj
11	одинадцять/odynádcjat'	одинадцятий/odynádcjatyj
12	дванадцять/dvanádcjat'	дванадцятий/dvanádcjatyj
13	тринадцять/trynádcjat'	тринадцятий/trynádcjatyj
14	чотирнадцять/čotyrnádcjat'	чотирнадцятий/čotyrnádcjatyj
15	п'ятнадцять/pjatnádcjat'	п'ятнадцятий/pjatnádcjatyj
16	шістнадцять/šistnádcjat'	шістнадцятий/šistnádcjatyj
17	сімнадцять/simnádcjat'	сімнадцятий/simnádcjatyj
18	вісімнадцять/visimnádcjat'	вісімнадцятий/visimnádcjatyj
19	дев'ятнадцять/devjaternádcjat'	дев'ятнадцятий/devjaternádcjatyj
20	двадцять/dvádcjat'	двадцятий/dvadcjätuj
30	тридцять/trýdcjat'	тридцятий/tryadcjätuj
40	сорок/sórok	сороковий/sorokovyj
50	п'ятдесят/pjatdesjät	п'ятдесятий/pjatdesjätuj
60	шістдесят/šistsdesjät	шістдесятий/šistsdesjätuj
70	сімдесят/simdesjät	сімдесятий/simdesjätuj
80	вісімдесят/visimdesjät	вісімдесятий/visimdesjätuj
90	дев'яносто/devjanósto	дев'яностий/devjanóstyj
100	сто/sto	сотий/sótuj
200	двісті/dvisti	двосотий/dvosótuj
300	триста/trýsta	трисотий/trysótuj
400	чотириста/čotyrysta	чотирисотий/čotyrysótuj
500	п'ятсот/pjatsót	п'ятисотий/pjatsótuj
600	шістсот/šistsót	шестисотий/šestsótuj
700	сімсот/simsót	семисотий/semysótuj
800	вісімсот/visimsót	восьмисотий/vos'mysótuj
900	дев'ятсот/devjatsót	дев'ятисотий/devjatsótuj
1,000	тисяча/tysjača	тисячний/tysjačnyj
1,000,000	мільйон/mil'jon	мільйонний/mil'jonnyj
1,000,000,000	мільярд/mil'járd	мільярдний/mil'járdnyj

Table 17.11 Declension of numerals

(a)	'two'	'three'	'four'	'five'
NOM	два (F dvi)	три	чотѝри	п'ять
ACC	= NOM/GEN	= NOM/GEN	= NOM/GEN	= NOM/GEN
GEN	двох	трьох	чотирьох	п'ятьох ~ п'яти
DAT	двом	трьом	чотирьом	п'ятьом ~ п'яти
INST	двомá	трьомá	чотирмá	п'ятьмá
LOC	двох	трьох	чотирьох	п'ятьох ~ п'яти

(b)	'two'	'three'	'four'	'five'
NOM	dva (F dvi)	try	čotyry	pjat'
ACC	= NOM/GEN	= NOM/GEN	= NOM/GEN	= NOM/GEN
GEN	dvox	tr'ox	čotyry'ox	pjat'ox ~ pjaty
DAT	dvom	tr'om	čotyry'om	pjat'om ~ pjaty
INST	dvomá	tr'omá	čotyrmá	pjat'má
LOC	dvox	tr'ox	čotyry'ox	pjat'ox ~ pjaty

3.2 Verbal morphology

3.2.1 Verbal categories

Ukrainian verbs in their finite forms inflect for person, number, tense and mood. However, in the past tense and the conditional, verbs do not inflect for person, but do inflect for gender in the singular. In addition, each verb belongs to an aspect, but the change of aspect does not proceed by inflection (see below). There are three moods, the indicative, the imperative and the conditional. In one of them, the indicative, three tenses are distinguished, not counting the optional pluperfect; the present, the past and the future (verbs of perfective aspect have a syncretic present-future form), as in *читáє/čytáje* 'read (3 SG PRS)', *читáв/čytáv* (M PAST), *читáтиме/čytátyme* (3 SG FUT), *читáв би/čytáv by* (M COND), *читáй/čytáj* (2 SG IMP). Two numbers (singular and plural) are distinguished in all moods and tenses, and within each number three persons (except in the past tense of the indicative and in the conditional). The three persons are: the first, that of the speaker; the second, that of the addressee; and the third, that of the non-speaker and non-addressee, as in the present-tense forms *читáю/čytaju* (1 SG), *читáєш/čytaješ* (2 SG), *читáє/čytáje* (3 SG). Yet the imperative only has three person-number forms as in *читáй/čytáj* (2 SG), *читáймо/čytajmo* (1 PL), *читáйте/čytajte* (2 PL). The verb *бути/buty* 'to be' has one form for all persons and numbers in the present, *є/je* (which may be extended to *єсть/jest'*). The past indicative and the conditional have no personal forms, instead, as mentioned above, they inflect

for gender in the singular, as in past читав/čytáv (M), читала/čytála (F), читало/čytálo (N) and the corresponding conditional forms (читав би/čytáv by, читала б/čytála b, читало б/čytálo b) and pluperfect forms (читав був/čytáv був, читала була/čytála bulá, читало було/čytálo búlo).

The Common Slavonic system of past tenses (the aorist, imperfect and perfect) underwent a thorough revamping in Old Ukrainian. The perfect lost its auxiliary verb 'to be', giving rise to the modern past tense, and the aorist and imperfect were lost entirely. The chronology of these changes is difficult to pin down (it was different in different regions), but it is safe to assume that in the Central Ukrainian area the imperfect was lost at the latest in the twelfth century, the aorist in the fourteenth century and the use of the auxiliary verb in the perfect by the seventeenth century.

Of non-finite forms the Ukrainian verb has the (atemporal) infinitive читати/čytáty), the uninflected gerund (with two forms, traditionally called present and past, respectively читajúчи/čytajúču and читавши/čytávšy), the declined past participle passive (читаний/čytanyj) and the rarely used and bookish present participle active (читajúчий/čytajúču). Actually, tense in the gerund is relative to the time reference of the finite verb in the sentence. The so-called present gerund, but also the past gerund of imperfective verbs, usually expresses simultaneity, as in читajúчи (читавши) листá він плакав/čytajúču (čytávšy) lystá, vin plákov 'while he was reading the letter he cried', whereas the so-called past gerund of perfective verbs expresses an action which precedes that of the finite verb of the sentence, as in прочитавши листá, він заплакав/ročytávšy lystá, vin zaplákov 'after having read the letter he cried'.

Voice in the Ukrainian verb hardly exists as a fully fledged grammatical category. One may only speak of an opposition of verbs with the postfix *-sja* versus verbs without it. One of the functions of this postfix is to build passive forms: фабрика виробляє комп'ютери/fábryka vyrobľaje kompjútery 'the factory produces computers', комп'ютери виробляються фабрикою/kompjútery vyrobľajut'sja fábrykoju 'computers are being produced by the factory' (usually with imperfective verbs; the passive with perfective verbs is formed with the past participle passive: комп'ютери вироблені фабрикою/kompjútery vyrobleni fábrykoju 'computers have been produced by the factory', but such constructions are very bookish and atypical of the spoken language). Yet passivization is by no means the only function of the postfix *-sja* (see section 4.8); the only common feature in the uses of the postfix *-sja* is that they exclude a direct object, but even this restriction is nowadays not quite absolute, as shown by phrases like дивитися телебачення/дывýtysja telebačennja 'to watch television'.

The category omnipresent in all verbal forms, both finite and non-finite, is aspect. Change of aspect is effected by derivational suffixes or prefixes,

never by inflections, the latter being shared by both aspects. With a given root there can be two or three levels in aspect formation. The basic form is prefixless and suffixless, or prefixless but having a suffix *-a-*, *-y-* or *-i-* (if the root is adjectival also *-nu-*), such as нести́/nesťú 'carry', різати́/rizaty 'cut', ходити́/ходьту́ 'go', тремтіти́/tremtity 'tremble', кіснути́/kýsnuty 'go sour'. Such verbs are usually imperfective, but a small group of them are perfective, such as да́ти/dáty 'give', сісти́/sisty 'sit down'. Second-level verbs, which are all perfective, are formed from those of the first level by adding a prefix or by replacing a suffix, namely using *-nu-* instead of *-a-* or *-i-* (such as торка́ти/torkáty, perfective торкнү́ти/torknúty 'touch', свистіти́/svistity, perfective свй́снути́/svýsnuty 'whistle'), less frequently *-y-* instead of *-a-* (such as кінча́ти/kinčaty, perfective кінчи́ти/kinčýty 'finish'). The prefixes used to form second-level verbs are twofold. Some change only the aspect, such as робі́ти/robýty, perfective зробі́ти/zrobýty 'do'; other prefixes both change the aspect and introduce semantic changes, such as зна́ти/znáty 'know (IMPFV)', пізна́ти/piznáty 'learn (PRFV)'. In the second case one and the same first-level verb may, and in most cases does, take various prefixes for various new (additional) meanings, as in пізна́ти/piznáty 'learn', зізна́ти/ziznáty 'testify', визна́ти/význaty 'admit'. It is these semantically modified verbs which need a new, third level, an imperfective aspect which would preserve the shade of meaning developed on the second level but cancel its perfectivity. The third-level verbs are formed with the suffixes *-a-* (after a vowel *-va-*) or *-uva-*, as in пізна́ти/piznáty, imperfective пізнава́ти/piznaváty, заспіва́ти/zaspiváty 'start singing', imperfective заспівува́ти/zaspivuvaty.

In addition, there are mono-aspectual verbs used only in the imperfective aspect (such as ко́штувати́/kóštuvaty 'cost') or only in the perfective aspect (such as збагну́ти/zbahnúty 'grasp'); finally, there are a few bi-aspectual verbs with identical imperfective and perfective forms, such as велі́ти/velity 'order', обіця́ти/obicjáty 'promise'. The number of mono- and, especially, bi-aspectual verbs has tended to decrease with the development of the language, so that in the above examples велі́ти/velity and обіця́ти/obicjáty are more and more often assigned imperfective aspect only while the forms звелі́ти/zvelity and пообіця́ти/roobicjáty have, in recent decades, have been derived as corresponding perfectives. On the other hand, the number of bi-aspectual verbs is constantly replenished in newly borrowed foreign words, such as фі́нансува́ти/finansuváty 'finance', until they have developed prefixed perfective verbs, as with арештува́ти/areštuváty 'arrest', bi-aspectual and, newer, perfective заарештува́ти/zaareštuváty, thus relegating the basic form to imperfective aspect (which, in turn, can be made unambiguous by forming a third-level imperfective: заарешто́вувати́/zaareštóvuvaty, the newest form).

An additional means of changing verbal aspect is vowel alternation in

the root, namely *e* (fugitive) : *y*, as in умёрти/umerty 'die (PRFV)', imperfective умирати/umyraty; *e* (non-fugitive) : *i*, as in замести/zamesty 'sweep (PRFV)', imperfective замітати/zamitaty; and *o* : *a*, as in перемогти/peremohy 'conquer (PRFV)', imperfective перемагати/peremahaty. Stress shift is also occasionally used as a means of changing aspect, as in розсипати/rozsypaty 'spill (PRFV)', imperfective розсипати/rozsypaty, although the present stems differ in terms of suffixation, respectively (third person singular) розсипле/rozsyplye and розсипає/rozsypaje. These devices are marginal, occasionally redundant; the root vowel alternations are unproductive and used in a limited number of roots (see section 2.3 above).

The most common nuances in meaning introduced by prefixes in perfective (perfectivized) verbs are the following:

- beginning of an action, with the prefixes *za-* or *po-* (говорити/hovority 'talk', заговорити/zahovority 'begin talking');
- limitation of an action in time, 'from ... to ...', typically with *po-* or *pro-* (сидити/sydyty 'sit', посидити/posydyty 'sit for a while');
- exhaustion of an action by reaching the maximum result, with the prefixes *za-* and *vy-* (кусати/kusaty 'bite', закусати/zakusaty 'bite all over, bite to death');
- saturation of the action, with the prefix *na-* (наговорити/nahovority 'tell as much as possible');
- distribution in time or space, with the prefix *po-* (розставляти/rozstavljaty 'place', порозставляти/porozstavljaty 'place here and there');
- intensive and lasting action, with the doubled prefix *po-po-* (працювати/pracjувaty 'work', попрацювати/poporacjувaty 'work hard and long').

In the nineteenth century use was still made of frequentative forms of verbs with the suffix *-va-* (жити/zhyty 'live', frequentative живати/zhyvaty) and with the prefixes *po-* and *pro-* and secondary imperfectivization (ходити/hodyty 'go', frequentative походжати/pohodzhaty). The former type of verb is now completely out of use, the latter is rare. Frequentativity as a morphological category has been virtually lost in Ukrainian.

In up to twenty verbs of motion there are two forms. The basic form refers to a one-time action and/or action in one direction (нести/nesty 'carry', летіти/letity 'fly'), the secondary form denotes repetition of action and/or indefiniteness of direction (носити/nosyty, літати/lytaty). This opposition occurs in verbs of high frequency and is therefore well rooted in the language, but it is totally unproductive and does not apply to neologisms.

3.2.2 Conjugation

With the exception of three verbs, да́ти/dáty 'give', ї́сти/jisty 'eat' and -ві́сти/-visty (as in опові́сти/opovisty 'tell') which have a conjugation apart (see table 17.12), the set of verbal endings is uniform for all verbs, with the sole exception of the third person singular. In the present tense they are: *-u* (1 SG), *-š* (2 SG), *-mo* (1 PL), *-te* (2 PL), *-t'* (3 PL). In the third person singular some verbs have a zero ending, while others have *-t'*. The vowel before the endings (used in all persons except the first person singular) is *-e-* (in the third person plural, *-u-*) in some verbs but *-y-* (third person plural *-a-*) in others. It is the *y/a* verbs that take the above-mentioned ending *-t'* in the third person singular (see table 17.12). In the vernacular, particularly in the eastern Ukraine, however, the third person singular of *y/a* verbs preserves the ending *-(y)t'* only under stress; if unstressed it is replaced by *-e*: кричі́ть/кryčyt' 'shout' versus но́се/но́se (standard но́ситься/nósyt') 'carry'.

The *y/a* verbs have alternation of consonants in the first person singular: *t* : *č*, *d* : *dž*, *s* : *š*, and *z* : *ž*, as in молочу́/moločú 'thresh (1 SG)', compare молоти́ш/molótyš (2 SG). If the stem ends in a labial it takes *l'* in both first person singular and third person plural, as in люблю́/ljubljú 'love (1 SG)', любля́ть/ljubljat' (3 PL), compare люби́ш/ljubyš (2 SG).

The system of endings in the past tense is even simpler than that of the present tense. There are only four endings: masculine *-v*, feminine *-la*,

Table 17.12 Present tense

(a)	<i>e/u</i> verbs 'carry'	<i>y/a</i> verbs 'shout'	Irregular verbs 'give'	'eat'
1 SG	несу́	кричу́	дам	їм
2 SG	несе́ш	кричи́ш	дасі́	їси́
3 SG	несе́	кричи́ть	дасть	їсть
1 PL	несемо́	кричимо́	дамó	їмо́
2 PL	несете́	кричите́	дасте́	їсте́
3 PL	несу́ть	крича́ть	даду́ть	їдя́ть

(b)	<i>e/u</i> verbs 'carry'	<i>y/a</i> verbs 'shout'	Irregular verbs 'give'	'eat'
1 SG	nesù	kryčù	dam	jim
2 SG	neséš	kryčyš	dasý	jisy
3 SG	nesé	kryčyt'	dast'	jist'
1 PL	nesemó	kryčymó	damó	jimó
2 PL	neseté	kryčyte	dasté	jisté
3 PL	nesút'	kryčát'	dadút'	jidjat'

neuter *-lo* and plural *-ly*: кричав/кря́в, кричала/кря́ла, кричало/кря́ло, кричали/кря́лы 'shout'. Two rules are to be added dealing with consonant clusters. If the verb stem ends in *-t-* or *-d-*, these consonants are lost before all past-tense endings: мету́/metù 'I sweep', past мів/мiv, мелá/melá. If the stem ends in some other consonant the ending *-v* is lost in the masculine: повзу́/повzù 'I creep', past повз/повz, but повзлá/повzlá; трясú/trjasù 'I shake', past тряс/трjas, but тряслá/trjaslá.

Some verbal categories are expressed analytically based on the above forms. The pluperfect (which actually expresses an action frustrated by the following one, as in він пішов був, алé поверну́вся/vin pišov був, алé поверnúvsja 'he had gone, but then came back', and is anyway used optionally) is formed by the past tense of the lexical verb and the same past-tense form of the verb б́ути/búty 'be', as in пішов був/пи́šov був, пішла булá/pišlá булá. The imperfective future tense has two forms: either the conjugated auxiliary verb б́уду/búdu '(I) shall be' plus the infinitive of the lexical verb, as in б́уду проси́ти/búdu prosýty 'I shall ask', or the infinitive of the lexical verb followed by the otherwise no longer used auxiliary of the *e/u* type in the present tense, *ти* (spelled as one word with the lexical verb), as in проси́тиму/prosýtymu 'I shall ask', проси́тимеш/prosýtymeš 'you will ask'. The conditional is based morphologically on the past tense by adding the particle би/by (б/б after a vowel): проси́в би/prosýv by, проси́ла б/prosýla b 'would ask'.

The only synthetic form of the finite verb beside the present tense with its own set of endings is the imperative with its three persons, second singular, first plural and second plural. The basic set of imperative endings is *-y* (2 SG), *-im* (1 PL), *-it'* (2 PL), added to the present-tense stem as found, for instance, in the second person singular; thus from нес-éш/nes-éš 'you carry' the imperative forms are: неси́/nesý, неси́м/nesim, неси́ть/nesit'. However, the ending *-y* in the second person singular is lost if stress does not fall on it (with the exception of certain stem-final consonant clusters, illustrated below, and when stress is transferred onto the prefix *vy-*, as in ви́неси/výnesy 'carry out'). In such cases word-final dentals capable of palatalization do so: кинь/кун' 'throw', сядь/sjad' 'sit down'. The plural imperatives of such verbs are formed by adding the endings *-мо*, *-те* to the singular forms: киньмо/кун'мо, киньте/кун'те. Hence the second set of endings, with an agglutinative plural: *-'*, *-мо*, *-те*. The first set is also used even though unstressed if the stem ends in a consonant plus *r*, *l*, *m*, *n*, as in стúкни/stúkny 'knock', стúкним/stúknim, стúкни́ть/stúknit'. If the verb root contains no vowel and ends in *-j*, the vowel *y* is inserted into the root: б'еш/bješ 'you beat', imperative бий/бий.

Of the non-finite forms, the infinitive uniformly has the ending *-ty*, before which root-final *t* and *d* change into *s*: кладé/kladé 'he puts', infinitive кла́сти/klásty, метé/meté 'he sweeps', infinitive местí/mestý; *č* and *ž* before the infinitive ending *-ty* are replaced by *k* and *h* respectively:

печѣ/пецѣ 'he bakes', infinitive пекти/ректѣ, може/може 'he can', infinitive мортѣ/мохтѣ. In non-standard Eastern Ukrainian and as a poetic licence, *-ту* may be replaced by *-т'* after a vowel.

The present gerund ends uniformly in *-ѣу*. Before this ending the vowel is that of the third person plural present, namely *и* or *а*; but in actual speech there is a strong tendency to replace the unstressed *а* in the gerund by *и*: пишуть/рѣшут' 'they write', gerund пишучи/рѣшучи, бачать/бачат' 'they see', gerund бачачи/бачаѣу, actually more often бачучи/бачуѣу. The past gerund ends in *-ѣу*, with the masculine past-tense form used as a stem: брав/брав 'take (PAST)', gerund бравши/бравшѣу, ніс/ніс 'carry (PAST)', gerund нісши/нісшѣу.

Participles have adjectival endings (see section 3.1.4). In the past participle passive there are two suffixes, *-н-* and *-т-*, as in сіяний/sijanyj 'sown', шитий/šytij 'sewn'. The suffix *-т-* is used after suffixless stems ending in *-у-*, *-и-*, *-а-*, *-р-* and *-а-* (the latter alternating with a nasal consonant, and deriving from Common Slavonic *р*): митий/mytij 'washed', грітий/hrityj 'warmed', дутий/dutij 'blown', дертий/dertij 'torn', жатий/žatij 'reaped' (compare жну/žnu 'I reap'). After the suffix *-н(у)-* the choice between *-н-* and *-т-* is free: кинути/kynuty 'to throw', past participle passive кинутий/kynutyj, кинений/kynenyj. There are a few other cases of vacillation, such as молоти/moloty 'to grind', past participle passive молотий/molotyj, мелений/melenyj.

As a rule the Ukrainian verb has two stems, one in the present tense (and the forms based on it: imperative and present gerund) and the other which is found in the past tense, the infinitive, the past gerund and the past participle passive. Traditionally, they are called the present stem and the infinitive stem. The two stems are represented below by the infinitive and by the third person singular present. In some verbs the two stems are identical, for example нес-ти/nes-tj, нес-ѣ/nes-ѣ 'carry', греб-ти/hreb-tj, греб-ѣ/hreb-ѣ 'row', but this is exceptional. The present stem always ends in a consonant, the infinitive stem may end in a consonant but typically ends in a vowel (see examples below). Because of this, infinitive stems ending in a vowel either undergo truncation of their final vowel or add a consonant, typically *ј*, when converted to present stems.

Truncation takes place mainly in the *у/а* conjugation with the suffixes *-у-*, *-и-* and *-а-*, as in носѣ-ти/nosj-tu, нос-ить/nos-yt' 'carry', блищѣ-ти/blyščj-tu, блищ-ить/blyšč-yt' 'shine', горѣ-ти/horj-tu, гор-ить/hor-yt' 'burn'. In some cases this same procedure is followed in the case of the suffix *-а-* in the *е/у* conjugation, as in ждѣ-ти/ždj-tu, жд-е/žd-e 'wait', ссѣти/ssj-tu, сс-е/ss-e 'suck'.

The opposite procedure, namely preserving the vowel of the infinitive and inserting *ј* in the present stem, is seen in such verbs as вѣти/vj-tu, вѣє/vj-e 'howl'; it is also applied in many verbs with the suffix *-а-*, such as хопѣти/hopj-tu, хопѣє/hopj-e 'catch', гасѣти/hasj-tu, гасѣє/hasj-e

hasáj-e 'run about'. Some verbs with infinitive stems in *-a-* have doublets, one with truncation, one with insertion, of *j*, as in дїхати/дїха-ту, дїхає/дїхаж-е or дїше/дїш-е 'breathe', колихати/колуха-ту, колихає/колухаж-е or колише/колыш-е 'rock', and there are rather many cases of vacillation. In the case of verbs with the suffix *-(u)va-* in the infinitive stem both techniques are applied in the same verbs: *-a-* is dropped and *j* inserted, as in купувати/купувá-ту, купує/купу́ж-е 'buy', давати/давá-ту, дає/да́ж-е 'give'.

Besides these basic procedures in deriving one verbal stem from the other there are several less widespread and more irregular supplemental changes such as alternation of consonants (as in стрїгти/stryh-ту, стриже/stryž-е 'cut (hair)', клікати/клї́ка-ту, клі́че/клї́ч-е 'call'), alternation of vowels with \emptyset (as in мєрти/mєr-ту, мре/mr-е 'die') and many more in individual verbs with some odd alternations (for instance, alternation of a vowel with a nasal consonant, as in дўти/dў-ту, дме/dm-е 'blow'), which in some cases go so far and are so irregular and so isolated that one may be tempted to speak of suppletion (as in гнати/hná-ту, женє/žen-е 'drive', сісти/sis-ту, сядє/sjad-е 'sit down').

For a comparison between Common Slavonic and Ukrainian present and infinitive stems, see table 17.13.

3.3 Derivational morphology

3.3.1 Major patterns of noun derivation

The derivation of nouns typically operates with suffixes. Prefixes most frequently are transferred from verbs from which the noun is derived, as in ви́бір/výbir 'choice', from ви́бирати/выбырати 'choose'. The most important noun prefixes proper are:

pá- with feminines ending in a consonant to show collectivity, as in пáмолодь/pámolod' 'undergrowth';

pra- to show remoteness in time, great age, as in праба́тько/prabát'ko 'forefather';

uz- shows adjacency, neighbourhood, as in узлі́сся/uzlissja 'edge of forest'.

The most productive suffixes are:

to denote a man by his activity or profession: *-nyk* (робітні́к/robitnyk 'worker'), *-ač* (чита́ч/čytač 'reader'), *-ar* (друка́р/drukár 'printer'), *-ec'* (ви́борець/výborec' 'voter'), *-ist* (a western European borrowing, україні́ст/ukrajínist 'Ukrainianist');

to denote a man by his features: *-ak* (дива́к/dyvák 'crank'), *-ec'* (мудре́ць/mudréc' 'wise man');

Table 17.13 Correspondences between Old Church Slavonic and Ukrainian verb classes

Old Church Slavonic <i>Present</i>	Old Church Slavonic <i>Infinitive</i>	Ukrainian <i>Present</i>	Ukrainian <i>Infinitive</i>	Gloss
nesetъ	nesti	несé/nesé	нёсти/нёсты	'carry'
vedetъ	vesti	ведé/vedé	вёсти/вёсты	'lead'
idetъ	iti	ідé/idé	їти/ity	'go'
jědetъ	jěxati	їде/jide	їхати/jixaty	'travel'
grebetъ	greti	гребé/hrebé	гребти/hrebtý	'row'
rešetъ	rešti	печé/pešé	пекти/pektý	'bake'
našnetъ	našeti	почнé/ročnэ	почати/ročaty	'begin'
mьretъ	mřeti	мрé/mřé	мёрти/merty	'die'
stanetъ	stati	стánэ/stáne	стати/staty	'stand'
beretъ	ьbrati	берé/beré	брати/braty	'take'
zovetъ	zъvati	зве/zve	звати/zvaty	'call'
minetъ	minoti	минé/тунé	минүти/тунүты	'pass'
čujetъ	čuti	чүэ/čüje	чүти/čүты	'hear'
kryjetъ	kryti	крїэ/kryje	крїти/kryty	'cover'
bijetъ	biti	б'э/bje	бити/byty	'beat'
borjetъ	brati	борé/bore	бороти/boroty	'fight'
meljetъ	mlěti	мэле/mэле	молоти/moloty	'grind'
igrajетъ	igrati	играэ/ihráje	іграти/ihraty	'play'
umějetъ	uměti	уміэ/umije	уміти/umity	'be able'
kažetъ	kazati	каже/káže	казати/kazaty	'say'
imetъ	eti	(при)їме/ (прү)їме	(прийн)яти/(прүпн)jaty	'accept'
darujetъ	darovati	даруэ/daruje	дарувати/daruvaty	'donate'
sějetъ	sějati	сіэ/sije	сіяти/sijaty	'sow'
molitъ	moliti	молитъ/molyt'	молити/moloty	'pray'
hoditъ	hoditi	ходитъ/xodyt'	ходити/xodyty	'go'
velitъ	velěti	велитъ/velyt'	велити/velity	'order'
ležitъ	ležati	лежитъ/ležyt'	лежати/ležaty	'lie'
sъritъ	sъpati	спитъ/spyt'	спати/spaty	'sleep'

to denote a man by his origin: *-анун* (киянин/kyjānyn 'inhabitant of Kiev'), *-ес'* (чужинець/čuzynec' 'stranger');

to denote a woman by her occupation or profession: *-k-a* (перекладачка/perekładáčka 'translator', учителька/učytel'ka 'teacher'), *-нуж-а* (переможниця/peremožnycja 'victor');

to denote tools: *-al-o/-yl-o*, *-ylk-a/-ilk-a* (точило/točylo 'whetstone', сопілка/sopilka 'pipe') and also those suffixes that also denote men by their activity (лічильник/ličyl'nyk 'meter', вимикач/vumykač 'switch').

Ukrainian makes broad use of the category of collectivity. The most widespread suffix for persons is *-stv-o* (селянство/seljānstvo 'peasantry')

and for non-persons the emotionally neutral type are neuters in *-ja* preceded (except in the case of labials and *r*) by a long consonant (зілля/*zillja* 'herbs', пір'я/*pirja* 'feathers'). The suffixes *-v-a* and *-nj-a* combine the meaning of collectivity with a pejorative nuance (мишва́/*myšvá* 'mice', босячнѣ/*bosjačnjá* 'vagabonds'). The broad use of collective nouns is balanced by the possibility of deriving singulatives from them. The most typical singulative suffix is *-yn* (which in masculines is used only in the singular and dropped in the plural): селяни́н/*seljanyn* (plural селяни/*seljány*) 'peasant', зерни́на/*zernýna* '(one) grain'.

Nouns that denote processes and actions most often use the following suffixes: \emptyset in masculines and (with the feminine inflection *-a*) in feminines (за́пит/*zápýt* 'question', о́нова/*onóva* 'renovation') and especially *-ennj-a* or *-uvannj-a*, both neuter (дѣханнѣ/*dýchannja* 'breathing', групува́ння/*hrupuvánnja* 'grouping'). The most typical suffix to denote qualities is *-ist'*, feminine (мо́лодість/*mólodist'* 'youth').

A typical feature of Ukrainian is its wide use of affective suffixes. Some of them are predominantly pejorative and/or augmentative, others, more frequently used, are endearing and/or diminutive (баби́ще/*babýšče* 'big and unpleasant woman', рѹчка/*rúčka* 'nice little hand' and, with reduplication of the same suffix, рѹчечка/*rúčeczka*).

3.3.2 Major patterns of adjective derivation

Adjectives may be derived by means of suffixes from nouns, adverbs, verbs and other adjectives.

The main types of adjectival derivation from nouns are:

with possessive meaning (always referring to one person as possessor) with the suffixes *-iv* (alternating with *-ov-* when followed by a vowel) and *-yn* (ба́тьків/*bát'kiv* 'father's', сестри́н/*sestrýn* 'sister's');

relational, with the suffixes *-n-*, *-ov/ev-*, *-s'k-*, *-'ač-* (державни́й/*deržávnyj* 'concerning the state', тижне́вий/*tyžnévyj* 'weekly', господарський/*hospodárs'kuj* 'concerning the economy', свиня́чий/*svynjáčyj* 'concerning pigs');

referring to material composition, with the suffixes *-n-* or *-ov/ev-* (залізни́й/*zalíznyj* 'of iron', паперо́вий/*paperóvyj* 'of paper');

pointing to similarity, with the suffixes *-ast-*, *-yst-*, *-uvat-* (куля́стий/*kuljástyj* 'similar to a ball', драгли́стий/*drahlystyj* 'similar to headache', вовкува́тий/*vovkuvátyj* 'behaving like a wolf'). Similarity can also be conveyed by compound adjectives with the second component *-поді́бний/-podibnyj*, less frequently *-ві́дний/-vídnyj* (павукоподі́бний/*pravukopodibnyj* 'similar to a spider').

The main types of adjectival derivation from verbs include those with the suffixes *-al'n-* (with the meaning of property or peculiarity:

відповідальний/vidpovidál'nyj 'responsible'), *-uč-* and *-ušč-* (with the meaning of a prominent feature: балакучий/balakučyj 'talkative'), *-lyv-* and *-k-* (with the meaning of a disposition towards or an ability to perform an action: зрадливий/zradlyvuj 'treacherous', липкий/lypkij 'sticky'), *-enn-* or *-ann-* (with the meaning of feasibility: здійснений/zdijsněnyj 'feasible'), *-č-* (with the meaning of a relation: виборчий/vyborčyj 'electoral').

Adjectives are occasionally derived from adverbs, by means of the suffix *-n'-* or *-šn'-*: торік/torik 'last year', adjective торішний/torišnij, вчора/včora 'yesterday', adjective вчорашній/včorašnij.

The derivation of adjectives from adjectives usually marks gradation in the presence and/or intensity of a feature and introduces a certain affectivity. The weakening or incompleteness of a feature is shown by the suffixes *-av-* or *-'av-* (жовтавий/žovtávuj 'yellowish'), while intensification of a feature is expressed by the suffixes, *-enn-*, *-ann-*, *-ezn-*, *-'ašč-* (здоровенний/zdorovėnyj 'quite big', старезний/starėznyj 'very old', добрящий/dobryščyj 'very good'). The suffix *-isin'k-* is specialized in the meaning of an undiluted manifestation of a feature (білісінький/bilisin'kij 'absolutely white'), as opposed to *-esen'k-* (and *-en'k-*), in which affectivity is predominant (багатєсенький/bahatėsen'kij or багатєнький/bahatėn'kij, roughly 'nicely rich').

3.3.3 Major patterns of verb derivation

The most important device in the derivation of verbs is prefixation. The primary meaning of verbal prefixes is spatial; on this primary meaning are then deposited secondary meanings of a more abstract character. To limit the discussion to one example, *roz-* has as its basic meaning motion in various directions (розбігтися/rozbihtysja 'scatter by running'), from which the meaning of comprehensiveness of an action developed (розіспатися/rozispătysja 'sleep one's fill'), on the one hand, and, on the other, that of losing ability to do something (розучитися/rozučytysja 'unlearn, forget how to'). The number of verbal prefixes hardly exceeds fifteen; therefore nearly every one of them covers a large range of meanings, sometimes mutually exclusive. Only *zne-* is devoid of spatial meaning: it shows the loss of a feature expressed in the root (знесилити/znesyliti 'lose strength, grow weak').

Verbal suffixes are few and mostly their function is to oppose transitivity to intransitivity or perfectivity to imperfectivity: біліти/bilyti 'make white', білити/bilyti 'be white'; кінчати/kinčaty (IMPFV), кінчити/kinčyti (PRFV) 'finish'. Simultaneously, they serve to derive a verb from a noun or adjective. As a result, their main function (if there is one) is often blurred. The most productive among them are *-uva-* (in alternation with *-u-* and *-ova-*), which is productive in the adaptation of foreign verbs (телефонувати/telefonuvaty 'make a telephone call'), and *-n/nu-* in its

double function: to show the transition into a state (if the basic word is an adjective: сліпий/slipyj 'blind', сліпнути/slipnuty 'go blind') and to perfectivize an imperfective verb, usually with a shade of meaning of rapidity (стукати/stukaty (IMPFV), стукнути/stuknuty (PRFV 'knock')). The nuance of rapidity and intensivity is particularly emphasized if *-nu-* is replaced by *-onu-*.

4 Syntax

4.1 Element order in declarative sentences

Word order in a Ukrainian sentence can be standard (unmarked, basic) or deviating (marked). Within standard word order there are cases of obligatory (fixed) word order as opposed to non-obligatory ones. Obligatory word order encompasses the following cases:

Prepositions are placed before the noun phrase (except a few prepositions, usually longer than disyllabic and developing from adverbs, which also admit postposition): на столі/na stoli 'on (the) table', на письмовому столі/na pys'movomu stoli 'on (the) writing table', but заради нього/zarady n'oho or його заради/joho zarady 'for his sake'.

Coordinating conjunctions are placed between the elements they link, subordinating conjunctions at the beginning of the subordinate clause: вулиці й майдани/vulyci j majdany 'streets and squares', не прийшов через те, що захворів/не pryjšov čerez te, ščo zahvoriv or через те, що захворів, не прийшов/čerez te, ščo zahvoriv, ne pryjšov 'he did not come because he had fallen sick'.

Particles (as a rule, clitics) also have a fixed place. Some of them are placed clause-initially, such as (не)хай/(не)xaj 'let', чи/čy 'if, whether', while others, such as же/že 'indeed', are placed after the first phrase of the clause: хай він прийде/хaj vin pryjde 'let him come', він же знав це/vin že znav ce 'he certainly knew that'. If же/že appears in addition to another clitic particle, it is же/že which comes first (usually in exclamatory sentences): іди ж бо/idy ž bo 'now then go'. As can be seen from the above, fixed word order prevails in the case of syntactic words only.

Standard word order is regulated by the following rules:

The subject precedes the verb.

The verb precedes its object(s), with the dative or instrumental object preceding the accusative: дав йому слово/dav jomu slovo '(he) gave him the floor (literally: word)'.

The attributive adjective precedes its head noun.

The adnominal genitive follows its head noun.

An adverb derived from an adjective precedes the word it modifies; an adverb of other origin follows the word it modifies: він приязно

дивівся/*vin prýjazno dyvývjsja* 'he looked in a friendly manner', but
він дивівся вперёд/*vin dyvývjsja vperéd* 'he looked forward'.

However, statistically, sentences with consistent standard word order by no means prevail. Much more often one phrase (or more) is displaced for the reason of emphasis, either to make its contextual ties more obvious (topicalization) or to make it prominent logically and/or emotionally (focus). Every shift from the standard word order emphasizes the shifted phrase, especially if placing it in the first or last place in the sentence. Promoting a phrase to initial position leads to what may be called impulsive word order as if stressing the impulse which prompted the speaker to utter the sentence. Pushing a word or phrase into sentence-final position creates an enhanced tension in the listener due to the postponement in revealing that word or phrase: cumulative word order.

It is because of such departures from standard word order that one can hardly expect too many sentences in which all components are unshifted from their standard position. Shifts in word order make sense against the background of the standard word order; if such a standard were lost entirely the shifts would have no effect. Paradoxically as it may sound, the standard word order is omnipresent, but more through departures from it than through straight adherence to it.

4.2 Non-declarative sentence types

Interrogative sentences are marked first of all by interrogative intonation (a sharp rise over the last word of the sentence or over any word that is supposed to be the nucleus of the addressee's answer). In addition, they may have interrogative particles (чи/чы for a simple question, хібá/xibá or невжé/nevžé with a shade of doubt or surprise) or an interrogative pronoun or adverb (such as хто/хто 'who', де/de 'where') which are placed at the beginning of the sentence, except that in questions with an alternative чи/чы is placed between the two (or more) alternatives among which the addressee is supposed to select: чи ти там був?/чы ty tam був? 'were you there?' ти був у театрі чи в музеї?/ty був u teátri chy v muzéji? 'were you at the theatre or in the museum?'. In either case, with or without a particle (or interrogative pronoun or adverb), the speaker may also change the word order, placing the predicate or the central word of the interrogative sentence at the beginning, but this shift is by no means obligatory. Hence the three possibilities are: чи ти там був?/чы ty tam був?, ти був там?/ty був там?, був ти там?/buv ty tam (or, with a different central word: там ти був?/tam ty був?). The third type is the least frequent. The interrogative intonation usually becomes less prominent when the interrogative particle (or pronoun or adverb) is present.

Indirect questions have only one of the above possibilities, being introduced by чи/чы or an interrogative pronoun or adverb: я спитав, чи він

там був/ја спыта́в, чы він там був 'I asked if he was there', я спитáв, де він був/ја спыта́в, де він був 'I asked where he was'.

The possible types of answers to a yes-no question are threefold: (a) the word так/tak 'yes' or ні/ni 'no'; (b) repetition of the central phrase or one of the alternatives; (c) combining (a) and (b). Thus, to the question чи ти був там?/чы ty був там? 'were you there?' an affirmative answer may be так/tak, or був/buv, or так, був/tak, був. To questions with interrogative pronouns or adverbs the answer would be the phrase substituting for and having the same syntactic function as that interrogative: де ти був?/де ty був? 'where were you?', answer: у теат́ри/у теат́ри.

In answering negative questions, such as чи ти не був там?/чы ty не був там? 'weren't you there?', the answer так implies agreement with the corresponding positive proposition, that is 'no, I wasn't there', while ні/ni implies disagreement with this proposition, that is 'yes, I was there'.

Commands usually have no subject expressed and their verb tends to stand in initial position: іди́ сюди́!/idý sjudy! 'come here!' The same applies to negative commands; their peculiarity is that typically the verb in them is used in the imperfective aspect; contrast скажи́ йому́ правду!/skažý jomu právdu! 'tell him the truth!' and не кажи́ йому́ правди!/не каžý jomu právdy! 'don't tell him the truth!' If a subject pronoun is inserted into the imperative construction, usually enclitic to the verb, the sentence may acquire the character of advice rather than a command. The use of perfective aspect in negative commands adduces the meaning of a warning.

Since the imperative does not have third-person forms, commands addressed to a third person use the indicative preceded by the particle (не)хай/(не)ха́ј 'let': нехай́ він прийде́!/neháj vin pryjde! 'let him come!' The basic meaning of such constructions is, however, not a command in the strict sense, but rather a wish.

4.3 Copular sentences

The most typical copular verbs are бу́ти/búty 'be', лиші́тися/lyšýtysja, (з)остáтися/(z)ostátysja 'remain', ста́ти/státy, зробі́тися/zrobýtysja, опині́тися/orunýtysja 'become', зва́тися/zvátysja, назива́тися/nazyvátysja 'be called'. The verb бу́ти/búty as copula is normally replaced by zero in the present tense: він відомий науко́вець/vin vidomyj naukóvec 'he is a renowned scholar'; potentially, there may appear in such cases a specific intonation: a sharp rise in pitch followed by a pause in the place where the copula would stand. If the predicate proper is a noun phrase, then between it and the preceding noun phrase the neuter demonstrative pronoun то/to 'that' or це/ce 'this' may be inserted: ромáн це літерату́рний жанр/román ce literatúrnyj žanr 'the novel is a literary genre'. (Note that in other functions the neuter of 'that' is те/te, not то/to; this shows that one is dealing here with a mere indication of predicativity.) The presence of the indicator то/to or це/ce often emphasizes

completeness in the identification of the subject with the predicate noun phrase.

The predicate noun phrase stands in the nominative or the instrumental or takes the preposition *за/za* plus the accusative: *він був пастух, пастухом, за пастуха/vin buv pastux, pastuxom, za pastuxa* 'he was a shepherd'. The main factor in this choice is the copula itself. With the copulas *опинітис/орунутисja* 'become', *здаватис/zdavatusja* 'seem' the instrumental is nearly obligatory. With *стати/statu, зробитис/zrobytysja*, *лишитис/lyshytysja*, *(на)зватис/(na)zvatysja* the instrumental is predominant but the nominative can occur. With the copula *бути/buty* in forms other than the present tense the choice is very much free, though the instrumental is more frequent. In the present tense, with the zero form of the copula, the nominative is normal; if the copula *є/je* is used, the decisive factor is word order: if the predicate noun phrase stands before the subject it tends to be in the instrumental, otherwise the nominative prevails. Examples are: *він здається мені зрадником (INST)/vin zdajet'sja meni zradnykom (INST)* 'he seems to me a traitor', *він став зрадником (INST)/vin stav zradnykom (INST)* 'he became a traitor', *він був зрадник (NOM), зрадником (INST)/vin buv zradnyk (NOM), zradnykom (INST)* 'he was a traitor', *він зрадник (NOM), він є зрадник (NOM), зрадником (INST)/vin zradnyk (NOM), vin je zradnyk (NOM), zradnykom* 'he is a traitor'.

The accusative with *за/za* differs semantically. It conveys the meaning of substitution, not of complete identity: *він мені був за брата/vin meni buv za brata* 'he was like a brother to me'.

If the predicate is an adjective the nominative is more typical than the instrumental, except with the copulas *здаватис/zdavatusja* 'seem', *вважатис/vvažatysja* 'be reputed', *уявлятис/ujavljatysja* 'appear': *місто здається мертвим (INST)/misto zdajet'sja mertvym (INST)* 'the city seems dead'. If the copula is zero the nominative is the only form used: *він уже здоровий (NOM)/vin uže zdorovyj (NOM)* 'he is already healthy'.

4.4 Coordination and comitativity

Coordination in a sentence in most cases encompasses morphologically identical elements (such as adverbs: *тут і там/tut i tam* 'here and there'), but this is not obligatory. The decisive factor is the identity of syntactic function, which in most cases is revealed by the identity of the interrogative pronoun or adverb to which the two (or more) coordinated elements would be an answer, as in *дома і в школі/doma i v školi* 'home and in school', where an adverb and a prepositional phrase function as coordinated, the corresponding question being *де?/de?* 'where?' In the case of adjectives, a would-be coordinated chain is actually present under the condition of semantic homogeneity; compare *білі, блакитні, зелені будинки/bili, blakytni, zeleni budynky* 'white, blue, green houses', a coordinated chain

based on the feature of colour, with високі білі житлові будинки/ vysòki bili žytlovi budýnky 'high white residential houses', a chain in which each adjective refers not directly to the noun but rather to the following noun phrase as a whole. Schematically, the two cases may be presented as follows: білі будинки + блакитні будинки + зелені будинки/ bili budýnky + blakýtni budýnky + zelèni budýnky, versus високі + білі житлові будинки, білі + житлові будинки, житлові + будинки/ vysòki + bili žytlovi budýnky, bili + žytlovi budýnky, žytlovi + budýnky.

Coordinated chains may be signalled by parallel intonation alone. In addition, and more explicitly, they are signalled as such by the presence of one or more conjunctions as coordinators. These conjunctions are threefold: copulative, disjunctive or adversative. Typical copulative conjunctions are *i/i* (after a vowel also *й/j*), *та/ta* 'and', in negative sentences (*а*)ні/ (*а*)ni 'nor'; disjunctive conjunctions are *або/abò*, *чи/чы* 'or', *то/to* 'now'; adversative conjunctions are *але (ж)/alè (ž)*, *протè/protè*, *та/ta* 'but': *люди і тварини/ljudy i tvarýny* 'men and animals', *люди або тварини/ljudy abò tvarýny* 'people or animals', *розумний, але недотèпний/rozúmnyj, ale nedotèpnj* 'intelligent but awkward'.

Adversative conjunctions do not admit of more than two-member chains; the same is true, with rare exceptions, of the copulative *та/ta*. Other conjunctions introduce open chains. In such series if there are in fact two members the conjunction may be placed between them or before each of them: *люди і тварини/ljudy i tvarýny* or *і люди і тварини/i ljudy i tvarýny*. Double conjunction is obligatory in the case of *то/to*: *то люди, то тварини/to ljudy, to tvarýny* 'now people, now animals'. In chains which contain more than two elements the conjunction may be placed either only before the last element (which implies closing of the chain): *люди, тварини, комахи і бактерії/ljudy, tvarýny, komaxy i bakteriji* 'people, animals, insects and bacteria', or before each member of the chain, or the elements may be grouped in pairs: *люди і тварини, комахи і бактерії/ljudy i tvarýny, komaxy i bakteriji*.

If members of a coordinated chain are nouns in the nominative singular the predicate (verbal or adjectival) may be in the singular or plural. The plural is typically chosen if the predicate is placed after the subject; if it is placed before the predicate, in non-formal speech the singular is more frequent while in formal or written usage the plural is preferred: *жінка й чоловік плакали/žinka j čolovik plákaly* 'the woman and the man cried', *плакала ~ плакали жінка й чоловік/plákala ~ plákaly žinka j čolovik*. The same tendency in agreement (or lack of agreement) is manifested if in such conjoined nominative cases the non-initial noun phrase (or phrases) is placed in the instrumental preceded by the preposition *з/z* 'with', the so-called comitative construction: *жінка з чоловіком плакали/žinka z čolovikom plákaly*, with verb-subject order *плакала ~ плакали жінка з чоловіком/plákala ~ plákaly žinka z čolovikom*.

Such comitative constructions are limited to nouns which denote living beings or personified notions. In these constructions, the noun phrase in the nominative is understood as the main actor while that in the instrumental is secondary, an accessory. If the main actor corresponds to a pronoun, that pronoun is used in the plural even though it denotes a single person, as in *ми з ним пішли геть/мы з ным пішли геть* 'he and I (literally: we with him) went away', *вони з ним пішли геть/vony z nym pišly het* 'he (or she) and he (literally: they with him) went away'.

4.5 Subordination

The main means of subordination is the use of conjunctions, although asyndeton (the mere juxtaposition of clauses) is by no means rare. Of the rather numerous subordinating conjunctions the most frequent are the following:

- objective (noun clause): *що/ščo* 'that', also *ніби/niby* (after verbs of speech, with the nuance of uncertainty or mistrust), *чи/чы* 'if, whether' (and other interrogative pronouns and adverbs);
- relative: *який/jakýj* 'who, which', *що/ščo* 'that';
- of place: *де/de* 'where', *куди/kudy* 'whither', *звідки/zvidky* 'whence';
- of time: *коли/koly* 'when', *як/jak* 'as', *поки/poky* 'while', *як тільки/jak til'ky* 'as soon as';
- causal: *бо/bo* 'for', *тому що/tomu ščo* 'because';
- of purpose: *щоб/ščob* 'in order that';
- conditional: *якби/jakby*, *якщо/jakščo* 'if';
- of manner and comparative: *як/jak* 'as', *наче/наче, ніби/niby, (не)мóв/(не)мóв* 'as if';
- consecutive: *так що/tak ščo, (що) аж/(ščo) až* 'so that';
- concessive: *хоч/хоць, дарма що/darma ščo* 'although';
- explanatory: *то/to, то́бо/tobto, се́бо/sebto* 'that is'.

Most subordinating conjunctions admit (some even require, especially if the main clause comes first) a demonstrative pronoun in the main clause, such as *той/toj* 'that' in its various forms, *так/tak* 'thus', *тоді/todi* 'then', whose function is to point to the subordinate clause to follow: *людина, що знає правду/ljudyna, ščo znaje pravdu* or *та людина, що знає правду/ta ljudyna, ščo znaje pravdu* 'the (that) man who knows the truth'. In recent decades, the habit of placing the word *факт/fakt* 'fact' after *той/toj* has spread in objective clauses, possibly in imitation of the corresponding English construction: *усім відомо те/usim vidomo te* or *усім відомий той факт, що «Гамлета» написав Шекспір/usim vidomyj toj fakt, ščo "Hamleta" napysav Šekspir* 'everyone knows that *Hamlet* was written by Shakespeare'. In the case of causal *тому що/tomu ščo* and

consecutive так що/tak ščo, the first element, now an integral part of the subordinating conjunction in the subordinate clause, is etymologically just such a demonstrative. Concessive хоч/хоць, less often дарма що/darmá ščo, when in a subordinate clause before the main clause takes as its (optional) counterpart in the main clause алé/alé 'but', and not a demonstrative: хоч іде сніг, (алé) надвóри тéпло/хоць іде сніг, (алé) nadvóri tэplo 'although it is snowing, (yet) it is warm outside'. A few conjunctions do not allow an antecedent counterpart in the main clause: objective нiби/niby, temporal як тiльки/jak til'ky, causal бо/bo, consecutive аж/až and all the explanatory conjunctions.

The relative position of the two clauses, main and subordinate, is interchangeable in most types of composite sentences, even though in some types the subordinate clause tends to precede (temporal clauses) and in other types it tends to follow (objective clauses, causal clauses with томú що/tomú ščo). Placing the subordinate clause after the main clause is obligatory in the case of temporal clauses with the conjunction аж/až, causal clauses with the conjunction бо/bo, consecutive and explanatory clauses. Finally, relative clauses must stand after the noun to which they refer.

In Ukrainian, it is not possible to extract interrogative and relative pronouns out of finite subordinate clauses, to give literal translations of English sentences like *who do you think that I saw?* or *the man that I think that you saw*.

Subordinate clauses of time, sometimes with additional nuances of cause, condition, concession or consequence may be replaced by gerundial constructions, provided the two clauses have the same subject, as in утомiвся бiгавши/utomývsja bihavšy 'he got tired while running (or: because he had been running)'.

Perfective verbs have gerunds in -šy, imperfective ones in both -šy and -čy: добiгши/dobihšy 'having run to', бiгаючи/bihajučy, бiгавши/bihavšy 'running'. As a rule, gerunds of perfective aspect refer to the preceding action, as in добiгши, він упав/dobihšy, vin upav 'having run up, he fell', in which he first reached his goal, then fell down; occasionally, if such a gerund is placed after the main clause, it denotes a subsequent action, as in вона сiдає, витягнувши нóги/voná sidaje, vytjahnuvšy nóhy 'she sits down and stretches her legs'. Gerunds of imperfective aspect, both those in -čy and those in -šy, as a rule refer to simultaneous actions or conditions, as in сiдячи, вона витягає нóги/syďjačy, voná vytjahaje nóhy 'while sitting she stretches her legs'. The imperfective gerunds in -šy are more typical if the verb in the main clause is imperfective and in the past tense, but the present gerund is also possible here (сидiвши ~ сiдячи, вона витягала нóги/sydivšy ~ syďjačy, voná vytjahala nóhy 'while sitting she stretched her legs'). The stronger the subsidiary nuances of cause, concession and so on, the weaker the temporal identity of the gerund, which then tends to become an adverb.

Subordinate clauses of purpose with the conjunction *щоб/ščob* 'in order that' and its synonyms usually have the verb in the infinitive if their subject is identical with that of the main clause, as in *приїхав, щоб оглянути місто/пrijixav, ščob ohljánuty misto* 'he came in order to look around the city'. In such constructions the conjunction is optional, though statistically constructions with *щоб/ščob* prevail. The *щоб/ščob* construction is, however, inadmissible with modal verbs such as *могти/mohty* 'be able', *хотіти/hotity* 'want', *мусіти/musity* 'must', *дозволяти/dozvoljaty* 'permit', *наказувати/nakazuvaty* 'order' in the main clause, and these require a following plain infinitive.

In addition to such cases, the infinitive is also used as a subject (*співати – високе мистецтво/spivaty – vysoke mystectvo* 'singing is a high art') and as an expression of a wish or order (*іти швидко/ity švydko!* 'go quickly!'). The use of the infinitive with nouns to denote their function is obsolete (*казан варити куліш/kazan varyty kulish* 'cauldron to cook kulish (a kind of soup)').

4.6 Negation

Sentence negation is expressed by putting the particle *не/ne* before the predicate: *він був там/vin buv tam* 'he was there', *він не був там/vin ne buv tam* 'he was not there'. Constituent negation, if it does not refer to a pronoun, is expressed by putting *не/ne* before the negated constituent: *бачив комедію в театрі/bačyv komediju v teatri* 'he saw the comedy in the theater', *бачив не комедію в театрі(, а трагедію)/bačyv ne komediju v teatri(, a trahediju)* 'he didn't see the comedy in the theatre(, but the tragedy)', *бачив комедію не в театрі(, а в телебаченні)/bačyv komediju ne v teatri(, a v telebačenni)* 'he didn't see the comedy in the theatre(, but on television)'. In the case of a negated pronoun multiple negation with the particles *не/ne* and *ні/ni* is used:

Ніхто не бачив (цієї) комедії в театрі./Nixto ne bačyv (cijéji) komediji v teatri.

'No one saw the (this) comedy in the theatre.'

Ніхто не бачив у театрі ні комедії, ні трагедії./Nixto ne bačyv u teatri ni komediji, ni trahediji.

'No one saw either the comedy or the tragedy in the theatre.'

Ніхто не бачив ні комедії, ні трагедії ні в театрі, ні в телебаченні./Nixto ne bačyv ni komediji, ni trahediji ni v teatri, ni v telebačenni.
'No one saw either the comedy or the tragedy either in the theatre or on television.'

There are certain other differences between sentences with and without sentence negation. These concern the direct object and the subject. The direct object which in the positive sentence would be accusative may appear in the genitive: *курить люльку/kuryt' ljul'ku* '(he) smokes a pipe (ACC)', *не курить люльки/ne kuryt' ljul'ky* 'he does not smoke a pipe

(GEN)'. However, this case shift is not obligatory and the accusative may remain unchanged. Statistically speaking, the genitive is a little more frequent than the accusative of the object in negative sentences. Semantically, the genitive in such sentences is more general, not concentrating on a specific object, so that *не читав газети* (GEN)/*ne čytáv hazěty* (GEN) may mean 'he did not read any newspaper' while *не читав газету* (ACC)/*ne čytáv hazětu* (ACC) may easily refer to a specific newspaper, that is 'he did not read the newspaper'. Moreover, the use of the genitive for the negated object is more typical of formal speech.

Given sentences with the general meaning of presence, under negation the nominative is replaced by the genitive. The verb *бути*/*búty* 'be' in the past tense is placed in the neuter singular form, in the future in the third person singular, and in the present tense it is replaced by the word *нема́/немá* 'there is not': *були́ хліби́* (NOM)/*bulý xlibý* (GEN) 'there were loaves', *не було́ хлібів* (GEN)/*ne buló xlibiv* (GEN) 'there were no loaves', *не буде́ хлібів* (GEN)/*ne búde xlibiv* (GEN) 'there will be no loaves', *нема́ хлібів* (GEN)/*nemá xlibiv* (GEN) 'there are no loaves'. The sentence becomes impersonal in all such cases. While in 'be'-sentences such a shift is obligatory, it is optional in application to other verbs with a more concrete meaning that contain the notion of presence or possession: *сьогодні́ газет* (GEN) *не виходило*/s'ohódni hazět (GEN) *не vuxódylo* or *сьогодні́ газети́* (NOM) *не виходили*/s'ohódni hazěty (NOM) *ne vuxódyly* 'today no newspapers came out'.

4.7 Anaphora and pronouns

The type of sentence that is, statistically, the most frequent and, stylistically, the most neutral has, if there is no other subject, a personal pronoun (including anaphoric pronouns) as subject alongside the verb, except in the imperative: *я червонію/ја červoniju* 'I blush', *він червоніє/vin červonije* 'he blushes', *я червонів/ја červoniv* 'I blushed', *він червонів/vin červoniv* 'he blushed'. However, in informal speech, sentences without personal pronouns in the indicative and conditional are quite frequent and serve as a means of emphasizing the informality of the utterance. The absence of personal pronouns is nearly obligatory in answers to yes-no questions: *ти там був?*/*ty tam був?* 'were you there?', *був/був* 'I was' (and not *я був/ја був*). The same applies to non-initial clauses provided a co-referential pronoun is used in the initial clause: *він знав, що туди́ не піде/vin znav, ščo tudý ne pide* 'he knew that he would not go there' (and not *він знав, що він туди́ не піде/vin znav, ščo vin tudý ne pide*). In the imperative personal pronouns appear only under strong stress: *ти іди́!/ty idý!* 'you go (not me)!' instead of the more normal *іди́!/idý!*.

In formal usage if there are two nouns of the same gender (person) and number the ensuing ambiguity in the use of pronouns may be resolved by using *перший/пéрšyj* (literally: 'first') 'the former' and *другий/drúhij*

(literally: 'second') or остáнный/ostánnij, (literally: 'last') 'the latter':
 учень і вчитель розмовляли ... пёрший спитав ..., друкій
 відповів/účen' i včitel' rozmovljaly ... pèršyj spytáv ..., druhyj vidpoviv
 ... 'the pupil and the teacher were conversing ... the former asked ... the
 latter answered ...'

4.8 Reflexives and reciprocals

Most typically, reflexivity is expressed by the verbal postfix *-sja* (after a vowel or a resonant, optionally *-s'*): умиваюся/умывájusja 'I wash myself', умивався/умывájvsja 'I washed myself', also умиваюсь/умывájus' and (rarely) умивавсь/умывájvs'. But the functions of this postfix are manifold:

passive voice (збрóя кувáлася в кúзні/zbrója kuválasja v kúzni
 'weaponry was forged in the smithy');

reciprocity (вони поцілува́лися/vony pociľuválysja 'they kissed each
 other');

fulfilment of an action (наївся/najívsja 'he ate his fill');

impersonalization (хóчется/хóčet'sja 'one feels like (doing something)');

exclusion of the object (кíдає/kýdaje 'he throws (something, expressed in
 the accusative)', but кíдається/kýdajet'sja 'he throws (with no possi-
 bility of an accusative object)'; see also section 3.2.6 above).

Many verbs are not used at all without the postfix, such as намагається/намаhájet'sja 'he endeavours', in some others the use of the postfix is optional, as in обіцяв(ся)/обіцјáv(sja) 'he promised'.

As a result of this accumulation of meanings the meaning of the postfix became vague, in some cases rather stylistic, with a lesser degree of formality. As a result, there appeared a tendency to replace here and there, in cases of true reflexivity, the postfix *-sja* by the apparently less ambiguous pronoun себе́/sebè, as in він любить (самóго) себе́/vin ljùbyt' (samóho) sebè 'he loves himself', or, in cases of reciprocity, the phrase одін одного́/одún odnohó (also stressed óдного/óдноho), as in вони любі́ли одін одного́/vony ljubýly odún odnohó 'they loved each other' instead of любі́лися/ljubýlysja. The expansion of these types is relatively recent; traditionally used reflexive and reciprocal verbs are still used (as in the examples above), the new type of construction is spreading gradually, filling the gaps and eliminating ambiguities, so that it is impossible to give an exact delimitation of new constructions from traditional postfixal verbs. One of the differences between the traditional *-sja* forms and their phrasal replacements is that in the case of conjoined chains the postfix is repeated in each member, which is not the case with the phrasal equivalents: він голівся й умивався/vin holývsja j umывájvsja 'he shaved and washed himself', but вони обійма́ли й цілува́ли одін óдного/vony objímály j

ciluvály odýn ódnoho 'they embraced and kissed one another'.

Postfixed impersonal verbs like хочеться/хóčet'sja 'one feels like (doing something)' exclude the possibility of a subject in the nominative case; instead, they require a noun phrase in the dative, as can be seen in the contrast between я хóчу/ја хóчу 'I want' and мені хочеться/мені хóčet'sja 'I feel like'. Traditionally, sentences of this type are called impersonal sentences. Impersonal sentences of several types are widespread in Ukrainian. The chief types are:

Absolutely impersonal sentences in which no subject or its substitute may appear: свитáє/svitáje 'it dawns'.

Relatively impersonal sentences, in which a subject in the nominative case is possible but is left unnamed or unidentified: у вўхах стогна́ло/у вўхах stohnálo 'it (something) moaned in his ears'.

Impersonal sentences consisting of a genitive noun phrase preceded by не до/не до, literally 'not to', with zero copula in the present tense and appropriate forms of бўти/bўty in other tenses: мені бу́ло не до сміху/meni buló ne do smíxu 'I was not up to laughing'.

Adverbial sentences specializing in depicting situations independent of the will of persons, with forms of бўти/bўty (including zero in the present tense) and a dative noun phrase: мені бу́ло сўмно/meni buló sўmno 'I felt sad'. A subtype here are sentences with negative pronouns in the dative: ні́кому бу́ло співа́ти/nikomu buló spiváty 'there was nobody to sing'.

Infinitive sentences of various modal meanings with a present or potential noun phrase in the dative, as in вам не понево́лити наро́д/vam ne ponevólyty naród 'you will be unable to enslave the people'.

Participial sentences with a petrified form of the head word in what used to be the neuter singular in *-no* or *-to* (contrast the current neuter singular in *-ne* or *-te*): стра́ву звáрено/strávu zváreno 'the meal is cooked', лю́дїну вбїто/ljudýnu vbýto 'the man is killed'. As seen in these examples, these sentences admit a noun in the accusative.

Negative existential sentences (see section 4.6).

4.9 Possession

Predicative constructions in possessive sentences are of three kinds:

The preposition у/у plus the genitive case of the noun phrase denoting the possessor plus the nominative case (under negation, the genitive case) of the thing possessed; the predicate proper is a non-omissible form of the verb 'be' ('existential' 'be', thus the negative present is не́ма/не́ма): у ньóго є гро́ші/у н'óho je hróši 'he has money'.

A noun phrase in the nominative denoting the possessor and the appropriate form of the verb ма́ти/máty 'have' with the accusative of the

noun phrase denoting the thing possessed (or, under negation, also the genitive of the thing possessed): він має гроші/vin máje hróši 'he has money'.

A noun in the nominative denoting the thing possessed, the copula (which may be zero in the present tense) and a possessive pronoun or adjective denoting the possessor: (ці) гроші мої/(сі) hróši moji 'this money is mine'.

All three constructions are well rooted in the language.

Attributive means of expressing possession are primarily possessive adjectives (with the suffixes *-iv* or *-yn*) or possessive pronouns (usually before the head noun) as well as the genitive of nouns (usually after the head noun): батьків, матері́н руко́пис/bát'kiv, máteriyn rukópys 'father's, mother's manuscript' or руко́пис батька, матері́/rukópys bát'ka, máteri. With nouns as possessors, the adjectival construction prevails when the possessor is singular, the genitive is used when it is non-singular; compare руко́пис батьків/rukópys bat'kiv 'parents' manuscript', where батьків/bat'kiv is genitive plural.

4.10 Quantification

Numerals in their syntactic behaviour are not uniform (for their declension, see section 3.1.5). They fall into the divisions set out below.

Одін/odún '1' functions as an adjective in full agreement with its noun, that is, it agrees in case and number in the plural and also in gender in the singular: одін буди́нок (М)/odún budýnok (М) 'one house', одна ха́та (F)/odná háta (F) 'one cottage', одне теля́ (N)/odné teljá (N) 'one calf', одні теля́та/odni teljáta 'some calves', одного́ буди́нка/odnoho budýnka 'one house (GEN SG)'.

Два/dva '2', три/try '3', чоти́ри/čotyry '4' agree with the noun to which they refer in case (два/dva also in gender), but require the noun in the plural. However, if the phrase is nominative (or the nominative-like accusative), then the noun is used in a form identical to the nominative plural but with the stress of the genitive singular, as in два брата́/dva brátý 'two brothers', in contrast to брати́/bratý 'brothers'. This stress rule does not apply to other cases. In this combination, an accompanying adjective can be either nominative plural or genitive plural: два нові буди́нки/dva novi budýnky or два нових буди́нки/dva novýx budýnky 'two new houses'; the genitive forms are particularly frequent with feminine nouns.

П'ять/pjat' '5' to дев'я́тсот/devjatsót '900' govern the genitive plural when the phrase is nominative (including the nominative-like accusative), but in other cases agree with the noun: сім днів/sim dniv 'seven days', but genitive семи́, сімо́х днів/semý, simóx dniv, dative семи́, сімо́м дня́м/semý, simóm dnjam.

Тися́ча/týsjača 'thousand', мільйо́н/mil'jón 'million' and higher

numerals require the noun in the genitive plural: тїсяча осїб/тїсяча осїб 'a thousand persons', instrumental тїсячею осїб/тїсячею осїб.

Compound numerals such as сорок шість/сорок шїст' '46', require the noun in the form as dictated by their last component, that is сорок одїн зошит/сорок одїн зошит 'forty-one writing-books', сорок два зошити/сорок два зошити 'forty-two writing-books', сорок п'ять зошитїв/сорок п'ят' зошитїв 'forty-five writing-books'.

Alongside the above numerals, quantities from '2' to '80' may be represented by the numerals traditionally called collective: двоє/dvoje, троє/troje, чєтверо/četvero, ... вісімдесятеро/visimdesjatero. They are used with *pluralia tantum* (двоє саней/dvoje sanej 'two sledges'), with nouns whose plural stem differs from that of the singular (such as око/oko 'eye', plural очі/ochi, двоє очей/dvoje ocej 'two eyes') and optionally with neuter nouns (двоє вікон/dvoje vikon 'two windows'). In oblique cases collective numerals are not distinguished from the ordinary numerals, so that the genitive of двоє саней/dvoje sanej is двох саней/dvoh sanej. Syntactically, they follow the pattern of п'ять/pjat' '5'.

Non-numeral quantifiers are represented primarily by such words as багато/bahato (rarely багачько/bahac'ko) 'much, many', мало/malo and трохи/troxy 'a little, few', (де)кїлька/(de)kil'ka 'a number (of)'. In affective language there are, particularly for the notions of large number, quite a few nouns of the type сила/syla (literally: 'strength'), бєзлїч/bєzlic (literally: 'numberless'). They all require a noun in the genitive when they stand in the nominative (or the accusative identical with the nominative): багато, мало, кїлька, сила людєй/bahato, malo, kil'ka, syla ljudej 'many, few, several, lots of people'. Some of them are declinable on the pattern of три/try or п'ять/pjat', as in genitive багатьох/bahat'ox, кїлькox/kil'kox, and follow the syntactic pattern of п'ять/pjat'; those that are nouns, like сила/syla, retain their declension as nouns and govern the genitive case throughout; the remainder are indeclinable (мало/malo, трохи/troxy).

5 Lexis

5.1 General composition of the word-stock

The general idea of the share of Common Slavonic vocabulary in modern standard Ukrainian can be drawn from the following observation. In a randomly taken page of a work of fiction (text 1: 300 words) 216 words have Common Slavonic roots; in a randomly taken page of non-fiction (text 2: 300 words, from a linguistics journal), this number falls to about 150. Among the remaining word-stock, borrowings play an important part. In text 1 there are 8 borrowings from Polish (mostly made in the sixteenth or seventeenth centuries), 16 from Russian (mostly of relatively recent

date) and 8 of common European word-stock (so-called 'international' words). Corresponding numbers in text 2 are 23, 9 and 72, respectively. The words of Polish or Russian origin in certain cases appear as loan translations in which all components are apparently Ukrainian but the word as a whole is entirely based on the pattern of the other Slavonic language, such as, in our texts, *кількість*/kil'kist' 'quantity', copied from Polish *ilość* (Ukrainian *кілька*/kil'ka corresponds to Polish *ile* 'several, how many', the Ukrainian suffix *-ist'* corresponds to Polish *-ość*) and *спілкування*/spilkuvannja 'communication', patterned on Russian *общение*/obščenie (Ukrainian *спільний*/spil'nyj 'common' corresponds to Russian *общий*/obščij, with in both languages a suffix which derives nouns denoting a process from verbs).

5.2 Patterns of borrowing

During the Old Ukrainian period (the tenth to thirteen centuries) the main source of loan-words were Church Slavonic in its Bulgarian and Macedonian recensions, Greek and Turkic languages. The first two operated primarily on the level of the ecclesiastical and literary languages, Turkic languages on the level of the spoken language. A few examples are Church Slavonic *дух*/dux 'spirit', *блаженство*/blaženstvo 'bliss', Greek *ангел*/ánhel 'angel', *грамота*/hrámota 'charter'. In many cases Greek words entered Old Ukrainian via Church Slavonic. The main sources of Turkic borrowings were the languages of the nomadic Turkic tribes of the steppes south and east of the then Ukrainian frontier. Such are words like *богатыр*/bohatyr 'hero', *товар*/továr 'field-camp' (now 'goods'). Borrowing from Old Scandinavian was of limited import. These words concerned mostly military and commercial activities, such as *варяг*/varjáh 'man-at-arms', *щогла*/ščóhla 'mast'. (Here and below loan-words are quoted as a rule in their modern form.)

The crucial influence in the Middle Ukrainian period (the fourteenth to the eighteenth centuries), especially after the Union of Lublin of 1569, which created the Polish commonwealth (Poland, Lithuania, Ukraine) until about 1720, was Polish. It shaped much of the administrative language of the time, mediated in the expansion of the western word-stock concerning culture, technology, abstract thinking and so on: words from Latin, Czech, German (there were also direct borrowings into Ukrainian from German), Italian, French and other languages. Moreover, under the conditions of the general bilingualism of the nobility, educated and urban classes, a situation arose in which, time and again, it was irrelevant whether a native or a Polish word was used, so that gradually not only were new words introduced for new notions but quite a few native words were crowded out by Polonisms. This influx abated after 1720 when most of the Ukraine became a Russian province, but it resumed in the nineteenth century, although on a narrower scale, because the intellectuals occasionally saw in Polonisms

and/or loan translations from Polish a means to counteract expansion of Russianisms. Of the almost innumerable Polonisms adopted in the Middle Ukrainian period a part (about 50 per cent) were lost subsequently, but Modern Ukrainian is still closer in its word-stock to Polish than to any other Slavonic language. This was, of course, a result of Polish political domination but not less so of cultural seduction.

Another strong influence in the Middle Ukrainian period, though by no means as powerful as that of Polish, was the Turkic languages. It was particularly strong in the military terminology of Ukrainian Cossacks but also in sheep-breeding, gardening, clothing, music and other areas.

After the defeat of Ukrainian autonomism in 1709 the Ukrainian language stood under the growing and eventually overpowering (especially since 1930) influence of Russian, which resulted in numerous borrowings, loan translations and syntactic calques from Russian. Even loans from western languages are made most often through Russian mediation. Virtually universal bilingualism causes frequent mixing of the two languages. The expansion of Russian elements was until recently supported by the administrative establishment, which went so far as to reject one or another Ukrainian word and prescribe its replacement by another which was closer to Russian or was straight Russian.

5.3 Incorporation of borrowings

In modern standard Ukrainian the general rule is to adopt foreign words to the morphological system of Ukrainian. Thus, nouns ending in a consonant or in *-a* decline like native nouns with such an ending independent of their gender in the original language. For example, *болід/bolid* 'fireball' declines like *слід/slid* 'trace', *тераса/terasa* 'terrace' declines like *прикраса/rykrasa* 'adornment', *флот/flot* 'navy' declines like *рот/rot* 'mouth' in disregard of the fact that in French it is feminine: *la flotte*. Exceptions like *адреса/adresa* 'address', patterned ultimately on the French feminine (*une adresse*), are extremely rare.

Those nouns which end in a vowel or combination of vowels that do not occur in native nouns are indeclinable: *какадú/kakadú* 'cockatoo', *жюри/žuri* 'jury', *амплуá/ampluá* 'line (of business)'. Foreign substantives in *-e* do not decline because native substantives of that type have in some cases palatalized stem-final consonants, which is not the case in foreign words: contrast native *море/more* 'sea', genitive singular *моря/morja* and borrowed *пюре́/pjuré* 'purée'. Foreign nouns in *-o* tended to be treated like native neuters in *-o* until, in 1934, this treatment was declared non-standard and eliminated from the standard language: thus, *кінó/kinó* 'cinema' had genitive singular *кінá/kiná*, but now *кінó/kinó* is supposed to be retained as such in all cases.

Adjectives as a rule are adopted by taking in the nominative singular masculine the ending *-yj* with its set of gender, number and case endings,

usually preceded by a native suffix, as in суповий/supovyj from суп/sup 'soup'.

All foreign verbs take a native suffix, most typically *-uva(-ty) : -uj(-u)* and are conjugated as native verbs, such as монтувати/montuvaty : монтую/montuju 'to mount'. The German-origin suffix *-yr-* is normally omitted (contrast German *montieren*), except in cases of possible ambiguity, such as командувати/komanduvaty 'to give orders', командирувати/komandyruvaty 'to send on business', both *kommandieren* in German. Verbs of foreign origin enter Ukrainian without aspect differentiation; when they are naturalized, however, they tend to mark perfective aspect by adding a prefix. For instance, арештувати/areštuvaty 'to arrest', attested in Ukrainian since 1583, was first used in this form without aspect differentiation; but later (at the latest in the mid-nineteenth century) заарештувати/zaareštuvaty was introduced as a perfective verb, and by the same token the original form took the function of imperfective.

5.4 Lexical fields

5.4.1 Colour terms

Білий/bilyj 'white'; чорний/čornyj 'black'; червоний/červonij 'red'; зелений/zelenyj 'green'; жовтий/žovtyj 'yellow'; синій/synij 'blue' and блакитний/blakytnyj and голубий/holubyj 'light blue'; сірий/sirij 'grey'.

For 'brown' there is no generally accepted term; possible equivalents are брунатний/brunatnyj, корічнявий/korjčnjavyj (variant: корічневий/korjčnevuj), less often цинамоновий/супамоновий. The most authoritative Academy dictionary of 1929 placed first цинамоновий/супамоновий, marked корічнявий/korjčnjavyj as dialectal (without quotations), then placed брунатний/brunatnyj (with quotations from the early nineteenth century); the Hrinčenko dictionary of 1908 has брунатний/brunatnyj, without quotations, and no корічневий/korjčnevuj at all. The post-war Soviet dictionaries place emphasis on корічневий/korjčnevuj for the obvious reason that it is current in Russian.

For 'purple' there is again no basic generally accepted term, червоний/červonij 'red' being used to cover this colour range. The following are all typical of poetic language and atypical of colloquial language: пурпурний/purpurnyj (variant: пурпуровий/purpurovuj), багровий/bahrovuj and archaic шарлатовий/šarlátovuj.

For 'orange', жовтогарячий/žovtoharjáčyj, literally 'yellow hot', is known in the vernacular but is understood rather as a poetic denotation of a shade of yellow; оранжевий/oranževyj, from Russian, is being introduced and promoted by language legislators.

5.4.2 Body parts

Голова́/holová 'head'; око́/óko 'eye'; ніс/nis 'nose'; вухо́/vúxo 'ear'; рот/rot and вуста́/vustá (PL) 'mouth'; волóсся/volóssja 'hair'; шія/šjja 'neck'; рука́/ruká 'arm, hand'; палець/pálec' 'finger'; нога́/nohá 'leg, foot'; палець (ноги́)/pálec' (nohý) 'toe'; груди/hrúdy (PL) 'chest'; сэрце/sérce 'heart'.

5.4.3 Kinship terms

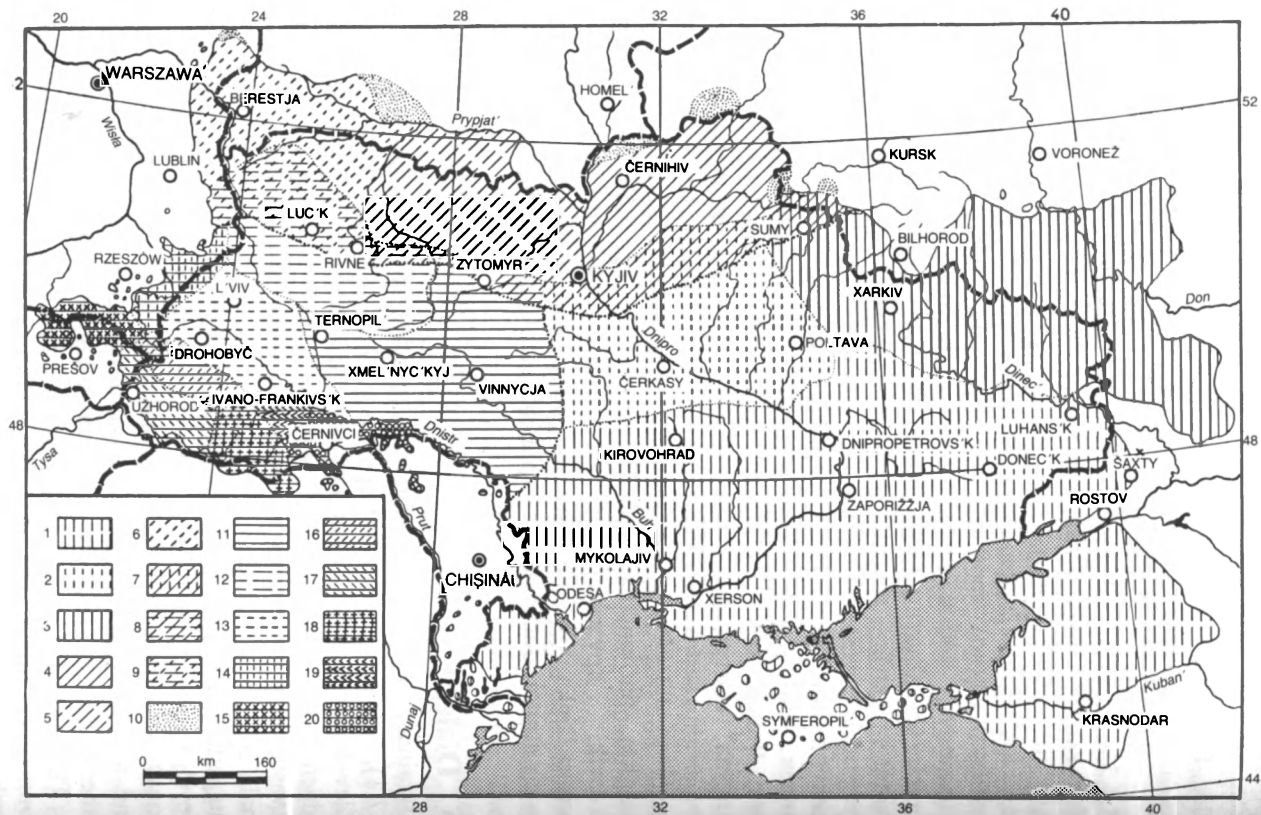
ба́тько/bát'ko, та́то/táto 'father'; ма́ти/máty, less commonly не́нка/nén'ka 'mother'; брат/brat 'brother'; сестра́/sestrá 'sister'; дя́дко/djád'ko 'uncle' (regional western стрій(ко)/strjýj(ко) 'father's brother', вуй(ко)/vúj(ко) 'mother's brother'), тітка/títka 'aunt'; племінник/pleminnyk, не́біж/nébiž 'nephew' (regional western братан(ич)/bratán(у́ч), братанець/bratánec' 'brother's son', сестрінок/sestrinok 'sister's son'); племінниця/pleminnycja, небóга/nebóha 'niece' (regional western братанія/bratánycja 'brother's daughter', сестріниця/sestrúnycja, сестрінка/sestrinka 'sister's daughter'; кузén/kuzén, брат у других/brat u drúhux, двоюрідний брат/dvojúridnyj brat '(male) cousin' (regional western кузіннок/kuzýnok); кузіна/kuzýna, сестра́ в других/sestrá v drúhux, двоюрідна сестра́/dvojúridna sestrá '(female) cousin' (regional western кузінка/kuzýnka); дід(у́сь)/did(ús') 'grandfather' (regional western дідо/dido); ба́б(к)а/báb(k)a, бабу́ня/babúnja, бабу́ся/babúsja 'grandmother'; чоловік/čolovik, дру́жина/družyna, подру́жжя/podružžja 'husband'; жі́нка/žinka, дру́жина/družyna, подру́жжя/podružžja 'wife'; син/syn 'son'; дочка́/dočká, доня́/dónja, донька/dón'ka 'daughter'.

6 Dialects

Ukrainian dialects are traditionally divided into three groups (see map 17.1). Northern dialects are spoken north of the approximate line Luc'k–Kiev–Sumy. South of that line one finds the area of southern dialects which, in turn, are divided into south-western (west of the approximate line Xvastiv–Balta) and south-eastern ones, east of that approximate line. The main criterion on which the delineation south versus north is based is (as suggested by Ганцов/Нанцов 1923) the part played by the accent in the development of the vocalism. In the north the most important changes of vowels took place under stress, in the south they ran identically in stressed and unstressed syllables. This basic difference is supplemented by some other distinctions in phonology, morphology and lexicon.

The northern and the south-western dialects are more archaic than the south-eastern ones. The former two groups already began to take shape in prehistoric times, while the formation of the south-eastern dialects falls into the sixteenth to eighteenth centuries. It was at that time that the present-

Map 17.1 Ukrainian dialects (after Zilyns'kij (1979) and Жилко/Žylko (1966))



KEY

-
- 1-3 South-eastern dialects
 1 Steppe dialects
 2 Čerkasy-Poltava dialects
 3 Slobožanščyna dialects
- 4-10 Northern dialects
 4 Eastern Polissian dialects
 5 Central Polissian dialects
 6 Western Polissian and Pidljašian dialects
 7-9 Transitional dialects (from northern to southern)
 10 Transitional Ukrainian-Belorussian and Ukrainian-Russian dialects
- 11-20 South-western dialects
 11 Podillja dialects
 12 South Volhynian dialects
 13 Dnister dialects
 14 Sjan dialects
 15 Lemkian dialects
 16 Bojkian dialects
 17 Central Transcarpathian dialects
 18 Hucul dialects
 19 Pokuttia dialects
 20 Bukovyna dialects
-

day south-eastern Ukraine was, after its reconquest from the Tatars by the Cossacks, resettled or settled by people from south-western and northern regions. The unity of the south-eastern dialects was created by the dynamic migrational processes and the mixing of population from territories of the two more archaic dialects (see section 1).

The south-eastern dialects are relatively uniform. The northern dialects fall into three chief groups, Western, Central and Eastern Polissian. The south-western dialects are strongly differentiated, into eight groups, or more.

The most striking distinctive features of the principal dialects are the following:

- 1 In the north *o* and *e* (the latter from *e* and *ě*) under certain conditions (see section 2.1) alternate, under stress, with diphthongs (which, phonetically, vary from place to place); by now they have monophthongized into *u*, *y*, *ü* or *i* in some places, but these are secondary developments. In the south there never were any diphthongs of that origin. The main line of development in the south of, for example, *o* in the newly closed syllables (after the loss of weak *jers*) was *o* > *u* > *ü* > *i*. In some local dialects, especially in Transcarpathia, the stages *u* and *ü* are still retained.
- 2 In the north *r'* was depalatalized by the mid-twelfth century; in the

- south this happened only in some local dialects and much later.
- 3 Some local south-western dialects depalatalized word-final *c'*, preserve the distinction of *y* and *i* and developed dorsal palatalization of *s'*, *z'*, *c'* (which became *ś*, *ź*, *ć*).
 - 4 In declension, the south-west has preserved the word-final *y* in the soft declension (as in locative singular на землі/на zemly' 'on earth') versus south-eastern *i*: на землі/на zemli). In the dative singular of masculine nouns the south-west has the ending *-ovy* while the north has *-u* and the south-east both *-u* and *-ovi*. The south-west in most local varieties preserves clitic forms of personal pronouns (such as dative singular ми/мы 'to me', versus south-eastern only мені/meni).
 - 5 In conjugation, the south-west preserves enclitic forms of the auxiliary verb in the past tense but in the north and the south-east these are lost, as in south-western спавѐм/spávjem versus northern and south-eastern я спав/я спав 'I slept'.

A special problem is that of the so-called Rusyn (Ruthenian) language. The term has various meanings depending on when and where it is/was used. In the Transcarpathian region of the Ukraine and in the adjacent East Slovak region around Prešov it was the name of one of the three orientations in shaping the standard language before 1945 (when the bulk of the area became part of the Soviet Ukraine): Ukrainian, Russian and the regional one based on some local 'Rusyn' dialects, the latter orientation supported by Hungary. Nowadays this is a historical and dated use. In a sense, however, it is applied to the language of immigrants from the area (Carpatho-Rusyn) in the United States, but with much stronger admixture of the Russian Church Slavonic traditional in Transcarpathia. It is basically a written language cultivated by the Greek Catholic church with its centre in Pittsburgh. Thirdly, the term is used by immigrants from western Transcarpathia who settled in the mid-eighteenth century in the former Yugoslavia, with their centre in Kerestur. This is an independent standard micro-language for a population of up to 20,000 people. This language is essentially based on Eastern Slovak dialects with some Western Ukrainian admixture. The speakers are inclined to call it Ukrainian under the influence of the Ukrainian Greek Catholic clergy of Byzantine rite who were active in shaping this language.

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