Ukrainian

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Abbreviations

A - accusative (case)
Bulg. - Bulgarian
Coll - collective (numeral)
CON - conditional (mood)
Cr. - Croatian
D - dative (case)
DS - degree suffix
DU - dual (number)
Engl. - English
f - feminine (gender)
Fr. - French
FU - future (tense)
G - genitive (case)
Germ. - German
Hung. - Hungarian
I - imperfective (aspect)
I.-E. - Indo-European
IMP - imperative (mood)
In - instrumental (case)
INF - infinitive
INT - intransitive (verb)
It. - Italian
L - locative (case)
Lat. - Latin
Lith. - Lithuanian
m - masculine (gender)
Mod.Gr. - Modern Greek
MUk. - Modern Ukrainian
n - neuter (gender)
OUk. - Old Ukrainian
p - person
P - perfective (aspect)
Pa - partitive (case)
PA - past tense
PL - plural (number)
Pol. - Polish
PR - present (tense)
Pred - predicative (element)
R - reflexive (verb)
RES - resultative
Russ. - Russian
SG - singular (number)
Slov. - Slovak
T - transitive (verb)
Th - thematic
Turk. - Turkish
Uk. - Ukrainian
V - vocative (case)
1 - 1st person
2 - 2nd person
3 - 3rd person

0. Socio- and geolinguistic data

0.1. Genealogical placing

Ukrainian, together with Belorussian and Russian, belongs to the Eastern branch of the Slavonic group of the Indo-European family of languages.

0.2. Number of speakers and status

Ukrainian is spoken by almost 39 mln. people in the Ukraine and by several million people abroad (exact figures are not available).

0.2.1. The population of the Ukraine approximates 50 mln., out of which 37.5 mln. (72.7%) are Ukrainians and 11.5 mln. (22.1%) Russians. Other major ethnic groups are Jews (486,000), Moldavians and Romanians (460,000), Belorussians (440,000), Bulgarians (234,000), Crimean Tatars (220,000), Poles (219,000), Hungarians (163,000), Greeks (99,000), etc.

0.2.1.1. The official figures of the latest 1989 census say that 66.5% of the population claimed to be native speakers of Ukrainian and 31% of Russian, which leaves 2.5% for all the other languages. However, the portion of the two most widely spread languages greatly varies from region to region, Russian being more at home in the East and the South, Ukrainian in the West. Map 1 shows the percentage of native speakers of Ukrainian in each of the 25 administrative regions of the country. The rest of the population are in the main native speakers of Russian, with but two exceptions: in Transcarpathia the largest linguistic minority is Hungarian, in Bukovina Moldavian and Romanian (varieties of the same language).

0.2.1.2. Among those who are not native speakers of Ukrainian 5.7 mln. claimed to be fluent in this language, which raises the overall portion of Ukrainian-speaking population to 78% (the respective figure for Russian is 71.5%). Roughly one half of the population are equally fluent at least in these two languages, and about 4% in three or more languages.

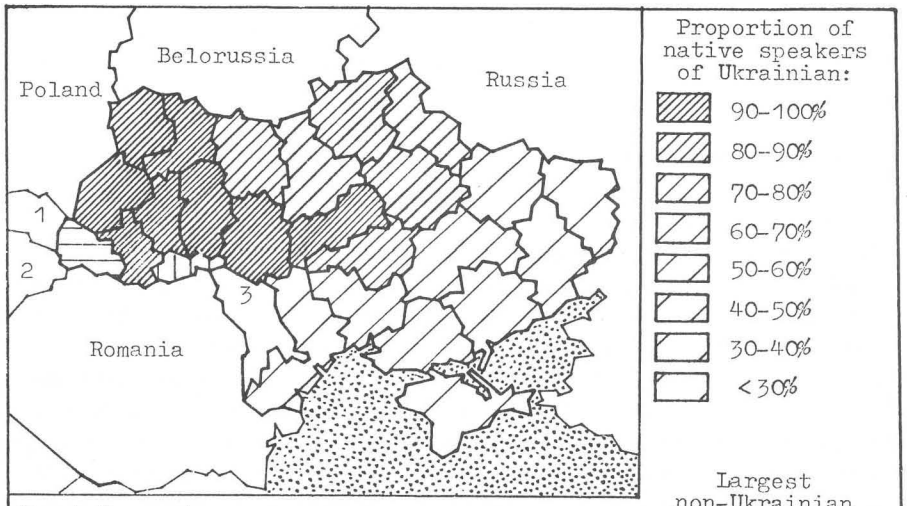
0.2.1.3. According to the Law concerning the use of languages, enacted in 1989, Ukrainian is the official language of the State (Article 2). Other languages may be officially used on a local level. The citizens have the right to use (privately) whichever language they choose.

0.2.1.4. The ethnic minorities law, adopted in 1992, provides for free access to education in all the minority languages (Article 6). Before the independence (gained in 1991), secondary education was available, apart from Russian and Ukrainian, only in Moldavian and Hungarian. The situation has slightly changed since, with some schools adopting Polish, Bulgarian, Crimean Tatar, etc. as languages of education. Higher education remains predominantly Russian, although Ukrainian is steadily gaining ground.

0.2.2. The largest Ukrainian communities outside the Ukraine exist in Russia (4.4. mln.), Canada (almost 1 mln.), Kazakhstan (0.9 mln.), the United States (about 0.7 mln.), Moldavia (0.6 mln.), Brazil (0.4 mln.), Argentina (0.4 mln.), Poland (0.35 mln.), Romania (0.3 mln.), Belorussia (almost 0.3 mln.), Uzbekistan (0.15 mln.), etc.

0.2.2.1. In the neighbouring countries the Ukrainians form, at least partly, the autochthonous population of their borderline regions, whereas their presence in more distant parts of the world is due to rather intensive emigration in the late 19th and in the 20th century.

0.2.2.2. Outside the Ukraine, most Ukrainians have been naturally subject to assimilation, so that only 43% of them have retained their command of the language in Russia, and 37% in Kazakhstan, to cite but the two most illustrative examples. On the other hand, the situation is different in

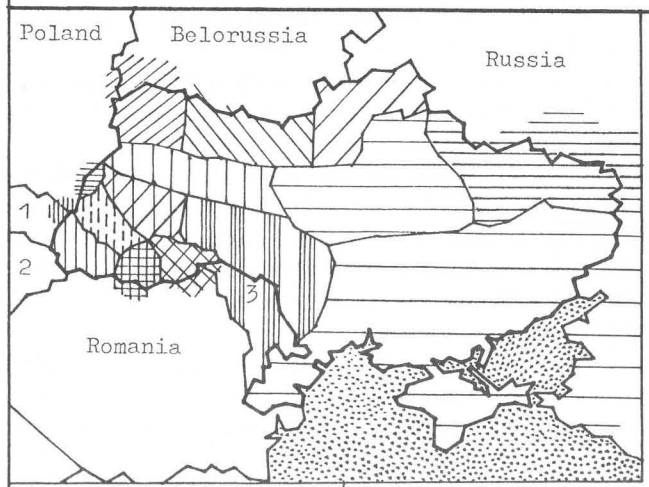


Proportion of native speakers of Ukrainian:
90-100%
80-90%
70-80%
60-70%
50-60%
40-50%
30-40%
<30%

Map 1. Percentage of native speakers of Ukrainian

1 - Slovakia
2 - Hungary
3 - Moldavia

Largest non-Ukrainian linguistic group:
Russian
Hungarian
Romanian



DIALECTS:
Northern Group:
of W.Polissia
of C.Polissia
of E.Polissia
S.-Western Group:
Lemkian
of the San
Transcarpathian
Boikian
Huzulian
of Pokuttia & Bukovina
of the Dniester
Volhynian
Podolian

Map 2. Ukrainian dialects

1 - Slovakia
2 - Hungary
3 - Moldavia

S.-Eastern Group:
of Central Dnieper Region
Slobozhanian
of the Steppes

countries where Ukrainian has some official status (Slovakia, Poland, Romania, Brazil, Canada, etc.); the language has been better maintained there, so that among the Canadians of Ukrainian descent, for instance, only 11% have no knowledge whatsoever of their ethnic language.

0.2.3. The close contacts between Ukrainian and Russian gave rise to the so-called *suržyk* (i.e. 'hybrid'), a variety of language spoken by several million people in the Ukraine, especially in its Eastern and Southern regions. The *suržyk* consists of Ukrainian and Russian elements used indiscriminately by individual speakers in varying proportions. Although it has no official status whatsoever, its presence is tangible and has some impact on the sociolinguistic situation.

0.3. Dialects

Ukrainian has 15 dialects which form 3 *nariччia*'s (i.e. groups of dialects): Northern, South-Western and South-Eastern (see Map 2). The Northern and South-Western dialects are of ancient origin, whereas the South-Eastern ones were formed much later (16th-18th centuries) as a result of large-scale migrations of Ukrainians at the time. Most dialects are mutually intelligible, so that their speakers can successfully communicate irrespective of the geographical distance between the dialectal zones. Only the dialects of the Carpathian region must be exempted from this rule, as they cannot be so readily understood by outsiders.

0.4. Standard variant

The modern standard language is based upon the Central Dnieper dialect and was elaborated, in its main features, in the 19th century, although it had to wait until the 1920s for official codification. Another standard variety of the literary language was simultaneously established in the western regions, separated as they were from the bulk of Ukrainian territory by a number of state borders. After the reunification of the Ukraine in the period of 1939-45, the official norms were imposed in the whole Ukrainian ethnic territory, the western variety surviving chiefly overseas (in the United States, Canada, Brazil, Australia, etc.).

1. Phonemic inventory an orthography

1.1. Phonemic inventory

The Uk. sound system consists of 38 phonemes: 6 vowels and 32 consonants.

1.2. Orthography

The orthography is largely based on the phonetic principle, with a fairly strong tendency towards a bi-univocal correspondence between the sounds and the letters, although it may by no means be considered a perfectly phonetic one. Restraints come primarily from the morphological principle which provides for the identical spelling of the same morphemes irrespective of their actual pronunciation.

1.2.1. The Cyrillic alphabet, initially adopted in the 11th century, has been modernised and reformed to reflect the current pronunciation patterns. The MUk. alphabet consists of 33 symbols, 3 of which (ґ, є, ї) are peculiar to it and occur in no other language using the Cyrillic system. The apostrophe (') between a consonant symbol and a vowel symbol serves to indicate that they must be read separately.

1.2.2. Although various attempts have been made to replace the Cyrillic alphabet by a Latin one (in its Polish, Hungarian or Czech modification), there is no universally accepted system of mutual transliteration between the two. Therefore, we have designed a special system of transliteration that will be implemented throughout this text and ensure the possibility of exact reconstruction of the Cyrillic spelling proceeding from the Latin one. The correspondences between the Cyrillic and the Latin symbols will be found in Tables 1-7, within the framework of the general phonetic description of Uk.

1.3. Vowels

MUk. has 10 symbols to represent its 6 vowels.

1.3.1. Among these, 6 are "pure" vowel symbols, i.e. always used as signs of vowel sounds only (see Table 1).

TABLE 1. *Vowels and "pure" vowel symbols*

Cyrillic letter	Latin transliteration	Phoneme	Description
а	a	/a/	unrounded low back vowel
е	e	/e/	unrounded mid-low front-central vowel
и	y	/y/	unrounded mid-high front vowel
і	i	/i/	unrounded high front vowel
о	o	/o/	rounded mid back vowel
у	u	/u/	rounded high back vowel

1.3.1.1. If Daniel Jones's cardinal vowel diagram is to be used, Uk. presents a slightly atypical 6-vowel pattern:

1.3.1.2. The vowels /a/, /e/, /o/, /u/ occur freely in all possible positions, whereas /i/ and /y/ have some combinatory restrictions imposed upon them; namely, /i/ does not normally occur after "hard" consonants, while /y/ can neither occupy the word-initial position nor follow a "soft" consonant. Nevertheless, most Uk. linguists agree that /i/ and /y/ are independent phonemes from both a historical and psychological point of view (as for the systemic aspects see further discussion in 1.4.1.1.).

1.3.2. The other Cyrillic vowel symbols can stand either for "pure" vowels or for /j/-vowel combinations (see Table 2, cf. Table 6).

TABLE 2. *Vowels as represented by non-"pure" vowel symbols*

Cyrillic letter	Latin transliteration	Phoneme(s)	Explanation
є	je	/je/	Two sounds are pronounced when the respective letter is placed at the initial position, follows another vowel symbol, or is preceded by apostrophe.
ю	ju	/ju/	
я	ja	/ja/	
ї	ji	/ji/	Always a combination of two sounds.
є	ie	/e/	The "pure" sounds are pronounced when the respective letter immediately follows a consonant thus indicating its "softness" (see 1.4.1.). In the transliteration the "softness" is marked by the letter 'i', and the actual quality of the sound by the following vowel symbol.
ю	iu	/u/	
я	ia	/a/	

In indigenous words /i/ is never followed by another vowel, and the modern norm admits of such combinations only in loan-words. Accordingly, the symbol "ї" is used in the transliteration to show that /i/ is pronounced separately (e.g. *dïatez* [d´ia'tez] 'diathesis') while the combination of "i" with another vowel symbol will mark the "softness" of the preceding consonant (e.g. *diatel* ['d´ate^{y}l] 'woodpecker').

1.3.3. The vowels undergo no perceptible reduction, whether quantitative or qualitative, regardless of their position or stressing, with only two exceptions that are discussed below.

1.3.3.1. In combination with the "soft" consonants (see 1.4.1.), the back vowels move forward to the centre (although this by no means changes their phonological status).

1.3.3.2. Unstressed /e/ and /y/ are not distinguished phonetically, their pronunciation and acoustic properties being half way between the respective stressed vowels. The symbols [e^{y}] and [y^{e}] are used to indicate these sounds in the phonetic transcription. Whenever a syllable with an unstressed /e/ or /y/ is followed by a syllable with a stressed /e/ or /y/, the quality of the unstressed sound assimilates to that of the stressed sound. Cf. *bere* [be^{y}'re] '(he) takes' and *bery* [by^{e}'ry] 'take!'; *žyve* [že^{y}'we] '(he) lives' and *žyvy* [žy^{e}'wy] 'live!".

1.3.3.3. Whenever a syllable with an unstressed /o/ is followed by a syllable with a stressed /u/, /o/ receives an /u/-like tinge, marked [o^{u}]. Ex. *kohut* [ko^{u}'hut] 'cock'.

1.4. Consonants

The consonantal system consists of 32 phonemes, represented by 22 letters.

1.4.1. The most relevant typological property of the Uk. consonantal system is linked to the distinctive feature of "hardness"/"softness". Although other Slavonic languages (Russian, Polish, Slovak, Serbo-Croat, etc.) also have "hard" and "soft" consonants, Ukrainian stands out from this group because of the distinction it makes between three degrees of "hardness"/"softness", namely between the "hard", the "semi-softened" and the "soft" consonants (see 1.4.2., 1.4.3.1., 1.4.3.6.).

1.4.1.1. Phonemic status is ascribed only to the "hard" and the "soft" sounds, while the "semi-softened" consonants are treated as combinatory variants of the "hard" ones. This is related to the fact that all the occurrences of the "semi-softened" consonants are position-conditioned: they are

connected with the standing of the vowel /y/ which can occur o n l y after the "hard" consonants, so that the choice must be made between granting the phonemic status either to /y/ or to 13 "semi-softened" consonants (cf. minimal pairs *viv* [w'iu̯] '(he) led' - *vyv* [wyu̯] '(he) howled', *miv* [m'iu̯] '(he) swept' - *myv* [myu̯] '(he) washed', etc.).

1.4.1.2. In the phonetic script the "hard" consonants have no special marking (e.g. [b], [d]), the "semi-softened" consonants are supplied with an "apostrophe" (e.g. [b']) and the "soft" ones with a "minute sign" (e.g. [d´]).

1.4.2. Uk. has 5 labials that can be pronounced either in the "hard" or in the "semi-softened" way. The "hard" pronunciation may be described as "Standard Average European"; the "semi-softened" sounds are pronounced with slightly "smiling" lips. In most cases the "semi-softened" labials occur when followed by /i/, exceptionally by /a/ or /u/. The unvoiced labials /p/ and /f/ are liable to assimilate the voice from any non-sonorous voiced consonant coming immediately after them (see Table 3).

TABLE 3. *Labial consonants*

Cyrillic letter	Latin transliteration	phoneme	variants	Description and examples
п	p	/p/	[p]	"hard" bilabial plosive unvoiced consonant: *pan* [pan] 'mister', *sprava* ['sprawa] 'business', *okrip* [o'krip] 'boiling water'
			[p']	"semi-softened" variant of /p/: *pit* [p'it] 'sweat', *mavpiačyj* ['mau̯p'ačy^{ʲ}i̯] 'monkey-like', *piure* [p'u're] 'purée'
			[b]	voiced variant of /p/: *snip žyta* [s´n´ib'žyta] 'a sheaf of rye'
б	b	/b/	[b]	"hard" bilabial plosive voiced consonant: *baba* ['baba] '(old) woman', *lob* [lob] 'forehead', *obsiah* ['obs´ah] 'volume'
			[b']	"semi-softened" variant of /b/: *bik* [b'ik] 'side', *riz´biar* [r´iz´'b'ar] 'sculptor', *biuro* [b'u'ro] 'bureau'
м	m	/m/	[m]	"hard" bilabial occlusive nasal voiced consonant: *mama* ['mama] 'mummy', *hlum* [hlum] 'scorn', *korčma* [korč'ma] 'inn'
			[m']	"semi-softened" variant of /m/: *mira* ['m'ira] 'measure', *t´manyj* [t´m'a'nyi̯] 'dim', *miuzykl* ['m'uzy^{ʲ}kl] '(a) musical'
			[m̥]	voiceless variant of /m/ in word-final position after an unvoiced consonant: *rytm* [rytm̥] 'rhythm'
в	v	/w/	[w]	"hard" bilabial constrictive voiced consonant: *vyr* [wyr] 'whirlpool', *kvač* [kwač] 'brush'
			[w']	"semi-softened" variant of /w/: *vik* [w'ik] 'age', *sviato* ['s´w'ato] 'holiday', *cviax* [c´w'ax] 'nail', *reviu* [re^{ʲ}'w'u] 'revue'
			[u̯]	non-syllabic vowel occurring as variant of /w/ in word-final or pre-consonantal position: *rev* [reu̯] 'roar', *mavpa* ['mau̯pa] 'monkey', *bovvan* [bou̯'van] 'idol', *vdača* ['u̯dača] 'disposition'
ф	f	/f/	[f]	"hard" labiodental constrictive unvoiced consonant: *fakt* [fakt] 'fact', *pantoflia* [pan'tofl´a] 'slipper', *verf* [werf] 'shipyard'
			[f']	"semi-softened" variant of /f/: *firanka* [f'iranka] 'curtain', *fiuzeliaž* [f'uze^{ʲ}'l´až] 'fuselage'
			[v]	voiced variant of /f/: *žyraf bižyt´* [žy^{ᵉ}'ravb'i'žyt´] 'the giraffe is running'

1.4.3. The group of lingual consonants, with its 26 phonemes, is by far the most numerous, so that smaller sub-divisions are necessary to give it a reader-friendly description.

1.4.3.1. Some of the linguals have "hard" and "soft" oppositional pairs, others have "hard" and "semi-softened" positional variants. The phonetic difference between the "hard" and the "soft" pronunciation can be described in terms of palatalisation (i.e. raising of the tongue to the palate), the contact area being larger (wider) for the "semi-softened" sounds, and still more so for the "soft" ones.

1.4.3.2. As to the place of pronunciation, the linguals are sub-divided into three groups: forelingual, mid-lingual and back-lingual consonants. Further differentiation is made between cacuminal, apical and dorsal forelinguals.

1.4.3.3. Among the cacuminal consonants, only the trills /r/ and /r´/ form an oppositional pair with respect to "hardness"/"softness", whereas the "hard" hush-sibilants may have only "semi-softened" positional variants (see 1.4.1.1.). The unvoiced hush-sibilants become voiced when followed by a non-sonorous voiced consonant, and all hush-sibilants usually loose their hushing quality before the pure "soft" sibilants /s´/ and /c´/ (see Table 4).

TABLE 4. *Cacuminal forelingual consonants*

Cyrillic letter	Latin transliteration	phoneme	variants	Description and examples
ш	š	/š/	[š]	"hard" constrictive alveolar unvoiced consonant: *šana* ['šana] 'esteem', *škapa* ['škapa] 'jade', *harmaš* har'maš] 'gunner'
			[š']	"semi-softened" variant of /š/: *košil´* ['koš'il´] 'basket', *piddaššia* [p'i'ɖ:aš':a] 'shed'
			[s´]	"soft" "pure" sibilant variant of /š/: *myješsia* ['myje^{ʲ}s´:a] '(you) wash yourself', *pliašci* ['pl´as´c´i] '(to the) bottle'
			[ž]	voiced variant of /š/: *naš did* [naž'd´id] 'our grandfather'
ж	ž	/ž/	[ž]	"hard" constrictive alveolar voiced consonant: *žaba* ['žaba] 'frog', *nіž* [n´iž] 'knife', *ližko* ['l´ižko] 'bed'
			[ž']	"semi-softened" variant of /ž/: *žinka* ['ž'inka] 'woman', *podružžia* [po'druž':a] 'married couple'
			[z´]	"soft" "pure" sibilant variant of /ž/: *zvažsia* ['zwaz´s´a] 'dare!', *ložci* ['loz´c´i] '(to the) spoon'
ч	č	/č/	[č]	"hard" unvoiced alveolar affricate: *čas* [čas] 'time', *nič* [n´ič] 'night', *nikčema* [n´ik'čema] '(a) nobody'
			[č']	"semi-softened" variant of /č/: *čip* [č'ip] 'spigot', *kloččia* ['kloč':a] 'tow', *žovčiu* ['žou̯č'u] '(with the) bile'
			[c´]	"soft" sibilant variant of /č/: *ne moročsia* [ne^{ʲ}mo'roc´s´a] 'don't trouble', *ričci* ['r´ic´:i] '(to the) river'
			[d̮ž]	voiced variant of /č/: *ličba* [l´id̮ž'ba] 'count'
дж	dž	/d̮ž/	[d̮ž]	"hard" voiced alveolar affricate: *džura* ['d̮žura] 'servant', *džmil´* [d̮žm'il´] 'bumble-bee', *gandž* [gand̮ž] 'defect'
			[d̮ž']	"semi-softened" variant of /d̮ž/: *bdžilka* ['bd̮ž'ilka] 'little bee', *drižđži* ['dr´ižd̮ž'i] 'yeast'
щ	šč	/šč/	[šč]	the letter щ always stands for a combination of /š/ and /č/: *ščur* [ščur] 'rat', *liašč* [l´ašč] 'bream'

			[šč']	in this combination /č/ may also occur in the "semi-softened" variant: *ščitka* ['šč'itka] 'brush', *prykrošči* ['prykrošč'i] 'trouble'
p	r	/r/	[r]	"hard" alveolar voiced trill: *rasa* ['rasa] 'race', *dar* [dar] 'gift', *zirka* ['z´irka] 'star'
			[r̥]	voiceless variant of /r/ in word-final position after /t/: *centr* [centr̥] 'centre'
		/r´/	[r´]	"soft" alveolar voiced trill: *riasa* ['r´asa] 'cassock', *rič* [r´ič] 'thing'

1.4.3.4. The apicals and the dorsals are most liable to undergo phonetical changes under the influence of the following consonant, the regressive assimilation affecting especially the stops before the constrictive and affricate sibilants as well as the non-sonorous apicals and dorsals before non-sonorous cacuminals. Palatalisation and voicing are also very frequent, while the opposite processes (i.e. depalatalisation and devoicing) occur but occasionally. From the systemic point of view, "hard" apicals /l/, /t/, /d/, /n/, /c/, /dz/ and "hard" dorsals /s/, /z/ correlate with the respective "soft" dorsals which come very close indeed to the mid-lingual articulation (see Table 5).

TABLE 5. *Apical and dorsal forelingual consonants*

Cyrillic letter	Latin transliteration	phoneme	variants	Description and examples
т	t	/t/	[t]	"hard" dental plosive unvoiced consonant: *tato* ['tato] 'daddy', *tryb* [tryb] 'gear', *benket* [beʸn'ket] 'feast'
			[c]	before /s/, /c/: *ot salo* [oc'salo] 'here's the lard', *mytcem* [meʸ'c:em] '(with the) artist'
			[c´]	before /s´/, /c´/: *horyzont siaje* [horyᵉ'zonc´'s´ajeʸ] 'the horizon is shining', *titci* ['t´ic´:i] '(to the) aunt'
			[d̲z]	before /z/, /d̲z/ : *tut zymno* [tud̲z'zymno] 'it's cold here', *ot dzerkalo* [o'd̲z:erkalo] 'here's the mirror'
			[d̲z´]	before /z´/, /d̲z´/ : *xvist ziablyka* ['xw'isd̲z´'z´ablyᵉka] 'the tail of chaffinch', *jenot dziavkaje* [jeʸ'no'd̲z´:au̯kajeʸ] the racoon is yelping'
			[č]	before /š/, /č/: *korotšyj* [ko'ročšyᵉi̯] 'shorter', *vitčyzna* [w'i'č:yzna] 'motherland'
			[d̲ž]	before /ž/, /d̲ž/ : *otže* ['od̲žžeʸ] 'thus', *polit džmelia* [po'l´id̲ž:meʸ'l´a] 'bumblebee's flight'
			[d]	before /b/, /h/, /g/, /d/: *polit bdžoly* [po'l´idbd̲žo'ly] 'bee's flight', *zvit holovy* ['zw'idholo'wy] 'chairman's report', *brat gazdyni* ['bradga'zdyn´i] 'housewife's brother', *rot dytyny* ['rod:yᵉ'tynyᵉ] 'child's mouth'
			[t´]	before /t´/, /n´/, /l´/: *zavziattia* [zau̯'z´at´:a] 'zeal', *pitnity* [p'it´'n´ityᵉ] 'to sweat', *petlia* [peʸ't´l´a] 'loop'
		/t´/	[t´]	"soft" alveolar plosive unvoiced consonant: *tilo* ['t´ilo] 'body', *tiutiun* [t´u't´un] 'tobacco', *tiama* ['t´ama] 'wits', *tretie* ['tret´eʸ] 'the third (n)'
ть	t´	/t´/	[t´]	*t´oxkaty* ['t´oxkatyᵉ] 'to click', *pit´ma* ['p'it´ma] 'darkness', *xit´* [x'it´] 'desire'
			[c´]	before /s/, /s´/: *viz´mit´ salo* [w'i'z´m'ic´'salo] 'take the lard'
			[d̲ž´]	before /z/, /d̲z/ /z´/, /d̲z´/ : *pečat´ zrady* [peˇčad̲z´'zradyᵉ] 'the brand of treason'
			[č]	before /š/, /č/: *myt´ ščastia* ['myč'ščas´t´a] 'a moment of happiness'
			[d̲ž]	before /ž/, /d̲ž/ : *berit´ že hroši* [beʸ'r´id̲žžeʸ'hroš'i] 'do take the money'
			[d´]	before /b/, /h/, /g/, /d/, d´/: *borot´ba* [borod´'ba] 'struggle'
			[t]	optionally before /t/: *trat´te* ['trat:eʸ] 'spend!'
д	d	/d/	[d]	"hard" dental plosive voiced consonant: *dub* [dub] 'oak', *sad* [sad] 'garden', *hadka* ['hadka] 'thought'
			[d̲z]	before /z/, /s/, /c/, /d̲z/: *pidzemellia* [p'id̲zzeʸ'mel´:a] 'cave', *vidsotok* [w'id̲z'sotok] 'per cent', *viddzerkalyty* [w'id̲z:eʸr'kalyᵉtyᵉ] 'to mirror'
			[d̲z´]	before /z´/, /s´/, /c´/, /d̲z´/ : *liuds´kyj* ['l´ud̲z´s´kyᵉi̯] 'human', *pryzvidcia* [pryᵉ'zw'id̲z´c´a] 'instigator', *nad dziobom* [na'd̲z´:obom] 'above the beak'
			[d̲ž]	before /ž/, /š/, /č/, /d̲ž/: *vidžylyj* [w'id̲ž'žylyᵉi̯] obsolete', *hladšyj* ['hlad̲žšyᵉi̯]'fatter', *doradčyj* [do'rad̲žčyᵉi̯] 'consultative'
			[d´]	before /d´/, /t´/, /n´/, /l´/: *viddiaka* [w'id´:aka] 'requital', *pidtiaty* [p'id´t´atyᵉ] 'to hew', *ridnia* [r´id´n´a] 'kin'
		/d´/	[d´]	"soft" dental plosive voiced consonant: *dim* [d´im] 'home', *diuna* ['d´una] 'dune', *budiak* [bu'd´ak] 'thistle'
дь	d´	/d´/	[d´]	*d´ohot´* ['d´ohot´] 'tar', *mid´* [m'id´] 'copper', *vid´ma* ['w'id´ma] 'witch'
			[d̲z´]	before /z/, /s/, /z´/, /s´/, /d̲z/, /c/, /d̲z´/, /c´/: *porad´sia* [po'rad̲z´s´a] 'seek counsel!'
			[t´]	before /t/: *siad´te* ['s´at´teʸ] 'sit down!'
с	s	/s/	[s]	"hard" dental constrictive unvoiced consonant: *sum* [sum] 'sadness', *smak* [smak] 'taste', *visk* [w'isk] 'wax', *has* [has] 'paraffin oil'
			[š]	before /č/, /š/: *na vas čekajut´* [na'vašceʸ'kajut´] 'you are expected', *lis šelestyt´* ['l´iš:eʸlyᵉ'styt´] 'the wood is rustling'
			[ž]	before /d̲ž/, /ž/: *klas džazu* ['klaž'd̲žazu] 'jazz class', *nis žaby* ['n´i'ž:abyᵉ] 'frog's nose'
			[z]	before /b/, /h/, /g/, /d/, /d´/, /z/, /z´/, /d̲z/, /d̲z´/: *čas dijaty* ['ča'zd´ijatyᵉ] '(it's) time to act', *vas zvut´* ['wa'z:wut´] 'you are called'
			[s´]	before a "soft" consonant: *stiahnuty* [s´t´a'hnutyᵉ] 'to pull off', *na misci* [na'm'is´c´i] 'on the place', *u krisli* [u'kr´is´l´i] 'in the armchair'
		/s´/	[s´]	"soft" dental constrictive unvoiced consonant: *sirnyk* [s´ir'nyk] 'match', *siudy* [s´u'dy] '(to) here', *porosia* [poro's´a] 'piglet'
сь	s´	/s´/	[s´]	*s´ohodni* [s´o'hod´n´i] 'today', *des´* [des´] 'somewhere', vos´myj ['wos´myᵉi̯] 'the eighth'
			[z´]	voiced variant of /s´/: *pros´ba* ['proz´ba] 'request'
			[š]	before /č/, /š/: *os´ čomu* ['oščo'mu] 'that's why'
з	z	/z/	[z]	"hard" dental constrictive voiced consonant: *zub* [zub] 'tooth', *zhoda* ['zhoda] 'consent', *moroz* [mo'roz] 'frost' *rizka* ['r´izka] 'birch-rod'
			[s]	in the prefix *roz-* before /k/, /p/, /t/, /s/, /f/, /x/, /c/: *rozkiš* ['rosk'iš] 'luxury', *rozpač* ['rospač] 'despair'
			[s´]	when the prefix *z-* is followed by /s´/, /c´/: *zsistysia* ['s´:istyᵉs´a] 'to shrink', *zcilyty* [s´c´i'lytyᵉ] 'to cure'
			[ž]	before /d̲ž/, /č/, /ž/: *z džerela* [žd̲žeʸreʸ'la] 'from the spring', *bezčestia* [beʸž'čes´t´a] 'dishonour'

			[š]	when the preposition *z* and the prefixes *z-*, *roz-* are followed by /š/, /č/: *zšyty* ['š:yty^{e}] 'to sew together', *rozčyn* ['rošč^{y}n] 'solution', *z čolovikom* [šč olo'w'ikom] 'with the man'
			[z´]	before /d´/, /d͡z´/, /z´/, /s´/, /c´/, /n´/: *rozziava* [ro'z´:awa] 'scatterbrain', *jizdiat´* ['jiz´d´at´] '(they) travel', *riznia* [r´i'z´n´a] 'slaughter'
		/z´/	[z´]	"soft" dental constrictive voiced consonant: *zir* [z´ir] 'sight', *vziaty* ['u̯z´aty^{e}] 'to take', *zvir* [z´w'ir] 'beast' (exception)
зь	z´	/z´/	[z´]	*hriz´ba* [hr´i'z´ba] 'threat', *kniaz´* [kn´az´] 'prince'
			[ž]	before /ž/: *skriz´ žyvut´* [skr´iž:y^{e}'wut´] '(they) live everywhere'
ц	c	/c/	[c]	"hard" dental unvoiced affricate: *cap* [cap] 'goat', *cvyntar* ['cwyntar] 'churchyard', *koc* [koc] 'blanket'
			[d͡z]	voiced variant of /c/: *palac budujet´sia* [pa'lad͡zbu'duje^{y}c´:a] 'the palace is being built'
			[c´]	in some words before [w']: *cviax* [c´w'ax] 'nail', *cvit* [c´w'it] 'blossom'
		/c´/	[c´]	"soft" dental unvoiced affricate: *civka* ['c´iu̯ka] 'stream', *kociuba* [koc´u'ba] 'poker', *ciatka* ['c´atka] 'fleck'
ць	c´	/c´/	[c´]	*c´ohoričnyj* [c´oho'r´ičny^{e}i̯] 'this year's', *c´kuvaty* [c´ku'waty^{e}] 'to hunt', *černec´* ['če^{y}r'nec´] 'monk'
			[d͡z´]	voiced variant of /c´/: *tiutiunec´ dorohyj* [t´ut´u'ned͡z´doro'hy i̯] 'the baccy is dear'
дз	dz	/dz/	[d͡z]	"hard" dental voiced affricate: *dzyga* ['d͡zyga] 'whirligig', *gudzyk* ['gud͡zy^{e}k] 'button', *gedzkatysia* ['ged͡zkaty^{e}s´a] 'to flee from the gadflies'
		/dz´/	[d͡z´]	"soft" dental voiced affricate: *dziavkaty* ['d͡z´au̯katy^{e}] 'to yelp', *dziurkit* ['d͡z´urk'it] 'babble'
дзь	dz´	/dz´/	[d͡z´]	*dz´ob* [d͡z´ob] 'beak', *gudz´* [gud͡z´] 'bump'
л	l	/l/	[l]	"hard" alveolar constrictive lateral consonant: *lev* [leu̯] 'lion', *vil* [w'il] 'ox', *iklo* ['iklo] 'fang', *holka* ['holka] 'needle'
			[l̥]	voiceless variant of /l/ in word-final position after an unvoiced consonant: *smysl* [smysl̥] 'sense'
			[l´]	before /c´/: *hilci* ['h'il´c´i] '(to the) branch'
		/l´/	[l´]	"soft" alveolar constrictive lateral consonant: *lis* [l´is] 'forest', *liubov* [l´u'bou̯] 'love', *dolia* ['dol´a] 'destiny', *llie* [l´:e] '(he) pours'
ль	l´	/l´/	[l´]	*sil´* [s´il´] 'salt', *bul´ka* ['bul´ka] 'bubble', *l´on* [l´on] 'flax'
			[l̥´]	voiceless variant of /l´/ in word-final position after an unvoiced consonant: *mysl´* [mysl̥´] 'thought'
н	n	/n/	[n]	"hard" dental occlusive nasal voiced consonant: *nadija* [na'd´ija] 'hope', *znevira* [zne^{y}'w'ira] 'despair', *lan* [lan] 'field'
			[n´]	before a "soft" consonant: *ukrajins´kyj* [ukra'jin´s´ky^{e}i̯] 'Ukrainian'
		/n´/	[n´]	"soft" dental occlusive nasal voiced consonant: *ni* [n´i] 'no', *koniux* ['kon´ux] 'groom', *synie* ['syn´e^{y}] 'blue (n)', *košenia* [koše^{y}'n´a] 'kitten'
нь	n´	/n´/	[n´]	*rin´* [r´in´] 'shingle', *lin´ky* ['l´in´ky^{e}] 'laziness'

1.4.3.5. Uk. has but one mid-lingual /j/ pronounced either as sonorous consonant or as semi-vowel [i̯]. The multiple ways of representing it in writing are reflected in Table 6 (cf. also Table 2).

TABLE 6. *Mid-lingual consonant /j/*

Cyrillic letter	Latin transliteration	phoneme	variants	Description and examples
й	j	/j/	[j]	"soft" constrictive middle voiced consonant: *jolop* ['jolop] 'blockhead', *majority* [majo'r´ity^{e}] 'to appear indistinctly'
			[i̯]	optional variant of /j/ in pre-vocalic position: *jolop* ['i̯olop], *majority* [mai̯o'r´ity^{e}]
			[i̯]	positional variant of /j/ in word-final or pre-consonantal position: *haj* [hai̯] 'copse', *kyj* [kyi̯] 'stick', *zojk* [zoi̯k] 'scream', *jniaty* ['i̯n´aty^{e}] 'to accept'
є	je	/je/	[je]	*jestvo* [je^{y}'stwo] 'essence', *dijeta* [d´i'jeta] 'diet'
			[i̯e]	
'є				*bje* [bje] '(he) beats'
ї	ji	/ji/	[ji]	*jiža* ['jiža] 'food', *bezkrajij* [be^{y}z'krajii̯] 'boundless'
			[i̯i]	
'ї				*zjizd* [zjizd] 'congress'
ю	ju	/ju/	[ju]	*jurba* [jur'ba] 'crowd', *maju* ['maju] '(I) have'
'ю			[u̯u]	*vjun* [u̯jun] 'loach'
я	ja	/ja/	[ja]	*jasa* [ja'sa] 'signal', *projava* [pro'jawa] 'monster'
			[i̯a]	
'я				*pjavka* ['pjau̯ka] 'leech'

1.4.3.6. The back-lingual and pharyngeal consonants resemble the labials in more than one way, as far as their systematic phonological links are concerned. In particular, they have very similar sets of "semi-softened" positional variants, and the unvoiced /x/, /k/ display the same susceptibility to assimilation of voice from the next non-sonorous voiced consonant as the unvoiced /p/, /f/. For the back-linguals the "softening" amounts to the usual palatalisation (cf. 1.4.3.1.), while the pharyngeal /h/ becomes "semi-softened" by virtue of the changes in the volume and form of the resonator as the back of the tongue rises towards the velum (without actually touching it) in imitation of the similar movement involved in the articulation of the "semi-softened" back-linguals (see Table 7).

TABLE 7. *Back-lingual and pharyngeal consonants*

Cyrillic letter	Latin transliteration	phoneme	variants	Description and examples
x	x	/x/	[x]	"hard" velar constrictive unvoiced consonant: *xata* ['xata] 'cottage', *rux* [rux] 'movement', *duxmianyj* [du'xm'any^{e}i̯] 'fragrant', *čeremxa* [če^{y}'remxa] 'bird-cherry'
			[x']	"semi-softened" variant of /x/: *xiba* [x'i'ba] 'really?', *šaxist* [ša'x'ist] 'chess-player'

			[ɣ]	voiced variant of /x/: *dax budynku* ['daɣbu'dynku] 'the roof of the house'
к	k	/k/	[k]	"hard" velar occlusive unvoiced consonant: *kara* ['kara] 'punishment', *luk* [luk] 'bow', *sklo* [sklo] 'glass'
			[k']	"semi-softened" variant of /k/: *kit* [k'it] 'cat', *spokij* ['spok'iɻ] 'quietness'
			[g]	voiced variant of /k/: *vokzal* [wog'zal] 'station', *jakby* [jag'by] 'if only'
г	g	/g/	[g]	"hard" velar occlusive voiced consonant: *ganok* ['ganok] 'porch', *dzyglyk* ['dzygly^{c}k] 'stool', *pidgruntia* [p'id'grun´t´a] 'subsoil'
			[g']	"semi-softened" variant of /g/: *gelgit* ['gelg'it] 'honk'
г	h	/h/	[h]	"hard" pharyngeal voiced consonant: *hak* [hak] 'hook', *porih* [po'r´ih] 'threshold', *vyhra* ['wyhra] 'winnings', *dovhyj* ['do 'ɣhy^{c}iɻ] 'long'
			[h']	"semi-softened" variant of /h/: *hist´* [h'is´t´] 'guest', *pahin* ['pah'in] 'shoot'
			[ḫ]	voiceless variant of /h/ before unvoiced consonants: *lehkyj* [ly^{c}ḫ'kyiɻ] 'light', *nihti* ['n´iḫt´i] 'fingernails'
			[x]	optional variant of /h/ in some weak positions: *nihti* ['n´ixt´i]

1.4.4. Labialisation is typical for the consonants occurring before /u/ and /o/, and sometimes after them, but it plays no distinctive role and passes unnoticed for the native ear. It is not marked in the phonetic script.

1.4.5. Long consonants (supplied with ":"-mark in the phonetic script) are traditionally treated as functionally equivalent to a combination of two identical short consonants, and therefore denied the phonemic status. This approach, convenient as it may seem, is not always correct, especially in the case of "soft" and "semi-softened" long consonants historically derived from the suffix {j} (see 2.2.3.2; cf. the rise of long consonants in Italian as a sequel to the 1st palatalisation: e.g. *faccia* ← *facja* ← lat. *facies*). On the whole, it may be assumed that in MUk. long consonants have different status depending on the sort of the morphemic boundary they occur at; inasmuch as the degree of fusion is much higher for the root/suffix boundaries than for the prefix/root ones, two short phonemes may be plausibly postulated in the latter case, and one long phoneme in the former: cf. *viddiaka* [w'i'd´:aka] = [w'id´'d´aka] 'requital' and *pidboriddia* [p'idbo'r´id´:a] 'chin'. On the other hand, examples can be readily found of long and short consonants performing the distinctive function: *na suddi* [nasu'd´:i] 'on the judge' and *na sudi* [nasu'd´i] 'at the trial', *ssut´* [s:ut´] '(they) suck' and *sut´* [sut´] 'essence', etc. All this seems to indicate that the Uk. consonant system is not definitely "settled" with respect to the functional value of consonant length.

1.5. Open and closed syllables

Although MUk. has both open and closed syllables (cf. *rik* 'year' and *ri-ka* 'river'), it has still preserved the old preference for the former inherited from Common Slavic (with its "reduced" vowels making each and every syllable open). Thus, whenever a consonant cluster in intervocalic position is "natural" (i.e. possible in word-initial position) it is "attracted" not to the preceding, but to the following vowel: cf. *se-stra* 'sister', *za-zdro* 'enviously' vs. *zvist-ka* 'news', *kaz-ka* 'tale',

etc.

1.6. Stress

Stress in Uk. is dynamic, free, and movable, the last two parameters being conditioned by the morphological properties of the word.

1.6.1. The difference in expirational force between the stressed and the unstressed syllables is comparatively weak, so that the distribution of the air-stream power among the syllables of a word is fairly even. The classical formula of the word's rhythmical structure devised by V. Bohoriditsky back in 1913 expresses the correlation between the syllables of a polysyllabic word as 1 to ¾ to 2 to ¾ to 1½, e.g. in *pid-ba-'d´o-ry-ty* 'to encourage'. Accordingly, words with more than two syllables have, apart from the main stress, one or two secondary stresses: *se-re-'da* 'Wednesday', *kny-ho-'sxo-vy-,šče* 'book-stack', etc.

1.6.2. The main stress can be put on any syllable irrespective of its place in the word: *'vy-ra-xu-va-nyj* 'calculated', *za-'lia-ku-va-ty* 'to intimidate', *po-vi-'do-my-ty* 'to inform', *pry-sto-su-'va-nec´* 'conformist', *pe-re-po-vi-'sty* 'to relate'. This does not mean, of course, that the stress placing is aleatory, as it ultimately always depends on the word's morphemic structure.

1.6.3. Shift of stress may occur in some inflexional forms (e.g. *xo-'dy-ty* 'to go' vs. *'xo-dyt´* '(he) goes', *ver-'ba* 'willow' vs. *'ver-by* 'willows', etc.), reinforcing the distinctive relational function of the morphemes.

1.7. Intonation

The intonation in Modern Standard Uk. is relatively flat. On the whole, rising intonation marks interrogative sentences, while falling intonation, in its different varieties, is characteristic of all types of non-interrogative sentences, the exact intoning place always depending first and foremost on the functional perspective of the utterance ("funktionelle Satzperspektive" in German).

2. Noun

2.1. Semantic and morphological properties

Noun denotes a grammatical substance (entity) expressed by the inflexional categories of case and number, as well as by the non-inflexional category of gender. A Uk. noun can be the subject of a clause, denoting the initial participant of a process, or direct/indirect object of a verb, indicating a non-initial participant of a process. All other possible functions of a noun are determined by its grammatical function of marking the participants of a multi-step predicative situation synthesised by the verb (see 7.2.).

2.2. Morphemic structure

Nouns have a complicated morphological structure (consist of several grammatical morphemes). Notwithstanding its highly synthetic character, the Uk. noun can be re-constructed with different affixes. As far as the primary meaning of derivational suffixes[1] is concerned, all nouns denote the following types (classes) of grammatical substance.

1. The suffixes, as given below, are mostly productive and of frequent occurrence.

2.2.1. The performer of an action is, but need not be, conveyed by an appropriate verb (nomina agentis):

{ak} : *spivak* 'singer', *jižak* 'hedgehog', *vitriak* 'windmill', *prostak* 'simpleton', *bidniak* 'poor man';
{ar} : *likar* 'doctor', *pekar* 'baker', *skliar* 'glazier', *hazetiar* 'newspaper-man', *šaxtar* 'miner';
{ec´} : *tvorec´* 'creator', *syrec´* 'raw material', *kravec´* 'tailor', *buxanec´* 'loaf', *bojec´* 'fighting-man';
{yc´} : *levycia* 'lioness', *rušnycia* 'shot-gun', *palycia* 'stock', *pravycia* 'right hand', *livycia* 'left hand';
{yk} : *kadyk* 'Adam's apple', *hodivnyk* 'bread-winner', *mandrivnyk* 'traveller', *frontovyk* 'front-line soldier';
{k} : *studentka* 'female student', *pjanyčka* 'drunkard', *storinka* 'page', *dočka* 'daughter';
{ij} : *palij* 'incendiary', *vodij* 'driver', *kradij* 'thief', *babij* 'ladies' man', *bahatij* 'rich man'.

2.2.2. The instrument (nomina instrumenti):

{ec´} : *stilec´* 'chair', *olivec´* 'pencil', *vzirec´* 'pattern', *hrebinec´* 'comb';
{yk} : *gudzyk* 'button', *sirnyk* 'match', *hodynnyk* 'watch', *barvnyk* 'dye-stuff';
{k} : *vydelka* 'fork', *pylka* 'saw', *čaška* 'cup', *soročka* 'shirt', *skrypka* 'violin';
{l} : *mylo* 'soap', *točylo* 'whet-stone', *krylo* 'wing', *sidlo* 'saddle', *veslo* 'scull'.

2.2.3. The place or location in time of an action (nomina loci):

{yn} : *nyzyna* 'low place', *rivnyna* 'plain place', *dolyna* 'valley', *horlovyna* 'mouth, orifice';
{yk} : *xvojnyk* 'coniferous forest', *korivnyk* 'cow-shed', *'kvitnyk'* 'flower-bed';
{yšč} : *kladovyšče* 'cemetery', *vodojmyšče* 'pond', *vohnyšče* 'bonfire', *selyšče* 'settlement';
{l} : *kovadlo* 'anvil', *žytlo* 'dwelling', *duplo* 'hollow'.

2.2.4. The result of an action (nomina acti):

{k} : *posylka* 'parcel', *rozbyvka* 'laying out', *davka* 'crush';
{yn} : *pysanyna*, *bazgranyna* 'scribble', *ozymyna* 'winter crop'.

2.2.5. The action (nomina actionis):

{ščyn}: *panščyna*, *barščyna* 'corvée', *zastavščyna* 'pawning';
{k} : *pravka* 'proof-reading', *vidpravka* 'sending', *mandrivka* 'journey';
{b} : *borot´ba* 'struggle', *hul´ba* 'revelry', *vorožba* 'sorcery', *pal´ba* 'shooting';
{ann} : *čytannia* 'reading', *zbyrannia* 'collecting', *vahannia* 'doubt';
{enn} : *zaxoplennia* 'passion', *myslennia* 'thinking', *zavorušennia* 'mutiny', *zahojennia* 'healing'.

2.2.6. The qualitative or collective meaning:

{yn} : *svynyna* 'pork', *jalovyčyna* 'beef', *družyna* 'bodyguard';
{eč} : *stareča* 'the old', *maleča* 'the young', *vorožneča* 'hostility';
{v} : *mušva* 'insects', *bratva* 'brothers, chaps', *lystva* 'foliage', *murava* 'grass';
{stv}/{ztv}/
{ctv} : *duxovenstvo* 'clergy', *bratstvo* 'fraternity', *uboztvo* 'wretchedness', *kalictvo* 'mutilation'.

2.2.7. Since its morphemes are extremely fused (more for root/suffix boundaries, less for prefix/root ones) noun cannot be seen as an 'agglutinative sum' of the root and the derivational morphemes. Thus, the etymological meaning of a suffix may be regarded as having been absorbed by the total meaning of a lexeme. For instance, there is a good deal of diminutive suffixes which impart to noun, apart from its main meaning, additional "affectionate" force. They are {ok}, {očok}, {čyk}, {ečk}, {en´k}, {us}, {un}, e.g. *xlopčyk* 'kid', *synok* 'sonny', *mamusia* 'mummy', *vorožen´ko* 'enemy'(!).

2.3. Number

Uk. has two numbers: singular and plural. This category may be plausibly explicated in terms of the opposition 'one unit/many homogenous units' (1). Nouns denoting non-countable entities have no plural (singularia tantum). They are: collective nouns (*xudoba* 'live-stock', *lycarstvo* 'knighthood'), mass nouns (*smetana* 'sour cream', *vuhillia* 'coal'), abstract nouns *koxannia* 'love', *pravda* 'truth') and some others. If they take the form of plural they must be conceived in terms of the opposition 'one homogenous unit/one compound unit (containing many heterogenous units)' (2). This opposition is fully grammaticalized in the agglutinative languages where the concept of discreteness may be grasped in context:

Uk.		Turk.	
(1)	knyžk-y book-PL 'many books'	(3)	kitap-lar book-PL 'different kinds of book(s)'
(2)	vod-y water-PL 'different kinds of water'	(4)	su-lar water-PL 'different kinds of water'

2.3.1. Nouns with no singular (pluralia tantum) refer to one entity: *šaxy* 'chess', *vorota* 'gate', *sany* 'sledge', *veršky* 'cream', etc. Some of these nouns represent the residual forms of dual, e.g. *oči* 'eyes', *pleči* 'shoulders'. All of them are declined as nouns belonging to Declension 1-3 in the PL. The dual meaning may be marked by accentuation when a count noun is used after cardinals 2, 3, 4, e.g. *dva*, *try*, *čotyry dúby* 'two, three, four oaks', conceived as 'some oaks', and *dubý*, conceived as 'many oaks'.

2.4. Gender

Every noun belongs to one of three genders which constitute a non-inflexional category (of gender): masculine, feminine, neuter.

2.4.1. Most nouns ending in a consonant are masculine, e.g. *did* 'old man, grandfather', *syn* 'son', *bil´* 'pain', *nežyt´* 'cold (in the head)'. But some of them are feminine, e.g. *podorož* 'journey', *sil´* 'salt', *put´* 'way'. It is difficult to tell from the final consonant whether the noun is masculine or feminine, though those whose stem ends, e.g. in the suffix {ist´} are almost always feminine. But the great majority are masculine, being the result of the transferring of the feminine *i*-stems in Common Slavic to masculine in Uk. (Shevelov 1991:331-7).

2.4.2. Nouns ending in {a} are feminine, e.g. *baba* 'old woman', *likarka* 'female-doctor', *Ukrajina* 'Ukraine'. A few nouns end in {a}, although their original gender is masculine, e.g. *sluha* 'man-servant', *Mykola* (proper name). These are grammatically regular, being declined as feminines. Some nouns in {a} belong to common gender, being defined as masculine or feminine in a context (gender congruence or syntactic concord): *veselyj trudiaha* (m) 'a gay toiler', *pryjšla lystonoša* (f) 'there came a post-woman'.

A great deal of nouns ening in {a} are neuter, e.g. *košenia* 'kitten', *plemja* 'tribe'. They belong to Declension 2 or 4 (see 2.7.2., 2.7.4.).

2.4.3. Nouns ending in {o}, {e} are neuter, e.g. *selo* 'village', *boloto* 'marsh', *more* 'sea'. Some of them are masculine, e.g. *bat´ko* 'father', *Dnipro* 'the Dnieper'.

2.4.4. There is a group of loan-words ending in {a} (the stem is in a vowel), {o}, {u}, {i}, {e}: *amplua* (Fr. *emploi*), *pari* (Fr. *pari*), *pïanino* (It. *pianino*), *foje* (Fr. *foyer*), *intervju* (Engl. *interview*), etc., those ending in {o} tend to be declinable, e.g. *pal´to* 'coat' (N) - *pal´ta* (G) - *pal´tu* (D) and so on (see 7.2.).

The gender of indeclinable loan-words is defined logically (resp. syntactically): they may refer to female (*ledi* 'lady'), male (*ataše* 'attaché') or animal (*kenguru* 'kangaroo') respectively.

2.5. Animation

The category of gender is a non-inflexional one, though its derivational meaning is encapsulated in the desinence's overall grammatical meaning. Gender affects all nouns (even if it is not morphologically expressed) forming their paradigmatic characteristics, which enables the speaker to use them at certain points in the structure of a sentence. The process-oriented scope of the Uk. language system (Danylenko 1993b:174-8) implies the necessity to mark activeness/inactiveness of denotata in the framework of a predicative situation. Being originally I.-E. noun-classes (similar to those in Bantu, for instance) but revalued in the process of the synthetic evolution of UK., genders indicate the ability of nouns to refer to the initial or non-initial participants of a multi-step predication while condensing predicational steps into one finite clause (see 7.2.).

2.5.1. This functional subdivision is explicit in the A/SG and PL or the G and D/SG. Thus, nouns relating to animate entities have in the A/SG and PL the ending of the G/SG or PL: *ja pobačyv Petr-a, koni-a* 'I saw Peter, a horse'; *ja zustriv žinok-ø, bat´k-iv* 'I met women, parents'. This rule is followed by masculines and feminines with word-final consonants.

The same distinction between animate and inanimate nouns is manifest also in the G and D/SG masculine. Thus, masculines end in {a} in the G/SG and mostly in {ovi} or {evi} (after the last "soft" consonant of a stem) in the D/SG, e.g. *tat-ovi* 'to father', *kon-evi* 'to the horse'. At the same time, there are a few instances of vacillation, e.g. *pasty kon-i* (A=N) or *kon-ej* (A=G) 'to pasture horses' (concerning these examples and those of the type *vziaty nož-a* (G=Pa) 'to take a knife' (see 2.6.2.).

2.6. Case system

Uk. cases must be analyzed with respect to their communicative role (Mel´nikov 1980:42-5), i.e. their aptness to convey the theme or the rheme of a message. Thus, all the cases can be divided into two groups: the group of themic cases and the group of rhemic cases:

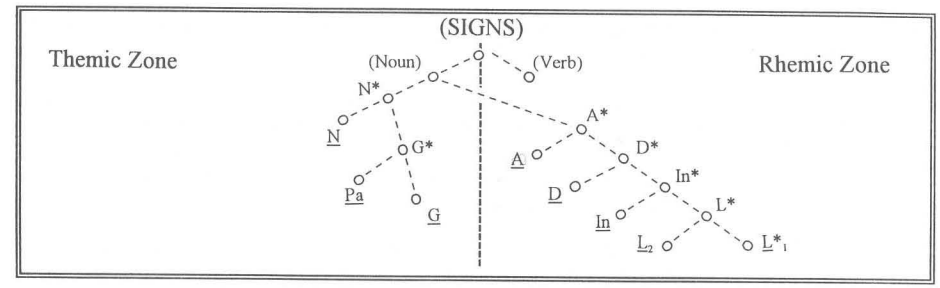


DIAGRAM 1. *Communicative classification of cases*

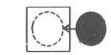
2.6.1. Diagram 1 represents as a tree-diagram the genetic and functional interdependence of the Uk. cases. Two branches, issuing from one node (Noun), mean that every case, performing its main relational function (themic or rhemic), may convey at the time a derivational modification of the latter.

All the underlined cases constitute a real modification system of the two relational functions which is found in MUk. N* refers to the general themic function, G* refers to the general subthemic function, while A* relates to the general objectal function, represented by the Uk. A which fulfils a direct objectal function. Such "pure" relational cases as N*, G* and A* (cf. Kuryłowicz's "cas abstracts") are found, for example, in Arabic. A similar three-fold system still applies to English personal pronouns.

D* (=Dativus in Greek) refers to the general indirect objectal function, splitting into two branches appropriate for the D (addressee function) and In* with the general concomitant function (=Ablativus in Latin). As for L*, not represented in MUk., it corresponds with the general indirect objectal and concomitant, at the same time, function. L_1*, represented in MUk., has a general "prepositional meaning", while L_2 has a real "spatial meaning".

2.6.2. The basic meaning of every case can be illustrated schematically with the help of the following signs ▷ - action, ● - initial participant, ○ - non-initial participant.

N - a static case referring only to the initial participant: *bat´k-o* 'father', *zemli-a* 'earth', etc.

G  a static and non-contact case used as background to the N: *budynok bat´ka* 'father's house'.

Pa - a static and non-contact case used as background to the N and marking backward vector of the projection (in contrast to the G).
MUk., in comparison with other Slavonic Languages, has a predilection for this case, based on the meaning of the I.-E. Ablative. Its derivational sense "part of an uncountable (mass) whole" is conveyed by the ending {u}, e.g. *čaška čaj-u* 'cup of tea' (see 2.7.2.2.).

A - a dynamic and contact case indicating a direct object, i.e. one which is fully encapsulated in the action: *liubyty sestr-u* 'to love one's sister'. Instead of the A it is possible to use G or Pa for inanimate nouns (cf. *vziaty olivci-a* (G) 'to take a pencil' or *zjisty med-u* (Pa) 'to eat some honey'). In fact this is a recessive use of the I.-E. Ablative which could occur after supine in OUk., being conditioned by the meaning of governing verbs.

D - a dynamic and non-contact case referring to the addressee of an action: *Petr-ovi* 'to Peter', *poli-u* 'to the field'.

In - this case denotes a non-initial participant as a necessary concomitant condition for the completing of an action by the initial participant. It can be defined as static, contact and homogenous (in contrast to other oblique cases which are heterogenous): *selianyn ide lis-om* 'a peasant is going by (through) the forest' means that 'a peasant is going and the forest is moving in its turn'.

L_2 - a static and heterogenous case denoting the location of an object which does not depend necessarily on the action.

2.6.3. The L_1 has an abstract "prepositional meaning" which is not apt to be defined schematically. The Vocative is a case without any relational function, i.e. not governed by a verb. This case only refers to a possible participant of the event, having therefore a deictic value.

2.6.1. Thus, the full Uk. case system consists of 9 cases. They are Nominative, Genitive, Partitive, Accusative, Dative, Instrumental, Locative$_1$, Locative$_2$ and Vocative. The Pa and L_2 are genetically restricted to some masculines used in the SG of Declension 2. In I.-E. they had *o*-stem and denoted uncountable, mass concepts which were later conceived as "natural agents". Therefore, not applying to the PL, they did not affect other nouns indicating either active or inactive entities.

2.7. Declensional types

In conformity with the character of stems and endings nouns are divided into four main Declensions. Declension 1 is used for masculines and feminines (as well as nouns of common gender) ending in {a}: *zyma* 'winter', *sluha* 'man-servant', *syrota* 'orphan'. Declension 2 is used for masculines ending in {o} or in a consonant: *Petro* 'Peter', *dub* 'oak', *koval´* 'smith'. Others are neuters ending in {o}, {e}, {a}, except the neuters which gain the thematic suffix {at} or {en} in oblique cases (see 2.7.4.1.). Declension 3 is used for feminine nouns with a consonant in word-final position, e.g. *sil´* 'salt', *nič* 'night', and the feminine *maty* 'mother'. Declension 4 is used for neuters, ending in {a}, which, when declined, acquire the thematic suffix {at} or {en}, e.g. *kurča - kurčaty* (G) 'chicken'.

2.7.1. Nouns of Declension 1 are classified as "hard", "soft" and "mixed". The noun is "hard" if the final consonant of its stem is "hard" (except for hushing consonants), e.g. *pravda* 'truth', *starosta* 'monitor'. The noun is "soft" if the final consonant of its stem is "soft", e.g. *pracia* 'labour', *vyšnia* 'cherry(-tree)'. Nouns having a hushing final consonant are "mixed", e.g. *noša* 'burden', *myša* 'mouse' (see Table 8).

2.7.1.1. Note that in "hard" nouns the final /k/, /h/ or /g/, /x/ alternate with /c´/, /z´/, /s´/ respectively before the {i} ending of the D and L_2/SG.

2.7.1.2. In the G/PL zero ending is much more usual, though some feminines can end in {iv} (*bab-iv* '(of) old women's') or in {ej} (*myš-ej* '(of) mice's'); /o/ or /e/ is inserted in a consonant cluster (before a resonant) occurring in word-final position: *iskra* 'sparkle' - *iskor-ø*, *sosna* 'pine-tree' - *soson-ø*.

2.7.1.3. The distinction between animate and inanimate nouns is seen only in the A/PL with the exception of nouns denoting animals, birds and insects, e.g. *ovec´-ø - vivc-i* 'sheep', *komax-ø - komax-y* 'insects'.

TABLE 8. *Noun declensional type 1*

stem	"hard"	"soft"		"mixed"
case		singular		
N	ruk-a	vyšni-a	pečij-a	myš-a
G	ruk-y	vyšn-i	pečij-i	myš-i
D	ruc-i	vyšn-i	pečij-i	myš-i
A	ruk-u	vyšni-u	pečij-u	myš-u
In	ruk-oju	vyšn-eju	pečij-eju	myš-eju
L_2	ruc-i	vyšn-i	pečij-i	myš-i
V	ruk-o	vyšn-e	pečij-e	myš-e
		plural		
N	ruk-y	vyšn-i	pečij-i	myš-i
G	ruk-ø	vyšen´-ø	pečij-ø	myš-ej
D	ruk-am	vyšni-am	pečij-am	myš-am
A	ruk-y	vyšn-i	pečij-i	myš-ej(i)
In	ruk-amy	vyšni-amy	pečij-amy	myš-amy
L	ruk-ax	vyšni-ax	pečij-ax	myš-ax
V	ruk-y	vyšn-i	peči-ji	myš-i

ruka 'hand', *vyšnia* 'cherry(-tree)', *pečija* 'heartburn', *myša* 'mouse'

2.7.2. Nouns of Declension 2 are classified as "hard", "soft" or "mixed". The masculine is "hard" if the final consonant of its stem is "hard", e.g. *čas* 'time', *druh* 'friend'. Neuters and masculines ending in {o} are also hard: *ozero* 'lake', *diad´ko* 'uncle', etc. Masculines with "soft" final consonant and neuters ending in {e} and {a} are "soft", e.g. *učen´* 'pupil', *more* 'sea', *znannia* 'knowledge'. Many nouns of the type which end in /r/ and have the {ar} suffix are of the same group: *pekar* 'baker', *likar* 'doctor', etc.

The "mixed" group is constituted by masculines and neuters with final hushing consonant, e.g. *tkač* 'weaver', *došč* 'rain', *pleče* 'shoulder'. Some masculines whose stem ends in {ar} and which indicate male person by profession belong to the group: *hazetiar* 'newspaper-man', *kameniar* 'mason', *skliar* 'glazier', etc.

TABLE 9. *Noun declensional type 2*

	masculine			
stem	"hard"	"soft"		"mixed"
case		singular		
N	čas-ø	kraj-ø	učen´-ø	sluxač-ø
G	--	--	učni-a	sluxač-a
Pa	čas-u	kraj-u	--	--
D	čas-ovi(u)	kraj-evi(u)	učni-evi(iu)	sluxač-evi(u)
A	čas-ø	kraj-ø	učni-a	sluxač-a
In	čas-om	kraj-em	učn-em	sluxač-em
L_1	čas-ovi(u)	kraj-evi(u)	učn-evi	sluxač-evi(u)
L_2	čas-i	kraj-i	učn-i	--
V	čas-e	kraj-u	učni-u	sluxač-u

		plural		
N	čas-y	kraj-i	učn-i	sluxač-i
G	čas-iv	kraj-iv	učn-iv	sluxač-iv
D	čas-am	kraj-am	učni-am	sluxač-am
A	čas-y	kraj-i	učn-iv	sluxač-iv
In	čas-amy	kraj-amy	učni-amy	sluxač-amy
L	čas-ax	kraj-ax	učni-ax	sluxač-ax
V	čas-y	kraj-i	učn-i	sluxač-i
		neuter		
		singular		
N	ozer-o	mor-e	znanni-a	vohnyšč-e
G	ozer-a	mori-a	znanni-a	vohnyšč-a
Pa	--	--	--	--
D	ozer-u	mori-u	znanni-u	vohnyšč-u
A	ozer-o	mor-e	znanni-a	vohnyšč-e
In	ozer-om	mor-em	znanni-am	vohnyšč-em
L_1	--	--	--	vohnyšč-u
L_2	ozer-i	mor-i	znann-i	vohnyšč-i
V	ozer-o	mor-e	znanni-a	vohnyšč-e
		plural		
N	ozer-a	mori-a	znanni-a	vohnyšč-a
G	ozer-ø	mor-iv	znan´-ø	vohnyšč-ø
D	ozer-am	mori-am	znanni-am	vohnyšč-am
A	ozer-a	mori-a	znanni-a	vohnyšč-a
I	ozer-amy	mori-amy	znanni-amy	vohnyšč-amy
L	ozer-ax	mori-ax	znanni-ax	vohnyšč-ax
V	ozer-a	mori-a	znanni-a	vohnyšč-a

čas 'time', *kraj* 'land, country', *učen´* 'pupil', *sluxač* 'hearer', *ozero* 'lake', *more* 'sea', *znannia* 'knowledge', *vohnyšče* 'bonfire'.

2.7.2.1. A few hard nouns N/PL undergo mutations of their final consonants /k/, /h/ or /g/, /x/, when followed by /i/: *oko* 'eye' - *oči* 'eyes', *vuxo* 'ear' - *uši* 'ears' (but *vuxa*). The noun *druh* 'friend' - *druzi* 'friends' is declined in the PL as a "soft" one: *druz-iv* (G), *druzi-am* (D) and so on, only the V is *druž-e*.

2.7.2.2. The masculines SG regularly take the form of the Pa with the ending {u} if they relate to mass, uncountable concepts. On the other hand, they take the form of the G when relating to countable concepts. Since the grammatical opposition is based on a semantic one, vacillation is possible in some instances: *akt-u* 'action' - *akt-a* 'document', *aparat-u* 'staff' - *aparat-a* 'apparatus', *faktor-u* 'factor' - *faktor-a* 'trader', etc.

On the whole, all the uses of the Pa are conditioned by the corresponding morpheme {u} (2.6.2.). It can relate incidentally to:

- substance or material: *cukr-u* 'sugar', *paper-u* 'paper', etc.;
- abstract notions: *progres-u* 'progress', *strax-u* 'fear', etc;
- natural phenomena, e.g. *snih-u* 'snow', *vitr-u* 'wind';
- actions and processes: *kryk-u* 'shout', *svyst-u* 'whistle', etc.;
- spatial notions, e.g. *sad-u* 'garden', *step-u* 'steppe';
- some place-names, e.g. *Krym-u* 'Crimea', *Livan-u* 'Lebanon'.

2.7.2.3. In both the masculine and neuter PL the G is in {iv} for all "hard", "soft" and "mixed" nouns. But many nouns end in {ø}, e.g. *xrystyjan* '(of) christians'', *kolis* '(of) wheels'', *sliv* '(of) words''. Only a few masculines and neuters end in {ej}: *očej* '(of) eyes'', *ušej* or *vux* '(of) ears'', etc.

2.7.2.4. The distinction between animate and inanimate nouns applies only to forms of the A/SG and PL. Neuters indicating animals, insects and so on may take the form of the A=N in the PL (cf. *zapriahaty vol-y* 'to yoke oxen'), since these denotata may be still regarded as inactive.

2.7.2.5. The L_2 has a "spatial meaning" (see 2.6.1.) by which the speaker can "hint" at any other "prepositional sense": cf. *u lis-i* 'in the forest' but *na čas-i* 'in time'. Nevertheless some morphological restrictions are (still?) obvious since masculines and neuters ending in the suffixes {yk}, {nyk}, {ok}, {ak}, {k}, {on´k}, {en´k} take the "prepositional inflexion" {u}, e.g. *na ližk-u* 'on the bed', *u hodynnyk-u* 'in the watch'. Sometimes the distribution of {i} and {u} depends on accentuation: *na torh-ú - na tórz-i* 'at market', *na luh-ú - na lúz-i* 'in the meadow', etc.

The endings {ovi} (for "hard" nouns) and {evi} (for "soft" and "mixed" ones) are more characteristic of animate nouns: *na učytel-evi* 'on the teacher', *na vovk-ovi* 'on the wolf', etc., though the majority of inanimate nouns can take this ending, e.g. *na rušnyk-ovi* 'on the towel', *u majetk-ovi* 'at the estate', *na serc-evi* 'in the heart'.

In general, the distribution of the three endings is still partially conditioned by the declensional (paradigmatic) principle which was proper to Common Slavic. On the other hand, the preferable use of {ovi} and {evi} for persons conforms with the residual category of person in Uk., not fully "absorbed" by the category of animation.

2.7.2.6. The V has either {u} or {e} inflexions. The first one is characteristic of 'hard' and 'mixed' masculines. Some nouns end in {e}: *dub-e* 'oak!', *vitr-e* 'wind!', etc. The final consonants /k/, /h/ or /g/, /x/ change to /č/, /ž/ and /š/ respectively when followed by /e/: *junak - junač-e* 'youth!', *druh - druž-e* 'friend!', etc. In the neuters SG the V is in {o}, e.g. *svitl-o* 'light!', *kryl-o* 'wing!'.

2.7.3. The pertinent features of Declension 3 are : uniformity of gender and inflexional homonymy (G=D=L) (see Table 10).

2.7.3.1. In the majority of stems /i/ changes to /o/ and /e/ in open syllables: *jakist´* 'quality' - *jakosti* (G), *radist´* 'joy' - *radosti* (G), etc.

2.7.3.2. In the In/SG the palatal /j/ of the ending is being assimilated under the influence of the previous palatalized consonant which becomes longer (doubles in spelling): *silli-u* (<*sil´j-u*) 'by salt', *middi-u* (<*mid´j-u*) 'by copper', etc. Compare similar sound-lengthening in *bezzakonnia* 'lawlessness' with the Cr. *bezakonje*.

There is no such lengthening of the final consonant when the stem ends in cluster, e.g. *radisti-u* 'by joy', *smerti-u* 'by death', or in a labial or /r/, e.g. *liubovj-u* 'by love', *matirj-u* 'by mother'.

2.7.4. On the whole, nouns of Declension 4 denote young offsprings, either human or animal (*loša* 'foal', *xlopja* 'kid', *porosia* 'sucking-pig'), diminutives (*kolišča* 'small wheel'), or some abstract notions (*imja* 'name', *plemja* 'tribe').

2.7.4.1. The case-endings are quite uniform (see Table 11). The thematic suffixes {at} and {en} usually disappear in the In/SG, e.g. *porosiam* (In), but such neuters as *plemja* 'tribe', *imja* 'name' can retain the mentioned suffixes in all the oblique cases: *plemenem* or *plemjam* (In), *imenem* or *imjam* (In), etc.

2.7.4.2. In the neuters PL the A can be as the N, e.g. *hoduvaty zajčata, porosiata* 'to feed harelets,

piglets' (see 2.7.2.4.).

TABLE 10. *Noun declensional type 3*

case	number					
	singular			plural		
N	pič-ø	vist´-ø	maty-ø	peč-i	vist-i	mater-i
G	peč-i	vist-i	mater-i	peč-ej	vist-ej	mater-iv
D	peč-i	vist-i	mater-i	peč-am	visti-am	materi-am
A	pič-ø	vist´-ø	matir-ø	peč-i	vist-i	mater-iv
In	pičči-u	visti-u	matirj-u	peč-amy	visti-amy	materi-amy
L	peč-i	vist-i	mater-i	peč-ax	visti-ax	materi-ax
V	pič-ø	vist´-ø	maty-ø	peč-i	vist-i	mater-i

pič 'stove', *vist´* 'news', *maty* 'mother'

TABLE 11. *Noun declensional type 4*

case	number			
	singular		plural	
N	loš-a	imj-a	lošat-a	imen-a
G	lošat-y	imen-i (imj-a)	lošat-ø	imen-ø
D	lošat-i	imen-i	lošat-am	imen-am
A	loš-a	imj-a	lošat-a (lošat-ø)	imen-a
In	loš-am	imen-em (imj-am)	lošat-amy	imen-amy
L	lošat-i	imen-i	lošat-ax	imen-ax
V	loš-a	imen-e (imj-a)	lošat-a	imen-a

loša 'foal', *imja* 'name'

3. Adjective

3.1. General semantic properties

The adjective refers to an attribute (quality) possessed by grammatical substance which is rendered by the noun. It means that a non-processive attribute is considered to be held within grammatical substance irrespective of its actual lexical meaning. Accordingly, the adjective normally agrees in gender, number and case with the noun it qualifies (see (5)).

3.2. Classes of adjectives

Depending on the character of attributes (qualities) signified and on some grammatical features, all adjectives are divided into qualitive, relative and possessive. The qualitative adjectives indicate an attribute which some substance can be invested with: *veselyj* 'merry', *dovhyj* 'long', etc. The relative adjectives indicate an attribute held within a substance by relating it to some other grammatical entity, e.g. *okeans´kyj* 'oceanic', i.e. 'relating to ocean'. The possessive adjectives denote the relation of possession holding between two grammatical substances, e.g. *bat´kiv* 'father's'. There may be transition from the relative or possessive meaning to the qualitative one: *zajače xutro* 'hare's fur' → *zajača huba* 'harelip' → *zajača duša* 'hare's soul', etc.

3.3. Morphemic structure

The adjectives may have a morphemically complex structure, i.e. be (re-)constructed with the help of suffixes which are of the categorial type, e.g. {en}, {yn}, {n}, {k}, {s´k}, {ov}, {ev}: *xystkyj* 'unsteady', *rabs´kyj* 'slavish' and so on.

3.3.1. Suffixes such as {iv}, {jiv}, {ov}, {ev} and {j}, {yn}, {jin} are characteristic of the possessive adjectives. These are still widely used in MUk., while, for instance, their Russian equivalents are being increasingly replaced by nouns. The last fact is evidence of the general tendency to supplant secondary clause-elements in full agreement by governed objects in Eastern Slavic: cf. Czech *žaková tužka* 'pupil's pencil', Uk. *učniv olivec´* 'pupil's pencil' or *olivec´ učni-a* (G) '*pencil of the pupil' and Russ. *karandaš učenik-a* (G) '*pencil of the pupil'.

3.3.2. A great deal of degree-suffixes (cf. 7.6.2.) are present in some adjectives: a high degree of quality can be expressed e.g. by {av}, {at}, {ast}, {yst}. Fused semantically with the meaning of the whole lexeme, such affixes can give to the adjective augmentative or diminutive value, e.g. *čerev-at-yj* 'big-bellied', *nos-at-yj*, *nos-ast-yj* 'big-nosed' but *zelen-ast-yj* 'greenish'.

An excessive degree of quality can be expresses by {ezn}, {uč}, {ušč}, {ač}, {enn} and others: *xytri-ušš-yj* 'very cunning', *vysoč-enn-yj* 'very high', etc.

Such degree-suffixes are still frequently used by native speakers who tend to re-impart the "etymological clearness" to whatever lexeme they use, though morphemically "smoothed" through continuous usage.

3.4. Basic syntactic functions of adjectives

Adjectives can be used in the noun phrase, i.e. attributively (5), and predicatively as a part of compound predicate (6):

(5) Syni-e neb-o
blue-n/N/SG sky-n/N/SG
'a blue sky'

(6) Neb-o sta-l-o syni-e
sky-n/N/SG become-PA-n/SG blue-n/N/SG
'the sky became blue'

In (6) *synie* agrees with the subject *nebo* and indicates a quality which becomes apparent with the completion of action, still remaining indifferent to its development through time. In fact, *synie* in (6) may be treated as a predicative attribute in agreement.

3.4.1. The predicatively used adjective can also take the form of the In, agreeing with the subject only in gender and number (7):

(7) Neb-o stal-o syn-im
sky-n/N/SG become-PA-n/SG blue-n/In/SG
'the sky became blue'

In (7) *synim* denotes an attribute which is considered to be not the sole one but one of many attributes held within the substance 'sky'. The increasing use of the predicative In, arisen in Uk. later than the predicative N, shows that the attribute stands closer to the verb than to the noun, becoming a sort of "adjectival object".

3.5. Adjectival morphological categories

The categories of number and gender (see 3.1.) are indicated by the case-endings; in N/SG and PL they are as follows:

{yj}/{ij} - for "hard" and "soft" masculines respectively: *novyj* 'new', *synij* 'blue';
{a} - for "hard" and "soft" feminines: *nova, synia*;
{e} - for "hard" and "soft" neuters: *nove, synie*;
{i} - for all genders in the PL: *novi, syni*.

The feminine and neuter adjectives in the SG and all adjectives in the PL are normally used in the N and in the A in the so-called contracted form in contradistinction to adjectives with full pronominal endings (cf. OUk.*stara+ja* > *staraja* > MUk. *stara(ja)* (f) 'old'). The non-contracted forms are still retained in poetical and folklore texts: *novaja* (f/N/SG), *syniji* (N/PL), etc.

3.6. Full and short forms

Uk. adjectives have full forms (contracted or uncontracted) used not only attributively but also predicatively in contrast to Serbo-Croat, Bulgarian, Macedonian, Russian and partially Czech which retained the short form that existed in Common Slavic. The short-form adjectives, as found mostly in the Southern branch of the Slavonic languages, qualify an indefinite entity and the full-form adjectives qualify a definite one, e.g. Cr. *star čovjek* 'an old man' - *stâri čovjek* 'the old man', Bulg. *bialo pole* 'a white field' - *bialoto pole* 'the white field'. In Russian, to less degree in Czech (only for personal nouns) short-form adjectives acquired another categorial meaning:

Czech

(8)	Otec	se	stal	stár-ø
	father-N/SG	R	become-PA/SG/m	old-m/N/SG
	'father grew old'			

In (8) *stár* has a residual predicativity standing closer to the noun than to the verb. The short form, as used here, bears a strong resemblance to Common Slavic "primary names" which had competed with verbs in the predicate. On the other hand, the Uk. adjective, used predicatively in (6), denotes only a stative, non-processive attribute, devoid of any predicativity.

3.6.1. Only a few qualitative adjectives in Uk. can still take the short form in the m/N/SG, e.g. *žyv* 'living', *hotov* 'ready', *zelen* 'green', *rad* 'glad', *poven* 'full', *vesel* 'merry', etc. They are normally used in the predicate:

(9)	Ja	buv	peven	uspixu
	I-N	be-PA/SG/m	sure-m/N/SG	success-G/SG
	'I was sure of success'			

3.6.2. The short form is also the only possible one for the possessive adjectives, e.g. *doččyn-ø* 'daughter's', *učyteliv-ø* 'teacher's'. Used attributively, in poetical and folklore textes, the short-form qualitative adjectives have no gender, case and number: *zelen-ø derev-o* 'green tree', *zelen-ø trav-a* 'green grass', etc. It reflects a pre-inflexional stage of the evolution of Common Slavic, when a primary name, used appositively, could not be conceived in terms of distinct agreement with the noun it qualified. Such noun phrases were a sort of compounds as a sequel to the coupling of words (not of stems as in Greek or Latin): cf. *kryv-o-nis* 'a wry-nosed man' < (*onŭ*) *krivŭ nosŭ*

and Lat. *magnanimus* 'magnanimous' < (*vir*) *magnō animō* (In).

3.7. Degrees of comparison

The qualitative adjectives have three degrees of comparison: positive, comparative and superlative. The positive degree is used when an attribute referred to by an adjective has no gradation: *šyroka rička* 'wide river', *zelenyj luh* 'green meadow', etc.

3.7.1. The comparative degree indicates results of comparing one quality (or set of qualities) with another quality (or set of qualities) and may have a simple form and a periphrastic form.

3.7.1.1. The simple form is built with the help of the suffix {š} or {iš}: *hlybokij* 'deep' - *hlyb-š-yj* 'deeper', *bilyj* 'white' - *bil-iš-yj* 'whiter'. When adjectives end in {k}, {ok}, {ek} the suffix is added to the stem, e.g. *tonkyj* 'thin' - *tonšyj* 'thinner'. When the stem ends in /z´/, /s/ and /h/, some mutations take place: cf. *nyz´kyj* 'low' - *nyžčyj* 'lower', *vysokyj* 'high' - *vyščyj* 'higher'. Strictly speaking, these mutations concern a morphemic alternation arisen in OUk. before the formation of adjectives as part of speech: cf. **dorogŭ-jĭs-j-a* (f/G/SG) > *dorož´ša* > OUk. *dorož´ša* > *dorožča(ja)*. It means that Uk. speakers do not construct the comparative by adding the respective morphemes one by one, but reconstruct it, i.e. recollect it as a whole in the process of sentence-making.

3.7.1.2. Some adjectives with the suffixes {s´k}, {n}, {ov} have no simple form of comparative, e.g. *tovarys´kyj* 'friendly', *rannij* 'early', *vol´ovyj* 'strong-willed'. A few ones take only suppletive forms, e.g. *velykyj* 'large' - *bil´šyj* 'larger', *harnyj* 'good' - *kraščyj, lipšyj* 'better', *pohanyj* 'bad' - *hiršyj* 'worse'.

3.7.1.3. The periphrastic form is built by combining the positive form with the premodifiers *bil´š* 'more'/*menš* 'less': *bil´š syl´nyj* 'stronger', *menš smilyvyj* 'less courageous'.

The periphrastic form is of later provenance and may affect all comparable qualitative adjectives, in the first place those which have no simple form or are polysyllabic, e.g. *hromizdkyj* 'cumbersome' - *bil´š hromizdkyj* 'more cumbersome', *menš hromizdkyj* 'less cumbersome'.

3.7.2. The superlative, indicating results of comparing one quality with two or more other qualities, may have a simple form and a periphrastic form.

3.7.2.1. The simple form is built regularly by adding the prefix {naj} to the comparative: *vyščyj* 'higher'- *najvyščyj* 'highest', *kraščyj* 'better' - *najkraščyj* 'best', etc.

3.7.2.2. The so-called "reinforced" superlative form is built regularly by adding prefixes {jak}, {ščo} to the simple form of the superlative, e.g. *najdovšyj* 'longest' - *jaknajdovšyj* 'as long as possible', *najvyščyj* 'highest' - *ščonajvyščyj* 'as high as possible'.

These forms contain latent predication as they represent a sort of petrified subordinate clause, introduced by the conjunctions *ščo* 'that' and *jak* 'as'.

3.7.2.3. The periphrastic form is built by combining the positive form with the premodifiers *najbil´š* 'most'/*najmenš* 'least', e.g. *najbil´š cikavyj* 'the most interesting' - *najmenš cikavyj* 'the least interesting'. The form is rather productive in MUk. since it can affect practically all qualitative and qualitative-relative adjectives, e.g. *najbil´š industrïal´nyj (rajon)* 'the most industrial (area)'

3.7.2.4. The Uk. superlative, as well as comparative, are of stative (absolute) nature so that the degree forms represent characteristics conceived as permanent (not conditioned by the act of predication (cf. (10)), and used with equal ease both predicatively (11) and attributively, e.g. *dovšyj*

čas '(for) a long time'.

Russ.
(10) On umnieje Pietra
he-N intelligent-COM Peter-m/G/SG
'he is more intelligent than Peter'

Uk.
(11) Vin rozumnišyj vid Petra
he-N intelligent-COM-m/N/SG from Peter-m/G/SG
'he is more intelligent than Peter'

3.7.2.5. Since Uk. words cannot be composed as agglutinative ones, the periphrastic forms prove to be of synthetic nature, in so far as their rise was provoked by the synthetic evolution of Uk. In short, they arose as a reply to the necessity to express increasingly varying qualities as opposed to others, which had been hindered by the synthetic character of Uk. word-forms. On the other hand, the simple form of the superlative has nothing to do with real synthetism, since it is patterned upon the agglutinative model which reflects a residual canonic model of Uk., as found in Common Slavic.

3.8. Declensional types

The declension of the full-form (contracted) adjectives distinguishes between the "hard" and the "soft" adjectives. The "soft" declension is used for adjectives with the stem ending in a "soft" consonant. All other adjectives whose stem ends in "hard" consonants belong to the "hard" one (see Table 12).

3.8.1. There is no V for adjective, since the case has no syntagmatic value (see 2.1.6.3.). When used with a noun in the V, adjectives take the form of the N, e.g. *šanovnyj*(N) *pane*(V)! 'dear sir!'.

3.8.2. Possessive adjectives are declined as the "hard" ones, e.g. *bat´kiv-ø stil* 'father's table', *bat´kov-oho stolu* (G) and so on. Note that in the possessive adjectives with the {iv} suffix there is a vowel alternation: /i/ is regularly replaced by /o/, when occurring after a "hard" consonant in the open syllable. After a "soft" consonant, /i/ is replaced by /e/, e.g. *skrypal-iv-ø* (N) 'violinist's', *skrypal-ev-oho* (G).

3.8.3. In the masculine and neuter SG the archaic locative in {im} is retained probably under the influence of the L_2 proper to nouns of Declension 2 (see 2.2.2.5.), e.g. *u temnim lisi* 'in the black forest' but *na vysokomu čolovikovi* 'on the tall man'.

TABLE 12. *Adjectival declension*

case	"hard" stem			
	singular			plural
	masculine	feminine	neuter	
N	harn-yj	harn-a	harn-e	harn-i
G	harn-oho	harn-oji	harn-oho	harn-yx
D	harn-omu	harn-ij	harn-omu	harn-ym
A	= N or G	harn-u	harn-e	= N or G
In	harn-ym	harn-oju	harn-ym	harn-ymy
L	harn-omu (harn-im)	harn-ij	harn-omu (harn-im)	harn-yx

case	"soft" stem			
	singular			plural
N	syn-ij	syni-a	syni-e	syn-i
G	syn´-oho	syn´-oji	syn´-oho	syn-ix
D	syn´-omu	syn-ij	syn´-omu	syn-im
A	= N or G	syni-u	syni-e	= N or G
In	syn-im	syn´-oju	syn-im	syn-imy
L	syn´-omu (syn-im)	syn-ij	syn´-omu (syn-im)	syn-ix

harnyj 'good', *synij* 'blue'

4. Adverb

4.1. Semantic properties

Adverb is a part of speech indicating an attribute of another atribute, either held within some grammatical substance and expressed by an adjective, or unfolding from it and expressed by a verb (see 7.1.), e.g. *duže, nadzvyčajno veselyj* 'very, extremely cheerful' or *jty švydko, povoli* 'to go quickly, slowly'.

4.1.1. Adverbs of circumstance furnish additional (optional) information about the processive attributes expressed by verb as a typical predicate in MUk. They may be used as adjuncts of (among others):

a) PLACE (position), e.g. *uhori* 'overhead', *vysoko* 'high (up)',
b) PLACE (direction), e.g. *uhoru* 'uphill', *uhlyb* 'deep into',
c) TIME (when), e.g. *učora* 'yesterday', *navesni* 'in spring',
d) TIME (duration), e.g. *dovho* 'for a long time', *zridka* 'sometimes',
e) RELATIVE TIME, e.g. *ščojno* 'just', *zadovho* 'long before',
f) DEGREE, e.g. *duže* 'very', *uščent* 'utterly',
g) MANNER, e.g. *uvažno* 'carefully', *švydko* 'quickly',
h) CAUSE, e.g. *spereserdia* 'in a bit of temper', *zduru* 'stupidly'.

4.2. Morphological and syntactical properties

Adverbs must be conceived in terms of inflectional categories. Being a full part of speech, Uk. adverb represents a case of indistinct agreement. In opposition to distinct (complete) agreement,

characteristic of adjectives, adverbs are in indistinct agreement with the word it qualifies which was proper to primary attributive names, as found in Common Slavic.

4.2.1. The most frequently used adverbs in {o} and {e} were derived from primary names, used as single-word adverbials. From the very beginning the Slavonic inflection {o}/{e} indicated the N=A of neuters SG and had arisen as a result of the previous fusion of the I.-E. stem-forming **-o* with the marker **-m*, denoting inactive denotata: {o} < **-o* + **-m*, {e} < *-j* + **-o* + **-m*. Nowadays, this inflection, together with other less productive ones (see 4.3.1.), serves to express the indistinct agreement of an attribute with another attribute, cf. *posmixatysia šyrok-o* 'to smile widely' and *šyrok-e* (< *šyrok-o-je*) *vikno* 'wide window'.

4.2.2. The development of indistinct agreement, together with the rise of impersonal sentences, accounts for the usage of adverbs in the compound predicate. Such forms as *važlyvo* '(it is) important', *vydno* '(it is) visible', *morozno* '(it is) freezing', *sumnivno* '(it is) doubtful', *korysno* '(it is) useful', etc. are commonly used with auxiliaries *buty* 'to be', *staty* 'to become' and some others to denote stative predicative situations which are not prone to be described actively. The strengthening of the dynamic scope of the Uk. verb (see 7.2.) prompted the expansion of impersonal constructions with adverbial predicative elements instead of the corresponding personal ones ((12) → (13)):

(12) Čutna (later čutno) bula pisnia
heard-f/N/SG (heard-n/N=A/SG) be-PA/f/SG song-f/N/SG
'a song was heard'

(13) Čutno bulo pisniu
heard-n/N=A/SG be-PA/n/SG song-f/A/SG
'one could hear a song'

4.3. Morphemic structure and derivation of adverbs

As stated above, all the morphemes adverbs proper[2] may end in ought to be regarded as inflections. They ensure the mentioned indistinct agreement, which was originally proper to primary attributive names or indistinct verbal government as a result of the semantic and morphological desubstantivation of nouns in the position of object. Leaving aside adverbial pro-forms, derived from the basic pronouns and deictic particles in Common Slavic, all Uk. adverbs were derived from nominal and to some extent verbal word-forms with the help of different petrified inflections (desinences).

4.3.1. Adverbs which are ultimately derived from non-qualitative primary names (f or m), used non-attributively, have:

- the desinence of the G/SG: *dohor-y* 'upwards', *dokup-y* 'together',
- the desinence of the A/SG: *ubik-ø* 'sideways', *uhor-u* 'uphill', *udvoj-e* 'twice', *nastroj-e* 'in three',
- the desinence of the In/SG: *čas-om* 'sometimes', *vesn-oju* 'in spring', *poxapc-em* 'in haste'

2. These must be distinguished from spurious adverbs, i.e. actual indirect objects governed by verb. Such objects, representing non-initial participants of a multi-step predication (see 7.2.), have no adverbial sense: cf. *jty vijnoju* 'to declare war' with an adverbial sense and *zahrožuvaty vijnoju* 'to threaten with a war' where *vijnoju* is in the In/SG.

or DU: *bih-ma* 'running',

- the desinence of the L_2/SG: *uvečer-i* 'in the evening', *nyn-i* 'nowadays', cf. also the first part of the compounds *hor-i-lyc´*, *hor-i-čereva* 'supine'.

4.3.2. Adverbs which are ultimately derived from qualitative primary names (n or m), used attributively or as indirect object of a verb, have:

- the desinence of the N=A/SG: *cikav-o* 'interestingly', *dobr-e* 'good',
- the desinence of the G/SG: *zhord-a* 'proudly', *styx-a* 'quietly',
- the desinence of the D/SG: *pomal-u* 'little by little', *našvydk-u* 'quickly', *po-kozac´k-omu* 'in a cossack's manner',
- the desinence of the In/PL: *vel´m-y* 'very', *zavšyršk-y* 'in breadth', *po-kozac´k-y* 'in cossacks' manner'.

4.3.3. Adverbs derived from verbal forms are scarce in number. This fact may be plausibly inferred from the non-processive categorial meaning of adverbs. Still, there are a few which, were derived in OUk. from short-form or full-form participles (f/SG or m/SG), not yet completely included in the verbal system, e.g. *jakomoha* 'as possible', *perehodia* 'later', *xvyliujuče* 'disturbingly', *moliačy* 'supplicating'. This type of adverbialization fairly lost its frequency in MUk. Some forms even underwent nominal reinterpretation, e.g. *navsydiačky* 'in a sitting position', *navstojačky* 'in a standing position'. These forms are reinforced by the {k} suffix, which is characteristic of names (cf. *hir-k-yj* 'bitter', *aktor-k-a* 'actress'), and the {y} desinence, serving to make this attribute, allegedly, independent from its pro-verbal origin.

4.4. Degrees of comparison

The qualitative adverbs, i.e. those derived from primary qualitative names, are normally comparable and have the same degree of comparison as the adjectives, retaining identical derivational patterns and semantic characteristics (see 3.7.), e.g. *jasniše* 'clearer', *najjasniše* 'most clear'.

4.4.1. The comparative and the superlative can also be expressed periphrastically, e.g. *bil´š jasno* 'more clearly', *menš jasno* 'less clearly'; *najbil´š jasno* 'most clearly', *najmenš jasno* 'least clearly'.

4.5. Adverbial participles vs. adverbs

The so-called adverbial participles, ending in {uč-y}/{ač-y} and {š-y}/{vš-y} (see 7.11.2.) cannot be regarded as real adverbs, since they indicate not only a processive attribute of another attribute, i.e. occasionally require object or adverb, but retain some residual predicative traits which are proper to OUk. participles used in non-finite clauses.

Occurring before the subject or, at least, between the subject and the predicate, the adverbial participle represents a clausal circumstance (14), whereas used after the predicate it is normally converted into an adverbial of manner (15):

(14) Ustavšy, vin promovyv
having stood up he-N speak-PA/m
'having stood up, he spoke'

(15) Vin zajšov tanciujučy
he-N come:in-PA/m dancing

'he came in in a dancing manner'

5. Pronouns and pro-forms

5.1. Semantic properties and functions

Pronouns and pro-forms have generalised categorial grammatical meaning and perform indicative functions, acquiring their reference in the utterance.

5.2. Morphological properties

From the morphological point of view, pronouns (substantival and adjectival) are distinguished from pro-forms (adverbial).

5.2.1. Among the substantival pronouns, the personal resp. reflexive ones form a separate group, semantically correlative with possessive adjectival pronouns.

5.2.1.1. Personal pronouns distinguish between 3 persons and 2 numbers; in the 3rd p SG there is also a distinction between 3 genders, while the 1st and 2nd p pronouns behave exactly as common gender nouns (see 2.4.2.). The speaker refers to himself by *ja* 'I', and to himself in company of other people by *my* 'we'. The person(s) addressed is/are referred to by *ty* 'thou' in the SG and by *vy* 'you' in the PL. Persons and substances excluded from participation in the communicative act are referred to by *vin* 'he' in the m/SG, *vona* 'she' in the f/SG, *vono* 'it' in the n/SG, and *vony* 'they' in the PL, irrespective of gender.

5.2.1.2. The reflexive pronoun *sebe* applies to all persons and to both numbers, indicating a pronominally expressed object in clauses with co-referential subject and object.

5.2.1.3. Personal and reflexive pronouns behave as animate nouns (see 2.5.1.).

5.2.1.4. Personal pronouns are declinable and take suppletive stems in the oblique cases; in the G and A they have slightly differing forms depending on the presence or absence of prepositions. The reflexive pronoun *sebe* has no N form. (See Table 13).

TABLE 13. *Declension of personal and reflexive pronouns*

Case	Pronouns							
N	ja	ty	vin, vono	vona	my	vy	vony	-
G	mené	tebé	johó	jijí	nas	vas	jix	sebé
	do méne	do tébe	do n´óho	do néji	do nas	do vas	do nyx	do sébe
D	meni	tobi	jomu	jij	nam	vam	jim	sobi
A	= G	= G	= G	= G	= G	= G	= G	= G
In	mnoju	toboju	nym	neju	namy	vamy	nymy	soboju
L	na meni	na tobi	na n´omu	na nij	na nas	na vas	na nyx	na sobi

5.2.2. Possessive pronouns are derived from the respective personal and reflexive ones (oblique stem) and express the idea of possession interpreted as quality of thing possessed.

5.2.2.1. The correspondence between personal, reflexive and possessive pronouns is as follows: *ja - mij* 'my', *ty- tvij* 'thine', *vin, vono - joho* 'his, its', *vona - jiji* 'her', *my - naš* 'our', *vy - vaš* 'your', *vony - jixnij, jix* 'their', *sebe - svij* 'one's own'. The main specific function of the pronoun *svij* is to indicate possession by an entity which perform the role of subject in the clause, irrespective of the person (cf. (16) and (17)).

(16) Ja baču svoho brata
I-N see-PR/SG/1 own-m/SG/A brother-SG/A
'I see my brother'

(17) Ty bačyš svoho brata
thou-N see-PR/SG/2 own-m/SG/A brother-SG/A
'you see your brother'

In (16) and (17) the substitution of *mij* or *tvij* respectively for *svij* is possible and does not affect the meaning of the resulting sentences, strange as they might sound to the native ear. The case becomes, however, more complicated in the 3rd p. Cf.:

(18) Xlopec´ bačyt´ svoho brata
boy-SG/N see-PR/SG/3 own-m/SG/A brother-SG/A
'the boy sees his (own) brother'

(19) Xlopec´ bačyt´ joho brata
boy-SG/N see-PR/SG/3 his brother-SG/A
'the boy sees his (somebody else's) brother'

In (18) and (19), both of which are acceptable, only *svij* indicates possession by the subject (initial participant), while *joho* indicates possession by a non-initial participant.

5.2.2.2. The possessive pronouns *joho, jiji* and *jix*, being in fact transposed personal pronouns in the G, are indeclinable; *mij, tvij* and *svij* follow a pattern of their own, as do *naš* and *vaš*; *jixnij* is declined like "soft" adjectives (see Table 14; cf. Table 12).

TABLE 14. *Declensional patterns of possessive pronouns*

Case	Pronouns			
	m	n	f	PL
N	mij	moje	moja	moji
G	moho	moho	mojeji	mojix
D	mojemu	mojemu	mojij	mojim
A	= N or G	= N	moju	= N or G
In	mojim	mojim	mojeju	mojimy
L	mojemu (mojim)	mojemu (mojim)	mojij	mojix
	m	n	f	PL
N	naš	naše	naša	naši
G	našoho	našoho	našoji	našyx
D	našomu	našomu	našij	našym
A	= N or G	= N	našu	= N or G
In	našym	našym	našoju	našymy
L	našomu (našim)	našomu (našim)	našij	našyx

5.2.3. Interrogative pronouns and pro-forms provide the purest expression of grammatical and some basic semantic categories relevant to the Uk. language.

5.2.3.1. Grammatically, the interrogatives belong to three parts of speech: nouns, adjectives and adverbs. The basic interrogatives are *xto* 'who', *ščo* 'what', *jakyj* 'what kind of', *kotryj* 'which', *čyj* 'whose', *jak* 'how', *koly* 'when', *de* 'where', *kudy* 'where to', *zvidky* 'where from', *skil´ky* 'how much/many'. Among the adverbial pro-forms there is also a fairly sizable list of derivatives: *vidkoly* 'since when', *doky* and *dopoky* 'how long', *čomu* 'why', *naščo* and *naviščo* 'what for', *naskil´ky* 'in what measure', etc.

5.2.3.2. The distinction between *xto* and *ščo* corresponds to the grammatical opposition of animates and inanimates. The pronoun *ščo* always behaves as neuter, *xto* regularly as masculine.

5.2.3.3. The difference between *jakyj* and *kotryj* is that the former renders the general idea of quality, while the latter implies choice (usually based upon quality), though the modern language tends towards preferring *jakyj* in both cases. The possessive interrogative pronoun *čyj* normally relates to animate possessors.

5.2.3.4. Both substantival and adjectival interrogative pronouns are declinable. Among them *jakyj* and *kotryj* follow the pattern of "hard" adjectives (see Table 12), while *xto*, *ščo* and *čyj* manifest some peculiarities (see Table 15).

TABLE 15. *Declension of interrogative pronouns*

Case	Pronouns					
			m	n	f	PL
N	xto	ščo	čyj	čyje	čyja	čyji
G	koho	čoho	čyjoho	čyjoho	čyjeji	čyjix
D	komú	čomú	čyjomu (čyjemu)	čyjomu (čyjemu)	čyjij	čyjim
A	= G	= N	= N or G	= N	čyju	= N or G
In	kym	čym	čyjim	čyjim	čyjeju	čyjimy
L	kómu	čómu	čyjomu (čyjemu, čyjim)	čyjomu (čyjemu, čyjim)	čyjij	čyjix

5.2.4. Relative pronouns are materially identical with the interrogative ones; they perform a syndetic function in compound sentences.

5.2.5. Negative pronouns are formed by adding the unstressed prefix *ni-* to the respective interrogative pronouns: *nixto* 'nobody', *ništčo* 'nothing', *ničyj* 'nobody's', etc. and have the same grammatical characteristics. Derivatives do not have negative counterparts.

5.2.5.1. There exist also two negative pronouns with the stressed prefix *ní-* (< OUk. *ne + jest´*) that occur only in the oblique cases: G *níkoho, níčoho*; D *níkomu, níčomu*; In *níkym, níčym*; L *ní (na) komu, ní (na) čomu*. They are equivalent to (and paraphrasable into) a combination of the absence-predicating word *nema(je)* 'there is no' with the relative pronouns *xto* and *ščo* in one of the oblique cases. Thus, they may be classified as negative pronouns with incorporated predication that function as predicates in a special type of genetically impersonal sentences, and obligatorily combine with the infinitive, re-interpreted as clausal quasi-object or quasi-subject:

(20) Níčoho skazaty
nothing-G/Pred say-INF
'there is nothing to say'

(21) Níkomu pysaty
nobody-D/Pred write-INF
'there is nobody to write to'

5.2.5.2. The same is true of the negative pro-forms (adverbial) with incorporated predication *níde, níkudy, nízvidky, níkoly* that combine with clausal infinitive expanders:

(22) Níde sxovatysia
nowhere-Pred hide-INF/R
'there is nowhere to hide'

5.2.6. Indefinite pronouns are formed by adding the so-called "particles" (historically: contracted clause structures) to primary interrogative pronouns, and may be either hyphened or written in one word. The meaning and value of the "particles" remains identical regardless of what pronouns they are added to. So, *aby* is more or less equivalent to 'as you like', *de* to 'some', *bud´-* to 'every', *xtozna-* to 'who knows', *bozna-* (< *Boh zna*) to 'God knows', *kazna-* (< *kat zna*) to 'hangman knows', *(o)s´* to 'some', *-nebud´* to 'any', reiteration with interpositive *-ne-* to 'some'. When (and if) declined, the indefinite pronouns follow the pattern of the interrogative ones, but the "particles" remain immutable, whether they precede or follow the declinable part of the word. The combinability of the "particles" with individual interrogative pronouns is shown in Table 16.

TABLE 16. *Formation of indefinite pronouns*

Pronouns	Prepositive "particles"						Postpositive "particles"		Reiteration with interpositive -ne-
	aby	de	bud´-	xtozna-	bozna-	kazna-	s´	-nebud´	
xto	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	-
ščo	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	-
jakyj	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	-
kotryj	-	+	+	-	-	-	+	-	-
čyj	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	-
jak	+	-	+	+	+	+	+(o)	+	-
koly	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
de	+	-	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
kudy	+	-	+	+	+	+	+	+	-
zvidky	-	-	-	+	+	+	+	-	-
zvidkilia	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	-
skil´ky	-	-	-	+	+	+	-	+	-

5.2.7. Demonstrative pronouns and pro-forms are of generalised adjectival or adverbial nature.

5.2.7.1. Adjectival demonstrative pronouns either indicate the distance to the entity mentioned or express the overall idea of some quality possessed by the entity. In MUk. closeness is rendered by the pronoun *cej* (reinforced variant *ocej*) 'this', remoteness by *toj* (*otoj*) 'that', and the overall idea

of quality by *takyj* (*otakyj*) 'such'. Negation of spatial or qualitative identification is expressed by *inšyj* '(an)other' and *inakšyj* 'different' respectively.

5.2.7.2. *Takyj, inšyj* and *inakšyj* are declined according to the "hard" adjectival pattern (see Table 12), while *cej* and *toj* manifest some peculiarities, reflected in Table 17.

TABLE 17. *Declension of the demonstrative pronouns* ***cej, toj***

Case	Pronouns							
	m	n	f	PL	m	n	f	PL
N	cej	ce	cia	ci	toj	te	ta	ti
G	c´oho	c´oho	cijeji	cyx	toho	toho	tijeji	tyx
D	c´omu	c´omu	cij	cym	tomu	tomu	tij	tym
A	=N/G	=N	ciu	=N/G	=N/G	=N	tu	=N/G
In	cym	cym	cijeju	cymy	tym	tym	tijeju	tymy
L	c´omu (cim)	c´omu (cim)	cij	cyx	tomu (tim)	tomu (tim)	tij	tyx

5.2.7.3. Adjectival demonstrative pronouns can be easily substantivised in their neuter form, assuming the meaning of close, remote or quality-bearing substance, to perform the syntactic functions of nouns.

5.2.7.4. Adverbial demonstrative pro-forms express the general idea of "quality of quality" (*tak*, var. *otak* 'so'; *inakše* 'otherwise'), of quantity (*stil´ky* 'so many/much'), of place (*tut* 'here'; *tam* 'there'; *deinde* 'somewhere else'), of direction (*siudy* 'towards here'; *tudy* 'towards there'; *zvidsy* 'from here'; *zvidty* 'from there'), of time (*zaraz, teper* 'now'; *todi* 'then').

6. Numeral

6.1. Semantic properties

Numerals in general convey the idea of quantitativeness, which is to be understood as additional predicative component accompanying grammatical substances.

6.2. Classes of numerals and their morphological properties

On the basis of their different semantic, morphological and syntactic properties, a distinction is drawn between cardinal, collective and ordinal numerals.

6.2.1. Quantity is normally rendered by simple and compound cardinal numerals, as well as by the so-called "numerical expressions".

6.2.1.1. Simple and compound cardinal numerals are listed below.

SIMPLE CARDINALS	11 to 19	COMPOUND CARDINALS	
1 - odyn	11 - odynadciat´	20 to 90	200 to 900
2 - dva	12 - dvanadciat´	20 - dvadciat´	200 - dvisti
3 - try	13 - trynadciat´	30 - trydciat;	300 - trysta
4 - čotyry	14 - čotyrnadciat´		400 - čotyrysta
5 - pjat´	15 - pjatnadciat´	50 - pjatdesiat	500 - pjatsot
6 - šist´	16 - šistnadciat´	60 - šidtdesiat	600 - šistsot
7 - sim	17 - simnadciat´	70 - simdesiat	700 - simsot
8 - visim	18 - visimnadciat´	80 - visimdesiat	800 - visimsot
9 - devjat´	19 - devjatnadciat´	90 - devjanosto (devjatdesiat)	900 - devjatsot
10 - desiat´			
40 - sorok			
100 - sto			

6.2.1.2. The numerical expressions comply with the principle that the figures are named exactly in the same sequence as they follow each other in the number expressed: 21 - *dvadciat´ odyn*, 102 - *sto dva*, 1,347 - *(odna) tysiača trysta sorok sim*, 1,285,639 - *odyn mil´jon dvisti visimdesiat pjat´ tysiač šistsot trydciat´ devjat´*, etc.

6.2.1.3. Most cardinals have neither grammatical number nor gender, the few exceptions comprising the numerals *odyn* and *dva*, as well as the so-called nouns of quantity *nul´* 'zero', *tysiača* 'thousand', *mil´jon* 'million', etc. The numeral *odyn* has different forms for the three genders and for the PL, while *dva* (and *obydva* 'both') have only special feminine forms in the N (resp. A): *dvi* and *obydvi*.

6.2.1.4. Cardinals are declinable, and follow different patterns, shown in Tables 18 and 19.

TABLE 18. *Declension of the numerals* ***odyn, dva, obydva***

Case	m	n	f	PL	m, n	f	m, n	f
N	odyn	odn-e (odn-o)	odn-a	odn-i	dv-a	dv-i	obydv-a	obydv-i
G	odn-oho	odn-oho (odn-oji)	odn-ijeji	odn-yx	dv-ox	dv-ox	ob-ox	ob-ox
D	odn-omu	odn-omu	odn-ij	odn-ym	dv-om	dv-om	ob-om	ob-om
A	=N/G	=N	odn-u	=N/G	=N/G	=N/G	=N/G	=N/G
In	odn-ym	odn-ym	odn-ijeju (odn-oju)	odn-ymy	dv-oma	dv-oma	ob-oma	ob-oma
L	odn-omu (odn-im)	odn-omu (odn-im)	odn-ij	odn-yx	dv-ox	dv-ox	ob-ox	ob-ox

TABLE 19. *Declension of the numerals* ***try, čotyry, pjat´, šist´, sim, visim***

Case	3	4	5	6	7	8
N	tr-y	čotyr-y	pjat´	šist´	sim	visim
G	tr´-ox	čotyr´-ox	pjat-y (pjat´-ox)	šest-y (šist´-ox)	sem-y (sim-ox)	vos´m-y (vis´m-ox)
D	tr´-om	čotyr´-om	pjat-y (pjat´-om)	šest-y (šist´-om)	sem-y (sim-om)	vos´m-y (vis´m-om)
A	=N/G	=N/G	pjat´ (pjat´-ox)	šist´ (šist´-ox)	sim (sim-ox)	visim (vis´m-ox)
In	tr´-oma	čotyr-ma	pjat´-ma (pjat´-oma)	šist´-ma (šist´-oma)	sim-a (sim-oma)	vis´m-a (vis´m-oma)
L	tr´-ox	čotyr´-ox	pjat-y (pjat´-ox)	šest-y (šist´-ox)	sem-y (sim-ox)	vos´m-y (vis´m-ox)

6.2.1.5. The cardinals from 9 to 20, as well as 30, 50, 60, 70 and 80, follow the pattern of 5 (which is basically true also of 6, 7 and 8, although these three have some additional sound mutations in the stem).

6.2.1.6. The cardinals 40, 90 and 100 take the ending *-a* in all the oblique cases (*sorok-a, devjanost-a, st-a*).

6.2.1.7. All the cardinals following the pattern of 5 have two varieties of declension (see Table 19). The first (unbracketed) variety can freely combine with any noun (except the pluralia tantum), while the second (bracketed) one is used first and foremost with animate nouns (see 2.5.1.)

6.2.1.8. The names of hundreds have both their constituent parts declined, e.g. N *dvisti*, G *dvoxsot*, D *dvomstam*, A = N or G, In *dvomastamy*, L *dvoxstax*. For 500, 600, 700, 800 and 900 the first part follows the pattern of 5 in its first (unbracketed) variety.

6.2.1.9. The indefinite numeral *kil´ka* 'several' is declined like *dva* in m/n, and *bahato* 'many' like *try* (except for the In *bahat´ma*).

6.2.1.10. The indefinite numerals *kil´kanadciat´* 'more than 10 less than 20', *kil´kadesiat* 'more than 20 less than 100' and *kil´kasot* 'several hundred' follow the patterns of the respective definite numerals.

6.2.1.11. The cardinals have somewhat discrepant syntactic properties as far as their links with the nouns are concerned.

6.2.1.12. The cardinal *odyn* behaves as a true adjective and is always used in the same gender, number and case as the noun it qualifies. The plural form conserves its numerical meaning when combined with pluralia tantum (e.g. *odni nočvy* 'one tub'), but assumes a pronominal meaning when used with other nouns (e.g. *odni liudy* 'some people').

6.2.1.13. The cardinals *dva, try* and *čotyry* must be followed in the N (resp. A) by the residual forms of the dual which are identical in spelling with the N/PL but have, for a number of words, a different stress (cf. *dubý* 'oaks' but *2, 3, 4 dúby*, *víkna* 'windows' but *2, 3, 4, vikná*, *vérby* 'willows' but *2, 3, 4 verbý*, etc.). In the oblique cases they always agree with the PL noun they qualify: e.g. N *dva dúby*, G *dvox dubív*, D *dvom dubám*, etc.

6.2.1.14. In the N (resp. A) the cardinals from 5 onwards require nouns in G/PL (e.g. *pjat´ moriv* 'five seas'); otherwise they agree with the noun: G *pjaty moriv*, D *pjaty moriam*, etc.

6.2.1.15. Although in general there exists a concord between the nouns and the adjectives (see 3.1.), it may still be partly broken in combination with the numerals 2, 3, 4 in the N (resp. A), the adjective taking either G/PL or N/PL, so that both *dva novyx budynky* and *dva novi budynky* 'two new houses' are equally admissible.

6.2.1.16. In the numerical expressions each part is declined according to the general rule. Their syntactic characteristics are determined by the last constituent: e.g. *dvadciat´ odyn krok, dvadciat´ dva kroky, dvadciat´ pjat´ krokiv* '21, 22, 25 steps'.

6.2.2. Collective numerals refer to a quantity seen as an indivisible whole, and are normally used with animate nouns (e.g. *semero divčat* 'seven girls'). In combination with pluralia tantum they are obligatory (e.g. *dvoje nožyc´* 'two scissors').

6.2.2.1. Collective numerals are derived from the respective cardinals with the help of the desinences {oj-e}, {er-o}. The full list of collectives is given below:

2 - dvoje	7 - semero	12 - dvanadciatero
3 - troje	8 - vos´mero	.....
4 - četvero	9 - devjatero	19 - devjatnadciatero
5 - pjatero	10 - desiatero	20 - dvadciatero
6 - šestero	11 - odynadciatero	30 - trydciatero

6.2.2.2. The collective numeral *obydva* 'both' is used for m and n, while f is *obydvi*. Referring to two nouns one of which is m or n and the other f, it takes the form *oboje*.

6.2.2.3. In the oblique cases the difference between the collectives and the cardinals is neutralised, the collectives being declined like the respective cardinals in the second (bracketed) variety (see Table 19). The forms *obydva* and *obydvi* in the oblique cases take the stem *ob-* and are declined exactly as *oboje* or *dvoje* (see Table 18).

6.2.2.4. The collectives in the N combine with nouns in the G/PL, in the oblique cases they agree with the noun qualified.

6.2.3. Ordinal numerals signify, in the first place, position in a series, sharing all the essential features of relative adjectives (see 3.2.).

6.2.3.1. Ordinal numerals are formed by adjectivisation of the cardinals, using either suppletive forms or a set of affixes: {ø-yj}, {ov-yj}, {n-yj}:

1 - peršyj	9 - devjatyj	50 - pjatdesiatyj
2 - druhyj	10- desiatyj	.....
3 - tretij	11 - odynadciatyj	80 - visimdesiatyj
4 - četvertyj	.....	90 - devjanostyj
5 - pjatyj	19 - devjatnadciatyj	100 - sotyj
6 - šostyj	20 - dvadciatyj	200 - dvoxsotyj
7 - s´omyj	30 - trydciatyj	1,000 - tysiačnyj
8 - vos´myj	40 - sorokovyj	1,000,000 - mil´jonnyj

6.2.3.2. In ordinal numerical expressions only the last element takes the ordinal form, while all the preceding elements are cardinal: e.g. 132 - *sto trydciat´ druhyj*.

6.2.3.3. One-word ordinals are declined as adjectives of the respective declension class (see Table 12); in the ordinal numerical expressions only the last part is declined, all other elements remaining uninflected.

7. Verb

7.1. Semantic properties

The Uk. verb represents a processive manifestation of an attribute seen as if unfolding through time owing to the impact of some acting entity (grammatical substance). Accordingly, the temporal development of the attribute inherently coincides with the speech-event, while the modal and durational characteristics are left out from the basic "intentional scope" of the verb.

7.1.1. The processive manifestation of an attribute finds its expression in the categories of person, number, tense, aspect, degree of action, voice, transitivity, mood (with certain reservations (see 7.9.)). The verb's finite forms are represented by the basic categories of person, number, tense,

mood, aspect, degree of action, voice and transitivity. The last four categories are also characteristic of the non-finite forms (infinitive, declinable participle, adverbial participle and resultative).

7.2. Syntactic properties

The verbalization of any message in MUk. is effectuated within the processive "in-perspective scope" (Danylenko 1993a:132-7). Being intrinsically linked with the initiator (N) of a process, the verb involves the non-initial participants in the propositional whole. These participants, marked by oblique cases, represent separate predicative micro-situations, synthesised by the verb. Thus, sentence (23) has three predicative steps, synthetised by the verb *davaty* 'to give':

(23) Xlopec´ daje knyžku pryjatelevi
boy-m/N/SG give-PR/SG/3 book-f/A/SG friend-m/D/SG
'the boy is giving a book to a friend (of his)'

1) *xlopec´-ø* : the N indicates that the respective participant (active) is initiating a process, viz. 'the boy is giving'
2) *knyžk-u* : the A indicates that the respective participant (patient) is being included fully in the process concerned, viz. 'the book is (being) given'
3) *pryjatel-evi*: the D indicates that the respective participant (factitive) is being included in the process partially, viz. 'the friend is receiving the book'.

7.2.1. The processive scope of Uk. may be highlighted against the background of an opposed situational "out-perspective scope" in Bantu:

(23) Mvulana anamkipia rafiki kitabu[3]
he-boy he-with-him-it-give he-friend it-book
'the boy is giving a book to a friend (of his)'

The Swahilian sentence (23) is constructed of four predicative nuclei, each of them comprising a noun-class marker and its predicator:

(24) a-mvulana (25) m-rafiki
he-he:boy he-he:friend
'he is a boy' 'he is a friend'

(26) ki-kitabu (27) na-pia
it-it:book with-give
'it is a book' '(he) gives to (him)'

These four nuclei are optional expanders of the propositional structure *a-na-m-ki* 'he is with him and it'. It becomes straightforward clear that the Uk. verb serves to make a string of simple (genetically non-finite) sentences into an expanded one with a verbal predicate.

7.3. Person, gender and number

The categories of person (gender) and number provide obligatory information about the act of

3. The initial /ki/, reinterpreted by the indigenous speakers as a noun-class marker {ki} is in fact the first syllable ("harf" according to Arabic grammarians) of the Arabic *kitabᵐ* 'book'

communication. Thus, the category of person establishes a relationship between the initial participant and the speech-event (the moment of uttering), even if he is not involved in the actual communication (viz. the 3rd p). Coinciding with the speech-event, the present and simple future tenses have the most explicit correlation with the personal characteristics of the initial participant, e.g. *ja pyš-u* 'I am writing', *ty napyše-š* 'you will write'. Indirect correlation with the personal characteristics of the initial participant is traced in the forms of the past and pluperfect tenses, e.g. *ja pysav-ø* 'I (m) was writing', where the {ø} ending indicates only the masculine gender of the speaker. The fact that the generic (sexual) role of participants is not so important for the speech-event accounts for the general demise of the present tense conjugation of the verb *buty* 'to be' used in the Middle Uk. as an auxiliary in perfect tenses up to the end of the 17th c. (Shevelov 1977:251).

7.3.1. Some verbs are treated as impersonal, since they are predominantly used to denote stative situations, which are hardly ascribed any processiveness: ***nudyt´ (mene)*** 'I feel sick', *hrymyt´* '(it) thunders', *morozyt* '(it) freezes', etc. From the grammatical point of view they are also personal, taking the form of the 3rd p/SG, which indicates an unknown (indefinite) entity interpreted as the phenomenon's source. In the spoken language it may be re-constructed by the pronoun *vono* 'it' (cf. Fr. *il*, Germ. *es*): *vono teplišaje* 'it is getting warmer'.

7.4. Present tense base

The present tense base contains several morphemes, the last of which indicates the actually enduring action. It is the {je}/{e} stem-suffix, derived from the I.-E. **-je/-o-*. In general, the canonic model of a finite-form is as follows:

stem + degree-suf. + thematic suf. + personal ending
(stem + degree-suf. = degree-stem; degree-stem + thematic suf. = thematic stem (present tense base))

Almost all Uk. verbs are thematic. Only a few verbs do not take the thematic suffix, e.g. *jisty* 'to eat', *daty* 'to give', *rozpovisty* 'to tell'. For instance, the model of *pryneseš* is as follows:

prynes- *ϕ-* e- š
bring- 2nd degree-suf.- theme- 2nd p/SG
'you will bring'

TABLE 20. *Conjugation of thematic and athematic verbs*

	thematic verbs			athematic verbs				
pers.	singular		plural		singular		plural	
1	ved-u	kryč-u	vede-m(o)	kryčy-m(o)	da-m	ji-m	da-m(o)	ji-m(o)
2	vede-š	kryčy-s	vede-te	kryčy-te	da-sy	ji-sy	da-ste	ji-ste
3	vede-ø	kryčy-t´	ved-ut´	kryč-at´	da-st´	ji-st´	da-dut´	jidi-at´

vesty 'to lead', *kryčaty* 'to cry'; *daty* 'to give', *jisty* 'to eat'

7.4.1. It is traditionally held that Conjugations 1 and 2 in MUk. are most explicitly represented by the {ut´} and {at´} endings in the 3rd p/PL respectively. In fact, there is only one conjugation, conditioned by the presence or absence of the thematic suffix {e}. Thus, the {y} morpheme in *kryč-y-t´* is a result of the fusion of the degree-suffix {e} (< OUk. {ě}) with the thematic suffix {e}: *kryk-ě-e-t´* > *kryč-y-t´* (cf. a long vowel in Slov. *krič-í-ø*). In *nos-y-t´* 'he is carrying' the {y} morpheme is a result of the fusion of degree-suffix {y} (< OUk. {i}) with thematic suffix {e}, e.g. *nos-i-e-t´* > *nos-y-t´*.

7.4.2. The most fused endings are those of the 1st p/SG and 3rd p/PL as a result of complex morphonological mutations of old personal endings {m} and {nt} respectively. On the whole, they indicate person, theme and, sometimes, degree-class of the verb concerned.

7.4.3. The {ø} ending occurs in the 3rd p/SG of those verbs which have any degree-suffix other than {y} (see 7.6.2.), e.g. *ved-ø-e-ø* 'he is leading', *zamal´-ovuj-e-ø* 'he is painting over'.

7.4.4. The final consonant of degree-stem, as represented above, may undergo alternations:
/h/:/ž/ - *berehty* 'to save' - *berežu* - *bereženeš*,
/k/:/č/ - *pekty* 'to bake' - *peču* - *pečeš*,
/x/:/š/ - *koluxaty* 'to rock' - *kolyšu* - *kolyšeš*,
/t/:/č/ - *letity* 'to fly' - *leču* - *letyš*,
/s/:/š/ - *prosyty* 'to beg' - *prošu* - *prosyš*,
/d/:/dž/ - *xodyty* 'to walk' - *xodžu* - *xodyš*,
/p/:/pl´/ - *terpity* 'to endure' - *terpliu* - *terpyš*,
/b/:/bl´/ - *liubyty* 'to love' - *liubliu* - *liubyš*,
etc.

7.5. Aspect

The verbal aspect as arisen in Slavonic languages is concerned with the concept of whether or not the action is in any way limited and/or progressive. On the whole, every action may be conceived of as having three phases. The first phase "1" is seen as proceeding progressively as one process heading towards a limit. The second phase "2" is conceived of as determined by its limitation, though indefinite from the point of view of its continuity. The third phase "3" represents the process as one whole without any limitation:

1 *sidaty* 'to sit', *sidaju* (1st p/SG) : "continuity" + "limitation"
2 *sisty* 'to sit down', *siadu* (1st p/SG) : --- + "limitation"
3 *sydity* 'to be seated', *sydžu* (1st/p/SG): "continuity" + "limitation"

7.5.1. Such a threefold model was proper to early Common Slavic when each phase was expressed by different tense base (Present, Aorist and ē-Preterite respectively). The binary category of aspect, as found in MUk., is based upon the opposition of accomplishment/non-accomplishment of an action, viz. perfective/imperfective, which is a sequel to the reinterpretation of the concepts of limitation and continuity:

(28) Vin napysav lysta
he-N write(P)-PA/m letter-G/SG
'he has written a letter'

(29) Vin pyše lysta
he-N write(I)-PR/SG/3 letter-G/SG
'he is writing a letter'

7.5.2. The accomplishment (28) or non-accomplishment (29) is intrinsically interconnected with the necessity to correlate the action expressed by the verb with the speech-event. In other words, non-accomplished (developing) action is the main point of reference for the speaker, and this is represented by the canonic word-form of the Uk. verb (see 7.4.). It determines the exclusive usage of imperfectives in the present tense. On the other hand, any action which is conceived of as accomplished does not coincide with the speech-event. That is why the perfective can be used only in the past or future tense in contrast to Common Slavic and to modern Southern Slavonic languages, where it still tends to be used in the present:

Cr.
(30) Plâti i izâđe
pay(I)-PR/SG/3 and come:out(P)-PR/SG/3
'he is paying and coming out'

Uk.
(31) Vin platyt´ i vyxodyt´
he-N pay(I)-PR/SG/3 and come:out(I)-PR/SG/3
'he is paying and coming out'

In Uk. sentence (31) only the imperfectives are used, since both actions are seen as non-limited, i.e. unfolding in time owing to the impact of the initial participant. In Cr. (30) the limitation of the second action is stressed while its accomplishment falls out of the communicative scope; *izâđe* is used in the praesens historicum.

7.5.3. Since every verb normally has an aspectual counterpart, there are aspectual couples of semantically identical verbs, e.g. *čytaty*(I) - *pročytaty*(P) 'to read', *nalyvaty*(I) - *nalyty*(P) 'to pour out'. Difference in aspect may be indicated (1) by a prefix added to the shorter (imperfective) form, (2) by a degree-suffix, (3) by vocalic alternation and degree-suffix, (4) by accentuation.

7.5.3.1. A great majority of verbs are formed by compounding with a preposition, which is prefixed to a verb; it has in the first place a limiting effect through specifying direction or position. Initially, only determined (limited) imperfective verbs were apt to take the perfective aspect, while indeterminate imperfective verbs have retained their imperfective nature. Uk. has but a few primary derivative imperfectives.

TABLE 21. *Primary imperfectives and their derivatives*

imperfectives		derivatives	
unlimited	limited	perfect	imperfect
vodyty 'to lead'	vesty	pryvesty	pryvodyty
nosyty 'to carry'	nesty	prynesty	prynosyty
xodyty 'to walk'	jty	pryjty	pryxodyty

When prefixed to verbs denoting unlimited or limited imperfective action, a preposition, besides

its perfectivizing effect, usually at the same time creates a new derivative sense: *pysaty*(I) 'to write' - *nadpysaty*(P) 'to write over', *vypysaty*(P) 'to write out', *perepysaty*(P) 'to re-write', *zapysaty*(P) 'to write down', etc. But only *napysaty*(P) may be treated as "pure" perfective equivalent of *pysaty*(I), conveying the idea of the accomplished action.

7.5.3.2. Every new derivative sense brought about by a prefix has to be rendered by an aspectual pair. In other words, if the compounded perfective has taken an additional shade of meaning, it requires deperfectivization by the insertion of an affix in order to form an imperfective equivalent.

TABLE 22. *Formation of compounded perfectives and imperfectives*

underlying imperfective	perfective		compounded imperfective
pysaty 'to write'	zapysaty	→	zapysuvaty 'to note'
hrity 'to warm'	zihrity	→	zihryvaty 'to warm up'
boronyty 'to defend'	zaboronyty	→	zaboroniaty 'to forbid'
šukaty 'to seek'	vidšukaty	→	vidšukuvaty 'to find'

Perfectives may also have a degree-suffix, e.g. *stuk-nu-ty*(P) 'to give a knock', *xyl´-nu-ty*(P) 'to take a sip' with {nu} which renders the idea of the momentary nature of action.

7.5.4. Since the indeterminate imperfectives with prefixes were not typical for Common Slavic, the rise of imperfecives with the {a} suffix conveying the idea of limited action, e.g. *vmyra-ty*(I) 'to die' < OUk. *ou-mrěti*(I), has become the natural corollary of this inconsistency.

7.5.4.1. Such a derivation was accompanied by the replacement of short vowel in the previous syllable by its long equivalent. Thus, we have *zbyraty*(I) 'to collect', *pryhaniaty*(I) 'to drive home', *dopikaty*(I) 'to pester', etc. Their modern perfective counterparts may, but need not, have alternations: *zibraty*(P), *pryhnaty*(P), *dopekty*(P), but *zvil´nyty*(P) - *zvil´niaty*(I) 'to liberate'.

A few residual aspectual duplicates may still occur in MUk., e.g. *nosyty*(I) - *nošaty*(I) 'to carry', *xodyty*(I) - *xodžaty*(I) 'to walk', *pryjizdyty*(I) - *pryjiždžaty*(I) 'to arrive', though *hnaty*(I) 'to drive' - *haniaty*(I) 'to drive from place to place'. Meanwhile verbs with the {a} suffix, but without any prefix, became imperfective, being initially conditioned by primary perfectives: *padaty*(I) 'to fall' < *(u)pasty*(P) 'to fall down', *rodžaty*(I) < *rodyty*(P) 'to give birth'.

7.5.5. A few imperfectives are perfectivized by mere change of accentuation, e.g. *zasypáty*(I) - *zasýpaty*(P) 'to fill up', *sklykáty*(I) - *sklýkaty*(P) 'to summon'.

7.5.6. There are two-aspect verbs which "change" their aspect depending on the context, e.g. *movyty* 'to speak', *rozsliduvaty* 'to investigate'. Practically all of them are borrowed from other languages, e.g. *atakuvaty* 'to attack', *telehrafuvaty* 'to wire'. They may be perfectivized with the help of the prefix {za} (*zatelehrafuvaty*(P), *zagituvaty*(P) 'to agitate', etc.) which reflects the existing tendency towards distinguishing formally between the aspectual correlates.

There are also verbs that belong to only one of the aspects and have no aspectual correlates. Thus, *vymahaty* 'to demand', *ledariuvaty* 'to be lazy', *stežyty* 'to follow with the eyes' are, among others imperfective. Such prefixed verbs as *proplakaty* 'to weep for a certain time', *povčytysia* 'to do a bit of studying' and some others are only perfective.

7.6. Degrees of action

The Uk. verb has acquired a specific category, inherently interrelated with aspect, which can be explicated in terms of degrees of action ("Aktionsarten" for I.-E. and "Stämme" for Semitic languages). This category primarily concerns not the aspectual (qualitative), but quantitative characteristics of action.

7.6.1. The quantitative conception of action, both completed or non-completed, is represented by degree-suffixes {e}, {a}, {ovu} and some others which give additional senses of instancy, duration, intensity, iteration, localization in time and space of accomplished/non-accomplished action. In general, the {ø}, {e} (<I.-E. *-*ē*-), {a} (<I.-E. *-*ā*-) are basic suffixes indicating most explicitly the general idea of duration. The derivative verbs with {nu}, being semelfactive, are opposed to the verbs with {ovu} that convey different varieties of iteration.

7.6.2. All the degree-suffixes can be arranged according to their intrinsic ability for the gradation of action:

{nu}/{jnu}	{ø}/{j+ø}	{e}/{y}	{a}/{ja}	{ovu}/{jovu}	
					> action
"1"	"2"	"3"	"4"	"5"	

DIAGRAM 2. *Gradation of action by the MUk. degree-suffixes*

Degree-senses ("1", "2", etc.) as marked on the scale can be rendered not only by suffixes placed above, but also by other degree-suffixes depending on the meaning of the root, prefix or even context-of-situation, e.g. *kač-nu-ty* 'to give a roll' and *skoč-y-ty* 'to give a jump' which are both semelfactive.

In the limits of one aspect any action may be conceived of as non-distributive (durative), e.g. *i-ø-ty*(I) 'to go', distributive (iterative), e.g. *xod-y-ty*(I) 'to go around', frequent and constant (durative-intermittent), e.g. *xodž-a-ty*(I) 'to go from place to place'. Verbs normally have no more than three degree-stems, e.g. *skak-nu-ty*(P) 'to give a jump', *skoč-y-ty*(P) 'to leap', *skak-a-ty*(I) 'to jump around'; *ruba-nu-ty*(P) 'to give a chop', *rub-y-ty*(I) 'to hew', *rub-a-ty*(I) 'to hew'.

7.6.3. Suffixes of the infinitive base may be treated as degree ones if they are included in the present tense base, e.g. *kač-nu-ty*(P) 'to give a roll' - *kač-n-u* (the 1st p/SG), *kač-n-e-š* (the 2nd p/SG), etc. or *nos-y-ty*(I) 'to carry from place to place' *noš-u* (the 1st p/SG), *nos-y-š* (< *nos-i-e-š*) (the 2nd p/SG), etc. On the other hand, the {va} and {uva} suffixes are not (yet?) included in the present tense base: *pryhra-va-ty*(I) 'to accompany (play)', but *pryhra-ø-je-š* (the 2nd p/SG) or *vykoč-uva-ty*(I) 'to roll out', but *vykoč-u-ø-je-š* (the 2nd p/SG). It means that they have only the aspectual (qualitative) and not quantitative nature.

7.6.4. The 5 degree-suffix {ovu}/{jovu} deals with the intensity and iteration of some action, being reinforced by prefixes {vy}, {pry} and some others, e.g. *vytanc´-ovu-va-ty*(I) 'to dance around' - *vytanc´-ovu-je-š* (2nd p/SG), *zamal´-ovu-va-ty*(I) 'to paint thoroughly over' - *zamal´-ovu-je-š* (2nd p/SG).

7.6.5. Nevertheless, the {ovu} degree-suffix which arose at the end of the Middle period of Uk. is not so stable and semantically homogeneous. Therefore the frequency and intensity of action may also be expressed by the basic degree suffixes (see 7.6.1.) of duration (reinforced by prefixes). For example, double-prefixed forms with these suffixes are very characteristic of MUk., cf. *po-po-jisty*(P) 'to eat', *po-po-xodyty*(P) 'to go around', which bear the meaning of iteration and low

intensity.

7.7. Voice

It is widely held that there are two voices in MUk., viz. active and passive.

7.7.1. Active diathesis may be defined as a relationship between active grammatical entity and its dynamic manifestation. It can be expressed by:

a) transitives with direct object which can take the form of the A, e.g. *čytaty knyžk-u*(A) 'to read a book', or the G with ablative meaning, *daty olivci-a*(G) 'to give a pencil', *ne čytaty knyžk-y*(G) 'not to read any book'. Such an object may have the form of some other oblique case as well, e.g. *viryty bat´k-ovi*(D) 'to trust the father', *keruvaty povstanni-am*(In) 'to lead a mutiny';

b) intransitives which have no direct object, being subject-directed. They are:

- intransitive reflexiva tantum: *bojatysia* 'to be afraid', *usmixatysia* 'to smile', etc. They may have objects marked by oblique cases, e.g. *spodivatysia na druh-a* (A) 'to rely upon one's friend', *pytatysia druh-a*(G) 'to ask (for) one's friend',
- intransitive deponent verbs with the particle *-sia*: *rytysia u šuxliadi* 'to rummage in a drawer', but *ryty jamu* 'to dig a hole', similarly *molytysia* 'to pray', *vovtuzytysia* 'to mess about', etc.,
- genuinely reflexive intransitives e.g. *mytysia* 'to wash oneself', *vzuvatysia* 'to put on one's boots',
- reciprocal intransitives, e.g. *bytysia* 'to fight with sb', *ciluvatysia* 'to kiss one another'. These verbs may be of medium character, e.g. *lajatysia na kohos´* 'to scold sb',
- media tantum proper: *spaty* 'to sleep', *vmyraty* 'to die', *xvority* 'to be ill', etc.

7.7.2. Passive diathesis may be defined as a relationship between a (pseudo-)active grammatical entity and its stative or resultative manifestation. It can be expressed by:

a) transitives with the particle *-sia*, e.g. *budyvatysia* 'to be built' - *budujet´sia* 'is being built'. The subject in such predicative constructions must be treated as (pseudo-)active, this status being implied by the finite verb's personal endings. Some cases are sufficiently obvious:

(32) Dveri ne začyniajut´sia
door-N/PL NEG close-PR/PL/3-R
'the door doesn't close'

b) finite forms of *buty* 'to be' + full-form participles (see 7.10.2.) in the N, e.g.:

(33) Budynok je, bude, buv (po)budovanyj
house-N/SG is, will be, was constructed-m/N/SG
'the house is, will be, was constructed'

7.7.2.1. Taking into account the processive scope of the verb, as emphasized in 7.1., it is quite straightforward that the active verbalization becomes predominant. Thus, the particle *-sia* in (32) does not change the processive nature of the verb *začyniaty* 'to close', therefore sentence (32) may naturally enough be reinterpreted as 'the door doesn't close itself easily'.

7.7.3. Only passive constructions, as found in (33) may be treated as originally passive, in so far as they denote stative situations (states-of-affairs) which are not apt to be described actively. The interrelation of active and passive can be explicated in terms of complementary distribution (see

Diagram 3).

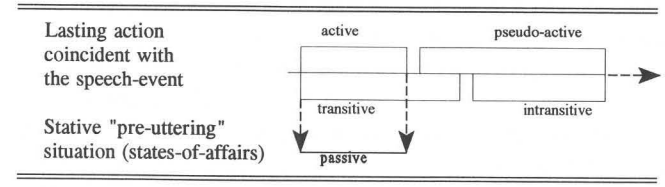


DIAGRAM 3. *Verbal diathesis in MUk.*

7.7.4. Stative situations are most adequately described by impersonal {n-o}/ {t-o} constructions with the A or G (originally the Ablative) of direct object, indicating the topic of the corresponding message:

(34) Kav-u vypyt-o
coffee-f/A/SG drunk-RES
'the coffee has been drunk'

The RES form, as cited in (34), inherently expresses no activity or process. It refers to a stative attribute resulting from some action which remains, in such a case, outside the communicative focus (cf. adjectiva verbalia in Greek and Latin in {tó-s} and {tu-s} respectively). On the whole, the RES forms are neutral in relation to voice which can be accounted for by the {o} inflection, providing the so-called indistinct agreement with the agent (not mentioned). The oblique case, marking the original theme (!) of a stative situation, was prompted by the process-oriented development of the Uk. (resp. Slavonic) language system (Danylenko 1993b:177). In other words, the conjectured source of activity referred to by *vono* 'it' was imposed on such stative constructions, though its expression in due course became redundant (superfluous)[4]:

(35) (Vono) topoliu istiato
(it) poplar-f/A/SG cut:down-RES
'one has cut down the poplar'

The meaning of (35) can be grasped through its German equivalent *Es ist die Pappel abgeholzt*.

7.7.4.1. The processive reinterpretation accounts for the use of auxiliaries and nominal expanders in such constructions:

(36) Budynok bulo pobudovano muliaramy
house-m/A/SG be-PA/n built-RES mason-m/In/PL
'the house was built by masons'

7.8. Tense system

There are virtually three tenses in MUk., viz. Present, Past and Future. Since the process-oriented scope of Uk. verb is based on the actuality of any action, the present tense has become grammatically predominant in the verbal system (tempus aeternum). It implies that both future and

4. See the chronology of these phenomena in: Shevelov 1991:209-25.

past are conceived of by native speakers in the light of the developing action.

7.8.1. The present tense is formed by the addition of personal endings to the present tense base (thematic stem) (see 7.4.) of imperfectives.

7.8.2. The past tense is formed by the addition of gender endings, indicating indirect correlation with the acting participant (see 7.3.), to the infinitive base of both imperfectives and perfectives, since the accomplishment or non-accomplishment of the action treats back in the case when it does not coincide with the speech-event.

TABLE 23. *Past tense forms*

gender	number			
	singular		plural	
m	nis-ø-ø	skaza-v-ø		
f	nes-l-a	skaza-l-a	nes-l-y	skaza-l-y
n	nes-l-o	skaza-l-o	(for all genders)	

nesty(I) 'to carry', *skazaty*(P) 'to tell'

7.8.2.1. The {l} suffix, indicating the past tense, has a morphonological variant {v} or {ø} before the final {ø} (< OUk.{ŭ}) which is conditioned by the preference given to open syllables; {v} occurs after vowels and {ø} after consonants. Vocalic alternation, as represented by *nis* (m) - *nesla* (f), etc. is proper to the primary derivative imperfectives and occurs in closed syllables, cf. *viz* 'he was transporting', *viv* 'he was leading'. Strictly speaking, this alternation is of a compensatory nature[5], whereas such forms had two open syllables in OUk.

7.8.2.2. The pluperfect was formerly used, and is still occasionally used today, to refer to an action which took place prior to another action in the past. It may be treated as a residual form since it refers to what is explicitly expressed nowadays by the past tense as opposed to the actual present. It is compounded from the past of *buty* 'to be', used as auxiliary, together with the past of the verb concerned.

TABLE 24. *Pluperfect forms*

gender	number	
	singular	plural
m	bu-v-ø nis-ø-ø, skaza-v-ø	
f	bu-l-a nes-l-a, skaza-l-a	bu-l-y nes-l-y, skaza-l-y
n	bu-l-o nes-l-o, skaza-l-o	(for all genders)

7.8.3. Future can be most naturally expressed by perfectives, as they refer to some action which

5. In general, the segmentation of a Uk. word is dependent mostly on the segmentation of the whole phrase. As in I.-E., it loses its boundary-marks, being encircled by enclitics and proclitics. See also Shevelov's (Shevelov 1979:331) or Garde's (Garde 1985:69-81) discussion of compensatory lengthening in Slavic and Ukrainian.

will be completed in the future. Its connection with the speech-event is maintained through the personal endings, added to the thematic stem, e.g. *(ja) napyšu* 'I shall write'. This holds also for future which is expressed by imperfectives. In this case, the infinitive of an imperfective is combined with a finite form of *buty*, used as auxiliary, e.g. *(ja) budu pysaty* 'I shall write'.

TABLE 25. *Future tense forms*

numb.	singular		plural	
pers.	imperfective	perfective	imperfective	perfective
1	bud-u pysaty	napyš-u	bude-m(o) pysaty	napyše-m(o)
2	bude-š pysaty	napyše-š	bude-te pysaty	napyše-te
3	bude-ø pysaty	napyše-ø	bud-ut´ pysaty	napyš-ut´

7.8.3.1. Lastly, the so-called synthetic future tense of imperfectives is formed by the agglutinative addition of the finite forms of OUk. verb *iměti* 'to have to' to the infinitive, *pysaty* 'to write' + *jm-u* > *pysatymu* 'I shall write', *pysaty* + *jme-š* > *pysatymeš* 'you will write', *pysaty* + *jme-ø* > *pysatyme* 'he will write' and so on. Such forms resemble Serbian contracted forms of the future tense, e.g. *ću pisati* > *pisaću* 'I shall write', etc.

7.8.3.2. The synthetic future may be treated as a residual form, since it doesn't correspond to the canonic model of MUk. verb (see 7.4.). Therefore it tends to be replaced by the compound future tense which is intrinsically linked with the speech-event. In general, the typical future in MUk. may be plausibly explained as Future-as-seen-from-the-present ("Future at present"), whereas it inherently denotes the beginning of an action which is unfolding through time.

7.9. Moods

Besides the indicative mood, Uk. also has an imperative mood and a conditional mood.

7.9.1. The imperative is (was) formed by adding the following endings to the degree-stem of the verb concerned: {ø} for the 2nd p/SG, {m(o)} for the 1st p/PL and {t´}/{te} for the 2nd p/PL. For commands in the 3rd p/SG and PL the word *xaj* (*nexaj*) 'let' is used with the present tense of a verb.

TABLE 26. *Imperative forms*

pers.	number					
	singular			plural		
1	-			vezí-m(o)	stán´-mo	hráj-mo
2	vezý-ø	stán´-ø	hraj-ø	vezí-t´	stán´-te	hráj-te
3	xaj vezé,	stáne,	hráje	xaj vezút´,	stánut´,	hrájut´

vezty(I) 'to transport', *staty*(P) 'to become', *hraty* (I) 'to play'

7.9.1.1. Possible periphrastic forms for the 1st p/SG, cf. *xaj ja vezu, stanu, hraju* as well as the usage of forms proper to the 2nd p/SG, cf. *vezy, stan´, hraj ja*, signify, on the whole, different shades of the conditional or optative meaning, e.g. *hraj ja* 'if I play ...'.

7.9.1.2. The 2nd p/SG imperatives are petrified verbal forms, derived in Common Slavic from the primary derivative stems ending in {ĭ} (< I.-E. optative marker *-(o)i-, as found in *beri*, Greek φέροις) and {jĭ} suffixes. The last formant originally marked primary names (mostly nomina agentis) which were later reinterpreted verbally, cf. *hraj* 'Play!' and OUk. *hraj* '(of birds) soft sounds; chirp', *hra-j-viter* 'weak wind'. The same suffix is characteristic of *již* (cf. Pol. *jedz*, Czech *jez*) 'Eat!' < *jedjĭ* 'eating (entity)', similarly Lat. *dens* *'eating (entity)'. Synchronically these petrified forms must be treated as "imperative particles".

7.9.1.3. The 1st and 2nd p/PL imperatives may be easily reconstructed by adding the personal endings {m(o)} and {t}/{te} to the imperative particles. The accentuated final /i/ in forms like *vezí-m(o)* is a reflex of the I.-E. optative marker. These forms are residual, being patterned on the I.-E. optative modal, while the arisal of imperative particles is a proper Slavic innovation, provoked by the development of verbal system.

7.9.1.4. The forms with infused {jĭ} are characteristic of verbs whose accented base ends in hard consonants /ž/, /č/, /b/, /p/, /v/, /m/, /r/ which lost their "softness" in the word-final position and "soft" consonants /z´/, /s´/, /d´/, /l´/, /t´/, e.g. *riž* (< **rězjĭ*) 'Cut!', *vir* (< **věrjĭ*) 'Trust!' vs. OUk. nomina agentis *nožĭ* (< **nozjĭ*) 'knife', *stražĭ* (< **strazjĭ*) 'keeper'; *kyn´* 'Throw!', *bud´mo* 'Cheers!', etc.

7.9.1.5. Any final /k/, /x/ or /h/, /z/ of the base changes to /č/ or /ž/ respectively:

- *pekty* 'to bake': *pečý - pečím(o) - pečít:*,
- *brexaty* 'to lie': *brešý - breším(o) - brešít´*,
- *bihty* 'to run': *bižý - bižím(o) - bižít´*,
- *kazaty* 'to tell': *kažý - kažím(o) - kažít´*.

7.9.2. The conditional mood is formed by combining the past tense form of the verb concerned with the particle *b/by* derived from the aorist prompted by the necessity to represent any possible, i.e. non-actual action, which is not linked with the speech-event. Strictly speaking, the conditional particle *b/by* implies a conjectural action depending on some condition. Only the action which took place in the past could be chosen for the standpoint of irreality. Such optative-conditional forms can express:

a) conditional sense:

(37) Jakščo b ja znav, pryjšov by
if CON I-N know-PA/m come-PA/m CON
'if I had known, I would have come'

b) exhortative sense:

(38) Uvijšov by ty!
come:in-PA/m CON you-N/SG
'won't you come in!'

c) optative sense (together with *xaj/nexaj* 'let'):

(39) Xaj by vin spav
let CON he-N sleep-PA/m
'let him sleep'

7.9.2.1. The position of *b/by* in accordance with its autonomous modal status is not fixed. The choice of *b* or *by* depends on special rhythmic (euphonic) motivation, e.g. (38) can be re-worded as *Ty b uvijšov!*

7.10. Adjectival participles

Participles processively represent an attribute held within some grammatical substance and combine verbal and adjectival features, i.e. verbal categories of voice, aspect, degree of action and transitivity and adjectival declension (see Table 12). According to their diathetic characteristics, particles can be divided into active and passive.

7.10.1. Active participles formed from imperfectives have the characteristic suffixes {uč} and {ač}, both of them genetically connected with the I.-E. **-ont*, which was applied to active entities. They are a result of complex morphonological mutations: the degree-suffix {e}/{y} and the thematic {e} are infused into the body of {ač}, while only the thematic {e} is infused into {uč}. Therefore, the last suffix is the only productive one, since it may be added to any degree-stem, except those ending in {e}/{y}, e.g. *vidpočyvaty*(I) - *vidpočyvajučyj* 'resting', *kvitnuty*(I) 'to blossom' - *kvitnučyj* 'blossoming'. On the other hand, {ač} was added to primary stems, e.g. *nosyty*(I) 'to carry' - *nosiačyj* 'carrying' (< *nosjačyj*).

7.10.1.1. It should be noted, however, that these participles are nowadays avoided in good literary style. Loosing their processive traits, based on the meaning of the thematic suffix (see 7.4.), they come very close to adjectives proper, e.g. *bižučyj rik* 'current year', *rodiuča zemlia* 'fertile land', so that in order to stress the processiveness of the attribute the participle is replaced by an attributive clause: *xlopec´, ščo praciuje* 'a boy who is working' instead of *praciujučyj xlopec´* 'working boy'.

7.10.1.2. Past tense status may be allegedly ascribed to the active perfective participles with the {l} suffix, which are derived from the infinitive base of intransitives, e.g. *perehorilyj* 'burnt out' - *perehority*(P) 'to burn out'. Their verbal (resp. temporal) interpretation is reinforced by the presence of a prefix in the respective verbs: cf. the adjective *styhlyj* 'ripe' and the participle *dostyhlyj* 'ripened'.

7.10.1.3. A few participles with the non-productive suffix {š}/{vš}, e.g. *buvšyj* 'former; which has been', *peremihšyj* 'which has won', must be treated as adjectives which have lost all connection with their verbal correlates.

7.10.2. After the demise of OUk. passive participles of simultaneous action of the type *xvalimŭ*(m/SG) 'which is being praised', the past passive participles in {n}/{t} in MUk. in the end lost their temporal status, becoming similar to full-form adjectives. The connection with the verbal system is still induced by aspect, degree of action and transitivity, e.g. *nesenyj* 'which is brought', *prynesenyj* 'which has been brought'.

7.10.2.1. The passive participles correlate with transitive imperfectives and perfectives and have the suffixes {n}/{en} and {t} added to the infinitive base. Being initially of nominal nature, they were later interpreted verbally, cf. *pečenyj* 'baked' (< **pektjĭ* '(place of) baking' → *pekty*(I) 'to bake'. Possible alternations correspond to those cited in 7.4.4.

7.10.2.2. The suffix {t} competes with {n}/{en} for some bases, ending mostly in {nu}, e.g. *zahornuty*(P) 'to roll up' - *zahornutyj* or *zahornenyj* 'rolled up', or else in {ø} added to the final /o/ of the root, e.g. *kolo-ø-ty*(I) - *kolotyj* or *kolenyj* 'chipped'. In general, {t} occurs in forms

derived from one-syllable stems, e.g. *my-ty*(I) 'to wash' - *mytyj* 'washed', *du-ty*(I) 'to blow' - *dutyj* 'blown', though *da-ty*(p) - *danyj* 'given'. Thus, the only productive suffix is {n} which can be added to any infinitive base, ending in /a/: *pysa-ty*(I) 'to write' - *pysanyj* 'written', *zariza-ty*(P) 'to slaughter' - *zarizanyj* 'slaughtered'.

7.11. Adverbial participles

Adverbial (indeclinable) participles are functionally equivalent to adverbs in that they are used to indicate an attribute of another attribute, expressed by the verb. The difference is that these participles describe the attribute of another attribute processively. The indistinct agreement (see 4.2.) is ensured by the desinence {y} which was proper to the OUk. declinable participles (f/SG). Since they have verbal features, maintained by the correlative verbs with similar derivative stems, all of them may be divided into simultaneous (present) and anterior (past).

7.11.1. Adverbial participles of simultaneity are used to represent progressively an attribute which is a concomitant of the action expressed by the verb. They have in common with active declinable participles the {uč} and {ač} suffixes (and are, accordingly, of imperfective nature) while the desinences provide either full (distinct) agreement or indistinct agreement:

ležaty(I) 'to lie': *ležačyj* 'lying' - *ležačy* 'in a lying position',

pysaty(I) 'to write': *pyšučyj* 'writing' - *pyšučy* '(while) writing'.

The actuality of a progressive attribute is implemented by the thematic {e} infused into the suffixes {uč} and {ač}.

7.11.1.1. Participles of simultaneity may lose their verbal features, undergoing adverbialization (see 4.5.).

7.11.2. Adverbial participles of anteriority are derived from the infinitive base of both imperfectives and perfectives by the addition of the suffix {š}/{vš}, e.g. *bihty*(I) - *bihšy* 'running (in the past)', *zrobyty*(P) 'to do' - *zrobyvšy* 'having done'.

7.11.2.1. Granted that these participles play the role of clausal circumstances (see 4.5.) they do not occur normally in the compound predicate. Nevertheless, they may re-acquire attributive meaning which was proper to the OUk. declinable participles used predicatively. In other words, they may be reinterpreted as participles of simultaneity:

(40) Čekavšy na potiah, divčyna sxotila jisty
waiting-PA for train-A/SG girl-N want-PA/f eat-INF
'while waiting for a train, the girl felt hungry'

The illusion of simultaneity is created in (40) by the implied presence of a finite-form of *buty* 'to be': *(vona) bula čekavšy* 'she was waiting'. Such an incorporated predication can be highlighted by the so-called stative perfect in Lithuanian, as opposed to the actional perfect in West-European languages:

Lith.
(41) Jis yra susirgęs
he-N be-PR/SG having fallen ill
'he has fallen ill'

8. Clause structure

8.1. Structure-forming elements of the clause

The main structure-forming elements of the clause are noun phrases and verb phrases, both of which can play various syntactic roles. Some adjectives and adverbs sometimes play a relatively independent syntactic role too, and can act as governing members.

8.1.1. In noun phrases, the governing members are nouns, while subordinate members may belong virtually to all parts of speech.

8.1.1.1. The most typical noun phrase consists of noun + adjective, the latter being in full agreement with the former (see 3.1.). The adjective usually precedes the noun (e.g. *male xlopja* 'little boy'), although this order may be inversed (i.e. *xlopjá male*), in order to put logical stress on the adjective.

8.1.1.2. In a noun + noun combination the subordinate member most often occurs in the G or Pa (see 2.6.2.) expressing a vast variety of relationships, which can be roughly divided into clause-independent and clause-derived ones. Formally, this difference manifests itself in the fact that clause-independent noun phrases may comprise both primary (non-derived) and derived nouns, while clause-derived noun phrases always have a deverbative or deadjectival noun as governing member. The typical clause-independent relationships are those of "having" (*xata susidy* 'the neighbour's cottage'), "making" (*zakon N´jutona* 'Newton's law'), "characterizing" (*kraj ozer* 'lakeland') and "part of whole" (*filižanka kavy* 'cup of coffee'). Clause-derived noun phrases with deverbative governing members have the subject or the object of the corresponding model sentence in the subordinate position (cf. *vidpovid´ učnia* 'the pupil's answer' ← *učen´ vidpoviv* 'the pupil answered' and *pokarannia učnia* 'the punishment of the pupil' ← *učnia pokaraly* 'they punished the pupil'). The subordinate position is assigned to the carrier of a quality in noun phrases with deadjectival governing members (e.g. *micnist´ stali* 'the strength of the steel' ← *micna stal´* 'strong steel' or *stal´ micna* 'the steel is strong'). The use of other oblique cases in the subordinate position, as well as that of prepositions, is dependent on the governing pattern of the base verb: *viddiaka kryvdnykovi* 'vengeance on the offender' ← *viddiačyty kryvdnykovi*-D 'to take vengeance on the offender', *perebuvannia v Kyjevi* 'stay in Kiev' ← *perebuvaty v Kyjevi*-L 'to stay in Kiev', etc. On the other hand, prepositional constructions of adverbial nature can be used with but an obscure assumption of the underlying verb: *lyst vid bat´ka*-G 'a letter from the father', *slovnyk dlia počatkivciv*-G 'dictionary for beginners', *kava z molokom*-In 'coffee with milk', etc. The subordinate member normally follows the governing one, the inverse order bringing about changes of focus (cf. 8.1.1.1.).

8.1.1.3. The numeral + noun combination is remarkable for its inconsistency in the use of cases and in the relative status of the members (see 6.2.1.11-14). The numeral normally precedes the noun; the inverse order is used to express approximation, with the preposition *z* (var. *iz, zo*) inserted between the noun and the numeral: *rokiv zo dva* 'about two years', *dniv iz pjat´* 'about five days', etc.

8.1.1.4. The noun + verb (infinitive) combination is possible with some deverbative or deadjectival nouns: *prahnennia vyžyty* 'yearning to survive', *možlyvist´ zbahatytysia* 'possibility of becoming rich', etc; occasionally they might also occur with non-derived nouns: *majster brexaty* 'master liar, i.e. one who knows how to lie'.

8.1.1.5. In the noun + adverb combinations, deverbative nouns usually combine with adverbs

derived form non-qualitative primary names (see 4.3.1.); they are clause-derived and characterized by indistinct agreement: e.g. *vidpočynok ulitku* 'summer rest' ← *vidpočyvaty ulitku* 'to rest in summer'. The adverb obligatorily follows the noun in such noun phrases.

8.1.2. Inasmuch as the verb is the communicative pivot of the clause (see 7.2.), verb phrases contain a verb in one of its forms as the governing member, and a noun, an adjective, an adverb or another verb (infinitive) as the subordinate member.

8.1.2.1. The verb may have up to six valencies (more or less obligatory). Transitory verbs have the direct object expressed by a noun in the A or G/Pa (see 2.6.2.): *čytaty knyžku*-A 'to read a book', *vyterty sirnyka*-G 'to strike a match', *zjisty boršču*-Pa 'to eat some borsch', etc. Some verbs in this function require the D or In: *zapobihty lyxovi*-D 'to prevent a misfortune', *dorožyty zdorovjam*-In 'to value (one's) health', etc.; or else the G/Pa not liable to be replaced by the A: *potrebuvaty vidpočynku*-Pa 'to need rest', *pozbutysia bojazkosti*-G 'to get rid of (one's) timidity', etc. Nonetheless, these objects cannot be unconditionally qualified as direct ones strictu sensu (see 7.7.1.). The D is also used in its specific function of indicating the addressee (*vidpovisty včytelevi*-D 'to answer the teacher'), and the In in that of instrument/means (*maliuvaty olivcem*-In 'to draw with a pencil'). Besides, there is a variety of prepositional government patterns: *upadaty kolo divčyny*-G 'to woo a girl', *čekaty na potiah*-A 'to wait for a train', *sumuvaty za molodistiu*-In 'to pine for (one's) youth', *rozumitysia na matematyci*-L 'to be an expert in mathematics', etc.

8.1.2.2. Some copula-like verbs of the type *zdavatysia* 'to seem', *vvažatysia* 'to be considered', *ujavliatysia* 'to appear' can govern adjectives in the In (*zdavatysia docil´nym* 'to seem expedient'), others, like *stavaty* 'to become', *robytysia* 'to grow', *zalyšatysia*, *zostavatysia* 'to remain' may be followed not only by the In but also by the N, in copula use strictu sensu (cf. 3.4., 3.4.1.).

8.1.2.3. All verbs can be modified by adverbs (see 4.1.) or by prepositional noun phrases with adverbial meaning: *syditi u foteli* 'to sit in an armchair', *prokynutysia sered noči* 'to wake up in the middle of the night', etc. As a rule, adverbial modifiers are optional, though there are some "locating" verbs (*znaxodytysia* 'to be situated', *perebuvaty* 'to stay', *meškaty* 'to reside', *zameškaty* 'to put up', etc.) that obligatorily require modification by place adverbials, be they single-word adverbs or adverbial noun phrases.

8.1.2.4. Some link-verbs, both autonomous (modal, volitional) and semi-autonomous ("verbs of motion", phrasal verbs, certain types of autosemantic verbs), can combine with the infinitive: *xoču rozvažatysia* '(I) want to have fun', *počynaje morozyty* '(it) begins to freeze', *zbyrajusia večeriaty* '(I) am going to have supper', *pidut´ praciuvaty* '(they) will go to work', etc. These combinations are treated either as single complex verbal predicates or as predicates with subordinate clause-elements (see 8.2.2.1.)

8.1.2.5. Whatever the particular case may be, the word order in verb phrases is essentially free and depends on the communicative intentions, although it may be indicated that subordinate nouns, adjectives and infinitives usually follow the verb, while adverbs, more often than not, precede it.

8.1.3. Adjectives can act as governing members in combination with adverbs, and occasionally with nouns and infinitives.

8.1.3.1. The type of relation holding between an adjective and an adverb may be called "adjunction" or "indistinct agreement" (see 4.2.): *nadzvyčajno korysnyj* 'exceptionally useful', *napročud udalyj* 'surprisingly successful', etc. The adverb is usually placed before the adjective, the inverse order placing a very strong stress on it.

8.1.3.2. A relatively small number of adjectives are capable of governing nouns, especially (and originally) in predicative use, with the government pattern conditioned either derivationally or semantically: *pevnyj uspixu*-G 'sure of success', *vdiačnyj riativnykovi*-D 'grateful to the rescuer', *zdatnyj na vse*-A 'capable of everything', *bahatyj na rybu*-A 'rich in fish', *oxočyj do roboty*-G 'keen on work', etc. Circumscription of the attribute's applicability range can be introduced by nouns in the In or in the A (with the preposition *na*): *molodyj dušeju*-In 'young in spirit', *malen´kyj na zrist*-A 'small in stature'. Adjectives in the comparative degree may govern nouns according to one of the following basic patterns: *xytrišyj vid lysy*-G 'more cunning than a fox', *upertišyj za visliuka*-A 'more stubborn than a donkey', *vyščyj proty sestry*-G 'taller than his sister'. In the superlative the usual government pattern is *z*+G: *najrozumnišyj z brativ*-G 'the most intelligent of the brothers'. In all such combinations the nouns are normally placed after the adjectives.

8.1.3.3. Some adjectives can be followed by a subordinate infinitive equivalent to an indirect clausal object: *ladnyj pohodytysia* 'inclined to agree', *spromožnyj xodyty* 'able to walk'.

8.1.4. Adverbs, as the weakest part of speech (syntactically), rarely occur as governing members in combination with other words, especially with non-adverbs. Nonetheless, there are at least three possibilities of such word-combinations, listed below.

8.1.4.1. An adverb can be modified by another adverb, usually a quantitative one: *absoliutno nezadovil´no* 'altogether unsatisfactorily', *dosyt´ rozumno* 'quite cleverly', *suto teoretyčno* 'purely theoretically', etc. The modifying adverb almost obligatorily precedes the qualified one.

8.1.4.2. Some adverbs, used as predicative elements (see 4.2.2.) can govern nouns: *čutno holosy*-A 'voices can be heard', *soromno za xybu*-A 'one is ashamed of one's mistake', *hodi balačok*-G 'enough of talk', etc. Adverbs of the comparative or superlative degrees, as well as some temporal and spatial ones, allow of similar patterns also in adverbial use: *krašce* za faxivcia-G 'better than a specialist', *najšvydše z učasnykiv*-G 'faster than all the other participants', *daleko vid mista*-G 'far from the town', *nezabarom pislia vyboriv*-G 'soon after the election', etc. The same applies to preposition-like adverbs of relationship: *vidpovidno do zakonu*-Pa 'according to the law', *proporcijno do vytrat*-G 'in proportion to the expenses', *zhidno z nakazom*-In 'in accordance with the order', etc. The word order in these combinations is comparatively free, except for the last type where the noun must be placed after the adverb.

8.1.4.3. Predicative adverbs can also be expanded by an infinitive, akin semantically to a clausal subject: *škoda hovoryty* 'no use speaking', *sorom pryznatysia* 'it is a shame to confess', *pryjemno zhadaty* 'it is a pleasure to recall', etc.

8.2. Syntactic and communicative foci of clauses

"Normal" clauses have two syntactic foci, identifiable with the subject and the predicate, and may contain a number of more or less obligatory subordinate elements. A brief typology of subordination possibilities has been outlined in 8.1.1.-8.1.4.3.

8.2.1. The most fundamental grammatical property of the subject is that its main element (noun or substantivized expressions) is in the N. This rule, however, makes exceptions for the infinitive, indifferent as it is to the noun category of case (see 8.2.1.5.), and for some complex word combinations signifying approximate quantity (see 8.2.1.4.).

8.2.1.1. Most often the subject is expressed by a noun, a pronoun, a substantivized adjective, or some other substantivized expression:

(42) Dytyna spyt´
child-N sleep-PR/SG/3
'the child is asleep'

(43) Xtos´ stukaje
somebody-N knock-PR/SG/3
'somebody is knocking'

(44) Xvoryj pomer
sick-m/N/SG die-PA/SG/m
'the sick man has died'

8.2.1.2. Noun phrases of the type noun-N + *z* + noun-In can function as one sociative subject if the processive attribute expressed by the predicate applies in equal measure to both nouns:

(45) Brat iz sestroju pišly na prohulianku
brother-N with sister-In go-PA/PL on stroll-A
'the brother and the sister went for a stroll'

In (45) *iz sestroju*-In cannot be moved to another position without destroying the clause structure, and this is the actual proof that the subject is indivisible. If *iz setsroju*-In is to be placed elsewhere, the verb will have to agree with brat-N/SG in number:

(46) Brat pišov na prohulianku z sestroju
brother-N go-PA/SG/m on stroll-A with sister-In
'the brother went for a stroll with his sister'

In (46) *z sestroju*-In must be regarded not as part of the subject but as an optional expander of the predicate *pišov*.

8.2.1.3. Numeral + noun combinations, always functioning as one clause-element, are characterized in the N by a hypotactic relation (see 6.2.1.13-14.), with the noun being governed by the numeral:

(47) Semero vojakiv čekajut´
seven-Coll/N soldiers wait-PR/PL/3
'seven soldiers are waiting'

8.2.1.4. Some expressions signifying approximate quantity constitute a special case, as they do not contain a single element in the N:

(48) Ponad sto osib zahynulo v katastrofi
over hundred-A persons-G die-PA/SG/n in crash-L
'over one hundred people died in the crash'

8.2.1.5. The infinitive can be used as clausal subject:

(49) Pryjemno distavaty podarunky
pleasantly-Pred get-INF presents-A

'it is pleasant to get presents'

Sometimes the so-called "formal" subject *ce* 'this' or *to* 'that' may be introduced to mark a sort of rhemic stress on the predicate:

(5) Distavaty podarunky - ce pryjemno
get-INF presents-A this-n/N/SG pleasantly-Pred
'it is a real pleasure to get presents'

8.2.2. The predicate imparts to the clause its modal and temporal characteristics. Although this is most easily done, of course, by a finite verb, Uk. has a number of other predicate types at its disposal as well.

8.2.2.1. The so-called "simple verbal predicate" has by far the highest frequency, being the typical means of predication. It consists of a single verb in one of its finite forms:

(51) Čas splyvaje
time-N pass-PR/SG/3
'the time is passing'

In the analytical form of the future tense it consists of two elements (see 7.8.3.) which are considered to form one simple predicate:

(52) Ty budeš čekaty
thou-N will-SG/2 wait-INF
'you will wait'

8.2.2.2. The so-called "complex verbal predicate" consists of a finite form of a verb capable of combining with another verb (see 8.1.2.4.), and the infinitive:

(53) Vy musyte jty
you-N must-PR/PL/2 go-INF
'you must go'

Although all such combinations are traditionally interpreted as "complex predicates", actually there is a difference between verbs that cannot take a nominal object and those that can. So, the verbs *musyty* 'must', *maty* 'to have to', *mohty* 'can', as genuine modals, regularly combine only with the infinitive, while other verbs are more versatile and occur in other constructions as well. An example of this is furnished by *xotity* 'to want':

(54) My xočemo pyty
we-N want-PR/PL/1 drink-INF
'we are thirsty'

(55) My xočemo vody
we-N want-PR/PL/1 water-G
'we want some water'

The interchangeability of the infinitive with the noun seems to indicate that the components in (54) are not fused together to the extent of forming one clause-element, and should rather be regarded as a "simple verbal predicate" and a subordinate element.

8.2.2.3. In the so-called "complex nominal predicate" the mode and the tense are expressed by the copula, and the semantic content of the predication by the noun (or adjective). The functions of the copula are performed by the verb *buty* 'to be' in the FU and in the PA, while in the PR both zero copula and the unconjugated *je* (PR of *buty*) may be used for all persons. The same clause structure is possible with copula-like verbs (see 8.1.2.2.) behaving on the whole like *buty*, though not completely devoid of their lexical meaning. When a zero copula is used, the noun (or the adjective) of the predicate is in the N:

(56) Vin likar
he-N ø-Pres physician-N
'he is a physician'

(57) Xlopci veseli
boys-N ø-Pres merry-N/PL
'the boys are merry'

With a non-zero copula both the N and the In are possible:

(58) Vin buv likar / likarem
he-N be-PA/m physician-N physician-In
'he was a physician'

The N and In are nowadays used almost indiscriminately, although the difference persists that the latter cannot apply to qualities regarded as absolutely constant, like, for example, ethnicity, which reflects the closeness of the link between the verb and the nominal part of the predicate (cf. 3.4.).

8.2.2.4. If the subject of the clause is expressed by the INF, the nominal predicate is either in the N or in the In, with some peculiarities of copula agreement in the PA:

(59) Tikaty bulo han´boju
flee-INF be-PA/n disgrace-In/f
'it was a disgrace to flee'

The predicate in the N normally requires a "formal" subject (*ce* or *to*):

(60) Tikaty - ce bula han´ba
flee-INF this/n/N/SG be-PA/f disgrace-N/f
'it was a disgrace to flee'

When the predicate is in the In, the copula takes the form of neuter, otherwise it agrees with the nominal predicate in number and gender.

8.2.2.5. If the infinitive is to be qualified attributively, the predicate is expressed by an adverb:

(61) Tikaty - hanebno
flee-INF ø-PR disgracefully-Pred
'it is disgraceful to flee'

8.2.2.6. A special type of clause has both the subject and the predicate expressed by the infinitive:

(62) Tikaty - ce zhan´bytysia
flee-INF this-n/N/SG ø-PR disgrace-INF/R
'to flee means to disgrace oneself'

However, these constructions are characterized by two independent predicative units (which is typical of complex sentences) and lack the basic distinctive feature of (logical) predication, i.e. affirming or asserting something of a subject, for they do not ascribe some quality to the subject, but identify (predicatively) both predicative units as equivalent from a certain (pragmatic) point of view.

8.2.2.7. Some clauses have the so-called "double predicate", i.e. two independent predicates characterizing the subject from different points of view but united within one syntactic construction. One of them is expressed by a verb and the other by an adjective:

(63) Dočka povernulasia sumna / sumnoju
daughter-N come:back-PA/f sad-N/f sad-In/f
'the daughter came back unhappy'

In fact, (63) may be treated as two separate clauses (*Dočka povernulasia* 'the daughter came back' and *Dočka bula sumna/sumnoju* 'the daughter was unhappy') melted into one.

8.2.3. Although the predicate normally agrees with the subject (in number, gender, case), irregularities are possible with subjects expressed by hypotactic noun phrases, as the concord may be conditioned in this case both syntactically and notionally:

(64) Syla liudej zyjšlasia / zijšlosia / zijšlysia
lot-N/f people-G gather-PA/f gather-PA/n gather-PA/PL
'a lot of people have gathered'

On the whole, the notional concord prevails when the subject precedes the predicate; with the inverse order syntactic concord is more usual. If several subjects are united by an *and*-relation, the PL is almost obligatory.

8.2.4. Subjectless clauses make a fairly large group of heterogeneous syntactic units. Their common feature is that they have no materially expressed subject.

8.2.4.1. The so-called "definite" personal subjectless clauses are in fact subject-possessing, as the implied subject (one of the four personal pronouns of the 1st and 2nd p) is easily reconstructible from the personal endings of the verb; these clauses differ from their subject-containing counterparts purely stylistically:

(65) Idemo dodomu
go-PR/PL/1 to:home
'we are going home'

Sometimes, especially in the 2nd person SG, such sentences can be used with general reference:

(66) Joho ne obduryš
he-A NEG dupe-FU/SG/2
'one cannot dupe him'

8.2.4.2. In the so-called "indefinite" personal subjectless clauses the verb is in the 3rd person PL, which makes the subject's possible reference far too wide to reconstruct it with some degree of precision. Semantically, what is implied by the verb's ending is roughly equivalent to 'some people' or to *they* in indefinite usage:

(67) Vas ne vpustiat´
you-A NEG let:in-FU/PL/3
'they will not let you in'

Such constructions are often used with general reference:

(68) Kurčat voseny ličat´
chickens-A in:autumn count-PR/PL/3
'chickens are counted in autumn' ≈ 'don't count your chickens before they are hatched'

8.2.4.3. In the impersonal subjectless clauses the situation reflected by the predicative element is conceived of as independent from any concrete agent. The predicative element takes the form of the 3rd person SG in the PR/FU and that of SG/n in the PA. No thinkable subject can be reconstructed or postulated for such clauses:

(69) Rozvydniajet´sia
dawn-PR/SG/3
'the day is dawning'

If some potentially acting person is included into the framework of the situation verbalized, it is treated as a passive (inactive) object of the action:

(70) Meni poščastylo
I-D be:lucky-PA/n
'I was lucky'

The impersonal status may also be ascribed to clauses with adverbial predicative elements (see 4.2.2.) and with resultative constructions (see 7.7.4.).

8.2.4.4. The infinitive subjectless clauses have an independent infinitive performing predicative function and at the same time expressing a wide range of possible shades of irreality (possibility, necessity, desirability, etc.). The agent in such clauses may be introduced (though not necessarily) by the D:

(71) Vam vyrišuvaty
you-D decide-INF
'it is for you to decide'

The unreality being semantically oriented towards the future, there is no need (nor possibility) for such clauses to refer to the past.

8.2.4.5. Conditional modality can be expressed by an independent infinitive followed or preceded by the conditional particle *by* (*b*):

(72) Meni b pospaty
I-D CON sleep:for:some:time-INF
'I would like to have a sleep'

Unreal condition in the past may be introduced by adding to (72) the auxiliary *bulo*:

(73) Bulo b meni pospaty
be-PA/n CON I-D sleep:for:some:time-INF
'I should have had a sleep'

8.2.5. Verbless (nominative) clauses consist of a noun or noun phrase without any explicit verbal predication:

(74) Nič
night-N
'it is night'

In (74) the time referred to is the present, which is indicated by the absence of the finite form of *buty* 'to be', obligatory in the FU or in the PA:

(75) Bula nič
be-PA/f night-N
'it was night'

The impossibility of using the appropriate form of *buty* in (74), in contrast to (75), may be explained by the fact that the general meaning of "presence" rendered by (74) must be explicitly opposed to that of "availability" rendered by clauses with *je* (while in the PA this difference is neutralised). Cf.:

(76) Hroši je
money-N/PL be-PR
'there is some money'

8.2.6. The word-order requirements are much more relevant on the level of noun phrases and verb

phrases (see 8.1.) than on clause level. In fact, the relative placing of clause-elements depends basically on the focus/topic distinction, with the topic usually preceding the focus. The normal word order subject - predicate - direct object - indirect object - adverbials is by no means obligatory and can very easily be changed to assume all imaginable forms. So, the English sentence 'I will phone you soon' can be translated as *Ja zatelefonuju tobi nezabarom*, with the word order conserved, but a number of alternative variants are equally possible (the focus is underlined): *Ja tobi nezabarom zatelefonuju, Tobi nazabarom zatelefonuju ja, Nezabarom ja zatelefonuju tobi, Zatelefonuju ja tobi nezabarom*, etc., etc. Such looseness in word order is made possible by the inflexional sturdiness of Uk., with the syntactic relationship explicitly expressed by the desinences, regardless (in most cases) of the relative position of clause-elements.

The focus/topic distinction also may be strengthened by the "particles": *til´ky, lyše* and *a, ž* (*že*) respectively: *Tobi ž nezabarom zatelefonuju til´ky ja*, etc. On the other hand, it is possible to mark the focus in oral communication without changing the word order, by mere intonation.

8.2.7. In the interrogative sentences the word order is identical to that of assertive sentences, and the difference between the two can be expressed by changes in intonation: falling intonation is proper to the assertive sentences and rising intonation for the interrogative ones. It is possible, however, to mark the interrogation more "substantially" by placing the interrogative particle *čy* 'whether' on the first position in a *yes*-or-*no* question: *Čy ty zboževoliv?* 'Have you gone mad?'. More specialized questions can be asked using the interrogative pronouns (see 5.2.3.1.).

8.2.8. Negation, both universal and partial, is effectuated by placing the negation particle *ne* before the predicate or the negated clause-element respectively. Thus, for the assertion *Ja hovoryv z dyrektorom učora* 'I spoke to the director yesterday' the universal negation is *Ja ne hovoryv z dyrektorom učora* 'I did not speak to the director yesterday', while the different partial negations are the following: *Ne ja hovoryv z dyrektorom učora* 'It was not me who spoke to the director yesterday', *Ja hovoryv ne z dyrektorom učora* 'It was not to the director I spoke yestarday', or *Ja hovoryv z dyrektorom ne včora* 'It was not yesterday that I spoke to the director'.

If the assertion contains a direct object expressed by the A, it is regularly replaced by the G/Pa in the respective negation (see 2.6.2.; 7.7.1.). Cf.:

(77) Ja bačyv sestru
I-N see-PA/m sister-A
'I saw my sister'

(78) Ja **ne** bačyv sestry
I-N **NEG** see-PA/m sister-G
'I did not see my sister'

8.2.9. Elliptical sentences are very common in colloquial speech owing to the inflexionally conditioned "grammatical redundancy" of Uk.; in fact, every element, except the focus, can be omitted from the sentence structure in a dialogue. So one of the answers to the question *Vy koly zbyrajetesia povernutysia?* 'When are you going to come back?' could very well be *Ja zavtra*, literally 'I tomorrow', with the rest of the otherwise necessary elements left out. Some elliptical constructions have become common and self-evident; for instance, the usual way of saying 'I want to go home' is *Ja xoču dodomu*, literally 'I want to home', the implied verb of motion of the type

'to go' being regularly ignored.

9. Clause chaining (multiclause sentences)

9.1. Paratactic sentences

In paratactic sentences (see (79)) the clauses are placed linearly alongside each other, neither of them is equivalent to a clause-element performing a syntactic function in the structure of the other, and both retain their own modality and temporal reference. The clauses are linked with the help of co-ordinative conjunctions: copulative (*i, j, ta*), adversative (*ale, prote, ta*), contrastive (*s, ž*), disjunctive (*abo ..., abo, čy*), etc.

(79) Ty meni zbrexav, ale ja ne hnivajus´
'you have lied to me, but I am not angry'

9.2. Hypotactic sentences

In hypotactic sentences one of the clauses constitutes an element performing the syntactic function of subject, predicate, object, attribute or adverbial in the structure of the other; it may be encapsulated in the other (i.e. "framed" by it); a sort of mood and tense concord between the two is sometimes required as well.

9.2.1. *Subordinate subject clauses* are functionally equivalent to the subject of the subordinating clause and may take a variety of forms, depending on the meaning of the predicate of the subordinating clause. An anaphoral pronoun (*toj* 'that'; *to, ce* 'it') may be used as "formal" subject in the subordinating clause:

(80) Xto šukaje, (toj) znajde
who-N seek-PR/SG/3 that-N/m find-FU/SG/3
'he who seeks shall find'

9.2.2. *Subordinate predicate clauses* occur rather rarely. They are functionally equivalent to a predicatively used adjective. The anaphoral element *takyj* 'such' is in most cases welcome, or even obligatory, as "formal" predicate:

(81) Jakyj ty buv, takyj ty zalyšyvsia
what-N/m thou-N be-PA/m such-N/m thou-N remain-PA/m
'you have remained as you were'

9.2.3. *Subordinate object clauses* are conditioned by the meaning of the subordinating verb, whether used predicatively or non-predicatively, with a vast variety of conjunctions able to serve as connectors:

(82) Ja ne znaju, čy vščux došč
I-N NEG know-PR/SG/1 whether stop-PA/m rain-N
'I do not know whether the rain has stopped'

9.2.4. *Subordinate attributive clauses* are attached to the noun qualified according to the general rules valid for noun phrases (see 8.1.1.), and may be equivalent to both concordant (adjectival) and non-concordant (adverbial) attributes (see 8.1.1.1.; 8.1.1.5.). The connexion is effectuated by relative adjectival pronouns and adverbial pro-forms of time, space, etc. (see 5.2.4.), respectively.

Besides, Uk. has retained a special type of subordinate attributive clauses that are attached to the noun qualified with the help of the uninflected conjunction *ščo* and a personal pronoun of the 3rd p, anaphorally used in one of its declensional forms:

(83) Dokazy, ščo vy jix majete, je nezaperečni
proofs-N that you-N they-A have-PR/PL/2 be-PR undeniable-N/PL
'the proofs you have are undeniable'

9.2.5. *Subordinate adverbial clauses* (see (84)), be they causal, final, concessive, or of manner, comparison, degree, have the same underlying basic pattern and differ only with respect to the conjunctions used in each particular case. Their syntactic role is equivalent to that of the respective "simple" adverbials.

(84) My pryjšly, bo nas poklykano
we-N come-PA/PL because we-A called-RES
'we came because we had been called'

9.2.6. *Conditional complex sentences,* however, manifest a tighter interdependence between the clauses as far as mood and tense are concerned, and may be divided into three types, discussed below.

9.2.6.1. In a "real" condition both clauses are in the indicative mood; the possible conjunctions are *jakščo*, *koly*, *jak* 'if':

(85) Jakščo ty pryznaješsia, vona tebe prostyt´
if thou-N confess-FU/SG/2 she-N thou-A forgive-FU/SG/3
'if you confess, she will forgive you'

9.2.6.2. In an "unreal" condition potentially applying to the future as well as to the past both clauses are in the conditional mood; the possible conjunctions are *jakby*, *koly b*, 'if' + CON:

(86) Jakby ty pryznavsia, vona b tebe prostyla
if-CON thou-N confess-PA/m she-N CON thou-A forgive-PA/f
'if you confessed, she would forgive you'

9.2.6.3. In an "unreal" condition applying to the past only both clauses are in the subjunctive mood and have the pluperfect form (obligatory in the subordinate clause and optional in the subordinating one):

(87) Jakby ty buv pryznavsia, vona b tebe
if-CON thou-N be-PA/m confess-PA/m she-N CON thou-A

(bula) prostyla
be-PA/f forgive-PA/F

'if you had confessed, she would have forgiven you'

9.3. Asyndetons

Asyndetic multiclause sentences, correlating semantically with both paratactic and hypotactic ones, have no conjunctions and are held together by intonational unity. In writing, the clause boundary is marked by a comma or a semi-colon in asyndetic sentences with paratactic background, and by a colon or a dash in those with hypotactic background:

(88) Sonce siaje, rička vabyt´ ditlaxiv
sun-N shine-PR/SG/3 river-N lure-PR/SG/3 children-A
'the sun is shining, the river is attracting the children'

(89) Galilej buv peven: zemlia obertajet´sia
Galilei-N be-PA/m sure-N/SG/m earth-N revolve-PR/SG/3
'Galilei was sure the earth revolves'

10. Vocabulary and word meaning

10.1. General characteristics of the vocabulary

Uk. vocabulary is fairly extensive: even the largest academic *Dictionary of the Ukrainian Language* in 11 vol., comprising about 120,000 words, is rather far from covering it exhaustively. At a rough estimate, the number of words an educated speaker must know in order to feel confident is tens of thousands.

10.1.1. Widespread synonymy accounts in a large measure for this lexical abundance. It results from the relative openness of the standard vocabulary to loans both from local dialects and from other languages, and is fortified by some systemic properties of Uk.

10.1.1.1. Synonymy with dialectal background can be exemplified by the group of words signifying 'snowstorm': *vixola*, *zaviriuxa*, *zameta*, *zametil´*, *metelycia*, *xvyža*, *xuga*, *snihovycia*, *xurdelycia*, *škvyria*, etc.

10.1.1.2. Foreign loans are well represented in the group of words signifying 'flaw': alongside with *vada* and *xyba* which are Uk. proper, one finds here *defekt* (< Lat. *defectus*), *gandž* (< Hung. *gáncs*), *porok* (< Russ. *porok*), *nedolik* (calque from Russ. *nedočët*), etc.

10.1.1.3. Systematically conditioned are the multiplicity of competing word-forming patterns and the semantic fusion of the stem with the affixes in the lexeme. Thus, the verbs *začekaty*, *počekaty*, *zaždaty*, *požda*ty, *pidožda*ty, *perečasuvaty*, *perehodyty*, *stryvaty*, *postryvaty* are more or less equivalent as far as their ability to express different shades of the meaning 'to wait a while' is concerned.

10.1.2. Several basic strata of vocabulary differing as to their origin may be distinguished: 1) common I.-E. words like *den´* 'day', *maty* 'mother', *try* 'three', etc.; 2) common Slavic words like *holova* 'head', *dar* 'gift', *dvir* 'yard', etc.; 3) specific Uk. words like *mrija* 'dream', *harnyj* 'nice', *obrij* 'horizon', etc.; 4) Church Slavonicisms like *blaho* 'boon', *istyna* 'truth', *sujeta* 'vanity', etc.;

5) loan-words: *trojanda* 'rose' (< Mod.Gr. *triandáfillo*), *klavir* 'piano' (< Germ. *Klavier*), *kavun* 'water-melon' (< Turk. *kavun*), etc.; 6) international words like *anarxizm*, *kongres*, *telefon*, etc.

10.2. Word meaning

Grammatical and lexical constituents of word meaning are intertwined and constitute a semantic whole accounting for the word's range of usage.

10.2.1. The grammatical component includes the general part-of-speech properties and the main grammatical characteristics relevant within the part of speech concerned.

10.2.2. The morphemic structure of most words explicitly exhibits their "internal form", i.e. the way how the corresponding idea presents itself to the mind owing to the choice of the basic name-underlying feature of the significatum. Thus, the plant known as *Chelidonium maius* has a number of differently motivated names: *čystotil* (as it makes the body clean), *pečinočnyk* (as it brings relief from liver trouble), *moločaj* (as it has milky juice), *pidtynnyk* (as it grows close to fences), etc. The "internal form" to some extent predetermines the word's range of application and its eventual semantic evolution.

10.2.3. The explicit "internal form" of words being gradually effaced, or "reduced to a mathematical point" (Potebnia), by the corrosion of its morphemic structure, it continues to affect the word's referential and combinatory potentialities. The word *stil* 'table' could serve as an example of this: although its genetic links with the verbs *stelyty* 'to spread' (of I.-E. origin) have become too obscure, the retained (and slightly modified) underlying idea of "flat horizontal surface" makes possible its use, e.g. in the Uk. denominations of welding bench, type case, ink plate, (film and sound) editor, etc.

11. Text

Odružyvsia	revnyvyj	xlopec´	i	vyrišyv,			ščo	družynu
marry(P)-PA/m/R	jealous-N/SG	fellow-N	and	decide(P)-PA/m			that	wife-A
dlia pevnosti	krašče	z	soboju	vsiudy	nosyty.			
for sureness-G	better	with	himself-In	everywhere	carry(I)-INF			
Vypliv	košyk,	posadyv	u	n´oho	družynu	i	kudy	ne
weave(P)-PA/m	basket-A	set(P)-PA/m	into	it-m/A	wife-A	and	where	NEG
jde	košyk	na	plečax	nese.		Projšlo		
go(I)-PR/SG/3	basket-A	on	shoulders-L	carry(I)-PR/SG/3		pass(P)-PA/n		
rokiv	pjatnadciat´.	Pišov	vin	u	lis,	vtomyvsia,		
years-G	fifteen-N	go(P)-PA/m	he-N	into	forest-A	get:tired(P)-PA/m/R		
siv	na	pen´	vidpočyty,	a	košyk	postavyv		
sit:down(P)-PA/m	on	stump-A	rest(P)-INF	and	basket-A	put:down(P)-PA/m		
pered	soboju.	Hliad´	u	košyk,	a	tam	z	
before	himself-In	(he):to look-Pred	into	basket-A	and	there	with	
družynoju	susid	sydyt´.						
wife-In	neighbour-N	sit(I)-PR/SG/3						

A jealous fellow got married and decided that it would be better, to be on the safe side, to carry his wife everywhere with him. He wove a basket, put his wife into it, and wherever he would go he would carry his wife on his shoulders.

Some fifteen years passed. He went (once) to the forest, got tired, sat down on a stump to have a rest, and placed the basket before himself. Looking into the basket (he saw that) a neighbour of his was sitting there with his wife.

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LINCOM STUDIES IN SLAVIC LINGUISTICS

Back from the brink:

A study of how relic forms in languages serve as source material for analogical extension.

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Every inflected language carries a certain amount of seemingly useless morphological baggage bequeathed to it by previous generations in the form of irregular affixes in conjugational and declensional paradigms. These relics of what were once productive and systematic linguistic distinctions often fade into oblivion, although they can persist for hundreds of years. However, it is not the case that all defunct morphology must wither and die. Languages are capable of recycling nearly extinct morphemes and using them either to restore distinctions that have eroded or even to build entirely new systemes of distinctions. There are many examples of this type of analogical extension, yet it has receievd so little attention that it lacks a standard term. This type of analogical extension may be termed "upstream" (i.e., against the "expected" flow of morphology which tends to eliminate irregular forms in favor of regular forms) or "exaptative", a term borrowed by historical linguist ROGER LASS from biologist STEPHEN J. GOLD. The categorial status of a marginal morpheme is compromised and the morpheme is thus available for recategorization. This book applies Andersen's approach to language change in terms of motivated abductions (reinterpretations), and combines it with the analysis of prototypes and categorial status developed in cognitive linguistics, used here to identify the motivating forces behind abductive change. Because there are three ways in which a morpheme can be become marginalized and hence become an eligible relic for this type of change, there are three kinds of "exaptative" analogical extension. Each kind of analogical change can be illustrated by a chapter from the history of Slavic languages:

1) A morpheme can become marginalized when the paradigm it belonged to is limited to only a few lexical items. This happened in the case of the 1st sg desinence -m, which, at the time of Late Common Slavic, appeared in the conjugation of only the five athemic verbs. In West and South Slavic, however, this desinence enjoyed huge productivity in the 14-15th centuries and now marks a significant portion or all of the verbal lexicon in those languages. By reconstructing the verbal systems of Polish, Czech, Slovak, Slovene, SerboCroatian, Macedonian, and Bulgarian (the languages where -m spread), it is possible to show how various phonological changes (primarily contraction and resulting vowel length, and reflexes of ě and the nasal vowels) acted in concert to promote 1 st sg -m from the status of a marginal morpheme to that of a regular, prototypical morpheme, facilitating its spread to all or some of the lexicon.

2) A whole set of morphemes can become marginalized when the paradigm they belonged to is lost. This is what happened to the former ŭ-stem declension in Slavic, which was lost prior to the breakup of Slavic, but is certainly not gone, for nearly all of its morphemes are continued somewhere in the modern Slavic languages. This change took place in roughly two phases. In the first phase, old ŭ-stem endings maintained some paradigmatic identity and were spread provided they had analogues in the masculine i-stem and consonant-stem paradigms, which were likewise in decline. In the second phase, semantic factors (mainly relating to the rise of animacy) were key in the spread of the ŭ-stem endings. A detailed history of the ŭ-stem endings in Slavic and of their development and distribution in all of the languages mentioned in 1) above, plus Russian, Belarussian, and Ukrainian, provides ample illustration of this type of change in which phonological, morphological, and semantic features are involved.

3) The last way in which a morpheme can become marginalized is when the grammatical category that it represents is lost. This happened to the dual number in most of Slavic, which reappears as a plural in some places (e.g. Russian Npl -á, SerboCroatian D/L/Ipl -m and Gpl - , colloquial Czech Ipl -ama), and as a virile in others (e.g. in Polish where the old G/Ldu ending -u has become a marker for virile numerals, as in *pięciu panów* 'five men'). By exploring these unusual cases of analogical change, we can reach a better understanding of the dynamic forces that shape both these and more ordinary types of analogy. [1995. 210 x 150mm. Pb. Ca. 240pp. Ca. US$ 42.00 / DM 68.00 / £27.00. ISBN 3 89586 101 4]

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