Parallel Forms in Ukrainian: the Verb

J. E. M. CLARKE

Contemporary Europe Research Centre, University of Melbourne, Victoria, Australia, 3053
E-mail: Jonathan-Clarke@earts.monash.edu.au

Abstract : Variant or parallel forms occur widely in Ukrainian in all word-classes, but especially in the verb. They create a complex system of patterns of variance or paradigms which have not yet been fully described. The present study aims to identify these paradigms and to show how they are distributed among the large set of approximately 2500 verbs that display variance in some or all inflected forms. It establishes that there are 34 distinct paradigms of variance, 4 of which are regular and 30 irregular. All but 4 of the paradigms have less than 100 elements. The investigation is descriptive and analytical and represents the first systematic and comprehensive account of the patterns of variance in the Ukrainian verb.

Keywords: Ukrainian, inflection, verb, variant, paradigm

Ukrainian is a highly inflected language and has a complex system of nominal and verbal paradigms (that is, patterns of inflected forms). It presents seven cases in the nominal paradigms, as traditionally described, and parallel compound and synthetic inflected forms in the future tense of the verb (буду читати = читатиму). It offers rich material for investigation. Yet a systematic study of the patterns of Ukrainian inflection remains to be written. There is no comprehensive inflectional dictionary of the language that defines all the inflected forms of a particular lexeme. Many reference works give conflicting and contradictory accounts of the nominal and verbal inflected forms. For example, is the first person singular present of the verb *плескáти плескáю* or *плещý* or both?

This study is devoted to the phenomenon of variance in Ukrainian. Variance refers to the existence of parallel forms that can function interchangeably within the grammatical system of the language. It is distinct from synonymy, since this refers to a semantic relationship and does not imply functional interchangeability. If one seeks a precise definition of variance, then this can be found in the preface to A. A. Zaliznjak's monumental work, *Грамматический словарь русского языка* (Moscow, 1977). In a narrow sense two lexemes may be termed variants if they share the same meaning and the same stem, but differ in terms of the position of stress, or if they share the same meaning, but their stems show minor phonological differences. (Also classified as variants in the narrow sense are paradigmatic variants, though these fall outside the scope of the present investigation, since they represent variance that may be termed non-lexical.) In the broad sense two infinitives and corresponding inflected forms may be considered variants if they share the same meaning and are related to the same aspectual correlate.

Variant or parallel forms occur widely in Ukrainian in all word-classes and especially in the inflected patterns of the verb. A typical example of variant forms might be the pair по/де́р/ти = по/дра́/ти or со́х/ну/ти = сх/ну́/ти. In both these cases we are dealing with pairs of variant infinitives. (Sets of three or more variants also occur, but cannot be considered typical.) Given variance in the infinitive, which is conventionally taken as the leading form in the inflectional paradigm, the question then arises as to whether the variance recurs throughout the paradigm. Do all inflected forms in all tenses show variance? Or can the variance disappear in certain inflected forms? The answer must be that variance in one part of the paradigm may or may not imply variance elsewhere in the paradigm. Variant forms have a certain autonomy and unpredictability.

What is particularly remarkable is the scope of the variance in Ukrainian: its frequency is much higher than in many related languages. It must be considered one of the distinguishing characteristics of Ukrainian, a phenomenon of unusual scope and complexity. It pervades the grammatical system of the language, especially the inflectional patterns of the verb. Variance is a feature that has both practical and theoretical significance. Even the apparently straightforward question of the representation of variant forms in dictionaries has still to be decided. They represent an aspect of the language that is fluid and unstable where the process of codification is not yet complete.

In this study we shall define the lexicon of the language as that contained in the eleven-volume dictionary of Ukrainian *Словник української мови* published in the period from 1970–1980. While this dictionary has obvious weaknesses and deficiencies related to its Soviet origins, it nevertheless presents the most complete account of the Ukrainian vocabulary available to the investigator. No other dictionary offers such a comprehensive coverage. In addition, its contents are easily accessible because of the existence of the accompanying reverse dictionary *Інверсійний словник української мови* that groups together words sharing the same suffixes and endings.

On the basis of the material contained in the eleven-volume dictionary it is possible to assert that approximately 2300 Ukrainian verbs display variance in the infinitive and in other verbal forms. A smaller set of verbs without variance in the infinitive show variance elsewhere in the paradigm. The most common type of variance may be termed morphological, usually expressed as an alternation of verbal suffixes, so that the two morphological variants share the same root, but differ in their verbal suffixes: за/мі́р/юва/ти = за/мір/я́/ти, роз/ти́ск/ува/ти = роз/тиск/а́/ти. Other types of variance are prosodic, where the two variants show a difference in the position of the stressed syllable: роз/прост/а́/ти/ся = роз/про́ст/а/ти/ся, пост/и́/ти = по́ст/и/ти, and pho-nological, where the two variants display a minor phonological difference: об/плис/ти́ = об/плив/ти́, с/хо́д/и/ти = зі/хо́д/и/ти. At the same time these three types of variance do not permit a simple classification into three mutually exclusive groups, for some verbs show variance of more than one kind. For example, the variants об/гнис/ти́ = об/гни́с/ти = об/гни́/ти display both pro-

sodic and phonological variance. Note that in this case the variants constitute a set of three variants, at least in the infinitive.

In the past the discussion of variance in Ukrainian has been largely superficial, marked by an absence of completeness and systematicity. No attempt has been made to convey the scale of the phenomenon or to analyse the distribution of pairs and sets of variants among the alternations that generate them or among the paradigms of variance. The account presented below is based on an investigation that seeks to identify those verbs in Ukrainian that show variance and to classify them according to their characteristics and the paradigms of variance they follow. Such an investigation is intended to be primarily a descriptive study rather than a theoretical work and belongs to the well-established tradition of linguistic description found in the writings of A. A. Zaliznjak, whose *Грамматический словарь русского языка* remains a unique work of empirical observation. Since dictionaries and guides to Ukrainian show little consistency in defining variant forms, the investigation represents a useful work of reference for students and those interested in acquiring a more systematic understanding of the inflectional patterns of the language. It aims to offer both description and analysis and to provide the material on which the study is based. It can also serve as the starting point for a purely theoretical account. A full and detailed description of this kind is a necessary prerequisite for an informed interpretation.

Given the wealth of material and the diversity of verbal paradigms in the inflectional system of Ukrainian, the investigator is immediately confronted with the difficult problem of determining the most suitable approach to presenting the data. A number of approaches are possible. Some focus on the alternations that generate the pairs of variants, others on the patterns of variance followed by the pairs of variants. In the following account we shall be following a structural approach in which binary oppositions divide the material into $2^1 = 2$ classes, $2^2 = 4$ subclasses and $2^3 = 8$ groups. This allows the data to be classified according to the type of variance shown, the complexity of the variance and the nature of the pattern of the variance. For each group various paradigms of variance are identified.

Each of the characteristics whose presence and absence defines a binary opposition can be denoted by a Greek letter α, β, γ. α+ refers to the presence of prosodic (suprasegmental) variance, α– to the absence of prosodic variance. β+ refers to the presence of only one type of variance (prosodic, phonological or morphological), β– to the presence of more than one type. γ+ refers to the presence of regular variance (the same number of variant forms throughout the paradigm), γ– to the absence of regular variance. In this way $2^3 = 8$ groups are defined. They can be described as follows.

Group 1 (α+, β+, γ+) is the set of verbs showing only prosodic variance and following regular paradigms;
Group 2 (α+, β+, γ–) is the set of verbs showing only prosodic variance and following irregular paradigms;
Group 3 (α+, β–, γ+) is the set of verbs showing more than one type of variance including prosodic and following regular paradigms;

Group 4 (α+, β–, γ–) is the set of verbs showing more than one type of variance including prosodic and following irregular paradigms;

Group 5 (α–, β+, γ+) is the set of verbs showing either phonological or morphological variance and following regular paradigms;

Group 6 (α–, β+, γ–) is the set of verbs showing either phonological or morphological variance and following irregular paradigms;

Group 7 (α–, β–, γ+) is the set of verbs showing both phonological and morphological variance and following regular paradigms;

Group 8 (α–, β–, γ–) is the set of verbs showing both phonological and morphological variance and following irregular paradigms.

The basic distinction that is drawn here between prosodic variance on the one hand and other types of variance on the other is justified on the grounds that prosodic variance (that is, variance related to the position of stress) is suprasegmental in contrast to other types of variance and is not usually indicated in the orthography except in dictionaries and works of reference. Furthermore, pairs of prosodic variants can always be arranged according to which variant contains the stressed syllable closest to the initial position. Pairs of phonological and morphological variants cannot be arranged on the basis of an analogous logical rule.

The eight groups identified above are mutually exclusive and can be associated with various paradigms of variance according to the different patterns of variance followed by the verbs in each group. The number of distinct paradigms of variance for each group is as follows. (Note that a paradigm of variance must not be confused with an inflectional paradigm or pattern of conjugation. Two verbs showing variance follow the same paradigm of variance if they have the same number of variants in each part of the paradigm, even though the patterns of conjugation involved differ in some respects.)

Group 1 (α+, β+, γ+)	1	Group 5 (α–, β+, γ+)	3
Group 2 (α+, β+, γ–)	4	Group 6 (α–, β+, γ–)	16
Group 3 (α+, β–, γ+)	2	Group 7 (α–, β–, γ+)	4
Group 4 (α+, β–, γ–)	7	Group 8 (α–, β–, γ–)	9

The total number of distinct paradigms of variance is 34, of which 4 are regular paradigms and 30 are irregular, where a regular paradigm has the same number of variants throughout the paradigm. (The figure of 34 is clearly less than the sum of the number of paradigms for each of the eight groups, since some paradigms recur.) Of the 30 irregular paradigms 13 relate to verbs with two variants in the infinitive, 8 to verbs with three variants, and 5 to verbs with four variants. Only one paradigm relates to verbs with five variants in the infinitive and three to verbs with variance outside the infinitive.

To illustrate the complexity of variance in the Ukrainian verb the paradigms of variance for each group will be described and a typical example of a pair or set of variants will be given. In some cases more than one example will be provided to demonstrate the diversity of the patterns of conjugation associated with a particular paradigm of variance. The five figures in brackets refer to the number of variants in the five key forms of the infinitive, the first and second

person singular in the present/future tense, the masculine and feminine in the past tense. Thus verbs following the paradigm denoted by the figures (2,1,1,2,2) have two variants in the infinitive and in the past tense, but no variants in the present/future tense. This can be illustrated with examples as follows.

Infinitive		де́р/ти = др/а́/ти	гус/ти́ = гуд/і/ти
Present	1	дер/у́	гуд/у́
Future	2	дер/е́ш	гуд/е́ш
Past	M	дер = др/а/в	гуд = гуд/і/в
	F	де́р/ла = др/а́/ла	гу/ла́ = гуд/і/ла

In those rare cases where a paradigm is denoted by six figures, the fourth figure refers to the number of variants in the third person plural in the present/future tense. Thus соп/ти́ = соп/і/ти belongs to the paradigm (2,2,1,2,2,2), since it has the following forms.

Infinitive		соп/ти́ = соп/і/ти
Present	1	соп/у́ = сопл/ю́
Future	2	соп/е́ш
	3	соп/е́
	1	соп/емо́
	2	соп/ете́
	3	соп/у́ть = сопл/я́ть
Past	M	сіп = соп/і/в
	F	соп/ла́ = соп/і/ла

For each paradigm an approximate number of verbs belonging to that paradigm is given in square brackets. These figures indicate the distribution of pairs and sets of variants among the paradigms and highlight the fact that relatively few paradigms have more than 100 elements.

Group 1	(2,2,2,2,2)	на/ми́л/и/ти = на/мил/и́/ти	
(α+, β+, γ+)		дри́г/а/ти = дриг/а́/ти	
		ла́с/ува/ти = лас/ува́/ти	
Group 2	(1,1,2,1,1)	за/кругл/и́/ти	[15]
(α+, β+, γ–)	(2,1,1,1,1)	в/не́с/ти = в/нес/ти́ [= у/не́с/ти = у/нес/ти́	[12]
		за/по/ві́с/ти = за/по/віс/ти́	
	(2,1,1,2,2)	по́ст/и/ти = пост/и́/ти	[9]
		по/по/ну́д/и/ти = по/по/нуд/и́/ти	
		роз/бовт/а/ти = роз/бовт/а/ти	
	(2,2,1,2,2)	ну́д/и/ти = нуд/и́/ти	[22]
		за/про́/да/ти = за/про/да́/ти	
Group 3	(3,3,3,3,3)	за/ви́/ну/ти = за/ви/ну́/ти = за/ви́/ти	[20]
(α+, β–, γ+)		ви́хр/и/ти = вихр/и́/ти = ви́хор/и/ти	
		ску́б/а/ти = скуб/а́/ти = ску́б/ти	
	(4,4,4,4,4)	дзьо́б/а/ти = дзьоб/а́/ти = дзю́б/а/ти = дзюб/а́/ти	[5]
		з/милост/ив/и/ти/ся = з/милост/ив/и/ти/ся =	
		з/милост/и/ти/ся = з/милост/и/ти/ся	

Group 4	(2,1,1,2,3)	по/п'я́с/ти/ся = по/п'яс/ти́/ся	[1]
(α+, β–, γ–)	(2,2,1,3,3)	в/ти́с/ну/ти = в/тис/ну́/ти = [у/ти́с/ну/ти = у/тис/ну́/ти]	[2]
	(2,2,2,1,1)	кля́с/ти = кляс/ти́	[4]
	(3,–,1,1,1)	за/гни́с/ти = за/гнис/ти́ = за/гни́/ти	[5]
	(3,1,1,2,3)	п'я́с/ти = п'яс/ти́ = п/ну́/ти	[2]
	(3,2,2,3,3)	з/слі́з/ти = з/слі́з/ну/ти = з/слиз/ну́/ти [із/слі́з/ти = із/слі́з/ну/ти = із/слиз/ну́/ти]	[1]
	(5,1,1,3,5)	роз/п'я́с/ти = роз/п'яс/ти́ = розі/п'я́с/ти = розі/п'яс/ти́ = розі/п/ну́/ти	[2]
Group 5	(2,2,2,2,2)	роз/ва́ж/ува/ти = роз/важ/а́/ти	[1438]
(α–, β+, γ+)		ви/пра́вд/ува/ти = ви/правд/о́вува/ти	
		на/страш/и́/ти = на/страх/а́/ти	
		ту́рк/а/ти = турч/а́/ти	
		яскр/и́/ти = яскр/і́/ти	
		роз/ску́б/а/ти = роз/ску́б/ти	
		роз/ли́/ти = розі/лл/я́/ти	
		про/штовх/ну́/ти = про/штовх/а́/ти	
		пря́ж/и/ти = пряг/ти́	
		від/про́ш/ува/ти = від/про́х/ува/ти	
	(3,3,3,3,3)	ви/слу́х/ува/ти = ви/слух/о́вува/ти = ви/слух/а́/ти	[26]
		по́рп/а/ти/ся = по́рпл/и/ти/ся = по́рпл/я/ти/ся	
		гар/ува́/ти = гер/ува́/ти = гир/ува́/ти	
	(4,4,4,4,4)	з/гля́д/і/ти = з/гле́д/і/ти = зо/гля́д/і/ти = зо/гле́д/і/ти	[2]
Group 6	(1,1,1,2,2)	ти́с/ну/ти	[130]
(α–, β+, γ–)	(1,2,2,1,1)	струг/а́/ти	[77]
	(2,1,1,1,1)	за/хля́/ну/ти = за/хля́/ти	[60]
		об/плис/ти́ = об/плив/ти́	
	(2,1,1,1,2)	на/плив/ти́ = на/плис/ти́	[9]
	(2,1,1,2,2)	роз/тяг/ну́/ти = роз/тяг/ти́	[166]
		за/ся́/ти = за/ся́/я/ти	
		дим/и́/ти = дим/і́/ти	
		де́р/ти = др/а́/ти	
		про/гус/ти́ = про/гуд/і́/ти	
	(2,1,2,2,2)	стрек/от/а́/ти = стрек/от/і́/ти	[248]
		до/волок/ти́ = до/волоч/и́/ти	
		на/сл/а́/ти = на/стел/и́/ти	
	(2,2,2,1,1)	від/волок/ти́ = від/волік/ти́	[1]
	(2,2,2,1,2)	волок/ти́ = волік/ти́	[2]
	(2,1,2,1,2,2)	ским/і/ти = скимл/і/ти	[2]
	(2,2,1,2,2,2)	соп/ти́ = соп/і/ти	[2]
	(2,2,2,3,3)	під/ти́с/ну/ти = під/ти́ск/а/ти	[6]
	(2,3,3,2,2)	скорб/ува́/ти = скорб/і/ти	[3]
	(3,1,1,2,2)	об/п'яс/ти́ = обі/п'я́с/ти = обі/п/ну́/ти	[6]
	(3,2,2,3,3)	роз/та́/ти = роз/та́/ну/ти = роз/та́/я/ти	[8]
	(3,3,3,4,4)	по/ху́д/ну/ти = по/худ/і/ти = по/худ/а́/ти	[1]
	(4,–,5,4,4)	за/струм/ува́/ти = за/струм/и́/ти = за/струм/і/ти = за/струм/ен/і/ти	[1]

Group 7	(2,2,2,2,2)	стріч/а́/ти = стрі/ва́/ти	[14]
(α−, β−, γ+)	(3,3,3,3,3)	о/гля́/ну/ти = о/гля́д/і/ти = о/гле́д/і/ти	[10]
	(4,4,4,4,4)	кміт/ува́/ти = кмет/ува́/ти = кміт/и́/ти = кмет/и́/ти	[3]
	(5,5,5,5,5)	про/ва́жд/ува/ти = про/во́жд/ува/ти = про/ва́д/и/ти	[1]
		= про/вожд/а́/ти	
Group 8	(2,3,3,2,2)	в/ду́/ну/ти = в/ду́/ти	[4]
(α−, β−, γ−)	(3,2,2,1,2)	ви́/сох/ти = ви́/сох/ну/ти = ви́/сх/ну/ти	[1]
	(3,2,2,2,3)	пли́/ну/ти = плис/ти́ = плив/ти́	
	(3,2,2,3,3)	с/тя́/ти = зі/т/ну́/ти = зо/т/ну́/ти	
	(3,4,4,3,3)	від/ди́х/а/ти = від/дих/ну́/ти = віді/тх/ну́/ти	
	(4,1,1,3,3)	с/п'яс/ти́/ся = зі/п'яс/ти́/ся = зі/п'я́/ти/ся =	
		зі/п/ну́/ти/ся	
	(4,2,2,2,2)	за/стря́г/ну/ти = за/стря́г/ти = за/стря́/ну/ти =	
		за/стря́/ти	
	(4,2,2,4,4)	зі/в'я́/ну/ти = зі/в'я́/ти = зо/в'я́/ну/ти = зо/в'я́/ти	[14]
	(4,2,4,4,4)	за/вурк/от/а́/ти = за/ворк/от/а́/ти = за/вурк/от/і/ти	
		= за/ворк/от/і/ти	

From these figures it is clear that most paradigms of variance have few elements. There are four exceptional paradigms denoted by (1,1,1,2,2), (2,2,2,2,2), (2,1,2,2,2) and (2,1,1,2,2). They are associated mainly but not exclusively with verbs of four basic types, all of which have hundreds of elements: сма́г/ну/ти, роз/ти́ск/ува/ти = роз/тиск/а́/ти, бельк/от/а́/ти = бельк/от/і/ти, мо́к/ну/ти = мо́к/ти, respectively. Other typical examples for each of the four paradigms are про/ви́с/ну/ти, мере́ж/и/ти = мере́ж/а/ти, пере/сл/а/ти = пере/стел/и́/ти, від/тя́/ти = віді/т/ну́/ти. At the same time the paradigms (2,2,2,2,2) and (2,1,1,2,2) are associated with verbs showing prosodic variance: за/ми́л/и/ти = за/мил/и́/ти, мо́кр/і/ти = мокр/і́/ти.

As noted above, one of the striking characteristics of variance in the Ukrainian verb is its unpredictability. Given a pair (or set) of variants it is not possible to predict whether or not related pairs of variants exist sharing the same root but differing in the prefix. Consider the pair of variants на/ви/ну́/ти = на/ви́/ти. Related pairs are об/ви/ну́/ти = об/ви́/ти, роз/ви/ну́/ти = роз/ви́/ти, роз/ви/ну́/ти/ся = роз/ви́/ти/ся. On the other hand, the verbs про/ви́/ти, при/ви́/ти, пере/ви́/ти, по/ви́/ти, про/ви́/ти/ся, до/ви́/ти, у/ви́/ти [= в/ви́/ти] exist without a variant form in -/ну́/ти, while за/ви́/ти has two variants showing a difference in the place of stress: за/ви́/ну/ти and за/ви/ну́/ти.

In discussing such verbs it is useful to introduce the notion of a primary and secondary variant. The primary variant is defined as the variant associated with the larger set of related prefixed verbs, while the secondary variant is the one associated with the smaller set. In the case of об/ви/ну́/ти = об/ви́/ти the primary variant is об/ви́/ти, the secondary variant is об/ви/ну́/ти. Other examples of primary variants are в/нес/ти́, с/про/да́/ти, за/по/віс/ти́, по/-гля́д/і/ти, в/ти́с/ну/ти, ки́с/ну/ти, в/со́х/ну/ти, as opposed to the corre-

sponding secondary variants в/нéс/ти, с/прó/да/ти, за/по/вíс/ти, по/гляд/í/ти, в/тис/нý/ти, кúс/ти, в/сóх/ти.

What is significant in terms of methodology is that it is insufficient to consider only pairs and sets of variants in isolation when investigating variance. It is also necessary to examine non-variance or the absence of variance in order to establish the relative position of a variant within a hierarchy of variant forms. More generally, one can argue that variance demands an examination of both its presence and its absence so that the dynamics of variance can be understood.

Given the extent of variance in Ukrainian it must be seen as an important and distinct characteristic of the language. It occurs frequently and creates a complex array of grammatical forms. To describe these forms succinctly is difficult, since different kinds of variance can occur simultaneously and it is impossible to analyse all variant forms in terms of discrete types. At the same time certain expressions of variance occur more frequently than others and can be considered central to the overall picture of variance. A full and detailed account of this picture is a necessary prerequisite for any theoretical consideration of variance.

References

Бевзенко С. П. (ред.), Інверсійний словник української мови. Київ 1985.

Білодід І. К. (ред.), Словник української мови. I–XI. Київ 1970–80.

Головащик С. І. та ін. (ред.), Орфографічний словник української мови. Київ 1975.

Головащик С. І. та ін., Орфографічний словник української мови. Київ 1999.

Гринченко Б. (ред.), Словарь української мови зібрала редакція журнала *Кіевская Старина.* I–IV. [1907–1909] Київ 1996–1997.

Зализняк А. А., Грамматический словарь русского языка. Москва 1977.

Лопатин В. В., Русская словообразовательная морфемика. Москва 1977.

Ожегов С. И., Словарь русского языка. Москва 1977.

Паламарчук Л. С. та ін. (ред.), Українсько-російський словник. Київ 1975.

Подвезько М. Л. та ін., Англо-український словник. Київ 1974.

Подвезько М. Л., Українсько-англійський словник. Київ 1957.

Русанівський В. М. (ред.), Сучасна українська літературна мова: Морфологія. Київ 1969.

Шведова Н. Ю. и др., Грамматика современного русского литературного языка. Москва 1970.

Шевченко Л. Ю. та ін., Сучасна українська мова: Довідник. Київ 1993.

C. H. Andrusyshen et al., Ukrainian–English Dictionary. Canada 1981.

J. E. M. Clarke, Patterns of Inflection in the +[n] Subconjugation in Ukrainian: Slavia Orientalis 1 (1994) 65–84.

J. E. M. Clarke, Patterns of Variance in the Ukrainian Verb: H. Koscharsky (ed.), The First Fifty Years: To Mark 50 Years of Ukrainian Settlement in Australia. New York 2000.

B. O. Unbegaun et al. (ed.), The Oxford Russian–English Dictionary by Marcus Wheeler. Oxford 1972.