

ANYTHING GOES?
Ukraine as Linguistic Battleground

(1) Etymology of *surzhyk*

- a. U *suržyk* P *саръѣа, саръѣа*
R *suržanka, suržanec* Cz *sourice, sourěž*
b. LComSl *sg- 'with' + *rŭž-* 'rye'

(2) Definitions of *surzhyk*

- a. Vasmer (1958). Impure wheat with an admixture of rye.
b. Hrintenko (1907-9):
1. Mixed bread grains or flour made from them, e.g., wheat and rye, rye and barley, barley and oats, etc.
2. A person of mixed stock.
c. Academy Dictionary (*Slovník ukrajins'koj' mory*, 1970-80)
1. Mixture of wheat and rye, rye and barley, barley and oats, etc.; the flour from such a mixture.
2. *abst., colloq.* Elements of two or more languages joined artificially, without adhering to the norms of a literary language; impure language.

(3) *Surzhyk: Ukrainian base and an admixture of Ukrainianized Russian*

(4) *Surzhyk sample adapted from Bilanik 1998 (96)*

U:	V	<i>misti</i>	<i>rozmov'áty</i>	<i>po-ukrajins'ky</i>	<i>neznúčno</i>	<i>buló</i>
S:	V	<i>hórodi</i>	<i>rozhovár'uvaty</i>	<i>po-ukrajins'ky</i>	<i>nevúdbno</i>	<i>buló</i>
R:	V	<i>górodi'e</i>	<i>razgovaryvat'</i>	<i>po-ukrainiski</i>	<i>n'eudbno</i>	<i>bylo</i>

in city_{loc} speak_{inf} accd. to Ukr. way
'It was awkward to speak Ukrainian in the city.'

[d'ɪ] *[a]* *[n'ɪ]* *[n'ɪ]* *[wɔspɛst, 3sg.mnt]*

(5) Typological status of *surzhyk*

- a. code-switching
1. matrix language = Ukrainian
2. embedded language = Russian
b. Matrix Language Frame Model (Myers-Scotton, 1997)
c. code-mixing
d. language attrition

(6) Typology of *Surzhyk* interference (based on data from Serbens'ka 1994)

- a. lexical transfers e. syntactic calques
b. lexical correlations f. morphological selection: roots, affixes, endings
c. lexical extensions g. morphophonemic attraction
d. lexical calques h. phonological integration

(7) Lexical transfers

<i>Surzhyk</i>	<i>Ukrainian</i>	<i>Gloss</i>
a. <i>PRYXOZA</i> v nas veľyka.	<i>Peredpokli u nas veľykyj</i>	'We have a large foyer.'
b. <i>Viz' my' hvozdi!</i>	<i>Viz' my' slyšajty!</i>	'Take the nails!'
c. <i>Dij, zavtrakat!</i>	<i>Dij, snidajty!</i>	'Children, breakfast is ready!'

- d. R *pr'ixóž-a* → S *PRY-xóž-a*
e. R *gvózd'-i* → S *hvozď'-i* {g → h}
f. R *závtrak-a-t'* → S *závtrak-a-t'*

(8) Lexical correlations

<i>Surzhyk</i>	<i>Ukrainian</i>	<i>Gloss</i>
a. <i>I'esnična kítelka</i>	<i>sxodova kítka</i>	'stairwell.'
b. <i>sítočna truba</i>	<i>sílna truba</i>	'sewer pipe'
c. <i>Remen' pid' ahnyty!</i>	<i>Remen' vkoroty!</i>	'Tighten (shorten) the strap!'
d. <i>Ja počyvu u Vidkryj rútki</i>	<i>Ja počyvu u Vidkryj rútky!</i>	'I'll call'
e. <i>Vidkryj rútki!</i>	<i>Vidkryj rútky!</i>	'Open your little mouth!'

- f. R *Kít-k-a* ⇌ U *Kít-k-a* {e ⇌ i} → e}
g. R *sítoč-n-a* ⇌ U *sítč-n-a* {o ⇌ a} → o}
h. R *remen'-ŏ* ⇌ U *remin'-ŏ* cf. U *silk, stoku* {e ⇌ e'} → e'}
R *remn'-á* ⇌ U *remen'-a* {e' ⇌ e} → e'}
i. R *po-zon'-iá* ⇌ U *po-gzon'-iá* {B ⇌ A} → B} 1 ≥ 2 ≥ 3
j. R *rót'-ik-ŏ* ⇌ U *rót-ýk-ŏ* {ɪ ⇌ ʏ} → ɪ}

(9) Lexical extensions

<i>Surzhyk</i>	<i>Ukrainian</i>	<i>Gloss</i>
a. <i>Stolova—napravo.</i>	<i>Jidal'ná—napravo.</i>	'The dining room is to the right.'
b. <i>My' perepy'snuemos'a.</i>	<i>My' vsistuemos'a.</i>	'We correspond.'
c. <i>Vy' syjeie jubky?</i>	<i>Vy' syjeie spidnyci?</i>	'Do you make (sew) skirts?'

- d. R *stol-ov-a*^{pl} ⇔ U *stol-ov-a* → S *stol-ov-a*^{pl}
 e. R *pere-pis-ivaj-om-s-ov*^{pl} ⇔ U *pere-pis-iv-emo-s-a* → S *pere-pis-iv-emo-s-ov*^{pl}
 [p'ir'ip [s'v'ajm'sk]] [p'erep'is'iv-emo-s'a] [p'erep'is'iv-emo-s-ov]^{pl}
 f. R *jušk-y*^{pl} ⇔ U *jušk-y* → S *jušk-y*^{pl}

(10) Lexical calques

- Suržyjk* *Ukrainian* *Gloss*
 a. *rozpolož-en-n-a* state] ⇔ *rozmiščen-n-a* state] 'the placement of the articles'
 b. *nakińc'* ⇔ *načšij* 'finally'
 c. *pokupaceli* ⇔ *pokupci* 'shoppers'

- d. R *roz-po-lož-en-iv-o* ⇔ U {roz}-(po)-(lož)-(en'n)-(a) → S *roz-po-lž-en-n-a*
 e. R *na-kon-éc* [n'él] ⇔ U {na}-(kin)-(éc') → S *nakińc'* [nél]
 f. R *po-kup-d-ivel'-i* [i'] ⇔ U {po}-(kup)-(a)-(tel')-(i) → S *po-kup-d-ivel'-i* [tel']

(11) Syntactic calques

- a. 'a conference on issues (problems)'

R sov'eščanije po probl'emam ⇔ U narada ⇔ Z problem
 conference_{nom} on issues_{acc} ⇔ conference_{nom} from issues_{gen}

S	narada	po	problemam
conference _{nom}	on	issues _{acc}	from issues _{gen}

- b. 'three competitive examinations'

R tri konkursnyx ekzami'ena ⇔ U tri konkursni ekzameny
 3 competit_{gen.pl} exam_{gen.sg} ⇔ 3 competit_{nom.pl} exam_{gen.pl}

S	try	konkursnyx	ekzamená
3	competit _{gen.pl}	exam _{gen.sg}	exam _{gen.pl}

- c. 'at ten o'clock'
 R v d'es'at' ⇔ U o des'atij
 at 10acc. hours_{gen.pl} at tenthoc. hod'yni
 hour_{loc.}

S	v	des'at'	hod'yn
at	10acc.	hours _{gen.pl}	hour _{loc.}

- d. 'the most expensive'
 R samyj dorogoj ⇔ U najdorozšij
 most_{nom.sg.nasc} expensive_{nom.sg.nasc} ⇔ most+more-expensive_{nom.sg.nasc}
 S samyj dorozšij
 most_{nom.sg.nasc} more-expensive_{nom.sg.nasc}

- e. 'bigger than mine'
 R bol'se moego ⇔ U bol'se niž mój ~ vid moho
 bigger mine_{gen} ⇔ bigger than mine_{nom} from mine_{gen}

S	bol'se	moho
bigger	mine _{gen}	mine _{gen}

- f. 'excuse me'
 R izvini m'en'a ⇔ U probat' meni
 excuse_{imp.2.sg} me_{acc} ⇔ excuse_{imp.2.sg} me_{acc}

S	probat'	mene
excuse _{imp.2.sg}	me _{acc}	me _{acc}

(12) Morphological selection

- a. Serbens'ka 1994: morphemes subject to Russification in Suržyjk

	prefix	suffix	ending	root
<i>pronoun</i>	NA	NA	-	-
<i>adjective</i>	-	-	-	+
<i>verb</i>	-	-	±	+
<i>noun</i>	-	+	+	+

- a. Pronouns

1. S *vin-Ø*_{3 nom.sg.nasc.} / *-omú*_{3 dat.sg.nasc.} / *n-ym*_{3 inst.sg.nasc.} / **on-Ø* / **1-omú* → [imú], **1-im*
 2. S *teb-é*_{2 gen.-acc.sg.} / *rob-i-2*_{2 dat.-loc.sg.} / *rob-ó*_{2 inst.sg.} / **teb'-ú*, **teb-e2*_{2 dat.-loc.sg.} / **rob-ó*

- b. Adjectives

1. S *zakazn-ij* / **zakazn-ó* 'registered letter'
 2. R {ó} ~ ij} / *Adnom.sg.nasc.* ⇔ U {ij} / *Adnom.sg.nasc.* → S {ij} / *Adnom.sg.nasc.*

- c. Verbs: Non-past

1. S *vin-Ø* *nás-j-t'* / **nás-y-t'* 'he carries'
 2. S *von-d* *id-e-Ø*, *znije-Ø*, *rozumij-e-Ø* / **id-d-t'*, **znij-e-t'*, **rozumij-e-t'* 'she goes, knows, understands'
 3. R {t} / *N-PP3sg* U {t'ov} / *N-PP3sg* → S {t'ov} / *N-PP3sg*

- d. Verbs: Past
1. S *zná-v-Ø* / **zná-t-Ø* 'he knew'
 2. S *zná-t-ŷ* / **zná-t-t* 'they knew'
 3. R {1^o-Ø}_{Pres/masc.sg} {t¹-t}_{Pres/pl} ⇨ U {v^o-Ø}_{Pres/masc.sg} {t¹-ŷ}_{Pres/pl} ⇨ S {v^o-Ø}_{Pres/masc.sg} {t¹-ŷ}_{Pres/pl}
- e. Verbs: 1 pl. imperative (U imperative ~ non-past/pl. with truncated ending {m})
1. S *xxód-t-mo* ~ *xxód-ŷ-m* 'let's go'
 2. R {m}_{Ns/Pl} ⇨ U {m^o}_{Impv/pl} ⇨ S {m^o}_{Impv/pl} ⇨ {m}_{Impv-Ns/Pl}
- f. Verbs: Infinitive
1. S *nes-ŷ* 'to carry', *pláka-ŷ* 'to cry', *zdvíraka-t* 'to have breakfast'
 2. R {t¹v¹}_{Inf} ⇨ U {ŷ}_{Inf} ⇨ S {t¹v¹}_{Inf}
- f. Nouns:
1. Vocative form replaced by nom.sg.
 - a. S *tván-Ø*, *hrŷc-Ø*, *okšán-a*, *natálij-a*
 - b. U *tván-e*, *hrŷc-u*, *okšán-o*, *natálij-e*
 2. Unmarked gen.sg.masc. 1st decl. ending {u} may be replaced by {a}
 - a. S *zdvírak-a*, *ekzámén-a*, *róti-k-a*
 - b. U *snidank-u*, *ekzámén-u*, *róti-k-u*
 3. Unmarked nom.pl.masc. 1st decl. stressed ending {ŷ} may be replaced by {á}
 - a. S *doktor-á*, *učitelj-á*, *korm-á*
 - b. U *doktor-ŷ*, *učitelj-ŷ*, *korm-ŷ*
 4. Introduction of indeclinable nouns
 - a. S *bel'jo* 'linen, underwear' (indeclinable in R, not present in U)
 - b. S *frankó* 'Franko' (Ukrainian surname, indeclinable in R, declinable in U), cf. U *frank-ó*, *frank-á*, *frank-óvi*
 5. Semantically inanimate, morphologically animate nouns specified as inanimate
 - a. S *na-p'isá-t-ŷ* / *ŷst-Ø* 'write a letter'
 - b. U *na-p'isá-t-ŷ* / *ŷst-Ø* 'write a letter'
 - c. R *na-p'isá-t* / *ŷst* 'write a letter'
 6. Semantically plural (collective), morphologically singular nouns specified as plural
 - a. S *saz-ŷ* / nom.pl. {ŷst-ŷ-á} / nom.pl.
 - b. U *saz-é* / nom.sg.masc. {ŷst-ŷ-á} / nom.sg.masc.
 - c. R *saz* 'ŷst' / nom.pl. {ŷst-ŷ-á} / nom.pl.

(13) Morphophonemic attraction

- a. Morphophonemic correlations with attraction to U
- | | Russian | Ukrainian | Surchyk | |
|----|---------|-----------|---------|--|
| 1. | g | h | h | S <i>hrŷc-ŷk-Ø</i> 'loader' |
| 2. | K-K' | K-T' | K-T' | R <i>grŷc-ŷk-Ø</i> |
| 3. | i | ŷ | ŷ | R <i>na ostanóv-e</i> 'at the (bus)stop' |
| | | | | R <i>na ostanóv-k-e</i> |
| | | | | S <i>mól-ŷk-Ø</i> 'boy' |
| | | | | R <i>mól-ŷk-Ø</i> |
- b. Morphophonemic correlations with attraction to R

	Russian	Ukrainian	Surchyk	
1.	e	i	e	S <i>d'él-o</i> 'business, matter'
				U <i>dél-o</i>
2.	e ^o	e	e ^o	S <i>remn-á</i> 'strap, belt' gen.sg.
				U <i>remén-a</i>
3.	o ^o	o	o ^o	S <i>rót-Ø</i> , <i>rót-a?</i> 'mouth'
				U <i>rót-Ø</i> , <i>rót-a</i>
4.	e	e ⁱ	e	S <i>remén-Ø</i> 'strap, belt' nom.sg.
				U <i>remín-Ø</i>
5.	o	o ⁱ	o	S <i>holóv-k-a</i> 'head' (dim.)
				U <i>holív-k-a</i>
6.	o	e	o	S <i>t'óšc-a</i> 'mother-in-law'
				U <i>téšc-a</i> (wife's mother)
7.	z	z	z	S <i>zérkal-o</i> 'mirror'
				U <i>žérkal-o</i>
8.	z	z	z	S <i>horz-k-s'a</i> 'I am proud (of)'
				U <i>horž-k-s'a</i>
9.	ŷ	T'Tŷ → [T'Tŷ]	ŷ, Č	S <i>noč'ju</i> 'at night'
		ČČŷ → [Č'Čŷ]		U <i>nič'ju</i>

(14) Phonological integration

- a. Stress
1. Stress placement affects incorporation of Russian vowel reduction. No information in Serbens ka 1994.
 2. S *prŷ-xód* '-t-t' 'come' Impv.pl.
 3. U *prŷ-xód* '-te

4. R $pr^{1,2}xod\ i^1t^e$
5. R $\{i^{1,2}e\}_{imp.2.pl} \rightleftharpoons U \{i^{1,2}e^0\}_{imp.2.pl} \rightarrow S \{i^{1,2}e^0\}_{imp.2.pl}$
- b. Voicing:
- No information on voicing assimilation in obstruent clusters.
 - R: $[avcd] / __ [avcd]$ *pros -b-a [z' b]* *rez -b-a [z' b]* *das k-a [Sk]* *dz' k-a [Sk]*
 $[-vcd] / __ \#$ *plot-Ø [l]* *plod-Ø [l]*
 - U: $[-vcd] / __ [+vcd]$ *pros -b-a [z' b]* *riz -b-a [z' b]*
 $[±vcd] / __ [-vcd]$ *das k-a [Sk]* *dz' k-a [ʃk]*
 $[±vcd] / __ \#$ *plu-Ø [l]* *plid-Ø [d]*
- c. Compactness
- No information on compactness in obstruent clusters.
 - R: $[+cmp] / __ [+cmp]$ *pr -n -os -š -ij [ʃʃ]* *boj -is -s -a [ʃʃʃ]*
 - U: $[acmp] / __ [acmp]$ *poj -nis -šij [ʃʃʃ]* *boj -is -s -a [ʃʃʃ]*
- d. Sharpening (palatalization, softness):
- Russian: $p^o p^r T^o T^r$ $Č K^o K^r$
 - Ukrainian: $P T^o T^r$ $Č K$
 - Surzhyk resistance to R *phonemically distinct P'* before back vowels
R *kov -or -Ø* 'rug' *sv'ókli-a* 'beet'
S *koyor-Ø* $[s'v'ókli-a]$ ← *sv'ókli-a*
 - Surzhyk tolerance of R *phonemically distinct T'* before back vowels
R *stypen -ok-Ø* 'step' (dim.)_{gen.pl, fem.} *po-s -ól-k-a* 'settlement'_{gen.sg, masc.}
S *stypen -ok-Ø* *po-s -ól-k-a*
 - Ukrainian neutralization of consonant softness before front vowels
a) $C \rightarrow [C^r]$ $/ __ \text{y, e}$ $\{lis\}$ 'forest'
b) $C \rightarrow [C^r]$ $/ __ j$ $\{lis\}$ 'forest'
 $[i'sj]_{nom.pl}$ $[i'sj]_{loc.sg}$ $\{babus'\}$ 'grandma'
 $[i's'V]_{gen.pl}$ $[babus'yn]_{poss. ind.}$
 $[babus'eju]_{ind. sg.}$ $[babus'j]_{gen. dat. loc. sg.}$
 - Russian neutralization of consonant softness before [e]
a) $C^o \rightarrow [C^r]$ $/ __ e$ $\{bes\}$ 'demon' $\{les\}$ 'forest' $\{ruk\}$ 'hand' 'arm'
 $[b'és]_{nom.sg}$ $[l'és]_{nom.sg}$ $[ruk'é]_{dat. loc. sg.}$
 - $/ __ e$ $R (C \rightarrow C^r) \rightleftharpoons U (C \rightarrow C^o) \rightarrow S (C \rightarrow C^r) / __ e$

- a. Lexical transfers and correlations
- hém -y*_{nom.pl} $[i'émj]$ 'ribbon'
*sv'et-Ø*_{nom.sg} $[s'v'ét]$ 'light'
*py'-mer -oč -n -n*_{acc.sg, fem.} $[pɔj'm' éročnu]$ 'firing room'
*n -b -éz -u -l -o*_{position.sg} $[ub' ézala]$ 'she ran away'
- b. Serbians 'ka 1994 $[k'í'evér]$ 'clover' cf. R $[k'í'ev'ir]$, U $[k'í'evér]$
 $[p'et'én'ka]$ 'Petey' cf. R $[p'et'én'ka]$
- c. $(C \rightarrow C^r)^R / a) \{ __ e \}^R$
b) $1 T \geq P, K, Č$
c) $+(C \rightarrow C^r)^R \supset -(C \rightarrow C^o)^r$
- d. p^o, T^r $[p'et'én'ka]$ P, T^r $[p'et'én'ka]$ P, T^o $*[p'et'én'ka]$
- (15) Evidence from literature: primarily short stories in urban settings
- Bohdan Zholdak, "Manya or Tanya" BZ
 - Oleksandr Ivanec', "Our Scoutmaster, Freddy Krueger" OI₁
 - Oleksandr Ivanec', "Holyan's Demise" OI₂
 - Mykola Zakusylo, "A Vampire Ate Dad" MZ
 - Volodymyr Danylenko, "Kiev Dude" VD
- (16) Russification of Surzhyk morphemes: Serbians 'ka vs. others +
- | | prefix | suffix | ending | root |
|-----------|--------|--------|--------|------|
| pronoun | NA | NA | - | (+) |
| adjective | - | - | - | (+) |
| verb | - | (+) | (+) | (+) |
| noun | - | (+) | (+) | (+) |
- (17) Literary Surzhyk: types of Russification not found in Serbians 'ka 1994
- Pronoun
 - Demon (rare): *etot nehod'aj* (VD) vs. U *egil'nehidnyk* 'this low/life'
 - RefI (rare): *načynaj svoje dielo* (BZ) vs. U *počynaj svoje diło* 'do your thing'
 - 3rd person (rare): *vm'esticio niže* (BZ) vs. U *zarnis' niže* 'instead of her'
 - Adjective
 - Substantivized: *z proxodnoj* (OI₂) vs. U *z proxidnoj* 'from the hall'
 - Noun, preposition
 - Loc.sg,masc.1 decl.: *vo sn'ě* (BZ) vs. U *u sn'i* 'in a dream'

(18) **Literary Surzhyk: phonological Russification not found in Serbens'ka 1994**

- a. Variation in softness
1. U dýskoreka (OI₁), S diskor'eka (OI₁) 'discotheque'
 2. S lah'er' (OI₂), lah'ér' (OI₂) 'camp'
 3. S osob'emo (OI₂) 'especially'
 4. U ne možu (BZ), S n'e mohú (BZ) 'I can't'
- b. Evidence of vowel reduction
1. S xaraso' (BZ), cf. R xorošo' [xarəšo] 'all right'
 2. S ni dosih' (BZ), cf. R n'ie dosig' [ni'das't'ik] '(I) didn't achieve'
 3. S krasav'ic (BZ), cf. R krasá'ec [krasá'ic] 'good looking'
 4. S kan'ěšno (VD), cf. R kon'ěšno [kan'ěšne] 'of course'

(19) **Revised Surzhyk rule for Russified consonant softening**

- a. $(C \rightarrow C')^R /$ a) $\{ _ \acute{e} \geq _ e \}^R$
b) $\{ T \geq P, K, \acute{C} \}$
c) $+(C \rightarrow C')^R = -(C \rightarrow C')^R$
- b. S na hradžánky' (BZ), cf. R na graždánk'e 'in civilian life'
S na kušéky' (BZ), cf. R na kušéck'e 'on the couch'
S osoby'no (BZ), cf. R osob'emo 'especially'

(20) **Hierarchies of Russification in Surzhyk**

- a. transfer \geq correlation \geq calque \geq native
- b. bound-R \geq unbound \geq bound-U
- c. noun \geq verb \geq adjective \geq nonpersonal pm. \geq personal pm.
- d. root \geq suffix \geq ending \geq prefix
- e. R attraction \geq U attraction
- f. $(C \rightarrow C' / _ \acute{e} \geq _ e)^R \geq (C \rightarrow C' / _ e)^U$

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