THE STRESSING OF PRONOUNS IN THE LESIA UKRINKA’S DRAMA

“LISOVA PISNIA”

Modern accentology is based on morphological principle formulated by Ch. Stang and O. Potebnia. It was developed in Ukrainian linguistics by V. Skliarenko and V. Vynnytskyi. According to this principle the attention is paid on morpheme. As a result parts of speech are analyzed. From the paradigmatic point of view, the main function of stress consists in that it arranges the word paradigm on the one hand. On the other hand, stress distinguishes different lexical-grammatical classes of words [1, p. 23].

V. Vynnytskyi notes that “accentuation of pronouns and numerals not play a significant role in the coverage of the process of formation, development and operation of the overall accentual system and is not connected with the main emphasis of grammatical classes of words” [1, p. 9]. Obviously, this is due to the fact that most of pronouns consist of one syllable. Therefore, they get specific accentuation features only at the level of phonetic words. As pronoun is an independent part of speech it has grammatical categories of nouns, adjectives and numerals, and also have their own stress, we consider it necessary to clarify the features of emphasizing these lexical-grammatical classes of words, especially in poetic speech.

That is why the aim of this research is to describe the stressing of pronoun word forms in drama “Lisova Pisnia” by Lesia Ukrainka. The research paper also reveals the patterns of stressing in comparison with the modern literary norm.

The research “The Stress of Pronouns and Words of Pronominal Origin” by T. Molodid for information and reference portal “Culture of Language for Every Day” and Ukrainian spelling [11] summarize the rules of accentuation of modern pronouns. In these woks, special attention is paid to:

- emphasizing negative pronouns ніхто́ (nobody), ніщо́ (nothing), which have their own characteristics of stressing: the oblique cases each of them have two different forms in which the emphasis differentiates the meaning. Emphasis on the prefix means the absence of anyone or anything, emphasis on root of the word means a reluctance or inability to use anyone or anything, though they (someone, something) are available [6]. However, there is no hint that stress takes a differential feature distinguishing syntactic transposed pronoun сáмий (with the meaning “the highest degree of expression of characteristics”) and самий (attributive pronoun meaning “only one without others”) (ULVN, p. 588 ; Pogr. OS, p. 512);
- stress in forms of pronouns хто (who), йо (what), хтось (someone), йось (something), substantivized той (that), цей (this), весь (the whole) depending on the presence or absence of a preposition (like мене – до мене) [6; 11, p. 86-89].

Partial implementation of these rules have already taken place in the “Aeneid” by I. Kotlyarevskyi [3, p. 6-9]. In general, the research by V. Zhelyazkova about accentuation of adjectives, pronouns, adverbs and numerals in poetry is one of the few dealing with these same parts of speech. Noteworthy is the conclusion that the stress of parts of speech in the “Aeneid” mostly coincides with the modern literary norm. If the word is not used in modern literary language it coincides with emphasis fixed by “Ukrainian Language Dictionary” for eds. B. Grinchenko [3, p. 12]. Thus, the formation of literary accentual norm can be attributed not only to the early twentieth century, but back to the days of I. Kotlyarevskyi.

The shifted stress to the middle syllable influenced by using prepositions was pointed out by I. Ohienko in “Literary Ukrainian Accent”. The monograph formulates the basic laws of Ukrainian accent, functioning in modern literary Ukrainian language:

- the majority of words have the second from the end syllable stressed, fewer have the last syllable stressed, yet fewer have the third from the end syllable stressed, the smallest amount of words have 4th–6th from the end syllable stressed;
- words consisting of three or more syllables are characterized with the fixed stress during declination (вітрі́ла, вітрі́лами, вітрі́лах). The same refers to words with accented prefix (ві́куп, ві́купу, ві́купам), compound words (Яросла́в, Яросла́ва, Яросла́вом), words with connotation (ма́тінка, ма́тіники), almost all foreign words (по́ет, по́єта, по́єту);
- enclitic (shifted to the left stress) is a widespread phenomenon. I. Ohienko identifies types of enclitic according to parts of speech in which it occurs due to inflection or derivation: noun enclitic (куток – з́куток), adjectival enclitic (чутлі́вий – спочу́тливий), numeral enclitic (оди́н – один по о́дному), pronoun enclitic (мене – до мене), verb enclitic (три́ма́ти – стрі́мати), adverbial enclitic (з́араз, напо́маціки), prepositional enclitic (на ніч, зо́ сну);
- derivative formations preserve stress of primary words (nouns, adjectives, verbs, interjections);
- Ukrainian stress is free, what is influenced by the morphological structure of words, lexical meaning, phonetic structure, grammatical form, and so on. [5, p. 12-13];
- stress is the means of differentiating of lexical meaning, grammatical forms, is the additional means for contrasting singular and plural [5, p. 15];
- stress is influenced by analogy unifying accent language system [5, p. 19].
Along with nouns and verbs as central parts of speech, and adjectives, numerals and peripheral interjection, I. Ohienko explores the features of emphasizing pronouns and adverbs. The scientist characterizes pronouns according to the case forms and the impact of the use of the preposition [5, p. 182-186].

A number of S. Ponomarenko’s publications devoted to the comparative analysis of Ukrainian publications of Apostle XVI–XVII centuries in comparison with the Moscow edition of 1564. The articles represent not only the historical features of the accentuation of different parts of speech, including the pronouns and adverbs. On the methodological side, this works are valuable for our studies because they include an algorithm of accentological analysis:

1) arrangement and presentation of words and their forms according to accent differences reported in Lviv and Moscow edition of the Apostle;
2) the finding out (if possible) the original Proto-Slavic accentuation;
3) detection of emphasis analyzed tokens and word forms in their old Ukrainian grammars, dictionaries, literary and religious works, certifying similar cases accentuation;
4) revealing the reasons of differences in stressing (the wrong emphasis, reflection of the tradition of the Church Slavonic accent) [7, p. 41; 8, p. 82, 9, p. 52].

This sequence of actions was the basis of methodology of analyzing pronominal words in drama “Lisova Pisnia” by Lesya Ukrainka. It is found in the following stages:

1) systematization and presentation of words and their forms according to the origin of parts and lexical and grammatical features;
2) the revealing of the accent type and, if possible, the original Proto-Slavic accentuation;
3) the revealing of the facts highlighting the analyzed tokens and word forms elsewhere in various stages of development of the Ukrainian language;
4) the revealing of the reasons of differences in stressing, if they occur (a need for rhythmic organization of poetic line, dialect influence, the impact of the Russian language, analogy, the need for distinguishing homographs, enklitic, proclitic).

Among undertaken pronouns in drama “Lisova Pisnia” by Lesya Ukrainka we analyze the case forms of pronouns я (I), ти (you), він (he), ми (we), ви (you, pl), себе (-self), хто (who), що (what), щось (something), ніхто (nobody), ніщо (nothing), and all substantivized forms of pronouns все (all), той (that), свій.

In the Late Proto-Slavic language the form of genitive case in singular *менè (*теbè, *сеbè) was characterized with disyllabic ascending-decreasing intonation as well as a form of prepositional case *мнè (*тбè, *сеbè) [10, p. 144].

In the drama “Lisova Pisnia” by Lesya Ukrainka pronoun я in the form of genitive case in singular is used 21 times. In fifteen cases the genitive case is used with prepositions (до мéне
These word forms are characterized by the first stressed syllable, due to enclitic: under the influence of a preposition, which becomes part of the analyzed phonetic words, the stress shifts to the left (to the beginning of a word) [5, p. 183, 228].

Under the influence of prepositions в/у, для, без, з, до, від the stress of the pronoun тебе (genitive case in singular of мі) changes its position from the inflexion to the root in 20 word forms in the text: в/у тебе (LP, p. 216, 234, 235, 236, 241, 259, 271, 284), для тебе (LP, p. 224, 236, 260, 265, 269), без тебе (LP, p. 227), з тебе (LP, p. 247, 292), до тебе (LP, p. 265, 268 – двічі), від тебе (LP, p. 284).

The reason of the root stress себе after a preposition pronoun до, y is also enclitic. It occurs in four word forms: до себе (LP, p. 214, 215, 250), y себе (LP, p. 245).

Homonymous to genitive case in singular is a form of accusative case in singular. Prepositions про, на, за require accusative pronouns and similar to the previous case shift accent from the word ending to the left. In the drama “Lisova Pisnia” such examples are mentioned:

- three pronouns мене with the stress on the initial (root) syllable under the influence of the preposition про (LP, p. 209, 233, 280);
- one word form of the pronoun мене with the root stress, caused by the preposition на (LP, p. 260);
- three forms of the pronoun тебе, with the stress on the root under the influence of the preposition на (LP, p. 228, 259, 277);
- two pronouns тебе with the stress on the root due to the use of prepositions про (LP, p. 204, 209), for (LP, p. 248, 266).

In the drama, there are 30 forms of pronoun я (LP, p. 207, 213, 215, 217, 218, etc.) and мі (LP, p. 205, 209 – twice, 224, 228, etc.) and one word form of reflexive pronoun (саму себе (LP, p. 265)) in the accusative without a preposition which act as a direct object in the sentence and have inflexional stress that coincides with modern accent norm [11, p. 86]. This form originated under the influence of genitive case in singular before the written records. It operated in parallel with the forms м<, т<, с<. In Ukrainian written records of XIV – XVII centuries forms мене, тебе, себе have been registered. Basically they were in most dialects of Ukrainian language. But in the south-western dialects are widely represented forms мя, тя, ся. They are older in origin and phonetically changed their reflexes (я, не, ні, ті, ти та ін.) [4, p. 160]. Literary language is completely lost primary forms accusative case in singular, which in the Late Proto-Slavic language characterized by a decreasing long tone (*меж) [10, p. 144].
The usage of different stress in the same case, obviously, can not be explained only by the need to preserve the poetic rhythm (in the drama dominated iambus). In addition, there are no strict phonetic patterns in arranging verses that contains or does not contain a preposition: before non-prepositional pronoun form a particle (же(e), би(u)) or another pronoun (я [jˈa]) can be used. Thus, we can conclude that stress takes differentiating function, and thus provides a semantic differentiation of possessive, object, subject, recipient, locative, prepositional forms (presented in word forms with the accent on the first syllable) on the one hand and the semantics of direct object in non-prepositional forms of singular accusative on the other.

In modern Ukrainian literary language accent also shifts from the last syllable to the left in such pronominal forms as: до мене, до тебе, на сеbe, з нього, у неї, біля кого (когось), від того, від чого (чогось), у цього, з усього, на тому, при цьому, в чому (чомуся), в усьому [11, p. 88].

In the Late Proto-Slavic language pronouns *jь, *тъ, *къто і *чьто [12, p. 36; 13, p. 139; 10, p. 145–146] belonged to moving accent paradigm. In genitive case they were characterized by a disyllabic ascending-decreasing intonation with the final component emphasized: *jего, *того [10, p. 145–146]. In modern Ukrainian language stress on the final component is preserved in non-prepositional forms of genetic and accusative cases in singular.

In the text of the drama pronoun його as a form of accusative case in singular without preposition is used 13 times (LP, p. 204, 212, 214 – twice, 217, etc.). This pronoun is also used twice as a form of non-prepositional genitive case in singular (LP, p. 207, 278). All word forms have inflexion stress.

The form of genitive case in singular with preposition, which is used seven times in the drama, is characterized by shifted accent: under the influence of prepositions the stress shifts from the final position to the left, which, nevertheless, is still inflexional: в нього (LP, p. 206, p. 207), від нього (LP, p. 214), з нього (LP, p. 217, 249, 263), до нього (LP, p. 278). In the modern Ukrainian language enclitic and beginning consonant н are also observed [11, p. 87]. However, the use of the pronoun його with the accent on the final syllable in the function of the attribute is not followed by changes in stressing [5, p. 184]. And there is proof it in “Lisova Pisnia”. For example, in such extracts as Тоді ж і я на бороду заклявся, // що дядько Лев і вся його рідня (LP, p. 213), and also Чи то й його невдячність невміруча так, як твое кохання? (LP, p. 272) in analyzed pronouns inflexions are emphasized. Similarly, in the lines Дядька Лева // нема на світі, — що з його закляття? (LP, p. 281) emphasis is on the second syllable of inflexions, although the pronouns are used with prepositions.

Accentuation of the pronoun того (genitive and accusative cases of singular) does not depend on its part of speech identification. Demonstrative pronoun as well as substantivized
pronominal adjective of the is used with an emphasis on the last syllable in forms without preposition: Я того́  й не знав (LP, p. 235), Нехай того́ посядуть, хто їх кличе! (LP, p. 278) і А чи не годі вже того́ грання? (LP, p. 244). These morphological classes are characterized by recessive accent, influenced by prepositions: від тóго (LP, p. 252), з тóго лісу (LP, p. 281).

In the analyzed drama pronoun сього́ (genitive and accusative cases of singular) is substantivized. In four cases there is an emphasis on the second syllable of inflection (LP, p. 217, 249, 258 – twice), which corresponds to accent patterns of forms of genitive and accusative cases in singular without a preposition [5, p. 185]. But in the function of attribute this pronoun does not keep the accentuation of the final inflexion, although it is used without a preposition: давно́  б уже́ не ста́ло сьо́го дуба (LP, p. 212). Such stressing is obviously caused by the need to preserve the poetic rhythm.

The same cause can be used, in our opinion, to explain the stress of substantivized attributive pronoun до всього́ (LP, p. 222), which has the second inflexion syllable stressed in flexion genitive case in singular with a preposition. It should be noted that in the drama the same word form is used, but with a different emphasis: до всього (LP, p. 280), corresponding to modern literary norm of usage of genitive case in singular with a preposition (ULVN, p. 70; Pogr. OS, p. 72).

Shifted stress or enclitic could be observed in the form of the pronoun хто in the form of genitive and accusative cases of singular. In four cases, the use of non-prepositional form saved inflexional stress, on the last syllable of the word (LP, genitive case – p. 203, 257, accusative case – p. 264, 282). Pronoun кого́с (LP, p. 226) also fixes such stressing. Word forms with prepositions для кого (LP, p. 211), від кого (LP, p. 232), до кого (LP, p. 265, 278) illustrate shifting of the stress. It remains inflexional, but moves to the initial composition.

The enclitic function is also performed by the negative particle ні, which is functioning as a pronoun prefix. Thus, in the text of drama the non-prepositional word form of accusative case нікого (LP, p. 273) is characterized by the shifted to the left stress. The specificity of the accentuation of this form lies in the fact that the stress here performs also semantic and grammatical functions differentiating both lexical meaning and part of speech classification, as in homographs: ніколи (predicative adverb, which means there is no time) and ніколи (never – adverb), ні́єк (predicative, which means by no means, not possible) and ні́єк (in no way – adverb), нікого (there is nobody who can – predicative) and нікого (no one – pronoun) (ULVN, p. 372; Pogr. OS, p. 373) [5, p. 227]. Differentiation of meaning of pronouns with the help of stress is also occurs in the form dative case of singular: нікому (there is nobody who can – predicative) and нікому (no one – pronoun) (ULVN, p. 372; Pogr. OS, p. 373). In the analyzed text the stress highlights the meaning no one of the pronoun нікому (LP, p. 252).
Similar phenomena (enclitic and differential function of stress) are observed on the example of pronoun нічого (LP, p. 217, 218, 221, 222, 234, 275), which is used seven times in the explored text, and once with a preposition that in this context does not influence the place of stress: ні до чого (LP, p. 255). In the drama stress highlights the meaning of a negative pronoun. In the dictionaries this meaning is opposed to the form with prefix stress нічого (there is nothing to) (Hrinch. II, p. 568; ULVN, p. 372; Pogr. OS, p. 373).

The form of genitive case in pronoun цо is also characterized by shifted stress from the final syllable of the inflexion to the left, that is influenced by a preposition: коло чого (LP, p. 211), до чого (LP, p. 260). Pronoun, used without preposition, has the stress on the final syllable: чого (LP, p. 212, 245, 248, 270, 285) as indefinite pronoun чогось (LP, p. 222, 248, 287).

Adverb чого is homonymous to the pronoun цо. This adverb is used in interrogative sentences 23 times (LP, p. 202 – twice, 203, 210, 212, etc.) and once as a connecting word (LP, p. 250). These words are functioning without a preposition, so they have the accent on the final syllable: чого. However, in three cases accentuation of the first syllable is possible: Та чого там? (LP, p. 276), A ти тут чого? (LP, p. 240), A чого же ти // стикаєшся отут як поторача? (LP, p. 240). On the one hand, these sentences are separate remarks, which allows emphasizing the final syllable according to the rules. But due to the fact that these statements are connected to the previous and next poetic expressions, we assume that the first syllable of adverbs is stressed, which saves iambus.

In modern Ukrainian literary language some pronouns have stress on the last inflexional syllable in the form of dative case in singular like in genitive case without preposition: мені (ULVN, p. 721; Pogr. OS, p. 627), тобі (ULVN, p. 648; Pogr. OS, p. 561), собі (ULVN, p. 594; Pogr. OS, p. 519), йому (ULVN, p. 112; Pogr. OS, p. 114), кому (ULVN, p. 694; Pogr. OS, p. 600), чому (ULVN, p. 719; Pogr. OS, p. 625), сьому, тому (ULVN, p. 651; Pogr. OS, p. 564). There are examples of such accentuation in the drama: мені (LP, p. 207, 208, 209, 214, 217, etc., in general 43 times), тобі (LP, p. 205 – twice 209, 212, 216, 218, etc., in general 32 times), собі (LP, p. 211 – three times, 215, 221 etc., in general 12 times), йому (LP, p. 237, 245, 274, 285).

Negative pronoun нікому is characterized by the shifting stress (LP, p. 252).

Pronoun цо in form of dative case in singular is homonymous with the adverbs чому and чомусь, which have the similar stress: чому (LP, p. 216, 217, 220, 224 – twice, etc., in general 10 times), чомусь (LP, p. 222).

Phonemically identical forms of prepositional case are characterized by shifted stress (enclitic) from the last inflexional syllable. This is caused by the use of word forms with a
preposition: при чому (LP, p. 255), на чому (LP, p. 274). In modern Ukrainian literary language this pattern also exists: на чому (ULVN, p. 719; Pogr. OS, p. 625, Pravopys, 2005, p. 88).

The stressing of the first inflexional syllable of demonstrative pronouns in the form of prepositional case in singular is registered seven times in the drama в своєму лісі (LP, p. 213), в тому краю (LP, p. 230). Such accentuation aims, obviously, to keep the rhythmic pattern of the poetic lines, as contemporary dictionaries register another accentuation: на томушляху (ULVN, p. 651; Pogr. OS, p. 564). Accentuation of substantivized demonstrative pronoun in the form of prepositional case in singular in the drama coincides with the modern norm: на тому знаєшся (LP, p. 246) and стояти на тому (ULVN, p. 651; Pogr. OS, p. 564). In the lines Щастя – тозі рідна, // буй тому рідна (LP, p. 268) substantivized demonstrative pronoun loses its emphasis, passing it the previous word, thus maintaining poetical rhythm.

As it has been already noted in the Late Proto-Slavic language pronouns *(j)azь, *ty, *sebe [12, p. 244; 13, p. 139; 10, p. 143], *jьv, *ть, *къто and *чьто [12, p. 36; 13, p. 139; 10, p. 145–146] belonged to moving accent paradigm. In the dative case of singular all these pronouns were characterized by a short decreasing tone on the initial syllable: *мънě [10, p. 143]. In the form of prepositional case of singular analyzed pronouns are characterized with two-syllable ascending-descending tone with final syllable stressed: *мънě, *тебě, *себě [10, p. 143], *jemь, *томь [10, p. 146]. The later form of the prepositional case of singular derived from the dative case of singular [4, p. 164].

We can assume that different from the modern forms accentuation of genitive, accusative and dative cases in singular in the drama are the result of dialect influence. As I. Ohienko noted, in the western Ukrainian dialect the forms of pronouns pronounced with the accent on the first syllable. Evidence of this is in the poetry of Ivan Franko and Bogdan Lepkyi, Ostrog zbirnyk 1588 [5, p. 182].

In the text of the drama such forms of instrumental case in singular is used: мнòйо (LP, p. 220, 243, 284), тобòю (LP, p. 208, 260, 267 – twice, 269, 272, 277). In the Late Proto-Slavic language these forms were characterized by a two-syllable ascending-decreasing tone with the stress on the penultimate syllable, i.e. on the flexion *тнòйо, *тобòйо [10, p. 143]. These forms were characterized by monosyllabic ascending-decreasing tone on the final long vowels, but under the influence of genetic and prepositional case forms in singular they got the accent on the second syllable [10, p. 144]. Modern Ukrainian language also saves such accentuation: мнòйо (ULVN, p. 721; Pogr. OS, p. 627), тобòю (ULVN, p. 648; Pogr. OS, p. 561).

The forms of instrumental case of plural of the pronouns ми and ви retain the original Proto-Slavic accentuation. In the drama the author uses the following forms: на́ми (LP, p. 274 – twice), вàми (LP, p. 242, 244, 251). They come from Late Proto-Slavic *нъами, *въами [10,
p. 144] and are characterized by dynamic stress on the first syllable. Modern accent rule also captures inflexional stress of these forms: яму (Pravopys, 2005: p. 86), вадь (Pravopys, 2005: p. 86).

Thus, the stressing of pronominal case forms primarily coincides with the literary standard of the beginning of 20th century, when drama “Lisova Pisnia” was created. The stressing of pronominal case forms also coincides with the contemporary accent norm. The particular attention should be paid to the enclitic in indirect case forms with preposition.

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ABBREVIATIONS


