

Phonomotivational Synonymic Links Between Words in the Poetry of Serbian Poets

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In order to cast some light on the complex question of poetic synonymy, we must first point out some of the basic characteristics of poetic language. In the structure of poetic language, which, with respect to natural language, represents a higher-degree model system (Petković 1984: 167), two opposite mechanisms are acting simultaneously: one endeavours to subordinate all the elements of the text to the system and transform them into automatized grammar (in keeping with the structure in spoken language), without which the act of communication is impossible, which the second endeavors to break down that automatization and make the structure itself the bearer of the information. Certain systems are created in the poetic text that are supplementary to natural language. The specific nature of the poetic text lies, among other things, in the fact that non-structural elements that are typical of speech take on a structural character in it (Lotman 1976: 212). The result of this is that all the sounds in verse may have semantic weight as they enter into various correlative relations. As each poetic text arises as a combination of a limited number of elements, repetitions are inevitable in it. But these repetitions in the non-poetic text are not conceived as some kind of system due to the semantic level of the text. From the point of view of the general language content, the repetition of certain phonemes (sounds) is quite incidental. However, it is sufficient for a text to be defined as poetic (artistic) for it to be presumed that all the systems existing in it are meaningful, and then no repetition will be incidental with respect to the structure achieved.

The deliberate juxtaposition of words that occurs on a phonetic-phonological level in the poetic text stresses the essential, natural link between words¹ and creates a unique richness of meaning. This means that phonological (sound) repetitions (both non-conventional and conventional) can establish supplementary links between words by introduction meanings into the semantic organization of the text that are either expressed vaguely or absent entirely on the level of natural language. Thus, phonological structure, which belongs to the domain of expression in natural language, changes in poetry into the structure of the content, forming semantic links inseparable from the given context. That is why something happens during the transfer of meaning in the poetic text that is different from the process in everyday language - instead of a series of signals successive in time whose aim is a specific message, there is a complexly formed signal of a spatial character that takes the recipient back to what he has already perceived. Thereby, the series of verbal signals (simple and complex language signals) that have already been perceived once according to the general laws of language meaning, assume another sense upon the second (structural-poetic) perception.

Phonological (sound) repetitions also bring closer those units of language that are different in the non-poetically organized text by introducing them into unique groups, (lexical-sound series) among the elements of which new, supplementary semantic relations are established. Thus, sound repetitions remove certain lexical elements of the text from the state of language automatization. In this case, a system of motivated links is formed between the phonological structure of the text and its semantic interpretation, that is to say an equivalent relationship between the level of expression and the level of content emerges. Through this, different words are linked directly and, thanks to this linkage, a complex semantic correlation is created between them. In certain cases the separation occurs of the common sound segment (quasimorpheme), and also the common semantic core - the archisememe (Lotman 1976: 207), that are not expressed in everyday language. Therefore, sound (phonological) repetitions in the poetic text, unlike in the ordinary text, organize lexical elements into a system of links that is completely autonomous with regard to the syntactic system, but which, like the syntactic system, organizes lexemes into a higher-level structure where poetic synonymy occurs. These observations can be

1 "Such reflection is in fact the creation of a series of synonyms, essentially linked words that create a semantic-stylistic field: they point to their naturally motivated link, just as the link is natural between the content and the expression in onomatopoeia" (Vuletić 1988: 9)

confirmed by many examples to be found in all poetic languages. We shall, for specific reasons, take examples from Serbian poetry alone.

Therefore, in the poetic text, unlike the non-poetic text, sound repetitions organize lexical elements into a higher-level structure. The poetic structure that arises in this way creates a particular world of semantic relations that, as our research shows, channels itself in the direction of synonymy. Thus, in the verses of Velimir Lukić, the words **strava** (horror), **sterilan** (sterile) and **smrt** (death) establish a mutual relation that is not caused by customary syntactic and other purely language links.

Budjenje. I ljubavi vijugav dah. **Strave** ova nemir
Kud bludi. Kad **sterilnih** reči odjek je opojan
Sutonu predan. I **smrti** vir.

Leto, 41.

The repetition of the polyalliterative sequence **str** (or the quasimorpheme² **str**) in these words has the effect of separating these sound sequences as an independent unit in the readers consciousness. This leads to a situation where the words **strava**, **sterilan**, and **smrt**, that are independent, incomparable elements in the non-poetic text, start to be conceived as mutually semantically intertwining. The comparison of the words that thus occurs gives rise to the need for something common to be discovered amongst them, despite their difference. When such semantic intertwining occurs, a large part of the conceptual content of each word is suppressed, just as content suppresses polysemy. In the given case, the formed quasimorpheme **str**, that does not resemble a real morpheme in its form, draws its meaning equally from all the lexemes that have it in their sound composition. The unit of content of such a poetic structure is the archisememe that includes a section of the semantic fields of subsequently activated words, and at the same time also reflects their common semantic core. The meaning of the archisememe, in this case, has a negative connotation and can be identified with words denoting horror, abomination. The equivalent nature of seemingly non-equivalent elements leads to the supposition that symbols that have different denotations - have on the level of poetic language (or higher-degree model system) common denotations and become synonymous.

2 A quasimorpheme is a sound sequence that frequently resembles a real morpheme in its form, but there are also such situations where a quasimorpheme corresponds completely to a real morpheme and sometimes to a lexeme. In such cases, as a rule, the real morpheme or lexeme subordinates the quasimorpheme to itself and affects its meaning in the poetic text.

This can also be explained by the fact that the higher-degree system of the poetic type constructs its own system of denotations that is not a copy but a model of the world of denotations in general language meaning.

A similar example can be found in the verses of Dragan Kolundžija.

Jer nema od mene ništa. To **vetar** duva kroz odaju mlaku
I nosi cveće i **vatru**, široko lišće svetlosti u vodi.
Krv moja puna noževa na raskršću osvojenom. Ona laje.
Ona se u jabuku **pretvara**, u crnu jabuku **rata**. Moj bože.

Zatvorenik u ruži, 71.

The sound repetitions in the form of the quasimorpheme **rat** establish relationships between the words (**vetar**, /wind/, **vatra** /fire/, **pretvarati** /transform/, **rat** /war/) that the reader (or the recipient) perceives as semantic. Unlike the previous case, here the quasimorpheme **rat** (that does, it is true, also occur in the form of the alloquasimorphs: **tar**, **atr**, **t(v)ar**), as can be seen, does not only resemble a real morpheme but also corresponds to a real lexeme. Its influence is therefore of crucial importance for the formation of the content of the archisememe, since with its semantic characteristic it stimulates similar dimensions of meaning that objectively exist in all the activated lexemes. This common meaning, under the influence of the quasimorpheme **rat**, suggests something that can be described as a destructive, violent act. In this way the words **vetar**, **vatra**, **pretvarati**, **rat**, that have different denotations on the level of language, become in a poetic structure thus achieved elements of one complex symbol³ into whose unique meaning (of a global nature) flow all individual meanings. The subsequent establishment of the link between the words on the basis of the repeated sound sequence caused the restructuring of the context that led to its higher-level semantization, whereby the different minimal (simple) language symbols⁴

We encounter the same situation as in the previous two examples in the poetry of Milovan Danajlić.

3 "A complex symbol is each symbol that is made up of two or more minimal symbols" (kiljan 1985: 90).

4 "In each semiological system such symbols are conceivable that both on the level of expression and on the level of content are indivisible into smaller parts that could be joined by something on a higher level - these are minimal symbols" (kiljan 1985: 90) (words) have become elements of the complex poetic symbol and become synonyms of a kind, for they express the individual nuances of a single meaning.

Znam šta mi **smeta** da spojim oba **sveta**
I ona dva, stara, iz ko zna kog veka, plava
- Muči me jedna ptica iz usamljenog **leta**
Smeta mi jedan **asketa** iznad koga se odmara trava.

Nedelja, 12.

The stanzaic context under the influence of the sound repetitions creates the quasimorpheme **seta**, that is found five times in the form of alloquasimorphs: **s(m)eta**, **s(v)eta**, **leta**, **s(m)eta**, **as(k)eta**, on the basis of which the complex symbol (**smeta-sveta-leta-smeta-asketa** /disturb-worlds-flight-disturb-ascetic/) is established by deliberate linkage. Even at first sight the resemblance between the quasimorpheme **seta** and the lexical unit of identical composition **seta** is evident. By means of association according to similarity, the meaning of the word **seta** /nostalgia/ is transferred to this quasimorpheme, although it has no connection whatsoever with the meaning of any of the lexemes (**smeta**, **sveta**, **leta**, **asketa**) before it enters into the composition of the complex symbol. It assumes its meaning of quasimorpheme, or complex symbol, in the process of the subsequent organization of the spoken series. In other words, the quasimorpheme (or complex symbol) is as a unit of meaning the product exclusively of the literary text, the product of its poetic organization of verbal units founded, primarily, on formal criteria, in this case sound repetitions. The meaning of the complex symbol is, in fact, the identification of the content of the stanzas context.

In order to demonstrate this, we shall take a look at just one more example taken from the poetry of Velimir Lukić.

Daleko jezero snova. Po njemu huči šum
Daljina **pusta** i nova. Il **vetar** klonut niz hum.
Beše to sjaj mi dalek u leta kazan žud
Vatra u pozni nalet, ko **otrov prosuta stud**.

Čudesni predeo, 43.

By means of sound repetitions founded in the form of the quasimorpheme **pusta** /deserted/ that occurs three times in the form of the alloquasimorphs **pusta**, **p(ro)suta**, **stud**, there arises the complex symbol **pusta-prosuta-stud** /deserted-scattered-cold/. The last in the series of alloquasimorphs does in fact represent the reduction of the quasimorpheme **pusta**. As in its form, this quasimorpheme resembles the real morpheme **pust**, it is logical for it to draw its meaning from the semantic potential of the mentioned lexical unit, and therefore its meaning has associations with **pustoš** /desolate land/, **bestragija** /land of no return/. The sound

repetitions in the form of the quasimorpheme *vtr* that occurs three times in the form of the alloquasimorphs: *v(e)t(a)r*, *v(a)tr(a)*, *(o)tr(o)v*, create the complex symbol (**vetar-vatra-otrov** /wind-fire-poison/) (Lotman 1976: 239). It is evident that in the existing form the quasimorpheme *vrt* does not resemble any of the real morphemes, to say nothing of the real lexemes. As a result of this, its meaning, like the meaning of the established complex symbol, must be sought somewhere between the three constructive elements of this symbol, while at the same time completely honoring the surrounding context. Taking all these elements into account, it can nonetheless be stated at least preliminarily that the dimension of meaning of the quasimorpheme *vtr*, that is the complex poetic symbol, has the value of a negative connotation (something that provokes an unpleasant feeling, creates a troubling impression), and this is also in line with the content of the mentioned context and with certain denotative meanings of the activated symbols: **vetar**, **vatra**, **otrov**. In this way the common component of meaning is drawn from all three activated lexemes, and this means something destructive, violent, which brings them into the world of synonymic relations, that is makes them synonymous.

In the examples analyzed, as we have demonstrated, there occurred the establishment of semantic correlation among three or more words, whereby a synonymic series is created in which each semantic unit is perceived in relationship to their common semantic core, and this perception is quite different from what it would be if they were regarded apart from the series and outside the given context. Sound parallelism is a particularly productive form of phonetically motivated linkage between words. This is seen in the form of non-conventional sound repetitions, repetitions within verse (euphony) and conventional (canonical) sound repetitions, and repetitions at the end of lines of verse (rhyme).

In even euphonic links between words, as can be seen, there is not only a difference in the intensity of the links between elements but also in the degree of the synonymy.

- (1) S večeri ljubav je crnica, nju dojku, **tamnu** i **tavnu** DU, 77
- (2) Zanimanja u kojima ću raditi na **tvarima** i **stvarima** i uredjajima DN, 52.
- (3) Stojimo, **prosimo**, **molimo** nekoga da nas ubije DU, 8.
- (4) Nosim grozne trenutke **umiranja** i **klanja** DU, 86.
- (5) **Pomeraju** se mora užasi se **premeštaju** MI, 66.
- (6) Sunce je **bolest** i **slabost** je **strela** MI, 230.
- (7) Brigo i zanosu **biljci** na **stabljici** MII, 107.
- (8) Nebeski pesnici smo mi, mi - oblaci **stalni** i **metalni** KZ, 7.
- (9) Nit svoje **teme** imam, nit crni razboj **pameti** TV, 20.

(10) **Kriknuću** nočas **kriknuću** sada **jauknuću** sve što znam DU, 59.

(11) Da **mauknemo**, **jauknemo**, **skočimo** gore-dole DU, 86.

(12) Vi ćete **zaćutati**, vi ćete **prestati** LČ, 14.

In almost all the examples the sound repetitions are sharply stressed, and therefore the meaning relations between the words have become more marked. On the other hand, the degree of synonymy, as we have said, is not everywhere identical. While in some cases (e.g. **taman** /dark/ - **tavan** /distant/, **tvari** /substances/ - **stvari** /things/, **prostiti** /beg/ - **moliti** /ask/) the meanings within the text are close to the general language meaning, for they achieve true lexical synonymy; yet in the case of others they descend to the level of quasisynonyms, where synonymic relations are established by means of association according to similarity⁵ (e.g. **zaćutati** - **prestati** /to become silent - to stop/, **mauknuti** - **jauknuti** /to miaow - to wail/, **stalni** - **metalni** /permanent - metallic/, **teme** - **pamet** /crown of the head - intelligence/ etc.) or they are the reflection of the direct closeness of the denoted concepts joined with links of cause and effect (e.g. **umirati** - **klati** /to die - to slaughter/, **biljka** - **stabljika** /plant - stem/, **bolest** - **slabost** /illness - weakness etc.). However, even in those cases where there is, relatively speaking, true synonymy, a particular relation of synonymy is expressed among the activated elements of the complex poetic symbol, with the result that such a relation can be designated approximately as the same but also somewhat different, which confirms Lotmans statement that likeness of sound only provides nuance for difference in meaning (Lotman 1976: 175). Not wishing to go further into the analysis of the complex nature of the semantic movements that take place on the basis of the repetition of sound sequences, we shall note that two words appear on a specific level as synonyms, setting apart a common characteristic, that is a common semantic core, that makes them synonymic elements.

Rhyme represents a particularly marked aspect of phonetically motivated, even links between words. That is to say in rhyme two words (rarely more), which are not linked at all (grammatically and semantically) are joined in poetry by identical harmony into a unique constructive pair. The existence of the link between rhyming words in the domain of expression leads to the assumption of the existence of certain content links too, that is the possibility of bringing both their semantic and stylistic characteristics closer together. For, if we start from the assumption that

5 "Association should be objective, which does not mean that it has to be simple and all too evident. On the contrary, it may be scarcely discernible and be revealed only upon subtle analysis" (Невзглядова 1968; 28.).

sounds have meaning in poetry, then sound (phonological) closeness can be understood as closeness of basically different concepts.

In rhyming pairs, similar to the case of the even euphonic link, the degree of synonymy is not identical. It ranges from almost true lexical synonyms to poetic synonyms. Thus, in the poem by Velimir Lukić entitled *Osvetljeni vid /Enlightened Vision/* the words **luta** /wander/ and **pluta** /float/ rhyme.

(...)

Na dalekom nedogledu i tvoja igra **luta**:
I čezne za sutonom ili pritajenim lukom,
Lelujav i usamljen kako na vodi **pluta**
Beli zid mira srušen je tvojom rukom.

Leto, 15.

Poetic structure was not necessary to stress the conceptual relation of the rhyming pair **luta** - **pluta**. The general language meanings and meanings within the text are virtually identical. However, the context helped the poet demonstrate a potential of meaning that, at the same time, is not such, for involved here is correspondence of meaning and not identity of meaning.

Rhyme can sometimes designate variation in a concept, and this represents some type of paronymic chain effect. An example of this is to be found in the poetry of Branko Miljković, in the poem *Sluga Milutin /The Servant Milutin/*.

Poslednju svetlost slabosti prate i **bilje**...
Upotrebljiv samo u snu, svet nas **vara**!
Varnicom nežnom niz crno **kovilje**
Doželjen predeo obuze **prevara**

(...) MI, 231.

The rhyming pairs of words **bilje** - **kovilje** /plant - spikenard/ and **vara** - **prevara** /cheat - deception/, founded on the repetition of the identical sound sequences (**ilje** and **vara** that connect extremely close semantic structures), can, among other things, be understood as a kind of word play, a calembour. At the basis of these rhymes, it seems to us, there lies the conscious intention, through providing specific detail and concretization (Vlasov 1970: 45), to shed light on a broader concept (the complex poetic symbol that functions as a single-element member (Jović 1975: 65) as a dual word). The degree of identity of their semantic cores, which are particularly stressed here, also dictates the degree of synonymy (involved here is second degree synonymy) (Lotman 1975: 167). of the concepts of the designated rhyming units.

Different synonymic links between words are frequently achieved in the scope of the rhyming pair. In the poem *Pleme /Clan/ Dragan Kolundžija* rhymes words from the same category of objects.

Okružen mrtvima kapiju svoju otvori,
ovo je poziv na dan mlečan i **biljan**
I ne sme niko od vas vodi ili gori;
smehove svoje bacamo u **ljiljan**.

Zatvorenik u ruži, 26.

The rhyming words **biljan** /verdant/ and **ljiljan** /lily/ denote concepts that have the same denominator upon which their conceptual correlation is founded. By rhyming the words **biljan** and **ljiljan**, the poet established synonymy by reducing the general (**biljan, bilje**) to the particular (**ljiljan**), where the general loses its multiple meaning by becoming the particular. On this level of relations there occurred the synonymic link among different lexical units, brought into structurally equivalent links (Lotman 1975: 232), primarily, on the basis of their common formal characteristics, that is the quasimorpheme **iljan**.

And such distant and incomparable concepts as **čuti se** /to be heard/ and **kovati** /to forge/ become through rhyming a single constructive pair in the poem *Lešnik /Hazelnut/* by Dragan Kolundžija.

Idiotske se igre čuju
I od plemenitih metala senke se **kuju**
za jesen koja će da urodi plodom.

Zatvorenik u ruži, 25.

Although each rhyming word has its own autonomous meaning, their conceptual difference seems to be lost through the repetition of the sound sequence **uju**, and they are joined into a single, semantically complex whole that is based on a sound element that is common to both concepts, from which their semantic similarity and their synonymy stem.

The concepts of **mrak** /darkness/ and **džak** /sack/ that we encounter in the role of a rhyming pair in the poem *Budjenje /Awakening/* by Milovan Danajlić are very distant from a semantic point of view on the level of ordinary language.

Što me voda tamo-amo po dubokome **mraku**
Cvetova kad kiša klizi i vetar podmladjen sipi
Gde mi jalovo podmeće crnu mačku u **džaku**
Gde peku ti porazi, gde nagrizaju polipi.

Urodjениčki psalmi, 76.

Regarded from outside the mentioned context, the rhyming pair **mrak - džak** have virtually nothing in common. However, put into the context and brought close together, brought into a new relationship (Jović 1975: 48) through the common sound sequence **aku**, this rhyming pair arouses related associations in the reader. In fact, the recipient seeks some common dimension of meaning that would establish a semantic link between the rhyming concepts besides the link of sound. The poet himself did in fact initiate the emergence of similar associations and the search for something identical in the difference by using the extended constructions *po dubokome mraku /in the deepest dark/* and *crnu mačku u džaku /a black cat in a sack/*. Through this procedure, the lexeme **džak** is removed from its actual meaning and comes closer to the concept **mrak**, as the focus of the message is directed towards the case structure *u džaku /in a sack/* and not to the concept of **džak** itself. In this way there occurred the conceptual inter-dependence of the rhyming words that in the complex semantical framework produced their synonymic relationship expressed in the concept denoting decreased visibility, opaqueness, for difference on the level of denotations loses all significance in a poetic text thus structured.

It should finally be stressed that in the poetic text general language synonymy assumes additional significance, that is it is expanded, and its final objective must be understood as a tendency, because, it could be said, any word from the vocabulary of a language can appear as the equivalent of any other word, with the stipulation that equivalence must not be confused with identity. The poetic text has its own, particular degree of expanded synonymy. And this expansion of synonymy is founded on the cognitive act that consists of stressing the individual, the specific.

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Abbreviations and Sources

- DU – Danojlić M., *Urodjенички psalmi*.
DN – Danojlić M., *Nedelja*.
KZ – Kolundžija D., *Zatvorenik u ruži*.
KČ – Kolundžija D., *Čuvari svetlosti*.
TV – Timotijević B., *Veliki spavač*.
LL – Lukić V., *Leto*.
LC – Lukić V., *Čudesni predeo*.
MI – Miljković B., *Sabrana dela I*.
MII – Miljković B., *Sabrana dela II*.

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Фономотивационные синонимические связи слов в языке сербской поэзии

В структуре поэтической речи, которая по отношению к естественному языку является второстепенной модельной системой, общезыковая синонимика получает добавочное значение, так как фонологическая структура, касающаяся в естественном языке плана выражения, переходит в поэтической речи в структуру содержания, формируя семантические связи неотделимые от данного контекста. Учитывая это, в настоящей работе автор указывает на один вид поэтической синонимики, имеющей место при соотнесении разнородных слоб, у которых повторяются отдельные звукосочетания. Такого типа мотивированные связи слоб автор рассматривает на материале сербской поэзии в рамках окказиональных (неконвенциольных — эфония) и канонических (конвенциональных — рифма) звывковых повторов, выявляя синонимические значения, которые или неясно выражены или совсем отсутствуют на уровне естественного языка.