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## COSMIC SYNTAGMS: A STUDY OF ACO SHOPOV'S POETIC UNIVERSE

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### ABSTRACT

*Poetry serves as a powerful source of new vocabulary, as its essence lies in shaping the formless into form. Thus, as the poet speaks of their most intimate feelings, new words and word forms are arising. Recognizing poetry as an important source of novel vocabulary, this qualitative research aims to answer the question: What purpose do the lexical innovations in Aco Shopov's poetry serve? The aim is, thus, to identify and understand the defining elements of Shopov's poetry and their contribution to his poetic expression. To achieve this goal, a corpus i.e. a sample was compiled for the purposes of this paper. The sample includes eighteen poems by Shopov – poems that include stellar themes and cosmic symbolism. Qualitative content analysis is used, based on the coding and the general qualitative method. The findings reveal that Shopov's poetic language consistently maintains a cosmic dimension, with lexical innovations as an integral to this aspect of his poetry.*

**Keywords:** Poetic style, Shopov, stars, word, syntagms.

### INTRODUCTION

Style does not exist outside the text. It is embedded within it, just as language is embedded into style. Language provides the tools to create texts, and the author selects from these tools based on the specific context and purpose (Minova-Gjurkova, 2003: 108). It's widely understood that the poetic style often involves deviating from standard language norms. In fact, this departure from conventional rules is part of the creative process, where new words or meanings are formed using the word-formation processes of the Macedonian language. When an author adds a new meaning to a word, they create something original, making this new word their own unique creation – something that did not exist in the language in the first place. In this way, authors create new words or expressions through their work.

Words like these enrich the author's style, adding an additional layer of aesthetics to the language. These words, however, are only ever used in the authors' works and rarely become widely accepted into speakers' vocabulary (Janusheva & Jurukovska, 2015). Every poet has his own set of symbols, so even when they are repeated, they are always used in new contexts, with new meanings, depending on the context itself (Shopov, 1970).

As Janusheva points out (Janusheva, 2015: 134), "the language in artistic-literary works is, in a sense, specific, because authors, in their works, are creating new words, or actualizing

already existing words that are not affirmed and actualized to a sufficient measure in the language, and thus give individuality to their linguistic expression.”

Language can develop, expand and adjust through syntagms with new ideas and perspectives. By understanding them, we can understand the very nature of language in the author’s poetic style. In Shopov’s poetry, in particular, such new expressions help us grasp his unique poetic voice. In doing so, they also bring us closer to understanding Macedonian literary identity and its unique linguistic expressions. The reasons for combining several words into one expression to portray a single image or symbol go beyond logical intelligibility. Such compound words may seem illogical and grammatically incorrect, but they best show the genius of the author in creating word combination that have not been made before.

Shopov often used such combinations to conceal allegories, adding additional layers of meaning in his syntagms. To create such syntagms is, in its very core, to experiment. And at the heart of any experiment lies mystery. One cannot predict where it will lead or whether what has been created will take root. The new and the unknown are embedded in it, in its future—a future that the author is addressing. Because, at the end of the day, language is a living entity, and no one can say with certainty whether a word will ever be something people use on the daily. His poetics is a science on its own. Placed in the context of linguistics, it becomes a category with no boundaries, and, for sure, something that will never be exhausted, no matter how much is written on it.

## THE WORD IN SHOPOV’S POETRY

Shopov’s writing is years ahead of his time, and we are only now beginning to fully understand the truths he revealed. It’s no surprise that he equates knowledge of the poetic future with the conquest of space. He describes words as *nepodatliv*, *opori*, *nepristapni* (unyielding, stubborn, inaccessible) because, in his view, the more distant the words seem, the closer they are to real life (Shopov, 1959: 29). For Shopov, the word is his “weapon” and “tool” through which he carries out his “life engagement.” He sees the word as “the only key that can unlock the problems of human existence, alienation, and other vital issues of our time” (Shopova, 2024: 10). His poetry demonstrates just how much meaning one can pack into a single word.

When he speaks of the challenge with words, he refers to their functional placement of words within a poem—their power and sometimes their inability to convey the essential truths the poet has put into words through his poetic vision (Shopov, 1970: 396). He illustrates this with the example of the word *zhena* (“woman”). In its ordinary sense, the word refers to a specific woman with certain physical and other traits. But in the poetic sense, in which Shopov uses it, *zhena*’s meaning is much deeper. A word can become a symbol, intertwining many other elements (Shopov, 1970: 397), just as many of his words—like *nebidnina* (“non-being”) and *crno sonce* (“black sun”)—become profound symbols.

To understand words, one must understand oneself. So, is it even possible to fully understand the word? Perhaps, understanding it is as unlikely as fully understanding the universe. There is no absolute decoding of the meaning, neither of the words nor of the author’s poetry. Firstly, because an author’s true intentions can never be completely known. Secondly, because the need to write and the reason for writing, do not always come from the same source. Thirdly, even the poet himself (as a human) cannot fully convey in words what he thinks and feels. Therefore, Shopov hides the true meaning of the words and transforms them into codes using vocabulary to do with stars. By combining already-existing Macedonian words, the author creates new contexts. For example, in *soncopadno lisje* (“sun-fallen leaves”) Shopov takes ordinary words and phrases and elevates them into poetic symbols, conveying complex and abstract ideas, often tied to cosmic and existential themes. His poetry shows us just how powerful our language is.

## THE TRINITY IN SHOPOV'S POETRY

The language of stellar codes shows how much Shopov equates the word with the infinite—because of its endless interpretations and its celestial nature. Like stars, words are born and they fade away, but they leave a lasting trace, just as stars and people do.

*Freedom, love, and word.* These three terms form an alchemical trinity: the essence and endurance of freedom and love lie in the word (Shopov, 2024: 569). Art is always facing the future. "Illusions are only revealed later. The ruins appear afterwards. It is the inevitable tragedy of every creative process. Where does the responsibility lie? And whose responsibility even is it?" (Shopov, 2024: 37). The responsibility is ours. As we see the stars in the sky, we should see the words that echo in Shopov's poetry. In that way, we will not only keep his poetics alive, but we will live out the meaning of his word – that a man should love his country to the sky. The fact that after so many years the light of his verses still travels is proof that the Word transcends Man. That's why Shopov uses codes. Everything has not to be said explicitly. Great things should be written with respect, with dignity, and with *respective subtlety* and secrecy.

His poetry reveals another trinity, which coincides with what Monique points out – the trinity of: *Sky. Man. Country*. Everything that happens in the sky affects the Earth. But not vice versa. What we create here, stays here and all thanks to eternity, and that eternity is the Word. The poet sees the word neither as a sign nor only as a symbol. The word is more than that – the ultimate meaning of existence, which unites many other meanings (Ivanović, 1987: 201). In 1970, during an interview for "Nova Makedonija", Shopov said that if there was anything unique to his work, it was his experience of the country, love, and the past as a singular, integrated experience. This is where we begin to see the recurring theme of threes. Ivanović highlights the claim of one of the semioticians, Gajo Pechesh: that literary creators insist on achieving a psychological sequence (man), a sociological sequence (earth), and an ontological sequence (sky). But one could argue that these are inseparably linked and no part of this sequence would exist without the previous one, and all three sequences are constantly intertwined in the poems because they cannot be separated.

The theory of trinity is clearly observed in Shopov's poetry:

*"I trite moi rani – trite neizrecheni zbora."*

*("And my **three** wounds – **three** unspoken words.")* (I ushte ednash crno sonce, 1970).

*"Megju trite stebila se nisha vo lulka. Pod trite luzni, pod trite nozha."*

*("Among the **three** stems, it swings in a cradle. Beneath the **three** scars, beneath the **three** knives.")* (Dolgo doagjanje na ognot, 1970).

*"Ne znam kolku ragjanja porekloto chovechko vodi i kade mine taa linija shto dvoi stari od mladi, no znam deka ednash i mene od okopite me rodi, na ovaa **Treta** i site drugi brigadi."*

*("I don't know how many births lead the human origin, or where the line is drawn between the old and young, but I know that once, from the trenches, it birthed me, into this **Third** and all other brigades.")* (Golema e tvojata pesna, 1964).

*"I trite, crno sonce, nashite tri sina, zhedni srede lozja, loznici i vina."*

*("And the **three**, oh, black sun, our **three** sons, thirsty amidst the vineyards, the vines and wine.")* (I ushte ednash crno sonce, 1970).

## BROADER RESEARCH CONTEXT

Research into Shopov's poetics reveals the complexity of his work focusing on the key elements that define his literary style.

Through the collection of interviews, records, and archive materials, Shopova (2023) presents the theories of Macedonian critics about the work of Aco Shopov. One such

exploration is Eudar Z Monique's interpretation. He explains that when it comes to Shopov's work, there are three terms imposed: *freedom*, *love*, and *the word*. But in poetry, the semantic meaning of a word does not always have to be the same in all contexts. In his verses, Shopov uses different word-formation processes and metaphors, to transfer the meaning of one noun to another, and to create (encode) and to interpret (decode) on the cultural context (Mladenoski, 2018: 177). Shopov gives new meaning to existing words and often combines two words and creates a new expression. Yet, it is important to note that not every new "revival" of an old word makes it a neologism. The relationship between the words and the semantic content of the other elements they collocate with needs to be considered. Such linguistic operation makes a creative linguistic phenomenon, i.e. a source of new meanings of individual words (Andonovski, 2011; Minova-Gjurkova, 2003; Sazdov, 2004; Nikolovska, 1999 in Mladenovski, 2018).

In regards to the aforementioned trinity, Ivanović also points out that the triplicity of poetic speech – the *condensation of past experiences*, the *creation of a modern speech model*, and the *turning to the future language*, makes the poet a sufferer because at no point in his speech does the process of perfecting the language stop. A language that will correspond to some future time, which the author will not even witness (Ivanović, 1987: 201). The basis of this poetics is symbolism and sensory unreality, as Gane Todorovski writes. According to him, Shopov does not strive for a degree of logical intelligibility but tries to make the words independent to the extent that they, both as a sound and as a suggestion, release from themselves some illogical forces that will govern the statement (Shopova, 2023: 128).

## RESEARCH METHODOLOGY

This research is focused on the research question: What purpose do the lexical innovations in Aco Shopov's poetry serve? The goal is to understand the words that, in their lexical-semantic field, include the theme of stars and to highlight the relationship between these lexical units and the stages of development of Shopov's poetry.

To fulfill the goal, an analysis of "A selection from the poetry, reflections, criticisms and archival material by Aco Shopov", published in 2023, and "Self-portrait of seven fingers", edited by Jasmina Shopova, published in 2024 is made. This means that a corpus representing the sample has been created. The creation of the sample alligns with the views of Mason (2002), and, according to Luncoln & Guba's (1985) views is purposive, as the, according to the authors, each sample is created based on a specific purpose. The sample also alligns with the views of Haride (2016) who states the researchers can create a corpus for their particular needs.

As for the procedure, first, the selected poems by Aco Shopov are carefully read in order to identify the words or expressions that include themes of stars. This means that the qualitative content analysis of Schreier (2014) is used – analysis which is based on coding (due to the abnormality and novelty in the relationship between the referring expression and the reference and the absence of these words in the Monolingual Dictionary of the Macedonian language). The analysis also relies on the qualitative method used in the research of Harding & Whitehead (2016).

## ANALYSIS, RESULTS AND DISCUSSION

The research of Shopov's poetic language reveals unusual connections characterized by their new meaning and construction. The coding of the poems shows that the "stary" syntagms are created by pre-existing words, placed in new contexts. In most of them, the words are related to the stars and the universe. In this way, Shopov creates meanings that were previously unknown. Each expression brings a new poetic dimension. These specific syntagms emphasize

Shopov's individual, artistic, and literary style and his ability to formulate innovative word combinations. These unusual blends/compounds are a key aspect of his poetry.

Very often, Shopov skilfully uses the word "stars" (*dzvezdite*) to convey meaning, thus essentially creating his own universe of words and expressions – *newly invented constructions*. It is important to note that one cannot confidently state that one interpretation of these phrases is correct as their meaning can vary due to context. Poetry is a subjective creation of something that should touch everyone, but it doesn't resonate the same with every reader. Therefore, the meaning of the word is closely related to the meaning of the context. Here, another question arises of whether the context determines the word or the word determines the context? The word exists independently. And it can have countless meanings (or none at all) and still exist. And it can provide no context on its own. On the other hand, the exact meaning of a word can only be fully grasped from the context in which it is used, where the essence lies in altering a word's fundamental meaning. The basic creative principle behind these figures is a departure from linguistic norms—take *crno sonce* ("black sun") as an example. So, Shopov creates novel expressions deriving a new meaning from existing words. He "frees" the words from their usual interpretation, connects them according to his own principle of the so-called unreality, and creates a poetic language of stellar syntagms.

Some of these syntagms from the selected poems include: *dzvezden obrach* ("stellar orbit"), *sonchevi glavi* ("solar heads"), *trpeza dzvezdena* ("stellar feast"), *vselenska barikada* ("cosmic barricade"), *soncopadno lisje* ("sun-fallen leaves"), *svetlotrepetlivata* ("light-vibrating one"), *crno sonce* ("black sun"), and *trimegjnica* ("three-borderline"). These expressions consist of familiar words placed in entirely new contexts, unique to Aco Shopov's poetic world. For instance, in astronomy, terms like "solar eclipse" describe sun-related phenomena, yet Shopov's *crno sonce* ("black sun") becomes a symbol representing something much deeper.

"Beneath nine nights, the **stellar orbit** cracks. And the fire is silent." ("Pod devet nokji **dzvezden obrac** puka. A ognot molchi.") (Nokjta na ognot, 1966). Shopov often gives cosmic elements human qualities, so that in his poetry, fire and stars sometimes appear more human than humans themselves. His quest for the ordinary yet undiscovered word was fulfilled in a profound way, elevating it to the level of an ideology. In doing so, Shopov not only achieves this poetic goal but also establishes it as a standard. Through the word, the poet can authentically connect with his contemporaries while simultaneously equating the word with the vastness of the universe.

"The fire writhes in a cage of time, under **a midnight sun**, a black seed ripens. Burn, **midnight sun**, don't stop, burn." ("Se prpelka ognot vo kafez od vreme, na polnokjno sonce zree crno seme. Grej, polnokjno sonce, ne zapiraj, grej.") (Ljubovta na ognot, 1966). Shopov immortalizes humanity through symbols that outlast the individual. He affirms our existence, allowing us to endure and radiate through these symbols, even after we are gone. Our memory is captured in words, while longevity is symbolized by the stars. As Stardelov (1987: 151) notes in his analysis of the poems from *Gledach vo pepelta*, the apocalyptic dimension is felt in every metaphor, as if they exist on the other side of time, immersed in a metaphysical world filled with cosmic dread. This reflects our inherent fear of the unknown, prompting us to seek explanations for concepts we may never fully understand. Humanity defines life through words, and words bear witness to our existence. The memory of stars is akin to the immortality of words. Both have a beginning and an end, yet they leave a lasting mark on the time in which they existed.

"Under this wreath of **solar heads**... Always and everywhere, exhausted yet enduring, **a star** is in the heart, and darkness is at the root. This is the stone for the dead, that **stellar feast**, that sickness and health. **The sky** will collapse. **Stars** and beasts will mix, poisons and

fields... Dig within yourself, beneath your skin, under the **black sun** of the three blades." ("Pod ovoj venec od **sonchevi glavi**... Sekogash i segde semozhen i moren, **dzvezda** e vo srce i mrak e vo koren. Toa e toj kamen na site mrtvi zglavje, taa **trpeza dzvezdena**, taa bolest i zdravje. Neboto kje se srushi. Kje se izmeshaat **dzvezdi** i dzverovi, otrovi i nivi... Vo sebe kopaj, pod svojata kozha, pod **crnoto sonce** na trite nozha.") (Dolgo doagjanje na ognot, 1970). *Sonchevi glavi* ("solar heads") reflect the dual nature of humans, mirroring the celestial. Shopov's combinations of words create images that may seem illogical, but they capture life's unpredictability. Perhaps his most symbolic poems, both literally and metaphorically connected to his cosmic expression, belong to the *Crno sonce* cycle. A solar eclipse is a rare event, one that draws the attention of the entire world. For a brief moment, the sun is eclipsed, turning day into night, eagerly awaited and marveled at. The black sun symbolizes this fleeting moment, the rush of light temporarily darkened. It is Earth, disguised as a star, uncertain of its existence. It is also a metaphor for the dual nature of man: created to shine, yet forced to tame and conceal that light. The black sun represents the trinity of sky, man, and earth—united in one celestial body.

"**Black sun**, you are a bird disguised as **a star**, those who think they have figured you out, have no idea what abyss pits are. What is that **celestial belt**, that colorful stripe from all **dark galaxies** to us – two continents bright. Shall I fade from you before I learn what fading is, before I perceive you as a **cosmic barricade**. Stars are looking at us, and **stars** are blind. We are alone on the earth like two standing rocks combined." ("Crno sonce, ptico prepravena vo **dzvezda**, koj misli deka te sftil ne znae shto e bezdna. Kakov e toj **nebesen pojas**, taa sharena lenta od site **temni galaksii** pa do nas – dva kontinenta. Zar da te istradam sega pred da znam kako se strada, pred da te vidam kako **vselenka barikada**... **Dzvezdite** gledaat vo nas, a **dzvezdite** se slepi. Nie sme samo na svetot kako dve srasnati krepj.") (Crno sonce, 1970). Drugovac explains that *Black Sun* is a poem of predictions—chaotic yet clear, full of emotion and intellect, creating a sound that is both warm and loud, calm and trembling. He who belongs to neither east nor west, nor to the sky, is free of belonging. And not belonging to anyone means being free from the possibility of loss. "You come, **black sun**, and pour down black rains, a comet tears the sky, does the earth battle with the heavens, do the dead battle with the living?" ("Doagjas, crno sonce, i crni isturash dozhdovi, dzvezda opashnica so ogan neboto li go para, vojuva li zemja so nebo, vojuvaat li mrtvi so zhivi.") (Pak crno sonce, 1970). In the context of *Black Sun*, Stardelov writes about Shopov's characteristic dark and somber themes, which metaphorically dissolve when named what the poet himself calls them—white sadness.

"And above them, the great **stellar chariot**. O **black sun**, fire of late autumn, light drips upon us from **a star** long extinguished." ("I nad niv Golemata dzvezdena kola. O crno sonce, ognu na esenta kasna, svetlina kape vrz nas od dzvezda shto odamna zgasna.") (I ushte ednash crno sonce, 1970). The black sun, long hidden like a forbidden word, has given us so many continents ahead of its time, that we will continue turning toward it for a long while. A shadowed star, or a bird flying toward an end that never arrives. Like an unfinished dream, we keep striving to discover how deep its roots go. It exists, and we carry it unfinished, half-lived. How much does it protect us, keeping us from giving up on it? How much does it shield us from abandoning it? The black sun endures! It recurs in other poems, often indirectly referenced:

"Twist them into a massive scar, turn them to stone in faith, give me that light to drink with nightmares, because everything that darkens in my Yesterday, I hide as bright Tomorrow in the depths." ("Spleti gi v ogromna luzna, skameni gi vo vera, daj mi, daj taa svetlina so koshmar da ja pijam, zashto se ona shto potemnuva vo moeto Vchera, jas kako svetlo Utre vo dlabini go krijam.") (Chetvrta molitva na moeto telo, 1963).

"I will become the sky for a Morning Star..." ("Kje stanam nebo na edna **Denica**...") (Kazhi mi nebo, 1957). Both light and darkness are replaced by a binary opposition—word and

darkness. The separation of words from the dark symbolizes the creation process. They are paradigmatically linked, forming a new meaningful vertical: fire, darkness, cosmos (Ivanović, 1987: 218).

*"Be a sky. Blueness of mine. A constellation of stars."* (*"Bidi nebo. Bidi sinost moja. Dzvezdi snopje."*) (Pesna, 1957). As human life becomes increasingly urbanized and overwhelmed by technology and modern civilization, so does our elemental need to reconnect with nature and bring it back into the world in a grateful and humanized way, writes Shopov (2024: 296). He takes us to places human thought has yet to reach—regions where words have no place as interpreters, where silence becomes the symbol of their purity. Silence, in this context, becomes a symbol of the purity of the word, as revealed by the lyrical subject who addresses someone he wishes to possess, like the sky or a bundle of stars. The word takes on a different meaning in silence—it has no form, but it holds significance. Shopov equates the word with the stars, with letterless silences in the vastness above us.

*"Horses come along a path of stars and moonlight, in nights without a moon, in days without light..."* (*"Idat konji po pat od dzvezdi i mesechina vo novnite nokji bez mesechina, vo nivnite denovi bez svetlina..."*) (Luzna, 1963). Shopov's poems reveal the reflective lyricism of his poetics, highlighting the aesthetic aspect of meta-poetic explorations of the meaning of words and verses, showcasing the limitless possibilities of poetic language. Drugovac suggests that this is a kind of associative poetry, rich in intellect, that seeks the universe and, through words, arrives at meaning. From this type of poetic expression, chaos takes shape.

*"I will dig into the night's darkness, for you to reflect as a star, to shine."* (*"Crnkite vo nokjta kje gi iskopam, dzvezda da se ogledash, da ogreesh."*) (Ako ti nedostsuva svetlina, 1970). Shopov expanded the expressive possibilities of the Macedonian language, not so much by adhering to normative poetic grammar, but by enriching representations and concepts at a higher level of poetic speech (Ivanović, 1987: 213). This confirms the idea that the freedom to deviate from grammatical and lexical norms is supported by artistic merit.

*"Ancient star, star of prophets and miracles. Phantom star, star of cold seas..."* (*"Starinska dzvezdo, dzvezdo na proroci i chuda. Senishte dzvezdeno, dzvezdo na studena mora..."*) (Zlaten krug na vremeto, 1970).

*"Great sun of our great awakening."* (*"Golemo sonce na nasheto golemo budenje."*) (Golema e tvojata pesna, 1964). Stardelov describes Shopov's poetic experience as an intimate, confessional expression. On one hand, his poetry reveals the horror of war and an apocalyptic atmosphere of destruction, while on the other, it highlights the enduring spirit of the people, awakened through constant struggle (Stardelov, 1987: 175).

*"You are an eye cast into the universe. Beneath this sword of silence, the moon rests upon your shoulder."* (*"Ti si oko frleno vo vselena. Pod ovoj meč na tishinata, na ramo ja nosi mesechinata."*) (Osma molitva na moeto telo ili koj ja izmisli taa ljubov).

*"The homeland will be adorned like a star."* (*"Tatkovinata ko dzvezda kje ja krasi"*) (Molitva za sinjarkata – moja narechnica, 1976). In the end, the homeland, symbolized by a star, is at the core of Shopov's work. His poems preserve the place from which his words originate, marked by numerous stellar repetitions.

There is no doubt that life experience on the one hand, and poetic experience on the other, shape poetic style. However, each poet has their own consistency of expression. Poets do not change but decide how, when, and where to express what they carry within. So why, then, do the intimacy and metaphysical elements of darkness appear in Shopov's later works? The answer is simple: creativity is never isolated from the general developments of its time. Shopov did not write to systematize his work under one title, but to make an artistic contribution to the world he lived in. Social time imposes time frames on the artist. "For me, there are certainly stages in my poetic development, but through all those periods of self-

discovery, there is something common that unites my poetic voice and makes it continuous" (Shopov, 1975: 466). Shopov also said that it's not so much about distinct phases as it is about one ongoing creative process. In poetic development, differences in emotional expression are natural, but, according to Shopov, a careful reader can recognize the author's voice from the first poem to the last.

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## CONCLUSION

Shopov once said of himself that, as a child, he acted like a mature and omnipotent master, traveling through the present and the past, from the depths of the earth to the far reaches of the galaxies and cosmos. Yet, as an adult, he stood in that same world, bewildered by the mysterious abysses of imagination and knowledge, marveling at his power to make the small great and mighty, and the great small and powerless. This confirms the view that his inclination toward crossing the boundaries of time—from the past to the future—and his cosmic motifs are innate to him. While the elements in his cosmic-themed lyrics may shift, the underlying code remains unchanged.

Accordingly, the analysis and interpretation of Aco Shopov's poetic language reveal a pattern of stellar repetitions that maintain the inseparable trinity of sky, man, and earth. In the process of filling the semantic space with new content, Shopov created new word structures of exceptional importance for the language. Given that personal experiences, stories, and broader context are inseparable from language, the conclusions drawn from Shopov's thoughts further validate the interpretation of his work.

These innovations—word combinations or syntagms created by the author for his literary work—tend to have a limited use. They emerge from the author's desire to craft an original artistic and literary expression, rich in imagery and expressive vocabulary. By studying these poems, we gain insight into the author's creative processes. These expressions open up new avenues for linguistic research, as they push the boundaries of language and provoke discussion about their interpretation. They also inspire new forms of expression, offering valuable insights into how language bridges individual creativity and broader linguistic norms. This characteristic makes new verbal expressions, formed from existing words, a unique reflection of linguistic creativity.

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<sup>i</sup> The translation of the verses is made by the authors of the paper.