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ON THE QUESTION OF INVERSION
IN RUSSIAN POETRY

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0.0. While the question of word order in poetry has been the subject of investigation by Czech scholars, their investigations have been confined to studies of Czech poetry.¹ The question of word order, more specifically inversion, in Russian poetry has been considered only sporadically, in a number of promising but inconclusive remarks.

In his book, *Sintaksičeskij stroj stixotvornyx proizvedenij Puškina*, N. S. Pospelov devotes two and a half pages to the matter which are introduced by the following statement:

"Различные случаи инверсии внутри строф, элементарных (двустопный и четверостопный) и сложных, играют значительную роль в структуре сложных синтаксических целых в стихотворной речи, стимулируя ее выразительность. При этом в стихотворной речи отклонение от обычного порядка слов, подчиненное ритмическому движению стиха, оказывается менее резким, чем в прозаической речи." ²

In addition Pospelov quotes Tynjanov, Žirmunskij, Ščerba and Tomaševskij on the subject of inversion. In distinguishing poetic from non-poetic speech, Tynjanov mentions that

"тогда как инверсии определения и определяемого в конце стиха (прием, дошедший до настоящего времени без всяких перемен) слабо ощущаются именно как инверсии, - всякая прозаическая клаузула, построенная на такой инверсии, скажется прежде всего своей синтаксико - семантической стороной"

and further:

"... и н в е р с и я, в особенности на конце рядов, согласуется с принципом т е с н о т ы р я д а".³

- 13.2. Deviation of accentuation patterns in other realizations; nevertheless dominance of metrical over syntactic accentuation.
- 13.2.1. Accentuation patterns in TI and TII lines.
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These statements suggest that inversions occurring in poetry bear a specifically poetic function, and at the same time that the function of inversion in normal speech, to achieve a shift in focus, is reduced in poetry.⁴

These suggestions notwithstanding, in analysing particular examples Pospelov is not averse to attributing to inversions in poetry their normal function of semantic focalization. Commenting on the familiar lines from "Mednyj Vsadnik" ("На берегу пустынных волн/Стоял он, дум великих полн") Pospelov says:

"Сказуемое "стоял" инверсией его перед неударяемым местоименным подлежащим ослаблено в своей глагольности и затушевано в своем лексическом значении. Вся энергия подлежащего и сказуемого *стоял он* передана существительному *дум*, которое оказывается предельно подчеркнутым в синтагме "дум великих полн"; и логическим ударением и двойной инверсией (в отношении к *великих*...)." ⁵

The normal, focus-effecting function of inverted word order as exploited in poetry is further assumed by Ščerba in his analysis of Puškin's "Vospominanie": here Ščerba considers the poem's word order from the syntactic point of view, i.e. he does not allow for reduced effect of inverted word order as a result of metrical or rhythmic factors. For example:

"Из деталей первой части надо оговорить прежде всего выделение слова *полупрозрачная* в стихе 3. Здесь мы имеем дело, на первый взгляд, с составным сказуемым; но это, конечно, неверно, так как не отвечает смыслу: это просто вынесенное вперед определительное слово, приобретшее благодаря этому вынесению синтаксическую самостоятельность и отделяемое легкой паузой." ⁶

A confused picture emerges: on the one hand, poetry is able to exploit the effect of inverted word order which pertains to normal speech, and on the other, this effect is reduced in poetry, in other words inversions are no longer experienced as marked.⁷ Clearly the question of word order highlights one of the central issues of poetics, namely the confrontation or interplay between syntax and metre.⁸ It forces comparison, on a fruitfully concrete basis, between the semantics of poetic speech and the semantics of normal speech.

0.1. The present article is limited to an investigation into nominal phrases (NPs) consisting of a substantive qualified by a single adjective (excepting possessive and demonstrative pronouns), in immediate juxtaposition, with and without inversion (SA and AS), as occurring in Puškin's iambic tetrameters. For example:

Во цвете юности живой	II. 9
Так легкомысленной душой	II. 46
Кругом его глубокий сон	II. 60 ⁹

The investigation is conducted on the synchronic rather than the diachronic level. The material investigated comprises 1516 lines of verse.

1.0. We may begin by asking: In what way is an inversion occurring in poetry different from an inversion occurring in prose or spoken language? Is the difference such that we are justified in talking of a "poetic inversion"?

Two factors support the notion that inversion in poetry is coded in a particular way:

1.1.1. Inversions occur with far greater frequency in poetry than they do in normal speech: of the NPs considered relevant for this investigation, almost one third involved inversion. Since the normal function of inverted word order in normal speech is, by virtue of its unusualness, to effect focalization, it is relevant to consider whether or not the relative frequency of inversion in poetry results in a reduction of its effectivity in achieving focalization.¹⁰

This consideration, however, rests upon another: namely the status of the adjective in poetry on a more fundamental level. An intuitive estimate, pending statistical investigation, suggests that the adjective in general occurs with far greater frequency in poetry (specifically classical Russian lyric poetry) than in non-poetic speech, and that its semantic load is of a different nature. Briefly: every word in poetry is potentially able to exceed its normal lexical and syntactic status if activated by rhythm, rhyme, repetition etc. My suggestion is that in lyric poetry this potentiality is exploited particularly with respect to the adjective.¹¹ We may quote at random from nineteenth century Russian poetry and prove our point:

Когда для смертного умолкнет шумный день
И на немые стогны града
Полупрозрачная наляжет ночи тень
И сон, дневных трудов награда,
В то время для меня влачатся в тишине
Часы томительного бденья:
В бездействии ночном живей горят во мне
Змеи сердечной угрызенья; etc.

Пушкин, "Воспоминание", III. 60

На мир таинственный духов,
Над этой бездной безимьянной,
Покров наброшен златотканый
Высокой волею богов.
День - сей блистательный покров -
День, земнородных оживленье,
Души болящей исцеленье,
Друг человеков и богов!

Тютчев, "День и Ночь"¹²

In classical Russian lyric poetry, the NP consisting of substantive and qualifying adjective attains a status whereby the principle of one concept (as constituted by the adjective) as being predicated onto another con-

cept (as constituted by the substantive) is undermined. Instead the NP presents us with a dual concept: thus Puškin's phrase *Часы томительного бдения* cannot accurately be transformed into *часы бдения, которое было томительным*; within the poem, the notion of 'torment-causing' is not predicated onto the notion of 'vigil', but is rather coexistent with it. Notwithstanding its syntactic dependence, the adjective provides the poem with a nominative concept ('torment') which is juxtaposed with the nominative concept supplied by the substantive ('vigil') to form a dual notion: 'torment-vigil'.

The decisive factor in undermining the principle of predication and forstalling all thought of transformation is the fact of rhythm, the distinguishing feature of verse.¹³

1.1.2. This brings us to the second and all-important factor determining the status of inversions in poetry, namely the fact that a word group in poetry constitutes not only a syntactic phrase, but also a rhythm-syntactic phrase. Every syntactic manifestation has in verse a rhythmic corollary.

Useful in this context is the term 'rhythm-syntactic figure' which is defined by Osip Brik as follows:

"Если мы возьмем две строфы:

1. "И недоверчиво и жадно
Смотрю я на твои цветы."

и 2. "И целомудренно и смело
До чресл сияю наготой."

то сразу ясно, что начинаются они с одного и того же синтаксического оборота и что строчки

"И недоверчиво и жадно" и

"И целомудренно и смело"

закljučают в себе один и тот же ритмический ход и что этот ритмический ход одинаково зависит и от

расположения ударений и пауз и от синтаксической структуры. Здесь мы имеем то, что я предлагаю называть ритмико-синтаксической фигурой." ¹⁴

Rhythmo-syntactic figures are units of identical syntactic and rhythmic structure which are repeated, in the first instance within one and the same poem as in the examples quoted by Brik, but further, beyond the limits of one poem and within the broader framework of a poetic tradition. The important factor is that these figures are familiar as such; part of their function is to spark off a response of recognition. In other words they become part of a poetic code.

This phenomenon of recognition is important in determining the extent to which an inversion (as a particular instance of syntactic phrasing) becomes coded in a specifically 'poetic' way. A particular inversion is frequently recognized as being typical of a certain poetic age, a certain poetic genre, even of a particular poet. The following lines are readily attributed to the eighteenth century, if not to their author Deržavin:

Я памятник себе воздвиг чудесный, вечный
Металлов тверже он и выше пирамид;

"Памятник" ¹⁵

Similarly the following lines are not only clearly attributable to Puškin, but more precisely, through the unmistakable mock-heroic bathos of the final inversion, to "Evgenij Onegin":

Отселе, в думу погружен,
Глядел на грозный пламень он. V. 156

The fact that word order patterns become coded as a recognizable stylistic trait is obvious on examination of the devices used to achieve parody, or other verbal allusion. Parody or pastiche may be achieved not only through lexical allusion but also through rhythmo-syntactic allusion. ¹⁶ Zabolockij is master of such allusion

as for example in the following case:

А.К.Толстой: Князь Курбский от царского гнева бежал¹⁷

Zabolockij: Покойник из царского дома бежал¹⁸

Here the syntax, the word order and the rhythm of the line are as powerful in forcing the allusion as are the two common words: *царского* and *бежал*.

1.2. The discussions in 1.1.1. and 1.1.2. above justify the conclusion that it is right to talk of 'poetic inversion' thereby implying that in poetry inversions function, at least to a certain extent, as poetic formulae, in accordance with a specific, poetic code.

2.0. Having established the existence of poetic inversions, we must now consider the relation of these poetic inversions to inversions in normal speech.

2.1. My assumption is that when a linguistic usage becomes coded in a particular way in poetry, its original, normal usage in no way becomes irrelevant. Poetry is not merely poetic convention, but poetic convention continually pitted against normal linguistic usage. In other words poetic language exists in a state of tension with normal language. No sooner is the tension resolved than poetic language becomes automatized and ceases to be experienced as such. We are close to what Tynjanov in his *Problema stixotvornogo jazyka* calls the 'dynamism' of art:

"Но если исчезает ощущение взаимодействия факторов (которое предполагает обязательное наличие двух моментов: подчиняющего и подчиненного) - стирается факт искусства; оно автоматизуется." ¹⁹

2.2. If we maintain that however conventionalized a particular inversion may become in poetry, it nevertheless is felt against the background of normal speech, we must continue to ask the question: To what extent does it

retain the focalization potential which is its main characteristic in normal speech?

This consideration forces us to take a more specific look at the confrontation between syntax and rhythm - at this point qualified to mean metrical rhythm - mentioned in the previous section (1.1.2.).

With the exception of non-metrical verse (accentual as well as free verse) and deliberately agrammatical poetry (transrational verse as well as the poetry of for example F. E. Cummings), in poetry we have to do with a complex organization of language which pays heed to both syntactic and metrical organization. In other words we are operating simultaneously with two systems of segmentation and accordingly with two systems of focalization, syntactic on the one hand and metrical on the other. The interaction between these two systems is intricate, elusive and, at least at a superficial level of its manifestation, flexible.

Today it is generally accepted that in poetry the metrical system of segmentation dominates over the syntactic.²⁰ But, while in agreement with this fundamental feature of metrical verse, we should be wary of stating the case too simply. It must not be forgotten that the effect of any metre depends on the fact that it is played off against syntax's normal segmentation principles and focalization possibilities; if these are no longer felt as an active force, then the metrical arrangement collapses into indifference (in Tynjanov's terms it becomes automatic). I refer once again to Tynjanov's formulation quoted above, and add the following:

"Основные категории поэтической формы остаются непоколебимыми: историческое развитие не смешивает карт, не уничтожает различия между конструктивным принципом [= rhythm - F.B.] и материалом [= language, identical to normal language but with a different function in art - F.B.], а напротив, подчеркивает его. Это не

устраняет, само собой, проблемы каждого данного случая с его индивидуальным соотношением конструктивного принципа и материала, с его проблемой индивидуальной динамической формы." ²¹

The vagaries of an individual 'challenge' provide the material for this investigation which hopes to document not only the particular aspects of that challenge, but the dynamics of the challenge itself.

3.0. At this point we must consider the specifics of the metrical system adopted by Russian poetry. We are concerned with syllabo-tonic poetry and more specifically with the principle difference between binary and ternary verse.

3.1.1. It is a well established fact that, owing to the Russian stress system, in ternary metres every stress must be realized, whereas in binary metres it is only the final stress in each line which must be realized. A consequence of this is that ternary verse is characterized by a monotonous and, of utmost importance, a predictable rhythm:

Однажды я созвал веселых гостей;
 Ко мне постучался презренный еврей;
 В покой отдаленный вхожу я один...
 Неверную деву лобзал армянин. II.16

The rhythm becomes automatic and the stresses, through sheer inertia, assume equal intensity; syntax and semantics have small chance of affecting the rhythm. The tension between metre and syntax tends to be great but static, the interplay between the two is slight. Syntax is forced into a metrical straight-jacket owing to the fact that the synsemantic words equal the autosemantic words in intensity of stress, which rhythm fails to exploit the essential characteristics of the Russian phonological system.

In binary metres on the other hand, where only the final stress must be realized, there exists an inherent cor-

relation between rhythm and meaning: in principle it is only the autosemantic words which are considered stressed, although synsemantic words may be more stressed than unstressed syllables in a polysyllabic word. Binary metres are characterized by flexibility not only in the number of realized stresses, but also in the relative intensity of the stresses. The flexibility inherent in binary metres as adopted by Russian poetry, based on the principle of non-obligatory stress realization, has proved to be the most suitable metre for realizing the rhythmic potential of the Russian language.

3.1.2. Amongst binary metres it is the iambic tetrameter which has been most richly developed by Russian poets. Since a line of more than four feet is usually subdivided by a caesura, the four foot line is the longest indivisible metrical unit, allowing considerable rhythmic flexibility. Taranovsky's tables show that the 4-foot iambic line may be realized in seven ways:

- | | | | | | | | | | | |
|----|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| 1. | - | ' | - | ' | - | ' | - | ' | - | ' |
| 2. | - | - | - | ' | - | ' | - | ' | - | ' |
| 3. | - | ' | - | - | - | ' | - | ' | - | ' |
| 4. | - | ' | - | ' | - | - | - | ' | - | ' |
| 5. | - | ' | - | - | - | - | - | ' | - | ' |
| 6. | - | - | - | ' | - | - | - | ' | - | ' |
| 7. | - | - | - | - | - | ' | - | ' | - | ' |

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While the trochaic tetrameter shares the characteristic features attributed to the iambic tetrameter above, it has not proved as versatile as the latter. It appears that the iambic tetrameter is best able to exploit the phonological system of the Russian language, allowing for maximum interplay between syntax and metre.

3.2. It is a commonplace that Puškin is the poet who has exploited the potentiality of the iambic tetrameter

to its most refined point, and therefore in this study it is justifiable to follow the tendency amongst Russian poets to practise on Puškin.²³

In Puškin's iambic tetrameter we face a situation of apparent equilibrium between syntax and metre. In contrast to eighteenth century Russian poetry which is characterized by a highly contorted word order, where syntax and metre appear to be working in opposite directions, nineteenth century Russian poetry, with Puškin as its master, manifests intricate interplay between syntax and metre. There is an apparent lack of tension between them; poetic speech has become all but indistinguishable from normal speech. Yet paradoxically it is in such poetry, the seeming apogee of balance and equilibrium, that the dynamics of the challenge, the challenge of syntax to metre, operate most vigorously. Eighteenth century Russian poetry is consciously elevated and removed from normal, spoken speech. But what is the line which divides Puškin's poetry from the spoken language of his time? The flexibility of Puškin's four foot iambic line allows the natural syntax to affect the rhythm, while leaving the metrical organization of the verse entirely regular. The tension between syntax and metre appears negligible while, as we shall see, the interplay is dynamic.

4. My initial hypothesis is that in Puškin's iambic tetrameter there is a tendency for the semantically accented words to occur in the middle of the line, specifically in the second foot. An investigation into nominal phrases AS and SA proves to be a concrete case where, from the starting point that in normal language an adjective in post-position usually effects focalization, or extraordinary accentuation, it is possible to make concrete observations on which to base a discussion as to the interplay between syntax and metre

in determining semantic accentuation.²⁴

Such observations lead indeed to the preliminary conclusion that an adjective in post-position becomes accentuated when it occurs in the middle of the line, but that, on the contrary, when it occurs in the final position, that is to say it constitutes the final and obligatory stress, it has a tendency to become semantically indifferent, to sound like a cliché.²⁵

4.1. In this investigation I polemicize with the view that it is the final, obligatory stress which automatically constitutes the strongest position in the line. As an example of this view, I quote from Tomaševskij:

"Если мы подходим к стиху как к интонационному отрезку, мы легко обнаружим [это] фразовое ударение: оно приходится на рифму (либо на последнюю стопу, что является более общим признаком и распространяется и на стихи без рифм)."

and again:

"Но последняя стопа стиха всегда сильная, так как на нее приходится ударение рифмы (т.е. замыкающего и самого значащего слова стиха)."²⁶

It is true that there exists a style of poetry recitation which accentuates the final stress, usually involving rhyme. This style of recitation however is often experienced as mannered; it tends to underline the metrical organization of the poem to the exclusion of its semantics. In other words it is a style of recitation which is imposed upon the poem irrespective of the structure in its complexity.²⁷

I propose to approach the final stress from the opposite direction and claim that the fact of its obligatoriness does not make it stronger but weaker from the point of view of achieving semantic accentuation. The final stress in a binary metre is obligatory and therefore entirely predictable. Borrowing Lotman's terms we

may say that the final stress position manifests inertia, that from the rhythmic point of view it is completely automatic. Persuing Lotman's argument we must conclude certain limitations as to its ability to convey information, rhythmic and thus also semantic. Against the background of language which is not organized metrically, the automatic final stress signals metrical organization. However within the system of metrical organization (specifically organization into binary metre), it constitutes the one moment in each line where the all-important tension between the abstract or ideal metrical scheme and its actual realization does not exist:

"... не только не следует отказываться от противопоставления "метр - ритм" как организующего структурного принципа, а наоборот: именно на этом участке стиховедение столкнулось с одним из наиболее общих законов словесной художественной структуры."

The general rule is summarized thus:

"Для того чтобы система несла информацию, надо, чтобы каждый ее элемент предсказывал некоторое количество последующих возможностей, из которых реализуется одна, то есть, чтобы одновременно работали два механизма: автоматизирующий и деавтоматизирующий."²⁸

The tension between the abstract metrical scheme and its actual realization, a vital aspect of metre, is excluded in the final position of binary metres.

As a consequence of the automatic stress in final position, there is a tendency in iambic tetrameter, particularly Puškin's, for the final word in each line not to exceed its function as marking metrical organization. This is not to say that an original rhyme scheme, enjambement, or a word semantically activated through repetition or contrast, may not succeed in overcoming the inertia of the final position. It does mean, however, that the chances for the other poetic levels to assert

themselves against metrical inertia are greater in the rest of the line. Thus we are faced with a situation which is opposed to a basic characteristic of normal language; namely that while the metrical unit terminates with what Žirmunskij calls "an *ideal pause*, which permits one to preceive a given rhythmical sequence as a unit, complete in itself",²⁹ and which tends to manifest self-evident information on the semantic level, it is generally accepted that a normal sentence progresses from theme to rheme, the new and significant semantic information, emphasized intonationally, occurring at the end.

That this discrepancy between non-metrical and metrical language exists can be seen by the comic, witty effect which results from loading the final position of a metrical line with new and unexpected information. This device is exploited for example in "Evgenij Onegin":

И недоверчивый старик,
И рогоносец величавый,
Всегда довольный сам собой,
Своим обедом и женой. V. 14

И хлебник, немец аккуратный,
В бумажном колпаке, не раз
Уж отворял свой *васисдас*. V. 25

On both occasions witty flippancy of tone results from the fact that the expectation of semantic confirmation at the end of the line and stanza is thwarted: at the moment of expected cadence, the semantics effects an unexpected twist which undermines rather than confirms the preceding semantics; the incongruity is enhanced by the rhyme (final rhyming couplet) to comic effect. The device is marked; it helps us to become aware of the unmarked tendency for semantic accentuation to occur before the final position.

4.2. It is possible to be more precise in locating semantic accentuation in Puškin's iambic tetrameter. From Taranovsky's tables we see that not only is the final stress realized in 100 % of the lines, but that the penultimate stress is not realized in over 60 % of the lines. Given seven possible realizations of the iambic tetrameter, more than 50 % of Puškin's four foot iambs correspond to Taranovsky's fourth example:

TIV - ' - ' - - - ' 30

This line is therefore considered to be the unmarked (most predictable) realization of Puškin's iambic tetrameter. It necessarily consists of three autosemantic words or word groups, and a striking feature is its asymmetrical character whereby the first half of the line contains two autosemantic words and the second half only one: rhythmical asymmetry is played off against abstract or ideal symmetry.

Since a distinctive feature of TIV is that it has no stress in the third position, it follows that this third position is unable to achieve semantic accentuation (it is necessarily lacking in autosemantic material).

Of the first two stress positions, the second turns out to have the greater propensity for achieving semantic accentuation. Notwithstanding its lack of obligatory stress, the first foot manifests a certain amount of inertia in that it signals the beginning of the metrical unit and establishes the type of foot in which the metre is composed (iamb, dactyl etc.).

Further, while the metrical and the syntactic segments are not identical, they nevertheless are closely allied; most usual is for a syntactic phrase to coincide with a metrical unit (the line and, beyond the line, the stanza). For normal syntax to accentuate the end of a unit, and metre to accentuate the beginning would imply a breakdown of the interaction between the two.

5. Since the realization of the iambic tetrameter TIV is considered to be unmarked, we shall begin our investigation by examining incidences of NPs (AS and SA) occurring in lines of that metrical description. Against this background we shall consider all other realizations of the iambic tetrameter as marked. Our purpose is to establish consistent patterns concerning the distribution of accentuation within the NPs.

Two notes follow concerning the examples and the principles adopted in establishing a line's metrical description:

I. Notes on the examples:

1. Examples include nominal phrases consisting of a single adjective and a single substantive in immediate juxtaposition.
2. Possessive and demonstrative pronouns have not been taken into consideration. E.g. *Убила друга моего* (III. 193).
3. A nominal phrase which includes a possessive or a demonstrative pronoun, but where the adjective proper and the substantive remain in immediate juxtaposition has been treated as AS or SA. E.g. *В гордой лености своей* (III. 196), i.e. the possessive pronoun has been ignored.
4. Nominal phrases consisting of a substantive and two adjectives (A^2S and SA^2) have not been considered on the grounds that, since they usually occupy an entire line (= 3 autosemantic words), they form a particularly strong rhythmo-syntactic figure which should be the subject of specific enquiry, i.e. they constitute a larger and more complex unit than AS or SA. For example in the line *В тревоге нестрой и бесплодной* (=TIV. III.236) the accentuation of the adjective in post-position in TIV.3³¹ carries over to the second adjective, which accordingly does not manifest the semantic indifference otherwise typical for an inverted adjective in final position.
5. Possessive and demonstrative pronouns should be taken into consideration in a more comprehensive study. (See 4 above). Here would

be considered a variety of word-order patterns:

PAS	<i>Мои владеющие руки</i>	(III. 204)
ASP	<i>В гордой лености своей</i>	(III. 196)
APS	<i>Меж белоглавой их толпою</i>	(III. 215)
DSA	<i>И этой прелести живой</i>	(III. 164)

6. Finally AS and SA used in vocative exclamations have not been taken into account on the grounds that inversion in exclamatory address presents a specific case of inversion. It was feared that the particular nature of this inversion might complicate the issue in hand.

II. Notes on the principles of metrical description.

1. As far as possible synsemantic words are considered not to constitute metrical stress. However it is not possible to be categorical on this point which is usually a matter of interpretation.
2. For example, as long as the pronoun is assumed from the context it is considered unstressed, particularly when it is placed in immediate juxtaposition to the verb which it governs: *Уви́дел я толпѝ́ безу́мной* (= T III. II. 126).

On the other hand if a pronoun is carrying an opposition central from the semantic point of view, it is considered to constitute metrical stress: *Тебе́́ он со́здал но́вый ми́р* (= T I. II. 252).

3. Most of the quibbles are concerned with pronouns. The problem is repeated, though to a lesser extent with possessive pronouns. Most of these I have considered as not constituting metrical stress: *Как зо́в его в проща́льный ча́с* (= T III. II. 198).
4. Whether or not a synsemantic word constitutes metrical stress depends not only of the function of the word itself, but also on the strength of the surrounding stresses. Given two doubtful stresses together we are faced with a choice. For example: *Вокруг меня́ валя́ реву́чи* might be described as TI (*Вокруг меня́ валя́ реву́чи*) or TII (*Вокруг меня́ валя́ реву́чи*) (II. 257).
5. A synsemantic word followed by a punctuation mark is likely to constitute metrical stress: *Гори́шь ли ты́, лампа́да на́ша* (= T I. II. 29); *Но где́ же он, тво́й ми́лый бра́т* (= T I. II. 30).

6. A metrical description which gave greater weight to synsemantic words as constituting metrical stress would, in the present analysis, have as a result that fewer lines would have been categorized as TII and TIII. These would instead have been considered as TI. Whichever way we choose to classify these lines however, we must pay heed to the fact that a line such as *Когда средь оргий жизни шумной* (TII or TI, II. 128) is equivalent metrically neither to *Самолубивых дум отрада* (TII, II. 114) nor to *Счастливей круг семьи своей* (TI, II. 9).

It may be that we should introduce the synsemantic stress with a different sign (for example (')) and describe the line *Когда средь оргий жизни шумной* as $-(\prime) - \prime - \prime - \prime$.

7. In the case of TVI I feel bound to introduce this sub-category. For while it is clear that the effect of TVI.3 and TVI.4 (See 12.0) is dependent on the fact that the line is suspended on two strong metrical stresses, and that it would be misleading to compare the line *Оно на памятном листке* (III. 163) with the line *В священном ужасе поэт* (TIV, II. 165), nevertheless it is important to distinguish this line from that which is suspended not only on two metrical stresses, but also on two words, e.g. *Непримиримую судьбою* (II. 28) or even *Где свое- нравный произвол* (II. 29).
8. I am aware that the flexibility with which I determine the metrical description of a line leads to discrepancies in my use of Taranovsky's tables and statistics. (Taranovsky considers pro-nouns to constitute metrical stress). I nevertheless use his statistics as a general guide-line since, on the grounds of the argument put forth in 6) and 7) above, this does not lead to inconsistencies on a fundamental level, but only to the need for a slight adjustment of figures.
9. No account has been taken of hypermetrical stress. Thus the initial SA in the following line was not taken into consideration: *В час незабвенный, в час печальный* (III. 236).

6.0. Examples of relevant NPs occurring in TIV lines
(- $\overset{!}{-}$ - $\overset{!}{-}$ - - - $\overset{!}{-}$) are described as follows:³²

- TIV.1 AS in feet 1 - 2
 TIV.2 AS in feet 2 - 4
 TIV.3 SA in feet 1 - 2
 TIV.4 SA in feet 2 - 4

6.1.1. TIV.1

<i>Зловещей думою питать</i>	II, 10
<i>Так поздним хладом поражённый</i>	II, 27
<i>Недавний рекрут Гименея</i>	II, 30
<i>И сладкой лестью баловали</i>	II, 30
<i>Прелестный баловень Киприды</i>	II, 44
<i>Духовной жаждою томим</i>	II, 338
<i>В священном ужасе поэт</i>	III, 165
<i>Могильным сумраком одеты</i>	III, 186
<i>Их слабый глас возненавидя</i>	III, 215
<i>Увядшей тундрой покрыт</i>	III, 215

№ examples: 58

6.1.2. TIV.2

<i>Плоды сердечной пустоты</i>	II, 27
<i>Теснимый хладною толпою</i>	II, 28
<i>Любимец ветреных Лаис</i>	II, 44
<i>Летят задумчивые взоры</i>	II, 44
<i>Вы вдруг в трагическом жару</i>	II, 74
<i>Вверял изнеженные звуки</i>	III, 165
<i>Стихов таинственный напев</i>	III, 173
<i>Пустеют тихие могилы</i>	III, 193
<i>Приди, как дальная звезда</i>	III, 193
<i>Жует беззубый журналист</i>	III, 196

№ examples: 128

6.1.3. TIV.3

<i>И миг единый</i> разлученья	II, 9
<i>В унынье робком</i> ожидать	II, 10
<i>Вам жертвы новые</i> приносит	II, 46
<i>Где липа старая</i> шумит	II, 61
<i>Вниманьем слабым</i> наградили	II, 93
<i>В пустыне мрачной</i> я влачился	II, 338
<i>Мечтанью вечному</i> в тиши	III, 108
<i>С тоской невольной,</i> с восхищеньем	III, 164
<i>И речи нежные</i> любви	III, 173
<i>Здесь невод мокрый</i> расстиляет	III, 216

№ examples: 46

6.1.4. TIV.4

<i>Во цвете юности</i> живой	II, 9
<i>Готовьте чаши</i> круговые	II, 28
<i>К тебе красавиц</i> молодых	II, 44
<i>Украдкой нимфа</i> молодая	II, 45
<i>И клад могилы</i> безмятежной . . .	II, 60
<i>Идет и в холод</i> ключевой	II, 61
<i>Кто раб усилий</i> бесполезных	II, 82
<i>Вложил десницею</i> кровавой	II, 338
<i>Узору надписи</i> надгробной	III, 163
<i>Сияют в блеске</i> голубом	III, 204

№ examples: 66

6.2.0 My initial hypothesis is as follows: Given a four foot iambic line of unmarked metrical description (=TIV):

- 1) AS at the beginning of the line accentuates S.
- 2) AS at the end of the line accentuates A.
- 3) SA at the beginning of the line accentuates A.
- 4) SA at the end of the line accentuates S.

Comments:

6.2.1. In the case of TIV.1 there is no question of extraordinary distribution of accentuation; the sense be-

comes progressively accentuated as it passes from the adjective to the substantive in accordance with normal word order in normal speech, as well as with the metrical tendency to accentuate the second stress position of the line (4.2.).

The difficulty of pinpointing accentuation in poetry lies in the fact that the starting point rests in a single response to a synthesis of systems signalled. To the extent that this response remains unanalysed it is considered to be intuitive. Intuition is an important moment in literary perception.³³ In the present case it postulates or senses the tendency of Puškin's iambic tetrameter to accentuate the second stress position. The intuitive response finds support in theoretical calculations concerning the nature of the metrical unit, the line (4.).

The hypothesis concerning accentuation should be corroborated by an examination of the semantic material *per se*, that is in isolation from its rhythmic corollary; in spontaneous perception of course semantic accentuation and rhythmic accentuation are inextricable in that the one always takes effect as the other. But at this point I shall examine concrete examples to see whether in fact the second stress words do carry the essential meaning of the poems in which they occur.

Let us examine the first four lines of "Prorok":

1. *Духовной жаждою* томим,
2. В пустыне мрачной я влачился,
3. И шестикрылый серафим
4. На перепутье мне явился; II. 338

Our question is: Is the word *жаждою* more loaded than the adjective *духовной* as presented in the poem? Naturally there is no question here of dismissing the meaning of the adjective, we need merely ascertain

the lack of extraordinary accentuation of the adjective *духовный*. Let us examine the position and function of this NP more closely.

Firstly the word *духовной* constitutes the first word of the poem and it therefore automatically bears a strong forward-directing function. Secondly its syntactic function is, in independence of the substantive which it qualifies, ambiguous: it could be either genitive, dative, instrumental or prepositional. To single out the word would be an intonational impossibility since its position in the sentence is too little defined.

From the point of view of the semantics proper we find that the word *духовной* follows as a confirmation of the poem's title "Prorok". The word serves to pick up information already given: it acts as a conductor.

Жаждою on the other hand introduces a new and even contradictory piece of information: A prophet is conceived of as a man who possesses knowledge of the future and who makes this knowledge known to others; he is a possessor and a giver. The word 'thirst' contrasts with this concept; our prophet is a man who himself seeks and needs. The word introduces a note of conflict which sets the poem's central opposition in motion. The poem is seen to tell of the moment, in dramatic terms, of when the prophet becomes prophet. It is the word *жаждою* at the beginning of the poem which tells us that his identity as a prophet is not yet an established fact; the poem is a matter of 'before' and 'after'. This leads us into the adjacent opposition so clearly elaborated in lines 5-8 and (quoted) 15-24:

И он мне грудь рассек мечом,
И сердце трепетное вынул
И уголь, пылающий огнем,
Во грудь отверстую водвинул.

Given an opposition between *before/sinful/fearful* etc. on

the one hand, and *after/prophetic/aflame* etc. on the other, we see that the initial *каждою* not only informs the reader that the identity of the prophet as such is not yet established, but also motivates or prompts the dynamic interaction of the two opposing sides; it heralds the desire for change from non-prophet to prophet. Clearly the word *каждою* constitutes an important moment in the semantics of the poem.

With the completion of the NP, its syntactic status is clarified: the phrase is a verbal qualification in the instrumental case; moreover it is inverted in relation to the governing verb, and thus accentuated.³⁴

6.2.2. Concerning TIV.2, our hypothesis suggests an accentuation which directly opposes normal usage; namely the non-inverted adjective is more accentuated than the succeeding substantive which it qualifies. I do not suggest that the substantive is under-emphasized, but rather that the adjective in such a position attains greater accentuation than would be the case in a similar NP (=AS) in normal language. In other words TIV.2 incurs an imbalance in the accentuation distribution normally manifest within a like NP.

Corroboration of this hypothesis from the point of view of the semantics proper is attained by analysis of lines 5 - 8 from "Prorok":

5. Перстами легкими как сон
6. Моих зениц коснулся он:
7. Отверзлись *вещие зеницы*,
8. Как у испуганной орлицы. II. 338

Since the word *зеницы* has occurred as the object in the preceding sentence (line 6), its function in line 7 is to refer back to information already given. New information is presented by the adjective *вещие*, which must be accentuated if the significance of the image is to be communicated.

In the preceding section (6.2.1.) I elaborated the opposition which is central to the poem's meaning. With reference to that central opposition we now see the full significance of the word *вещие* in line 7. At the beginning of the poem it was found that the prophet of the title is languishing in spiritual thirst in the desert; the first six lines of the poem describe that period of the prophet's existence which was characterized by thirst and darkness. It is only after the seraph has touched his eyes with light fingers that, on opening, they appear prophetic. The word *вещие* signals for the first time the conversion or revelation which is the poem's central theme.

6.2.3. TIV.3 is the least equivocal of the patterns under discussion: the accentuation potential of the second stress position here coincides with the extraordinary emphasis characteristic of an inverted adjective in normal speech.

Semantic corroboration may once again be attained by reference to "Prorok", which poem gives us five examples of such a line (lines 2, 5, 19, 22, 24). For example:

1. Духовной жаждою томим,
2. В *пустыне мрачной* я влачился,
3. И шестикрылый серафим
4. На перепутье мне явился;
5. *Перстами легкими* как сон
6. Моих зениц коснулся он: II. 338

In the phrase *в пустыне мрачной*, the adjective *мрачной* attains greater accentuation than would be the case if it preceded the noun: On the semantic level the word *пустыне* follows closely the notion of thirst from the preceding line, while the word *мрачной* introduces new information; on the intonational level *мрачной* marks the high point of the rhythm-syntactic suspense which

results from the fact that two adverbial phrases, occupying one and a half lines, precede the main subject and predicate of the sentence.

Beyond the confines of this sentence, *мрачной* is seen to present one half of an opposition which is completed in line 5 (*перстами легкими как сон*): *dark (heavy) / lightweight (light)*. This opposition is in turn integrated into the poem's central opposition discussed in 6.2.1.

A repetition of rhythm and sound further contributes to the accentuation of *мрачной*: not only is the metrical description of line 2 identical to that of line 1, but further, the division between the first two words coincides in the two lines; finally in both lines the second stress falls on /a/. In 6.2.1. I argued for the semantic importance of *каждой* as opposed to *духовной*; as a result of prosodic similarities, the total rhythm-intonational effect of line 1 is repeated in line 2, and *мрачной* is accentuated as was *каждою* in the preceding line.

6.2.4. TIV.4 reverses the tendency in normal speech to give extraordinary emphasis to an inverted adjective. This reversal of normal speech tendency is due to the inertia of the obligatory final stress discussed above (4.1.). The contention is supported by Tynjanov's observations quoted on pp. 1-2:

"Но, тогда как инверсии определения и определяемого в конце строки ... слабо ощущаются именно как инверсии, - всякая прозаическая клаузула, построенная на такой инверсии, скажется прежде всего своей синтактико-семантической стороной."

and again:

"... инверсия, в особенности в конце рядов, согласуется с принципом тесноты ряда."³⁵

In connection with the second of these statements, it is interesting to compare a similar statement made by Žir-

munskij in his discussion of enjambement:

"In connection with this an important role is played by word order: e.g., inversion, which contributes to the isolation of syntactic elements, and creates more distinct boundaries between the linked parts of the syntactic group. Cf. Puškin's:

No v sèrdce xàna čúvstv inýx
Tait'sja plàmen' bezotràdnyj...

The significance of inversion in enjambment was already clear to the Russian theorists of the eighteenth century. Tred'jakovskij, for instance, who would not permit caesura to separate syntactically bound parts of the sentence, admitted such division when the word order was inverted." ³⁶

Finally Ščerba, in his detailed consideration of word order in Puškin's "Vospominanie", states that inverted word order effects greater compactness (= *kompaktnost'*) of the relevant phrase than is the case with normal word order. ³⁷ Ščerba's terms are further applied by Pospelov in his discussion of the opening lines from "Mednyj Vsadnik" (cf. p. 12).

"Что касается большей компактности стихотворной строки в результате инверсии, то эффект большей компактности особенно заметен в случае двойной инверсии, как, например, в начальных строках Вступления:

На берегу пустынных волн
Стоял он, дум великих полн,
И вдаль глядел.

Действительно, достаточно восстановить "нормальный порядок слов" во второй строке, чтобы убедиться в том, что словосочетание "полн великих дум" естественно распадается на две синтагмы, тогда как при инверсии это словосочетание является одной синтагмой." ³⁸

If we apply the above remarks, which are to say the least a scattered collection of isolated throw-outs, to the TIV.4 examples under consideration, we see that the NP (SA) at the end of the line, by manifesting greater 'compactness' than would an AS in the same position, interferes with the forward-directing impulse of the syntax. We understand 'compactness' to result from the fact that in order to comprehend the significance of the inverted adjective, the reader must (metaphorically speaking) pause for orientation, glance backwards to the substantive on which it is dependent, before moving forward to the remaining sentence. The inverted NP at the end of the TIV line thereby confirms on the syntactic level the pause which is signalled on the metrical level by the completion of the metrical unit, i.e. the line. In other words, SA at the end of the unmarked iambic tetrameter confirms the automatic cadence of that line as discussed in 4.1.

The attempt to corroborate this observation with reference to the semantics of a specific poem proved more difficult than in the cases of TIV.1., TIV.2 and TIV.3. The only example of a TIV.4 line in "Prorok" is marked by an unexpected contrast of rhythmo-syntactic repetition:

16. И вырвал грешный мой язык,
17. И празднословный и лукавый,
18. И жало мудрая змеи
19. В уста замершие мои
20. Вложил десницею кровавой.

In these lines it is the adjectives which develop the argument; their insistency builds up throughout lines 16-19: *грешный, празднословный, лукавый, мудрая, замершие*.

In each of these lines the second stress position is occupied by an adjective. This accentuation of the adjectives carries over to *кровавой* in line 20; the fact that the second stress position relinquishes its semantic ac-

centuation potential, in favour of the final stress position, marks a break in the rhythmic inertia of these lines which signals the end of the poetic period.

Similar complex cases notwithstanding, my claim is that the inverted adjective in TIV.4 does not manifest the accentuation which would be typical for an adjective in post-position in normal speech (which was not the case in TIV.3). Adjectives in final position in TIV.4 lines tend to carry stereotyped semantic content: they frequently sound like clichés. In this case they are analogous to the line which ends in a possessive pronoun obvious from the context:

Исполнишь волею моей	"Пророк" II. 339
Сокрыв уныние мое	II. 9

Such figures are extremely common in Puškin's four foot iambic verse.

During the present investigation 66 TIV.4 examples were collected. A high proportion of the inverted adjectives in final position are found to be semantically predictable in the immediate context of their use. Many of them are found to recur in the same position in different poems. For example, on 6 occasions the inverted adjective in final position is *молодой* (different cases):

Увянет! *Жизнью молодою*
 Не долго наслаждаться ей;
 Не долго радовать собою
 Счастливый круг семьи своей,
 "Увы, зачем она блистает" II.9

В чаду веселий городских,
 На легких играх Терпсихоры
 К тебе *красавиц молодых*
 Летят задумчивые взоры.

.....
 С невольным пламенем ланит
 Украдкой *нимфа молодая,*

Сама себя не понимая,
На фавна иногда глядит.

"Юрьеву" II. 44-45

Свободы друг миролюбивый,
В толпе красавиц молодых,
Я, равнодушный и ленивый,
Своих богов не вижу в них.

"Алексееву" II. 79

Так дуновенья бурь земных
И нас нечаянно касались,
И мы среди пиршеств молодых
Душою часто омрачались;
.....
Товарищ песен молодых,
Пиров и чистых помышлений,
Туда, в толпу теней родных
Навек от нас утекший гений.

"Чем чаще празднует лицей" III.228-229

The six incidences of the inverted *молодой* in final stress position listed above have much in common: the four poems in which they occur are dedicatory, odes to particular people ("Jur'evu", "Alekseevu") or odes to the fleeting of time ("Увы, зачем она блистает", "Чем чаще празднует лицей"). Moreover the substantives which these adjectives qualify are chosen from within a limited semantic field: on three occasions the substantive denotes 'beautiful women' (*красавиц*, *нимфа* and *красавиц*) and on three 'life' or metonymies for life embracing the concept 'joy' (*жизнью*, *пиршеств* and *песен*). The adjective *молодой*, inverted and in final stress position, attains a level of stability which suggests that it functions as a fixed poetic figure, and that it does not assume the accentuation characteristic of a similar inversion in normal speech.

Of the 66 examples of TIV.4, a further four contain the adjective *живой*, three *гробовой*, two *кровавий* and

finally two *величавый*. As the adjective *молодой* discussed above, so these adjectives, inverted and in final position, are so characteristic of Puškin's four foot iambic verse that they function as poetic clichés and are not accentuated as they would be in normal speech.

Other examples are comprised by NPs the semantic content of which is too indifferent to allow the final inverted adjective to achieve the accentuation due to it in normal speech. For example:

Прощай, свободная стихия!
В последний раз передо мной
Ты катишь волны голубые
И блещешь гордою красой. "К морью" II.198

Здесь город чопорный, унылый,
Здесь речи - лед, сердца - гранит;
Здесь нет ни *ветрености милой*,
Ни муз, ни Пресни, ни харит. "Ответ" III.164

One factor, which for want of space is not investigated in this article, should be mentioned here: this has to do with word boundaries which are certainly relevant to the problem in hand. In the following two examples of TIV.4, a monosyllabic substantive is followed by an adjective with five syllables:

Твердил я *стих обвороженный*,
Мой стих, унынья звук живой,
Так мило ею повторенный,
Замеченный ее душой.
"Кн. М. А. Голицыной" II.163

Гляжу ль на *дуб уединенный*,
Я мыслю: патриарх лесов
Переживет мой век забвенный,
Как пережил он век отцов.

"Брожу ли я вдоль улиц шумных" III.135

In these cases it seems that the sheer length of the adjective in comparison with the substantive counts in the

former's favour with regard to accentuation. Hence the adjectives in the above examples are accentuated as they would be in post position in normal language notwithstanding their position as regards rhythmic inertia.

7.0. Of the other six possible realizations of the four foot iambic line, Taranovsky shows that five occur in Puškin's verse; TVII does not occur at all, and TV accounts for less than 1% of such lines.

An important finding of the present investigation is that every other realization of the iambic tetrameter, that is excepting the unmarked TIV, results in a deviation from the accentuation patterns established in 6 above in connection with TIV, namely the tendency for the second stress position to carry greatest accentuation potential.

Again the consideration of NPs AS and SA against the background of their usage in normal speech facilitates discussion of the problem on a concrete basis.

Examples from the five remaining types follow:

8.0. Examples of relevant NPs occurring in TI lines (- ' - ' - ' - ') are described as follows:

- TI.1 AS in feet 1 - 2
- TI.2 AS in feet 3 - 4
- TI.3 SA in feet 1 - 2
- TI.4 SA in feet 3 - 4
- TI.5 AS in feet 2 - 3
- TI.6 SA in feet 2 - 3

8.1.1. TI.1

<i>Счастливей круг семьи своей</i>	II, 9
<i>Младих пиров утихли смехи</i>	II, 29
<i>Их томный взор, приветный лепет</i>	II, 79
<i>Глухие звуки, бездны глас</i>	II, 198
<i>Ваш легкий шаг, иль платья шум</i>	II, 336
<i>На мутном небе мгла носилась</i>	III, 129
<i>Прозрачный лес один чернеет</i>	III, 129

<i>От злых забот и лени вялой</i>	III, 172
<i>В последний раз твой образ милый</i>	III, 186
<i>Маститый страж страны державной</i>	III, 220

№ examples: 24

8.1.2. T1.2

<i>Один, в тиши пустых полей</i>	II, 10
<i>Друзья, готовьте шумный пир</i>	II, 28
<i>В изгнанье скучном, каждый час</i>	II, 29
<i>Всё те же крики юных жриц</i>	II, 30
<i>Погибни лиры ложный звук</i>	II, 46
<i>Я ехал к вам: живые сны</i>	III, 108
<i>Я ехал прочь: иные сны</i>	III, 108
<i>В часы забав иль праздной скуки</i>	III, 165
<i>Свободный труд и сладкий мир</i>	III, 172
<i>И слезы их, и поздний ропот</i>	III, 173

№ examples: 42

8.1.3. T1.3

<i>В изгнанье скучном, каждый час</i>	II, 29
<i>И славы русской луч угас</i>	II, 31
<i>И гад морских подводный ход</i>	II, 338
<i>Душе влюблённой грустно было</i>	III, 108
<i>Как звук ночной в лесу глухом</i>	III, 163

№ examples: 5

8.1.4. T1.4

<i>Спешу в волнение дум тяжёлых</i>	II, 9
<i>В кругу семей, в пирах счастливых</i>	II, 28
<i>И чёрный ус, и взгляд живой</i>	II, 44
<i>Погибни злобы миг единый</i>	II, 46
<i>Но скука, случай, муж ревнивый</i>	II, 73
<i>И здесь вникает в дух народный</i>	II, 78
<i>Волны, плеснувшей в берег дальний</i>	III, 163
<i>Я лил потоки слёз нежданных</i>	III, 165
<i>От злых забот и лени вялой</i>	III, 172
<i>Печальный остров – берег дикий</i>	III, 215

№ examples: 45

8.1.5. ТI.5

Внимаю <i>каждый</i> звук речей	II, 9
Мне моря <i>сладкий</i> шум милее	II, 24
Во прахе <i>царский</i> труп лежал	II, 63
Свободы <i>яркий</i> день вставал	II, 63
Оставим <i>юный</i> пыл страстей	II, 74
Люблю <i>немолчный</i> говор твой	II, 202
И умер <i>бедный</i> раб у ног	III, 83
Оставить <i>мертвый</i> след, подобный	III, 163
Тем робче <i>старый</i> круг друзей	III, 228
Тесней наш <i>верный</i> круг составим	III, 229

№ examples: 10

8.1.6. ТI.6

Пускай, <i>желаний</i> пылких чуждый	II, 44
Спасите <i>труд</i> небрежный мой	II, 93
А я, коль <i>стих</i> единый мой	II, 252

№ examples: 3

8.2.0. In lines of metrical description TI, the rhythmic inertia of the unmarked TIV is disturbed owing to the stress realization in the penultimate foot. As a result the line manifests symmetry considered atypical for the four foot iambic line (see 4.2.). Further, since in Russian verse metrical stress realization is in direct correlation to autosemantic stress, TI lines contain more than the expected amount of autosemantic material, that is four as opposed to three words or word groups. This 'extra' material is contained in the second half of the line; for while the first half of TI corresponds to the first half of the unmarked TIV, the second half contains twice the expected amount of metrical-autosemantic stress.

TI lines manifest regular alternation of stressed and unstressed syllables which as we saw is marked both for the iambic tetrameter and for binary metres in general (see 3.). In other words the normal tension between the

abstract metrical scheme and its actual realization is missing in TI lines. Instead the two coincide to produce a line which insistently acknowledges the abstract metrical pattern and prevents the impression of normal speech unconstrained by poetic form, which illusion is an essential characteristic of the iambic tetrameter.

A secondary effect of the regular alternation of stressed and unstressed syllables is that the further distinguishing feature of binary verse, whereby the realized stresses vary in intensity, is undermined and the four stresses become equalized (see 3.).

The regular alternation of stressed and unstressed syllables together with the equal intensity of the stresses produces an interesting rhythmic effect: the principle of repetition (one foot like another) is intensified, the forward-directing impulse of sense and syntax is undermined. Reiteration on the rhythmic level takes effect on the semantic level; the sense tends less to progress than to accumulate: word is added to word in emphatic confirmation rather than in dynamic development of the argument.

The fact that TI lines frequently mark decisive or conclusive moments in a poem illustrates the point concerning semantic confirmation, witness the final quatrain of "Prorok" which contains two of the poem's three (unequivocal) TI lines:

*Восстань, пророк, и виждь, и внемли,
Исполнишь волею моею,
И, обходя моря и земли,
Глаголом жги сердца людей.* II. 338

The following example, from "Ančar", illustrates the same point:

5. 1 И если туча оросит,
2 Блуждая, лист его дремучий,
3 С его ветвей, уж ядовит,
4 Стекает дождь в песок горячий. III. 82

In this case the TI line marks an end to the description of the upas tree which was the subject of stanzas 1 to 5 and prepares the way for a new moment. And indeed, the opening line of the following stanza introduces a new and dramatic moment into the poem - namely the conflict of man with man against the background of the terrible natural phenomenon, the upas tree.

8.2.1. Considering the question of AS and SA in TI lines, it might be expected that NPs occurring in the first half of the line (TI.1 and TI.3) manifest the same accentuation distribution as NPs occurring in the first half of a TIV line (TIV.1 and TIV.3), since it is first the realization of the third stress which distinguishes the two metrical descriptions. However to the extent that the NPs in TI.1 and TI.3 may never exceed beyond the unstressed syllable in the third foot and frequently comprise no more than the first two feet, this effect is modified. Of the ten examples of TI.1 (8.1.1.) and the five examples of TI.3 (8.1.3.) ten include a monosyllable in the initial NP. The relative curtness of the initial NP in TI lines probably distinguishes them from TIV lines well before the realization of the third stress.

With reference to the discussion in 8.2.0. we may say that TI lines are emphatic *per se*, and that their effect depends on the rhythm which undermines syntactic progression: word is added to word in emphatic reiteration, its syntactic status is comparatively irrelevant.

The realization of the third stress upsets not only the rhythmic inertia of the normally (in over 60% of Puškin's iambic tetrameters) non-realized third stress, but also, by disturbing the rhythmic pattern of the second half of the line, which typically contains only one metrical-autosemantic stress, releases the final obligatory stress from its customary inertia. That is, the final stress manifests greater intensity when it is not preceded by three unstressed syllables.

In accordance with the above argument, it seems that rhythmic accentuation becomes more intense with the progression of the line, that is in proportion to the number of similarly realized metrical feet, and that the question of inversion and the accentuation which it does or does not achieve turns out to be irrelevant.

8.2.2. Certain reservations have to be made concerning the 'irrelevance' of the syntactic status of the word in TI lines:

8.2.2.1. A strong syntactic pause in the middle of a line destroys the accumulative effect of such lines mentioned above. In the following example the phrase begun in the second half of the TI line pushes forward to the next line (enjambement):

Я ехал к вам: ЖИВЫЕ СНЫ

За мной вились толпой игривой, III. 108

8.2.2.2. A prominent feature of TI lines is the fact that they frequently divide into two NPs which stand in symmetrical relationship to one another. This causes the line to divide into two halves, the syntactic division undermining the steady rhythmic reiteration discussed above. The two NPs may stand in apposition to one another, one may qualify the other, or they may form part of an enumeration. Clearly their interrelationship affects the accentuation distribution within the line, and in a more comprehensive study of rhythm-syntactic figures these combinations should be taken into account.³⁹

8.2.3. Against the background of TI lines which contain an NP in one or both halves, there are a few examples of AS and SA which span the first and second halves of the line. These are classified under TI.5 and TI.6 respectively (see 8.1.5. and 8.1.6. above).

Their position in the second and third stress positions activates the potential division of the line into two halves by neglecting it. The effect is as of an enjambement in slight degree, incurring a small measure of

rhythmo-syntactic suspense otherwise not typical for TI lines.⁴⁰ Closer examination of TI.5 examples shows that on average they do manifest a greater forward-directing impulse than TI.1, TI.2, TI.3 and TI.4 lines. Two examples are quoted by way of illustration:

Оно на памятном листке
Оставит мертвый след, подобный
Узору надписи надгробной
На непонятном языке.

"Что в имени тебе моем?" III.163

Принес - и ослабел и лег
Под сводом шалаша на лыжи,
И умер бедный раб у ног
Непобедимого владыки.

"Анчар" III.83

In these examples the rhythmo-syntactic suspense increases the progressive rhythmic intensity typical for TI lines (see 8.2.1.) with the difference that the impulse is not necessarily completed by the end of the line; this completion is otherwise a feature of TI lines which as we have seen insist on the exact realization of the abstract metrical scheme, as in the following example:

Их томный взор, приветный лепет
Уже не властны надо мной.
Забыло сердце нежный трепет
И пламя юности живой.

"Алексееву" II.79

Only three examples of TI.6 were found in the investigated material. It seems that inverted NPs which span the middle part of the line do not induce the rhythmo-syntactic suspense noted in the case of TI.5. This can be explained on the lines of Žirmunskij's argument concerning the role of inversions in enjambement quoted above (p.36). Inversions interfere with the normal progression through the sentence by causing the phrases concerned

to become more closely cemented than usual (*компактность*) and at the same time by isolating those same phrases from the rest of the sentence in which they occur; the inversion interferes with the forward-directing impulse by turning attention back to the substantive. This aspect of the inverted NP in TI.6 lines, that is its *компактность*, bears out the rhythmic potentiality of the TI line which we saw to be reiterative (8.2.0.). The feature is particularly obvious in the second and third examples (8.1.6.) where the SA is followed by a possessive pronoun in final position (i.e. realization of the obligatory metrical stress by a synsemantic word), which further contributes to the 'compactness' of the phrase, bringing the line to a clear halt.

9.0. Examples of relevant NPs occurring in TII lines (— — — $\frac{1}{-}$ — $\frac{1}{-}$ — $\frac{1}{-}$) are described as follows:

- TII.1 AS in feet 2 - 3
- TII.2 AS in feet 3 - 4
- TII.3 SA in feet 2 - 3
- TII.4 SA in feet 3 - 4

9.1.1. TII.1

И что грозящий голос лиры	II, 114
Самолюбивых дум отрада	II, 114
На пожелтый мрамор плещет	III, 215
Когда народной веры глас	III, 220
Достопочтенный лорд Мидас	III, 386
№ examples: 5	

9.1.2. TII.2

Кто обуюл твой дивный ум?	II, 64
И ничего во всей природе	II, 159
И тишину в вечерний час	II, 198
Там погружались в хладный сон	II, 199
Я не хочу другой награды	II, 252
В уединенье чуждых стран	II, 257

Во глубине <i>сибирских руд</i>	III, 7
Не пропадет ваш <i>скорбный труд</i>	III, 7
Озарена. <i>Веселим треском</i>	III, 129
И их знамен <i>нависший ряд</i>	III, 220

N^o examples: 29

9.1.3. TII.3

No examples.

9.1.4. TII.4

Тогда в волнение <i>бурь народных</i>	II, 63
Кто оковал ваш <i>бег могучий</i>	II, 151
Но и в дали в <i>краю чужом</i>	II, 256
И навестим <i>поля пустые</i>	III, 130
Переживет мой <i>век забвенный</i>	III, 135
Оно умрет как <i>шум печальный</i>	III, 163
Не продавал <i>рукой расчетной</i>	III, 196
Для берегов <i>отчизны дальней</i>	III, 204
Ты покидала <i>край чужой</i>	III, 204
В час незабвенный, в <i>час печальный</i>	III, 204

N^o examples: 26

9.2.0. In TII lines the first and only the first stress is not realized. Two features of TII lines are marked: firstly the non-realization of the stress in the first foot (which occurs in only ca 16% of Puškin's four foot iambic lines); secondly the realization of the penultimate stress (which occurs in less than 40% of Puškin's four foot iambic lines).

TII manifests asymmetry which was noted as a characteristic feature of the unmarked iambic tetrameter. The asymmetry of TII lines is however marked in a particular way: namely the ratio within the unmarked TIV whereby the first half of the line contains two metrical-autosemantic stresses and the second half only one is reversed. Thus in TII lines the first half of the line contains only half the expected amount of metrical-autosemantic

material, while the second half of the line contains twice the expected amount.

Since the stress in the first foot is, against expectation, not realized, the stress realized in the second foot becomes particularly strong. Yet according to my hypothesis, the second foot naturally constitutes the strongest rhythmical position in the unmarked four foot iambic line. A conflict exists in the fact that the strength of the second foot from the rhythmical point of view is in part due to the fact that a word occupying that position corresponds to the middle of the three autosemantic words in a TIV line. In the TII line however the second stress position is occupied by the first of the three autosemantic words. The second autosemantic word now occupies the third stress position. As a result, the TII line gives two consecutive strong stresses in the second and third feet; this in turn releases the final foot from its customary inertia (see 8.2.1.). Since realization of the penultimate stress has a catalytic effect on the final foot, TII lines are characterized by an intensification of rhythmic accentuation towards the end of the line.

9.2.1. The rhythmic effect of TII lines as analysed above leads to the expectation, in the case of TII.1 and TII.3, of an NP consisting of two equally accentuated component parts. Significantly, there proved to be few examples of TII.1 and TII.3, that is there were five examples of TII.1 and none of TII.3.⁴¹

Of the five examples of TII.1, two involve synsemantic words in the first foot. In metrical description they are therefore close to TI lines ($\overset{(i)}{-} - \overset{|}{-} - \overset{|}{-} - \overset{|}{-}$). In order to highlight the distinctive features of TII.1 examples we concentrate on those lines which consist of three autosemantic words only.

The three remaining examples manifest a rhythmic awk-

wardness due to the presence of two rhythmically strong stresses in juxtaposition. The rhythmically equal status of the two parts of the NP undermines the fact of predication on the syntactic level. In two of the examples this is particularly marked owing to the length of the adjective (five syllables) in relation to the monosyllabic substantive which it modifies:

Самолюбивых дум отрада - - - ' -||'| - ' - II, 114

Достопочтенный лорд Мидас - - - ' -||'| - ' III, 386

The profusion of unstressed syllables introduced by the adjective is brought up sharp by the monosyllabic substantive. The awkwardness of such a rhythmical figure is emphasized to comic effect in the second of the quoted examples, where the monosyllabic substantive is constituted by the imported foreign word *lord*.

9.2.2. In TII.2 lines, the tendency noted in the unmarked TIV.2 lines for the accentuation within an NP (AS) at the end of the line to be distributed counter to the expectancy of normal speech (that is for the non-inverted adjective to be accentuated) is counteracted. This is due to the fact that realization of the normally non-realized third stress not only results in a rhythmically strong third foot, but also acts as a catalyst on the final foot, releasing it from its customary inertia. As a result the TII line gives two consecutive strong rhythmical stresses in the penultimate and final feet of the line.

In an NP (AS) this is manifest in the fact that the two component parts of the NP are equally strong, neither acting as a spring-board for the other; that is grammatical predication is to a certain extent undermined by the rhythm. In other words the adjective bears a more marked stress than it would do in a corresponding AS in normal speech; but it is not accentuated to the extent that an inverted adjective in normal speech is accentuated.⁴²

The problem is illustrated by the following example:

Во глубине сибирских руд
 Храните гордое терпенье,
 Не пропадет ваш скорбный труд

И дум высокое стремление.

III, 7

The quatrain consists of alternating TII.2 and TIV.2 lines. In line 1 the rhythm accentuates first *сибирских* and then *руд*: that is to say the adjective is not accentuated to the point where the substantive becomes eclipsed; the adjective *сибирских* is essential for an understanding of the poem and so also is the substantive *руд*. Only together do the two words reveal the meaning which they carry in this poem. The rhythmical intensification of three consecutive realized stresses releases the final part of the line from its customary inertia; the rhythm is supported by a measure of syntactic suspense directing attention forward to the following line in search of the subject and verb of the sentence, thereby counteracting the ideal pause or cadence otherwise characteristic of the end of the line.⁴³

Line 2 provides an example of the unmarked TIV.2, where the adjective preceding the substantive it qualifies is more accentuated than would be the case in normal speech according to the following interpretation: the poem's addressee is urged to preserve proud patience; in the situation of Siberian exile patience is an obvious, almost obligatory state of mind, but 'pride' is something extra; through pride the exiles may show themselves worthy of the cause for which they fight; 'pride' accordingly is the most loaded object of the poem's exhortation. This interpretation corroborates the hypothesis concerning the strength of the second foot in the unmarked TIV. Again rhythm is supported by syntax: the automatic cadence at the end of line 2 coincides with the completion of the sentence, which completion is expressed by the punctuation.

Line 3 repeats the rhythm-semantic situation of line 1. Realization of the normally unrealized third stress results in a strong rhythmic stress at the same time as it acts as

a catalyst on the final foot. Of the two words *скорбный* and *труд*, neither acts as the springboard for the other, neither do they fuse into a single concept. The two rhythmically strong stresses focus on two semantic concepts; these maintain a degree of independence which overrides grammatical predication: the given NP introduces the concept of 'mournfulness' and the concept of 'labour'; these coexist in the poem, neither is dominant. By comparison, analysis of the same NP in a prose text would lead to the conclusion that one concept was semantically dominant over the other. In the given line the marked rhythm releases the adjective from the limits normally imposed upon it by the syntax.

Line 4 repeats the rhythm-semantic situation of line 2, the TIV.2 line achieving greatest accentuation in the second foot. The adjective *высокое* is accentuated more than the noun it qualifies. On the semantic level this accentuation is motivated as follows: as in line 1 the 'poet' takes for granted that the exiles will strive, just as they will be patient; the 'poet' urges that the exiles exceed the moral minimum required by their situation and his address is an exhortation to reach up (morally) in a humiliating physical and social situation. The final cadence in line 4 is supported by the syntax and the closing of the quatrain.

The stanza illustrates the way in which metrical variation functions in bringing out fine shades of semantic accentuation.

9.2.3. Turning to TII.4, we find that an inverted adjective in final position does not lose the accentuation typical for an inverted adjective in normal speech, as was the case in TIV.4. Again this is explained by the fact that the marked rhythm of TII lines accentuates the end of the line in such a way as to relieve the final stress position of its customary inertia. The triple repetition of a TII.4 line in the following example leads to accen-

tuation of the final position:

Для берегов *отчизны* *дальной*
 Ты покидала *край* *чужой*;
 В час *незабвенный*, в час *печальный*
 Я долго плакал пред тобой. III, 204

The significance of *отчизны* in line 1 is not denied, it is essential for an understanding of the poem; it is however the qualifying adjective *дальной* which activates the poem's central opposition or paradox: what is near is far.

The situation of conflict is made further complex in line 2 where the poem's addressee is said to leave (*desert*) a *foreign* land. The word *край* is neutral, while the qualifying adjective *чужой* enters the crucial and central paradox and hints at the poem's 'I's convoluted longing, his longing of her who has deserted a foreign shore for her distant homeland. Here in the first two lines we are given the structural kernel of the poem which is subsequently to be elaborated. The two inverted adjectives in final position are central to the poem's meaning and their importance is conveyed by the rhythm.

The rhythm of line 3 is complex owing to the introduction of a hypermetrical stress in the first syllable of the line. As a result the line contains four autosemantic words which divide into two symmetrical pairs of "в час + adjective". The complexity consists in the fact that four autosemantic words give only three metrical stresses. The metrical description of the line is: $\overset{1}{\text{в}} - - \overset{1}{\text{ч}} - \overset{1}{\text{ас}} - \overset{1}{\text{н}} -$. Naturally the repetition of *в час* throws the adjectives *незабвенный* and *печальный* into emphatic opposition. The adjective *незабвенный* is rhythmically accentuated owing to its status as realized second stress, after a non-realized first stress (see 9.2.0.). On account of the symmetrical division of the line, accentuation of *незабвенный* leads to accentuation of the

adjective in final position, *печальный*. Accentuation of the final position in line 3 confirms the earlier accentuation of the adjectives *дальной* and *чужой* in lines 1 and 2 respectively. In the final line (TIV) the unmarked accentuation pattern is restored: the word *плакал*, in the second (accentuated) stress position, introduces explicitly the emotion of the poem's 'I' reporting his reaction to the departure of *ты*. *Пред тобой* marks the expected cadence; it rounds out the sense but does not introduce any new material: *ты* has already figured as the subject of the sentence in lines 1-2.

10.0. Examples of relevant NPs occurring in TIII lines (- ' - - - ' - ') are described as follows:

- TIII.1 AS in feet 1 - 3
- TIII.2 AS in feet 3 - 4
- TIII.3 SA in feet 1 - 3
- TIII.4 SA in feet 3 - 4

10.1.1. TIII.1

No examples.

10.1.2. TIII.2

<i>Игралище слепой пучины</i>	II,	24
<i>Кругом его глубокий сон</i>	II,	60
<i>Почий среди пустынных волн</i>	II,	62
<i>Вся комната янтарным блеском</i>	III,	129
<i>Вхожу ль во многолюдный храм</i>	III,	135
<i>Мой примет охладелый прах</i>	III,	136
<i>И пусть у гробового входа</i>	III,	136
<i>Безмолвна от стеснённых рук</i>	III,	173
<i>Заснула ты последним сном</i>	III,	204

№ examples: 15

10.1.3. TIII.3

No examples.

10.1.4. TIII.4

<i>Наслушаться речей весёлых</i>	II,	9
<i>Под бурями судьбы жестокой</i>	II,	27

Талантов обожатель страстный	II, 46
Одна из глубины могильной	II, 256
И тих твоей могилы бранной	III, 221
Смеялась над толпою вздорной	III, 236

№ examples: 12

10.2.0. In TIII lines, the reversed asymmetry noted in connection with TII lines (whereby, against the background of the unmarked TIV line, the first half of the line contains half the expected amount of metrical-auto-semantic stress, while the second half of the line contains twice the expected amount) is maintained, with the difference that it is the first stress, not the second, which is realized.

The first foot of a TIII line is the same as in the unmarked TIV or the marked TI. But the expected realization of the second stress (realized in over 90% of Puškin's four foot iambic lines) is omitted, with the result that the realized third stress becomes particularly accentuated: in the first place its realization is always marked (4.2.), and in the second it resolves the expectation suspended from the non-realization of the second stress.

As we have seen in the case of TI and TII lines, realization of the third stress focuses on that stress while at the same time it functions as a catalyst activating the final stress. So here in the TIII line the final two stresses together are rhythmically strong. The automatic cadence, typical of the final foot, is undermined.

It is interesting to note complete absence in the material investigated of any NPs which span the first through the third feet: TIII.1 and TIII.3 simply do not occur. This in itself suggests that the two final feet present a cohesive rhythmic unit.

10.2.1. Turning to TIII.2 examples, we find a situation similar to that manifest in TII.2 examples: namely, there is an even distribution of accentuation which gives two deliberate stresses in succession and undermines the principle of predication on the syntactic level. In other words the situation noted in connection with the unmarked TIV.2, whereby the adjective is more accentuated than the substantive which succeeds it, is no longer in evidence. At the same time the progression through the adjective onto the substantive which would be typical for an NP (AS) in normal speech is undermined by the rhythmic deliberateness of the third realized stress. The NP provides the poem with two adjacent concepts neither of which is semantically subordinated to the other.

Of the examples of TIII.2 listed (10.1.2.) the majority manifest a predominantly expressive function. In other words the concepts introduced by the NPs are usually predictable in the context: the rhythmic attention attributed to those concepts signals their expressive significance. Let us examine the following example:

И где мне смерть пошлет судьбина?
 В бою ли, в странствии, в волнах?
 Или соседняя долина
 Мой примет *охладелый прах*? III, 136

In the sentence comprised by lines 3-4, the relevant NP (*охладелый прах*) represents the topic or the starting point of the sentence; the point at issue throughout the stanza is where the 'I''s death will take place; *охладелый прах* merely repeats, by way of concrete synecdoche, the notion conveyed by *смерть* in line 1. Moreover the relationship of the adjective to the substantive is tautological: human remains are by definition 'grown cold'. The adjective does not therefore qualify the substantive but duplicates it; it makes the same point in another way.

The need for 'saying-it-twice' is expressive: the fact is emotionally loaded for the poem's 'I' and is elaborated accordingly. Equal distribution of accentuation on the rhythmic level is motivated on the semantic level by the need to express the significance of the images relating to the death of the poet's 'I'.

Other examples of TIII.2 manifest the same tendency, namely for the semantic import of the NP as a whole to lie on the periphery of the poem's central opposition. The function of the NP is to confirm what is already known thereby intensifying its emotional effect. The fact that so many of the quoted examples of TIII.2 comprise euphemistic references to death and its corollaries bears witness to this fact (see examples III, 136 and III, 204 (10.1.2.) and also examples of TIII.4). Even the other examples (with the exception perhaps of III, 135 and III, 173) have a typically poetic 'ring' to them owing both to their eschatological allusion and to their rhythmic structure which in the majority of cases results in a polysyllabic adjective followed by a monosyllabic substantive.

10.2.2. Owing to the release from automatic cadence of the final stress in TIII lines as noted above (10.2.0.) an inverted adjective in final stress position is not less accentuated than the substantive it qualifies as was the case in the unmarked TIV.4 (6.2.4.). Activation of the final stress from the rhythmic point of view results in the fact that the inverted adjective may be accentuated. However, the accentuation distribution in SA in TIII.4 lines is not the same as it would be in a similar NP in normal speech. To a certain extent the equal accentuation distribution characteristic of TIII.2 (10.2.1.) is also effective in TIII.4 examples; that is to say that if the adjective is accentuated, the substantive maintains a degree of intonational significance which would be denied it in a similar NP in normal speech.

It is interesting to note that, as in the case of TIII.2 examples, many of the TIII.4 examples allude to death, or are found in poems whose theme is the inevitable passage from youth to old-age or the vanity of human existence:

Спешу в волнение дум тяжелых,
Сокрыв уныние мое,
Наслушаться *речей веселых*
И наглядеться на нее.

"Увы, зачем она блистает", II, 9

Явись и дланию своей
Нам укажи в толпе вождей,
Кто твой наследник, твой избранный.
Но храм - в молчанье погружен,
И тих *твоей могилы бранной*
Невозмутимый, вечный сон.

"1831", III, 221

The fact that the examples all come from poems with similar themes suggests that the figure SA at the end of a TIII line is a stable component of a particular poetic code, in other words that as a rhythmo-syntactic figure it functions as a recognizable and to a certain degree fixed signal.

That the accentuation distribution is slightly in favour of the inverted adjective is illustrated by the second of the examples quoted above. The poem is an appeal to the dead Kutuzov to rise from his grave and exercise his might in saving czar and country, as he had done in his life-time. The poem ends with the above-quoted lines conveying resignation over the fact that he who was mighty is now still. Confrontation between the desire of the poet and his recognition of reality is expressed in the NP *могила бранной* at the end of line 5. The paradox between the notion of 'stillness' (*тих твоей могилы*) and the notion of 'commotion' inherent in the word *бранной* motivates accen-

tuation of the latter on the semantic level, thus exploiting a rhythmic potentiality of the TIII line.

11.0. Only one example of a TV line (— ˊ — — — — ˊ) involving an NP was found in the material investigated:

Беспечности самолюбивой II. 44

No conclusions were possible on the basis of one example.

12.0. Examples of relevant NPs in TVI lines

(— — — ˊ — — — ˊ) are described as follows:

- TVI.1 AS spanning feet 1 - 4 (stresses 2 and 4)
 TVI.2 SA spanning feet 1 - 4 (stresses 2 and 4)
 TVI.3 AS in feet 2 - 4 (weak subsidiary stress in the first foot owing to synsemantic word: (— (ˊ) — ˊ — — — ˊ))
 TVI.4 SA in feet 2 - 4 (weak subsidiary stress in the first foot as in TVI.3)

12.1.1. TVI.1

<i>Непримиримую судьбою</i>	II.	28
<i>Ни элегические речи</i>	II.	76
<i>Высокопарные страницы</i>	II.	93
<i>Что непреклонным вдохновеньем</i>	II.	114
<i>Неистоощимой клеветой</i>	II.	159
<i>И вдохновенные искусства</i>	II.	159
<i>Непобедимого владыки</i>	III.	83
<i>Сих неподписанных каракул</i>	III.	164
<i>Под одинаковой звездой</i>	III.	196
<i>Неизъяснимой синевой</i>	III.	215
N ^o examples: 54		

12.1.2. TVI.2

<i>Но в заблуждении приятном</i>	II.	126
N ^o examples: 1		

12.1.3. TVI.3

<i>Ее торжественный венец</i>	II.	31
<i>Ее минутные обиды</i>	II.	44
<i>Она прелестная Лаура</i>	II.	76

Своей небесной благодатью	II.	94
Она духовному занятью	II.	94
И под заветною печатью	II.	94
Свои послушливые стрелы	III.	83
Оно на памятном листке	III.	163
Не по узорной пестроте	III.	164
Но по веселой остроте	III.	164
N ^o examples: 45		

12.1.4. TVI.4

Когда на площади мятежной	II.	63
В его надеждах благородных	II.	63
Когда любовник иступленный	II.	80
И для красавицы надменной	II.	80
И в этой глупости несчастной	II.	336
Но по приветствиям лукавым	III.	164
Но по насмешливости злой	III.	164
Когда твой голос величавый	III.	165
N ^o examples: 16		

12.2.0. TVI lines are divided into two metrically equal halves, they manifest symmetry which is considered marked for the four foot iambic line (4.2.). Whereas the comparable symmetry manifest in TI lines achieved complete realization of the abstract metrical scheme of the iambic tetrameter, TVI lines realize only two out of the four metrical stresses. Further, while the symmetry of the TI line gave a marked effect in the second half of the line (two as opposed to one stress in comparison with the unmarked TIV line), the symmetry of the TVI line gives marked effect in the first half of the line (one as opposed to two stresses in comparison with the unmarked TIV line).

Against the background of the unmarked TIV line, the first half of a TVI line is marked in that it lacks metrical stress realization in the first foot (which occurs in less than 16 % of Puškin's four foot iambic lines).

The result of this feature is a particularly strong stress in the second stress position (cf. 9.2.0.). At the same time the second half of the line coincides exactly with the second half of the unmarked TIV line.

The rhythmic effect of TVI lines is accordingly complex: on the one hand the patterns for accentuation distribution which were established for the unmarked TIV lines would seem to be maintained and even exaggerated in TVI lines (that is to say a particularly strong second stress, with the final foot manifesting the automatic cadence typical for the iambic tetrameter); while on the other, the fact that the line is suspended on two as opposed to three autosemantic words or word groups, together with the fact that these are played off against two exactly equal metrical halves, leads to the expectation that the accentuation will be evenly distributed between the two realized stresses, and that the second half of the line will take effect as a rhythmic repetition of the first half.

We shall see that in fact both tendencies are in operation in TVI lines. In order to isolate the distinctive aspects of the problem, examples involving synsemantic words, and accordingly a certain degree of metrical stress realization, in the first foot have been listed separately under TVI.3 and TVI.4; under different principles of metrical description these lines would have been categorized as TIV lines (see note 8, p.28).

12.2.1. While TVI.1 examples were found to be extremely frequent only one example of TVI.2 was found in the investigated material. A natural explanation seems to lie in the relatively greater number of multisyllabic adjectives to multisyllabic substantives involved, as well as to the distribution of the stress in multisyllabic words. The examples show that the first autosemantic word in every case exceeds the metrical mid-point of the line. In other words a tension exists between the metrical dividing-

point exactly halfway through the line and the boundary between the two autosemantic words. Moreover this tension is resolved in favour of the first word of the NP on every occasion, and the extra length of the first word in respect to the second results in the fact that it becomes rhythmically more accentuated than the second word. Thus the second word (the substantive) is experienced not as a rhythmic repetition of the first word (as suggested by the metrical division of the line into two equal halves), but as a manifestation of the automatic cadence characteristic of the unmarked iambic tetrameter. This manifestation however turns out to be relative; it depends on the length of the adjective and substantive respectively.

Let us examine some examples more closely:

(В те дни ...)

Когда возвышенные чувства,
Свобода, слава и любовь
И вдохновенные искусства
Так сильно волновали кровь,

"Демон" II. 159

Принес - и ослабел и лег
Под сводом шалаша на лыжи,
И умер бедный раб у ног
Непобедимого владыки.

"Анчар" III. 83

My suggestion is that in the above examples the initial adjective is rhythmically more accentuated than the succeeding substantive owing to its greater length, and that this accentuation is simultaneously motivated on the semantic level.

The central opposition of "Demon" is between a happy, creative state before the demon's visit, and a cynical, nihilistic state afterwards. What is at stake is not the concrete manifestations of that state (girls, na-

ture, poetry etc.), but the 'poet's' initial ability to appreciate them in comparison with his subsequent inability to appreciate anything. In the relevant NP *вдохновенные искусства* it is the adjective which refers to the essential opposition *reverence/irony*, while the substantive merely alludes to a specific manifestation of that central opposition. ('Arts' functions as a metonymy representing that entire body of phenomena to which the poet is responsive).

The example from "Анчар" is complex. In the third line of the quoted stanza we have a TI.5 example: the relevant NP is *бедный раб* and it spans the middle two feet of the line. This NP finds its opposition on the semantic level in the following line: *бедный/непобедимого* and *раб/владика*. The two lines are in opposition on the rhythmic level too: while both are characterized by an even number of realized stresses, giving metrically symmetric descriptions, the first contains four stresses and the second only two. In effect the 'poor slave' is expressed in half the rhythmic space devoted to the 'inconquerable lord'. After the intense realization of stresses in the third line, the word *непобедимого* (six syllables) seems inordinately long and is thereby accentuated. Rhythmically it overshadows the substantive *владика*, which word has already been made semantically implicit earlier in the poem:

Но человека человек

Послал к анчару *властным* взглядом

The rhythmic accentuation of the adjective *непобедимого* releases the word from the limits of the opposition within which it is motivated immediately. The drama is not only between slave and overlord: it extends to an enmity between the lord and his adversaries in foreign parts, and beyond that to the challenge of the upas tree itself. The cruel lord is not even vanquished by nature's most dreaded weapon; instead he has harnessed nature's

evil to his own and thereby become truly invincible. Our interpretation illustrates how rhythmic accentuation is motivated on the semantic level of the poem.

Such examples notwithstanding, there are a number of TVI.1 lines where the rhythmic inertia of the final part of the line (whereby the final two feet of TVI lines are reminiscent of the final two feet of TIV lines) is undermined. In effect, as soon as the substantive is composed of four (as opposed to two or three) syllables the balance of accentuation between the adjective and substantive is disturbed and the TVI line achieves a different rhythmic effect. For example:

Что непреклонным вдохновеньем
И бурной юностью моей
И страстью воли и гоненьем
Я стал известен меж людей, -

"В. Ф. Раевскому" II. 114

Неустоимой клеветой
Он провиденье искушал;
Он звал прекрасное мечтою;
Он вдохновенье презирал;

"Демон" II. 159

The first example is taken from an unfinished poem. To relate the relevant NP to the central opposition is impossible since the poem gives only the first term of the opposition (*Не тем..., не тем..., не тем.../иная...*, the latter is not elaborated). However, since the TVI line consists of only two autosemantic words, and since the substantive contains as many syllables as the preceding adjective (four), moreover the stress occurring on the third syllable in both words (- - ¹ -), the substantive is experienced as a rhythmic repetition, or echo, of the initial adjective, and the typical cadence of the iambic tetrameter is disturbed. With reference to the discussion above (12.2.0.), the rhythmic feature of the TVI line

whereby the line is divided into two equal halves is brought to the fore. The rhythmic effect of this line as described here (the disturbance of the rhythmic inertia of the final position of a four foot iambic line) is born out by the fact that the relevant NP occurs in the first line of the quatrain; an instrumental object, it stands at the beginning of the subordinate clause in inverted position. This means that its forward directing function is strong.⁴⁵

The example from "Demon" is very similar: the line contains no synsemantic words and the syllable distribution is 5+4, the stress in each word occurring on the penultimate syllable; the NP, an adverbial phrase standing before the subject and verb of the sentence, initiates both the quatrain and the syntactic period accordingly manifesting strong forward-directing impulse, which interferes with the potential cadence at the end of the line (as comprised by the substantive *клеветою*). Rhythmic interpretation is confirmed by examination of the semantics; the word *клеветою* is crucial to the central opposition of the poem expressed in terms of spiritual response to life and its manifestations: *inspiration/boredom; blessing/slandering* etc. Against the background of this central opposition, the adjective *неистощимой* merely qualifies and intensifies: it suggests the absolute nature of the demon's faithlessness (expressed in a series of finite clauses), as opposed to the temporary and fragile nature of the poem's 'I's days of faith (expressed within the confines of a subordinate clause).

Since the investigation resulted in a single example of TVI.2, this is considered an isolated phenomenon and is not discussed at length here.

12.2.2. As we have mentioned, the presence of synsemantic words in the beginning of TVI lines reduces their special effect, or more specifically it realizes

one of their potential rhythmic effects to the exclusion of the other. Firstly, division of the line into two equal metrical halves is no longer apparent; secondly, the adjective in such a line tends to be shorter than in TVI.1 and TVI.2 lines (three, four, occasionally five, as opposed to four, five and six syllables). Accordingly the tendency of TVI lines to manifest the automatic cadence typical for the unmarked TIV line is here realized to the exclusion of the TVI line's other tendency, namely to release the final stress position from its customary inertia by allowing it to function as a rhythmic echo of the first half of the line.

Thus TVI.3 and TVI.4 lines approach TIV lines in their rhythmic effect. They are distinguished by the fact that their tendency towards an automatic cadence at the end of the line is less stable than in the TIV line which contains an autosemantic word in the first stress position. Interesting is the fact that while inversion is extremely rare in TVI lines where the NP spans the first through the fourth foot, it is relatively frequent in those lines where the first stress position is occupied by a synsemantic word, constituting weak stress.

CONCLUSIONS

13.0. It has been shown that the variations of rhythmic accentuation distribution within Puškin's iambic tetrameter are intricate but not haphazard:

13.1. We began by establishing patterns of accentuation within the NPs AS and SA for the rhythmically unmarked TIV line. It was found that the distribution of accentuation deviates from that in AS and SA in normal speech in that whether or not the inversion results in extraordinary accentuation of the adjective depends on the position within the line which the AS, respectively SA, occupies. It was claimed that NPs in the first half of

the line behave as they would do in normal speech, whereas NPs in the latter half of the line behave in a manner contradictory to normal usage (6.2.). Therefore, since position within the metrical unit is a factor of metre, I conclude that accentuation distribution is determined by metre, and that metre has the power to override accentuation as effected by syntax (word order) in normal speech.

However, the distinctive feature of binary metres in general, and Puškin's iambic tetrameter in particular, is that in them the rhythm affects a semblance of normal speech including the segmentation and focalization principles typical for normal speech. Thus in TIV.1 and TIV.2 lines, it would appear that the normal effect of inversion is operative. My conclusion is that this is so not in spite of the metre, but on the contrary, thanks to the metre which at this point chooses to 'play along with' normal syntactic focalization principles.

13.2. The patterns established for AS and SA in the unmarked TIV lines were jeopardized as soon as the metrical description of the four foot iambic line became marked (= TI, TII, TIII, TV, TVI). All realizations of the iambic tetrameter other than TIV result in the disturbance of the automatic cadence effected by the final obligatory stress preceded by a non-realized stress in the penultimate foot. Since, moreover, the obligatory final stress, in binary metres, is the signal for metrical organization, any disturbance of the automatic cadence which it effects might be seen to interfere with the stability of the metre and its dominance over syntax. Had it been possible to show that in marked realizations of the iambic tetrameter the focalization function typical of inversions in normal speech takes effect, then we should have

been able to conclude that in such lines syntax asserts itself over metre.

At first sight it may seem that normal word order principles are operative in the marked realizations of the iambic tetrameter. The inertia of the metrical unit is disturbed and the rhythmic energy released is experienced as 'freedom from constraint'; for example accentuation of the adjective as in TIV.2 lines (AS) and de-accentuation of the adjective as in TIV.4 lines (SA) - accentuation patterns in direct contradiction to normal usage - are not noted in the marked realizations.

However on closer examination we find that no sooner is the inertia of the unmarked TIV upset, than a new set of metrical prescriptions comes to the fore.

13.2.1. Both TI and TII lines are characterized by a concentration of consecutive realized stresses; in TI lines all the potential metrical stresses are realized, and in TII lines the last three metrical stresses are realized. The result of the consecutive stress realizations is an insistence on the iambic measure of the metre. In other words the more consecutive realized stresses in the line, the more marked is the distinction of metrical (here iambic) from non-metrical organization (for whereas two consecutive iambic stress realizations would barely suggest an iambic cadence in non-metrical language, three and four would become progressively more suggestive).

Insistence on the iambic measure of the metre has an effect on the accentuation distribution within the NPs AS and SA; namely it effects an equal distribution of accentuation which undermines both the syntactic dependence of the adjective on the substantive, and the extraordinary accentuation characteristic of an inverted adjective in normal speech. In TI and TII lines both constituent parts of the NP manifest an equal degree of accentuation which on the semantic level expresses the

the independence of the two concepts which they represent, whereby the adjective achieves nominal function.

13.2.2. In TIII lines we have neither the automatic cadence of the unmarked TIV line, nor the presence of three or more consecutive realized stresses, both of which facts have been shown to insist on the metrical organization of the language. We might therefore expect that such lines would be characterized by assertion of syntactic over metrical accentuation principles.

However, significantly, no NPs spanning the first through the third feet in TIII lines were found, and of the NPs occurring in the final two feet, none include all three unstressed syllables beginning with the second foot ($- \overset{'}{\parallel} - - - \overset{'}{-} - \overset{'}{-}$). In other words NPs AS and SA only occur where there are two consecutive stress realizations, that is where the metre is most clearly felt.

In the case of AS the same dual accentuation typical of NPs in TI and TII lines is felt, while in SA there is a slightly greater accentuation of the adjective as compared with the substantive; this is however in no way comparable to the extraordinary accentuation of an inverted adjective in normal speech.

Finally it was noted that from the semantic point of view NPs in TIII lines tend to be stereotyped, typically comprising an eschatological allusion; that is to say that any potential release from the dominance of metre over syntax is not exploited on the semantic level. On the contrary, it is as though the very traditionality of such poetic allusions to 'death' and 'human fate' compensates for the rhythmic 'freedom' of the TIII line.

13.2.3. TV lines were not considered owing to the extreme rarity of NPs AS and SA occurring therein.

13.2.4. TVI (cf. TV) lines were noted for the fact that they are the only lines other than the unmarked TIV lines which have no realized stress in the penultimate foot. In addition many TVI lines incur weak (synsemantic) stress realization in the first foot and may therefore be described as straightforward TIV lines.

In TVI lines proper (that is lines consisting of two autosemantic stresses only), the realization of the stress in the second foot is particularly strong owing to the unusual lack of stress realization in the first foot. Since the stress of a multisyllabic word seldom falls on the final syllable in Russian, the first of the two autosemantic words invariably exceeds the strictly metrical division of a TVI line into two equal halves (— — — ' — — — '). This factor together with the relative length of the adjectives involved in comparison with the substantives seems to account for the fact that inverted NPs (SA) in TVI lines prove to be unusual: only one such example was found.

Concerning AS in TVI lines, accentuation distribution proves to be dependent on the relative length of the two words involved: the more syllables the initial adjective contains, the greater its accentuation in comparison with the succeeding substantive, and the greater the tendency for the final two feet to manifest the automatic cadence of the TIV line. However, in proportion as the number of syllables comprised by the substantive in relation to the adjective increases, the accentuation distribution becomes more even; the second half of the TVI line is then experienced as a rhythmic repetition of the first half, the tendency towards automatic cadence (in similarity to the TIV line) is undermined.

Notwithstanding the marked rhythmic effect of TVI lines, these do not manifest accentuation dis-

tribution as effected by syntax (word order) in normal speech. On the contrary it is the rhythm, albeit marked, which achieves accentuation distribution: in particular this is dependent upon the word divisions as against the division of the line into two equal metrical halves.

13.3.0. The analysis shows the intricacies involved when an abstract metrical scheme is realized in a particular linguistic utterance. To the extent that metrical stress realization comprises the stresses of actual words, metre is in interaction with the entire system of the language involved (the principles of word formation, the inflective system (both of which affect the length of the words), as well as the phonological system).

The flexibility of the realization possibilities of the iambic tetrameter exploits the two-dimensional nature of any linguistic utterance which simultaneously constitutes a metrical unit. In this sense the interaction between metre and syntax is dynamic in binary metres, and by contrast it is static in ternary metres.

By the same reasoning, a linguistic utterance which constitutes a metrical unit can never emancipate itself from its metrical function. Concerning the flexibility of the iambic tetrameter and its semblance of language free from the 'constraint' of metre, we can only say that such freedom is an illusion, albeit a productive illusion.

The investigation here undertaken has merely confirmed the truism that in poetry metre dominates over syntax, but it has done so on a concrete level which pays heed to the subtle complexities of the problem.

In addition two interesting factors have emerged:

13.3.1. In taking a syntactic unit (NP) and considering it from the rhythmical point of view, we find that certain rhythm-syntactic manifestations are more likely than others. For example: in TVI lines AS is a common figure, whereas SA is extremely unusual; and again, NPs occupying the first three feet of TII and TIII lines are extremely rare (five examples of TII.1 lines, none of TIII.1, TII.3 and TIII.3). The frequency of particular rhythm-syntactic figures and the reasons pertaining to the frequency would no doubt tell us something of the rhythm-syntactic composition of the iambic tetrameter, Puškin's in particular.

An interesting factor comes to light concerning the position of the adjective of an NP (AS or SA) in the unmarked TIV lines. My hypothesis was that in TIV lines the tendency is for the second stress position to achieve accentuation. Analysis of TIV lines involving NPs supported this hypothesis. It is to be noted that in the majority of cases (274/398) it is the adjective which occupies this rhythmically accentuated position. Further analysis along these lines might lead to deductions as to the significance of the adjective in Puškin's poetry. Naturally such an investigation would have to take into account historical development, genre distribution, above all the typical semantic fields of rhythmically prominent adjectives.

13.3.2. A further noteworthy fact to emerge from the investigation is the stability of the semantic import of certain rhythm-syntactic figures. It was noted that NPs, both AS and SA, at the end of TIII lines (TIII.2 and TIII.4) frequently allude to death or fate and human existence. It is probable that other such stable patterns (a particular rhythm-syntactic figure with particular semantic import) would emerge on closer examination, and these connections would be further proof

of the close texture of poetic verbal material, bearing witness to the complexity of a particular code where the various levels of the poem, rhythmic, syntactic, semantic etc. work in the tightest cooperation.

14.0. RESERVATIONS AND FURTHER CONSIDERATIONS.

During the investigation several factors have been mentioned which were seen to interfere with the accentuation distribution patterns established. While these interferences are felt to be relevant in an individual example, their presence should not embarrass us to such an extent that we hesitate to draw any conclusions. The difficulty of analysing poetic language consists precisely in isolating one level of a multilevelled system, without thereby deforming that level. In the present investigation I have isolated and examined the rhythmo-syntactic structure of the line, only spot-checking my conclusions with semantic analysis. I consider that my conclusions are valid but limited: ideally they should be correlated with further investigations along the following lines:

14.1. On several occasions (e.g. 8.2.1., 12.2.1., 13.2.4.) the proportional number of syllables in the two words of the NP has been mentioned as relevant. Since metre is by definition quantitative, the length of a word occurring in metrical poetry cannot be a matter of indifference; the fact that in Russian each word has only one stress, irrespective of its length, merely highlights the problem. It seems probable that within the accentuation patterns established in this investigation, closer examination of the relative lengths of the two words comprising the NPs would reveal shades of accentuation on an even more subtle level.

14.2. A question not mentioned in this article, but conceivably relevant, is the connection between the accentuation of a particular word and its rhythmic cadence, i.e. iambic or trochaic etc. Just as a masculine rhyme differs in effect from a feminine rhyme, a feminine from a dactylic, so also the position of stress in each word, played off as it is against a metrical measure, achieves specific intonational effect. (Witness the frequency of iambic and the relative infrequency of trochaic verse).

14.3. During the course of this investigation due heed has not been

paid to the fact that the line is but one of several metrical units, albeit the most cohesive. Metrics includes as well rhyme, stanzaic division etc. The incorporation of an individual line into a greater metrical unit is relevant for the present discussion.

We have alluded to the automatic cadence of the TIV line. At a more developed stage of analysis this term should be qualified. In actual fact the effect of automatic cadence (or ideal pause at the end of the line) varies in strength depending on its position in the rhyme figure: roughly we may say that in the first line of a rhyming pair the cadence is weaker, in the second it is stronger. Here should be taken into consideration the type of rhyme involved, alternate, embracing, rhyming couplet etc.

Beyond the question of position in the rhyme scheme, lies the question of the quality of the rhyme and its effect on the relative strength of the automatic cadence. Different rhymes carry different degrees of predictability; and as we have seen in the case of metrical realization, the more predictable the more automatic (4.1.). Rhyme is able both to enforce the automatic cadence of the iambic tetrameter, and to undermine it. Typical rhymes (e.g. for Puškin: *шумный/безумный* which occurs 3 times in the 1516 lines investigated for this study) and grammatical rhymes confirm expectation and underline the automatic cadence, while unexpected rhymes (one thinks in particular of modern poets, Majakovskij, Cvetaeva) or agrammatical rhymes belie expectation and undermine the inertia of the final foot. Puškin's rhymes tend to confirm the automatic cadence, but the poem "*Ja pomnju sudnoe mgnoven'e*" proves an illustrative exception: in this poem an intricate series of repetitions in the rhyming words, lexical as well as phonic, brings emphasis to that position and disturbs the inertia of the final foot.

14.4. Just as the first line of a rhyming figure creates the expectancy of its completion and therefore manifests a forward-directing impulse, while the final line of the rhyming figure resolves that expectancy, enforcing cadence, so also the syntactic

period arouses suspense at its beginning and resolves that suspense at its completion. Syntactic suspense, respectively resolution, undermines, respectively enforces, automatic cadence at the end of the metrical unit, the line.

14.5. Consideration of metrical units greater than the single line brings us to consider the question of enjambement. It is a truism that the tension between the completion of the metrical unit (line or stanza) and the incompleteness of the syntactic unit results in the fact that a word in final position may become particularly accentuated. This tension interferes with the accentuation patterns which I have suggested in consideration of the isolated line.

14.6. In this examination my aim has been to establish to what extent it is the metre, alternatively syntax, which effects accentuation distribution in poetry, specifically in Puškin's four foot iambs. For this purpose I have assumed a neutral, that is non-provocative semantic content. Discussion of semantics proper has been confined to spot verifications of the accentuation patterns which emerged. The fact that striking semantic juxtapositions (oxymoronic juxtapositions, puns, bathos etc.) frequently interfere with the accentuation patterns which we have established on the basis of metre should not be allowed to confuse the principles at issue.

14.7. Finally we have to consider the repetition of rhythm-syntactic figures within the poem. In poetry all repetitions and oppositions become meaning-bearing as such. It can be misleading therefore to discuss a single rhythm-syntactic figure in isolation. Accentuation distribution is necessarily affected by repetitions and oppositions occurring within the context of the poem:

Твой грустный шум, твой шум призывный II. 198

День каждый, каждую минуту III. 135

In the following stanza for example each line ends in AS, while the metrical description of the lines is alternating, TII and

TIV:

Во глубине сибирских руд	- - - ' - ' - '
Храните гордое терпенье,	- ' - ' - - - ' -

Не пропадет ваш скорбный труд — — — ' — ' — '
 И дум высокое стремление. — ' — ' — — — ' —

III.7

In this case we cannot discuss a line in isolation without neglecting a great part of its function in the poem, since each figure is experienced against the background of the others.

Repetitions and oppositions occur on every level of a poem: semantic, phonic etc. The following example illustrates how the phonemic-semantic repetition moves two words into extraordinary focus, thereby interfering with the even accentuation distribution which we found to be typical of the TI line:

На милых бросить взор умильный II. 256

FOOTNOTES

- 1 E.g., Jan Mukařovský, "The Connection Between the Prosodic Line and Word Order in Czech Verse", *A Prague school reader on esthetics, literary structure, and style*. Selected and translated from the original Czech by Paul L. Garvin, Washington 1955, pp. 131-154; Milan Jelínek, "Slovosled v dnešní české poezii", *Teorie verse I*. Sborník brněnské versologické konference 13.-16. května 1964, Brno 1966, pp. 33-45; František Daneš, "Intonace a verš", *Slovo a slovesnost: 19*, 1958, pp. 103-124.
- 2 N. S. Pospelov, *Sintaksičeskij stroj stixotvornyx proizvedenij Puškina*, Moskva 1960, pp. 22-24.
- 3 Ju. Tynjanov, *Problema stixotvornogo jazyka*, (Leningrad 1924) The Hague 1963, pp. 44, 92.
- 4 By 'normal speech' I refer to grammatical (literary) speech which is not organized by rhythm or metre. As an example of standard definition of inversion and its use I quote A. G. Rudnev (*Sintaksis osložnennogo predloženiya*, Moskva 1959, pp. 25-26):
 "И н в е р с и я (от лат. слова *inversio* - перево-
 рачивание), т.е. отступление от принятого в струк-
 туре предложения порядка слов с целью привлечь вни-
 мание слушателей к выделенной таким образом группе
 слов, так как всякое отклонение от стандартного по-
 рядка слов неминуемо обращает на себя внимание и при-
 обретает определенное стилистическое значение.

Простая инверсия определения наблюдается в тех случаях, когда определение вместе с определяемым словом образует цельное сочетание, уточняя и дополняя смысл существительного, или содержит в себе основную смысл определяемого члена предложения, на что указывает и передвижка логического ударения с определяемого слова на определение, например: *Хорь был человек положительный, практический* (Тургенев)."

Thus not all inverted adjectives result in a shift of emphasis cf. N.N. Prokopovič, *Voprosy sintaksisa russkogo jazyka*, Moskva 1974, p. 282:

"Часть случаев с необособленными прилагательными падает на широко распространенные, ставшие традиционными сочетания, как *люди добрые, сердце человеческое* и т.п., а также на многочисленные сочетания со словом *человек* в разных падежах (*человека бедного, человеком умным, человека более молчаливого* и т.д.)."

This brings us to the question of the stylistic function of certain inversions. Rudnev (op. cit.) states that "... простая инверсия применяется для придания речи торжественности или оттенка старины".

Similarly in her article, "K voprosu o roli Puškina v stanovlenii sovremennykh norm porjadka slov", *Voprosy teorii i metodiki izučeniya russkogo jazyka*, Saratov 1965, pp. 137-149, O. B. Sirotinina distinguishes between those inverted adjectives which are "motivated communicatively" and those which are not: "Постпозиция определений, логически не выделяемых, была характерна для древнерусского языка ..., остатки, отголоски этого встречаются даже в современной разговорной речи..." (p. 141). Sirotinina continues to say that inverted adjectives in Puškin's (prose) works are nearly always "communicatively motivated" (p. 142). A more radical, and a more provocative, distinction between two kinds of inversion is found in I. I. Kovtunova, "O ponjatii inversii", *Problemy sovremennoj filologii*, Sbornik statej k semidesjatiletiju akademika V. V. Vinogradova, Moskva 1965, pp. 167-171. Kovtunova distinguishes between two types of inversion, those which effect functional sentence perspective, and those which do not. Accordingly: "Перестановка компонентов словосочетания, обладающих одинаковой степенью динамичности, не сопровождается интонационным выделением какого-нибудь компонента ... Стилистический эффект этого типа инверсий иногда заключается просто в обращающей на себя внимание необычности словорасположения. Но чаще всего в современном русском языке инверсии этого типа обладают определенной стилистической окраской, вызывая представление о тех сферах речевой деятельности, для которых такое расположение является обычным. Например, порядок слов в приведенных выше разновидностях словосочетаний обычен для стихотворной речи, где господствует

большая свобода словорасположения по сравнению с речью прозаической." (pp. 169-170). None of the descriptions quoted above give any criteria according to which a particular inversion may be classified as bearing a communicative function respectively a purely stylistic function (quite apart from the question as to whether such a distinction is warranted). Moreover the purpose of the present investigation is precisely to question the nature of the distinction between inversions occurring in normal speech, and those occurring in poetic speech. For that purpose we cannot take as our starting point an existent but unsatisfactory distinction; instead we need a fixed point with which to correlate our findings. For this reason I am assuming that an inverted adjective in normal speech effects a shift of focus. On the same grounds we do not take into consideration the question in its historical aspect; our interest at this moment is not in Puškin's historical role, but in an eventual difference in principle between inversions in normal speech and inversions in poetic speech.

5 Op. cit., p. 184.

6 L. V. Ščerba, "Opyty lingvističeskogo tolkovanija stixotvorenij I", *Izbrannye raboty po russkomu jazyku*, Moskva 1957, p. 33. See further Tomaševskij (*Teorija Literatury*, (Leningrad 1925) Letchworth 1971, p. 47) who discusses "unusual word order" as occurring in poetry. Distinguishing inversions where two juxtaposed words change places, Tomaševskij has the following to say:

"В инверсированных конструкциях совершается перераспределение логического ударения и интонационное обособление слов, вообще в произношении примыкающих к главным словам синтаксической группы.

В сочетании „тайная дума“ эпитет слабо обособлен от существительного, и „дума“ несет на себе логическое ударение. В сочетании „дума тайная“ логическое ударение передвигается на слово „тайная“, и оба слова менее тесно связаны. Таким образом в инверсированных конструкциях слова звучат более выразительно, более веско."

The example *тайная дума* is taken from a stanza by Majkov.

7 Throughout this article the word "marked" is used in the sense of 'unusual', 'unpredictable' (= in Russian *признаковой*); it does not denote a privative opposition (= in Russian *маркированный*).

- 8 More broadly speaking we should allude to the confrontation between syntax and rhythm since the problem is no less pertinent in non-metrical verse. The present investigation is nevertheless confined to metrical verse. Concerning the description of metrical verse, we distinguish between "metre" and "rhythm" as follows: by *metrical* we mean not only the abstract metrical scheme but also its realization as long as we are viewing it in terms of metrical stresses. That is we consider — $\frac{1}{-}$ — $\frac{1}{-}$ — — — $\frac{1}{-}$ to be a metrical description rather than a rhythmical realization of a four foot iambic line; as soon as we include in our reference the verbal material by means of which the metrical stresses are realized, i.e. the synthesis of metre and language, we are dealing with factors of *rhythm*: Я помню чудное мгновение is a rhythmic realization of a four foot iambic line.
- 9 All references to Puškin's poetry are quoted from A. S. Puškin, *Polnoe sobranie sočinenij v desjati tomach, izdanie vtoroe* (AN SSSR institut ruskoj literatury) Moskva 1957-1958. Roman numerals denote volume, arabic numerals denote page.
- 10 Concerning inversions in poetry, Kovtunova (op. cit., note 4) has the following to say: "В стихотворной речи наблюдается и относительная свобода словорасположения компонентов синтаксических конструкций. Наличие равноправных вариантов лишает порядок слов, "инверсированный" с точки зрения прозаической речи, того стилистического значения, которое он там приобретает (стилистическая окраска дает себя чувствовать лишь при употреблении конструкции не в той сфере речи, для которой она является обычной). Стилистически безразличное употребление разных вариантов словорасположения входит в число дифференциальных признаков, отличающих стихотворную речь от прозаической." (pp. 170-171). I do not share Kovtunova's opinion that inversions in poetry are "stylistically indifferent". This view-point fails to account for the evolution of poetic style, evident for example in the predilection for different inversions in different periods, specific poets etc. Furthermore, such a view-point overlooks the interaction of poetic language with non-poetic language (cf. sections 2.1. and 2.2.), implying that the distinction is fixed once and for all. Lastly: Is any aspect of language indifferent in poetry?
- 11 This fact is no doubt a corollary to that grammatical formula by which Jakobson distinguishes the lyric from the epic, that is "for the lyric, invariably the first person of the present tense; for the epic, the

- third person of the past tense." (Roman Jakobson, "Marginal Notes on the Prose of the Poet Pasternak", *Pasternak. Modern Judgements*, ed. Donald Davie and Angela Livingstone, London 1969, p.138).
- 12 F. I. Tjutčev, *Polnoe sobranie stixotvorenij*, Leningrad 1957, p. 157.
 - 13 Cf. Tynjanov, "Ritm, kak konstruktivnyj faktor stixa" (= first chapter of *Problema stixotvornogo jazyka*, Op. cit.).
 - 14 Osip Brik, "Ritm i sintaksis", *Two Essays on Poetic Language* (= Michigan Slavic Materials 5), Ann Arbor 1964, p. 60. In Russian the term reads "rhythmico-syntactic", an unnecessarily clumsy rendering in English.
 - 15 G. Deržavin, *Almazna sypletsja gora*, Moskva 1972, p. 131.
 - 16 See Mukařovský, op. cit., pp. 135-136.
 - 17 A. K. Tolstoj, *Polnoe sobranie sočinenij I*, S.-Peterburg 1896, p. 206.
 - 18 Nikolaj Zabolockij, *Stixotvorenija, pod obščej redakciej G. P. Struve i B. A. Filippova*, Washington D. C. - New York 1965, p. 29.
 - 19 Op. cit., p. 10.
 - 20 Cf. Tynjanov, *ibid.* Tomaševskij formulates the problem as follows: "У поэта интонационные отрезки не пассивно отражают мысль, а активно регулируют выражение мысли. Они являются законом, который надо соблюсти. Это и отличает структуру стиха от структуры прозы, где интонация сама по себе не является заданием, а механически рождается из нормального потока речи." *Stilistika i Stixosloženiya*, Leningrad 1958, p. 298.
 - 21 Op. cit., p. 11.
 - 22 Kiril Taranovski, *Ruski dvodelni ritmovi I-II*, Beograd 1953, p. 85. These realizations of the four foot iambic line hereafter to be referred to as TI, TII etc.
 - 23 Brik (op. cit., p. 59) calls Puškin "мастер сумевший в своем стихе объединить и требования поэтической эстетики и требования семантической осмысленности" and continues to explain that this accounts for the "тяга к Пушкину" amongst investigators of Russian verse.

- 24 The word 'accentuation' is chosen to refer to this phenomenon in poetry rather than 'focus' or 'emphasis'; the term 'focus' is too closely associated with discussion of functional sentence perspective to be suitable in our discussion of accentuation within the single verse line which need not comprise a complete sentence; the word 'emphasis' has on the other hand too broad a frame of reference, since it may refer not only to the objective information signalled by the text itself, but also to subjective factors incurred in the performance of the text. Our concern here is with objective information signalled by the text.
- 25 This hypothesis finds support in the quotations from Tynjanov cited on pp.11-12.
- 26 B. V. Tomaševskij, *Stix i jazyk*, Moskva 1958, pp. 25 and 47.
- 27 See Lotman's discussion in *Analiz poëtičeskogo teksta*, Leningrad 1972, pp. 54 ff, and in particular his remarks on children's recitation of poetry: "Показательно, как читают стихи дети. Всякий, кто наблюдал детскую декламацию и обдумывал ее законы, не может не признать, что скандовка - не фикция. Поскольку для ребенка установить факт: "Это стихи" - бывает значительно важнее, чем определить, "про что они", скандовка становится естественным способом декламации. "Взрослое" чтение дети воспринимают с большим сопротивлением, упрямо утверждая, что их, детское чтение - лучше, красивее."
- 28 Ibid. pp. 49 and 43. See note 8 for discussion of terms 'metre' and 'rhythm'.
- 29 V. Žirmunskij, *Introduction to Metrics*, The Hague 1966, p. 128.
- 30 See 3.1.2.
- 31 See 6.2.3. and 6.2.4.
- 32 Examples are limited in each case to 10.
- 33 The word 'intuition' denotes a response to a given signal for which it is not immediately possible to give rational account; it does not imply that the objective signals are lacking or that the response is incorrect. In the case of poetry the response is frequently inexplicable in rational terms on account of the complexity of the synthesis of signals emitted. Concerning word order (in Czech

poetry), Mukařovský says: "The word order, and with it the prosodic line, is thus related not only to syntax but also to the other components of the work of poetry; the relationships are here manifold and often crisscross. Most pronounced, next to the link with syntax, is the relation of word order and the prosodic line to r h y t h m a n d m e a n i n g." (Op. cit., p. 149).

- 34 While inversions beyond the confines of the cohesive NP (AS), as well as inversions where the component parts of the NP are no longer in immediate juxtaposition, are outside the scope of the present investigation, it must be recognized that they affect the prosodic manifestation of the entire syntactic phrase in which they occur.
- 35 Op. cit. Osip Brik seems to touch on the same problem when he defines what he terms "*безразличный эпитет*" (op. cit. pp. 60-61): "В строчке "Русалка плыла по реке голубой" слово "голубой" не ощущается; семантика его приглушена, его с легкостью можно заменить другим прилагательным. Это явление я буду называть безразличным эпитетом." Brik attributes the "indifference" of the epithet to the attitude towards the adjective typical of Puřkin's time when "от эпитета требуется скромность, требуется, чтобы он семантически не выпирал, а только занимал бы необходимое ритмико-синтаксическое место." Although the line quoted by Brik is an amphibrachic tetrameter, it is significant that the adjective in question is inverted in final position. The fact that the semantic impact of the word *голубой* qualifying *реке* is indifferent is a manifestation on the semantic level of the rhythmic propensity of the final position, which in ternary as well as binary metres is automatic in as far as it marks the end of the metrical unit.
- 36 Op. cit., p. 162.
- 37 Op. cit., pp. 39-40.
- 38 Op. cit. pp. 23-24.
- 39 Here should be considered combinations such as ASSA, ASAS etc. Thus in the figure SAAS, the accentuation normal for an inverted adjective in the second foot of a TIV line infects the non-inverted adjective in the juxtaposed NP, the syntactic chiasmus effecting opposition between the two adjectives at the mid-point of the figure:
- | | |
|--------------------------------|---------|
| В изгнанье скучном, каждый час | II. 29 |
| И гад морских подводный ход | II. 338 |

- 40 It is interesting to note that with one exception, all the TI.5 examples manifest identical rhythmo-syntactic distribution of syllables: $\overset{1}{-} - | \overset{1}{-}$ (*каждый звук, сладкий шум* etc.).
- 41 Presumably the lack of TII.3 examples finds its explanation in the fact that the normal syllable count and stress distribution of an inverted NP (SA) simply does not 'fit' the first three feet of an TII line.
- 42 An inverted adjective in normal speech, particularly spoken, tends to carry a note of implied negative comparison: *Я купила платье красное* implies that the dress I bought was not any dress, not a blue, black or spotted dress, but specifically, a red dress.
- 43 In addition the line is the first line of the poem and automatically bears a strong forward-directing function. See 14.4.
- 44 A further feature of TVI lines is that they frequently begin with a monosyllabic synsemantic word which occupies the initial unstressed position and occasionally constitutes hypermetrical stress, e.g.:

Сих неподписанных каракул III. 164

- 45 This touches on an aspect of the problem lying beyond the scope of the present investigation: namely, the fact that the automatic cadence is always less in the first line of a stanza or rhyming unit, and always strongest in the final line. See 14.3.
- 46 Rhyme figures of repeated or alternating NPs AS and SA in final position constitute a typical feature of romantic poetry, beginning with Puškin, E.g.:

В томленьях грусти безнадежной,
В тревогах шумной суеты,
Звучал мне долго голос нежный
И снились милые черты.

II. 267

This is to be the subject of a forthcoming article.