

WIND INSTRUMENTS IN SERBIAN PHRASEOLOGY ^a

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Abstract

Musical instruments are integral to our folklore and tradition, so much so that some even entered the phraseology of the Serbian language, shaping the image of the world expressed by it. The paper is aimed at examining idioms containing wind instruments as their component to determine what kind of linguistic image they depict. Examination of such material in contemporary Serbian language necessitated that its corpus be borrowed from *The Phraseological Dictionary of the Serbian Language* by Đorđe Otašević (2012), both due to its year of publication, and the author's intentions to examine the contemporary standard language. Reviewing the *Dictionary*, it was established that the following wind instruments occur as phraseological components: *bagpipes*, *diple* (type of bagpipe), *duduk* (double-reed woodwind instrument), *the horn*, *svirala* (pipe or flute), *gourd* and *the fanfare*. The semantic analysis of the idioms that contain the wind instruments mentioned above has established that the generation of the phraseological meaning results in a complete or partial desemanticization. In cases of complete desemanticization, the process of generating sound, i.e. playing these instruments, is transferred to the domain of human speech, thinking and actions. The process of partial desemanticization largely occurs in idioms with a comparative structure which are used to denote human traits, states or behaviors. In both cases, phraseologisms with negative meanings dominate. This may indicate that some of the functions of these wind instruments in our past have been negatively evaluated in the collective conscious from an ethical point of view, which indicates the need for new research.

Key words: phrasemes (phraseologisms), component by which wind musical instruments are named, *Phraseological Dictionary of the Serbian Language* by Đorđe Otašević, Serbian language, lexicology

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ДУВАЧКИ МУЗИЧКИ ИНСТРУМЕНТИ У СРПСКОЈ ФРАЗЕОЛОГИЈИ

Апстракт

Музички инструменти су саставни део фолклора и обичајне традиције нашег народа, па су неки од њих ушли и у фразеологију, суделујући у обликовању слике света која је изражена у језику. У раду се истражују фразеологизми који као компоненте садрже дувачке инструменте са циљем да се утврди какву језичку слику они осликавају. Испитивање такве грађе у савременом језику условило је да њен корпус буде преузет из *Фразеолошког речника српског језика Ђорђа Оташевића*, који је и по години издања (2012.) и по намерама аутора усмерен према стандардном савременом језику. Његовим прегледом евидентирано је да се као фразеолошке компоненте јављају следећи дувачки инструменти: *гајде, диле, дудук, рог, свирала, тиква и фанфаре*. Семантичком анализом фразеолошких јединица у којима се претходно наведени дувачки инструменти јављају као компоненте утврђено је да у процесу стварања фразеолошког значења долази до потпуне или делимичне десемантизације. У случајевима потпуне десемантизације процес стварања звука, тј. свирања на овим инструментима преноси се на поље људског говора, мишљења и поступака. У процесима делимичне десемантизације реч је, најчешће, о поредбеним фразеологизмима којима се означавају људске особине, стање или понашање. И у првом и у другом случају доминирају фразеологизми са негативним значењима. То може бити показатељ да су у колективној свести са етичког становишта негативно вредноване неке од функција које су ови инструменти имали у нашој прошлости и иницира потребу нових истраживања.

Кључне речи: фразеологизми, компонента којом се именују дувачки музички инструменти, *Фразеолошки речник српског језика Ђорђа Оташевића*, српски језик, лексикологија.

INTRODUCTION

The human voice, hand clapping, tapping on various objects, hitting objects against other objects are all stages in the development of musical instruments that first started in the Paleolithic period. Percussions were the first musical instruments to appear, followed by wind instruments the original purpose of which was to create the sound people believed would drive away evil spirits, and finally, string instruments (Đekić and Pavlović, 2018). Human contemplations about instruments occurred simultaneously with the development of musical instruments, because instrumental music accompanied every segment of man's life. It is incorporated in the elements of folk tradition preserved in modern society (music features in baptisms, weddings and funerals¹), just as it used to be an integral part of numerous rituals and ceremonies in the past. The

¹ To fulfill the last wish of the deceased, brass bands usually play funeral marches, but also other pieces the dead person loved, at their funeral.

social role of musical instruments can be traced back to the arrival of our ancestors to the Balkans (Gojković, 1985), and their functions have changed simultaneously with the development of the instruments themselves. At first, they were viewed as a means of communication with the higher power, then as signal instruments, while they became "musical devices" in the true sense of the word only in their most advanced stage (Golemović, 1997: 45). Vesna Đorđević also underlines that folk instruments, apart from their musical role, also had "other roles (magical-ritualistic, signaling, practical), as demonstrated in the language itself" (Đorđević, 2014: 52).

The significance of music derives from the fact that it is always performed in the context shaped by a particular culture. Therefore, this paper will examine the linguistic picture in the contemporary Serbian language painted by phraseologisms (idioms) that contain wind instruments as their component. The choice of idioms that contain a wind instrument as a component arises from the frequency of their use with regard to other musical instruments which also occur as phraseological components. Namely, a review of the phraseological material (see Otašević, 2012) established that 12 musical instruments appear as phraseological components in the Serbian language, and that seven, or 58,33% among them are wind instruments.

PREVIOUS RESEARCH

There are not many studies in the Serbian language that examine idioms that feature musical instruments as their components. Vesna Đorđević and Nina Aksić refer to this problem, stating that "Serbian language science has not much dealt with the musical domain" nor "have musical instruments often been the subject of phraseological research" (Đorđević and Aksić, 2016: 95). The said authors examined the role and significance of folk instruments based on how these instruments are presented in the Serbian ethnographic material and phraseological stock of the Serbian "language" (see Đorđević and Aksić, 2016: 93–116), and after conducting ethnological-phraseological analysis, inferred that phraseology lacks one function of instruments that can be found in ethnographic material, i.e. "idioms that contain instruments as their component do not reflect the ritualistic-magical function associated with playing folk instruments" (Đorđević and Aksić, 2016: 111).

Other authors largely examined phraseologisms with a component that explicitly mentions musical instruments as part of a broader phraseological material with the aim of shedding some light on various issues in the field of phraseology. Thus, after conducting lexical-semantic analysis, Gordana Štrbac points out that the semantics of idioms containing verbs that refer to the activity of speech and musical instruments *kettledrum* and

bell contain an element of intent actualized as the speaker's initiative to provide a true or false information to the interlocutor (see Štrbac, 2018: 147). It should be noted that idioms with a component that explicitly names a musical instrument are also studied in ethno-anthropological literature. Examining the role of the bell in Serbian tradition, Nina Aksić provides a brief overview of the phraseological units containing a lexeme that mentions this musical instrument by name (see Aksić, 2014: 151–166). There are also a few papers that utilize comparative research of the material in Serbian and other Slavic languages to examine various issues in the field of phraseology containing a musical component, so Đorđević and Aksić point out the importance of the international monograph *Hudobné motívy vo frazeológii* (2014) written “with the aim of shedding light on the musical conceptsphere in Slavic phraseology, at least to a certain degree” (Đorđević and Aksić, 2016: 95), citing the works of Miroslav Dudok, Stefana Paunović Rodić, Svetlana Goljak, Pavel Krejči, and Vesna Đorđević that feature prominently in it, because they examine examples from the Serbian language, among others.

A review of the aforementioned papers reveals that they examine idioms containing preselected musical instruments in a broader sense, such as the previously mentioned research of all folk instruments (see Đorđević and Aksić, 2016), or in a somewhat narrower sense, such as the research of idioms that contain the *bell*, *drum*, or *the bagpipes* as their component in the phraseology of the Serbian language and their equivalents in the Slovakian language (see Đorđević, 2014: 51–60). Finally, the study of idioms containing the *gusle* and the *violin* in the Slovenian, Croatian and Serbian language with the aim of examining intertextuality of these phraseological units (see Dudok, 2014: 61–69).

METHODOLOGICAL FRAMEWORK

The subject of research includes phraseologisms (idioms) containing explicitly named wind instruments as their component in the Serbian language, which necessitated that the corpus of material covered by research be borrowed from *The Phraseological Dictionary of the Serbian Language* (Otašević, 2012) which “primarily focuses on contemporary standard language” (Otašević, 2012: 7). The aim of the research is to determine what kind of linguistic picture such idioms depict. By linguistic picture, we mean representations contained in the language which “possess their own various aspects within the language and with regard to non-linguistic facts” (Ajdačić, 2016: 35). Such approach is based on the view of Dragana Mršević-Radović that phraseology is viewed as “one of the most important sources of the linguistic picture of the world,” because phraseological units behave “similarly to proverbs and sayings, as suita-

ble 'repositories' for various cultural content" (Mršević-Radović, 2008: 5–6).

An idiom as a composite linguistic unit is characterized by pronounced "connotative and associative semantic components" (Dragičević, 2009: 41). The unique meaning of some phraseologisms is "not based on the semantics of individual words making up the idiom," but there are phraseologisms whose overall meaning is impacted by the basic, or "a secondary meaning of its component lexemes" (Dragičević, 2010: 25). Desemanticization occurs, and it can be complete, or partial. In the case of complete desemanticization, all components of the idiom undergo a semantic transformation, whereas in partial desemanticization, only some of the components of the idiom are transformed (Filaković, 2008).

The research used semantic analysis of phraseological material and the linguocultural approach suitable for examining how cultural elements "are linguistically expressed and how they become components of the semantic structure of its units" (Štrbac, 2019: 285). It is an approach that is closely related to the ethnolinguistic and the sociolinguistic, because it "explores both historical and linguistic facts through the prism of spiritual culture" (Цзиньфэн, 2017: 387).

RESULTS AND ANALYSIS

A review of the content of *The Phraseological Dictionary of the Serbian Language* (Otašević, 2012) established that 12 musical instruments occur as phraseological components, whereby seven or 58,33% are wind instruments. These are the following instruments: *bagpipes*, *diple* (double flute), *Balkan duduk*, *horn*, *frula* (reedpipe), gourd² and the *fanfare trumpet*. They appear as a component in 25 phraseological units (idioms).³

The wind instrument that features most frequently as a component of phraseological units is the *diple* (see Table 1).

² Gourd as a musical instrument occurs as a component in three idioms.

³ The number of 25 idioms does not include the recurrence of the same idioms, which is quite common in the Dictionary. This can be seen later in this paper, in the tables where all page numbers that contain the description of the metaphoric meaning are given in the parentheses (see Tables 1–7).

Table 1. Idioms that contain *diple* as a component

Idiom	Meaning
To play (blow, strike, blast) into a different (separate) <i>diple</i> (flute)	To take a different position, change one's attitude (Otašević, 2012: 210, 245, 246, 250, 309, 773, 800, 944, 948).
To play (strike, blow, blast) into (someone else's) <i>diple</i> (flute)	a. To start working for another's benefit, in another's interest. b. To accept another person's opinion, to share opinion with another. c. To ingratiate oneself with another (Otašević, 2012: 209, 210, 250, 309, 773, 800, 944, 947).
To play (blow, strike, blast) into the same <i>diple</i> (flute)	To start working toward the same goal with another, to be like-minded with another (Otašević, 2012: 210, 250, 309, 376, 773, 800, 945, 948).
To play (blow, strike, blast) into an old <i>diple</i> (flute)	To repeat the same actions/routine over and over again (Otašević, 2012: 210, 211, 251, 309, 773, 800, 945, 948).
To play (blow, strike, blast) into such (and such) <i>diple</i> (flute)	To act/ behave in a certain way (Otašević, 2012: 210, 211, 251, 309, 773, 800, 945, 948).
To flip over the <i>diple</i> (flute)	To change one's attitude, opinion (Otašević, 2012: 210).
To play into a person's <i>diple</i> (flute)	To control/manipulate someone (Otašević, 2012: 210, 800).
It is another pair of <i>diples</i>	It is quite a different matter (Otašević, 2012: 210, 247, 911).
It is an old <i>diple</i> (flute)	It is a well-known fact, old story (Otašević, 2012: 911).
To adjust the <i>diple</i> to one's own liking	To start doing things one's own way (Otašević, 2012: 211, 951).

It can be noticed that the *diple* is part of 10 idioms. The *diple* is a folk woodwind instrument (Vujanić et al., 2011: 268), which is in *The Serbian Dictionary (Srpski rječnik)* by Vuk Stefanović Karadžić described as being similar to the bagpipes (Stefanović Karadžić, 1818: 130). The instrument belongs to the “tradition of the cattle breeders in the Dinaric Region of the Balkan Peninsula” (Marjanović, 2012: 53), while Nina Aksić states that it was especially popular among cattle breeders in Eastern Serbia, because they could show off their musicianship on it, so together with the *dvojnica* (double flute) and the *reedpipe* (*frula*) and some other wind instruments, the *diple* had a signaling and entertaining function (see Aksić, 2017). Olivera Mladenović states that the author “Ivan Gundulić (17th century) repeatedly mentions the *diple* together with the *kolo* in his epic poem *Osman*” (Mladenović, 1973: 32), and its sound accompanied the silent *kolo* (circle dance) and *ojkanje* (two-part singing) – “a poetic form that represents one of the most archaic styles of singing” (Ivkov, 2004: 7). However, the *diple* as a phraseological component loses

its entertaining function, and continues to embody its signaling function, i.e. presence or absence of action that symbolizes a change of attitude, opinion, or thought caused by the descriptive qualifiers –descriptions that determine the lexeme by which they are named: *different (separate) diple*, *someone else's diple*, *the same diple*, *old diple*, *such (and such) diple*.

Looking at Table 1, we can see that a number of idioms contain sound verbs as their component (*play, blow, blast, sound, blare*), and according to Svetlana Goljak, in phraseology, “playing musical instruments is associated with the topic of speech” (Голяк, 2014: 93). Gordana Štrbac emphasizes that describing a speech activity through phraseologisms arises from “from the need to express a subjective relationship toward a certain segment of action so as to emphasize and acknowledge its value,” and that the action of speech in idioms “cannot be represented in a neutral way” (Štrbac, 2018: 142). This is also noticeable from the meaning of the idiom *to play (blow, strike, blast) into an old diple* the meaning of which “indicates a repetition of the same content, whereby this action is viewed negatively” (Štrbac, 2018: 146).

The question of why the content of the speech activity, which is viewed in a negative light, is associated with the *diple*, an instrument that was known since the earliest history of the Slavs⁴ arises. The reason may lie in the fact that the *diple*, as a “typical shepherd's instrument” (Golemović, 1997: 100), had an entertaining function, in addition to their signaling function, and was therefore used for musical accompaniment to humorous verses. The *diple* was used for playing short and fast pieces, derisively called *bawdy songs* (Marković, 1987: 53). Associating the *diple* with frivolity, fun and entertainment can also be observed in the retort of the Hellenist Miloš Đurić: “While you blow in the *diple*, I teach students ethics” (Jovanović, 2011: 201). *The Dictionary of the Serbian Language* lists pejorative figurative meanings for the verb *to play the diple* – “to babble, talk nonsensically, talk gibberish,” and the negative meanings it assumes in the expression *to play a different diple* – “to change one's attitude, opinion, to change one's tune” (Vujanić et al., 2011: 268). In addition, *The Etymological Dictionary of the Croatian and the Serbian Language* points to a pejorative meaning of the *diple* in the following expressions: *to play the diple* – “to idle away, to waste time” and *to overplay the diple* – “to eat or drink excessively” (Skok, 1971: 407).

Phraseological units (idioms) that include playing instruments as their component, i.e. *to blow into the fanfare trumpet* (see Table 2), and *to blow in the horn, gourd or the Balkan duduk* (see Table 3, 4 and 5) also

⁴ Đekić and Pavlović assert that the *diple* is “the Slavic double flute”, pointing to the archeological discovery of a *diple* made of bone that can be traced back to the 6th or 7th century (Đekić and Pavlović, 2018: 182).

express a negatively valued content of the speech activity, behavior or deed.

Table 2. Idioms that contain the fanfare trumpet as a component

Idiom	Meaning
to blow into the fanfare trumpet	<i>to celebrate excessively, debauch, let loose (Otašević, 2012: 949, 985).</i>

It can be noted that the *fanfare trumpet* occurs as a phraseological component in a single idiom that means “to celebrate excessively, debauch, let loose” (see Table 2.). The process in which phraseological meaning emerges can be motivated by the fact that the sound of the fanfare trumpet was associated with events and celebrations that were not part of everyday life of common people. In the Serbian medieval state, the fanfare, which stands for “a trumpet or another, similar brass instrument” (Vujanić et al., 2011: 1345), was an instrument that accompanied various events and ceremonies at the courts of Serbian rulers and nobility. Radmila Savić states that the sounding of a fanfare trumpet “announced the beginning of knight tournaments, their individual stages and the end, and especially the announcement of the winners” (Savić, 1986: 90). Although the same author asserts that the games and festivals at the courts of medieval rulers and nobility were mostly public events, i.e. commoners were allowed to attend, she assumes that the music played at such events could not have had a great impact on instrumental folk music (Savić, 1986: 90). In addition, Stanoje Bojanin underlines that the courts of Serbian rulers and nobility had their own entertainers, including professional musicians; that there is scarce information about tournaments in the documents, and that the church “strongly opposed competitions, especially those that featured weapons” (Bojanin, 2005: 367). Therefore, the sounding of the fanfare trumpets could have been associated with pompous celebrations and thus became a symbol of exaggeration in the collective memory. In the process of shaping the phraseological meaning, a connection has been established between one of the meanings of the verb *to blow* “emphasize, announce, declare, etc. something” (Vujanić et al., 2011: 1345), and the signaling function of the fanfare trumpet which is seen as negative.

When it comes to the idioms containing *the horn, gourd and/or Balkan duduk* as a component, the action of playing these instruments has been transferred to the domain of human behavior and action, whereby a connection is established between the signaling function of these instruments and the phraseological meaning that refers, i.e. signals that it is a behavior motivated by interest, because someone ingratiates themselves with someone, takes their side, etc (See Table 3, Table 4 and Table 5).

Table 3. Idioms that contain the horn as a component

Idiom	Meaning
to blow into the same gourd (horn, duduk)	<i>to do and think the same as someone else, to be in collusion with someone, to ingratiate oneself with someone by imitating them, to take somebody's side</i> (Otašević, 2012: 250, 253, 376, 392, 773, 800, 908).
to blow into someone else's horn (gourd, duduk)	<i>to do and think the same as someone else, to be in collusion with someone, to ingratiate oneself with someone by imitating them, to take somebody's side</i> (Otašević, 2012: 250, 253, 773, 800, 908).

Table 4. Idioms that contain the gourd as a component

Idiom	Meaning
to blow into the same gourd (horn, duduk)	<i>to do and think the same as someone else, to be in collusion with someone, to ingratiate oneself with someone by imitating them, to take somebody's side</i> (Otašević, 2012: 250, 253, 376, 392, 773, 800, 908).
to blow into the same gourd (as another)	<i>to share an opinion with someone else, to strive toward the same goal</i> (Otašević, 2012: 376, 909).
to blow into someone else's horn (gourd, duduk)	<i>to do and think the same as someone else, to be in collusion with someone, to ingratiate oneself with someone by imitating them, to take somebody's side</i> (Otašević, 2012: 250, 253, 773, 800, 908).

Table 5. Idioms that contain the duduk as a component

Idiom	Meaning
stupid/thick as a duduk	<i>very stupid, dumb</i> (Otašević, 2012: 253).
to blow into the same duduk	<i>to be in complete agreement with someone, to be of the same mind with someone</i> (Otašević, 2012: 253, 256, 392).
to blow into someone else's horn (gourd, duduk)	<i>to do and think the same as someone else, to be in collusion with someone, to ingratiate oneself with someone by imitating them, to take somebody's side</i> (Otašević, 2012: 250, 253, 773, 800, 908).
to blow into the same gourd (horn, duduk)	<i>to do and think the same as someone else, to be in collusion with someone, to ingratiate oneself with someone by imitating them, to take somebody's side</i> (Otašević, 2012: 250, 253, 376, 392, 773, 800, 908).
to sleep like a duduk	<i>to sleep peacefully, sleep like a log</i> (Otašević, 2012: 253).

Looking at Tables 3, 4 and 5, we can see that the *horn* features as a component in two idioms (phraseological units), *gourd* in three, and the

duduk in five. It is also noticeable that the *horn*, *gourd* and the *duduk* are synonymous components, because the singular meaning of the idioms does not change whether they contain the *horn*, *gourd* or the *duduk* as a component; instead, the negative etymological nuances are determined by descriptive qualifiers that stand next to these musical components. Gordana Vrebalov takes the idiom *to blow into the same gourd* as an example of a phraseologism containing an edible plant, arguing that “it always implies a negative connotation” (Vrebalov, 2012: 104). We agree about the negative connotation. The component *gourd* takes on the meaning of wind instruments made from it through metonymic transfer. It is well-known that the gourd was used to make sound boxes for other musical instruments (see Krstić, 2009). In Central Serbia, gourds were used to make the traditional musical instrument, the *lejka*, which represented a folk equivalent of the clarinet (Jakovljević, 2012). In addition, gourds were used to make the *bučina*, an aerophone that Roksanda Pejović assumes has been used by the Serbs since the 14th century (Pejović, 1989: 88). Thus, this long tradition of making musical instruments from the gourd may have caused the metonymic transfer, because metonymy requires a connection between two entities, and according to Rajna Dragičević, this close relation “impacts the formation of a coherent whole in our experience of the world” (Dragičević, 2010: 161). In addition, the gourd takes on the role of a musical instrument in those phraseological units (idioms) where it occurs next to sound verbs, i.e. verbs that denote playing an instrument – the verb *to blow*, *to blast* the secondary meaning of which is “to make sounds in a musical instrument by producing a stream of air, to play an instrument” (Vujanić et al., 2011: 313).

What all idioms where the *horn*, *gourd* and the *duduk* are used interchangeably as synonyms have in common is the fact that they are global phraseologisms, because a unique phraseological meaning is created in the process of complete desemanticization that features all phraseological components. It was previously pointed out that these instruments have a signaling function, and that it was the primary function for some of them. This is evident in *The Bible verses from the Book of Daniel featuring the horn*. It is mentioned as one of the instruments whose music should invite people to worship the image of gold that Emperor Nebuchadnezzar installed in the land of Babylon – “As soon as you hear the sound of the horn, flute, zither, lyre, harp, pipes and all kinds of music, you must fall down and worship the image of gold that King Nebuchadnezzar has set up” [...] (*Bible*, 2007: 722). Roksanda Pejović also points out that the *short horn*⁵ was a signal instrument, and that the traces of it

⁵ Long horns were also used in the Middle Ages as military instruments, where their long tone would reverberate frighteningly on the battlefield (Pejović, 1984).

can be found in Serbian medieval art “from the 12th-century miniatures to the 18th-century frescoes” (Pejović, 1989: 86). According to the same author, that could be explained by folklore influences, because the horn similar to the folk horn appears on the miniatures in the *Miroslav's Gospel* (Pejović, 1989: 87). In addition to art, the horn also features prominently in medieval literature. The sound of the horn and its signal is mentioned repeatedly in *The Chronicle of the Priest of Dioclea*.⁶ It is a purportedly a medieval manuscript, although historians still cannot agree on the period when it was written, so the estimates vary between the mid-12th century (Šišić, 1928), and the more conservative – second half of the 14th century (Mijušković, 1988). In addition, dictionaries of the contemporary Serbian language state that the horn as a musical instrument had a signaling function. This can also be seen from the secondary meaning of the lexeme which explains that it is an instrument made from an animal horn, or similar horny material that is used to give signals on a hunt (Vujanić et al., 2011: 1146).

In addition to the horn, the *duduk* is another signal instrument. However, in addition to the signaling function, the *duduk* also had an entertaining function. *The Dictionary of the Serbo-Croatian Literary and Vernacular Language* defines it as a “flute, pipe, zurna” illustrated with references to Vuk Karadžić – “The Duduk ... (in southern regions) [is] a flute without a mouthpiece (and the one with the mouthpiece is known in Serbia as the blind flute (Vuk's Dictionary)“ (*Dictionary of the Serbo-Croatian Literary and Vernacular Language*, 1968: 4). In addition, Nina Aksić also indicates that the lexeme *duduk* is synonymous with the lexemes *flute* and *reedpipe*, and that it is a shepherd's instrument with a dual function – signaling, because shepherds blew into the *duduk* to drive the cattle and instruct them “on the direction which they should take,” and an entertaining function, because shepherds played the *duduk* to help pass the time and entertain themselves (Aksić, 2017: 121). However, it can be noted that in the process of the creation of phraseological meaning in idioms where this instruments features together with sound verbs (to blow, blast, strike), the *duduk* loses its entertaining function, but retains its signaling function, because playing the *duduk* signalizes verbal expressions, opinions, and/or deeds that are commonly viewed in a negative light.

Such a small number of idioms that feature the *duduk* as a component (only five) in *The Phraseological Dictionary of the Serbian Language* may raise the question why the *duduk*, given that it is synonymous with the *reedpipe* (*frula*), does not occur more frequently in the phraseology of the contemporary Serbian language, especially if we know that the

⁶ “When you hear the sound of the horn and the trumpet, you blow your trumpets in answer and shout strongly from the mountains” (*GESTA Regum Sclavorum*, 2009: 149).

reedpipe “as the most prominent and common woodwind instrument occurs under different names and variations” (Aksić, 2017: 122). Researching the status of the lexeme *duduk* in the contemporary Serbian language on a 122-million-word corpus, Marija Đinđić assembled a frequency list and determined that the said lexeme occurs only 12 times in the sources created mainly after 1950, and comprising literary texts (both in Serbian and translated from another language), print media, scientific literature, and various instructions available online (Đinđić, 2013: 39). This research is significant, because it helps observe this number of mere five idioms containing the *duduk* as component from a different point of view. Specifically, if we consider the fact that this lexeme occurs 12 times on the frequency list assembled by Đinđić, then the number of five idioms containing the lexeme *duduk* as their component no longer seems so inconsequential. On the contrary, it now becomes proof of the significance of this instrument in our folk tradition. Its significance is also evidenced by the fact that Veselin Čajkanović suggests that Saint Sava is traditionally represented in a shepherd costume with an obligatory shepherd’s crook and a *duduk* (as cited in: Čajkanović, 1973: 157).

The lexeme *duduk* is a Turkish loanword used in the Balkans, which in addition to denoting a reedpipe, also refers to an idler, truant, i.e. it is a pejorative word in Turkish, meaning “fool, idler” (Skok, 1971: 452). This word is also used figuratively in Serbian, where it has a derogatory connotation, denoting “a stupid, laughable man, a fool” (Vujanić et al., 2011: 315). Vesna Đorđević and Nina Aksić, citing the research of Dragana Mršević Radović, argue that the Turkish loanword *duduk*, meaning ‘fool’ and ‘reedpipe’ has established itself in Serbian, whereby one of its meanings, “motivated the comparative idiom *stupid as a duduk*, while the other motivated the idiom *to blow into the same diple with someone*” (Đorđević and Aksić, 2016: 108). There are other interpretations as well, where the idiom *stupid as a duduk* is taken as an example how certain objects (*duduk* – reedpipe) “can be associated with stupidity” in phraseology (Ajdačić and Npop Ajdačić, 2015: 184). It is a comparative phraseologism, with the following structure: adjective (*stupid*) + as + noun (*duduk*). In comparisons with this structure, the descriptive adjective “does not change its basic meaning, so it is a case of partial desemantization,” and “such examples of desemantization of idioms illustrate its intensity” (Stakić, 2020: 114). They also point out that in phraseology, “everything is measured and compared” (Stepanov and Nikolić, 2013: 236), and negative traits are particularly singled out.

In the phraseologism *to sleep like a duduk*, the object (musical instrument) refers to the quality of sleep. This idiom also has a comparative structure in which we also have partial desemantization, because the verb *to sleep* does not change its meaning (*to sleep peacefully, soundly*). Its meanings – *to sleep peacefully* and *to sleep soundly* (see Table 5) are

not completely semantically matched, because to sleep peacefully means one's sleep is undisturbed, whereas to sleep soundly means “to be fast asleep, to be in deep sleep” (Vujanić et al., 2011: 1475). The meanings mentioned above are not negative, and can perhaps be explained by the transfer of magical properties of wood as a material to the duduk, an instrument made from it. It is well-known that the duduk/reedpipe was largely made of wood, most commonly “plum, cherry dogwood, ash, black locust, linden, maple, willow” (Krnjaić, 2020: 362). Studying the beliefs related to the types of wood used for making the duduk, it has been determined that our people believed some of them had magical properties. Čajkanović points out that the plum tree could have had the same significance in the folk tradition of the Serbs as a shrine, because in Eastern Serbia, communion had been performed under a young plum tree ever since antiquity (see Čajkanović, 1973: 9). The same author also argues that the linden was “a sacred tree of all Slavs” (Čajkanović, 1973: 7), as well as that the Serbs “firmly believed that the hazelnut was of divine nature,” that it “represented a symbol of health” (Čajkanović, 1973: 18), as well as that “there was a positive, regenerative, magical power” in the hazelnut tree (Čajkanović, 1973: 18). The comparative idiom *healthy as dogwood tree* (meaning fit as a fiddle) shows that our people believed in the positive magical power of the tree. In addition, the meaning of the idiom *to sleep like a duduk* is synonymous with the idiom *to sleep like a log*, and in both examples, an associative relationship is established between positive magical properties of wood, and health represented by the quality of one's sleep. In addition, the fact that trees are rooted in one place, i.e. motionless, is evocative of our sleep position, so Barbara Kovačević and Martina Bašić point out that idioms containing wood, timber, and woodwind instruments as comparative elements occur within the concept of “sound sleep” (Kovačević and Bašić, 2012: 358).

It has already been pointed out that the *duduk* is synonymous with the *flute (svirala)* and *reedpipe (frula)*, however, the *Phraseological Dictionary of the Serbian Language* (Otašević, 2012) does not feature any idiom containing the *reedpipe (frula)* as a component, and only one idiom containing the *flute (svirala)* (see Table 6).

Table 6. Idioms that contain the flute (*svirala*) as a component

Idiom	Meaning
The ninth (last) hole on the flute	a. <i>something insignificant, secondary, worthless, bottom rung.</i> b. <i>an insignificant person rejected by their group, or society, someone who counts for nothing</i> (Otašević, 2012: 201, 800, 824).

Looking at the phraseological meaning given in Table 6, we can see that the idiom containing the *flute (svirala)* as its component has a dual meaning with the shared component of insignificance attributed to something or someone. Phraseological meaning is created by the process of complete desemanticization, whereby the important category is the category of number. Pavel Krejči underlines that the *flute (svirala)* is a musical instrument that appears with an ordinal number only in Croatian, Serbian and Bulgarian idioms (Krejči, 2014: 174). He also points out that, in addition to the numerical component, Serbian and Croatian dictionaries also record the adjective *last* which does not feature in any Bulgarian phraseological dictionary. On the other hand, Bulgarian phraseology also mentions numbers *ten* and *seven*, in addition to the number *nine*, and these numerical variations can be attributed to the varying number of holes on different types of flutes throughout history (Krejči, 2014: 177). Thus, in Serbian phraseology, the *flute (svirala)* component collocates with the number *nine*. Phraseological meaning is created by the process of desemanticization in which a non-existent part of the instrument (the ninth hole, because the flute has eight) is semantically associated with insignificance and worthlessness. The ninth hole could have easily been the seventh (as in Bulgarian phraseology), given that the popular flute in the past, known as *dvojnica (double flute)* “had six holes on the right, and none on the left” (Aksić, 2017: 123), or the eighth, because both the single and the double flute have “six holes for the diatonic scale” and “one hole on the opposite side for the higher register” (Krstić, 2009: 208, 213). It is possible that the motivation for choosing the number nine in Serbian phraseology comes from the long shepherd flute known as the *kaval*⁷, because the *kaval* has eight holes (seven playing holes in the front, and one in the back for the thumb). However, the motivation behind the variations of this idiom whereby the descriptive qualifiers are associated with the order of holes on the pipe – last, final, can be a visual stimulus, described by Dobrikova as a practical way of instrument control from the observer's point of view, because *kaval* players do not touch the holes on the bottom part of the pipe (Dobříková, 2014). Mirjana Zakić and Jelena Jovanović indicate that the earliest visual presentations of this instrument date back to the 15th and 16th century, and that “on medieval frescoes, shepherds are depicted playing the *kaval*” (Zakić and Jovanović, 2013: 19). The same authors also indicate the presence of the *kaval* in lyric and lyric-epic po-

⁷ Snežana Petrović points out that the lexeme *kaval* “meaning *rifle* and *flute* is a widely confirmed lexical and semantic Turkism in the Balkans” (Petrović, 2006: 348). She also states that Turkic languages and dialects record the following meanings of this word: 'hollow object; shepherd's horn, flute, pipe; tambourine; smoothbore musket, rifle, musket, rifle barrel; simple-minded, stupid person' (Petrović, 2006: 348).

ems “that depict the way of life of shepherds, and illustrate the communicative and emotional aspect of the kaval music” (Zakić and Jovanović, 2013: 19). However, in Serbian phraseology, it was not the signaling or the entertaining function that motivated the emergence of the idiom *the ninth (last) hole on the flute (svirala)*, but the appearance of the instrument itself. From the aspect of development and emergence of this musical instrument among the Serbs, this enables us to establish a timeline, and determine the exact moment when this idiom appeared in our phraseology.

In *The Phraseological Dictionary of the Serbian Language*, the component *bagpipes* occurs in four different phraseological units (see Table 7).

Table 7. Idioms that contain the bagpipes as a component

Idiom	Meaning
As similar as the bagpipes is to a musical instrument	<i>Not even close, far from it, long way off</i> (Otašević, 2012: 133, 516).
Drunk as the bagpipes	<i>Inebriated, drunk as a lord</i> (Otašević, 2012: 134).
To build/assemble/arrange/compile/adjust the bagpipes	<i>To agree/reach an agreement with someone about something</i> (Otašević, 2012: 134, 951, 959).
As struck with the bagpipes	<i>Foolish, silly, harebrained, mad</i> (Otašević, 2012: 134, 949).

Looking at the descriptions of the phraseological meanings given in Table 7, we can see that there are three idioms with a negative connotation, while the meaning of the idiom *to assemble/arrange/compile the bagpipes* is semantically neutral, i.e. it depends on the linguistic context. The emergence of this idiom may have been motivated by the complex process of building this instrument which is described in Vladan Radisavljević's *The Bagpipes in the Traditional Culture of the Serbs* (see Radisavljević, 2011), which is also indicated by the meaning of the verb *to build* – “1. a. create, put together [...]” (Vujanić et al., 2011: 1356) and the verb *to assemble /compile* which means “to build by fitting together different components” (Vujanić et al., 2011: 1217). However, it could also be motivated by the “tuning of the bagpipes” which is indicated by the metaphorical meaning of the verb *to adjust* – “to tune, bring into harmony (usually a musical instrument)” (Vujanić et al., 2011: 1346), and Radisavljević also describes that pipers used to soak the parts of the bagpipes that contained oakum with their saliva in order to seal them before playing (Radisavljević, 2011). Vesna Đorđević also argues that the “image of assembling and tuning the bagpipes before playing” is deeply ingrained into this phraseologism (Đorđević, 2014: 57). She also points that only when the bagpipes “are assembled” can they produce music, just as “an

agreement between different people is preceded by a period of negotiation/discussion” (Đorđević, 2014: 57).

As previously pointed out, the semantics of all other idioms with the *bagpipes* as a component is negative. In the comparative idiom, *drunk as the bagpipes*, it is associated with intoxication/drunkenness. Here we have partial desemanticization in the process of emergence of phraseological meaning, so the comparison with the bagpipes symbolizes the ultimate stage of drunkenness – *complete inebriation*. The origin of this idiom may have been doubly motivated: 1. by the sound of the bagpipes; 2. by the appearance of the instrument itself. The sound of the bagpipes is instantly recognizable for its loudness, shrillness and slight dissonance which can be mistaken for incorrect pitch, so it may be associated with drunken behavior. The noise generated by the bagpipes is also mentioned by Čajkanović in his descriptions of the folk belief that demons and devils enter with a great commotion accompanied by the sound of the bagpipes, noise and thunder (see Čajkanović, 1973). When it comes to appearance, this instrument is unique, because the drones are longer than the blowpipe, so Radisavljević makes a comparison between the bagpipes and the lame chthonic deities. In addition, the same author points out that parts of the bagpipes were associated with various fertile objects, and that pipers decorated their instruments in different ways: using colorful cloth, multicolored beads, coins, animal claws and teeth, pearls, etc. (see Radisavljević, 2011). So, it was perhaps the visual experience produced by the outlandish appearance of the bagpipes that gave rise to the association with drunkenness. Both Vesna Đorđević and Nina Aksić argue that the image that underlies this idiom is “an image of the unpacked bagpipes carelessly thrown aside that may be associated with drunken behavior” (Đorđević and Aksić, 2016: 103).

The appearance of the bagpipes could have also motivated the meaning of the idiom *as struck with the bagpipes*. The previously mentioned authors wonder how the lexeme *bagpipes* came to be associated with the adjective *foolish*, assuming that the idiom *drunk as the bagpipes* is responsible, because the state of drunkenness can “be alternated with the component foolish” (Đorđević and Aksić, 2016: 103). However, there is another potential interpretation for the origin of this idiom, because the lexeme *struck* also means “silly, harebrained, nutty” (Vujanić et al., 2011: 1344). The bagpipes thus become the instrument of damage, and the interpretation can be approached through a conceptual metaphor that allows non-physical phenomena to be viewed and understood in a physical way (Lakoff & Johnson, 2003: 59). Ivana Čizmar, researching the conceptualization of mental instability in the Croatian language also points out that “a person struck shows milder signs of mental instability” and that there is a “tendency to accurately determine the instrument of such damage” in the Croatian language (Čizmar, 2016: 600).

The motivation for the emergence of the idiom *as similar as the bagpipes is to a musical instrument* can be explained by the sound of the bagpipes. The assumption that the “characteristic hoarse and wailing sound of the bagpipes” is what motivated the creation of this idiom is expressed by Vesna Đorđević as well (Đorđević, 2014: 57). Moreover, Radisavljević argues that lyrics sung to the music of the bagpipes were often humorous and lascivious in nature (Radisavljević, 2011), which is another thing that could have given this idiom its negative semantic value. The negative meaning of this phraseologism could have also been influenced by the reception and ways in which music of the bagpipes was perceived, as criteria that Milica Resanović argues “are not representative of any individualized practices, but rather reflect the characteristics of social stratification” (Resanović, 2020: 1164). From the aspect of collective expression, that could mean that the music played on the bagpipes was not highly aesthetically valued, but this direction in the interpretation of phraseological meaning requires further research that delves into the field of sociology of cultural practices.

CONCLUSION

A review of the material in *The Phraseological Dictionary of the Serbian Language* (Otašević, 2012) established that there are seven wind instruments that appear as phraseological components. The analysis of the meaning of 25 phraseological units (idioms) that feature these instruments determined that a complete or partial desemanticization occurs in the process of creation of phraseological meaning. In cases of complete desemanticization, the process of creating sound, i.e. playing an instrument is transferred to the field of human speech, reasoning and/or deeds. Partial desemanticization commonly involves comparative phraseologisms that denote negative human traits, states or behaviors. Semantic analysis determined that idioms with a negative meaning are prevalent. The signaling function of the instruments motivates the emergence of negative meanings in the field of verbal expression, reasoning and/or deeds, and their appearance and the tuning process motivate negative meanings associated with human traits, states or behaviors. In addition, the entertaining function of these instruments motivates the emergence of certain negative meanings as well, which could indicate that this function is not highly ethically valued in the collective consciousness of our people.

Music contributes to the formation of the national identity, and cultural identity is part of it. Observed from the linguocultural aspect, idioms containing wind instruments as their component reflect the linguistic picture of the world which, according to Maslova, reflects the way of life, customs and traditions of a nation (Maslova, 2001). The dominance of wind instruments in the phraseology of the contemporary Serbian lan-

guage can be explained by the importance these instruments had in the tradition and cultural past of our people, and their life in general. However, the semantics of these phraseological units containing wind instruments as their component is largely negative. They are used for negative assessment of verbal expression, deeds, behaviors and traits as target domains, which indicates that there is a tendency in the linguistic concept of the world to single out and identify everything that is deemed negative. The question of why wind instruments motivated the emergence of such phraseological meanings requires further considerations, so it is our hope that this paper can be an incentive for further research.

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ДУВАЧКИ МУЗИЧКИ ИНСТРУМЕНТИ У СРПСКОЈ ФРАЗЕОЛОГИЈИ

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Резиме

Са настанком човека појавили су и први музички инструменти. Они су се развијали упоредо са развојем људског друштва и остваривали бројне функције. У језику као културном 'спремништу' остале су сачуване устаљене језичке јединице у којима они чине једну од компоненти. Реч је о фразеологизмима који одражавају језичку слику света у којој се огледају и начин живота, обичаји и понашања чланова српске језичке заједнице. Предмет истраживања су они фразеологизми који као компоненту садрже дувачке музичке инструменте како би се

утврдило какву слику света они одражавају у савременом српском језику. На њихов избор утицало је то што они као фразеолошке компоненте доминирају у односу на музичке инструменте који припадају другим групама. До тог податка смо дошли анализом „Фразеолошког речника српског језика” Ђорђа Оташевића (2012), из кога је преузет корпус грађе. Евидентирали смо да се као фразеолошке компоненте јавља 12 музичких инструмената, од чега њих 7 или 58,33% спада у дувачке. Реч је о следећим дувачким инструментима: гајде, дипле, дудук, рог, свирала, тиква и фанфаре. Они се јављају као компоненте у 25 фразеолошких јединица. Семантичком анализом тих фразеологизама утврђено је да се њима означавају људски говор, мишљење, особине, деловање, стање и понашање. У процесу стварања фразеолошког значења долази до потпуне или делимичне десемантизације. У процесима потпуне десемантизације дувачки инструменти са глаголима стварања звука/свирања учествују у обликовању фразеолошког значења које се преноси на подручје човековог вербалног испољавања, мишљења и деловања. Значења неких од таквих фразеолошких јединица се не мења без обзира на то који је дувачки инструмент у њима садржан као компонента, на пример рог, тиква или дудук. Утврђено је да и само штимовање музичких инструмената (нпр. ујдурисати гајде), као и њихов изглед (девета рупа на свирали) може да мотивише процес потпуне десемантизације у коме све компоненте учествују у стварању пренесеног значења. До делимичне десемантизације долази код фразеологизама који имају поредбену структуру. У таквим примерима поређење служи да се њиме означи негативна људска особина (глуп као дудук) и стање или понашање (пијан као гајде). Евидентиран је и пример који се односи на квалитет сна (спавати као дудук). Запажено је да се сигнална функција музичких инструмената преноси на домен вербалног испољавања, мишљења и понашања (нпр. дувати (пухати) у [нечији] рог). Такође је утврђено да фразеологизми који као компоненту садрже дувачки музички инструмент имају најчешће негативно значење. С обзиром на то да су ови дувачки музички инструменти имали важну улогу у фолклору и обичајној традицији нашег народа, иницира се потреба нових лингвокултуролошких, етнолингвистичких и социолошких испитивања како би се утврдило због чега они мотивишу настанак негативних фразеолошких значења.