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South Slavic Erotic Folklore. Remarks on Traditional Erotic Phraseology from Dalmatia¹

Summary: The present study focuses on the question of acquaintance with traditional erotic sayings. The material used in our study consists of 200 erotic/obscene proverbs, proverbial sayings, phrases, idioms, curses, etc., which were published in 1908 under the heading of "Erotic and Scatological Proverbs and Sayings from Dalmatian Serbs". Our informants were Serbs, who lived in Dalmatia at the beginning of the 1990s; they were asked, if the presented texts were familiar to them, and if so, if their familiarity with the texts was active or passive. We concentrated on the mere fact of familiarity/non-familiarity, i.e., on the question, which of the texts are common still today, regardless of the individual texts' meanings and functions. As could be seen, the empirical approach yields relevant results, both as to the concrete texts and to the factors influencing knowledge and usage of obscene phraseology.

Zusammenfassung: Diese Arbeit fokussiert auf Fragen der Vertrautheit mit traditionellen erotischen Redensarten. Als Material dienten 200 erotische/obszöne Sprichwörter, sprichwörtliche Wendungen, Phrasen, Flüche etc., 1908 unter dem Titel „ Erotische und skatologische Sprichwörter und Redensarten dalmatinischer Serben“ publiziert. Unsere Informanten waren in Dalmatien lebende Serben zu Anfang der 90er Jahre. Sie wurden befragt, ob ihnen die Texte bekannt waren, und wenn ja, ob aktiv oder passiv. Unser Hauptanliegen war herauszufinden, welche Texte heute noch Allgemeingut sind, ungeachtet der Kenntnis ihrer konkreten Bedeutungen und Funktionen. Es wurde deutlich, daß diese empirische Vorgangsweise relevante Ergebnisse erbringt, sowohl auf die Texte selbst bezogen als auch auf die Faktoren, die Wissen und Gebrauch obszöner Phraseologie beeinflussen.

0. Introduction

Over the last years and decades, erotic folklore has increasingly become the object of folkloristic research. This heightened interest can only be understood on the basis of the historical fate of erotic, or "obscene" folklore which, more often than not, has been regarded as "unseemly", "unchaste", "indecent", or "impure", and, consequently, unprintable. Hence, erotic folklore usually was rendered some kind of a taboo sphere, not only as a fact of public life in general, but also as an object of scholarly research.

The recent interest in erotic folklore has repeatedly given rise to the impression that there is something specific about "erotic folklore". In fact, however, it seems worthwhile keeping in mind that "the idea that there is a special kind of folklore that is sexual, as differentiated from all other kinds, is an optical illusion caused by the operation of a purely literary censorship" (Legman 1962: 201). From this perspective, close interrelations between the publication and study of erotic folklore, on the one hand, and changes in censorship attitudes, on the other, do not appear to be surprising. In this context, censorship should not, however, be restricted to governmentally (or otherwise) institutionalized censorship; rather, censorship should be understood as some general kind of social or cultural filter, some mechanism of public acceptance or rejection, which can (but need not) be correlated with institutionalized censorship. In a sense, this idea refers back to the earlier concept of 'preventive censorship of society', which was brought forth by Jakobson and Bogatyrev as early as in 1929. These two authors assumed that the existence of a folklore text presupposes as a precondition a social group which is ready to accept and to sanction the folklore text in question. In analogy to literature, when a literary artefact begins to exist at the moment when it is written down, a folklore text would seem to exist as soon as it is orally presented for the first time; in fact, however, as Jakobson and Bogatyrev state, its existence begins only when it is accepted by society. Yet, the true state of affairs is even more complex than assumed by Jakobson and Bogatyrev. One complicating element is the fact that over the last hundred years at least, folklore has always had an ambivalent status between literacy and orality. This fact is central to the fate of erotic folklore: even if erotic folklore was socially "accepted" as an oral phenomenon by society, or parts of society, this ac-

ceptance does not necessarily imply its being sanctioned as a cultural fact in printed shape. In this sense, we are concerned here with two parallelly existing kinds of censorship, one represented by the ("subconscious") 'preventive censorship' sanctioning the existence of a particular folklore text, the other one represented by institutionalized mechanisms of ("conscious") censorship sanctioning its official acceptance.

Without a doubt, the close connection between the publication and the study of erotic folklore on the one hand, and censorship on the other, holds true with regard to any culture; still, it is an interesting cultural fact that in our days, we witness an increasing interest in erotic folklore particularly in those Slavic countries in which the publication and the study of erotic, or obscene, folklore was not generally accepted until recently.

1. Slavic Erotic Folklore

Russian culture and its dealing with erotic, or obscene, folklore is a good example in this respect. Both A.N. Afanas'ev and V.I. Dal', probably the two most important 19th century Russian folklorists, collected erotic fairy tales and proverbs still in the second half of the 19th century. Both the proverb and the fairy-tale collections were published outside of Russia: whereas Dal's proverbs were published only in 1972, in Paris (Carey 1972), Afanas'ev's tales were first published in Geneva, and re-edited in Russia only some years ago. The recently risen interest in Russian erotic folklore is best documented in volumes such as *Russkij smekhoèrotičeskij fol'klor* (Borisov 1994), *Russkij èrotičeskij fol'klor* (Toporkov 1995), or *Seks i èrotika v russkoj tradicionnoj kul'ture* (Toporkov 1996). Particularly in the volume edited by Toporkov (1995) and in his previous survey on sources of Slavic erotic folklore (Toporkov 1991) further references can be found, so that we need not deal with them here. It should be pointed out, however, that the risen interest in erotic folklore would not be possible without changes in the official censorship attitudes and more general processes of the loosening of social and cultural taboos, which characterize contemporary Russian culture, in general.²

The fate of South Slavic erotic folklore is similar to the Russian situation, though different; generally speaking, one can say that collections of erotic folklore from almost all South Slavic cultures are available, e.g., from

Macedonia (cf. *Makedonski erotski prikazni*. Skopje 1981), Bulgaria (cf. *Folkloren erotikon*. Sofija 1993), or Slovenia (cf. Marko Terseglav's *Klinček lesnikov*, Ljubljana 1981), to name but a few.

As to the Serbian and Croatian history of folklore, Vuk St. Karadžić's outstanding role as a folklorist remains to be considered as unsurpassed. Among the "ordinary" folklore he collected, both erotic folk poetry and proverbs were included, although they remained unpublished for a long time: whereas the erotic folk poetry³ was published only in 1974, the proverbs⁴ were first published in Vienna in 1907, and reprinted in Belgrade only in 1986.⁵ Still, the interest in erotic folklore was manifested relatively early, both in Serbia and in Croatia, a fact which is, among others, illustrated by the publication of A. Kostić's book, *Seksualno u našoj narodnoj poeziji*, first published in Belgrade in 1933, and re-edited in Zagreb, in 1978.

As in other cultures, too, two general tendencies can be observed in dealing with erotic folklore in Serbia and in Croatia: one tendency, which may be termed "history-oriented", strives for the official "legitimization" of previously disapproved traditional erotic folklore (cf., e.g., the references in fn. 2 & 3; Damjanov 1987, etc.); the second tendency, which can be considered to be rather "present-oriented", aims at publishing newly collected, contemporary erotic folklore (cf., e.g., Marošević 1984, Mrduljaš 1980, Zečević 1984, Krstanović 1984, Vujkov 1990, etc.).⁶

2. Traditionality of Contemporary Folklore vs. Topicality of Traditional Folklore: Relevant Methods

Both approaches, the "history-oriented" and the "present-oriented", are equally important, and they necessarily have to complement each other. Clearly, both approaches have their advantages and disadvantages: The "present-oriented" collection of erotic folklore can document today's existence and function(s) of erotic folklore, but it cannot make any statement as to the traditionality of the collected material. The "history-oriented" approach, as opposed to this, can overcome former social or cultural taboos, and it can prove that erotic folklore has existed for a long time, even though it was possibly not an integral part of official folklore and culture; from a contemporary point of view, however, it is prone to rely on mean-

while obsolete material which is not in use any more. Therefore, the results of both approaches must necessarily be seen in combination, if one wants to gain insight into the traditionality of contemporary folklore.

In order to study and understand the mechanisms of tradition, various methods can be chosen: one way to interrelate the results of the "present-oriented" and the "past-oriented" approaches is the comparative approach comparing traditional and contemporary texts; this approach is basically based on methods of text analysis. Another approach tries to combine both perspectives by way of a different method, involving the empirical study of traditional folklore material in contemporary society. This approach attempts to give an answer to the question which traditional items are used (or at least familiar) still today, and it tries to determine those factors the acquaintance of these items is dependent upon (factors such as age, sex, education, etc.).

The present study has to be seen in this context. It represents an attempt to empirically study today's status of traditional erotic folklore from a contemporary point of view.⁷ Before we turn to our empirical study and a discussion of its results, some relevant theoretical clarifications are necessary.

3. Theoretical Clarifications

To say it right from the beginning, it seems not only difficult to theoretically tell apart "erotic" folklore from "non-erotic" folklore in general, but also to distinguish specific erotic folklore texts from non-erotic items. This can clearly be seen in the case of phraseology and paremiology, where "eroticity" tends to be defined by reference to specific themes. The theme of such phraseological or paremiological texts, however, at least in its traditional understanding, is nothing but a surface phenomenon: the meaning which is attached or attributed to it, cannot (or at least not reliably) be deduced from the surface. This mechanism can best be explained in case of proverbs, when, for example, we are concerned with a text seemingly dealing with "birds" in "hands", but, in fact, referring to facts which are at best indirectly related to the concrete imagery employed. Semiotically speaking, we are concerned here with the phenomenon of 'secondary nomination' (in the case of phraseology) or 'secondary modeling systems', respectively (in paremiology), when a text displays two levels of meaning: in a simplified manner, one could say

that the first level of signification refers to the denotative level, i.e. to what is literally "said" in the text; the second level of signification, in contrast, refers to the connotative level, i.e., to what is actually "meant".

In order to solve the question if a given item can be regarded to be part of "erotic folklore", one can therefore either base one's definition on pure surface phenomenona (which may be nothing but metaphorical wording), or on the semantic deeper level of meaning. One cannot know or define a proverb's meaning, however, without knowing its specific field(s) of reference, i.e., the referential contexts to which the proverb may be applied. Consequently, we cannot tell apart "erotic" from "non-erotic" items unless we know the concrete rules for usage. Let us explain this phenomenon by way of some examples taken from the collection of proverbial sayings, which we will deal with in this article.

The material used in our study consisted of 200 erotic/obscene proverbs, proverbial sayings, phrases, idioms, curses, etc., which were published in 1908 by Aleksandar Mitrović under the heading of "Erotic and Scatological Proverbs and Sayings from Dalmatian Serbs".⁸ They were published in Friedrich Krauss' journal *Anthropophyteia*, and they were meant to be an addition to Vuk Karadžić's 255 "Erotic and Scatological Proverbs and Sayings of the Serbs" published in the same journal a year before.⁹

The above-mentioned mechanism of double signification becomes apparent, when Mitrović explains the meaning of "*Ne može biti pičke bez guzice*" [There can be no cunt without an ass] (#3) by reference to the German proverb "Wo viel Licht, viel Schatten" [cf. the English proverb: "Where there is light, there is shadow"]. If Mitrović's interpretation is correct, then the proverb's actual meaning is totally deprived of its obscene connotation, and its erotic metaphoricalness completely disappears. The same would hold true for other items, too, such as, for example, "*Ne može se jednom guzicom na dva stoca sjediti*" [You cannot sit with one ass on two chairs] (#153), or "*Jednom guzicom hoće da sjedi na sto kuraca*" [S/he wants to sit on a hundred cocks with one ass] (#154). Although there are no explanations given in the text, it seems likely that the meaning of these two proverbial items can be reduced to formulations such as *one can only have (or do) one thing at a time, or *someone does a lot of other things than those s/he should do, respectively.¹⁰

On the other hand, there are items which display no erotic metaphoricalness at all, but which seem to imply a sexual connotation, cf. #115:

Žedan konj vode ne razbire [A thirsty horse doesn't choose the water]. This item is explained by Mitrović as a statement about a "horny man who sets about every woman with equal lust". It seems likely that this interpretation is a typical result of what modern paremiology calls the "semantic indefiniteness of the proverb", a phenomenon which may lead, among others, to a too narrow explanation of the proverb's meaning. In other words, Mitrović's interpretation may be correct, but it is highly probable that this interpretation is only one specific application and realization of a broader semantic potential which might be rephrased like *if you are in need of something (or want it very much), you are not choosy. This hypothesis is supported by the fact that this proverb occurs in several variants in traditional collections of "ordinary" proverbs, such as, e.g.:

Žedan konj vode ne probira [A thirsty horse doesn't chose the water] (Skarpa, #5592)

Žedan konj nepazi mutnu vodu [A thirsty horse doesn't care if the water is muddy] (Stojanović, p. 234)

Konj žedan mutne vode ne gleda [A thirsty horse doesn't notice if the water is muddy] (Daničić, #1773)

Žedan konj mutne vode ne gleda [A thirsty horse doesn't notice if the water is muddy] (Daničić, #5918)

Žedan konj mutnu vodu ne pazi [A thirsty horse doesn't care if the water is muddy] (Šaulić, p. 47).¹¹

In addition to semantic difficulties in distinguishing "erotic folklore" from "ordinary folklore", further problems arise in handling Mitrović's material. The main problem probably is the heterogeneity of the included texts, which comprise not only proverbs, but also many curses (cf. #11: "*Jebem te u pišalo*" [I'll fuck you into your pee-hole], #104: "*Serem ti se u brk*", [I'll shit into your moustache]), comparisons (cf. #46: "*Poštena kao gracka vrata*" [Faithful like the city portal]). Again, genre distinctions are extremely difficult, if one does not really know the applicational or referential norms. Thus, at first sight, item #100 looks like a cumulative comparison (or like a cumulation of individual comparisons, respectively): "*Zdrav kao lav, brz kao zec, jebac kao vrebac!*" [Healthy like a lion, fast as a rabbit, a fucker like a sparrow] Depending on how this item is used, it might as well (theoretically speaking) be classified as a proverb, for example, the meaning of which might be a statement about the incongruence

between someone's general physical state and his sexual abilities, or between someone's outward appearance and his actual capacities.¹²

In the present study, we will not deal with these and related theoretical questions in detail. Let it suffice to say that, in future, a theoretical discussion on genres of erotic/obscene folklore is unavoidable and, in fact, desirable and necessary. This topic is not at the center of our study, however. It goes without saying that we cannot, in this study, completely ignore the outlined problems; but for our purposes, it will be acceptable to globally speak of "erotic/obscene phraseology" in a broad sense, thus comprising not only phrasemes and idioms in a narrow understanding, but also taking into account paremic (paremiological) genres such as omens, curses, portents, proverbs, proverbial sayings, etc. Thus, instead of further pursuing conceptual and theoretical questions, we will now primarily focus on the above-mentioned problem of the contemporary status of traditional folklore from an empirical point of view.

4. The Empirical Study

For our study, a questionnaire was prepared in which the full texts of each of the 200 items from Mitrović's collection were presented. It was then asked, in form of a multiple choice test, if these texts were familiar to our informants, and if so, if the familiarity was active or passive. Subjects were also asked, if they knew variants of the given texts, and if they could give explanations as to the items' meanings.

In the present article, no attention will be paid to the analysis of the explanations obtained; instead, we concentrate on the mere fact of familiarity/non-familiarity, i.e., on the question, which of the texts are common still today, regardless of the individual texts' meanings and functions. It seems reasonable to consider this a second-order question and to first concentrate on the mere fact of textual availability.

Let us start with an example which illustrates the procedure. The first item from Mitrović's collection is "*Obraz pičku jebe*". Following the written presentation of this text the subjects had to indicate if they knew this item or not; in case they knew it, they additionally had to indicate if they would use it themselves or if they had only heard it from other people.

Example 1:

1. *Obraz pičku jebe.*

nepoznato

poznato

katkada sam(a) upotrebljavam

samo sam čuo/čula od drugih

Varijanta:

Objašnjenja:

The study was realized in spring 1991 in the areas of Benkovac and Obrovac, in Dalmatia; the questionnaires were distributed among Serbs either living in one of these two towns or in the surrounding villages. At that time, it was planned to run parallel studies with Croatian subjects from the same area, but the subsequent fate of that region rendered the immediate realization of this plan an illusion. Of the 32 subjects of the sample, twenty-seven were male and five were female. The average age of the group was $\bar{x} = 44.90 \pm 12.42$ years; there were no significant age differences between the two groups: the mean age of the women's group was $\bar{x} = 41.20 \pm 9.88$ years, that of the men's group $\bar{x} = 45.59 \pm 12.88$. The youngest subject was 22 years of age, the oldest 70 years of age; these two extremes were both male, the women's group thus seeming to be slightly more homogeneous ($x_{\min}: 32, x_{\max}: 57$). The majority of the subjects ($n = 23; 71\%$) came from villages, only slightly more than a quarter lived in small towns. The subjects' educational level was relatively high: about half of the subjects ($n = 17; 53.12\%$) had visited elementary and middle school, the other half ($n = 15; 46.88\%$) had either higher or even university education.

In order to categorize the subjects' answers, the following categories were introduced:

- 1 = unfamiliar
- 2 = familiar
- 3 = actively used
- 4 = passively known
- 5 = variant given
- 9 = no answer

Let us analyze the results step by step. Of the theoretical maximum of 6.400 (32 x 200) possible answers, 6.398 answers were in fact given. This means that we arrived at an extremely high rate of answers (99.97%); only in two cases, items #28 and #109, which sum up to 0.03%, an answer was classified as 'missing' [category (9)].

2.782 of all answers (43.48%) were marked as "unfamiliar" [category (1)]. As to the familiar items, it seems reasonable, in a first approximation, to combine the results for categories (2)-(4), which makes a total of 3.286 items (51.35%) which can be characterized as "familiar". In detail, in 107 cases (1.67%), subjects only generally indicated "familiarity" with the item in question (2), without specifying if they knew it actively (3) or passively (4). Additional 940 items (14.69%) were marked as "actively known" (3), and another 2.239 items (34.99%) were indicated as "passively known" (4).

Finally, 331 items (5.16%) were classified as (5), when subjects did not explicitly indicate "familiarity" or "non-familiarity" with a given item, but gave only a variant, or an alleged variant of it. It is important to note, therefore, that in our analyses category (5) was only then attributed to an answer, if it was not (or additionally) classified by the informants themselves by any one of the categories (1) through (4); when, as opposed to this, a variant was given in addition to an explicit classification as (actively/passively) "familiar" or "non-familiar", this item was classified by the relevant category (1)-(4).

Consequently, the items classified as (5) must be dealt with separately, since from the individual variants given, one cannot reliably conclude if the originally presented item was, in fact, familiar or not to the person who gave the variant. If, for example, in item #1 ("Obraz pičku jebe") a variant such as "Lice pičku jebe" was given, it seems to be clear that the lexical variants of "lice" and "obraz" indicate a familiarity with either variant; if, however, a variant like "Kurac pičku jebe" was found, we are rather concerned with a different proverb (meaning something different), not a variant of the presented one,

and one cannot reliably say, in how the presented items was known by the subject, too, or not.

The distribution of familiarity is illustrated in Fig. 1.

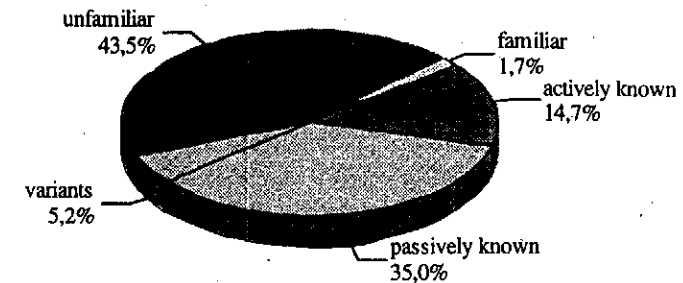


Fig. 1: General familiarity vs. non-familiarity

Of all 200 items, there is none which can be regarded to be categorized as "known" by all 32 subjects; this result must be slightly modified, however, due to our above-mentioned treatment of variants. In fact, there were five items, which were not classified as "unfamiliar" by any one subject, but which were known by either 29 subjects (#153), 30 subjects (#104), or even 31 subjects (#73, #101, #110), i.e., by more than 90% of all subjects.

73 *Ko ima masla i muda maže.*

[He who has butter creams his testicles with it, too.]

101 *Naudičeš mu kao kiša pizdi.*

[You will do harm to him like the rain to the cunt.]

104 *Serem ti se u brk!*

[I'll shit into your moustache!]

110 *Ljepši si ti u guzici nego on u glavi!*

[You are more beautiful in your ass than he is in his head!]

153 *Ne može se jednom guzicom na dva stoca sjediti.*

[You cannot sit with one ass on two chairs.]

There were another five items, which were known by more than 90% of the subjects, but which were also classified as "unfamiliar" by one or two of the subjects:

4 *Privlači kao pizdina dlaka.*

[(Sth.) attracts like (female) pubic hair.]

- 6 *Slabom kurcu i dlake smetaju.*
[A weak cock is bothered even by pubic hair.]
- 69 *Jebao te magarac!*
[May a donkey fuck you!]
- 76 *Svugdje se posrala svojim jezikom.*
[Everywhere she shit on herself with her tongue.]
- 81 *Jebem te, gdje si god šuplja!*
[I'll fuck you in all your holes!]

These ten items can be regarded to be the best known items of the whole material. Of course, there can be no a priori borderline as to those items, which can be considered to be "generally familiar", and those which are not. Therefore, the choice of the above-mentioned ten items with a familiarity of more than 90% is highly arbitrary. It seems more appropriate to illustrate the results in a detailed figure, from which the results can be seen. Fig. 2, therefore, shows how many items were known by how many subjects. Theoretically speaking, the results may be deceiving due to the variants which were counted separately. Therefore, it is important to compare the tendency of familiar items with the tendency displayed by the unfamiliar items. As can be seen from Fig. 2, the results are quite convergent.

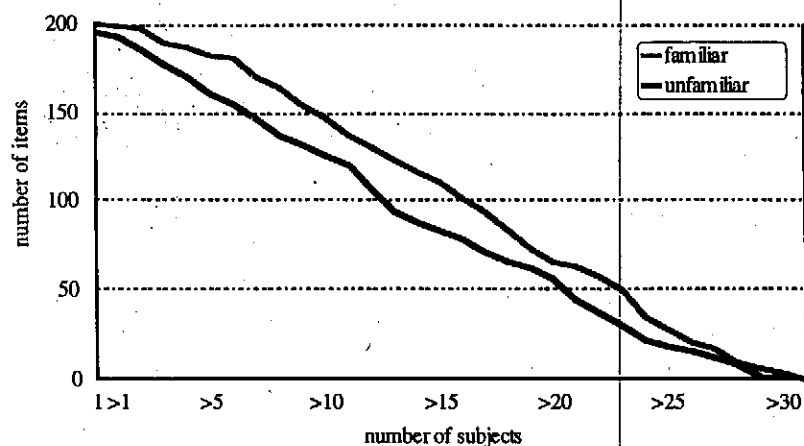


Fig. 2: Collective familiarity

Of course, it would be interesting to find out, in how far sex differences exist, first with regard to the familiarity with the complete material, and second, as to each individual item. Unfortunately, there were only five women among the subjects, so that no reliable statements can be made concerning this point; still, an attempt shall be made to at least discuss some relevant hypotheses. The relevant results are summarized in Table 1.

category		items		men		women	
		f(abs)	f(%)	f(abs)	f(%)	f(abs)	f(%)
"unknown"	1	2782	43,48	2329	43,15	453	45,30
"familiar"	2	106	1,66	105	1,95	1	0,10
"active"	3	940	14,69	847	15,69	93	9,30
"passive"	4	2239	35,00	1792	33,20	447	44,70
"variant"	5	331	5,17	325	6,02	6	0,60
	Σ	6398	100	5398	100	1000	100

Table 1: Categories of knowledge

On the whole, 2.782 answers were classified as 'unfamiliar' (1), and 3.285 as 'familiar' (2-4), respectively; in percentages, this sums up to a percentage of 45.85% vs. 54.15%, if one concentrates on the 6.068 items of these categories only, neglecting the 331 items including variants. As to the men's group, 2.329 items were classified as 'unfamiliar' (1), and 2.744 as 'familiar' (2-4); again, concentrating on the 5.073 items of these (partially combined) categories, a similar tendency of 45.90% vs. 54.10% arises. As to the women's group, there were 994 items in the categories (1)-(4); of these, 453 items were classified as 'unfamiliar' (1), and 541 as 'familiar' (2-4), which results in a quite similar juxtaposition of 45.58% vs. 54.42%. If these results – which are illustrated in Fig. 3 – should be confirmed on a solid statistical basis, this would mean that there are no general differences in men's and women's knowledge of erotic phraseology (as far as our material is concerned, of course).

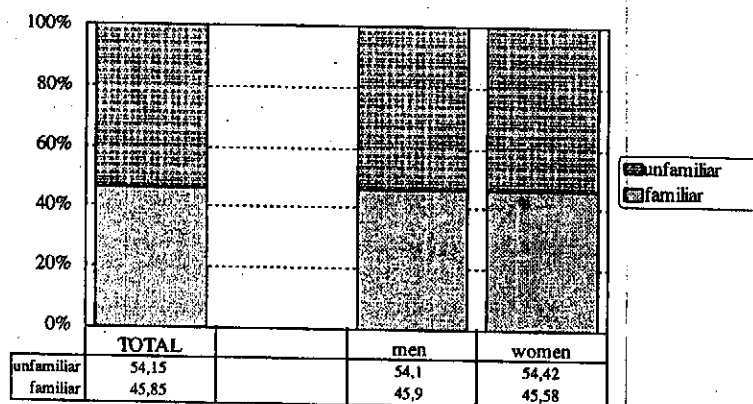


Fig. 3: Sex-specific familiarity

Yet, although there are no overall differences between men's and women's knowledge in general, there still might be significant differences in the specific kind of knowledge displayed by men and women. First of all, such differences might turn out to be crucial with regard to single items, and second, with regard to the distinction of active vs. passive familiarity. Let us start with the second point, again with the necessary caution with respect to the small size of our sample.

Of the 2.744 items classified as generally "familiar" by the 27 male subjects, 2.639 were explicitly classified as either "actively" (3) or "passively" (4) familiar; concentrating on these 2.639 items only, 847 of them were classified as (3), and 1.792 were classified as (4); this results in an opposition of 32.10% active familiarity vs. 67.90% passive familiarity. In other words, almost two thirds of the presented material would not be used by the subjects themselves, but they had heard them only from others.

This picture is principally the same with regard to the women, but the tendency is expressed significantly stronger. With only one exception, all items (i.e., 540) were explicitly categorized as either "actively" (3) or "passively" (4) known; of these, 93 items were classified as (3), 447 items as (4). This results in an even higher percentage (82.78%) of only passively known items, as compared to 17.22% of actively known items. If these results should be confirmed on a solid statistical basis, this would be a proof of the hypothesis that both men and women do know by large more erotic

paremiae than they would use, and that this tendency is more strongly expressed in women (cf. Fig. 4).

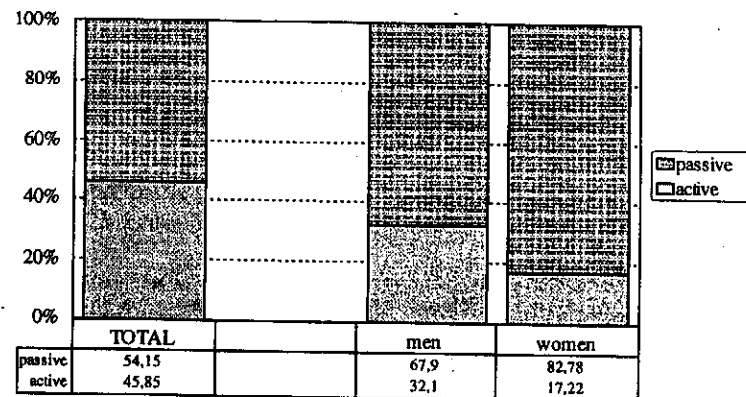


Fig. 4: Active vs. passive knowledge

Yet, there were no absolutely contradictory trends with regard to individual "sex-specific" items. There were 24 items, for example, which were explicitly declared to be "familiar" by all five women¹³, but they were also known by the majority of men. On the other hand, there were 24 items, which were not known by any one woman (i.e., which were explicitly declared "unfamiliar" by all five female participants¹⁴); but they were all declared to be "unfamiliar" by the majority of men, too.

Of course, phraseological and paremiological knowledge in general, and the additional distinction of active and passive knowledge in particular, must be controlled for each individual item, since there may well be sex-specific social restrictions or pragmatic norms in the usage of erotic phraseology. Some items may, theoretically speaking, be used only by men, others only by women; additionally they may, perhaps, only be used in communications with either men or with women. Such pragmatic rules are indicated in a few explanations given either by Mitrović himself or by F. Krauss; to give but one example: with regard to item #69 ("Jebao te magariac") it is said that this curse is used among quarreling women. On the basis of our results one can say, that this item was generally familiar to men and women (see above); additionally, one may conclude that it is, in fact, categorized as

both actively and passively by women (three of five), and that approximately two thirds of the men (i.e., 18 of 28) declared that they would not use it themselves. Thus, given a more representative sample, it becomes once more obvious that the empirical study of erotic folklore may yield relevant results.

5. Conclusion

The present study focused on the question of which traditional erotic sayings are familiar still today among a chosen group of informants. Our material was a collection of 200 phraseological items, published in the beginning of this century; our informants were Serbs, who lived in Dalmatia in the beginning of the 1990s. As could be seen, the empirical approach yields important relevant results. Still, the specific approach can solve only the question of textual availability – for the time being, all questions as to the semantics and pragmatics of the studied phraseological material have to remain open and have to be studied separately, probably by recourse to other or additional methods.

Notes

- 1 For a Serbian version of this text, see Grzybek, P.: "Južnoslovenski erotski folklor. Zapažnja o narodnoj erotskoj frazeologiji iz Dalmacije." In: Ajdačić, Dejan (ed.) (in print). *Erotika i folklor*. Beograd.
- 2 Cf., e.g., Peters/Ritz (eds.) (1996).
- 3 *Iz neobjavljenih rukopisa V.St. Karadžića. Knj. 5: Osobite pjesme i poskočice*. Beograd 1974. – Cf.: *Crven ban. Erotske narodne pesme*. Izabrao i priredio Blagoje Jastrebić. Beograd 1979.
- 4 "Erotische und skatologische Sprichwörter und Redensarten der Serben." *Anthropophyteia* (4)1907: 295-316.
- 5 In: *Mrsne priče. Erotska, sodomijska i skatološka narodna proza*. Prikupio i izdao. Fridrih Kraus. Priredio i izabrao Dušan Ivanić. Beograd 1986. – In addition to 385 narratives published in *Anthropophyteia* between 1904-1912, this volume contains the 255 proverbs, sayings, and idioms mentioned in the previous footnotes (pp. 299-307).
- 6 Interestingly enough, with the exception of Karadžić's erotic proverbs pub-

lished in 1907 (cf. fn. 3), none of these publications is listed in the bibliography on *South Slavic Folk Culture* (Roth/Wolf 1994).

- 7 It goes without saying that this approach cannot yield insight into the structure of contemporary folklore and its acquaintance in general, as long as it tests the contemporary acquaintance of *traditional* items only: folklore consists not only of traditional material, however, but also of newly generated items as well. In order to generally study contemporary folklore under an empirical perspective, it would be necessary, therefore, to consider not only traditional material, but contemporary folklore (as displayed, e.g., in mass media, etc.), too.
- 8 Aleksandar Mitrović, who was born in Herceg-Novi, in 1870, and who died in 1921, studied in Zagreb, Vienna and Graz, where he received his doctorate in Law. He then worked as a lawyer in Knin, Herceg-Novi and Kotor, and was a folk depute in the Dalmatian parliament [Dalmatinski sabor] from 1908 to 1912.
- 9 Unfortunately, Mitrović did not indicate where and among what kind of population he collected the items; the texts were simply published along with German translations and, in the majority of cases, some additional comments.
- 10 The asterisk (*) indicates that these two interpretations are hypothetical.
- 11 Cf.: Daničić, Gj. (1871). *Poslovice*. Zagreb.
Skarpa, V.J. (1909). *Hrvatske narodne poslovice*. Šibenik.
Stojanović, M. (1866). *Sbirka narodnih posloviceah, riečih i izrazah*. Zagreb.
Šaulić, A. (1962). *Narodne poslovice i zagonetke*. Beograd.
- 12 Proverbs modeling such incongruences are well-known in folklore, cf.: "Although the cow is white, it gives no milk."
- 13 These 24 items were: #4, #6, #8, #10, #11, #12, #33, #40, #51, #69, #73, #81, #95, #101, #104, #110, #121, #138, #144, #153, #177, #177, #184, #188, #198.
- 14 These 24 items were: #13, #23, #44, #48, #66, #92, #93, #103, #109, #111, #117, #133, #137, #142, #146, #148, #150, #151, #161, #168, #180, #195, #196.

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- (Toporkov 1995) *Russkij erotičeskij fol'klor*. Sostavlenie i naučnoe redaktirovanie A. Toporkova. Moskva 1995
- (Toporkov 1996) *Seks i erotika v ruskoj tradicionnoj kul'ture*. Sostavitel' A.L. Toporkov. Moskva 1996
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Appendix: The Phraseological Material and the Results Obtained

The following list contains all 200 items which were used for the present study. The results for each item is given separately, according to the categorization described above.

no.	[1]	[2]	[3]	[4]	[5]	Σ	Expression
73		1	21	9	1	31	Ko ima masla i muda maže.
101		2	10	19	1	31	Naudićeš mu kao kiša pizdi.
110		2	15	14	1	31	Ljepši si ti u guzici nego on u glavii.
76	1	1	8	21	1	30	Svugdje se posrala svojim jezikom.
104		1	7	22	2	30	Serem ti se u brki.
4	2		15	14	1	29	Privlači kao pizdina dlaka.
6	2		19	10	1	29	Slabom kurcu i dlake smetaju.
69	2	1	10	18	1	29	Jebao te magarac!
81	2	1	9	19	1	29	Jebem te, gdje si god šuplja!
153			18	11	3	29	Ne može se jednom guzicom na dva stoca sjediti.
8	1	1	14	13	3	28	Pojebao bi i zmiju u oko.
11	2		10	18	2	28	Jebem te u pišalo!
115	2	1	13	14	2	28	Žedan konj vode ne razabire.
121	4	1	6	21		28	Volim ja koga jebavati, nego mene ko.
175	3	1	16	11	1	28	Lako je tuđim kurcem gloginje tući.
194	3	1	12	15	1	28	Ljepši si u guzici nego u glavii.
33	3		8	19	2	27	Đuro, u dupe ti ga gurol
40	3	1	7	19	2	27	I najdubijem moru možeš naći dno a pički nikada.
177	2	1	15	11	3	27	Nemoj se kurčiti, bolan!
199	1	1	17	9	4	27	Gdje je mnogo baba, kilavo je dijete.
12	5		6	20	1	26	Jebem te u ono što te ženom čini.
25	3		10	16	3	26	Kako si? - Kao kurac u hladnoj vodi.
26	5		11	15	1	26	Sjedi i broji kurcu godine.
53	5	1	9	16	1	26	Sunce ti ne jebem!
63	4	1	11	14	2	26	Bojim ti se, kao pizda kiše.
123	5		4	22	1	26	Uvlači se u guzicu kao mokre gaće.
185	4	1	7	18	2	26	Neka jebe on svoga čaću.
27	5		7	18	2	25	Volj kurac nego li staninu.
28	6	1	6	18		25	Svaka kurva hoće da je poštenija od poštene žene.
50	5	1	10	14	2	25	Jebem mu vragal
95	4	1	16	8	3	25	Čovjek je stvoren za se, u se, na se i poda se.
138	4	1	4	20	3	25	Govno na govno ne naliči, kao on na svoga čaću.
165	5	1	8	16	2	25	Lijepo lice pičku prodaje.

no.	[1]	[2]	[3]	[4]	[5]	Σ	Expression
184	5	1	11	13	2	25	Ispridila mu baba zub.
1	5		12	12	3	24	Obraz pičku jebe.
10	7	1	8	15	1	24	Ubio bi joj buvu na trbuhu.
35	4	1	10	13	4	24	Tuđa koza punija je loja.
37	4	1	13	10	4	24	Steći će pamet kad i kurac nokat.
52	6	1	8	15	2	24	Jebem mu oblak!
62	7	2	6	16	1	24	Prijeti ti i sviri kurcu, koliko hoćeš.
64	3	1	6	17	5	24	Naudićeš mu, kao kiše pizdi.
80	7	1	6	17	1	24	Mlada kurva, stara prosjakinja.
87	6		11	13	2	24	Ko za muhom leti, na govrio pada.
139	8	1	8	15		24	Ide kao i rak na guzicu.
154	8	1	11	12		24	Jednom guzicom hoće da sjedi na sto kuraca.
174	8	1	10	13		24	Lako je tuđim kurcem po kupini tući.
178	8	1	12	11		24	Zajebao ga je u naprijed.
189	6	1	10	13	2	24	Biće to kad i kurcu nokti niknu.
190	7	1	4	19	1	24	S kim žena vlada, posrani mu i brk i brada.
21	3		9	14	6	23	Ne sviri kurcu godine!
74	3		10	13	6	23	Ko se hvali, u govna se svali.
77	8	1	4	18	1	23	Nemaj s rđom posla; nit je jebi nit se daj jebati.
116	7	1	6	16	2	23	Nije jami na što zja, nego što joj se da.
162	8	1	11	11	1	23	Bježite noge, posra vas guzica!
170	7		7	16	2	23	Ne valja nikada biti pizda.
188	9	1	7	15		23	Ko ne plati kurve, platiće ljekara.
5	8		4	18	2	22	Daleko je dva prsta, kao od pičke do guzice.
85	8		6	16	2	22	Bolji je i rđav kurac nego li prazna pička.
89	8	2	6	14	2	22	Ima pameti kao kurac kostiju.
96	10		4	18		22	Ne striži je, ne muzi je, ne jebi je – šta će ti?
157	6		4	18	4	22	Ukočjo se kao magareći kurac.
160	7		4	18	3	22	Popišala mu pamet.
198	5		8	14	5	22	Lako je posrat, nije oprat.
19	6	1	4	16	5	21	Voli kurcu, kao i očima.
144	7		5	16	4	21	Pizdina dlaka jača je od sto gvozdernih sindžira.
3	12		9	11	0	20	Ne može biti pičke bez guzice.
72	10		3	17	2	20	Teško ti ga bijenu i jebenu!
113	12	1	4	15		20	Udovica, tuđa polovica.
135	10		5	15	2	20	Brani se kao krava posranim repom.

no.	[1]	[2]	[3]	[4]	[5]	Σ	Expression
147	9		5	15	3	20	Nije korist guzicu stiskat, kada prneš.
167	11	1	4	15	1	20	Upišam ti se u guzicu.
197	9		6	14	3	20	Kao da ga je đavo gradio.
20	12		3	16	1	19	Kad se bačva načne, treba je ispiti;
41	13		3	16		19	Svejedno, ja i u kravice ja i u carice.
46	10	1	5	13	3	19	Poštena kao gradska vrata.
78	10	1	2	16	3	19	Mukte se mačke jebu.
83	12	1	3	15	1	19	Tako ti onoga, koji preko dva visil!
94	11	1	4	14	2	19	Pička je kao guvno;
127	12	2	6	11	1	19	Stavila mu pizdu na nos.
132	9	1	8	10	4	19	Ostao na cjedilu kao brabonjak.
136	11		2	17	2	19	Vrag ti prkno raskopao!
140	12		3	16	1	19	Što odneseš na zubu i na kurcu, to je samo tvoje.
159	13		6	13		19	Zauzdala ga pizdenom dlakom.
42	12		3	15	2	18	Mili Bože, čudne kože – njega cura uvijek može.
45	13	1	3	14	1	18	Nije puklo, već je niklo.
79	10	1	6	11	4	18	Lupež se uzda u kletvu a kurva u plač.
105	13	1	3	14	1	18	Poseri mu se na sto!
114	11	1	5	12	3	18	Kako si? – Kao varen bob u guzici.
129	11	1	4	13	3	18	Smeo se kao prdac po gačama.
130	13	1	2	15	1	18	Ni subota bez sunca, ni žena bez kurca.
134	9		5	13	5	18	Pare dupe vrti.
149	12		1	17	2	18	Kuda go dođe, tu se i posere.
163	13	1	3	14	1	18	Čija je pizda, onoga i napizdak.
187	13	1	2	15	1	18	Ne drži posta kao ni pizda.
7	12		5	12	3	17	Prijeti kurcul
15	13	1	4	12	2	17	Marica, nije kurac palica, nego je žila koja ti je mila.
16	13		6	11	2	17	Prije jebanja dao bih joj dva ovna, poslije jebanja dva govna!
22	15	1	3	13		17	Zabiću mu papriku u dupe, neka skače.
29	13	1	2	14	2	17	Iguman joj ne bi našao manel!
71	13	1	4	12	2	17	Što u veče izasere, u jutro da može pokusao bi.
191	14	1	3	13	1	17	Duša mu je kao u kurcu.
18	12	1	1	14	4	16	Prispjela je dinja za rezanje a djevojka za jebanje.
34	13		2	14	3	16	Milica, je i ti skupa piplica [pičica]?
38	14	1	2	13	2	16	Oštri kurcu vrh.
55	16	1	4	11		16	Svoga jebi, tuđem kravu odrenil!

no.	[1]	[2]	[3]	[4]	[5]	Σ	Expression
70	15	1	2	13	1	16	<i>Pun pameti kao kurac moždana.</i>
100	15	1	1	14	1	16	<i>Zdrav kao lav, brz kao zec, jebac kao vrebac!</i>
119	15	1	3	12	1	16	<i>Ako si i svoja, pokri se.</i>
128	12	1	6	9	4	16	<i>Šta si se pokunio kao jeben a neplaćen?</i>
173	10		7	9	6	16	<i>Lako je tuđim kurcem ježeve tući.</i>
186	14		1	15	2	16	<i>Diči se njim kao krava sa posranim repom.</i>
39	14		6	9	3	16	<i>Raširila noge kao jelen roge.</i>
51	15	1	2	12	2	16	<i>Jebem mu kišobran!</i>
58	14	1	2	12	3	16	<i>Jebi sirotu pa se i na Boga obazri!</i>
60	16		3	12	1	16	<i>Kurac izlazi čovjeku iz guzice a ženi ulazi pod guzicu.</i>
99	13		4	11	4	16	<i>Prije je radila guzica a sad treba da radi glava.</i>
200	12	1	5	9	5	16	<i>Gdje nema tura, tu nema gura.</i>
31	17		2	12	1	14	<i>Nijesu kurci krastavci.</i>
56	13		2	12	5	14	<i>Kom je pička mrska, da Bog da je na Božić pečenu iziol!</i>
59	18	1	4	9		14	<i>Uzeo bi pizdu bez guzice.</i>
61	16	1	1	12	2	14	<i>Otišlo (mu) na jebanu.</i>
65	12	1	4	9	6	14	<i>Šta si se zapizdio pa bleneš?</i>
98	17		2	12	1	14	<i>Što kurac u mladu pičku posije,</i>
171	16		3	11	2	14	<i>Evala ti brku kao metlici a bradi kao ženinoj pizdi!</i>
2	17		7	6	2	13	<i>Oganj puški, obraz pički.</i>
47	18	1	3	9	1	13	<i>Po šali i proso rodi.</i>
75	18		4	9	1	13	<i>Ko ima muda neka se ruga kili.</i>
102	18	1	2	10	1	13	<i>Jebem ti vile!</i>
122	17		3	10	2	13	<i>Tužio me sudu a dao mi pijesku kurcu – svejedno.</i>
125	18		3	10	1	13	<i>Govori, kad kokoš propiša.</i>
131	17		1	12	2	13	<i>Kakvo zelje, takva i viljuška.</i>
9	17		2	10	3	12	<i>Pojebao bi i mačku zamotanu u žensku košulju!</i>
137	20	1		11		12	<i>Gdje će muda kurcu zapovijedit?</i>
152	19		3	9	1	12	<i>Stotinu kuraca u jednu pizdu, raspade se pizda.</i>
172	20		3	9		12	<i>U ženi je devet duša; dok svih devet zađe treba dugo kurcem gurati.</i>
182	17	1	1	10	3	12	<i>Nadigao mu se kao duduk.</i>
36	21		3	8		11	<i>Kojoj nije dosta njen drug, ne bilo joj dosta zemlje.</i>
49	18	1	3	7	3	11	<i>Jebem mu dasku!</i>

no.	[1]	[2]	[3]	[4]	[5]	Σ	Expression
66	21		4	7		11	<i>Ne šteti kremena od puške, ne šteti bada od voła.</i>
68	21	1	1	9		11	<i>Tužio, koliko gospodarica od kurca!</i>
86	20	1	4	6	1	11	<i>Jebem ti kurčeve krnje!</i>
133	20	1	1	9	1	11	<i>Zametni mu uzao na kurac!</i>
166	21	1	3	7		11	<i>Nađu ga svugdje, kao pojebljivu kravu.</i>
169	20		3	8	1	11	<i>Ko ne jebe na ovom svijetu, njega će đavli jebati u paklu.</i>
179	21		1	10		11	<i>Zna se kao po pizdi, kakvo će vrijeme.</i>
181	20	1	2	8	1	11	<i>Guzica izjeda i dušu.</i>
192	21			11		11	<i>Ženske ruke kurac kvase.</i>
23	21		2	8	1	10	<i>Namjestiću mu hladne vode pod guzicu.</i>
57	22		2	8		10	<i>Kurcu mu govno a mudima čast!</i>
82	19	1	4	5	3	10	<i>Tako ti onoga, koji se diže i klanjal!</i>
90	22	1	1	8		10	<i>Sita kurca, laka truda.</i>
143	22			10		10	<i>To je suđeno po pizdi!</i>
156	22	1	2	7		10	<i>Hajmo de, zeru zatamburati!</i>
196	21		3	7	1	10	<i>Hambar guzica, varičak mjera.</i>
14	17		1	8	6	9	<i>Jebem ti svilu!</i>
32	22		2	7	1	9	<i>Ivo, zabio ti ga krivo!</i>
67	19		1	8	4	9	<i>Snaga na grlo ulazi a govno s kurcem zapovijeda.</i>
84	23	1	3	5		9	<i>Valja suze ka' kurčeve glave.</i>
97	21	1	1	7	2	9	<i>Što čovjek kurcem svrvti,</i>
106	22		1	8	1	9	<i>Poseri mu se u bakru!</i>
126	22	1	1	7	1	9	<i>Svaka tica svome jatu – dumna fratru kao bratu.</i>
141	21			9	2	9	<i>Mile smokve a dragi dinari.</i>
151	23		1	8		9	<i>Žensko ljeti miriše po pizdi, po guzici i po znoju.</i>
155	21	1	2	6	2	9	<i>Ko bi u kurvu kurac išao kupovati?</i>
48	24	1	3	4		8	<i>Služice opet nokti svrabljivoj guzici.</i>
54	24		2	6		8	<i>Bolje je danju gladovati nego u mraku jebavati.</i>
107	23		1	7	1	8	<i>Nit sam stupa nit sam lan – stisnem noge pa ne dam.</i>
108	23	1		7	1	8	<i>Nit sam stupa nit sam lan – stisnem noge pa ne dam.</i>
120	21	1	2	5	3	8	<i>Nori veslom po moru, more ka' i bilo.</i>
183	24	1	3	4		8	<i>Što prođe kroz rešet, može i kroz usta pa i kroz proboz.</i>

no.	[1]	[2]	[3]	[4]	[5]	Σ	Expression
13	24		2	5	1	7	<i>Jebem ti zvono na magarcu.</i>
17	24		2	5	1	7	<i>Naopako je, kada donja presegne gornju.</i>
30	24		2	5	1	7	<i>Ni gvardijan je ne bi odmakao (odbio).</i>
43	23	1	1	5	2	7	<i>Vidi je, kako se ubožila!</i>
88	23		2	5	2	7	<i>Popišao se na draču.</i>
92	25			7		7	<i>Doći ću ti u svatove za probijalo.</i>
109	23		2	5	1	7	<i>Kad se jede šenica – širi se guzica;</i>
112	25			7		7	<i>Grbavo, staro vragu ga daj, neka ga nije; mlado jebil!</i>
145	25		1	6		7	<i>To je suđeno po guzici.</i>
158	25			7		7	<i>Navrnuću ti noge!</i>
118	26		1	5		6	<i>Ne će krave kupusa al ih nije lijepo vidjeti u njemu.</i>
176	24			6	2	6	<i>Nije im stalo po tuđem prknu povaliti sto batina.</i>
91	27		2	3		5	<i>Gdje ne jebe kenjac, nije izjebano.</i>
124	23		1	4	4	5	<i>Navalio kao fratar u pojatu.</i>
168	26		2	3	1	5	<i>Dodijala mu pička kao i luk ljeti.</i>
195	24		2	3	3	5	<i>Nema bolujućeg nad jebajućim.</i>
111	27		4	1		4	<i>Popovoj majci nijesu oko prkna dronjci.</i>
161	28			4		4	<i>Tvoja duša i magareća trka.</i>
193	27		2	2	1	4	<i>Šta ti misliš meni kurcem oči šiti?</i>
93	29			3		3	<i>Vrtiču ti na piru meso.</i>
103	29			3		3	<i>Posrao se na udicu.</i>
117	28		1	2	1	3	<i>Ne zna pesta, šta je sestra.</i>
142	28		1	2	1	3	<i>Drago mu se na kurac cijediti.</i>
148	29		1	2		3	<i>Švaka pizda kurcu kao svatu – dumna fratrau kao bratu.</i>
150	29			3		3	<i>Lezi ničice, pokrij se guzicom.</i>
164	29	1		2		3	<i>Da nema ruffjana, ne bi bilo ni kurava.</i>
180	29			3		3	<i>Piša kao uš po katramu.</i>
24	29		1	1	1	2	<i>Trebaće mu pirikal!</i>
44	28	1	0	1	2	2	<i>Osveti mu se kao Arbanas ženi.</i>
146	31		1			1	<i>Daću ti surle begove!</i>