LATENT ACCUSATIVE TENDENCIES IN THE SKOPJE DIALECT OR WHERE TO GO AND WHAT TO DO WITH IT IN NORTH-CENTRAL MACEDONIA

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The so-called Russian Blessing, a verb form accompanied by the words for "your mother," undergoes an interesting transformation among the Slavs of Serbia and Macedonia. In Russian, the verb is used in the past tense, while among the South Slavs it is in the present or optative. Of greater significance, however, is the fact that among Slavic peoples living on former Turkish territory, it is not the suggestion of sexual activity with one's mother but rather the mention of the direct object of that activity, with or without a most interesting command frought with Freudian implications, which is considered by these simple people to be the *sine qua non* of verbal execration.¹

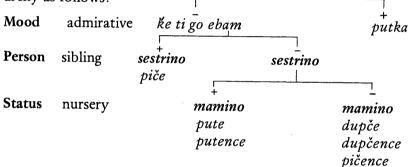
The classic form in Serbian is idi u pičku materinu "go (in)to your mother's cunt." However, the very mention of the organ and family member often suffices, hence pička ti materina "your mother's cunt." Before considering the results of penetration of this Serbianism into Macedonian territory and the subsequent mutations, a brief speculation on the significance of the command idi "go" would not be out of place. The question is whether the command applies to the whole or only a private part of the addressee: Is he being ordered to return to the womb, or merely to break an incest taboo? That the latter interpretation may be the correct one is suggested by the movie Super Fly. In the course of the film, the hero begins to address a minion of the law with a tetrasyllabic epithet frequently heard on the streets of our Fair City. But he thinks better of it before completing the utterance, with the resulting fragment of mother-f, translated into Serbian as idi u.... Thus, the activity of going is surely thought of as a semeiological representation of the reproductive act, although whether this signifies a primeval metaphor of sexual activity or

merely a relatively recent overlay obscuring the true depths of the primordial desire to return to the origin of all things is a problem too large and too deep for so small an effort.

Out of the numerous words for "twat" in Serbian, only two may be used in reference to one's mother: pička and pizda. Hence *pica ti materina and *idi u pičicu materinu are not acceptable expressions, while jebem te u picu "I fuck you in the cunt" and gledaj što dobra pičica! "see what a lovely cuntlet!" are. It is also possible to obtain pica sa gljivama "...with mushrooms", pica sa kobasicama "...with sausage", mešana pica "mixed ...", and pica à la Zadar; however, these are pizza pies rather than hair pies and are eaten mainly in Croatia. Similarly, out of three possible ways of saying "mother's"-materina, majčina, and mamina-only the first two may be used with pička and only the first with pizda in idiomatic Serbian. So *pička ti mamina or*idi u pizdu majčinu are not acceptable, while pizda ti materina and idi u pičku majčinu are. One further constraint on these expressions is the fact that ellipsis is not permissible in Serbian: one must either tell the addressee where to go, putting the direct object in the accusative, or one must cite the physical origin of his being in the nominative, e.g. one cannot say *(u) pičku majčinu.

Upon going to Macedonia, one finds unexpected perversions of the original blasphemy, indicating that the Macedonians took it from the Serbs, but then adjusted it to serve their own purposes. The pure, literary Macedonian form should be *odi vo pička majčina. But this is never heard. Rather, in Macedonian, as in Serbian, one is told idi u pičku majčinu as well as pička ti majčina. But here the similarity ends, since a Macedonian can also utter the elliptical (u) pičku majčinu as well as pička ti mamina, but not *idi u pičku maminu. Most Macedonians will reject pička ti materina and idi u pičku materinu as purely Serbian. These words, however, may frequently be heard to defile their lips, and among the youngest generation of Skopje speakers (ages four to eleven), it is even possible to note the forced conformity of máterina to the antepenultimate stress pattern of Macedonian by the reduction or dropping of the i, whence pička ti máterna. Pička is the only part of one's mother's anatomy

whither one will be consigned or which will be cited to one, except in the southwestern nooky of Macedonia, where pizda ti matérina, with the literary Macedonian stress-shift, can occur. The remaining words unambiguously denoting the pudendum muliebris—mindža, džvala, putka, pute, putence, piče, pičence, dupče, and dupčence²—can occur neither as mere ejaculations nor with verbs usually reserved for locomotion. They occur, rather, with exclamations of approval, e.g. ova e ubava putka! "this is a beautiful pussy!" and with verbs of putting, placing, and copulating, e.g. ke ti go stavam na majka ti u mindžata "I'll stick it in your mother's quim" or ke ti go ebam puteto mamino "I'll fuck your mama's pussy." A number of interuterine restraints determine which noun can occur with which adjectives. These restraints can be represented in a distinctive feature hierarchy as follows:



The marked admirative putka cannot occur in pejorative expressions such as ke ti go ebam.... but only in exclamations of appreciation or simple statements, e.g. putka me boli "my pussy hurts." The marked sibling word piče can occur only with sestrino "sister's", while a marked nursery word can occur only with sestrino or mamino. Unmarked words may also occur with majčino. It is surprising that any restrictions exist at all, considering the number of objects deemed suitable for sexual intercourse by Macedonians and Serbs. In addition to the addressee's anus and/or vagina, face, brain, eye, ear, nose, and throat, other likely objects of sexual attack by the speaker are the addressee's mother, father, sister, wife, child, mother-in-law, sister-in-law, family, maternal line of descent, all living and dead in the house, all in

the house up to the dogs and cats, everything except the house number, as well as his or her death notice, candle, cross, liturgy, holiday, fast, church, priest, angel, God, Madonna, Christ, sky, stars, and bronze-plated sun.

One final word on the modification of a pička. While pička may be modified by such expected adjectives as tesna "tight" and mrsna "greasy", there are also two adjectives, both of Turkish origin, which can be used in the same manner as the interjection with majčina, viz. pička ti korava "your blind cunt" and pička ti šašava "your crazy cunt." Although korav can mean either "one-eyed" or "blind", all Macedonians and Serbs concur that it can mean only "blind" in this context. Nevertheless, one cannot help but speculate on certain Eastern mystical concepts of the Third Eye and wonder whether they may have reached the Balkans in this debased form and have gone from there to the Low Countries where they ultimately find expression in Dutch feminine hygiene commercials enjoining women to care for the third armpit.

As a final demonstration of the importance in Macedonian folk culture of this anatomical feature, and especially that of the mother, the following translation of a modern version of an ancient Macedonian ritual song is presented here:⁴

- P is for the partisan within you;
- I is for your inner fortitude;
- CH is for your charitable nature;
- K is for your kindly attitude;
- A is for your admirable virtues,
 Too many to enumerate this way;
 Put them all together, they spell PICHKA—
 You made me what I am today.

Notes

- ¹ A single exception is made by a *Torlački* group near *Niška Banja*, among whom *jebem ti miša u rupu* "I fuck your mouse in its hole" surpasses even mother-cursing in vulgarity.
- ² dupče ex dupka "hole"; džvala ex džvalo "bee sting" (!); mindža ex Romany mindž "snatch."

- ³ Corava occurs in Serbian, but šašava does not; šašava is also used in Ke ti go ebam, but Korava is not.
- ⁴I am indebted to Vada Sonova-Pič for bringing this song to my attention and for her helpful comments on other parts of this paper.

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HOW TO JUDGE PEOPLE'S CHARACTER BY THEIR FARTING STYLES

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Crafty (taimado): The person who cuts one and then looks around as if somebody else had done it.

Silly (tonto): The guy who cuts farts when he's asleep and gets up to see who knocked at the door.

Surprised (sorprendido): Somebody who thought he was letting one out silently but has it come out thundering.

Expert (perito): The fellow who can tell his own from somebody else's even when they smell at the same time.