

Humour in Serbian Jocular Folk Stories¹

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0.0. The environment and the specific living conditions have formed the peculiar character type of the common Serb, always alert and cheerful, witty when it comes to understanding various situations and resourceful even in impossible situations. Persevering in his ambitions and resourceful in realising them, the common Serb has developed his adaptability to necessity and has sharpened his senses in order to deal with the sudden and the unexpected in his ceaseless struggle for survival. The range of his skills corresponds to the range of situations wherein he cleverly pretends to be ignorant and naive (even when superior spiritually or in terms of experience) or not to understand even what is perfectly clear to him (for he does not want to understand whatever is not in his interest). This resourceful lack of understanding or ignorance has become a means of securing and defending himself, because the common Serb found out long ago that hidden knowledge saved him from trouble while open knowledge restricted him, tied him down, often got him accused of something or other and sent to jail. To him, humour is a means of "preserving the bitterness of his fate through laughter" (Koljević 1968: 9). However, for the common Serb humour has been the only means of defending his endangered self from all sorts of offences and striving to overcome the wounds inflicted upon him by the outer world; he thus refused to suffer from the wounds, turning them into motifs of his humorous pleasure, thus proving his magnificent superiority over the real situation that he defied (Ristić

1 Many Serbian folk stories belonging to oral Serbian literature are not of Serbian origin; a number of them have been Serbianised (cf. Samardžija, 1994:177).

1962: 362). In addition to this, for the common Serb humour has been "carefully chosen, gifted and witty word of a strong and *versatile* man... a high, low, cosmic game... a contest between destiny and man's willpower" (Sekulić 1962: 366). In Serbian jocular folk stories, humour is most often expressed in the form of a comic situation, a dynamic turn of events, the content of a particular word used, and no less often in the form of witty repartee, which makes it more profound and reflexive than usual.

0.1. In this paper, our attention will be focused primarily on the analysis of the elements of humour in Serbian jocular folk literature², solely in the form of narrative prose (the Serbian jocular folk story). Even though elements of humour may be found in other forms³ of folk literature, for example, in lyric and epic forms, they will not be considered here. Priority has been given to the prose forms of folk narration because, generally speaking, they are characterised by a greater freedom of expression and humour has a more prominent role in them than in verse narrative forms⁴ and represents a source of diverse stylistic devices.

1.0. In Serbian jocular folk stories the elements of humour are usually linked to a particular type of character: a priest, a monk, an *aga* [master, esquire], a *qadi* [judge], *Era* [inhabitant of Užice, Serbia], *Josa* [literally – beardless, a typical folk story character], *Nasredin-khoja* [a typical Muslim character; *khoja* – a priest], a Gypsy. In other forms of prose narration humour is of a very innocuous form (particularly in fairytales and fables). Viewed from a moral-social standpoint, humour has a twofold role: (1) to point out general character flaws and (2) to emphasise the shortcomings of the socially privileged group. In the case of the former, the humour deals with individuals (liars, braggarts, thieves, misers, gullible people, tricksters, fools, layabouts, wives, daughters-in-law, mothers-in-law, sons-in-law), certain clans (especially in numerous stories made up in order

2 There also exist great Serbian humorists in the sphere of artistic literature: Jovan Sterija Popović, Simo Matavulj, Stevan Sremac, Branislav Nušić and Radoje Domanović belong there first of all, but there are many others as well (cf. Hanzeković, 1962: 357).

3 That this is so is confirmed by the following words of S. Samardžija: "Humour may be found not only in folk stories but in the entire folk literature" (Samardžija, 1986: 7). The following words of V. Đurić testify to the fact that there are elements of humour in poetry: "A particular kind of jocular and satirical poetry appeared relatively late, but it was in the clan society period, sometime during the era of barbarism" (Đurić, 1955: 96).

4 "While epic folk poetry was limited by its themes and verse form, and lyric poetry was tied to rituals, folk customs and melody, prose folk literature had much more freedom" (Samardžija, 1986: 5).

to mock something), an entire people, as in the story "Why Boors Are Beggars" (wherein Serbs, being boorish because they could not reach an agreement amongst themselves, are presented in contrast to the English, the French and others who know what they want) or people generally, as in the story "How Man Came to Be Eighty" (wherein man, having received his share of thirty years from God, takes a further twenty from a donkey, twenty from a dog and ten from a monkey). In the case of the former, the humour is based on class struggle, on deviations and shortcomings, and all the negative phenomena remain essentially negative. In the case of the latter, the humour is based on the conflict between the exploiters and the exploited, the conflict between supernatural powers and man, wherein many negative phenomena (lies, trickery, laziness, theft, miserliness, cowardice, selfishness, frivolity, etc.) become positive when they have an adverse effect on the stronger side in the conflict, whereas the virtues of bravery, endurance, fairness and nobility are ascribed to the weaker side in the conflict. Here, the humour is manifested in the form of satire directed against the class of the masters, liberating the downtrodden from their inferior position⁵. From the point of view of aesthetics, humour in Serbian jocular folk stories has various forms and values, most often manifesting itself in the form of: (1) *a caricature*, (2) *a riddle*, (3) *a misunderstanding*, (4) *trying to outlie one's opponent*, (5) *a witty practical joke*, (6) *an unexpected or impossible situation*, (7) *the parallelism of opposites* and (8) *puns*. To single out individual forms of humour is mainly a matter of scientific abstraction, for in Serbian jocular folk stories humour most often functions as a combination of several of the above forms.

1.1. Humour in the form of *a caricature* is rarely successful. As a caricature of stupidity, it is almost always lowbrow. This is usually the form it takes in various mocking stories. Those are, for example, "The story about a man who set his house on fire to burn down the mice that had pestered him... about a man who tried to chase the wind away with his cap... or about a man who beat his head against a stone in order to take his revenge upon it" (Latković 1967: 128). There are numerous jocular stories wherein the stupidity and ignorance of individuals and the clans they belong to is so excessive as to produce a kind of repugnance. There are few successful examples in this particular form of storytelling, such as the

5 This is not a characteristic of jocular folk stories only, it is manifested in folk tales as well in the form of "sympathy for the weak. In these tales the unjustly persecuted get protection, the poor get riches, the sufferers get happiness, the conquered get compensation, the downtrodden turn victorious, the modest get the glory, those deprived of their rights get the power" (Prodanović 1951: 18).

stories "The Inhabitants of Borovica Jump into the Fog" (where the fallacy is counterbalanced by a symbol of deeper meaning, for the inhabitants of Borovica jump into the fog believing it is cotton) and "A Sinner and a Mad Confessor" (wherein a miscalculation is deftly used to ridicule the Church regulations, the tendency of the underlings in the church hierarchy to follow rigidly the rules laid down by their superiors). But when a caricature of ignorance remains within the limits of the natural, as in the stories "Era in Church" (wherein Era naively wonders why there are no pegs in church, the way there are in every house, so that he could hang his bag upon it), and "Mixed Soup" (wherein a hungry soldier talked a naive old woman into giving him whatever she claimed she did not have: salt, flour, lard – so he could prepare a bowl of mixed soup), or when ignorance is purposefully emphasised for effect, as in the story "Eras Watering a Willow-Tree" (wherein ignorant Eras, wishing to water a crooked willow-tree, drown, only one of them surviving the undertaking), or when a real prejudice gets exploited, as in the story "Ero from the Other World"⁶ (wherein the resourceful Era tricks a Turkish woman, a Turk and a miller one after another), or when one greatly exaggerates in trying to outlie an opponent, as in the story "Son-in-Law and Mother-in-Law" (wherein the lies of a son-in-law eventually turn against him) – then the humour reaches the highest degree of artistic value.

1.2. Humour in the form of a *riddle*⁷ and indirect way of phrasing one's message, which cannot be unravelled without a certain amount of effort – is of a particularly high quality. As examples of this type of humour, we may offer the stories "A Peasant in a Qadi's Court" (wherein a peasant, having been wronged by a qadi, explains to the latter why common folk do not fight outlaws: "Why, effendi, it is not easy to overpower an outlaw; when a quiet, honest man meets one on the road, he bows and doffs his cap, like this, out of fear, the way I do to you, effendi." The explanation, which ostensibly shows the peasant's respect towards the qadi by repeating the lexeme "effendi" [sir, master] twice⁸, indirectly conveys that he is just as bad as an outlaw through the deftly interposed phrase "the

6 M. Misailović has analysed various types of sociological and psychological meanings of the Era-style of humour (Misailović 1978: 255-272).

7 "The beginnings of folk riddles often show how much our people are fond of puns; based on similarities of certain words and phrases, be they phonemic or morphological, our folk often create new, non-notional spoken forms which serve no other purpose than to enhance the mystery of solving the riddle in question" (Knežević 1972: 35).

8 Repetition of certain words and phrases was one of the favourite methods in classical comedy as well (cf. Bergson 1987: 81).

way I do to you”) and “You Shall Play” (wherein neighbours ask a man setting out on a journey to bring them various things but no-one offers any money. Only a child, having asked the man to buy him a flute, offers him a coin. The traveller, instead of giving a detailed explanation to all those present says tersely, indirectly conveying his intentions: “You shall play”).

1.3. Humour in the form of *sheer misunderstanding* is rarely found in Serbian jocular folk stories, but when we do come across it, it proves to be of first-rate quality. Misunderstandings arise due to various causes, the simplest one among them being addressing a deaf person. More refined ones include: taking someone’s words literally and answering them in unexpected ways, as in the story “A Herdsman Outwitted a Priest” (wherein a herdsman, even though he understood a priest’s veiled questions only too well, gave direct answers to them, thus creating confusion). This form of humorous expression is also found in the story “Nasradin-khoja and a Frenchman” (wherein a Frenchman and Nasradin-khoja exchanged information by way of gestures, misunderstanding each other in the process but arriving at the correct solution in the end). The humour in the story “Well, Now You’ve Had It, Fox” (wherein the chance words of a mendacious fortune-teller, whose intended meaning was entirely different, coincide with the emperor’s secret, thus saving the liar from a certain death) is different, both in terms of meaning and structure, from the types of humour at work in the previously mentioned stories.

1.4. Humour in the form of *trying to outlie one’s opponent*, to a greater extent than other types, contains elements of other types of humour, particularly caricature, tricks, unexpected turns of phrase and the parallelism of opposites. It is mostly about attempts to hide one’s weak points, even trying to present them as virtues⁹. What also characterises this type of humour is the use of the fantastic¹⁰, but with a rationalising tendency, so that the fantastic should be represented as impossible, unbelievable, ridiculous. This type of humour is prominent in the story “Lying for a Bet”, wherein a naive, inexperienced child manages to outlie the inveterate liar Josa. The humour in the story “Lie without Truth” arises out of juxtaposing two true possibilities and one true impossibility, which appears as notoriously untrue. Many other stories about attempts at outlying one’s oppo-

9 N. Hartmann speaks at length of this type of humour, verging on the comic (cf. Hartmann 1979: 486).

10 M. Ristić rightly believes that “humour mixes the real and the fantastic. Thus every manifestation of humour is actually a metaphor” (Ristić 1962: 362).

nent are structured in a similar way; being of a more didactic bent, they rarely reach artistic excellence.

1.5. Humour in the form of *practical jokes* is found in many Serbian jocular folk stories. It is often combined with other forms of humour. Practical jokes are virtually inseparable from puns. The tricks in question are played upon one's peer(s), by underlings upon their superiors and the other way round, by masters upon their underlings, by the young upon their elders and the other way round, by people upon supernatural powers and the other way round. Tricks are played for the sake of a joke or for profit; it is done both nicely and in a rough sort of way. Examples are many and diverse. In some of them, the trick in question is played at a stroke: by means of a witty repartee, as in the stories "The Holy Archangel and an Old Woman" (wherein an old woman, who had married five times, found the right answer to the Archangel's question); "It Is Worth It" (wherein one woman tricked another by eating her red-pepper salad, which is rather more expensive than beans); "A Gypsy and a Melon" (wherein a Gypsy effortlessly tricked a seller of melons into giving him one as a gift for a well-told lie); or by deftly exposing the collocutor's lie for what it is, as in the story "A Man from Bačva and a Greek" (wherein truth triumphs over lies and reality proves superior to a joke); or by means of a sudden turnaround, as in the story "A Turk Chased Marko Kraljević" (wherein a blind man pandered to the vanity of a Turk at first but eventually told the truth, which hardly made the Turk feel amused); or by giving false information in order to force the opponent into a hopeless position, as in the story "Era and a Qadi" (wherein the resourceful Era lied to the qadi in order to trick him into passing a fair verdict for the truth he said afterwards); or by asking for a part of something in order to get the whole, as in the story "A Hadji, Guardian of the People" (wherein a hadji, asking for a lamb's liver, actually asks for the entire lamb); or by means of an appropriate counterbalancing act, as in "A Dervish and a Cook" (wherein a crafty Orthodox cook outwits a mendacious, inconstant dervish); or by means of a shrewd stratagem, as in the story "A Gypsy and the Emperor" (wherein a Gypsy proved to the emperor that he, too, was afraid of a woman, that is, the empress); "The Unfaithful One Shall Suffer" (wherein a badger outsmarted a fox, otherwise famed for its cunning), "It Is Good to Heed What a Woman Says Sometimes" (wherein a man coaxes a piece of advice out of an aga for the purpose of using it against the aga to trick him). In other cases, as in the stories: "An Old Man Outwitted Giants" (wherein an old man repeatedly triumphs giants owing not to his strength but to his wit); "An Immortal Old Man" (wherein an old man outwitted both God and St Peter); "A Soldier and Death" (wherein a soldier outwitted both God and death, thus ea-

ring himself a place in heaven); "St Sava and the Devil" (wherein St Sava always manages to outwit the Devil, so that the latter never again shows up together with a priest); "A Fox Took Revenge on a Wolf" (wherein a fox took revenge on a wolf because the latter had devoured a colt it had set aside for itself); "A Girl Outwitted the Emperor" (wherein a girl was able to answer each question posed by the emperor wisely, thus becoming the empress); "The King and a Herdsman" (wherein a herdsman, speaking wisely, outwitted the King and married his daughter). In all these jocular stories many different situations arise, involving tricks of all sorts, as well as very diverse manifestations of humour, "to the delight of the narrator and for the enjoyment of the listeners and readers" (Đurić 1969: 23).

1.6. Humour in the form of *the unexpected* is the most pervasive type of humour in Serbian jocular folk stories. The unusual, unnatural, impossible or illogical at first glance, but psychologically justified all the same – that is the essential characteristic of this type of humour. The psychological justification is either explicit or implicit. The former is more frequent and more necessary, for there are many situations which would remain unclear without an explanation. Such occurrences are encountered in the story "Wherever Did the English Queen Get All That Money from?" (wherein a boy inside an empty grocery store grinds gems in a mortar made of bronze, an old man gives two coins to anyone who slaps him on the face twice, cries for two hours and laughs for a further two while mending shoes, a man stands motionless in the desert with two lions on his shoulders). Detailed explanations, which are functional in this particular story, would be detrimental in most other circumstances. But even brief explanations are not of the same type: some have no other purpose than to provide the necessary explication of the unusual, as in the stories: "Evil Wife Preserves Her Husband" (wherein two brothers decide to leave the executioner of their father alive because he has got an evil wife, thinking it would be a greater evil for him to remain married to her than to be killed by them) and "I'm Helping You Joke" (wherein Ero, answering all the malicious remarks of a Turk in the affirmative, makes the latter angry); apart from this, other stories aim to achieve new effects, such as: "Ero and the Emperor" (wherein Ero gladly accepts when the emperor starts pelting him with figs because had he brought quince, the way he had intended to, he would have been dead already) and "Aga and a Serf" (wherein an aga, not having received a present from a Wallach [non-Muslim], forces the latter to count the hairs in his horse's tail, thinking the horse would kill him). As has been pointed out already, both varieties can be very successful in artistic terms. However, the cases when the psychological justification is implicit rather than exp-

licit, when the listener or the reader is forced to guess, are more interesting and certainly more successful in artistic terms, such as the story entitled "Gypsy Pie" (wherein a Gypsy slaps a small Gypsy boy eating an imaginary pie), which does appear absurd until one remembers and takes into consideration how hungry a Gypsy can get – then his acts become logical extensions of his psyche and appear life-like and convincing. Naturally, the implicit psychological justification may be more easily discernible than in the stories quoted above, as, for instance, in the stories "An Imp" (wherein a Holy Mount apprentice, having seen young girls for the first time, asks what sort of creatures they are and a priest tells him that they are devils; still, he proposes that they buy them) and "Hail, Evil Woman" (wherein a passer-by discovers an evil woman in a group of women sitting together by greeting them with the words: Hail, evil woman, for the one who answered them really was evil). Hence these two categories, the explicit and the implicit psychological justification, are connected by various in-between nuances, such as the following two different methods: a succession of unexpected occurrences or dwelling on a single situation of that sort.

1.7. Humour in the form of *parallelism of opposites* represents one of the most effective and most important manifestations of humour. The humorous effect is achieved in different ways. Sometimes it is done by juxtaposing one phenomenon to a succession of different phenomena that are somehow linked semantically, as in the story "People Divide Women among Themselves" (where Turks, Latins and others get as many women as they demand while monks and friars, being late, do not get any, or better still: they get them all). Parallels are made between different structures – such as a parallel between the acts of two different persons whose motives are the same but whose results are entirely different, as in the story "A Christian and a Turk" (wherein a master wants to fool his servant by explaining to him that the Moon is the Sun's brother, to which the slave retorts that the anvil is ruddiness' brother); a parallel formed by two entirely different acts of two persons, as in the story "He Who Has Builds, He Who Has not Steals" (wherein a rich man, having placed a gilded door knocker on his front door, writes the following words on the door: So does one who has; a poor man, having stolen the door knocker, writes the following words underneath: And so does one who has not); a parallel wherein the attitude of two persons towards the same act is juxtaposed against that of a third person, as in the story "Who Is a Man's Greatest Enemy" (wherein a bitch is a man's friend and his wife his enemy). The most interesting form of parallelism of opposites is the one pertaining to one and the same person, as in the story "That Will Pass, Too" (wherein a man, whether as a slave or as a master, keeps saying the same thing – being a sla-

ve and being a master are both transient states: all things pass); the same person may act in entirely different ways in the same situation, as in the story "I Can Make Out" (wherein an old woman cannot see a godmother but can make out an uncle). One and the same person may act differently depending on the situation, changing his opinions and principles out of some interest or other, saying one thing and then something entirely different the very next moment, to great comic effect, as in the story "Era and a Qadi" mentioned above.

1.8. Humour in the form of *puns*, often combined with other types of humour: the unexpected, the parallelism of opposites etc., in most cases reaches a high level of expressive and artistic value. We encounter this kind of humour in the story "A Turk and a Gypsy" (wherein the phrase: the horse is *lying about separately* [*pobaškario se* in the original] means – its head, legs, tail have been severed, separated [*obaška* – separately] from one another); in the story "People Believe and Do not Believe a Turk" (wherein one and the same phrase, *vjera ti* [by your faith], used in a very witty manner – has entirely different meanings¹¹); in the story "There's Less and Less Cheese" [*Slovo iže ali sirca niže* in the original] (wherein a witty rhyme is used to great semantic effect); in the story "A Priest Drowned for He Would not Give His Hand" (where the generally logical phrase "Give me your hand, priest" is masterly juxtaposed against the even more logical, from the priest's point of view, "Here's a hand, priest"); in the story "The Vat Died" [*Krepao kotao* in the original] (wherein the verbs *kotiti se* [to breed] and *krepati* [to die] are used in a thoroughly original manner); in the story "A Wolf and a She-Goat" (wherein the she-goat's wittily thought-up name, *Patila*, makes the following captivating pun possible: "If I hadn't suffered [*patila*], I wouldn't have got right in the middle [*u srijedu spratila*]); in the story "A Goat Flayed Alive" [*Jarac 'ivoderac*] (wherein rhyming, rhythmical phrases are uttered by the goat to great effect: "I'm a goat flayed alive, slaughtered but still alive, salted but not enough, roasted but not enough, my teeth are sharp, they'll snap you in two like a thread" [*Ja sam jarac živoderac, živ klan nedoklan, živ soljen nedosoljen, živ pečen nedopečen, zubi su mi kao kolac, pregrišću te kao konic*]); in the story "St Sava and a Wolf" (wherein the monks incantational phrases *otrekok si* and *otricaj si* [variants of *renounce* (evil)] are echoed by the wolf's *ovce kolji* [slaughter sheep] and *ovce klaj si* [slaughter sheep for yourself] to

11 Bergson says of this type of humour that it is brought about by two different systems of ideas crossing in the same sentence, thus creating an endless source of possibilities for comic effect (cf. Bergson 1987: 80).

considerable effect, created by the phonemic similarity of the utterances and their semantic difference); in the story "Gypsy Woman Called Mujo" (wherein the Gypsy woman calling Mujo to come back home is actually warning him to run away: "O Mujo! The wood's your mother, take to the hills, come back at once, the Jerries are looking for you"); in the story "A Wise Daughter-in-Law" (wherein the cryptic sentence "What has passed this way has no offspring, leading what does not multiply, carrying what is not sown" actually means: "A monk has passed this way, leading a mule, carrying salt. Monks produce no offspring, mules do not multiply and salt is not sown."), etc.

2.0. The comic effect in Serbian jocular folk stories, as we have shown, has been achieved in various ways: through unexpected turns of phrase or event, witty repartees, unexpected combinations, caricatures, cryptic remarks, misunderstandings, trying to outlie one's opponent, the parallelism of opposites and puns. To these common methods of achieving the comic effect we may add cases of humour based on elements of the burlesque, as in the story "Marko Cheated of His Dinner" (wherein four monks divide fish amongst themselves; the fourth monk, having received none, pours hot fish soup on the other three, saying: God's mercy pours upon you), on unmasking and travesty, as in the story "An Old Woman Sent and Old Man to School" (wherein an old woman sent her husband to school because she had heard that a poor man could become rich by attending school regularly), on paradox, as in the story "Nasredin's House Burned Down" (wherein Nasredin burned his house in order to get rid of mice). Examples can be found of stories where the humorous effect is achieved through a lack of point or denouement, as in the stories "If the Load Falls off – Nothing" (wherein a man asked what the donkey he is leading is carrying answers wittily: if the load falls off – nothing) and "Why Do You Ask Me When You Know?" (wherein a man driving an oxcart loaded with maize, when asked what he is driving, replies: Logs, whereupon his interlocutor, puzzled, asks: How come, it's maize, not logs, and gets the reply: Why do you ask me when you know?). In cases like these, when the story in question is very close to being a mere joke, we note a decline in the quality of the Serbian jocular folk story¹². Thus Serbian jocular folk stories, along with the modernisation of their topics, gradually turned into jokes, becoming a new type of oral literature and part of the vernacular of the common people of Serbia. However, even today Serbian jokes retain elements of the Serbian jocular story. By way of conclusion, even though the Serbian jocular story

12 For a more detailed account of this see (Samardžija: 1986).

is dying out in a way, its humour preserves the spirit and the picture of times gone by, remaining accessible to contemporary readers on account of the interplay between the unknown and the known, the triumph of wit over the rules, because it gives them the opportunity to face reality and find out the truth about themselves, because it criticises the norms and conventions of society, exposing the entire system of false values man has established to hide his powerlessness. Despite everything, even today that humour can entertain, condemn sharply, expose to ridicule and provide an aesthetic experience and aesthetic pleasure. It has become a genetic element of the common Serbian folk.

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Юмор в сербских шуточных народных рассказах

Юмор в сербских шуточных народных рассказах играет, несомненно, видную роль. Он выражает дух сербского народного человека, проявляя себя по-разному в виде комических эффектов. Чаще всего имеют место: оборот, неожиданность, розыгрыш, неожиданная комбинация, шарж, загадочное выражение, недоразумение, превосходство во лжи, параллелизм противоположностей, игра слов. К этим регулярным приемам можно добавить случаи, основанные на элементах бурлеска, разоблачения, трагедии, парадокса. Встречаются также рассказы, в которых юмор строится на отсутствии главного («соли») или развязки. В случаях, когда шуточный рассказ значительно примыкает к анекдоту, наблюдается нисходящая линия развития комических эффектов в сербских шуточных народных рассказах. Таким образом, сербский шуточный народный рассказ по мере модернизации повествовательного материала в новых культурно-исторических условиях постепенно переходит из шуточного рассказа в анекдот, который, становясь новой разновидностью устной литературы, является также составной частью культуры речи и современного сербского народного человека. Несмотря на то, что сербский шуточный народный рассказ, так сказать, постепенно исчезает, юмор этих произведений сохраняет дух и представление о прежних временах, оставаясь близким современному читателю благодаря игре известного и неизвестного, победе остроумия над правилом, возможности столкнуться с действительностью и истиной о себе, посмеяться над нормами и правилами общества, разрушить в целом систему лжеценностей, придуманных человеком для того, чтобы скрыть собственное бессилие. Тем не менее, юмор этот и в настоящее время находит место на досуге, при осуждении, осмеянии, создавая условия для эстетического переживания и эстетического наслаждения. В итоге он стал наследственным фактором сербского народного человека.