The Female and Male World in Croatian Proverbs

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ABSTRACT

Proverbs as concise textual structures are primarily defined as oral (folk) literary forms in which universal thoughts are expressed on the basis of individual experiences understandable to speakers of the language, i.e., of the social community in which they originated. In relation to, for example, idioms, the use of proverbs in today's public discourse is much rarer, and proverbs in Croatian are most often recorded in printed form, while online edited lexicographic sources of proverbs are rare. Folk customs, human character and physical features, social and religious values, the relation of human and nature are the most common motives in proverbs. Male-female relationships are also the subject of numerous proverbs. Given the past times when they were created, they can be considered the source of a stereotypical image of the status of women and men in society that exists in human consciousness. Based on proverbs with the component woman, grandmother, mother, daughter, sister, girlfriend, widow, father, son, husband..., this paper will analyze proverbs with the topic of male-female relations, e.g. Ljubav daj ženi, ali tajnu odaj samo majci i sestri. (Give your love to your wife, but reveal the secret only to your mother and sister.), or proverbs referring to an individual feature attributed to a man or a woman, e.g., Kakvo drvo, takav klin, kakav otac takav sin. (Like tree, like wedge; like father, like son.), Ženi sina kad hoćeš, a kćer kad možeš. (Marry a son when you want and a daughter when you can.). The analysis includes the following: 1. representation of proverbs in other lexicographic (printed and online sources), 2. representation of such proverbs in contemporary public discourse, 3. structural and semantic features of proverbs motivated by male-female relationships.

In conclusion, the role of proverbs on the topic of male and female in the contemporary context is discussed – what is their perspective and whether the corpus has replaced traditional recorders and word of mouth today.

Key words: corpus, Croatian, female, male, proverbs

Introduction: Proverbs in General

Proverbs in Croatian are traditionally studied within literary theory and are determined as follows: 1. they are short textual forms, 2. they are part of oral (folk) literature, 3. they express universal thoughts based on individual experiences that are recognizable and understandable to language speakers, i.e., the social communities in which they arose, 4. they are realized as a whole sentence (unlike idioms which, also as short textual forms, are part of a longer sentence). Although proverbs and idioms, according to the Croatian Language Curriculum, are included in the school program in the 4th grade of primary school and the 1st grade of high school, today’s pupils use and understand them poorly. According to the Curriculum, proverbs and phrases are taught differently – proverbs are part of the literature and creativity program, and idioms are part of the Croatian language and communication program. Also, proverbs are less represented in everyday communication. Given that idioms are better known (for example, idioms are included both in the Croatian language state matura exam and in the Croatian language competition tests), speakers of Croatian use them more often than proverbs, which they generally perceive as archaic language forms, while idioms are still used today. In the rest of this paper, Croatian proverbs are translated into English as literally as possible since not all of them have equivalents in both languages.

Current state: proverbs in contemporary Croatian dictionaries

The list of proverbs in Croatian is traditionally given in dictionaries and collections of proverbs. In these manuals, proverbs are listed according to the main word, most often nouns, adjectives or verbs, according to the field of meaning or alphabetically, according to the initial word of the proverb. Given the definition of a proverb as a tex-
tual form that presents thoughts and experiences recognizable to the community, dictionaries and collections of proverbs do not interpret their meaning because this approach assumes that speakers understand the content of the proverb. Proverbs are usually understandable (e.g., Ljubav daj ženi, ali najnu odaj samo majci i sestri. (Give your love to your wife but reveal the secret only to your mother and sister.). Kad je rat, niko nikom nije brat. (When there is a war, no one is a brother to anyone.). Li-jepa je žena rijetko poštena. (A beautiful woman is rarely honest.). Ženskom poslu nigdje kraja. (There is no end to women's work.)), but there are also proverbs with figurative meaning whose content is not understandable without explanation or which can be interpreted as polysemous (e.g., Jako glumac, jače bubanj, a najjače nevjesta. (Strongly the actor, more strongly the drum, and most powerfully the bride.). Nije baba imala vraga pa namakla prase. (Grandma didn't have a devil, so she got a pig.). Ribarica po bonaci ruča, čobanica uvijek prvo sunca. (The fisherwoman has lunch on the dead calm sea, the shepherdess always before the sun.). Ženi se od kuće, pa makar od kuće. (You marry from home, even from a bitch.). Ženskom poslu nigdje kraja. (There is no end to women's work.). Svatko je (sam) kovač svoje sreće. (Everyone (himself) is a blacksmith of his happiness.). Åpra prije djevojci, njegova djevojka. (Who (comes) to the girl first, his (is) the girl.). Kovač je (sam) kovač svoje sreće. (Everyone (himself) is a blacksmith of his happiness.).)

The inclusion of proverbs in general dictionaries of the Croatian language is exceptionally deficient concerning the representation of other strong multi-word conjunctions. Collocations, multi-word terms, and idioms are regularly included in a dictionary entry either within a particular meaning or at the end of the dictionary entry, as opposed to proverbs, that are not part of general dictionaries.

For this work, based on three modern Croatian dictionaries - Hrvatski jezični portal (Croatian Language Portal, hereafter HJP), Školski rječnik hrvatskoga jezika (School Dictionary of the Croatian Language, hereafter ŠRHJ)8, Riječnik hrvatskoga jezika (Dictionary of the Croatian Language, hereafter RHJ)9 - it was researched how many proverbs are included in dictionaries under following headwords denoting male or female: otac (father), sin (son), kći (daughter), žena (woman/wife), babica (midwife), baba (grandma), djevojka (girl), gospodar (master), sluga (servant), majka (mother), otac (father), brat (brother), sestra (sister), kovač (blacksmith). The most proverbs are included in HJP - seven proverbs are recorded under the following headwords: baba (Što je babi milo (što se babi htito), to joj se i snilo. (What grandma likes (what grandma wanted), she dreamed of it.). Nije baba imala vraga pa namakla prase. (Grandma didn't have a devil, so she got a pig.). Tko o čemu baba o uštipcima. (Who ever [talks] about anything, grandma [talks] about donuts.). babica (Mnogo babica kilavo dijete. (Many midwives, ungainly child.)), djevojka (Tko prije djevojci, njegova (je) djevojka. (Who (comes) to the girl first, his (is) the girl.). kovač (Svatko je (sam) kovač svoje sreće. (Everyone (himself) is a blacksmith of his happiness.))). RHJ includes only four proverbs under the headwords baba (Što je babi milo, to joj se i snilo (What grandma likes, she dreamed of it.)), babica (Što više više babica, kilavije dijete (The more midwives, the ungrainlier the child.)), djevojka (Tko prije djevojci, njegova djevojka. (Who [comes] to the girl first, his [is] the girl.).) kovač (Svatko je baba. (Everyone is a blacksmith of his own happiness.))). There are no proverbs in ŠRHJ.

In contemporary Croatian lexicographic sources, proverbs are also included in online Kolokacijska baza hrvatskoga jezika (Croatian Collocation Database)10 of the Institute of Croatian Language and Linguistics and they are marked with the label P (proverb). At the moment, 531 entry in the Database is labeled as P. Since each proverb is entered under each word included in the proverb, they are multiplied, leaving 123 original proverbs in total. Figure 1 shows the proverbs under the headword žena (woman) in the Database. Under the entry denoting male and female, there are 25 proverbs žena (7 proverbs), baba (4),...
Methods: Material and Corpora

The main goal of this research is to compare proverbs containing nouns denoting male and female in printed collections of proverbs6-9 and online Croatian Collocation Database10, with proverbs in contemporary corpora of Croatian: Hrvatski mrežni korpus (Croatian web corpus, from now on: hrWaC)11 and Hrvatska jezična riznica (Croatian Language Repository, from now on: Riznica)12. The analysis includes about twenty nouns that are the main components of proverbs on the topic of male or female: Adam (Adam), baba (grandma), babica (midwife), brat (brother), cura (girl), čovjek (man), dijete (child), djevica (virgin), djevojka (girlfriend), gospodar (master), gospodarica (mistriss), kći (daughter), majka (mother), muž (husband), nevjesta (bride), otac (father), sestra (sister), sin (son), služga (servant), seekrva (mother-in-law), udovica (widow), žena (woman/wife) and nouns denoting male or female occupations: kovač (blacksmith), liječnik (doctor), misnik (priest); čobanica (shepherdess), ribarica (fisherwoman)... In printed sources, around 200 proverbs on male and female were singled out, and then it was searched how many proverbs were confirmed in hrWaC and Riznica. 32 proverbs were found in the corpora (< 16% of the total number) in their original form or modified i.e., paraphrased. Considering the data searchable in hrWaC (newspapers, forums, and blogs, as well as official pages and administrative texts) and Riznica (newspapers and Croatian literary sources), the assumption was that more proverbs would be confirmed in the Riznica than in hrWaC. Still, the results showed that they are more frequent in hrWaC, as shown in Table 1. This is probably due to the size of corpora, since Riznica has approximately 85 million tokens, and hrWaC has about 1.9 billion tokens.

Results

The results of comparing proverbs from printed sources and proverbs from hrWaC and Riznica are shown below. The analysis includes the social context of proverbs, linguistic analysis (structural and semantic features of proverbs on the topic of male and female), comparison of proverbs in printed and corpus sources.

Society, gender and time in proverbs

The low number of proverbs in the corpora is an indicator of the change in the extralinguistic context i.e., social perception that prevails in proverbs and social perception today. The earliest proverbs3 are derived from religious texts (Bible, Koran) and from numerous ancient works and sayings of writers, philosophers, rulers, military leaders of that time. Many proverbs originated in the Middle Ages. For centuries they were spread by word of mouth among the people, having an educational role following the understanding of the position of men and women in the society of that time, which primarily stemmed from patriarchal relations in which gender roles are clearly divided3,14. According to gender roles, in the proverbs it is possible to determine quite clearly: 1 the position of women and men in society, family or marriage, 2 characterizations of women and men (as positive and negative), 3 physical appearances of men and women, 4 images of men and women according to age (old age and youth). Al-

| Table 1 | PROVERBS IN PRINTED FORM AND IN CORPORA |
|----------------------|----------------------------------------|
| Proverbs from printed sources | Number of appearances in hrWaC* | Number of appearances in Hrvatska jezična riznica** | Proverbs and number of appearances in hrWaC and Hrvatska jezična riznica*** |
| Ako smo braća, kese nam nisu sestre. | 3 | – | – |
| Babi se snilo, što joj je milo. | 1 | – | – |
| Čiji je konj brži, toga je i djevojka. | – | – | · Tko prvi, njemu djevojka / njegova djevojka. hrWaC: 5 |
| Dok dijete ne zaplače, mati ga se ne sjeća. | – | – | · Riznica: 3 (Vjesnik online and Joža Horvat Mačak pod šljemom) |
| Gdje je mnogo babica, kilava su djeca. | 11 | – | · Dok dijete ne zaplače majka mu sise ne daje. hrWaC: 1 |
| | | | · Gdje je puno baba kilava su djeca. hrWaC: 2 |
| | | | · Puno babica(,) kilavo dijete. hrWaC: 1 |
| | | | · Riznica: 1 (Vjesnik online) |
| | | | · Puno bab(,) kilavo dijete. hrWaC: 15 |
| | | | · Puno bab(,) kilavo je dijete. hrWaC: 3 |
| | | | · Puno baba kilava su djeca. hrWaC: 2 |
| | | | · Puno baba (,ja/ja) kilavo dite. hrWaC: 18 |
| | | | · Puno baba kilava dica. hrWaC: 2 |
Proverbs from printed sources | Number of appearances in hrWaC** | Number of appearances in *Hrvatska jezična riznica*** | Proverbs and number of appearances in hrWaC and *Hrvatska jezična riznica***
--- | --- | --- | ---
Jedan sluga ne može dvoriti dva gospodara. | 1 | – | - Ne može jedan sluga služiti dva gospodara. hrWaC: 1
Kad je rat, niko nikom nije brat. | – | 1 (Vjesnik online) | - Rat nikom/nikome nije brat. hrWaC: 6
Kakav gospodar, takav je sluga. | 1 | – | - Kakav gospodar, takav pas.
- hrWaC: 2
- Kakav gospodar, takav i sluga.
- hrWaC: 1
Kakav otac takav sin. | 83 | 5 | - Kakav otac, takav i sin.
- hrWaC: 4
- Kakav otac, takvi i sinovi. hrWaC: 1
- Kakav tata, takav i sin. hrWaC: 1
- Kakav čača, takav i sin. hrWaC: 1
- Kakav otac, takva kći/kćer. hrWaC: 6
Kakav otac taki sin. | – | – | - Kakav otac, taki i sin. hrWaC: 1
Kakva mati, takva kći; kako joča, takov sin. | – | – | - Kakav otac – takav sin, kakva majka/mati/mater –takva kći. hrWaC: 6
- hrWaC: 2
- hrWaC: 1
Knjiga veli da svi ljudi dolaze od Adama. | – | – | - Knjiga veli da svi ljudi *dolaze od Adama* i Eve. hrWaC: 1
Komu je otac bog, lako mu je biti svetac. | – | – | - Lako je biti svetac kad ti je Bog otac. hrWaC: 2
Liječnik liječi, a Bog ozdravlja. | – | – | -
Puška i žena, dvi virne drugarice, ne daju se u tuje ruke. | – | – | -
Složna braća kuću grade. | 27 | – | -
Stara koka mastna corba. (preneseno značenje) | – | – | - Stara koka dobra juha. hrWaC: 11
- Stara koka masna juha. hrWaC: 1
Što se babi htilo, to se babi snilo. | 65 | 1 (Vjesnik online) | - Teško majci budući rođeci, a kraljevstvu dite vladajući!
- Riznica: 1 (Andrija Kačić Miošić, *Razgovor ugodni naroda slovinskoga*)

TABLE 1
CONTINUED
though such gender relationships have not completely disappeared, proverbs in modern times (late 20th and 21st centuries) lose on topicality concerning the messages they contain. Such a status of proverbs is conditioned by the fact that male and female roles and perceptions of social values have changed or are changing, and based on that, it is possible to conclude that universality and timelessness is not a feature that can be attributed to all proverbs. According to the corpus results on male-female relations, proverbs with general meaning that can be applied to broader social contexts were confirmed: *Mnogo/Puno babica, kilavo dijete*. (Many midwives, ungainly child.) – a proverb refers to situations where many helpers bring poor results; *Kakav otac, takav sin*. (Like father, like son.), *Kakva majka, takva kći*. (Like mother, like daughter.) – proverbs referring to the character or physical similarity of parents and children; *Staroj mačci mlad mišić*. (To the old cat, young mouse.) – a proverb referring to the relationship between an older woman and a younger man. Also, nowadays, proverbs are suppressed by slogans - modern short forms that promote the idea of a social or political group, commercial brand or service. Slogans contain messages of contemporary society that are close and understandable to today's speakers of a community (e.g., *Čistota je pola zdravlja*. (Cleanliness is half of the health.), *Bolje spriječiti nego liječiti*. (Better to prevent than to treat.), *Vrijeme je novac*. (Time is money.), *Čist račun, duga ljubav*. (Clean account, long love.). The role of proverbs is also suppressed by popular culture (movies, songs, books, etc.) because one sentence or verse can become popular, outside the framework of the media in which they originated, which is the subject of independent research.

**Linguistic analysis of proverbs**

At the linguistic level, the structural and semantic features of proverbs are analyzed. Although each carries a special message, proverbs have general, i.e., standard features that make them a recognizable short form. According to the structure, proverbs from printed sources were com-

### TABLE 1

| Proverbs from printed sources | Number of appearances in hrWaC* | Number of appearances in *Hrvatska jezična riznica** | Proverbs and number of appearances in hrWaC and *Hrvatska jezična riznica*** |
|------------------------------|---------------------------------|------------------------------------------------------|--------------------------------------------------------------------------------|
| Tko Bogu služi, ima dobra gospodara. | – | – | Tko Bogu služi, taj ne ubija nikoga. hrWaC: 1 |
| Tko nije kuću gradio i kćer uđavao, ne zna što je trošak. | 1 | – | U dobra gospodara, dobar i sluga. hrWaC: 1 |
| U radiše svega biše, u štediše i još više. | 17 | 1 | U radiše malo biše, u štediše ništa više. Riznica: 1 (Vjesnik online) |
| Vjeran sluga je kao brat. | – | – | Vjeran sluga ne pita / nepita, već sluša. Riznica: 2 (Šenoa: Sauvrez priopostinv and Seljačka buna) |
| Žena kuću drži. / Žena drži tri ugla kuće, a muž jedan. | – | – | Žena drži 3 kantuna kuće, muž samo jedan. hrWaC 1 |
| Ženi se od kuće, pa makar od kučke. (kučka pogrdno preneseno zn. za pokvarenu ženu.) | – | – | Ženi se od kuće (ugledne), da je gora od kučke nadoći će. hrWaC:1 |

* same form as in the printed source
** same form as in the printed source
*** different form from the proverb in the printed source
pared with proverbs from mentioned online corpora, including their lexical and syntactic differences. Regarding the research topic, proverbs are grouped according to their semantic features, which refer to different male-female relationships and the social status of men and women.

**Typical syntactic structures in proverbs**

Among the examined proverbs, three main structures prevail, which represent the content of the proverb with a limited number of words, concisely and rhythmically. In the background of such structures is primarily the oral medium - proverbs were transmitted by word of mouth, they were listened to and they were supposed to be easily remembered through content that is close to the experience of the community in which they are transmitted:

- **Multiple subjects/objects**: most often, a woman is associated with other concepts e.g., objects, plants or animals: Ženu, pušku i konja može čovjek pokazati, ali u naruč ne davati. (A man can show a woman, a rifle and a horse, but he must not give them in others arms.), Čuo je ka drvo posićeno. (As in printed). Still most proverbs from corpora differ in vocabulary point to changes in social and communication habits in the past and today, but it can also be assumed that proverbs in the corpora have changed under the influence of authorial editing and conscious intervention in language. E.g., in printed proverb Jedan sluga ne može dvoriti dva gospodara. (One servant can’t serve two masters.) a more stylistically (regional and literary) marked verb dvoriti a conjunction kao/like: Kad je rat, niko nikom nije brat. (When there is a war, no one is a brother to anyone.) → corpus: (simple sentence): Rat nikom nije brat. (War is no brother to anyone.); in sentence composition (e.g., printed form (with predicate): Gdje je mnogo babica, kilavo su djeca. (Where there are many midwives, children are ungainly.) → corpus (without predicate): Pun babica, kilavo dijete. (Lots of midwives, clumsy child.).

- **Syntactic parallelism**: a proverb contains two contents related to each other: Kakva mati, takva kći, kakav otac takav sin. (Like mother, like daughter, like father, like son.), Kakav tata, takav sin. (Like father, like son.).

- **Comparative proverbs**: two contents are compared with a conjunction kao/like: Pjenač je kako i žena ka, kad jednu votu čas’ izgubi, veće ju nigda ne steče. (A drunkard is like a woman who, once she loses a good reputation, never gains it again.), S čovjeka valja kako s mazgom: neće – a ti uđi. (Women should be treated like a mule: if she doesn’t want to - you hit.), Udovica je ka drvo posičeno. (A widow is like a cut tree.).

**Changes at the lexical level**

Changes at the lexical level suggest that some lexemes in proverbs from corpora are different from proverbs in printed form. Such changes in vocabulary point to changes in social and communication habits in the past and today, but it can also be assumed that proverbs in the corpora have changed under the influence of authorial editing and conscious intervention in language. E.g., in printed proverb Jedan sluga ne može dvoriti dva gospodara. (One servant can’t serve two masters.) a more stylistically (regional and literary) marked verb dvoriti (serve) appears. In corpora a proverb containing the verb služiti (serve) is confirmed: Ne može jedan sluga služiti dva gospodara. (lit. Can’t one servant serve two masters.). In printed proverbs for the male parent, only the noun otac (father) appears, e.g., Kakav otac, takav sin. (Like father, like son.), and in the proverbs in the corpora, the informal form tata (dad) and the regional form čaća are confirmed. (Kakav tata, takav i sin. / Kakav čaća, takav i sin.).

- **One servant can’t serve two masters.**
proverbs in printed form and proverbs confirmed in corpora (hrWaC and Riznica). Differences include lexemes denoting male and female, but also other components.

Some proverbs in corpora differ to phonetic features, which result in stylistic features, i.e. the relationship between the archaic or regional form in the printed source (e.g., in the proverb Kakva mati, takva kći; kako joča, takov sin (Like mother, like daughter, like father, like son) there is regional form joča for Croatian noun otac (father), and regional form takov for Croatian pronoun/predeterminer takav (such)).

**Analysis of nouns denoting male and female in proverbs**

The analysis of male and female components in proverbs is primarily based on social categories (work, marriage, parent-child communication, customs) and value categories (morality, honesty, knowledge, wisdom, kindness, physical appearance). Within these categories women and men are most often polarized as positive or negative, as shown in Table 3 on selection of proverbs from our corpus, with the woman having a more negative status than the man, which coincides with the already described position of women in Croatian proverbs and other folk forms. It is on such polarization that the gender image of man and woman in proverbs is created. The negative or positive image of a woman and a man in proverbs includes their appearance, their character, and the position of member of one gender in relation to member of another gender. However, it should be noted that not all of them are exclusively negative, but some of them present a positive image of a woman as a person or speak positively about the harmony between a man and a woman, which will be shown below. Analyzing individual components, some of the nouns denoting male or female come more often than the others. The most commonly used noun in analyzed proverbs is žena (recorded almost 70 times), which appears in two senses – as an adult female: Lijepa je žena rijetko poštena. (A beautiful woman is rarely honest), Tri žene, jedna guska, čine vašar. (Three women, one goose, they make a fair); or as a married woman in relation to the husband she is married to, which appears in proverbs Žena drži tri ugla kuće, a muž jedan. (The wife

| Table 2: Differences Between Proverbs in Printed Sources and in Corpora |
|-------------------------------------------------------------------------|
| **Proverb in printed source**                                           | **Proverb in corpus source**                                   | **Type of difference** |
| Čiji je konj brži, toga je i djevojka.                                  | Tko prvi, njemu djevojka / njegova djevojka.                   | lexical                |
| Dok dijete ne zaplače, mati ga se ne sjeca.                            | Dok dijete ne zaplače majku mu sise ne daje.                   | lexical                |
| Gdje je mnogo babica, kilava su djeca.                                 | Puno babica(,) kilavo dijete.                                 | lexical                |
| Jeden sluha ne može dvoriti dva gospodara.                             | Ne može jadan sluha služiti dva gospodara.                     | lexical                |
| Kakav gospodar, takav je sluha.                                        | Kakav gospodar, takav i sluga.                                | lexical                |
| Kad je rat, niko nikom nije brat.                                      | Rut nikom/nikome nije brat.                                   | syntactic              |
| Kakav otac takav sin.                                                   | Kakav otac, takav i sin. Kakav otac, takvi i sinovi. Kakav tata, takav i sin. Kakav otac, takva kći/kčer. (leksemi: otac : tata, ćaća, kći) tata i ćaća (stilsko (razgovorno) i regionalno). | lexical                |
| Kakva mati, takva kći; kako joča, takov sin.                           | Kakav otac – takav sin, kakva majka/mati/mater – takva kći.   | lexical, phonetic      |
| Komu je otac bog, lako mu je biti svetac.                              | Lako je biti svetac kad ti je Bog otac.                        | syntactic              |
| Mlada kurba, stara prosjakinja.                                        | Mlada flundra, stara prosjakinja.                             | lexical                |
| Neznanost je majka nevolje.                                            | Neznanje ja majka svih zala. Neznanje je majka svih grešaka.   | lexical                |
| Nije prijateljka do oca i majke.                                       | Nemaš ti boljeg druga do oca i majke tvoje. (leksička i sintaktička) | lexical, syntactic    |

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The family is the core of the society, the basic social unit, whose members are close blood relatives, and relationships in the family and its members are a frequent topic of proverbs. The mother is most often mentioned, but very often proverbs talk about the father, the son, the daughter, and members of the extended family: mother-in-law, daughter-in-law.

Nouns majka or mati (mother) are the second most common nouns appearing in proverbs, and the mother as a female parent is usually the embodiment of some positive trait, protector or concerned person:

- Nad sunašce ni svitlosti, a nad majku ni milosti. (Above the sun there is no light, and above the mother there is no mercy.)
- Laž je majka prevare. (A lie is the mother of deception.)
- Ponižavanje je majka nauke. (Repetition is the mother of knowledge.)

In some proverbs, the mother appears in the figurative sense of origin:

- Puška i žena, dvi virne drugarice, ne daju se u tuje ruke. (A gun and a woman, two fertile fighters, do not go to foreigners.)
- Žena kuću drži, žena drži triугla kuće, a muž jedan. (A woman keeps the house, a woman keeps the three corners of the house, and the husband one.)
- Žena drži 3 kantuna kuće, muž samo jedan. (A woman holds three corners of the house, and the husband one.)

Žena koja miraz donese vlada mužem. (A woman who brings a dowry rules the husband.)

In some proverbs, the mother appears in the figurative sense of origin:

- U radište svega bise, u štetište ništa više. (In the workplace all is good, in the store there is nothing more.)
- Vjeran sluga je kao brat. (A devout servant is like a brother.)

The family is the core of the society, the basic social unit, whose members are close blood relatives, and relationships in the family and its members are a frequent topic of proverbs. The mother is most often mentioned, but very often proverbs talk about the father, the son, the daughter, and members of the extended family: mother-in-law, daughter-in-law.

Although dijete (child) does not have expressed gender, it often comes with some noun denoting male or female: Gdje je mnogo babica, kilava su djeca. (Where there are many midwives, children are ungainly.)
udaje. (Good goods sell themselves, and a girl marries herself.) In the context of marriage, the virtues expected from the girl, are emphasized: Dobrota u djevojci veća nego velika prćija. (Goodness in a girl is more important than a significant dowry.). Lice curu udaje. (The face of a girl marries her). A girl is a potential bride who wants to get married: Ili je mala nevjesta ili je velika, jednako djevera ište. (Either a little bride or a big one, she is equally looking for a brother-in-law). In the new family, the bride is the daughter-in-law, and the relationship of the daughter-in-law and the mother-in-law is expressed in proverbs: Svekrva ni od gnjile nije dobra, a nevjesta ni od gnjile ni od meda. (The mother-in-law is not good, nor the bride neither from gnjile nor from honey.)

### Table 3
**POSITIVE AND NEGATIVE IMAGE OF FEMALE AND MALE IN PROVERBS ACCORDING TO SOCIAL AND VALUE CATEGORIES**

| Proverb | Female (F) / Male (M) | Positive (P) / Negative (N) image | Social or value category |
|---------|-----------------------|----------------------------------|--------------------------|
| Lijepa je žena rijetko poštena. | M | N | honesty |
| Tri žene, jedna guška, čine vašar. | M | N | talkativeness |
| Bolje je oca ženit negli mater udavat. | M | P | marriage |
| Tko nije kuću gradio i kćer udavao, ne zna što je trošak. | F | N | marriage, expense |
| Ženi sina kad hočeš, a kćer kad možeš. | M | P | marriage |
| Ženu, djecu i psa treba biti i hraniti. | F | N | man domination |
| Žena drži tri ugla kuće, a muž jedan. | F | P | organization of home life |
| Žena koja miraz donese vlada mužem. | M | N | woman domination |
| U stara otca sirotna djeca. | M | N | old parent |
| Žena bez poroda – jubuka bez roda. | F | N | infertility |
| Kakva mati, takva kći; kako joča, takov sin. | M | P/N | family resemblance |
| Divojke prokšene hote bit prošene. | F | N | vanity |
| Dobra roba sama se prodaje, a dievokja sama se udaje. | F | P | marriage |
| Svekrva ni od gnjile nije dobra, a nevjesta ni od gnjile ni od meda. | F | N | family relations |
| Bolje je valjan prijatelj, nego rođen brat. | M | N | family relations |
| Složna braća kuću grade. | M | P | family relations |
| Udovica je ka’ drvo posičeno. | F | N | widowhood |
| Mlada kurbja, stara prosjakinja. | F | N | promiscuity |
| Gori je ženski jezik no turska sablja. | F | N | talkativeness |
| Duge kose, a kratku pamet žena imade. | F | N | appearance/intelligence |
| Djevojačka pamet, rosa na listu. | F | N | Intelligence |
| Ni u moru mjere, ni u ženi vjere. | F | N | honesty |
| Dok žena plače, sprema se da prevari. | F | N | honesty |
| Žena je i vraga prevarila. | F | N | honesty |
| Puška i žena, dvi virne drugarice, ne daju se u tuje ruke. | F | N | man domination |
| S ženama valja kako s magom: neće – a ti udri. | F | N | man domination |
| Ako ženu tučeš, svoju sreću tučeš. | F | N | man domination |
| Žena je muka, bez koje se biti ne može. | F | N | marriage |
| Dobra žena praznu kuću čini da je puna. | F | P | organization of home life |
| Dobre žene ne imaju ni očiju ni ušiju. | F | P | expectation from women: reliability |
| U ženi i u mački ne imaj vjere. | F | N | honesty |
| U dobra gospodara, dobar i sluga. | M | P | social relation |
| Sram divojcak cenu daje. | F | P | expectation from women: shame |
The female and male world in Croatian proverbs can be analyzed at the level of expression and at the level of content. Proverbs that contain nouns referring to male and/or female do not relate exclusively to male-female relationships and the status of men and women in the family and society. For example, the proverb *Babi se snilo, što joj je milo* (What grandma likes, she dreamed of it) refers to the desire that someone has, not exclusively a grandma, not even a female person. The proverb *Najbosija je kovačka kobila i postolarska žena* (The most barefoot is a blacksmith’s mare and a shoemaker’s wife) talks about the attitude to work. In the proverb *U junaka jadna majka* (The mother of the hero is poor), the mother’s grief is themed, but it actually speaks of heroism paid with life and indirectly gives advice that heroism is not always desirable.

Thematic analysis of proverbs

Proverbs with male and female nouns depict the world in which they originated, and many stereotypes formed in society come to light. Although many proverbs talk about love, marriage, and relationships in the marriage and family, the number of proverbs with words naming a female person (a woman dominates, but there is also a girl, a grandmother ...) stands out. In them, women are more often described in a negative context than in a positive one. Women are chatter: *Gori je ženski jezik no turska sablja* (A female tongue is worse than a Turkish saber). *Teže žena muči neg dete rodi* (It is harder for a woman to be silent than to give birth); with no brains: *Djevojačka pamet, rosa na listu* (Girl’s wit, dew on the leaf). *Duge kose, a kratku pamet žena imade* (Long hair, and short wit a woman has); unfaithful: *Ni u moru mjere, ni u ženi vjere* (Neither the sea has the measure/size, nor the woman has the faith.). *U ženi i u mački ne imaj vjere* (Do not have faith in a woman and a cat); deceitful: *Dok žena plače, sprema se da prevare* (While the woman is crying, she is getting ready to cheat). *Žena je i vraga prevarila* (The woman cheated even on the devil); picky: *Divojke, a kratku pamet žena imade* (Get married close, find a godfather far). *U junaka jadna majka* (The most barefoot is a blacksmith’s mare and a shoemaker’s wife) talks about the attitude to work. In the proverb *U junaka jadna majka* (The mother of the hero is poor), the mother’s grief is themed, but it actually speaks of heroism paid with life and indirectly gives advice that heroism is not always desirable.

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ist.). Given this inevitability, there are many proverbs describing a good woman, perhaps formed as an instruction to women what is expected of them: *Dobra žena praznu kuću čini da je puna.* (A good woman makes an empty house full.), *Dobra žena srcem ljubi, a zla jezikom ujeda.* (A good woman loves with her heart, and the evil one bites with her tongue.), *Dobre žene ne imaju ni očiju ni ušiju.* (Good women have no eyes or ears.). According to proverbs, the woman’s place is in the house: *Na ženi kuća ostaje.* (The house remains on the woman.), *Žena drži tri ugla kuće, a muž jedan.* (The wife holds the three corners of the house, and the husband one.).

Marriage as the union of a woman and a man is the basis of a family and the foundation of the Croatian society: *Ženidba je sveta, a raženidba prokleta.* (Marriage is sacred, and divorce is accursed.). In choosing a partner for marriage, young men and his family have more options: *Saditi losu iz temelja, ženi sina iz plemena.* (You should plant a vine from the foundation and marry a son from the tribe.), *Ženi sina kad hoćeš, a kćer kad možeš.* (Marry a son when you want, and a daughter when you can.). Some proverbs advise on how to choose a suitable bride and which qualities are good for the future everyday life: *Ako misliš kćerku dobiti, klanjaj se majki.* (If you plan to have a daughter, worship the mother.), *Dobrota u djevojci veče valja neg velika prčija.* (Goodness in a girl is more important than a significant dowry.), *Ženi se na blizu, kumi se na daleko.* (Get married close, find a godfather far.). The girl is expected to be chaste and faithful: *Junaku oružje, ni ženi odjeća, ne skida se.* (The hero’s weapon, and his wife’s clothes, are not to take off.), *Kad je divovka vutura dala, kao da se i udala.* (When the girl gave her faith, it is as if she got married.), *Sram divo- jka, a boj ga se kako neprijatelja.* (Give your love to your wife, but reveal the secret only to your mother and sister.). Among proverbs with the male component, the number of proverbs with a male component is much rarer. Some proverbs give advice on marriage: *Muža ljubi kako prijatelja, a boj ga se kako neprijatelja.* (He who has a beautiful house and a beautiful wife is not the master of it.). Some proverbs advise on good upbringing: *Lice curu udaje.* (Where there are many midwives, there are also a couple of proverbs about female professions and titles: *Kad je gospodarica lena, niti družina ne valja.* (Like tree, like wedge, like father) prevail: *Kakvo drvo, takav dendrarij.* (A handsome father and the cuddly mother raise ungainly children.), *S ženama kuću drži, muž je kući gost.* (He who has not built a house and married it, keeps it well.), *Tko ima lijepu kuću i lijepu ženu, nije gospodar od nje.* (The face of a girl marries her.), *Lice curu udaje.* (A hungrily woman ate, and called herself a princess.), *Lice curu udaje.* (The face of a girl marries her.), *Najela se gladnica, pa se nazvala banica.* (The cuddly father and the cuddly mother raise weak children.).

Social stereotypes associated with the male-female world are primarily seen in proverbs about professions, mainly describing male jobs: *Bez oraća i zdrava kopača ne bi bilo kruha ni kolača.* (Without a plowman and a healthy digger, there would be no bread or cake.). Women, on the other hand, were tied to the house and household chores: *Žena kuću drži, muž je kući gost.* (The wife keeps the house, the husband is the guest of the house.), but there are also a couple of proverbs about female professions and titles: *Kad je gospodarica lena, niti družina ne valja.* (When the mistress is lazy, the family is not good either.), *Najela se gladnica, pa se nazvala banica.* (A hungry woman ate, and called herself a princess.).

In comparing proverbs with a female component, the number of proverbs with a male component is much rarer. Men are often referred to in proverbs with a female component, although they are not explicitly mentioned: *Tko ne ima žene, svaki je dan bije; ma tko je ima, dobro je čuva.* (He who has no wife, beats her every day; and he who has it, keeps it well.), *Tko nije kuću gradio i kćer udavao, ne zna što je trošak.* (He who has not built a house and married a daughter does not know what the cost is.), *S ženama kuća kako s masgom: neće – a ti uđi.* (Women should be treated like a mule: if she doesn’t want to - you hit.), *Ljubav daj ženi, ali tajnu odaj samo majci.* (Give your love to your wife, but reveal the secret only to your mother and sister.). Among proverbs with the male component, the ones with noun *otac* (father) prevail: *Kakvo drvo, takav klin, kakav otac takav sin.* (Like tree, like wedge, like father, like son.), *U stara otca sirotna djeca.* (In an old father orphaned children.), *Bolje je oca ženit negli mater udavat.* (It is better to marry a father than to marry a mother.).

The family is important in the Croatian society, and it is essential to be a member of the family, which is reflected in proverbs. It is important to have a husband: *Teško zemljii bez težaka, ribi bez vode, a ženi bez čovika.* (It is hard for a land without laborers, for a fish without a water, and for a woman without a man.), but wife as well: *Čočak na može biti čočak, dokle ga žena ne krsti.* (A man cannot be a man until a woman baptizes him.). Children are important to both men and women: *Bez dece je čoček okreštreno drvo,* (Without children, a man is a pruned tree.), *Žena bez poroda – jabuka bez roda.* (A woman without childbirth - an apple without a fruit.). Parents are support in life and they always care for children: *Nije prijatelja do oca i majke.* (There are no friends like a father and a mother.), and especially the mother: *Da se matere pita, nigdar ne bi rata bilo.* (If mothers were to ask, there would never be a war.). Many proverbs describe family relationships and indirectly advise on a good upbringing: *Gdje je mnogo babica, kila- va su djeca.* (Where there are many midwives, there are unainly children.).
Nouns čovjek (man) and muž (husband) appear as an antonym for a woman/wife, and both nouns can come in the meaning of a male adult: *Bez dece je čovek oklešteno drvo.* (Without children, a man is a pruned tree.). *Svaka suša ima muža.* (Every excuse has a husband.), and in the sense of a married man in relation to the woman he is married to: *Postelj najprije pomiri čoveka ženom.* (The bed first reconciles the man with the woman). Proverbs often have parallel structure and both wife and husband appear in the same proverb: Žena drži tri ugla kuće, a muž jedan. (The wife holds three corners of the house, and the husband one.). Žena muža nosi na licu, a muž ženu na košulji. (The wife wears the husband on her face, and the husband wears the wife on his shirt.); although there is a large number of proverbs that speak only of a woman.

In general, the higher representation of proverbs with a female component denotes that a woman, even within social and value categories, was more exposed to valuation and generalization than a man. The proverbs thus reflect the gender stereotypization of the woman that ruled in society when the proverbs were created. In proverbs, a woman is, as expected, a mother, a widow, a young girl and generalization than a man. The proverbs thus reflect the gender stereotypization of the woman that ruled in society when the proverbs were created. In proverbs, a woman is, as expected, a mother, a widow, a young girl or marriage, she is the protector of the house and family or on the other hand she is bad, immoral, with naughty tongue, she talks too much. On the other hand, a man is a father (good or bad), he works, he is wise, a master or, on the other hand she is bad, immoral, with naughty for marriage, she is the protector of the house and family or the society when the proverbs were created. In proverbs, a woman is, as expected, a mother, a widow, a young girl or marriage, she is the protector of the house and family or on the other hand she is bad, immoral, with naughty tongue, she talks too much. On the other hand, a man is a father (good or bad), he works, he is wise, a master or, sometimes, a drunkard.

**Conclusion**

The analysis of the female and male world in Croatian proverbs has brought up a couple of questions. One is more sociological than linguistic – has the status of women changed? The number of proverbs used in contemporary corpora regarding male and female relations is significantly smaller than the number of collected and recorded proverbs in printed sources. It may be concluded that the status of women is changing and there is no need to address this theme through proverbs. But this thought can be assessed as somewhat superficial since, on the one hand, in everyday life, we are aware that many things are not as they should be. On the other hand, the reason for a smaller number of proverbs can be seen as the result of the rarer use of proverbs in general, as shown in the introductory part of this work. The question can be raised if the proverbs as oral (folk) literary forms are disappearing in communication. It seems to be so, but it also leads to a re-examination of the role of the recorder, as well as the essence of the proverbs itself. Is each of the collected and recorded proverbs really a proverb, generally accepted and widely used, or did the recorder sometimes write down as a proverb some wise thought uttered by a speaker (as a source of proverb), but which is not widespread and common or which is even difficult to understand? With new technologies in mind, especially corpora, another question can be raised – can corpora replace the speakers, and can new proverbs be found in the corpus? There are some typical syntactic structures that can be extracted from the existing proverbs (*Ako ..., ..., Bolje ... nego ..., Kakav ..., takav ..., etc.*) as well as lexemes that could serve as a basis of a corpus search to see if there are some thoughts and sentences which function as (new) proverbs and which do not match the existing lists of proverbs, so further research should go in that direction.

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ŽENSKI I MUŠKI SVIJET U HRVATSKIM POSLOVICAMA

SAŽETAK

Poslovice kao sažete tekstne strukture primarno se određuju kao usmeni (narodni) književni oblici u kojima se iznose univerzalne misli utemeljene na pojedinačnim iskustvima prepoznatljivim i razumljivim govornicima jezične, tj. društvene zajednice u kojoj su nastale. Danas, u odnosu, primjerice, na frazeme, primjena poslovica u javnome diskursu znatno je rjeđa, a poslovice se u hrvatskom jeziku bilježe najčešće u tiskanoj formi, dok su uređeni mrežni izvori u kojima se donosi popis poslovica rijetki. Običaji, ljudske karakterne i tjelesne osobine, društvene i vjerske vrijednosti, čovjek i priroda najčešći su motivi o kojima poslovice progovaraju. Među njima, muško-ženski odnosi također su tema brojnih poslovica koje se, s obzirom na prošla vremena kad su nastale, mogu smatrati izvorom stereotipne i predrasudne slike o statusu žene i muškarca u društvu koja postoji u čovjekovoj svijesti. Na temelju poslovica sa sastavnicom žena, baba, majka, kći, sestra, cura, udovica, otac, sin, muž, sluga…) u radu se analiziraju poslovice u kojima se obrađuju muško-ženski odnosi (npr. Ljubav daj ženi, ali tajnu odaj samo majci i sestri.), odnosno koje upućuju na neku pojedinačnu osobinu koja se pripisuje muškarcu ili ženi (npr. Kakvo drvo, takav klin, kakav otac takav sin.). Analiza uključuje sljedeće: 1. izrazna (strukturna) i značenjska obilježja poslovica motiviranih muško-ženskim odnosima, 2. zastupljenost takvih poslovica u drugim leksikografskim mrežnim izvorima, 3. zastupljenost takvih poslovica u suvremenom javnom diskursu. U zaključku se raspravlja o ulozi poslovica na temu muško i žensko u suvremenom kontekstu – kakva im je perspektiva i je li korpus danas zamijenio tradicionalne zapisivače i usmenu predaju.
