The *draznilka* is a short, humorous verse used by children to tease, taunt and play pranks on other children (and only rarely on adults). The origins of the *draznilka* are rooted in adult folklore — in the ancient tradition of nicknames and in traditional taunting rhymes and songs used in wedding ceremonies. The coarse humor and the use of nonsense rhymes, inversions, constant epithets and other formulaic devices also point to *skomoroshina*, *nebylitsa* and *raeshnik* as sources of *draznikas*. The *draznilka* raises the general epistemological question of how to define children's folklore: what are its sources, who are its creators and who are its performers. This is a particularly important question, since many Russian sources include under the headings of children's folklore compositions by adults, such as *poteshka*, *pribautka* and *kolybel'naia pesnia* (lullaby). Some of the genres that fell into disuse among adults "descended" from adult literature and oral tradition and became subject to creative adaptation by children through a process of genre transformation in children's games, story-telling, or the *draznilka*. Early students and collectors of children's folklore commented on the problem of trying to define the boundaries that separate adult from children's folklore. Pavel Shein wrote that children's humorous verse (he called it *pribautka*) constituted the most authentic examples of children's folklore, since the child and not the adult was the creator and performer. Shein's description of the *draznilka* is still useful today:

[The *draznilka* is] a *pribautka*, which mischievous small children use to poke fun at each other and at adults, making fun of their names, ... their station and ... their physical shortcomings, as well as their non-Russian origins and so on, often without even having any reason, just for the love of word-play.

This last comment about a child's natural affinity for playing with words, written in the second half of the nineteenth century, is wholly in accord with the views of modern scholarship. A century later, Iona and Peter Opie made a similar observation, as did others who noted that children use rhymes not only for practical reasons, to help them remember, but for the deeply ingrained need to play with words and to experiment with language.

In the 1920s Georgii Vinogradov introduced the term "children's satiric lyrics" (*detskaia satiricheskaia lirika*) in his groundbreaking study under the same name. Even though the study has been widely quoted and praised, the term did not take root in Soviet scholarship. Kapitsa rejected Vinogradov's terminology and like many others after him, used the generic *draznilka* to refer to the
rhymes.(8)

Most Russian collections of the *draznilka* present a special problem. They rely heavily on early sources from the nineteenth century, which means that they draw almost exclusively on material collected from villages and the provinces. Soviet collections also tend to favor traditional sources of folklore, the village and provincial towns, and underrepresent large urban centers. Moreover, the *draznilka* created pedagogical and philosophical problems for Soviet scholars; the crude language and obvious delight children took in inflicting pain on their chosen victims seemed to point to the amoral nature of children. Vinogradov, addressing this very issue in his writing, pointed out that children's taunts were likely to be more direct and more painful because young children do not use irony to attenuate the attack and because children are more prone than adults to use crude language.(9) Nevertheless, he insisted on unflinching honesty and faithful recording of children's behavior in their natural environment; he also was against the elision of scatological references and obscenities from children's speech and the use of dots to replace phrases or ideas offensive to adults.(10)

Vinogradov's position was an exception. In Soviet collections, as well as in some in post-Soviet ones, offending words are excluded along with the texts in which they occur. Some scholars disparaged the *draznilka* as being little more than a vehicle for obscenities.(11) Others were made uncomfortable by the evidence of aggression and references to the negative aspects of everyday life. In his introduction to a collection of folkloric texts, Vladimir Bakhtin states that in most *draznikas* the target is not an individual with a particular physical or mental trait over which he has no control, but undesirable social behavior; thus the *draznilka* can be viewed as a tool for behavior modification: "The children as a group instill in themselves and each other the rules of good behavior."(12) And Mikhail Mel'nikov went even further in denying the negativism of the *draznilka*:

*Draznikas* attacking ethnic dignity have disappeared from the repertoire of Soviet children...[along with] texts about...lice, and...poverty, that is, everything that is unfamiliar to today's children.(13)

**FUNCTION AND USES OF DRAZNILKAS**

While the *draznilka* has roots in adult folklore, specifically, in the tradition of assigning nicknames, important differences also occur. Nicknames are attached to an individual as a permanent epithet, while the use of a *draznilka* is tied to a particular occasion.(14) Moreover, nicknames can be used in place of proper names in conversations about the person, while *draznilka* cannot be. (Cf. the nickname Ivan the Terrible and the *draznilka* Andrei-vorobei.) Nicknames are frequently used behind a person's back, while a *draznilka* has to be said directly to the victim's face.(15)

The *draznilka* can cover a rather wide range of aggressive behavior: from mild, friendly
ribbing to "ritualized taunts" between competing groups of children (similar to the African-American "dozens") to grievous insults that serve as a prelude to physical violence. Teasing, or a "license to joke," is based on a "joking relationship" between two individuals (or groups); it can be interpreted as a symbolic inversion of a real message. A teasing *draznilka* tends to bridge the distance between two players and to emphasize equality between them. A teasing *draznilka* directed at two friends acknowledges the strong bond between them and can be interpreted as a positive statement:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Boba s Kokoi</th>
<th>Koka c Boboi</th>
<th>Koka c Boba</th>
<th>Koka and Boba</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Kormi udalye:</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Boba − kuritsa slepaia</td>
<td>Koka − miska supovaia</td>
<td>Boba is blind as a bat</td>
<td>Koka is like a soup bowl</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Boba − angel, Boba − bog</td>
<td>i izdramnii sapog</td>
<td>Boba is like an angel</td>
<td>Boba is like God and a worn out boot</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

An even cruder example can be interpreted as having a positive meaning, since it emphasizes the friendship between two boys: "[Vot idut] Dva akrobata: odin khui, drugoi lopata" (Here are two acrobats: one is a dick and the other a spade.)

A teasing *draznilka* can be used to cement a new friendship as in the following telling example from Vinogradov:

Girls sometimes like to use an affectionately jocular tone in their conversations. "Let's see, how can I needle you?" a seven- or eight-year-old girl pensively asks [her new friend] Olia. And, after a moment...she quickly repeated in a sing-song fashion the non-offensive line: "Olia-bolia, Olia-bolia"... The nickname Alesha-balesha was born in the same way...as was a jocular ditty from the same village:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Alesha-balesha</th>
<th>Alesha-balesha</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Mat' nekhorosha</td>
<td>[His/your] mother is no good</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

In contrast to the teasing *draznilka*, a taunt is an expression of aggression, a deliberate insult meant to hurt and publicly humiliate another person. A taunting *draznilka* tends to reinforce hierarchical order within the group. Above all, it creates an insurmountable gap between the aggressor, whose moral or physical superiority is asserted, and the designated victim. Most *draznilka*-taunts are directed against an individual child and focus on physical or mental shortcomings: "cross-eyed," "stupid," "red-head" are common insults. The *draznilka* also derides undesirable behavior, e.g., "tabeda-goviadina," "plaksa-vaksa," "zhadina-pomadina" (tattle-tale, a cry-baby, a greedy child, respectively). Among younger children, who still belong to sexually segregated groups and have not yet begun to date, one of the most common and painfully embarrassing taunts is to pair a boy and a girl and call them bride and groom as "Tili-tili-testo/Zhenikh i nevesta" (Tili-tili, dough/
here are the bride and groom).

A child who participates eagerly in the activities promoted by adults is often viewed as a traitor. Belonging to a government-adult-sanctioned group, in other words, being seen as part of the "adult establishment" will earn a heap of scorn: "Predsedautulia, dulia, dulia!" (Chairman-fig, fig, fig) (directed against a good student, presumably someone active in school organizations, hence "predsedate!"). This occurs in another taunt from Soviet times:

\[
\begin{align*}
& \text{Oktiabrenok, mal'chik Petia,} \\
& \text{podavilsia pri minete,} \\
& \text{a posmertno govoriat,} \\
& \text{iskluuchen iz oktiabria.}
\end{align*}
\]

Little Octobrist Peter, Choked while "eating". It's rumored that after he died, he was kicked out of the October organization.(20)

Taunts ridiculing individuals can be expanded to include an entire family, father, mother, grandparents. It must be noted, however, that the draznika rarely targets adults. Some draznikas focus on adults in particular professions and occupations. For example, priests are a common subject of derision, as in a very popular ditty:

\[
\begin{align*}
& \text{Grom gremit,} \\
& \text{zemlia triasetsia,} \\
& \text{pop na kuritse nesetsia.}
\end{align*}
\]

Thunder roars the ground is shaking, the priest is galloping on a hen.

Most taunts, however, challenge adults and adult authority indirectly by breaking taboos and the rules of "good" behavior expected of children through the use of parody, crude expressions and references to genitalia.

Both adults and children can be ridiculed for belonging to a particular ethnic group as in the following taunt: "Evrei — polna zhopa chevei," (Jew with an ass full of worms), or, directed at another group, "Armiashka — v zhope dereviashka," (Armenian with a piece of wood in the ass).(21)

Some insults have literary sources, drawn from the names of folkloric heroes or literary characters.(22) A little boy with a name like Il'ia could be called jokingly Il'ia-prorok (the Prophet Elijah) or taunted as

\[
\begin{align*}
& \text{Il'ia Muromets,} \\
& \text{na zhope 7 pugovits.}
\end{align*}
\]

Il'ia of Murom with 7 buttons on his ass.(23)

A spat between two boys can grow to involve other children and lead to a verbal contest or duel between opposing sides. The insults traded are delivered in a sing-song unison with increasingly louder voices as each group tries to drown out its opponent. The stand-off lasts until children exhaust their creative and physical resources.(24)

STRUCTURE OF DRAZNILKAS

Draznikas are rhymed, epigrammatic verses, usually no longer than six lines. The draznika,
like other forms of folklore, is built on formulas: clichés, stock expressions, snippets from popular songs, rhymes, or epithetic pairs, that serve as building blocks in creating a new draznilka. Paradoxically, it is the very nature of the cliché that makes improvisation and endless variability possible. These ready-made formulas, moreover, facilitate communication among children and help them comprehend and cope with the "ridiculousness of life...[and] the absurdity of the adult world" around them.

Vinogradov described three types of teasers: the draznilka — a rhymed couplet based on an expanded nickname (name-epithet combination); izdevka — a taunt, a more hostile draznilka, usually 3-6 lines long; and a poddevka — a verbal prank based on questions and answers. Draznilka is a generic term applied to the first two groups and sometimes includes verbal pranks as well.

The draznilka is usually based on rhymed nicknames — a binary construction which is a common feature of Russian folklore. Rhymed nicknames usually consist of proper name-epithet combination with an obligatory internal rhyme. At the heart of such combinations is wordplay based on similarly sounding yet semantically unrelated words. A name can be paired with another noun — "Ivan-bolvan" (Ivan-blockhead), "Vitia-titia" (Vitia-teat); with a variation of the same name — "Vasia-Vasenok" or with a similar sounding name — "Sema-Eroma." The epithet in the paired combination can also be a nonsense word, as in "Fedia-media." This, in fact, is the most productive means of rhymed-nickname formation in the draznilka. The epithet is derived from the proper name by replacing the first consonant by one or sometimes two other consonants. If the word begins with a vowel, one or two consonants are added, as in "Olia-bolia."(27) The paired unit does not always have to contain a proper name. It can be replaced by a noun denoting some trait, usually a negative one: "zhadina-goviadina," (stingy-beef) "reva-korova" (cry-baby-cow) or the more fanciful "predsedadulia, dulia dulia," a clever portmanteau creation from predsedatel' (chairman) and dulia (fig). Such pairs of common nouns can be used by themselves as a draznilka, especially when it is repeated several times in a sing-song fashion and very loudly to drown out protest.

A taunting draznilka-izdevka is derived through the process of accretion, when the child extends the epithet in the paired nickname by piling up additional modifiers; as the verse lengthens, the draznilka gains in strength:

Baba iaga  Baba-yaga
kostianaia noga with a leg of bone
nos kriuchkom with a hooked nose
golova suchkom with a head like a stump
zhopa iashchichkom with an ass like a box.(30)
Baba-yaga is of course a common nickname applied to any old(er), mean woman. Lines 3-5 transform a widely-known and rather boring draznilka (lines 1-2 borrowed from folktales) into a funny, biting taunt.

The paired unit usually appears in the opening line of the verse, where it sets the rhythm. But its location is not fixed, and it can appear in the middle or in final position. Moreover, the pair itself can be split:

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{Idi priamo, priamo-priamo,} & \quad \text{Go straight ahead where} \\
\text{tam bol'shaia iama,} & \quad \text{you'll find a large pit} \\
\text{tam zhivet Boris,} & \quad \text{Boris, the chairman} \\
\text{predsedatel' dokhlykh krys,} & \quad \text{of dead rats, lives there} \\
a \text{ zhen' ego Larisa} & \quad \text{with his wife Larisa,} \\
\text{zamechatel'naia krysa.} & \quad \text{who is a splendid rat herself.}
\end{align*}
\]

Here we have a popular pairing "Boris - predsedatel' dokhlykh krys" and "Larisa - zamechatel'naia krysa" inserted in the middle and end of a draznilka; internal rhymes are turned inside out as it were to mark the ends of lines: Boris/krys, Larisa/krysa.

A rhymed nickname is frequently developed to include another set of modifiers. Such extended epithetic pairs can appear as a list of undesirable traits, as in

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{Anna-banna,} & \quad \text{Anna - [bath]tubby} \\
\text{vshivyi bok} & \quad \text{lice-infested [side]} \\
tit'ki miagki & \quad \text{with teats as soft} \\
kak klubok. & \quad \text{as a ball of yarn. (31)}
\end{align*}
\]

 Most extended epithetic pairs are realized as rhymed couplets: "Baba-Yaga/Kostianaia noga". Other lines or couplets can be added and tied with simple rhymes: aabb; aabbcc, or aabbb and aabbc are the most common rhyme schemes. (32) As the stanza lengthens, the epigrammatic draznilka changes and acquires a narrative character; direct or rhetorical questions (and even rhetorical answers) are frequently employed devices: (33)

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{Reva-korova,} & \quad \text{Cry-baby cow} \\
\text{dat moloka.} & \quad \text{give [me/us] some milk.} \\
\text{Skol'ko stot?} & \quad \text{How much does it cost?} \\
\text{Dva piataka.} & \quad \text{Two nickels.}
\end{align*}
\]

Humor, rhythm and rhyme are the sine qua non of the draznilka. Humor is achieved in a variety of ways. Rhyme, unusual combinations of disparate elements and hyperbole are perhaps the most commonly used devices in achieving a comic effect:

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{lasha, lasha ne balui} & \quad \text{lasha, lasha don't kid around} \\
\text{A to slon otkusit khui.} & \quad \text{Or an elephant will bite off your dick. (34)}
\end{align*}
\]

The draznilka has a strong rhythmic structure and regular beats. Although many collectors
refer to the *draznilka* as a ditty (*pesenka*), Vinogradov describes it as "choral poetry". He points out that children discriminate between chanted texts that rely on precise meter and rhythm, such as counting rhymes, and texts that are executed in a sing-song, such as the *draznilka*. It is not unusual to find irregularities in the rhythm and meter of the *draznilka* that would not be tolerated in counting-out rhymes. However a child singing or reciting a *draznilka* in a sing-song will readily make up for missing beats by adding a syllable or lengthening a vowel. Group performance -- chanting in unison -- is an important component of taunts, as are special gestures, rhythmic movements and the skipping or hopping that frequently accompany the *draznilka*.

And finally, as has been demonstrated, the *draznilka* cannot exist without rhyme. Rhyme binds together absurd combinations and "underscores the unreal, made-up and ludicrous [*shutovskogo*] elements in the text." In addition to playing a crucial role in the structure of the *draznilka*, rhyme acts both as a conservative force, and as a dynamic device, the very feature that allows a child to adapt a shop-worn expression to a particular situation within formulaic constraints. The efficacy of an adult joke depends on delivery and timing. In the *draznilka*, rhyme plays a similar role; it is what makes a *draznilka* work.

Verbal tricks (catch rhymes) are a special form of victimization. As in the *draznilka*, verbal tricks depend on rhymes; the victim is set up so that he or she falls for a false premise. The chosen victim is weaker, usually younger, and less experienced than the aggressor. Moreover, the same trick cannot be played twice on the same victim. Tricks can also be accompanied by a physical action:

---

-Skazhi klop. —Say "bedbug"
-Klop. —Bedbug
-Po lbu khlop! —Bang your head! [slapping the head].

The structure of the *draznilka* is stable: there is a great consistency and regularity among the vast number of examples across many generations. Children rely on a fairly small repertoire of ready-made "derision formulas," that is, well-known texts of jeers and taunts, in which a word or a phrase can be replaced by another to fit a particular situation. A child's creativity and originality are
expressed in a particularly apt choice and adaptation of a ready-made formula to a given situation and in a felicitous combination of materials borrowed from various sources.(41) A successful draznika will make its victim feel singled-out and isolated, even though it is made up almost entirely of clichés and stereotypical images:

The tearful child tends to feel that the calls are entirely personal; newly made up to apply only to him. He wonders if he will ever escape from the shame of the hateful verses... Yet, newly made-up as the children often believe these verses to be, most of them have been helping tears to flow faster for generations.(42)

It is common to find the same line appearing in different draznilkas: "tebia/lee liubit muzykant" is a popular ending. Equally widespread are echoes of well-established lines: the above-cited example "podavilsia pri minete" is an updated version of "govnom podavilsia." Children often resort to popular songs in creating new draznilkas. The chastushka (ditty) and humorous "novelty" song, which like the draznika can be crude and funny, are especially well-suited for such use.(43) In Odesa a popular draznika addressed to an overweight Jewish child in the 1950s was:

\[
\begin{align*}
Ia & \text{ nikomu ne dam,} \\
pust' & \text{kushaet Abram,} \\
pust' & \text{budet zhirnyi} \\
i & \text{zdorovyi kak baran.}
\end{align*}
\]

I won't give away [food] to anyone, let Abram eat, may he be fat and healthy/big as a ram.

These lines are borrowed from the refrain of a song popular in Odesa, "Starushka ne spesha, dorozhku pereshla..." (An old woman slowly crossed the street).

In a draznika we know who is being attacked, but we can only surmise who the aggressor is. One example of an identifiable male voice is the following:

"Natasha, dva rublia i nasha"

Natasha, two rubles and she's ours.

"Ours" here clearly refers to boys. Overall, however, the draznika does not have an easily identifiable male or female voice. Vinogradov associated friendly jocular teasing, like the "Olia-bolia" example cited earlier, with girls. Virtanen, in her study of Finnish children's lore based on 30,000 samples collected from 6- to 18-year-olds, observes that, by and large, girls tease other girls while boys torment other boys. Erotic and sexual teasing, she writes, are the girls' "special province".(44) Her study, however, does not include truly obscene taunts and it is difficult to imagine most girls yelling:

\[
\begin{align*}
Prikhodi & \text{ ko mne Alesha} \\
U & \text{menia pizda khorosha!}
\end{align*}
\]

Come visit with me, Alesha, I've got a nice cunt!

As far as obscene rhymes are concerned, girls are frequently passive consumers of a culture shared with boys. Thus, while both sexes could recite a ditty popular in Odesa in the 1950s: "Khui i pizda,brat i sestra" (Dick and cunt are brother and sister), only boys could be seen scribbling the
graffiti on the walls of buildings. Similarly, while both boys and girls knew a bawdy parody of the 1920's street song "Tsiplenok zhareniya..." [Fried chick], only boys would indulge in a public performance. The identity of the speaker is more often revealed in a teaser-rejoinder, as in the following example, where the speaker is intentionally misinterpreting "nakhal" (boor) and turning it into "makhal" (masculine form of "waved"):

[to an insult ending in "nakhal!" (a boor)]
"Ne makhal, a dirizher!"
I did not wave; I am a conductor!

An identifiably female voice can be heard in the response of a girl who was probably called "dura" (stupid) and who in turn calls her tormentor "soplivy nos" (snot-nose):

Ia durochka, Snegurochka,
Moi papa-ded Moroz,
A mamochka fialochka,
A ty - soplivy nos.

I am a stupid Snowmaiden,
Uncle Frost is my daddy,
My mother is a violet,
And you are a snot-nose.

As can be seen from the above examples, the target of a draznilka is not entirely without resources. The chosen victim can use a draznilka counter-taunt to turn the table and mock his or her tormentor. In answer to "Mishka - medved'! Nauchi menia perdet" (Mishka-bear! Teach me how to fart) one can say:

Ia pernu, ty poimai.
Nikomu ne otdavai.

I will fart, and you catch it.
Don't give it away to anyone.(45)

A boy or girl may choose to use a magical incantation to undo the evil effect of a jeer:

Shel shel krokodil
Ia krokodil
Tvoe slovo proglotil,
A moe ostavil
I pechat' postavil.

A crocodile walked by,
He swallowed your word,
But he let my word stand
And sealed it.

The draznilka, unlike other forms of children's satire, contains very few references to the realia of every-day life or to social interactions among children. Vinogradov sought an explanation for this in the fact that the draznilka, as a rule, is directed against an individual, not against an enemy group or an abstract system.(46) The Soviet draznilka contains little detail that reflects the society in which the children were raised. References to city life, work in the factory, modern technology are not very common. One example with references to Soviet industrial society is a draznilka composed, as it were, from spare parts:

Kat'ka dura protsedura,
Sostoit iz trekh chastei,
Ventilator, kumulator
I koroboka skorostei.

Kat'ka -- stupid procedure
Consists of three parts,
A [radiator] fan, a car battery
And a gear-box.(47)
Another example reflects Soviet bureaucracy:

Zhenia, Zhenia
Zhenotdel!

The widespread crises of the 1920’s gave rise to a *draznilka-chastushka* with indirect references to poverty and deprivation:

Fu-ty nu-ty, Fie, fie on you,
lapti novye obuty. she is wearing new slippers.
Lapti novy, Her slippers are new,
piatki goły, but her heels are bare
sama khodit bosiatom. and she walks barefoot.

*Bezprizorniki*, the children lost and orphaned in the wake of WWI and later during the Civil War, rode trains under cars, and in coal boxes. The following *draznilka* is directed at a "voobrazhulia" (braggard) who has a fancy hat, but leads the life of a vagabond.

Voobrazhulia pervyi sort, Hey, first class braggard
Kudo edesh? Na kurort? Where're you going? To the spa?
Shapochka s pumponchikom Your hat has a pompon
Edesh pod vagonchikom. But you're riding under a car.

In the last ten to fifteen years we have witnessed trends that may spell the end of the *draznilka* in its present form. A relatively new form of satire has become popular among elementary-school-age children and young adolescents. The origins of "sadistic verses" (*sadistskie stishki*) are literary and urban; they are quite distinct from the *draznilka*. It is easy to find areas, however, where both overlap. We need only to replace the impersonal *mal'chik* (boy) or *devochka* (girl) that populate "sadistic verses" with, for example, Fedia to turn it into a *draznilka*:

Malenkii mal'chik [Fedia] igral A little boy [Fedia] was playing diver
smelo spuskalsia na dno unitaza, he boldly dived to the bottom of the toilet bowl
dobraia teta nazhala pedal' A nice auntie stepped on the flush-pedal
mal'chik [Fedia] umchalsia v podvodniu and the little boy [Fedia] disappeared under the water.
dal’. (51)

Perhaps what we are witnessing is a process of transforming the *draznilka* into a form with a darker and more cynical world view.

**Notes**

1. I wish to thank Natalie Kononenko for her encouragement, James Bailey and Snejana Tempest for their helpful comments, Roman and Irina Yakub for updating my obsolete arsenal of *draznilkas* and Robert A. Rothstein for his indispensable help.
3. *Skomoroshina* — satirical or humorous epic songs or tales of Russian minstrels (*skomorokhs*); works of mixed genres that often parody the style and characters of Russian *bylias* (epic heroic

Nebylitsa — "humorous plotless skomoroshina," long considered to be too trivial for the adult world, is particularly closely associated with children's literature and children's folklore. L. M. Ivleva, "Skoromoshiny" in *Slavianskii fol'klor* (Moscow: Nauka, 1972), pp. 121-122. *Raeshnik* or *raek* — humorous vers libre with varying meter and length of lines tied together with paired rhymes: aabb, etc.

4. *Poteshka* and *pribauka* refer to nursery rhymes. The *poteshka* is accompanied by physical activity, such as touching, counting or massaging different parts of the child's body. The distinction between the two can be quite murky. Nursery rhymes of all kinds, as well as lullabies, belong to what G. S. Vinogradov aptly named *poeziia pestovania* (poetry of nurturing the child with tender, loving care) or *folklor materinstva* (folklore of motherhood). Cited by O. I Kapitsa in *Detskii fol'klor* [Children's folklore] (Leningrad: Priboi, 1928), pp. 52-53.


7. "[T]he rhymes expressing general dislike have an impersonal air. One has a feeling...that the children are being rude just for the fun of being rude." Iona Opie and Peter Opie, *The Lore and Language of Schoolchildren* (London: Oxford University Press, 1973 [1959]), p. 175.


9. Vinogradov, p. 76.

10. Vinogradov, p. 95.


<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Vas'ka-Vasenok</th>
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</tr>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>khudoi porosionok</td>
<td>poor piggy</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>na kamushke rodilsia</td>
<td>was born on a rock</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>govnom podavilsia.</td>
<td>and choked on a piece of shit.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

21. Armalinskii, p. 82.

23. Vinogradov, p. 75.
24. For a detailed description see Vinogradov, pp. 69 ff.
25. Vinogradov, p. 77; also G.I. Mal'tsev, *Traditsionnye formuly russkoi narodnoi neobriadovoi liriki* [Traditional formulas of Russian non-ritual folk lyric poetry] (Leningrad: Nauka, 1989), pp. 13, 43-44. Cf. Ileva's comments on the chain-like structure of the *nebylitsa*: they are built of discrete components with varying contents. Such a chain can be broken off at any link and other links can be added. The structure of the *nebylitsa* accounts for its dynamic character and makes improvisation possible (p.122).
27. Vinogradov, p. 78.
29. Vinogradov, p. 77.
30. Vinogradov, p. 100.
32. For more details see Vinogradov, pp. 79-84.
33. Vinogradov, p. 70.
34. Armalinskii, p. 36.
35. Vinogradov, pp. 80-81. One of the most readily recognizable American taunts dispenses with the text altogether and is based on a chanted melody: nya-nya, nya-nya, nya-nya.
37. Likhachev, pp. 64.
41. Vinogradov, p. 77.
42. Opie & Opie, pp. 187-188.
43. Vinogradov, p. 98; Martynova, p. 299.
44. Virtanen, pp. 69-70.
45. Vinogradov, p. 98.
46. Vinogradov, p. 76.
47. Martynova, p. 299.
49. Martynova, p. 311.
50. Bakhtin, p. 182.
51. Cf. a popular *drazni/ka-chastushka* from the 1930s:

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{Andrei-vorobei} & \quad \text{Andrei-sparrow} \\
\text{v ozere kupalsia} & \quad \text{was swimming in the lake.} \\
\text{ruki-nogi utomuli} & \quad \text{His arms and legs drowned} \\
\text{a zhivot ostalsia.} & \quad \text{but his belly stayed on the surface.}
\end{align*}
\]

(Martynova, p. 275)