

<https://doi.org/10.29162/pv.41.1.566>

Original scientific paper

Received on 30 January 2024

Accepted for publication on 9 May 2024

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CROSS-GENRE ANALYSIS OF PAREMIOLOGICAL PROLONGATIONS IN SLOVENIAN ACCORDING TO PERMJAKOV'S DISTINCTION BETWEEN EXTENSION AND ADDITION

Abstract: The distinction between extension (Russian: *razvjortyvanie*), i.e. a type of prolongation in which the meaning of the expression is preserved, and addition (Russian: *dopolnenie*), in which the meaning of the expression necessarily changes, was briefly but clearly presented by Permjakov. We are convinced considering the difference between extension and addition is extremely useful for both the phraseological and paremiological theory, as it is inextricably linked to the question of whether prolongation is a variant of an expression (in the case of extension) or a new expression (as is with addition). In this article, we present pemiias and humorous phrasemes created by addition or extension and highlight the differences in genre between them. We also point out how the difference between extension and addition can be recognized from the examples of use and explanations of meaning listed in the Slovenian paremiological dictionary. Data on the degree of familiarity of pemiias among Slovenian speakers is given based on a survey which was conducted to determine the Slovenian paremiological minimum.

Keywords: prolongation, extension, addition, proverb, anti-proverb, wellerism

1. Introduction

1.1 Permjakov's distinction between extension and addition and other related concepts

In order to employ *extension* and *addition* as key concepts for a more in-depth understanding and description of changes and evolution of paremiological genres, a basic distinction among these terms is required. When first introducing the terms, paremiologist and folklorist Grigorij Permjakov (1970: 125) described the difference between extension and addition in terms of “text” because, according to his theory, proverbs are designated as “minimal textemes.” To clarify the distinction between extension and addition, he used both to illustrate a semantic relation between proverbs and anti-proverbs:

To avoid misunderstandings, we point out that the “extension” of the text should be distinguished from the seemingly similar “addition.” **“Addition” inevitably changes the meaning of the text** (cf. e.g. *The quieter you go, the further you’ll get ... from the place you are going to* or *A drunkard has the sea up to his knees ... and the puddle up to his neck*), while the original **meaning is completely retained in the “extension”**.¹ (Permjakov 1970: 125)

Addition can thus be considered one of the ways in which anti-proverbs are created, since an anti-proverb is defined as “any intentional proverb variation in the form of puns, alterations, deletions or additions” (Mieder and Litovkina 1999: 3).

The notions of extension and addition can be related to Mokienko’s (1980: 96–100) antinomy of *explicitness* and *implicitness* in phrasemes and paremias. Mokienko explains (1980: 96–97) that the relation between explicitness and implicitness is connected to the relation between stability and instability of a phraseological expression, since stability is manifested in the tendency to maintain the structural-semantic model of the initial paremiological expression, which is opposed by the tendency to decrease or increase the number of phraseological components.

¹ Translation to English and emphasis in the form of bolded text was made by the authors of the article.

Thus, increasing the number of phraseological components also enhances the explicitness of the phraseological expression, while reducing the number of components in the structure of the expression leads to an increase in its implicitness. The work *Slovak Phraseological Terminology* (Mlacek et al. 1995) lists five ways in which new phrasemes are formed: 1. from free word combinations, 2. from fixed word combinations of a non-phraseological nature (e.g. terms), 3. from already existing phrasemes and paremias, 4. with the occurrence of multiple (new) meanings or 5. with the formation of phrasemes based on analogy with another phraseme. Tendencies towards implicitness and explicitness are also determinative factors in the formation of new phrasemes from existing ones (Mlacek et al. 1995), which is important for our consideration of paremiological prolongation.

The formation of new phrasemes based on pre-existing phrasemes occurs in various ways, but most frequently the composition of phraseological components is modified by either lengthening or shortening, which are subject to the tendencies towards implicitness or explicitness. According to Permjakov (1988: 89), addition is often used to achieve meaning opposite to the *initial form*'s² meaning. Based on the examples provided in the above quote, Permjakov (1988: 89) also mentions addition in the context of the negative-communicative function of paremias. According to him, the meaning of this function is “to express something without actually communicating anything, to avoid an answer or to reject the interlocutor’s argument” (Permjakov 1988: 89). Permjakov attributes this function to *humorous answers*, also designated as *unconventional phraseological replies*, which have recently received attention both in Slovenian and Slovak paremiological research (Pallay and Meterc 2019). We will discuss unconventional phraseological replies below in the context of additions.

In the paremiological literature, we most frequently come across the analysis of additions in “anti-proverbs with a tail”

² We consider *initial paremiological form* a relational working term which helps us establish a clear structural relation between two paremias – an existing paremia, i.e. a well established one within a certain speech community, and a new paremia that has occurred with a change of the initial one. Extension and addition represent two ways of describing this change from the initial form to the new one.

(Litovkina 2007: 457). Reznikov (2012: 321–322) includes “extension of syntactic structure” among linguistic mechanisms for the formation of anti-proverbs, noting that it is usually “only a vehicle for other, more obvious means – lexical, phonetic, stylistic, etc.” He notes that there are also rare cases where syntax is the main method of forming an anti-proverb and gives an example of a Russian proverb (1) *V vine mudrost* [literally: In wine there is wisdom] and an anti-proverb (2) *V vine mudrost, v pive – sila, v vode – mikrobny* [literally: In wine there is wisdom, in beer – strength, in water – microbes]. He calls this prolongation “jocular extension,” and we must note that when analyzing anti-proverbs, it is understandable that the researcher does not need to look for a terminological expression for prolongations that preserve the message of the initial form. In his typology of Yorùbá postproverbials, Raji-Oyelade (2022: 45–46) describes Category IV, which “usually retains the entire sentence structure of the traditional or conventional proverb.” According to Raji-Oyelade (2022: 45), the transgressive act is “achieved in the form of an additional proverbeme to the original text.” He also describes this additional text as “an additament” and “an extension, prolongation, usually a deflation of the inherent idea of the main proverb” (2022: 45). To determine the difference between extension and addition, according to Permjakov, the issue of preserving the meaning of the initial form is crucial, which is why the following observation that: “the impression of the retort, a rebuttal, or negation of the conventional text is not far-fetched” (Raji-Oyelade 2022: 45) is particularly interesting.

Prolongations, which are additions from a semantic point of view, also form *wellerisms* (Mieder 2004: 15), as they “consist of a triadic structure: a statement (often a proverb), an identification of a speaker (a person or an animal), and a phrase that brings the statement into an unexpected situation.” Compared to anti-proverbs (or postproverbials), prolongation is, according to the definition, the only way to form a wellerism, as it is created by adding the circumstances or speaker and shifting the initial form to direct speech. Therefore, a humorous or parodic attitude is established towards the initial form (e.g. a proverb, but not necessarily) (Grzybek 1994: 287). The very possibility of a wellerism arising from different types of paremiological or

non-paremiological expressions reminds us that the concept of addition is an important way of creating new fixed expressions – not only in the context of the proverb as a central paremiological genre, but also more generally in paremiology and phraseology.

As it would not be prudent to limit the research of additions and extensions only to paremiology, it will be necessary to look for examples on a larger scale – also in pragmatic phraseology, where there are, e.g. extensions of *pragmatic phrasemes*, routine forms that we have defined with the working term “partial degrammatization” (Meterc 2016: 129) by emphasizing the humorous function, e.g. in the English informal greeting (3) *See you later, alligator*. Let us add that outside of paremiology and phraseology, the principle of creating new texts described by Permjakov’s concept of addition is a particular figure of speech called *paraprosdokian*, frequently used, for example, by comedians and aphorists.

1.2. Aims of the article

In the body of the article, we will present different types of initial paremiological forms in the Slovenian language, their literal translations to English, dictionary meanings, examples of use extracted from Slovenian corpora, and information about their familiarity where it is accessible. We will compare initial forms with prolonged forms on a semantic level, further determining whether they are formed by using extension or addition in relation to their initial form. Analysis of additions and extensions in relation to the initial forms of the selected Slovenian paremias will help us shed light and provide new research data on the following research topics:

1. The variety of paremiological genres and phraseological types in which prolongations can be analyzed, i.e. proverbs, sayings, anti-proverbs, wellerisms, pragmatic phrasemes, phraseological replies, and riddles.
2. The importance of noting the difference between occasional and fixed prolongations.
3. The difficulty of distinguishing between extension and addition in rare or obsolete forms with prolongations from paremiological collections.

4. The variety of paremiological genres that rely strongly on additions.

2. Examples of extensions and additions in Slovenian paremiology

As already shown in the article on the distinction between addition and extension in Slovenian paremiographic practice (Meterc 2022: 3), addition can also bring about a different change in the meaning of the initial form than mere parody, which is typical of anti-proverbs and wellerisms. For example, a proverb can be transformed into a new proverb. While addition to a proverb can lead to the creation of a new expression involving anti-proverbs and wellerisms but can also potentially lead to a new proverb, extension of a proverb should be considered in the context of a complex syntactic and lexical variant according to some phraseological theories (e.g. Mlacek 1984). According to Mlacek's typology (1984: 112), this applies particularly to fixed extensions; otherwise, they are regarded as occasional modifications. We will look at the examples of the initial paremiological forms (i.e. forms without addition or extension), which can be identified as proverbs, sayings, anti-proverbs, wellerisms, pragmatic phrases, phraseological replies, and riddles. We distinguish between a proverb and a *saying* on the basis of Mlacek's criteria (1983: 131). Proverbs are primarily characterized by a completeness of thought, while sayings typically exhibit a certain degree of openness. In addition, according to Mlacek (1983: 131; 1984: 127), proverbs convey a didactic message, whereas sayings do not.

In the paremiological analysis of the cases below, we provide a semantic explanation and an example of use from the *Dictionary of Proverbs and Similar Paremiological Expressions* (Meterc 2020) (hereafter referred to as the SPP dictionary) if the expression has already been published in the dictionary and is therefore available on the online dictionary portal Fran.si. In some cases, we also list lexical variants of expressions that have arisen through either extension or addition.

Some of the paremias analyzed in this article were included in an online survey to create the Slovenian paremiological minimum (Meterc 2016a; 2017), in which 918 paremias were pre-

sented to 527 respondents, who indicated their familiarity with each paremia by selecting one of the four options, confirming that: 1. they know and use the paremia, 2. they know it but do not use it, 3. they do not know it but understand it, 4. they do not know it and do not understand it. We present data on familiarity with paremias based on the survey results.

For some expressions that are obsolete or rare in modern use, we also provide information from the collection *Pregovori 1.1* (Babič et al. 2023). The collection comprises more than 36,000 data sets of proverbs and is designed as a language corpus (Babič 2022; Babič and Erjavec 2022).

2.1. Proverb and an addition – a new proverb

- (4) *Dober glas seže v deveto vas* [literally: A good word reaches the ninth village]
- (5) *Dober glas seže v deveto vas, slab pa še dlje* [literally: A good voice reaches the ninth village, but a bad one gets even further]

According to the SPP dictionary, the proverb expresses “that a positive evaluation of something is resounding.” According to the survey (Metcerc 2016a; 2017), the initial form’s level of familiarity is 97.8%. Four respondents mentioned a new proverb with the addition. The meaning of the proverb with an addition differs from the initial form, as can be seen in modern examples of usage, e.g.:

Another option is to follow the old rule that **a good voice reaches the ninth village**. If possible, ask acquaintances and friends who have hosted one of the masters in their homes about their satisfaction with their services.

The description of the places and the services offered must correspond to the actual circumstances and reflect the principle: “**A good voice reaches the ninth village, but a bad voice gets even further.**”

In the second example, a “principle” describes a negative situation in which the description of the offer does not match the actual conditions. Therefore, according to the SPP dictionary, the

proverb “expresses the conviction that a negative assessment of something can find even more resonance than a positive one.”

2.2. Proverb

- (6) *Vaja dela mojstra* [Practice makes perfect, literally: Practice makes master]

According to the SPP dictionary, the proverb “expresses that one must persist in an activity until one has perfected it; expresses an incentive to activity.” According to the survey (Meterc 2016a; 2017), the familiarity of the initial form is 97.9%. Three respondents mentioned a variant with an extension, which we will discuss in subsection 2.2.1.

2.2.1. Extension – a variant of a proverb

- (7) *Vaja dela mojstra, če mojster dela vajo* [literally: Practice makes master if the master practices]

This extension does not change the meaning of the proverb. Here is an example of use with the basic form and an example of use with this variant from the SPP dictionary:

After we had successfully passed the theory test, we practiced our driving skills on the practice course. We had the most problems driving between obstacles. But as **practice makes master**, we managed that as well.

The discipline of regular work, dealing with problems in the here and now, and completing tasks without procrastination strengthens the child’s belief that work bears fruit, or in other words, that **practice makes master if the master practices**.

Seven variants with this extension are listed in the SPP dictionary.

2.2.2. Addition – an anti-proverb with evidence of evolving into a new proverb

- (8) *Vaja dela vajenca, mojstra naredi mojstrovina* [literally: Practice makes an apprentice, a masterpiece makes the master]

The SPP dictionary gives two meanings for this anti-proverb with an addition and modified lexical structure of the initial form. These two meanings are that the anti-proverb: 1. “expresses a humorous comment on the belief that someone must persist in an activity until they have perfected it” and 2. “expresses that practice is not enough to fully master an activity, a skill, because it requires talent, a special performance.” The second meaning can be illustrated by the following example from the dictionary:

One day I'm going to make a movie based on the literary work *One Hundred Years of Solitude* as a kind of final swan song. And everything I'll do until then will probably be practice. **Practice makes an apprentice. A masterpiece makes a master.**

2.3. *Saying*

(9) *Oko za oko, zob za zob* [An eye for an eye, a tooth for a tooth]

This saying is of biblical origin and appears in several fixed phraseological expressions both in English and Slovenian. This legal principle is contained within several important Bible passages, for example in Exodus: “And if any mischief follows, then thou shalt give life for life, eye for eye, tooth for tooth, hand for hand, foot for foot, burning for burning, wound for wound, stripe for stripe.” (21:23–25; KJV)³ and in Deuteronomy “And thine eye shall not pity; but life shall go for life, eye for eye, tooth for tooth, hand for hand, foot for foot” (19:21; KJV).⁴ The only passage in the New Testament can be found in the Gospel of Matthew: “Ye have heard that it hath been said, an eye for an eye, and a tooth for a tooth (5:38; KJV).⁵ According to the SPP dictionary, the saying “expresses the demand that the punishment should be as severe as the crime; describes a situation in which someone behaves uncompromisingly, mercilessly, vindic-

³ Slovenian: “Če pa se nesreča pripeti, daj življenje za življenje, oko za oko, zob za zob, roko za roko, nogo za nogo, opeklino za opeklino, rano za rano, modrico za modrico!” (Mz 2,25-27; SSP3)

⁴ Slovenian: “Tvoje oko bódi brez usmiljenja: življenje za življenje, oko za oko, zob za zob, roka za roko, noga za nogo!” (Mz 4,21; SSP3)

⁵ Slovenian: “Slišali ste, da je bilo rečeno: Oko za oko in zob za zob.” (Mt 5,38; SSP3)

tively and responds to violence with violence.” According to the survey (Meterc 2016a, 2017), 97.2% of people are familiar with the saying.

2.3.1. Extensions – variants of a saying and numerous modifications that follow the proverbial formula

(10) *Oko za oko, zob za zob, glavo za glavo* [literally: An eye for an eye, a tooth for a tooth, a head for a head.]

This paremia is accompanied by two prolongations that function as fixed extensions in the Slovenian language: (10a) *glavo za glavo* [literally: a head for a head] and (10b) *kri za kri* [literally: blood for blood]. These extensions have taken on a life of their own. Therefore, there are variants that combine part of the initial form ((10c) An eye for an eye) with one or more extensions (for example, (10d) *Kri za kri, oko za oko* – literally: Blood for blood and an eye for an eye), variants with an independent extension (for example, (10e) *Glavo za glavo* – literally: A head for a head and (10f) *Zob za zob* – literally: A tooth for a tooth), and a combination of extensions (for example, (10g) *Zob za zob in glavo za glavo* – literally: A tooth for a tooth and a head for a head). Extension (10a) *glavo za glavo* [literally: a head for a head] even functions as an initial form for the new proverb we will describe in subsection 2.3.4.

The SPP dictionary contains 17 variants that combine the initial form (or part of it) with an extension, and four variants where the extension is present without the initial form *Oko za oko, zob za zob* (An eye for an eye, a tooth for a tooth). Occasional modifications occur in many paremias with extension. In some cases, we observe such a markedly large proportion of usage with lexical actualization that we are convinced these instances should receive special attention:

“*Oko za oko, zob za zob, noht za noht, slepič za slepič /.../*” [literally: An eye for an eye, a tooth for a tooth, a nail for a nail, an appendix for an appendix.]

“*Zob za zob in glavo za glavo. Zločin za zločin.*” [literally: A tooth for a tooth and a head for a head. A crime for a crime.]

These unfixed extensions retain the meaning of the *paremia*, as they follow the proverbial formula X for X of the initial form. They were identified when determining the frequency of the saying (9) *Oko za oko* (An eye for an eye) (Meterc 2017: 90). They do not change the meaning of the saying, and since they only occur once in the corpus, they are most likely not phraseologically fixed.

2.3.2. Addition – an anti-proverb that follows the proverbial formula

- (11) *Oko za oko, pasta za zobe* [literally: An eye for an eye, paste for the teeth]

The proverbial formula X for X is imitated and parodied in the addition (11) *Oko za oko, pasta za zobe* [literally: An eye for an eye, paste for the teeth]. This addition was formed due to the structural similarity between the proverb (9) *Oko za oko* and the Slovenian term for toothpaste, *pasta za zobe* [literally: paste for the teeth]. It uses the same preposition (*za* – “for”) and has the same number of components. The addition is completely absurd and is only connected to the initial form by its structure. Due to its parodic character, it can be classified as an anti-proverb.

A phrase with the same meaning and similar structure in Polish – (12) *pasta do zębów* (toothpaste, literally: paste for teeth) – was used during socialism as a humorous, parodic addition to the slogan (12) *Literaci do piór, studenci do nauki* [literally: Writers to pens, students to studies], resulting in: (13) *Literaci do piór, studenci do nauki, pasta do zębów* [literally: writers to pens, students to studies, paste for teeth] (Chlebda 2005: 69). Parodies of socialist slogans were very popular with people in the Eastern Bloc countries. Such parodic additions could also function as unconventional replies (Meterc and Pallay 2019), a type of intersubjective phrasemes according to Čermák’s typology (2007: 432–433), which appears for example in the Slovak language (the example is presented with speakers A and B marked): (14) A: *So Sovietskym zväzom na večné časy!* (Forever with the Soviet Union!) B: *Ale ani o minútu dlhšie!* (But not one minute longer!) (Meterc and Pallay 2019: 70).

2.3.3. Addition – a proverb (winged word)

- (15) *Oko za oko in svet bo oslepel* [An eye for an eye and the world will go blind]

In the collection Pregovori 1.1 we find the addition (15a) *Oko za oko nas vse naredi slepe* [literally: An eye for an eye makes us all blind], which is a winged word attributed to Mahatma Gandhi. O’Toole (2017: 124), who has studied this winged word, states that Gandhi “may have used the expression, but no conclusive evidence has yet been found.” In modern Slovenian usage, we find the forms (15b) *Oko za oko in svet bo oslepel* [literally: An eye for an eye and the world will go blind] and (15c) *Oko za oko in svet bo slep* [literally: An eye for an eye and the world will be blind]. Although this is a proverb that also occurs in Slovenian, it has not yet been included in the paremiological dictionary. It is an interesting case of a proverb originating from a saying (according to Mlacek’s criteria mentioned above).

2.3.4. Addition – a new proverb

- (16) *Glavo za glavo – najkrajše pravo* [literally: A head for a head – the quickest law]

In the aforementioned collection, Pregovori 1.1, we also find the expression that combines the extension (10a) *glavo za glavo*, [literally: a head for a head] functioning as a new initial form, with the addition (16a) *najkrajše pravo* [literally: the quickest law], meaning that the retribution for a certain offence, carried out in the same way and degree as the offence, will quickly take place. Thus, the offender should remain cautious. This proverb was notably interpreted by Slovenian legal historians Metod Dolenc (1936: 39) and Sergij Vilfan (1996: 124), who both identified the proverb’s connection with the so-called *lex talionis* and placed the proverb into relation with other proverbs that have evolved to reflect this law. Dolenc (1936: 39) claimed that the proverb was somehow connected with historical blood feuds, but his claim remains unsupported by historical data.

In the context of contemporary use among speakers of Slovenian, this proverb is rare. Only two examples of its use can be found in the language corpus metaFida.

2.4. Proverb – a variant of a proverb and an extension

- (17) *Prijatelja spoznaš v nesreči* [literally: You recognize a friend in misfortune]
 (18) *Zlato spoznaš v ognju, prijatelja v nesreči* [literally: You recognize gold in fire, a friend in misfortune]

There is a proverb in English that corresponds to this Slovenian proverb: (17a) *A friend in need is a friend indeed*. According to the survey (Meterc 2016a; 2017), 71% of people are familiar with the initial form (17) *Prijatelja spoznaš v nesreči* [literally: You recognize a friend in misfortune], but no respondent mentioned the variant with the extension.

In Pregovori 1.1, we find a prolongation: (18) *Zlato spoznaš v ognju, prijatelja v nesreči* [literally: You recognize gold in fire, a friend in misfortune]. The interesting thing about this extension is that it comes at the beginning of the proverb. We have not found any examples of this extension in modern Slovenian texts in the metaFida language corpus. From its structure, we conclude that it preserves the message of the initial form. In the same collection, we have also identified the forms (18a) *Prijateljstvo preizkusiš v nesreči, zlato v ognju* [literally: You test friendship in misfortune, gold in fire] and (18b) *Prijatelja spoznaš v nadlogi, zlato pa v ognju* [literally: You recognize a friend in misfortune, gold in fire]. In Pregovori 1.1, we also discovered the expression (19) *Kovino se spozna v ognju, človeka pri vinu* [literally: One gets to know metal in fire, a man through wine], which is another proverb following the same proverbial formula. We assume that none of these three forms occur in modern Slovenian, as there are no examples of usage in the metaFida corpus.

2.5. Proverb and an extension – a variant of a proverb

- (20) *Vsak izgovor je dober* [Any excuse is good]
 (21) *Vsak izgovor je dober, pa če ga pes na repu prinese* [literally: Any excuse is good, even if the dog brings it on its tail]

According to the SPP dictionary, the proverb “expresses that it is not difficult to find an excuse to justify something problematic, controversial; describes a situation in which someone’s excuse is

bad.” In the survey (Meterc 2016a; 2017), 527 respondents were shown the form without extension: 69.6% of people are familiar with the initial form, and six respondents named different proverb variants with such an extension. The meaning of the proverb does not change, as can be seen from the following dictionary examples of usage:

Have you heard statements like: “I just look at the food and I’m already full,” “Every bite of food is noticeable on my body,” and “If I go without food, what else will I have left in life?” **Any excuse is good ...**

Our ancestors used to say: “**Any excuse is good, even if the dog brings it on its tail.**” The excuse that you are going to clean up the construction industry with such measures is utter nonsense!

This extension exists in modern usage in different variants and includes not only a dog’s tail but also a cat’s and a cow’s. The SPP dictionary lists 13 different variants containing this extension.

2.6. Proverb and an addition – a wellerism

(22) *Vsak ima svoj okus* [literally: Everyone has their own taste]

(23) *Vsak ima svoj okus, je rekla opica, ko je drek jedla* [literally: Everyone has their own taste, said the monkey while eating shit]

This proverb “expresses that there is a subjective criterion for taste; expresses that people have different tastes, interests, ways of acting” (SPP dictionary). According to the survey (Meterc 2016a; 2017), 83% of people are familiar with the initial form. A wellerism formed from this proverb was not mentioned by any of the respondents – its use was confirmed with language corpora.

Wellerism expresses “a humorous comment on the belief that there is a subjective criterion for taste; expresses that people have different tastes, interests, behaviors.” The parody of the proverb’s message in this wellerism is also evident from the example in the SPP dictionary:

Why should you buy a watch for 4,000 euros, a car for 70,000 euros, a rucksack for 500 euros ...? Some people like it, they enjoy it and can afford it. After all, **everyone has their own taste, said the monkey while eating shit ...**

In Pregovori 1.1, we discovered a wellerism with the same part of the initial form and a similar addition: (24) *Vsak ima svoj okus, je rekel hudič in sedel v koprive* [literally: Everyone has their own taste, said the devil and sat down in nettles]. The message of a proverb is no longer applicable to a person if it is expressed in an extreme way (nettles, shit) and articulated by a speaker ascribed traditionally negative qualities (devil, monkey).

2.7. *Saying and an addition – a wellerism*

(25) *Volk sit in koza cela* [literally: The wolf is full and the goat is whole]

(26) *Jaz sit in koza cela, je rekel volk, ko je žrl pastirja* [literally: I am full and the goat is whole said the wolf as he devoured the shepherd]

According to the SPP dictionary, this saying “describes a situation in which both parties are satisfied with a compromise solution even though they have opposing, irreconcilable interests.” According to the survey (Meterc 2016a; 2017), 94.5% of people are familiar with the initial form. The addition was not mentioned by the respondents.

The wellerism was found in Pregovori 1.1, but its use in the modern Slovenian language has not yet been confirmed. It is formed by a partial deconstruction of the initial form and the inclusion of one of its lexical components in the addition. The wellerism introduces a double reversal compared to the initial form, since: 1. the position of the speaker changes, meaning they are no longer a human but an animal, and 2. the speaker, a wolf, typically depicted in the proverb as the antagonist of men and sheep, now takes on a new role. This shift leads to a reorganization of relationships. In order to strike a balance between the wolf’s hunger and the sheep’s life, the wolf is depicted in the wellerism as the one who devours the shepherd. This upsets the

expectations created by the conventional situation expressed in the sayings of a man or “shepherd”.

2.8. Pragmatic phraseme and an addition – a wellerism

(27) *Bomo videli* [We will see]

(28) *Bomo videli, so rekli slepi* [literally: We will see, said the blind]

This pragmatic phraseme conveys a cautious attitude that something is yet to be seen, something has not yet been decided, and it is clear that it is too early to judge. This phraseme is very common in modern Slovenian (there are more than 40,000 examples of usage in the metaFida language corpus), and it is probably known to a majority of Slovenian speakers, though we do not have exact data on its familiarity.

The wellerism is present in the modern Slovenian language and was also included in the SPP dictionary with the explanation that it is a “humorous comment on the reserved position that something will turn out, that something is not yet decided, it is clear that it is too early to judge.” Unfortunately, this wellerism was not included in the online survey, so we have no information about its popularity among Slovenian speakers. It is probably the best known and most common wellerism in the Slovenian language today. In the metaFida 1.0 corpus, we found more than 20 examples of the use of the basic form as well as variants. For example, (28a) *Bomo videli, je rekel slepec* [literally: We will see, said the blind man]. Among the variants listed in the SPP dictionary, there is also an example with a longer addition: (28b) *Bomo videli, je rekel slepi gluhemu* [literally: We will see, said the blind man to the deaf man]. Similar and even longer additions can be found in the *Dictionary of American Wellerisms* with the initial form (29) *I see*, for example (30) *I see, said the blind man to his deaf dog as they stepped off a cliff* (Mieder and Kingsbury 1994: 113–117). An even longer addition, continuing the contrasting pattern of associating human disabilities with impracticable deeds, was found in the 19th-century collection of Russian proverbs by the linguist and folklorist Vladimir Ivanovich Dal’ (30) *Uvidim, skazal slepoj, uslyshim, popravil glukhoj, a pokojnik, na stole ljozha, pribavil: do vsego dozhivjom* [literally: We

will see, said the blind man, we will hear, corrected the deaf man, and the dead man, who was lying on the table, added: we will live to it].

Let us mention an interesting example of the use of addition to a similar wellerism in the function of the phraseological reply cited by Norrick (1984: 197): (31) A: *I see*. B: ... *said the blind man as he picked up his hammer and saw*. We also confirmed the use of another wellerism as an intersubjective phraseme with the help of an online survey when one of the respondents wrote down the following form: (32) A: *Stvar okusa*. [literally: It is a matter of taste.] B: *Je rekel tisti, ki je žajfo jedel*. [literally: Said the one who ate soap]. This wellerism is structurally similar to the expression we listed in section 2.6. An example of the intersubjective use of the wellerism can already be found in Charles Dickens' *The Posthumous Papers of the Pickwick Club*, which Mlacek (1986: 164) points out, noting that the wellerism retains its semantics despite this change. We quote this wellerism in its original context: (33) "*Not a bad notion that, Sam,*" said Mr. Bob Sawyer approvingly. "*Just wot the young nobleman said ev'ry quarter-day arterwards for the rest of his life,*" replied Mr. Weller. (Dickens 1837: 540). Wellerisms are therefore not only a bridge between core paremiology and longer narratives but also between what Čermák (2007: 432–433) calls monosubjective phrasemes and intersubjective phrasemes (including unconventional phraseological replies) according to his typology. It would be good to consider in the future whether some types of phraseological replies function similarly to additions, as many of them establish a bond to their stimulus by (deliberately) misunderstanding it (Meterc and Pallay 2019: 168).

2.9. Pragmatic phraseme and an addition – a new pragmatic phraseme

(34) *Na zdravje* [Cheers, literally: To health]

(35) *Na zdravje, srce kravje* [literally: To health, heart of a cow]

The phrase (34) *Na zdravje* is the most common and neutral way of expressing good wishes before drinking in Slovenian. The prolongation of this phrase with "srce kravje" (heart of a cow) is

based on a rhyme between the Slovenian noun *zdravje* (health) and the adjective *kravje* (cow's). The expression (35) *Na zdravje, srce kravje* still functions as a wish before drinking, but the said function gives way to humor, which takes center stage, and politeness gives way to provocation as *kravje* can be associated with a plethora of Slovenian expressions, containing references to cattle with prevailing negative connotations.

The result of such an addition belongs to the phenomenon that is described with the working term “partial de pragmatization” (Meterc 2016: 129). This process results in a typologically different phraseme from its initial form, which takes on a humorous function, e.g. in the English informal greeting (3) *See you later, alligator*. Norrick notes that:

Some leave-taking formulas provide funny responses to serious formulas, as in: Be good – but if you can't be good, be careful, and Take it easy – yeah, but take it. In addition, we can notice a tendency toward pairing in leave-taking formulas, as parting speakers vie for the final word, e.g. See you later, alligator – After a while, crocodile. (Norrick 2007: 304)

The “tendency toward pairing in leave-taking formulas” emphasized by Norrick is also related to the question of the boundary between monosubjective and intersubjective phrasemes, which we have addressed in several places in this article.

2.10. *Phraseological reply and an extension – a variant of a phraseological reply*

(36) *Lahko noč*. [Good night]

(36a) *Pa eno bolho za pomoč – če te pa piči, pa mene poklič*
[literally: And a flea for help – but if it bites you, call me]

The phrase (36) *Lahko noč* is the most common and neutral way of expressing good wishes before going to bed in Slovenian. In use, we have confirmed an extension of this phrase with the addition (37a) *Lahko noč pa eno bolho za pomoč* [literally: *Good night and a flea for help*], such as the humorous addition (35) we described in section 2.9, as well as the use of the same form *pa eno bolho za pomoč* in the phraseological reply function uttered

by person B in examples (37) and (37b). The examples below show responses from respondents in an online survey conducted in 2022, with letters A and B designate the first and second speakers, respectively:

(37)

A: *Lahko noč*. [Good night]

B: *Pa eno bolho za pomoč. Če te pa pič, pa mene poklič*.
[literally: And a flea for help, but if it bites you, call me];

(37a)

A: *Lahko noč pa eno bolho za pomoč*. [literally: Good night and a flea for help]

B: *Če te pa pič, pa mene poklič*. [literally: But if it bites you, call me];

(37b)

A: *Lahko noč*. [Good night]

B: *Pa eno bolho za pomoč*. [literally: And a flea for help]

A: *Če te pa pič, me pa poklič*. [literally: But if it bites you, call me].

In the Slovenian, Slovak and Polish material (Meterc and Pallay 2019: 166), several examples of chain replies were found in which person A, confronted with the unconventional reply, continues the conversation with another reply. This is also the case in example (37b), in which the form *Če te pa pič, me pa poklič* [literally: But if it bites you, call me] is used as person A's reply, which in the first two examples of use functions as person B's reply (37a) or as an extension of a person B's reply (37).

The phraseological reply (36) *Pa eno bolho za pomoč* [literally: And a flea for help] is very well known among Slovenian speakers: 1533 respondents took part in an online survey and 88% of them stated that they know it, of which 56% stated that they also use it. The respondents also named 25 variants of this reply, all but one of which have different extensions. The meaning and function of the phraseological reply are preserved by the prolongation. Since replies are by definition deliberately inappropriate, humorous and even absurd, responses to the target statement (a stimulus) of the first person (Meterc, Pallay 2019: 166), employ prolongation, which is also inappropriate, and can only be classified as an extension and not as an addition. The

variant with the extension (37) *Pa eno bolho za pomoč – če te pa piči, pa mene poklič* [literally: And a flea for help – but if it bites you, call me] was mentioned by several respondents. Respondents mentioned a few more forms with other extensions – these were either a combination of the above extension (37) with an additional extension, as in example (38), or a completely different extension, for example (39):

(38)

A: *Lahko noč*. [Good night]

B: *Pa eno bolho za pomoč, če te pa pič, pa mene poklič, če te pa komar, mi ni pa nič mar*. [literally: And a flea for help – but if it bites you, call me, if it is however, a mosquito, I do not care];

(39)

A: *Lahko noč*. [Good night]

B: *Lahko noč, pa eno bolho za pomoč, te bo grizla celo noč*. [literally: Good night and a flea for help, it will bite you all night long].

We have already touched on the issue of transitions between monosubjective and intersubjective phrasemes in this article, so in the following, we will give some more information about the situation in two other Slavic languages that are interesting from this point of view. A phraseological reply with the same motivation as the initial form, a phraseological reply (with *fleas*) for a stimulus with the same meaning (*Good night*) also exists in Slovak (40) and Polish (41):

(40)

A: *Dobrá noc*. [Good night]

B: *Všetky blchy na pomoc*. [literally: All the fleas for help];

(41)

A: *Dobranoc*. [Good night]

B: *Pchły na noc, karaluchy do poduchy a szczyprawki do nogawki*. [literally: Fleas for the night, cockroaches in the pillow and pincher bugs in the leg of the trousers].

We would like to highlight that the phraseological reply (40) in Slovak has been documented in the paremiological collection by Adolf Peter Zátarecký (1896: 265–268). This collection stands out as the most extensive source from the 19th century, encom-

passing over a hundred phraseological replies. As of now, we have not confirmed any extension of this particular phraseological reply in modern Slovak. In a survey conducted by Leskovar Jereb (2022: 46) among 691 Polish speakers, we also have precise data on the way the reply (41) and its extensions are used: 95% of respondents know the reply and 51% of all respondents also use it. This is very similar to the familiarity and usage of the Slovenian expression mentioned above. Obviously, as we have found to some extent in Slovenian as well as in Polish, some speakers know the whole form as a phraseological reply (41), some know a part of this form as an addition to the expression *Dobranoc* (Good night), while the remaining parts of this form function as a phraseological reply (41a), others know a chain of replies between speakers A and B consisting of two (41b) or three (41c) parts. In an online survey (Leskovar Jereb 2022: 76), the following distribution of usage was found:

(41)

A: *Dobranoc*.

B: *Pchły na noc, karaluchy do poduchy a szczypawki do nogawki*. – 15 %;

(41a)

A: *Dobranoc. Pchły na noc*.

B: *Karaluchy do poduchy a szczypawki do nogawki*. – 14%;

(41b)

A: *Dobranoc*.

B: *Pchły na noc*.

A: *Karaluchy do poduchy a szczypawki do nogawki*. – 6%;

(41c)

A: *Dobranoc*.

B: *Pchły na noc*.

A: *Karaluchy do poduchy*.

B: *A szczypawki do nogawki*. – 12%.

As many as 43% of Polish respondents stated that they knew another extension of this phraseological reply, and 10% that they did not know the extension.

The variability of phraseological replies is particularly strong – both in terms of their lexical structure and in terms of which speaker pronounces what. We suspect that this is because phraseological replies are a type of expression that is strongly tied to the spoken language, but only occasionally occurs in the written language, so standardization, as with many paremiological genres including proverbs, which are disseminated through the media and reach very large groups of people at once, could not occur.

2.11. Riddle and an extension – a variant of the riddle

- (42) *Poleti te hladim, pozimi te gorkim?* – *Drevo* [literally: I provide cool in summer and warmth in winter – A tree.]
- (43) *Spomladi te veselim, poleti te hladim, jeseni te živim, pozimi te gorkim?* – *Drevo*. [literally: In spring, I make you happy; in summer, I cool you; in autumn, I live you; in winter, I warm you. – A tree.]

The last category in this analysis represents a text genre that extends beyond the borders of traditional paremiology. Nonetheless, it serves as an intriguing starting point for researching folklore communication and everyday verbal practices, making it one of the central traditional genres in folklore: riddles. From the point of view of phraseology, they belong to intersubjective phrasemes (Čermák 2007: 432–433).

In most examined cases in the monograph on Slovenian riddles and the Slovenian riddles database (Babič, Voolaid, Muhi 2018; Babič 2021), we observed that if a change in the structure of the riddle takes place, it is possible that it functions as an extension added to the riddle question by the questioners. Due to the lack of frequency and more detailed data on the use of riddles in everyday life, we cannot provide comprehensive information on other possible functions aside from offering additional information for the guesser and assisting them in narrowing down the selection of possible solutions to the riddle. At the same time, this hinders us from drawing conclusions regarding whether the structure is incomplete in certain cases, attested in a shorter form due to truncated oral transmission, or if the initial form has genuinely expanded, acquiring additional information.

Another example corresponding to the mechanism of the riddles in (42) and (43) is provided by the following example that may function as an extension:

(44)

V vodi živi, riba ni; po zraku leti, ptica ni. – Vodna kapljica. [literally: It thrives in water, yet it's not a fish; it glides through the air, but it's not a bird. – A water droplet.]

(45)

V vodi živi, riba ni; po zraku leti, ptica ni; pod zemljo rije, krt ni. – Vodna kapljica. [literally: It thrives in the water, yet it's not a fish; it glides through the air, but it's not a bird; it burrows beneath the earth, yet it's not a mole. – A water droplet.]

The abundant Slovenian folklore material that contains riddles has been thoroughly revised, but the question whether a transformation of the initial riddle form and its function is possible with an addition remains. At least hypothetically, we can think of additions at the level of the questioner, i.e. the riddler, who asks the questions, but what do riddles with addition represent, as opposed to extension? The latter adds new elements to the initial question to narrow down the set of potential solutions and help the guesser with the challenge at hand, but addition may be perceived quite differently. A successful addition would involve presenting two questions sequentially, where the answer to the first question is designed to mislead – the questioner employs a trick to suggest an incorrect solution to the initial question, a solution known only to them. Despite being perceived as an extension by the guesser, the questioner retains the option to specify the correct solution by posing an additional sub-question if they desire a different answer. While this hypothetical type of riddle lacks attestation in the Slovenian material, its structure is systematically illustrated by examples of riddle with multiple solutions, approachable through various sub-questions. If the questioner deems the sub-question unsuitable for revealing the correct 'solution,' they can effectively change it into addition.

3. Conclusion

With additions, the creation of a new expression can either preserve or change the genre characteristics. For example, the genre features are preserved when a new proverb is created, as shown in sections 2.1. and 2.2. The newly created expression may possess typological features that differ from the ones in the initial form. To summarize, we have encountered and confirmed the following typological transformations in the substantially represented Slovenian paremiological material:

- from proverb to anti-proverb;
- from saying to proverb;
- from proverb to wellerism;
- from saying to wellerism;
- from a pragmatic phraseme to wellerism;
- from a pragmatic phraseme to a “partially degrammatized” or humoristic phraseme.

In the analysis, we examined how additions lead to “a shift between genres” (Mlacek 2009: 141), which, according to Mlacek (2009: 141), is a characteristic trait of postmodernism in paremiology, phraseology, and also more broadly. According to Koziół Chrzanowska (2014: 49), the processes of “contratalking,” which were already present in the language, have recently evolved from occasional examples to a dominant communication strategy. Similar processes, which are not limited to additions, are characteristic of a wider range of phraseological types and extend to other areas and texts, such as film titles and parts of popular songs (Chlebda 2005: 69; Mlacek 2009: 141; Koziół Chrzanowska 2014: 49). On this basis, new terms such as “anti-slogan” (Koziół Chrzanowska 2014: 49) and broader terms such as “antiparemia” (Mlacek 2009: 140), “antitext” (Chlebda 2005: 69; Koziół Chrzanowska 2014: 49) and “antiphraseme” (Meterc 2022a: 148) have been proposed. However, it is crucial to investigate whether a concrete text that results from prolongation is phraseologically fixed or not. In this article, we have deliberately focused mainly on examples of expressions that are fixed in the Slovenian language, although we have addressed the aspect of productivity in section 2.4 using the proverbial formulas of initial paremiological forms.

In the future, it will be necessary to find more examples in Slovenian and other languages that cover a wider range of paremiological genres and types of phrasemes, both in the role of initial forms and in the role of new paremiological forms that arise through addition. As we have shown in the examples in sections 2.3.2, 2.7, and 2.9, the additions of monosubjective phrasemes and *paremias* have much in common with some types of phraseological replies, and they can even function in both ways – either in the role of addition or in the role of phraseological reply. This connection should also be explored in more detail in the future.

This article was prepared under the research programs P6-0038 and P6-0088 and the project J6-2579, with co-funding provided by the Slovenian Research and Innovation Agency (ARIS).

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