

# **Paremiology, folkloristics and digital humanities: new perspectives and methods**

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7.9.–9.9.2023**



**TRADICIONALNE PAREMILOŠKE  
ENOTE V DIALOGU S SODOBNO RABO**

## **Paremiology, folkloristics and digital humanities: new perspectives and methods**

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ENOTE V DIALOGU S SODOBNO PABO

*Paremiologija, folkloristika in digitalna humanistika:  
novi pogledi in metode*

***Mednarodna konferenca***

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**PROGRAM IN POVZETKI**  
.....

7.–9. september 2023, Ljubljana, Slovenija

*Paremiology, folkloristics and digital humanities:  
new perspectives and methods*

***International Conference***

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**PROGRAMME AND ABSTRACTS**  
.....

September 7–9 2023, Ljubljana, Slovenia

Ljubljana, 2023



Založba ZRC

## PROGRAM / PROGRAMME

Četrtek / Thursday, 7.9.2023

- |             |   |
|-------------|---|
| 8.45–9.00   | Registracija / Registration   |
| 9.00–9.30   | Otvoritev / Opening   |
| 9.30–10.30  | Plenarno predavanje / Plenary lecture 1: <b>Tomaž Erjavec</b> : An analysis of the digital collection of Slovenian paremiological units “Pregovori” |
| 10.30–10.45 | Odmor / Coffee break  |
| 10.45–11.15 | <b>Outi Lauhakangas</b> : Typologies and digital databases of proverbs as research tools  |
| 11.15–11.45 | <b>Nikola Bakarić, Davor Nikolić</b> : Computational analysis of Croatian proverbs’ phonostylistic features   |
| 11.45–12.15 | <b>Nataša Jakop</b> : Proverbs about wealth and poverty on social media: Usage and Functions  |
| 12.15–14.00 | Kosilo / Lunch  |
| 14.00–15.00 | Plenarno predavanje / Plenary lecture 2: <b>Ajda Pretnar</b> : The raw, the wild and the ugly: data in digital folkloristics                        |
| 15.00–15.15 | Odmor / Coffee break  |
| 15.15–15.45 | <b>Dan Podjed</b> : The ethnographer’s digital suicide  |
| 15.45–16.15 | <b>Saša Poljak Istenič</b> : Symbolic life of bees: A reflexive ethnological exploration  |
| 16.15–16.45 | <b>Marjeta Pisk, Andrej Tomazin</b> : Music folklore studies in the digital age?  |

### *Petek / Friday, 8.9.2023*

- 9.00–10.00 Plenarno predavanje / Plenary lecture 3: **Piret Voolaid**: Over 25 years of digital folkloristics in Estonia: Exploring opportunities and challenges
- 10.00–10.15 Odmor / Coffee break
- 10.15–10.45 **Rok Mrvič**: Contextualizing the decontextualized: Folklorist's challenges to a paremiological corpus use
- 10.45–11.15 **Matej Meterc**: Twenty of the best-known Slovenian proverbs and similar paremiological expressions: data in the SPP paremiological dictionary and the Proverbs collection
- 11.15–11.45 **Katarina Šrmpf Vendramin**: Clothes in proverbs: between symbol and meaning
- 11.45–12.15 **Vanja Huzjan**: Ethnological analysis of the marker "child" in the collection of Slovenian proverb at Clarin.si
- 12.15–14.00 Kosilo / Lunch
- 14.00–14.30 **Barbara Ivančič Kutin**: Genre categorisation, characteristics and peculiarities of paremiological material documented in Bovec
- 14.30–15.00 **Monika Krojež Telban**: Fox in Slovenian proverbs and sayings
- 15.00–15.30 **Katalin Vargha**: "What is red, what is scarlet?" Colours in Hungarian riddles
- 15.30–16.00 **Saša Babič**: The naked truth for a good ending: End in Slovenian paremiological units

### *Sobota / Saturday, 9.9.2023*

Excursion: Mythic Park, Rodik (<https://mitski-park.eu/rodik-2/>)

## POVZETKI / ABSTRACTS

**Tomaž Erjavec**, Jožef Stefan Institute, Department of Knowledge Technologies, Slovenia, tomaz.erjavec@ijs.si

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### **An analysis of the digital collection of Slovenian paremiological units “Pregovori”**

The talk presents a quantitative and qualitative analysis of the Pregovori 1.0 dataset, the first large open source collection of Slovenian paremiological units. The mark-up of the collection is introduced and quantified, e.g. the length of the proverbs and the most common content words used. The use of the proverbs is investigated given the number of attestations in the largest corpus of Slovenian, metaFida, using the noSketch Engine concordancer. We also discuss the current shortcomings of the collection, which can help in better informed research on the basis if the collection and give directions for further work.

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### **Analiza digitalne zbirke slovenskih paremioloških enot »Pregovori«**

V predavanju je predstavljena kvantitativna in kvalitativna analiza podatkovne zbirke Pregovori 1.0, prve velike odprtokodne zbirke slovenskih paremioloških enot. Predstavljena in kvantificirana je zaznamovanost zbirke, npr. dolžina pregovorov in najpogosteje uporabljene vsebinske besede. Z uporabo konkordančnika noSketch Engine je raziskana raba pregovorov glede na število pričevanj v največjem korpusu slovenskega jezika, metaFida. Obravnavamo tudi trenutne pomanjkljivosti zbirke, ki lahko pripomorejo k bolj premišljenemu raziskovanju na njeni podlagi, in podajamo usmeritve za nadaljnje delo.

**Outi Lauhakangas**, independent researcher, Finland, outi.lauhakangas@sci.fi

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### **Typologies and digital databases of proverbs as research tools**

The author of this presentation has had an opportunity to help in saving and bringing into use a large database of proverbs and their literal sources. Professor of folkloristics in Helsinki University, Matti Kuusi (1914-1998) wanted to test his ideas of an international typology of proverbs. The idea was to create a flexible system of proverb types with a versatile typology based on different meanings in different cultures accumulated to these items of tradition. Alternative interpretations of proverbs connected to their changing forms and additions in relation to typologies should be discussed. It has been difficult to find ways to create such cross references between proverb types in the typology that would help their interpretation. The variety of changing contexts of proverb use is a challenge for any flexible digital network of proverb interpretations.

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### **Tipologije in digitalne zbirke podatkov pregovorov kot raziskovalno orodje**

Avtorica te predstavitve je imela priložnost pomagati pri reševanju in uporabi obsežne podatkovne zbirke pregovorov in njihovih pisnih virov. Profesor folkloristike na Univerzi v Helsinkih, Matti Kuusi (1914–1998), je želel preizkusiti svoje zamisli o mednarodni tipologiji pregovorov. Zamisel je bila ustvariti prilagodljiv sistem tipov pregovorov z vsestransko tipologijo, temelječo na različnih pomenih, ki so se v različnih kulturah nakopičili v teh predmetih izročila. Obravnavati bi bilo treba alternativne razlage pregovorov, povezane z njihovimi spreminjajočimi se oblikami in dopolnitvami v povezavi s tipologijami. Težko je bilo najti načine za oblikovanje takšnih navzkrižnih povezav med tipi pregovorov v tipologiji, ki bi pripomogle k njihovi razlagi. Raznolikost spreminjajočih se kontekstov uporabe pregovorov je izziv za vsako prožno digitalno mrežo interpretacij pregovorov.

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**Davor Nikolić**, Faculty of Humanities and Social Sciences, University of Zagreb,  
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### **Computational analysis of Croatian proverbs' phonostylistic features**

Proverbs continue to be a relevant rhetorical tool and have been a focus of research from numerous perspectives. The main feature of a proverb is its message and the wisdom it imparts, but its phrasing is only slightly less important. We would like to offer a different view into the stylistic and formulaic structure of proverbs by using computational and statistical methods on a corpus of Croatian proverbs. The paper will explore the phonostylistic features of Croatian proverbs through the analysis of their syllable and n-gram structure on a corpus level. The approach aims to determine to which extent are sound patterns in Croatian proverbs a defining feature of the genre and how do they differ from other similar rhetorical genres or short forms such as tongue-twisters, counting-out rhymes, curses and blessings.

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### **Računalniška analiza fonostilističnih značilnosti hrvaških pregovorov**

Pregovori so še vedno pomembno retorično orodje in so predmet raziskav s številnih vidikov. Glavna značilnost pregovora je njegovo sporočilo in modrost, ki jo posreduje, le nekoliko manj pomembna pa je njegova frazemska oblika. Z uporabo računalniških in statističnih metod na korpusu hrvaških pregovorov želimo ponuditi drugačen pogled na slogovno in formulacijsko strukturo pregovorov. V prispevku bomo raziskali fonostilistične značilnosti hrvaških pregovorov z analizo njihove zlogovne in n-gramske strukture na ravni korpusa. Cilj pristopa je ugotoviti, v kolikšni meri so zvočni vzorci v hrvaških pregovorih opredeljujoča značilnost žanra in kako se razlikujejo od drugih podobnih retoričnih žanrov ali kratkih oblik, kot so izštevanke, rime za štetje, kletvice in blagoslovi.



**Nataša Jakop**, ZRC SAZU, Fran Ramovš Institute of the Slovenian language, Slovenia, [natasa.jakop@zrc-sazu.si](mailto:natasa.jakop@zrc-sazu.si)

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### **Proverbs about wealth and poverty on social media: Usage and functions**

Proverbs, as a genre of folklore and bearers of intangible cultural heritage, find frequent use across various types of social media platforms. From a historical perspective, they enshrine the wisdom and beliefs of previous generations. However, from a synchronic perspective, the use of proverbs also reflects how their content and messages are perceived and valued in modern society. This research focuses on the analysis of proverbs that pertain to the semantic field of economy: wealth and poverty.

Our study is based on a corpus of 2051 proverbs and their variants, derived from the Proverbs 1.0 collection available on the Clarin repository ([clarin.si](http://clarin.si)). The parameters considered in the corpus-based linguistic analysis include the nature and characteristics of social media, the profiles of social network users (including gender distribution), the frequency of use, familiarity with proverbs, and their pragmatic functions within the social media context.

The findings reveal that Slovenian general dictionaries encompass a smaller number of proverbs in comparison to the extensive usage of proverbs observed on social networks. Notably, the frequency of their usage is particularly pronounced within social media, where they manifest in diverse types of social networks, often appearing as comments on online news articles. Both female and male users employ proverbs in texts predominantly characterized by negative sentiment. Their deliberate use in social media is subject to modifications that reflect current socially relevant changes.

The results contribute to a deeper comprehension of the underlying and universal motives for employing proverbs within the realm of social media.

## **Pregovori o bogastvu in revščini na družbenih omrežjih: raba in funkcije**

Pregovori kot folklorna zvrst in nosilec nesnovne kulturne dediščine se pogosto uporabljajo na različnih družbenih omrežjih. Z zgodovinskega vidika vsebujejo modrosti in prepričanja prejšnjih generacij, medtem ko s sinhronega vidika raba pregovorov odraža tudi to, kako se njihova vsebina in sporočila dojemajo in vrednotijo v sodobni družbi. Raziskava se osredotoča na analizo pregovorov, ki se nanašajo na pomensko polje ekonomije: bogastvo in revščina.

Študija temelji na korpusu 2051 pregovorov in njihovih različic iz zbirke Pregovori 1.0, ki je dostopna na repozitoriju Clarin ([clarin.si](http://clarin.si)). Parametri, upoštevani v korpusnojezikoslovni analizi, vključujejo naravo in značilnosti družbenih omrežij in njihovih uporabnikov (vključno s porazdelitvijo po spolu), pogostnost uporabe, poznavanje pregovorov in izkazovanje njihovih pragmatičnih funkcij v kontekstu družbenih omrežij.

Ugotovitve kažejo, da slovenski splošni slovarji obsegajo manjše število pregovorov v primerjavi s široko uporabo pregovorov, ki jo opažamo na družbenih omrežjih. Predvsem je pogostnost njihove rabe še posebej izrazita v besedilih družbenih omrežij, kjer se manifestirajo v različnih vrstah družbenih omrežij, pogosto pa se pojavljajo kot komentarji na spletne novice. Uporabniki družbenih omrežij uporabljajo pregovore v besedilih, ki jih zaznamuje pretežno negativno čustvo. Njihova namerna in zavestna raba na družbenih omrežjih se izraža tudi prek modifikacij, ki odražajo trenutne družbeno relevantne spremembe.

Rezultati analize prispevajo h globljemu razumevanju osnovnih in univerzalnih motivov za rabo pregovorov na družbenih omrežjih.

**Ajda Pretnar**, Institute of contemporary history, Slovenia, [ajda.pretnar@inz.si](mailto:ajda.pretnar@inz.si)

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### **The raw, the wild and the ugly: Data in digital folkloristics**

The paper presents the digital data cycle in folkloristics and the advantages and shortcomings of different digitisation approaches. The main focus is on transcription tools and speech-to-text (STT) models for speech and optical character recognition (OCR) technology for printed texts. The paper presents an alternative to digitising research data: finding the data 'in the wild', i. e. online, an idea which spurred digital folkloristics.

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### **Surovi, divji in grdi: podatki v digitalni folkloristiki**

Prispevek predstavlja cikel digitalnih podatkov v folkloristiki ter prednosti in slabosti različnih pristopov k digitalizaciji. Glavni poudarek je na transkripcijskih orodjih in modelih za pretvorbo govora v besedilo (STT) pri tehnologijah prepoznavanja govora in optičnega prepoznavanja znakov (OCR) v tiskanih besedilih. Prispevek predstavlja alternativo digitalizaciji raziskovalnih podatkov – iskanje podatkov »v naravi«, tj. na spletu, idejo, ki je spodbudila digitalno folkloristiko.

**Dan Podjed**, ZRC SAZU, Institute of Slovenian ethnology, Slovenia,  
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### **The ethnographer's digital suicide**

The most important informal rule of ethnographic research, at least since Bronisław Malinowski, is to "be there," that is, to be present in the community under study. The problem that ethnographers have always faced in the field is "going native," when the researcher becomes fully immersed in the community, thus no longer being able to maintain a critical distance. This paper addresses this issue in the online environment, describing an example of long-term observation of what is happening in the online social networks. As the author explains, the observation had increasingly turned into participation, and at the same time the researcher himself had changed not only on the digital platform, but also in the physical space. When he decided to delete his Twitter profile, he found that the process was more difficult than it first seemed. In the article, he presents what the preparations for the "digital suicide" looked like, how the community reacted in the online network and beyond, and what were the long-term consequences of the self-termination of the digital persona.

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### **Etnografov digitalni samomor**

Ključno neformalno pravilo antropološkega raziskovanja je vsaj od Bronisława Malinowskega dalje »biti tam«, torej biti prisoten v preučevani skupnosti. Problem, s katerim se od nekdaj srečujejo etnografi na terenu, pa je »podomačenje« (angl. *going native*), ko raziskovalka ali raziskovalec v celoti postane del raziskovane skupnosti, zaradi česar ne more več ohranjati kritične distance. Ta prispevek se posveča temu problemu pri raziskovanju v spletnem okolju in opiše primer dolgoletnega opazovanja dogajanja na omrežjih, ki se je vedno bolj preobražalo v sodelovanje, hkrati pa se je spreminjal raziskovalec sam, in to ne le na digitalni platformi, temveč tudi v fizičnem prostoru. Ko je zaradi problemov s podomačenjem sklenil, da ukine svoj profil na omrežju Twitter, je ugotovil, da je postopek težavnejši, kot je bilo sprva videti. V prispevku predstavi, kakšne so bile priprave na »digitalni samomor«, kako je ob tem reagirala skupnost na spletnem omrežju in onkraj njega ter kakšne so dolgoročne posledice samoukinitve digitalne persone.

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## **Symbolic life of bees: A reflexive ethnological exploration**

When Slovenia celebrated the 25<sup>th</sup> anniversary of its independence, the Government Communication Office set up a website featuring symbolic icons shaping Slovenian identity. Two out of 21 symbols concerned a bee – beekeeping and beehive panels. So what's up with bees in Slovenia that the media continuously uses as metaphors for Slovenliness?

The answer lies in the history of beekeeping in Slovenian-speaking lands as well as in the popularity of the practice, which resulted in its inscription on Unesco's Representative list of the intangible cultural heritage of humanity. The bees have had an important role in education, economy, innovation, tourism, and culture, while the Slovenes understand beekeeping as a way of life. However, bees have gained new meanings in the last twenty years, symbolizing a green and healthy environment.

The paper pursues two aims: first, to study the role of bees in Slovenian culture through time and explore their changing symbolic meaning, and second, to reflect on different methodologies of such a study, ranging from folklore research to ethnography while also exploring the potentials of digital humanities.

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## **Simbolno življenje čebel: refleksivna etnološka raziskava**

Ko je Slovenija praznovala 25. obletnico samostojnosti, je Urad vlade za komuniciranje pripravil spletno stran s simbolnimi ikonami, ki oblikujejo slovensko identiteto. Dva od 21 simbolov sta se nanašala na čebelo – čebelarstvo in panjske plošče. Kaj je torej s čebelami v Sloveniji, ki jih mediji nenehno uporabljajo kot metafore slovenstva?

Odgovor se skriva v zgodovini čebelarstva v slovensko govorečih deželah in v priljubljenosti te prakse, zaradi katere je bila uvrščena na Unescov reprezentativni seznam nesnovne kulturne dediščine človeštva. Čebele so imele pomembno vlogo v izobraževanju, gospodarstvu, inovacijah, turizmu in kulturi, Slovenci pa čebelarstvo razumemo kot način življenja. V zadnjih

dvajsetih letih pa so čebele dobile nove pomene, saj simbolizirajo zeleno in zdravo okolje.

Članek sledi dvema ciljema: prvič, preučiti vlogo čebel v slovenski kulturi skozi čas in raziskati njihov spreminjajoči se simbolni pomen, in drugič, razmisliti o različnih metodologijah takšne študije, od folklorističnih raziskav do etnografije, hkrati pa raziskati potenciale digitalne humanistike.

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### **Music folklore studies in the digital age?**

In the long disciplinary history of music folklore studies, collecting and archiving “folk” songs, music and dances has been part of the fundamental methodological apparatus. The technical possibilities of collecting have changed radically over time, which has also challenged the archiving of the material, and with the demand to make the collected material more and more available to the general public, new dilemmas have arisen. In this paper, we will present the challenges and dilemmas we face in linking the extensive audio, video, and photographic materials from the Institute of Ethnomusicology’s archive ZRC SAZU and in designing online platforms to make these materials accessible. In addition to the technological issues, we will also consider how to ensure appropriate contextualization of metadata and contextual meaning of the accessible material that may be lacking when placed online and therefore lead to misinterpretation of the material. We will address the ethical and legal dilemmas that arise in publishing fieldwork material due to changes in legislation and in the ethnographic research process itself. The third issue that will be addressed is accessibility itself, not only to the public but also to the closest collaborators. Not only the creation, but also the use of databases in research work requires some technical expertise. A meaningful solution therefore requires skilful navigation between time, cost, collective knowledge, and user experience.

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### **Glasbena folkloristika v digitalni dobi?**

V dolgi disciplinarni zgodovini glasbene folkloristike sta bila zbiranje in arhiviranje »ljudskih« pesmi, glasbe in plesov del temeljnega metodološkega aparata. Tehnične možnosti zbiranja so se skozi čas korenito spremenile, to pa je postavilo pred izziv tudi arhiviranje gradiva, nove dileme pa so se pojavile z zahtevami po vedno večjem odpiranju zbranega gradiva najširši javnosti. V prispevku bova tako prikazala izzive in dileme, s katerimi se srečujemo pri povezovanju obsežnih baz avdio, video in fotografskega gradiva

iz Arhiva Glasbenonarodopisnega inštituta ZRC SAZU in oblikovanju spletnih platform, ki bodo omogočale njihovo dostopnost. Poleg samih tehnoloških vprašanj se bova dotaknila tudi premislekov, kako zagotoviti ustrezno meta-podatkovno kontekstualizacijo in vsebinsko povednost dostopnega gradiva, ki ob postavitvi na splet lahko umanjka in je zato gradivo lahko napačno interpretirano. Dotaknila se bova etičnih in pravnih dilem, ki nastajajo ob javnih objavah terenskega gradiva, zaradi sprememb v zakonodaji in samih postopkih etnografskega raziskovanja. Tretje zastavljeno vprašanje bo dostopnost sama, ne zgolj javnosti, temveč tudi najožjim sodelavcem. Ne zgolj priprava, temveč tudi uporaba baz podatkov v raziskovalnem delu zahteva določeno tehnično znanje. Uporabna rešitev tako zahteva spretno krmarjenje med časom, stroški, kolektivnim znanjem in uporabniško izkušnjo.



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## **Over 25 years of digital folkloristics in Estonia: Exploring opportunities and challenges**

Large-scale digitisation and compilation of digital databases of archived folklore material was started in Estonia in the late 1990s. An important milestone on the path of the Estonian Literary Museum becoming fully digitised was reached in 1995, when the server (named *Haldjas*, or ‘fairy’, ‘guardian spirit’ in Estonian) was set up by the folk belief research group at the Institute of Estonian Language, later Department of Folkloristics of the Estonian Literary Museum, in Tartu. Estonian folklorist Mare Kõiva was the person largely responsible for the digital turn in Estonian folkloristics. Since the late 1990s, Estonian folklorists have created a number of genre-based digital databases of folklore materials, among them the databases of Estonian folk tales and legends, riddles, proverbs, sayings, local heritage, folk calendar, songs, graffiti, etc. A more systematic study of minor genres of folklore began in Estonia in the 1960s, when the paremiology research group started preparing for the academic edition of Baltic-Finnic proverbs, leading to its publication in 1980-1988. With the advent of the digital era in the second half of the 1990s, the focus shifted to the digitisation of minor genres of folklore and compilation of databases of the digitised material, to ensure the availability of data for research purposes and to apply digital data analysis in presenting research results.

In this paper, I aim to present various databases of minor genres of folklore, which serve as representative examples of language usage at the times of their collection. I examine the evolvement of language through the ancient dialectical material and archaisms to the typical abbreviation jokes and other political-ideological remnants of the Soviet era. Also, genres characteristic of their time (e.g., riddles) and the resurgence of earlier genres within new (sociocultural) contexts will be explored.

## **Več kot 25 let digitalne folkloristike v Estoniji: Raziskovanje priložnosti in izzivov**

V Estoniji so konec 90-ih let prejšnjega stoletja začeli z obsežno digitalizacijo in sestavljanjem digitalnih podatkovnih zbirk arhivskega folklornega gradiva. Pomemben mejnik na poti popolne digitalizacije Estonskega literarnega muzeja je bil dosežen leta 1995, ko je raziskovalna skupina za ljudska verovanja na Inštitutu za estonski jezik, pozneje Oddelku za folkloristiko Estonskega literarnega muzeja, v Tartuju vzpostavila strežnik (poimenovan Haldjas ali »vila«, »duh varuh« v estonščini). Za digitalni preobrat v estonski folkloristiki je zaslužna predvsem estonska folkloristka Mare Kõiva. Od konca devetdesetih let 20. stoletja so estonski folkloristi ustvarili številne žanrske digitalne zbirke folklornega gradiva, med njimi zbirke estonskih ljudskih pravlji in legend, ugank, pregovorov, povedk, lokalne dediščine, ljudskega koledarja, pesmi, grafitov itd. Bolj sistematično preučevanje krajših folklornih žanrov se je v Estoniji začelo v 60-ih letih 20. stoletja, ko je raziskovalna skupina paremiologov začela pripravljati akademsko izdajo baltsko-finskih pregovorov, ki je izhajala v letih 1980–1988. S prihodom digitalne dobe v drugi polovici 90-ih let 20. stoletja se je pozornost preusmerila na digitalizacijo folklornih obrazcev in pripravo podatkovnih zbirk digitaliziranega gradiva, da bi zagotovili razpoložljivost podatkov za raziskovalne namene in uporabili digitalno analizo podatkov pri predstavitvi rezultatov raziskav.

V prispevku bom predstavila različne baze podatkov krajših folklornih zvrsti, ki služijo kot reprezentativni primeri jezikovne rabe v času njihovega zbiranja ter preučujem razvoj jezika prek starodavnega narečnega gradiva in arhaizmov do značilnih okrajšanih šal in drugih politično-ideoloških ostankov sovjetske dobe. Prav tako so raziskani žanri, značilni za njihov čas (npr. uganke) in ponovna oživitev prejšnjih žanrov v novih (družbeno-kulturnih) kontekstih.

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### **Contextualizing the decontextualized: Folklorist's challenges to a paremiological corpus use**

The paper presents the results of a multi-level folkloristic interpretation of the selected paremiological material in the Slovenian corpus of proverbs (*Pregovori*). The corpus material has been divided thematically into proverbs that relate to the broader cultural practise area of establishing verbal bonds. These proverbs are most representative of texts most commonly referred to as *oaths, promises, vows* and other short folklore genres with the same function. We were interested in what information about verbal bond practises can be obtained from the paremiological material in the corpus and whether these findings are consistent with the results of contemporary folklore research.

We started with a selection of semantic components relevant to the study of contexts of verbal bond formation and related ritual practises including their structural elements. The relevance of each component was determined based on data from available primary sources and the results of the author's undergoing field research. In addition, we established semantic fields that include, among others: Names for speech organs (e.g. *mouth, tongue*), names for different types of verbal bonds (e.g. *promise, vow, covenant*) and names for different types of punishments that befall the bond breaker (e.g. *death, mutilation*). A basic set of proverbs was created from the *Pregovori* corpus by linking them to the identified semantic components. The proverbs were then categorised according to their content and subjected to test interpretation: 1) at the level of the corpus source through a critical analysis of the proverb source within the broader cultural-historical context; 2) at the level of the lexical components, with references to linguistic material within and outside the corpus; 3) at the level of the folklore system, where it was possible to take into account different semiotic processes as reflected in short folklore genres, to identify intertextual connections and to integrate the meaning and function of non-verbal signs. Based on the tested approach to paremiological material that requires additional and continuous contextualisation, we will define the relevance of linguistic corpora for contemporary folklore research.

## Kontekstualizirati dekontekstualizirano: folkloristični izzivi uporabe paremiološkega korpusa

Prispevek prinaša rezultate folkloristične interpretacije izbranega paremiološkega gradiva v korpusu *Pregovori*. Korpusno gradivo smo tematsko zamejili na pregovore, povezane s sklepanjem besednih zavez, h katerim kot najbolj reprezentativne tekste prištevamo *(za)prisege*, *(za)obljube*, *zakletve* ter druge kratke folklorne obrazce z enako funkcijo. Zanimalo nas je, katere podatke o kulturnih praksah sklepanja besednih zavez lahko pridobimo iz paremiološkega gradiva v korpusu in ali se te ugotovitve ujemajo z izsledki sodobnih folklorističnih raziskav.

Uvodoma smo pripravili izbor semantičnih sestavin, relevantnih za preučevanje kontekstov ustvarjanja besednih zavez ter z njimi povezanih ritualnih praks in njihovih strukturnih elementov. O relevantnosti posameznih sestavin smo presojali na podlagi podatkov iz dostopnih primarnih virov in izsledkov avtorjeve aktualne terenske raziskave. Nadalje smo oblikovali semantična polja, ki so med drugim obsegala: poimenovanja za govornika, s katerimi je izrečena besedna zaveza (npr. *usta*, *jezik*); poimenovanja za različne vrste besednih zavez (npr. *obljuba*, *zaveza*, *beseda*); poimenovanja za različne vrste kazni, ki doleti prelomnika zaveze (npr. *smrt*, *pohabljenje*). Sledilo je oblikovanje izhodiščnega nabora pregovorov iz korpusa *Pregovori*, v katerih je bilo mogoče prepoznati povezavo z izbranimi semantičnimi sestavinami. Pregovore smo nato kategorizirali po vsebini in jih poskusno interpretirali na več ravneh: 1) na ravni korpusnega vira s kritično analizo vira pregovora v širšem kulturnozgodovinskem kontekstu; 2) na ravni leksikalnih sestavin pregovora z referencami na zunaj- in znotrajkorpusno gradivo; 3) na ravni folklornega sistema, na kateri je bilo mogoče upoštevati različne semiotične procese, kot se odražajo v kratkih folklornih žanrih, prepoznati intertekstualne povezave in vključiti pomen in funkcijo neverbalnih znakov. Na podlagi preizkušenega pristopa k paremiološkemu gradivu, ki zahteva dodatno in nenehno kontekstualizacijo, bomo opredelili pomen jezikovnih korpusov za sodobne folkloristične raziskave.

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## **Twenty of the best-known Slovenian proverbs and similar paremiological expressions: data in the SPP paremiological dictionary and the Proverbs collection**

The list of the top three hundred most familiar paremias among Slovene speakers - the paremiological minimum - was first presented in 2014, when it was created on a sample of 316 respondents, and in this paper we present an updated status of the top of the minimum, taking into account the responses of 527 speakers. We compare the dictionary data from the Dictionary of Proverbs and Similar Paremiological Expressions (SPP) on the 20 most well-known proverbs and similar paremiological expressions with the data that can be retrieved from the paremiological collection *Pregovori* (Proverbs). We are interested in the frequency of occurrences of each expression listed in the collection and the diversity of forms in the collection in relation to the main dictionary forms and variants of the same expressions that have made their way into the SPP. To determine the main dictionary forms and variants of the paremias in the SPP, we use the 34 corpora of modern Slovene available in the Corpus of combined Slovenian corpora metaFida 1.0, the results of surveys, and some additional sources.

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## **Dvajset najbolj poznanih slovenskih pregovorov in sorodnih paremioloških izrazov: podatki v paremiološkem slovarju SPP in zbirki *Pregovori***

Seznam tristotih med govorcji slovenščine najbolj poznanih paremij – paremiološki minimum – je bil prvič predstavljen leta 2014, ko je nastal na vzorcu 316 anketirancev, v prispevku pa predstavljamo aktualizirano stanje vrha minimuma ob upoštevanju odgovorov 527 govorcev. Slovarske podatke iz *Slovarja pregovorov in sorodnih paremioloških izrazov* (SPP) bomo primerjali s podatki, ki jih o 20 najbolj poznanih pregovorih in sorodnih paremioloških izrazih lahko pridobimo iz paremiološke zbirke *Pregovori*. Zanimali nas bosta predvsem številčnost pojavitev posameznega izraza s seznama v zbirki ter oblikovna pestrost v zbirki v razmerju do glavne slovarske oblike in variant istih izrazov, ki so se prebile v SPP. Za določanje osnovnih slovarskih oblik in variant paremij v SPP uporabljamo 34 jezikovnih korpusov sodobne slovenščine, ki so na voljo v združenem korpusu metaFida 1.0, rezultate anket in nekatere dodatne vire.

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### **Clothes in proverbs: Between symbol and meaning**

Short folklore forms are a genre of everyday speech: they capture material or content from everyday life, not only from the world of objects and existence, but also from values and understandings of the world. Clothes are an indispensable part of our everyday life, they are such an important part of our existence that they also have great economic significance, which is why the appearance of different items of clothing can also be traced in folklore forms. In most proverbs, the various items of clothing have a metaphorical meaning which coexists with a wider field of meaning. This paper presents an overview of the clothing items in the Collection of Paremiological Units of the Institute of Slovenian Ethnography of the Slovenian Academy of Sciences and their connection with symbolic meanings. Through analysis and interpretation, the specific cultural horizon of living in the past will be covered, which will also reveal social and cultural stereotypes, images and concepts in relation to the economic image of society.

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### **Oblačila v pregovorih: med simbolom in pomenom**

Folklorni obrazci so žanr vsakdanjega govora: snov oz. vsebino zajemajo iz vsakdanjika, ne le iz predmetnega sveta in bivanja, temveč tudi vrednote in razumevanja sveta. Oblačila so nepogrešljiv del našega vsakdanjika, so tako pomemben del našega bivanja, da imajo tudi velik gospodarski pomen, zato je pojavljanje različnih oblačilnih kosov sledljivo tudi v folklornih obrazcih. Različni oblačilni kosi imajo v pregovorih v večini metaforičen pomen, ki soizgrajuje širše pomensko polje. V prispevku bo predstavljen pregled oblačilnih kosov v Zbirki paremioloških enot Inštituta za slovensko narodopisje ZRC SAZU in njihova povezanost s simbolnimi pomeni. Preko analize in interpretacije pa bo zajeto tudi specifično kulturno obzorje bivanja v preteklosti, kar bo odstrlo tudi družbene in kulturne stereotipe, podobe in koncepte v povezavi z gospodarsko podobo družbe.

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### **Ethnological analysis of the marker “child” in the collection of Slovenian proverb at Clarin.si**

In this article I present an ethnological analysis of the marker “child” in Slovenian proverbs in order to research the socialisation of children in Slovenia over the past centuries. I examined my study on the collection of proverbs in the research repository Clarin.si, which brings together records from the 18th century to the present day from all regions of Slovenia. For centuries, peasants were the majority population in Slovenia and did not know childhood as we understand it today. Independence and the ability of family members to work were highly valued. Young children were dependent and unable to work, which put them in a socially inferior position. They only gained value through physical strength and experience when they were able to earn their own food. Because of the historically high mortality rate of young children, they were a risky but worthwhile investment for parents later in life, when they were no longer able to care for themselves.

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### **Etnološka analiza označenca »otrok« v zbirki slovenskih pregovorov na Clarin.si**

V prispevku predstavim etnološko analizo označenca »otrok« v slovenskih pregovorih, da bi raziskala socializacijo otrok v preteklih stoletjih na Slovenskem. Za gradivo je služila zbirka pregovorov na raziskovalnem repozitoriju Clarin.si, ki združuje zapise od 18. stoletja do danes iz vseh slovenskih pokrajin. Kmetje so bili več stoletij večinsko prebivalstvo na Slovenskem in niso poznali otroštva, kakor ga razumemo danes. Visoko vrednoteni sta bili samostojnost in delazmožnost družinskih članov. Majhni otroci pa so bili odvisni in nesposobni za delo, kar jih je potiskalo v družbeno manjvreden položaj. Vrednost so dobili šele s telesno močjo in izkušnjami, ko so si lahko sami prislužili hrano. Zaradi tedaj visoke stopnje smrtnosti majhnih otrok, so bili tvegana, a koristna naložba za poznejšo starost staršev, ko ti več niso zmogli poskrbeti zase.

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### **Genre categorisation, characteristics and peculiarities of paremiological material documented in Bovec**

The collection of paremiological material from Bovec has been built up since the mid-1990s, mainly through online transcriptions from spoken discourse and the extraction of units from folklore narratives and other folklore texts collected during fieldwork. The working version of the collection comprises approximately 1000 items. The material is genre-rich and varied, including proverbs, references, comparative folklore forms, velerisms, riddles, unconventional answers, greetings, curses, insults, blessings, toasts, etc. A smaller number of examples have been included in the illustrative material of individual passwords in the Dictionary of Bovec Speech. Except for the examples involving local (micro)toponyms and local anthroponyms, the material has not yet been genre-categorised or classified and analysed. The paper will provide a comprehensive statistical and metadata overview of the collection, as well as a content and linguistic-structural analysis of the material by genre. This will include a special emphasis on the locale-specific features reflected from the dialectal language at different linguistic levels, as well as other linguocultural elements related to the pragmatic use and context in which the paremiological units under consideration are used in the local spoken discourse.

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### **Žanrska kategorizacija, značilnosti in posebnosti paremiološkega gradiva, dokumentiranega na Bovškem**

Zbirka paremiološkega gradiva z Bovškega nastaja od srede 90. let 20. stoletja, in sicer največ s sprotnim zapisovanjem iz govornega diskurza ter izpisovanjem enot iz folklornih pripovedi in drugih folklornih besedil, nabranih med terenskim delom. Delovna različica zbirke obsega približno tisoč enot. Gradivo je žanrsko pestro in raznoliko, saj vključuje pregovore, napotila, primerjalne folklorne obrazce, velerizme, uganke, nekonvencionalne odgovore, pozdrave, kletvice, psovke, zmerljivke, blagoslove, zdravice ipd. Manjši delež primerov je bil uvrščen v razdelke ilustrativnega gradiva posamičnih gesel v Slovarju bovškega govora. Razen primerov, ki vključujejo lokalne (mikro) toponime in lokalne antroponime, gradivo še ni bilo žanrsko kategorizirano



oz. klasificirano in analizirano. V prispevku bo pripravljen celosten statistični in metapodatkovni pregled zbirke ter vsebinska in jezikovno-strukturna analiza gradiva po posameznih žanrih. Pri tem bodo posebej izpostavljene lokalnospecifične posebnosti, ki se odražajo iz narečnega jezika na različnih jezikovnih ravneh, ter drugi lingvokulturološki elementi, ki se nanašajo na pragmatično rabo in kontekst, v katerem se obravnavane paremiološke enote uporabljajo v lokalnem govorjenem diskurzu.

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### **The fox in Slovenian proverbs and sayings**

There are 103 proverbs about the fox collected in the electronic database of Slovenian paremiological units Proverbs 1.0 on Clarin.si. They often talk about the fox as a trickster, but also about different experiences with the fox that people had in the field.

In this presentation I will discuss the proverbs about the fox related to animal tales and fables. These narratives are mostly spread internationally, however, this is not only a reflection of the creativity in Slovenia, but its character was also shaped under the influence of foreign literature and art. As for the proverbs, they are not so international, because they do not express only criticism of social and ethical conditions, but also the experience of everyday life dealing with this predatory animal. Discussed will be Slovenian proverbs related to six international folktale types.

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### **Lisica v slovenskih pregovorih in frazemih**

V elektronski bazi slovenskih paremioloških enot Pregovori 1.0 na Clarin.si so zbrani 103 pregovori o lisici. Pogosto govorijo o zvijačnosti lisice, vendar pa tudi o različnih izkušnjah, ki so jih doživeli ljudje z lisico v vsakdanjem življenju.

V prispevku bom predstavila pregovore, ki so povezani z nekaterimi živalskimi pravljicami in basnimi o lisici, ki so mednarodno razširjene in niso le odsev ustvarjalnosti v slovenskem etničnem prostoru, pač pa so nastajali pod vplivom tuje literature in umetnosti.

Vendar pa pregovori niso tako mednarodni, kajti preko lika lisice niso izražali le kritiko družbenih ter etičnih razmer, ampak tudi izkušnje, ki so jih imeli ljudje s to pogosto plenilsko živaljo v vsakdanjem življenju. Obravnavani bodo pregovori, povezani s šestimi mednarodnimi pravljicnimi tipi.

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### **“What is red, what is scarlet?” Colours in Hungarian riddles**

This paper addresses the use and function of colours in Hungarian riddles. The analysis is based on a representative corpus of ca. 15000 riddle texts from all subgenres (descriptive riddles, conundrums, wisdom questions, narrative riddles etc.), recorded between the 1850s and the 1950s. This allows for a detailed examination of the following questions: what colour terms can be found in riddles, and how does this change across subgenres and time periods? In what context are colour terms used in the different subgenres, and how firmly is the choice of colours connected to a specific cultural background?

While the paper focuses on Hungarian riddles, recently published articles on colours in Estonian and Slovenian riddles allow also for some comparative remarks. The benefits of using both digital methods and close reading in the analysis are also to be touched upon in the presentation.

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### **»Kaj je rdeča, kaj je škrlatna?« Barve v madžarskih ugankah**

Prispevek obravnava uporabo in funkcijo barv v madžarskih ugankah. Analiza temelji na reprezentativnem korpusu približno 15.000 besedil ugank vseh podžanrov (prave uganke, šaljiva vprašanja, modra vprašanja, pripovedne uganke itd.), zapisanih med 1850 in 1950. Obravnavana bodo naslednja vprašanja: katere barvne izraze lahko najdemo v ugankah in kako se to spreminja med podžanri in časovnimi obdobji? V kakšnem kontekstu se barvni izrazi uporabljajo v različnih podžanrih in kako trdno je izbira barv povezana z določenim kulturnim ozadjem?

Čeprav se članek osredinja na madžarske uganke, je mogoče v nedavno objavljenih člankih o barvah v estonskih in slovenskih ugankah podati tudi nekaj primerjalnih pripomb. V predstavitvi se bomo dotaknili tudi prednosti uporabe digitalnih metod in natančnega branja pri analizi.

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### **The naked truth for a good ending: end in Slovenian paremiological units**

The end represents one of the limits in our culture, it is one of the fatal limits. The end is the turning point and one of the most consistent and powerful concepts. Language is one of the most important carriers of this concept, mainly because it is intangible and linked to experiences and rituals. Language, especially in short folklore forms, preserves the concept and stereotypes associated with the end. Using an ethnolinguistic approach and semiotics, we can look more closely at the deeper structures and meanings of the concepts and social stereotypes. Using an ethnolinguistic approach and semiotics, we can tap into deeper structures and meanings, and even trace social stereotypes. This paper presents paremias from the collection Proverbs in repository Clarin.si, that contain the word 'end', their semantic layers, and semiotic aspects of the discussed proverbs as a whole.

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### **Za dober konec gola resnica: konec v slovenskih paremioloških enotah**

Konec je en od mejnikov v naši kulturi, ena od usodnih mej. Konec je prelomnica in eden najbolj stalnih in močnih konceptov. Jezik je eden najpomembnejših nosilcev tega koncepta, še posebej zato, ker je nematerialen in povezan z izkušnjami in obredi. Jezik, zlasti oblikovan v folklornih obrazcih, hrani koncept in stereotipe, povezane s koncem. Z etnolingvističnim pristopom in s pomočjo semiotike lahko dostopamo do globljih struktur in pomenov, lahko celo sledimo družbenim stereotipom. V prispevku bodo predstavljene paremiološke enote iz zbirke Pregovori na repozitoriju Clarin.si, ki vsebujejo besedo 'konec', njihove semantične plasti ter semiotični vidiki obravnavanih pregovorov kot celote.









TRADICIONALNE PAREMILOŠKE  
ENOTE V DIALOGU S SODOBNO RABO