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Name-Calling in Slovenia: 'We' and the 'Others'

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Tekst jest udostępniony do wykorzystania w ramach dozwolonego użytku.
Introduction

This article exclusively deals with name-calling in Slovenia in reference to a common (grammatical) subject with an ethnic field of meaning. It is based on folklore forms and poetry or prose genres, for which literary folklore has yet to determine an accurate set of names. It is therefore not yet possible to say whether a homonymous relationship exists between the individual terms for name-calling (opravljivke, porogljivke, posmehljivke or posmehulje, šaljivke, zabavljice, zafrkljivke, zbadljivke), or whether they indicate an internal genre differentiation. Further reflection is particularly required on the question whether name-calling can be considered as a special genre or would it be more appropriate to refer to it as an ethnologic perspective, which appears in different genre forms: in comparative sayings, maxims, proverbs, riddles, poems, and tales. Examples:
a) Nicknames: Jew! Gypsy! Gorenjec!

b) Comparative saying: He’s as dumb as the fellow from Šehrelje, who killed a cow with an auger and dragged a bull up the rocks to pasture.¹

c) Proverb: If you carry a Primorec across a meadow in a basket, he’ll still manage to do some damage.²

d) Riddle: — Why do they prune vines in Savinja? Because they’re afraid that the vines will grow across into Carinthia and then they won’t be able to sell their wine there.³

d) Tale: A woman from Tolmin is on her way home carrying a heavy basket on her back and is picked up by a carter. As they are driving down to Želin, the carter turns to the woman and says: “Why don’t you take that basket of your back?” “I don’t believe this” she says. “Are you really so kind that you will drive the basket as well?”⁴

Psychology discerns between “autostereotypes”, which refer to one’s own group, and “heterostereotypes”, which describe other groups in much less flattering terms compared to autostereotypes. “Neighbours are always competitors. And every competitor is given, at least in one’s wishes and words, worse marks, so that he will lose the competition and that it will be won by those who give the marks. That is the whole and simple psychology involved in a heterostereotype.” Unlike Milko Matičetov⁵, Anton Trstenjak was convinced that autostereotypes and heterostereotypes cannot be used as a measure to judge the “character psychology” of individuals or areas. This kind of stereotypes rather belongs to the chapter on the “psychology of ethnic prejudices.”. Stereotypes are real “explosives which spread to all layers of culture and at the ‘right’ moment are transformed into a psychological ‘rationale’, actually an irrational force, which turns one nation against another”, because “prejudices have a remote origin in experiences or in the memory of experiences.”⁶

I. Slovene autostereotypes

The Slovenes generally imagine themselves to be gloomy and melancholic, a mood that in art is best reflected by poetry. Humour has, however, been pre-

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³No data on the informant, Literary Folklore Archive, Marija Stanonik, Archives of the ISE, SRC, SASA. (Institute of Slovene Ethnology, Scientific Research Centre, Slovene Academy of Sciences and Arts.) no. 610.
⁴Lidija Kleindienst, Bam knapa vzela, bam zmeraj veselá (Glasovi 11), Ljubljana 1995, 41.
sent in Slovene literature since the Baroque sermons of Janez Svetokriški, in the works of the pioneer of Slovene drama, Anton Tomaž Linhart, in Prešeren’s poetry and with Levstik “humour even achieved fundamental literary and programmatic dimensions”. According to Matjaž Kmecl, modern literature would not have survived without humour. The stereotype conviction that the Slovenes have no sense of humour is, among others, empirically refuted by the “humorous” chapters in the thirty-one volumes of the Glasovi collection.⁷

Anton Trstenjak established a surprising principle: heterostereotypes and autostereotypes are identical, the only difference between them is the negative or positive connotation attached to them.

II. Slovene provincial stereotypes

Do the Slovenes really differ from other nations in that they are embarrassed when they mock the “others”? Some of the name-calling is often associated with different lifestyles of our ancestors and their orientation towards mutual understanding. This aspect involves the scarcely researched field of social psychology on the origin of name-calling at the level of everyday life, which is closer to the ethnological starting-point.⁸

1. Autostereotypes

a) In Carniola (central Slovenia), people consider themselves to be strong characters, single-minded and tenacious.

b) In Primorska, people deem themselves to be amiable and helpful, “adaptable” and therefore “capable”.

c) In Koroška, people think of themselves as men of a “deep soul”, who are gentle and have a noble nature. Their song "Gor čez izarot" is their verbalised “coat-of-arms”.

d) In Štajerska, the inhabitants see themselves as hospitable and sociable, but also as candid and as people, who are so talkative that they cannot hide any secrets.

e) In Prekmurje, the locals consider themselves to be polite and obliging.⁹

2. Heterostereotypes

a) To the inhabitants of Primorska, Koroška and Štajerska, those from central Slovenia are felt to be reserved, inflexible and cold.

⁷Glasovi is a collection of Slovene folktales. The thirty-one volumes published to date contain about 10,000 Slovene folktales and similar stories.
⁹Anton Trstenjak, O slovenski duši, Koledar Družbe sv. Mohorja v Celovcu 1987, 72, 73.
b) To the people from Central Slovenia those from Primorska are too chatty, one cannot trust their word, because they are interested only in appearances; they are characterless dandies, who cannot be trusted.

c) The people from Koroška are held to be too soft, characterless sissies.

d) The people from Štajerska are amiable, but hypocritical; when they are at their friendliest, that’s when you can trust them the least.10

e) The people from Prekmurje are considered to be too servile in their relations with others.11

But this certainly is not the right way to establish a “uniform, indisputable character image of the Slovenes”. Such and similar characterisations lead to one-sided generalisations and exaggerations. And this is one of the most frequently occurring logical mistakes in man’s reflections, committed by individuals as well as societies.12

III. Slovene local stereotypes

1. Local heterostereotypes based on geographical location

Man is certainly influenced by the geographical dimensions that surround him. Even on a small scale differences in details tend to appear. In Radenci and Turjanci, the inhabitants of the Mura Plain are referred to as Dolanci (plainspeople); in the Ščavnica Valley “beyond the forest”, they are called Polanci (“fielders”).13 The southern dialect of the plain is spoken between Murska Sobota and Lendava and differs from the other dialects; those who speak it are jokingly called Dólinci (plainspeople) or Marki by their neighbours.14

Avče is a village at the foot of a hill that keeps it in the shadow for most of the day, and its inhabitants are therefore called shadowers.15 “Struggling with nature and the soil, my father used to say: Not even the wind from Štajerska is any...
were birch brooms made in the village of Avče and sold in Gorica. And the inhabitants of the area between med the plain and Haloze are called bogggers.

2. Locally determined heterostereotypes with a folklore anthropogenesis

a) Explanatory tales tell how God made a man and the inhabitants of an individual area: from mud, clay or wood and the weird specimens, of course, ended up with the neighbouring area. Traditional taunts are reinvigorated with new motives, and the following version proves how easily they are generalised: God wanted to make a Carniolan, but all went wrong. Infuriated when he saw his miserable creation, he wanted to kick it in the Sava. And so he kicked it, but as he did it with his divine force, the creep was thrown across the Sava to land in Štajerska, and that’s where he stayed.

b) Folktales, whose genre is difficult to determine, possibly explanatory tales, even when the pair of Christ and Saint Peter that is typical of fairy tale legends appears in them.

c) An explanatory tale from the Soča basin, How the plainspeople were created, makes us shudder because of its cruelty. But we can laugh again when reading how two of them searched for a job and how stingy they are. And in Lig they even had a hare-brained mayor.

c) The inhabitants of Sodražica have a quite exceptional nickname: dogheads.

3. Local heterostereotypes with animal motives

In Carniola, most villages adopted a nickname themselves and for someone who visits a village and inadvertently uses the relevant term, which the villagers

16 Prežihov Voranc, Gosposvetsko polje, Mohorjeva družba, Celje 1979, 5-6. Avče birches
17 Iva Jakopič, Milena Pavšič (Miran Pavšič), Marija Stanonik, Archives of the ISE, SRC, SASA, 4337.
18 Anton Gričnik, Farice (Glasovi 18), Ljubljana 1998, 35.
19 Anton Gričnik, Farice, 1.
20 A similar tale about the creation of the people from Dolenjska and Štajerska was recorded by Vinko Moderndorfer in Šentjurij below Kum. The name is not complete and hard to read from the poor photocopy, seminary paper, Department of Ethnology, 176/S, Ljubljana 1975, 5. Marija Stanonik, Archives of the ISE, SRC, SASA, no. 8545.
21 Informant not mentioned (Zdenko Pečar), Marija Stanonik, Archives of the ISE, SRC, SASA, no. 615.
22 Pavel Medvešček, Na rdečem oblaku vinograd rase, no. 89.
23 Pavel Medvešček, Na rdečem oblaku vinograd rase, no. 90.
24 Pavel Medvešček, Na rdečem oblaku vinograd rase, no. 91.
25 Pavel Medvešček, Na rdečem oblaku vinograd rase, no. 93.
26 Vinko Miónerdorfer, Verovanja, uvere in običaji Slovencev, nos. 2367, 2368, 2371, 2373.
take as a jibe, may have a hard time.\textsuperscript{27} Animal motives are arranged by their mutual relations.

a) Harmful animals: the smallest among them is a louse. In typical phrases, the villagers of several Slovene villages are called \textit{lice}\textsuperscript{28}, and even a social folktale has developed about the nickname.\textsuperscript{29} is a name that led to a poem (Š-8565). The inhabitants of Vrba in Gorenjska are called \textit{cockroaches}.\textsuperscript{30} In Sinja gorica, \textit{cockroach} is the word never to be mentioned in public.\textsuperscript{31} The people of Dolina, Brezovica and Saboče are called \textit{snakesmen}.\textsuperscript{32} Flies refer to the inhabitants of Godovič and Koseze.\textsuperscript{33} \textit{Mice} is a nickname used to jeer at the villagers of Blatna Brezovica\textsuperscript{34} and Avče,\textsuperscript{35} who in turn call their neighbours from the hills \textit{rats}.\textsuperscript{36} All these animals are repulsive and cause damage in households. There are no reliable data why such nicknames became current for the inhabitants of particular villages. One explanation is that a village community was seen as a tight collective in the past, and when one inhabitant was given a nickname after some unpleasant event, the name then referred to the entire village.

b) Humidity dependent animals: the inhabitants of Šiška and Rašica are said to breed \textit{gnats} for a \textit{wedding}, those of Dragomer near Brezovica keep a gnat on a leash, and the gnat is the patron saint of Smreče.\textsuperscript{37} People from Motnik are asked where they have their \textit{snails in chains}?\textsuperscript{38} The inhabitants are mocked as \textit{snail keepers}.\textsuperscript{39} The same is true of Gorenje-Vrhnika (Š-8616). Jurčič immortalised Višnja gora and its snail.\textsuperscript{40} In the past, many villages had wells and used watering places — excellent breeding places for frogs. Quite enough reason for many villagers to

\textsuperscript{27} Vinko Möderndorfer, Verovanja, uvere in običaji Slovencev, no. 2341.
\textsuperscript{28} Juš Makovec, Od Mure do Goric, 88.
\textsuperscript{29} Vinko Möderndorfer, Verovanja, uvere in običaji Slovencev, no. 2360, 2361, 2362. Stone lice
\textsuperscript{31} Vinko Möderndorfer, Verovanja, uvere in običaji Slovencev, nos. 2354, 2355, 2356, 2357, 2358, 2359.
\textsuperscript{32} Vinko Möderndorfer, Verovanja, uvere in običaji Slovencev, nos. 2365, 2366. Flies
\textsuperscript{33} Z nasmehom v prihodnost (Research assignment of the tourism study group at the Dravlje Primary School), mentor Angelca Škripec, undated (around 1995), 12. Mice
\textsuperscript{34} Vinko Möderndorfer, Verovanja, uvere in običaji Slovencev, nos. 2354, 2355, 2356, 2357, 2358, 2359.
\textsuperscript{35} Hilda Baji, Vera Baji, Irena Čargo, Nikolaj Čargo, Anton Dreščak (Adrijana Baji, Boštjan Cargo, Mitja Kos, Monika Makorič, Nadja Skrt), Marija Stanonik, Archives of the ISE, SRC, SASA, no. 4284.
\textsuperscript{36} Iva Jakopič, Milena Pavišič (Miran Pavišič), Marija Stanonik, Archives of the ISE, SRC, SASA, no. 4342.
\textsuperscript{37} Data missing because they are no longer visible on the photocopy. Faculty of Arts etno/8 S.
\textsuperscript{38} Gašper Križnik, Šz 3/124.
\textsuperscript{39} Gašper Križnik, Šz 1/1.
\textsuperscript{40} Šaljive zgodbe o Lemberžanih. Retold and commentaries added by Niko Kuret, Maribor 1954, 23.
become known as *frogs*. Žiri, Studenče, Žabjek, Suhadole, Dokležovlje, Dravelje.

c) Water animals: the inhabitants of Trnovo in Ljubljana are said to forge carps and keep them in chains. And those from Brod are most easily infuriated when asked how they hunted beavers. The environs of Renkovci are dotted with ponds and the locals used to fish for crabs in them, earning them the nickname *crabmen*.

d) Forest animals: lent their name to the people of Kostel: *Kaptop squirrels*, in Otalež every second person is a *zajc* (rabbit), in Mala Ligojna people don’t want to hear anyone mention *foxes*, and in Pavlovci one should never mention *wolf gut*.

e) People-friendly animals: In Martinjak near Cerknica they don’t like to hear about sand lizards, in Žažar about hedgehogs, and in Pucajnci near Tomaž people are said to *lay turtle eggs*.

f) Domestic animals: in Hotedrišca, two people were killed at a wedding because of a cat and if anyone dares to meow in an inn, tempers flare as the locals are called *catmen*; someone from Ledine will tease a neighbour from Hotenja by asking: *How’s your meow meow* (because they ate it)! The inhabitants of Trzin, Vevče, Moravče, Hotedrišca, Sv. Duh near Škofja Loka and Brusnice are very to-
uchy about cats. The inhabitants of Velike Lašče are called dogmen. ‘In Zagorje, the lads are worse than dogs, we all know they eat rabbits with the hair and all!’ (Kranj, Š-8570). The inhabitants of Planina above Sevnica are taunted by mentioning a bitch, in Moste by bitch butter. Those from Avbelj were called Avbelj hogs. And the locals of Gлина were goats; in Tomačevo, one shouldn’t mention goats either, and the villagers of Mala vas were goat keepers.

A comparative saying that is still very much alive is to look like a calf at a new door (to be dumbfounded). In Kostel, the villagers of Slovenska Briga are called Briga calves. The inhabitants of Pirniče and Smlednik are also called calves. The reason for the animosity between Kropa and neighbouring Kamna gorica is said to be a cow called Bavha and so the latter are called Bavhars, and they return the compliment by calling the people of Kropa soup swillers. In Račno near Grosuplje, one should avoid mentioning bulls. The pasture between the confluence of the Sava Dolinka and Radovna gave the inhabitants of Blejska Dobrava the name of mooers.

Delegates from the Karst went to see the emperor Francis Joseph to complain about the fact that their requests never seemed to get to the right address. When they arrived at the court, a servant announced them to the emperor by saying: ‘Your Highness, the Karstians have arrived.’ The illustrious emperor, thinking that the Lippizaner horses, which he was expecting any day, had arrived, answered: ‘All right, take them to the stables and feed them oats.’

Cuzek is the local word for foal and used as a nickname for the inhabitants of Odranci.

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60 Šaljive zgodbe o Lemberžanih, 23.
61 Vinko Möderndorfer, Verovanja, uvere in običaji Slovencev, nos. 2367, 2368, 2371, 2373.
62 Oral source: Niko Kuret.
63 Vinko Möderndorfer, Verovanja, uvere in običaji Slovencev, nos. 2354, 2355, 2356, 2357, 2358, 2359.
64 Jože Prime, Okamneli mož, no. 335.
65 Z nasmehom v příhodnost (Research assignment of the tourism study group at the Dravlje Primary School), mentor Angelca Skripec, undated (around 1995), 12.
66 Vinko Möderndorfer, Verovanja, uvere in običaji Slovencev, nos. 2342, 2343, 2344, 2345, 2346, 2347.
67 Vinko Möderndorfer, Verovanja, uvere in običaji Slovencev, nos. 2367, 2368, 2371, 2373.
68 Jože Prime. Okamneli mož, no. 335.
69 The story teller is not mentioned, Marija Stanonik. Archives of the ISE, SRC, SASA, no. 502.
71 Vinko Mödrndorfer, Verovanja, uvere in običaji Slovencev, nos. 2354, 2355, 2356, 2357, 2358, 2359.
72 Mirko Kos (Anže Mrak). Marija Stanonik, Archives of the ISE, SRC, SASA, no. 7869.
73 A famous breed.
74 Danija Kocjan, Jelka Hadalin, Beži zloděj, baba gre (Glasovi 6), Ljubljana 1996, no. 173.
75 Rozaliina Knaus ( Renata Zver), Marija Stanonik, Archives of the ISE, SRC, SASA, no. 5471.
f) Birds. Except for the jays of Puc⁷⁶, bird names are rarely used. Only in Veržej the villagers of Bunčani are called chirpies, because the ‘chirpy from Bunčani that wrecked the picket fence in Veržej’ was a bird which had long tousled hair instead of feathers and which features in the village coat-of-arms of Bunčani.⁷⁷

4. Local heterostereotypes based on plants

a) Trees: The inhabitants of Brezova Reber are called bushmen because the village is surrounded by forests and bushes.⁷⁸ Those of Avče are jeered at as Avče birches because they used to make birch brooms.⁷⁹ In Bistrica, close to the Mura, the forest is called meka, and the surrounding villages therefore call the inhabitants mekaši.⁸⁰ In Gornji Senik, ‘At Epiphany the beech walks’. A beech stood opposite the municipal offices and during the Epiphany fair drunken people called each other beeches.⁸¹ In Lučane near Žalna, the word černož, probably a sour cherry tree, is to be avoided.⁸² In Slemení above Sodražica the inhabitants are stakes, because of the spruce stakes that surround their houses.⁸³ Dobrova is called the wooden parish. The villagers of Gaberje (beech), Hruševo (pear), Brezje (birch), Podsmreka (spruce), Dobrova, formerly sv. Marija v Leščevju (hazel), have similar tree-based names.⁸⁴

Forest fruit: Someone from Ledine will ask a neighbour from Vojsko (where the snow lasts until Whitsun!): ‘Did the vines do well this year?’⁸⁵ Or to someone from Oslica: ‘What about your blueberry vines - will there be any wine this year?’⁸⁶ ‘The people of Mržli vrh and Koprivnik are avid blueberry pickers and those of Govejk and Idršek juniper pickers. They all make brandy from the fruits for sale, that is meant when people speak of the “Ledine vines”, and the locals therefore hate to hear someone from Vipava (a wine-growing area) ask them about

⁷⁶Jože Prime, Okanuši med, no. 335.
⁷⁷Juš Makovec, Od Mure do Gore, 7.
⁷⁸Tilka Kaplan, Olga Golob, Darja Kastelic, Tone Jordan, Stane Kusič, Marija Gorišek, Jožef Lap (History study group, Primary School of the XV Division, Grm - Novo mesto), Marija Stanonik, Archives of the ISE, SRC, SASA, no. 5291a.
⁷⁹Iva Jakopič, Milena Pavišič (Miran Pavišič), Marija Stanonik, Archives of the ISE, SRC, SASA, no. 4337.
⁸⁰Marija Ternar (Andreja Kavčič), Marija Stanonik, Archives of the ISE, SRC, SASA, no. 5477.
⁸¹Marija Kozar-Mukič, Naselja in domovi v Porabju, Department of Ethnology, Faculty of Arts, Ljubljana 1975 FF, etn/173P, Marija Stanonik, Archives of the ISE, SRC, SASA, no. 8536.
⁸²Vinko Móderndorfer, Verovanja, uvere in običaji Slovencev, nos. 2351, 2352, 2353.
⁸³Vinko Móderndorfer, Verovanja, uvere in običaji Slovencev, nos. 2367, 2368, 2371, 2373.
⁸⁴No informant mentioned.
⁸⁵Janez Jelenec, Ledinska kronika, volume III, (no pagination).
⁸⁶Janez Jelenec, Ledinska kronika, volume III, (no pagination).
their “vines” and if they will need a ladder to pick their junipers and blueberries.”

b) Fruit: Here in Mirtoviči we are “Bankers”, because we live on the banks of the Kolpa. Others call us “Blečkarji”. “Blečki” are dried fruit slices, which the locals used to produce in great quantities. Don’t ask for a pear in Rašica, or for a Lož pear in Lož. In Nova Vas, the inhabitants were called new-winners or nugulci (the waste olive cake produced by pressing olives).

5. Local heterostereotypes based on vines and wine

The inhabitants of Planina are diggers, because they used to dig vineyards in the past. Those from Vrhpolje in the Upper Vipava Valley are called Nafarji (a nafa is a wooden wine vessel that holds about 5 litres). Kobdij grudgingly shared its water with Pliskovice, and the latter’s inhabitants returned the service by saying: ‘Look, this barrel is full and so is the other one. I would like to offer you some water, but then my barrels won’t be full any more.’ How can you tell someone from Haloze from his neighbouring fielder when they are both stripped naked? The fellow from Haloze, where they drink wine, will have wine flies circling around his arse, and the fielder Colorado beetles, because all they eat are potatoes.

6. Local heterostereotypes based on other beverages

In Podlipa, people drink whey. ‘Someone from Gorenjska invited a Karstian for coffee. He let water boil, attached a coffee grain to a thread and submerged it a couple of times in the water. When the Karstian returned the invitation, he boiled water, poured it into cups, attached a coffee grain to a thread and let it circle over the edge of the cup. “Hey” his guest said, “why don’t you soak the grain in the water?” “No no,” answered the Karstian, “the coffee at your place was much too strong. I couldn’t sleep all night!”’

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87 Janez Jelenec, Ledinsko kronika, 303 or 304.
88 Jože Prime, Okamneli mož, no. 284.
89 Vinko Molderndorfer, Verovanja, uvere in običaji Slovencev, nos. 2342, 2343, 2344, 2345, 2346, 2347.
90 Terezija Čuček (Majda Mirković), Department of Ethnology, Faculty of Arts, Ljubljana, 1982.
91 Elvir Puerer (Marina Jurkota), Marija Stanonik, Archives of the ISE, SRC, SASA, no numbering.
92 Pavlina Nusdorfer-Pegan (Barbara Centa), Marija Stanonik, Archives of the ISE, SRC, SASA, no. 4497.
93 The story teller is not mentioned (Klavdija Abraaht), Marija Stanonik, Archives of the ISE, SRC, SASA, 6963.
94 Danila Kocjan, Jelka Hadalin, Beži zlocej, baba gre, no. 133.
95 Anton Gričnik, Farice (Glasovi 18), Ljubljana 1998, 34.
96 Data missing, because they are no longer visible on the photo copy. Faculty of Arts etno/8 S.
97 Danila Kocjan, Jelka Hadalin, Beži zlocej, baba gre, no. 130.
7. Local heterostereotypes based on food

In Nova Sela they love bread. The villagers of Ledine are loafers. Their neighbours tease them by asking: 'Hey you loafers — how are your loafing women doing?' In Ribnica, it was customary to eat štruklji (dumplings) on consecration day. The inhabitants of Kanal liked to keep up appearances, bragging that they had a roast for dinner, but they had rests of their real dinner — gruel — on their clothes and where therefore called gruel gobblers. The villagers of Breg near Komenda are called žganci (dumplings), the coat of arms of Turjanci is said to feature dumplings. In Mlatinč they thought of an original wisdom: Dumplings for breakfast and I’m as full as a bull! The inhabitants of Pirmič taunt those of Medvode by saying that as soon as the latter see droppings, they think they are dumplings.

In Stara Loka, people hate miedle, a porridge with flour. A derisive description tells that on the Saturday before the first Sunday following Rosary Sunday they drive around a porridge spoon on a decorated cart that is drawn with great effort by four horses and six oxen. Porridge and dumplings must be on the table in every home. Žirovnica has been called Kašarija (‘Porridgeville’) for ages. Three explanations are given. Their main food is porridge, their festive food is porridge, and their only food is porridge. People are also taunted as porridge gobblers in Gailtal and in Porabje. And the inhabitants of Podraga in the Vipava Valley as polenta chompers.

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98 Jože Prime, Okanenli mož, no. 335.
100 Janez Jelenec, Ledinska kronika, volume III, (no pagination).
101 Vinko Mõderndorfer, Verovanja, uvere in običaji Slovencev, no. 2374.
102 Hilda Bajt, Vera Bajt, Irena Cargo, Nikolaj Čargo, Anton Drešček, Zora Ipavec, Berta Drešček (Adrijana Bajt, Boštjan Cargo, Mitja Kos, Monika Makorič, Nadja Skrt), Marija Stanonik, Archives of the ISE, SRC, SASA, no. 4286.
104 Juš Makovec, Od Murc do Goric, 88.
105 Marija Stanonik, Archives of the ISE, SRC, SASA, no. 316.
106 Vinko Mõderndorfer, Verovanja, uvere in običaji Slovencev, no. 2370.
109 Marija Stanonik, Archives of the ISE, SRC, SASA, no. 7850.
110 Marija Stanonik, Archives of the ISE, SRC, SASA, no. 7849a, no. 7857.
111 Vinko Mõderndorfer, Verovanja, uvere in običaji Slovencev, no. 2382.
112 Marija Kozar-Mukič, Naselja in domovi v Porabju… Marija Stanonik, Archives of the ISE, SRC, SASA, no. 8539.
113 Marija Stanonik, Archives of the ISE, SRC, SASA, no. 6953.
The inhabitants of Lipa are *potato munchers*. Whether the name *potato munchers* in Krašnja in Črni graben is a general nickname for the villagers or used to address faint-hearted youths has not been established. The villagers of Saka-lovci make fun of their neighbours in Gorenji Senik on account of flax and buckwheat. People from Vrhnika are insulted when called kohlrabi, and so are those from Šmartno ob Savi. The inhabitants of Škofja Loka are *Lokarapes* and those of Šmarje *beaners*. *Onioners* are the inhabitants of Zgornja and Spodnja Zadobra, Sneberje, Hrastje and Šmartno. In Greda they’re all onioners/Everything they have, they spend on onions (S-8542).

The relentless fights between the boys from Podbreg and Šembije were occasionally interrupted on account of their joining forces against the common enemy of Podraga. They even composed a poem challenging them to a “fight”. The inhabitants of Erzelj were called *Mulčarji* (*mulce* / ‘blood sausages’), *Mulcarji* or *mulce*. In Ipavci, the saying went that it is best to leave a viper alone, but to do away with a Karstian. In Ribnica, they can’t get rid of the *thin soup* they fooled the municipal shepherd with. And those from Žužemberk have floated to Ljubljana on the top their soup (= to be ignorant). In Vrhnika, villagers will always ignore the word *tripes*. In Ježica, refrain from mentioning *sausage broth*.

Other ‘sausage broth swillers’ were the inhabitants of Sneberje.

In Marušiči they’re all butter-lovers, / Whatever they have, they’ll spend it on butter (S-8542). The villagers of Srednja vas are highly irritated when they are

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114Marija Ternar (Andreja Kavaš), Marija Stanonik, Archives of the ISE, SRC, SASA, no. 5478.
116Marija Kozar-Mukič, Naselja in domovi v Porabju… Marija Stanonik, Archives of the ISE, SRC, SASA, no. 8540.
117Vinko Möderndorfer, Verovanja, uvere in običaji Slovencev, nos. 2348, 2349, 2350.
118Marija Stanonik, Archives of the ISE, SRC, SASA, no. 4496.
119Marija Stanonik, Archives of the ISE, SRC, SASA, no. 7038.
120Marija Stanonik, Archives of the ISE, SRC, SASA, no. 6949.
121Marija Stanonik, Archives of the ISE, SRC, SASA, no. 7038.
122Marija Stanonik, Archives of the ISE, SRC, SASA, no. 6931.
123Marija Stanonik, Archives of the ISE, SRC, SASA, no. 4287.
124Danila Kocjan, Jelka Hadalin, Bejži zloděj, baba gre, no. 130.
125Marija Stanonik, Archives of the ISE, SRC, SASA, no. 7039.
asked if they have any butter for sale. Nadles near Lož refuses to hear the term butter churners. The village of Žeje (Moste-Vodice): All the people of Žeje are in one egg, only Jerej got out of it.

8. Local heterostereotypes based on clothes

The phrase Ljubljana shirt (‘dandy’) was coined when soldiers used to sunbathe on Šmarna gora in the previous century and their shirts were stolen by Ljubljanians. The Ljubljanians used to be proud of the nickname, because it meant a certain quality and advantage over the environs, but nowadays the meaning has faded. An old poem reads: You can pick out the Ljubljanians in any crowd: they’re the only ones wearing a shirt! The people from the environs and certain classes jibed at the dandy Ljubljanians using the nickname tails (tailcoats).

The hard work of forging bent many a lad from Kropa before he was fully grown and this led to the following mockery: But where is the tailor, who makes your bent trousers? In Buč they get very angry, when people walk through the village with their pockets turned out. A man from Motnik wears trousers made of tow and a paper hat. And when the wind blows, it’s all flop flop! The inhabitants of Zabreznica, Breznica and Doslovče are skirts. The villagers of Šventvid in the Vipava Valley were taunted by their neighbours that their men hung their hat on a hook before going to bed and got up again before the hat stopped swinging. The inhabitants of Podsmreka are called kučmarji (kučma ‘fur cap’).

A bloke from Strane always has his clogs ready. Cloggers also live in Velika Poljana near Ortnek and in Borovnica, because Saint Paul from Vrhnika went to v court Saint Margaret in Brezovica in his clogs and forgot them there, or, according to another version, lost them in Borovnica. Beside these naughty explanations, a quite realistic one exists. In the old days, the Bistra monastery
owned lush forests on the Menišija plateau above Borovnica. Its serfs and hired free peasants felled trees and carted them to the monastery’s sawmills in the valley. The carters often used ox teams to transport the logs down to the valley and many a cart slipped and the whole load of logs was thrown down a precipice and shattered on the rocks. Wooden cokele (‘chocks’) were put in front of the wheels to prevent them from slipping. And that is why the people of Borovnica are called chockers.  

9. Local heterostereotypes based on various objects

Peasants liked to imitate their lords, but this amounted to “mere formal imitation, because the subjects did not understand the contents of what they were imitating”. They were, of course, well aware of the significance and influence of the lord’s seal on a document and that it always featured the lord’s coat of arms. Their subjects did not have any of these things, so they invented village coats of arms, which were very simple and taken from everyday village life.

Everyone recognises a Gojžan, because he always has wool in his hands (Š-8543). The people of Podlog near Lož are bellies, those of Loš hides. The inhabitants of Vrsnik were tiler, those of Bratoničko spooners. In Selo they were butter churners, and in Breg barrows. The people of Tuhinj near Kamnik get in a rage when they hear the word axe. In the old days, when the people of Bovec and Čezsoča still lived in harmony, a villager from Bovec and one from Čezsoča were on their way towards Bovec. Right after the first bend they saw a wooden mallet laying on the ground and started to fight about it. In the end the fellow from Čezsoča was left with the mallet’s head (Slovene: kij), leading to the nickname ‘mallet heads’ (Kiljci) and the fellow from Bovec with the handle (dialect: peterišče), leading to the nickname ‘handles’ (Peteruse).  

In Budanje, people used to grow a lot of fruit and (before WWI) even silk worms on their sun-bathed slopes. They sold the fruit as far as Ljubljana and Trieste. The most practical method for transportation were of course wooden crates (Slovene: škatle). That’s how the people of Budanje became škatlarji. A well-
know craft in Gomilice was the production of wicker baskets (Slov.: cekar) and the inhabitants thus became cekarji.\textsuperscript{155}

Those from Breg are all in one torn basket, only “Pergáv” escaped from it.\textsuperscript{156}
In Jarše and Trzin, people often got into brawls. Those from Jarše used knives, and those from Trzin small axes. And the items led to corresponding nicknames.\textsuperscript{157}

In Gameljne near Ježica, better not ask for a spatula.\textsuperscript{158}
In Dobrepolje, on the other hand, avoid the word fonč (‘small curved knife’) by all means.\textsuperscript{159}

A fierce dispute once raged between Stična and Višnja gora because of a court matter. The inhabitants of Stična were most easily taunted when their opponent called them stringers.\textsuperscript{160}
Other stringers are the people from Štanjel\textsuperscript{161}, because they used to make strings for sale.\textsuperscript{162}
The inhabitants of Križ are teased with the name štrek (‘rope’). This probably goes back to the feudal era, when gallows stood below the manor; the memory is also preserved in the house name Gavšekar, used for a house close to the manor (gavge ‘gallows’).\textsuperscript{163}

An inhabitant of Mekinje is identified by the string he carries (Š-8543), one from Mlake by the pot in his hand (Š-8543), and one from Šentjur by the berač (‘basket’, but also ‘beggar’) in his hands (Š-8543).

10. Local heterostereotypes based on character traits

In Podlog near Lož, they hate the word vampci (‘bellies’), in Lož kožarji (‘hides’).\textsuperscript{164}
The worst disputes in Kostel in the Kolpa Valley were between the Gorenjci (‘highlanders’) and Dolenjci (‘lowlanders’). The Gorenjci were the inhabitants of the villages above the Nežica waterfall and the Dolenjci lived in the valley along the Kolpa. The Gorenjci reproached their opponents for being lazy bums, who always wanted something for free, for instance a glass of wine.\textsuperscript{165} Adzes was the nickname for the people of Planina, derived from the saying ‘as dumb as an adze’.\textsuperscript{166}
And the inhabitants of Ribnica were aufbiksarji (Aufbiks! is the ‘battle cry’ in a brawl).\textsuperscript{167} In the Gailtal youths like to tease the inhabitants of Bistrica with
this poem: Now where’s the bloke from Bistrica, whole stole the planks in Čajna? / And where’s the guy from Podklošter, who showed him how to steal them?\textsuperscript{168}

The inhabitants of Melinci are called \textit{doughnuts}. In the past they lacked iodine in their diet and some people had a goitre, similar in form to a doughnut. The disease no longer exists in Melinci, but the nickname has survived.\textsuperscript{169} The village of Trnje is divided by the Čmec brook. The children from the two sides were always quarrelling and fighting. Those from one side were taller and thinner and called \textit{flints}, while the children from the other side were smaller and fatter, so they were called \textit{piggies}.\textsuperscript{170}

The inhabitants of Kobjeglav and Štanjel have been quarrelling since the feudal era. A fellow was once teased about his drinking habits and clumsiness. He answered: That’s true, but I prefer to be like that, because as sure as hell I’m not from Kobjeglav.\textsuperscript{171} In Ormož they’re all drunkards / Everything they’ve got, they spend on wine. (Š-8577). The inhabitants of Rodine, Smokuč and Branik were rebels\textsuperscript{172}, because they were always rebelling against everything and getting into brawls.\textsuperscript{173}

\section*{11. Local heterostereotypes based on girls}

The girls from Turnišče wore their hair in a pony tail. In the local dialect a pony tail was called \textit{upke}, and the inhabitants were called \textit{upkači}.\textsuperscript{174} In individual parishes in Koroška, many of the taunts on the account of girls had the rhythm of a lively Alpine dance (Š-8551, Š-8552), but others had not (Š-8569). Some taunts scolded girls for being too faint-hearted (Š-8580), and many are far from delicate: Leskovec is the parish of Saint Andrew/ Where all the lassies are preggy. In front of every house in Šebrelje grows marjoram / In every house there’s a bint like an ewe / With broad hips and a narrow waist / And her belly hangs over her belt.\textsuperscript{175} A poem about the girls from Ljubljana, deriving from Škocjan in Dolenjska\textsuperscript{176} says one would do well by selling them for slag (Š-8598), or, in another version, give them away to the grease makers. (Š-8599). The girls from Koroška are reproached for being flirtly because they wear nice clothes (Š-8581, 8587). The highest praise goes to the girls from Gorenjska (Š-8584) for their soberness, but those from Tržič are after the lads as soon as they turn fourteen (Š-8588); in Tunjice they have

\begin{footnotes}
\footnotetext[168]{Vinko Môderndorfer, Verovanja, uvere in običaji Slovencev, no. 1946, no. 2382.}
\footnotetext[169]{Marija Stanonik, Archives of the ISE, SRC, SASA, no. 5475.}
\footnotetext[170]{Marija Stanonik, Archives of the ISE, SRC, SASA, no. 5473.}
\footnotetext[171]{Danila Kočjan, Jelka Hadalin, Beži zloděj, baba gre, no. 132.}
\footnotetext[172]{Data courtesy of Matjaž Ambrožič, Symposium on Bishop Tomaž Hren, Rome 12. 9. 1997.}
\footnotetext[173]{Marija Stanonik, Archives of the ISE, SRC, SASA, no. 6933.}
\footnotetext[174]{Marija Stanonik, Archives of the ISE, SRC, SASA, no. 5490.}
\footnotetext[175]{The grandmother of the recorder Silva Bevk. Courtesy of Mr. Janez Dolenc from Tolmin.}
\footnotetext[176]{Damjan Ovsee, Splošno o srajci, posebej še o ‘ljubljanskih srajcah’, 12, 13.}
\end{footnotes}
handsome dowries (Š-8589). The poems about the girls from Carniola (central Slovenia) may be either truthful or perhaps a bit malign (Š-8593, 8586). A woman’s legs and breasts are the standard subject of men’s views: The girls from Brodišče / are far from gorgeous / Their stockings are dirty/ and their legs black. // The girls from Brodišče / are far from gorgeous/ Their boobs are only big/ because they stuff them. (Š-8597). A poem about the girls from individual parishes jokingly tells quite a lot of truth (Š-8545): those from the parish of St George are deaf, and in the parish of St Peter every girls has her own Peter (Š-8546). Another version from the same village: How lovely is the parish of the Holy Cross, where not a single girl ever makes the sign of the cross. How nice is the parish of St Urban, where every girl has been had (Š-8547). In a poem from the parish of Šentlendar, the women from all the surrounding villages are judged.\textsuperscript{177}

\textbf{12. Composed name-calling as heterostereotypes}

These refer to name-calling in long texts, which describe the inhabitants of neighbouring villages and in which every village is presented through a typical activity: Čmuče, Kamnik, Gameljne, Ljubljana, Ig, etc. (Š-8544). These texts are therefore very similar in genre to chronicles/humorous sketches.\textsuperscript{178} A poem from East Slovenia, for instance, describes the inhabitants of no less than 22 villages (Š-8540). For every village a weakness is mentioned in a humorous way. A similar poem exists in the Bovec area.\textsuperscript{179}

Quite different is the poem about Resia in a typical Gorenjska dialect. The poem has a single theme, Resia, and it is covered to the last detail (Š-8553). Another version of the poem is also from Gorenjska, but written in a less pronounced dialect (Š-8554). The second text is wrought more artistically and it is unlikely that it was composed by an uneducated person. After the first verse, the humour is entirely in favour of the lower social classes of the Kamnik population, and the text deals with beggars, soldiers, burghers, nobles, the judge, lassies and lads, and porridge, which again leads to beggars (Š-8558). The version from Cerkno is shorter and more decent (Š-8560). It comes as a surprise that the third poem is still associated with Kamnik, but it is shorter and in verses (Š-8559) and has a “merchant” content. More demanding in form and consisting mostly of two-line verses is another poem about the “burghers” of Kamnik and food, reflecting the lifestyle of the period when it was written, which may even be the time of the French occupation (Š-8561).

\textsuperscript{177}Vinko M\"{o}derndorfer, Verovanja, uvere in obi\v{c}aji Slovencev, nos. 2382, 2383.

\textsuperscript{178}Marija Stanonik, Iz kaosa kozmos / Tekstualnost in \v{z}arnski sistem slovenskega odporni\v{s}ega pesni\v{s}tva (theme issue of Bovec), Ljubljana 1995, 196–202.

\textsuperscript{179}Pavle Merku, Ljudsko izro\v{c}ilo Slovencev v Italiji / Le tradizioni popolari degli Sloveni in Italija, Trst/Trieste 1976, 382/529.
The two next versions contain many German words, creating tension between the different social and ethnic groups in the town (Š-8562, Š-8563). These texts amount to a humorous monograph on Kamnik. They end with these lines: *Kamnik soup /is made with a bitch /The pot breaks /and out jumps the Kamnik bitch!* (Š-8564).

Another form of composite name-calling are stories which combine several taunting motifs. Example: *The people from Hrib in Vrhnika never like to hear the words cock, bitch and ass.*\(^{180}\) The inhabitants of Žiri are taunted with: *How are you, you stallions — frogs — pond dwellers.*\(^{181}\)

**IV. Typical local heterostereotypes with a historical folklore background**

As late as the first quarter of the 20th century, local name-calling functioned as a form of social criticism. And at the time when Niko Kuret wrote about the “complex of taunts” in Štajerska, i.e. about the inhabitants of Lemberg, Mar(en)berg and Veržej, though not those of Ljutomer, he generally treated them — in line with the contemporary practice — from a social class perspective.\(^{182}\)

1. Lemberg

Lemberg is located between Poljčane and Rogaška Slatina. Being a very prosperous town, it “drew not only envy but also justified anger from the surrounding peasants. The taunts made up or adapted on account of the Lembergians, are therefore not just a sign of the gift for humour of our peasant population, but much more a helpless form of revenge. Populations elsewhere, who were similarly underprivileged, adapted these taunts to the towns that sucked their blood — whether Veržej or Marenberg or Ljutomer.”\(^{183}\) A rhythmical form to some extent prevents the process of folklorisation, and the taunts are therefore much more alive in prose than in the lyrical forms of literary folklore. This is also the reason why the same or similar jokes are always attributed to the inhabitants of Ribnica. Kuret is however convinced that “the genuine core of most of these jokes, if they are of domestic origin, can only be one and that core is Lemberg.”\(^{184}\) Lemberg’s importance faded so much in the course of time, that it is no longer an independent parish, but incorporated in the pilgrimage church of Sladka gora. “Witty locals liked to tell that ‘the cat had eaten their lords.”\(^{185}\) A humorous story about the Lembergians tells how

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180 Vinko Móderndorfer, *Verovanja, uvere in običaji Slovencev*, nos. 2348, 2349, 2350.
183 *Saljive zgodbe o Lemberžanih*, 24–25.
184 *Saljive zgodbe o Lemberžanih*, 23.
they widened their church: they first applied fertiliser, took off their fur coats and deposited them along the church’s wall at the exact distance to which they wanted to move the wall, went back into the church and started to push against the walls. In the meantime, a passing vagrant collected their coats and fled. When the Lembergians stormed out of the church they were convinced that they had moved the wall so far that it covered their coats. Similar stories are told about Marenberg, Veržej, Ribnica, and Šebrelje. Another story, about how a bull is dragged up a bell-tower, is told about Lemberg, as well as about Šebrelje, the Slovenes of Porabje: Bǎkard’e pulled a bull up the bell-tower to have it eat the grass there (Bǎkard’e are the inhabitants of the villages of Števanovci, Virice, Ritkarovci, and Andovci), and Bohinj. Two related stories tell how the Lembergians measured the depth of the Drava and the inhabitants of Šebrelje a footbridge. Not only the Lembergians are said to expect a mare’s foal from a pumpkin and take it for a rabbit, the same story is told about Tolmin, who however blame Žiri for their misfortune. A humorous story about how the Lembergians saved a motorcyclist was written in 1953 and is a classical example of the fact that even in times when there was hardly any reason for being witty, the Lembergians continued to be the target of mockery.

2. Marenberg

In 1910, Dr. Ljudevit Pivko, writing under the pseudonym Janko Osojnik, published a collection of jokes entitled Šaljivec iz Podravja. They are written in a jovial newspaper style and combine a range of jokes from Stajerska, which he attributes to the Lembergians.
3. Veržej

The proverbial Abdera of Prlekija is Veržej. A humorous poem about the village, which has been preserved, is in part based on homonyms: ‘When they got to a smithy / They thought holy mass was held here / Because they saw an organist / and those big big bellows.’ They further meet an ant, a bull, a frog, a crab and a wolf, but interpret every animal in their own way. The repetition of onomatopoeic words like lamp-lamp lamp or rep-rep-rep/ glas, glas, glas at the end of some verses was sung in a humorous way following the punch line: The whole world is full of follies / Because there is no place on Earth / Where they can see a bloke from Veržej / Like they are they are used to them / In their own little village. (Štajerska-Š 8638). Even nowadays quite a number of humorous stories about Veržej are in circulation, both with international themes and domestic fantasies. Their envious and naughty neighbours from Ljutomer reproached them by saying that in Veržej brains grow right behind the picket fence, but not even the kids fancy them.198 It is also insinuated that all the members of the home guard in Veržej had wooden sables, but the commander had a beech sable! Matija Murko made fun of his co-villagers in his story about moving a grape press and in the one about the Veržej bull199, later rationalised by Manko Golar.200 He also describes how they measured a bridge in Veržej201, or how went they swimming in a field full of flax in blossom, thinking it was the sea.202 But the worst story must be that about the seven Lembergians who were involved in the swimming and afterwards could not agree about their exact number. They kept moaning that one of them had drowned until a butcher beat some sense in them.203

4. Šebrelje

Veržej and Šebrelje in Primorska have the humorous reputation that their inhabitants shoot at a blood sausage thinking it is God-knows-what204 or a viper.205 ‘The villagers of Šebrelje wanted to build a footbridge across the Idrijca and agreed to get the required logs from (the hill of) Reka. Everyone of them, of course, carried down a whole log all alone. The last man who had to carry his log down let it slip and it just rolled down the hill. The people of Šebrelje are, of course, the cleverest people in the whole wide world and after some deep thinking they gathered that

199Matija Murko, Spomini, 24.
200Manko Golar, Okrogle o Veržencih, 49–50.
201Manko Golar, Okrogle o Veržencih, 43.
202Manko Golar, Okrogle o Veržencih, 44–45.
203Saljive zgodbe o Lemberžanih, no. 5.
204Autopsy.
205Anton Čermilogar. Text from the private archive of Janez Dolenc, Tolmin.
that would have been the easiest way. But what now? Their mayor, the cleverest of them all, finally found a solution. He said: “Carry all the logs back up the hill and let them roll down!” And so they did, everyone carried his heavy log back uphill to Reka and when they got there, totally exhausted, they let them roll down one by one. And that shows you how clever our neighbours from Šebrelje are.\textsuperscript{206}

V. Butale as the Slovene literary version of Abdera

\textit{Butale (Dumbville)} is the literary name of Lemberg, Marenberg, Veržej, Šebrelje, or Ribnica. These are the places where all the jokes in Slovene humorous stories happen. The real meaning of the word \textit{Butale} becomes obvious when associated with the adjective \textit{butast} (‘dumb, gaga’). “Butale is located three hours walking beyond Shrovetide Sunday, so you won’t find it on any map. And neither is the neighbouring village of Tepanjce to be found anywhere. When Butale became too small for its growing population, the younger generation left the place and some settled along the Drava, others along the Mura, and a few even got to the sea and made their hearths there. — But wherever they went, they remained true to their nature.”

In 1991, the publication of Fran Milčinski’s \textit{Pravljice} (fairy tales) instantly won him the fame of having superbly literarised folklore material. He repeated the feat with stories about the \textit{Butalci}.\textsuperscript{207} The mare’s eggs, mentioned in the previous chapter, are indeed pumpkins, but the Butalci take them for apples. The writer adds his own fantasy to the story with the theme of two pumpkins, one of which drops from his hands and the other rots. And so there’s no trace of the expected foal.\textsuperscript{208} A modernised version was developed in the Karst, where a peasant thinks an egg to be a horse’s and buries it at home in the dung heap. This story is obviously derived from Fran Milčinski’s.

Milčinski also turned the sketch \textit{How the Butalci widened their church} into a superb satire.\textsuperscript{209}

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\textsuperscript{206}Grandmother of the recorder Silva Bevk. Text from the private archive of Janez Dolenc, Tolmin.
\textsuperscript{207}The first story about the \textit{Butalci} was published in 1917 in the collection of fairy tales \textit{Tolovaj Mataj} and continued in the youth magazine \textit{Naš rod} and in the advertising paper of the Žika factory. Milčinski also read them on the Ljubljana radio from 1928 onwards. They were published in 1949, 1961, and 1975.
\textsuperscript{208}Fran Milčinski, \textit{Butalci}, Ljubljana 1981, 20–22.
\textsuperscript{209}Fran Milčinski, \textit{Butalci}, 23–25.
VI. Rejecting names that are felt to be taunts

Suha krajina: nobody wants to be a Krajinčan. In Dobnič and Ambrus people refuse to admit that the villages are part of Suha krajina, which they say is far far away.210

The area between the sources of the Kolpa and Čabranka and Sveta Ana is called Gebarija. The church of Sveta Ana between Mirtoviči and Srobotnik is the dividing line between Gebarija and Kostelsko, as well as between the Kostel and Gebarija dialects. The villages of Gerovo, Trstje, Prezid and others are located above the valley. And high above Čaber is a place called Bajtarji.211 “It’s not true that Ribjek and Osilnica are in Gebarija, like some people say. Gebarija starts in Croatia, in Zamost and extends towards Smrečje, Mali Log and Gerovo, and further down to Sušak and Rijeka. That’s what my mother told me and she was from Trstje. My grandmother once heard someone call them Damn Gebars! She explained to him right away where Gebarija was and who the Gebars were. She particularly stressed that the people from Trstje were not Gebarji, but Bajtarji, because that is how their village and the environs of Trstje are called to this very day.”212

VII. Dialect differences

Mihael Žolgar wrote an article on Differences in the Slovene folk language and emphasised: “The wit used to ridicule in one village what is common and natural in the neighbouring one should not stop intelligent people from diligently collecting linguistic treasures.”213

1. Deriding derivations of names from dialect particularities

Experience teaches us that to the inhabitants of one place the speech of the next village appears to be quite obnoxious, even if both villages speak dialects from the same group or practically the same dialect (e.g. the Poljane dialect).

a) The Prleki (people from Prlekija) are known and respected all over Slovenia, but their name makes them an easy target for ridicule. To some it reminds them of the fluttering of a frightened bird, to others it sounds like the Pan-Slavic and Indo-European verb that is never uttered in any decent company. Actually, it was their neighbours who invented the name Prleki. It derives from a form of prvo (first), which was prvlje, but the “v” was dropped as in the word Lah (originally Vlah),

211 Jože Prime, Okamneli mož, no. 302.
212 Jože Prime, Okamneli mož, no. 303.
213 J. Marn, Jezičnik XXX, 1892, 21–22.
and the soft ‘lj’ was changed, as elsewhere in Slovenia, into a middle l. But it indeed sounds funny when you hear that a Prlek ‘prle priša, prle ša’ (‘came first, left first’).214

b) The Bojdeki are from Žetale, where the people love to use the (highly literary) word bojde (‘perchance’).215
c) To the people of Haloze, the Polanci are Kajeki, because they like to use the word kuj (takoj / ‘right away’) and because they look up at them for the way the locals of Haloze drink wine.216

2. Curses

Go to Makole means ‘up yours!’. Also: Go to Duplek217 and Go to Ricmanje.218

3. Sound figures

a) How can you tell that someone is from Vipava? From the way he talks. If he falls into the sea, he’ll shout: Pomahájte, pomahájte! (incorrect pronunciation of pomagajte-help). And the people on land will oblige and wave at him (pomahati / ‘wave’).219


4. Puns

a) The inhabitants of different villages like to taunt one another. Particularly exposed to mockery usually are minorities which pronounces certain words in a different way or use different terms: for instance maška and krompêr instead of mačka (‘cat’) and krompir (‘potato’) in Koprivnica and Gorjuše; or kolovara instead of koleraba (kohlrabi) in Gorjuše. There are many anecdotes about the theme, for instance about the fellow from Gorjuše who told someone My (wife) ‘s been to Bištrica. And the other one said: What a disaster! The pun derives from the dialect form biva, which can mean both ‘she was/ has been’ and ‘hail’.221
b) Vrsnik is a karst plateau full of sink-holes and abysses. Occasionally, the ground would collapse under an ox. In once such instance, a peasant from Gorenji Vrsnik ran for help shouting: *Vs i hmal, ta več in tamal,* (‘All together, the big ones and small ones’) for the villagers to come and help drag the ox out of the hole. Since that time the sentence has often been used to taunt the villagers.\footnote{Ivan Reven, *Vrsniki v plamenih, Žirovski občasnik* 11 (1990), no. 16, 83.}

\[\text{c) When a stranger comes to Poljane and asks what the time is, the locals will answer *pal ane.*} \footnote{Tončka Stanonik, handwritten notes.} \ (a corruption of Poljane meaning ‘half one’)
\]
\[\text{č) Dulé or Dolé or Dule. Once upon a time a thirsty man came to the village. At one of the houses he asked if there was any water *doli* (‘down there’). The villagers imitated him and the settlement thus got its nickname.} \footnote{Jože Vidmar (Gogi Vidmar), Marija Stanonik, Archives of the ISE, SRC, SASA, no. 3970.}
\]
\[\text{d) And people also have a good laugh when they see *gorjé, gorjé, gorjé* (‘woe, woe, woe!’) written all over, but when you get there it’s just (the village of) Górje. They recommend: Go to Górje to keep *górje* (‘warm’) all the time, and you’ll never know any *gorjé* (‘woe’); and after you die, people’ll say: *gor je* (‘he’s up there’)} \footnote{Rosana Čop, *Ljudska etimologija, Debatni list Slava* 1, Ljubljana 1987, no. 1, 61.}
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\section*{VIII. Misunderstandings due to linguistic interference}

These are unintended misunderstandings when words sounding alike have different meanings in different languages. People speaking foreign languages had such problems with certain Slovene words and expressions.

1. Someone married a Chech girl. When he brought her to Idrija, she initially understood nothing of the local dialect. She took the exclamation *Pa riis, pa riis!* (‘That’s right!’) to mean Paris and asked her husband: ‘Ignac, listen, when are you taking me to Paris? All the women are talking about Paris all the time.’\footnote{Danila Kocjan, Jelka Hadalin, *Bežji zlojdej, baba gre,* no. 190.}

2. Such examples became rife when Italy occupied the western part of the Slovene territory and Italian became the official language. A *francobollo* is a stamp in Italian, but the locals decoded a name from it: Franc Kobal.\footnote{Danila Kocjan, Jelka Hadalin, *Bežji zlojdej, baba gre,* no. 184.} *Pollanca* (‘spring chicken’) was interpreted as *bolna* (‘ill’)\footnote{Danila Kocjan, Jelka Hadalin, *Bežji zlojdej, baba gre,* no. 178.} When an Italian policeman stopped a cyclist and talked about ten ten, the cyclist thought about the time, but it was the amount of the fine.\footnote{Danila Kocjan, Jelka Hadalin, *Bežji zlojdej, baba gre,* no. 185.} *Koliko* (‘how much’) was turned into *koš* 230. *Mangi* means ‘eat!’ in Italian, but the Karstians to whom it was said understood is as the Slovene...
Name-calling in Slovenia: “we” and the “others” 147

*manj* (‘less’). For a good reason, as they were the guests of a family that wanted to keep up appearances and spoke Italian even when they could easily have spoken Slovene.231 The opinions of the Slovenes about Italian girls were far from complimentary: *All the Italian girls / I would like to gather / Put them all in a bag / And take them to the skinner (S-8600). Italian girls / Can be quite lovely / But when the sun shines / They seek the shade / They wear leather trousers / And new stockings / You can have one for a crown / But not cheaper / And that’s the truth! (S-8585).*

3. A mission of the Royal British Government travelled all over Yugoslavia. One of its members said that he had the least trouble when talking to a man from Pohorje. When asked how the conversation went, he said: *I said “all right” to him, and he answered “pajv raji” (‘up yours’).*232

**Conclusion**

The present treatise is an attempt to arrange name-calling in Slovenia into a clear system and suggest options for further research that may be multi-layered.

1. Folklore name-calling. Niko Kuret already tackled comparative research and discovered some similarities with name-calling in other nations. This is a quite positive finding, as it means that the Slovenes are involved in the international exchange of goods in this element of spiritual culture. Comparisons between variants reveal the principles of folklore poetics. Particularly demanding are the issues concerning genre. Based on the collected material, it appears that name-calling cannot be considered an independent genre, but that is an ethological perspective in different genres.

2. These issues are connected with the premises of cognitive linguistics, as one of the methodical premises of ethnolinguistics. The latter may be connected with historical ethnology as set out by Nikita I. Tolstoy in Russia.233 Though Milko Matičetov never deliberately joined this trend, his last articles, which deal with a range of issues about individual words, may be ranked with these efforts. Polish ethnolinguistics, on the other hand, is oriented more synchronic.234

Slovene literary folklore has only started to survey these issues. A first framework for Slovene ethnolinguistics was provided by the renovated curriculum of Slavic studies in Maribor through the inclusion of the Faculty of Education in

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231 Danila Kocjan, Jelka Hadalin, *Beži zločej, baba gve*, no. 186.
the Faculty of Arts. In spite of its methodological shortcomings, the material this articles provides for international evidence may be helpful for further research.

NAME-CALLING IN SLOVENIA: “WE” VS. “THE OTHERS”

The article deals with name-calling in Slovenia against the background of expressions characterizing a given ethnic group. The study is based on data from micro-genres of folklore, as well as from poetry and prose. The following problem is in focus: should nicknames be treated as a distinct genre or as an “ecological perspective”, manifesting itself in various genres, such as comparative expressions, adages, proverbs, riddles, poems and fables/tales. The article attempts to show that Slovenian nicknames constitute a system and proposes directions of further research. The analysis presents Slovenians as participants in an international “exchange of goods” at the level of spiritual culture. A study of variants of the nicknames also allows one to identify the foundations of the poetics of folklore.