

Stanonik, Marija

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

Etnolingwistyka 20, 123-148

2008

Artykuł został opracowany do udostępnienia w internecie przez Muzeum Historii Polski w ramach prac podejmowanych na rzecz zapewnienia otwartego, powszechnego i trwałego dostępu do polskiego dorobku naukowego i kulturalnego. Artykuł jest umieszczony w kolekcji cyfrowej bazhum.muzhp.pl, gromadzącej zawartość polskich czasopism humanistycznych i społecznych.

Tekst jest udostępniony do wykorzystania w ramach dozwolonego użytku.

Marija Stanonik
(Lublana)

NAME-CALLING IN SLOVENIA: “WE” AND THE “OTHERS”

Autorka zajmuje się przezwiskami stosowanym w Słowenii. Rozpatruje je na tle wyrażeń charakteryzujących daną grupę etniczną. Artykuł oparty jest na materiale mikrogatunków folkloru, a także gatunków poetyckich i prozatorskich. Rozważania skupiają się wokół problemu, czy przezwiska należy ujmować jako odrębny gatunek, czy może raczej jako „perspektywę etologiczną”, ujawniającą się w różnych gatunkach: wyrażeniach porównawczych, maksymach, przysłowiacz, zagadkach, wierszach i opowiadaniach/bajkach. Tekst stanowi próbę pokazania słoweńskich przezwisk jako spójnego systemu, wskazuje się także możliwe kierunki dalszych badań. Analizy przezwisk w folklorze pokazują, że Słowenicy uczestniczą w międzynarodowej „wymianie dóbr” na poziomie kultury duchowej. Badanie wariantów przezwisk pozwala też odkryć podstawy poetyki folkloru.

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*, *zafrkaljivke*, *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 ethologic 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 Šebrelje, 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-

¹Janez Jelenec, *Ledinska kronika*, vol. III, (no pagination).

²Oral source: told by a driver on a trip from Logarska dolina to Celje, 22.6.1997.

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 vesela* (Glasovi 11), Ljubljana 1995, 41.

⁵Milko Matičetov, *Kras in Kraševci v očeh sosedov*, in: *Glasnik SED* 17/1977, Ljubljana 1979, no. 5, 81.

⁶Marko Ivan Rupnik, *Ker Bog je ljubezen*, in: *Evropa na razpotju*, Ljubljana 1994, 153–154.

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 izaro*’ 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.

⁷*Glasovi* is a collection of Slovene folktales. The thirty-one volumes published to date contain about 10,000 Slovene folktales and similar stories.

⁸Damjan J. Ovsec, *Če boš rekel A, te bom na gobec do Ž*. *Gea* 7, July 1997, no. 7, 78.

⁹Anton Trstenjak, *O slovenski duši*, Koledar Družbe sv. Mohorja v Celoveu 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*

¹⁰ Anton Trstenjak, *O slovenski duši*, 71–72.

¹¹ A. Trstenjak, *O slovenski duši*, op. cit., 72, 73.

¹² A. Trstenjak, *O slovenski duši*, op. cit., 72, 73.

¹³ Juš Makovec, *Od Mure do Gorice*, Murska Sobota 1995, 5–7.

¹⁴ Josip Dravec, *Glasbena folklor Prekmurja / Pesmi*, Ljubljana 1957, LV. Vilko Novak, Mi Dólinci, in: *Zbogom, življenje (Nekaj pesmi vsega življenja)*, published by the author, Ljubljana 2000, 168. Alojzija Žeks (Melita Panker), Marija Stanonik, ISE, SRC, SASA, no. 2087.

¹⁵ Iva Jakopič, Milena Pavšič (Miran Pavšič), Marija Stanonik, Archives of the ISE, SRC, SASA, no. 4337.

good."¹⁶ were birch brooms made in the village of Avče and sold in Gorica.¹⁷ And the inhabitants of the area between med the plain and Haloze are called *boggers*.¹⁸

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.¹⁹ 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.*²⁰

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.²¹

c) An explanatory tale from the Soča basin, *How the plainspeople were created*, makes us shudder because of its cruelty.²² But we can laugh again when reading how two of them searched for a job²³ and how stingy they are.²⁴ And in Lig they even had a hare-brained mayor.²⁵

č) The inhabitants of Sodražica have a quite exceptional nickname: *dogheads*.²⁶

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

¹⁶Prežihov Voranc, *Gospodstvo polje, Mohorjeva družba*, Celje 1979, 5–6. Avče birches

¹⁷Iva Jakopič, Milena Pavšič (Miran Pavšič), Marija Stanonik, Archives of the ISE, SRC, SASA, 4337.

¹⁸Anton Gričnik, *Farice* (Glasovi 18), Ljubljana 1998, 35.

¹⁹Anton Gričnik, *Farice*, 1.

²⁰A similar tale about the creation of the people from Dolenjska and Štajerska was recorded by Vinko Möderndorfer 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.

²¹Informant not mentioned (Zdenko Pečar), Marija Stanonik, Archives of the ISE, SRC, SASA, no. 615.

²²Pavel Medvešček, *Na rdečem oblaku vinograd rase*, no. 89.

²³Pavel Medvešček, *Na rdečem oblaku vinograd rase*, no. 90.

²⁴Pavel Medvešček, *Na rdečem oblaku vinograd rase*, no. 91.

²⁵Pavel Medvešček, *Na rdečem oblaku vinograd rase*, no. 93.

²⁶Vinko Möderndorfer, *Verovanja, uvere in običaji Slovencev*, nos. 2367, 2368, 2371, 2373.

take as a jibe, may have a hard time.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 *lice*²⁸, and even a social folktale has developed about the nickname.²⁹ is a name that led to a poem (Š-8565). The inhabitants of Vrba in Gorenjska are called *cockroaches*.³⁰ In Sinja gorica, *cockroach* is the word never to be mentioned in public.³¹ The people of Dolina, Brezovica and Saboče are called *snakesmen*.³² *Flies* refer to the inhabitants of Godovič and Koseze.³³ *Mice* is a nickname used to jeer at the villagers of Blatna Brezovica³⁴ and Avče³⁵, who in turn call their neighbours from the hills *rats*.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 *gnats* for a *wedding*, those of Dragomer near Brezovica keep a gnat on a leash, and the gnat is the patron saint of Smrečje.³⁷ People from Motnik are asked where they have their *snails in chains*?³⁸ The inhabitants are mocked as *snail keepers*.³⁹ The same is true of Gorenje-Vrhnika (Š-8616). Jurčič immortalised Višnja gora and its snail.⁴⁰ In the past, many villages had wells and used watering places — excellent breeding places for frogs. Quite enough reason for many villagers to

²⁷Vinko Möderndorfer, Verovanja, uvere in običaji Slovencev, no. 2341.

²⁸Juš Makovec, Od Mure do Gorice, 88.

²⁹Vinko Möderndorfer, Verovanja, uvere in običaji Slovencev, no. 2360, 2361, 2362. Stone lice

³⁰Data courtesy of Matjaž Ambrožič, Symposium on Bishop Tomaž Hren, Rome 12. 9. 1997.

³¹Vinko Möderndorfer, Verovanja, uvere in običaji Slovencev, nos. 2354, 2355, 2356, 2357, 2358, 2359.

³²Vinko Möderndorfer, Verovanja, uvere in običaji Slovencev, nos. 2365, 2366. Flies

³³Z nasmehom v prihodnost (Research assignment of the tourism study group at the Dravljje Primary School), mentor Angelca Škripec, undated (around 1995), 12. Mice

³⁴Vinko Möderndorfer, Verovanja, uvere in običaji Slovencev, nos. 2354, 2355, 2356, 2357, 2358, 2359.

³⁵Hilda Bajt, Vera Bajt, Irena Čargo, Nikolaj Čargo, Anton Drešček, Zora Ipavec, Berta Dreščak (Adrijana Bajt, Boštjan Čargo, Mitja Kos, Monika Makorič, Nadja Skrt), Marija Stanonik, Archives of the ISE, SRC, SASA, no. 4284.

³⁶Iva Jakopič, Milena Pavšič (Miran Pavšič), Marija Stanonik, Archives of the ISE, SRC, SASA, no. 4342.

³⁷Data missing because they are no longer visible on the photocopy. Faculty of Arts etno/8 S.

³⁸Gašper Križnik, Šz 3/124.

³⁹Gašper Križnik, Šz 1/1.

⁴⁰Šaljive zgodbe o Lemberžanih. Retold and commentaries added by Niko Kuret, Maribor 1954, 23.

become known as *frogs*⁴¹: Žiri,⁴² Studenčice⁴³, Žabjek⁴⁴, Suhadole⁴⁵, Dokležovje⁴⁶, Dravelje⁴⁷.

c) Water animals: the inhabitants of Trnovo in Ljubljana are said to forge carps and keep them in chains.⁴⁸ And those from Brod are most easily infuriated when asked how they hunted beavers.⁴⁹ The environs of Renkovci are dotted with ponds and the locals used to fish for crabs in them, earning them the nickname *crabmen*.⁵⁰

d) Forest animals: lent their name to the people of Kostel: *Kaptol squirrels*⁵¹, in Otalež every second person is a *zajc* (rabbit)⁵², in Mala Ligojna people don't want to hear anyone mention *foxes*⁵³, and in Pavlovci one should never mention *wolf gut*.⁵⁴

e) People-friendly animals: In Martinjak near Cerknica they don't like to hear about sand lizards⁵⁵, in Žažar about hedgehogs⁵⁶, and in Pucajnci near Tomaž people are said to *lay turtle eggs*.⁵⁷

f) Domestic animals: in Hotedršica, two people were killed at a wedding because of a cat⁵⁸ 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!)⁵⁹ The inhabitants of Trzin, Vevče, Moravče, Hotedršica, Sv. Duh near Škofja Loka and Brusnice are very to-

⁴¹The story teller is not mentioned (Alenka Raspor, Peter Ukmar), Marija Stanonik, Archives of the ISE, SRC, SASA, no. 6968.

⁴²Janez Jelenc, *Ledinska kronika*, volume III, (no pagination).

⁴³Data courtesy of Matjaž Ambrožič, Symposium on Bishop Tomaž Hren, Rome, 12. 9. 1997.

⁴⁴Mihaela Zajc-Jarc, Duhan iz Višnje Gore (Glasovi 7), Ljubljana 1993, no. 152.

⁴⁵Viktorijan Demšar, *Župnijska kronika*, Komenda, vol. II, 160/161.

⁴⁶Stanko Ferenčak (Branka Ferenčak, Stanko Ferenčak), Marija Stanonik, Archives of the ISE, SRC, SASA, no. 5474.

⁴⁷Z nasmehom v prihodnost (Research assignment of the tourism study group at the Dravljje Primary School), mentor Angelca Škripec, undated (around 1995), 10.

⁴⁸Vinko Möderndorfer, Verovanja, uvere in običaji Slovencev, Celje 1946, nos. 2365, 2366.

⁴⁹France Planina, *Škofja Loka s Poljansko in Selško dolini*, Škofja Loka 1972, 98.

⁵⁰Stanko Ferenčak (Branka Ferenčak, Stanko Ferenčak), Marija Stanonik, Archives of the ISE, SRC, SASA, no. 5476.

⁵¹Jože Primec, Okamneli mož (Glasovi 15), Ljubljana 1997, no. 335.

⁵²Valentin Tratnik, *Danes jaz, jutri ti*, II Ljubljana 1987, 7–8.

⁵³Vinko Möderndorfer, *Verovanja, uvere in običaji Slovencev*, nos. 2354, 2355, 2356, 2357, 2358, 2359.

⁵⁴Juš Makovec, *Od Mure do Gorice*, 88.

⁵⁵Vinko Möderndorfer, Verovanja, uvere in običaji Slovencev, nos. 2360, 2361, 2362.

⁵⁶Data missing, because they are no longer visible on the photocopy. Faculty of Arts etno/8 S.

⁵⁷Juš Makovec, *Od Mure do Gorice*, 88.

⁵⁸Vinko Möderndorfer, *Verovanja, uvere in običaji Slovencev*, nos. 2342, 2343, 2344, 2345, 2346, 2347.

⁵⁹Janez Jelenc, *Ledinska kronika*, volume III, (no pagination).

uchy about cats.⁶⁰ The inhabitants of Velike Lašče are called *dogmen*.⁶¹ ‘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*⁶², in Moste by *bitch butter*.⁶³ Those from Avbelj were called *Avbelj hogs*.⁶⁴ And the locals of Glina were *goats*⁶⁵; in Tomačevo, one shouldn’t mention goats either⁶⁶, and the villagers of Mala vas were *goat keepers*.⁶⁷

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*.⁶⁸ The inhabitants of Pirniče and Smlednik are also called *calves*.⁶⁹ 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*.⁷⁰ In Račno near Grosuplje, one should avoid mentioning *bulls*.⁷¹ The pasture between the confluence of the Sava Dolinka and Radovna gave the inhabitants of Blejska Dobrava the name of *mooers*.⁷²

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 horses⁷³, which he was expecting any day, had arrived, answered: “All right, take them to the stables and feed them oats.”⁷⁴

Cuzek is the local word for foal and used as a nickname for the inhabitants of Odranci.⁷⁵

⁶⁰Šaljive zgodbe o Lemberžanah, 23.

⁶¹Vinko Möderndorfer, *Verovanja, uvere in običaji Slovencev*, nos. 2367, 2368, 2371, 2373.

⁶²Oral source: Niko Kuret.

⁶³Vinko Möderndorfer, *Verovanja, uvere in običaji Slovencev*, nos. 2354, 2355, 2356, 2357, 2358, 2359.

⁶⁴Jože Primc, Okamneli mož, no. 335.

⁶⁵Z nasmehom v prihodnost (Research assignment of the tourism study group at the Dravlje Primary School), mentor Angelca Škripec, undated (around 1995), 12.

⁶⁶Vinko Möderndorfer, *Verovanja, uvere in običaji Slovencev*, nos. 2342, 2343, 2344, 2345, 2346, 2347.

⁶⁷Vinko Möderndorfer, *Verovanja, uvere in običaji Slovencev*, nos. 2367, 2368, 2371, 2373.

⁶⁸Jože Primc, Okamneli mož, no. 335.

⁶⁹The story teller is not mentioned, Marija Stanonik, Archives of the ISE, SRC, SASA, no. 502.

⁷⁰Joža Bertoneclj, *Kroparske zgodbe*, published by the author, Kropa 1973, 67.

⁷¹Vinko Möderndorfer, *Verovanja, uvere in običaji Slovencev*, nos. 2354, 2355, 2356, 2357, 2358, 2359.

⁷²Mirko Kos (Anže Mrak), Marija Stanonik, Archives of the ISE, SRC, SASA, no. 7869.

⁷³A famous breed.

⁷⁴Danila Kocjan, Jelka Hadalin, *Bežji zlodej, baba gre* (Glasovi 6), Ljubljana 1996, no. 173.

⁷⁵Rozalija 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 *čermož*, probably a sour cherry tree, is to be avoided.⁸² In Slemenj 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 Mrzli 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*

⁷⁶ Jože Primc, *Okamneli mož*, no. 335.

⁷⁷ Juš Makovec, *Od Mure do Gorice*, 7.

⁷⁸ Tilka Kaplan, Olga Golob, Darja Kastelic, Tone Jordan, Stane Kušljan, Vili Šiško, 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.

⁷⁹ Iva Jakopič, Milena Pavšič (Miran Pavšič), Marija Stanonik, Archives of the ISE, SRC, SASA, no. 4337.

⁸⁰ Marija Ternar (Andreja Kavaš), Marija Stanonik, Archives of the ISE, SRC, SASA, no. 5477.

⁸¹ Marija 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.

⁸² Vinko Möderndorfer, *Verovanja, uvere in običaji Slovencev*, nos. 2351, 2352, 2353.

⁸³ Vinko Möderndorfer, *Verovanja, uvere in običaji Slovencev*, nos. 2367, 2368, 2371, 2373.

⁸⁴ No informant mentioned.

⁸⁵ Janez Jelenc, *Ledinska kronika*, volume III, (no pagination).

⁸⁶ Janez Jelenc, *Ledinska kronika*, volume III, (no pagination).

their “vines” and if they will need a ladder to pick their junipers and blueberries.”⁸⁷

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.⁸⁸ Don’t ask for a pear in Rašica⁸⁹, or for a Lož pear in Lož.⁹⁰ In Nova Vas, the inhabitants were called *new-winners* or *nugulci* (the waste olive cake produced by pressing olives).⁹¹

5. Local heterostereotypes based on vines and wine

The inhabitants of Planina are *diggers*, because they used to dig vineyards in the past.⁹² Those from Vrhpolje in the Upper Vipava Valley are called *Nafarji* (a *nafa* is a wooden wine vessel that holds about 5 litres).⁹³ Kobdilj 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.’⁹⁴ 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.’⁹⁵

6. Local heterostereotypes based on other beverages

In Podlipa, people drink whey.⁹⁶ ‘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!”’⁹⁷

⁸⁷ Janez Jelenc, *Ledinska kronika*, 303 or 304.

⁸⁸ Jože Primec, *Okamneli mož*, no. 284.

⁸⁹ Vinko Möderndorfer, *Verovanja, uvere in običaji Slovencev*, nos. 2342, 2343, 2344, 2345, 2346, 2347.

⁹⁰ Terezija Čuček (Majda Mirkovič), Department of Ethnology, Faculty of Arts, Ljubljana, 1982.

⁹¹ Elvir Pucer (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 Abraht), Marija Stanonik, Archives of the ISE, SRC, SASA, 6963.

⁹⁴ Danila Kocjan, Jelka Hadalin, *Bežji zlodej, baba gre*, no. 133.

⁹⁵ Anton Gričnik, Farice (Glasovi 18), Ljubljana 1998, 34.

⁹⁶ Data missing, because they are no longer visible on the photocopy. Faculty of Arts etno/8 S.

⁹⁷ Danila Kocjan, Jelka Hadalin, *Bežji zlodej, baba gre*, no. 130.

7. Local heterostereotypes based on food

*In Nova Sela they love bread.*⁹⁸ *The villagers of Ledine are loafers.*⁹⁹ Their neighbours tease them by asking: ‘*Hey you loafers — how are your loafing women doing?*’¹⁰⁰ In Ribnica, it was customary to eat *štruklji* (dumplings) on consecration day.¹⁰¹ 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*.¹⁰² The villagers of Breg near Komenda are called *žganci* (dumplings)¹⁰³, the coat of arms of Turjanci is said to feature *dumplings*. In Mlatiča they thought of an original *wisdom: Dumplings for breakfast and I’m as full as a bull!*¹⁰⁴ The inhabitants of Pirniče taunted those of Medvode by saying that as soon as the latter see droppings, they think they are dumplings.¹⁰⁵

In Stara Loka, people hate *miedle*, a porridge with flour.¹⁰⁶ A derisive description¹⁰⁷ 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.*¹⁰⁸ Žirovnica has been called *Kašarija* (‘Porridgeville’) for ages. Three explanations are given.¹⁰⁹ Their main food is porridge, their festive food is porridge, and their only food is porridge.¹¹⁰ People are also taunted as *porridge gobblers* in Gailtal¹¹¹ and in Porabje.¹¹² And the inhabitants of Podraga in the Vipava Valley as *polenta chompers*.¹¹³

⁹⁸ Jože Primc, *Okamneli mož*, no. 335.

⁹⁹ Oral source: the sexton of the church in Vrtnik, August 1999.

¹⁰⁰ Janez Jelenc, *Ledinska kronika*, volume III, (no pagination).

¹⁰¹ Vinko Möderndorfer, *Verovanja, uvere in običaji Slovencev*, no. 2374.

¹⁰² Hilda Bajt, Vera Bajt, Irena Čargo, Nikolaj Čargo, Anton Drešček, Zora Ipavec, Berta Drešček (Adrijana Bajt, Boštjan Čargo, Mitja Kos, Monika Makorič, Nadja Skrt), Marija Stanonik, Archives of the ISE, SRC, SASA, no. 4286.

¹⁰³ Viktorijan Demšar, *Župnijska kronika*, Komenda, vol. II, 160/161.

¹⁰⁴ Juš Makovec, *Od Mure do Gorice*, 88.

¹⁰⁵ Marija Stanonik, Archives of the ISE, SRC, SASA, no. 316.

¹⁰⁶ Vinko Möderndorfer, *Verovanja, uvere in običaji Slovencev*, no. 2370.

¹⁰⁷ Niko Kuret, *Praznično leto Slovencev III*, Celje 1970, 179–180. Niko Kuret, *Praznično leto Slovencev IV*, Celje 1970, 461.

¹⁰⁸ Niko Kuret, *Praznično leto Slovencev III*, Celje 1970, 179–180.

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 Möderndorfer, *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*.¹¹⁴ 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.¹¹⁵ The villagers of Saka Lovci make fun of their neighbours in Gorenji Senik on account of flax¹¹⁶ and buckwheat.¹¹⁷ People from Vrhnika are insulted when called *kohlrabis*¹¹⁸, and so are those from Šmartno ob Savi.¹¹⁹ The inhabitants of Škofja Loka are *Loka rapes*¹²⁰ and those of Šmarje *beaners*.¹²¹ *Onioners* are the inhabitants of Zgornja and Spodnja Zadobrava, Sneberje, Hrastje and Šmartno.¹²² *In Greda they're all onioners/Everything they have, they spend on onions* (Š-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".¹²³ The inhabitants of Erzelj were called *Mulčarji* (*mulce* / 'blood sausages')¹²⁴, *Mulcarji* or *mulce*.¹²⁵ In Ipavci, the saying went that it is best to leave a viper alone, but to do away with a Karstian.¹²⁶ 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).¹²⁷ In Vrhnika, villagers will always ignore the word *tripes*.¹²⁸ In Ježica, refrain from mentioning *sausage broth*.¹²⁹ Other 'sausage broth swillers' were the inhabitants of Sneberje.¹³⁰

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

¹¹⁴Marija Ternar (Andreja Kavaš), Marija Stanonik, Archives of the ISE, SRC, SASA, no. 5478.

¹¹⁵Črtice Josipa Podmilšaka-Andrejčkovega Jožeta, KUD Fran Maselj Podlimbarski / Krašnja 2005, 22–23.

¹¹⁶Marija Kozar-Mukič, *Naselja in domovi v Porabju...* Marija Stanonik, Archives of the ISE, SRC, SASA, no. 8540.

¹¹⁷Marija Kozar-Mukič, *Naselja in domovi v Porabju...* Marija Stanonik, Archives of the ISE, SRC, SASA, no. 8538.

¹¹⁸Vinko Möderndorfer, *Verovanja, uvere in običaji Slovencev*, nos. 2348, 2349, 2350.

¹¹⁹Vinko Möderndorfer, *Verovanja, uvere in običaji Slovencev*, no. 2374.

¹²⁰Marija Stanonik, Archives of the ISE, SRC, SASA, no. 6454.

¹²¹Marija Stanonik, Archives of the ISE, SRC, SASA, no. 4496.

¹²²Marija Stanonik, Archives of the ISE, SRC, SASA, no. 7038.

¹²³Marija Stanonik, Archives of the ISE, SRC, SASA, no. 6949.

¹²⁴Marija Stanonik, Archives of the ISE, SRC, SASA, no. 6931.

¹²⁵Marija Stanonik, Archives of the ISE, SRC, SASA, no. 4287.

¹²⁶Danila Kocjan, Jelka Hadalin, *Bežji zlodej, baba gre*, no. 130.

¹²⁷Vinko Möderndorfer, *Verovanja, uvere in običaji Slovencev*, nos. 2351, 2352, 2353.

¹²⁸Vinko Möderndorfer, *Verovanja, uvere in običaji Slovencev*, nos. 2348, 2349, 2350.

¹²⁹Vinko Möderndorfer, *Verovanja, uvere in običaji Slovencev*, nos. 2342, 2343, 2344, 2345, 2346, 2347.

¹³⁰Marija Stanonik, Archives of the ISE, SRC, SASA, no. 7039.

asked if they have any butter for sale.¹³¹ Nadles near Lož refuses to hear the term *butter churners*.¹³² The village of Žeje (Moste-Vodice): *All the people of Žeje are in one egg, only Jeraj got out of it*.¹³³

8. Local heterostereotypes based on clothes

The phrase *Ljubljana shirt* ('dandy') was coined when soldiers used to sun-bath on Šmarna gora in the previous century and their shirts were stolen by Ljubljanians.¹³⁴ 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*.¹³⁵ The people from the environs and certain classes jibed at the dandy Ljubljanians using the nickname *tails* (tailcoats).¹³⁶

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?*¹³⁷ *In Buč they get very angry, when people walk through the village with their pockets turned out*.¹³⁸ *A man from Motnik wears trousers made of tow and a paper hat. And when the wind blows, it's all flop flop!*¹³⁹ The inhabitants of Zabreznica, Breznica and Doslovče are *skirts*.¹⁴⁰ The villagers of Šentvid 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.¹⁴¹ The inhabitants of Podsmreka are called *kučmarji* (kučma 'fur cap').¹⁴²

A bloke from Strane always has his clogs ready. (Š-8543). *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*¹⁴³, or, according to another version, lost them in Borovnica.¹⁴⁴ Beside these naughty explanations, a quite realistic one exists. In the old days, the Bistra monastery

¹³¹ Gašper Križnik, Šz 3/124.

¹³² Vinko Möderndorfer, *Verovanja, uvere in običaji Slovencev*, nos. 2360, 2361, 2362.

¹³³ Viktorijan Demšar, *Župnijska kronika*, Komenda, volume II, 160/161.

¹³⁴ Note from the author's personal diary, 29. 9. 1972.

¹³⁵ Damjan Ovsec, *Splošno o srajci, posebej še o 'ljubljskih srajcah'*, *Gea* 7, 1997, 13.

¹³⁶ Damjan Ovsec, *Splošno o srajci, posebej še o 'ljubljskih srajcah'*, 12.

¹³⁷ Joža Bertoncelj, *Kroparske zgodbe*, 71.

¹³⁸ Gašper Križnik, Šz 3/124.

¹³⁹ Gašper Križnik, Šz 3/124.

¹⁴⁰ Data courtesy of Matjaž Ambrožič, Symposium on Bishop Tomaž Hren, Rome 12. 9. 1997.

¹⁴¹ Marija Stanonik, Archives of the ISE, SRC, SASA, no. 6952.

¹⁴² Vinko Möderndorfer, *Verovanja, uvere in običaji Slovencev*, nos. 2367, 2368, 2371, 2373.

¹⁴³ Vinko Möderndorfer, *Verovanja, uvere in običaji Slovencev*, nos. 2354, 2355, 2356, 2357, 2358, 2359.

¹⁴⁴ Rado Radešček, *Prgišče starega srebra* (typewritten manuscript).

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 *cokle* ('chocks') were put in front of the wheels to prevent them from slipping. And that is why the people of Borovnica are called *chockers*.¹⁴⁵

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 influence¹⁴⁶ 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 Log *hides*.¹⁴⁷ The inhabitants of Vršnik were *tilers*.¹⁴⁸, those of Bratonci *spooners*.¹⁴⁹ In Selo they were *butter churners*¹⁵⁰, and in Breg *barrows*.¹⁵¹ The people of Tuhinj near Kamnik get in a rage when they hear the word *axe*.¹⁵² *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' (Peteruše).*¹⁵³

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: *škatile*). That's how the people of Budanje became *škattlarji*.¹⁵⁴ A well-

¹⁴⁵Rado Radešček, *Prgišče starega srebra* (typewritten manuscript).

¹⁴⁶Based on his estate.

¹⁴⁷Vinko Möderndorfer, *Verovanja, uvere in običaji Slovencev*, nos. 2360, 2361, 2362.

¹⁴⁸Oral source: the sexton of the church in Vršnik, August 1999.

¹⁴⁹Vinko Möderndorfer, *Verovanja, uvere in običaji Slovencev*, nos. 2379, 2380, 2381.

¹⁵⁰Data courtesy of Matjaž Ambrožič, Symposium on Bishop Tomaž Hren, Rome 12. 9. 1997.

¹⁵¹Data courtesy of Matjaž Ambrožič, Symposium on Bishop Tomaž Hren, Rome 12. 9. 1997.

¹⁵²Vinko Möderndorfer, *Verovanja, uvere in običaji Slovencev*, Celje 1946, no. 2369.

¹⁵³Živa Koch, *Življenje družin vasi Čezsoča v preteklosti in sedanjosti*, Ljubljana — undated, Faculty of Arts etn/54 D, 29. Marija Stanonik, Archives of the ISE, SRC, SASA, no. 8512.

¹⁵⁴Marija Stanonik, Archives of the ISE, SRC, SASA, no. 6926.

know craft in Gomilice was the production of wicker baskets (Slov.: *cekar*) and the inhabitants thus became *cekarji*.¹⁵⁵

*Those from Breg are all in one torn basket, only "Pergáv" escaped from it.*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.¹⁵⁷ In Gameljne near Ježica, better not ask for a *spatula*.¹⁵⁸ In Dobropolje, on the other hand, avoid the word *fouč* ('small curved knife') by all means.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*.¹⁶⁰ Other *stringers* are the people from Štanjel¹⁶¹, because they used to make strings for sale.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').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').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.¹⁶⁵ *Adzes* was the nickname for the people of Planina, derived from the saying 'as dumb as an *adze*'.¹⁶⁶ And the inhabitants of Ribnica were *aufbiksarji* (*Aufbiks!* is the 'battle cry' in a brawl).¹⁶⁷ In the Gailtal youths like to tease the inhabitants of Bistrica with

¹⁵⁵ Marija Stanonik, Archives of the ISE, SRC, SASA, no. 5482.

¹⁵⁶ Viktorijan Demšar, *Župnijska kronika*, Komenda, vol. II, 160/161.

¹⁵⁷ Marija Stanonik, Archives of the ISE, SRC, SASA, no. 2565.

¹⁵⁸ Vinko Mödrndorfer, *Verovanja, uvere in običaji Slovencev*, nos. 2354, 2355, 2356, 2357, 2358, 2359.

¹⁵⁹ Vinko Mödrndorfer, *Verovanja, uvere in običaji Slovencev*, nos. 2374.

¹⁶⁰ Mihaela Zajc-Jarc, Duhan iz Višnje Gore (Glasovi 7), Ljubljana 1993, no. 176.

¹⁶¹ Marija Stanonik, Archives of the ISE, SRC, SASA, no. 6932.

¹⁶² Marija Stanonik, Archives of the ISE, SRC, SASA, no. 4498.

¹⁶³ Viktorijan-Demšar, *Župnijska kronika*, Komenda, vol. II, 160/161.

¹⁶⁴ Vinko Mödrndorfer, *Verovanja, uvere in običaji Slovencev*, nos. 2360, 2361, 2362.

¹⁶⁵ Jože Prime, Okamneli mož, no. 336.

¹⁶⁶ Marija Stanonik, Archives of the ISE, SRC, SASA, no. 6929.

¹⁶⁷ Oral source: Albin Hrast, Gorjane (Kras) 18.11.1994.

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?*¹⁶⁸

The inhabitants of Melinci are called *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.¹⁶⁹ The village of Trnje is divided by the Črnc brook. The children from the two sides were always quarrelling and fighting. Those from one side were taller and thinner and called *flints*, while the children from the other side were smaller and fatter, so they were called *piggies*.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*.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*¹⁷², because they were always rebelling against everything and getting into brawls.¹⁷³

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 *upke*, and the inhabitants were called *upkači*.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*.¹⁷⁵ A poem about the girls from Ljubljana, deriving from Škocjan in Dolenjska¹⁷⁶ 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

¹⁶⁸Vinko Möderndorfer, *Verovanja, uvere in običaji Slovencev*, no. 1946, no. 2382.

¹⁶⁹Marija Stanonik, Archives of the ISE, SRC, SASA, no. 5475.

¹⁷⁰Marija Stanonik, Archives of the ISE, SRC, SASA, no. 5473.

¹⁷¹Danila Kocjan, Jelka Hadalin, *Bejži zlodej, baba gre*, no. 132.

¹⁷²Data courtesy of Matjaž Ambrožič, Symposium on Bishop Tomaž Hren, Rome 12. 9. 1997.

¹⁷³Marija Stanonik, Archives of the ISE, SRC, SASA, no. 6933.

¹⁷⁴Marija Stanonik, Archives of the ISE, SRC, SASA, no. 5490.

¹⁷⁵The grandmother of the recorder Silva Bevk. Courtesy of Mr. Janez Dolenc from Tolmin.

¹⁷⁶Damjan Ovsec, *Splošno o srajci, posebej še o 'ljubljskih srajcah'*, 12, 13.

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 girl 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 Šentlenart, the women from all the surrounding villages are judged.¹⁷⁷

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: Črnuče, Kamnik, Gameljne, Ljubljana, Ig, etc. (Š-8544). These texts are therefore very similar in genre to chronicles/humorous sketches.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.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 Cerklje 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).

¹⁷⁷ Vinko Möderndorfer, *Verovanja, uvere in običaji Slovencev*, nos. 2382, 2383.

¹⁷⁸ Marija Stanonik, *Iz kaosa kozmos / Tekstualnost in žarnski sistem slovenskega odporniškega pesništva* (theme issue of *Borec*), Ljubljana 1995, 196–202.

¹⁷⁹ Pavle Merku, *Ljudsko izročilo Slovencev v Italiji / Le tradizioni popolari degli Sloveni in Italia*, 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

¹⁸⁰ Vinko Möderndorfer, *Verovanja, uvere in običaji Slovencev*, nos. 2348, 2349, 2350.

¹⁸¹ Janez Jelenc, *Ledinska kronika*, volume III, (no pagination).

¹⁸² Šaljive zgodbe o Lemberžanih, 28–29.

¹⁸³ Šaljive zgodbe o Lemberžanih, 24–25.

¹⁸⁴ Šaljive zgodbe o Lemberžanih, 23.

¹⁸⁵ Matija Murko, *Spomini*, Ljubljana 1951, 24.

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.*¹⁸⁶ Similar stories are told about Marenberg, Veržej, Ribnica, and Šebrelje.¹⁸⁷ Another story, about how a bull is dragged up a bell-tower, is told about Lemberg¹⁸⁸, as well as about Šebrelje¹⁸⁹, the Slovenes of Porabje: *Bákard’e pulled a bull up the bell-tower to have it eat the grass there (Bákard’e are the inhabitants of the villages of Števanovci, Virice, Ritkarovci, and Andovci)*¹⁹⁰, and Bohinj.¹⁹¹ Two related stories tell how the Lembergians measured the depth of the Drava¹⁹² and the inhabitants of Šebrelje a footbridge.¹⁹³ Not only the Lembergians¹⁹⁴ 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.¹⁹⁵ 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.¹⁹⁶

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 Štajerska, which he attributes to the Marenbergians.¹⁹⁷

¹⁸⁶ Šaljive zgodbe o Lemberžanih, no. 3.

¹⁸⁷ Anton Černilogar. Text from Černilogar’s archive, courtesy of Janez Dolenc.

¹⁸⁸ Šaljive zgodbe o Lemberžanih, no. 4.

¹⁸⁹ In Ledine they say that someone is “thick between the ears” — dumb. As dumb as the fellow from Šebrelje who slaughtered a cow with an auger and dragged a bull up the rocks to pasture it Janez Jelenc, Ledinska kronika, volume III, (no pagination). Told by the mother of the recorder Silva Bevk, Cerkno, 1974. Text from the archive of Janez Dolenc, Tolmin.

¹⁹⁰ Marija Kozar-Mukič, *Naselja in domovi v Porabju...* Archives of the ISE, SRC, SASA, no. 8542.

¹⁹¹ Marija Cvetek, *Naš voča so včas zapodval* (Glasovi 5), Ljubljana 1993, no. 139.

¹⁹² Šaljive zgodbe o Lemberžanih, no. 8.

¹⁹³ Anton Černilogar. Besedilo iz zasebnega arhiva Janeza Dolenca, Tolmin.

¹⁹⁴ Šaljive zgodbe o Lemberžanih, no. 11.

¹⁹⁵ Autopsy.

¹⁹⁶ Šaljive zgodbe o Lemberžanih, 33.

¹⁹⁷ Šaljive zgodbe o Lemberžanih, 27.

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 sabres, 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 built 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*

¹⁹⁸ Manko Golar, *Okrogle o Veržencih*, Ljubljana 1973, 69.

¹⁹⁹ Matija Murko, *Spomini*, 24.

²⁰⁰ Manko Golar, *Okrogle o Veržencih*, 49–50.

²⁰¹ Manko Golar, *Okrogle o Veržencih*, 43.

²⁰² Manko Golar, *Okrogle o Veržencih*, 44–45.

²⁰³ Šaljive zgodbe o Lemberžanih, no. 5.

²⁰⁴ Autopsy.

²⁰⁵ Anton Černilogar. 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.²⁰⁶

V. Butale as the Slovene literary version of Abdera

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 *Butale* becomes obvious when associated with the adjective *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 *Pravljice* (fairy tales) instantly won him the fame of having superbly literarised folklore material. He repeated the feat with stories about the *Butalci*.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.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 *How the Butalci widened their church* into a superb satire.²⁰⁹

²⁰⁶ Grandmother of the recorder Silva Bevk. Text from the private archive of Janez Dolenc, Tolmin.

²⁰⁷ The first story about the *Butalci* was published in 1917 in the collection of fairy tales *Tolovaj Mataj* and continued in the youth magazine *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.

²⁰⁸ Fran Milčinski, *Butalci*, Ljubljana 1981, 20–22.

²⁰⁹ Fran Milčinski, *Butalci*, 23–25.

VI. Rejecting names that are felt to be taunts

Suha krajina: nobody wants to be a *Krajinčan*. In Dobrnič 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 were 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*),

²¹⁰ Vid Ambrožič, Petričkov Milan, in: *Žandar med cvetjem in knjigami*, Kamnik 1998, 354.

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 *Kujeki*, 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 Duplek*²¹⁷ 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: *Pomahajte, pomahajte!* (incorrect pronunciation of *pomagajte*-help). And the people on land will oblige and wave at him (*pomahati* / ‘wave’).²¹⁹

b) How do people mock the dialect of Loka and environs. By saying: *A lahka? Pejma, pejma! Gema, gema!*²²⁰ (Correct: *A lahko? Pojdim, pojdim! Gremo, gremo!* / ‘Let’s go’.)

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 Bistrica*. 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

²¹⁴Matija Murko, *Spomini*, 10.

²¹⁵Anton Gričnik, *Farice*, 50.

²¹⁶Anton Gričnik, *Farice, introduction* (Glasovi 18), Ljubljana 1998.

²¹⁷Oral source: Sinja Zemljič, Ljubljana 6.6.1998.

²¹⁸Oral source: Ingrid Slavec, Ljubljana 2005.

²¹⁹Irena Breščak, *Planinski vestnik*, volume?, April 1997 no. 4, 177.

²²⁰Informant not mentioned (Ambrož Demšar), Marija Stanonik, Archives of the ISE, SRC, SASA, no. 6455a.

²²¹Marija Cvetek, *Naš voča so včas zapodval*, 9.

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: *Vsi 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.²²²

c) When a stranger comes to Poljane and asks what the time is, the locals will answer *pal ane*.²²³ (a corruption of Poljane meaning 'half one')

č) *Dulé* or *Dolé* or *Düle*. 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.²²⁴

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 *gôrje* ('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')²²⁵

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.*'²²⁶

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.²²⁷ *Pollanca* ('spring chicken') was interpreted as *bolna* ('ill')²²⁸, 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.²²⁹ *Koliko* ('how much') was turned into *koš*.²³⁰ *Mangi* means 'eat!' in Italian, but the Karstians to whom it was said understood it as the Slovene

²²²Ivan Reven, *Vrsniki v plamenih*, Žirovski občasnik 11 (1990), no. 16, 83.

²²³Tončka Stanonik, handwritten notes.

²²⁴Jože Vidmar (Gogi Vidmar), Marija Stanonik, Archives of the ISE, SRC, SASA, no. 3970.

²²⁵Rosana Čop, Ljudska etimologija, Debatni list Slava 1, Ljubljana 1987, no. 1, 61.

²²⁶Lidija Kleindienst, *Bam knapa vzela, bam zmeraj vesela*, no. 30.

²²⁷Danila Kocjan, Jelka Hadalin, *Bejži zlodej, baba gre*, no. 190.

²²⁸Danila Kocjan, Jelka Hadalin, *Bejži zlodej, baba gre*, no. 184.

²²⁹Danila Kocjan, Jelka Hadalin, *Bejži zlodej, baba gre*, no. 178.

²³⁰Danila Kocjan, Jelka Hadalin, *Bejži zlodej, baba gre*, no. 185.

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* (Š-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!* (Š-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 "pajz rajt" ('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

²³¹ Danila Kocjan, Jelka Hadalin, *Bežji zlodej, baba gre*, no. 186.

²³² Anton Gričnik, *Noč ima svojo moč* (Glasovi 8), Ljubljana 1994, no. 398.

²³³ Svetlana M. Tolstaja, *Postulaty moskovskoi etnolingvistiki*, Etnolingwistyka /Problemy języka i kultury/ 18, Wydawnictwo Uniwersytetu Marii Curie-Skłodowskiej, Lublin 2006, 7–46.

²³⁴ Jerzy Bartmiński, *Niektóre problemy i pojęcia etnolingwistyki lubelskiej*, Etnolingwistyka /Problemy języka i kultury/ 18, Wydawnictwo Uniwersytetu Marii Curie-Skłodowskiej, Lublin 2006, 77–90.

the Faculty of Arts. In spite of its methodological shortcomings, the material this article 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.