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(Linguistic) identity(-ies) of Croatian diaspora in the novels of Martin Kukučín and Josip Andrić

The paper compares the representation of the (linguistic) identities of the South American and Central European Croatian diaspora in the novels *Mat' volá* (1926) by Martin Kukučín and *Velika ljubav* (1942) by Josip Andrić. The novels display a very rare account of the first generation of the Croatian emigrant community in Chile and the old Croatian diaspora in Slovakia from two different authors' perspectives. Namely, as the above mentioned Croatian expatriate communities differ primarily in terms of the time of migration and the place of immigration, and consequently in terms of the relationship towards the (ancient) homeland, linguistic and other aspects of identity, so the ambivalent outsider-insider position of Martin Kukučín, one of the most significant representatives of the Slovak literary realism who lived in Punta Arenas with the expatriates from the island of Brač from 1908 to 1922, also differs from the outsider's perspective of Josip Andrić, one of the key personalities of the Croatian-Slovak cultural ties during the World War II who lived in Chorvátsky Grob. The research is primarily focused on the analysis of the representation of the (linguistic) identities of the Croatian diaspora in the selected corpus, i.e. the formation of linguistic self-representation of characters and the meta-linguistic reflections on the sociolinguistic situation in the community.

Keywords: Croatian diaspora, (linguistic) identity(-ies), Martin Kukučín, Josip Andrić

1. Introduction

In this paper the constructions and representations of Croatian emigrant, that is, settler¹ (linguistic) identities are being compared from two geo-culturally distant areas

¹ According to Jelaska's (2014) terminology, in terms of linguistics, in Kukučín's case it is a matter of zero-generation of emigrants, that is, immigrants, while Andrić deals with the settlers' heritage

– South American and Central European and from two somewhat opposite authors' perspectives – the outsider-insider perspective in the novel *Mat' volá: Ohlasy z obce roztratených*² (1926) by Martin Kukučín and the purely etic one in the work *Velika ljubav: Roman iz života slovačkih Hrvata*³ (1942) by Josip Andrić. Even though the mentioned works deal with completely different communities in terms of history, socio-politics and socio-culture, and the authors' poetics and stylistic formations also differ, they are interesting not only from the aspect of exploring the Croatian-Slovak cultural and literary connections, but also as being the earliest literary representations of the Croatian diaspora in Chile and Slovakia. Besides, the time constellations of the two diegetic universes also overlap to some extent – that is, in the novels, there is a representation of the Croatian emigrants at the height of emigration to Punta Arenas at the beginning of the 20th century and (almost) a time-compatible representation of the Croatian diaspora in Chorvátsky Grob before its full (linguistic) disintegration. The paper is therefore dedicated to the analysis of the fictional (hetero-)images about the mentioned communities, with particular regard to the sociolinguistic dimension of the discursive constitution of their identities by means of speech (self-)representation and/or metalinguistic discourse of the narrator, that is, of the characters. In this process, the (linguistic) identities are addressed from the (moderate) constructivist perspective which is characteristic for the contemporary sociolinguistic, imagological and other paradigms, therefore, as complex, multi-layered, fluid (but also partially limited) socio-discursive constructions.

2. Kukučín's representation of the linguistic situation and identity in the Croatian emigrant community in Chile

Since the earliest days, the fate of the exiles and the emigrants has attracted artists, particularly writers. One of them is also Slovak writer Martin Kukučín (Matej Bencúr), who wrote about the Croatian emigrant community in Chile, to which he himself belonged due to the concatenation of life circumstances. Owing to this specific outsider-insider position, as well as indisputable literary talent, which posi-

speakers. There are significant differences between these two groups regarding the correlation of the linguistic and other aspects of the identity, thus the latter speakers have an expressed attachment to their settling space and notion of the mother country as their historic homeland, due to which the preservation of the heritage language is more related to the identity, i.e. to family and local belonging than to the collective memory (Jelaska 2014: 91). In immigrant communities, paradoxically, due to the dispersion and a series of other factors, it is often more difficult to preserve the relationship between the home idiom and other layers of identity, and accordingly to transfer it to the younger generations (Jelaska 2014: 90).

² Translated to Croatian by Geno Senečić – *Mati zove* I–II (1979).

³ Translated to Slovak by Ján Takáč – *Veľká láska* (1992, 1999).

tioned him to the very top of the Slovak literary realism, he wrote one of the most impressive novels dedicated to the nostalgia and longing for homeland, the novel *Mat' volá*.

Kukučín has found himself several times, often due to external circumstances, in the role of an emigrant or an exile (see more on author's life in Stričević-Kovačević 1998). After completing his studies in Prague, personal economic reasons have brought a young doctor to the island of Brač, making him a Slovak emigrant. Due to economic-political reasons, Kukučín left Brač and went to South America together with other Croatian emigrants, thus becoming a „Croatian” emigrant. After the World War I and his return to the newly formed Czechoslovakia, because of his personal problems and discontent with the situation in the homeland, he soon returned to Croatia again, therefore he might be considered a Slovak exile in the last period of his life.

In this context, his position of the „Croatian” emigrant is especially interesting. After staying in Selca on Brač for several years, where he worked as a local doctor and wrote a number of prose works dedicated to the Mediterranean environment,⁴ at the height of the overseas migrations in 1907, Kukučín joined the Dalmatian economic emigrants who colonised the south of Chile, more precisely the Magallanes Province. During the so-called South American period (1907–1922) he lived and worked within the strong Croatian community in Punta Arenas. He was equally popular and respected there as a doctor and as a person as he was on Brač, but in contrast to the period of his stay in Selca, he was very socially active, especially during the times of the World War I. He was a member of several Croatian societies, and from 1916 also the president of the Dalmatia society.⁵

⁴ During the so-called Brač period (1894–1907) Kukučín wrote a social novel *Dom v stráni / Kuća na obronku* (1903/1904) and short prose and travelogues which he most often published in the Slovak periodicals (see more in Stričević-Kovačević 1998).

⁵ According to Perić Kaselj (2017), Nicolas Mihovilović Rajević in his autobiographical novel *Izdaleka zauvijek* (2003) states that the Croatian emigrants did not know much about Kukučín's origin, but all of them considered him to be a member of their community: „He was not a Dalmatian. Some said he was a Magyar, others he was a Czechoslovak, Pollak or Russian. But he spoke as a Dalmatian and he felt like one. (...) Martin Kukučín never learned the Croatian literary language well, but he was very familiar with the old dialect of the local people which he gladly used. He used it in everyday speech as well as in private correspondence, and by doing so he was able to come closer to the souls and the hearts of his patients and friends sooner.” From the stated quote it can be deduced that the knowledge of the Chakavian dialect also undoubtedly contributed to Kukučín's integration into the community of the Dalmatian emigrants. The book by Ernest Livacic *Historia de la literatura de Magallanes* (1988) is also a proof of Kukučín's peculiar assimilation into the Croatian environment during the South American period, where the author among the most prominent Chilean-Croatian writers includes also Martin Kukučín, that is, *Mateo Benzur*. Of course, Kukučín as a born Slovak, who consistently wrote in Slovak language and published exclusively in Slovakia, cannot be considered Chilean-Croatian writer, nor the member of the Croatian or Chilean literature. The wrong information available to Livacic, which was also adopted by Lovrenčić in her book (2013: 85) probably contributed to this mistake. She states that Kukučín's

While residing in South America, due to extremely hard and rough living and working conditions, he did not publish his literary works, but he wrote, and for the most part in shorthand. The draft for the mentioned novel about the Croatian emigrants was written in this way. Although this is not his first literary work whose story takes place in the Croatian environment, this comprehensive novel is special because of the author's outsider-insider position, which enabled him to use the pronouns in the 1st person plural with the noun Croats for the first time when referring to the Croatian motifs:⁶

Obrátili sa k dlhému stolu. Za ním stojí sám gazda, pán Martin Kesica, tiež krajan z našej⁷ skalnatej Dalmácie, z utešeného Záhoria, dediny Orlovca tuším. (Kukučín 1926, 1)

The initial migrations of the Croats, mostly Dalmatians, to the Magallanes Province started by the middle of the 19th century, while the more intense economic chain migration, of mostly people from Brač and Omiš (Mimice), and forming of a more compact Croatian emigrant community occurred a bit later, i.e. in the period from the 1890s up to the World War I (Perić Kaselj 2016: 234).⁸ The backbone of the emigration was formed mostly of younger men, mainly land workers and fishermen, with lower level of education (Antić 1988: 419–420), which is an important sociolinguistic variable that is correlated with the domination of organic (/Southern/Chakavian) dialects in communicative practice in this and other Croatian emigrant communities, and their sociocultural connotative meanings and values. In the first phase of immigration, the Croatian

novel *Dom v stráni* was published in Spanish language in Chile in 1931, however, the novel was written in Slovak language and first published in sequels in 1903 and 1904 in the magazine *Slovenské pohľady*. Bojničanová (2010) also writes about the terms „Patagonian literature” and „Magallan literature”, and the position of Martin Kukučín within the Argentinian and Chilean literature.

⁶ Kukučín's literary identification with the Croatian emigrants through a narrator integrated into the community was certainly a consequence of his lifetime assimilation – from his first stay on Brač, his marriage with a Croatian woman, and lastly his life in Croatian colony in South America. Škrbić Alempijević (2004: 142) also warns about Kukučín's ambivalent position – integration into the Dalmatian (emigrant) community of members of a foreign culture, comparing it to the position of a „participating observer”.

⁷ Pointed out by the authors.

⁸ Emigration of predominantly economic character, which in different waves had different intensity, almost ceased by the World War II. Decreased afterwar migrations mostly carried political meaning (Antić 1988; Perić 2006: 1196–1197). Croatian immigrants largely settled on the sparsely populated polar South (Punta Arenas, Porvenir), the area which was until then mostly inhabited by the indigenous Indian and Creole population, and subjected to European colonisation in the last decades of the 19th century. Later on, the Croats also inhabit the northern Chilean towns – Antofagasta, Iquique and others (Perić 2006: 1197). One of the most important push factors of the migration was certainly the fact that Dalmatia was one of the most undeveloped Austrian areas, in addition to non-competitiveness, crisis and unemployment in the rural sector and sail shipping, introduction of military obligations in 1852, spreading of phylloxera, conclusion of the trade agreement with the wine clause between Austria and Italy in 1891 (Perić 2006).

community in Chile was linguistically consolidated, the mother idiom was dominant in practical and symbolic use, and its members relied on each other due to the lack of knowledge in Spanish language, while the later social stratification led to the transformation of the identity, that is, to the discrepancy between its linguistic and ethnic/national aspect (Lasić 2010: 165). Due to numerous negative factors, such as the necessity of being familiar with the majority language needed for occupational integration, lower literacy of the first generation of immigrants, lack of representation of the immigrant idiom in written discourse, educational system and the Church, exogamy etc., the Croatian language as one of the markers of ethnic/national identity in Chile started to disappear relatively fast (Lasić 2010: 164–165). In sociolinguistic sense, the Spanish language became superior and besides gradually suppressing the Indian, linguistically fairly heterogeneous, substrate, also substituted other immigrant idioms, among which Croatian as well, more precisely its (/Southern/Chakavian) varieties.⁹

The question that arises is how the mentioned sociolinguistic situation and linguistic identities of the first generation of emigrants were presented from a complex etic-emic perspective in terms of identity by a Slovak author who was a part of the Croatian, Dalmatian diaspora. It is interesting that, although in Kukučín's earlier Brač prose works numerous Croatianisms, that is, Chakavianisms have been interpolated in the Slovak matrix primarily to exoticize expression and evoke local colours and elements of (traditional) culture, and in this way consequently, as much as it is possible for the foreign language recipients, to identify the speakers, such stylistic technique is not used in the novel *Mat' volá*. The work was originally written in Slovak (literary) language, without major linguistic differentiations between narrative and dialogue segments and without a subtle speech profiling of the characters in the linguistic (self-)representation of which the elements of the (Southern) Chakavian varieties barely appear, while the Spanish loanwords are exceptionally rare. However, in the discourse of the narrator and the characters the metalinguistic utterances can be found which testify to the linguistic practice in this multilingual environment, exclusivity of the Croatian and inclusivity of the Spanish language in specific communication situations, acquisition of both languages, levels of linguistic competency, mixing of codes, language loss, as well as to some stereotypes and alike:

„Čo si žiadate?“ oslovil ho po anglicky.

„Prišiel som si pýtať nocľah,“ odpovedal mu španielsky. Anglicky rozumie čosi, ale hovoríť nevie.

⁹ According to Lj. Antić (1988: 413, 429), relatively quick integration and assimilation of Croats was facilitated by the prestige of the Austro-Hungarian Monarchy which prevented the inferiorization of the immigrant group, as well as by the Mediterranean (Spanish) cultural substratum, Catholic faith and the politics of cultural pluralism and equality of opportunities. Along with the economic situation, the latter factors can also be considered as the so-called pull factors of the migration.

„Mohol vám dovoliť i kuchár zložiť sa,” oznámil mu gazda. „Prepáčte, myslel som prvej, že ste Angličan.”

Petar sa videl v zrkadle. Dlhý nos, podlhovastá oholená tvár, svetlé vlasy, hm; mohol by vystať z neho i Angličan: najmä keby mal futro vyložené anglickými funtmi. Oznámil mu, že je Chorvát zo skalnatej Dalmácie.

„Vaši sú najviac počerní. Fúzy nosia napospol, tak som sa zmyšľil,” vyhovára sa. „Mal som ich i ja, skutočne. Ale som sa stavil, že sa oholím. Tak som ostal bez fúzov pre pletku.” (Kukučín 1926, III)

Hovorili v našej reči. Krešimír sa domyslel až teraz, že sa mu Petar dosiaľ vyhýbal. Udobril sa a spýtal sa ho prívetivejšie: „A čo ti je to?” Okúňal sa hovoriť s ním v reči, ktorú ostatní nerozumejú, a zhovárať sa s ním kaštelánsky bolo mu zas smiešne. Hľadel teda skončiť nedorozumenie čím skorej. (...) Musel sa zasmiať. Ostatní tiež zdvihli hlavu. Domysleli sa, o čom sa hádajú. Krešimír obrátil predsa na španielsky, aby rozumeli i oni. „Prečo ti urobili takú hanbu?” (Kukučín 1926, III)

Dačo rozumiete, ostatok sa domyslíte. Alebo si mívate, keď nehovoríme po našsky, že sme nie naši? Veľmi sa mýľite, slečna z utešenej Dalmácie! My slavianskeho pôvodu sme takí, že najviac užívame cudzie reči. Hádám, aby sa naša nedrala priveľmi. Ale v našej cítíme a kľajeme. Modliť sa už modlíme v cudzej. Tak už ideme oddávna a pôjdeme ešte hodný kúsok. Tu plávame v kaštelánskom, v Severnej v anglickom; ostatné halúzky našej krajiny ševelia po nemecky i inakšie ešte. Ale sme ešte tu, a že sme tu, znamená, že máme zdravé jadro, keď nenahnalo. Tak už len prídte, zaplávajte s inými... (Kukučín 1926, III)

The latter quote, among other things, testifies to the correlation of language and faith as well, which has proven to be of special significance in preservation of (linguistic) identity in numerous Croatian communities abroad. One of the factors contributing to the transformation of the Croatian (linguistic) identity in Chile, which Kukučín also discreetly mentions here, is certainly also a change between these two layers of identity. The Croatian language, which is usually called *naša reč* or *kaštelánsky*, is in this novel often intertwined with the living memories of the first generation of emigrants and a literary tradition of the native place (Andrija Kačić Miošić, oral literature), that is, it is presented as emotionally extremely important category to which positive attitudes and reminiscences of homeland are related:

Porovnávala, ako je veselo v tomto čase v Dalmácii. Víno vrie po viniciach; čakajú, kým sa prečistí a usadí. Začnú chodiť kupci pozerat' víno. Olivy začali zrietať; zabronené dajú do pece za chlebom; pečené sú veľmi dobré. Keď duje južniak a kvíli, dážd' začne čľapotat' po krovoch, zavrú okenice a posadajú si na lavice okolo ohniska. Rozprávajú staré príbehy. Vtedy ich navštívi Kraljević Marko, zhovárajú sa o ňom. „Tam sa o tomto čase vyberá na zimu a tu sa obracia na leto. Len prečo, bože môj? Prevrátený svet!” (Kukučín 1926, II)

It can be more or less determined that Kukučín in this novel pays more attention to some other aspects of identity of the Dalmatian emigrants, such as cultural/traditional, religious, and even political,¹⁰ than the linguistic one (see more in Škrbić-Alempijević 2004; Perić Kaselj 2018 on the representation of the non-linguistic aspects of identity). While doing so, he uses ethnographically extensive descriptions of the integration and nostalgia as well as the idealization and stereotyping of the emigrants, that is, attributes positively shaped collective character and mentality to all the members within the community (images of diligence, honesty, beauty and similar), by setting boundaries from the outside, that is, in relation to the Chilean culture, instead of inciting the heterogeneity of the Dalmatian diaspora (more in Škrbić-Alempijević 2004: 171 and further). The author bases and analyses these main preoccupations – the question of liberty, meaning of money, economic question, immigration problem, patronage – on Croatian motifs, which are in this work in turn explicitly presented.

3. Andrić's representation of the linguistic situation and identity in the Croatian diaspora in Slovakia

Although Josip Andrić was in love with Slovakia and was one of the key figures of Croatian-Slovak cultural relations in the times of the World War II,¹¹ his position among the Slovak Croats was however of completely different, it can be said, outsider character. Andrić did stay in Chorvátsky Grob, one of the four remaining Slovak places with once strong Croatian diaspora,¹² in which he set the story of his novel *Velika ljubav*, however, unlike Kukučín, he never integrated into this community.

¹⁰ When talking about the political profile and identities of this emigrant community, it has to be mentioned that the divisions between the members of the People's Party and the Autonomist Party in the times of the national revival in Dalmatia continued to exist in a slightly modified form in the emigration as well (Antić 1988: 424, 427; Perić Kaselj 2016: 235). In the new environment the latter group has, however, declared itself primarily as pro-Austrian which, given the fact that the immigration started before the process of the Croatian national integration in Dalmatia ended, reflected on the identity level as well where it came to the overlap between the state and the national identity (the division into Croats, Dalmatians, that is, Slavic people and Austrians reflected also on the linguonyms „naški”, „slovinski”, „austrijski”) (Antić 1988: 427). The Croatian identity in the new environment was not exclusive of the wider Slavic affiliation, and on the eve of the World War I, particularly among economically more powerful emigrants, Yugoslav ideas for taking down the Austro-Hungarian Monarchy were getting stronger (Antić 1988: 423, 425, 429; Perić 2006: 1197, Perić Kaselj 2016: 260).

¹¹ Josip Andrić dedicated few of his works to Slovakia – besides the mentioned novel, he composed the Slovak grammar (*Slovnica slovačkog jezika*, 1942), the history of the Slovak music (*Slovačka glasba*, 1944) and conducted a musical research of the musical heritage of the Slovak Croats (see more in Vulić-Vranković 2014).

¹² After the Battle of Mohács in 1526, organized massive migrations of the rural population from the central Croatia to the Western Hungary began. In three waves the Croats colonized the most part of the South-West Slovakia where they populated several dozen places (Kučerová 1998). Their descendants today inhabit four places which are part of, that is, are close to Bratislava: Jarovce, Čunovo, Devínska Nová Ves and Chorvátsky Grob.

Even though the Croatian diaspora successfully resisted the assimilation processes for centuries because of the traditional way of life in ethnically and linguistically fairly homogenous rural environments in Western Hungary, after the dissolution of the Monarchy which was socio-politically a particularly dynamic period, its rapid (non-)spontaneous (linguistic and ethnic) disintegration occurred, especially in the upper Danube community to which the place Chorvátsky Grob also belongs. From the beginning of the 20th century, in plurilingual local micro-communities on traditionally multilingual Central European space, the majority (official) languages began to dominate, institutionally and practically, in this particular case genetically and typologically close Slovak language. Since the upper Danube Croatian settlements were annexed to Czechoslovakia much earlier than the ones of the lower Danube,¹³ due to the similar factors as in the case of the Chilean Croats (non-institutionalization of Croatian language, especially its lack of representation in school and Catholic liturgy, absence of rich written heritage and non-representation of the local Chakavian speeches in written and public discourse, exogamy, de-agrarization, industrialization, change of lifestyle etc.), the transformation of the sociolinguistic situation and linguistic identities took place a bit earlier there than in the southern places. Assimilation and language loss intensified right during the time in which Andrić's story of the frame-narrative romance novel was set, thus, at the beginning of the 20th century and in the interwar, therefore the question which arises is how was the sociolinguistic state in this community fictionally represented in the mentioned novel (Vulić-Vranković 2014 first wrote about this).

The identity of the Croatian community in Slovakia during couple of centuries evolved independently from the mother country¹⁴ with a strong feeling of solidarity towards the settlement area. During the interwar period, although fully integrated in Slovak society, and even statistically counted as Czechoslovaks,¹⁵ the members of the community in Chorvátsky Grob, which Andrić's representation also confirms, still (unofficially) declared themselves (also) as Croats, whereby it was the linguis-

¹³ Following the dissolution of the Austria-Hungary, two northern settlements (Chorvátsky Grob and Devínska Nová Ves) were joined to Czechoslovakia, while the places south of Danube (Jarovce and Čunovo) became parts of Hungary up until the new afterwar constitution of borders in 1947 when they were also annexed to Czechoslovakia.

¹⁴ In Andrić's work also, most of the characters have never been to Croatia, except for example the soldiers in the World War I. Although in this group the narrative about the common origin, that is, the migration of the Croatian population in front of the Turks, as one of the foundations of the collective identity is rather alive, which is also incorporated in the analysed novel, centuries of separation and rare contacts with the mother country brought to the constitution of their separate identity, both in relation to the Burgenland environment, and to the mother country. The latter distinction, which is naturally more prominent, is represented in the analysed novel as well.

¹⁵ In accordance with the official ideology in the first Republic of Czechoslovakia, the members of the Croatian community started to be (statistically) listed as Czechoslovaks (Jelić, Holjevac 2006).

tic component which was (and still is) the most important (and even only!) distinctive feature in culturally and linguistically similar environment:

(...) jer i mi smo Hrvati, premda smo već preko tri stotine godina ovako daleko od Hrvatske. (...) jer smo i mi, koji u ovom selu živimo, potekli iz Hrvatske, jer i mi govorimo hrvatski, jer i nama kuca hrvatsko srce. Priljubili smo se doduše drugoj našoj domovini Slovačkoj, koja je djedovima našim dala utočište, kad su gonjeni nevoljom iz Hrvatske došli ovamo. Ušli smo u život slovačkog naroda, od kojega se nikada ne kanimo odijeliti, ali nismo prestali biti Hrvati. (Andrić 1942: 6)

Pređi su tvoji prije nekoliko stoljeća bježeći pred Turcima, koji su razarali slobodu Hrvatske, potražili i našli utočište u Slovačkoj. U njoj su se udomačili, u njoj su našli drugu svoju domovinu. Između vas, njihovih potomaka Hrvata, koji danas živite u Slovačkoj, i Hrvatske više nema nikakve veze osim jezika, koji ste donekle još sačuvali. (Andrić 1942: 88)

Although prone to ideologization and idealization, and even to the denial of the advanced assimilation processes (Vulić-Vranković 2014: 121), Andrić's representation of the position of Croatian language in Chorvátsky Grob in the first half of the 20th century in some aspects (non-standardization, lack of representation of the local Chakavian varieties in written and public discourse as well as institutions, their reduction to the intimate domain, the policy of monolingualism, influence of Slovak language and similar) still corresponds to the sociolinguistic state of that time (see Vulić-Vranković 2014: 119):

„(...) Mi ni ne znamo čitati hrvatski. U kućama svojim doduše govorimo hrvatski, ali svoje narječje, koje je već i pomiješano sa slovačkim riječima. U školi i u crkvi je samo slovački jezik...” razlagao je mladi Turinić. (Andrić 1942: 15)

With regard to the linguistic identification of characters (see Vulić-Vranković 2014: 122–123), it can be concluded that Andrić with minimum means, mainly by using prototypically lexical, morphological and phonological markers, creates the pseudovariety of the speech used in Chorvátsky Grob,¹⁶ by which he evokes the everyday use of this Chakavian idiom. It is interesting that he uses this variety exclusively with children's speech, which undoubtedly implies the intergenerational transmission of language and a certain linguistic vitality that without question al-

¹⁶ From the dialectological point of view, the speech used in Chorvátsky Grob, which due to the heavy intrusion of the local Slovak diatopic idioms and standard language as well as the interruption of spontaneous transmission of language to the younger generations is one of the most endangered Croatian varieties in Slovakia (Čagalj, Skelin Horvat, Ščukanec 2019), belongs to the continental Central Chakavian speeches with Ikavian–Ekavian reflex of yat and intradialectal interpenetrations (Vulić-Vranković, Petrović 1999).

ready started to fade at that time, and with the utterances of the tragic protagonist Pavle who lost his mind over unfortunate love:

„Imate li ešče knjižice?”
 „Nemam, djeco, sve sam vam već podijelio,” odgovarao im on. „Jeste li ih odnijeli kući?”
 „Smo,” djeca će gotovo u jedan glas.
 „Pa što su rekli tata i mama?”
 „Da su im lipe te knjige iz Zagreba,” javi se jedan devetgodišnji bistri dječak. Gospodin ga pogleda i upita:
 „A hoćeš li i ti čitati knjigu, koju sam ti dao?”
 „Dvi ste mi dali. Obadvi ću ja pročitati zato, kaj su horvatske.”
 Gospodinu se svidio taj otvoreni dječakov odgovor.
 „Kaži mi, dečko, kako se zoveš?” upita ga.
 „Janko Grebić.” (Andrić 1942: 5–6)

„Ne bojte se, i mi smo Hrvati,” reče mu dr Marković. „Došli smo čak iz Hrvatske.”
 „Eja ... eja,” zaigra neki sjaj u ludakovu oku. „I tamo u Americi ... i tamo sam vidil takovih Horvatov...”
 „Zar ste bili u Americi?” upita ga dr Grančić.
 „Eja ... bil sam ... Srce sam zgubil ... A tu je Kristinina mati ... Ne oće mi govoriti ...” orosi mu se oko. (Andrić 1942: 9)

The mentioned examples show that Andrić's use of dialect markers, which is definitely limited by his own idiolect and linguistic repertoire, that is, by the fact that he was not a native speaker of the variety used in Chorvátsky Grob, is not extensive – it is limited to ikavisms (*lipe*, *dvi*, *obadvi*), kajkavisms (*kaj*),¹⁷ Slovakisms (*ešče* < Slov. *ešte* ‘still’, *smo* < Slov. *sme* ‘we are’), anthroponyms (*Grebić*), affirmative particles (*eja*), non-vocalised active past participles (*vidil*, *bil*, *zgubil*), non-sibilarised stems (*Ameriki*), inflectional suffixes (*Horvatov*), hence, a few prototypic features. From the aspect of identity, the linguonym *horvatski* which in Andrić's text does not have an (hyponymic) alternative is also interesting in the mentioned example.

4. Conclusion

Although the analysed works are incomparable in many ways, it can be concluded that both of the authors in their novels raised important questions related to the identity(-ies) of a rather heterogenous Croatian diaspora. Kukučín and Andrić

¹⁷ It is interesting that it was precisely because of the interrogative-relative pronoun *kaj* that one of the first dialectological researchers of Croatian speeches in Slovakia – Václav Vážný – defined the variety used in Chorvátsky Grob as Kajkavian in his earlier works, which he later revised.

answer the question of the fundamental identity features of the two communities by providing different novelistic representations based on different distinctive elements and ways of (non-)assimilation. Both authors successfully identify the fundamental distinctive elements, according to which the linguistic identity(-ies) of the Croatian emigrants in Chile are considered as less important features for Kukučín, while Andrić attaches particular importance to them as the basic distinctive feature of the Croatian diaspora in Slovakia. By placing emphasis on other layers of identity, Kukučín's work, besides having an unquestionable artistic value, has a documentary one as well. On the other hand, although from a slightly blurred, idealized perspective, the credit goes to Andrić for presenting the publicly less represented and visible community in the literary discourse.

One of the contact points for these two authors is also the subject of overseas emigrations occurring at the end of the 19th and beginning of the 20th century, that is, perceiving emigration as exile. Apart from representing the Croatian community in Slovakia, Andrić in his work also includes Slovak (but Croatian as well) economic diaspora in North America, to be more exact, in Pittsburg. While Kukučín with a comprehensive, almost ethnographic approach presents the South American emigrants, Andrić includes this subject, among other things, for perpetuating the stereotypes about the Croatian-Slovak historical and political parallels and correlation which is ideologically motivated. The complexity of the identity of the members of the Croatian community in Slovakia and their contextual determination is especially evident in the transformation of the spatially dislocated protagonist Pavle, that is, in his realisation of belonging to Slovak people. Closely related to the mentioned notion of emigration as exile are the anti-Hungarian attitudes of Slovak overseas diaspora and particularly the display of emotional attachment of the bilingual actor towards the spatially defined Slovak language. The mentioned atmosphere largely corresponds to Kukučín's representation of the political identity and the anti-Austrian stands in the Croatian community in Chile:

Ali kad je došao u Ameriku, pa kad je tu iz župnikovih usta prvi put opet čuo slatku slovačku riječ, bilo mu je, kao da mu to progovara ostavljena rođena gruda. U tuđem je tek svijetu stao osjećati i razumijevati, što je domovina. (...) „Madžarske su nas vlasti htjele odnaroditi,” čuo je, kako govore, „pa kad im to ne uspijeva, šalju nas preko oceana, da nas se riješe, te da sebi osiguraju našu domovinu Slovačku. Polovicu su nas tako već poraštrkali po svijetu...” (Andrić 1942: 85)

„Z väčšej čiastky,” prisvedčil mu pán Katovič. „Strach im zatemnil rozum. Boja sa nás, boja,” doložil tichšie, „že zbohatneme a zmocnieme. Radšej mať škodu, ako mať na mori bohatý, mocný národ, ktorý pýta, čo mu patrí. Viete, že kto má peniaze, má i moc, a kto má moc, vie vymáhať svoje. Preto nám z Pešti i z Viedne zasekali cestu na more a rozprášili nás po celom svete. Chcú mať zbadačených otrokov.” (Kukučín 1926, I)

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(Jezični) identitet(i) hrvatske dijaspore u romanima Martina Kukučina i Josipa Andrića

U radu se uspoređuju reprezentacije (jezičnih) identiteta južnoameričke i srednjoeuropske hrvatske zajednice u romanima *Mat' volá* (1926) Martina Kukučina i *Velika ljubav* (1942) Josipa Andrića. Riječ je o iznimno rijetkim romanesknim prikazima prve iseljeničke generacije u Čileu, odnosno stare dijaspore u Slovačkoj iz dviju različitih autorskih perspektiva. Naime, kao što se navedene izvandomovinske zajednice razlikuju po vremenu migracije te prostoru doseljenja, a slijedom toga i odnosom prema matičnoj domovini, jezičnim te drugim aspektima identiteta, tako se i ambivalentni autsajdersko-insajderski položaj Martina Kukučina, jednoga od najznačajnijih predstavnika slovačkoga književnog realizma koji je zajedno s bračkim iseljenicima od 1908. do 1922. živio u Punta Arenasu, razlikuje od autsajderske perspektive Josipa Andrića, znamenite osobnosti hrvatsko-slovačkih kulturnih veza u vrijeme Drugoga svjetskog rata koji je boravio u Hrvatskom Grobu. Istraživanje je poglavito usmjereno na analizu prikaza (jezičnih) identiteta hrvatske dijaspore u odabranom korpusu, tj. oblikovanje jezičnoga (samo)predstavljanja likova, te metalingvistička promišljanja o sociolingvističkom stanju u zajednici.

Ključne riječi: hrvatska dijaspora, (jezični) identitet(i), Martin Kukučin, Josip Andrić

