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THE CONCEPT OF FREEDOM IN THE LANGUAGE OF MOLISE AND BURGENLAND CROATS

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ABSTRACT

This paper analyses and compares the linguistic picture of freedom, or rather, the concept of freedom in these two Croatian ethnic/language communities (Molise Croatian and Burgenland Croatian), whose language has been developing independently for centuries under the strong influence of the linguistic cultures within which they represent Slavic islands (Romance influence in Molise and German influence in Burgenland, although there is some Hungarian and Western Slavic influence among Burgenland Croats). This research relies on the main theoretical foundations and methodological assumptions of the Polish (Lublin) ethnolinguistic school (with certain limitations). After an introduction, the first part of the following chapter on the concept of freedom shall contain a discussion on the basis of lexicographic descriptions and written sources, while the second part shall contain a discussion on the basis of the results of the survey.

1. INTRODUCTION

Croatian diaspora use varieties of the Croatian language that differ from the official standard language in Croatia. Both the Molise Croatian ethnolect¹ and the Burgenland Croatian microlanguage have been separated from the original Croatian dialects from which they originated for centuries, both geographically and developmentally. These groups initially emigrated due to the Ottoman army invasions into the Balkan Peninsula in the 15th and 16th centuries. The Molise Croatian ethnolect has Štokavian physiognomy, but it is not a standardised language, as it is composed of three local dialects with equal standing (Mundimitar / Montemitro, Filič / San Felice del Molise i Kruč / Acquaviva Collecroce) in the Molise region. It is spoken by around 2,000 speakers.

¹ For more on the emigration, origin, and lives of Molise Croats, see the following (selected) publications: Capaldo 1979; Hozjan 1998; SujoIdžić 2004; Scotti 2006; Feruga 2009; Sammartino 2012, 2013; Kapetanović 2014, 2015. There have been variations in the determination of their origin, which has been correctly identified since Rešetar (1911), through Brozović (1970), Šimunović (1984), SujoIdžić et al. (1987), Čoralčić (2003), and Marinović, Sammartino, Šutić (2014).

Burgenland Croatian is a fairly standardised microlanguage with Čakavian physiognomy (although there are some Kajkavian speakers, as well as a fair number of Štokavian speakers in southern Burgenland), which, according to official Austrian state data from 1991, is spoken by around 19,500 residents of the Austrian region of Burgenland / Građišće (as well as by Burgenland Croats in Hungary, the Czech Republic, and Slovakia. Both of these Croatian diasporic ethnic communities are bilingual (Croatian-Italian / Croatian-German).

The goal of this research is to analyse and compare the linguistic picture of freedom, or rather, the concept of freedom in these two Croatian ethnic communities, whose language has been developing independently for centuries under the strong influence of the linguistic cultures within which they represent Slavic islands² (Romance languages in Molise and German influence in Burgenland, although there is some Hungarian and Western Slavic influence among Burgenland Croats). This research relies on the main theoretical foundations³ and methodological assumptions of the Polish (Lublin) ethnolinguistic⁴ school (with certain limitations).⁵ We hope that the results will contribute to a clearer picture of the concept of freedom among Slavic speakers and their neighbours. The concept of freedom in the Croatian standard language has already been the subject of analysis (in a yet-unpublished work by Kapetanović and Miloš), which showed that this concept is expressed in the standard language only through the stylistically neutral lexeme *sloboda*, whose foundational meaning can be summarised as ‘a state in which it is possible to decide and act without force and move without limitations.’ This meaning is also confirmed by Croatian dictionaries, proverbs, and texts. Although this lexeme has no accepted synonyms, it can enter into synonymic relations with words such as *neovisnost* ‘independence,’ *autonomija* ‘autonomy,’ and it has the accepted antonym *nesloboda*. A survey during this research showed that the five most frequent characteristics of this concept are: “[...] the ability to decide independently, public expression of opinion, the ability to act freely, the right to life without limits and fear,” and “[...] the ability to choose freely.” The overall results of this

² The Burgenland Croatian language was never an island, but an archipelago — a frequently broken spread of Croatian dialects. Molise Croatian has been reduced to only three dialects, although it once covered a wider area in Molise.

³ See Abramovicz et al. 2011.

⁴ The subjective (naïve) interpretation or reflection of the world stored in language and acquired through language (hence the term “the linguistic picture of the world”) is the main subject of modern ethnolinguistic research, also connected to stereotypes, which do not exist without valuation (a system of values). For more on this, see Bartmiński 2012. More recent cognitive ethnolinguistic research has placed great significance on the description of concepts important to each linguistic community.

⁵ The demands and methodological assumptions built for research on non-Slavic standard languages in contact with Slavic languages could not be followed entirely because of a series of given, e.g. the non-standardised nature of Molise Croatian, the lack of lexicographic descriptions and paucity of attestations in texts, the small number of respondents from various age groups, difficulties in written expression in Molise Croatian (which slowed and hindered the filling out of surveys in the field). Research on Burgenland Croatian was easier to carry out as it has more speakers, and its written heritage is fairly large in scope and well-preserved.

survey draw an outline of the aspects of the concept of freedom in the Croatian language ([psycho]social, mental, ethical, ideological, political, axiological).

The first part of the following chapter on the concept of freedom shall contain a discussion on the basis of lexicographic descriptions and written sources, while the second part shall contain a discussion on the basis of the results of the survey.

2. DISCUSSION

2.1. Dictionaries and written sources

2.1.1.

The lexeme *sloboda* has not been attested in the three Molise Croatian dialects (Mundimitar / Montemitro, Filič / San Felice del Molise i Kruč / Acquaviva Collecroce), and there is no other expression of Slavic origin that marks the content of the lexeme *sloboda*, which is prevalent in Croatian dialects and the standard language. In its place, the Italianism *liberta*⁶ is used in daily conversational language, however this word is also not attested in the two known Molise Croatian dictionaries (Piccoli, Sammartino 2000; Breu, Piccoli 2000). This is not surprising, as both dictionaries were aimed at recording Molise Croatian words of Slavic origin. However, it is quite unusual that attestations of a word for such an important concept are fairly difficult to locate in the diminutive Molise Croatian written tradition and modern texts, even with the help of native speakers and experienced researchers of this ethnolect. The Breu-Piccoli dictionary contains only entries for the verbs *liberat* (perf.) and *liberivat* (imperf.). It is actually interesting that we succeeded in finding an idiom within the Slavic framework that does not have a Slavic word for this concept (considering that only a loanword is used to mark this concept, it is difficult to consider this word [*liberta*] a part of the basic vocabulary of this language). As it is difficult to find Molise Croatian texts to document the decades-long usage of the lexeme *liberta*, we would like to introduce a statement (unpublished story) by native speaker A. Sammartino that makes apparent use of the noun *liberta*, the adjective *liberi*, and the verb *liberat*:

KADA NE BIŠE LIBERTA

Kada bihu dite, do zime moj did večer dojaše u nas ter se vržaše sidit oko ognja. Mu biše drago govorat s menom, jerke ja bihu kurijuz eš mi biše drago čut stvare nove. Ma on počmaše semaj govorat stvare stare,

⁶ In Italian dictionaries, *libertà* is presented as a lexeme with multiple meanings, which are described through the mention of the lack of constrictions, the lack of domination and dictatorship, autonomy in thoughts and actions, the lack of barriers and obligations, the absence (lack) of control, and exaggerated self-confidence: “1. La condizione di chi può agire senza costrizioni di qualsiasi genere [...]; 2. Lo stato di un popolo non soggetto al dominio straniero o a una dittatura [...]; 3. Autonomia nel pensiero e nell’azione [...]; 4. Assenza di impedimenti, obblighi, impegni [...]; 5. Mancanza o insufficienza di controllo; eccessiva confidenza [...]; 6. Con la prep. *da* liberazione, allontanamento da uno stato avvertito come negativo, doloroso [...]” (Sabatini, Coletti 1997).

do kada on biše mblad, do kada je ba poša za soldati, kada je ba bija na guer... Bi mi bilo veče drago čut stvare do mojihu dani ma — kada ne biše drugo — slušahu ono ke bolje poznajaše. Nako, dop toko zimi okolo ognja, sada su mi ostal u glavo fate do guere oš čudi imeni do misti ke je vidija moj did: Fiume, Quarnero, Ohrid, Struga, Scutari, Beli Drim, Crni Drim, Bocche di Cattaro... E saku večeru počmaše did:

“Ando’, hočeš čut stvare do danas; ma sada je lipo živit! Vi ne nadete što je bilo živit na moje dane, što smo prol mi kada bihmo mblade, di je ima potj tvoj did. Znaš di je Fiume, ke nonde zvahu Rijeka? Sada je Jugozlavja. Ja nonde se proša dva gošta za soldati. Nimahmo liberta kano soldate do sada. Eš nimahmo liberta nit doma, na one dane biše fašizm; ne biše liberi govorat, reč ono ke mislaše. To nam se činaše ono veče grubo ke čeljade moraše vit, ma nazgoro maše još dotj! Dva gošta dop ke se se vrnija iz Fiume, je počela guera e su me zval za se mbarkat za Albaniju. Na ‘ne brda ume Albanije, Greče oš Mačedonije smo kumbatil kundra Inglezi oš Greki, mi skupa s Tedeski. Smo hodil godišta napri oš naza, sada mahmo liberat na teritorj okupan do Greki, pa maše liberat na grad ke su ba vazel partidžane. Ma na ‘ne godišta ke se proša na ‘ne brižne zemblje, se pozna pur čuda čeljadi ke ne činahu gueru ma ke su patil veče do nas. Čeljade ke nimahu liberta nit pri guere eš nit su ju imal dop. E ove mblade do sada nam hoču naučit što je liberta... Ah blago njimi, neka bidu vesele do ove gracje Božije ke imamo sada!”

E, dokle moj did bi povidiva njegove štorje, ja palako zaspahu... E ta biše ura pur za njega potj leč.

2.1.2.

The Burgenland Croatian language has one word to mark this concept, and it is the same feminine noun (*sloboda*) as in the Croatian standard language. Numerous derivatives of this word of Proto-Slavic origin also exist (*slobodan*, *slobodno*, *slobodar*, *slobodarski*, *slobodnjački*, *slobodnjak*, *slobodoljubiv*, *slobodozidar*, *osloboditelj*, *osloboditi* [se], *oslobodjenje*, *nesloboda*, *neslobodan*).⁷ As there is no monolingual Burgenland Croatian dictionary, we checked the description of the entry for *sloboda* in the Burgenland Croatian-German dictionary (Bencsics et al. 1991, s.v. *sloboda*):

sloboda *f*, *usp.* razuzdanost ** — *sloboda* — Freiheit *f*, Spielraum *m*, Ungebundenheit *f* (oduzimanje slobode ** *oduzimanje slobode* — Freiheitsentziehung *f*; pustiti / pušćati na slobodu ** *pustiti / pūštati na slobodu* — auf freien Fuß setzen; sloboda mišljenja ** *sloboda mišljenja* — Gedankenfreiheit *f*; sloboda spravišća ** *sloboda sastajanja* — Vesammlungsfreiheit *f*; sloboda štampe ** *sloboda tiska / štampe* — Pressefreiheit *f*; sloboda testiranja ** *sloboda oporučivanja* — Testierfreiheit *f*; sloboda vjere, vjerska sloboda ** *vjerska sloboda, sloboda vjere* — Religionsfreiheit *f*, Glaubensfreiheit).

This lexicographic unit does not contain definitions or descriptions of individual meanings in Burgenland Croatian, however using standard Croatian — German lexical equivalents, syntagms, and references, it is clear that this is a lexeme that marks the concept of freedom. One interesting reference refers to a word with a similar meaning (cf. *razuzdanost*), and the syntagms mentioned (e.g. *sloboda spravišća*) and collocations (e.g. *pustiti/pušćati na slobodu*) are quite useful, as they infer the ramified use of this

⁷ This form came about through the dissimilation of the labials /l/ < /v/ from the word *svoboda* of Proto--Slavic origin, a derivation of the adjective **suobъ* with the suffix *-oda* (cf. Rus. *свобода*; Pol. *swoboda*).

lexeme in Burgenland Croatian.⁸ The following saying should also be noted: *Človik prez slobode je kot riba prez vode* ‘A man without freedom is like a fish without water’ (Schoretits, Probst 2005: 74).

The lexeme *sloboda* has been attested in numerous Burgenland Croatian texts. It must first be noted that this text discusses guaranteed and unlimited civil (and minority) freedoms:

(1) Ovo iskazivanje priznanja austrijske države svojim autohtonim manjinam je takozvana odredba državnoga cilja (Staatszielbestimmung), ka državi pri ostvarivanju konkretnih mjerov **daje** mnogo **slobode** kot veli ugledni austrijski pravnik Theo Öhlinger (HN–TGH, 30.01.2015).⁹

(2) Prema spomenutoj doktrini država manjini daje **neograničenu slobodu** i ju pusti na miru (HN–TGH, 10.10.2014).

We must fight for freedom, and it is often described as being “born” and “carried” at great pains, and this battle is often metaphorically connected with torture, chains, and slavery:

(3) Gledal sam mučenja i trapljenja malih narodov, a vidil sam kako ginu ti mali narodi, samo zato, ar ljubju **slobodu** svoju. Rekal mi je jedan u zatvoru, koga nisu mogli slomiti: U borbi, u krvi i plamenu radja se naša **sloboda** (Štefan Kuzmić, *Iz dnevnika jednoga zatvorenika*, prema Benčić 2/2010: 100).

(4) Proste pjesme moje, / razbite okove, / veruge i lance, / proudrite šance, / raspršite vake! / Zbudite Hrvate! / Nosite **slobodu** / mojemu narodu (Augustin/Franjo Blazović, *Proste pjesme*, prema Benčić 2/2010: 118).

(5) Dosta je narodu jur robovanja, / **Slobodu** kani i o njoj sanja (Anton Slavić, *Ugarska 1956*, prema Benčić 2/2010: 173).

Freedom can also be “made of glass” (illusory and limited) as in this picturesque description of a butterfly in this literary text:

(6) *Ne razumi metulj pred staklenom slobodom / da je zaman mučno sve migetanje* (Franc Rotter, *Croatia liberata*, Željezno 2002: 104).

Freedom of thought is important (related to tolerance) as is freedom of expression (which also includes responsibility):

(7) Znanjem, otvorenošću, komunikacijom i **slobodom mišljenja**, odlukov na temelju dušnoga spoznanja i vjerom on gradi svoju toleranciju (HN–TGH, 14.01.2011).

⁸ The lexicographic description in a comprehensive German dictionary (Duden 1976, s.v. *Freiheit*) provides three definitions of the word *Freiheit*: „Zustand, in dem der Betreffende von bestimmten persönlichen od. gesellschaftlichen als Zwang od. Last empfundenen Bindungen od. Verpflichtungen frei ist u. sich in seinen Entscheidungen o. Ä nicht [mehr] eingeschränkt fühlt; Unabhängigkeit, Ungebundenheit [...], 2. Möglichkeit sich frei u. Ungehindert zu bewegen; das Nicht-/mehr-/gefangen-Sein [...]; 3. Einzelnes [Grund]recht; bestimmtes [Vor]recht, das jmdm. Zusteht od. Das er sich nimmt [...]”.

⁹ Examples from *Hrvatske novine — Tajednik Gradišćanskih Hrvatov* are cited with the abbreviation HN-TGH and the date of publication (a list of links is located at the end of the paper).

(8) U ovom ljetu glazbeni svijet obilježava dvije obljetnice skladatelja čiji opus nisu samo znatno obogatili europsku glazbu nego su i doprinesli nje razvoju u smiru utemeljenja novih oblika i novoosvojenih **slobod glazbenoga jezika** (HN–TGH, 25.03.2011).

(9) Vi danas djelate u uvjeti **političke i medijske slobode**, pri čemu ne smite nikada zaboraviti da sloboda podrazumijeva i odgovornost (HN–TGH, 20.05.2011).

In addition to this, freedom of movement is also important:

(10) Iako iz Europske komisije poručuju kako su “**sloboda kretanja** i »Schengen« nepovratni” tr kako Komisija misli da nima potrebe za promjenom schengenskih pravila, ni u svrhu poboljšanja sigurnosti niti za kontrolu migracije, po vikend-sastanku ministara unutarnjih poslova i prometa devet država Europske unije, održanoga u Parizu, već nego ikada dopeljan je u pitanje opstanak dosadašnjih načela **slobode kretanja** unutar schengenske zone (HN–TGH, 10.09.2015).

In literary texts, the search for oneself is closely tied to movement and direction towards freedom:

(11) Kanim najti sam sebe i poiti put slobode (Ljubica Čenar, *Neznani puti*, prema Benčić 2/2010: 340).

A connection between freedom and an unrestrained (unhindered) way of life is apparent in this example:

(12) Človik kani biti slobodan, ali nažalost ova čežnja čudakrat završava u egoizmu. **Slobodu** danas mnogi poistovjećuju s nasladnošću, užitki (HN–TGH, 27.06.2014).

This last example shows how freedom can attain a negative connotation in a specific (moralistic) context. However, it can generally be said that *sloboda* is experienced and rated positively, as the opposite of e.g. force and evil.

(13) Ovo je dimenzija **duševne slobode** i neki individualni pristanak životu, ki se zna suprotstaviti sili, strasti, zlu (HN–TGH, 11.02.2012).

In formal speech, initial statements often begin with a request for free and direct communication:

(14) Dopustite mi **slobodu**, da Vam punim respektom sljedeće predložim s očekivanjem, da ćete Vi ov posao blagonaklonošću riješiti najbržim putem (Joško Weidinger, *Prošnja za oslobodjenje od vojne službe*, prema Benčić 2/2010: 189).

These examples show that the usage of the lexeme *sloboda* in various meanings is amply attested both in literary and journalistic style. These findings will be confirmed and expanded upon later with the results of the survey.

2.2. Survey

2.2.1. Survey results for Molise Croatian

For the purposes of this research, a survey of native speakers of Molise Croatian was conducted in late March of 2014 with the (bilingual) question: *Što misliš kada Ti kažem liberta? Qual è secondo Te il vero significato di liberta?* ‘What do you think when I say freedom [liberta]?’ The respondents were a total of 40 speakers of the three local dialects (Filič, Kruč, and a majority from Mundimitar), of whom 17 were men and 23 were women, aged between 16 and 87. Their answers provided 50 claims separated into 14 categories (N = 40, W = 50, D = 14).¹⁰ The results of the survey follow:

1. The ability to act freely [14] (28%)

1. To je bit liberi za činit ono ke verješ, posibilmente dobro; 2. Činiš ono što hoš ma ja ne činim semaj ono što hočem. Čeljade maju činit ono što hoču e ono što moru; 3. Stvara veče importante ke ima bit na svitu. Si je to, je sekoliko. Se mam izabrat veče bolje liberta ke lavoro; 4. La libertà e la possibilità di fare cio che si vuole, non essendo vincolati da alcuna circostanza; 5. Libertà j moč činit ono što hočeš do tvojoga života. Libertà je ne imati kospodara. Libertà je imati ono što servi za život; 6. Za me je moč život kako ti misliš, samo ke na ’vi vrime ke mi živimo naše politike nas činu život kako one mislu. Oš mi je za do onih čeljadi što ne moru život kako one mislu; 7. Činit ono što hoč; 8. To je kad činiš što hoš, pero, nije samo to, jesu toko stvari; 9. Moremo činit ono ke mislimo; 10. Libertà je ke jena hoče život sendza slušat drugih; 11. Moš činit sve što hoš dokle ne činiš škode nikoromu; 12. Ja jese liberi, ne gledam nikoroga; 13. Činit ono ke misliš, sendza činit zla drugim; 14. Libertà je ono što maš činit sendza mislit što misle druge čeljade okola.

2. The ability to express thoughts and opinions [9] (18%)

1. To je kada jena misli ke ma reč što hoče e drugi nima mi reč “Ti maš stat mučeno!” Ja kada gredahu na skol, se reka retoru: “ja sad mam slušat tebe, ma dop maš slušat ti mene!” To je liberta; 2. Libertà je za pensat kako hočeš. To je i za adžire kako hočeš. To je za činit stvari ke jedan hoče, pure u kučin; 3. Libertà di opinioni. Moč reč što jena misli. Ne servu tolko riči; 4. Ono ke nimamo. U Italia je demokracija, ma nije liberta di espresione; 5. To je jena stvar ke jena more imat, ke moreš reč ono ke misliš; 6. Je moš mislit... reč sve što hoš dokle ne činiš škode nikoromu; 7. Libertà je moč reč ono ke misliš; 8. Moč reč ono što misliš; 9. Se moč misli s moždani, moč esprimi pendzire.

3. Freedom is beautiful / good / the most important thing / everything [6] (12%)

1. Libertà je ona veče lipa. Si jena ti daje liberta ke ti kundzendi činit saku stvaru, je lipo; 2. Libertà je ’na stvar dobra, jerke si nisi liber, jesi kondicjonan; 3. Je jena lipa stvar; 4. To je jena stvar lipa; 5. Je prva stvar ke saki čeljade što je na svitu ba ima imat. Kada nije je liberta bolje umbrit. Benja. Je bolje se ubit na misto ke jena nima liberta. Kako čini na čeljade kambat nako? Nikor ma ju odiat drugim, pur si spiso to surti; 6. Libertà je sve.

¹⁰ Vesna Ljubić and Antonio Sammartino aided me in carrying out the survey, for which I am greatly thankful.

4. Freedom is limited or does not exist (pessimistic view) [6] (12%)

1. Danas nije se liberta. Se hoće komunizm. To je la vera liberta; 2. Kukodire reče ke je liber, ma nije istina; 3. Ma ke liberta? Maš činit što maš činit. Maš mučat; 4. Jena san, jena viziuna; 5. Za mene je to ke nismo čuda libere za te nove stvari ke su izašle. Čuda mladi jesu skjave do tehnolođije, nisu kompetament libere; 6. Nije lipo činit sve što hoćeš, ma ne za sekoliko. Nije ameso činit sve što je drago tebi.

5. Freedom is daily worry / battle [2] (4%)

1. To je za mene jena stvara ka ma se činit svaki dan... Se razumi što je samo se živimo moment za moment za ju imat. Se vive per questo obietivo non ti devi fare condizionare da te stesso e ne dagli altri. To sam rekla pur mojoj ščer; 2. E to je jena stvara ke ma se difenit semaj.

6. Work and freedom are connected [2] (4%)

1. "Il lavoro nobilita l'uomo e lo rende libero." Te dvi stvari greju skupa; 2. Je isto mod za pro vrime. To je kano teg.

7. Interpersonal respect [1] (2%)

1. Kada jena rispeta drugoga. Funi ona moja, počme do drugoga.

8. We do not know how to use it [1] (2%)

1. Liberta je jena stvara ke čeljade numu uzat: si ju nimaš, ne nadeš što je, kada je čuda, je ne nadeš kako ma bit.

9. Being free of debt [1] (2%)

1. Kada živiš ke nimaš vmit kunde nikoromu. Samo onomu gor.

10. Freedom exists (optimistic view) [1] (2%)

1. Danas po svitu ima liberta, pero je čuda liberta

11. Freedom is incorruptible [1] (2%)

1. Ne more se kupit.

12. Complicated (without borders) [1] (2%)

1. Liberta je stvara komplikana. Moreš imat tvoju liberta, ma nimaš tokat liberta do drugoga. Alora, di je kumbina?

13. Freedom is an inexplicable (abstract) idea [1] (2%)

1. Je stvarna ke ne umim spjegat.

14.–17. Other [4] (8%)

1. Ja nimam liberta ke mam poplivit masline; 2. Denituri maju dat liberta dicami. Dica maju stat same oš imat njihov život; Kak reče žena mi!; 4. Moj muž je čuda liberi, ima čuda liberta. Ma pur ja sproventivam bit kano on. Ma nije fačilo.

This survey shows convincingly that the *ability to act freely* is the most frequently mentioned characteristic (28%), while the second most frequent characteristic is the *ability to express thoughts and opinions* (18%). The axiological aspect is then expressed (*freedom is beautiful / good / everything, the most important thing* or the pessimistic view of reality according to which *there is no freedom or it is limited*), followed by individual psychosocial characteristics tied to freedom (the constant battle for freedom, the connection between work and freedom, the importance of tolerance and respect, the inappropriate use of freedom, lack of debt), and finally other axiological aspects (freedom exists, freedom cannot be bought, freedom is complicated, freedom is an inexplicable idea). The unclassifiable statements are also of interest, especially that which states that parents give their children freedom, that a wife gives her husband freedom, and the female perspective that men have more freedom.

2.2.2. Survey results for Burgenland Croatian

In late 2015, research and a survey of native speakers of Burgenland Croatian¹¹ was conducted for the purposes of this research with the (bilingual) survey question: *Ča / Što je za Vas prava bit slobode? Was ist für Sie die wahre Freiheit?* ‘What do you consider the true nature of freedom [sloboda]?’ A total of 40 speakers were surveyed, of whom 22 were men and 18 were women, aged between 19 and 78, whose answers provided 80 claims divided into 16 categories (N = 40, W = 80, D = 16). The results of the survey follow:

1. The ability to express thoughts, opinions, and religious affiliation [19] (23,75%)

1. Sloboda je za mene da znam reć, ča je moje pravo mišljenje, prez da se moram bojati, da ću u delu zbog toga dostat kündigungu (napustiti me), da se moram bojati, da dobim velje stempilju, da sam protiv stranaca,

¹¹ The respondents come from the broader, central, and northern Burgenland region (towns: Željezno, Klimpuh, Gornja Pulja, Dolnja Pulja, Veliki Borištof, Trajštof, Devinsko Novo Selo, Filež, Gijeca, Perchtoldsdorf, Frankanava, Velika Narda, while some respondents from these towns currently live in Vienna). Most of them were surveyed during a Christmas fair in Vienna in 2015. I was aided in carrying out this survey by: Silvija Buczolic, Elisabeth Brandner, Petar Tyran and the employees of the Croatian Centre in Vienna (Jelena Tisaj and Gabriela Novak-Karall), to whom I give my heartfelt thanks. I would also like to thank Sanja Vulić for her help in establishing contact with Croats in Burgenland.

protiv židova, da sam ateistka. Da ne marim mislit onako, kako mi se onschofa (ich möchte nicht denken müssen, wie man es mir befiehlt); 2. Ne morat pazit, ča velim; 3. Slobodu uživam onda, ako morem razvijati i sprogovariti svoje misli prez negativnih posljedice; 4. Prava bit slobode za mene je misliti svoje vlastite misli kao i mogućnost sprogovoriti ih slobodno odnosno živjeti po svojem osvjedočenju bez straha od nasilja ili proganjanja, isto tako kao u političkom smislu kao i u vjerskom; 5. Reć i izrazit moje mišljenje slobodno; 6. Da možeš slobodno kazati tvoje mišljenje i da možeš slobodno živjeti svoju vjeru; 7. Slobodno s respektom prema drugim morem pisat i govorit ča morem..., slobodno si idem va crikvu a nikdor mi nebrani; 8. Sloboda mišljenja, sloboda vjere; 9. uživat u otvorenom govoru; 10. Sloboda mišljenja, da človik more prez pogibeli svakomu otvoreno povidati ča misli; 11. Da svakomu u lice mogu reći moje mišljenje; 12. Pravo izraziti mišljenje; 13. Da morem živit moj svitonazor, pluralitet mišljenja; 14. Prava sloboda je za mene ako morem pred svim mislit kako kako kanim; 15. Reć ča si mislim; 16. Sloboda nutri, da morem mislit, čutit, govorit kako ja čutim; 17. Da smim reć i misliti ča kanim; 18. Sloboda govora, pisanja, kreativnoga ostvarenja prez toga da se drugih ograničuju — jako važno mi je slobodno priznavanje svojoj priznatoj vjerskoj zajednici, ar mi vjerske istine davaju moralnu podlogu i putokaz žitka; 19. Sloboda otvorenoga govora.

2. The ability to freely/independently act without limits (without harming others) [18] (22,50%)

1. Sloboda delanja (Handlung). Sloboda bi isto bila za mene, ako znam dostat onaj stan (Wohnung) ki bi mi se vidio, a ne samo ako imam veze i pinezi za to (jer pinezi su samo u ruka jako malog broja ljudi). Sloboda je, da znam živit, kako mi je želja. Da dostanem podupiranje, a ne samo, ako to u politični smjer pasa. Da znam delati srčeno (herzliche Handlungen setzen), bez da sam odmah kao "slaba osoba" (schwache Person) vidjena; 2. Stanje u kojem nisam potisnuta, zatvorena... i da znam to delati ča mislim da je pravo; 3. Pojti kroz svit i si predstaviti, da morem sve djelati, ča kanim — prez skrbi je li je to zaistinu moguće (logistički, financijski itd.) i prez tereta (fizički i psihički); 4. Prava sloboda znači za me to djelati ča kanim i kade kanim s obzirom na osobe okolo mene; 5. Ako morem djelati ča kanim, to ča me veseli; 6. Imati mogućnost živit, djelati, ljubit, govorit (tako kako ja mislim) — prez da škodim komu drugomu; 7. Ako znaš sve djelati ča kaniš, prez da drugim škodiš; 8. Časa imat za mene kada kanim da imam djelo kade si znam zadilit moj čas i da si moje projekte morem zibrat pak organizirat; 9. sloboda je za me ako me drugi človik u mojoj slobodi ne pači; 10. neodvisnost; 11. Djelat ča ću, pod nikakovi pritiski bit; 12. Stanje u kojem nisam potisnuta, zatvorena... i da znam to delati ča mislim da je pravo; 13. Ja se čutim slobodna ako smim djelati ka kanim, ako smim to s punim srećem djelati ča mi se vidi i ako nimam stresa; 14. djelati ča kanim, bez da se čutim krivo kad ne udjelam svoje obaveze; 15. Sloboda je mogućnost stvaranja stvari ke s želim, uglavnom se meni sloboda definira po zlatnom pravilu: Ne stvori nikomu ništa od čega ne želiš da tebi drugi stvoru; 16. Ako moreš živit u jednoj okolici kade si moreš sam zibrat kako kaniš živit; respektiranje drugih človika (!) je važan preduvjet da moru i oni živit slobodu; 17. Mogućnosti za ostvarenje osobnih nastojanja do one granice da ne pačim drugim u njevom ostvarenju slobode po odredjeni ljudski i humani mogućnosti... Sloboda za mene ne znači, da svaki smi činiti što kani, ona ima isto svoje okvire, ar nezauzlana egoistična sloboda ide svenek na kvar drugoga; 18. Živit tako kako kanim prez da je na škodu koga drugoga.

3. Freedom is the ability to choose (a partner, profession, place of residence, job, political option, language...) [8] (10,00%)

1. Slobodan sam, ako se zadužim samo onomu i onoj, koga i koju sam odaberem; 2. Odlučiti sam o svojem životu, što ćeš postati u životu (u kojem zanimanju ćeš raditi), u kojem gradu ćeš živjeti; 3. Slobodni izbori; 4. Da mogu sam izabrati svoj posao i ga tako oblikovati ka ja željim; 5. Govorit jezika koga kanim, birat mjesto kade živim, učiti sve koliko i kako dugo kanim; 6. Da imam pravo na slobodne izbore; 7. Odvisno od svojih socijalnih, izobrazbenih i kulturoloških prilikova birati način i mjesto življenja, kretanja i putovanja. Takodjer slobodno biranje kulturnoga i političkoga opredjeljenja odn. usmirenja. Človik na žalost ne

ishasnuje (ili ne more ishasnovati) sve mogućnosti svoje (i ako samo teoretske) slobode. U glavnom sigurno valja engleska poslovice: "Use it or lose it!" 8. Imati pravo na vlašću odluku dokle to ne škodi drugomu.

4. Freedom is tolerance and justness [6] (7,50%)

1. Sloboda je da ti dam pravo imat svoje pravo i ti daš meni pravo da imam ja svoje pravo; 2. Živiti svoju kulturu, identitet, seksualnost; 3. Tolerancija; 4. Biti tolerantna drugimi...; 5. Pravičnost je fundamenat na kojem se gradi ljudska zajednica i ostvaruju humane vrijednosti za svakoga i svaku grupu unutar društva; 6. Tolerantan biti kao i toleranciju doživljavati.

5. Freedom of movement [5] (6,25%)

1. Sloboda je da idem preko granice a nikdor me nekontrolira. Sloboda je da je pal željezni zastor, a ja morem ljubiti preko granice; 2. Da morem preći granice kroz zastoja; 3. Da imam mogućnost da putujem; 4. Putovati bez straha; 5. Sloboda gibanja u okviru slobodnih ljudskih zajednica za sebe i svoju obitelj.

6. Freedom to decide [5] (6,25%)

1. Sloboda je da morem kroz straha proći iz doma i da morem poći lijevo ili desno a za tu odluku nosim svoju odgovornost; 2. Da morem odlučiti sam kamo idem ili se vozim; 3. Ako si morem upravit ono ča moram kada, kade, i kako kanim, sloboda = sloboda odluke; 4. Da morem sve ča mi je važno sama odlučiti... da morem biti sama ako želim, da morem biti umorna onda kada želim, i da morem djelati u mojem tempu; 5. Da morem sama odlučiti kade i kako živim, kade dilam i kako zadilim dosć slobodnoga vremena.

7. Freedom is the ability to enjoy (the sun, peace, food, drink, driving, walking, looking around, friends, family, socialising, dancing, listening to music, reading newspapers and books, watching television... without obligations, spontaneously, yelling in the shower) [4] (5,00%)

1. U suncu siditi uz dobro jilo i pilo... voziti u autu, vlaku itd. i gledati van, šetati po Beču i gledati stane; 2. Ako morem djelati ča kanim, to ča me veseli, uživati život, prijatelje, obitelj i svijet. Šetati se u prirodi, po gradu, po selu, upoznati nove krajeve i nove varošice. Pominati i strefiti se s družicami. Tancati i slušati muziku. Čitati cijelo dopodne novine i piti kavu i čaj. Ali i čitati cijeli dan knjigu i siditi u parku. Ili gledati cijeli dan televiziju. Ako ne pravim gledati na ure i se pašćiti na neki termin; 3. Mogućnost živiti uživati; 4. Fućkati na (ove) obaveze, biti špontanani, hititi se na bicikl i odvesti se nepoznatu rutu, jaćiti pod tušom (opušćeno i jako glasno).

8. Freedom is limited or does not exist [2] (2,50%)

1. Prava i 100% sloboda postoji samo u misli; 2. Ja mislim da ne more postojiti prava biti slobode.

9. Freedom is tied to peace and security [2] (2,50%)

1. Se ne morati bojati, da će se ča stat (mislim na te djela svijeta, kade vlada boj); 2. Kada je mir u mojoj okolini.

10. Freedom is a value [1] (1,25%)

1. Je jedna velika vrijednost... Na žalost se u ime slobode čini i mnoge nepravdičnosti.

11. Freedom is tied to responsibility [1] (1,25%)

1. Sloboda je puno povezana s odgovornošću, to mi je jasno.

12. Freedom is related to the truth [1] (1,25%)

1. Moja najveća sloboda bi bila, ako bi mogla u politici djelati i ljudem "istinu uočiti" (Wahrheit einschicken). Sloboda je za mene, ne svit iz lažama (mit Lügen) manipulirati. Istina je dosta puta teška (tut weh), ali pelja slobodi (Wer kann das nicht: "die Wahrheit wird euch frei machen").

13. Being equal [1] (1,25%)

1. Imati ista prava kao muži.

14. Freedom is life without fear [1] (1,25%)

1. Bez straha živiti smisla.

15. Freedom is health [1] (1,25%)

1. Da sam tako zdrava da morem (to si) djelati.

16.–20. Other [5] (6,25%)

1. Da imam velik krug prijatelja, da imam tako dobru mamu i da mi tako dobro ide; 2. Neoliberalizam;
3. Biti naj sretniji na svijetu!; 4. Sloboda je bez pripadnosti vjeri, ko si tako misli, onda imamo svi slobodu, a ne boj; 5. Pravo se učiti.

The survey showed that the characteristics tied to the *freedom to express thoughts* and *freedom to act* are nearly equally important — these two characteristics showed a fairly significant lead over the rest. These characteristics are then followed by *freedom of choice*, *tolerance / justness*, *freedom of movement*, and *freedom to decide*. The presence of the *freedom to enjoy* is particularly significant, as it was attested neither in the survey of Molise Croats nor in a survey of the same concept in the Croatian standard language (however, it was attested in research in German-speaking regions).¹² Following this, two charac-

¹² Out of 104 German respondents, 5% of them emphasised comfort/enjoyment as a characteristic, while 1.67% emphasised the lack of war (see Janoszczuk 2014: 220, 222).

teristics had an equivalent number of mentions — the pessimistic view of freedom (it does not exist or is limited) and the view connecting freedom with peace and security. These are followed by characteristics attested in only one statement: value, responsibility, truth, equality, life without fear, and health. The final entry notes a few statements that are difficult to categorise or do not bear any especially clear characteristic. It is apparent that the axiological aspect is weakly present, while the mental, psychosocial, ethical and political aspects are more strongly present.

3. CONCLUSION

Research on the concept of freedom in the Molise Croatian and Burgenland Croatian languages has shown that Molise Croatian does not have a lexeme of Slavic origin to express this concept, using instead the Italian loanword *liberta*, which is not attested in two dictionaries from the year 2000 and was also not found in the small fund of Molise Croatian written heritage (for which reason it was not possible to create a complete description according to the methodology of the Lublin ethnolinguistic school). The Burgenland Croatian microlanguage contains the lexeme *sloboda* (like the Croatian standard language), which is attested in the Burgenland Croatian — German dictionary and in numerous literary and journalistic texts, along with derivatives with the root *slob-*. Surveys conducted (with 40 respondents) in these two old Croatian diasporic communities show that the concept of freedom can be described in a series of around 15 characteristics. These characteristics differ between the two communities. While Molise Croats listed the characteristic of *the ability to act freely* (28%) in first place, followed by *the ability to express thoughts and opinions* (18%), Burgenland Croats ranked these two characteristics as nearly equally important, as they were attested in a nearly equal number of statements (*ability to express thoughts and opinions* 23.38%; *ability to act freely* 22.50%). Among the remaining characteristics stated by Molise Croats, characteristics emphasizing the axiological aspect of the concept of freedom were especially strongly accented, while Burgenland Croats listed the mental, psychosocial, and ethical and political aspects of freedom much more strongly than the axiological aspects. It should be noted especially that the results of the survey from Burgenland emphasise the characteristics of enjoyment and safety (peace), which were not expressed in surveys of speakers of either Molise Croatian or the Croatian standard language.¹³

¹³ This paper is partially founded on research currently being done as part of the *Documentation and Interpretation of the Earliest Croatian* (DOCINEC) scientific research project, which is financed by the Croatian Science Foundation, regarding research relating to interest in archaic language usage, etymology, old semantic relations, the ethnolinguistic foundations of research, and the focus on reconstructing concepts important to all communities.

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STRESZCZENIE

Koncept WOLNOŚCI w języku molizańskich i burgenlandzkich Chorwatów

Słowa kluczowe: wolność, molizańsko-chorwacki, burgenlandzko-chorwacki.

Badanie konceptu wolności w języku molizańsko-chorwackim i burgenlandzko-chorwackim pokazało, że w molizańsko-chorwackim nie występuje leksem słowiańskiej proweniencji, którym wyrażany jest ten koncept. Zamiast tego używa się zapożyczenia (italianizm *liberta*), które jednak nie zostało poświadczone w dwóch słownikach wydanych w 2000 r., nie pojawia się również w stosunkowo niewielkiej spuściźnie literackiej molizańskich Chorwatów. W burgenlandzko-chorwackim mikrojęzyku znany jest wyraz *sloboda* (tak jak w chorwackim języku standardowym), który razem z innymi derywatami od rdzenia *slob-* jest potwierdzony w słowniku burgenlandzko-chorwacko-niemieckim, a także w licznych tekstach literackich i prasowych oraz przysłowiach. Ankiety przeprowadzone w dwóch starych chorwackich diasporach (po ok. 40 ankietowanych) pokazują, że koncept wolności można opisać szeregiem ok. piętnastu charakterystyk. W obu wspomnianych wspólnotach cechy te są różne. U molizańskich Chorwatów na pierwszym miejscu pod względem liczby wskazań wyróżniony został opis „możliwość swobodnego działania” (28%), a drugie miejsce zajmuje „możliwość wyrażania myśli i poglądów” (18%). W burgenlandzko-chorwackim obie te cechy są niemal równoważne (odpowiednio 23,75% i 22,50%). Wśród pozostałych cech molizańscy Chorwaci wyróżnili przede wszystkim te wskazujące na aksjologiczny aspekt konceptu wolności, u burgenlandzkich Chorwatów natomiast odgrywał on rolę poślednią w odróżnieniu od aspektów: psychicznego, psychospołecznego, etycznego i politycznego. Na uwagę zasługuje też fakt, że uwidocznione w ankietach z obszaru Burgenlandu cechy „(korzystanie z) przyjemności” oraz „bezpieczeństwa (spokoju)” nie wystąpiły w ogóle wśród użytkowników molizańsko-chorwackiego, a także chorwackiego języka standardowego.