# The novel *Restoran Dalmatia* by Jagoda Marinić – The authentic voice of identity and life doubts of the second generation of Croatian migrants in Germany

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## Abstract

Many Croats live and work in Germany – in different occupations, socio-economic positions, and with various degrees of integration into German society. There are also writers among them. Some Croatian writers are political emigrants, and some are Croatian civil servants. They, like the older generation of economic migrants, write mainly in Croatian and have a strong connection to Croatian literature and culture. while their connection to German literature and culture is weaker. It is an observable fact that the young generation, mostly the second generation of economic migrants, is very active in literature, writing mainly in German on 'Croatian' topics. Their literary works function very well as an integral part of German literature, but since we live in a time when we should not be exclusive in defining identity, but open and inclusive, we also read them as works of Croatian literature. The most prominent authors of that generation are Jagoda Marinić, Marica Bodrožić, Nicol Ljubić and Nataša Dragnić. In the central part of this paper, we will analyse the novel Restaurant Dalmatia by Jagoda Marinić in which the author excellently describes the intercultural and multicultural atmosphere of the big city (here Berlin and Toronto), where members of the second generation of migrants seek and create their identity between family and the environment in which they have grown up; in addition, in a globalized world, the possibility of a third identity is also readily available. When reading the novel Restaurant Dalmatia, it becomes clearer to us that identity is built throughout life, under different influences, in different ways, and with different intensity.

**Key words:** Croats in Germany, Croatian literature, migrant literature – new German literature, canon, identity, imagology

# Croats in Germany - three groups of Croatian writers

It is a well-known fact that Croats live all over the globe, and it is often said that there is almost no country in the world without Croats, and that the same number of Croats live outside the Republic of Croatia as inside the country. It is important to point out the important differences in their position and note that Croats are one of the three constituent nations in Bosnia and Herzegovina and that as members of historical minority communities, with more or less equal rights, Croats have traditionally lived in 12 european countries. Apart from these communities where Croats have lived for centuries, there is a very large number of Croatian emigrants in European and overseas countries where Croats living in North and South America stand out in number. A large number of Croats also live in Australia, while within Europe Germany is home to the most Croatian emigrants. At the end of 2018, the official statistics of the German Statistical Office (Statistisches Bundesamt) showed that there were 395,665 Croats in the country. However, it should be borne in mind that these are actually citizens of the Republic of Croatia, since German institutions differentiate the population of the Federal Republic of Germany exclusively by citizenship – records are kept on the number of foreign citizens, while all others are registered as Germans. This means that Croats who hold citizenship of the Federal Republic of Germany are not included here, and so the data and estimates of our diplomatic and consular missions, Croatian Catholic missions, and the Croatian World Congress, which indicate that the number of Croats living in Germany is significantly higher, should be considered. It was estimated in 2018 that there were approximately 500,000 citizens of the Republic of Croatia living in Germany.

These 500,000 Croatian citizens living in Germany are of all ages and different lifestyles, occupations and professions. As a rule, they are successful and are often well integrated into German society. Given their socio-economic position, it is possible to distinguish three groups of Croats in Germany (Bošnjak, 2019). Two groups stand out for their position, status and specific role in society: one group consists of people who emigrated to Germany for political reasons, due to disagreement with the political system and often life-threatening experiences, while the other group consists of people who were sent to work in German institutions of the Croatian state or the Croatian Church. All others, regardless of their marked heterogeneity, can be defined in terms of position and status as economic migrants. We can thus delineate three groups of Croats, and three groups of Croatian writers: political emigrant

writers, Croatian official writers, and economic migrant writers, that is, writers who are the descendants of economic migrants.

## The younger generation of migrant writers

Emigrant writers and the older generation of migrant writers focus on the Croatian mother tongue in their work – the Croatian language, Croatian literature and Croatian culture in general - and wrote all their most important works in the Croatian language. They have a very conscious emigrant position and even when well-integrated into German society never assume a German identity. They do not suffer the dilemmas of national identity present among the younger generation of migrant writers, most of whom are the children of second-generation economic migrants. It should be noted that the second and third generations of Croats in Germany are "fully integrated into German society, which is especially evident in the high performance of Croats in German schools and universities" (Jurčević, 2014: 52). In the new generation, which writes in the German language but explores topics and motifs more characteristic of Croatian literature, three women authors stand out -Jagoda Marinić, Marica Bodrožić, Nataša Dragnić – as well as one male author – Nicol Ljubić. Gojko Borić has written much on the literary development of the new generation of writers and on the phenomenon of "literature of authors of Croatian origin, which is German, but partly also Croatian in the sense of the Croatian Latinists, that is, it is written in the language of a foreign country, but with Croatian contents" (Borić, 2002).

The works of these authors, given that they were written in Germany and in the German language, are undoubtedly an integral part of German literature and occupy an important place in what some critics call New German Literature. They can also be read as works of Croatian literature, however. All of the listed authors deal intensively with topics and motifs that certainly belong to the Croatian context. They mention and describe numerous Croatian localities, take a proactive guest worker position, and sympathise with Croats in Germany. Since we live in a time when the definition of identity should not be exclusive, but open and 'inclusive' ('and' instead of 'or'), we believe that we have sufficient reasons to describe these authors as 'Croatian-German' writers.

The last fifteen years have seen a noticeable increase in Croats writing in the language of their foreign environment while at same time employing themes and motifs more compatible with Croatian literature than with the literature of the country in which they live, which in a way obliges us to consider them Croatian writers as well. We reiterate that in defining identity we must not be exclusive but open to the idea that someone can be both a Croatian and a German writer, like Jagoda Marinić, or a Croatian and American writer, like four writers that Šesnić (2018), writes about (Courtney Angela Brkic, Josip Novakovich, Sara Nović and Mary Helen Stefaniak), who represent several generations and all write in English on topics related to the Croatian context.

The translation of these authors' works into Croatian, regardless of the place and language in which they were written, is a precondition for a more serious reception by the Croatian literary public.

# Jagoda Marinić – An author for whom "one place is not enough for a homeland" (Zelić, 2013)

Two novels by Jagodna Marinić, a writer born in 1977 in Germany, in Waiblingen, Baden-Württemberg, into a family of Croatian migrants, are currently available in Croatian translation: *Bezimena* [*The Nameless*] (2009), translated by Boris Perić, and *Restoran Dalmacija* [*Restaurant Dalmatia*] (2015), translated by Romana Perečinec.

Jagoda Marinić graduated in German studies, English and political sciences in Heidelberg, where she still lives today and has worked as the head of the Intercultural Centre for several years. She has also lived and worked in Berlin, Croatia – in Zagreb and Split – as well the United States, Canada and Romania. In addition to journalistic and literary work – writing stories, novels, plays and essays – she is present and recognisable in the public space thanks to her social activism.

Marinić has won numerous scholarships and awards and has published seven books. She enjoyed great success with her debut collection of stories *Eigentlich ein Heiratsantrag* (*Actually a Marriage Proposal*, 2001) and further consolidated her reputation with a second collection, *Russische Bücher* (*Russian Books*, 2005), and the novel *Die Namenlose* (*The Nameless*, 2007). The year 2013 was a very important for her bibliography. This year Marinić published the novel *Restaurant Dalmatia* (2013), which will be discussed later in this paper, and a special travel guide, *Gebrauchsanweisung für Kroatien* (*A Useful Guide to Croatia*, 2013), coinciding with Croatia's entry into the European Union. She then published her third novel, *Made in Germany: Was ist deutsch in Deutsschland?* (*Made in Germany: What is German in Germany?*, 2016) and her most recent book *Sheroes: Neue Heldinnen* 

braucht das Land (Sheroes: The Country Needs New Heroes, 2019), which questions traditional gender roles and has been lauded by German critics as "a book that changes the direction of the gender debate" (Maull, 2019).

Jagoda Marinić writes in German and has established herself in Germany as a writer of Croatian origin. Her works are characterised by a polished style, expressiveness, sensitivity to social issues and ease of narration on difficult topics. Marinić is considered to be part of a new and important wave of German literature produced by migrants and the descendants of migrants. In Ralph Stieber's article 'Es geht um die neue deutsche Literatur' (This is New German Literature), we learn how the literary theorist Hansgeorg Schmidt-Bergmann talks about the development of so-called 'guest worker literature' into 'new German literature'. He especially emphasises intercultural diversity, which led to the new 'world passion' of German literature and says: "This literature makes us awake and richer" (Stieber, 2011). He expects even more courage from these authors and their significant contribution to the development of German literature. It is important to note that Marinić's work has been well-received in Germany, and that many critics have written about her work: Anja Hirsch, Elke Schmitter, Cornelia Geissler, Lena Gorelik, Michael Krüger, Johan Dehoust, Herbert Prantl, etc.

Bearing in mind the subject matter of her literary works and the fact that German critics mostly consider her a German writer of Croatian origin or a German-Croatian writer, Jagoda Marinić should certainly be considered a Croatian writer whose work has been well-received in Croatian professional circles and the reading public. After all, she herself says that "one place is not enough for a homeland", which is significant, because, as Ante Bežen says, "the homeland is one of the most important identity data" (Bežen 2012). Consequently, her literary works are an integral part of the literature of her two homelands: Croatia and Germany.

## The Novel Restaurant Dalmatia by Jagoda Marinić

The good reception of Marinić's work has been further strengthened by her novel *Restaurant Dalmatia* (2013). The novel was translated into Croatian by Romana Perečinec, and the Croatian edition of *Restaurant Dalmatia*, which we cite in this article, was published in 2015. Unfortunately, the English edition of the novel still awaits publication.

The title itself points to the possible thematic framework of the novel and the potential focus of the story, but it is important to note that this novel is not only a guest worker story, but also a German story that gives a striking picture of German society and the European story.

The first generation of Croatian (economic) immigrants in Germany concentrated exclusively on the acquisition of material goods – "I have, so I am", as Jagoda Marinić says. They were not interested in taking active roles in German society, and German society did not offer them any. The first-generation Croatians secured their position in society exclusively through accruing material goods, which, at least in their eyes, equated them with the Germans and proved their success to those in the homeland. They did not doubt their belonging to the native homeland and its language, unlike their children, who found themselves between the two homelands and their respective languages. In her novel, Jagoda Marinić, herself a member of the second generation of Croatian migrants, expertly articulates their dilemmas with regard to identity.

This new generation has belonged to German society since birth. Its members have their positions and social roles, with which they are not always satisfied and therefore try to improve, and in spite of some objective and subjective obstacles and difficulties, they have achieved some success, though perhaps not as much as they would like. Through the character of the main protagonist of the novel, Marinić expresses her disagreement with the place and role in society intended for guest workers and describes a significant change in the position and focus of immigrants and society's attitude towards them.

It should be noted that there is a common and rather narrow space reserved in German literature for foreign authors, including guest workers. Highly esteemed and celebrated writer and member of the Croatian Academy of Sciences and Arts, Irena Vrkljan, who herself lived for decades between Berlin and Zagreb, articulates perhaps the strongest and clearest opinion on what Germans expect from Croats, or rather what Western Europe expects from Southeast Europe:

Here we, who come from the south, are asked for that which confirms the image of the rocky places. They are not interested in the destinies of girls from urban areas, unless they are extremely dark. Why do we need civic biographies or such problems with girls from better families (...)?

(...) They don't believe us, that we are in some way also Europe as they are, with similar problems, destinies and thoughts. They don't wish to hear that we too live among cars, skyscrapers, that we are often intoxicated with consumption. No, they would like to see us in sandals and national costumes or on the battlefield – this with war is supposedly our specialty – I hate the abbreviated and incorrect historical information that circulates here (...)(Vrkljan, 2005: 84–85)

Unfortunately, the fact is that authors who do not meet the expectations of the literary public, even if their works are extremely creative, layered and of high quality, as the work of Irena Vrkljan certainly is, do not have an adequate audience in German literature.

It is important to note that Jagoda Marinić is changing the existing conventions with her novel *Restaurant Dalmatia*. She is significantly expanding this narrow space by introducing new points of view, themes and motives to this area.

Marinić succeeds because she acts very thoughtfully: she integrates motifs from the register of stereotypes expected from 'guest worker literature' into the fabric of the novel but also covers general German themes, such as the literary thematising of the fall of the Berlin Wall, which had been exclusively performed by Germans until this novel. Marinić strongly criticises the relationship between the 'new Germans' and Germany and does not speak from the usual guest worker (outsider) perspective, but from the comfortable position of a successful artist living in Canada. Furthermore, she enriches German literature by introducing a new name - Mija/Mia. There are not many Spanish characters in Croatian literature, and one of the most important and interesting characters in Restaurant Dalmatia is Jesus – a migrant, intellectual and artist born in Spain. He is part bum and part ancient sage, a foreigner in great contrast to the stereotyped image of economic migrants and arguably the key interlocutor of the main character throughout the novel.

The name is one of the most important symbols of any identification, and of course self-identification. Therefore, it is very interesting to note the author's play with the symbolic, signifying and substantive function of the protagonist's own name in three forms in three countries and three languages — Mija Marković (Croatia / Croatian), Mia Marković (Germany / German) and Mia Markovich (Canada / English), which

represent inherited, acquired and chosen identity. The plot of the novel itself takes place in these three countries – mostly in Germany (Berlin and Wedding), then in Croatia (Dalmatia, Dalmatian Zagora and briefly Zagreb), and in Canada (Toronto). Since images of Croatia and Germany are emphasised in all her books, and an image of Canada can be found alongside images of these two countries in *Restaurant Dalmatia*, Jagoda Marinić's literary work undoubtedly represents a rich source for imagological research (Bošnjak, 2019).

Through two interesting characters – aunt Zora and her son Ivo, the author speaks very skillfully and interestingly about two generations and their different views on life. This family exemplifies the stereotype of an unfulfilled return and separated life, which is characteristic of guest workers: the father died, the son lives in Zagreb, while the mother stayed in Berlin. The author describes the extremely poor material and social conditions of the homeland before Zora's departure for Germany. Zora still speaks German poorly, as do Mia's parents. Their rightful place in society is hard to find, as if it got lost – in Germany it was not even created, in Croatia it is a thing of the past. The financial situation has significantly improved, but much has been left unfinished and lost. The novel also emphasises the conflict between the older and younger generations, between the old and the new, between tradition and modernity. This complex relationship is common to all segments of human life and all social units, from the family to society as a whole and international relations.

There is often more to interrelationships than balancing and searching for one's own space between distant opposites. Additional elements are added to the expected binary structures, surprising actions are often motivated by internal and external reasons, and the unspoken space often plays a very important role. Mija grew up in Berlin, in a family of 'Croatian Catholics from Zagora' with her father, mother and two older brothers – a stereotypical maladapted guest worker family. She is very successful and a favourite at primary school and among the church community. "She was the first girl to be allowed to minister in the Croatian community in Wedding" (Marinić, 2015: 132), but develops a very critical attitude towards her family and social environment and has an especially negative attitude towards the traditional Catholic focus on suffering:

The ability to submit was valued as a measure of your own character... The greater your sacrifice, the greater

person you are, it was believed. ... That stinking Catholic longing for suffering could be found in all the people in her parents' village. ... Suffering was so all-encompassing, so powerful, it had to be resisted. (Marinić, 2015: 132–133).

The author offers a striking story about the war, as one might expect of a writer with a migrant background. The reception of the novel in Germany is 'ensured' by the stories of Mija's grandmother Ana, who says that Mija's grandfather 'was a good man' who "never raised his hand against her" (Marinić, 2015: 198). This story speaks of the socially acceptable violence of men against women at that time in Dalmatian Zagora, where women had no rights. It was precisely the possibility of freedom that motivated Zora's departure for Germany. Grandma loves to tell different stories that usually end in death, both about those who died 50 years ago and those who are still alive. For the most part, these stories are only interesting to Mija, and they especially annoy the grandmother's daughter (Mija's mother). Towards the end of the novel, we learn through one of these stories how the grandmother's parents were killed by partisans in Petrovo polje because they knew how to read and write, and "whoever knew how to write must have been an Ustasha" (Marinić, 2015: 213). This event would significantly inform the grandmother's relationship with death. Grandma is most comfortable in her house, "which grew out of the mountain ... or grew into it" (Marinić, 2015: 204), and when she comes to her daughter and son-in-law in Berlin for Christmas every five years, her neighbours take care of her sheep while she sits and knits and all day in a living room in Berlin "envying the sheep for the neighbours and the neighbours for the sheep" (Marinić, 2015: 209). The author skilfully uses the character of Grandmother Ana, as well as the character of Aunt Zora, to strengthen the humorous capacity of the novel. It should be noted that the novel has many humorous parts (dialogues, descriptions, comments, etc.) and is made up of different and interesting elements arranged in a coherent and consistent structure that is stylistically refined, rich in content, rhythmic and easy to read. These features are faithfully conveyed in the Croatian translation.

It should again be pointed out that we find striking descriptions in the novel of relations with Germany, namely of the arrival, life and work of Croatian immigrants who nothing of the language and culture of this country. The author draws a nice link with immigrants on Ellis Island

(New York, USA) and also points "how Australia welcomed its immigrants with the name New Australians". Unlike the 'new Americans' and 'new Australians', the Croats in Germany never become the new Germans but "are only guests from day one" – they are guest workers (Marinić, 2015: 127–128). Despite never completely learning the German language nor becoming a full, integral part of the society in which they live, they are still very grateful to Germany, which they never truly got to know, because of the material prosperity it provided for them. The excessive gratitude and humility of her parents greatly irritates Mia and is one of the causes of their frequent quarrels. Mia thinks that all guest workers are equal to Germans and that they do not like them all equally, and she is especially annoyed by the opinion of her mother, who believes that:

The Germans have nothing against us! Turks are Turks, I tell you. They may have problems with Germans. Turks, Arabs, Muslims! ... But you can't compare them all to us. We are Catholics! We and the Germans, we have the same God! (Marinić, 2015: 26)

It is interesting to note how the novel begins with a short dialogue about a photograph with the Berlin Wall, which immediately signals a 'new space' for authors with a migrant background. The main protagonist travels for two weeks in Europe, passing through the streets of Berlin, the streets of her childhood and youth, with a Canadian tour guide in her hands, as if to show as much distance from the city and the past as possible. We learn about Germany in the novel through descriptions of historical Berlin monuments, with the Wall standing out as a key place and a key monument. We find out that there are guest worker neighbourhoods in Berlin, such as Wedding, where Mia lived, and 'real' German neighbourhoods, such as Moabit, where she went to high school. Croatia, on the other hand, is brought closer to us through descriptions of the heroine's parents' village, family gatherings and weddings. There is also talk of Croatian history, and the symbolic, monumental level is taken over by sculptor Meštrović's mausoleum in Otavice and the Church of Our Lady of Sinj. It is interesting that, despite the war, Croatia is portrayed as a safe country, while Germany, on the other hand, is insecure. In high school, Mia is called a 'Balkan rat' (Marinić 2015: 29) and clashes with her peers, while everyone is good and kind to her and her family in Croatia, and children walk freely and independently in the village all day long.

The main character talks to her boyfriend Rafael about the 'European war', which is called the 'war in the Balkans' in Germany and the Homeland War in Croatia. In a way this follows the previously mentioned scaling and identity game - Mija Marković, Mia Marković and Mia Markovich. Croats usually speak of Germans with respect, sometimes admiration, while Germans speak of Croats with contempt. Canadians, on the other hand, speak disparagingly of Germans. The protagonist thus experiences a double humiliation. It seems to her that she is "always at the end of the food chain" (Marinić, 2015: 122). Only when she considers a negative remark about the Germans an insult does Mia feel a sense of belonging to the identity and state from which she has always distanced herself. She thinks in terms of 'German self-criticism' and 'Croatian grandiosity', which are paradoxically only false manifestations of 'German self-love' and 'Croatian self-hatred' (Marinić, 2015: 123-125). Mia meets both Croats and Germans in Toronto but has neither German nor Croatian friends. Jesus fully understands her and tells her that she "is not the type to go to the new world and look for the old there" (Marinić, 2015: 124). Restaurant Dalmatia ends with the return of Mia Markovic to Toronto. Although the main heroine, a young successful artist, chooses freedom – life in Canada - and leaves Berlin at the airport, she pronounces her name as Mija Marković and thus shows the importance of her first, Croatian identity.

We can say that the author speaks through the character of the main protagonist from several identity positions — inherited, acquired and chosen identity, which is evident in the spelling of the protagonist's name in three ways in three different countries and languages, and in the use of a stereotyped spectrum of characteristics of a particular national identity. It is important to emphasize the specific importance and functional significance of each of characteristics and the fact that they all have both positive and negative tendencies to intertwine, contradict each other, upgrade and continuously change. We believe that this open understanding of identity and (self) identification, which is completely in line with our 21<sup>st</sup> century, directly and indirectly, allows a better understanding of today's world and modern society.

### Conclusion

The emergence of a potent, young generation of ethnic Croatian authors writing in German is refreshing for both German and Croatian literature. In a way, these writers are the spokespersons of their generation,

numerous descendants of economic migrants, and they articulate their doubts, reflections and hopes in their works.

While their literary works explore the most important generational identity issues, these authors simultaneously help their peers define their own life narratives and make individual decisions. We could say that these writers are strongly influenced by their environment, which is visible in their content, motifs, style, and ideological and poetic sense. At the same time, these writers significantly influence their environment, enriching it with their artistic achievements and bringing new value to the community. On the importance of literature, and the importance of studying literature, Milivoj Solar (1995: 152, 154) says that "the purpose of studying literature is to preserve a way of communication that is important to maintain the whole tradition", and that "the study of literature, for its part, needs to discover and establish such a tradition as something new."

Vinko Brešić states that the key feature of every identity and culture is that they are eminently dynamic and unstable social structures, which arise in the process of exchange with others. Identity is constructed in contact with other identities, and often in conflict with one's own image of identity (Brešić, 2017: 7–9). On this trail, we can say that by reading the novel *Restaurant Dalmatia* it becomes clearer that identity is not given, preserved or unchangeable but continuously changing – in different ways, with different intensities and with unequal success in life, that it is layered and individual, and that for the construction of identity encounter, contact, and even conflict, are indispensable. The author's striking and credible account of the complex process of personal identification of the second generation of migrants, who face numerous challenges in the intercultural and multicultural society of the big city (here Berlin and Toronto), guarantees this novel a special place in German, and even more so, Croatian literature.

The search for one's own image and the construction and decomposition of identity takes place in a wide field bounded by two poles: the identity of parents and family and the identity of the social environment; in addition, in the globalized world of the  $21^{st}$  century, the possibility of a new, third pole – a third identity – is increasingly opening up. But none of these three identities are sufficient for the protagonist herself – neither a fundamental, genetic identity (which, admittedly, proves very resilient, as we see at the very end of the novel), nor the second, which proves significant in her formative period, nor the third, which she chooses

herself and in doing so instils hope for a new space and freedom. All three have their limitations and shortcomings, and so only taken together do they allow the main character the effective amortization of stereotypes and imposed patterns of behaviour, as well as complex and unique self-identification. In *Restaurant Dalmatia*, authentic expressions of doubt with regard to identity are strongly and impressively projected through the characterisation of the main protagonist. These expressions open up a field of possible permutations in the definition of personal identity.

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#### Sažetak

Mnogi Hrvati žive i djeluju u Njemačkoj – različitih zanimanja, društveno-ekonomskih položaja i raznih stupnjeva integracije u njemačko društvo, a među njima ima i pisaca. Neki hrvatski pisci su politički emigranti, a neki su hrvatski državni službenici. Oni, kao i starija generacija ekonomskih migranata, pišu uglavnom na hrvatskom jeziku i imaju snažnu vezu s hrvatskom književnošću i kulturom, dok im je povezanost s njemačkom književnošću i kulturom slabija. Primjetna je činjenica da je mlada generacija, mahom druga generacija ekonomskih migranata snažno prisutna u književnosti, pišući uglavnom na njemačkom jeziku o "hrvatskim" temama. Njihova književna djela vrlo dobro funkcioniraju kao sastavni dio njemačke književnosti, ali budući da živimo u vremenu kada ne bismo smjeli biti isključivi u definiranju identiteta, već otvoreni i inkluzivni, čitamo ih i kao djela hrvatske književnosti. Najistaknutiji autori toga naraštaja su Jagoda Marinić, Marica Bodrožić, Nicol Ljubić i Nataša Dragnić. U središnjem dijelu ovoga rada analizirat ćemo roman Restoran Dalmacija Jagode Marinić u kojemu autorica izvrsno opisuje interkulturalnu i multikulturalnu atmosferu velikoga grada (ovdje Berlin i Toronto), gdje pripadnici druge generacije migranata traže i stvaraju svoj identitet između obitelji i okruženja u kojem odrastaju ili su odrasli; k tome, u globaliziranom svijetu lako je dostupna i mogućnost trećega identiteta. Čitajući roman Restoran Dalmacija postaje nam jasnije da se identitet gradi kroz cijeli život, pod različitim utjecajima, na različite načine, s različitim intenzitetom.