

Adnan ČIRGIĆ

MONTENEGRIN LANGUAGE
IN THE PAST AND PRESENT

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Podgorica, 2011

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EDITOR'S FOREWORD

Montenegrin language is a language with an unusual historical destiny. Slavists were long assured that it did not exist, and many are still inclined to follow the inertia of that belief. Montenegrin, Croatian and Bosnian linguists and, for the most part, Slavists around the world, believe that it exists as a separate language in the group of Štokavian languages, together with the Croatian, Serbian and Bosnian languages. Serbian linguists deny its separate linguistic and hence also standardological identity. They believe that the Montenegrin language is only a variant of the Serbian language. Not one Serbian linguist has ever been able to offer compelling and scientifically proven linguistic arguments for that view. On the contrary, they created illusions of scientific linguistic arguments about Montenegrin speech patterns as speech patterns that belong to the Serbian language. Creating such false ideas about the Montenegrin language, which in Serbian linguistics has obtained the status of *locus communis*, was part of a broader political strategy to impose Serbian linguistic identity and Serbian national identity on Montenegrins, after which, based on that identification, the political doctrine of annexation of Montenegro by Serbia would be carried out.

In actual fact, the Štokavian language system is the structural element that is common to the Montenegrin, Bosnian, Croatian and Serbian languages. The Štokavian dialect or Štokavian language system is the basis for the Montenegrin language standard, in exactly the same way as it is the basis of the Bosnian, Croatian and Serbian languages. Together, they form a family

of languages with a high degree of similarity, but also with mutual differences that are easy to show and prove on the basis of philosophical and linguistic neo-structuralist assumptions. In 2009/10, using these assumptions as the basis, standardization of the Montenegrin language was carried out for the first time in history, following the scientific-philosophical model that was developed on the neo-structuralist basis of understanding the concept of language by Josip Silić. The basis of the model is the neo-structuralist understanding of Ferdinand de Saussure and Eugenio Coseriu. In this basis lies de Saussure's distinction between *language* and *speech*: language is a system and speech is a realization of that system. Coseriu transformed the dichotomy of *language* vs. *speech* into a trichotomy by including the *norm* into it. His understanding of the system is the same as de Saussure's. Speech is defined as an individual speech act, and the norm as the standardized speech. Josip Silić further elaborated the trichotomy of Coseriu's by adding *use* and *codification* to it. Thus a complete structure of language was established: *system – codification – norm – use – speech*. As with de Saussure and Coseriu, the system is seen as potential and speech as the realization of that potential. The concepts that make up this structure have the following meanings: *speech* is “how it is spoken”; *use* is “how it is commonly spoken”; the *norm* is “how it should be spoken”; the *codification* is “how it must be spoken”; and the *system* is “how it can be spoken”. The entirety of the conceptual structure makes up the system of value modality, which itself makes up the essence of language. The modality of the language is thus shown in five forms: *how*, *how commonly*, *how it should be*, *how it must be*, and *how it can be*! Mutual differences between these forms enable various degrees of abstraction in language. *Speech* is what is specific; the *system* is what is abstract; *use*, *norm* and *codification* are the specific and the abstract. Through thought

movement from speech to the system, the specific is gradually “dropped”; through movement from the system to speech, the abstract is “partly” dropped. According to the model of movement from abstract to specific, a scheme may be represented in this way: *system - codification - norm - use - speech*¹. When this neo-structuralist model of interpretation is applied to understanding the essence and the internal structure of the Montenegrin language and to its relationship towards related languages, it is shown that the Montenegrin language shares with the Bosnian, Croatian and Serbian languages the same element of the structure – the *system*. The system is the identical part of the structure of these four languages. In all other structural elements (speech, use, norm and codification) these four languages differ from each other. Of course, the differences among them are not of such a nature to create significant communication barriers. However, there are differences! And they are the basis of the linguistic identity of all four languages. The linguistic identity of all four languages is an essential constituent of the national identity of the four South Slavic ethnic communities. The linguistic and national identities of these communities are elements of the political identity of the four countries of the Western Balkans (Montenegro, Croatia, Serbia and Bosnia and Herzegovina).

The “right to exist” of all four languages as independent languages was decided upon depending on how each of the linguistics (Serbian, Croatian, Bosnian, and Montenegrin) understood the nature, character and internal structure of the Štokavian language system. There were significant dilemmas in linguistic considerations and research into divisions into groups in the corpus of Štokavian dialects, once again based on political

¹ Silić, Josip (2010), *Crnogorski jezik. Naučno-metodološke osnove standardizacije crnogorskoga jezika*, pp. 7-8, Publisher: The Ministry of Education and Science of Montenegro, Podgorica

rather than linguistic arguments. One of the common divisions is into Western-Štokavian, Central or East-Western and Eastern Štokavian groups. This division, supported by the political authority of those who had political interests in advocating it, has been decisive for decades in establishing stereotypes with regard to the placing of Montenegrin sub-dialects, i.e. speech patterns of the Montenegrin language, in these groups. Its implication was the unjustified splitting of the unity of the Montenegrin language into two sub-dialects and then classifying these sub-dialects into two different dialect groups. The speech patterns of the Montenegrin language were, in a way that was linguistically unjustified, in confrontation with each other. Minor differences between them were interpreted as very significant, and their indisputable and easily verifiable Montenegrin language koiné was neglected. Thus, Montenegrin speech patterns were classified into two different dialect groups of the Štokavian system. The Western-Montenegrin speech pattern was placed in the Central, and the Eastern-Montenegrin speech pattern in the Eastern-Štokavian group. The Western-Montenegrin speech pattern, which was included in the Central group had even its name disputed as it was presented as one of the sub-dialects under the name Eastern-Herzegovinian (as neo-Štokavian Ijekavian). The adjective “Eastern-Herzegovinian” was derived from the historically ephemeral toponym “Eastern Herzegovina”. That territory was constantly, except in the period of Ottoman rule from the mid-16th to mid-19th century when the toponym was created, a part of the territory of Doclea, Zeta or Montenegro, and constituted a Montenegrin ethnic area. From the time of its establishment and international recognition of the Principality/Kingdom of Montenegro, this territory was never and nowhere referred to as “Eastern Herzegovina”, except in Serbian linguis-

tics, in which it is still “alive” as a relic of a completely surpassed mythical “past”!

The Eastern-Montenegrin speech pattern, which was classified into the Eastern-Štokavian group, also appeared under an unrecognizable name. In this unusual naming mimicry, this Montenegrin speech pattern was most often marked as the “Zeta-South Sandžak dialect”. Serbian linguists referred to it under a number of other names as well, carefully making sure to always avoid mentioning the attribute “Montenegrin”. This avoidance was conditioned by naming implications which are easy to understand. Referring to the Eastern or Western Montenegrin speech pattern as Montenegrin would promptly confirm the thesis of the existence of the Montenegrin language. This thesis would then inevitably lead to those insights which modern Montenegristics came to the long and hard way because of the dominance of the stereotypes about Montenegrin idiom being part of the Serbian language. Montenegristics reached the conclusion that the Montenegrin language had existed for centuries and that the Slavic ancestors of Montenegrins brought its protoform to their present Balkan habitat from their northern Polabian homeland. Therefore, the naming of Štokavian dialects and sub-dialects has never been a neutral scientific activity, in terms of value, politics and spirit. On the contrary! *Nomen est omen!* Naming was used to confirm or deny the existence of languages in the Štokavian dialect system. By avoiding any reference to Montenegrin speech patterns as Montenegrin, Serbian linguistics was convinced that it could permanently deny the facts of the authenticity and independence of the Montenegrin language. It turned out that the facts are stronger than the falsifications.

The existence of the Montenegrin language was denied by splitting the unity of Montenegrin speech patterns and exaggerating the differences between the two sub-dialects of the Mon-

tenegrin language. The process of this denial, created in Serbian linguistics, has always had a clear political background and was supported by linguistic means. The process began with the *Vienna Literary Agreement* in 1850, and once again confirmed by the *Novi Sad Agreement* in 1954. Both agreements were concluded by Serbian and Croatian linguists, without the presence or consent of Montenegrin linguists. In both agreements between Serbian and Croatian linguists the fact that the Montenegrin language existed was completely ignored. To make the paradox even greater, the Štokavian dialect – based on the concept of a “Southern dialect” (i.e. the language of Montenegrins and the Dubrovnik region) – was taken as the basis for a common language of Serbs and Croats in the *Literary Agreement*. The construction of such a linguistic unity was based on the wrong belief that the desired linguistic unity could be achieved in such an artificial manner. That is the reason why the name of the common language had to be a construction which actually hid its real “Southern dialect” origin: Serbo-Croatian / Croato-Serbian. The absurdity of ignoring the fact that the Montenegrin language existed was shown in an even more convincing way in the *Novi Sad Agreement*. In its first paragraph it was concluded: “The vernacular language of Serbs, Croats and Montenegrins is one language”. Already in the third paragraph Montenegrins are no longer referred to as the bearers of this “one language”, nor are they referred to as a national community to which the *Agreement* relates: “Both scripts, Latin and Cyrillic, are equal; therefore, both Serbs and Croats should strive to equally learn both scripts”. Although originally the Western-Montenegrin idiom of the Štokavian dialect was taken as the binding basis of linguistic unity, which is why that idiom was long claimed as the idiom of the Serbian language, just to be gradually suppressed by Serbian linguistics by the speech pattern of Vojvodina-Šumadija, which

was originally Serbian, this idiom still continued to live under a different name. Until the disintegration of Serbo-Croatian linguistic unity in the 1990s, it managed to survive as the core of the Štokavian dialect, which had the status of the central part of the Serbo-Croatian dialect system. Efforts were made towards gradual leveling of the numerous internal differences within it (speech patterns, uses). This process was dictated by the political interests and objectives of the various political entities in the Balkans in the second half of the 19th and in the 20th century, primarily certain Serbian and Croatian political entities. The authentic interests of Montenegrins and Bosnians in both Serbo-Croatian language agreements were neither represented nor mentioned at all. Serbian and Croatian linguistics followed the interests of their national political entities. That is the reason why both of them had an interest in establishing and declaring the undisputed “scientific truth” that there are only two variants of the Štokavian dialect: the “Eastern Serbian variant” and the “Western Croatian variant”.

From the very beginning the linguistic facts were not in favor of such a “scientific truth” about the Štokavian dialect. Only forty years after the *Vienna Agreement* a significant aberration from it was made by the emergence of the *Grammar of the Bosnian Language for Secondary Schools* in 1890 by Frane Vuletić. It was the first grammar book in Bosnia and Herzegovina for the inter-confessional school system. It is indicative that in 1908, after several editions, it was renamed the *Grammar of the Serbo-Croatian language*. Certainly, as Bosnia and Herzegovina became an annexed part of the Austro-Hungarian Monarchy that year, the change of name must have been dictated by the course of language policy towards South Slavic nations who were part of the Monarchy. This language policy was only a natural continuation of the language policy that had been pursued by the

Monarchy with regard to South Slavs since the mid-19th century. The *Vienna Literary Agreement* from 1850, as well as Vuk's so-called "language reform" in its entirety is, in a vital sense, part of the same language policy. The fact that the Croatian and Serbian cultural elite of that time had their own special interests that led to the *Agreement* and became its subject is not contrary to this view.

On the other hand, a strong aberration from the *Agreement* was Montenegrin epic poetry itself, as well as the works of the most prominent Montenegrin authors in the 19th century – Njegoš, Ljubiša and Marko Miljanov. Oral and written Montenegrin literature was created in the Montenegrin language. But political reasons aimed at establishing an idea about the Serbs and Croats as one people or two very similar peoples – in whose permanent interest was political, and thus also linguistic, unity – had a direct implication in erasing the political and national, and then linguistic identity of Montenegrins and Bosnians. Thus, in the text of the *Literary Agreement* itself, as one of the main reasons for the decision on taking the "southern dialect" as a paradigm of linguistic unity (in addition to the affirmation of old Dubrovnik literature) the fact that epic poetry was written in this dialect is given. However, it is denationalized in this manner. The thing not revealed is that it is Montenegrin epic poetry! Soon, again thanks to political interests and ties with the cultural elite, especially in German-speaking countries, the view was widespread and made self-evident that this poetry was in fact *Serbian* epic poetry! The same thing happened with Njegoš, Ljubiša, and Marko Miljanov. They were declared Serbian authors!

Interpretations of the history of the Štokavian dialect, strengthened by the authority of the most developed cultural centers in the Yugoslavian area (Belgrade and Zagreb) had to

be properly adjusted through the seemingly scientific re-interpretation of historical, linguistic and cultural facts. In developmental trends of Croatistics and Serbistics – which sometimes crossed and merged into mutually undesirable “Serbo-Croatistic” marriages of necessity or interest – the facts testifying to the indigenous history of the emergence and development of the Montenegrin and Bosnian languages were suppressed, downgraded or laid claim to. This attitude determined that history of Štokavian dialect be commonly understood in this way – and this view became so widespread that it acquired the meaning of a stereotype – that this dialect was created through the “inorganic merging” of two distinct dialects: the *Šćakavian dialect*, i.e. Western-Štokavian sub-dialects (Slavonia, Eastern Bosnia and neo-Štokavian Western, i.e. Bosnian-Dalmatian) with *Štokavian*, i.e. Eastern Štokavian sub-dialects (Kosovo-Resava, Zeta-South Sandžak and neo-Štokavian Šumadija-Vojvodina). Apparently, their merger led to a combined central (“Eastern Herzegovinian”) dialect as a mixture of Eastern-Western dialects. Exclusively by virtue of this stereotype, supported through certain doctrines of political regulation of the area of the historical existence of the South Slavs, the authenticity of the Montenegrin speech patterns and independent historical development of the Montenegrin language were denied.

In genere, there is a long history of denying the existence of the Montenegrin language. This history was finally ended by the Commission for the Standardization of the Montenegrin Language appointed in 2009 by the Minister of Education and Science of Montenegro. The Commission consisted of Dr. Milenko A. Perović, professor at the University of Novi Sad, Em. Prof. Josip Silić, a retired professor at the University of Zagreb, Dr. Lyudmila Vasilyeva, professor at the University of Lviv. In 2009, the Commission adopted the proposal for the Orthography of the

Montenegrin Language and the Minister of Education and Science declared it official. In 2010, the Commission developed a complete standardological body of material: the *Orthography of the Montenegrin Language* (Second revised edition), *Grammar of the Montenegrin Language* (by Čirgić, Silić and Pranjković) and a publication *Montenegrin Language* (by Josip Silić). In the standardization process, the Commission set two fundamental tasks for itself: *to prove the existence of the Montenegrin language and to describe it as such and to prepare its orthography, orthographic dictionary and grammar book of the Montenegrin language*. The Commission used the neo-structuralist philosophical and linguistic model of language interpretation developed by Silić: *speech - use - norm - codification - system*. *Speech* is “how it is spoken”; *use* is “how it is commonly spoken”; the *norm* is “how it should be spoken”; the *codification* is “how it must be spoken”; and the *system* is “how it can be spoken”. *Use* is what is commonly called organic speech (idiom). *Norm* is a “criterion which serves as the basis for determining how something should be”, i.e. how “something” should be in the lexicon, grammar, orthography and orthoepy. *Codification* is determining the rules of the norm. It can be seen as stricter norm. Therefore, the norm is descriptively determined as “how it should be spoken” and the codification as “how it must be spoken”. Use, norm and codification constitute what is called the *standard language*. It is a standardized and codified language of general literacy: the language of the education system, government, culture, media and others. The *system* is realized through speech and the speech patterns, because speech patterns can be different. Such is the case with the *Štokavian system*. This system contains various speech patterns. They can be referred to as organic speech patterns or organic idioms i.e. “separate and distinct speech patterns

of a region”. An organic idiom can be taken as the use, “how it is commonly spoken”.

Based on these conceptual clarifications the Commission was explicitly faced with several crucial questions about the existence and the nature of the Montenegrin language: What is the Montenegrin language? Is the Montenegrin language a system? If so, is it a separate system? Is the Montenegrin language a standard, in line with the definition of *standard as a standard language*? If so, is it a separate standard? What is the relationship of the Montenegrin language with the Bosnian, Croatian and Serbian languages? The answers to these questions are summarized in a few basic principles:

Firstly, the Montenegrin language is a system, but not a separate system.

Secondly, the Montenegrin language does not “belong” to the Štokavian system; the Štokavian system is an element in the structure of the Montenegrin language!

Thirdly, the Štokavian system is also the system of the Bosnian, Croatian and Serbian languages.

Fourthly, the Montenegrin language is a standard, but a separate standard, just as Bosnian, Croatian and Serbian standards are separate standards.

The basis of these views is the difference between language as a system and language as a standard. It allows a precise answer to the question of what makes the Bosnian, Montenegrin, Croatian and Serbian languages separate standards. It is their base that makes them separate! The *base* makes the crucial difference between these languages, although they share the same structural element – the Štokavian system. These languages are not “parts” of the Štokavian system; the Štokavian system is a part in the presented internal structure of each one of them! The Štokavian *system* is an “isonomic” element in the entire structure

of language (*system - codification - norm - use - speech*). What is the *base* of these languages? Their base is not the Štokavian *system*. Distribution of the claim that the Štokavian system is their base is a source of deep political and linguistic misunderstanding. In the past, but unfortunately at present as well, this wrong claim in Serbian linguistics has been taken in a self-explanatory way and has been used as an argument against the view on the particularity of the Bosnian, Montenegrin and Croatian languages, as well as against their standardization.

The *base* of these languages is not the Štokavian system. They do not have a single base. On the contrary, an appropriate organic speech (use) of the Štokavian system forms the *base* for each one of them and this is how they differ from each other. The difference between their *uses* forms the basis of the difference between their *standards*. This is why the crucial theoretical and scientific position – on which the standardization of the Montenegrin language is based and on the basis of which it was implemented – is based on recognition of and respect for the clear dialectal differences between the *system* and the *standard*. The Montenegrin language “shares” with the Bosnian, Croatian and Serbian languages a common structural element – the Štokavian system. However, in relation to them (like any of them in their relation to others), it has its own specifics. These specifics make the Montenegrin language a separate and independent (autonomous) standard language.

Its idiomatic particularity compared to the other three languages (since each of them in relation to the other three has its own idiomatic particularity) is contained in the specific features of organic speech or idiom of the Montenegrin language. Its essential feature is the existence and width of *Jekavian iotation*. It becomes evident in the difference between potential and realized phonemes in the Štokavian system. The Štokavian system has 36

potential phonemes. This is how many potential phonemes the Bosnian, Montenegrin, Croatian and Serbian languages have. The difference between Montenegrin and other above languages is in the fact that Montenegrin realized 33 phonemes and the rest of them realized 31 potential phonemes. In all four languages, voiced phonemes (з, ф, γ) as pairs of voiceless consonants ц, ф, and х have remained potential (unrealized). Therefore, the Montenegrin language has the same number of potential phonemes as the Bosnian, Croatian and Serbian languages. The difference between Montenegrin and the rest of them is that Montenegrin also realized the soft phonemes *ś* and *ź* (pairs of the hard *š* and *ž*). That is its particularity, which its orthography had to acknowledge.

The Book *Montenegrin Language in the Past and Present* by Adnan Čirgić sets the issues of the establishment of the Montenegrin language and Montenegristics, to which we have alluded in general terms, through a few basic questions of a linguistic and socio-linguistic character: Does the Montenegrin literary language have its own authentic history and what are its basic historical development phases and characteristics? Is it possible to speak of the dialectal unity and particularity of Montenegrin speech patterns and what are the key elements of the unity and particularity of the Montenegrin language? Is the Montenegrin Ijekavian dialect the capital idiomatic specific feature by virtue of which the identity of the Montenegrin language is determined and the possibility of standardization of the Montenegrin language established? Are the phonemes *ś* and *ź* residual forms of historically superseded Jekavian iotation or its dominant forms? How and why did these forms completely survive 160 years of imposition of the Serbo-Croatian linguistic standard on Montenegrin citizens, whose mother tongue is Montenegrin? What is the basis of distinction between the Montenegrin language and

other languages with which it shares the same structural element – the Štokavian system? And finally: What has been the language policy in Montenegro since the *Vienna Literary Agreement* in 1850 until the present day? How is the Montenegrin language standardization from 2009/2010 a radical interruption of the linguistic discontinuity of the Montenegrin language and the return of citizens of Montenegro to their own original, Montenegrin mother tongue?

Dr. Čirgić has thoroughly addressed all of the above questions. *In summa*, he has proved, in a convincing and scientifically valid manner, the historical foundation of the Montenegrin language, its particularity and authenticity, its specific distinctions in relation to the Bosnian, Croatian and the Serbian languages, legitimacy of the complete linguistic rehabilitation of Jekavian iotation and the complete linguistic, cultural and political rationale and legitimacy of the act of the first standardization of the Montenegrin language.

With full confidence, I recommend the book by Dr. Čirgić to the general public and people interested in the Montenegrin language and its historical destiny determined by cultural reasons, as well as to expert linguists, especially those in Slavic Studies departments all over the world. With the utmost kindness, I recommend that Slavists try to establish a relationship of full intellectual openness, completely free of all prejudices, towards the standardization of the Montenegrin language, as well as the scientific analysis and the results of this book.

Prof. Dr. Milenko A. Perović

Professor Ordinarius at the University of Novi Sad,
President of the Commission for the Standardization
of the Montenegrin Language

PREFACE

Montenegrin language as the latest language in the family of *Štokavian* standard languages to be standardized may cause the greatest suspicion and unfamiliarity among those people for whom it is most often the only means of communication. The reason for this lies largely in the fact that the Montenegrin language was until recently a taboo in Montenegro. Formerly, formal linguistics in Montenegro treated the peculiarities of the Montenegrin language as dialect words, archaisms, provincialisms, and other *-isms* within the Serbian language. It had the same attitude towards the language norm in Montenegro as well. It was only with the regaining of state independence that the conditions for a separate standardization of the Montenegrin language were created, for the first time “in-house” and in line with language characteristics within Montenegrin borders. Thus, just recently, Montenegro obtained the necessary normative-codification framework – *The Orthography and Grammar of the Montenegrin Language*.

However, the Montenegrin public, professional and lay, was rather reluctant and unprepared to “receive” the Montenegrin standard language norm. A number of linguists barely managed to break away from the learned traditionalism. The Montenegrin language is often locally viewed as a language created after regaining independence, although this language was used for communication in this region centuries ago. The standard language norm is identified with the language, but no difference is made between the language as a standard and language as a

system. The importance of the language reforms of Vuk Karadžić is exaggerated and the fact that the language in Montenegro was actually the best confirmation of Karadžić's understanding of the functionality of the vernacular language in literature is neglected.

All of these things provoked the appearance of this book, conceived as a collection of texts, aimed at emphasizing some important facts about the development of the Montenegrin language, Montenegrin speech patterns, language policy in Montenegro, etc. from the standpoint of current Montenegristics. Montenegrin speech patterns, for example, are studied within the field of the dialectology of the Serbian language, and their mutual permeation is neglected while their separation is artificially stressed. Language development in Montenegro has been made a part of the development of the Serbian literary language even though in some periods these developments had nothing in common. And so it goes on. Therefore, encouraged by the idea of Mr. Marko Špadijer, we have tried to discuss within the same book the historical development of the Montenegrin literary language, the classification of the Montenegrin language, the specifics of the Montenegrin *Ijekavian dialect* and the presence of *Jekavian iotation* in Montenegro, primarily the sounds *ś* and *ž* present throughout Montenegro, and finally, we intended to give a summary of the language policy which is to blame for today's resistance to the language spoken in Montenegro. All of these issues are discussed in separate studies which more or less rely on each other. We hope that we have succeeded in our attempt to introduce these issues in a way that will be accessible to both laymen and professionals in Montenegro, for whom the book was primarily intended, as well as to those interested abroad.

The author

HISTORICAL DEVELOPMENT OF THE MONTENEGRIN LITERARY LANGUAGE

In this paper, the author gives a synthesis of the historical development of the Montenegrin literary language on the basis of existing knowledge and presents a periodization of that development. When we refer to the oldest periods of that development, it is necessary to emphasize that it is still not possible to form a final opinion because some of the monuments have been lost or are unavailable, and many have not been adequately treated philologically so we only have indirect information about them.

Unlike the Croatian language which, in addition to Štokavian, also traditionally uses the Kajkavian and Čakavian language systems, the territory of which diminished in favour of Štokavian due to migration of the population before the Turkish invasion, and Serbian, which, along with Štokavian also uses the Torlakian language system, the Montenegrin and Bosnian languages only encompass the territory of the Štokavian language system.¹ Although they all have a Štokavian basis,² Bosnian, Montenegrin, Croatian and Serbian had separate evolutions, so

¹ Of course, standard Croatian and Serbian belong to the Štokavian system. Čakavian and Kajkavian, or Torlakian features in these languages have the status of *-isms*.

² Different native speech patterns of the Štokavian system have been taken as the basis for standardization of all these standard languages.

their development in certain periods did not have much in common.

Different paths of development of the Štokavian literary languages followed the evolution of the peoples and nations as their representatives. Shifts of various stages of language development were followed by shifts of alphabets used in various stages in the area which is now covered by the four above-named languages.

According to the periodization by Vojislav Nikčević³, the history of the Montenegrin language can be divided into two large periods: the *prehistoric* and *historic periods*. Since we are only discussing the history of the Montenegrin *literary* language, we will focus only on the historic period. The above classification was the only classification of the Montenegrin language, and its language periods largely coincide with the historical periods in the development of Montenegrin society, which inevitably influenced language policy and, accordingly, language development. However, it seems that in some cases (for example, in the timeframe of the *Zeta Period*) language changes followed social ones with a significant delay, i.e. language tradition often resisted political changes. Therefore we have attempted, in the light of recent knowledge, to revise the above classification. The material itself presented by Vojislav Nikčević in his classification demands this. However the classification used here is only conditional, and the final word on that will require a detailed study of as-yet unexplored materials.

The historic period encompasses the period from the mid-9th century to the present day and is divided into:

1. *The Doclea Period* (from the mid-9th century to the 1180s);

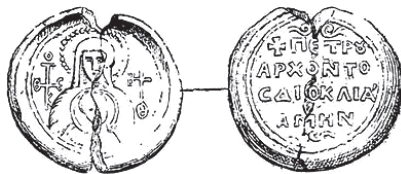
³ Vojislav P. Nikčević, *Crnogorski jezik*, Volume I, Matica crnogorska, Podgorica, 1993; Volume II, Matica crnogorska, Podgorica, 1997.

2. *The Zeta Period* (from the 1180s to the end of the 15th century);
3. *The Written Language Period* (from the end of the 15th century to the mid-18th century);
4. *The Uncodified Literary Language Period* (from the mid-18th century to the 1830s);
5. *The Transitional Period* (from the 1830s to World War I);
6. *The Vuk Period* (from World War I to the present day), which has two stages:
 - a) *The Belić Stage* (the period between the two World Wars);
 - b) *The Modern Stage* (from 1944).

THE DOCLEA PERIOD

The Doclea Period in the development of the Montenegrin literary language covers the period from the mid-9th century, i.e. from the formation of the Docleans as the ancestors of modern Montenegrins to the fall of Doclea/Zeta under the administration of Raška/Serbia (1183-1189).

This period is characterized by a symbiosis of different influences. The state of Doclea was created in an area covered by the two early Christian archdioceses – Doclea and Prevalitana. Administratively, it belonged to the order of the Eastern Roman Empire and from the mid-9th century a number of Benedictine monasteries were founded in its coastal area. While traces of Latin and Greek literacy from



*Lead stamp of Archon Petar
(9th century)*

the Doclea period are partially preserved, there are only indirect testimonies of literacy in Slavic languages.⁴

The assumption that Glagolitic literacy could have developed in Doclea under the influence of a strong centre of Slavic literacy in Ohrid seems likely,⁵ although there is a view in academia that the Slavic literature of the Doclea Period was written in the Latin script.⁶ In that context, the issue of dating the old

⁴ Robert Bońkowski: “Pismo Czarnogorców – historia i współczesność”, *Lingua Montenegrina*, No. 1, Institut za crnogorski jezik i jezikoslovlje “Vojislav P. Nikčević”, Cetinje, 2008, pp. 191–202.

⁵ See: Radoslav Rotković, “O nekim ’prazninama’ u crnogorskom naslijeđu srednjega vijeka”, *Stvaranje*, No. 3, Titograd, 1978, pp. 349–350.

⁶ See, for example: Vojislav P. Nikčević, “Istorija crnogorskoga jezika”, in: *Jezikoslovne studije*, Centralna narodna biblioteka “Đurđe Crnojević”, Cetinje, 2004, pp. 31–32. On page 32, it is stated that, in the Doclea Period, “two famous works of ancient Montenegrin literature, *Život kneza Vladimira* in the second half of the 11th century by an anonymous Doclean author from Krajina, and the Kingdom of the Slavs (Regnum Sclavorum) by an anonymous priest from the Doclea-Bar Archdiocese, in the second half of the 12th century, were written in the Latin script”. However, since the original manuscripts of these works were not preserved, the script in which they were written cannot be determined with any certainty. In that context, the view of Aleksandar Radoman who, through comparative analysis of different versions of the text, determined that the original *Kingdom of the Slavs* was written in the Glagolitic script is very interesting. He came to this conclusion in the following manner: “In all of the available versions of the Latin recension (of the *Kingdom of the Slavs*), and Orbin’s Italian translation, it is stated that King Svetopelek ruled for forty years and four months (...), while in the *Croatian Chronicle*, and in Marulić’s translation, we find that his reign lasted for forty years and three months (...). It is known that the oldest known version of the *Croatian Chronicle* (...) was written (...) in Cyrillic. Since the grapheme *g* in Glagolitic has a value of 4, and in Cyrillic the value of 3, this data suggests that the *Croatian Chronicle* was rewritten from the Glagolitic template, while the copyist of the text in the transliteration process accidentally adapted the numeric value of the grapheme *g* to the Cyrillic alphabet. This detail, therefore, confirms the author’s quotation from the introduction to the Chronicle – that there was

Glagolitic monument, the *Codex Marianus*, which is placed by many authors in the period from the 10th to the 13th century, remains open.⁷

In this period literary activity was being developed in the territory around Lake Skadar. The centre of literary activity was the monastery *Prečista Krajinska*, where the representative literary work *Život zetskoga kneza Vladimira* (*The Life of Prince Vladimir of Zeta*) was created by an anonymous Doclean author from *Krajina*. Another important work from this period was the chronicle *Regnum Sclavorum*, i.e. *Kingdom of the Slavs* by *Pop Dukljanin*. Neither of these works was kept from decay in its original form; only their Latin transcriptions from the 17th century have been preserved.⁸

Judging by numerous monasteries and scriptoria on the former territory of Doclea, as well as by the high level of social development at the time when the Pope granted Doclea papal recognition and an archdiocese in Bar, it can be concluded that there was a high level of literacy at the time, which is also confirmed by the aforementioned *The Life of Prince Vladimir of*

a Slavic original of the Chronicle and that this original was written in the Glagolitic script". See: Aleksandar Radoman: "O pismu izvornika hronike *Kraljevstvo Slovena Popa Dukljanina*", *Lingua Montenegrina*, No. 2, Institut za crnogorski jezik i jezikoslovlje "Vojislav P. Nikčević", Cetinje, 2008, pp. 103–108.

⁷ See: Radoslav Rotković, "O nekim 'prazninama' u crnogorskom nasljeđu srednjega vijeka", *Stvaranje*, No. 3, Titograd, 1978, pp. 349–350; Dr. Vojislav P. Nikčević, *Crnogorska književna raskršća*, Matica crnogorska, Cetinje, 1996, 169–179; Đorđe Trifunović, *Ka počecima srpske pismenosti*, Otkrovenje, Beograd, 2001; Milorad Nikčević: "Jagićevo izdanje *Marijinskog jevanđelja*", *Lingua Montenegrina*, No. 2, Institut za crnogorski jezik i jezikoslovlje "Vojislav P. Nikčević", Cetinje, 2008, pp. 103–125.

⁸ See: Vojislav P. Nikčević, "Dukljanski period", in: *Istorija crnogorske književnosti. Od početaka pismenosti do XIII. vijeka*, Institut za crnogorski jezik i jezikoslovlje "Vojislav P. Nikčević", Cetinje, 2009, pp. 51–120.

Zeta, as a prominent work of fiction.⁹ However, no original written works from this period were preserved, as they, most probably, could not have survived the next period in the history of the Montenegrin language – the Zeta Period – when fundamental changes occurred in the former state of Doclea-Zeta. This is also the time when state independence was lost and the area came under the administration of Raška, which meant a change in the state religion as well.¹⁰ Most probably the written works of the time, especially those of religious content, shared the same fate as the cult of St. Vladimir of Doclea. Those works that were not destroyed in this manner could hardly resist the decay of time.

THE ZETA PERIOD

The Zeta Period in the history of the Montenegrin literary language starts with the fall of Doclea/Zeta under Raška/Serbian rule, and it encompasses the rule of the Balšić and Crnojević dynasties.

There is no consensus among researchers with regard to dating Glagolitic and Cyrillic scripts in the territory of modern-day Montenegro. Some authors (Vojislav P. Nikčević, Dragoje Živković, Radoslav Rotković and Milorad Nikčević) believe that these two alphabets could not have existed in the Doclea Period as they were a reflection of Eastern European ideology and culture, rivalled by, in their opinion, the explicitly western-

⁹ See: Vojislav P. Nikčević, *Istorija crnogorske književnosti. Od početaka pismenosti do XIII. vijeka*, Institut za crnogorski jezik i jezikoslovlje “Vojislav P. Nikčević”, Cetinje, 2009, pp. 80–92.

¹⁰ Vojislav P. Nikčević, “Na zalasku dukljanskoga perioda“, in: *Istorija crnogorske književnosti. Od početaka pismenosti do XIII. vijeka*, Institut za crnogorski jezik i jezikoslovlje “Vojislav P. Nikčević”, Cetinje, pp. 118–119.

oriented Doclea.¹¹ On the other hand, many scholars believe that the Glagolitic script was used in the Doclea Period of Montenegrin literacy,¹² while there are also those who believe that the earliest works of our literature were written in the Cyrillic script.¹³ However, on the basis of preserved manuscripts, it can be safely stated that the Old Church Slavonic language and Cyrillic script were predominantly used in the Zeta Period.¹⁴ The biggest change in the new state administration was carried out at the cultural level. Over time, Montenegrin culture and literacy would gradually acquire Eastern European features. However, the bi-confessional situation in the Zeta Period leads to the conclusion that all three alphabets were used in it, although they did not have the same status.

In the 15th century, in Orthodox churches on the islands and shores of Lake Skadar, many priests were working on rewriting

¹¹ Dr Vojislav Nikčević, “O jeziku i pismu slovenskih originala legende *Vladimir i Kosara* Zećanina iz Krajine i *Ljetopisa* Popa Dukljanina”, *Stvaranje*, No. 10, Titograd, 1979, pp. 1591–1603; “Još o jeziku i pismu slovenskih originala Kraljevstva Slovena Popa Dukljanina”, in: *Jezikoslovne studije*, Centralna narodna biblioteka “Đurđe Crnojević”, Cetinje, 2004, pp. 85–103; Dr Dragoje Živković, *Istorija crnogorskog naroda*, Volume I, Cetinje, 1989, p. 126; Dr Radoslav Rotković, *Kraljevina Vojislavljevića XI-XII vijeka*, Print, Podgorica, 1999, p. 346.

¹² See: *Prednjegoševsko doba*, editors: Dr Niko S. Martinović, Risto Kovijanić, Slavko Mijušković, Čedo Vuković, Grafički zavod, Titograd, 1963, pp. 507; Dragoljub Dragojlović, “Ka počecima naše stare književnosti”, in: Slobodan Kalezić, *Crnogorska književnost u književnoj kritici, I*, Univerzitetska riječ, Nikšić, 1990, 78–84; Lubomir E. Havlik, *Dukljanska hronika i Dalmatinska legenda*, Grafo, Podgorica, 2008, 76.

¹³ Đorđe Sp. Radojičić, *Razvojni luk stare srpske knjevnost*, Novi Sad, 15.

¹⁴ See: Vojislav P. Nikčević, “Zetski period”, in: *Istorija crnogorske književnosti. Od početaka pismenosti do XIII. vijeka*, Institut za crnogorski jezik i jezikoslovlje “Vojislav P. Nikčević”, Cetinje, 2009, pp. 121–165; and “Zetski period”, in: *Crnogorski jezik*, Volume I, Matica crnogorska, Cetinje, 1993, pp. 221–342.

and illuminating church books. Therefore, the appearance of a Montenegrin printing house can be viewed as a natural consequence of this widespread scribal literary activity.¹⁵ This printing house, established by *Đurađ Crnojević*, was most probably originally stored in *Obod*, while its operation began in Cetinje.¹⁶ Five incunabula were printed in this printing house: *Oktoih prvoglasnik* (*Octoechoes, the First Voice*), *Oktoih petoglasnik* (*Octoechoes, the Fifth Voice*), *Psaltir s posljedorovanjem* (*Book of Psalms with Explanatory Notes*), *Trebnik* and *Četvororjevandjelje* (*The Four Gospels*). Only four Slavic peoples have incunabula in their own language or in the Old Church Slavonic language with their own recension and those are the Czechs, Croats, Ukrainians and Montenegrins.¹⁷ This fact illustrates the high degree of cultural development in Montenegro in this period. Although only a small number of books from the period have been preserved, they are a proof of developed literacy, scribal and literary activities in Montenegro at the time.

In the Zeta Period, the Zeta (Montenegrin) recension of the Old Church Slavonic language was developed. The most significant representative of Montenegrin/Zeta Cyrillic recension and the work most representative of that period is *Miroslavljevo jevandjelje* (*Miroslav's Gospel*), created in Kotor in the 1180s, written by two authors – Varsameleon of Zeta, who wrote the majority of the work, and Gligorije of Raška, writer of the last

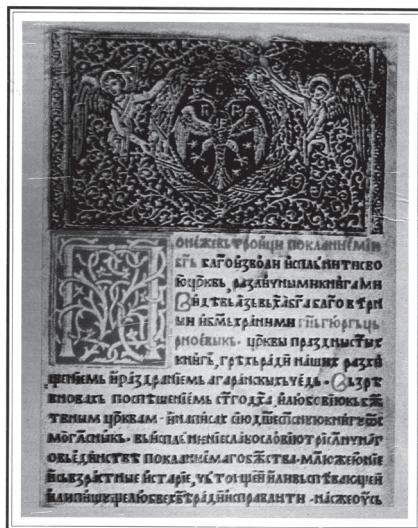
¹⁵ See: Danilo Radojević, “Društveno-istorijska i kulturna uslovljenost prve crnogorske ćirilske štamparije”, Collection of Papers *Pola milenijuma Crnojevića štamparije* (ed. Milorad Nikčević), Nacionalna zajednica Crnogoraca Hrvatske, Zagreb, 1996, pp. 83–96.

¹⁶ See: *Pola milenijuma Crnojevića štamparije*, NZCH, Zagreb, 1996.

¹⁷ Stjepan Damjanović, “Crnogorske inkunabule u kontekstu ranog slovenskog tiska”, Collection of Papers *Pola milenijuma Crnojevića štamparije* (ed. Milorad Nikčević), Nacionalna zajednica Crnogoraca Hrvatske, Zagreb, 1996, p. 44.



Octoechoes



POLA MILENIJUMA
CRNOJEVIĆA ŠTAMPARIJE
ZBORNİK RADOVA

NZCH

*Half a Millennium of Crnojevići
Printing House, Collection of Papers*

two pages. Both the Bosnian and Serbian/Raška recensions would develop from the Zeta recension.

In terms of its importance, *Miroslav's Gospel* is the Zeta Period's equivalent to the *Kingdom of the Slavs* from the previous, Doclea period.¹⁸

In addition to *Miroslav's Gospel*, the Cyrillic *Ilovička krmčija* (*Ilovica Codex*, Ilovica near Tivat, 1262) and *Zbornik Popa Dragolja* (*Dragolj Code*, in Vraka near Skadar, during the third quarter of the 13th century) were written in the Zeta recension of the Old Church Slavonic language. Traces of the Zeta recension are also reflected, more or less, in other Cyrillic monuments

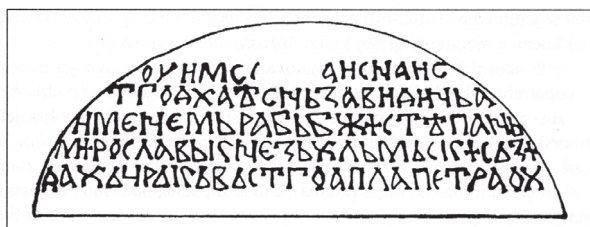
¹⁸ See more details in: Vojislav P. Nikčević, "Zetska redakcija staroslovenskoga jezika", in *Crnogorski jezik*, Volume I, Matica crnogorska, Cetinje, 1993, pp. 272–318.

from this period which do not belong to Montenegrin cultural heritage, such as the *Charter of Kulin*, (1189), the so-called

Vukan's (i.e. *Stefan's*) *Gospel* (1197-1199), *Nemanja's Charter of Hilandar Monastery* (1199), *Hilandar Typicon* (1199), etc.¹⁹

In Kotor in the Zeta Period, *Divoš's Gospel*, *Floral Triodion* and the *Mostar Gospel* were also transcribed into Cyrillic.²⁰ In Cyrillic there are also the *Vranjina* and *Balšić* charters (*The Charter of King Stefan Vladislav* from 1242, the *Charter of Queen Jelena* from the end of the 13th century, etc.), which were written in a mixture

of the Old Church Slavonic and the vernacular language and the documents through which *Odolja Predenić with the People of Krajina and the Municipality of Dubrovnik Mutually Establish Peace and Friendship* (1247).²¹



Duke Miroslav's epitaph

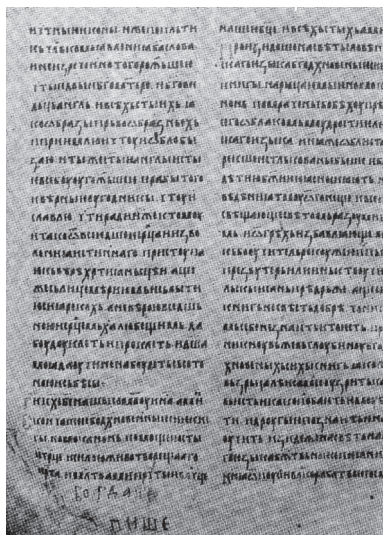


Miroslav's Gospel

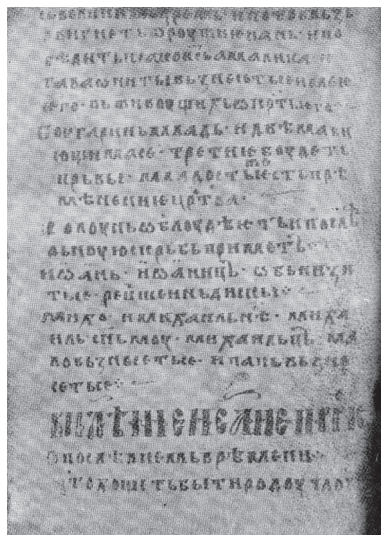
¹⁹ Ibid., p. 303.

²⁰ Ibid., pp. 294–296, footnote 42.

²¹ Božidar B. Šekularac, *Dukljansko-zetske povelje*, Istorijski institut SR Crne Gore, Titograd, 1987.



Illova Codex



Dragolj Code

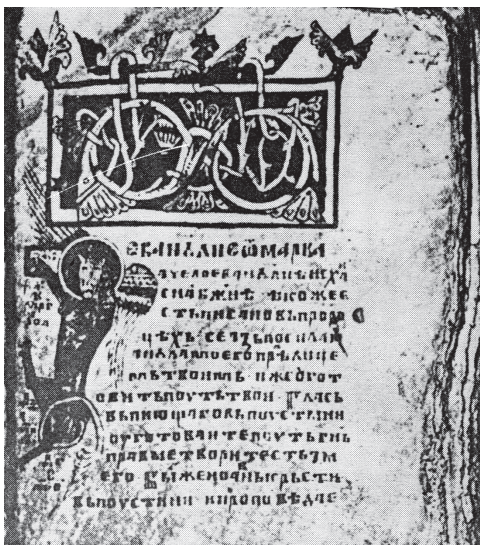
Glagolitic monuments belonging to the Zeta recension are the *Gršković* (end of the 12th century) and *Mihanović* (beginning of the 13th century) *Fragments of the Acts of the Apostles*.²² In recent years, the *Codex Marianus* has also been placed in this category but, as noted above, there is still no agreement among researchers as to its dating (in the range from the 10th to the 13th century). Vojislav P. Nikčević adds the *Codex Clozianus*²³ from the end of the 12th century²⁴ to the Montenegrin Glagolitic monuments of the Zeta Period.

²² Vojislav P. Nikčević, “Zetska redakcija staroslovenskoga jezika”, in *Crnogorski jezik*, Volume I, Matica crnogorska, Cetinje, 1993, pp. 303–309.

²³ Vojislav P. Nikčević, “Zetska redakcija staroslovenskoga jezika”, in *Crnogorski jezik*, Volume I, Matica crnogorska, Cetinje, 1993, p. 294.

²⁴ Most of these manuscripts have not yet been thoroughly linguistically studied, so only indirect conclusions are being made about many of them. More precise classification would have to rely on thorough analysis of the subject manuscripts.

In the Zeta Period, the Glagolitic script would be completely displaced by Cyrillic. Its inglorious fate is vividly described by the fact that the Cyrillic *Ilovica Codex* was tied together with two Glagolitic pergaments serving as book covers. Those pergaments were in fact the abovementioned *Mihanović's Fragments of the Acts of the Apostles*, which has been preserved in this manner until today.²⁵



Divoš's Gospel

Montenegrin/Zeta Recension of the Old Church Slavonic Language

Recension refers to a spontaneous adaptation of the Old Church Slavonic texts through the introduction of language features of the areas from which their authors/scribes originated. The Montenegrin/Zeta recension is defined as a form of Old Church Slavonic language adapted, in terms of articulation, to the local language of writers/scribes from mediaeval Zeta. This recension was most probably created in Stefan Nemanja's office in Kotor, and it marked the Zeta Period of Montenegrin literacy and literature, although there are authors (such as Aleksandar

²⁵ Petar Đorđić, *Istorija srpske ćirilice. Paleografsko-filološki prilozi*, Second edition, Zavod za udžbenike i nastavna sredstva, Beograd, 1987, p. 64.

Belić) dating it even further in the past.²⁶ Both Bosnian and Serbian recensions of the Old Church Slavonic language developed from it. The Zeta/Montenegrin recension was often, without any basis for it, treated as the Zeta-Hum recension, although it is known for a fact that it was created in Zeta from where it subsequently spread across Hum.

The most significant representative work created in the Montenegrin/Zeta Cyrillic recension is *Miroslav's Gospel*, that is, its first, larger part written by *Varsameleon*, while the other shorter part belongs to Serbian literary heritage.²⁷

THE WRITTEN LANGUAGE PERIOD

The Written Language Period encompasses the time from the end of the 15th century to the mid-18th century. Written language here refers to the written realization of the local spoken language. In the new socio-historical circumstances, Montenegrin language with a national basis was gradually being reused in Montenegro. However, the Old Church Slavonic language of the Zeta recension would still be used in the Orthodox Church

²⁶ Aleksandar Belić, "Sveti Sava i reforma ćirilice", in: Petar Milosavljević, *Srpska pisma*, Besjeda, Banja Luka 2006, pp. 241–252.

²⁷ See more details in: Vojislav P. Nikčević, "Glavne strukturne osobine zetske redakcije", in *Crnogorski jezik*, Volume I, Matica crnogorska, Cetinje, 1993, pp. 319–342; Vojislav P. Nikčević, "Miroslavljevo jevanđelje kao predstavnik crnogorske ćirilske redakcije", in: *Istorija crnogorske književnosti. Od početaka pismenosti do XIII. vijeka*, Institut za crnogorski jezik i jezikoslovlje "Vojislav P. Nikčević", Cetinje, 2009, pp. 148–165; Nikčević, Vojislav P.: *Crnogorska redakcija staroslovjenskoga književnog jezika i Miroslavljevo jevanđelje*, *Lingua Montenegrina*, No. 1, Institut za crnogorski jezik i jezikoslovlje "Vojislav P. Nikčević", Cetinje, 2008, pp. 53–74; Milica Lukić, "Doprinos Vojislava P. Nikčevića proučavanju crnogorske redakcije staroslavenskoga jezika", in *Lingua montenegrina – croatica*, Institut za crnogorski jezik i jezikoslovlje "Vojislav P. Nikčević", Cetinje – Osijek, pp. 29–47.

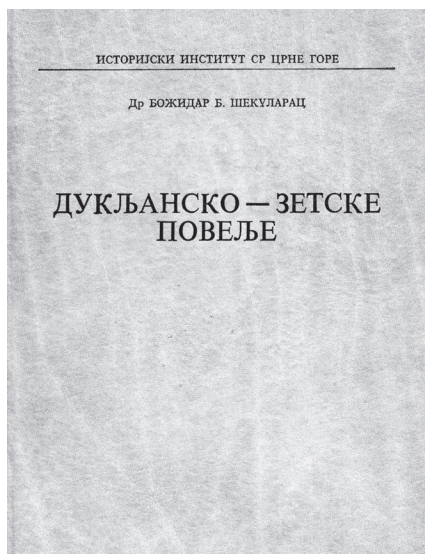
for a long time. In this stage, as a consequence of the Zeta Period, books in the Old Church Slavonic language and Cyrillic script were dominant. However, in Boka, the Zeta/Montene-

Glasovna vrijednost	Cirilski znak	Brojna vrijednost	Glasovna vrijednost	Cirilski znak	Brojna vrijednost
a, ja	а, ѣ	1 = а	у	Ѹ	400
б	б		ф	Ѳ	500
в	в	2	тх	Ѳ	9
г	г	3	х	х	600
д	д	4	о	Ѡ	800
e, je	Ѣ, ѣ	Ѣ = 5	шт	Ѹ	
ж	ж		ц	Ѹ	900
дз	ѣ, ѣ̇, ѣ̈	6	ч	ч, Ѹ	90
з	з	7		з	
и	и	8		и	
ђ	ђ, ѣ̇, ѣ̈, ѣ̉		(јат)	Ѡ	
	і	10	(јерп)	Ѡ, Ѡи	
к	к	20		Ѡ, Ѡи	
л	л	30	ју	ю	
м	м	40	ен	а, а, а	
н	н	50	он	Ѡ	
о	о	70	јен	Ѡи	
п	п	80	јон	ѠѠ	
р	р	100	кс	ѠѠ	60
с	с	200	пс	ѠѠ	700
т	т	300		у	400

Zeta recension of the Old Slavonic language

grin type of the Old Church Slavonic language did not leave significant traces in the period's literature. In the Boka region, Latin and Italian had primacy, especially in the period of Humanism and the Renaissance, while the Baroque era was marked by the increasing use of the vernacular in literature.²⁸

Unlike the described linguistic situation characteristic for ecclesiastical use, already in the previous epoch, the vernacular started to again make its way into literacy in the domain of secular use. Numerous epigraphs, notes, charters, wills, etc., testify to the use of the vernacular with elements of Church Slavonic literacy. This is also confirmed by *Vranjina Charters*, created by Zeta/Montenegrin writers at the times of the Nemanjić, Balšić and Crnojević dynasties.²⁹ Written language in secular use would continue to follow the development of the Montenegrin spoken language, and as time passed the literary language became increasingly free of Church Slavonic



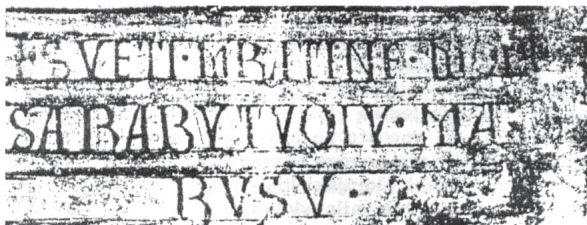
Doclean-Zeta Charters
by Božidar Šekularac

²⁸ Vojislav P. Nikčević, "Narodni jezik u crnogorskoj književnosti prednjegoševskog doba", *Jezik*, Year 16, No. 1 and No. 2, Hrvatsko filološko društvo, Zagreb, 1968/69.

²⁹ See: Božidar Šekularac, *Vranjinske povelje. XIII–XV vijek*, Leksikografski zavod Crne Gore, Titograd, 1984; Božidar Šekularac, *Tragovi prošlosti Crne Gore. Srednjovjekovni natpisi i zapisi u Crnoj Gori – kraj VIII – početak XVI vijeka*, Istorijski institut Crne Gore – Državni arhiv Crne Gore – Štamparija Obod, Cetinje, 1994.

elements. The spontaneous homogenization of the Montenegrin vernacular and literary language was particularly affected by well developed oral literature and the cult of words.

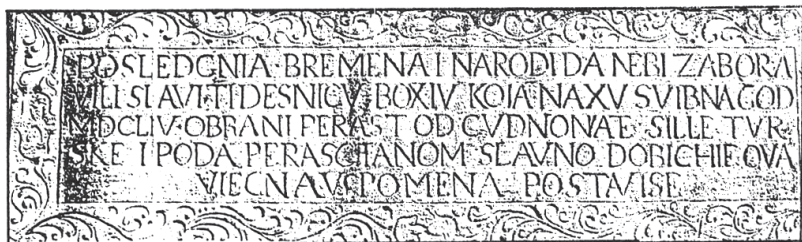
The two most important writers in this period in the development of the Montenegrin literary language appeared in



Inscription in the vernacular language on the wall of the Church of St. Ana in Kotor (15th century)

its late stage, the Baroque period. They are Andrija Zmajević in the coastal area (Boka Kotor-ska) and Danilo Petrović

Njegoš in the continental part (Cetinje). They both wrote in the Montenegrin vernacular.



Inscription on the Church of St. Nikola in Perast (1654)

THE UNCODIFIED LITERARY LANGUAGE PERIOD

From the second half of the 18th century, primarily through the strengthening of the state and church organization, prerequisites were created for establishing an uncoded Montenegrin literary language as a medium of common communication in the whole area under the jurisdiction of the state and the church, as

well as in the Montenegrin coastal area. Thus, the written language was spontaneously transformed into an uncoded literary (standard) language. This process made the development of the Montenegrin language unique, as the basis for its foundation was the naturally formed *koiné* layer, previously established in the language of oral literature. It was already at that time that the vernacular and the literary language were almost completely homogenized, so Montenegrin writers wrote in accordance with the speech norms. Before Vuk Stefanović Karadžić was even born, Ivan-Antun Nenadić (1768) from Perast advocated the phonetic spelling principle that *it can be written as it is spoken and that it should be spoken the way it is written*. This rule was implemented very early in the language of Montenegrin literature. It is therefore no surprise that the principles of the Vuk Karadžić's language reform were accepted without any problems later.

Even back then, in this period of the development of the Montenegrin literary language, three registers could be noticed: fictional, business and scientific.³⁰ They were all formed in the process of spontaneous Montenegrin language standardization. Montenegrin literature, in terms of its content and linguistically, flowed from national life. In the subject period, the greatest achievement of such a literary language was achieved in *Poslanice Svetoga Petra Cetinjskog* (*The Epistles of St. Peter of Cetinje*).

THE TRANSITIONAL PERIOD

As a consequence of Vuk Karadžić's language reform, in the Montenegrin language of the Transitional Period (from the 1830s to World War I), significant changes occurred, as well as the official termination of some typical Montenegrin language

³⁰ Vojislav P. Nikčević, *Crnogorski jezik*, Volume II, Matica crnogorska, Cetinje, p. 284.

features. Throughout this entire period, the language in Montenegro was officially called *Serbian*, and adaptation of the Montenegrin language to the general Štokavian Karadžić model was mainly carried out through textbooks and external teaching personnel who wholeheartedly followed the principles of Vuk Karadžić's language reform.³¹

As the vernacular in Montenegro was in continuous use in written communication, it is clear why the Montenegrin language was largely the starting basis and the model for Vuk Karadžić in the process of codification of the Serbian (=general Štokavian) language. However, as his model of language was intended for an area of which Montenegro was only an insignificant part, he gradually left out from his "Serbian" language some typical Montenegrin features. Thus, for example, in 1818, he noted the existence of the phonemes *ś* and *ź* but due to their use in a restricted area (Montenegro), he did not include them in his standard language model.³² For the same reason, in 1839, he would drop *ć* and *đ* as products of the Jekavian iotation (for example, *đevojka*, *ćerati*, *ćedilo*).

As Vuk's principle of introducing the vernacular into literature had no opponents in Montenegro (because in Montenegro this principle existed even before Vuk), his language reform also had no major opponents. However, not all the principles of the

³¹ Vojislav P. Nikčević, "Istorija crnogorskoga jezika", in: *Jezikoslovne studije*, Centralna narodna biblioteka "Đurđe Crnojević", Cetinje, 2004. Dušan Martinović & Marko Marković, *Crnogorski udžbenici 1836–1981. Istorijski pregled sa bibliografijom*, Republički zavod za unapređivanje školstva, Titograd, 1982. Milorad Nikčević, "Razdoblje romantizma, realizma i moderne u crnogorskoj književnosti", *Lingua Montenegrina*, No. 4, Institut za crnogorski jezik i jezikoslovlje "Vojislav P. Nikčević", Cetinje, 2009, pp. 257–275.

³² Vuk Stef. Karadžić, *Srpski rječnik*, Dela Vuka Karadžića, Pavle Ivić (ed.), Prosveta, Beograd, 1969. (Reprint of the edition from 1818), p. XXIX.

reform were accepted smoothly, so disagreements arose among Montenegrin cultural workers. Although both sides referred to Vuk, the main cause of the disagreements was the sacrifice of typical Montenegrin language features which, in Montenegrin literacy and literature, had an extensive, centuries-long tradition of usage. Long debates were especially marked by the views of Jovan Pavlović (Vuk's consistent follower), those of Lazar Tomanović who, among other things, advocated introduction of the graphemes *ś* and *ž*, and those of Đuro Špadijer who, in his *Serbian Grammar* (intended for the third and fourth grades of primary schools in Montenegro), introduced some features which Vuk's model listed as dialect words and provincialisms, as well as the views of Mirko Mijušković, a graduate from the Belgrade Higher School (*Velika škola u Beogradu*).³³

However, in Montenegro, continued implementation of Karadžić's language reform started from the academic year of 1863/64 in Cetinje's "Small School", in the *Orlić* almanac from 1865, and in writings of the Montenegrin Senate and public administration from 1868.³⁴ From then on, this process would continue in other written texts. This was the beginning of a systematic process of adaptation of typical features of the Montenegrin language in official (written) communication, because all features not included in Karadžić-Daničić's language model were automatically defined as dialect words and provincialisms. However, this process was quite slow because the education policy during the 19th century sought to preserve a minimum of Montenegrin language specifics that could not be easily eradicated even though they were not a part of the official ("Serbian") literary

³³ See more details in the section on the language policy in Montenegro (in this book).

³⁴ See more details in: Vojislav P. Nikčević, "Književni jezik na tradicionalnoj osnovi i Vukovom putu" in: *Crnogorski jezik*, Volume II, Matica crnogorska, Cetinje, 1997, pp. 486–520.

language. The consistent use of Vuk's literary language model had most of its supporters among young professionals, mostly educated in Serbia, and the numerous foreigners in the cultural life of the Montenegro.³⁵ Through non-critical implementation of the views of Karadžić and Daničić as the supreme authorities, they have largely contributed to the blending of Montenegrin literary language into the model of the official "Serbian" literary language. This reform would, by the end of the 19th century, ensure its final victory in Montenegro, especially in administrative, publicistic, and scientific registers. The fictional register resisted this process the longest and it mainly stayed outside the reach of the mentioned reform, managing to preserve basic Montenegrin language features and pass them on to the 20th century. The works of the three most representative authors from this period – Petar II Petrović Njegoš, Stefan Mitrov Ljubiša and Marko Miljanov Popović – testify to this preservation of Montenegrin literary language in the fictional register.

THE VUK PERIOD

The processes initiated in the Transitional Period were finalized in the ensuing Vuk Period, which would mark the 20th century and carry on into the new millennium. This period is divided into two stages: that of Belić and the Modern Stage.

The Belić Stage

Montenegrin literary language underwent the greatest changes in the Belić Stage, that is, between the two World Wars. Montenegrin specific language features were preserved in the fictional register during the first two decades of the 20th century; however, afterwards, in the new socio-historical circumstances, the fictional register was merged, just as the administrative, pub-

³⁵ See footnote 31 of this text.

licistic and scientific ones had been, into the common “Serbian/Serbo-Croatian” language template.

Although Belić’s *Orthography* from 1923 formally permitted the Ijekavian dialect, the author stressed in this and in subsequent editions that Ijekavian iotation was a dialectal feature, so Montenegrins were obliged to use the non-iotized atypical forms such as *djed*, *cjedilo*, *tjerati*, *sjesti*, etc. In subsequent editions, Belić abolished the formal recognition of longer suffixes in the declension of pronouns and adjectives *-ijem*, *-ijeh* and, instead, codified only short suffixes. Thus, Vuk’s supporters would be the first ones to abandon Vuk’s language model. However, despite formal recognition of the Ijekavian dialect in the literary language, the period between the World Wars in Montenegro would be marked by increasing use of the Ekavian dialect.³⁶ Jovan Skerlić was among the most persistent supporters of the Ekavian dialect; Belić himself also favoured it, as did some renowned Montenegrins from Belgrade, such as Vido Latković, who openly advocated the sacrifice of the Ijekavian dialect.³⁷ Although there were, among Montenegrin writers, those who left Ijekavian and accepted the Ekavian dialect voluntarily, most of them were forced to publish their works in Ekavian.

The Ekavian dialect was also introduced throughout the education system, as the majority of textbooks and teaching personnel were using it. This is vividly testified to by articles in contemporary Montenegrin papers.³⁸ The main determinant

³⁶ See more details in the sections on the Montenegrin Ijekavian dialect and language policy in Montenegro (in this book).

³⁷ See: Vido Latković, “Prilikom književne večeri mladih iz Crne Gore”, *Zapisi*, Vol. VI, Part VI, Cetinje, June 1930, p. 382.

³⁸ See, for example: Bogić Noveljić, “Brisanje crnogorskoga književnog jezika. Povodom pitanja školskih udžbenika”, *Zeta*, No. 14, Podgorica, 1937; “Aponijev zakon”, *Glas Crnogorca*, No. 80, 27. XI 1919, p. 4; Bogić Noveljić, “Crna Gora u školskim udžbenicima”, *Zeta*, No. 47 and

of the Belić Stage was the removal of the differences between the Montenegrin and Serbian languages, and the assimilation of Montenegrin into Serbian.

The Modern Stage

The Modern Stage in the development of Montenegrin literary language began after World War II, when the language status improved together with the state position. However, at this time Montenegro was still not granted the right to call its lan-

guage by its own name. The official language was Serbo-Croatian, and then Serbian as of 1992, but at least the status of the Ijekavian dialect was constitutionally guaranteed. In this period however Montenegro and Montenegrins would once again be left out of the language standardization process, so in the *Serbo-Croatian Language Orthography* (MS-MH, 1960), it was emphasized that the common literary language developed around two main centres – Belgrade and Zagreb – and that a group of Serbian and Croatian experts would jointly prepare the Draft Or-



The Mountain Wreath
by Petar II Petrović Njegoš
(Serbian adaptation)

No. 48, 1937; M. Bulajić, "Crna Gora u školskim udžbenicima", *Zeta*, No. 41, 1937, etc.

thography.³⁹ This orthography also included no typical Montenegrin macro-structural features.

Although official language policy backed the above orthography, the board of the Association of Writers of Montenegro denounced the wrongful treatment of the Montenegrin language in the *Serbo-Croatian Language Orthography*.⁴⁰ Already in 1968, a group of cultural workers appeared in Montenegro, advocating a new approach to fundamental Montenegrin values confirming the existence of a separate Montenegrin people, nation, language and state. It is thanks to the efforts of this generation of Montenegrin cultural workers that a number of institutions working on the protection of fundamental Montenegrin values were formed in Montenegro after the break-up of the Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia. We should, first of all, mention the *Montenegrin PEN Centre*, *Matica crnogorska*, the *Doclean Academy of Sciences and Arts*, the *Institute for Montenegrin Language and Philology* and the *Montenegrin Association of Independent Writers*. A very important role was played at that time by the *Montenegrin PEN Centre's Declaration on the Constitutional Status of the Montenegrin Language*,⁴¹ the appearance of which provoked the last attempt by some unificatory linguistics representatives to introduce the Ekavian dialect in this traditionally Ijekavian area. That attempt failed as it was

³⁹ Since it had been stressed from the beginning that the above orthography would be prepared by a “joint commission of Serbian and Croatian experts”, the status of Montenegro and the Montenegrin language in these circumstances is more than clear. See: *Pravopis srpskohrvatskoga književnog jezika*, Matica srpska – Matica hrvatska, Novi Sad – Zagreb, 1960, p. 7.

⁴⁰ *Saopštenje Uprave Udruženja književnika Crne Gore o jeziku*, *Kritika*, No. 17, Zagreb, March / April 1971, p. 378.

⁴¹ “Jezik kao domovina. Deklaracija Crnogorskoga PEN centra o ustavnom položaju crnogorskog jezika”, *Doclea*, No. 3, Podgorica, 1994.

condemned by most linguists, some of whom belonged to that same unificatory linguistics movement, denying the existence of the Montenegrin language.⁴² Still, in the last twenty years, attempts and efforts were made by some linguists to codify certain Ekavisms in the Montenegrin standard language – although there is no scientific foundation for such attempts as they only reflected unitarianist language policy and were an import from Ekavian areas. Such attempts were justified by so-called spontaneous language development and the need to simplify groups “difficult to pronounce” (for example, *rječnik* > *rečnik*; *sljedeći* > *sledeći*; *prijelaz* > *prelaz*, etc).⁴³

In the last decade of the 20th century, as a result of the long-term study of the Montenegrin language, the abovementioned institutions published textbooks necessary to study this language. These are: the orthographic manual *Write as You Speak* (*Montenegrin Association of Independent Writers*, Podgorica, 1993), the two-volume history of the Montenegrin language – *Montenegrin Language* (*Matica crnogorska*, Cetinje, 1993 & 1997), the *Orthography of the Montenegrin Language* (*Montenegrin PEN Center*, Cetinje, 1997) and the *Grammar of the Montenegrin Language* (*Doclean Academy of Sciences and Arts*, Podgorica, 2001). Through these books, the study of the Montenegrin language – *Montenegristics* – was founded. Their author was Vojislav P. Nikčević, and on the basis of these books, Montenegrin language became a subject of study in many Slavic Studies departments.

⁴² See the Collection of Papers on the attempt to expel Ijekavisms from the standard language in Montenegro: *Vaspitanje i obrazovanje*, Magazine for Education Theory and Practice, Podgorica, 1994.

⁴³ See: Adnan Čirgić, “Crnogorski književnojezički izraz kao antipod crnogorskome jeziku”, *Matica*, No. 31, *Matica crnogorska*, Cetinje – Podgorica, 2007, pp. 145–160.

Finally, the struggle for the affirmation of the Montenegrin language was crowned with success by the new Montenegrin Constitution (2007), in which Montenegrin acquired official-language status for the first time. Already in 2008, the Government of Montenegro had established the Council for the Standardization of the Montenegrin Language, with a view to preparing the orthography, grammar and dictionary of the Montenegrin language. However, the Council failed to fulfill this mission, as a group of its members, burdened by traditionalist linguistic views, could not accept the codification of typical Montenegrin language features. After eighteen months of unsuccessful work, the Council was abolished and the Expert Commission for the Standardization of the Montenegrin Language was formed (Milenko A. Perović, Josip Silić and Lyudmila Vasilyeva). This commission started work on editing the draft version of the *Orthography of the Montenegrin Language* written by Adnan Čirgić, after which this orthography was adopted (2009). The Commission then appointed linguists to prepare the *Grammar of the Montenegrin Language* – Adnan Čirgić, Ivo Pranjković and Josip Silić, in cooperation with Jelena Šušanj. The Editorial Board was also established (Milenko Perović, Josip Silić, Lyudmila Vasilyeva, Adnan Čirgić and Jelena Šušanj), which prepared the second, revised edition of the *Orthography of the Montenegrin Language*. Thus, in 2010, Montenegro got its official orthography and grammar book of the Montenegrin language.

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THE CLASSIFICATION OF MONTENEGRIN SPEECH PATTERNS

There is some elusive impressionist streak which helps us recognize a Montenegrin as soon as he opens his mouth and to differentiate him from all others, even Neo-Štokavian Montenegrins from other Neo-Štokavians. Dalibor Brozović (Crnogorski govori, CANU, 1984, p. 60)

This paper provides an analytical-critical overview of the past attempts to classify Montenegrin speech patterns and offers a new model for their classification. Starting from “yat replacement” and accentual position as the basic principles for the classification of Štokavian speech patterns, Montenegrin speech patterns are divided into three groups: Southeastern, Northwestern and the speech patterns of Montenegrin Sandžak. This conditional classification does not deny the thesis about the spontaneously developed *koiné* type of speech patterns of the Montenegrin people.

There were many prominent Montenegrin dialectologists in the 20th century. Although most of them lived and worked outside the Montenegrin area, they directed a good part of their scientific research and work towards Montenegro, primarily Montenegrin speech patterns. Due to this fact, today we can say

that Montenegrin speech patterns are among the best studied speech patterns in the world of Slavic studies. This, of course, does not mean that the process of studying those speech patterns was completed or that they were fully studied; however, on the basis of the results of those studies the work on the preparation of the *Dialectology of the Montenegrin Language* as a synthesis of those researches could be initiated. This position is best confirmed by the selective *Bibliography of Speech Patterns of Montenegro* by Drago Ćupić, which back in 1983 amounted to an impressive 568 units.¹

The first researcher of Montenegrin speech patterns was Vuk Karadžić, who published the results of his studies in 1836 in the preface of *Srpske narodne poslovice*. However, the 19th century would not be marked by significant studies of this issue. Such was the case, after all, with the surrounding nations as well. Systematic research of the Montenegrin language, primarily Montenegrin speech patterns, would commence in 1927 with the study *The Eastern Herzegovinian Dialect* by Danilo Vušović.² Afterwards, many significant papers, studies and monographs were published. The monographs *Der štokavische Dialekt* (Wien, 1907)³ and *Die Betonung...* (Wien, 1900) by Milan Rešetar are especially worth mentioning as they were of par-

¹ See: Drago Ćupić, “Bibliografija govora Crne Gore”, *Crnogorski govori. Rezultati dosadašnjih ispitivanja i dalji rad na njihovom proučavanju*, Collection of Papers, Crnogorska akademija nauka i umjetnosti, Titograd, 1984, pp. 97–128.

² Danilo Vušović, “Dialekt Istočne Hercegovine”, *Srpski dijalektološki zbornik*, Issue III, Srpska kraljevska akademija, Beograd – Zemun, 1927.

³ This monograph by Rešetar, although very significant for Štokavian dialectology and as such used and quoted often, has not been, until this year, translated into any of the Štokavian standard languages. This year, it was translated for the first time into the Montenegrin language. See: Milan Rešetar, *Štokavski dijalekat*, Matica crnogorska, Podgorica, 2010.

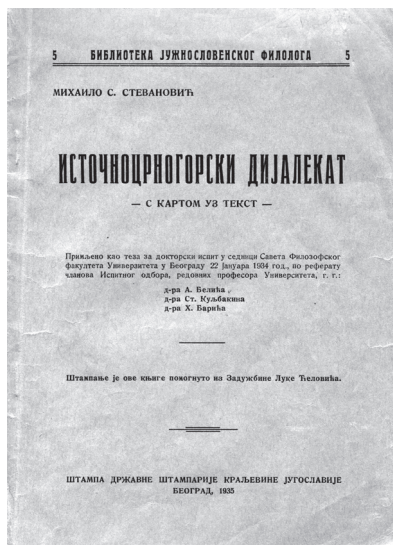
ticular importance for Montenegristics since the author devoted a large body of work to Montenegrin speech patterns.

Today's research into Montenegrin speech patterns is clearly lagging behind (in terms of both quality and quantity) compared to the first three quarters of the 20th century, when, in much more difficult conditions, significant results were achieved by Danilo Vušović, Mihailo Stevanović, Gojko Ružičić, Radosav Bošković & Mieczysław Małecki, Jovan Vuković, Luka Vujović (one of the few who lived and worked in Montenegro), Danilo Barjaktarović, Branko Miletić, Mitar Pešikan, Milija Stanić, Drago Ćupić, Dragoljub Petrović, Mato Pižurica, etc. The first language of most of them was Montenegrin, which was certainly a good prerequisite for their significant achievements in this field. It appears, however, that the work on the study of Montenegrin speech patterns began to stagnate when it began to be coordinated from Montenegro.

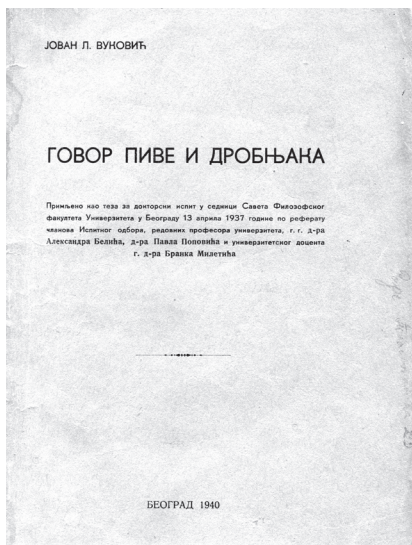
According to the breadth of the field they relate to, five studies stand out as the most comprehensive ones – the chronology of their publication being as follows: *The Eastern Herzegovinian Dialect* (1927) by Danilo Vušović, *Researching the Dialects of Old Montenegro with an Overview of Neighbouring Speech Patterns* (1932) by Radosav Bošković & Mječislav Malecki,⁴ *The Eastern Montenegrin Dialect* (1933/34) by Mihailo Stevanović,⁵ *Speech Patterns of Piva and Drobnjak*

⁴ The paper was also published in Glasnik Odjeljenja umjetnosti CANU, No. 20, Podgorica, 2002, pp. 5–13. Although the authors only mention so-called Old-Montenegrin speech patterns in the title, they bring language material from a wider area as well: Primorje, Zeta, Podgorica, Kuči, Piperi, Bjelopavlići, Pješivci... and offer the classification of speech patterns of these areas.

⁵ Mihailo Stevanović, "Istočnocrnogorski dijalekat", *Južnoslovenski filolog*, Issue III, Državna štamparija Kraljevine Jugoslavije, Beograd, 1933-1934.



The Eastern-Montenegrin Dialect by Mihailo Stevanović



Speech Patterns of Piva and Drobnjak by Jovan Vuković

(1938/39) by Jovan Vuković⁶ and *Speech Patterns of Uskoci I* (1974) and *II* (1977) by Milija Stanić.⁷ These studies cover most of the territory of Montenegro.

The majority of researchers of Montenegrin speech patterns sought to prove the existence of two strongly polarized dialects encompassing the Montenegrin area (not equating to Montenegrin state borders). For the Northwestern Montenegrin speech patterns, the term *Eastern Herzegovinian dialect* (*istočnohercegovački dijalekat*) was adopted, while the

⁶ Jovan Vuković, "Govor Pive i Drobnjaka", *Južnoslovenski filolog*, Issue XVII, Državna štamparija Kraljevine Jugoslavije, Beograd, 1938-1939.

⁷ Milija Stanić, "Uskočki govor", *Srpski dijalektološki zbornik*, Institut za srpskohrvatski jezik, Beograd, Volume I, Issue XX, 1974, and Volume II, Issue XXII, 1977.

remaining speech patterns were named differently: the *Eastern Montenegrin dialect* (*istočnocrnogorski dijalekat*), *Zeta-Lovćen dialect* (*zetsko-lovćenski dijalekat*), *Zeta-Sjenica dialect* (*zetsko-sjenički dijalekat*), *Zeta-South Sandžak dialect* (*zetsko-južnosandžački dijalekat*), *Zeta-Upper Polimlje dialect* (*zetsko-gornjopolimski dijalekat*), etc. As can be seen, apart from the term *Eastern Montenegrin dialect* which Mihailo Stevanović used in 1933 for speech patterns in the territory of Zeta including Podgorica and Lješkopolje, Piperi, Kuči, Bratonožići and Vasojevići,⁸ none of the other terms include the attribute *Montenegrin*. Even Stevanović himself soon gave up on that term (as it was not accepted by other linguists) and adopted the term used by Pavle Ivić, the *Zeta-Sjenica dialect*,⁹ although Ivić himself would subsequently give up on that term “because it was shown that Sjenica does not belong to the area of that dialect”.¹⁰

In addition, there were linguists trying to prove that the syntagm ‘Montenegrin speech patterns’ was untenable, because “in that territory there were no features which could not be found in other areas of the Serbo-Croatian language. Therefore, the term ‘Montenegrin speech patterns’ cannot be used in this syntagm with the adjectival particle ‘its’ without also meaning ‘Serbo-Croatian’. The term cannot be used even when it comes to certain features, if something potentially could not be found in the field of the lexicon (in which case it should be regarded as a Slavic archaism, and possibly a result of lexical influence which

⁸ Mihailo Stevanović, *Ibid.*, p. 2.

⁹ See: M. Stevanović, *Gramatika srpskohrvatskog jezika za više razrede gimnazije*, Fourth Edition, Obod, Cetinje, 1962, pp. 10-11.

¹⁰ Pavle Ivić, “Osvrt na lingvističke metode dosadašnjih proučavanja crnogorskih narodnih govora”, *Crnogorski govori. Rezultati dosadašnjih ispitivanja i dalji rad na njihovom proučavanju*, Collection of Papers, Crnogorska akademija nauka i umjetnosti, Titograd, 1984, p. 32.

was not felt in other areas of the Serbo-Croatian language).”¹¹ This view of Drago Ćupić is based on the position of Mitar Pešikan from his famous synthetic work “A General Overview of Montenegrin Speech Patterns”. Since this position had far-reaching negative consequences in terms of the treatment of Montenegrin speech patterns, especially because it came from such a linguistic authority as was Pešikan, it must be quoted in its entirety here: “The territory of today’s Federal Republic of Montenegro does not constitute a separate dialectal zone within Serbo-Croatian, i.e. the Štokavian area. This claim seems to contradict everyday experience and observations, because a number of dialectal phenomena which not only linguists but also others are faced with on a regular basis, are identified primarily as Montenegrisms, Montenegrin dialectal features. Still, a closer analysis of such features regularly shows:

- either that they are not exclusively Montenegrin, meaning that they cover considerable areas outside Montenegro as well;
- or that they are not Montenegro-wide, that is, that they do not encompass the whole (or nearly the whole) of Montenegro, meaning that considerable areas of the Republic are left out;
- or both: capturing only a part of Montenegro, many significant dialectal features are also present in other, often very large regions.”¹²

The difference between the two authors (Ćupić and Pešikan) stems from the fact that the former considers the syn-

¹¹ Drago Ćupić, *Ibid.*, p. 103.

¹² Mitar Pešikan, “Jedan opšti pogled na crnogorske govore”, *Zbornik za filologiju i lingvistiku*, XXI/1, Matica srpska, Novi Sad, 1979, p. 149.

tagm ‘Montenegrin speech patterns’ unacceptable, while the latter uses it himself.

The abovementioned positions and the division of Montenegrin speech patterns require an analytical review from the perspective of today’s knowledge in the field of Montenegrin dialectology and Montenegristics in general.

By dividing the Montenegrin speech patterns into two dialects, the lack of unity between them is highlighted as well as the fact that these two dialects have spread far beyond the national borders of Montenegro. Avoiding the attribute *Montenegrin* in naming them is closely related to this as well. As is well-known, boundaries of speech patterns, dialects and languages only in extremely rare cases coincide with state borders (when these borders spread along steep mountain slopes, river canyons, impassable forests or when they cross sparsely populated areas), so Montenegro is no exception in that respect. It is important to determine the centre of creation of language features that mark a certain dialect or speech pattern. Thanks to the extremely rich dialectological research in Montenegro and the extraordinary results that have been achieved in this field, we can now claim with certainty that Montenegro is the centre of the language phenomena occurring in its territory (regardless of the fact that they also exist outside it). However, as, ever since the victory of Vuk’s language reform in Montenegro (academic year 1863/64), the Montenegrin language was officially treated as a part of Serbian, while Montenegro-wide language characteristics were regarded as dialect words within the Serbian language, the mentioned names of dialects did not include Montenegrin ethnic or language attributes. Josip Hamm objected to such names of dialects back in 1983, pointing out that “in the *Overview of Serbo-Croatian Dialects* which was approved as a university textbook for students of the University in Belgrade,

no Montenegrin speech patterns were listed as a separate dialect group. There are speech patterns of Šumadija, Šumadija-Vojvodina, Vojvodina and Slavonia, but there are no Montenegrin ones. Why? – They are hidden under the name ‘*Zeta-South Sandžak*’. I think this is discrimination that would better fit the pre-war hypocrisy than a progressive society aiming to look at the facts realistically and to set matters out as they are. Why then have improvisations that do not solve anything? Who today (...) thinks of the historical Zeta (as Doclea has been referred to since the 11th century)? And if they include the speech patterns of South Sandžak, what about Central and North Sandžak then? Where are they included and why it is not reflected in the names? I believe that the most honest and the right thing to do would be to call Montenegrin speech patterns Montenegrin, and as for the fact that they partly pass into South Sandžak – it means nothing. It is a general feature of dialect phenomena that they do not, and never did, depend on administrative borders, although their core, around which the centres of local speech formed, was always somewhere – in some areas and within certain borders. In the case of official ‘*Zeta-South Sandžak*’ speech patterns, such a centre was doubtless in Montenegro, and in that respect I think that there is no reason not to call its speech patterns Montenegrin (even more so as they contain features that are not, at least in terms of the structure and system, present in other neighbouring or more distant speech patterns).’’¹³

But regardless of the unacceptable naming of Montenegrin speech patterns and the unsustainability of some of their interpretations, the contribution of these dialectologists to Montenegristics is immeasurable because they provided a wealth of material

¹³ Josip Hamm, “Crnogorsko T, D + JAT > ĆE, ĐE”, *Crnogorski govori. Rezultati dosadašnjih ispitivanja i dalji rad na njihovom proučavanju*, Collection of Papers, Crnogorska akademija nauka i umjetnosti, Titograd, 1984, pp. 80-81.

which serves as a confirmation of the existence of the Montenegrin language and Montenegrin speech patterns as a whole,¹⁴ i.e. material that is against their position on the existence of two separate dialects in the territory of Montenegro. In linguistics, as well as in many other areas, hypotheses were often accepted not on the basis of their scientific viability but on the basis of the authority of their authors. Such was the case with naming Montenegrin speech patterns and their division into two dialects, with the obligatory note that those dialects cover large areas outside Montenegro. Bearing in mind that these were the views of renowned authors such as Pavle Ivić and Mitar Pešikan, it is no surprise that the majority of other linguists, both contemporaries and successors, largely accepted those views without question.

The fact that language specifics in Montenegro “are not just Montenegrin but include areas outside Montenegro”¹⁵ cannot be in conflict with the view on the existence of Montenegrin speech patterns as a whole, i.e. cannot serve as a confirmation for the non-existence of typical Montenegrin features. What matters in this case is the status of these features in Montenegrin speech patterns (or the Montenegrin language) and the speech patterns of neighbouring languages: Bosnian, Croatian and Serbian. For example, the expansion of the Montenegrin consonant system with the sounds *ś* and *ź*,¹⁶ which are also present out-

¹⁴ In the above paper by M. Pešikan (“Jedan opšti pogled na crnogorske govore”), on the same page where the view was expressed that Montenegrin speech patterns were very dispersed and that there were no Montenegro-wide language features, the following is also stated: “*As a whole* (pointed out by A. Č.), Montenegrin speech patterns are a very typical part of the Štokavian speech or dialect.” – p. 149, by which the author negates previously stated views.

¹⁵ Mitar Pešikan, *Ibid.*, p. 149.

¹⁶ See: Vukić Pulević, “Glasovi *ś* i *ź* u crnogorskoj toponimiji”, *Lingua Montenegrina*, No. 1, Institut za crnogorski jezik i jezikoslovlje “Vojislav P.

side the territory of the Montenegrin language, does not mean that those sounds cannot be regarded as Montenegro-wide or typically Montenegrin features within the Štokavian language system – because in Montenegro, these sounds represent distinctive language features and are equally present in the whole area, whereas in the neighbouring states they have the status of localisms and dialect words that are now disappearing (if not already extinct), and their origin is mainly from the territory of the Montenegrin language. Inaccessible Montenegrin mountain areas, difficult living conditions and particularly the permanent struggle with the Turks from the 15th century onwards caused displacement of the population to the surrounding areas, closer or further away. Naturally, through these population migrations, Montenegrin language features were also displaced outside the area of their origin and that explains their presence in areas across Montenegrin national borders.

Pavle Ivić also emphasized the importance of these migrations, although, in terms of Montenegrin speech patterns, their division and naming, he held the same views as Pešikan. Listing the reasons for migrations from the beginning of the 15th century to the colonization of Vojvodina, Slavonia, Kosovo and Metohia in the 20th century, Ivić states that “some of our regions played the role of a continuous source of migration in history. (...) The strongest of all flows was the one from Dinara. Its home area covers the mountains from the upper course of the River Vrbas to Prokletije, so mainly high-altitude parts of Herzegovina, Montenegro and Sandžak. The territory across which this population dispersed is huge. It includes the Montenegrin coastal area, the Dalmatian mainland, the whole of Bosnia, a large part of Croatia and Slavonia and our settlements in Baranja, a large part of Vojvodina, the whole of western Serbia and more than a

Nikčević”, Cetinje, 2008, pp. 75–94.

half of Šumadija.”¹⁷ Within this flow, which he characterized as the strongest, three epicentres of migrations stand out – two of which are Ijekavian – both Montenegrin, while one of them is Ikavian (western Herzegovina, a part of western Bosnia and Dalmatia). One of the Montenegrin sources of migrations, Ivić says, is located in “eastern Herzegovina, especially in the parts which became Montenegrin in 1878 and 1913.”¹⁸ There, in the mountains of Durmitor, Sinjajevina, Maglić and other mountains in the valleys of the rivers Piva, Tara, Lim and the upper course of Neretva, lived a very mobile, strong and expansive cattle-raising population that unusually quickly spread to all sides.”¹⁹ The second centre of Montenegrin migrations²⁰ was in “the Montenegrin Mountains and neighbouring parts of Sandžak, including the area of Sjenica.” Immigrants from the northwestern part of Montenegro, he says, settled across Bosnia, Dalmatia, Croatia, Slavonia, Baranja, western Serbia and partly across northern Serbia and Vojvodina as well as the Dubrovnik coastal zone, while the other portion of the immigrants mainly settled in Serbia, Kosovo and Metohia.²¹ This data on the migrations of the Montenegrin population explains the origin of certain Montenegro-wide language features in a much wider area than that encompassed by Montenegrin state borders. The fact that these features transcend

¹⁷ Pavle Ivić, *Dijalektologija srpskohrvatskog jezika. Uvod i štokavsko narečje*, Matica srpska, Novi Sad, 1956, pp. 46-47.

¹⁸ A fact that is not mentioned here, and which is of crucial importance to the issue, is that these areas (or their largest part) previously belonged to the Montenegrin state, and that, even during the time of Turkish administration, they referred most of all to Montenegro.

¹⁹ Pavle Ivić, *Ibid.*, p. 47.

²⁰ Ivić calls it “Dinara’s third spotlight”. – *Ibid.*, p. 47.

²¹ *Ibid.*, p. 47-48. Migrations of the Montenegrin population to Herzegovina are also confirmed by Jevto Dedijer in the book *Hercegovina*, Srpska književna zadruga, Beograd, 1909.

the aforementioned borders does not mean that they cannot be viewed as Montenegrin language features, contrary to the view of the above authors and their followers. Moreover, this explains their former Montenegrin origin, in the same manner as, for example, Croatian language influence can be determined through the presence of certain Čakavisms in non-Croatian areas.

M. Pešikan's statement that there are no Montenegro-wide language features²² is firmly related to the division of Montenegrin speech patterns into two dialects as well as to P. Ivić's claim that "of all Štokavian speech patterns those in Montenegro are differentiated the most. In other words, there are not that many internal differences in other areas of appropriate size."²³ If we take into account the fact that P. Ivić views Torlakian speech patterns as a part of the Štokavian system under the name *the Prizren-Timok dialectal zone*, it is difficult to justify the division according to which the same status is given to, for example, "Eastern Herzegovinian" as opposed to "the Zeta-Sjenica dialect" in the territory of Montenegro and "the Prizren-Timok dialect" as opposed to that of Šumadija-Vojvodina in the territory of Serbia. If, in addition, vast differences between dialects in Serbia are known, where structural and typological differences between certain speech patterns are evident, the above thesis on Montenegrin speech patterns as the most differentiated ones becomes untenable. In contrast to the above opinion of P. Ivić, Vojislav P. Nikčević in his studies of the Montenegrin language came to the conclusion that "a general, super-dialectal and inter-dialectal variety of language (koiné) developed in the Montenegrin lan-

²² See footnote 11.

²³ Pavle Ivić, "Osvrt na lingvističke metode dosadašnjih proučavanja crnogorskih narodnih govora", *Crnogorski govori. Rezultati dosadašnjih ispitivanja i dalji rad na njihovom proučavanju*, Collection of Papers, Crnogorska akademija nauka i umjetnosti, Titograd, 1984, p. 31.

guage. Common features of Montenegrin speech patterns prevail and dominate in this type of language and there are three basic layers of language elements that can be differentiated. The first layer includes elements of South Slavic and Pre-Slavic origin, common to Montenegrins, Serbs, Bosnians or Muslims and Croats. The second layer includes elements which possess a collective speech, i.e. inter-dialectal usage value in the Montenegrin language. (...) The third layer of language elements consists of Montenegrin local speech patterns.”²⁴

In order to verify the validity of the above assertions we will exploit the material used by Pavle Ivić in *Dijalektologija srpskohrvatskoga jezika*²⁵ and Asim Peco in *Pregled srpskohrvatskih dijalekata*²⁶, because both authors have an identical division of Montenegrin speech patterns into two dialects, while the Torlakian speech patterns are regarded as a part of the Štokavian system.²⁷ [We will not, for now, take into consideration the abundance of Montenegrin language features described in dialectal studies and monographs relating to different parts of Montenegro.]

Based on a comparative analysis of those features which the above authors describe as typical for the “Eastern Herzegovinian” and “Zeta-Sjenica” or “Zeta-South Sandžak” dialects, it can be concluded that the majority of their features are com-

²⁴ Vojislav P. Nikčević, “Crnogorski interdijalektalni/naddijalektalni (koine) standardni jezik”, in *Jezičke i književne teme*, Institut za crnogorski jezik i jezikoslovlje, Cetinje, 2006, pp. 187-188.

²⁵ Pavle Ivić, *Dijalektologija srpskohrvatskog jezika. Uvod i štokavsko narečje*, Matica srpska, Novi Sad, 1956.

²⁶ Asim Peco, *Pregled srpskohrvatskih dijalekata*, Naučna knjiga, Beograd, 1978.

²⁷ The only difference is that Asim Peco differentiates, within the Eastern-Herzegovinian dialect, a separate *North-Western-Montenegrin* speech type. – A. Peco, *Ibid.*, p. 75.

mon to both “dialects”. Most of the features present in the first and unknown in the second “dialect” (at this point, we are not taking into account the accentual situation, which will be discussed in more detail below) mainly occur outside Montenegrin territory, i.e. they are also mainly absent from Northwestern Montenegrin speech patterns. The common most prominent of the features above include primarily:

1. the Ijekavian dialect;
2. longer suffixes in the declension of pronouns and adjectives (for example, *tije(h)*, *tijem*);
3. Jekavian iotation (*tě* > *će*, *cě* > *će*, *dě* > *đe*, *sě* > *še*, *zě* > *že*);
4. *dvje*, *svje*, *cvje* > *đe*, *še*, *će* (for example, *međed*, *šedok*, *Ćetko*);
5. frequent iotation of labials;
6. a consonant system expanded to include the phonemes *ś* and *ź*;
7. *ě* + *j* > *i* (for example, *cio*, *sijati*), but in the active participle, forms such as: *śedeo*, *viđeo* are also used;
8. *-st*, *-zd*, *-št*, *-žd* > *-s*, *-z*, *-š*, *-ž* (for example, *plas*, *groz*, *priš*, *daž*);
9. frequent use of *-j* < *-đ*, *-ć* (for example, *goj*, *doj*, *moj*);
10. frequent use of infinitive without the final *-i* (for example, *trčat*, *pričat*);
11. dative and locative cases *mene*, *tebe*, *sebe*;
12. the enclitics *ni* and *vi*;
13. active use of aorist and imperfect;
14. the declension *Pero* – *Pera* – *Peru...*;
15. a deviated relationship between cases of location and direction;

16. use of the genitive case instead of locative with the preposition *po* (for example, *po kuća*).²⁸

This list does not contain all the common features of Montenegrin speech patterns, but only those identified by the above authors as the features of two separate dialects. By reading the literature on Montenegrin speech patterns one can come across a much larger number of parallel features in the described two “dialects”. The extent to which they are really separated is illustrated by the list itself.

Northwestern Montenegrin speech patterns possess many features that exclude them from the so-called Eastern Herzegovinian dialect. These are Montenegro-wide features that occur in the rest of our speech patterns as well, and if there are any outside Montenegrin national borders, the cause of that should be sought in migrations, rather than anything else. This is the reason why Asim Peco singled them out, at least as a separate speech type (Northwestern Montenegrin), within the Eastern Herzegovinian dialect, and discussed them under the title *Ijekavski govori hercegovačkog tipa van granica Hercegovine* (*Ijekavian Speech Patterns of the Herzegovinian Type Outside the Borders of Herzegovina*),²⁹ describing only a few of their distinctive features compared to other speech patterns of “Herzegovinian type”. Those features, Peco says, “testify that the speech patterns of western Montenegro have many features foreign to the speech patterns of today’s eastern Herzegovina, and Herzegovina in general, which gives those speech patterns a special place within Ijekavian speech patterns”.³⁰ He then lists the features shared by this “speech pattern” and the “Zeta-South

²⁸ This feature is less expressed in northwestern speech patterns than in the others.

²⁹ A. Peco, *Ibid.*, p. 74-75.

³⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 75.

Sandžak” dialect, separating them from the rest of the “Herzegovinian speech patterns”.

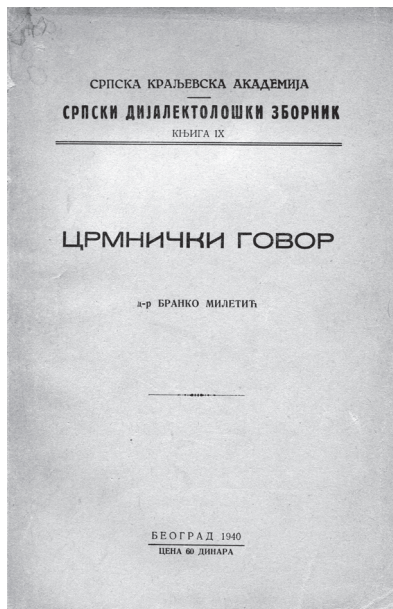
The established criteria for classification of Štokavian speech patterns are yat replacement and accentuation.³¹ “Differences in the accentuation system are much more significant for the language structure than the various yat replacements. However, the practice has been established whereby yat replacement is the starting basis for classification of Štokavian speech patterns, while the accentuation is used only for sub-divisions. (...) All previous divisions took yat replacement as the main criterion.”³² Both criteria are hardly applicable to the Montenegrin language situation. In terms of *yat replacement*, the situation is almost unambiguous. Montenegro is dominantly and recognizably an Ijekavian country (*dijete* – *đeteta*). Two distinct Ikavian-Ijekavian speech patterns (*dite* – *đećeta*) – those of Muslims from Podgorica and Gusinje – do not alter the picture significantly because they cover a very small area, while they fit neatly, in terms of other characteristics, into the group of speech patterns to which they belong and into the Montenegro-wide language layer. The situation is somewhat different with regard to Montenegrin Sandžak which is mainly Ijekavian-Ekavian (although variations in this respect are significant, which confirms the hypothesis that the cause of this is the influence of territorially close Serbian Ekavian speech patterns). At the micro-structural level, those last speech patterns have slightly more distinct features or features that are more consistently present in them than in other Montenegrin speech patterns. These features are a result of the influence of the Albanian, Bosnian and Ser-

³¹ See: Pavle Ivić, “Osnovni kriteriji podele štokavskih govora”, in *Dijalektologija srpskohrvatskog jezika. Uvod i štokavsko narečje*, Matica srpska, Novi Sad, 1956, pp. 56–61.

³² *Ibid.*, p. 60.

bian language borders and, at the level of lexicon, the more significant presence of Orientalisms. Otherwise, in terms of other characteristics, those speech patterns fit neatly into the Montenegrin macro-structural layer. In order to list all deviations from the Montenegrin Ijekavian dialect, we should also mention the unique situation in Mrkojevići regarding *yat* alternants. And, as already noted above, *yat replacement* is the main criterion for division of Štokavian speech patterns.

If it is possible to talk about the diversity and dispersedness of Montenegrin speech patterns, it ought to be in terms of their accentual situation. Accent, better than any other language level, can determine Montenegrin speech representatives' belonging to a certain local speech type. No other language layer, or feature, can be a reliable determinant in this respect bearing in mind that many local speech patterns are extremely similar or correspondent in terms of all other features. Montenegrin speech patterns include bi-accentual, tri-accentual and quadri-accentual systems.³³ The tri-accentual system is represented in Lepetane, Ožrinići with Broćanac and Gusinje; the quadri-accentual system in northwestern Monte-



*The Speech Pattern of Crmnica
by Branko Miletić*

³³ In the quoted paper "Jedan opšti pogled na crnogorske govore", Mitar Pešikan gave a detailed description of the accentual situation in the Montenegrin speech patterns.

negrin speech patterns, Bjelopavlići, Pješivci, Rovci, Morača, Vasojevići and the Montenegrin part of Sandžak; while the bi-accentual system is present in all other speech patterns.³⁴ However, the same accentual types differ between certain speech patterns. For example, the short-falling accent is present in Piperi on the final open and closed syllable (for example: *nāròd*, *sestrà*), while in neighboring Podgorica it is not present on the final open syllable, except in anthroponymy (both of these speech patterns are bi-accentual), but in Podgorica it is regularly present on the final closed syllable (for example: *nāròd*, but *sèstra*); or, within the quadri-accentual system, it is possible to differentiate between, for example, the speech patterns of Bjelopavlići and (neighbouring) Pješivci, because in Bjelopavlići the long falling accent is present on the final syllable (for example: gen. *ženê*, but only *žèna*), and the short falling one is present only in enclisis (for example: *reklà je*), while the speech pattern of Pješivci (Upper Pješivci to be more precise) does not recognize falling accents on the last syllable in a word. The accentually diverse situation is additionally complicated by the fact that the Montenegro-wide feature of preserving unaccented lengths is disrupted by the speech pattern of Bar, along with the surrounding area, as well as some local speech patterns in Boka Kotorska.

As it can be seen from the above brief review of the Montenegrin accentual situation, this criterion is also not of much help in an attempt to classify Montenegrin speech patterns. If we were to include all the accentual differences, we would obtain a large number of speech groups that do not reflect the actual situation because, although accentually diverse, they would, in terms of other properties, be almost identical.

At the very beginning of systematic research into Montenegrin speech patterns, Mihailo Stevanović and Radosav Bošković

³⁴ Ibid., p. 156.

separately came to the same conclusion: individual characteristics of Montenegrin speech patterns generally coincide with tribal boundaries.³⁵ This was certainly influenced by a specific division of Montenegrin tribes in certain areas of life. However, comparative analysis of existing dialectological material shows that, even among individual tribes, the differences are not so significant that one could speak of separate dialects or types of dialect at the level of Montenegro. If, for practical reasons we were to try to establish a conditional classification of



Words of Romanic Origin in Montenegro – Southeastern Part of Boka by Vesna Lipovac Radulović

³⁵ R. Bošković & M. Malecki, “Istraživanja dijalekata Stare Crne Gore s osvrtom na susedne govore”, Glasnik Odjeljenja umjetnosti, Issue 20, CANU, Podgorica, 2002, on page 11 it is stated: “With regard to isoglosses, they are present along entire tribal borders: further division to *nahije* and *bratstva* levels had no major influence on dialects. Major differences within a tribe were rare, but significant dialectal differences can sometimes be found within a *nahija*.”

This is completely in line with claims by M. Stevanović, stated in the monograph *Istočnocrnogorski dijalekat*, p. 2, that “there are certain differences in terms of language specifics” among Montenegrin tribes. Within a tribe, whether it was smaller (including only one municipality) or larger (including several districts) – excluding brides and immigrants from other tribes – the differences are negligible even for those with a good sense for language variations. This circumstance is conveniently used to divide speech patterns into smaller dialectal groups and for separation of the parts belonging to other dialectal areas.”

Montenegrin speech patterns, we could only talk about speech groups that differ in some small-scale characteristics (which are even more scarce today, for obvious reasons), while, in all other elements, these groups would neatly fit into the aforementioned second (Montenegro-wide) language layer defined by Vojislav P. Nikčević. Given the lack of strong distinguishing lines between Montenegrin speech patterns, one cannot speak of separate dialects.

The territory studied by R. Bošković & M. Malecki and Mihailo Stevanović in the late 1920s coincides in one area, but their classification is quite separate. Once the classification of Montenegrin speech patterns by M. Pešikan from his aforementioned synthetic study³⁶ is taken into account, the differences are even larger.

Bošković & Malecki distinguish 4 speech types:

1. the Cetinje type (four provinces – *Katunska*, *Lješanska*, *Riječka* and *Crnubička nahija* and the coastal zone from Boka to Bar);
2. the Bar type (Bar with Mrkojevići and Zupci);
3. the speech type of Kuči and Piperi;
4. the speech type of the tribes of Bjelopavlići and Pješivci.

Stevanović distinguishes 4 speech branches:

1. Zeta-Podgorica;
2. Piperi;
3. Kuči-Bratonožići;
4. Vasojevići.

Pešikan lists three separate dialects:

³⁶ See the exact titles of the studies in footnotes 4, 5 and 12.

1. the Zeta-Upper Polimlje dialect (“older” Zeta speech patterns west of Komovi, Vasojevići and the Plav-Gusinje area) which includes:
 - a) the Old Montenegrin sub-dialect (encompasses four provinces – *Katunska*, *Lješanska*, *Riječka* and *Crmnica*),
 - b) the coastal zone,
 - c) the Lower Zeta shelf (covering the area which was referred to by the medieval name of Lower Zeta) within which the South Zeta zone is clearly distinguished (the far south of Montenegro with a focus in Mrkojevići),
 - d) a string of older mountain speech patterns (the territory described by M. Stevanović in *Istočnocrnogorski dijalekat* together with Bjelopavlići and Lower Pješivci), within which two types are distinguished:
 - Piperi-Kuči-Bratonožići, with the presence of certain Lower Zeta features,
 - Bjelopavlići-Vasojevići;
2. the Montenegrin part of the South Sandžak dialect (speech patterns above Vasojevići – Bihor and the surrounding area of Bijelo Polje);
3. the Montenegrin part of the Neo-Štokavian Ijekavian (Eastern Herzegovinian) dialect.³⁷

³⁷ For this last one, Pešikan says that “it is characterized by the stronger presence of Zeta specifics in the border area, and is usually without distinct speech differentiation” (Ibid., p. 169). However, material presented by Milija Stanić (in the two-volume monograph *Uskočki govor*), Jovan Vuković (in the monograph *Govor Pive i Drobnjaka*) and Danilo Vušović (in the monograph *Dialekt Istočne Hercegovine*) conflicts with this view because some “Zeta specifics” are present to a much larger degree in these speech patterns, and not only in the border area but also far inland. However, the situation will be much clearer once the *Dialectology of the Montenegrin Language* is prepared.

A discrepancy between the above classifications and bulkiness of Pešikan's naming is evident. On the other hand, the existing literature on Montenegrin speech patterns on the whole does not confirm the above classifications. For example, there is no reason whatsoever for distinguishing a separate Piperi speech branch (as Stevanović did), while, on the other hand, the Kuči-Piperi speech type (Bošković & Malecki) is missing a member of the group – the speech of Bratonožići. With regard to the speech patterns of these tribes, the most acceptable solution is to place them into one common speech corpus (Kuči-Piperi-Bratonožići), as Pešikan did. However, if we opt (in line with Pešikan's model) to distinguish separate speech units within Montenegrin speech types on the basis of certain micro-structural characteristics, then "certain Lower-Zeta features" need to be excluded from the Kuči-Piperi-Bratonožići speech branch and distinguished into a separate Zeta-Podgorica speech branch, as M. Stevanović did. This is primarily because the local speech patterns of this branch are not familiar with the characteristic pronunciation of the semi-vowel from the previous branch. Also, there is no significant reason for distinguishing a specific coastal branch that does not include the speech of Bar with the surrounding area and the extreme Montenegrin south, as M. Pešikan did, because: a) those speech patterns form a unit with their continental hinterland; b) together with the speech patterns of the hinterland they fit neatly into the Montenegrin super-dialectal layer. All of them are Ijekavian and the only difference between them is in the accent (just like in their hinterlands), whereas the city of Perast divides those speech patterns into quadri-accentual and bi-accentual (with the exception of the tri-accentual Lepetane). Connection of coastal cities with their hinterlands is easy to explain from a historical perspective. M. Stevanović singles out the speech pattern of Vasojevići into a separate speech branch, while M. Pešikan

adds the speech patterns of Bjelopavlići to the group, through defining a Bjelopavlići-Vasojevići speech type. However, on the basis of available material, it can be claimed that the speech of Lower Pješivci is similar to these speech patterns, so we can talk about a Lower Pješivci-Bjelopavlići-Vasojevići speech branch. The Old Montenegrin sub-dialect (M. Pešikan) mainly coincides with the Cetinje type (R. Bošković & M. Malecki), while the two latter authors rightly add the “coastal zone between Boka and Bar” to the type.

Thus, each previous division of Montenegrin speech patterns is controversial, primarily for two main reasons:

1. it neglects the fact that Montenegrin speech patterns are super-dialectal, i.e. that they represent a separate unit, and that the main differences between them are those concerning the accentual situation;
2. there is no common criterion for their division. The second reason stems naturally from the first one, and we have already seen that *yat replacement* as the basic criterion for the classification of Štokavian speech patterns is not of much significance with regard to Montenegrin speech patterns. On the other hand, if we take the accentual situation of local speech patterns as the criterion, it will happen that certain speech patterns, accentually quite diverse, coincide in most other characteristics.

However, if we start from the global accentual situation, Montenegrin speech patterns can be divided into two large groups: Northwestern (quadri-accentual) and Southeastern (bi-accentual). As it can be seen, in this division the aforementioned tri-accentual groups were neglected. However, although Bjelopavlići, Vasojevići and Lower Pješivci have a quadri-ac-

centual system, according to some other their properties (a deviated relationship between the case of location and direction, the fate of the vowel group *ao*, the existence of a long falling accent on the final syllable, and some other minor features), they are closer to bi-accentual Montenegrin speech patterns. The situation is formally easier when it comes to the Montenegrin part of Sandžak, because it can, on the basis of Ijekavian-Ekavian *yat* replacement (although there are significant deviations), be distinguished into a separate speech group, which in turn, on the basis of a variety of other properties, is close to the two aforementioned groups. Specific features of these groups have developed as a result of permeation of Albanian, Bosnian and Serbian language features into the native Montenegrin ones.

On the basis of what is known from the dialectological literature, there are no significant distinctive features among the local speech patterns of the Northwestern group, although there are certain specifics that can be identified within individual tribes (though such specifics can usually be found in other Montenegrin speech patterns as well). The same is true for the speech group of the Montenegrin part of Sandžak.

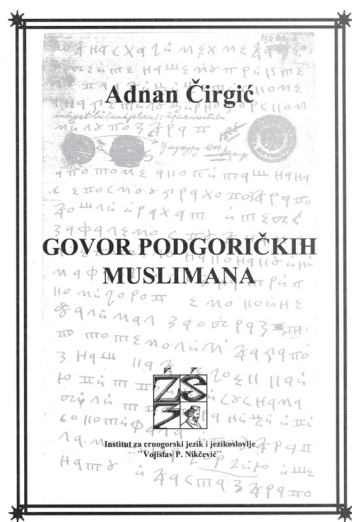
Within the Southeastern speech group, specifics of certain tribes are little more explicit. Without attempting to adopt the final classification at this point, it could be stated that there are five speech branches (we will use the terminology of M. Stevanović) within the Southeastern group: 1. The speech branch of the area below Lovćen (territory of the four provinces – *Katunska*, *Lješanska*, *Riječka* and *Crminička*, as well as the Montenegrin coastal zone from Perast to Bar); 2. The Bar-Mrkojevići speech branch; 3. The Kuči-Piperi-Bratonožići speech branch; 4. The Zeta-Podgorica speech branch (including Tuzi with the surrounding area and the speech of Montenegrin immigrants in Vrata and

Skadar); 5. The Lower Pješivci-Bjelopavlići-Vasojevići speech branch.

More important than this classification is the fact that the number of specifics of certain speech branches is excessively smaller than the number of common features of the Southeastern group, just as the number of specifics of the three speech groups (Southeastern, Northwestern and the speech group of the Montenegrin part of Sandžak) is much smaller than the number of their shared, Montenegro-wide language features. Also, it is important

to note that the units from the above division of Montenegrin speech patterns should not under any circumstances be understood as separate dialects as they do not possess enough (macro or micro) specific features to obtain such a status.

Since the speech patterns of northwestern Montenegro are often, in line with traditionalist views, referred to as the speech patterns of the “Herzegovinian type”, i.e. classified as part of the Eastern Herzegovinian dialect, we will check the validity of this classification here using the material offered by dialectologists who classify those speech patterns into the aforementioned dialect, but also on the basis of material offered in certain individual studies of those speech patterns.



*The Speech Pattern of
Podgorica's Muslims
by Adnan Čirgić*

The most important difference between the Northwestern and Southeastern Montenegrin speech patterns, as already noted, concerns the accentual situation – the first ones are quadri-accentual, and the latter ones are characterized by diverse accentuation: bi-accentual, tri-accentual and quadri-accentual systems. At the same time, the accentual system is the most important feature that binds the Northwestern Montenegrin speech patterns with speech patterns of the Eastern Herzegovinian dialect. In the section below, we will try to show the similarities and differences between them in other language layers.

In line with views of traditionalist “Serbo-Croatistics”, the Eastern Herzegovinian dialect in Montenegro covers the area “from the far north of Boka Kotorska, near Risan, towards the north, and then east, excluding the Montenegrin tribes and areas of Cuce, Ozrinići, Zagarčani, Komani, Bjelopavlići, Bratonožići, Rovca and Vasojevići, and including Montenegrin Herzegovina and even the northern part of the area that belonged to Montenegro until 1878: Grahovo; Pješivci; Župa; Lukovo; Drobnjak; Uskoci; and Morača. This line then spreads northwards, including Kolašin, missing out Bijelo Polje, and crosses the Lim south of Brodarevo.”³⁸

Unfortunately, the Northwestern Montenegrin speech patterns were significantly less researched than all other Montenegrin speech patterns, so we cannot compare the features of all of the aforementioned tribes with features of the Eastern Herzegovinian dialect on the basis of available material. Still, the existing papers and research are sufficient to show the groundlessness of such a classification. Even the material offered by Pavle Ivić in his work *Dialectology* was sufficient to cast doubts on the validity of this classification. Speaking about the features

³⁸ Pavle Ivić, *Dijalektologija srpskohrvatskog jezika. Uvod i štokavsko narečje*, Matica srpska, Novi Sad, 1956, p. 130.

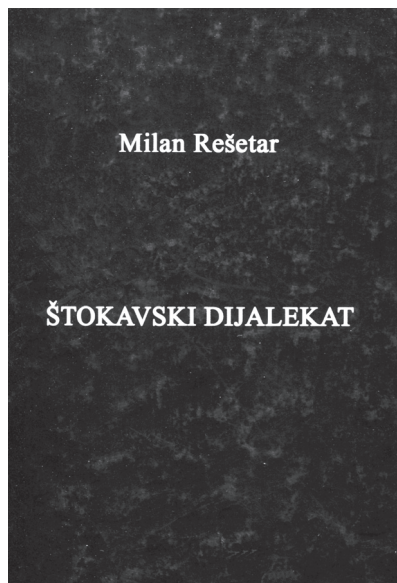
of the Eastern Herzegovinian dialect, Ivić states at the very beginning that “above all, the rule that the reflex of the long $\mathfrak{t}$ is a disyllabic *ije*, while the reflex of the short $\mathfrak{t}$ is a mono-syllabic *je*, is valid only in one part of the Jekavian area, mainly in the eastern regions.” He then points to the differences in pronunciation of alternants of the old $\mathfrak{t}$ in various regions and continues: “Finally, there are many speech patterns in which $\mathfrak{t}$ is always monosyllabic (...). In certain speech patterns, iotation occurs in the groups $\Lambda\mathfrak{t}$ and $\mathfrak{n}\mathfrak{t}$: *ljépo*, *njésu*, *kòljěvka*. On the basis of current scientific data, it is impossible to establish the exact isoglosses of all of these features.”³⁹ But even on the basis of the scientific data at that time, it was well-known that the above isoglosses do not correlate with Montenegrin national borders. And when the fact is taken into account that yat replacement, along with the accentual situation, is one of the key criteria for classification of Štokavian speech patterns, it becomes clear how relevant this is for the classification of Montenegrin speech patterns because the aforementioned features that characterize “a significant number of Eastern Herzegovinian speech patterns” are not present in Montenegro at all!

If all classifications and syntheses on Štokavian speech patterns up to date are taken into account – with regard to speech patterns of northwestern Montenegro – it is easy then to see that the most precise of them is the view of dialectologist Asim Peco, although his classification has flaws as well because it classifies the subject speech patterns into a separate speech type of the Eastern Herzegovinian dialect. With regard to the revision of views on the speech patterns of northwestern Montenegro, Asim Peco has primacy because he determined back in 1976 (the work was submitted then for publication, and published in 1981) that those are in fact *transitional speech patterns*. This

³⁹ Ibid., pp. 131-132.

makes even more unusual the fact that the paper in which he included this revision, although under a neutral title “Contribution to the study of transitional speech patterns”,⁴⁰ remained almost unknown and without influence on the subsequent classifications of Štokavian and especially Montenegrin speech patterns. In this example it was most clearly shown that, in accepting the theses, the strength of the scientific authority who wrote them was more important than their scientific viability. Of course, no proof is required to say that Pavle Ivić was an authority in the former “Serbo-Croatistics”.

Peco says: “one might argue that those speech patterns should be called transitional in which features of certain isoglosses relevant to neighboring speech patterns, the number and density of which is much lower than the number and density of those features in speech patterns native to the above isoglosses, cross.”⁴¹ Listing 24 main features of the Eastern Herzegovinian dialect,⁴² Peco points out that “the border of distribution of these



*The Štokavian Dialect
by Milan Rešetar*

⁴⁰ Asim Peco, “Prilog proučavanju prelaznih govora”, *Radovi*, ANUBiH, Issue LXX, Sarajevo, 1981, pp. 43–51. (+27 maps).

⁴¹ *Ibid.*, p. 46.

⁴² Peco lists these features of the Eastern-Herzegovinian dialect: 1. the Ijekavian replacement of *yat*; 2. *rě > rje*: *izgorjeti*, *grjehota*; 3. suffixes of old bases in the declension of pronouns and adjectives: *našijem*, *ovijem*, *vrućijem*, *dobrijem*; 4. only the forms *neko*, *nešto* are present; 5. unequally

isoglosses towards the east should be linked to today's state border with the Federal Republic of Montenegro. Admittedly, as is already known, national borders do not have to be speech pattern borders at the same time. This also applies to this speech pattern, but the truth is that the majority of Eastern Herzegovinian isoglosses spread along that border, and this is why I, in my study on the Eastern Herzegovinian speech pattern, followed this national border. It seems to me that I have not done so without some good reason. (...) There are plenty of isoglosses characteristic of more eastern Ijekavian speech patterns, those within the borders of the Federal Republic of Montenegro, which are unknown in the speech patterns of eastern Herzegovina. This is precisely the reason for saying something more about these speech patterns; they however should not be discussed as speech patterns that make an integral whole with the Eastern Herzegovinian speech pattern, but as speech patterns of a transitional character, speech patterns whose structure, or the structure of

represented iotation of the consonants *n, l, t, d, s, z, c, p, b, m, v*; 6. *-ao > -o*; 7. the presence of the phonemes *h* and *f*; 8. *hv > f/v*; 9. the sequences *plj, blj, mlj, vlj* (regardless of their origin) can alternate with *pj, bj, mj, vj*; 10. the sonant *j* is a steady sound, even in the initial position; 11. the final *-ć* is preserved; 12. partly represented assibilation of the type *Anci, Juzi*; 13. the groups *sl-, zl-, sn-, zn-* are unchanged; 14. the infinitive ends with *-ti* and *-ći*; 15. a quadri-accentual system; 16. male names such as *Jovo, Rade, Radu*; 17. possessive adjectives of those names end in *-ov*; 18. declension is as in the standard language, except in the border area with Montenegro where examples such as *Osto je u Crnu Goru* are present; 19. the dative and locative cases of singular personal pronouns are as in the standard language, except in the strip along the Montenegrin border where forms such as *mene, tebe, sebe* are present; 20. enclitics such as *ni, vi, ne, ve* are present; 21. demonstrative pronouns *ovi, ta, oni*; 22. the imperfect is known but is rarely used; 23. beside the form *ore plugom*, the syntagm *ore s plugom* is present; 24. the abundance of Oriental words. – Asim Peco, *Ibid.*, pp. 48-49.

the majority of them, is saturated with the basic Neo-Štokavian features and that had, in the development of declension and accentuation, the same evolutionary development as other speech patterns of the Herzegovinian type, but which in addition were under certain influence from more archaic Ijekavian speech patterns, the ones of the Zeta type. The truth is that those speech patterns as well, or their western version, are most often referred to in Serbo-Croatian dialectology as Eastern Herzegovinian speech patterns. (...) But, in addition, the view that these speech patterns contain certain isoglosses whose home is in more archaic Ijekavian speech patterns, ones of the Zeta type, is also correct. This further suggests that certain Zeta-specific features in their spread towards the west reached almost all the way to the borders of today's Herzegovina. Some of them could have been dispersed through migrations as well, while some represent an organic continuity of Zeta speech patterns. (...) But, we repeat, in this area, as well as in all the speech patterns of western Montenegro, there are features that are not present in the speech patterns of today's eastern Herzegovina, or Herzegovina in general as a speech area."⁴³ Among Northwestern Montenegrin speech patterns Peco distinguishes the speech patterns of Piva, Drob-njak, Uskoci and Nikšić with Rudine as the ones in which the Eastern Herzegovinian speech specifics are more present than in other speech patterns of that type. He explains this by the fact "that the aforementioned regions of western Montenegro had a lot of live contact with eastern Herzegovina, especially Gacko, and that many isoglosses characteristic of the Eastern Herzegovinian speech type had been imported from these Herzegovinian regions to here."⁴⁴ Therefore, we will list the most important features of those speech patterns that Peco distinguishes as the

⁴³ Ibid., 49-50.

⁴⁴ Ibid., p. 50.

ones closest to the Eastern Herzegovinian dialect in order to show that they mostly do not coincide with those typical of that dialect, i.e. that they coincide with features of other Montenegrin speech patterns.

The speech patterns of Piva and Drobnjak were described in 1938 by Jovan Vuković.⁴⁵ Among the features linking this speech pattern to other Montenegrin speech patterns, or rather, among the features that mainly separate it from the Eastern Herzegovinian dialect are, for example, the following:

- the lack of the sounds *h* and *f*, the occurrence of which Peco lists as one of the typical features of Eastern Herzegovinian speech patterns;
- a secondary (I)Jekavian dialect (*počijevati*, *podumijenta*, *kišelo*, *kišelina*, *šeroma*, *vodijer*, *putijer*, *kosijer*);
- Ekavisms such as *zenica*, *cesta*;
- although the *ao* > *o* contraction is typical of Piva and Drobnjak, still Vuković notes in certain villages, especially amongst the elderly population, a change in the opposite direction that is typical for most Montenegrin speech patterns – *ao* > *a*;
- change of *m* > *n* in examples such as *mončad*, *krnka*, *slanka*;
- iotation in groups *syje*, *cyje*, *dvje* > *še*, *će*, *đe*: *šetovati*, *šedok*, *međed*, *ćetati*, *Ćetko*;
- final groups *-st* and *-št* are simplified through the loss of the final consonant: *boles*, *rados*, *žalos*, *priš*, *pregrš*; this change also occurs in the infinitive without the final *-i*: *mus*, *kras*, *gris*;
- the consonants *t* and *d* are lost in front of *-stvo*: *brastvo*, *srestvo*;

⁴⁵ Jovan Vuković, “Govor Pive i Drobnjaka”, *Južnoslovenski filolog*, Issue XVII, Beograd, 1938–1939.

- alternation of $\acute{d} : j$ and $\acute{c} : j$ in the final position: *poj, doj, rej, goj, noj*;
- v instead of h between two vowels one of which is u : *duvan, suvo, uvar, uvoditi*;
- iotation of labials: *pljesma, nevljesta, umljet*;
- sounds $\acute{s}$ and $\acute{z}$ in hypocorisms;
- $-iji > -i$: *či*;
- $\acute{c}$ and $\acute{d}$ in front of $nj > t$ and d : *potkutnjica, notnji, not-njik, mednjik, votnjak*;
- change of *rat – rati*;
- use of the suffix *-le* in building hypocorisms: *Vule, Jole, Bele*;
- female names ending in *-ica* in the vocative case singular have *-a*;
- forms of pronouns *mene, tebe, sebe* in the dative and locative singular;
- demonstrative pronouns *ovaj, taj, onaj* used in the form *ovi, ta, oni*;
- forms *viđu* and *velju* are always used in the first person singular present tense of these verbs;
- the imperfect and aorist tenses are very frequent;
- adverbs such as *kudije, ovudije, onudije* are common;
- instrumental case denoting the means of action with preposition *s/su*: *s ovom šekirom se ne siječe*;
- use of the accusative case with prepositions *u* and *na* with stative verbs (instead of the locative case): *Bijo sam u Nišić. Načinijo kulu na Pišće*;
- frequent use of narrative imperative: *Šedi, šedi, do mrkla mraka. Čeki ja tamo, čeki, a tebe nema*, etc.

Thanks to the prominent Montenegrin dialectologist Milija Stanić, the speech pattern of Uskoci is the best described

Montenegrin speech pattern (a two-volume study⁴⁶ and a two-volume dictionary⁴⁷ were published, as well as a special study on the pitch accent of Uskoci⁴⁸). We will list in the section below the most important features of the speech pattern of Uskoci that are also present in other Montenegrin speech patterns while being mainly atypical of the Eastern Herzegovinian dialect. In Stanić's aforementioned two-volume study on the speech pattern of Uskoci, there are many such features:

- the lack of the sounds *h* and *f*;
- although the *ao* > *o* contraction is typical, in some villages the change *ao* > *a* is also present;
- change of *m* > *n* in the examples such as *mončad*, *krnka*, *slanka*;
- consistently implemented Jekavian iotation in all positions: *neđelja*, *ođelo*, *šućeti*, *vrćeti*, *capćeti*, *ižesti*, *iželica*, *šever*, *šeđeti*, *ćepanica*, *ćedilo*, *ćelokupan*, *vljera*, *vljetar*, *grmljeti*, *umljeti*, *trpljeti*, *dospljeti*, *blježati*, *obljesiti*;
- iotation in groups *svje*, *cvje*, *dvje* > *še*, *će*, *đe*: *šetovati*, *šetencija*; *šedok*, *Međed*, *ćetati*, *Ćetulja*;
- *rě* > *re*: *ređe*, *pregoreti*, and in line with that the *j* is lost after the palatals *č*, *š* and *ž*: *bože*, *boži*, *tužela*, *naruče*, *zeči*, *ovči*, *miši*;
- Ijekavian forms such as *slijevati*, *počijevati*, *snijevati*,

⁴⁶ Milija Stanić, "Uskočki govor", Volume I, *Srpski dijalektološki zbornik*, Issue XX, Rasprave i građa, Beograd, 1974; Stanić, Milija. – "Uskočki govor", Volume II, *Srpski dijalektološki zbornik*, Issue XXII, Beograd, 1976.

⁴⁷ Milija Stanić, *Uskočki rječnik*, I and II, Naučna knjiga, Beograd, 1990 and 1991.

⁴⁸ Milija Stanić, "Uskočki akcenat", *Srpski dijalektološki zbornik*, Issue XX-VIII, Beograd, 1982, pp. 63–191.

noćijevati;

- a secondary (I)Jekavian dialect in examples *šeromag*, *šeromašica*, *kišelica*, *raskišeliti*, *vodijer*, *putijer*, *poštijer*, *kosijer*;
- frequent use of the sounds *ś* and *ź* in hypocorisms: *Gašo*, *Dašan*, *Vešo*, *Buška*, *Duško*, *Peško*, *Šole*, *Žale*, *Žaško*;
- the instability of the sonant *j* in inter-vowel positions where the first vowel is *i*: *Ikonī'a*, *Mī'ajlo*, *galī'ot*;
- *-iji* > *-i*: *či*, *pogani*, *radi*;
- final *-đ* and *-ć* > *-j*: *pomoj*, *izaj*, *naj*, *moj*, *oj*, *nej*, *noj*, *svuj*, *goj*, *kuj*, *kogoj*;
- dissimilation such as *mlogo*, *guvno*, *tavnica*;
- *-ćnji* > *-tnji*: *kutnji*, *notnjo*, *pomotnjik*, *notnjik*, *gatnjik*;
- a final consonant is lost in final groups *-št*, *-st*, *-zd*: *plas*, *brs*, *prs*, *šes*, *vlješ*, *priš*, *baz*, *groz*, *droz*, as well as in the infinitive: *jes*, *tres*, *ižes*, *sađes*;
- consonants *t* and *d* are lost in front of *-stvo*: *brastvo*, *srostvo*, *kmestvo*, *srestvo*, *gospostvo*;
- inconsistent use of the instrumental case with the preposition *s* and without it: *Pošeko se s nožem*;
- common and regular use of the aorist and imperfect tenses;
- use of the accusative case with the prepositions *u* and *na* with stative verbs (instead of the locative case): *Živi u Korita*. *Bog na nebo*, *a ljudi na zemlju* (with the use typical of the standard language);
- frequent use of the narrative imperative: *Ja osedlaj konja*, *obljesi jednu obravnicu za kranu*, *pa pojaši*, etc.

One of the first thoroughly researched Montenegrin speech patterns, as already noted, is the one that Danilo Vušović re-

ferred to as the “Eastern Herzegovinian dialect”⁴⁹ in which we

⁴⁹ Danilo Vušović, “Dialekt Istočne Hercegovine”, *Srpski dijalektološki zbornik*, Issue III, Srpska kraljevska akademija, Beograd – Zemun, 1927, pp. 1–71. As the title of the study does not clearly indicate the area of the speech pattern encompassed in the study, it was necessary to determine its borders. On page 3 Vušović states that this “dialect” covers the following area: “in the east, from the line Trebinje – Bileća – Gacko, in the area usually referred to as *Old Herzegovina*”. He then describes the area he researched and says: “I have visited places around Nikšić and the tribes of *Grahovo, Banjani, Rudino and Golija*. Nikšić, with the surrounding villages and valleys, has somewhat of a natural border, and is separated from the above tribes by mountain ranges. Starting from the eastern side, the border would go over the mountains and mountain ranges in the following order: Buhavice, Prekornica, the mountains of Nikšićka Župa which completely enclose it – then: Vojnik and Javorak in the north, Njegoš and Zla Gora in the west, while Budoš and Planinca enclose the Nikšić valley from the south. The town of Nikšić is in the middle of the valley, while villages are lined up below the mountain ranges. Almost completely separated, on the northeastern side of Nikšić are the villages of Nikšićka Župa: *Morakovo, Staro Selo, Bjeloševina, Jugovići, Kuta, Liverovići, Zagrad and Oblatno*. In the mountain valleys, without a natural entrance into the valley, there are the villages of: *Bršno* (east of Nikšić), *Laz* (northeast), *Dragovoljići* and *Orah* (north), *Šipačno* and *Duga* (northwest) and occasionally a few villages dispersed over the valleys and hills. I introduced the majority of material from these villages into my work because, as I believe, their typical pronunciation was preserved well and, it can be said, completely. The villages from which I took something and inserted it into my work are the following: *Ozrinići, Gornje Polje, Miločani, Brezovik and Zavrh*.” Vušović further explains that he did not study other villages (*Glibavac, Mokra Njiva, Brezovik, Kočani, Stube, Ridani, Straševina, Studenci*) because in them “people spoke Montenegrin” since they were inhabited by people who had moved there from *Ćeklići, Cuce, Čevo*, etc. and occupied the Bey’s land after the “occupation” in 1877. In addition to several villages in *Golija*, Vušović also visited the villages of *Banjani, Grahovo* and *Rudino*: “*Grahovo* (small town), *Spila, Vilusi; Riječani, Balosave, Broćanac, Dolovi; Petrovići, Drpe, Klenak, Tupan* (Lower and Upper), *Velimje* (small town), *Miljanići, Dubočke* (Lower and Upper), *Koprivice, Crkvice, Mirkovići* and *Macavare*. (...) The population of these areas is

also find an abundance of features typical of other Montenegrin speech patterns, and unknown in or atypical of the Eastern Herzegovinian dialect:

- the lack of the sounds *f* and *h* (*h* occurs only in exceptional cases);
- a secondary (I)Jekavian dialect such as in *kišeo*, *šeromah*, *vodijer*, *putijer*, *pastijer*, *kosijer*, in verbs such as *počijevati*, *sakrijevati*, and in nouns such as, for example: *bolijes*, *golijet*, *Bokijelj*, *podumijenta*, *rukovijet*;
- the vowel group *ao* is contracted (next to *o*) into *a*: *doša*, *poša*, *gleda*, *uba*, *kota*, *ranik*;
- replacement of a semi-vowel sporadically occurs;
- consistently implemented iotation of consonants *d*, *t*, *c*, *s*, *z*: *šedeti*, *ođeljati*, *đever*, *čerati*, *češiti*, *počera*, *čedilo*, *čepanica*, *pročep*, *šeme*, *paši*, *šajan*, *pašaluk*, *ižesti*, *koži*, *ižedna*;
- iotation *syje* > *še*, *cvje* > *će*: *šedok*, *šedodžba*, *prošeta*, *četati*, *Četko*, *Četna*;
- iotation of labials: *pljesma*, *dospljeti*; *pljena*, *obljed*, *bljesnilo*, *obljeručke*, *mljesec*, *grmljeti*, *mljesečina*, *vljera*, *življet*, *vlječit*;
- consonants *ś* and *ž* are common and generally present sounds and, in addition to being a product of Jekavian iotation, they also occur as a result of coarticulation: *iščerati*, *iždikati* and in hypocorisms such as *Miško*, *Miša*, *Goško*, *Žela*, *Želina*;
- in some lexemes, the consonant *ʒ* (*dz*) occurs (alternatively with *z*) such as in: *bizin*, *mnozina*, *bronzin*;
- the sonant *j* behind the palatals *č* and *ž* is occasionally

generally quite old, so we do not need to make additional comments here, as these areas make a complete ethnographic unit.”

- lost: *naruče, područje, obilježje, boži*;
- instead of final *đ* and *ć*, *-j* occurs: *poj, doj, moj, kuj, nikuj, goj*;
 - *m > n* in examples such as: *pantim, konšija, sinsija, monče*;
 - dissimilation: *mlozina, tamnjan, tavnica, dimno*;
 - occasionally, the changes *sn > šn, zn > žn, sl > šl, zl > žl* occur: *šnijeat, žnam, mišlim, u žli čas*;
 - metathesis: *crvka, cukati, neokle*;
 - simplification of consonant groups *-st, -št, -žd, -zd* in the final position: *milos, rados, plaš, vlješ, groz, Gvoz, daž*, and in the infinitive: *mus, ves, jes, gris, izis*;
 - forms of pronouns *mene, tebe, sebe* in the dative and locative singular;
 - demonstrative pronouns *ovaj, taj, onaj* are used as *ovi, ta, oni*;
 - forms *viđu* and *velju* (sometimes *kumlju* as well) are always used in the first person singular present tense of these verbs;
 - analogical forms such as *lažati, mećati, obrćati*;
 - adverbs such as *ovudije, tudije, kudije, onudijen, svukudijen*;
 - the genitive case *česa*;
 - the vocative case of polysyllabic female names ending in *-ica* has the same form as the nominative;
 - use of the preposition *s* with the instrumental case denoting the means of action: *Gleda sam s očima*;
 - frequent use of the preposition *su*: *su pet ljudi, su čim, su što*;
 - use of the accusative case with the prepositions *na, u, o, pod, pred, nad, za* next to stative verbs: *Bio sam u Dugu. Spava pod kuću. Bio sam u grad*;

- frequent use of narrative imperative: *ja tu čeki, čeki, a njega nema*;
- very actively used imperfect and aorist tenses;
- specific congruence such as in: *Počeraj te dva ovna. Donesi mi one pet motika. Pošto su ove dva tovara...* etc.

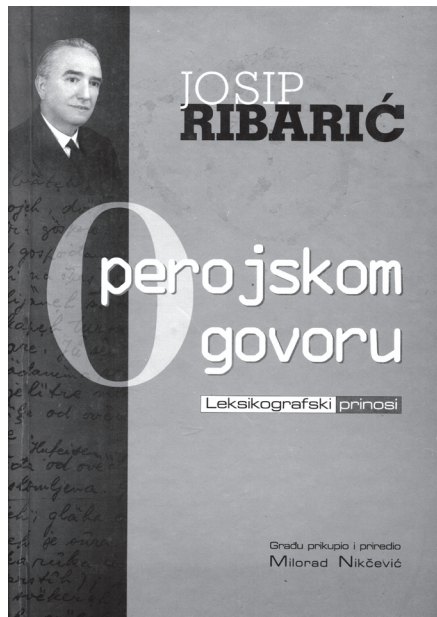
As can be seen from the above list of language characteristics, the differences between Northwestern Montenegrin speech patterns and speech patterns of the Eastern Herzegovinian dialect are much larger than was (traditionally) pointed out. If we disregard the accentual state of those speech patterns, we can safely establish that they are an integral part of the Montenegrin *koiné* layer, i.e. they are inseparable from *Montenegrin speech patterns as a whole*, because there is not a single feature among the listed ones that is not present in Montenegrin “archaic” speech patterns, that is, in the speech patterns of southeastern Montenegro. And if this is the situation in those speech patterns that Peco lists as being the closest to the Eastern Herzegovinian dialect, then it is not even necessary to emphasize how different from that dialect are those Montenegrin speech patterns geographically closer to the so-called Zeta-Lovćen dialect or those bordering it. It is, therefore, unclear how Asim Peco himself in his *Pregled srpskohrvatskih dijalekata*,⁵⁰ despite what he stated in the quoted paper, decided to classify Northwestern Montenegrin speech patterns as *Ijekavian speech patterns of the Herzegovinian type outside the borders of Herzegovina*,⁵¹ although he described them as a special “Northwestern Montenegrin speech type”. The unsustainability of such a procedure is testified to even by his statement that “the speech patterns of western Montenegro have

⁵⁰ Asim Peco, *Pregled srpskohrvatskih dijalekata*, Naučna knjiga, Beograd, 1978.

⁵¹ *Ibid.*, pp. 74–79.

many features that are unknown in the speech patterns of today's eastern Herzegovina and Herzegovina in general, which gives those speech patterns a special place within the Ijekavian speech patterns. As a matter of fact, Northwestern Montenegrin Ijekavian speech patterns (those with a quadri-accentual system and newer forms of declension), in addition to a number of characteristics that relate them to the Ijekavian speech patterns of today's Herzegovina, also contain a large number of isoglosses typical of Ijekavian speech patterns of the Zeta-South Sandžak type.”⁵² If we bear in mind that Peco wrote his paper on the aforementioned speech patterns in 1976 and even included in it a table containing the most important distinctive features between those speech patterns and the speech patterns of the “Zeta” type, then the fact that he subsequently ignored the results he had come up with (in 1978) and the fact that he started to support the traditionalist division (which he himself had denied indirectly) again shows how strong the influence of Pavle Ivić, until recently (?), an authority in “Serbo-Croatian” dialectology, was; stronger even than the scientific arguments refuting his views!

Milija Stanić could also not resist traditionalism in the classification of Montenegrin speech pat-



*The Speech Pattern of Peroj
by Josip Ribarić*

⁵² Ibid., p. 75.

terms even though he had a comprehensive knowledge of the situation regarding those speech patterns. Although he listed in his studies of the speech patterns of Uskoci many features linking this speech pattern to other Montenegrin speech patterns and separating it from the Eastern Herzegovinian dialect (except for the accent), he pointed out: “Uskoci, Drobnjak, Piva, the region around Nikšić, etc. are all, as is well known, parts of former Herzegovina and it was not until the Berlin Treaty (1878) that they were annexed to Montenegro. In this manner, they administratively and politically ceased to be parts of Herzegovina, but for the purpose of scientific study they were still viewed as Montenegrin Herzegovina. With regard to vernacular speech patterns, the situation did not change at all – all of these areas remained within the framework of the notion of Eastern Herzegovinian speech patterns. Thus, the speech pattern described by D. Vušović (*Dialekt Istočne Hercegovine*, SDZb III, 1927) is only one of the Eastern Herzegovinian speech patterns, just as the speech pattern studied by Peco himself is one of them, and just as the speech pattern of Uskoci cannot be referred to except as Eastern Herzegovinian.”⁵³ If it is known that Uskoci began settling their territory in the 18th century and that an increase in this “settling” occurred in the late 18th century and the beginning of the 19th century, and that they mainly settled from the territory of present-day Montenegro (Rudine, Markovina, Gornja Morača, Čevo, Župa Nikšićka, Ožrinići, Gornje polje, Piva, Rovca, Kolašin, Vasojevići, Kuči and Donja Morača; the only exception being four families from Gacko and one from Foča)⁵⁴ who settled “into a region entirely mountainous, remote and difficult to

⁵³ Milija Stanić, “Uskočki govor”, Vol. I, *Srpski dijalektološki zbornik*, Issue XX, Rasprave i građa, Beograd, 1974, p. 59.

⁵⁴ *Ibid.*, pp. 12-13. Stanić lists the most important directions of Uskoci’s migrations: “the Nikšić region and from Prekotara, with Gornja Morača and Kolašin’s area as the most important intermediate stops”.

pass through” and into “no-man’s land under no administration” where “there were men and women who had spent their whole lives in a perimeter of ten to twenty kilometers; contact between Uskoci and the outside world was very rare and irregular”,⁵⁵ and if we add to the above the fact that this speech pattern has almost all the general Montenegrin language features, then the classification, according to which it belongs to the speech pattern of the Eastern Herzegovinian type, must be dismissed. It is – just like the speech patterns of Piva, Drobnjak, the Nikšić region and other speech patterns of northwestern Montenegro – a Montenegrin speech pattern with the quadri-accentual system. A speech pattern cannot be declared Herzegovinian solely on the basis of the quadri-accentual system, particularly if it is known that it does not contain the most important features of Herzegovinian speech patterns, and especially because it is well-known that both of the rising accents (along with the falling ones, of course) are also present in other Montenegrin speech patterns that are not classified into the speech patterns of the Herzegovinian type, even in traditionalist classifications.⁵⁶

And to conclude: the above analysis confirms the validity of Vojislav P. Nikčević’s view on the existence of a Montenegro-wide language layer and the unsustainability of the division of Montenegrin speech patterns into two strictly separated dialects.

⁵⁵ Ibid., pp. 9–15. “Nikšić, Pljevlja and Kolašin’s markets were therefore the only places where one could meet an Uskok (...). In addition, Uskoci sometimes, but rarely, went even further – to Kotor, Risan or any other coastal town (...) and to Cetinje, often for judicial, shopping and similar reasons” (p. 15). This clearly indicates not only the origins of Uskoci but also the territory to which they referred, in addition to their own. And when all of this is taken into consideration, along with the language features, of course, then it becomes obvious that it would be untenable to classify this speech pattern as the Herzegovinian type instead of the Montenegrin one.

⁵⁶ Mitar Pešikan, “Jedan opšti pogled na crnogorske govore”, *Zbornik za filologiju i lingvistiku*, XXI/1, Matica srpska, Novi Sad, 1979.

Adnan Čirgić

**RJEČNIK
NJEGUŠKOGA GOVORA**

*Njeguši's Speech Pattern
Dictionary by Adnan Čirgić*

Even those speech patterns that are highlighted in such divisions as the particularly the Herzegovinian ones have much more general Montenegrin than Eastern Herzegovinian features. Therefore, their former (traditionalist) treatment should be dismissed as unfounded. The fact that there are also some Herzegovinian features in those speech patterns only confirms a long-known fact that language and dialect boundaries only coincide with state borders in exceptional cases, that is, certain Eastern Herzegovinian isoglosses end in Montenegro. In our case it is especially a natural thing, since these

speech patterns belong to the same language system (Štokavian) and are, in addition, in a close neighbourhood, so it would be hard not to expect a certain match in the border area of the subject speech patterns (Eastern Herzegovinian and Northwestern Montenegrin). The accentual system and “yat replacement” as the two main criteria in the classification of Štokavian speech patterns do not provide valid results in this case. Montenegrin speech patterns (apart from exceptional cases) are (*I*)*Jekavian*, just like the Eastern Herzegovinian ones. And some Montenegrin speech patterns that are classified, in line with traditionalist views, into the speech patterns of the “Zeta-type”, such as those

of Bjelopavlići, Vasojevići, Lower Pješivci, etc. have a quadri-accentual system as well, while in terms of “yat replacement” and all other features they fit into Montenegrin speech patterns with the bi-accentual system. In determining the position of certain speech patterns within a certain group or type of dialect, isoglosses of the features that occur in that speech pattern are much more important. And that is exactly the issue that Asim Peco drew attention to in his above-quoted work on transitional speech patterns. It is therefore important to determine the source of particular features. This is also confirmed by a list of features that Peco provides as being typical of the Eastern Herzegovinian dialect. The fact that, for example, forms such as *mene*, *tebe*, *sebe*, or a deviated relationship between the accusative and locative case (along the Montenegrin border) occur in it, does not mean that these two features are not Montenegro-wide; it means that the end of those isoglosses is not limited by Montenegrin national borders. The existence of all relevant Montenegro-wide language features (atypical of the Eastern Herzegovinian dialect) in Northwestern Montenegrin speech patterns is the best indicator that those speech patterns belong to the Montenegrin type of speech, not the Herzegovinian one. With regard to accentual similarities, they are important but cannot be decisive. Therefore, Northwestern Montenegrin speech patterns should not be referred to as *Eastern Herzegovinian* any longer.

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THE IJEKAVIAN DIALECT IN MODERN MONTENEGRIN LINGUISTIC REALITY

This paper provides a short review of the development and presence of the Ijekavian dialect in Montenegro with a special emphasis on the current situation. Taking an analytical-critical view of language policy in Montenegro in the 20th century, especially in the last few decades, it can be determined that today's presence of Ekavisms in Montenegro is a consequence of the planned "Ekavization" of the Montenegrin language by certain linguists within and outside Montenegro. The last such attempt was made with the *Dictionary of (I)Jekavisms of the Serbian Language*, through which numerous Ekavisms were given normative status in Montenegro. On the other hand, Montenegrists are, through their scientific engagement, aiming to preserve typical Montenegro-wide language characteristics, primarily the Ijekavian dialect, as one of its most prominent features. The formal acceptance of the Montenegrin language as official should eliminate the possibility of Montenegro being overwhelmed by the standard-language (I)Jekavian-Ekavian disarray.

Unlike the territories of the Bosnian, Croatian and, in particular, Serbian languages, the territory of Montenegro is predominantly and recognizably (I)Jekavian. Montenegrin speech

patterns are, almost without exception, Jekavian. This is the reason why, as it is well known, they largely served as the basis for Vuk's literary language. However, in the 20th century in Montenegro, the largest changes occurred in the field of Vuk's Ijekavian dialect,¹ arising usually as a result of the language policy created by supporters of Vuk's philological theories. Still, these language experts had a tendency to present Ekavization of typical Montenegrin (I)Jekavian forms as a result of spontaneous language processes that have evolved in the 20th century.

Based on the fact that the "pronunciation of the pre-Slavic *ě*"² is not known, and the view of Radosav Bošković that the central issue of both *yat* and Slavic studies is whether the pre-Slavic *ě* was a diphthong or monophthong, Vojislav P. Nikčević in one of his studies "thoroughly studies, in a scientific manner, its pronunciation. (...) All previous unsuccessful attempts to definitively resolve this fundamental issue of Slavonic and Slavic studies were based on the wrong methodological premise that *yat* was a sound or diphthong, monophthong or diphthong split, in a monogenetic (monocentric) manner, into numerous reflexes (reflections) as its constituent elements."³ Starting from the definition of a phoneme as the smallest language unit "which, from the standpoint of that language cannot be broken down into a set

¹ The syntagm *Vuk's Ijekavian dialect* is used in this work to mark those forms that Vuk accepted in his register of the literary language.

² Dr Stjepan Babić, *Jezik*, Panorama, Zagreb, 1967, 110.

³ Vojislav P. Nikčević, "Praizvor prototip i praiskon izgovora slov(j)ensko-ga jata (ѣ)" in: 1. *Jezičke i književne teme*, Institut za crnogorski jezik i jezikoslovlje, Cetinje, 2006, p. 28; 2. *Riječ*, časopis za slavensku filologiju, Year 12, Vol. 2, Rijeka, 2006. pp. 7–39; 3. Collection of Papers from the Fourth International Conference *Evropski staroselci, Korenine slovenskega naroda*, Ljubljana, 9–10 June 2006, Založništvo Jutro, Ljubljana, 2006, pp. 203–222.

of shorter phonological units”⁴ and on the basis of analytical-critical review of past views on the origin of *yat* and locating the old homeland of the Slavs, Vojislav Nikčević dismisses the idea of splitting the so-called single voice of *yat* and its reflexes which appeared relatively late, supposedly starting with the Eka-vian, going through the Ikavian and, finally ending up with the Ijekavian/Jekavian dialect at the end of 14th century.⁵ He shows that *yat* was never a sound but a symbol for marking various vocal values in different areas. This view is confirmed by the standpoint of prominent Serbian philologist Petar Đorđić, who concluded that “in our Cyrillic literacy *yat* had several values: *ja, a, e, ije, je, i, j*”.⁶ Croatian Slavist Josip Hamm also speaks against the position on the former “*e* value” of *yat*, which in the mentioned period resulted in the reflex *ije*. He says that one of the main differences in perceptions of the problem is that “*ě* was not the original *e* which only subsequently changed into *ĭe*”.⁷ Branko Miletić also derives the development of the Ijekavian alternant *yat* from the diphthong *ie*. He finds the confirmation of this in the fact that there are “many Ijekavian speech patterns in which the monosyllabic pronunciation of the long *yat* is still present” (for example *svĭet, vĭek, kolĭevka, rĭeka*), rather

⁴ Rikard Simeon, *Enciklopedijski rječnik lingvističkih naziva*, Vol. I, A–O, Matica hrvatska, Zagreb, 1969, p. 350.

⁵ Prof. dr. Dalibor Brozović & Prof. dr. Pavle Ivić, *Jezik, srpskohrvatski/hrvatskosrpski, hrvatski ili srpski*, Jugoslavenski leksikografski zavod “Miroslav Krleža”, Zagreb, 1988, p. 9.

⁶ Petar Đorđić, *Istorija srpske ćirilice*. Paleografsko-filološki prilozi, Zavod za izdavanje udžbenika Socijalističke Republike Srbije, Beograd, 1970, 204.

⁷ Josip Hamm, “Crnogorsko *T, D + Ě > ĆE, ĐE*”, Collection of Papers from the Scientific Meeting *Crnogorski govori*. Rezultati dosadašnjih ispitivanja i dalji rad na njihovom proučavanju, Crnogorska akademija nauka i umjetnosti, Naučni skupovi, Vol. 12, Odjeljenje umjetnosti, Vol. 3, Titograd, 1984, p. 80.

than the pronunciation advocated by Vuk: *svijet, vijek, kolijevka, Rijeka*”.⁸

Having determined the Poland – Ukraine – Belarus triangle as the region of the old homeland of the Slavs in which Polish Jakavian and Jekavian, Ukrainian Ikavian and Belarusian Ekavian pronunciation of *ě* cross, Nikčević found that this was where the key lay to resolving the problem of *yat* pronunciation as the “central Slavic issue”, as defined by Radosav Bošković. Relying, inter alia, on the onomastic research by Radoslav Rotković, which claimed that the ancestors of modern Montenegrins and inhabitants of Dubrovnik came from Polablje – a coastal region of eastern Germany at that time, Nikčević links the Montenegrin Ijekavian dialect with the Polish and Polabian pronunciation of *yat*. Since there is a two-sound phoneme *ie* (*czlowiek* and *śmiech*) in the extinct Polabian and modern Polish language for our monosyllabic and disyllabic *yat* (*čovjek* and *smijeh*), he concludes that “it is evident that even in Polablje-Pomorje as the old Slavic homeland of Montenegrins and inhabitants of Dubrovnik, only a positional *[i]* was added, with a view to easier pronunciation, to the two-sound phoneme */ie/* in words with a long *yat* such as: *lijep, vijek, sijeci, Rijeka*. In this case the sequence *[ije]* is really an allophone of the two-sound phoneme (*ie*). That, of course, means that they existed simultaneously in the Polabian language, as */ie/*: *[ije]*.”⁹

Whatever the origin and pronunciation of the old *ě*, numerous written monuments and onomastic material testify against the thesis of its so-called reflexation into Ijekavism at the end of 14th century. In determining the origin of the Ijekavian/Jekavian dialect, the usual starting basis was written material, i.e. from

⁸ Dr Branko Miletić, *Pregled istorije srpskohrvatskog jezika*, Beograd, s. a., p. 70.

⁹ Vojislav P. Nikčević, op.cit., p. 34.

the time when, instead of the old grapheme *ѣ*, its pronunciation value started to be used in writing. In this manner, the fact that written tradition influenced the use of the common grapheme *ѣ* instead of its separate pronunciation values which the grapheme covered in various Slavic territories was neglected. Thus, for example, Asim Peco, again on the basis of written monuments from Montenegro and Dubrovnik, mentions the possibility that (I)Jekavian “reflexes” of *yat* were developed in Montenegrin speech patterns already as early as the 13th century, whereby the Jekavian “reflex already at that time began to affect the phonetic nature of previous consonants”.¹⁰ Against such a late appearance of the Ijekavian dialect, which allegedly occurred as a product of *yat* reflexation, also stands the anthroponym *Tješimir* (*Tiescimirus*) in the *Kingdom of the Slavs* by Pop Dukljanin, as well as the entire *Directory of Geographical Names of Mediaeval Zeta* by Gavro A. Škrivanić,¹¹ in which, on today’s Montenegrin territory, there is not a single Ekavian toponym! If the mentioned hypothesis on the reflexation of *ě* was correct, such a situation would not have been possible.

So how can we explain the Ijekavian forms in that *Directory*, which also encompasses the time prior to the alleged development of the so-called *yat* reflex? It is known that toponyms are not very prone to changes. Therefore, it would be untenable to assume that the change of allegedly Ekavian toponyms to Ijeka-

¹⁰ Asim Peco, “Sudbina kratkog *ě* iza *r u* ijekavskim govorima štokavskog dijalekta”, *Južnoslovenski filolog*, Vol. XXXIII, Institut za srpskohrvatski jezik, Beograd, 1977, p. 248.

¹¹ Dr Gavro A. Škrivanić, *Imenik geografskih naziva srednjovekovne Zete*, Istoriski institut NR Crne Gore, Titograd, 1969. The directory was “built on the basis of published sources, historical literature and material from archives, with the aim of collecting as many names as possible, and the oldest ones. For these reasons, the directory contains over 900 mediaeval names” (p. 3).

vian ones occurred just before they were recorded in the material that served as the basis for Škrivanić's *Directory*. There are no language changes that can, in a very short period, completely erase every trace of the preceding state, and there is therefore no scientific foundation for the assumption that the so-called Ijekavian reflex of *yat* developed through some spontaneous process in which the former forms with unchanged *yat* were completely and consistently replaced with Ijekavisms. On the contrary, "toponyms recorded in the Middle Ages reveal older Ijekavisms that led to iotation: *Sv. Stjepan* > *Sušćepan*, *Tjekla* > *Čekla*, *Presjeka* > *Prešeka*, *Tjehotina* > *Čehotina*..."¹²

Through a comparative analysis of Montenegrin and Polabian/Pomorje onomastic material, Radoslav Rotković came to the conclusion "that there is a full phonological correspondence between the Polabian-Pomorje and Zeta-Pomorje linguistic area". The tribes which inhabited Montenegro at the time "brought with them not only swarms of geographical names but also their own Ijekavian pronunciation".¹³ And further: "examples: *Tjehotino*, *Ljeska*, *Lješane*, *Bjelice*, toponyms in our homeland reveal clear Ijekavisms, as in the Polish language. Our phonological system which cannot be expressed with Vuk's 30 letters also links us with the Polish language! He accepted southern pronunciation and iotation (*đevojka*, *ded*), and even the sound *h*, which he did not know about at first, but he did not accept the need to find letters for the sounds in words: *śednik*, *šekira*, *izesti*, *biza*, all of which exist in the Polish alphabet from where these letters are taken and used by 'our' linguists who oppose the codification of

¹² Radoslav Rotković, "Ijekavica u onomastici kao crnogorski etnički i kulturni identitet", Collection of Papers from the International Scientific Meeting *Jezici kao kulturni identiteti*, Crnogorski PEN centar, Cetinje, 1998, pp. 122-123.

¹³ *Ibid.*, p. 121.

these letters, as they cannot otherwise describe the vernacular speech patterns!”¹⁴

As far as Vuk is concerned, it is understandable why he did not introduce the graphemes *ś*, *ž* and *ž* to his type of literary language (from which he later expelled progressive forms such as *čerati*, *đevojka* and replaced them with regressive *tjerati*, *djevojka*) because he was working on introducing a language common to the projected nation of Serbo-Croats. So, Vuk was not working on the standardization of the Montenegrin language, although Montenegrin speech patterns served as the basis for his so-called Serbian language (which was based on Serbian speech patterns the least). These sounds that were widely present in the Montenegrin language, had a dialectal status outside the Montenegrin language territory and could not, as such, be included in the common literary language based on Vuk’s theory on all Štokavians as being Serbs. Listing “28 simple sounds” in the Serbian language (leaving out *f* and *h*), Vuk states, in a footnote, that “in addition to those general sounds certain specific sounds may be heard in the Serbian language: 1) inhabitants of Herzegovina sometimes pronounce *s* in front of *j* as the Polish *ś*, and *z* as *ž*, for example, *sjekira*, *sjutra*, *izjeo*...”¹⁵

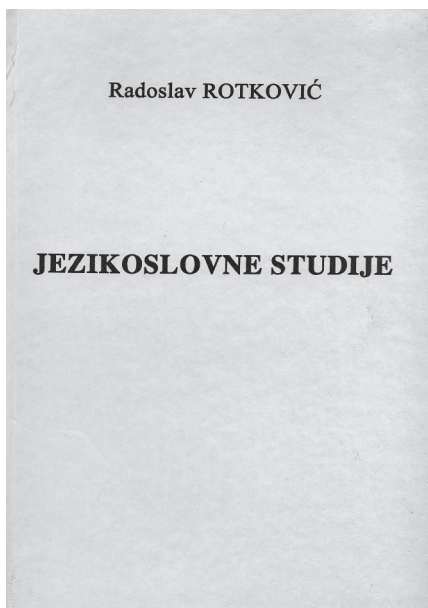
Based on analysis of very extensive literature and material (the list of which contains several hundred items) in which the most significant items were the studies of Reinhold Trautman¹⁶

¹⁴ Ibid., p. 117.

¹⁵ Vuk Karadžić, *Srpski rječnik* (1818), Dela Vuka Karadžića, dr Pavle Ivić (Editor), Prosveta – Beograd, 1969, p. XXIX.

¹⁶ R. Trautmann, *Die Elb- und Ostseeslavischen Ortsnamen*, Teil I-III. Berlin, 1949, 1950. (Third part, Registry, edited by H. Schall); R. Trautmann, *Baltisch-slavisches Wörterbuch*, Gottingen, 1923 and R. Trautmann, *Die slavischen Ortsnamen Meklenburgs und Holsteins*. Zweite verbesserte Auflage. Berlin, 1950.

and Hana Skalova,¹⁷ Radoslav Rotković wrote a comprehensive book¹⁸ that includes a registry of almost 900 onomastic units identical in the Montenegrin territory and the territory of Polabje. It should be noted that Rotković did not provide a separate serial number for each toponym; instead, he placed all toponyms of the same type under the same serial number. If we were to count each of those toponyms, we would come up with several thousand identical units in the above-mentioned territories. Since this study is focused on the issue of the Ijekavian dialect in modern Montenegrin linguistic reality, we will list some of the Ijekavian toponyms from the above study of Rotković's, with a view to confirming earlier mentioned theories: *Bijela, Bjelava, Bezdjede, Bezmjerov, Bjelbog, Bjelica, Bjelina, Bjelozem, Bijeljany,*



*Linguistic Studies
by Radoslav Rotković*

¹⁷ H. Skalova, *Topografická mapa uzemi Obodricu a Veletu-Luticu*, Praha, 1965.

¹⁸ Dr. Radoslav Rotković, *Odakle su došli preci Crnogoraca*. Onomastička istraživanja, Second, Identical Edition with comments at the end, Montedit, Podgorica, 2000. The mentioned registry was subsequently expanded and published as *Baltičko-pomorske, polapske i zetsko-pomorske onomastičke paralele*, in: Radoslav Rotković, *Jezikoslovne studije*, Institut za crnogorski jezik i jezikoslovlje "Vojislav P. Nikčević", Cetinje, 2009, pp. 55–142.

Bijeljane, Brieskow, Brijestina, Briezani, Brijeghe, Djedište, Djeva, Djewitz, Diete, Dvie gore, Gnijezdz, Gnjevomjer, Chljebob, Jarognjev, Klještina, Liepousiennizha, Ljeska, Ljeskov, Mijel, Meždirječica, Nedjelica, Nemjer, Nariječje, Nevjer, Orjehov, Otsječ, Parijez, Pijesky, Persjegy, Pjena, Podljište, Porijječje, Predjely, Perdjely, Presjeka, Priječnica, Priedoli, Primjeri, Riječane, Riezani, Rijeka, Rječica, Rjepin, Sjekyrica, Sjenica, Sjerava, Strijela, Strijelci, Strijely, Tjehotino, Tješenići, Tješimjer, Trebješane, Trijebkovo, Trijebel, Trijebina, Ustje, Utjehov, Vjetrica, Wiaternick, Vorjen, Zabjel, Zariječje, Zasjeka, Zvjerin, Zvjerov, etc.

The Ijekavian dialect has spread in the past few centuries, from Montenegrin and Dubrovnik territories as recognizably Ijekavian areas, to surrounding areas as well. Through mass migrations of the population it spread, as the *southern dialect*, from its homeland to the “north and east, (...) to northern and western Bosnia, northern Dalmatia, Lika and Krbava, and to western Serbia”.¹⁹ However, the 20th century was marked by the domina-

¹⁹ Jovan Skerlić, “Istočno ili južno narečje”, in *Pisci i knjige*, III, Prosveta, Beograd, 1955, p. 87. Mihailo Stevanović also discusses the spread of so-called Herzegovinian (=Montenegrin, as the area of northwestern Montenegro is in question) language features in the book *O jeziku Gorskog vijenca*, Srpska akademija nauka i umetnosti, Naučna knjiga, Beograd, 1989, pp. 203-204, and in *Savremeni srpskohrvatski jezik*. Gramatički sistem i književnojezička norma, I, Uvod, Fonetika, Morfologija, Third Edition, Beograd, 1975, as well as Milorad Dešić’s – “Zapadnobosanski ijekavski govori”, *Srpski dijalektološki zbornik*, Vol. XXI, Institut za srpskohrvatski jezik, Beograd, 1976, p. 15; Pavle Ivić in *Dijalektologija srpskohrvatskog jezika (Uvod i štokavsko narečje)*. Celokupna dela, Vol. II, Izdavačka knjižarnica Zorana Stojanovića, Sremski Karlovci – Novi Sad, 1985, p. 68, and Vojislav P. Nikčević in numerous papers, including the study *Štokavski dijasistem (norma i kodifikacija)*. Special Edition of the Expanded Paper from the International Scientific *Norma i kodifikacija crnogorskog jezika*, Institut za crnogorski jezik i jezikoslovlje, Cetinje, 2004, and many other authors. Migrations of the subject population is also

tion of Serbian language policy in Montenegro, but also in the wider area, even Croatia which often could not completely resist that policy. As a product of such policy, there are still many Ekavisms firmly established in the Montenegrin language today.

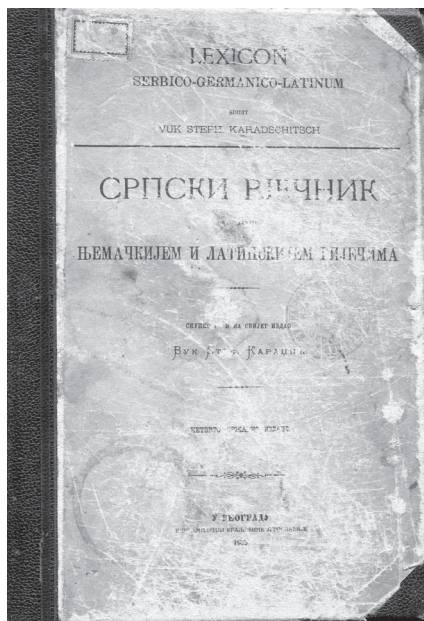
Although it is known that Vuk Karadžić transferred the oral word, largely collected in Montenegrin territory, into his literary language, many of today's linguists from Montenegro instead of certain forms of Vuk's tend to standardize Ekavian forms, displaying them at the same time as indigenous Montenegrin forms and not as an import from Ekavian language areas. Such a language policy is only a logical consequence of what was initiated at the turn of the two centuries (the 19th and 20th), and which was supposed to have been completed in the interwar period.²⁰ Namely, since the beginning of the application of Vuk's language reform, systematic work was carried out in Montenegro aimed at the unification of Montenegrin forms of the *koiné* type, i.e. these forms were replaced by forms that were most prevalent in Ijekavian dialects of the Štokavian system, or the Vuk register of the Serbian language. Thus, in 1839, even Vuk himself abandoned forms with Jekavian iotation such as *čerati*, *đevojka* and replaced them with regressive forms, but ones that were dominant in the Štokavian area, *tjerati*, *djevojka*. Admittedly, those regressive forms in the Montenegrin literary language of the late 19th century were more the exception than the rule, but the 20th century would bring a radical change in this respect: typical Montenegro-wide forms in the written language would become negligible compared to standard Serbian/Serbo-Croatian ones. Thus, the process of the decomposition of the Montenegrin literary language (labelled as a sub-variant of Ser-

confirmed by Jevto Dedijer in the book *Hercegovina*, Srpska književna zadruga, Beograd, 1909.

²⁰ The term *interwar period* refers to the period between the two World Wars.

bo-Croatian language)²¹ would increasingly develop throughout the entire 20th century. But when it comes to the spoken (vernacular) language, the influence of the subject language policy was much smaller, although not negligible. This influence was most evident in terms of the popular consciousness which often viewed its own language and its general distinctive features as a kind of archaism or dialect words which needed to be excluded from any public communication, particularly the fictional register. Still, the status of the Ijekavian dialect at the time of Vuk Karadžić was not disputed. Its status would be questioned only in the 20th century, in the period between the two World Wars, when all other aspects of Montenegrin distinctiveness were problematic and unfortunate for the official authorities as well.

Efforts towards the degradation and archaization of the Montenegrin language “would become successful only after 1918, after the destruction of the Montenegrin state and the administrative ban on the Montenegrin nation, when brutal national and social oppression of



*Serbian-German-Latin Dictionary
by Vuk Stefanović Karadžić*

²¹ Dalibor Brozović, “O sadanjem času na kružnici jezičnog sata”, *Kritika* – dvomjesečni časopis za kritiku umjetnosti i kulturnopolitička pitanja, No. 17, Društvo književnika Hrvatske, Zagreb, March/April, 1971, pp. 190–211.

Montenegrians was initiated”.²² Immediately after the annexation of Montenegro by Serbia, a text was published in the magazine *Glas Crnogorca*, which vividly reflects the above statement: “The entire world, and especially the Serbian people in Hungary, is familiar with the infamous so-called Apponyi School Law, according to which all children of non-Hungarian people in the country had to learn Hungarian in schools – and against which the whole educated world protested. That law, from the Hungarian national perspective, could be, if not justified, then at least partially understood. But the things that the Belgrade-born Aromanian, Davidović, is doing in schools in Montenegro today are much worse and more disgraceful than what Apponyi did. Davidović, namely, banned the subject of Montenegrin history from primary schools in Montenegro! And this is nothing compared to what follows! He, believe it or not, banned the use of the southern dialect in Montenegro! Children in schools had to be taught the eastern dialect only. Although we believed about murders, arson and other crimes committed by Serbs in Montenegro,²³ we could never believe this until the last few days when we were assured so by certain trustworthy individuals. Thus, Rijeka Crnojevića is now called ‘Reka’, Bjelopavlići has become ‘Belopavlići’, Pješivci turned into ‘Pešivci’, etc.”²⁴

²² Vojislav P. Nikčević, *Crnogorski jezik*. Geneza, tipologija, razvoj, strukturne odlike, funkcije. Volume II (From 1360 to 1995), Matica crnogorska, Cetinje, 1997, p. 537.

²³ See more in: *Nekoliko stranica iz krvavoga albuma Karađorđevića*. Documents on crimes committed by Serbs in Montenegro, edited by the Committee of Montenegrin Refugees, Royal State Montenegrin Printing House, Rome, 1921 (and facsimiles *Nekoliko stranica iz krvavoga albuma Karađorđevića*). Documents on crimes committed by Serbs in Montenegro, Crnogorsko obrazovno udruženje, IVPE, Cetinje, 2006) – note by A. Č.

²⁴ “Aponijev zakon”, *Glas Crnogorca*, No. 80, 27 November 1919, p. 4.

Accordingly, at that time in Montenegro even Vuk's version of the "Serbian" language was not desirable anymore; instead, efforts were invested in strengthening the Serbian Ekavian dialect, the use of which was until then unknown in the Montenegrin area. Admittedly though, Belić's *Orthography*, valid at the time, officially accepted the Ijekavian dialect,²⁵ but typical Montenegrin language features were still under attack: "Those who write particularly in the southern dialect should be mindful of a feature of the southern literary dialect which separates it from the vernacular southern dialect in most of the areas, and which consists of the following: among the people there are the pronunciations *čerati*, *đevojka*, often *življeti*, *trpljeti*, *grmljeti*, *svrbljeti*, then always *ljepota*, *njedra*, etc. Out of all of these, the literary language retained only the cases such as *ljepota* and *njedra*, i.e. those in which *j* in *je* gives, together with preceding *l* and *n* – *lj* and *nj*; and in all other cases iotation is not carried out. Instead, the older relation between sounds is retained: *tj*, *dj*, *vj*, *pj*, *mj* and *bj*, therefore: *tjerati*, *djevojka*, *živjeti*, *trpjati*, *grmjati*, *svrbjeti*; as well as: *sjesti*, *cjedilo*, *zjenica*, etc., and not *šesti*, *ćedilo*, etc."²⁶ Although there is nothing new in the quoted recommendation in relation to the rules previously established by Vuk Karadžić, it is obviously inappropriate to put in the same context forms such as *svrbljeti*, *trpljeti*, *grmljeti*, etc., which are only sporadically present in Montenegrin speech patterns²⁷, together with gener-

²⁵ See: Vojislav P. Nikčević, *Crnogorski jezik*. Geneza, tipologija, razvoj, strukturne odlike, funkcije. Volume II (From 1360 to 1995), Matica crnogorska, Cetinje, 1997, pp. 559–569.

²⁶ Aleksandar Belić, *Pravopis Srpskohrvatskoga Književnog jezika*, Izdavačka knjižarnica Gece Kona, Beograd, 1923, p. 3.

²⁷ Drago Ćupić in the paper "Jekavsko jotovanje labijala u govorima Crne Gore", Naučni sastanak slavista u Vukove dane, MSC, Beograd – Novi Sad – Tršić, 13-18 September 1977, Beograd, 1981, states, on page 60, that iotation of labials in Montenegro is present in the speech patterns of

ally present forms such as *šesti*, *ćedilo*, *ćerati*, *devojka*. In this manner, the importance of iotized forms is degraded because they are identified with Montenegrin features of a dialectal character. It was such a language policy that led in the first place to the creation of the view among the Montenegrin people (mainly regardless of the level of education) that typical forms should be excluded from the standard language and, if possible, oral communication as well, as being archaic and dialectal. Such a policy has far-reaching consequences.²⁸

“Crmnica, Zeta (with Lješkopolje), Kuči, Bratonožići and, partly, Piperi, therefore, in the speech patterns from the areas around Lake Skadar and the rivers Zeta and Morača. (...) As for other Montenegrin areas and speech patterns (principles from Herzegovina, i.e. Piva and Drobnjak, seem to be valid in northwestern Boka), it seems to us that the opinions closest to reality are those claiming that earlier Jekavian iotation of labials (in front of *yat*) had been performed consistently and that this process was largely interrupted by mixing people from different areas and by the influence of books and school...” A little later, on page 62, the same author concludes that “there is a compact isogloss with consistent iotation of labials in front of *yat* performed in the Zeta valley and surrounding area, except on the eastern side (where Albanian speech patterns are present)”. In contrast, dialectological studies confirmed that forms with iotized *ć*, *đ*, *š* and *ž* are absolutely represented in Montenegrin speech types, while regressive (non-iotized) forms in them are unknown (except in the newer words taken from other Štokavian standard languages).

²⁸ The consequences of this policy were felt in recent years in the process of the standardization of the Montenegrin language. After the adoption of the Constitution of Montenegro (2007) in which the Montenegrin language was defined as the official language in Montenegro, the Council for the Standardization of the Montenegrin Language was established (2008) with the task of preparing the orthography, grammar and the dictionary of the Montenegrin language. A part of the Council, gathered around people who taught language and literature at the University of Montenegro (Rajka Glušica, Tatjana Bečanović, Igor Lakić and Zorica Radulović), under the influence of traditionalist linguistics which denied the existence of separate Štokavian standard languages, primarily Montenegrin, firmly opposed the codification of generally-present forms created through Jekavian iota-

Through imposing and adopting such requests, the long-term literary language tradition in Montenegro, expressed through mutual dependence on spoken norms and literary language, was interrupted. This dependence was emphasized to such an extent that Vuk's language reform had almost no significance in the Montenegrin area.²⁹ Moreover, Njegoš's language, for example, was proof that top-quality works of fiction could be created in Vuk's version of the literary language. Although at the time sixty years had passed since the beginning of continuous implementation of Vuk's language reform, Montenegrin writers still did not abandon their long traditional use of forms with *ć* and *đ* (for *š* they did not have an adequate grapheme so they often, just like Stefan Mitrov Ljubiša, wrote it as *šj*). Therefore Belić, contrary to this fact, continued, through the above provision from his orthography, the process of assimilation of the

tion of the sounds *d*, *t*, *c*, *s* and *z*. Specifically, they sought to expel from the Montenegrin standard language norm the phonemes *ž*, and *ć* which were created as a product of iotation of the sound *c*, while they inconsistently accepted *ć(e) < tj(e)*, *đ(e) < dj(e)* and *š(e) < sj(e)* along with regressive forms they sought to codify in all cases. This attempt to negate the standardization of the typical Montenegrin Jekavian dialect failed by the decision of the Expert Commission for the Standardization of the Montenegrin Language formed by the Government of Montenegro (2009). This Commission declared all the products of Jekavian iotation a part of the standard language. The work on the standardization of the Montenegrin language will be discussed on another occasion.

²⁹ See: Vojislav P. Nikčević, "Narodni jezik u crnogorskoj književnosti prednjegoševskog doba", *Jezik*, časopis za kulturu hrvatskosrpskoga književnog jezika, No. 1, Hrvatsko filološko društvo, Zagreb, October 1968, pp. 19–22, and No. 2, December 1968, pp. 41–52.

Adnan Čirgić, "Jezik u Crnoj Gori nije srpski", *Matica*, časopis za društvena pitanja, nauku i kulturu, Collection of Papers from the scientific meeting *Ustav Crne Gore*, Matica crnogorska, Cetinje – Podgorica, 2007, pp. 415–422.

Montenegrin language, which had been initiated several decades before him.

Although Aleksandar Belić's *Orthography* formally allowed the Ijekavian dialect (*southern pronunciation*) in literary use (with the above restrictions), written practice showed a different situation, which was perfectly reflected in the quoted article from *Glas Crnogorca*. After banning the use of the above forms through his *Orthography* created in the interwar period, Aleksandar Belić, after the dictatorship of King Aleksandar was established, abolished an additional Montenegrin-wide feature – “long” forms in the declension of pronouns and adjectives: “In terms of adjectives and pronouns, there are two forms used in the southern vernacular dialect : *ijem* – *im*, *ijeh* – *ih*, *ijema* – *ima*, but in literary language only one of them should be used, as follows: *im*, *ih*, *ima*: *žutih*, *žutima*, *tih*, *tima*, etc.”³⁰ Belić did so despite the fact that several years earlier, in the second edition of *Orthography*, these forms had been declared normative along with the “short” suffixes. For such a short period like the one that separates the two above-mentioned editions, the disappearance of the subject language feature (generally present in Montenegrin) could not have possibly occurred (it has still not disappeared from the Montenegrin language today). It is a result of, once again, language policy which, as can be seen on the basis of the results it achieved, brought down the Montenegrin language specifics of the *koiné* type to dialect words and provincialisms. With regard to Montenegro, the subject forms were never standardized again until the *Orthography of the Montenegrin Language* by Vojislav P. Nikčević came out,³¹ that is, until the

³⁰ A. Belić, *Pravopis srpskohrvatskog književnog jezika*, Third Revised Edition, Izdavačko i knjižarsko preduzeće Gece Kona, Beograd, 1934, p. 35.

³¹ Dr. Sci. Vojislav P. Nikčević, *Pravopis crnogorskoga jezika*, Crnogorski PEN centar, Cetinje, 1997.

official adoption of the *Orthography of the Montenegrin Language* by the Government of Montenegro in 2009. Admittedly, the need to standardize these forms was discussed earlier as well, but without any major publicity or impact on the language policy. Thus, for example, six decades after their final abolition, Asim Peco expressed his view that these forms should be a part of the standard (still common at the time) language: “I would, in addition, allow dual forms in the declension of pronouns



*The Montenegrin Language
Orthography by Vojislav Nikčević*

and adjectives: in addition to *našim, njegovim, vrućim, dobrim*, I would allow: *našijem, njegovijem, vrućijem, dobrijem*. This is also a language reality. If we accept dual forms in the negative of the verb *jesam* (*nisam* and *nijesam*), why would not we go all the way! Because, the truth is, where people say *nijesam*, they also say *ovijem, našijem*. And vice-versa: where people say *nisam*, they also say *ovim, vrućim*, etc. I would, therefore, advocate uniformity here as well. This would be closer to language reality.”³² Of course, this request of Peco’s was not fulfilled by the official linguistic authorities in Montenegro, which were in line with the Serbian language policy. There is no need to explain the reasons

³² Asim Peco, “Naša ijekavština – juče, danas i sutra”, *Vaspitanje i obrazovanje*, No. 3, Podgorica, 1994, p. 23.

for this as they are familiar enough. The status of these forms remained uncertain until the adoption of the Montenegrin language as the official language in Montenegro (2007), i.e. until the adoption of the first official *Orthography of the Montenegrin Language* (2009), which provided equal status, in terms of standardization, of forms such as *našijeh* and *našijem* with forms such as *naših* and *našim*. Although they were included in the *Orthography of the Montenegrin Language* by V. Nikčević as a part of the norm, official orthographies treated them as archaisms. Written practice (due to the mentioned prohibitions) from the interwar period to the end of the 20th century rejected these forms as vernacular and dialectal. Therefore, they are very rarely used today (in written practice), even by those individuals in whose speech they are dominant.

Although, as already noted, the Ijekavian dialect was still a part of the literary language, in the interwar period, many Montenegrin writers switched to Ekavian. This switch was rarely a matter of personal choice, although there were such cases as well – especially among writers who supported the *Bjelaši* political movement. Creators of orthographies never explicitly prohibited the use of the *southern dialect*, but those who wrote in it were most often prevented from publishing their works as they violated the *literary-language unity*.³³ Such an attitude was also contributed to by Montenegrin cultural workers who settled in Serbia. Although almost eradicated (from the literary language) in the interwar period, the Ijekavian dialect was still disputed. Thus, for example, Vido Latković advises Montenegrin writers to switch to Ekavian: “If there is something for which rare young writers from Montenegro can be criticized, that would be the use

³³ See more in: Vojislav P. Nikčević, *Crnogorski jezik*. Geneza, tipologija, razvoj, strukturne odlike, funkcije. Volume II (From 1360 to 1995), Matica crnogorska, Cetinje, 1997, p. 565, footnote 19, and pp. 566–569.

of the southern dialect. It is true; they do not write in the southern dialect to spite anybody, they undoubtedly have artistic reasons for doing so. However, when the difference is reduced solely to 'yat' replacement, then it is just a formality which is important for the unity of the literary language whereas it is without any significance for an individual. Namely, I believe that we should all write Ekavian (the reasons for this are too obvious!) while everyone can and should, import to the general literary language the linguistic richness of words, sentences, etc. from their own dialect and region."³⁴ Latković's view is fully in line with the vision of Jovan Skerlić on the victory of the Ekavian dialect and Latin alphabet over the whole Yugoslav territory: "The eastern dialect is expansive, it has the necessary force behind it, and it conquers and suppresses the southern dialect by itself. This reason is sufficient on its own because, in the struggle between dialects, victory will be achieved by that dialect which is spoken in politically and culturally stronger areas, not the more beautiful one... That dialect has time and momentum, every day is working in its favour, and it is constantly expanding and prevailing by itself... It is a natural process that cannot be stopped. Sooner or later the eastern dialect will become a common dialect of Serbo-Croatian..."³⁵

After the abolition of "long" suffixes in the declension of pronouns and adjectives, in parallel with the strengthening of Ekavian, the Montenegrin lexicon was declared provincial, regional and non-literary.³⁶ Analyzing the linguistic situation

³⁴ Vido Latković, "Prilikom književne večeri mladih iz Crne Gore", *Zapisi*, Vol. VI, Issue VI, Cetinje, June 1930, p. 382.

³⁵ Jovan Skerlić, *Pisci i knjige*, Vol. III, Prosveta, Beograd, 1955, p. 118.

³⁶ See: Danilo Radojević, "Kontinuitet jedne antinacionalne (anticrnogorske) politike", *Kritika* – dvomjesečni časopis za kritiku umjetnosti i kulturnopolitička pitanja, No. 8, Društvo književnika Hrvatske, Zagreb, 1969, pp. 585–586.

in Montenegro of the said period, specifically the Ekavization of a traditionally Ijekavian area, Bogić Noveljić, a contemporary, states that if such a policy were to continue the following would be unified: the Ekavian dialect with the Cyrillic script; the Ijekavian dialect with the Latin script, i.e. those areas of the former Yugoslavia where Latin is the dominant alphabet would preserve Ijekavian, while Ekavian would retain supremacy in the areas dominated by the Cyrillic script. "The near future will show this. And then, undoubtedly, some well-meaning and 'objective' critic will appear with a claim that Montenegrins, in addition to everything else, generously sacrificed their vernacular and literary language to the community."³⁷ The consequences of this process are more than evident today.

Ijekavian dialect was not disputed only in Montenegro; its status was questioned in Croatia as well. Aleksandar Belić was convinced that Croats would write "completely the same as is written in Serbia, not only because it is for the best, but also because Serbia deserved it through its national work in the field of literature, as well as in the field of national liberation."³⁸ Serbia's role in the national liberation is well-known; it was best witnessed by the opponents of the annexation of Montenegro by Serbia in 1918, after which they and their families were killed, destroyed or persecuted.³⁹ The attitude of Serbia towards Croatia is best seen in these words of Belić's: "Serbia will be very pleased to, in addition to national liberation, bring church liberation to their brother Croats, for which they have been waiting

³⁷ Bogić Noveljić, "Brisanje crnogorskoga književnog jezika. Povodom pitanja školskih udžbenika", *Zeta*, No. 14, Podgorica, 1937, p. 3.

³⁸ Aleksandar Belić, *Srbija i južnoslovensko pitanje*, Niš, 1915, p. 33.

³⁹ See: *Nekoliko stranica iz krvavoga albuma Karađorđevića*. Documents on crimes committed by Serbs in Montenegro, Edition by the Committee of Montenegrin Refugees, Royal State Montenegrin Printing House, Rome, 1921.

a long time in vain.”⁴⁰ Croatsians were not completely immune to Skerlić’s ideas on accepting the Ekavian dialect and Latin script as a common dialect and alphabet – which is illustrated by the fact that Fran Ilešić, Ivan Hribar, Marko Car, Josip Smodlaka, Đorđe Pejanović, Milan Marjanović, Ivo Ćipiko, Vladimir Skarić, Vaso Glušac, Frano Kulišić and Veljko Milićević accepted the Ekavian dialect.⁴¹ But unlike Montenegrins, Croatsians soon realized what was behind the idea of seeming literary-language unity and returned to their standard (I)Jekavian (at the time when Ekavian was already largely imposed in Montenegro). “The problem of the unification of the literary language of Croatsians and Serbs in the Ekavian form of the literary language was very quickly removed from the agenda because the national question was not properly resolved in the new state, nor was the social one, so in the environment of the hegemonic and dictatorial regime the process of unification has become absurd, after which even those few writers who after the creation of the new state gladly accepted the Ekavian dialect, soon returned to standardized IJekavian Maretić’s norm.”⁴² Ivo Frangeš also wrote about this problem and explained the reasons for accepting Ekavian and the sacrifice of IJekavian by certain Croatian writers, as well as the reasons for their return to IJekavian: “It is true, Croatsians made a sacrifice once again: all progressive authors, as well as those who wanted a single literary language and single literature, started to write in the Ekavian dialect with the Latin script, in the spirit of the so-called Skerlić survey from 1913. Among them were Krleža, Cesarec, Ujević, Barac, A. B. Šimić, Cesarić,

⁴⁰ Aleksandar Belić, *op.cit.*, p. 27.

⁴¹ See: Ljudevit Jonke, “Razvoj hrvatskoga književnog jezika u 20. stoljeću”, *Jezik*, časopis za kulturu hrvatskosrpskoga književnog jezika, No. 1, 1968/69, Year XVI, Hrvatsko filološko društvo, Zagreb, October 1968, p. 14.

⁴² *Ibid.*, p. 16.

Krklec and many others; they all accepted the Ekavian dialect on the assurance that those were the only differences: and that therefore, with a little good will, they were easy to annul, to the benefit of both sides. However, it turned out that the differences were not so negligible: they include more than just the pronunciation of the Old Church Slavonic *yat*: as a matter of fact, the issue included already-formed nations, with a whole century of functioning of the so-called new literature behind them; and the issue of their convergence is not primarily and exclusively related to this area, and that stubborn unitarian persistence of the Great Serbian monarchy is in the function of separation rather than connection; so when, in 1928, a bloody assassination occurred in the Belgrade Parliament (during which leaders of the Croatian opposition Stjepan Radić, Pavao Radić and Đuro Basariček were killed), all Croatian authors returned to Ijekavian; only A. B. Šimić, could not do so as he died in 1925.”⁴³ However, at that time, Montenegro was very weak politically, so it was not possible to initiate the institutionalized resistance to overcoming Serbian linguistic hegemony. All renowned linguists who have established themselves in Belgrade consistently accepted Ekavian in their scientific work as well.

In the post-war period, things would somewhat change. Although language policy was still managed from Belgrade (as evidenced by the fact that the language of the Montenegrins was standardized in Montenegro for the first time in 2009, after the restoration of state independence), the status of the Ijekavian dialect was more favourable, although official linguistics in Montenegro still viewed the Montenegrin language as a *quasi-linguistic creation*. As for those rare linguists and cultural workers who have publicly argued that Montenegro has the right to

⁴³ Ivo Frangeš, *Povijest hrvatske književnosti*, Zagreb – Ljubljana, 1987, p. 294.

its language variant within the then standard Serbo-Croatian, including the right to its own Montenegrin language, the scientific quality of their works was disputed, and they were generally able to publish papers only in Croatia, which in this respect had a more flexible, democratic and often patronizing attitude towards them. Thus, for example, the Croatian linguist Ljudevit Jonke states: “The fact that Montenegrins want to call their language Montenegrin can do no harm. They are a nation, and they did not receive their language from Serbs or Croatians, they have it from beginning, so they can call it whatever they want.”⁴⁴ On the other hand, contrary to this position – and it could be safely said that it is shared by almost all Croatian linguists – in Montenegro, the majority of Slavists employed at the University of Montenegro either challenged the right to call the language Montenegrin or disputed the codification of Montenegro-wide language features.

In Montenegro, neither the speech conventions nor the literary-language tradition were taken into account until Nikčević’s *Orthography*. On the contrary, the above discussed tradition of the eradication of Montenegro-wide language features was continued in the last decades of 20th century, not only by linguists who lived and worked in Serbia, primarily in Belgrade, but also by linguists employed in Montenegro’s academic institutions. It was said that the status of the Ijekavian dialect during Communist rule was much better than the one described in the interwar period. However, certain linguists from Montenegro were not pleased with the “excessive flexibility” of the *Orthography of the Serbo-Croatian Literary Language* from 1960, especially the openness of its norm regarding the dual use of forms such as *prijedlog* – *predlog*, *prijevoz* – *prevoz*, *prijenos* – *prenos*, etc.

⁴⁴ Dr Ljudevit Jonke, “Treba govoriti otvoreno i istinito”, *Književne novine*, No. 362, Beograd, 13 September 1969, p. 2.

They therefore expressed their view that only the shorter forms (*pregled*, *predlog*, *prevoz*) are characteristic of Montenegrin literary-language practice, while the longer forms are characteristic of the Croatian variant and Bosnia-Herzegovinian sub-variant of the so-called Serbo-Croatian/Serbian language.⁴⁵ In this manner, the previously started Ekavization of the Montenegrin language continued. Education, starting from the lowest level, especially influenced the acceptance and spreading of the forms which had been, until then, atypical of Montenegrin speech patterns. The same role was played by the media and textbooks, which were mostly Ekavian. It was only after the acceptance of such (atypical) forms, that those who had worked on their domestication started their standardization. In fact, they made requests for such forms, in accordance with their use in practice, to be standardized, as part of the so-called Montenegrin literary-language sub-variant (a sub-variant of the Serbian language!). The best proof of this is the *Dictionary of (I)Jekavisms of the Serbian Language* (*Rečnik (i)jekavizama srpskog jezika*) by Branislav Ostojić and Dragomir Vujičić,⁴⁶ which even in the title itself contains an Ekavism! In terms of standard Ijekavisms, this *Dictionary* greatly lagged behind all the previous orthographies, orthographic dictionaries and manuals. It sought to standardize and enforce (these efforts were, unfortunately, often successful) such forms which were not prescribed even at the time of the dictatorship of King Aleksandar by official linguistics. The main argument for doing so was the “fact” that these were forms that

⁴⁵ The groundlessness of this view is best illustrated by dialectological literature on the Montenegrin language.

⁴⁶ Branislav Ostojić & Dragomir Vujičić, *Rečnik (i)jekavizama srpskog jezika*, CID, Podgorica, 2000. See more on this Dictionary in the study of Vojislav Nikčević, “Crnogorski jezik – juče, danas, sutra”, *Doclea*, časopis za nauku, kulturu i umjetnost, No. 3, Dukljanska akademija nauka i umjetnosti, Podgorica, 2001, pp. 63–88.

were typical of Montenegro and dominant in its speech patterns and writing practice. But the explanation for the development of such forms is unacceptable for several reasons.

Dual forms such as *predlog* – *prijedlog* were introduced for the first time in the Belić's post-war *Orthography*,⁴⁷ which was the latent start of the official introduction of the Ekavian dialect. The *Orthography of the Serbo-Croatian Literary Language* of 1960 which was created after the well-known *Novi Sad Agreement*, would accept the same principle. Although item 4 in the *Conclusions* from that Agreement states “both dialects, Ekavian and Ijekavian, are equal in all aspects”,⁴⁸ this “equality” would, among other things, be reflected in equal-status use of Ekavisms established in the interwar period in Ekavian and Ijekavian areas. It is therefore not surprising that Croatian linguist Stjepan Ivšić insisted that the following remark be inserted alongside his signature: “I sign this document (Novi Sad Agreement – A. Č.) with the qualification that the statement from item 4 of the *Conclusions* must not serve as the basis of Ekavian dialect propaganda in literary Ijekavian areas.”⁴⁹ The note was entered into the text, but the propaganda continued. But after that, it was conducted in a more subtle manner and was followed by positions of (in terms of their influence) leading linguists from Montenegro who declared some Ekavian forms Montenegrisms. In this respect, Ostojić's earlier mentioned *Dictionary* went much further in what his predecessors had started.

In his *Dictionary*, Vuk Karadžić carefully separated Ekavian and Ijekavian forms, marking them as *southern* (=Ijekavian/

⁴⁷ Aleksandar Belić, *Pravopis srpskohrvatskog književnog jezika*, New Amended and Revised Edition, Prosveta, Beograd, 1950.

⁴⁸ *Zaključci Novosadskog dogovora*, Pravopis srpskohrvatskoga književnog jezika, Matica srpska – Matica hrvatska, Novi Sad – Zagreb, 1960, p. 6.

⁴⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 9.

Jekavian) and *eastern* (=Ekavian). In addition, for those forms which are frequently used in certain areas, unlike other which are unknown or are used to a smaller extent, he specified the areas for which they are typical, for example: *rijeti* (especially in Dubrovnik), *rijeći* (in Boka), *ribaonica* (in Srijem),⁵⁰ etc. There are no Ekavisms in it indicating that they were recorded in Montenegro or were typical of the Montenegrin area. This eliminates any doubts that the disputed Ekavian forms which were declared “Montenegrisms” were authentically Montenegrin from the beginning. Vuk’s *Dictionary* itself is the main denial of such a view. As we will show below, those forms were created as a product of newer language planning which was a continuation of the planning described above.

After careful reading of Ostojić’s *Dictionary of (I)Jekavisms* it can be seen that the author has included in it every Ekavian form used, even sporadically, in Montenegro, even when such forms are forced only by lone individuals, primarily himself (Ostojić). Such a procedure is hidden in a view, expressed in the extensive preface (which amounts to one-third of the book), that all that is nation-wide and generally present, all forms that are used without regional limitations, should have normative status.⁵¹ However, although the Ekavian forms introduced by Ostojić in his *Dictionary* do not match any of the above criteria, he introduced them into the standard of his so-called Montenegrin literary-language sub-variant, which he is committed to keeping in official use in Montenegro (as a sub-variant of the Serbian language). The *Dictionary* in question also has no systematic approach to establishing certain forms as normative or dialectal.

⁵⁰ All the examples concerning Vuk Karadžić are taken from *Srpski rječnik istumačenog njemačkijem i latinskijem riječima*, Skupio ga i na svijet izdao Vuk Stef. Karadžić, Fourth State Edition, Štamparija Kraljevine Jugoslavije, Beograd, 1935. The examples listed here were taken at random.

⁵¹ Branislav Ostojić & Dragomir Vujičić, op.cit., p. 9.

This is another indicator of the position in which its authors found themselves when they, without any basis for it, sought to declare individual, violently and artificially created forms as indigenous “Montenegrisms” created spontaneously, in a vocal or analogical manner. Thus, for example, the entry for the word *pjesna* states: *as used by Njegoš*, although the subject form strayed into the *Dictionary* as the only one of its kind. Instead of hundreds of other forms which had to be included there, and they were not, for unexplained reasons, a reader or researcher finds Njegoš’s *pjesna*, which is no longer used in Montenegrin speech patterns, let alone the literary and standard language. On the other hand, it is surprising that this in-no-way typical form of Njegoš’s got a place in the *Dictionary* next to hundreds of others forms that are characteristic of today’s Montenegrin speech patterns and even the literary or standard language. Dialectologist Danilo Vušović listed more than 340 main “non-literary” features of Njegoš’s language, although he himself states that Njegoš’s language is “mainly the vernacular as it is spoken in Montenegro”.⁵² Out of all of these “non-literary” forms, the authors of the *Dictionary* singled out *pjesna*! The following examples also show that there was no systematic work in the selection of words and forms in the above *Dictionary*:

1. In parallel with the Ekavian form *kudelja*, which is not used in Montenegro and instead of which *kuđelja* is consistently used, the Jekavian non-iotized (again atypical) forms: *kudjeljara*, *kudjeljarka*, *kudjeljast*, *kudjeljica*... are listed.
2. The dialectal form *tudije(r)* (*dijal.*) is singled out as the only one of a kind, while examples such as: *ovudije*, *ovudijen*, *kudije*, *kudijen*, *kudijer*, *onudije*, *onudijen*,

⁵² Danilo Vušović, “Prilozi proučavanju Njegoševa jezika”, *Južnoslovenski filolog*, Volume IX, Beograd, 1930, p. 194.

- onudijer*, which have the same status are not mentioned.
3. In line with dual forms: *nasljedstvo* and *nasledstvo*, *nasljednost* and *naslednost*, *nasljednopravni* and *naslednopravni*, *nasljednički* and *naslednički*, *nasljeđe* and *nasleđe*, etc., forms: *nasljednik*, *nasljednikov*, *nasljednica* are listed without alternatives.
 4. Although forms *izlječenje*, *izlječiv*, *izlječivost* are given without Ekavian alternatives, dual forms *izlječitelj* and *izlečitelj*, etc., are provided as their equivalents, without any explanation whatsoever.
 5. Although along with the Ekavian form *pregoreti*, the Jekavian form *pregorjeti* is formally allowed, the form *pregorelost*, for example, is given without its Jekavian alternative.

There are many such inconsistencies in the *Dictionary* but we will not deal with them further here. The above should only serve as a confirmation of the view about a non-systematic approach in the processing of lexical items. Here we will point out the absence of scientific grounds in the process of standardization of language in Montenegro; in particular the groundless introduction of Ekavisms into the Montenegrin standard language norm. Most contentious in this dictionary is the view that the Montenegrin Ijekavian dialect “is characterized by a number of innovations not recognized by the Croatian or, in many cases, even the Bosnia-Herzegovinian type. First of all, there are frequent compounds with the prefix (*pre-*) with a monosyllabic reflex instead of the long *yat* (*pregled*, *preklop*, *prekid*, *prepis*, *prepjev*, *preplet*, *prerez*, *preći*). (...) There is also the substitution of a long *yat* with a short *yat* or the vocal *e* in words such as

sljedeći/sledeći, usljed/usled, redosljed/redosled, where we have partial or full assimilation with the Ekavian pronunciation.”⁵³

In addition, the explanation of forms such as *rečnik*, *rešenje*, *rečit*, etc., is disputable and unconfirmed. We will start from these forms in the analytical-critical review of Ostojić’s views as representative ones when it comes to the work on the annulling, assimilation and denial of the Montenegrin language. For these forms, it is said that they “should not be connected with Ekavian pronunciation. On the contrary, the process was developed autonomously through changes of sounds in Ijekavian speech patterns. The difficulty in pronouncing the group *rje* is even greater if it is in the position after a consonant.

“If, however, there are no consonants, the consonant *j* is not lost in short syllables (*riječ* – *rječnik*, *korijen* – *korjeniti*, *rijeka* – *rječica*, *riješiti* – *rješenje* – *rješavati*, *rijedak* – *rjeđi*).”⁵⁴ However, only 2-3 lines below, the same author would contradict himself. Namely, it is stated that “in short syllables without a consonant in front of *r*, instead of *je*, *e* is used (*rečnik*, *rešenje*, *rešavati*), while in short syllables with a consonant in front of *r*, instead of *e*, *je* is used (*brjegovi*...). The latter is, admittedly, used rarely.”⁵⁵ From the above, it turns out that forms *rečnik*, *rešenje*, *rešavati* were created from *rječnik*, *rješenje*, *rješavati* due to the difficulty of pronouncing the group *rje*, while the forms such as *brjegovi* on the other hand remained unchanged with Ekavian characters for the purpose of easier pronunciation in comparison with the first ones. One does not need to be a linguist to see the scientific and logical grounds for such claims. The author was probably aware of that himself so, in spite of such an explana-

⁵³ Branislav Ostojić & Dragomir Vujičić, op.cit., p. 13.

⁵⁴ Ibid., p. 14.

⁵⁵ Ibid., p. 14.

tion in the preface, he did not include the form *brjegovi* in the *Dictionary*.

With regard to writing *je* after *r* it is also stated: “In vernacular dialects and the written word in Montenegro, in the comparative form of the adjective *rijedak* – *ređi* and the related word *retkost*, as well as in disyllabic and polysyllabic verbs in general, forms with *e* have primacy over *yat*; it is used instead of *je* in the infinitive form before the suffix *-ti* and in the active participle in the feminine and neuter genders – *goreti*, *izgoreti*, *pregoreti*, *gorio*, *-ela*, *-elo*, *okoreti*, *prekoreti*, etc., so it would be reasonable to standardize them as the only allowed forms, while, for example, bearing in mind the language reality, along with the forms: *starješina*, *rječnik*, *rječit*, *rješenje*, *rješavati*, *rješiv*, *korjenčić*, *korjenit*, it would be normal also to standardize forms without *je* (*starešina*, *rečnik*, *rečit*, *rešenje*, *rešavati*, *korenčić*, *korenit*).

The dilemmas are transferred from lexical words to compounds, where the language simply has a tendency towards unification. Namely, the alternation *je/e* from nouns *rješenje/rešenje*, *rješavati/rešavati* is maintained in compounds so there are dilemmas between the forms: *razrješenje* and *razrešenje*, *razrješavati* and *razrešavati*, *protivrječiti* and *protivrečiti*, etc.”⁵⁶ A little way below, the same author, in spite of the above, says that we should “accept the existing situation (*goreti*, *protivrečiti*, *ređi*, *razređivati*, *ogrev*, *rečni*, *rečica*, *rešenje*, *rešavati*) and let the spoken and written word go together, especially because they have so far remained in generally close harmony, in specific cases, in the Montenegrin language area, regardless of the norm.”⁵⁷ Once again, in spite of the above quoted, just a few pages below, it is stated: “In order for the norm to respond to

⁵⁶ Ibid., p. 19.

⁵⁷ Ibid., p. 20.

internal laws of the language and to avoid forced unification, the best solution would be to accept both variants and to let them function in parallel. The forms *goreti/gorjeti*, *narečje/narječje*, *rečit/rječit*, *rečitost/rječitost*, *rečnik/rječnik*, *rečnički/rječnički*, *rečca/rječca*, *rečkati se/rječkati se*, *rešavati/rješavati*, *starešina/starješina*, etc. should co-exist in parallel, just as they co-exist in all styles of the standard language. And if we were to decide exclusively on the basis of Montenegrin language practice, then we would only accept the forms with *e* (...) as they are almost the only forms in use today in the spoken and written practice there. However, the standard-language form of the Ijekavian dialect of the Serbian language also includes other areas of that language in which forms with *je* are used, so the right solution would be to standardize both forms. If, over the course of time, one of them would disappear, and it certainly will happen, nobody should have any regrets because this is in the nature of language.”⁵⁸ Of course, it is clear to anyone even slightly familiar with the subject matter which forms “will disappear and should not be regretted”. As if it was in the linguistic nature of all Ijekavian Štokavian speech patterns to comply as soon as possible with the Serbian Ekavian so that the *Serbian language*, which is used in the above quote, could apply to the territory now covered by the Bosnian, Montenegrin and Croatian languages.

After these explanations which include certain lexical types, in their *Dictionary* the authors refer to individual words, such as *ogrev/ogrijev/ogrijevi*, which we will also discuss here. Namely, it is stated that “our norm was consistently insisting on Vuk’s traditional form *ogrijevi* with the much more frequent form *ogrev*. However, the language-normative practice today would have been to choose only forms *ogrev*, *ogrevni*, as normally used, for example, in Montenegrin speech patterns under

⁵⁸ Ibid., pp. 36-37.

the influence of the spoken language and in written texts. After all, the form *ogrjev* was accepted as the norm only because of a long written tradition in the western part of Serbo-Croatian language territory.”⁵⁹ These claims, views and conclusions are opposed by Montenegrin spoken and literary-language tradition and practice, as well as two monographs crucial to Montenegrin dialectology by renowned Slavists, Danilo Vušović and Mihailo Stevanović, and especially Vuk’s *Dictionary*. Unlike the above Ekavian forms, which are effectively, and often formally, given primacy, Vuk Karadžić clearly makes a distinction between Ijekavian forms as southern and Ekavian ones as eastern. In Vuk’s work, there is not a single subject Ekavism under the heading *Southern*, as has already been stated. It is therefore no surprise to see the authors of the *Dictionary* saying: “Vuk’s rules can hardly be applied today to the Montenegrin type of the Ijekavian dialect which is in the process of constant development, construction and improvement. In this process, the Montenegrin form of the Ijekavian dialect got rid of more complex and difficult forms.”⁶⁰ The question to be asked here is: What is this perfection that the Montenegrin Ijekavian dialect should reach? Bearing in mind the forms that are imposed, one could say it is easy to suggest the answer: To go over to the Montenegrin type of the Ekavian dialect which as the last stage of fulfilling the above stated vision of Skerlić’s, would be the completion of a process that has lasted a whole century. In this respect, Ostojić and Vujičić’s *Dictionary* is much more regressive than Belić’s because it neglects Ijekavian forms standardized by Vuk Karadžić relying mainly upon the Montenegrin and Dubrovnik Ijekavian dialect as the model for language standardization. By contrast, even Aleksandar Belić in the preface of his latest *Orthography* says that it

⁵⁹ Ibid., pp. 18-19.

⁶⁰ Ibid., p. 63.

was “based on the principles of the immortal Vuk” just as the previous editions were, and that therefore it was “natural that it could not be changed significantly in its newest revised edition. (...) The southern dialect is used more than ever in our present-day literature; this is why this dialect had to become completely equal to the eastern dialect in this book.”⁶¹

So, all the cases in the *Dictionary* in which *je* after *r* was replaced with *e* were declared Montenegro-wide, with a view to gaining the right to declare them normative forms. In addition, the possibility that such forms had been created in the tradition of the Serbian Ekavian dialect was dismissed at the very beginning. First of all, the statement that such forms are generally used in the spoken and written language has not been confirmed nor have the authors themselves in any way proved that position. On the contrary, in the language of Montenegrin literature as well as in Montenegrin dialects, forms in which the sequence *je* comes after *r* are present; moreover, in the language of Montenegrin literature such forms are present not only when this sound is in the initial position but also in the case when it is preceded by a consonant, as in: *sagrješenje*, *pogrješka*, *otrježenje*, etc. Therefore, in the language of that literature, all those Ijekavisms standardized by Vuk Karadžić are present, and they had no alternatives until the interwar period. Such forms were also listed by Danilo Vušović in the northwestern Montenegrin dialects, for example: *gorje*, *sagorjeti*, *gorjeti*, *pregorjeti*, *ostarjeti*, *starješina*, *korjenić*, *Korjenići* (toponym), *korjenićski*, *okorjeli*, *svirjep*, *barjela*.⁶² They are also present in Boka Kotorska dia-

⁶¹ Aleksandar Belić, *Pravopis srpskohrvatskoga književnog jezika*, New Amended and Revised Edition, Prosveta, Beograd, 1950, p. 5.

⁶² Danilo Vušović, “Dialekat Istočne Hercegovine”, *Rasprave i građa, Srpska kraljevska akademija, Srpski dijalektološki zbornik*, Vol. III, Beograd – Zemun, 1927, p. 9.

lects and are only recognized as such because these (Boka) dialects generally fit neatly into the Montenegrin language picture.

Disputed Ekavian forms appear only in Eastern Montenegrin dialects and are often used in parallel with Jekavian forms. So, they occupy only a smaller part of the territory of the Montenegrin language. But it cannot be argued that they have been present in this region since ancient times, or at least not to the extent to which they are attributed. This is indicated by the language of writers originating from that territory. In this same region, the sound *j* was lost in the position after *ž*, *š* and *č*: “One of the many features which present a legacy from the past in these speech patterns is that the previously softened consonants *ž*, *š* and *č* preserved their former properties. Just as the sound *j* could not stand after these consonants in the old language, it is lost in these positions today as well: *boži* – *boža*, *vrpči* – *vrpča*, *gušči*, *tiči*, *miši*, *ostože*, *oruže*, *Zaluže*, *Zabreže*, *Pobreže*, *podnože*, *obljeleže*, *oraše*, *naruče*, *područje*, *oblje*.”⁶³ In those speech patterns, there are also forms in which *j* is lost behind *r* in all cases, for example: *Primore*, *Javore*, *mramore*, etc. This could also be characterized as a rule: in those Montenegrin speech patterns where *j* is lost in the position after *r* – it is also lost after *č*, *š* and *ž*. This feature within the Montenegrin language has a dialectal character; it is not, therefore, present in all speech patterns. One would, therefore, be wrong to treat it as a Montenegro-wide feature with a view to giving it normative status. If forms such as *rešenje*, *rečnik*, *rečica* should be a part of the Montenegrin standard language (on the basis of their usage value), then, following the same principle, the standard

⁶³ Mihailo Stevanović, “Istočnogorski dijalekat”, *Južnoslovenski filolog*, Vol. XIII, Državna štamparija Kraljevine Jugoslavije, Beograd, 1933-34, p. 34. Very rarely forms such as *naruče*, *područje*, *obilježje*, *bože*, etc., may be heard in northwestern Montenegrin speech patterns – See: Danilo Vušović, op. cit., p. 21.

should also include forms such as *pobreže*, *mramore*, *bore*, *boži*, *oruže*, etc. The status of these two groups is the same. And anyone familiar with Montenegrin dialects could never, providing he/she approached the language standardization conscientiously, standardize the one and skip the other. Of course, the model for the attempt to standardize the first group (*rešenje*, *rečnik*) was not the use of those forms, but the intention to conform them to the Serbian language. Other forms were far from the Serbian standard, and therefore their very mention was not desirable, let alone their standardization. This is another proof that language standardization and language planning in Montenegro in general were only a part of the Serbian (expansionist) language policy.

It is also not true that the form *ogrev* is generally present in Montenegro and that, as such, it should become a part of the standard language. Vuk Karadžić in his *Dictionary* standardized the form *ogrjev* as the southern one. But in Montenegro the form *ogrijev* is even more common and should therefore be a part of the standard, unlike the form *ogrev*, which is rarely used, and is a product of a violent impact on the language, such as the one implemented in the *Dictionary* in question. The use of the form *ogrijev* in Montenegro was observed a long time ago by Mitar Pešikan as well: "There is especially strong resistance in Montenegro towards certain regulations on the *yat* reflex when these are not in line with present accentual tendencies, when they prevent words from being accentually adapted to the type in which they are included through language feeling, for example: *ogrijev* – as with *otrov*, *potres*; *djelovi* – as with *bregovi*, *sinovi*."⁶⁴

It is also logically untenable that at the end of the 14th century through the so-called reflexation of *yat*, *rě* turned into *rje*

⁶⁴ Mitar Pešikan, *Uz referate o refleksu jata* in the Collection of Papers *Pravopisna problematika u Bosni i Hercegovini*, Institut za jezik i književnost u Sarajevu, Odjeljenje za jezik, Radovi III, Sarajevo, 1976, p. 123.

which, in the future, was easily able to survive in Montenegrin speech patterns and the literary language until the beginning of the 20th century, when this group suddenly became hard to pronounce to such an extent that it was assimilated with the Ekavian form *re*. And besides all of this, the possibility of influence by the Ekavian dialect is denied! It is illogical, namely, that a sequence without any articulation difficulties and obstacles in a given period of historical development is replaced by a sequence more difficult to pronounce which would easily function for five centuries, and then suddenly become such a problem for the speakers to pronounce that it would, in a very short period, be replaced by a more simple sequence, one which, allegedly, had been in use at the very beginning. There are no similar examples in language. Therefore, the arguments presented on the development of Ekavisms such as *rešenje*, *rečnik* are scientifically untenable. They could have only be created here under the influence of diverted language development, Ekavian textbooks or Ekavians who are numerous in the education system and Montenegrin cultural life even today.

Even more groundless is the following view of Ostojić's: "In line with the verbs *pregledati*, *prenositi*, *prelomiti*, *prelazati*, *preskočiti*, *prepisati*, *prevoziti*, *prestupiti*, in addition to the forms systemic in the language: *prijenos*, *prijeskok*, *prijepis*, *prijevoz*, the analogous forms: *pregled*, *prenos*, *prelaz*, *prelom*, *preskok*, *prepis*, *prevoz*, *prestup* also exist, and accordingly, in addition to *prijeći*, *prijeđem*, the forms *preći*, *pređem* are used. (...) Both spoken and written practice in Montenegro indicate that we should reject the current norm of alternative forms with *-ije-* except in those nouns which do not have an equivalent verb with the short *yat* replacement, such as: *prijelog*, *prijesjek*,⁶⁵

⁶⁵ The form *prijesjek* is unknown in all Montenegrin speech patterns. Those speech patterns only contain the form *priješek* and it was therefore neces-

priječac...”⁶⁶ The position that such “analogous” forms were created spontaneously and that they, as such, represent typical “Montenegrisms” is clearly untenable. The fact that these forms were unknown in Montenegrin speech patterns until the interwar period indicates their origin the best. They too are a product of the language policy discussed above. This does not exclude the possibility that there was some kind of analogous change which Ostojić mentions, but we can safely determine that such changes were minor and insignificant. Otherwise, Ekavian variants of the above forms would have come to life in Montenegro at the time of the spontaneous language development in it – until the victory of Vuk’s reform. Although Vuk listed these forms very accurately in his *Dictionary* and marked them as *southern*, without any Ekavian forms under this heading, in Ostojić’s *Dictionary* they were declared unusual, archaic or a dialectal lexicon. for example, the forms: *prijelaz*, *prijelazan*, *prijelaznost*, *prijelom*, *prijeloman*, *prijenos*, *prijenosan*, *prijepis* and *prijeći* are *dialectal* (in Ostojić’s view), while the form *raskisjeliti* was labelled *wrong dialect*, although it would be interesting to know what, from the standpoint of dialectology, can be wrong in language. On the other hand, it is true that the form *raskisjeliti* is unknown in Montenegrin speech patterns because only the form *raskišeliti* is consistently used in them. Furthermore, the form *prijedlog* was declared *obsolete* in the same *Dictionary* in spite of the fact that even laypeople know that this form is expanding compared to its Ekavian form insisted upon by Ostojić. The following forms were declared *unusual*: *prijevod*, *prijevodni*, *prijevoz*, *prijevor*, *prijeglas*, *prijegon*, *prijegor*, *prijesad*, *prijesadnica*, *prijetop*, *prorjeđivati*, etc. There was no explanation, however,

sary to label it as such, especially as it became a part of the archaic lexicon so it is hardly used anymore.

⁶⁶ Branislav Ostojić & Dragomir Vujičić, op.cit., p. 15.

as to what exactly was unusual about them.⁶⁷ It is true that Ijekavisms of this type are becoming less frequent in Montenegro, in both written and spoken practice. Such a situation is logical once everything that was said on the artificial changing of the language for the purpose of “literary-language unity” is taken into account. Although these “disputed” forms were not formally banned by Belić’s Orthography or the Orthography of Matica srpska and Matica hrvatska from 1960, their use at the beginning of the 21st century is declared incorrect. But today, now that the Montenegrin language has gained constitutional recognition and now that its standardization process is under way, those banned and archaic (as they were called) forms must get a new chance, and an opportunity for their revitalization must be provided. Of course, this should not be done at any cost, but alternative solutions such as *prijevoz* / *prevoz* should be offered, and their use in the future period will decide their destiny. We are obliged to do so because of their general presence not only in the period of Vuk when he included them in his *Dictionary*, but also at the beginning of the interwar period when they were recorded by Mihailo Stevanović and Danilo Vušović. In the northeastern Montenegrin speech patterns, the prefix *prě-* occurs in two ways. “If *prě-* is a nounal prefix, then the long *yat* is replaced with the sound *ije*:

⁶⁷ Labels *dialectal*, *unusual*, *incorrect*, etc. have a clear goal – to eradicate typical forms among the speakers using them and to replace them with adequate Ekavisms. The average reader for whom the *Dictionary* is intended will not wonder what it is that is “unusual” in these forms as they were qualified as such by an expert. It is the reader’s “duty” to use the prescribed forms. Thus, for example, all Montenegrins, regardless of the level of education, say *šutra* but the vast majority write *sjutra*, assured that their authentic form has been spoiled and that, as such, it is undesirable for the written word. Such an attitude towards one’s own language has been primarily acquired through the education system (at all levels).

- *prijelom, prijenos, prijepad, prijelaz, prijerez, prijegled, prijeskok, prijetok, prijeplet, prijerod, prijeppek, prijestup, prijedlog, prijeklad, prijelog, Prijelozi (place), prijevod, prijekor, etc. (...)*

If *prě-* is a verbal prefix, then the short *ě* is replaced with the syllable *je* (or *e* after *r*):

- *prelomiti, prenositi, prepasti, prerezati, preskočiti, preplesti, prepletati and preplijetati, preroditi, prenositi, prepeći, prestupiti, prelaziti, etc.*

As for adjectives, in this respect we have dual forms: if the adjective is formed from a noun, then we have a nounal prefix *prije*; but if it was made from a verb, then the verbal prefix *pre-* is used:

- *prijekoran, prijestupan (prijestupna godina), prijepun* (there is no noun) and *prepun, prijegledan, prijetravan, prepečen, prelazan, preveden, predložen, prenešen, etc.*” – states Danilo Vušović.⁶⁸

As shown above, Montenegrin dialectology refutes Ostojić’s views and stands as the best evidence against them. All forms that are, in his *Dictionary*, labelled dialectal, obsolete, archaic, incorrect or unusual – are listed as typical in dialectological monographs. Such a situation is also confirmed by Mihailo Stevanović in the southeastern Montenegrin speech patterns: *prijelaz, prijestup, prijekor, prijeklad, prijedlog, prijegled, prijesad, prijenos, prijeppek, prijepis, priješek, prijetop, priječer, prijevljes, prijevoz, prijegon, prijekop, prijelom, prijebroj*, while in adjectives made from verbs the prefix is *pre-*: *prekrojen, prenešen, prevežen, preveden*, and in adjectives made from nouns the prefix is *prije-*: *prijestupan, prijekoran, besprijeko-*

⁶⁸ Danilo Vušović, “Dialekat Istočne Hercegovine”, *Rasprave i građa, Srpska kraljevska akademija, Srpski dijalektološki zbornik*, Vol. III, Beograd – Zemun, 1927, pp. 8-9.

ran.⁶⁹ So, the use of that prefix was identical in the southeastern and northwestern Montenegrin speech patterns. It is known that, in the preparation of dialectological monographs, typical representatives are taken as speech informants, and these are primarily people whose speech pattern was not affected by school or books, or at least not significantly. Therefore, the forms listed by these two dialectologists were typical and, as can be seen, generally present in Montenegro. This fact is put forward as proving the necessity of their introduction into the standard language. Today's Ekavian forms are only a reflection of the time in which all aspects of Montenegrin existence were being suppressed and eradicated, and in such circumstances the language could not do any better. They are also a reflection of the imposed consciousness, which was mentioned previously, that all those forms that do not fit into the Serbian standard are rural and incorrect and that they must therefore disappear.

In the abovementioned monograph, Stevanović also confirms that the forms in question are a product of deliberate and planned influence and violent changes in the language. Although he also does not rule out the possibility that Ekavisms such as *prenos*, *prevoz* appeared *inter alia* in an analogous manner because those nouns are of deverbative origin, so that the feature of a numerous category transferred to one that was less present, he still emphasizes that "he notices that, among the older generations, that are less in contact with books and representatives of the Ekavian dialect, the disyllabic prefix is much more common in all nouns, and one could, on that basis, say that the long-established rule *ě=ije* had previously been perfectly applicable

⁶⁹ See: Mihailo Stevanović, "Istočnocrnogorski dijalekat", *Južnoslovenski filolog*, Vol. XIII, Državna štamparija Kraljevine Jugoslavije, Beograd, 1933-34, p. 22.

in those areas.”⁷⁰ Since it is known that both authors belonged to official Serbian linguistics, that they wrote in the Ekavian dialect and that they viewed the speech patterns they studied as parts of the Serbian language, then the intention behind their explanations is clear. Specifically, such views and explanations cannot be regarded even as the hidden desire to preserve typical Montenegrin forms or their standardization, especially when it is known that they viewed those forms as dialect words within the Serbian language. The consistent use of Ijekavian forms among the illiterate population and people who were not in touch with the Ekavian dialect refutes the view that today’s Ekavian forms are a product of spontaneous language development.

After everything that has been stated above, no special elaboration is necessary regarding the origin and use of forms such as *sledeći* and *poslednji*, the standardization of which is advocated by the author of the *Dictionary* and his successors (at the Language Department of the Faculty of Philosophy in Nikšić). Montenegrin speech patterns and the Montenegrin literary language in the past used, in such cases, triple forms, for example: *posljednji/posljednji/posljednji*,⁷¹ while the form *posljednji* has primacy today. Labelled as *southern*, forms such as: *našljednik/nasljednik*, *nasljedstvo/našljedstvo*, *našljedovanje/nasljedovanje*, *posljedak/posljedak*, *posljednji/posljednji*, and *šljev/sljev* are also found in Vuk’s *Dictionary*, but there are no Ekavian forms of this type recorded in Montenegro or Boka Kotorska. Similarly, the *Orthography* MS-MH from 1960 does not contain Ekavian forms of the above type that are prescribed for use in any of the Ijekavian areas or in Montenegro. There is of course

⁷⁰ Mihailo Stevanović, op.cit., p. 23.

⁷¹ Forms such as *šljeme*, *šljev*, *šljepilo*, *posljednji*, *našljednik*, *našljedno*, *šljeduje*, *posljedica*, etc. are also confirmed in dialectological literature. See more in, for example, Mihailo Stevanović, op.cit., pp. 35 and 53.

no dual use of the type *sledeći/sljedeći* which would be recommended for use in those areas as well. Therefore, in this respect, the above *Dictionary* is much more regressive than all the other manuals that preceded it.

The *Dictionary of (I)Jekavisms of the Serbian Language* probably received too much space in this paper in comparison to its actual value and scientific foundation of the views expressed in its extensive preface. But the reason for that is the fact that the *Dictionary's* author is Branislav Ostojić, until recently the most influential linguistic name in the official linguistics of Montenegro. The authority of the author is sometimes sufficient to influence the acceptance of non-scientific and often very tendentious views of his. That is why so much attention was dedicated to it. The tendentiousness is obvious from the title itself, as it contains an Ekavism *rečnik* instead of the expected *rječnik*. This automatically gives priority to Ekavian forms. Secondly, even though the subject forms are recommended for the Montenegrin language standard, the language in Montenegro is still groundlessly called Serbian. Besides, in the *Notes* preceding the *Dictionary* it is stated: "Every word in this dictionary is in its right place. Its possible alternative form is given exclusively in its place (compare *predlog* and *prijedlog*...). Alternative equal forms are listed next to each other and neither of the two is preferred (compare *ogrev* and *ogrjev*)."⁷² This is aimed at covering up the obvious intention to systematically suppress typical Ijekavian forms and to move the Montenegrin language closer to Serbian until they finally converge. This intention is also revealed by the consistent use (in the preface) of the Ekavian forms of the words discussed here. We will list some of them: *rečnik*, *sledeći*, *nepogrešivi*, *ređe*, *usled*, *nedoslednost*, *rešenje*, *celina*, *dosledno*, *rečca*, *retkost*, *upotrebiti*, *protivrečnosti*, *pregled*, *predlog*, *narečje*, etc. –

⁷² Branislav Ostojić & Dragomir Vujičić, op.cit., pp. 63-64.

where each of them is used consistently several times in that text.

The above views and explanations present a confirmation that the official linguistics in Montenegro has entered the 21st century with traditionalist views that the language in Montenegro is Serbian, and with the intention of the Serbian and Montenegrin languages converging, with the final goal to eradicate all typical Montenegrin language features by labelling them dialect words of the Serbian language. Following the methods of Serbian linguistics of Karadžić-Belić's type, all the Ekavian forms which could not be scientifically explained were reasoned through *analogy* as a "proven method". However, an answer to the question: *Why did those so-called analogical changes never occur before the influence of Belić-Skerlić's language policy if the same conditions for their implementation had existed?* – has never been provided. The reason for that is simple – if this question were answered, the intentions discussed above in the paper would be revealed. The analogy used as an explanation by those linguists trying to standardize the Ekavian dialect in Montenegro is untenable when one considers the fact that, for decades and centuries, Ekavian forms advocated by those linguists were never present in the written or spoken language until the moment when Serbian language policy began to spread in this area. "The Ijekavian dialect was practically banished from the standard sphere to private life, while people got used to the Ekavian dialect which, after about twenty years of official use, became widespread to such an extent that unsteady Ijekavian categories with weaker sounds and the phoneme *j* in more accumulated groups of consonants were continuously exposed to Ekavization or were Ekavized."⁷³ In addition, there were attempts to

⁷³ Vojislav P. Nikčević, "Crnogorski jezik – juče, danas, sutra", *Doclea*, časopis za nauku, kulturu i umjetnost, No. 3, Dukljanska akademija nauka

standardize certain forms which are still not (except in exceptional cases) accepted by speakers of the Montenegrin language: *upotrebiti* / *upotrebljen*, *unaprediti* / *unapređen*, *preduprediti* / *predupređen*, etc. – again, based on the principle of purported analogy in relation to forms such as *upotreba*, *napredak*, etc. Although these forms are extremely rare in both written and spoken discourse, there are linguists advocating their introduction into the standard.

Given that many Ekavisms began to be consolidated in the Montenegrin language area, those arguing for their use often refer to their practical use as the basic principle for the introduction of such forms in the standard language. However, although iotized forms such as *ćerati*, *đevojka*, *izesti*, *šekira* as generally present forms, are one of the most distinctive Montenegrin language characteristics, there were no requests or proposals made by those linguists for their standardization. On the contrary, they still treat them as dialectal forms within the Serbian language or as archaisms within Montenegrin, so instead of them, they are imposing regressive forms with *tj*, *dj*, *zj*, *sj*. This is also confirmed by the *Dictionary* discussed above. It contains such forms of certain words which have never been registered in Montenegro so far. For example, instead of the form *koščela*, which is only used as such, the term *kostjela* is proposed; or, as a hypocoristic form of the term *ded*, a form unknown in Montenegro, *djeko*, is given; the hypocoristic form of *đever* is *dješo*, the use of which is, likewise, absolutely unknown; word *žutjenica* is also given (labelled as *zool.* even though it is not an animal but a meadow plant) and in spite of the fact that the only form ever used in Montenegro is *žućenica*. In the same manner, for example, *Sveta Ćekla* (a church in Danilovgrad) recently ‘became’ not even *Tjekla* but *Tekla* even though it is known that the form

i umjetnosti, Podgorica, 2001, p. 68.

Těkla (ТѢКЛА) had been recorded as early as the 12th century in *Miroslav's Gospel* by its main author, Varsameleon, and which, according to Serbian linguist Petar Đorđić, “nicely suits (...) the popular forms with a correctly replaced yat, Stjepan or Šćepan and Ćekla instead of Stepan and Tekla”.⁷⁴ The people, as can be seen, “correctly replaced *yat*”, so it would be good if language experts would start taking popular models as examples. Those few illustrative examples are sufficient to present the groundlessness of the termination of the subject forms.

That the author's authority is sometimes sufficient to impose his/her views on his associates regardless of the unsustainability of those views is a well-known fact. This is exactly the reason why so much attention was dedicated to Ostojić's *Dictionary* in this paper, because Ostojić's younger colleagues at the Department of Serbo-Croatian / Serbian (at the Faculty of Philosophy in Nikšić) where he taught followed his example. Today, those colleagues of his mainly represent his views, regardless of whether they work in the Department of Montenegrin or Serbian language. Thus, we have a paradoxical situation in which those who manage university teaching of the Montenegrin language in fact deny the essential properties of that language, following the views of their former mentor. This is nicely seen in the example of Rajka Glušica, who, as the chairwoman of the Department for Montenegrin Language was also a member of the Council for the Standardization of the Montenegrin language. She and some of her colleagues entered the process of standardization of the Montenegrin language preserving their traditionalist understanding of the language. For example, the fact that *ž* is a phoneme was disputed and thus an attempt was made to pre-

⁷⁴ P(etar) Đ(orđić), “II. KNJIŽEVNI JEZIK. Književni jezik na osnovi staroslovenskoga jezika”, *Enciklopedija Jugoslavije*, 4, Hil-Jugos, Izdanje i naklada leksikografskog zavoda FNRJ, Zagre, MCMLX, p. 512.

vent its introduction into the standard Montenegrin phonological system.⁷⁵ This and many other misconceptions expressed in the process of the standardization of the Montenegrin language are in fact a reflection of absolute support for the mentorial views of Branislav Ostojić.⁷⁶ Here is the evidence for this: “We do not see a reason why forms such as *izgoreti*, *izgoretina*, *izgorelost*, *izgorelica*, *zagoreti* and *zagoretina* should not be standardized along with the normative forms with *rje*. Forms with *re* instead of *rje* in the mentioned words could not only find their place in the standard Ijekavian dialect but could also, on the basis of the situation in Montenegrin vernacular speech patterns, the literary tradition in this area and the reality of modern spoken communication, pretend to be standardized as the only allowed forms.”⁷⁷ In the same place, the author proposes standardization of dual forms created through Jekavian iotation⁷⁸ of sounds *t* and *d* and lists the examples such as: *izblijedeti*, *stideti se*, *poluđeti*, *đeljati*, *ođesti*, *sjedeti*, *vredeti*, *štedeti*, i.e. *ćerati*, *proćerati*, *doćerati*, *poćera*, *lećeti*, *prelećeti*, *dolećeti*, *žućeti*, *vrćeti*, etc.⁷⁹ The title

⁷⁵ See more in: Adnan Čirgić, “Jezikoslovlje u službi politike”, *Lingua Montenegrina*, časopis za jezikoslovna, književna i kulturna pitanja, No. 3, Institut za crnogorski jezik i jezikoslovlje “Vojislav P. Nikčević”, Cetinje, 2009, pp. 511–553.

⁷⁶ See: Rajka Bigović-Glušica, “Neophodna revizija ijekavske norme”, *Riječ*, VI/1-2, Institut za jezik i književnost Filozofskog fakulteta u Nikšiću, Nikšić, 2000, pp. 135-136; Rajka Glušica, “Tumačenje jezika. Norma i praksa”, *Pobjeda*, Podgorica, 10 February 2001; Rajka Bigović-Glušica, “O jednoj neprimjerenoj interpretaciji i povodom nje”, *Monitor*, Podgorica, 4 May 2001, pp. 2-3.

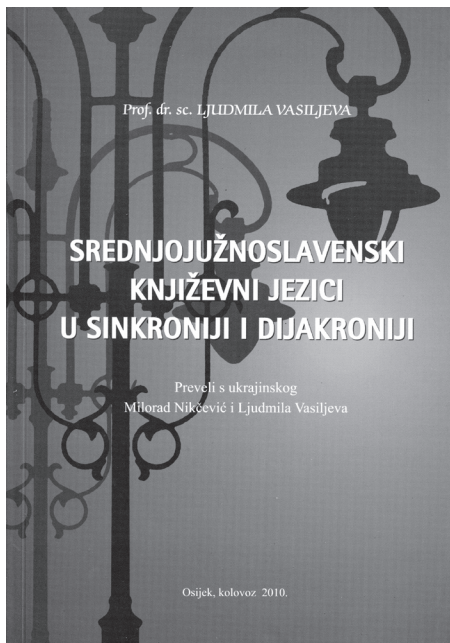
⁷⁷ Rajka Bigović-Glušica, “Neka kolebanja u našim pravopisnim priručnicima u odnosu na ijekavsku normu”, Third linguistic meeting “Boškovićeve dani”, Collection of Papers, CANU, Podgorica, 1997, p. 250.

⁷⁸ The author uses the phrase *Ijekavian iotation*, although it is known that iotation is not related to Ijekavisms but Jekavisms (*dijete* – *đeteta*).

⁷⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 254.

of text itself (“Some dilemmas in our orthographic manuals in relation to the Ijekavian norm”) and the listed examples reflect the tutoring influence of Branislav Ostojić. Namely, the orthographic manuals of the Serbian language were characterized as *ours*, although the author is from Montenegro and in spite of the fact that the paper discusses Montenegrin language issues, and that the products of iotation that are proposed as part of the norm do not include the phonemes *ś* and *ź* (which can be seen in the example of *śjedeti*). The goal of doing so is to dismiss the Montenegrin phonological system with the phonemes *ś* and *ź* only because these phonemes are not realized in the Serbian standard language.

Such a language policy was given the possibility of victory in the process of the standardization of the Montenegrin language. Namely, followers of the linguistic views of Branislav Ostojić, gathered around Rajka Glušica in the Council for the Standardization of the Montenegrin Language, tried to standardize the Montenegrin language in accordance with the above and similar concepts. The other part of the Council deemed codification of phonemes *ś* and *ź* necessary, because there was no reason for a



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selective approach to Jekavian iotation in the process of standardization of the Montenegrin language, nor was it necessary to look upon other standard languages of the Štokavian system, in particular Serbian, in this process. The dispute was resolved by foreign Slavists, Josip Silić (Croatia) and Lyudmila Vasilyeva (Ukraine), who had been dealing with Montenegristics for years. Thus, the concept of supposedly indigenous Montenegrin widespread Ekavisms failed, as well as the idea not to introduce all the products of Jekavian iotation into the Montenegrin standard. Thus, for the first time in Montenegrin history, the Montenegrin Ijekavian dialect was standardized in accordance with the actual situation in the Montenegrin language. Its further development will largely depend on the language policy, which eventually must be led by specialized institutions composed of Montenegrin and foreign experts.

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PHONEMES *ś* AND *ž* AS IMPORTANT FEATURES OF MONTENEGRIN DISTINGUISHING IT FROM THE OTHER THREE ŠTOKAVIAN STANDARD LANGUAGES

The author points to the importance of the Montenegro-wide phonemes *ś* and *ž* which, along with *đ* and *ć*, as products of Jekavian iotation, represent the most important distinctive elements of the Montenegrin standard language compared to the Bosnian, Croatian and Serbian standard languages. Vojislav P. Nikčević was the first author to include them in his Montenegrin orthography as phonemes that belong to the *koiné* language layer, and today they mark the Montenegrin standard. However, with the triumph of Vuk's reform in Montenegro (1863) they were given the status of dialect words, which was accepted by the official Montenegrin linguistics of the 20th century without question. The aim of this paper is to show that these phonemes are present in all Montenegrin speech patterns, as well as to show that the decision to include the phonemes *ś* and *ž* in the standard language was correct. Bearing in mind its use which confirms this distinctive Montenegrin language feature that has remained very much alive in spite of all the past unifications, those phenomena were unavoidable in the present codification of the

language in Montenegro. This is, of course, not the case in Bosnian, Croatian and Serbian where they have the status of dialect words.

In Montenegrin speech and language territory, dominantly and recognizably (I)Jekavian, all the products of iotation have been consistently developed, including the Jekavian ones. The sounds *ś, ź, ć, đ* as products of that iotation are traditionally generally present in all Montenegrin speech patterns with no exceptions whatsoever.¹ This situation has not changed (in speech)

¹ Confirmation of their general presence can be found in extensive Montenegrin literature from the field of dialectology. See: R. Bošković, & M. Malcecki, *Istraživanje dijalekata Stare Crne Gore*, Crnogorska akademija nauka i umjetnosti, Glasnik odjeljenja umjetnosti, Issue 20, Podgorica, 2002, p. 7; Milija Stanić, "Uskočki govor", Vol. I, Institut za srpskohrvatski jezik, *Srpski dijalektološki zbornik*, Issue XX, Beograd, 1974, pp. 79–86 and 107–108; Josip Hamm, "Crnogorsko *T, D + JAT > ĆE, ĐE*", Collection of Papers from the scientific meeting *Crnogorski govori*, Crnogorska akademija nauka i umjetnosti, Naučni skupovi, Vol. 12, Odjeljenje umjetnosti, Issue 3, Titograd, 1984, pp. 79–82; Tomo Brajković, *Peraški dijalekat*, Programm des gymnasium von Cattaro 1892/93, Zagreb, 1893, p. 5; Radomir Aleksić, "Izveštaj o ispitivanju govora krtolskog, muljanskog i grbaljskog", *Glasnik Srpske akademije nauka*, Vol. V, Issue 2, Beograd, 1953, p. 337; Pavle Ivić, *Dijalektologija srpskohrvatskog jezika (Uvod i štokavsko narečje)*, Matica srpska, Novi Sad, 1956, pp. 133–134 and 158–160; Drago Ćupić, *Govor Bjelopavlića*, Institut za srpskohrvatski jezik, *Srpski dijalektološki zbornik*, Issue XXIII, Beograd, 1977, pp. 26, 54–55, and 214–215; Mitar Pešikan, "Jedan opšti pogled na crnogorske govore", *Zbornik za filologiju i lingvistiku*, Issue XXII/1, Matica srpska, Novi Sad, 1979, p. 151; Drago Ćupić, "Osnovne osobine govora Pljevalja", *Glasnik Odjeljenja umjetnosti*, Crnogorska akademija nauka i umjetnosti, Issue, 8, Titograd, 1988, pp. 85–87; Dragoljub Petrović, "Radovići", *Fonološki opisi*, Akademija nauka i umjetnosti Bosne i Hercegovine, Posebna izdanja, Vol. LV, Odjeljenje društvenih nauka, Issue 9, Sarajevo, 1981, pp. 523–527; Dragoljub Petrović & Drago Ćupić, "Gorana", *Fonološki opisi*, Akademija nauka i umjetnosti Bosne i Hercegovine, Posebna izdanja, Vol. LV, Odjeljenje društvenih nauka, Issue 9, Sarajevo, 1981, p. 532; Drag-

oljub Petrović & Pavle Ivić, "Njeguši", *Fonološki opisi*, Akademija nauka i umjetnosti Bosne i Hercegovine, Posebna izdanja, Vol. LV, Odjeljenje društvenih nauka, Issue 9, Sarajevo, 1981, pp. 537 and 540; Dragoljub Petrović & Pavle Ivić, "Golubovci", *Fonološki opisi*, Akademija nauka i umjetnosti Bosne i Hercegovine, Posebna izdanja, Vol. LV, Odjeljenje društvenih nauka, Issue 9, Sarajevo, 1981, p. 548; Branko Miletić, "Crnički govor", *Srpski dijalektološki zbornik*, Issue IX, Srpska kraljevska akademija, Beograd, 1940, pp. 341–345; Jovan Vuković, "Govor Pive i Drobnička", *Južnoslovenski filolog*, Issue XVII, Beograd, 1938–39, pp. 44–47; Drago Ćupić, "Pregled glavnijih osobina govora Zete", *Južnoslovenski filolog*, Issue XXXIII, Institut za srpskohrvatski jezik, Beograd, 1977, pp. 270–272; Vukić Pulević, "Glasovi š i ž u crnogorskoj toponimiji", Collection of Papers from the scientific meeting *Norma i kodifikacija crnogorskoga jezika*, Institut za crnogorski jezik i jezikoslovlje, Cetinje, 2005, pp. 123–140; Adnan Čirgić, "Fonetsko-morfološke karakteristike jezika Muratage Kurtagića", *Almanah*, No. 31–32, Podgorica, 2005, p. 232; Adnan Čirgić, "Ekavizmi u Ženidbi Smailagić Meha Avda Mededovića", *Almanah*, No. 31–32, Podgorica, 2005, p. 344; Adnan Čirgić, "Pogled na jezik podgoričkih muslimana" in *Jezički nepreboli*, Institut za crnogorski jezik i jezikoslovlje, Cetinje, 2007, pp. 34–35; Mato Pižurica, *Govor okoline Kolašina*, Crnogorska akademija nauka i umjetnosti, Posebna izdanja, Vol. 12, Odjeljenje umjetnosti, Issue 2, Titograd, 1981, pp. 86–89; Dragoljub Petrović, "Glasovne osobine govora Vračana u Zeti", *Godišnjak Filozofskog fakulteta u Novom Sadu*, Issue XV/1, Novi Sad, 1972, p. 195; Momir Sekulić, "Neke osobenosti govora Bijelog Polja", *Tokovi*, No. 2–3, Issue 1, Ivangrad, 1971, p. 167; Luka Vujović, "Mrkovički dijalekat (s kratkim osvrtom na susjedne govore)", *Srpski dijalektološki zbornik*, Issue XVIII, Beograd, 1969, pp. 122–126; Dragoljub Petrović, "O govoru Broćanca", *Godišnjak Filozofskog fakulteta u Novom Sadu*, Issue X, Novi Sad, 1967, p. 233; Mitar Pešikan, "Starocrnogorski srednjokatunski i lješanski govori", *Srpski dijalektološki zbornik*, Issue XV, Institut za srpskohrvatski jezik, Beograd, 1965, p. 110; Vaso Tomanović, "O bokeljskim govorima", *Boka*, Collection of Papers from science, culture and the arts, Vol. 2, Herceg-Novi, 1970, p. 228; Dragoljub Petrović, "Prilog poznavanju govora u okolini Rijeke Crnojevića", *Zbornik za jezik i književnost*, Issue I, Društvo za srpskohrvatski jezik i književnost SR Crne Gore, Titograd, 1972, p. 62; Dragoljub Petrović, "Glasovni sistem rovačkog govora", *Zbornik za filologiju i lingvistiku*, Issue VIII, Matica srpska, Novi Sad, 1965, pp. 177–

to this day in spite of the influence of the standard language and numerous language reforms starting from Vuk's triumph (1863), lasting up to our time. Admittedly, there were few texts (from any genre) created from the beginning of the 20th century in which these phonemes were used. The reason for that is primarily the fact that the official language in Montenegro at that time was *Serbian* or *Serbo-Croatian* so the authors, by hook or by crook, had to adapt to their standards. However, in an independent Montenegro, all the conditions for the codification of the Montenegrin standard language have been created. Through this codification, all of today's generally present and distinctive language features have been acknowledged as facts of the standard language. A tremendous job in this respect was done by Vojislav P. Nikčević in his normative-codification works,² with expert consultation from Josip Silić, who was the first reviewer of these works. Accordingly, Josip Silić was also engaged in the Expert Commission for the Standardization of the Montenegrin Language, formed by the Government of Montenegro after the failed attempts of the Council for the Standardization of the

178; Dragoljub Petrović, "Neke vokalske i konsonantske karakteristike pješačkog govora", *Zbornik za filologiju i lingvistiku*, Issue X, Matica srpska, Novi Sad, 1967, p. 166; Redžep Kijametović, "Govor sela Godije-va", *Odzivi*, Issue 12-13, Bijelo Polje, 1975, p. 116; Danilo Barjaktarović, "Bihorski govor", I, *Zbornik Filozofskog fakulteta u Prištini*, Issue III, Priština, 1966, pp. 46-47; Miodrag Jovanović, *Govor Paštrovića*, Univerzitet Crne Gore, Podgorica, 2005, pp. 223-230. These sounds were also confirmed in numerous Montenegrin dialectological dictionaries which we will not list here for practical reasons.

² Vojislav P. Nikčević, *Pravopis crnogorskoga jezika*, Crnogorski PEN centar, Cetinje, 1997; Vojislav P. Nikčević, *Gramatika crnogorskoga jezika*, Dukljanska akademija nauka i umjetnosti, Podgorica, 2001; Vojislav P. Nikčević, *Piši kao što zboriš (Glavna pravila crnogorskoga standardnog jezika)*, Crnogorsko društvo nezavisnih književnika, Podgorica, 1993.

Montenegrin Language to adopt the official Orthography and Grammar of the Montenegrin Language.³

Since the time of Vuk Karadžić, *Serbian/Serbo-Croatian/Croato-Serbian* mainly acknowledged only Štokavian-wide language features. Accordingly, Montenegro-wide specific language features were regarded as dialectal. When the independent states of Bosnia and Herzegovina, Croatia and Serbia recognized Bosnian, Croatian and Serbian as their national languages and as their sociolinguistic realities, Montenegro still retained the constitutional provision stating that the Serbian language of Ijekavian pronunciation was in official use there. The extensive, century-and-a-half-long tradition of using the Serbian language in official communication has contributed to creating awareness among Montenegrins that their language specifics were a part of a rural idiom and, as such, should certainly not become a part of the standard. The role of the education system and teachers in this process was crucial and, due to this, today we can talk about a certain form of resistance towards the standardization of the sounds *ś*, *ž*, *ć* and *đ*. This resistance is especially present with regard to the sounds *ś* and *ž*, in spite of the fact that all Montenegrin speech representatives continue to consistently use them (those who support them and those who oppose them equally⁴).

³ These attempts have failed due to obstructions by a part of the Council for the Standardization of the Montenegrin Language that supported the traditionalist views of Rajka Glušica, who until recently belonged to that linguistic school which denies the existence of separate Štokavian standard languages and views the whole Štokavian system as being Serbian, i.e. Serbo-Croatian language. Therefore, the Government of Montenegro formed the Expert Commission which resolved the dispute by dismissing the unfounded views of that part of the Council. We will discuss this issue in more detail on another occasion.

⁴ “For example, in the spoken language in Montenegro, even intellectuals say: *đevojka*, *đevojčina*, *đed*, *dedovina*, while in the literary language

Therefore, in this paper, the emphasis will be placed on their presence in Montenegrin spoken and linguistic practice.

With regard to the sounds *ć* and *đ*, as products of Jekavian iotation, it should be noted that their introduction into the standard language in Montenegro was discussed back in the first half of the 20th century (which was, admittedly, then referred to as Serbian) even by language unitarians such as Dragoljub Majić (who himself wrote in the Ekavian dialect), who said: “The reason why people write *djevojka* instead of *đevojka*, *tjerati* instead of *ćerati*, etc., lies in the fact that the creator of our literary language Vuk Karadžić prescribed so in his Orthography, thus making a concession to speech patterns in which this assimilation did not occur. But, today’s regulators of our literary language have already begun to deviate slightly from Vuk’s regulations, and it will certainly not take much time before Jekavians will be recommended to write *ć* and *đ* instead of *tj* and *dj* where there was an *ě* behind *t* and *d*. The case with *sj* and *zj* is different. The process of creating these sounds, according to the old iotation rules, has only been carried out in the territory of Montenegro, i.e. in a disproportionately smaller area compared to the area of the Jekavian dialect.”⁵ Throughout the 20th century as well, and even in the interwar period as the one most critical for the Montenegrin language, they were latently present in written communication, especially as Vuk Karadžić himself used them until 1839. Newer Montenegrin writers ceased to use iotized forms because of the pressure to adapt to the language standard and often because of the impossibility, due to censorship, of publishing their works otherwise, because in Montenegro during the given period the Ekavian dialect was favoured while the Ijekavian one

these words are written with *dj*”. – Kosta Kruščić, “Piši kao što govoriš”, *Pobjeda*, No. 9525, Podgorica, 8 June 1992, p. 17.

⁵ Dragoljub Majić, “Starinske crte u govoru našega kraja”, *Godišnjak nastavnik Podgoričke gimnazije*, No. 4, Year IV, Podgorica, 1933, p. 19.

was practically prohibited.⁶ Admittedly, the position whereby these sounds were viewed as dialect words not suitable for literary language, which was imposed throughout the education system, also influenced (and is still influencing) the choice of a number of writers to avoid them in their works. Still, they survived, at least in exceptional cases, in written communication, and in the actual official language codification in Montenegro their introduction into the standard is less “controversial” than the introduction of *ś* and *ž*. Therefore, in the text below we will highlight the importance of these two sounds as characteristic Montenegrin language elements that perform the function of the main distinctive feature, at the level of phonetics, between Montenegrin on one side, and the Bosnian, Croatian and Serbian languages on the other.⁷

Commenting on the importance of these phonemes as distinctive characteristics of the Montenegrin language, Dubravko Škiljan says: “The language with the best chance of standing out as a separate one is not Croatian but Montenegrin – the moment

⁶ See: Vojislav P. Nikčević, *Jezičke i književne teme*, Institut za crnogorski jezik i jezikoslovlje, Cetinje, 2006, pp. 332–339; Vojislav P. Nikčević, *Crnogorski jezik (Geneza, tipologija, razvoj, strukturne osobine, funkcije)*, Volume II, Matica crnogorska, Cetinje, 1997, pp. 521–600; Bogić Noveljić, “Brisanje crnogorskoga književnog jezika. Povodom pitanja školskih udžbenika”, *Zeta*, No. 14, 1936, p. 3; Bogić Noveljić, “Crna Gora u školskim udžbenicima”, *Zeta*, No. 47 and 48, 1937, p. 3; M. Bulajić, “Crna Gora u školskim udžbenicima”, *Zeta*, No. 41, 1937, p. 3; “Aponijev zakon”, Article, *Glas Crnogoraca*, No. 80, 27. XI. 1919.

⁷ On the importance of introducing sounds *ć* and *đ* into the standard see: Milorad Nikčević, “Fonemi *ś*, *ž*, *ć*, *đ* u crnogorskom standardnom jeziku”, Collection of Papers from the scientific meeting *Norma i kodifikacija crnogorskoga jezika*, Institut za crnogorski jezik i jezikoslovlje, Cetinje, 2005, pp. 107–123; and Milorad Nikčević, “Glasovi, fonemi i grafemi *Ś* (*ś*), *Ž* (*ž*), *3* (*3*) u crnogorskom jeziku i konavoskom/dubrovačkom govoru hrvatskoga jezika”, in *Filološke rasprave*, Crnogorsko-hrvatsko društvo prijateljstva “Ivan Mažuranić”, Podgorica, 2002, pp. 233–252.

when they introduce the soft š and ž, as separate phonemes, into their standard language (...), they will make a much more decisive step than all the changes made here with a view to separating the language. This is because it is the number or system of phonemes that firmly defines the language structure.”⁸ Completely opposing this view, Drago Ćupić, criticizing Montenegrists for introducing the sounds ś and ź into the Montenegrin standard, says: “The insistence, by the intellectuals in question, on the ‘Montenegrin language’ is not based on important language characteristics, but on the, in their view, distinctive features of language expression compared to that expression in other parts of the Serbian language. If there were any other linguistic differences apart from dialectal, their views should not be disputed, but there are no such differences, at least not on the level of the Serbian language versus the language in Montenegro. They find differences in the dialectal sounds ś, ź and 3 (joint utterance dz) as well as in a part of the lexicon, i.e. vocabulary. With regard to the use of the sounds ś, ź and 3, it should be noted that the first one of them is present in all Ijekavian speech patterns within the Štokavian dialect; therefore, it is used by Muslims and Croats using the Štokavian dialect, so, accordingly, these sounds cannot represent a reason for establishing a separate Montenegrin language. These sounds occur in the Ijekavian dialect everywhere, but they do not constitute so-called phonemes, i.e. they cannot carry a meaning...”⁹

The above two positions are representative because the actual standard-language situation in Montenegro can be best shown through them. Dubravko Škiljan is right in his view, but

⁸ Dubravko Škiljan, “Moć jezika” (Interview), *Vreme*, No. 304, Beograd, 17 August 1996, p. 41.

⁹ Drago Ćupić, “Ne postoji poseban crnogorski jezik”, in Drago Ćupić & Egon Fekete & Bogdan Terzić, *Slovo o jeziku, Jezički poučnik*, Vol. 2, Beograd, 2002, p. 21.

Ćupić's opinion that sounds *ś* and *ž* also occur outside the Montenegrin language territory is equally correct. It is not true however that they do not have the status of phonemes and that their status is identical in Montenegro and abroad. It seems that Ćupić did not obey scientific principles in explaining the occurrence of the above sounds in the Štokavian system. Their frequency in Štokavian speech patterns outside Montenegro is negligible, and the territory in which they are present is not a compact one. Therefore, in the Bosnian, Croatian, and Serbian languages they have a dialectal character while their use in the fictional register is always stylistically marked. In addition, the subject sounds mainly arrived in the territories of the above languages through mass migrations of the population (from the 15th century) from Montenegro "to the north and east, (...) to northern and western Bosnia, northern Dalmatia, Lika and Krbava, western Serbia."¹⁰ By contrast, in all Montenegrin speech patterns they are equally represented and replacement of the above consonants with *sj* and

¹⁰ Jovan Skerlić, "Istočno ili južno narečje" in *Pisci i knjige*, III, Prosve-ta, Beograd, 1955, p. 87. On the expansion of so-called Herzegovinian (=Montenegrin as the subject area is north-western Montenegro) language features see, for example: Mihailo Stevanović, *O jeziku Gorskog vijenca*, Srpska akademija nauka i umetnosti, Naučna knjiga, Beograd, 1989, pp. 203-204; Mihailo Stevanović, *Savremeni srpskohrvatski jezik*. Gramatički sistem i književnojezička norma, I, Uvod, Fonetika, Morfologija, Third Edition, Beograd, 1975; Milorad Dešić, "Zapadnobosanski ijekavski go-vori", *Srpski dijalektološki zbornik*, Vol. XXI, Institut za srpskohrvatski jezik, Beograd, 1976, p. 15; Pavle Ivić, *Dijalektologija srpskohrvatskog jezika (Uvod i štokavsko narečje)*. Celokupna dela, Issue II, Izdavačka knjižarnica Zorana Stojanovića, Sremski Karlovci – Novi Sad, 1985, p. 68; Vojislav P. Nikčević, *Štokavski dijasistem (norma i kodifikacija)*. Special edition of an expanded paper from the international scietific meet-ing *Norma i kodifikacija crnogorskog jezika*, Institut za crnogorski jezik i jezikoslovlje, Cetinje, 2004. Migrations of the subject population are also confirmed by Jevto Dedijer, *Hercegovina*, Srpska književna zadruga, Beograd, 1909.

zj is unknown in the spoken language. Also, the words containing those sounds in the fictional register can never have the function of stylemes because they are a characteristic of every Montenegrin speaker. Only their aforementioned regressive replacements could have a stylistic value in Montenegro. Therefore, the initiative of Vojislav P. Nikčević for the introduction of these phonemes into the Montenegrin language is completely right and well-founded. In doing so, he was guided by the fact that “whatever is dialectal

in one standard language (within the same language system) does not have to be dialectal in another standard language. Modern sociolinguistics must take this fact into account.”¹¹ Ćupić neglected this fact and viewed the same element equally within two different language structures. Since the subject phonemes only occur in exceptional cases in the Bosnian, Croatian and Serbian languages, and only within a certain number of their speech patterns, in those standard languages they only represent dialect words. However, in Montenegrin speech patterns they



*The Montenegrin Language
Grammar by Vojislav Nikčević*

¹¹ Josip Silić, “Recenzija rukopisa *Gramatike crnogorskoga jezika* akademika Vojislava P. Nikčevića”, in Vojislav P. Nikčević, *Gramatika crnogorskoga jezika*, Dukljanska akademija nauka i umjetnosti, Podgorica, 2001, p. 561.

are a part of the koiné language layer and an integral part of the 33-member sound system. Therefore, their abolishment would be inappropriate to the same extent as the abolishment of any other phoneme. Variations in the use, frequency, and status of these phonemes in the above languages are the best confirmation of the distinctiveness of the Montenegrin language, and it is not a forced or imposed confirmation, but one arising from modern Bosnian, Montenegrin, Croatian and Serbian language reality. And this major difference at the phonetic level is often the cause of large differences at the lexical level.

In addition to being generally present, the sounds *ś* and *ž* have the status of phonemes (contrary to what Čupić says about them), and this is another reason for them to be a part of the Montenegrin standard. In this language, they really perform a distinctive function, such as, for example, the sounds *t* and *p* do in words *pop* : *top*. For example:

- *śenka* : *Senka*, *ženica* : *ženica*; *Žagora* : *Zagora*; *śeka* : *seka*; *Śaja* : *Šaja*; *Koža* : *koža*; *Žila* : *žila*; *Mišo* : *Mišo*, etc.

Also, not every *ś* can be replaced with *sj* because in Montenegrin it is not only a product of Jekavian iotation of the sound *s*. This is nicely seen in anthroponyms such as *Mašo*, *Vešo*, *Mušo*, *Daško*, *Pušo*, etc. In addition, in Vuk Karadžić's *Dictionary* Vukić Pulević finds the examples *musj* and *musjo*, which Vuk explains: "said to a donkey when it is called ... I saddled a good horse *Musjo*."¹² Based on these examples, Pulević points out the invalidity of Karadžić's alphabet for the Montenegrin language situation. In the above and similar examples group *sj* really cannot be used, in terms of orthography or orthoepy, to replace *ś*.

¹² Vukić Pulević, "Glasovi *ś* i *ž* u crnogorskoj toponimiji", Collection of Papers from the scientific meeting *Norma i kodifikacija crnogorskoga jezika*, Institut za crnogorski jezik i jezikoslovlje, Cetinje, 2005, p. 125.

The fact that *ś* did not develop there through Jekavian iotation is even a better proof against it than the difficulty to pronounce this group in the above examples.

The general presence of these sounds in Montenegro is confirmed by all of existing dialectological literature (regardless of the status given to them by the authors of those studies), so it is not necessary to discuss individual speech patterns here. Such a situation has been pointed out in three encyclopaedic units on Montenegrin speech patterns – by Luka Vujović,¹³ Dalibor Brozović¹⁴ and Vojislav Nikčević.¹⁵ Luka Vujović states: “In line with the newest dialectal (iotation): a) *t, d, c* + short *ě > če, đe: đed, ćerat, ćedilo*; b) *s, z* + short *ě, j, ć, đ > ś(e), ź(e): śeme, paši, ś-ednijem, iżest, koži, iżednom, išćerat, iżdeljat...*”¹⁶

In the two most comprehensive monographs on Montenegrin speech patterns, the general presence of these sounds is also indicated. Two parts of Montenegrin speech patterns are discussed in them: southeastern¹⁷ and northwestern¹⁸ groups,

¹³ L(uka) Vu(jović), “Crnogorski govori”, *Enciklopedija Jugoslavije*, 2, Bosna–Dio, Izdanje i naklada Leksikografskog zavoda FNRJ, Zagreb, MCM–LVI, pp. 494–495.

¹⁴ D(alibor) Bro(zović), “Crnogorci – Jezik”, *Enciklopedija Jugoslavije*, 3, Zagreb, 1984.

¹⁵ Vojislav P. Nikčević, “Crnogorski govori (jedinica za buduću Crnogorsku enciklopediju Dukljanske akademije nauka i umjetnosti)”, in *Jezikoslovne studije*, Centralna narodna biblioteka “Đurđe Crnojević” – Cetinje, Cetinje, 2004, p. 489.

¹⁶ L(uka) Vu(jović), “Crnogorski govori”, *Enciklopedija Jugoslavije*, 2, Bosna–Dio, Izdanje i naklada Leksikografskog zavoda FNRJ, Zagreb, MCM–LVI, p. 495.

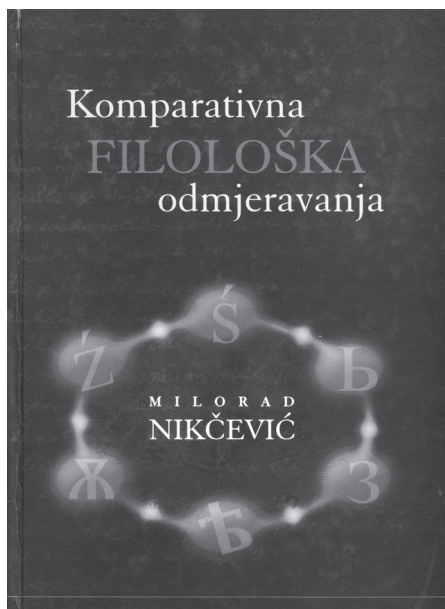
¹⁷ Mihailo Stevanović, “Istočnocrnogorski dijalekat”, *Južnoslovenski filolog*, Vol. XIII, Beograd, 1933–1934.

¹⁸ Danilo Vušović, “Dijalekat Istočne Hercegovine”, *Rasprave i građa, Srpska kraljevska akademija, Srpski dijalektološki zbornik*, Vol. III, Beograd – Zemun, 1927.

and the subject sounds are equally present in them. It is also pointed out there that those sounds were created through iotation of the consonants *s* and *z* in contact with *š*: *šeme*, *ižesti*, *šesti*, *šetiti*, *šekira*, *šeći*, *iželica*, etc. – the explanation is provided that the number of examples with *ž* is limited (“because the group *zj* is less common in our language, we cannot provide many examples for *ž*, while examples with *š* are numerous”),¹⁹; coarticulation in: *ščućurit*, *išcerat*, *iščetat*, *iždeljat*, *iždikat*, etc. but also in words where there is no link between *š* and *s* and *z*, but only with the sound *j*: *šutra*, *šajan*, *šajiti*, *šakćeti*, *koži*, *kožavina*, etc.

Those sounds occur in all positions within a word:

- Initial: *žena*, *ženica*, *Žagora*, *žalo*, *žakati*, *šutra*, *šen*, *šenina*, *šever*, *ševerika*, *šenokos*, *šenčiti*, *šetiti*, *šesti*, *šeđeti*, *šera*, *šeme*, *šeći*, *šekira*, *šedište*, *šednik*, *šednica*, *šok*, etc.
- Medial: *oše*, *klaše*, *ošećaj*, *ušeđelica*, *ižesti*, *koži*, *kožavina*, *prošek*, *priješek*, *paši*, *pašaluk*, *pošed*, *sušed*, *prošak*, *pošeći*, *kišelina*, *Daško*,



*Comparative Philological Studies
by Milorad Nikčević*

¹⁹ Mihailo Stevanović, “Istočnocrnogorski dijalekat”, *Južnoslovenski filolog*, Vol. XIII, Beograd, 1933-1934, p. 35.

Mašo, Vešo, Mušo, ušeka, kišelica; in spoken language: *ížedna, ížednačiti, ížednom, užahati*, etc.

- Final: *muš, guš, iš, miš, galeš, jeleš, maiš, poš*²⁰, etc. (the consonant *ž* in the final position is not known, and the reason for its low frequency has already been stated).²¹

The general presence of these sounds in Montenegrin speech patterns is best shown by Vukić Pulević on onomastic material. In a synthetic study on the sounds *ś* and *ž*²² in Montenegrin toponymy that he had been collecting for years, he pointed out the necessity of introducing these sounds into the Montenegrin standard in order to correct the invalidity of present orthographic and orthoepic solutions. Pulević has determined a very important fact that “the sound *ž* is also represented in the whole area of the Montenegrin language, and, according to toponyms, it coincides with the presence of the sound *ś*”. Then, 47 top-

²⁰ The last four examples from this item were taken from: Milija Stanić, “Uskočki govor”, Volume I, Institut za srpskohrvatski jezik, *Srpski dijalektološki zbornik*, Issue XX, Beograd, 1974, p. 83.

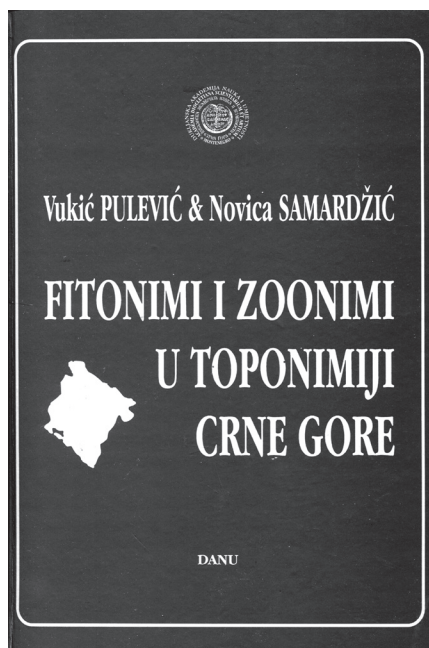
²¹ The table on the presence of the above sounds is especially important bearing in mind the views of some linguists on their limited repartition. Thus, for example, Pavle Ivić, when discussing the presence of these sounds in Montenegrin speech patterns in which, as he himself admits, “the unevenness was eliminated between affricates and adequate constrictives: *s – ś – š | z – ž – ž | 3 : ž : ž*”, states that the “distribution of (phonemes – A. Č.) *ś* and *ž* is though not as free as it is in the case of other consonants: they are, for example, not present in the final position.” – Pavle Ivić, *Dijalektologija srpskohrvatskog jezika (Uvod i štokavsko narečje)*, Matica srpska, Novi Sad, 1956, pp. 133-134. As can be seen from the above examples, the consonant *ś* is, however, present in all positions within a word, including the final position, and its distribution is completely free.

²² Vukić Pulević, “Glasovi *ś* i *ž* u crnogorskoj toponimiji”, Collection of Papers from the scientific meeting *Norma i kodifikacija crnogorskoga jezika*, Institut za crnogorski jezik i jezikoslovlje, Cetinje, 2005, pp. 123-140.

onyms containing the consonant *ž*, collected from various parts of Montenegro, are listed:

- *Koža, Koža glavica, Koža greda, Koža kućišta, Koža pećina, Koža putina, Koža rupa, Kožača, Kožak, Kožak, Kože borine, Koži bor, Koži krš, Koži rt, Koži vrh*, etc.²³

This eliminates any dilemmas with regard to the necessity of the standardization of this phoneme along with phoneme *š*. Pulević published the results of his long onomastic collecting work across Montenegro in an extensive dictionary of phytonyms and zoonyms (filling 550 pages).²⁴ The number of collected phytonyms and zoonyms in which these sounds occur is impressive. When the fact that many of them occur in the same form in different parts of Montenegro is taken into account, it is easy to see the importance of their standardization and their significance as distinctive Montenegrin features in relation to the other three Štokavian standard languages. They are an important confirmation of the



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²³ Ibid., p. 136.

²⁴ See: Vukić Pulević & Novica Samardžić, *Fitonimi i zoonimi u toponimiji Crne Gore*, Dukljanska akademija nauka i umjetnosti, Odjeljenje za književnost i jezik, Podgorica, 2003.

distinctiveness of the Montenegrin language. As we already listed some toponyms containing the consonant *ž*, here we will provide a few examples of this lexicon containing the phoneme *ś*:

- *Šeće, Šećica, Šećina, Šećina Pajova, Šećiste, Šedivrana, Šeme, Šemetni do, Šenica, Šeničište, Šenička kosa, Šenički do, Šeništa vrga, Šenokoč, Šenokos, Šenokosi Mišini, Šenokosna poljana, Šenožeta, Šenjaci Grujičića, Šerava, Šerčina, Šerkovi, Šerina velja, Šerogoška glavica, Šerogošte, Ošečenica, Prešeka, Prošedo, Prošena, Prošeno brdo, Dašin drijen, Pešov pristranak, Zgrade Šagovića, Orlošed, Paša ulica, Paši nugo, Paši vr, Gušenica, Gubišeme, Kišelice, Kišelička strana, Ošni dolinak, Pašak, Pašen, Paši kam, Paše pazarište, Vlošedina*, etc.

Due to the fact that until recently there was a lack of appropriate graphemes in the standard Latin and Cyrillic alphabet, Montenegrin writers used various (inadequate) methods to write those sounds. In addition to the most frequent use of the groups *sj* and *zj* instead of the typical *ś* and *ž*, *šj* and *žj*, or even *š* and *ž* were also often used. Thus, for example, in the language of Stefan Mitrov Ljubiša (1822–1878) or Vuk Vršević (1811–1882), the following forms are frequent:

- *šjela, šjednik, pašje, šjena, šjeta, šjen, pošjeći, šjeme, šjesti, šjajno, našjedne, pošjede, prošjela, šjenokos, sušjed, gušjenica, šjejati, kišjelica, glavošječni*, etc.²⁵

In all of them, the digram *šj* is nothing else but an inadequate replacement for grapheme *ś*. When, later on, editors of the works of Montenegrin classical writers translated those works from the old orthography to the modern one (such as, for example, Njegoš from the Russian-Slavic orthography), the inability of those writers to adequately write the sounds *ś*

²⁵ Vojislav P. Nikčević, *Ljubišina jezička kovnica (od talijanaša do narodnjaka)*, Crnogorski PEN centar, Cetinje, 2003, pp. 73 and 124–125.

and *ž*, was most often neglected, so they themselves (the editors) incorrectly marked them with *sj* and *zj*, regardless of the groundlessness of that procedure. Back in the late 19th century in Montenegro, a debate (sometimes quite heated) was going on between Lazar Tomanović and Jovan Pavlović as well as Đuro Špadijer and Mirko Mijušković regarding the introduction of some typical Montenegrin forms into the Montenegrin literary language – among other things, the new orthographic solution for the phoneme *ś*. Tomanović proposed (and faced huge antagonism because of it) that the Cyrillic solution for that sound is the digram *uj* (*ujympa*, *ujeme*, *ujekupa*...), while the Latin one would be grapheme *ś*, as it is in the Polish language. In doing so, he referred to Budmani's Grammar²⁶ in which the Montenegrin and Polish *ś* sounds are compared.²⁷ In that respect, only Vojislav P. Nikčević did the right thing when he edited the three main works by Njegoš: *Gorski vijenac*,²⁸ *Luča mikrokozma*²⁹ and *Lažni car Šćepan Mali*³⁰ by adapting them to Montenegro-wide speech practice, by introducing the sounds *ś* and *ž* (in addition to *ć* and *đ*) to his editions, just as his predecessors had done with *ć* and *đ* (created through Jekavian iotation), for the same reasons.

²⁶ P. Budmani, *Gramatica della lingua serbo-croata*, Vienna, 1867, p. 10.

²⁷ These two debates are discussed thoroughly in: Vojislav P. Nikčević, *Crnogorski jezik (Geneza, tipologija, razvoj, strukturne osobine, funkcije)*, Volume II, Matica crnogorska, Cetinje, 1997, pp. 498–515.

²⁸ Petar II. Petrović Njegoš, *Gorski vijenac*. Jubilee edition on the occasion of 150 years since the first edition, with preface – Vojislav P. Nikčević (ed.), Crnogorski PEN centar, Biblioteka "Njegoševo pero", Cetinje, 1997.

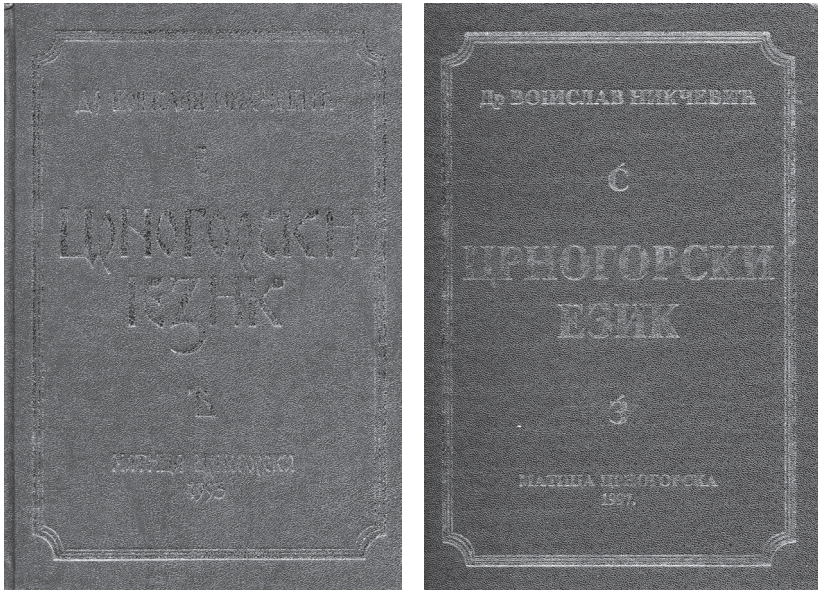
²⁹ Petar II. Petrović Njegoš, *Luča mikrokozma*. On the occasion of 150 years since the poet's death, according to the first edition, with preface and conclusion – Vojislav P. Nikčević (ed.), Izdavački centar "Cetinje", Cetinje, 2001.

³⁰ Petar II. Petrović Njegoš, *Lažni car Šćepan Mali*. According to the first edition from 1851 – Vojislav P. Nikčević (ed.), Institut za crnogorski jezik i jezikoslovlje, Cetinje, 2005.

Not interfering with the writer's language, he mainly inserted changes at the level of orthography, through which the language of Njegoš finally obtained adequate orthographic solutions.

Bearing in mind the above-described status of the sounds *ś* and *ź* in the Montenegrin language, they have been introduced into the Montenegrin language standard. This initiative started, as already noted, from Vojislav Nikčević, who had introduced them into his orthography (which has not been officially accepted). He also noted that these sounds in the Bosnian, Croatian and Serbian languages "may only be stylemes, but this is not the case in Montenegrin because in it they have a neutral value, as Montenegrins mostly pronounce them even when they are not written in appropriate Latin or Cyrillic letters. (...) The sounds *ś* and *ź* fit into the system by coming out from the framework of iotation, and have found their use in, for example, hypocorisms."³¹ The extent to which such a use of these phonemes has strengthened their position in the Montenegrin phonological system is best shown in this explanation by Milija Stanić, who also stresses that the subject sounds in the Montenegrin language were not created only as a product of Jekavian iotation, but that their occurrence is largely confirmed in hypocorisms: "Hypocorisms are, therefore, certainly the field in which (...) the sounds *ś* and *ź* have developed. And afterwards, just as in the case of other hypocorisms, the process of generalization and turning of hypocorisms into non-hypocorisms could and did start. In other words, in this new situation, a hypocorism could at the same time be a hypocorism and a non-hypocorism. Thus, just as the hypocorism *Miśo* (after the name *Miloš* or any other similar name) could and did turn into a non-hypocorism, the regular name *Miśo*, which later on, just as any other regular name could and did have its hypocorism in the form *Miśo*, could remain a hypocorism

³¹ Vojislav P. Nikčević, *Pravopis crnogorskoga jezika*, Crnogorski PEN centar, Cetinje, 1997, pp. 53-54.



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of *Miloš*; thus, for example, the hypocorisms *Miša*, *Miša*, *Máša*, *Šuma*, *Móšo*, etc. could and did turn into regular proper names not losing the function of a hypocorism, i.e. *Láša* remained a hypocorism of the name *Labud* and a separate proper name. In other words, hypocorisms of this type spread into the area of neutral proper names. (...) All of these examples at the same time illustrate that cases such as *Miša*, *Mašo*, *Gašo* and *Šago*, which M. Stevanović listed as examples in which *ś* had been created through iotation, are not, or are not necessarily, a result of iotation; because once it was formed, in one way or another, as a formant, the consonant *ś* could afterwards exist and spread completely independently, without any connection to the sound *j*.³² It would be difficult to add anything to this interpretation.

³² Milija Stanić, “Uskočki govor”, Volume I, Institut za srpskohrvatski jezik, *Srpski dijalektološki zbornik*, Issue XX, Beograd, 1974, pp. 83-84.

Finally, in his doctoral dissertation on the Montenegrin standard language, the Polish linguist, Przemysław Brom, defines the consonants *ś* and *ź* as relevant features distinguishing at the phonological level between the languages concerned:

- *Charakterystyczne występowanie miękkiej głoski ś powstałej:*

a) *w procesie jotacji, por.:*

czarn.	šekira		
- ch./bośn.	sjekira	srb.	sekira
czarn.	šeme		
- ch./bośn.	sjeme	srb.	seme
czarn.	šever		
- ch./bośn.	sjever	srb.	sever
czarn.	šenka		
- ch./bośn.	sjenka	srb.	senka
czarn.	šeći		
- ch./bośn.	sjeći	srb.	seći
czarn.	ošetljiv		
- ch./bośn.	osjetljiv	srb.	osetljiv

b) *w wyniku procesu ujednolicenia głosek pod względem dźwięczności:*

czarn.	sljedovati		
- ch./bośn.	sljedovati	srb.	sledovati

- *Szerokie występowanie głoski ź:*

czarn.	ižesti		
	iždikati		
	žalo		
	ženica		
	kožavina. ³³		

³³ Przemysław Brom, *Czarnogórski standard wobec różnicowania językowego południowej Słowiańszczyzny*, Wydawnictwo Akademii Techniczno-Humanistycznej, Bielsko-Biała, 2007, pp. 104-105.

The general presence and neutral value of the phonemes *ś* and *ž* in the Montenegrin language are the most important reasons in favour of their introduction into the official standard. This also resolves the invalidity of the former official orthographic and (orthoepic) norm and the problems arising from it. As a typical Montenegrin language feature, these sounds perform the main function of distinguishing between Montenegrin and the other three Štokavian standard languages and are the main proof of the existence of structural differences between the languages in question, and this is the reason why opponents of the Montenegrin language attribute a dialectal character to them and, in doing so, deny the Montenegrin language as well. Although the presence of the sounds *ś* and *ž* is also confirmed in Bosnian, Croatian and even Serbian spoken language, they are still treated as Montenegrin language features because in those other languages they only occur in rare examples and, in a small number of speech patterns, as dialect words. In those languages, they have not achieved realization across the whole territory. Their introduction into the official Montenegrin standard is by no means motivated by the desire to create or point out differences among the aforementioned languages. On the contrary, the reasons are only practical, just as with regard to accepting any other phoneme. Through their adoption, the Montenegrin language's "complete 12-member inventory of continuous and affricative high-pitched (acute) consonants *s z c ȝ | ś ź ć ǰ | š ž č ǰ*, which is a rarity in languages"³⁴ – will obtain a complete orthographic solution.

³⁴ D(alibor) Bro(zović), "Crnogorci – Jezik", *Enciklopedija Jugoslavije*, 3, Zagreb, 1984, p. 59.

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LANGUAGE POLICY IN MONTENEGRO FROM THE TIME OF NJEGOŠ TO THE PRESENT DAY

The author gives a brief, synthetic review of language policy in Montenegro from the time of Njegoš (when the first schools were opened) to the present day. Although there have been no institutions specializing in the matter of language policy in Montenegro until today, language policy had to exist and be conducted from somewhere. This paper shows that such policies were mostly shaped by the influence of Serbian cultural centers, especially Belgrade and Novi Sad.

Montenegro was, unlike all the other countries in the region, characterized by a lack of its own language policy. With regard to the period prior to World War II, such a situation is easily explained because there were not enough teaching personnel in Montenegro to teach in primary and secondary schools, while the university departments were not formed until the postwar era. Therefore, language policy was managed from Serbia, primarily Belgrade, and then Novi Sad, where, in their universities' language departments, several prominent Montenegrin linguists were working. It is thanks to them that a large number of Montenegrin speech patterns were studied. However, in terms of language policy in Montenegro, it seems that they were the last ones to stress Montenegrin language specific features within the

former official “Serbo-Croatian language”. It is rather difficult to explain this situation when we know that they were the ones who, studying the features of Montenegrin speech patterns, published many Montenegrin language specifics in their studies and monographs.

The fact that Montenegro is, or rather was, a country with no language policy or institutions dealing with language policy does not mean that it has nothing to say about the issue. As soon as the first public schools were opened and the first language and literature textbooks were printed and used in those schools, awareness of one’s own language started to be created. The manner in which this awareness was created and the goal to be achieved through it were exactly those features which belong to the domain of language policy. And this justifies writing about the problem. Historical circumstances (poverty, difficult living conditions, frequent wars, etc.) led to the marginalization of education and culture in Montenegro. It was only in the first half of the 19th century, mainly in Njegoš’s period, that more attention was being paid to these segments. But when it comes to language policy in Montenegro, the first thing to notice is that, from the period of Njegoš to the present day, it has not been *Montenegrin* in the first place.

When discussing the development of education and culture in Montenegro, Njegoš’s efforts to open schools, acquire textbooks and literature necessary for the commencement of the work of the first schools in Montenegro are mainly emphasized. However, taking into account, from today’s perspective, that neither Njegoš nor his successors, primarily King Nikola – during whose rule there was substantial government activity in the field of education and culture – did not develop a national program, but instead delegated the development of education, and through it, language policy as well, to visiting teaching person-

nel, foreign textbooks, etc., the question is raised about whether the development of education influenced the development of the awareness of the value of one's own identity, primarily relating to language. It would appear that such a development in the education system, instead of influencing the promotion of one's own values, rather contributed to the alienation of Montenegrin citizens from the state they belonged to. This is especially illustrated by the relationship of Montenegrins towards their own language in the past as well as today.

We will deliberately start our review of language policy in Montenegro from the time of Njegoš because the history of Montenegrin textbooks is usually dated back to him, since he, upon returning from his first trip to Russia, opened the so-called "small school" in Cetinje in 1834.¹ "In the first years of the work of the Cetinje School from 1834, Serbian grammar was studied."² The curricula for this school were, for a long time, prepared by visitors. "In the curricula for high schools, *Serbian language* as a subject was also taught. This is confirmed by the curricula of the Girls' Institute from 1879, as well as by the curriculum of the Cetinje Gymnasium from the academic year 1886/87. Teachers from foreign countries who came to work in Montenegro used

¹ Dušan Martinović & Marko Marković, *Crnogorski udžbenici (1836–1981). Istorijski pregled sa bibliografijom*, Titograd, 1982, p. 10.

² Vojislav P. Nikčević, "Etnojezički razvitak", in *Crnogorski jezik*, Volume II, Matica crnogorska, Cetinje, 1993, p. 461. Dušan Martinović & Marko Marković also wrote about this: "For the needs of Njegoš's school in Cetinje (...) textbooks and other school books used in the area under Austro-Hungarian occupation and in Serbia, which were, as a rule, brought by teachers hired from these areas, were used. Those textbooks were written in the so-called Slavo-Serbian language. Certain textbooks sent from Russia as a way of help were also used." – Dušan Martinović & Marko Marković, op. cit., p. 11.

to bring Serbo-Slavic alphabet books with church content with them.”³

Dissatisfied with the situation, Njegoš hired Dimitrije Milaković who printed (in the printing house which Njegoš acquired from Russia and which began operations in Cetinje in the same year as the “small school”) in 1836 the *Serbian Alphabet Book for Teaching Young People Church and Secular Reading*, and in 1838 the *Serbian Grammar Composed for Montenegrin Youth*. However, regardless of Njegoš’s merits in printing the first textbooks for Montenegrin schools, their titles themselves indicate the inadequacy of these textbooks. The language in which they were written (which can also be seen from their titles) was also inadequate. Although these two textbooks are regarded as being in many ways ahead of other textbooks of this type in the region, the inadequate name of the language in Montenegro, ever since then, would start to be widespread regardless of irrefutable differences between this language and the one that was in use in Serbia. Such a naming of the language in Montenegro had to be decisively influenced by Vuk Karadžić, especially bearing in mind that both textbooks were printed after the meeting between Njegoš and Vuk. Milaković’s alphabet book also shared many similarities with Vuk’s *Serbian Alphabet Book* from 1827.⁴

Spreading literacy among the population, at least among a selected few, and the provision of textbooks was certainly an achievement at that time. However, once the almost total indifference of the contemporary government to adapt these text-

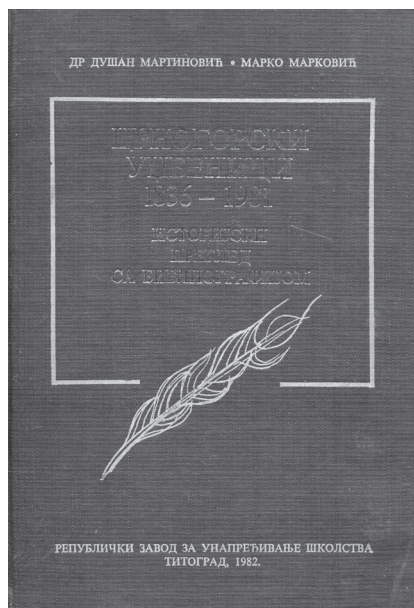
³ Vojislav P. Nikčević, op. cit., p. 461.

⁴ Ibid., p. 462. This alphabet book (of Milaković’s) had two alphabets – the church script and secular script and two languages – Russo-Slavic and the vernacular. It is significant as it was “the first textbook in the area of the Serbo-Croatian language which used the letter *h*, incorporated by Vuk Stefanović Karadžić into his alphabet the same year.” – Dušan Martinović & Marko Marković, op. cit., p. 12.

books – in terms of their name and contents – to Montenegrin circumstances is taken into account, then the importance of this achievement significantly loses its value. This situation not only marked the period of Petar II Petrović Njegoš, but also the long period covered by his successors – Prince Danilo and King Nikola. The lack of their own staff inevitably influenced the lack of their own language policy, but it was also the indifference of the rulers, or even their passion for Serbdom (as in the case of King Nikola) that largely contributed to the subordination to Serbian cultural

centres. Textbooks, for example, were at best only converted to the Ijekavian dialect, as is the case, for example, with the *Alphabet Book with Reader for Schools in Montenegro* from 1870. “Ever since the establishment of the first school (...) in 1834, to the beginning of the 1870s, teachers for Montenegrin primary schools were provided from foreign countries.”⁵

The victory of Vuk’s reform (from 1863) would signal an even greater departure from the traditional literary language in Montenegro, so that Milaković’s grammar can be considered more advanced (in terms of its treatment of the Montenegrin language) than the grammars that would follow. Regardless of the



*Montenegrin Textbooks
1836 – 1981: Historical Overview
with Bibliography by Dušan
Martinović and Marko Marković*

⁵ Vojislav P. Nikčević, op. cit., p. 464.

incorrect naming of the language in Montenegro, Milaković's grammar guide included certain specific features of the Montenegrin language that would be discarded at a later time. In his grammar guide, he did not subordinate specific Montenegrin features to "general" characteristics. However, what followed afterwards would lead to the alignment of the "Serbian language" in the whole Štokavian area, including, or rather especially, Montenegrin. This phenomenon was particularly widespread due to the great authority of Vuk Karadžić and the fact that he viewed all Štokavians as Serbs. These views were followed, without any critical thinking, by many cultural workers in Montenegro, including the contemporary government, so it is not surprising that language policy was subordinated to such views. "Karadžić's language and orthographic reform in Montenegro was officially accepted only with the introduction of his new orthography and new writing conventions in the curricula of Cetinje's "small school", in the academic year 1863/64. A foreigner, Božo Novaković, who came to teach in the school in 1865, was working on the implementation of this curriculum based on these novelties."⁶

The best evidence that the Montenegrin authorities of that time were indifferent to the language policy is provided by the debates conducted among the cultural workers who guided the development of language and language policy in our country. The most famous is the debate between Lazar Tomanović and Jovan Pavlović (editor of the magazine *Crnogorka*).⁷ It was the inadequacy of Karadžić's alphabet for the Montenegrin phonetic system that caused the controversy. This was the view represented (not always rightly) by Lazar Tomanović, and among the many innovations he proposed, a particularly interesting one to-

⁶ Ibid, p. 496.

⁷ See: Vojislav P. Nikčević, op. cit., p. 498–504.

day is the one relating to the introduction of the grapheme *ś* into the Latin script (with reference to tradition – as Pero Budmani noted) and *šj* in the Cyrillic alphabet. Pavlović opposed these innovations viewing them as provincialisms that would disrupt the unity of a common (“Serbian”) language. In spite of the fact that Tomanović’s request (at least in terms of adapting the orthography to the Montenegrin language) was fully justified bearing in mind the circumstances of the Montenegrin language, Pavlović’s views in favour of the implementation of Karadžić’s language reform would prevail. Thus, it was once again confirmed that, in conducting language policy in Montenegro, a foreigner, Pavlović (born in Sremski Karlovci, and having spent his first 35 years outside Montenegro), who was not familiar enough with the Montenegrin language situation compared to Tomanović, had the advantage over him, in spite of the fact that the latter was a born Montenegrin. Mere reliance on Karadžić’s views on language and ethnicity was enough for Pavlović to guarantee him victory at the time. Montenegrin language features have already been characterized as provincial and dialectal, and therefore undesirable in official communication. The consequences of these views can be felt today as well.

Once Montenegro finally started to provide its own staff, it appeared that they were very little different from the foreigners because this personnel had to be educated outside Montenegro, the majority of them in Belgrade. An illustrative example of this is another debate from the beginning of the 20th century - between Đuro Špadijer, author of the *Serbian Grammar for the Third and Fourth Grade of Primary School in Montenegro*, and Mirko Mijušković, a graduate from Belgrade Higher School (*Velika škola u Beogradu*) who had just arrived in Cetinje. Regardless of the fact that Špadijer prepared his grammar under the influence of Karadžić’s philological views (which is obvi-

ous from the title itself), he encountered strong criticism from Mijušković because the grammar included certain specific language features which had already been abandoned in the language outside Montenegro or were never present outside Montenegro anyway. This debate would confirm the inability of the educational authorities to conduct independent and appropriate language policy.⁸ New Montenegrin personnel came from Belgrade schools with deeply rooted negative attitudes toward their own language features, and this attitude was quickly made official through Montenegrin language policy. As a result, not only the name of the language but Vuk Karadžić's complete language reform in Montenegro as well, would (in official communication) almost totally win through even before the collapse of the Montenegrin state and its merging into the Kingdom of Serbs, Croats and Slovenes. During his long reign, King Nikola did nothing to create and strengthen language policy that would take into account the language specifics in Montenegro, let alone provide an adequate official name of this language. Such a policy could easily be upgraded with unificatory linguistic aspirations, which would particularly come into play between the two World Wars, a period in which Montenegro could not, even if it had wanted to, provide an adequate status for its language.

Since the annexation of Montenegro in 1918 and its entry into the common state of the Serbs, Croats and Slovenes, i.e. Yugoslavia, language policy was entirely left to Serbia. This is faithfully testified to by the articles of Bogić Noveljić, published in the Montenegrin press between the two World Wars. In the article *Deleting the Montenegrin Literary Language*, Noveljić states: "First of all we note a complete and absolute absence of every care and effort to use provincial Ijekavian literary pronunciation in Montenegro. At the same time, here is the most

⁸ See: Vojislav P. Nikčević, op. cit., p. 504–519.

important fact: generally there are no responsible authorities or cultural leaders who would deal with the thought of exercising domestic literary pronunciation, not to mention institutions that would take care of its development. (...) Since our province, in all of its terms, turns to Belgrade as its cultural centre, the textbooks for all of our schools, with perhaps a few exceptions, are acquired from Belgrade. These are, of course, written in the Ekavian literary dialect. (...) According to current practice, in relation to recent statements by the Minister of Education regarding school textbooks, we predict that the issue of literary dialect in school textbooks will be resolved in this manner: in those areas (with a Croatian majority), where the basic alphabet is the Latin alphabet, or in those provinces looking towards Zagreb as their cultural centre (Croatia, Slovenia, Dalmatia, Bosnia and Herzegovina), undoubtedly the southern, Ijekavian literary dialect will be represented. In other areas where the basic alphabet is the Cyrillic script, undoubtedly, the eastern, Ekavian literary dialect will be realized. Therefore, there will be only two recensions that match Ijekavian with the Latin script and Ekavian with the Cyrillic script. In such circumstances, Montenegro is in an exceptional position. It is easy to predict the outcome: the sacrifice of one's own provincial literary language. And if our predictions indeed come true, then the use of the provincial Ijekavian literary dialect in Montenegro will be, notwithstanding the other provinces, tacitly but effectively completely wiped out, having been, in this case for the first time, officially sanctioned. The near future will bear this out. And then, undoubtedly, some 'well-meaning' and 'objective' critic will appear with a claim that Montenegrins, in addition to everything else, generously sacrificed their vernacular and literary language to the community.”⁹

⁹ Bogić Noveljić, “Brisanje crnogorskog književnog jezika. Povodom pitanja školskih udžbenika”, *Zeta*, No. 14, Podgorica 1936, p. 3.

The situation did not change, so somewhat later (1937), Bogić Noveljić reiterated: “Let us start with the vernacular language textbooks. If we look into any of these textbooks (alphabet book, reader, grammar guide) we will see at a glance that there is no Montenegro in them. In no form whatsoever. Although all positive educational principles categorically require that the gap that exists between the parental home and school is removed and made as undetectable as possible, nobody pays any attention to these here. Instead, our primary schools, mainly because of the textbooks used in them, are so far away from the people that it can be ‘admired’. These people are almost completely absent from them. In every aspect. Primarily, and most importantly: in terms of the vernacular language. From the first days of school, teachers have to translate for the children expressions from the eastern vernacular dialect (Ekavian) into our vernacular (Ijekavian) dialect. Alphabet books are full of such expressions, and half of the time is spent explaining them. (...) And the conclusion is: Montenegro is absent even from the alphabet books! With regard to grammar guides (for all grades) it is sufficient to say that Montenegro does not exist in them, either. Absolutely. But there is something in them that even our most educated people do not know. For example, that the genitive case of the personal noun *Mile* (masculine) is - *Mileta*. But let it go! We are, however, allowed to assume that new generations and our (native) teachers are not sure whether it is, in accordance with our grammar, correct to say, for example: *riješenje*, *rješenje* or *rešenje*; *odjeljenje*, *odeljenje* or *odelenje*, etc. There can be only one reason for this and that is the fact that after unification, either: there is no Montenegro in grammar books or there are no (Montenegrin) grammar books in Montenegro – it is up to you to decide!”¹⁰

¹⁰ Bogić Noveljić, “Crna Gora u školskim udžbenicima”, *Zeta*, No. 47, Podgorica, 1937, p. 3.

These two articles by Bogić Noveljić, already known to the Montenegrin public, are just the single voice of protest of a public worker, because at that time, there were no institutions or individuals that could provide organized resistance to language policy in Montenegro which was managed from the Serbian cultural centres. Various editions of the *Orthography of the Serbo-Croatian Literary Language* were as compulsory in Montenegro as they were in Serbia. Admittedly, the Ijekavian dialect never lost its official status;¹¹ it was hardly possible because of the large Ijekavian area outside Montenegro (Croatia and Bosnia and Herzegovina), though some Montenegrin cultural and scientific workers did propose the switch to the Ekavian dialect. Although the Ijekavian dialect was standard in Montenegro at the time, the requests for the use of Ekavian dialect and the suppression of the Ijekavian dialect were numerous and strong. One of the authors of those requests was Jovan Skerlić, who stated that “in the struggle between dialects, victory will be achieved by that dialect which is spoken in politically and culturally stronger areas, not the more beautiful one... That dialect has time and momentum, every day is working in its favour, and it is constantly expanding and prevailing by itself... It is a natural process that cannot be stopped. Sooner or later the eastern dialect



Disputed Culture
by Radoje Radojević

¹¹ See: “Aponijev zakon”, *Glas Crnogorca*, No. 80, 27/XI/1919, p. 4.

will become a common dialect of Serbo-Croatian...”¹² Vido Latković also criticized young Montenegrin writers for using the “southern dialect”, but admitted: “It is true; they do not write in the southern dialect to spite anybody, they, undoubtedly, have artistic reasons for doing so. However, when the difference is reduced solely to ‘yat’ replacement, then it is just a formality which is important for the unity of the literary language whereas it has no significance for the individual. Namely, I believe that we should all write Ekavian (reasons for this are too obvious!) while everyone can and should, import to the general literary language the linguistic richness of words, sentences, etc. from their own dialect and region.”¹³

At the time of the SFRY, the situation was not significantly different. It was not until the late sixties that some Montenegrin intellectuals began to provide significant resistance to the language unification that had already been under way during the previous decades of the 20th century. Since, from the time of Bogić Noveljčić, there were hardly any stronger requests for the introduction of the Montenegrin language, or at least acceptance of a separate Montenegrin variant within the common official (Serbo-Croatian) language, Radoje Radojević may be viewed as the author who re-affirmed these ideas. He would, though, be supported in his efforts pretty soon by the most prominent Montenegrin intellectuals of the time: Vojislav P. Nikčević, Danilo Radojević, Radoslav Rotković, Branko Banjević, Sreten Perović, etc. Their number would increase over time. However, there was no institutional resistance to the language policy in Montenegro at the time. It did not exist because Montenegrin

¹² Jovan Skerlić, *Pisci i knjige*, III, Prosveta, Beograd, 1955, p. 115, 118-119.

¹³ Vido Latković, “Prilikom književne večeri mladih iz Crne Gore”, *Zapisi*, Vol. VI, Issue VI, Cetinje, June 1930, p. 382.

staff, educated in Belgrade again, mainly supported the existing language policy, or themselves participated in its design and implementation.

Through the Novi Sad Agreement which preceded the preparation of the common *Orthography of the Serbo-Croatian Literary Language* (1960), Montenegro and its language were practically included, once again, in the Serbian cultural corpus. There were no representatives of Montenegro in this Agreement. Those linguists originating from Montenegro who participated in the Agreement largely represented the views consistent with Serbia's language policy. Thus, Montenegro did not have the right to its own language variant. At best, its language was treated as a Montenegrin literary-language sub-variant, that is, a sub-variant of the Serbian variant! It can be said that the only institutional resistance to all of that was provided by the Association of Writers of Montenegro, in the publishing in 1971 of a statement against the denial of a separate Montenegrin language variant (on an equal footing with the Croatian and Serbian language variants) by the Society for the Serbo-Croatian Language and Literature of Montenegro, which a priori accepted the views of linguists from Belgrade and Novi Sad: "The Novi Sad Agreement cannot be regarded as unsurpassed today. It was not even a real expression of our linguistic situation. The language of Montenegrins was developed in specific human, social, cultural and historical conditions. There are as many valid arguments for the existence of the Montenegrin language variant as there are for other variants."¹⁴ However, neither this statement nor the individual views¹⁵ could

¹⁴ "Saopštenje uprave Udruženje književnika Crne Gore", *Kritika*, No. 17, March-April 1971, p. 378.

¹⁵ See: Vojislav Nikčević, "Š čime je u sukobu Novosadski dogovor", *Vjesnik u srijedu*, No. 1018, Zagreb, 3/11/1971, p. 74; and Radoslav Rotković, "Novosadski dogovor – stvarnost ili iluzija", *Ovdje*, No. 22, Year III, 1971, p. 4.

significantly influence the formation of language policy in Montenegro. There were no socio-political conditions in which Montenegro could secure its own linguistic rights and there were not enough philologists with a critical attitude towards the knowledge they had acquired mainly in Belgrade. This is especially testified to by a dispute which broke out in the early 1980s, when an entry on the language of the Montenegrins needed to be provided for the *Encyclopedia of Yugoslavia*. The Montenegrin edition of the Encyclopedia did not want to accept the entry offered by Mitar Pešikan, in which the language in Montenegro was inadequately treated – from the standpoint of the Serbian unificatory linguistic school to which Pešikan belonged – but was also not permitted to accept the entry offered by Vojislav P. Nikčević.¹⁶ As a compromise, after many failed attempts, the entry by Dalibor Brozović was accepted. It was, perhaps, the first time that an official Montenegrin team of academics and cultural workers managed to resist the organized attempt of Serbian linguistics to attribute the language in Montenegro, and the heritage created in it, to the Serbian national corpus.¹⁷



*Linguistic Studies
by Vojislav Nikčević*

¹⁶ See: Vojislav P. Nikčević, “Naučni pogledi Dalibora Brozovića na crnogorski jezik”, *Lingua Montenegrina*, No. 2, Institut za crnogorski jezik i jezikoslovlje “Vojislav P. Nikčević”, Cetinje, 2008, pp. 3–23.

¹⁷ Part of the archives and the minutes from these sessions were presented to us by Milo Knežević, for which we thank him warmly.

The last three decades of the 20th century marked a change in the Montenegrin education system, science and culture. “Education, as well as economic activity, in Montenegro is being developed at a rapid pace; and most importantly, various institutions of science and culture have been founded. The centuries-long stagnation was stopped.”¹⁸ Universities were established, as well as the Montenegrin Academy of Sciences and the Arts in the mid-seventies. These would be preceded by the establishment of the Society for Serbo-Croatian Language and Literature (which is relevant to this topic). But although it could, on the basis of the above, have seemed that Montenegro had started to build its own language policy, there was no such policy. As a matter of fact, there was a language policy in Montenegro, but it was not *Montenegrin*. If we take into account its results, we could rather say that it was *anti-Montenegrin*. This is also testified by the conclusions of the Society for Serbo-Croatian Language and Literature of Montenegro stating that, in addition to the two existing variants of Serbo-Croatian, eastern and western”, i.e. Serbian and Croatian, “serious academic arguments on the existence of the Montenegrin variant or, especially, the Montenegrin language, have not been provided so far.”¹⁹ It was just a continuation of the language policy managed from the Serbian cultural centres, Belgrade and Novi Sad, which characterized the whole 20th century. Such a policy, therefore, continued even after the establishment of the Montenegrin Academy of Sciences and the Arts. The language in Montenegro was still called the *Montenegrin literary-language sub-variant*, i.e. a sub-variant of

¹⁸ Branislav Ostojić, “Crnogorski književnojezički izraz u 20. vijeku i danas, sto pedeset godina poslije Vuka”, in: *Istorija crnogorskog književnojezičkog izraza*, CID, Podgorica, 2006, p. 331.

¹⁹ “Saopštenje Uprave Udruženja književnika Crne Gore o jeziku”, *Kritika*, No. 17, Zagreb, ožujak-travanj 1971, p. 378.

the Serbian variant of “Serbo-Croatian language”²⁰, and even the language of writers from the time of Montenegrin independence was treated as a part of this sub-variant.

If we tried to show the language policy in Montenegro (in the last 40 years, that is, since the accelerated establishment of scientific and educational institutions that could affect the development of standard language) in a nutshell, we would inevitably have to stress the following intentions: 1. The spread of the use of the term *Serbian language*. 2. The elimination of Montenegro-wide language features and treating them as *dialect words*, *provincialisms*, and *archaisms* which have no place in the standard language. 3. Imposing atypical *Ekavian* forms (especially in the following cases: *re* < *rě*; *sle* < *slě*; *zle* < *zlě*; *pre* < *prě*, etc.) as standard, with the excuse that they are the result of spontaneous phonetic or analogical processes of recent times. 4. Preservation of only three Montenegrin language features: *nijesam* (instead of *nisam*) and *sjutra* (instead of *sutra*, but also instead of *šutra* that has no alternative in Montenegro), and hypocorisms such as *Pero*, *Vaso* (instead of *Pera*, *Vasa*). The validity of this view is easy to prove: 1. With regard to spreading the term *Serbian* instead of the typical term used in the past – *naški*, the phenomenon is testified to by the results of the latest census in Montenegro, which is so often referred to by opponents of codification of the Montenegrin language. 2. The treatment of Montenegro-wide language features as being dialectal, archaic or provincial is testified to by numerous linguistic works, as well as manuals and textbooks, where typical phenomena (such as Jekavian iotation, for example) are treated as a dialectal. 3. Almost consistent use of *rečnik*, *rečca*, *ređi*, *sledeći*, *poslednji*, *naslednik*,

²⁰ Adnan Čirgić, “Crnogorski književnojezički izraz kao antipod crnogorske jeziku”, *Matica*, No. 31, Matica crnogorska, Cetinje – Podgorica, 2007, pp. 145–160.

ozleda, pozleda, predlog, prelaz, upotrebiti, etc. in the works of Montenegrin Serbists (authors using Jekavian dialect otherwise) working at the Faculty of Philosophy in Nikšić (and frequent instructions to students to use such forms as being typical for the so-called Montenegrin literary-language sub-variant). 4. No linguistic training is required to prove what was said in this item.

The disintegration of SFRY marked the cessation of the functioning of the common “Serbo-Croatian language” as an official language in the common state. The newly formed states, Croatia and Bosnia and Herzegovina started the codification of their own official languages (Croatian and Bosnian) using the Štokavian basis, which was also the basis for the standardization of the “Serbo-Croatian” language. Montenegro stayed in the state union with Serbia. Serbs, just as Bosnians and Croats, started their codification of the Serbian language. Only Montenegro, once again contrary to all the former Yugoslav republics, instead of “Serbo-Croatian” adopted a foreign standard – *the Serbian language standard*, which was never (just like the previous one) recognized in it outside official use. The language policy contained in it was very close to that between the two World Wars. Admittedly, it was not driven only by linguists from Belgrade and Novi Sad, but also linguists from Montenegro – the Chairman of the Department of Serbian Language at the Faculty of Philosophy in Nikšić, academician Branislav Ostojić, with his associates, also largely participated in such a language policy. However, this does not mean that language planning was not still being left to Belgrade and Novi Sad, because language policy in Montenegro in fact had only one goal – the practical implementation of that planning. There were not even separate normative textbooks for the so-called Montenegrin literary-language sub-variant, and if there were any normative textbooks for the language standard in Montenegro – they still contained, the term

Serbian language in the title.²¹ The former “Serbo-Croatian” was renamed to Serbian, both in the Constitution of the Republic of Montenegro from 1992 and in the former Department of Serbo-Croatian language and literature in Nikšić. Linguists in Montenegro, primarily those with a university career, implemented the ideas of their Serbian colleagues almost without question.

Yet it must be noted that local linguists in one matter veered from the intentions and ideas of some of their Serbian colleagues. It was in the early nineties when accepting the Serbian language standards in Montenegro should have marked the elimination of the so-called Montenegrin literary-language sub-variant,²² i.e. the complete identification with the language standard in Serbia and the abolition of the official use of the Ijekavian dialect. Since the position on the linguistic elimination of Ijekavian dialect from the language standard (not only in Montenegro) was not the official position of Serbian linguistics, but only of one of its parts gathered around the academician Pavle Ivić,²³ Monte-

²¹ R. Simić & Ž. Stanojčić & B. Ostojić & B. Ćorić & M. Kovačević, *Pravopis srpskoga jezika sa rečnikom*, Beograd – Nikšić, 1993; B. Ostojić, *Kratka pregledna gramatika srpskog jezika i pravopis*, Podgorica, 2005; B. Ostojić & D. Vujičić, *Rečnik (i)jekavizama srpskog jezika*, CID, Podgorica, 2000.

²² Branislav Ostojić, *Istorija crnogorskog književnojezičkog izraza*, CID, Podgorica, 2006, p. 13.

²³ The transparency of Pavle Ivić’s Skerlić-esque intentions is clearly reflected in this quotation: “It is stated that the acceptance of the Ekavian dialect breaks language habits. The truth is, however, that the Ekavian dialect is learned very easily, far easier than Ijekavian. Difficulties caused to students by needing to learn forms as *bjesnilo* but *bijesan*, *djeteta* but *dijete*, etc., are numerous. But even if learning Ekavian requires some effort, once it is learned, the problems disappear” (Pavle Ivić, “Aktuelni trenutak srpskog književnog jezika”, *Srpsko pitanje danas* – The Second Congress of Serbian Intellectuals, Beograd, 1994, p. 38.) Pavle Ivić’s position was rather similar to the previously stated view by historian and academician Milorad Ekmečić, who spoke Ijekavian but advocated the

negrin linguists from the Faculty of Philosophy in Nikšić, with the support and participation of some linguists from Serbia and Bosnia and Herzegovina, organized a scientific meeting entitled *The Status of the Ijekavian Dialect in the Standard Language* (17 June 1994),²⁴ the conclusion of which was that Ijekavian and Ekavian dialects should have equal status. Of course, there was no talk about the codification of the Montenegrin language. However, despite the considerable number of authors, hardly any of them dared to openly confront the intentions of the Serbian scientific authorities such as academicians Ivić and Ekmečić. Only Radmilo Marojević²⁵ and Miloš Kovačević²⁶ stood out by their sharp and open criticism (although from the standpoint of the same ideological positions) of Ivić's and Ekmečić's views and indicated their intentions. We will illustrate the situation in

elimination of Ijekavisms in the territory in which the official was language was Serbian: "The Ijekavian dialect in a Belgrade city bus sounds like highlanders calling to us from a distance, like fuzzy self-accusations of relatives who come to patron saint's day celebrations uninvited and in a wrinkled suit. In every such Ijekavian groaning one can hear cries of the poor in the hills with their flocks, who, in their cramped territory, have no future. Quoted in: Miloš Kovačević, "Emocija kao kriterijum za ili protiv ijekavice", *Vaspitanje i obrazovanje*, Magazine for pedagogical theory and practice, Podgorica, 1994, p. 64.

²⁴ *Vaspitanje i obrazovanje*, Magazine for pedagogical theory and practice, Podgorica, 1994. (Collection of papers from the scientific conference *Status (i)jekavizama u standardnom jeziku*).

²⁵ Radmilo Marojević, "Ijekavska verzija srpskog književnog jezika i jativska verzija srpskoga pisma", *Vaspitanje i obrazovanje*, Magazine for pedagogical theory and practice, Podgorica, 1994, pp. 30–34. In addition to Pavle Ivić, as a "living institution of the Serbian culture today" (Mato Pižurica), Marojević's criticism was also aimed at his supporters "*pavlobranitelji*" (Marojević's term for Ivić's supporters).

²⁶ Miloš Kovačević, "Emocija kao kriterijum za ili protiv ijekavice", *Vaspitanje i obrazovanje*, Magazine for pedagogical theory and practice, Podgorica, 1994, pp. 62–72.

contemporary official Montenegrin linguistics through one of the conclusions from the above meeting: “The Ijekavian dialect as a literary standard of the Serbian language in written and spoken communication is the only foundation which unites, into one the *dispersed ethnic parts of the single Serbian language* (highlighted by A. Č.), and it does not assume any linguistic or cultural-historical grounds for separate literary languages on the basis of religious or territorial principles.”²⁷

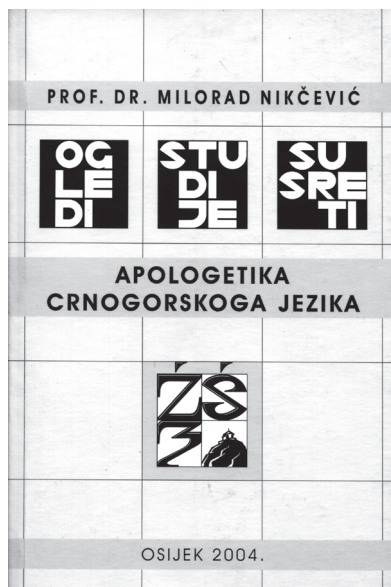
Within the former Yugoslavia, all the republics had their Academies of Science which, among other things, created their own language policies (Serbia and Croatia also had their own *Matica*, or Heritage Foundation). It is sufficient to reiterate the role of the Croatian Academy of Science and Arts in the codification of the separate Croatian standard language in the 1970s. The Montenegrin Academy of Sciences and Arts was formed at that time. But unlike the Croatian and Serbian Academy of Science and Arts, which played a substantial role in spreading the awareness of the Croatian and Serbian languages into the Slavic world, linguists from the Montenegrin Academy of Sciences and Arts continuously worked to refute Montenegristics, while they represented the language in Montenegro, in the past as well as at the present time, as Serbian. In that aspect, the activities of this institution were in line with the language projects of the Serbian Academy and such an attitude towards one’s own language is a curiosity among all academies in the world. This was testified to by the international scientific meeting *The Language Situation in Montenegro - Norms and Standardization*, held in the Montenegrin Academy of Sciences and Arts on 24-25 May 2007 in the collection of papers published from that meeting. Only a “chosen few” were invited to participate – those who questioned the

²⁷ *Vaspitanje i obrazovanje*, Magazine for pedagogical theory and practice, Podgorica, 1994, p. 129.

existence of the Montenegrin language and nation, as well as Montenegro as a state. This is how the highest Montenegrin scientific institution welcomed the reaffirmation of basic Montenegrin identity values. Since we discussed this issue earlier, we will not deal with it further in this book.²⁸

Those unfamiliar with the Montenegrin language situation could wonder, on the basis of what was said above, how it was that *Montenegrin* was declared the official language by the new Constitution of Montenegro. For this reason, it would

be unreasonable not to mention the efforts of an entire generation of Montenegrin intellectuals who, during the time of Yugoslavia, (and especially from the late 1960s) advocated the existence of a separate Montenegrin variant within the common official language, i.e. the codification of a separate Montenegrin language as the national language in Montenegro.²⁹ Thus, before

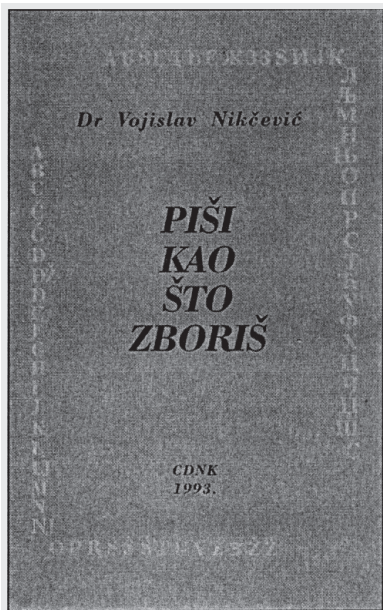


Apologetics of the Montenegrin Language by Milorad Nikčević

²⁸ A review of the collection of papers in question was published by Adnan Čirgić, “Jezikoslovlje u službi politike”, *Lingua Montenegrina*, No. 3, Institut za crnogorski jezik i jezikoslovlje “Vojislav P. Nikčević”, Cetinje, 2009, pp. 511–553.

²⁹ Those are: Radoje Radojević, Vojislav P. Nikčević, Radoslav Rotković, Branko Banjević, Danilo Radojević, Sreten Perović, Milorad Stojović, Milorad Nikčević, Vukić Pulević, Sreten Zeković, Žarko L. Đurović, Stevo Vučinić, Novak Kilibarda, Mladen Lompar, Novica Samardžić, Marko Špadijer, Čedomir Bogićević, etc. Their efforts were significantly

the independence of Montenegro and its recognition as a sovereign state, all the necessary university textbooks for teaching the Montenegrin language and its official use were created.³⁰ However, neither the author of these textbooks (Vojislav P. Nikčević) nor other cultural and scientific professionals who contributed to the constitutional recognition of the Montenegrin as the official language could (significantly) influence language policy in Montenegro (primarily the education system and the language of the media as the strongest means through which language planning and policy are implemented).³¹ We should especially stress the role of Montenegrin institutions



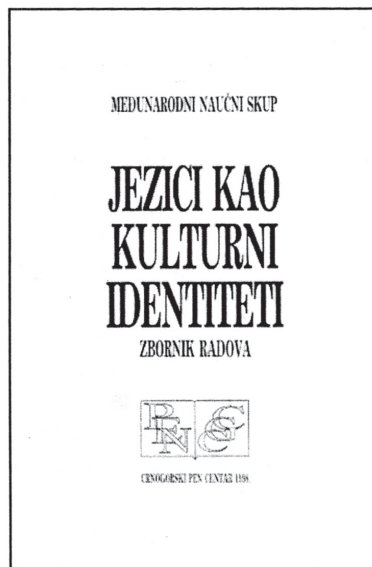
*Write as You Speak
by Vojislav Nikčević*

supported by Croatian linguists, such as: Ljudevit Jonke, Josip Hamm, Rikard Simeon, Mate Šimundić, Stjepan Babić, Josip Silić, Radoslav Katičić, Dalibor Brozović, Josip Lisac, Stjepan Damjanović, and in recent times, Milica Lukić, Milan Nosić, Ljiljana Kolenić, Branko Kuna, Lorentana Farkaš, Ivan Jurčević, etc.

³⁰ Vojislav P. Nikčević, *Crnogorski jezik, istorija crnogorskoga jezika od artikulacije govora do 1995. godine*, Volume I and II, Matica crnogorska, Cetinje, 1993 and 1997; Vojislav P. Nikčević, *Pravopis crnogorskoga jezika*, Crnogorski PEN centar, Cetinje, 1997; Vojislav P. Nikčević, *Gramatika crnogorskoga jezika*, Dukljanska akademija nauka i umjetnosti, Podgorica, 2001.

³¹ On the scientific contribution of Vojislav P. Nikčević: Adnan Čirgić, "Doprinos Vojislava P. Nikčevića lingvistici", *Matica*, No. 32/33, Matica crnogorska, Cetinje – Podgorica, 2008, pp. 27–77.

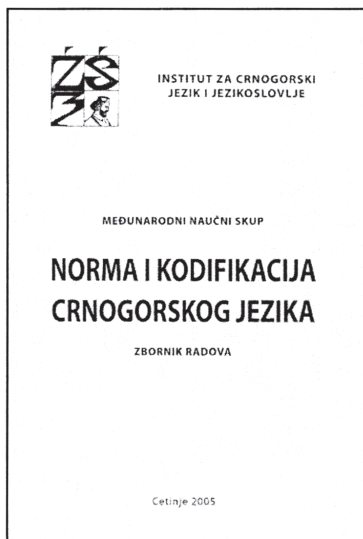
which functioned almost miraculously, until recently without any support from the state at all. Intellectuals gathered at these institutions pointed all the time to the risks posed by the official language policy in Montenegro and the groundlessness of attitudes represented by the supporters of such a policy. It is therefore important to mention, for example, the Declaration on the Constitutional Status of the Montenegrin Language of the Montenegrin PEN Centre³² (1994) or the statement of Matica crnogorska entitled “The Montenegrin Language as a Mother Tongue”³³ (2000) as well as numerous statements on the language in Montenegro by the Institute for Montenegrin Language and Philology. These statements, although without much significance for contemporary official Montenegrin language policy, influenced the attitudes of Slavists outside Montenegro, so today there is quite a number of philologists worldwide that recognize the Montenegrin language as a reality (in addition to the aforementioned Croatian linguists, these include: Emil



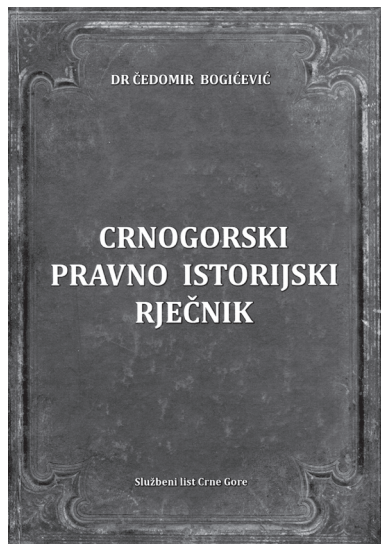
Languages as Cultural Identities, Collection of Papers

³² “Jezik kao domovina”. The Declaration on the Constitutional Status of the Montenegrin Language of the Montenegrin PEN Centre, *Doclea*, Magazine for Literature and Culture, 3/94, CDNK & Crnogorski PEN centar, Podgorica, 1994, p. 3.

³³ “Crnogorski kao maternji jezik”. Matica crnogorska on the occasion of International Mother Tongue Day, *Godišnjak Matice crnogorske*, Cetinje – Podgorica, 1999/2003, pp. 134–136.



*Norm and Codification of
the Montenegrin Language,
Collection of Papers*



*Montenegrin Legal-Historical
Dictionary
by Čedomir Bogićević*

Tokarz, Przemysław Brom, Robert Bońkowski, Agnieszka Spaginska Pruszk, Lyudmila Vasilyeva, Daniel Grabić, Krzysztof Zalewski, etc.). In addition, a significant role in spreading the awareness of the Montenegrin language was played by scientific meetings held under the auspices of these institutions. Let us mention some of them: *Languages as Cultural Identities* (Montenegrin PEN Centre, Cetinje, 1998), *Montenegrin Language in Public Use* (Montenegrin PEN Centre, Cetinje, 2003), *Štokavian Literary Languages in the Family of Slavic Standard Languages* (Montenegrin PEN Centre & DANU, Podgorica, 2004), *Montenegrin Language in the New Constitution of Montenegro* (Institute for Montenegrin Language and Philology & the Civic Party of Montenegro, Cetinje – Podgorica, 2004), *Vuk Karadžić and Montenegrins* (Institute for Montenegrin Language and Philology, Cetinje, 2005), and the “large international linguistic con-

ference, the largest in Montenegro until then”³⁴ - *Norms and the Codification of the Montenegrin Language* (Institute for Montenegrin Language and Philology, Cetinje, 2005), which should be especially noted, and which brought together renowned scientific and cultural workers from Montenegro and abroad.

Montenegrin state independence inevitably led to the adoption of the Montenegrin language as official, as defined by the new Constitution of Montenegro. However, there is still no institution that will deal with language policy in our country. The Government of Montenegro, that is to say, the Ministry of Education and Science established in February 2008 the *Council for the Standardization of the Montenegrin Language* with the task of preparing the *Orthography, Grammar and Dictionary of the Montenegrin Language*.³⁵ The Council had 13 members: Branko Banjević (chairman), Tatjana Bečanović, Rajko Cerović, Adnan Čirgić, Rajka Glušica (vice-chairman), Zuvdija Hodžić, Mirko Kovač, Igor Lakić, Mladen Lompar, Milenko Perović, Zorica Radulović, Milorad Stojović and Čedo Vuković (in alphabetical order). Although the existing textbooks for the Montenegrin language (written by Vojislav P. Nikčević) were not been put into official circulation until the new ones had been adopted, which could be expected, the *Orthographic Principles*³⁶ were

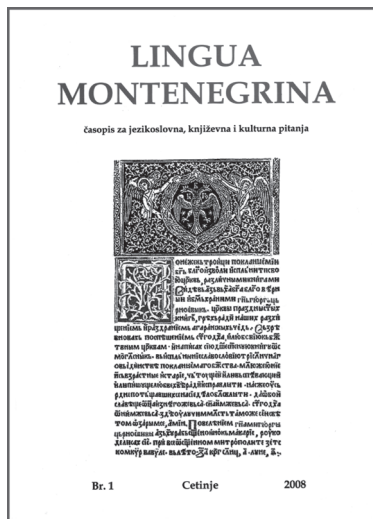
³⁴ Novica Samardžić, “Neumorni borac za slobodu čovjeka i dostojanstvo Crne Gore”, *Matica*, No. 36, Matica crnogorska, Cetinje – Podgorica, 2008, p. 484.

³⁵ Official Gazette of Montenegro, No. 10/2008, Podgorica, 15 February 2008.

³⁶ The Orthographic Principles included the following seven items:

1. The model for the Montenegrin standard language norm is the common, general (koiné) language layer which belongs to all autochthonous Montenegrin citizens.
2. This Orthography will acknowledge the rule in Montenegro: *Write as you speak and read as it is written.*

still adopted and signed by 10 members of the Council.³⁷ This indicated that the official Montenegrin language standard would be in line with what those Montenegrin scientists and cultural workers supporting Montenegrin independence have advocated for decades. However, just before the deadline for submitting the *Orthography* to the Ministry of Education for approval, certain members of the Council renounced the signed principles,³⁸ which postponed its adoption. In addition, the Grammar Guide



*Lingua Montenegrina, the
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Literary and Cultural Issues*

3. Ijekavian dialect is normative, in accordance with Montenegrin tradition and its contemporary use.
4. Montenegro-wide phonemes *ć*, *đ*, *š* and *ž*, created through Jekavian iotation, are a part of the Montenegrin standard language norm. Phonemes *š* and *ž* will have their graphemes in both the Latin and Cyrillic alphabets.
5. The standard Montenegrin quadri-accentual system with lengths will be codified.
6. *The Orthography of the Montenegrin language* shall not be the basis for language archaization, and it will not codify localisms, dialect words and provincialisms not generally used in Montenegro today.
7. In everything else, unless otherwise required by modern Montenegrin language practice, there will be no deviations from the *Orthography of the Serbo-Croatian Language* (MS-MH; 1960), which has been in use in Montenegro until now.

³⁷ The Orthographic Principles were not signed only by Tatjana Bečanović, Igor Lakić and Zorica Radulović.

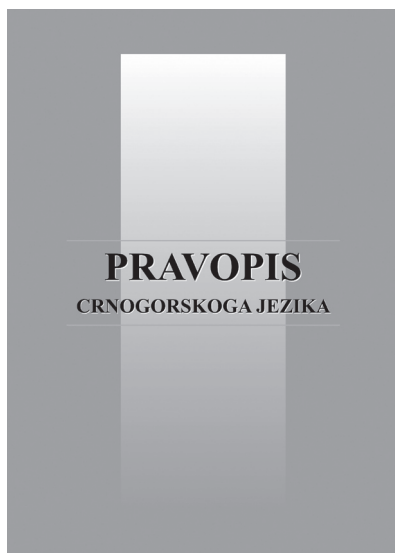
³⁸ Rajko Cerović and Rajka Glušica renounced the Orthographic Principles and thus joined those who did not sign them.

LATINICA				ЋИРИЛИЦА			
1.	A	a	17.	Lj	lj	17.	Н н
2.	B	b	18.	M	m	18.	Њ њ
3.	C	c	19.	N	n	19.	О о
4.	Č	č	20.	Nj	nj	20.	П п
5.	Ć	ć	21.	O	o	21.	Р р
6.	D	d	22.	P	p	22.	С с
7.	Dž	dž	23.	R	r	23.	Ć ć
8.	Đ	đ	24.	S	s	24.	Т т
9.	E	e	25.	Š	š	25.	Ћ ћ
10.	F	f	26.	Š	š	26.	У у
11.	G	g	27.	T	t	27.	Ф ф
12.	H	h	28.	U	u	28.	Х х
13.	I	i	29.	V	v	29.	Ц ц
14.	J	j	30.	Z	z	30.	Ч ч
15.	K	k	31.	Ž	ž	31.	Џ ѓ
16.	L	l	32.	Ž	ž	32.	Ш ш

Latin and Cyrillic Script

was not submitted within the deadline³⁹ set within the Council, so the academic year 2008/09 started (in primary and secondary schools) without the subject *Montenegrin language* as there were no planned textbooks. The dispute that erupted in the Council for the Standardization of the Montenegrin Language was related primarily to items one and four of the Orthographic Principles. Although it was initially accepted that the basis should be the common Montenegro-wide language layer and that, accordingly, phonemes *ś* and *ź* should get their graphemes in the standard alphabet, five members of the Council (Tatjana Bečanović, Rajko Cerović, Rajka Glušica, Igor Lakić and Zorica

³⁹ The following authors were in charge of preparation of the Grammar Guide: Adnan Čirgić (historical development of Montenegrin literary language and phonetics), Rajka Glušica (morphology and word formation) and Zorica Radulović (syntax). However, R. Glušica and Z. Radulović did not complete their part of the work on time.



Orthography of the Montenegrin Language



Orthography of the Montenegrin Language (Cyrillic edition)

Radulović) demanded that the Serbo-Croatian language norm serve as the basis and that the consonant *ž* could not be a part of the standard alphabet.

For these reasons, the Government of Montenegro formed the Expert Commission for the Standardization of the Montenegrin Language consisting of: Milenko Perović, Josip Silić and Lyudmila Vasilyeva. The Commission adopted the *Orthography of the Montenegrin Language* on the basis of the draft prepared by Adnan Čirgić. The Commission then hired Adnan Čirgić, Jelena Šušanj, and Ivo Pranjković, and so in 2010 a revised and updated edition of the *Orthography of the Montenegrin Language* (in Latin and Cyrillic scripts), as well as the *Grammar of the Montenegrin language* (in the Latin script), prepared by Adnan Čirgić, Ivo Pranjković, and Josip Silić, with the cooperation of Jelena Šušanj, were published by the Ministry of Education and Science of Montenegro. Thus, for the first time in its history, the

Montenegrin language obtained its official normative-codification acts.

In the meantime, before the establishment of the Council for the Standardization of the Montenegrin Language, the Department for Montenegrin Language and Literature was formed at the Faculty of Philosophy in Nikšić. Welcomed as a realization of the hopes of an entire generation that had fought for the Montenegrin language, this Department failed all expectations. On the basis of results achieved during these three years and the personnel employed and created, it is clear that this Department has no ability to appoint a proper body of personnel in the field of Montenegristics. It only served as a cover for the staff appointed by Branislav Ostojić, who advocated the Montenegrin language as a sub-variant of the Serbian language. These personnel, pri-



Grammar of the Montenegrin Language



*The Montenegrin Language:
Scientific-Methodological Basis for
Standardization of the Montenegrin
Language by Josip Silić*

marily Rajka Glušica, actually continued the language policy of their former mentor. The only difference between them is their lack of knowledge in comparison with him, and the fact that they refer to the language in Montenegro as Montenegrin. But in terms of the norms of that language, there are almost no differences among them. This became clear after their numerous public statements in the Montenegrin media, where they attempted to convince the public that the Montenegrin language specifics are in fact provincialisms, archaisms and dialect words.⁴⁰ In doing so, they have only continued the language policy present in Montenegro since the second half of the 19th century. Fortunately, for the first time in Montenegrin history these views are not official because the official Montenegrin language norm accepted these specifics as a feature of the standard language. Only at the Faculty of Philosophy in Nikšić, i.e. in the Department for Montenegrin Language, is this standard not only not taught to students, but is shown to them as a by-product of Montenegrin language standardization.

Montenegro finally managed to secure its own language standardization within which the Montenegrin language was adequately described. The state formed not only the Expert Commission for the Standardization of the Montenegrin Language but also the Institute for Montenegrin Language and Literature, which will, in the long run, address the study and the affirmation of the Montenegrin literary-language treasure. However, there is still no institution that will form and conduct proper language policy. And today, such an institution is more than necessary because of the strong remains of traditionalism in linguistics, which – no matter how absurd it seemed – has its strongest foothold in

⁴⁰ Since we have already discussed these views, we will not deal with them here further. See: Adnan Čirgić, “Povodom standardizacije crnogorskoga jezika”, *Matica*, Autumn 2010, Matica crnogorska, Podgorica – Cetinje, 2010, pp. 7–48.

the Department for Montenegrin Language. It is only through valid language policy that we can resolve many issues and the unacceptable views of the Montenegrin language which were served to citizens, primarily through our educational system, for the purpose of language unification. Only in this manner will the status of the Montenegrin language at the Department that was established with a view to studying Montenegrin language and providing a true picture of one's own language to citizens, without an inferiority complex which has been present in our area for years, be resolved.

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