

# DIALECTOLOGY OF THE MONTENEGRIN LANGUAGE

**ADNAN ČIRGIĆ**  
Translated by  
**GORAN DRINČIĆ**



# Dialectology of the Montenegrin Language

# Studies in Slavic, Baltic, and Eastern European Languages and Cultures

*Series Editor:* Andrii Danylenko, Pace University

**Editorial Board:** Jan Ivar Bjørnflaten (Department of Literature, Area Studies and European Languages, University of Oslo), Vít Boček (Institute of the Czech Language of the Czech Academy of Sciences, Brno), Pietro U. Dini (Department of Philology, Literature, and Linguistics, University of Pisa), Jan Fellerer (Wolfson College, University of Oxford), Marc L. Greenberg (Department of Slavic and Eurasian Languages & Literatures, University of Kansas), Johanna Laakso (Department of Finno-Ugric Studies, University of Vienna Institute of European and Comparative Linguistic and Literary Studies), Marek Stachowski (Institute of Slavic Philology, Jagiellonian University, Cracow), Paul Wexler (Tel-Aviv University), Björn Wiemer (Institute of Slavic, Turkic and Circum-Baltic Studies, Johannes Gutenberg University of Mainz)

The series *Studies in Slavic, Baltic, and Eastern European Languages and Cultures* focuses on Slavic and Baltic languages and cultures, as well as other Eastern European languages connected by common history and cultural processes. The series welcomes monographs, edited volumes and, where appropriate, doctoral dissertations devoted to the study of Slavic, Baltic, and Eastern European languages through multifarious prisms, including but not limited to areal-typological, historical, sociolinguistic, ethnolinguistic, comparative-philological, and cultural perspectives. Books in this series will bridge the linguistic and cultural interrelations in Old Rus' reaching out to the Middle East and even further—via the sociolinguistic diversity in the Grand Duchy of Lithuania with the convergent changes occurring today in the Circum-Baltic zone. The series is a multidisciplinary forum for furthering our knowledge about integrative processes that have been taking place in languages and cultures of Eastern Europe from the pre-modern times onward.

*Dialectology of the Montenegrin Language*, by Adnan Čirgić

*Urban Multilingualism in East-Central Europe: The Polish Dialect of Late-Habsburg*

*Lviv*, by Jan Fellerer

*The Evolution of the Slavic Dual: A Biolinguistic Perspective*, by Tatyana G. Slobodchikoff

# Dialectology of the Montenegrin Language

Adnan Čirgić

Translated by  
Goran Drinčić

LEXINGTON BOOKS

*Lanham • Boulder • New York • London*

Published by Lexington Books  
An imprint of The Rowman & Littlefield Publishing Group, Inc.  
4501 Forbes Boulevard, Suite 200, Lanham, Maryland 20706  
www.rowman.com

6 Tinworth Street, London SE11 5AL, United Kingdom

Copyright © 2020 by The Rowman & Littlefield Publishing Group, Inc.

This book was previously published as Čirgić, Adnan. 2017. *Dijalektologija crnogorskoga jezika. Cetinje: Fakultet za crnogorski jezik i književnost*. Translation published with permission.

*All rights reserved.* No part of this book may be reproduced in any form or by any electronic or mechanical means, including information storage and retrieval systems, without written permission from the publisher, except by a reviewer who may quote passages in a review.

British Library Cataloguing in Publication Information Available

**Library of Congress Control Number: 2020945461**

ISBN 978-1-7936-3636-2 (cloth: alk. paper)

ISBN 978-1-7936-3637-9 (electronic)

∞<sup>TM</sup> The paper used in this publication meets the minimum requirements of American National Standard for Information Sciences—Permanence of Paper for Printed Library Materials, ANSI/NISO Z39.48-1992.

# Contents

Foreword	vii
Author's Preface	xiii
List of Abbreviations	xvii
The History of Studying Montenegrin Dialects	1
On Previous Classifications of Montenegrin Dialects	11
The Issue of Classification of Montenegrin Dialects	29
Accentual System of Montenegrin Dialects	35
Jat Alternants in Montenegrin Dialects	43
The Issue of Semivowel in Montenegrin Dialects	47
The Issue of Vowel Group <i>AO</i> in Montenegrin Dialects	51
Main Features of Individual Speech Groups in Montenegro	55
Northwestern Montenegrin Dialects	57
Southeastern Montenegrin Dialects	61
Summary	77
Notes	81
Bibliography	93
Index of Names	101

Subject Index	103
Index of Word Forms	105
About the Author	115

# Foreword

Marc L. Greenberg

The volume before you is the English translation of Adnan Čirgić's handbook *Dijalektologija crnogorskoga jezika*, translated into English as *Dialectology of the Montenegrin Language* by Goran Drinčić. Čirgić holds a PhD from the Josip Juraj Strossmayer University in Osijek, Croatia, where he defended his dissertation on the dialect of Podgorica Muslims in 2007. He is the founding dean of the Faculty of Montenegrin Language and Literature (Fakultet za crnogorski jezik i književnost), established in 2010, in Cetinje, the old royal capital of Montenegro. Though a young scholar—born in 1980—Čirgić has produced a prodigious number of publications, already growing past some 600 texts, including articles, authored and edited books, and textbooks. Notably, he is the coauthor of a standard grammar (Čirgić, Pranjković, and Silić 2010) and of the contemporary orthography of standard Montenegrin (Perović, Silić, Vasiljeva, Čirgić, and Šušanj 2010) (see also Vujović 2018). He is the founding editor of *Lingua Montenegrina*, the journal of Montenegrin philology, published by the Faculty. He was the recipient of the prestigious Montenegrin 13 July Award (*Trinaestojulska nagrada*) in 2018 for his numerous contributions to research on and standardization of the Montenegrin language.

The *Dialectology of the Montenegrin Language* is the first attempt in a monograph to treat the Montenegrin dialects as a linguistic area, focusing on the structural characteristics of the Montenegrin portion of the larger Štokavian dialect, which is now spoken in four different successor states of the former Yugoslavia and corresponds to the four standard languages of those states: Bosnian, Croatian, Montenegrin, Serbian.

The English translation presents the nonspecialist and the Slavistic reader with an opportunity to learn about the dialect diversity of this small region that challenges received notions of the structural characteristics of language



formerly known as “Serbo-Croatian.” To raise but one example, every Slavist “knows” that voicing neutralization of final obstruents occurs everywhere in Slavic except in standard Ukrainian and Serbo-Croatian. In three recent overviews of issues in Slavic phonology we read:

Voicing assimilation is common to all Slavic languages, and word-final devoicing occurs in most Slavic languages, with the notable exception of Ukrainian (East Slavic) and Štokavian dialects of BCS (South Slavic). (Kavitskaya 2017, 400)

The potential word-final opposition of voiced vs. voiceless was not realized in most Slavic zones, such as Russian, due to the later devoicing of obstruents in word-final position. However, some Slavic languages, such as Ukrainian and Standard (Štokavian) Serbo-Croatian, do have the word-final voicing opposition, which arose as a result of *jer*-fall. (Feldstein in Jakobson 2018/1929, 90)

All the Slavic languages—with the exception of BCMS and Ukrainian—neutralize the opposition voiceless/voiced in favor of voiceless: *b, d, g, v, z* are thus realized as *p, t, k, f, s*. (Feuillet 2018, 97; translation MLG)

These authors’ statements are not incorrect, so much as they are imprecise. They capture a top-level generalization and are based on selected dialects that form the basis for the respective standard languages, but they omit notable exceptions. This bit of generalized “fact” is repeated in the literature to the point where it is a catechism about the structures found in Slavic languages—any number of handbooks would have yielded similar statements. Yet, counterexamples can be found in dialect handbooks; for example, Ivić (1958, 36, 44, 118, 214, 219, 277) and Lisac (2003, 21, 101, 108, 144) note this fact about Štokavian final devoicing in various dialect areas, among which the dialects in Montenegro also figure, and, accordingly, this phenomenon is accounted for in Čirgić’s handbook. The point is that structural facts, such as pervasive exceptions found in dialects, are either ignored or sifted out of the literature, presumably because what we “know” about Slavic languages is based on standard languages, which are by definition scrubbed of their dialect diversity. In this regard, Kavitskaya’s and Feldstein’s formulations are instructive, as they project back onto the relevant “Štokavian dialects,” a fact that applies to an idealized dialect or set of dialects on which the current—now four—standards are based. Jakobson himself noted in his “*Remarks . . .*,” originally published in 1929, that the neutralization of voicing is the problem that requires explanation. Writing about the consequences of the loss of weak *yers*, he writes: “Curiously, in the majority of Slavic dialects, particularly in the majority of Russian dialects, this opposition has been eliminated and the former relationship has been reestablished: voiced and voiceless are phonologically opposed only before vowels and sonorant consonants” (2018/1929,

78). The matter is not trivial, as it potentially reveals a fundamental difference in dialect systems in Common Slavic prior to the fall of weak jers. Andersen identifies the distinction as a matter of voicing versus protensity features (1986); Sawicka (2001) identifies the neutralization dialects as belonging to a northern Slavic archaic zone and the non-neutralizing dialects to an innovative zone and declares the matter still open. Moreover, Danylenko points out that the neutralization feature is in play concerning the contested question of contact features in Carpathian and Balkan *Sprachbünde* (2019: 361–362). In short, discoveries remain to be made and it is in the examination of rich variation data where we are likely to make them.

In the present handbook, Čirgić takes issue with what he discusses as traditional Serbo-Croatistics. The study of dialectology in the Western South Slavic area in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries has been tied to the ideological project of unifying as much of this territory into as large a linguistic community as possible. The South Slavic manifestation of the Pan-Slavic movement in the early nineteenth century of what was later to become the Yugoslav project intended to unify all Slavs in a roughly triangular region from Villach in Austria, to Varna in Bulgaria, to Lake Scutari in Montenegro by means of a single, artificially amalgamated language, named Illyrian (Greenberg 2011, 365). An alternative, compromise solution, formalized in 1850, narrowed the project to Croatian and Serbian as two variants of a single language based on the Štokavian dialect. This settlement on standardization informed not just the writing systems of Kingdom of Serbs, Croats, and Slovenes that emerged from the disintegration of empires at the end of World War I, but it established the framework for all linguistic inquiry into the language in the region for the duration of Yugoslavia, until its dissolution in the early 1990s. The highly influential composite isogloss maps of the Western South Slavic area drawn by Serbian dialectologist Pavle Ivić (1924–1999) in his 1958 handbook (pp. 31, 32), of which the Štokavian dialect territory occupies the majority share, emphasize the gradual nature of the transition in dialect diversity from the bundle of isoglosses (the closest one gets to a border in a linguistically comprehensible sense) separating off Slovene in the west and the Macedo-Bulgarian “fan” in the east. This unificatory view of Štokavian dialects as an organic reflection of “Serbo-Croatian” corresponds to the reality behind the view—impressionistic as it may be—that all Štokavian is mutually intelligible. Yet mutual intelligibility may also obscure structural diversity. Moreover, legal reification of such unificatory concepts can also render ethnolinguistic identities “invisible” and, in effect, “erase” them (see Greenberg 2017–2018: 434). Along with such identities, the structural facts behind the regional differentiation of language varieties in Bosnia and Herzegovina and Montenegro are blithely occluded by the reduction to “Serbo-Croatian.” In this framework, Čirgić

critically examines Ivić's contributions as the leading authority on dialectology during the period of "Serbo-Croatistics," pointing out that other scholars, such as the Bosnian dialectologist Asim Peco (1927–2011), had in the same period helped to better understand the full range of dialect diversity, focusing in particular on the features of the Eastern Herzegovinian dialect group, which straddles Bosnia and Herzegovina and Montenegro. These and similar scholars' research, discussed in Čirgić's overview, were backgrounded against the prevailing and officially valorized unitaristic perspective during the Yugoslav period.

Language matters are always complicated and confusing, even to linguists, because language is a slippery concept—consider Max Weinreich's now hackneyed dictum about a dialect with an army and a navy—a concept viewed differently from different perspectives. Nakazawa (2015, 127) opened his essay with the question "What is Montenegrin language (*crnogorski jezik*)?" Such a question can be answered in different ways, depending on who is asking and who is answering and what the defining criteria are. In the conclusion to his article, Nakazawa noted that the Serbian linguist Ranko Bugarski "called the dissolution of Serbo-Croatian an 'administrative dissolution'" but that "actually, there are no extreme changes in the practical language use—people speak as they have been speaking in the past. However, the administrative dissolution creates a symbolic difference" (Nakazawa 2015, 136). But symbolic differences are not just "out there"—they are accepted or rejected by people who use and internalize them in their cognitive frames for their perception of the world. Symbolic notions can answer the question "Who am I?" Language data and language structure, however, offer another perspective. In a real sense, they are "out there" and can be examined as *things*, as it were. Čirgić's handbook asks us to consider, in this sense, the "things" that make Montenegrin a language.

## WORKS CITED

- Andersen, Henning. "Sandhi and Prosody: Reconstruction and Typology" In *Sandhi Phenomena in the Languages of Europe*, 231–48. Edited by Henning Andersen. The Hague: Mouton de Gruyter, 1986.
- Čirgić, Adnan. *Dijalektologija crnogorskoga jezika* (= Biblioteka Montenegrina 19). Cetinje: Fakultet za crnogorski jezik i književnost, 2017.
- Čirgić, Adnan, Ivo Pranjković, and Josip Silić. 2010. *Gramatika crnogorskoga jezika*. Podgorica: Ministarstvo prosvjete i nauke Crne Gore.
- Danylenko, Andrii. "Balkanism and Carpathianisms or, Carpathian Balkanisms?" In *Slavic on the Language Map of Europe: Historical and Areal-Typological Dimensions* (= Trends in Linguistics, Studies and Monographs 333), 347–83.

- Edited by Andrii Danylenko and Motoki Nomachi. Berlin: Mouton de Gruyter, 2019.
- Feuillet, Jack. *Linguistique comparée des langues slaves* (= *Collection de manuels publiée par l'Institut d'études slaves XVI*). Paris: Institut d'études slaves, 2018.
- Greenberg, Marc L. "The Illyrian Movement: A Croatian Vision of South Slavic Unity." *Handbook of Language and Ethnic Identity: The Success-Failure Continuum in Language Identity Efforts*, vol. 2, 364–80. Edited by Joshua A. Fishman and Ofelia García. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2011.
- Greenberg, Marc L. "Notes on a New Dialectology of Montenegrin." In *And Thus You Are Everywhere Honored: Studies Dedicated to Brian D. Joseph*, 135–45. Edited by James J. Pennington, Victor A. Friedman, and Lenore A. Grenoble. Bloomington, IN: Slavica Publishers, 2019.
- Greenberg, Robert D. "When is Language a Language? The Case of Former Yugoslavia", *Harvard Ukrainian Studies*, vol. 35, no. 1/4 (2017–18), *The Battle for Ukrainian: A Comparative Perspective*, 431–42.
- Ivić, Pavle. *Die serbokroatische Dialekte: ihre Struktur und Entwicklung*. 1. Band: *Allgemeines und die štokavische Dialektgruppe*. The Hague: Mouton, 1958.
- Jakobson, Roman. *Remarks on the Phonology Evolution of Russian in Comparison with the Other Slavic Languages*, translated and annotated by Ronald F. Feldstein. Cambridge: MIT Press, 2018/1929.
- Kavitskaya, Darya. "Some Recent Developments in Slavic Phonology." *Journal of Slavic Linguistics* 25/2 (2017), 387–413.
- Lisac, Josip. *Hrvatska dijalektologija 1. Hrvatski dijalekti i govori štokavskog narječja i hrvatski govori torlačkog narječja*, Zagreb: Golden Marketing, Tehnička knjiga, 2003.
- Nakazawa, Takuya: "The Making of 'Montenegrin Language'. Nationalism, Language Planning, and Language Ideology after the Collapse of Yugoslavia (1992–2011)." *Südosteuropäische Hefte* 4/1 (2015), 127–41.
- Perović, Milenko A., Josip Silić, Ljudmila Vasiljeva, Adnan Čirgić, and Jelena Šušanj. *Pravopis crnogorskoga jezika. Drugo, izmijenjeno izdanje*, Podgorica: Ministarstvo prosvjete i nauke Crne Gore, 2010.
- Sawicka, Irena. *An Outline of the Phonetic Typology of the Slavic Languages*. Toruń: Wydawnictwo Uniwersytetu Mikołaja Kopernika, 2010.
- Vujović, Novica. "Prva dijalektologija crnogorskoga jezika (Adnan Čirgić, *Dijalektologija crnogorskoga jezika*, FCJK, 2017)." *Slavia Centralis* 1 (2018), 113–18.



# Author's Preface

Montenegro had many prominent dialectologists in the twentieth century, including those from abroad who were equally interested in Montenegrin dialects. Although most of them lived and worked outside Montenegro, they all directed a good part of their scientific research work toward Montenegro and in particular Montenegrin dialects. Due to this fact, today we can say that Montenegrin dialects are among the best-studied dialects in the Slavic world. This, of course, does not mean that the process of studying those dialects has been completed or that they have been 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 studies could be initiated. This position is best confirmed by the selective *Bibliografija govora Crne Gore* (*Bibliography of Dialects of Montenegro*) by Drago Ćupić, which back in 1983 amounted to an impressive number of 568 units.<sup>1</sup>

The first researcher of Montenegrin dialects was Vuk Karadžić, who published the results of his studies in 1836, in a preface to *Srpske narodne poslovice* (*Serbian Folk Proverbs*). However, the nineteenth 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 dialects, would commence in 1927, with the study titled *Dialekt istočne Hercegovine* (*The Eastern Herzegovinian Dialect*) by Danilo Vušović.<sup>2</sup> After it, many significant papers, studies, and monographs would follow. The monographs *Der štokavische Dialekt* (*The Štokavian Dialect*) (Vienna, 1907)<sup>3</sup> and *Die Betonung . . .* (*The Accent . . .*) (Vienna, 1900) by Milan Rešetar are especially worth mentioning as they were of particular importance for Montenegrin studies since the author devoted a large body of work to Montenegrin dialects.

Today's research into Montenegrin dialects is clearly lagging after (in terms of both quality and quantity) compared to the first three quarters of the twentieth century, when, in much more difficult conditions, significant results were achieved by Danilo Vušović, Mihailo Stevanović, Gojko Ružičić, Radosav Bošković and Mieczysław Małecki, Jovan Vuković, Luka Vujović (one of the few who lived and worked in Montenegro), Danilo Barjaktarević, Branko Miletić, Mitar Pešikan, Milija Stanić, Drago Ćupić, Dragoljub Petrović, Mato Pižurica, and others. It appears that the work on the study of Montenegrin dialects began to stagnate when it began to be coordinated from Montenegro.<sup>4</sup>

According to the territory they cover, five studies stand out as the most comprehensive ones—the chronology of their publication being as follows: *Dialekt istočne Hercegovine (The Eastern Herzegovinian Dialect)* (1927) by Danilo Vušović, *Istraživanja dijalekata Stare Crne Gore s osvrtom na susedne govore (Studies of the Dialects of Old Montenegro with an Overview of Neighboring Dialects)* (1932) by Radosav Bošković and Mieczysław Małecki,<sup>5</sup> *Istočnocrnogorski dijalekat (The Eastern Montenegrin Dialect)* (1933/34) by Mihailo Stevanović,<sup>6</sup> *Govor Pive i Drobnjaka (Dialects of Piva and Drobnjak)* (1938/39) by Jovan Vuković,<sup>7</sup> and *Uskočki govor I i II (Dialect of Uskoci, Vol. 1, 1974; Vol. 2, 1977)* by Milija Stanić.<sup>8</sup> These studies cover most of the territory of Montenegro.

This *Dialectology* is based mainly on those dialectological facts that characterized the Montenegrin dialects until the last decades of the twentieth century. The last decade of the twentieth century and the twenty-first century brought significant demographic changes, which started to be observed back in the mid-twentieth century. Tribal boundaries, once very important, lost their significance almost entirely. Past migrations of the population into new areas outside of their original tribes mainly used to imply complete assimilation into the new majority. Today, this is no longer the case. The population of passive areas mainly left and migrated toward Nikšić, Podgorica, and Primorje (the coastal region). Accelerated urbanization destroyed almost all the traits of the coastal villages, turning them into communities functioning as town blocks. The way of life changed, suppressing the formerly used vocabulary that related particularly to specific branches of the economy. The mass process of literacy spreading among the population after World War II had a profound impact on the dialects. Some of them are almost extinct today (such as the Uskoci dialect), others have changed their important features to create a still largely unfinished amalgam with the dialects of *došljaci*, that is, newcomers (such as the Podgorica dialect), while others have spread to a territory where they originally had not existed (such as Vasojevići dialect in Bjelopavlići), and so forth. These changes are not covered by this study for two main reasons. The first is that these changes are still not systemic or

complete. The second one is that our dialectological science lacks even the basic information about them. This is why we have opted to address the classical situation in Montenegrin dialects, one that survived the mid-twentieth century. After all, the situation is similar in other studies of this type as well.

Since the character of this book is primarily that of a reference book, we have mainly provided the descriptions of particular speech units without reference to sources in the footnotes, as doing the opposite would burden a text of this type. Furthermore, we have also endeavored not to abandon the descriptive method in listing individual dialectal features, trying not to engage in interpretations (except where necessary) or to open a debate. The polemical tone was nevertheless necessary in presenting the classifications to date. With a view to avoiding unnecessary repetitions, we have provided the list of references only at the end of the book, not at the end of each chapter.

We owe particular gratitude for the creation of this book to colleagues and friends: Vukić Pulević, Aleksandar Radoman, Jakov Sabljčić, Nela Savković-Vukčević, Nikola Popović, Jelena Šušanj, Novica Vujović, Sanja Orlandić, Miomir Abović, Nada Drašković, Milenija Vračar, and Olja Todorović, as every one of them assisted in its creation and finalization in their own way.

We especially wish to thank the Ministry of Culture, Ministry of Education, and the Secretariat for Culture and Sport of Podgorica for supporting the publication of this book.





# List of Abbreviations

1	first person
2	second person
3	third person
DAT	dative
F	feminine
GEN	genitive
IMP	imperative
INS	instrumental
IMPF	imperfective
LOC	locative
M	masculine
N	neuter
NOM	nominative
PFV	perfective
PL	plural
PRES	present
L-PT	l-participle
SG	singular



# The History of Studying Montenegrin Dialects

It has long been known that Montenegrin dialects are among the best-studied dialects in the world of Slavic studies.<sup>1</sup> This view is best confirmed by the selective *Bibliografija govora Crne Gore (Bibliography of Dialects of Montenegro)* by Drago Čupić, which back in 1983 amounted to an impressive number of 568 units.<sup>2</sup>

Studies of Montenegrin dialects date back to the mid-nineteenth century. The first to study them was Vuk Karadžić, who published the results of his studies in 1836 in the preface to *Srpske narodne poslovice (Serbian Folk Proverbs)*.<sup>3</sup> Although Montenegrin dialects were presented there only incidentally, as part of the preface, that preface can be deemed the first study in Montenegrin dialectology.

However, the nineteenth century would not produce significant studies of Montenegrin dialects. Such was the case, after all, with the surrounding nations as well. Apart from Vuk Karadžić, to the best of our knowledge, there are five more early-twentieth-century shorter or longer papers on the issue that are worth mentioning. There is a short paper on semivowels in “Montenegro and Boka Kotorska”<sup>4</sup> authored by Luko Zore, a somewhat longer text on semivowel reflexes in the dialect on Bar<sup>5</sup> by Ivan Broz, a part of the text on particles *zi* and *si* by Đuro Škarić,<sup>6</sup> a part of the study on accents in Slavic languages by Aleksej Aleksandrovič Šahmatov<sup>7</sup> (1864–1920), and a study of the dialect of Perast<sup>8</sup> by Tomo Brajković. The textbook by Dimitrije Milaković (1804–1858), titled *Srpska gramatika sastavljena za crnogorsku mladež (Serbian Grammar Composed for Montenegrin Youth)* (Cetinje, 1838), is also noteworthy, as it, inter alia, lists some Montenegro-wide language features that were not accepted in Karadžić’s standard language model (or the orthographies to follow).<sup>9</sup> A special place among the aforementioned researchers belongs to Tomo Brajković, a teacher in the Kotor gymnasium, as

he was the one to produce the first—rather detailed for that period—description of a Montenegrin dialect. His description of the dialect of Perast brings a number of features that can easily be assumed to have largely disappeared today. That description is a confirmation that Perast linguistically neatly fit into the Montenegro-wide language situation at the time. Unfortunately, to the best of our knowledge, Brajković was not able to realize his idea to prepare similar descriptions for other Boka regions as well. The study in question bears more than just cultural and historical significance. Although some of his interpretations and methodology are rather obsolete (he himself admitted to have followed the model of Budmani's study of Dubrovnik dialect), his study still brings an abundance of material that complements the picture of Montenegrin dialects.

The first studies of Montenegrin dialects conducted by a trained dialectologist were published in 1900 by Croatian Slavist Milan Rešetar, who deserves a prominent place in Montenegrin studies by all aspects of his work.<sup>10</sup> In 1900, his book on “Serbo-Croatian” accents was published,<sup>11</sup> a good portion of which is devoted to accents in Montenegro, while in 1907 his book *Štokavski dijalekat* (*The Štokavian Dialect*) came out,<sup>12</sup> also devoting a lot of attention to Montenegrin dialects.

Systematic research of the Montenegrin dialects would commence in 1927, with the study titled *Dialekt Istočne Hercegovine* (*The Eastern Herzegovinian Dialect*)<sup>13</sup> by Danilo Vušović. Until then, following the publication of the aforementioned Rešetar's study of accents in “Serbo-Croatian” dialects, several shorter and less significant studies of Montenegrin dialects came out, such as the ones by Savo P. Vuletić on the characteristics of Zeta dialects,<sup>14</sup> and the dialect of Kuči,<sup>15</sup> or Alberto Rosi's paper on the dialect of Kotor.<sup>16</sup> (It should be noted that Alberto Rosi's study has only cultural and historical relevance, including a limited contribution to literary history as well, bringing no new or useful insights to dialectology or linguistics. Despite its title, referring to a text on the “language of old Kotor inhabitants,” it in fact says nothing about the dialect of old Kotor apart from the unverified claim that the Ikavian dialect was dominant there “until some later times, as confirmed by numerous chroniclers.”<sup>17</sup> This claim is made on the basis of two unsigned stanzas he attributes to Kotor's poet Jerolim Pima. Even if those two stanzas were really written by Pima, they cannot be a confirmation of Rosi's claims about the Ikavian dialect, but could only constitute a reflection of the style of Croatian Dalmatian poets. Yet, we needed to reflect on the study in question in this place because of its title and because of rectification of that unverified claim.) Vušović was our first trained dialectologist who made a significant contribution to the study of Montenegrin dialects. His study was the first thorough (monographic) description of a Montenegrin dialect. That study, bearing a misleading title, encompasses a rather wide area of the municipality

of Nikšić: Nikšić with its surrounding, Župa Nikšićka, Banjani, Grahovo, Rudine, Golija.<sup>18</sup> Unfortunately, Vušović's premature death brought down the curtain on his study of Montenegrin dialects.

After Vušović's study, significant papers, studies, and monographs appeared, and by the end of the first half of the twentieth century it was possible to get a full picture of Montenegrin dialects as a group. This is a period during which our significant linguists dealt with Montenegrin dialects, being engaged as associates and assistants of renowned Serbian linguist Aleksandar Belić, with whose support they were able to conduct research and publish papers. Apart from Vušović, prominent authors were also Mihailo Stevanović, Gojko Ružičić, Radomir Aleksić, Radosav Bošković, Jovan Vuković, and Branko Miletić (the only one among them born outside of Montenegro).

The same year when Vušović's monograph appeared, Gojko Ružičić's study on the accentual system of the dialect of Pljevlja was published,<sup>19</sup> as the first monograph devoted to accentual issues of a Montenegrin dialect. Aside from the data on the accentual system, that monograph is still a valuable testimony on certain phonetic features of the dialect of Pljevlja, which are identifiable based on the examples included in it. Unfortunately, as far as we know, Gojko Ružičić's departure to the United States would curtail his further interest in the topic of Montenegrin dialects.

The period from the publication of Vušović's monograph to the eve of World War II was particularly fruitful for Montenegrin dialectology. By publishing a monograph *Istočnocrnogorski dijalekat (The Eastern Montenegrin Dialect)*,<sup>20</sup> Mihailo Stevanović significantly complemented the Montenegrin dialectological picture. In fact, nobody else covered such a large area as Stevanović and Vušović did in their monographs. By comparing the features identified by these two researchers as typical of their "dialects," one can already get an idea of the *koine* layer of Montenegrin dialects. Stevanović's "Eastern Montenegrin Dialect" encompassed Zeta, Podgorica, Piperi, Bjelopavlići, Kuči, Bratonožići and Vasojevići. Unfortunately, the announced continuation of the study of the accent of those dialects was never published.<sup>21</sup> Stevanović's detailed study of the accentual system of the dialect of Piperi<sup>22</sup> is also very important, as this dialect differs from all other Montenegrin dialects in terms of its accent. Stevanović also published a short study on the characteristics of the dialect of Vasojevići.<sup>23</sup> Finally, it is known that in 1924 he received one of the high-level St. Sava awards for his study of the dialect of Piperi,<sup>24</sup> but we are not aware of any publication of that study.

In 1935 and 1937, Branko Miletić published brief reports on the dialect of Bijelo Polje, Vasojevići, and Crmnica,<sup>25</sup> and in 1940 a detailed monograph appeared on the dialect of Crmnica,<sup>26</sup> which would long be the best description of a Montenegrin dialect and an example of a valid dialectological monograph.

In the same period, renowned Montenegrin linguist Radosav Bošković also published his dialectological studies. In 1931, his study on consonant *h* and its occurrence in Montenegrin dialects appeared.<sup>27</sup> The same year, Mieczysław Małecki published a study of the features of the dialect of Cuce.<sup>28</sup> (This study would be translated only recently.<sup>29</sup>) The next year, Bošković and Mieczysław Małecki coauthored a study titled *Istraživanja dijalekata Stare Crne Gore s osvrtom na susedne govore (Studies of the Dialects of Old Montenegro with an Overview of Neighboring Dialects)*.<sup>30</sup> Although the authors restrict themselves to the so-called Old Montenegrin dialects in the title, they would in fact present linguistic material from a much wider area—Primorje, Zeta, Podgorica, Kuči, Piperi, Bjelopavlići, and Pješivci—offering a classification of the dialect of that area. In 1935, Bošković would also publish a brief study of the dialect of Ozrinići,<sup>31</sup> which would, to the best of our knowledge, complete his prewar (and almost entire) dialectological work. At the same time, Radomir Aleksić published short reports on the study of Montenegrin dialects<sup>32</sup>—those of Maine, Spič, Krtole, Muo, and Grbalj.<sup>33</sup> Unfortunately, Aleksić's work on studying Montenegrin dialects would remain only at the level of reports, with no thorough analysis of those dialects. Famous Serbian philologist Petar Đorđić also started to study Montenegrin dialects,<sup>34</sup> but did not persist in that endeavor. His brief study on the dialect of Gusinje will remain one of the few relating to that dialect.

Two extensive monographs on the dialect of Piva and Drobnjak are particularly noteworthy. Their author is Montenegrin linguist Jovan Vuković, who would later become famous and link his professional life to Sarajevo and Bosnia and Herzegovina in the postwar period. One of them relates only to the accentual system,<sup>35</sup> while the other one covers a description of other grammatical systems.<sup>36</sup> The main flaw of those two studies is that the author devoted much more attention to Piva, where he was born, than to Drobnjak, which he apparently was not so familiar with.

The first data on the dialect of Montenegrin enclave in Peroj (Istria) would also be published in this period, by Croatian dialectologist Josip Ribarić.<sup>37</sup> The same applies to initial work of Luka Vujović—a report on the study of the dialect of Mrkovići,<sup>38</sup> about which he would publish a dialectological monograph after the war. Although he would become famous only after the war, we should also mention Vaso Tomanović and his extensive dialectological study on the accent in Lepetane.<sup>39</sup>

If we add several studies<sup>40</sup> by Jovan Erdeljanović, two studies by Andrija Jovičević in which there are significant linguistic data,<sup>41</sup> a study<sup>42</sup> by Pavel A. Rovinski, a study on ancient elements in toponomastics of Podgorica by Antun Majer<sup>43</sup> (which will not be discussed in this book as it is a toponomastic text, not a classical dialectological one), and two studies<sup>44</sup> by Dragoljub Majić that mainly have only cultural and historical relevance today, the list of studies of

Montenegrin dialects by the end of World War II is mainly completed. Given that Montenegro had no scientific or higher education institutions of its own at the time, or any specialized philological journals in which research results could be published, one cannot but admit that the aforementioned list is more than respectable.<sup>45</sup> If we were to compare this list with that of dialectological studies in Montenegro today, when we have several scientific institutions that could organize research studies and about twenty trained linguists that could conduct such studies, we could not but realize how poor the present state-of-play in our dialectology is. It is indisputable that the monographs and studies mentioned in this text are methodologically rather obsolete and surpassed from today's perspective, and that the first findings about Montenegrin dialects are actually starting with them. However, today's advocacy for the status of the Montenegrin language and its affirmation would require critical preparation of all those studies, with indications of new knowledge about particular dialects to which they relate and removal of possible material errors, account on directions of further development of those dialects, etc. This is how we would pay homage to the deserving Montenegrin and other researchers who have incorporated themselves, through their work, into the foundations of present-day Montenegrin studies, but whose works and studies can hardly be found in Montenegro today, not even in the National Library "Đurđe Crnojević" in Cetinje.<sup>46</sup>

The third stage in the studying of Montenegrin dialects could be restricted to the second half of the twentieth century. This is the period of socialist Montenegro—from the moment of its incorporation into the Yugoslav federation to the breakdown of that federation at the end of the twentieth century. At this stage, the most significant contribution to dialectology was made by these linguists and philologists: Josip Ribarić, Vaso Tomanović, Josip Hamm, Milija Stanić, Luka Vujović, Mitar Pešikan, Dragoljub Petrović, Dragomir Vujičić, Danilo Barjaktarević, Drago Ćupić, Mato Pižurica. Those who were active in both, the second and the third stage, and who built their reputation before World War II have already been listed. Among those eleven deserving, the name of Josip Hamm may seem unusual. He, namely, never published a monograph on Montenegrin dialects, and he almost never even dealt with them. However, his study of Jekavian jotation resolves a capital issue of Montenegrin dialectology—the issue of inadequate naming of our dialects. Therefore, we consider his place among the aforementioned deserving authors not only justified but also necessary.

It has already been stated that Josip Ribarić, Vaso Tomanović, and Luka Vujović appeared with their studies in the second stage of the studying of Montenegrin dialects, but we have included them in the third stage because this is where they received full affirmation. The biggest credit for affirmation of Ribarić's work on the study of the dialect of Peroj should go to Milorad



Nikčević, the editor of the book in which Ribarić's unpublished lexicographic studies on Peroj were collected, as well as to Milica Lukić, who prepared those studies for publication.<sup>47</sup> Josip Ribarić started to deal with the dialect of Peroj very early, back in 1916, when he served the army far away from Peroj, as he met two people from Peroj whose dialect raised interest in him.<sup>48</sup> Although he, *inter alia*, provided comments on that dialect in the above study, which was created as a doctoral thesis, Ribarić would conduct systematic research into the dialect of Montenegrin immigrants from Peroj as an experienced dialectologist—in 1949, when he spent thirty days in the research. He planned, as he says, to prepare a monograph on the dialect of Peroj,<sup>49</sup> having collected an abundance of material (not only lexicographic), but the material remained in manuscript and the monograph was never prepared.

At the very beginning of the second stage in the studying of Montenegrin dialects, Vaso Tomanović published a significant study on the accentual system of Boka village Lepetane.<sup>50</sup> Before that, he published a study providing for much more data than announced by its title.<sup>51</sup> He also published several studies in the field of Boka onomastics, but this is not the subject of our interest here. Finally, he contributed to Montenegrin studies by publishing relevant studies in historic dialectology.<sup>52</sup> The material and data from his work indicate that the dialects of Luštica and Vrmac peninsulas are a rather compact unity. Particularly important are the notes on the accentual system in this area, while the fact that he moved the boundary between the two accentual systems (the older and newer one) from Perast to Orahovac is groundbreaking. Unfortunately, this piece of data has still not been fully observed in Štokavian dialectological literature, and the work of this reputable dialectologist is yet to be thoroughly studied.

Luka Vujović contributed to Montenegrin dialectology as much as the best representatives of this branch of science in our country.<sup>53</sup> It was thanks to his studies (not only of dialects but also of old documents) that the issue of pretended Ekavian isogloss that covered Southeast Montenegro and Northern Albania was resolved. In addition, he left a permanent trace in science by solving two capital issues in our dialectology—by providing a description of the dialect of Mrkovići as one of the most exotic Štokavian dialects in general, and a well-founded analysis of the loss of verbal rection in Montenegrin dialects.

Mitar Pešikan published only ten studies in the field of Montenegrin dialectology. A longer one, which is in fact his doctoral dissertation, and the only study that resulted from field research,<sup>54</sup> as well as nine shorter ones that are mainly syntheses or theoretical elaborations of certain issues in Montenegrin dialectology.<sup>55</sup> It was already his first study—his doctoral dissertation—that revealed that he could have been the most talented Montenegrin dialectologist in general, on a par with aforementioned peerless Luka Vujović. However,

unlike Vujović, Pešikan was not able to resist conservatism in his philological approach.

Dragomir Vujičić devoted a major part of his dialectological work to Bosnia and Herzegovina, but his interests included Montenegro and its dialectology as well (in the broadest sense). Most of his dialectological studies were collected and published in a single book.<sup>56</sup> Like no other Montenegrin dialectologists before or after him, Vujičić referred to Montenegrin dialects as *Montenegrin*, and this is how he treated them as well. To him, they are Montenegrin by name and by content, just as Josip Hamm points out in his 1984 study.<sup>57</sup>

Although he held high-level positions in linguistic institutions, Drago Ćupić lags far behind all other dialectologists in terms of the quality of his studies, not only in the third but also in the second stage of the studying of Montenegrin dialects. It is as if his work signaled the arrival of the fourth, contemporary stage, which will be further discussed. His input to Montenegrin dialectology is reflected mainly in three studies—dialectological dictionary (coauthored with his son Željko) of Zagarač with a rather extensive introduction on language features,<sup>58</sup> a monograph on the dialect of Bjelopavlići,<sup>59</sup> and a selective bibliography on Montenegrin dialects.<sup>60</sup> In addition, he published a number of shorter studies on certain dialects or certain dialectological phenomena in Montenegro, among which two stand out—the one on the main traits of the dialect of Pljevlja<sup>61</sup> and the one on the key characteristics of the dialect of Zeta.<sup>62</sup>

Thanks to the perseverance of Milija Stanić, the dialect of Uskoci has been demonstrated as distinct in relation to the dialect of Piva and Drobñjak, described in the second stage of the study of our dialects by Jovan Vuković; accordingly, we can say that the dialect of Uskoci is the best and most thoroughly studied Montenegrin dialect.<sup>63</sup> The level of detail of description of the dialect of Uskoci is best illustrated by the fact that five Stanić's books published on it are largely abridged versions of the texts he had originally submitted to the publisher. It is known that Stanić also described the dialect of Komarnica, but this study remained unpublished and therefore outside of the reach of research community.<sup>64</sup>

The trace of Dragoljub Petrović in the research of Montenegrin dialects is indelible. His descriptions encompassed a territory that went beyond those explored by any dialectologist before him: he studied archaic and newer dialects, two-, three-, and four-accent dialects, both coastal and continental. If it was not for research work of Dragoljub Petrović, we would have no information on the dialect of Montenegrins in the Vraka enclave<sup>65</sup> (mainly depopulated today). Likewise, we would know very little (apart from the comments by Andrija Jovićević) on the dialect of Riječka nahija,<sup>66</sup> and even less on the dialect of Pješivci,<sup>67</sup> for which there is still no monograph, or the dialect of

Broćanac.<sup>68</sup> His early works on the accentual system of Luštica and Krtole,<sup>69</sup> and the phonological system of the dialect of Rovca are equally significant.<sup>70</sup> In more recent times, together with Momčilo Popović (whose contribution is mainly reduced to material collection), he coauthored an extensive description of the dialect of Spič, about which very little was known before,<sup>71</sup> while together with Ivana Čelić and Jelena Kapustina he provided a description of the dialect of Kuči, with an extensive dictionary.<sup>72</sup>

Very scarce data on the dialects of the Lim-Ibar area (outside Vasojevići) were supplemented, with two extensive studies on the dialect of Bihor,<sup>73</sup> by Danilo Barjaktarević. These studies are important because they treat the border dialect in which the use of *jat* (i.e., the reflex of the Proto-Slavic \*ě phoneme) greatly differs from the Montenegro-wide situation.

Mato Pižurica is the youngest among the third-stage dialectologists. On top of significant studies in the history of language and lexicography, he supported the development of Montenegrin dialectology with a monographic description of the dialect of the area surrounding Kolašin,<sup>74</sup> a study on the case system of the dialect of Rovca,<sup>75</sup> a study on the terminology of livestock farmers in Montenegro,<sup>76</sup> and a very instructional study of inter-language permeations in the Montenegrin dialects.<sup>77</sup>

In addition to the studies and monographs prepared by the aforementioned scholars on Montenegrin dialects, there are also shorter or longer individual studies of authors who have dealt with these issues more or less incidentally, either in journals and proceedings, or in prefaces and afterwords to other publications (mainly dictionaries). Information about them can be found largely in the aforementioned bibliography of Montenegrin dialects by Drago Ćupić, while a comprehensive bibliography of the Montenegrin language is being prepared at the Faculty of Montenegrin Language and Literature in Cetinje.

The contemporary stage in the studying of Montenegrin dialects begins from the early twenty-first century, although its features can be found even earlier—in the 1980s, at the time of the preparation of the dissolution of the Yugoslav federation, but also the time when newly established institutions in Montenegro began to take over the work on describing and studying Montenegrin dialects. Regardless of the past work of numerous talented philologists from Montenegro, whose dialectological work can be compared to the best achievements from the near and far surrounding, contemporary dialectological research would be marked not only by stagnation, but also by regress in comparison with the previous two stages. This regress is reflected not only in the small number of studies on dialects and in the small number of dialects described, but also in methodological backslide, hasty work, unobjective selectivity in the use of references, presentation of material, subordination of scientific results to predetermined ideological positions, and often poorly selected dialect informants. The exception to this, first and foremost, relates to the studies of the dialectologists from the previous phase

who continued to achieve visible results in our time. In the past twenty years, only a few monographs were published on the Montenegrin dialects. Miodrag Jovanović described the dialect of Paštrovići.<sup>78</sup> The material presented in that monograph gives rise to suspicion in terms of whether the author succeeded in selecting typical dialect representatives (those whose speech was not subject to major influence of the standard language). A few years ago, the same author published a book titled *Poluglasnici i jat u crnogorskim govorima (Semivowels and Jat in the Montenegrin Dialects)*.<sup>79</sup> However, this is not a monograph on these two important issues of Montenegrin dialectology, but a collection of the author's previous studies created on different occasions over a longer period of time. Not only does the book fail to solve the problem announced in its title—but it also brings almost nothing new compared to what had already been known in our dialectology before its publication. Furthermore, it fails to include the data from modern references that are vitally important for shedding light on the problem referred to in the title.

Publication of Nenad Vujadinović's monograph on the dialect of Kamenari is very important.<sup>80</sup> This is the only dialect of Boka that has been analyzed in a monograph so far, and given the extensive demographic changes that ensued in Boka as a result of urbanization in the past twenty years, it will probably remain the only dialect of Boka analyzed in the form of a monograph. It is a pity that Vujadinović, born in Boka himself, has not continued dialectological studies in Boka, to record, at least in the shortest form possible and under a predeveloped questionnaire, which has never produced absolutely valid results in our context, that small number of typical features of those dialects about which our dialectology has very scarce and mainly unsystematically collected data.

Rada Stijević wrote a monograph on the dialect of Gornji Vasojevići,<sup>81</sup> presenting valuable data on a wide area whose dialect had previously been insufficiently known. The author of the present study wrote a monograph on the dialect of Podgorica Muslims (with the dialect of our diaspora in Skadar),<sup>82</sup> which is disappearing today, and published transcribed conversation with the speech representatives of Njeguši.<sup>83</sup> To the best of our knowledge, the most recently published monograph on a Montenegrin dialect is *Govor Jezera i Šaranaca (The Dialect of Jezera and Šaranci)* by Vladimir Ostojić.<sup>84</sup> Based on the material published in that monograph it is rather clear that the dialect in question neatly fits into the northwestern group of Montenegrin dialects. However, it seems that a dilemma has still remained in terms of whether the dialect in question can be considered a separate one on the basis of the features distinguishing it from the surrounding dialects of Uskoci and Drobnjak (which does not seem to be the case based on the material) or if it is a dialectological description of the subject territory. In the preface to the book the author provides rather contradictory data on the issue, but this does not diminish the value of the book. It appears to be the first Montenegrin dialectological

monograph that was not motivated by a desire to describe a certain dialect as an integral phenomenon as much as by a desire to describe the dialect in question as an identifying feature of the subject area. The material presented in it will therefore be of great use in the potential preparation of a dialectological atlas of Montenegrin.<sup>85</sup>

The number of completed master's and doctoral theses in the field of Montenegrin language studies, both in Montenegro and in Serbia, has been on the increase recently (which unfortunately does not help to improve the quality of linguistics in our country), which is why it is not easy to follow all the dialectological studies prepared in our time, especially as many of them remain unpublished. We know that some ten years ago Draga Bojović defended a doctoral dissertation titled *Govor Potarja (The Dialect of Potarje)* in Belgrade, while Mihailo Šćepanović did the same with the dissertation titled *Govor i mikrotoponimija Drobnjaka (The Dialect and Microtoponymy of Drobnjak)*. We had a chance to read both dissertations as manuscripts, but we are not aware of any publication thereof to this date. Although it was not published as a monograph, we cannot but mention Sanja Orlandić's study on Jekavian jotation in Montenegrin dialects,<sup>86</sup> which finally resolved that issue.

In recent years, quite a few studies have been published in the fields of onomastics and history of Montenegrin language. The same applies to dictionaries of Montenegrin dialects. Yet, this segment of Montenegrin studies is not the subject of our interest in this place. In this introductory overview we also have not considered sporadic brief dialectological studies published in proceedings and journals. Still, let us mention two dictionaries published a few years ago by the Montenegrin Academy of Sciences and Arts (CANU). One of them is *Rječnik govora okoline Mojkovca (Dictionary of the Area Surrounding Mojkovac)*, prepared by Danijela Ristić,<sup>87</sup> and the other one is *Rječnik govora Zete (Dictionary of the Dialect of Zeta)* by Jelena Bašanović-Čečović.<sup>88</sup> We are mentioning both of them primarily due to the introductory studies they provide, with general comments on the dialects of the areas in question. In this regard, especially important is *Rječnik govora okoline Mojkovca (Dictionary of the Area Surrounding Mojkovac)* as it brings the dialectological features of an area that has remained outside of the scope of monographic studies prepared to date, while the traits of Zeta's dialect have already been dealt with in Mihailo Stevanović's well-known monograph on Eastern Montenegrin dialects.<sup>89</sup>

It appears that the overall aforementioned work on the study of Montenegrin dialects in all four stages provides sufficient material for development of a *Dialectology of Montenegrin Language* as a synthetic overview of Montenegrin dialects. To be sure, the dialectological atlas of Montenegrin would still have many gaps today, but we can at least find comfort in the fact that it would be very difficult to find a smaller area than Montenegrin with as many dialectological descriptions in the entire Slavic world.

# On Previous Classifications of Montenegrin Dialects

The majority of researchers of Montenegrin dialects sought to prove the existence of two strongly polarized dialects encompassing the Montenegrin area (not corresponding to Montenegrin state borders). For the northwestern Montenegrin dialects, the term *Eastern Herzegovinian dialect* was adopted, while the remaining dialects were named differently: the *Eastern Montenegrin dialect*, *Zeta-Lovćen dialect*, *Zeta-Sjenica dialect*, *Zeta-South Sandžak dialect*, *Zeta-Upper Polimlje dialect*, etc. As can be seen, apart from the term *Eastern Montenegrin dialect*, which Mihailo Stevanović used in 1933 for dialects in the territory of Zeta including Podgorica and Lješkopljje, Piperi, Kuči, Bratonožići, and Vasojevići,<sup>1</sup> 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*,<sup>2</sup> although Ivić himself would subsequently give up on the term “because it was shown that Sjenica does not belong to the area of that dialect.”<sup>3</sup>

In addition, there were linguists trying to prove that the syntagm “Montenegrin dialects” 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 dialects’ 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 was not present in other areas of the Serbo-Croatian language).”<sup>4</sup> This view of Drago Ćupić is based on the position of Mitar Pešikan from his famous synthetic work “Jedan opšti pogled na crnogorske govore” (“A General Overview of Montenegrin Dialects”). Since this position had

far-reaching negative consequences in terms of the treatment of Montenegrin dialects, 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., Štokavian area. This claim seems to contradict everyday experience and observations, because a number of dialectal phenomena encountered regularly not only by linguists but also by others are identified primarily as Montenegrisms, Montenegrin dialectal features. Still, a more thorough 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.<sup>5</sup>

The difference between the two authors (Ćupić and Pešikan) stems from the fact that the former considers the “Montenegrin dialects” phrase unacceptable, while the latter uses it himself.

The abovementioned positions and the classification of Montenegrin dialects require an analytical review from the perspective of today's knowledge in the field of Montenegrin dialectology and Montenegrin studies in general.

By dividing the Montenegrin dialects 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 between dialects, and between dialects and languages coincide with state borders only in extremely rare cases (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 center of innovation of language features that mark a certain dialect. Thanks to the extremely fruitful 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 center 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

avoided Montenegrin ethnic or language attributes. Josip Hamm objected to such names of dialects back in 1983, pointing out that

*in Pregled srpskohrvatskih dijalekata (Overview of Serbo-Croatian Dialects)*, which was approved as a permanent university textbook for students of the University in Belgrade, no Montenegrin dialects were listed as a separate dialect group. There are dialects of Šumadija, Šumadija-Vojvodina, Vojvodina and Slavonia, but there are no Montenegrin ones. Why?—They are hidden under the name of “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 dialects 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 dialects 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 centers of local speech formed, was always somewhere—in some areas and within certain borders. In the case of official “Zeta-South Sandžak” dialects, such a center was doubtless in Montenegro, and in that respect, I think that there is no reason not to call its dialects Montenegrin (even more so as they contain features that are not, at least in terms of the structure and system, present in other neighboring or distant dialects).<sup>6</sup>

Yet, regardless of the unacceptable naming of Montenegrin dialects and the lack of tenability of some of their interpretations, the contribution of these dialectologists to Montenegrin studies is immense because they provided a wealth of material which serves as a confirmation of the existence of the Montenegrin language and Montenegrin dialects as a whole,<sup>7</sup> that is, material that goes against their position on the existence of two separate dialects in the territory of Montenegro. In linguistics, as in many other areas, hypotheses were often accepted not on the basis of their scientific viability but on the basis of the reputation of their authors. Such was the case with naming of Montenegrin dialects and their division into two dialects, with the mandatory 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 predecessors, largely accepted those views without questions asked.



The fact that language specifics in Montenegro “are not just Montenegrin but include areas outside Montenegro”<sup>8</sup> cannot be in conflict with the view on the existence of Montenegrin dialects as a whole, that is, cannot serve as a confirmation of the nonexistence of typical Montenegrin features. What matters in this case is the status of these features in Montenegrin dialects (or the Montenegrin language) and the dialects of neighboring languages: Bosnian, Croatian, and Serbian. For example, the expansion of the Montenegrin consonant system with the phonemes *ś* and *ź*,<sup>9</sup> which are also present outside 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 neighboring 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 fifteenth century onward caused displacement of the population to the surrounding areas, closer or further away. Naturally, through these migrations, Montenegrin language features were also displaced outside the area of their origin and that explains their presence in areas across Montenegrin national borders. Likewise, the mutual interconnections and coexistence of the population living on the two sides of today’s state borders—toward Croatia, Bosnia and Herzegovina, Serbia, Kosovo, and Albania—must not be neglected. In that way, Montenegrin features spread across the present-day border, and in the same way the linguistic features of the surrounding peoples reached the Montenegrin language.

Pavle Ivić himself also emphasized the importance of migrations, although, in terms of Montenegrin dialects, their classification and naming, he held views similar to those of Pešikan. Indicating the reasons for migrations from the beginning of the fifteenth century to the colonization of Vojvodina, Slavonija, Kosovo, and Metohija in the twentieth 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 Vrbas river 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 inland, 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 half of Šumadija.<sup>10</sup>

Within this flow, which he characterized as the strongest, three epicenters 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.<sup>11</sup> There, in the mountains of Durmitor, Sinjajevina, Maglić and other mountains in the valleys of the Piva, Tara, Lim and the upper course of Neretva river, lived a very mobile, strong and expansive cattle-raising population that unusually quickly spread to all sides.”<sup>12</sup> The second source of Montenegrin migrations<sup>13</sup> was in “the Montenegrin *Brda* and neighboring parts of the Sandžak, including the area of Sjenica.” Immigrants from the northwestern part of Montenegro, he says, settled across Bosnia, Dalmatia, Croatia, Slavonia, Baranja, and 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 Metohija.<sup>14</sup> Those data on the migrations of the Montenegrin population explain 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 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.

M. Pešikan’s statement that there are no Montenegro-wide language features is closely related to the classification of Montenegrin dialects into two dialects as well as to Ivić’s claim that “of all Štokavian dialects those in Montenegro are differentiated the most. In other words, there are not that many internal differences in other areas of corresponding size.”<sup>15</sup> If we take into account the fact that Ivić views Torlakian dialects as a part of the Štokavian system under the name of *Prizren-Timok dialect 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 we add to this the vast differences between dialects in Serbia, where structural differences between certain dialects are evident, the above view on the Montenegrin dialects as the most differentiated ones becomes untenable. In contrast to the above opinion of Ivić, Vojislav P. Nikčević in his studies of the Montenegrin language concluded that

a general, supradialectal and interdialectal variety of language (koiné) developed in the Montenegrin language. Common features of Montenegrin dialects 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 dialects.<sup>16</sup>

Based on a comparative analysis of those features which Pavle Ivić<sup>17</sup> and Asim Peco<sup>18</sup> 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 common to both “dialects” in Montenegro.<sup>19</sup> 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; that is, they are also mainly absent from northwestern Montenegrin dialects. The common major features in question include primarily:

1. The Ijekavian dialect
2. Longer suffixes in the adjectival and pronominal desinences (e.g., *tije(h)* ‘these-GEN.PL’, *tijem* ‘that-INS.SG / those-DAT/INS/LOC.PL’)
3. Jekavian jotation (*tě* > *će*, *cě* > *će*, *dě* > *đe*, *sě* > *še*, *zě* > *že*)
4. *dvje*, *svje*, *cvje* > *đe*, *še*, *će* (e.g., *međed* ‘bear’, *šedok* ‘witness’, *Četko*)
5. Frequent jotation of labials
6. A consonant system expanded to include phonemes *ś* and *ź*
7. *ě* + *j* > *i* (e.g., *cio* ‘whole’, *sijati* ‘to shine’), but in the active participle, forms such as: *šedeo* ‘sit-L-PT.M.SG’, *video* ‘see-L-PT.M.SG’ are also used
8. *-st*, *-zd*, *-št* > *-s*, *-z*, *-š* (e.g., *plas* ‘haystack’, *groz* ‘cluster of grapes’, *priš* ‘pimple’)
9. Frequent use of *-j* < *-đ*, *-ć* (e.g., *goj* ‘ever’, *doj* ‘to arrive’, *moj* ‘to be able to’)
10. Frequent use of infinitive without the final *-i* (e.g., *trčat* ‘to run’, *pričat* ‘to talk’)
11. Dative and locative case forms *mene* ‘me’, *tebe* ‘you’, *sebe* ‘self’
12. Enclitic forms *ni* ‘to us’ and *vi* ‘to you’
13. Active use of aorist and imperfect tense
14. Declension *Pero*—*Pera*—*Peru* . . .
15. Deviated relationship between cases of location and direction
16. Use of the plural genitive case instead of the plural locative case with preposition *po* (e.g., *po kuća* ‘at the houses’)<sup>20</sup>

This list does not contain all the common features of Montenegrin dialects, but only those identified by the above authors as the features of two separate dialects. By reading the literature on Montenegrin dialects 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. All these features are listed as significant in descriptions of Montenegrin dialects.

The Northwestern Montenegrin dialects possess many features that exclude them from the so-called Eastern Herzegovinian dialect. These are Montenegro-wide features. This exactly 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 Dialects of the Herzegovinian Type Outside the Borders of Herzegovina)*,<sup>21</sup> describing only a few of their distinctive features compared to other dialects of “Herzegovinian type.” Those features, Peco says, “testify that the dialects of western Montenegro have many features unknown to the dialects of today’s eastern Herzegovina, and Herzegovina in general, which gives those dialects a special place within Ijekavian dialects.”<sup>22</sup> He then lists the features shared by this “speech type” and the “Zeta-South Sandžak” dialect, separating them from the rest of the “Herzegovinian dialects.” Peco’s view that northwestern Montenegrin dialects have a special place among Ijekavian dialects is undeniable. Had the accentual situation been older in those dialects, the one without rising stresses, it is certain that no author would have included them in dialects of the Herzegovinian type. Apart from the accentual situation, there are no major differences in those dialects compared to those Montenegrin dialects with older accentuation.

Although the dialects of northwestern Montenegro are traditionally often referred to as the dialects of “Herzegovinian type,” which puts them into the Eastern Herzegovinian dialect, the material offered by dialectologists to support such views does not substantiate such classification, nor is this the case with the material offered in individual studies of those dialects.

The most significant difference between northwestern and southeastern Montenegrin dialects, as we already indicated, relates to the accentual situation—the former are four-accent, while the others are characterized by two-, three-, and four-accent systems. At the same time, the accentual system is the most significant feature which connects the northwestern Montenegrin dialects to the Eastern Herzegovinian dialects.

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 crossing the Lim river south of Brodarevo.”<sup>23</sup>

Unfortunately, the northwestern Montenegrin dialects have been significantly less studied than all other Montenegrin dialects, 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 studies are sufficient to show the groundlessness of such a classification. Even the material offered by Pavle Ivić in his *Dialectology* was sufficient to cast doubts on the validity of that classification. Speaking about the features of the Eastern Herzegovinian dialect, Ivić states at the very beginning that “above all, the rule that the reflex of the long jat is a bi-syllabic *ije*, while the reflex of the short jat is a mono-syllabic *je*, is valid only in one part of the Jekavian area, mainly in the eastern areas.” He then points to the differences in pronunciation of old jat alternants in various regions and continues: “Finally, there are many dialects in which jat is always monosyllabic . . . . In certain dialects, jotation occurs in the groups *lě* and *ně*: *ljépo* ‘beautiful’, *njésu* ‘have not’, *kòljěvka* ‘crib’. On the basis of current scientific data, it is impossible to establish the exact isoglosses of all of these features.”<sup>24</sup> But even on the basis of the scientific data at that time, it was well known that the above isoglosses did not correlate with Montenegrin national borders. And when the fact is considered that jat reflexes, along with the accentual situation, constitute one of the key criteria for classification of Štokavian dialects, it becomes clear that these criteria cannot justify the previous classifications of Montenegrin dialects, because the aforementioned features that characterize “a significant number of Eastern Herzegovinian dialects” do not occur in Montenegro.

If all previous classifications and syntheses on Štokavian dialects are considered—with regard to dialects of northwestern Montenegro—it is easy to see that the most precise of them is the view of dialectologist Asim Peco, although his classification is flawed as well as it classifies the subject dialects into a separate speech type of the Eastern Herzegovinian dialect. With regard to the revision of views on the dialects of northwestern Montenegro, Asim Peco has primacy again, because he determined—back in 1976 (the work was submitted then for publication, and published in 1981)—that those are in fact *transitional dialects*. This makes even more unusual the fact that the paper in which he included this revision, although under a neutral title “Prilog proučavanju prelaznih govora” (“Contribution to the study of transitional dialects”),<sup>25</sup> remained almost unknown and without influence on the subsequent classifications of Štokavian and especially Montenegrin dialects. 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 illustrate that Pavle Ivić was an authority in the “Serbo-Croatian studies” of the time.

Peco says: “One might argue that those dialects should be called transitional in which features of certain isoglosses relevant to neighboring dialects, the number and density of which is much lower than the number and density of those features in dialects native to the above isoglosses, cross.”<sup>26</sup> Listing twenty-four main features of the Eastern Herzegovinian dialect,<sup>27</sup> Peco indicates that

the boundary of distribution of these isoglosses towards the east could 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 dialect boundaries at the same time. This also applies to this dialect, but the truth is that the majority of Eastern Herzegovinian isoglosses spread along that border, and this is why I have, in my study on the Eastern Herzegovinian dialect, followed that national border. With good reason, I would say. . . . There are plenty of isoglosses characteristic of more eastern Ijekavian dialects, those within the borders of the Federal Republic of Montenegro, which are unknown in the dialects of eastern Herzegovina. This is precisely the reason to reflect on these dialects; they however should not be discussed as dialects that make an integral whole with the Eastern Herzegovinian dialect, but as dialects of a transitional character, the patterns whose structure, or dominant part thereof, is saturated with the basic Neo-Štokavian features and that had, in the development of declension and accentuation, the same evolutionary development as other dialects of the Herzegovinian type, but which were additionally under certain influence of more archaic Ijekavian dialects, the ones of the Zeta type. The truth is that those dialects as well, or their western version, are most often referred to in Serbo-Croatian dialectology as Eastern Herzegovinian dialects. . . . But, in addition, the view that these dialects contain certain isoglosses whose home is in more archaic Ijekavian dialects, 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 dialects. . . . But, again, in this area, as well as in all the dialects of western Montenegro, there are features that are not present in the dialects of today’s eastern Herzegovina, or Herzegovina in general as a speech area.<sup>28</sup>

Among northwestern Montenegrin dialects, Peco distinguishes the dialects of Piva, Drobniak, Uskoci and Nikšić with Rudine as the ones in which the Eastern Herzegovinian speech specifics are more present than in other dialects 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 thus been imported from these Herzegovinian regions.”<sup>29</sup> Therefore, we will list the most important features of those dialects that Peco distinguishes as the ones closest to the Eastern Herzegovinian dialect, first and foremost to show that they mostly do not coincide with those typical of that dialect, that is, that they coincide with features of other Montenegrin dialects instead.

The features linking the dialect of Piva and Drobnjak to other Montenegrin dialects, or rather, the traits that mainly separate it from the Eastern Herzegovinian dialect include, inter alia, the following:

- the absence of the phonemes *h* and *f*, the occurrence of which Peco lists as one of the typical features of Eastern Herzegovinian dialects;
- a secondary (I)Jekavian dialect (*počijevati* ‘to rest’, *podumijenta* ‘foundation’, *kišelo* ‘sour’, *kišelina* ‘acid’, *šeroma* ‘poor man’, *vodijer* ‘water-filled sheath’, *putijer* ‘goblet’, *kosijer* ‘billhook’);
- ekavisms such as *zenica* ‘eye pupil’, *cesta* ‘road’;
- although the *ao* > *o* assimilation is typical of Piva and Drobnjak, in certain villages Vuković notes, especially among the elderly population, a different change that is typical of most Montenegrin dialects—*ao* > *a*;
- change *m* > *n* in examples such as *mončad* ‘young men’, *krnka* ‘boar-GEN.SG.M’, *slanka* ‘straw’;
- jotation in groups *svje, cvje, dvje* > *še, će, đe*: *šetovati, šedok, međed, ćetati* ‘to flourish’, *Ćetko*;
- final groups *-st, -št* are simplified through the loss of the final consonant: *boles* ‘sickness’, *rados* ‘joy’, *žalos* ‘sorrow’, *priš, pregrš* ‘handful’; this change also occurs in the infinitive without the final *-i*: *mus* ‘to milk’, *kras* ‘to steal’, *gris* ‘to chew’;
- consonants *t* and *d* disappear before *-stvo*: *brastvo* ‘brotherhood’, *srestvo* ‘means’;
- alternation of *đ : j* and *ć : j* in the final position: *poj* ‘to depart’, *doj, rej* ‘to say’, *goj, noj* ‘night’;
- *v* instead of *h* between two vowels one of which is *u*: *duvan* ‘tobacco’, *suvo* ‘dry’, *uvar* ‘benefit’, *uvoditi* ‘to stalk’;
- jotation of labials: *plesma* ‘song’, *nevlesta* ‘bride’, *umlet* ‘to be skilful’;
- phonemes *ś* and *ź* in hypocoristic forms;
- *-iji* > *-i: čī*;
- *ć* and *đ* in front of *nj* > *t* and *d*: *potkućnica* ‘garden’, *notni* ‘pertaining to night’, *notnik* ‘nightwalker’, *mednik* ‘landmark’, *votnik* ‘orchard’;
- the change *rat*—*rati*;
- the use of the suffix *-le* in hypocoristic forms: *Vule, Jole, Bele*;

- female names ending in *-ic(a)* in the vocative case singular have *-a*;
- pronoun forms *mène, tèbe, sèbe* in the dative and locative case singular;
- demonstrative pronouns *ovaj* ‘this’, *taj* ‘that’, *onaj* ‘that (far distance)’ used in the forms of *ovi, ta, oni*;
- forms *viđu* ‘I see’ and *velu* ‘I say’ are always used in the first person singular present tense of these verbs;
- the imperfect and aorist tense forms are very common;
- adverbs such as *kudije* ‘which way’, *ovudije* ‘this way’, *onudije* ‘that way’ are frequent;
- instrumental case denoting the means of action with preposition *s/su*: *s ovom šekinom se ne siječe* ‘this axe is not for cutting’;
- use of the accusative case with prepositions *u* and *na* with stative verbs (instead of the locative case): *Bijo sam u Nišić* ‘I was in Nikšić’, cf. standard ‘Bio sam u Nikšiću’. *Načinijo kulu na Pišče* ‘He built a tower at Pišče’, cf. standard ‘Načinio kulu na Pišću’;
- frequent use of narrative imperative: *Šedi, šedi, do mrkla mraka* ‘I sat and sat until the night came’. *Čeki ja tamo, čeki, a tebe nema* ‘I waited and waited but you never came’, etc.<sup>30</sup>

As we already indicated, it is thanks to prominent Montenegrin dialectologist Milija Stanić that the dialect of Uskoci is the best-described Montenegrin dialect (a two-volume study<sup>31</sup> and a two-volume dictionary<sup>32</sup> were published, as well as a separate study on the accent of Uskoci<sup>33</sup>). We will list in the section below the most important features of the dialect of Uskoci that are also present in other Montenegrin dialects while being mainly atypical of the Eastern Herzegovinian dialect. In Stanić’s aforementioned two-volume study on the dialect of Uskoci, there are many such features:

- absence of the phonemes *h* and *f*;
- although the assimilation *ao > o* is typical, in some villages the change *ao > a* is also present;
- change *m > n* in examples such as *mončad, krnka, slanka*;
- consistently implemented Jekavian jotation in all positions: *neđéla* ‘Sunday’, *ođelo* ‘outfit’, *šućeti* ‘to be silent’, *vrćeti* ‘to spin’, *capćeti* ‘to shiver’, *ižesti* ‘to eat-PFV’, *iželica* ‘glutton’, *šever* ‘north’, *šedeti* ‘to sit’, *čepanica* ‘firewood log’, *čedilo* ‘colander’, *čelokupan* ‘entire’, *vłera* ‘faith’, *vłetar* ‘wind’, *grmleti* ‘to thunder’, *umłeti* ‘to be skilful’, *trpłeti* ‘to suffer’, *dospłeti* ‘to mature’, *blėzati* ‘to flee’, *oblėsiti* ‘to hang’;
- jotation in groups *svje, cvje, dvje > še, će, đe*: *šetovati, šedok, Međed, četati, Četulja*;



- *rě* > *re*: *ređe* ‘more rarely’, *pregoreti* ‘to burn out’, and accordingly *j* disappears after palatals *č*, *š* and *ž*: *bože*, *boži* ‘pertaining to God’, *tužela* ‘mourn -L-PT.F.SG’, *naruče* ‘armful’, *zeči* ‘leporine’, *ovči* ‘ovine’, *miši* ‘murine’;
- Ijekavian forms such as *slijevati* ‘to pour’, *počijevati*, *snijevati* ‘to dream’, *noćijevati* ‘to spend the night’;
- secondary (I)Jekavian dialect in examples such as *šeromag* ‘poor man’, *šeromašica* ‘poor woman’, *kišelica* ‘sorrel’, *raskišeliti* ‘soften’, *vodijer*, *putijer*, *poštijer* ‘mailman’, *kosijer*;
- frequent use of phonemes *ś* and *ź* in hypocoristic forms: *Gašo*, *Dašan*, *Vešo*, *Buška*, *Duško*, *Peško*, *Šole*, *Žale*, *Žaško*;
- instability of glide *j* in intervowel positions where the first vowel is *i*: *Ikonja*, *Mjajlo*, *galjot* ‘mischievous person’;
- *-iji* > *-i*: *čī* ‘whose’, *pogani* ‘meaner’, *radi* ‘more inclined to’;
- final *-đ* and *-ć* > *-j*: *pomoj* ‘to help’, *izaj* ‘to go out’, *naj* ‘to find’, *moj* ‘to be able to’, *oj* ‘očes’, *nej* ‘nečeš’, *noj* ‘night’, *svuj* ‘everywhere’, *goj*, *kuj* ‘where’, *kogoj* ‘whoever’;
- dissimilation: *mlogo* ‘a number of’, *gumno* ‘threshing floor’, *tavnica* ‘dungeon’;
- *-ćn-* > *-tn-* *kutni* ‘pertaining to a house’, *notno* ‘pertaining to night’, *pomotnik* ‘assistant’, *notnik*, *gatnik* ‘rope belt’;
- final consonant disappears in the final groups *-št*, *-st*, *-zd*: *plas*, *brs* ‘browse’, *prs* ‘finger’, *šes* ‘six’, *vleš* ‘skilful’, *priš*, *baz* ‘stench’, *groz*, as well as in the infinitive: *jes* ‘to eat-IMPF’, *tres* ‘to shake’, *izes*, *sađes* ‘to stack’;
- consonants *t* and *d* disappear in front of suffix *-stv(o)*: *brastvo*, *srostvo* ‘kinship’, *kmestvo* ‘serfdom’, *srestvo*, *gospostvo* ‘gentlemanhood’;
- inconsistent use of the instrumental case with the preposition *s* and without it: *Pošeko se s nožem* ‘He cut himself with a knife’;
- common and regular use of the aorist and imperfect tense forms;
- use of the accusative case with prepositions *u* and *na* with stative verbs (instead of the locative case): *Živi u Korita* ‘S/he lives in Korita’, cf. standard *Živi u Koritima*. *Bog na nebo*, *a ljudi na zemlju* ‘God in the sky, people on earth’, cf. standard *Bog na nebu*, *a ljudi na zemlji* (with the use typical of the standard language);
- frequent use of the narrative imperative: *Ja osedlaj koňa*, *oblési jednu obravnicu za kranu*, *pa pojaši* ‘I saddled a horse, hanged a bag for food, and started to ride’, etc.

One of the first thoroughly studied Montenegrin dialects, as already noted, is the one that Danilo Vušović referred to as the “Eastern Herzegovinian dialect”<sup>34</sup> in which we also find an abundance of features typical of other Montenegrin dialects, and unknown in or atypical of the Eastern Herzegovinian dialect:

- absence of phonemes *f* and *h* (*h* occurs only in exceptional cases);
- secondary (I)Jekavian dialect such as in *kišeo*, *šeromah* ‘poor man’, *vodijer*, *putijer*, *pastijer* ‘shepherd’, *kosijer*, in verbs such as *počijevati*, *sakrijevati* ‘to hide’, and in nouns such as: *bolijes*, *golijet* ‘barren land’, *Bokijel*, *podumijenta*, *rukovijet* ‘handrail’;
- vowel group *ao* is contracted (next to *o*) into *a*: *doša* ‘come-L-PT.M.SG’, *poša* ‘depart-L-PT.M.SG’, *gleda* ‘watch-L-PT.M.SG’, *uba* ‘well’, *kota* ‘cauldron’, *ranik* ‘plowshare’;
- semivowel reflexes occur sporadically;
- consistently implemented jotation of consonants *d*, *t*, *c*, *s*, *z*: *šedeti*, *ođelati* ‘to hew-PFV’, *đever* ‘brother-in-law’, *čerati* ‘to chase’, *ćešiti* ‘to comfort’, *počera* ‘chase’, *ćedilo*, *ćepanica*, *proćep* ‘rift’, *šeme* ‘seed’, *paši* ‘malevolent’, *šajan* ‘glowing’, *pašaluk* ‘malice’, *ižesti*, *koži* ‘pertaining to a goat’, *ižedna* ‘integrally’;
- jotation *svje* > *še*, *cvje* > *će*: *šedok*, *šedožba* ‘school certificate’, *prošeta* ‘education’, *četati*, *Četko*, *Četna*;
- jotation of labials: *plesma*, *dospleti*; *plena* ‘foam’, *obljed* ‘meal’, *blesnilo* ‘rabies’, *obljeručke* ‘both-handedly’, *mlesec* ‘moon’, *grmljeti*, *mlesečina* ‘moonlight’, *vlera*, *živlet* ‘to live’, *vlečit* ‘eternal’;
- consonants *ś* and *ź* are common and generally present phonemes and, in addition to being a product of Jekavian jotation, also occur as a result of coarticulation: *iščerati* ‘to chase out’, *iždikati* ‘to shoot up’ and in hypocoristic forms such as *Miško*, *Miša*, *Goško*, *Žela*, *Želina*;
- in some lexemes, consonant *z* (*dz*) occurs (alternatively with *z*): *bizin* ‘dog’, *mnozina* ‘plenty’, *bronzin* ‘copper cauldron’;
- glide *j* after the palatals *č* and *ž* occasionally disappears: *naruče*, *područje* ‘area’, *obićeže* ‘feature’, *boži*;
- instead of final *đ* and *ć*, *-j* occurs: *poj*, *doj*, *moj*, *kuj*, *nikuj* ‘nowhere’, *goj*;
- *m* > *n* in examples such as: *pantim* ‘I remember’, *konšija* ‘neighbor’, *sinsija* ‘tobacco pipe’, *monče* ‘young man’;
- dissimilation: *mložina* ‘plenty’, *tamňan* ‘frankincense’, *tavnica*, *dimno* ‘wonderful’;
- occasionally, changes *sn* > *šn*, *zn* > *žn*, *sl* > *šl*, *zl* > *žl* occur: *šnijevat* ‘to dream’, *žnam* ‘I know’, *mišlim* ‘I think’, *u žli čas* ‘at the wrong moment’;
- metathesis: *crvka* ‘church’, *cukati* ‘to knock’, *neokle* ‘from somewhere’;
- simplification of consonant groups *-st*, *-št*, *-žd*, *-zd* in the final position: *milos* ‘mercy’, *rados*, *plaš* ‘cloak’, *vlješ*, *groz*, *Gvoz*, *daž* ‘rain’, and in the infinitive: *mus*, *ves* ‘to sew’, *jes*, *gris*, *izis* ‘to eat-PFV’;
- pronoun forms *mene*, *tebe*, *sebe* in the dative and locative case singular;
- demonstrative pronouns *ovaj*, *taj*, *onaj* are also used as *ovi*, *ta*, *oni*;
- forms *viđu* and *veđu* (sometimes *kumđu* ‘I beg’ as well) are always used in the first person singular present tense of these verbs;

- analogical forms such as *lažati* ‘to lie’, *mećati* ‘to feed’, *obrćati* ‘to turn’;
- adverbs such as *ovudije*, *tudije* ‘that way’, *kudije*, *onudijen* ‘that way (far distance)’, *svukudijen* ‘everywhere’;
- genitive case *česa* ‘what-GEN’;
- vocative case of polysyllabic female names ending in *-ic(a)* has the same form as the nominative;
- use of preposition *s* with the instrumental case denoting the means of action: *Gleda sam s očima* ‘I was looking with my eyes’;
- frequent use of the preposition *su*: *su pet ljudi* ‘with five people’, *su čim, su što* ‘with what’;
- use of the accusative case with the prepositions *na* ‘on’, *u* ‘in’, *o* ‘about’, *pod* ‘below’, *pred* ‘in front of’, *nad* ‘above’, *za* ‘to’ next to stative verbs: *Bio sam u Dugu* ‘I was in Duga’, cf. standard ‘Bio sam u Dugi’. *Spava pod kuću* ‘He sleeps below the house’, cf. standard ‘Spava pod kućom’. *Bio sam u grad* ‘I was in the city’, cf. standard ‘Bio sam u gradu’;
- frequent use of the narrative imperative: *ja tu čeki, čeki, a nega nema* ‘I waited and waited but he never came’;
- very actively used imperfect and aorist tense forms;
- specific concord such as in: *Počeraj te dva ovna* ‘Get those two rams out of here’, cf. standard ‘Počeraj ta dva ovna’. *Donesi mi one pet motika* ‘Bring me those five hoes’, cf. standard ‘Donesi mi onih pet motika’. *Pošto su ove dva tovara* ‘How much are these two bales’, cf. standard *Pošto su ova dva tovara*, etc.

As can be seen from the above list of language characteristics, the differences between northwestern Montenegrin dialects and the Eastern Herzegovinian dialects are much larger than was (traditionally) pointed out. If we disregard the accentual state of those dialects, we can safely establish that they are an integral part of the Montenegrin *koiné* layer; that is, they are inseparable from *Montenegrin dialects as a whole*, because there is not a single feature among the listed ones that is not present in Montenegrin “archaic” dialects, that is, in the dialects of southeastern Montenegro. And if this is the situation in those dialects 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 dialects 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 (Overview of Serbo-Croatian Dialects)*,<sup>35</sup> despite what he stated in the quoted paper, decided to classify northwestern Montenegrin dialects as *Ijekavian dialects of the Herzegovinian type outside the borders of Herzegovina*,<sup>36</sup> although he described them as a special “northwestern Montenegrin speech type.” That such a procedure is untenable is confirmed

even by his statement that “the dialects of western Montenegro have many features that are unknown in the dialects of today’s eastern Herzegovina and Herzegovina in general, which gives those dialects a special place within the Ijekavian dialects. As a matter of fact, northwestern Montenegrin Ijekavian dialects (those with a four-accent system and newer forms of declension), in addition to a number of characteristics that relate them to the Ijekavian dialects of today’s Herzegovina, also contain a large number of isoglosses typical of Ijekavian dialects of the Zeta-South Sandžak type.”<sup>37</sup> If we bear in mind that Peco wrote his paper on the aforementioned dialects in 1976 and even included in it a table containing the most important distinctive features between those dialects and the dialects 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 was, given his authority in “Serbo-Croatian” dialectology—stronger even than the scientific arguments refuting his views!

Milija Stanić was also not able to resist traditionalism in the classification of Montenegrin dialects, despite having a comprehensive knowledge of the situation regarding those dialects. Although he listed in his studies of the dialects of Uskoci many features linking this dialect to other Montenegrin dialects and separating it from the Eastern Herzegovinian dialect (except for the accent), he pointed out:

Uskoci, Drobñjak, 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 dialects, the situation did not change at all—all of these areas remained within the framework of the notion of Eastern Herzegovinian dialects. Thus, the dialect described by D. Vušović (*Eastern Herzegovinian Dialect*, SDZb III, 1927) is only one of the Eastern Herzegovinian dialects, just as the dialect studied by Peco himself is one of them, and just as the dialect of Uskoci cannot be referred to except as Eastern Herzegovinian.<sup>38</sup>

If it is known that Uskoci began settling their territory in the eighteenth century and that an increase in this “settling” occurred in the late eighteenth and early nineteenth century, and that they were mainly populated from the territory of present-day Montenegro (Rudine, Markovina, Gornja Morača, Čevo, Župa Nikšićka, Ozrinići, Gornje polje, Piva, Rovca, Kolašin, Vasojevići, Kući, and Donja Morača; the only exception being four families from Gacko and one from Foča)<sup>39</sup> who settled “into a region entirely mountainous, remote

and difficult to 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,”<sup>40</sup> and if we add to the above the fact that this dialect has almost all the general Montenegrin language features, then the classification according to which it belongs to the dialect of the Eastern Herzegovinian type must be dismissed. It is—just like the dialects of Piva, Drobniak, and Nikšić regions and other dialects of northwestern Montenegro—a Montenegrin dialect with a four-accent system. A dialect cannot be declared Herzegovinian solely on the basis of a four-accent system, particularly if it is known that it does not contain the most important features of Herzegovinian dialects, and especially because it is well known that both of the rising stresses (along with the falling ones, of course) are also present in other Montenegrin dialects that are not classified into the dialects of the Herzegovinian type, even in traditionalist classifications.<sup>41</sup>

In conclusion, the above analysis confirms the validity of Vojislav P. Nikčević’s view on the existence of a Montenegro-wide language layer and the untenability of the division of Montenegrin dialects into two strictly separated dialects. Even those dialects that are highlighted in such divisions as the particularly 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 dialects only confirms a long-known fact that language and dialect boundaries only coincide with state borders in exceptional cases. In other words, certain Eastern Herzegovinian isoglosses end in Montenegro. In our case it is especially a natural thing, since these dialects belong to the same language system (Štokavian) and are, in addition, in a close neighborhood, so it would be hard not to expect a certain match in the border area of the subject dialects (Eastern Herzegovinian and Northwestern Montenegrin). The accentual system and “jat reflexes” as the two main criteria in the classification of Štokavian dialects do not provide valid results in this case. Montenegrin dialects (apart from exceptional cases) are (I)Jekavian, just like the Eastern Herzegovinian ones. And some Montenegrin dialects that are classified, in line with traditionalist views, into the dialects of the “Zeta type,” such as those of Bjelopavlići, Vasojevići, Donji Pješivci, and so on, have a four-accent system as well, while in terms of “jat reflexes” and all other features they fit into Montenegrin dialects with the two-accent system. In determining the position of certain dialects within a certain group or type of dialect, isoglosses of the features that occur in that dialect are much more important. And that is exactly the issue that Asim Peco drew attention to in his above-quoted study on transitional dialects. 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 delineated by Montenegrin national borders. The existence of all relevant Montenegro-wide language features (atypical of the Eastern Herzegovinian dialect) in northwestern Montenegrin dialects is the best indicator that those dialects belong to the Montenegrin speech type, not the Herzegovinian one. As for the accentual similarities, they are important but cannot be decisive in this regard. Therefore, the classification of northwestern Montenegrin dialects into *Eastern Herzegovinian* should be finally abandoned.



# The Issue of Classification of Montenegrin Dialects

The common criteria for classification of Štokavian dialects are *jat* reflexes and accentuation.<sup>1</sup> “Differences in the accentuation system are much more significant for the language structure than the varying *jat* reflexes. However, the practice has been established whereby *jat* reflexes are the starting ground for classification of Štokavian dialects, while the accentuation is used only for sub-divisions. . . . All previous classifications took *jat* reflexes as the main criterion.”<sup>2</sup> Both criteria are hardly applicable to the Montenegrin language situation. In terms of *jat reflexes*, the situation is almost uniform. Montenegro is dominantly and recognizably an Ijekavian country (*dijete* ‘child-NOM.S G.N’—*deteta* ‘child-GEN.SG.N’). Two distinct Ikavian-Jekavian dialects (*dite*—*deteta*)—those of Muslims from Podgorica and Gusinje—do not alter the picture significantly because they cover a very small area, while fitting neatly, in terms of other characteristics, into the group of dialects to which they belong and into the Montenegro-wide language layer. Situation is similar in Ijekavian-Ekavian dialects of the Polimlje-Ibar area (outside Vasojevići), as a natural consequence of the features of the dialects in the area below. There are, for the sake of truth, also the influences of Albanian, Serbian, and Bosnian language, which is expected given the historical reasons and the border position. If we add a specific Mrkovići situation in terms of *jat* alternants (mainly *Ekavian-Jekavian*), we will have excerpted all the deviations from Montenegrin ijekavism. And, as already noted above, *jat reflexes* traditionally constitute the main criterion for classification of Štokavian dialects.

If it is possible to talk about diversity and dispersion of Montenegrin dialects, 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



dialects are extremely similar or correspondent in terms of all other features. Montenegrin dialects include two-, three-, and four-accent systems.<sup>3</sup> The three-accent system is represented in Ožrinići with Broćanac and the area of Plav-Gusinje; the four-accent system in northwestern Montenegrin dialects, Bjelopavlići, Pješivci, Vasojevići, and the area of Polimlje-Ibar except for Plav; while the two-accent system is present in all other dialects.<sup>4</sup> However, different types can be distinguished within those groups. For example, the short falling stress is present in Piperi in the final open and closed syllable (e.g., *nāròd* ‘people’, *sestrà* ‘sister’), while in neighboring Podgorica it does not occur in the final open syllable, except in anthroponomy (both of these dialects are two-accent), but is regularly present in the final closed syllable (e.g., *nāròd*, but *sèstra*). Similarly, within the four-accent system, it is possible to differentiate between, for example, the dialects of Bjelopavlići and neighboring Gornji Pješivci, because in Bjelopavlići the long falling stress is present in the final syllable (e.g., gen. *ženê* ‘woman-GEN.SG.F’), but only *žèna* ‘woman-NOM.SG.F’) and the short falling one is present only in enclisis (e.g., *reklà je* ‘she said’), while the dialect of Gornji Pješivci does not have falling stresses in 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 dialect of Bar, along with the surrounding area, as well as some local dialects in Boka Kotorska.

As it can be seen from the above brief overview of the Montenegrin accentual situation, this criterion is not of much help in an attempt to classify Montenegrin dialects. 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 dialects, Mihailo Stevanović and Radosav Bošković separately came to the same conclusion: individual characteristics of Montenegrin dialects generally coincide with tribal boundaries.<sup>5</sup> 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 we were to try to establish a conditional classification of Montenegrin dialects for practical reasons, we could only talk about speech groups that differ in some small-scale characteristics (getting even more scarce today, for obvious reasons), while, in all important 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 dialects, there can be no discussion of separate dialects.

The territory studied by R. Bošković and M. Mačekić and M. Stevanović in the late 1920s partly coincides, but their classification is quite different. Once the classification of Montenegrin dialects by M. Pešikan from his aforementioned synthetic study is considered, the discrepancies are even larger.

Bošković and Mačekić distinguish four dialect types:

1. The Cetinje type (four *nahijas*, i.e., provinces—and the coastal area between Boka and Bar)
2. The Bar type (Bar with Mrkovići and Zupci)
3. The speech type of Kuči and Piperi
4. The speech type of the tribes of Bjelopavlići and Pješivci

Stevanović distinguishes four speech groups:

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

Pešikan lists three separate dialects:

1. Zeta-Gornje Polimlje dialect (“older” Zeta dialects west of Komovi, Vasojevići and Plav-Gusinje area), which includes:
  - a) The Old Montenegrin sub-dialect (encompasses four *nahijas*)
  - b) The coastal zone
  - c) Donja Zeta zone (covering the area that was referred to by the medieval name of Donja Zeta) within which the South Zeta zone is clearly distinguished (the far south of Montenegro with a focus in Mrkovići)
  - d) A zone of older *Brda* dialects (the territory described by M. Stevanović in *Istočnocrnogorski dijalekat* together with Bjelopavlići and Donji Pješivci), within which two types are distinguished:
    - Piperi-Kuči-Bratonožići, with the presence of certain Donja Zeta features
    - Bjelopavlići-Vasojevići
2. Montenegrin part of South Sandžak dialect (dialects above Vasojevići—Bihar and the surrounding area of Bijelo Polje)
3. Montenegrin part of the Neo-Štokavian Ijekavian (Eastern Herzegovinian) dialect<sup>6</sup>

Disagreement between the above classifications and the bulkiness of Pešikan’s naming is evident. On the other hand, the existing literature on Montenegrin dialects in most cases does not confirm the above classifications.

For example, there is no reason whatsoever for distinguishing a separate Piperi dialect group (as Stevanović did), while, on the other hand, the Kuči-Piperi dialect group (Bošković and Mačeki) is missing a member—the dialect of Bratonožići. With regard to the dialects of those three tribes, the most acceptable solution is to place them in 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 Donja Zeta features” need to be excluded from the Kuči-Piperi-Bratonožići dialect group and distinguished into a separate Zeta-Podgorica dialect group, as M. Stevanović did. This is primarily because the local dialects of that branch lack the characteristic semivowel pronunciation from the previous branch. Also, there is no significant reason for distinguishing a separate coastal branch that does not include the speech of Bar with the surrounding area and the far Montenegrin south, as M. Pešikan did, because: (a) those dialects form a unit with their continental hinterland; (b) together with the dialects of the hinterland they fit neatly into the Montenegrin supradialect layer. All of them are Ijekavian and the only difference between them is in accent (the same applies to their hinterlands), which mainly relies on the hinterland situation. Connection of coastal dialects with their hinterlands is easy to explain from a historical perspective. M. Stevanović singles out the dialect of Vasojevići into a separate dialect group, while M. Pešikan adds the dialects of Bjelopavlići to the group, defining a Bjelopavlići-Vasojevići speech type. However, on the basis of available material, it can be claimed that the speech of Donji Pješivci is also similar to those dialects, so we can talk about Donji Pješivci-Bjelopavlići-Vasojevići dialect group. The Old Montenegrin sub-dialect (M. Pešikan) mainly coincides with the Cetinje type (R. Bošković and M. Mačeki), while the two latter authors rightly add the “coastal zone between Boka and Bar” to the type.

Therefore, all the previous classifications of Montenegrin dialects are flawed, first and foremost for two main reasons:

1. They neglect the fact that Montenegrin dialects are supradialectal, that is, that they represent an integral unit, while the main differences between them are those concerning the accentual situation.
2. There is no common criterion for their classification. The second reason stems naturally from the first one, and we have already seen that *jat reflexes* as the basic criterion for the classification of Štokavian dialects do not bear much significance with regard to Montenegrin dialects. On the other hand, if we take the accentual situation of local dialects as the criterion, it will happen that certain dialects, accentually quite diverse, coincide in most other characteristics.

In addition to tribal borders, the boundaries between certain dialects have also resulted from physical separation (primarily when it comes to dialects that are separated by large rivers), as well as from social and historical circumstances. It has been repeatedly stated in the literature that medieval borders had a significant influence on the creation of accentual boundaries. The isolation of particular speech groups or smaller speech units was certainly influenced by later Ottoman and Venetian advances as well. However, the accentual boundaries most often result from the differences at the micro-structural level. This was nicely explained by Mato Pižurica in his description of the dialect of the area of Kolašin:

Basically everyone wants to have it their “own way,” because tribal identity has remained strong to date and speech has the status of the most important and recognizable feature of identity. It is even an ethical issue here. The understanding of “differences” from a linguistic point of view may be minor, such as having a different name for an item, a “catchword,” etc., but there are differences in accent, pace of speech, etc. as well. Some of those features are then taken as characteristic and become a subject of rather successful mocking.<sup>7</sup>

Nevertheless, if we start from the global accentual situation, Montenegrin dialects can be divided into two large groups: northwestern four-accent and two-accent systems. As we can see, this division ignores the aforementioned three-accent speech areas. However, although Bjelopavlići, Vasojevići, and Donji Pješivci have a four-accent system, according to some of their other properties (a disrupted relationship between the case of location and direction, the use of the vowel group *ao*, existence of a long falling stress in the final syllable, and some other minor features), they are closer to two-accent Montenegrin dialects. The situation appears to be easier when it comes to the Polimlje-Ibar area (outside Vasojevići) because it can, on the basis of Ijekavian-Ekavian *jat reflexes*, be distinguished into a separate speech group, which in turn, on the basis of a variety of other properties, forms part of the group. The specific features of that Polimlje-Ibar area have developed as a result of permeation of Albanian, Bosnian, and Serbian language traits with the native Montenegrin ones, but have also been historically conditioned ever since the period of Nemanjići, and their integration into a whole (along with the bordering Serbian dialects) has surely also resulted from the Ottoman administrative division that encompassed that area. Yet, if the dialect of Mrkovići, specific in many aspects, is even traditionally treated as part of Montenegrin dialects, then there is no reason to do otherwise with that part of the Polimlje-Ibar area.

On the basis of what is known from the dialectological literature, there are no significant distinctive features among the local dialects of the northwestern

group (which applies to both aspects, accent and jat alternants), although there are certain specifics that can be identified within individual tribes (which, on the other hand, extend to the areas that are not covered by those tribes).

Within the speech group, specifics of certain tribes are a bit more explicit. Although we offered a five-group classification of those dialects a few years ago, we will be more precise if we divide them into the following eight groups, guided primarily by the traditional criteria for classification of dialects:

1. Sub-Lovćen dialect group (territory of the four *nahijas*, with the exception of Ozrinići, and Crnogorsko primorje from Budva to Ulcinj)
2. Ozrinići dialect group (Ozrinići with Broćanac)
3. Southeastern Boka dialect group (territory of Dobrota and Vrmac and Luštica peninsulas to Grbalj)
4. Mrkovići dialect group
5. Kući-Piperi-Bratonožići dialect group
6. Zeta-Podgorica dialect group (including Lješkopolje and Tuzi with the surrounding area and the dialect of Montenegrin diaspora in Vraka and Skadar)
7. Donji Pješivci-Bjelopavlići-Vasojevići dialect group
8. Rožaje-Petnjica-Bijelo Polje dialect group (from Hajla through Turjak and above Berane to Lim and along Lim to the border with Serbia and further on along the border with Kosovo)

More important than this classification is the fact that the number of specifics of certain dialect groups is disproportionately smaller than the number of common features of the group, just as the number of specifics of the two speech groups (northwestern and ) is much smaller than the number of their shared, Montenegro-wide language features. Furthermore, it is important to note that the units from the above classification of Montenegrin dialects should under no circumstances be understood as separate dialects as they do not possess enough (macro or micro) specific features to justify such a status.

Since the classification of Štokavian dialects, as we already noted, traditionally relies on two criteria—jat alternants and accentual system—the text below will show how those two criteria affect the classification of Montenegrin dialects. Moreover, we will add two more criteria important for the issue to the discussion—former semivowel alternants and vowel group *ao*.

# Accentual System of Montenegrin Dialects

We have already indicated, in the chapters on the previous classifications of Montenegrin dialects and the issue of their classification, that the accentual system is their main feature of mutual distinction. It has also been stated that Montenegrin dialects included two-, three-, and four-accent systems, and that unaccented lengths have been preserved (except in the dialect of Mrkovići), as well as that there are differences among two-accent dialects and among four-accent dialects. Accordingly, the following overview can be made of the individual accentual system types:

1. Two-accent system with preserved pretonic and posttonic lengths, where both falling stresses can occur in the last syllable—regardless of whether the syllable is open or closed.

The following paradigm applies to those dialects:

*sestrǎ* ‘sister-NOM.SG.F’, *sestrê* ‘sister-GEN.SG.F’  
*trǎvǎ* ‘grass-NOM.SG.F’, *trǎvê* ‘grass-GEN.SG.F’  
*potòk* ‘brook-NOM.SG.M’, *potòka* ‘brook-GEN.SG.M’  
*nǎròd* ‘people-NOM.SG.M’, *nǎròda* ‘people-GEN.SG.M’

The dialects within this group encompass two rather remote areas. One of them is coastal and covers the dialects in Ljuta, Dobrota, and so on—the dialects of Vrmac and Luštica peninsulas and all the way to Grbalj, where this accentual type coexists with the one in which the short falling stress from the open ultima moved by one syllable toward the beginning while preserving the quality unaltered (so, both *sestrǎ* and *sěstra*). The other area is continental and includes the area of Kući-Piperi-Bratonožići. The classical state-of-play has been disrupted lately, so we can say that the

long rising stress in the above coastal areas has also started to appear in examples such as *nāròd* and *trāvā* > *národ* i *tráva*, while the short rising stress is absent. This is surely the result, at least to some extent, of the vicinity of four-accent dialects, which are only a short strait away. On the other hand, the situation in the Kuči-Piperi-Bratonožići border villages has also been partly disrupted, so villages on the way to Podgorica start to display the same situation as the one in Grbalj, while the villages bordering Bjelopavlići show the same disruption as the one in the aforementioned coastal zone.

This accentual type is the oldest one in Montenegrin dialects.

2. Two-accent system with preserved pretonic and posttonic lengths, where both falling stresses can occur in the closed ultima, whereas only the long falling one can occur in the open ultima, while the short falling stress moved by one syllable toward the beginning while preserving the stress quality unaltered.

The following paradigm applies to those dialects:

*sěstra, sestře*  
*tráva, trāvě*  
*potòk, potòka*  
*nāròd, nāròda*

It was therefore the open final syllable that prevented the occurrence of short falling stress in them. This group would include the dialects of the Lovćen-Rumija area.<sup>1</sup> Those are the dialects of Katunska nahija (without Ožrinići and Broćanac), Riječka nahija, and Crmnica and the coastal dialects gravitating to that area—from Paštrovići to Mrkovići.

The exceptions are insignificant. It has already been stated that the dialects of Ožrinići with Broćanac are different from other Katunska nahija dialects as they include a long rising stress. Gornje Cuce, Zagarač, and Komani also include a preserved stress in the open ultima in bi-syllabic personal names such as *Pěrò*, *Stānà*, and *Stāně*. However, lately, such stress is absent from Cuce and Zagarač, but persists in Komani. It is important to note that the process of shortening unaccented lengths is widespread in the dialect of Mrkovići.

Given the accentual forms *dìoba* ‘separation’, *sěoce* ‘hamlet’ te *vrì(j)eme* ‘time’, *dìjete* ‘child’, this accentual type is deemed to have been formed by the fourteenth century at the latest—the period when the simplification of the old vowel and consonant system had, according to general belief, already been completed. The specific accentual forms could, therefore, occur before the change of *l* into *o* had started, or before *jat* had produced today’s Ijekavian alternants. On the other hand, Mitar Pešikan considers the possibility that this transfer had occurred even before the

final semivowel was lost. This would imply that the transfer had occurred on each ultima—both closed and open, and that stress in the forms such as *potòk*, *nāròd* has been preserved because ultima was constituted by the former semivowel at the end of those words. He was led to consider this possibility by the observation that ultima openness / closedness did not have an impact on stress transfer in other dialects.

As a subtype of this type we could mention the accentual type of Zeta-Podgorica area with Lješanska nahija and Lješkopolje. For truth's sake, the paradigm *sěstra*, *sestré* // *tráva*, *trāvê* // *potòk*, *potòka* // *nāròd*, *nāròda* applies to this type as well. However, forms *Pērò*, *Stānā*<sup>2</sup> are the only forms known in this area, and they are accompanied by regular examples such as *stričkò* 'uncle', *bābò* 'father', *frātò* 'friar', *srěčkò* 'lucky person', *jādà* 'miserable woman', *(h)ālā* 'aunt', *skōrčā* 'skinny woman', *smōtā* 'clumsy woman'. There are two important and noticeable characteristics of the forms in which the short falling stress occurs in the open ultima: (1) these are bi-syllabic words with pretonic length; (2) these are nouns denoting living beings. Nevertheless, it is possible to find nouns with different meanings as well, such as *tūtā* 'chamber pot', *nōšā* 'potty', *žvākā* 'chewing gum', *bēbā* 'baby', *bōlā* 'illness'. However, there is less such nouns, and the nouns such as *glava* 'head', *duša* 'soul', *vila* 'fairy', *grana* 'branch', *trava* 'grass' are never used with a short falling stress on the ultima, but with a long falling stress in the first syllable. There is also no short falling stress on the open ultima in tri-syllabic and multi-syllabic words (regardless of the meaning). We have only recorded a few exceptions in the dialect of Muslims in the Zeta-Podgorica area: *munārē* 'minaret', *telāšā* 'trouble', *ženāzā* 'funeral'. These are, as can be seen, words borrowed through Turkish mediation, two of which belong to the realm of religious terminology. Given that the Islamization of that area had started on the eve of the sixteenth century, it could be said that the area had constituted the borderline between the first and the second type, that is, that the moving of the short falling stress from the open ultima had still not been fully implemented by that period in it. After all, this area constitutes the line of territorial transition between the areas that characterize the two aforementioned accentual types (the Kuči-Piperi-Bratonožići area on the one side, and the area of Katunska and Riječka nahija and that of Crmnica on the other side). Identical accentual situation had surely existed in Montenegrin dialects of the Skadar area as well, which is confirmed by the dialects of Montenegrins in Vraka and Skadar (that are on the verge of disappearing).

3. Three-accent system with preserved lengths, where a short falling stress cannot occur in the open ultima. From the open ultima, a short falling stress moves to the preceding syllable: (a) either as a long rising stress



(if the short falling stress was preceded by an unaccented length) (b) or as a short falling one (if the preceding syllable was short). Short falling stresses do not move from the closed ultima (just as long falling stresses do not move regardless of the ultima openness or closedness).

The following paradigm applies to those dialects:

*sěstra, sestřě*  
*tráva, trāvě*  
*potòk, potòka*  
*nāròd, nāròda*

This group is also characteristic of two rather remote areas. One of them is the Katun area—Ozrinići with Broćanac, and the other one is the Plav-Gusinje area. The fact that both areas border four-accent dialects leads us to the conclusion that this is a secondary, newer feature. Ozrinići borders the dialects of Bjelopavlići and Pješivci, while the area of Plav-Gusinje is adjacent to the dialect of Vasojevići. Still, long rising stresses in those two areas are systemic. The fact that forms such as *Stáne* occur in Ozrinići with Broćanac confirms the assumption that those long rising stresses have been adopted subsequently (following the already completed transfer that was described as typical of Lovćen-Rumija dialects). This is the only way to explain the rising stress in nominative case bi-syllabic female names ending in *-e* (previously assimilated to the vocative case in form and accent). On the other hand, names such as *Stáne* do not occur in the Plav-Gusinje area as there was no above assimilation between the nominative and the vocative case in it.

4. Four-accent system in which a short falling stress moved from the ultima (whether open or closed) by one syllable toward the beginning while altering the quality, but with a preserved long falling stress on the ultima (whether open or closed) and with short falling stresses outside of the first syllable. This is, therefore, a system that has no short falling stresses on the ultima, but with a preserved old stress in all other cases.

The following paradigm applies to this type:

*sěstra, sestřě*  
*tráva, trāvě*  
*pòtok, potòka*  
*nāròd, nāròda*

This group also characterizes separate areas: Bjelopavlići and Donji Pješivci on the one side and Vasojevići and the dialects of the municipalities of Bijelo Polje, Petnjica, and Rožaje on the other. These are also areas adjacent to the four-accent dialects of the municipalities of Nikšić, Kolašin, Mojkovac, and Žabljak. It is not difficult to conclude that the

dialect of Bjelopavlići had a major impact on the accentual system of Donji Pješivci. On the other hand, the other dialects of this type are also a transition between the first-type dialects adjacent to them (Kući-Piperi-Bratonožići) and the four-accent dialects (without falling stresses outside of the first syllable) with which they are also in territorial contact. Accental forms such as *vri(j)ème*, *mli(j)èko* ‘milk’ (but often also *vri(j)éme*, *mli(j)éko*) testify that this type was formed much later than in the second type, that is, after the affirmation of the bi-syllabic jat alternant. This view is particularly supported by the occurrence of short falling stresses on the ultima in enclisis, such as in *lijepà je* ‘she is pretty’, *sramotà je* ‘it is a shame’, *potòk je* ‘brook has’, *sestrà ga* ‘sister has’, *menè je* ‘I was’, etc. This could lead to the conclusion that the dialects of Bjelopavlići, Kući, Piperi, Bratonožići, and Vasojevići have shared common life at least until the establishment of Ottoman rule in Montenegro. The extent to which the dialect of Donja Morača was different from them in that period is also questionable, with its today’s population being of more recent origin.

5. Four-accent system with no falling stresses outside of the first syllable and with preserved posttonic lengths.

The following paradigm applies to this type:

*sèstra, sèstrē*  
*tráva, trávē*  
*pòtok, pòtoka*  
*nàrod, nàroda*

This is the accentual type that forms the basis of Montenegrin standard language. In it, falling stresses have been removed from the non-initial syllable and moved toward the beginning as a short rising stress (if the preceding syllable was short) and as a long rising one (if the preceding syllable was long), while the posttonic length is preserved in place of the former long falling stress. It can be said that there are almost absolutely regular relations between the Montenegrin dialects belonging to the first type and the ones belonging to this type:

The first accentual type

*sèstra, sestrē*  
*trāvā, trāvē*  
*potòk, potòka*  
*nāròd, nāròda*

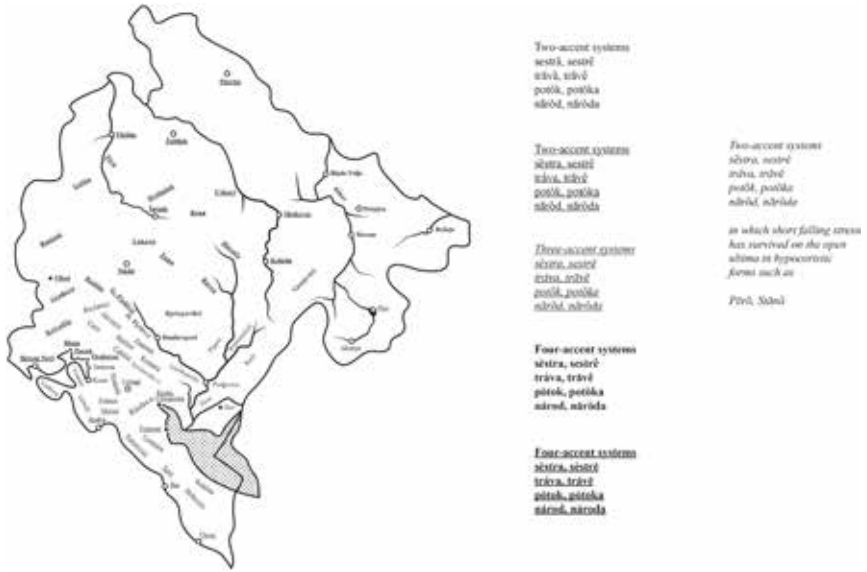
The fifth accentual type

*sèstra, sèstrē*  
*tráva, trávē*  
*pòtok, pòtoka*  
*nàrod, nàroda*

The dialects of this type encompass the largest part of the territory of Montenegro: a zone from the Croatian border to and inclusive of

Orahovac on the coast, and the complete territory of the municipalities of Nikšić, Plužine, Šavnik, Pljevlja, Mojkovac, and Kolašin in the interior. Therefore, in addition to the designated coastal zone with the immediate hinterland (Krivošije, Ledenice, Orjen), Grahovo, Banjani, Rudine, Golija, Piva, Drobnjak, Šaranci, Uskoci, Pljevlja, Gornja Morača, Donja Morača, Mojkovac, Kolašin, Rovca, Nikšićka Župa, and Gornji Pješivci are also included.

When presented on a map, the territories covered by the aforementioned accentual types of Montenegrin dialects nicely depict how they, along with the types characterizing them, nicely fit together. No confusion can arise from the fact that certain (same) accentual types occur in separate territories because the reasons that led to the occurrence of those types are the same, that is, those types are found in the same surrounding.



**Map 1. Accentual System of Montenegrin Dialects.** Source: Created by Milutin Marković with data by Adnan Čirgić.



# Jat Alternants in Montenegrin Dialects

It has already been noted that in terms of jat alternants, Montenegrin dialects display almost full consistency: short jat has produced *je* (with jotation of *d*, *t*, *s*, *z*, and *c* in all dialects, and at least sporadic labial jotation in most of them), whereas long jat has produced *i(j)e*. The exceptions are mostly no different from the state-of-play in the standard language. However, there are three rather remote areas with specific jat alternants, which differ from the general Montenegro-wide situation. In terms of jat reflexes, the following groups may be distinguished in Montenegrin dialects:

1. Dialects in which long jat has produced *ije*, and short jat *je*, for example, *bijelo*—*bjelina* ‘white’. Short jat has produced *e* in positions after *r*, for example, *rečica* ‘stream’. This is not related to *e* after *r* that is preceded by consonants, for example, *vrijeme* ‘time-NOM-SG.N’—*vremena* ‘time-GEN-SG.N’, but to jotation of the preceding consonant, for example, *dijete* ‘child’—*đeca* ‘children’. Some small deviations will be shown in an overview of individual speech units. Long jat alternants differ in accent, which is related to the above accentual types. This is how forms such as *vrijemè*, *vrijeme*, *vrijème* but also *vrijéme* are created, which surely led some researchers to an unverified conclusion on mono-syllabic value of jat in some Montenegrin dialects. An additional element that could have led them to such a conclusion is the fact that *j* in *ije* sequence (and in general as well) is a rather unstable glide in Montenegrin dialects.

This type is characteristic of most Montenegrin dialects. All the dialects belong here, apart from the dialect of Mrkovići, the dialect of Muslims from Podgorica and Gusinje, the dialects of the municipalities of Bijelo Polje, Petnjica, and Rožaje, and the town dialect of Berane and the villages between Berane and Rožaje.

2. Dialects in which long jat has produced *i*, and short jat *je*, for example, *dite*—*đeca*, *sino*—*šenina* ‘hay’. Since this is not a *long jat* > *long i* alternation, but a subsequent process through which *ije* produced *long i* from long jat by phonological means, those dialects can be considered a separate type only conditionally (in such a classification). It is apparent that this is a subtype of the first type, not only because the classical long jat alternant has been preserved in morphology (*tijem* ‘that-INS.SG’, *tija* / *tija*<sup>e</sup> ‘these-GEN.PL’), but also because jat alternant preserves the position of stress, for example, *dîte*, *sîno* (< *dÿete*, *sÿeno*).

This type is characteristic of Muslims from Podgorica and Gusinje. It has also been retained in the dialect of Podgorica (Muslim) immigrants in Skadar, having disappeared from Zeta with the disappearance of Muslims from that area. This type is diminishing today, so the first type is being re-established (*dÿete*, *sÿeno* variant).

3. Dialects in which long jat has produced *e*, and short jat *je*, for example, *dete*—*đeca*. The exceptions are rare. This type could also be considered a subtype of the first type, because the ekavism in it has also been established by phonological means *ije* > *e*, not as a direct long jat alternant. This type is typical only of the dialect of Mrkovići.
4. Dialects in which long jat has produced *ije*, and short jat *e*, for example, *Bijelo Polje*—*belopolški*. This is a zone encompassing the dialects of Bijelo Polje (without the far north villages of that municipality neighboring four-accent dialects with no falling stresses outside the first syllable, which have mainly been populated in recent times, by population from outside of this territory), Petnjica and Rožaje municipalities and the town dialect of Berane and the villages between Berane and Rožaje. As can be seen, this is mainly the area of Polimlje-Ibar, not including Vasojevići. The precise boundaries of this type have not been defined.

Unlike the dialects of the second and the third type, this type could be defined as autochthonous, and potential exceptions are easily explained on grounds of migrations from the interior of Montenegro after the Balkan Wars.

In line with the above, it would not be a mistake to say that Montenegrin dialects can be classified into two types in terms of jat alternants. One of them is the one in which long jat has produced *ije*, and short jat *je*, after which phonological simplification of bi-syllabic jat into mono-syllabic jat occurred in three zones, *ije* > *i* in the dialect of Muslims from Podgorica and Gusinje, and *ije* > *e* in the dialect of Mrkovići. (In both cases short jat has produced *je*.) The process in Mrkovići is believed to have been supported by Albanian language influence, while there are no such confirmations for Podgorica and Gusinje. The second type is the one in which long jat has produced *ije*, and short jat *e*. Ekavian forms



**Map 2. Jat Alternants in Montenegrin Dialects.** *Source:* Created by Milutin Marković with data by Adnan Čirgić.

in it are probably the result of the short jat alternation, not a subsequent *je > e* process. At the same time, this is the only area in which Jekavian jotation has not occurred, which is another confirmation of autonomy of the process conditioned by historical circumstances and border position over a long period of time.





# The Issue of Semivowel in Montenegrin Dialects

When it comes to the issue of semivowel, Montenegrin dialects display a significant lack of uniformity. These discrepancies have surely resulted from specific historical circumstances in certain areas of today's Montenegro. The establishment of Ottoman and Venetian rule also influenced the further development of dialects. Over a long period of time, the Ottoman administrative division that led to the creation of different *sanjakats* must have also influenced the dialectical convergence of certain areas and their separation from the home area. All of this can be partly traced back on the basis of the aforementioned four criteria for the classification of Montenegrin dialects (accent, jat, semivowel, and vowel group *ao*), although some phenomena had in any case preceded the arrival of Ottoman and Venetian forces. However, the extent to which these criteria are insufficient is demonstrated by the fact that there are almost no areas where the results of all four criteria match. This, of course, speaks of the mutual leveling of features among the dialects, often separated by large geographical barriers. Their gravitation to each other, at least partial, frequent internal migrations of the population, sometimes even massive, the absence of major migrations from the outside to the Montenegrin regions, and especially the new historical conditions in the late nineteenth and early twentieth century, when Montenegro was re-established as a state, have, along with the territorially close *katuni* where people would stay for almost half a year in the neighborhood, led to the elimination of some distinctive dialectal features among particular areas and the creation of the Montenegrin supradialectal layer. Undoubtedly, this must have also been influenced by the highly developed oral literature and the cult of words, which has been respected in Montenegro until recently.

The old semivowel value (in the strong position) was preserved by the second half of the twentieth century—only in Dobrota and Krtole (Boka), and in

Tuđemili, Zupci, and Šestani (Bar). In all the other areas in which the specific alternant of the former semivowel occurs, it is not a semivowel but a full vowel on the borderline between *a* and *e*, which has mainly preserved certain components of both vowels. It is, however, difficult to establish the dialect or speech area in which the semivowel has a value of *a* or *e*. The effort is especially complicated by the fact that dialectologists, inter alia, marked the same pronunciation values of the old semivowel differently, while mainly relying on their own hearing. It is impossible to verify the situation today, given that this feature, once recognizable, is in the process of complete disappearance even among the oldest part of the population. Therefore, not addressing the issue of different pronunciation values of the old semivowel alternants, we will mark it *a<sup>e</sup>* in the entire territory, except in the areas identified as characteristic by retaining the old pronunciation value.

The old semivowel, that is, its specific alternant *a<sup>e</sup>*, occurs in the entire coastal area from Dobrota to the far south. From there, it covers the entire immediate hinterland and goes deep into the country's inland. It (*a<sup>e</sup>*) occurs in the dialects of Katunska nahija, inclusive with Čeklići, as well as in Maine, Pobori, Brajići, Cetinje, Riječka nahija, and Crmnica with Krajina. From there, it is interrupted by the areas of Cuce, Bjelice, Ozrinići, Komani and Zagaračje, Lješanska nahija with Lješkopolje, Zeta, Podgorica (and Montenegrin dialects in Albania), encompassing again the areas of Piperi, Kuči, Bratonožići, Plav-Gusinje, and Gornji Vasojevići.

In the territory of four-accent dialects (with the exception of Gornji Vasojevići), there is no semivowel—it has been vocalized into *a*, just as in the standard language. Exceptions apply to Bjelopavlići villages bordering Piperi, and to some sporadic phenomena in the region of Nikšić, but this is not an autochthonous phenomenon. In the first case, the influence of Piperi is involved, and in the other the reason for such a state-of-play lies in the immigrants from those Montenegrin areas that have *a<sup>e</sup>* alternant in place of the former semivowel.

Therefore, the area of Berane, Rožaje, Petnjica, Bijelo Polje, Morača (Gornja and Donja), Rovca, Uskoci, Jezera, Šaranci, Drobnjak, Piva, Golija, Nikšić, Župa, Bjelopavlići, Zeta, Podgorica, Lješkopolje, Lješanska nahija, Komani, Zagarač, Cuce, Bjelice, Ozrinići, Pješivci, Rudine, Banjani, Grahovo, Krivošije, Ledenice, Orjen, and the territory along the coast from the Croatian border to Orahovac have vowel *a* in place of the semivowel. Urbanization and education have led to a situation where the specific semivowel pronunciation is disappearing in the remaining territory as well, with the vowel *a* introduced in its place (See Map 3).

Some other details are also worth mentioning in terms of the semivowel reflexes in the Montenegrin dialects. In the dialects that have retained the specific semivowel alternant *a<sup>e</sup>* or its old pronunciation value it is as if a process



**Map 3. Semivowel Alternant in Montenegrin Dialects.** Source: Created by Milutin Marković with data by Adnan Čirgić.

had been initiated (but not completed) of elimination of the differences between the semivowel alternant and etymological *a*, which resulted in examples such as *ma<sup>ɛ</sup>slo* / *m<sup>ɛ</sup>slo* / *maslo* ‘butter’. The Turkish semivowel (from borrowings) had the same destiny as the Slavic semivowel. For example, in Zeta with Podgorica and Lješkopolje form *konšilak* occurs, while in the area of Kuči-Piperi-Bratonožići form *konšila<sup>ɛ</sup>k* ‘neighborhood’ is present. On the other hand, Romance borrowings adopted long time ago (before semivowel vocalization) with short *i* have had this short *i* replaced by a soft semivowel (in terms of the vocal value of that semivowel), which then shared the same destiny as the semivowel in domestic words. Therefore, Lat. *lolliginis* became *ulig<sup>ɛ</sup>ñ* / *uliga<sup>ɛ</sup>ñ* / *uliga<sup>ɛ</sup>ñ*, -*gña*. The same applies to short *u* in the borrowings adopted long time ago, where it was accepted as a hard semivowel, only to subsequently be vocalized or lost (if it was in the weak position), for example, Lat. *tabula* > *tab<sup>ɛ</sup>la* > *tabla* ‘board’.



# The Issue of Vowel Group AO in Montenegrin Dialects

As for the issue of vowel group *ao*, of particular significance is the area of its assimilation into long *a* or long *o*. Although there are areas in which the vowel group has remained unaltered in certain positions, there are no Montenegrin dialects in which the group has remained unaltered in all categories. This does not seem to be the influence of administrative centers or education, as border-area and passive dialects are included as well, which have, in addition, retained the old forms, in which the *ao* group remained unchanged in certain categories, or appears exceptionally and alternatively. We are therefore more prone to conclude that it is an unfinished process. Just as all the other processes that remained unfinished by the first decades of the twentieth century, this one has also come to be more or less disrupted by internal migrations, education, and urbanization afterward. One way or the other, group *ao* has undergone changes in all the areas of the Montenegrin language. In some of them, the group has produced varying results depending on whether the old groups *al* and *ɔl* are involved, while in other the results are the same.

The area from Orahovac to the Croatian border in Primorje and the inland territories of Orjen, Krivošije, Grahovo, Banjani, Golija, Piva, Drobnjak, Jezero, Šaranci, Uskoci, Polimlje-Ibar area above Berane to the state border, Gornja and Donja Morača, and Rovca contract *ao* (< *al* and *ɔl*) into long *o*. The exceptions are present in the Drobnjak<sup>1</sup> and Uskoci areas that are inhabited by population from the hinterland. The common exceptions are related mainly to sporadic preservation of *ao* when *a* is accented, for example, *dào* 'give-L-PT.M.SG', *znào* 'know-L-PT.M.SG', *nàodī* 'finds-3SG.PRES', etc. As we can see, this is an area in which the old semivowel is vocalized into *a*.

Another area in which the assimilation of *ao* (< *al* and *ɔl*) into *a* occurs is the area of vocalization of the old semivowel into *a*. Zeta, Podgorica, Lješkopolje, Lješanska nahija, Komani, Zagarač, Bjelice, Cuce, Ožrinići,

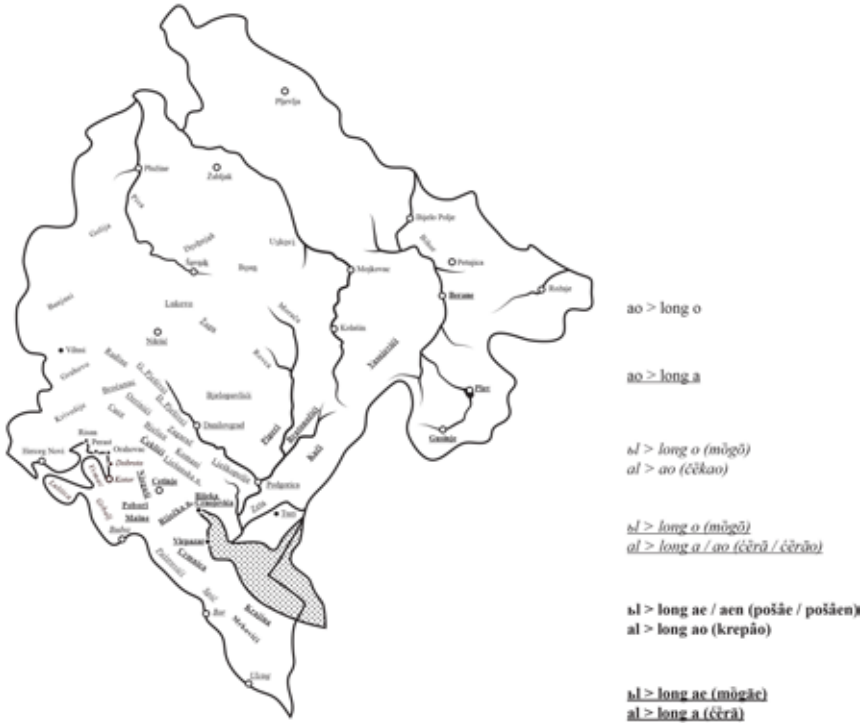
Bjelopavlići, Pješivci, Župa Nikšićka, Rudine Nikšićke and the area of Nikšić toward Rovca, Morača, Uskoci, Drobnjak, and Piva. The dialect of Donji Vasojevići can also be said to belong here to some extent, although it also has unaltered *ao* (*posào* ‘work’, *došào* ‘come-L-PT.M.SG’) instead of *ɔl*.

The third and remaining area, where a specific semivowel alternant (*a<sup>e</sup>*) or its old semivowel value have been preserved, produces varying results. A part of that area has retained the distinction between etymological *a* and old semivowel alternant, so the *al* and *ɔl* groups produce varying results. On the other hand, the fact that group *ɔl* produced long *o* in the territory from Dobrota to Bar indicates that the entire area in question has preserved, until recent times, the old pronunciation value of the semivowel (as indicated by some observations on semivowel pronunciation in Bar in the nineteenth century), whereas today’s alternant—a vowel between *a* or *e*, with first or the other component prevailing—occurs as of recent times, perhaps the early nineteenth century, that is, before group *ɔl* produced *o*. If this assumption is considered correct, then the examples of *ɔl* > long *o* do not constitute assimilation, but a loss of the semivowel in a weak position in front of the full vowel *o* (< *l*).

1. In Boka (Dobrota and the dialects of Vrmac and Luštica peninsulas), old *ɔl* has produced long *o* (*mògō* ‘was able to’, *rèkō* ‘say-L-PT.M.SG’; *kozōca* / *kozōcà* / *kozōca* ‘cuckoo pint-GEN.SG.M’; *orō* ‘eagle’, *posō* ‘work’, *koťō* ‘cauldron’), while *ao* < *al* mainly remained unaltered, for example, *čèkao* ‘wait-L-PT.M.SG’, *stojào* ‘stand-L-PT.M.SG’, *žào* ‘sorry’. Grbalj, on the other hand, differs only to a small extent. It features *ao* (< *al*) that has remained unaltered, for example, *čitào* ‘read-L-PT.M.SG’, *graktào* ‘squawk-L-PT.M.SG’, *bāčào* ‘throw-L-PT.M.SG’, while *ao* (< *ɔl*) most often produces *o* as in Boka, although examples with *a* have been recorded as well, for example, *ùbā* / *ùbō* ‘well’, *zāva* ‘sister-in-law’, etc. The available material does not give enough ground for drawing conclusions, but it is highly probable that long *a* in the dialect of Grbalj in those cases appeared as a lexical import.
2. In Paštrovići *ao* < *al* has produced long *a*, for example, *imâ* ‘have-L-PT.M.SG’, *znāvâ* ‘know-L-PT.M.SG’, *čèrâ* ‘chase-L-PT.M.SG’, *prōvâ* ‘try-L-PT.M.SG’, etc. Group *ɔl* has produced *o*, just as in the previous area, for example, *rèkō*, *pronašō* ‘find-L-PT.M.SG’, *zāšō* ‘round-L-PT.M.SG’, *dīgō* ‘lift-L-PT.M.SG’, etc. The situation is the same in the dialect of Spič, separated from Paštrovići by Kufin, a toponym that has survived to date; however, in the dialect of Spič every long *a* is labialized, and group *ao* (< *al*) is contracted as long *a<sup>o</sup>*, for example, *pjèvâ<sup>o</sup>* ‘sing-L-PT.M.SG’, *igrâ<sup>o</sup>* ‘dance-L-PT.M.SG’, *kāzâ<sup>o</sup>* ‘utter-L-PT.M.SG’, *pasâ<sup>o</sup>* ‘leave-L-PT.M.SG’, *pomâ<sup>o</sup>gâ<sup>o</sup>* ‘help-L-PT.M.SG’, etc.

3. Just as many other things there, the vowel group *ao* demonstrates rather specific qualities in Mrkovići. It can be said that the basic intention of the dialect is for *ɔl* to produce long *a<sup>e</sup>* (which again can be nasalized or non-nasalized), for example, *pošâ<sup>e</sup> / pošâ<sup>en</sup>* ‘depart-L-PT.M.SG’, and for *ao* (from *al*) to produce labialized *a<sup>o</sup>* (as in *Spič*), for example, *krepâ<sup>o</sup>* ‘croak-L-PT.M.SG’. However, even if such an intention existed once, it has been largely disrupted in the meantime, so both long *a* and long *o* occur, as well as an unaltered group. Immediate and distant hinterland are bound to have had an impact on such a situation as well.
4. The remaining areas in which the old semivowel has produced the specific alternant *a<sup>e</sup>* instead of *ao* mainly feature such a situation. When it comes to the issue of the old group *ɔl*, it has produced long *a<sup>e</sup>*, while the group *al* (> *ao*) has resulted in long *a*. Such is the state-of-play in the areas of Crmnica, Riječka nahija, Kuči-Piperi-Bratonožići and Plav-Gusinje, and Gornji Vasojevići (with certain deviations characteristic of Vasojevići, already mentioned above), and based on the relics of that state-of-play it can be concluded that the same situation was present in Čeklići, Njeguši, Cetinje, Braići, Pobori, and Maine. The dialects of the Kuči and Plav-Gusinje areas are somewhat different as they feature semivowel nasalization, so there is long *a<sup>en</sup>* or long *q<sup>e</sup>* in place of the group *ɔl* (See Map 4). The examples for the group *ɔl* in these dialects could be: *mògâ<sup>e</sup>, kòtâ<sup>e</sup> / kotâ<sup>e</sup>* (or *mògâ<sup>en</sup>, kotâ<sup>en</sup>* in the Kuči and Plav-Gusinje areas).

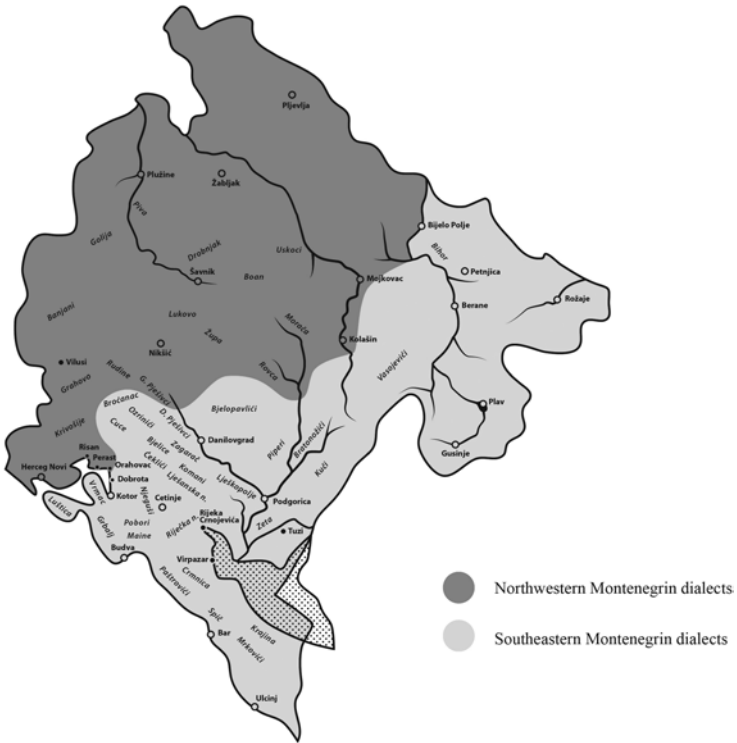




Map 4. Vowel Group ao in Montenegrin Dialects. Source: Created by Milutin Marković with data by Adnan Čirgić.

# Main Features of Individual Speech Groups in Montenegro

We have already indicated that, when it comes to traditional criteria for classification of Štokavian dialects, Montenegrin dialects could be classified into two broader areas: northwestern and southeastern dialects (including Rožaje-Petnjica-Bijelo Polje dialects). The greatest diversity at the micro-structural level is present in the group of southeastern Montenegrin dialects, which can, mainly due to different social and historical circumstances, be divided into several smaller groups: Sub-Lovćen dialect group, Ozrinići dialect group, Southeastern Boka dialect group, Mrkovići dialect group, Kuči-Piperi-Bratonožići dialect group, Zeta-Podgorica dialect group, Donji Pješivci-Bjelopavlići-Vasojevići dialect group, and Rožaje-Petnjica-Bijelo Polje dialect group (See Map 5).



**Map 5. Main Classification of Montenegrin Dialects.** *Source:* Created by Milutin Marković with data by Adnan Čirgić.

# Northwestern Montenegrin Dialects

## SPREAD

Northwestern Montenegrin dialects cover a broad area from the border with Serbia along the left bank of Lim to above Bijelo Polje, extending to Mojkovac and the southwestern slopes of Bjelasica below Kolašin to Mateševo (skipping it and bypassing Vasojevići, Kuči, Bratonožići, Piperi, Bjelopavlići, Donji Pješivci) and then through Ostrog, crossing the Zeta river at Tunjevo (between Zagorak and Drenoštica) and continuing along the southwestern boundary of Katunska nahija to Orahovac in Boka, only to spread further to the border with Croatia, following the border with Bosnia and Herzegovina and ending at the border with Serbia at Lim.

Therefore, northwestern Montenegrin dialects include the dialects of Orahovac, Perast, Risan to the end of Herceg Novi (and all the coastal settlements between them), as well as the dialects of Krivošije, Orjen, Grahovo, Banjani, Rudine, Nikšić, Gornji Pješivci, Župa Nikšićka, Rovca, Morača, Kolašin's, Mojkovac's and the upper border areas of Bijelo Polje municipality, Uskoci, Jezera, Šaranci, Drobnjaci, Piva, and Golija.

## MAIN FEATURES

The accentual system belongs to the fifth type (see above for descriptions of accentual types in Montenegrin dialects). The following paradigm applies to this type:

*sèstra* 'sister-NOM.SG.F', *sèstrē* 'sister-GEN.SG.F'  
*tráva* 'grass-NOM.SG.F', *trávē* 'grass-GEN.SG.F'

*pòtok* ‘brook-NOM.SG.M’, *pòtoka* ‘brook-GEN.SG.M’  
*nàrod* ‘people-NOM.SG.M’, *nàroda* ‘people-GEN.SG.M’

Therefore, there are no falling stresses outside of the first syllable and post-tonic lengths have been preserved. Exceptions may occur in interjections or in emphasis.

Pronouns *mène* ‘me’, *tèbe* ‘you’, *sèbe* ‘self’, *hèga* ‘him’, *hèmu* ‘to him’ have a short rising stress in the first syllable as a rule. Thus, there is no transfer of the stress from those pronouns to the proclitic. However, in the dialects closer to the border with Bosnia and Herzegovina, under the influence of Herzegovinian accents, forms *mène*, *tèbe*, *sèbe*, *hèga*, *hèmu* occur, along with the resulting transfers such as in *nà mene* ‘on me’, *nà tebe* ‘on you’, *ò nama* ‘about us’, etc.

As for the falling stresses in the first syllable, they are consistently transferred to the proclitic in these dialects.

The vowel system of northwestern Montenegrin dialects is characterized by five standard vowels (*a*, *e*, *i*, *o*, *u*) and the vowel *r* (long and short). The old semivowel in the strong position is vocalized into *a*.

Short jat has produced *je* and long *ije*, for example, *vjèk* ‘century’—*vjècit* ‘eternal’. The phenomenon of secondary lengthening, for example, *vrijème* ‘time’, is also present, although such cases can rather be said to include a semi-length. The exceptions, apart from the typical rare cases of Montenegrin ekavisms *cesta* ‘road’, *zenica* ‘eye pupil’, and *rje* (< *rě*) > *re* (*rècit* ‘eloquent’, *rèčica* ‘stream’), are pretty much the same as in the standard language: *viđō* / *viđio* ‘see-L-PT.M.SG’, *sìō* ‘sit down-L-PT.M.SG’, *smiō* ‘dare-L-PT.M.SG’, but also *usiđelica* ‘spinster’, *siđet* ‘to sit’ alternatively with *uśedelica*, *śeđet*. On the other hand, forms such as *śerōma* ‘poor man’, *śerōmaština* ‘poverty’ also occur. Secondary ijekavisms *pùtija* ‘goblet’, *vòdija* ‘water-filled sheath’ are characteristic of these dialects as well. Such forms are mainly *počijèvat* ‘to rest’, *pokrijèvat* ‘to cover’.

The consonant system is characterized mainly by the absence of consonants *h* and *f*. While *f* is most often replaced by *v* (*vála* ‘thanks’, *Stèvān*), *h* is lost either almost consistently (in the initial position, e.g., *rbat* ‘back’, *lād* ‘shade’, *ārāt* ‘to ransack’), or optionally in other positions, for example, *mūva* / *mūa* ‘fly’, *òvijē* / *òvijēg* ‘these-GEN.PL’, *sirōma* / *sirōmak*, *Mijat*, *kljat* ‘to sneeze’, *znāvāgū* ‘they knew-3PL.IMPF’, etc. Therefore, *h* is (if it is not lost) replaced by *j*, *k*, *g*, *v*. Today’s *h* and *f* in this area have been subsequently established under the influence of the education system.

Consonants *ś* and *ž* are a stable part of the system. They have been created through jotation, for example, *śème* ‘seed’, *śèvēr* ‘north’; *klāše* ‘ears’, *ōše* ‘awns’; *īzelica* ‘glutton’, *īzes* ‘to eat-PFV’, but also in other ways beyond that category—in personal names and hypocoristic forms, for example, *Māša*, *Véšo*, *Žāgo*, *žāto* ‘gold (as a term of endearment)’, *bāša* ‘granny’, etc.

Consonant *z* (*dz*) is rare and occurs in foreign words, for example, *brònzìn* ‘copper cauldron’, although *z* is more common in such cases.

Sonants *v* and *j* are unstable. When in intervowel position, their articulation weakens until complete disappearance, for example, *vřek*, *břa* ‘flea’.

The vowel group *ao* has produced long *o* with the exception of part of Uskoci and Drobnjak and the entire Nikšić territory toward Bjelopavlići, Rovca, Uskoci, Drobnjak, Piva, Golija, Banjani, and Grahovo. In those areas, *ao* has produced long *a* regardless of whether *ao* was created from *al* or *bl*.

Jekavian jotation has encompassed all categories:

- Consonants *d*, *t*, *c*, *s*, *z*: *šèdet*, *òdelāt* ‘to hew-PFV’, *đèvēr* ‘brother-in-law’, *čèrāt* ‘to chase’, *čèšīt* ‘to comfort’, *pòčera* ‘chase’, *čèdilo* ‘colander’, *čepànica* ‘firewood log’, *prócep* ‘rift’, *šème*, *pàšī* ‘malevolent’, *šàjan* ‘glowing’, *pašàluk* ‘malice’, *ižes*, *kòžī* ‘pertaining to a goat’, *ižedna* ‘integrally’
- Jotation *svje* > *še*, *cvje* > *če*: *šèdok* ‘witness’, *šèdožba* ‘school certificate’, *pròšeta* ‘education’, *čètat* ‘to flourish’, *Čètko*, *Čèma*
- Jotation of labials: *plěsma* ‘song’, *dòspłeti* ‘to mature’, *plěna* ‘foam’, *òbléd* ‘meal’, *blěsnilo* ‘rabies’, *oblěručkē* ‘both-handedly’, *mlěsēc* ‘moon’, *grmłeti* ‘to thunder’, *mlěsečina* ‘moonlight’, *vłěra* ‘faith’, *žívlet* ‘to live’, *vłèčit* ‘eternal’

However, in parallel with the latter forms, non-iotized sequences *pje*, *bje*, *mje*, *vje* occur, not only in the same areas but also with the same speakers.

Consonants *đ* and *ć* often produce *j* in the final position, although this phenomenon varies in intensity across the area. In addition to the forms *kùj* ‘where’, *gòj* ‘ever’, *pòj* ‘to depart’, *dòj* ‘to arrive’ forms with preserved final *đ* and *ć* occur.

Also, the loss of glide *j* after palatals *č* and *ž*: *náruče* ‘armful’, *òbiljěže* ‘feature’ is present only partly.

The simplification of consonant groups *-st*, *-št*, *-zd* in the final position is a general phenomenon: *mìlōs* ‘mercy’, *ràdōs* ‘joy’, *prīš* ‘pimple’, *vłěš* ‘skillful’, *grōz* ‘cluster of grapes’, *Gvōz* and so is the case in the infinitive: *mūs* ‘to milk’, *jēs* ‘to eat-IMPF’, *grīs* ‘to chew’.

Pronoun forms *mène*, *tèbe*, *sèbe* in the dative and locative case singular are also a general phenomenon. The same applies to demonstrative pronouns *òvī* ‘this’, *tā* ‘that’, *ònī* ‘that (far distance)’ (< *ovaj*, *taj*, *onaj*).

Enclitic forms *nī* ‘to us’, *vi* ‘to you’ / *ne* ‘us’, *ve* ‘you-GEN.PL’ in the dative and the accusative case are a general phenomenon.

First-person singular forms *vělu* ‘I say’ and *vřđu* ‘I see’ have been preserved in the entire territory.

Longer suffixes in the adjectival and pronominal desinences are common.

Aorist and imperfect tense forms have survived. The narrative imperative is also very common.

Use of the accusative case with the prepositions *na* ‘on’, *u* ‘in’, *o* ‘about’, *pod* ‘below’, *pred* ‘in front of’, *nad* ‘above’, *za* ‘to’ next to stative verbs: *Bio sam u Dugu* ‘I was in Duga’, cf. standard ‘Bio sam u Dugi’. *Spava pod kuću* ‘S/he sleeps below the house’, cf. standard ‘Spava pod kućom’ is a feature of this area as well—though partly disrupted through the impact of Herzegovinian dialects. Use of the genitive case plural with the preposition *po* is mainly restricted to the area of Nikšić (*po kafana* ‘in taverns’).

There is a typical use of neuter instead of masculine or feminine gender in disparaging and belittling, for example, *To je avetno* ‘S/he is deranged’. *Uvijek je pláno* ‘S/he is always drunk’.

The epicenter of this area is undoubtedly in the Nikšić area. Apart from the accent, the dialect of Gornji Pješivci and Nikšić villages in all directions (both toward the border and toward the Montenegrin tribes on the edge of this speech group) displays almost no differences in relation to the southeastern Montenegrin dialects. It is not difficult to conclude that it was migrations from the interior of Montenegro to this area after the Berlin Congress that can certainly be credited for the import of certain features. However, while it is easy to assume so for features such as *sn* > *šn*, *sl* > *šl*, *zn* > *žn*, *zl* > *žl* and for specific semivowel alternants, we could not say that other such characteristics resulted from settlement of the population. Migrations into the area of Uskoci, rather uninhabited at the time, were even more massive than the migration to Nikšić, and the dialect of Uskoci does not display that level of similarity with southeastern Montenegrin dialects. This is even more vividly illustrated by the accentual boundary within Pješivci themselves (Donji and Gornji). Accentual system is another element where the Nikšić area displays an absolutely regular relationship with the first-type system (Kuči-Piperi-Bratonožići and Southeastern Boka). This regularity is only disrupted in the areas closer to the state border. A rather clear conclusion seems to arise: that Montenegrin dialects shared a common fate at least until the end of the fifteenth century, that is, until the establishment of the Ottoman rule, which brought a new administrative territorial division that was not in compliance with the previously established boundaries at all times. This is how the differentiation of Montenegrin dialects has started. The subsequent development of Montenegrin dialects would certainly also be affected by the Herzegovinian neighbors (within the borders of today’s Bosnia and Herzegovina), on whose settlements the population of those more passive and marginal areas relied, just as the dialects of Banjani or northwestern Boka were bound to be influenced by the proximity of the dialect of Konavle.

# Southeastern Montenegrin Dialects

## SPREAD

The dialects of this group extend along Primorje from Ulcinj to Orahovac, as well as in the interior, following the western boundary of Njeguši, Čeklići, Cuce, Ozrinići, from where their boundary crosses Pješivci above Milojevići and falls down to Tunjevo (between Drenoštica and Zagorak), including Ostrog and following the upper boundary of Bjelopavlići, Piperi, Bratonožići, Vasojevići and ending up in Mateševo below Kolašin, from where it falls down to the southern slopes of Bjelasica and encompasses the northern slopes of that mountain, bypassing Mojkovac and extending to Bijelo Polje, from where it follows the right bank of Lim to the borders with Serbia. From there, the group boundaries follow the state border with Serbia, Kosovo, and Albania, ending up in Ulcinj again.

Therefore, southeastern Montenegrin dialects include those of southeastern Boka (from Dobrota), Grbalj, Paštrovići, Spič, Bar, Mrkovići, Ulcinj, Krajina, Crmnica, Pobori, Maine, Braići, Cetinje, Lješanska nahija, Riječka nahija, Katunska nahija, Ozrinići, Donji Pješivci, Bjelopavlići, Komani, Zagarač, Podgorica, Zeta, Lješkopolje, Tuzi, Kuči, Piperi, Bratonožići, Vasojevići, Plav, and Gusinje and those of the municipalities of Bijelo Polje, Petnjica, and Rožaje. The Montenegrin dialects of the Skadar area belong here as well.

## MAIN COMMON FEATURES

The accentual system of southeastern Montenegrin dialects is uneven and reflects transitions from area to area—from the first to the fourth type. Their common element applicable in the entire area is that the falling stresses



can be found in other positions beyond the first syllable, that they preserve unaccented lengths, and that there is a widespread transfer of accents to the proclitic.

With the exception of the dialects of Bjelice, Ožrinići, Zagaračje, Komani, Lješanska nahija, Lješkopolje, Zeta, Podgorica, Bjelopavlići, and Donji Pješivci, the dialects of this area have a six-member vowel system and the vowel *r* (which can only be short in some areas). This six-member system is composed of five standard vowels (*a, e, i, o, u*) and a specific semivowel alternant, or its old semivowel value in rare instances. They can all be long or short.

Short jat has alternated with *je* and long jat with *ije*. The dialect of Muslims from Podgorica and Gusinje features long *i* instead of *ije* from long jat, and the dialect of Mrkovići features *e* instead of long jat. However, these are not specific long jat alternants but a phonological process *ije* > *i*, or *e*. Short jat in them is also *je*. The situation is somewhat different in the Bijelo Polje-Petnjica-Rožaje area, where long jat has produced *ije*, and short jat *e*.

Consonants *h* and *f* have not produced uniform results across the entire territory. Consonant *f* is mainly stable, while the situation with *h* varies—from preservation to loss and replacement by *v, j, g, k*. The dialects of Muslims have both of these consonants stable. The exception applies to Muslims from Mrkovići, as a result of late Islamization of that area.

Consonants *ś* and *ź* are a stable part of the system in this half of Montenegrin dialects as well. They have been confirmed as a jotation product in both hypocoristic forms and personal names. The exception is present in the Bijelo Polje-Petnjica-Rožaje area, where there were no conditions for the development of Jekavian jotation, which is why *ś* and *ź* are missing.

Consonant *z* (*dž*) is rare and occurs in a limited number of foreign words, for example, *brònzîn*, although it has mainly been replaced by *z* outside of the Lovćen-Rumija area.

Sonants *v* and *j* are unstable. The situation is similar to the one in northwestern Montenegrin dialects.

Vowel group *ao* has produced different results in this area, although *a* or *a<sup>e</sup>* predominate as its reflexes.

Jekavian jotation has encompassed all categories, just as in northwestern Montenegrin dialects (consonants *d, t, c, s, z*: *śeđet, ođelat, đever, ćerat, ćešit, počera, ćedilo, ćepanica, śeme, paši, śajan, pašaluk, izes, koži, iżedna; svje* > *śe, cvje* > *će: śedok, śedožba, ćetat, Ćetko*; labial jotation: *plėsma, dospłeti, plėna, obłed, blėsnilo, obłeručke, mlėsec, grmlėt, mlėsečina, vlėra, živłet, vlėčit*). In parallel with the iotized labials, there are non-iotized sequences in these dialects as well: *pje, bje, mje, vje*.

Consonants *đ* and *ć* often produce *j* in the final position. The phenomenon is more consistent in southeastern Montenegrin dialects than in the

northwestern ones. The same applies to the loss of glide *j* after *č*, *š* and *ž*: *naruče*, *obileže*, *miši* ‘murine’, and after *r*: *Rečine*, *sporečkat* ‘to argue’.

The simplification of consonant groups *-st*, *-št*, *-zd* in the final position is a general phenomenon: *milos*, *rados*, *priš*, *vleš*, *groz*, and the same applies to the infinitive: *mūs*, *jēs*, *grīs*.

Analogical forms such as *lažat* ‘to lie’, *mećat* ‘to feed’, *obrćat* ‘to turn’ are common.

In Lovćen-Rumija areas and somewhat deeper in the hinterland, *sn* > *šn*, *zn* > *žn*, *sl* > *šl*, *zl* > *žl* are common: *šnijevat* ‘to dream’, *žnam* ‘I know’, *mišlim* ‘I think’, *žli* ‘vicious’.

Assimilations and dissimilations such as *pantim* ‘I remember’, *konšija* ‘neighbor’, *sinsija* ‘tobacco pipe’, *monče* ‘young man’; *mlozina* ‘plenty’, *tamĭan* ‘frankincense’, *tavnica* ‘dungeon’, *dimno* ‘wonderful’ are a general phenomenon.

Particles are used frequently, for example, *tizi* ‘those’, *ovizi* ‘these’, *nekizi* ‘some’, *today*, *todayek*, *todayeke* ‘then’, etc.

In Primorje, Zeta-Podgorica and some of the Rijeka dialects, analogical *-u* is common in the third-person plural in the present tense, such as in *trću* ‘they run’, *zboru* ‘they talk’, *nosu* ‘they carry’.

Pronoun forms *mene*, *tebe*, *sebe* in the dative and the locative case singular are also a general phenomenon. The same applies to demonstrative pronouns *ovi*, *ta*, *oni* (< *ovaj*, *taj*, *onaj*).

Enclitic forms *ni*, *vi* / *ne*, *ve* in the dative and the accusative case are a general phenomenon.

First-person singular forms *vělu* and *vĭdu* have been preserved in the entire territory.

Longer suffixes in the adjectival and pronominal desinences are common.

Aorist and imperfect tense forms have survived. The narrative imperative is also very frequent (*Ja čeki, čeki, a ıega nema* ‘I waited and waited, but he never came’).

Use of the accusative case with the prepositions *na*, *u*, *o*, *pod*, *pred*, *nad*, *za* next to stative verbs: *Bio sam u Kotor* ‘I was in Kotor’, cf. standard ‘Bio sam u Kotoru’. The same applies to the use of the genitive case plural with the preposition *po* (*po kafana*). The instrumental case denoting the means of action and the sociative case have a disrupted relationship. In most dialects, the instrumental case denoting the means of action is used with the preposition *s* (*Kopa s motikom* ‘S/he digs with a hoe’), although the disrupted relationship in the Zeta-Podgorica branch led to the use of the sociative case without preposition (*Zbori bratom* ‘S/he talks (to) his/her brother’).

There is a typical use of neuter instead of masculine or feminine gender in disparaging and belittling, for example, *To je avetno. Uvijek je plano*.

Use of the preposition *su* is common: *su pet ljudi* ‘with five people’, *su čim, su što* ‘with what’.

Specific concord is widespread, such as in: *Počera te dva ovna* ‘Get those two rams out of here’, cf. standard *Počeraj ta dva ovna*. *Donesi mi one pet motika* ‘Bring me those five hoes’, cf. standard *Donesi mi onih pet motika*. *Pošto su ove dva tovara* ‘How much are these two bales’, cf. standard *Pošto su ova dva tovara*.

The examples provided for this area have been left unaccented on purpose, because this is a diverse area in terms of accent. Other characteristics of southeastern Montenegrin dialects are described through descriptions of their individual dialect groups.

### 1. Sub-Lovćen Dialect Group

The Sub-Lovćen dialect group encompasses the territory of the four nahijas, with the exception of Ozrinići, and Crnogorsko primorje from Paštrovići to Mrkovići (not including Mrkovići).

- The accentual type of this area belongs to the second type. It is a two-accent system in which the short falling stress cannot occur in the open ultima: *sěstra, sestrê; trâva, trâvê; potòk, potòka; nâròd, nâròda*. Bi-syllabic male and female names have been assimilated, in terms of form and accent, with the vocative case, for example, *Pêro, Stâne*. Komani and Lješanska nahija are an exception, as they do not have this assimilation, so forms such as *Pêrò, Stânà* and *Stànè* occur.
- The vowel system is composed of five standard vowels and specific old semivowel alternant *a<sup>e</sup>* and vowel *r*. Exceptions to this are Cuce, Bjelice, Komani, Zagarač, and Lješanska nahija, where the old semivowel has been vocalized into *a*.
- Jat has produced the same results in these dialects: long jat > *ije*, and short jat > *je* with known exceptions, for example, *vrijeme* ‘time-NOM .SG.N’—*vremena* ‘time-GEN.SG.N’, *vijes* ‘news’—*izvještaj* ‘report’, *rjječ* ‘word’—*rečit* ‘eloquent’.
- Vowel group *ao* has produced the following results in Paštrovići and Spič: *ao* (from *al*) has resulted in long *a*, for example, *imâ* ‘have-L-PT .M.SG’, *znāvâ* ‘he knew-3SG.IMPF’, *ćērâ* ‘chase-L-PT.M.SG’, *prōvâ* ‘try-L-PT.M.SG’ (in Paštrovići) and *pjěvâ<sup>o</sup>* ‘sing-L-PT.M.SG’, *igrâ<sup>o</sup>* ‘dance-L-PT.M.SG’, *kāzâ<sup>o</sup>* ‘utter-L-PT.M.SG’, *pasâ<sup>o</sup>* ‘leave-L-PT.M.SG’, *pomâ<sup>o</sup>gâ<sup>o</sup>* ‘help-L-PT.M.SG’ (in Spič, given that in it every long *a* occurs as a labialized *a<sup>o</sup>*); while group *ɔl* has resulted in long *o*, for example, *rěkō* ‘say-L-PT .M.SG’, *pronašō* ‘find-L-PT.M.SG’, *zāšō / zā<sup>o</sup>šō* ‘round-L-PT.M.SG’, *dīgō* ‘lift-L-PT.M.SG’. The other areas of this dialect group have produced *al* > *ao* > long *a*, while the old group *ɔl* has produced twofold results: (1) long *a<sup>e</sup>* in the dialects that have preserved specific semivowel

alternant, or (2). long *a* in those where the semivowel has been vocalized into *a*, for example, *rĕkã<sup>e</sup> / rĕkã*, *mògã<sup>e</sup> / mògã* ‘was able to’.

- Consonants *ś*, *ž* and *z* are a stable part of the system, but *z* occurs less frequently and is characteristic of rare foreign words (in which it occurs as *z* as well) and hypocoristic forms (*zavole*). All three consonants occur in anthroponomy, for example, *Žãga*, *Šõle*, *Žãno* or *Šeklõća*, *Borožãn* (surnames which have turned into *Sjekloća*, *Borožan* under the influence of the former norm).
- Consonant *f* is a rather stable phoneme in these dialects. In Paštrovići, Spič, Crmnica, Riječka, and Lješanska nahija, it is used consistently. In the dialect of Cuce, it is commonly replaced by *v*.
- Consonant *h* has produced varying results, which applies to both, different positions in a word and its role in all of these dialects. In Paštrovići and Spič it has disappeared, being replaced by *k* in the genitive case plural, such as in *ĩmĕnã<sup>e</sup>k* ‘name-GEN.PL.N’. In Crmnica, *h* is still used, but its loss or replacement by *v*, *j*, *k*, *f* is much more common. Lješanska and Riječka nahija have mainly preserved *h*, and the same can be said for Katunska nahija, with the exception of Cuce, where *h* often gets replaced by *s*, *v*, *g* and *k* or disappears entirely.
- In Spič, Crmnica, and Riječka nahija, there is a final consonant desonorization tendency, for example, *gròp* ‘grave’, *ĕgõf* ‘his’, *grãt* ‘city’, *rõk* ‘horn’, with *v*—*f* only in Paštrovići.
- The change *sn*—*šn*, *sl*—*šl*, *zn*—*žn*, *zl*—*žl* is common, for example, *šnãga* ‘strength’, *šlĩna* ‘mucus’, *žnãm* ‘I know’, *žlĩca* ‘spoon’.
- In imperative forms such as *nemõ / nĕmõ* ‘do not-IMP.2SG’, *ĕĕkã / ĕĕka* ‘wait-IMP.2SG’, *gĕdã* ‘look-IMP.2SG’ final *j* often disappears.
- Glide *j* disappears in superlative forms as well, for example, *nãbolĩ* ‘the best’.
- In Spič, Crmnica, and Riječka nahija secondary *j* is noticeable in examples such as *pãnũjo / panũjo* ‘fall-L-PT.M.SG’, *streknũjo / streknũjo* ‘startle-L-PT.M.SG’.
- So-called longer suffixes occur in the adjectival and pronominal desinences, for example, *ĩjem* ‘that-INS.SG’, *ĩjĕh / ĩjĕ / ĩjã<sup>e</sup> / ĩjã<sup>e</sup>h / ĩjã<sup>e</sup>g* ‘these-GEN.PL’ (depending on the products of the semivowel and consonant *h*).
- As for the morphological and syntactic features, they do not differ much from the general state-of-play. The use of the sociative case without preposition is not common.

## 2. Ozrinići Dialect Group

The Ozrinići dialect group encompasses Ozrinići with Broćanac.

The aspect differentiating this dialect group from the previous one the most is the accentual system. On the other hand, in comparison with

other Katunska nahija dialects, especially the ones in its vicinity, there are almost no differences.

- The accentual system of Ozrinići is characterized by three accents—two falling and one long rising—along with unaccented lengths. A short falling stress cannot occur in the open ultima, but moves to the preceding syllable as a short falling or a long rising stress (depending on the length of the preceding syllable), for example, *sěstra, sestrê; tráva, trāvê; potòk, potòka; nāròd, nāròda*. Assimilation of nominative case bi-syllabic personal names with the vocative case form is disrupted by the immediate proximity of the Bjelopavlići-Pješivci area (these are four-accent dialects), which is why accentual forms that are under this influence occur, such as *Péro, Máre*.
  - The vowel system is composed of five standard vowels and the vowel *r*. They can all be either long or short.
  - In terms of jat products, there are no differences in relation to the previous type. The alternative use of accentual forms *vrĳeme* (typical of the previous type) and *vriĳeme* (which reveals a clear influence of the dialect of Bjelopavlići) should be noted as well.
  - Vowel group *ao* has produced *long a* regardless of the origin (*ao < al* and *ao < ɔl*).
  - Consonants *h* and *f* are not a stable part of the system. The former gets lost or replaced by *v, j, g, k* and the latter by *v*. The available material does not give enough ground for drawing a reliable conclusion.
  - The change *sn-šn, sl-šl, zn-žn, zl-žl* is less common than in the previous type, but given that it does occur sporadically in Bjelopavlići as well, it is clear that today's lack of this process in the dialect of Ozrinići is a recent product.
  - There is no desonorization of the final voiced consonants, which is another link to Katunska nahija dialects.
  - So-called longer suffixes occur in the adjectival and pronominal designations, for example, *tĳem, tĳe / tĳeg*.
  - The Ozrinići dialect group carries on naturally from the previous dialect group with regard to the other features listed in its description above as well.
3. Southeastern Boka Dialect Group

Southeastern Boka dialect group encompasses the dialects of Dobrota and the dialects of the Vrmac and Luštica peninsulas to Grbalj.

- These dialects feature a two-accent system and belong to the oldest accentual system type in Montenegrin dialects. In more recent times, a long rising stress has occurred as well, but the lack of newer studies of this area prevents any verification of its stability in these dialects today. Short falling stresses can occur in both the open and the closed

ultima, for example, *sestrà*, *sestrê*; *trāvà*, *trāvê*; *potòk*, *potòka*; *nāròd*, *nāròda*. The dialect of Grbalj has received the stress type *sèstra* in parallel, definitely under the influence of more southern coastal dialects. Bi-syllabic personal names have assimilated nominative with the vocative case, for example, *Váso*, *Rôse*.

- The vowel system of these dialects is mainly composed of five standard vowels, vowel *r*, which has mainly been devocalized *umaro* / *umro* / *umã<sup>e</sup>ro* ‘die-L-PT.M.SG’, and the semivowel, which has preserved the old pronunciation value in Dobrota and Krtole, while producing *a<sup>e</sup>* in other areas.
  - Old *ɨl* has produced long *o* (*mögō*, *rèkō*, *kozóca* / *kozōcà* / *kozôca* ‘cuckoo pint-GEN.SG.M’; *orô* ‘eagle’, *posô* ‘work’, *kotô* ‘cauldron’), and *ao* < *al* has mainly remained unaltered, for example, *čëkao* ‘wait-L-PT.M.SG’, *stojào* ‘stand-L-PT.M.SG’, *žào* ‘sorry’.
  - Phonemes *š* and *ž* are a stable part of the system of this dialect group as well and occur in typical conditions. The consonant *ɜ* is somewhat more common given the abundance of Romance borrowings, and is also present in toponymy (*Žàvala*) or anthroponymy (*Menzalìn*).
  - Phoneme *h* has produced different results: in Perast, Dobrota, Lepetane, Krtole, and Tivat, *h* has been preserved. In Stoliv, Prčanj, and Bogdašić, it has alternated with *g*, in Lastva and Muo with *v*, while Mrčevac features both *h* and *g*. In Grbalj, it has also alternated with *g*. The situation is similar with phoneme *f* as well.
  - The change *sn–šn*, *sl–šl*, *zn–žn*, *zl–žl* is common.
  - There is frequent assimilation and dissimilation (*mrijeko* ‘milk’, *guvno* ‘threshing floor’, *mlozi* ‘many’).
  - Sonants *j* and *v* are unstable and often disappear. Final *j* often gets lost in the second-person singular imperative (in the final position).
  - Enclitic forms *ni*, *vi* / *ne*, *ve* are a general phenomenon, and the use of particles is widespread.
  - So-called longer suffixes are predominant in the adjectival and pronominal desinences.
  - The relationship between the locative case and the movement direction is disrupted.
  - Constructions *od* ‘from/to’ + *genitive case* are common, for example, *vràta òd grāda* ‘door to the city’. *Od* often accompanies the locative case instead of *o* ‘about’, for example, *od nàma* ‘from/to us’.
  - Concord is widespread, as described in the summary overview of Montenegrin dialects.
  - Romance borrowings are common.
  - Aorist and especially imperfect tense are disappearing.
4. Mrkovići Dialect Group

Mrkovići dialect group encompasses the area of tribe Mrko(je)vići—the territory below Rumija between Stari Bar and Ulcinj. It is usually deemed the most archaic type in Montenegrin dialects, that is, a petrified dialect dating back to the period of late sixteenth and early seventeenth century. Such a situation is conditioned by the fact that the area was rather closed after the Ottoman occupation of the Bar area in 1571. However, it would be more accurate to say that it is the dialects of Mrkovići and Southeastern Boka that are the most archaic Montenegrin dialects.

- The accentual type of Mrkovići belongs to the second type, just as the Sub-Lovćen dialect group. However, the differences between them are apparent because the dialect of Mrkovići has removed unaccented lengths. This is therefore a two-accent system, with no short falling stress in the open ultima, such as *sěštra*, *seštrě*; *tráva*, *travě*; *potòk*, *potòka*; *naròt*, *naròda*. Bi-syllabic male and female names have been assimilated, in terms of form and accent, with the vocative case.
- The vowel system is composed of five vowels *a*, *e*, *i*, *o*, *u* and a specific semivowel alternant closer to *e* than to *a*, which is why it should be written as *e<sup>a</sup>* (which we have avoided in the general overviews to this point in order not to complicate the overview). The vowel *r* is also present. Long *a* is labialized, like in the dialect of Spič, for example, *bâ<sup>o</sup>bo* ‘father’, *vrâ<sup>o</sup>k* ‘devil-NOM.SG.M’—*vrâ<sup>o</sup>ga* ‘devil-GEN.S G.M’, *salâ<sup>o</sup>ta* ‘salad’. This applies not only to long falling *a* but also to *a* under unaccented lengths, for example, *îđâ<sup>o</sup>u* ‘they went-3PL.I MPF’, *ka<sup>o</sup>zât* ‘to utter’, etc. Given that these lengths are lost and that the labialized *a<sup>o</sup>* is preserved, it is easy to conclude that the labialization process preceded that of shortening unaccented lengths. On the other hand, there are also cases of replacement of etymological *a* by a semivowel alternant, for example, *strě<sup>a</sup>ń* ‘unfamiliar’. Both phenomena have exceptions, so we can say that the dialect of Mrkovići is characterized by *a* and *a<sup>o</sup>*. Vowels *e* and *o* are diphthongized (inconsistently), so in addition to those ordinary vowels *i<sup>e</sup>* (*těška* ‘heavy’), *e<sup>i</sup>* (*pe<sup>i</sup>t* ‘five’) and *o<sup>u</sup>* (*ko<sup>u</sup>s* ‘sloped’) i *u<sup>o</sup>* (*n<sup>o</sup>os* ‘nose’) also occur.
- Long jat has produced *e*, and short jat *je*, for example, *dete* ‘child’—*đeca* ‘children’. Ekavisms are a secondary phenomenon created through the change of original *ije* (as a long jat alternant) into *e*. The above situation is disrupted by rare preserved ijekavisms and diphthongized *e* (<*ije*), for example, *de<sup>i</sup>te*.
- As for the vowel group *ao*, the shortest description would be to say that the basic intention of the dialect is for *ɔl* to produce long *e<sup>a</sup>* (which can be nasalized or non-nasalized), for example, *pošě<sup>a</sup>* / *pošě<sup>an</sup>* ‘depart-L-PT.M.SG’, and for *ao* (from *al*) to produce labialized *a<sup>o</sup>* (as in Spič), for example, *krepâ<sup>o</sup>* ‘croak-L-PT.M.SG’. The exceptions

are not inconsiderable, so long *a* and long *o* and an unaltered group also occur.

- Consonant *h* is not part of the system. It is either lost (*òću* ‘I want’), or replaced by *v* (*müva*), *g* (*oräga* ‘walnuts-GEN.PL.M’), *k* (*siromäk* ‘poor man’). Consonant *f* is a stable part of the system, expanded by desonorization of *v* at the end of the word (*žíf* ‘alive’).
- As in the majority of Montenegrin dialects, sonants *v* and *j* are prone to disappearance in different positions.
- Consonants *ś* and *ź* are a stable part of the system. In addition to foreign words, the consonant *ʒ* also occurs in several domestic words such as *ʒvono* ‘bell’, *ʒrno* ‘grain’, as well as *orazi* ‘walnuts’, *siromazi* ‘poor men’, which is another confirmation of the archaic nature of this dialect group.
- Jekavian jotation is present in all categories. Exceptions exist as well (in all types of jotation).
- Devoicing of the final voiced consonants has fully encompassed this dialect (*gälep* ‘gull’, *drúk* ‘friend’, *lupěš* ‘thief’, *žíf* ‘alive’, etc.).
- Feminine nouns have received masculine gender on the null morpheme: *křf* ‘blood’, instr. *křvom* ‘blood-INS.SG.N’.
- The hard-stem affix is present in examples such as *čekičom* ‘hammer-INS.SG.M’, *kõhom* ‘horse-INS.SG.M’, *mışovi* ‘mice’, *bõjovi* ‘battles’.
- In the genitive case plural we have *e<sup>a</sup>k*: *žene<sup>a</sup>k* ‘women-GEN.PL.F’, as well as *ik* and *ijuk*: *bravik* ‘ram-GEN.PL.M’, *zubijuk* ‘teeth-GEN.PL.M’.
- The nouns *mati* ‘mother’ and *kći* ‘daughter’ have preserved the old forms.
- The enclitic forms *ni*, *vi* / *ne*, *ve* (in dative and accusative case) are widespread. The enclitic form of pronoun *ona* ‘she’ in the accusative case is *ju* ‘her’. The enclitic form of the accusative case plural third-person personal pronoun for all three genders is *ge* ‘him/it/her’.
- Longer forms occur in the adjectival and pronominal desinences in this dialect as well.
- The use of particles is widespread, including particle *ć* as a specific feature of Mrkovići.
- Imperfect and aorist tense forms have survived.
- The relationship between instrumental-sociative and instrumental denoting the means of action is disrupted. There are examples of use of both with and without prepositions.
- Another feature of this dialect is the use of accusative instead of the locative case in examples such as *Živi u Bar* ‘He lives in Bar’, cf. standard ‘Živi u Baru’. Prepositions *po* ‘at’ and *pri* ‘by’ are used with the plural-form locative case, not the genitive case as in the Montenegrin dialects in the hinterland.



### 5. Kuči-Piperi-Bratonožići Dialect Group

Encompasses the dialects of three Montenegrin tribes: Kuči, Piperi, and Bratonožići.

- The accentual system is a two-accent one with preserved pretonic and posttonic lengths. Both falling stresses can occur in the last syllable—regardless of whether that syllable is open or closed. For example, *sestră*, *sestré*; *trāvă*, *trāvê*; *potòk*, *potòka*; *nāròd*, *nāròda*. The classical situation is disrupted in border villages, so in the villages toward Podgorica forms such as *sěstra* are present, whereas the villages bordering Bjelopavlići feature forms such as *tráva*.
- The vowel system features five standard vowels (*a*, *e*, *i*, *o*, *u*), the vowel *r* (long and short), and the specific semivowel alternant *a<sup>e</sup>*.
- The inherited sequence *bl* has produced long *a<sup>e</sup>*, and *al* (> *ao*) has produced long *a* (*rěkă<sup>e</sup>* ‘say-L-PT.M.SG’—*čită* ‘read-L-PT.M.SG’).
- The long jat has resulted in *ije* and short jat in *je*, with exceptions that are common to the entire group of Montenegrin dialects.
- The consonant *h* is either lost (*lād* ‘shade’, *samorànica* ‘single mother’) or replaced, primarily by *v* (*duvân* ‘tobacco’, *suvoťă* ‘damp-free place’). Consonant *f* has a more stable position in the Kuči-Bratonožići area than in Piperi due to the fact that *f* occurs in opposition to *v* in the former one.
- The consonants *ś* and *ź* are a stable part of the phonological system. The sound *ʒ* is generally not present.
- Final *ć* and *đ* have been replaced by *j*, for example, *dòj*, *mòj* ‘to be able to’, *kùj*, *gòj*.
- Sonants *j* and *v* are more unstable here than in the broader area.
- Jekavian jotation encompasses all the categories known. Jotation of labials is common.
- Consonant groups *st*, *št*, *zd* in the final position are simplified through the consistent loss of the final member.
- The dialect of Kuči (and the dialect of Bratonožići through it, about which there are very scarce scientific data) differs to a certain extent from the dialect of Piperi because of direct contact with Albanian language territory, first and foremost because of Montenegrin-Albanian bilingualism in that area which has existed almost to date. Thus, in the dialect of Kuči there is nasalization of the semivowel, for example, *rěkă<sup>en</sup>*, softening of *l* in positions before front vowels (*zĭkòvã<sup>e</sup>c* ‘villain’) and beyond (*Ĺăkò*), group *pc* < *ps*, *pč* < *pš*, *kč* < *kš* (*ĭpĭcăt* ‘to flow’, *pčĕnica* ‘wheat’, *lăkĕe* ‘easier’), desonorization of the final consonants (*ńegòf*, *grăt*, *drúk*, *prĭlăs* ‘access’, *gròp*). In many aspects, the dialect of Bratonožići is a transition between the dialects of Kuči and Piperi, which is a consequence of its territorial affiliation.

- The groups *rj*, *čj*, *žj*, *šj* occur without *j* (*rečica*, *nārūče*, *ostōže* ‘hay-stack pole’, *mīšī*).
- The enclitic forms *nī*, *vi* / *ne*, *ve* occur in the dative and the accusative case of pronouns *mi* ‘we’, *vi* ‘you’ and enclitic form *ju* in the accusative case of pronoun *ona*.
- Longer forms are common in the adjectival and pronominal desinences.
- *Dvāš*, *trīš* are commonly used instead of *dvaput* ‘twice’, *triput* ‘thrice’.
- Aorist and imperfect tense forms are frequent.
- Use of the accusative instead of the locative case with stative verbs and the genitive plural with the preposition *po* ‘at’ instead of the locative case is a feature of this dialect as well.
- There is frequent use of *zašto* instead of *zato što* ‘because’.

#### 6. Zeta-Podgorica Dialect Group

Encompasses the area of Podgorica town dialect, Tuzi, Zeta, Lješkopolje, and Montenegrin dialects of the Skadar area.

- The accentual system is a two-accent one with preserved unaccented lengths. A short falling stress cannot be found in the open ultima. For example, *sēstra*, *sestrē* // *trāva*, *trāvē* // *potōk*, *potōka* // *nārōd*, *nārōda*. Forms *Pērō*, *Stānā* are the only forms present in this area, which means that there is no assimilation of the nominative and the vocative case in this category. The exceptions are present in the following examples *strīkō* ‘uncle’, *bābō*, *frātō* ‘friar’, *srēcō* ‘lucky person’, *jādā* ‘miserable woman’, (*h*)*ālā* ‘aunt’, *skōrčā* ‘skinny woman’, *smōtā* ‘clumsy woman’, *tūtā* ‘chamber pot’, *nōšā* ‘potty’, *žvākā* ‘chewing gum’, *bēbā* ‘baby’, *bōlā* ‘illness’. There is therefore an unsystematic short falling stress in the open ultima in bi-syllabic words with a pretonic length. There is no short falling stress in the open ultima in tri- and multi-syllabic words apart from a few rare exceptions in the dialect of Muslims: *munārē* ‘minaret’, *telāšā* ‘trouble’, *ženāzā* ‘funeral’. Those rare preserved examples of a short falling stress in the open ultima indicate that this area was a transition between Kuči-Piperi-Bratonožići area and Lovćen-Rumija dialects.
- The vowel system is composed of five standard vowels and a short vowel *r*. The semivowel has been vocalized into *a*. There is devo-calization of the vowel *r* in examples such as *ūmaro* ‘die-L-PT.M.SG’.
- Group *ao* (< *ol* and *al*) has produced long *a* in all cases.
- This dialect group is characterized by *ije* as a long jat reflex, and by *je* as a short jat reflex—in compliance with the general state of affairs in Montenegrin dialects. The exception to this is the dialect of Muslims, in which today’s long jat alternant is long *i*. It is not, however, a specific jat alternant, but a secondary phenomenon that led to the

simplification of group *ije* into long *i*. Morphological *ije* has been preserved in the genitive case plural *tiĵā* ‘those-GEN.PL’, *ovĵiā* ‘these-GEN.PL’.

- Jekavian jotation has encompassed all categories.
  - The consonants *h* and *f* are a stable part of the system in the dialect of Muslims, while in the dialect of Christians *h* is either lost or replaced by *v*, *k*, *j*, although with inconsistent preservation of the phoneme.
  - Devoicing of final voiced consonants is a general phenomenon. Glide *v* acts as a voiced opponent to consonant *f* (*křf*, *ðfca* ‘sheep’).
  - Just as in the dialect of Kuči, due to the vicinity of the Albanian border, *ĺ* occurs instead of *l* before front vowels, as well as at the word and syllable end (*ĺipcāt*, *ĺepĉe* ‘nicer’, *Zĕjñĕĺ*).
  - Affricates are common in examples such as *ĺipcāt*, *pĉĕnica*, *lākĉe*.
  - The groups *rj*, *ĉj*, *žj*, *šj* occur without *j* (*reĉica*, *nārũĉe*, *Põbrĕže*, *mĩštĩ*).
  - Masculine gender is generalized in nouns such as *křf*, *sõ*, *mās* (*krvom*, *solõm* ‘salt-INS.SG.F’, *maščõm* ‘fat-INS.SG.F’ in instrumental case). The instrumental case suffix *-õm* is replaced in the declension of masculine and neuter nouns by suffix *-õm* through analogy with the feminine gender (*ĉõjkõm* ‘man-INS.SG.M’, *mõnkõm* ‘young man-INS.SG.M’, *ðĕĉĕtõm* ‘child-INS.SG.N’).
  - Pronouns *taj*, *ovaj*, *onaj* are transformed into *ta*, *ovi*, *oni* and *njegov*, *njen*, *njihov* into *onõgõf*, *ńõjzĩn*, *ńĩhan* (only among Muslims) / *ũĩnĩ*.
  - The enclitic forms *ni*, *vi* / *ne*, *ve* occur in the dative and the accusative case of pronouns *mi*, *vi* and the enclitic form *je* ‘her’ in the accusative case of pronoun *ona*.
  - Longer forms are common in the adjectival and pronominal designences, for example, *tiĵā*, *tiĵem*.
  - The use of particles is widespread, especially of *zi*, *r* and *k(e)*.
  - Aorist and imperfect tense forms are frequent.
  - Use of the accusative instead of locative case with stative verbs and genitive plural with prepositions *po* and *pri* instead of the locative case is a feature of this dialect as well.
  - The use of *zašto* instead of *zato što* is also rather common.
7. Donji Pješivci-Bjelopavlići-Vasojevići Dialect Group
- This dialect group encompasses Donji Pješivci, Bjelopavlići, and Vasojevići with the Plav-Gusinje area, subject to some specifics in the Plav-Gusinje area.
- The accentual system of this area is a four-accent one, with preserved lengths. Plav-Gusinje area is an exception to this. However, falling stresses can be found outside of the first syllable as well, but the short falling stress cannot be found on the ultima (open or closed), for example, *sĕstra*, *sestrĕ* // *trāva*, *trāvĕ* // *põtok*, *potõka* // *nārod*,

*nāròda*. Words with bi-syllabic jat alternant can have dual accents *vri(j)ème*, *mli(j)èko* / *vri(j)éme*, *mli(j)éko*. The short falling stresses can occur in the ultima within an enclitic: *lijepà je* ‘she is pretty’, *sramotà je* ‘it is a shame’, *potòk je* ‘brook has’, *sestrà ga* ‘sister has’, *menè je* ‘I was’ (except in Pješivci). The accentual system of the Plav-Gusinje area differs from the above situation by not having a short rising stress and thus fitting into the Ozrinići type, but it does have short falling stresses on the ultima in enclisis just as the rest of this dialect group.

- The vowel system is not uniform in the entire area. In Bjelopavlići and Donji Pješivci, it is composed of five standard vowels and the vowel *r* (long and short), and in Vasojevići and the Plav-Gusinje area it is expanded by the specific semivowel alternant *a<sup>e</sup>*. As an exception, this semivowel also occurs in Bjelopavlići villages along the boundary to Piperi.
- Jat alternants do not differ from the general state of affairs in the group of Montenegrin dialects. The exception to this is the dialect of Gusinje in which jat alternants are the same as in the dialect of Podgorica Muslims (long jat: *ije* > long *i*, and short jat > *je*).
- Vowel group *ao* in Donji Pješivci and Bjelopavlići has produced long *a*, regardless of the origin. In Vasojevići and the Plav-Gusinje area the situation is different given that the semivowel has produced a specific alternant *a<sup>e</sup>*. Thus, group *ɸl* has produced *a<sup>e</sup>* (*rèkã<sup>e</sup>*), and *ao* has resulted in long *a* (or remained unaltered in a smaller number of cases), for example, *čūvâ* ‘keep-L-PT.M.SG’. In the Plav-Gusinje area, instead of *ɸl*, long *a<sup>en</sup>* also occurs, or long *q<sup>e</sup>*, for example, *mògã<sup>en</sup>*, *kotã<sup>en</sup>*, which is a consequence of nasalization through Albanian neighborhood.
- The Plav-Gusinje zone also entails other characteristics created under the influence of Albanian language, which are featured in the dialect of Kuči and Zeta-Podgorica as well (*šipcât*; *pčènica*; *gròp*).
- The consonants *ś* and *ź* are a stable part of the phonological system. Sound *ɜ* is unknown, with the exception of rare Bjelopavlići examples.
- Final *ć* and *đ* are replaced by *j*, for example, *dòj*, *mòj*, *kùj*, *gòj*.
- Consonant *h* is preserved better in the dialect of Bjelopavlići and Muslims from the Plav-Gusinje area. The loss and replacement tendency is no different than in the surrounding area.
- The consonant *f* is stable.
- The glides *j* and *v* are more unstable here than in the broader area.
- Jekavian jotation has encompassed all categories known. Jotation of labials is common.

- Consonant groups *st*, *št*, *zd* in the final position are simplified through the consistent loss of the final member.
  - Enclitic forms *ni*, *vi* / *ne*, *ve* occur in the dative and the accusative case of pronouns *mi*, *vi* and the enclitic form *ju* in the accusative case of pronoun *ona*.
  - Longer forms are common in the adjectival and pronominal desinences.
  - *Dvâš*, *trîš* are commonly used instead of *dvaput*, *triput*.
  - Aorist and imperfect tense forms are frequent.
  - Use of the accusative instead of the locative case with stative verbs and the genitive plural with prepositions *po* and *pri* instead of the locative case is a feature of this dialect as well.
8. Rožaje-Petnjica-Bijelo Polje Dialect Group
- Encompasses the area from Hajla through Turjak and above Berane to Lim and along Lim to the border with Serbia, from where it follows the border back to Hajla.
- The accentual system of this area is mainly similar to the one in the Donji Pješivci-Bjelopavlići-Vasojevići dialect group. All four accents are present. Falling stresses can exist outside of the first syllable as well, and the short falling stress cannot be found on the ultima.
  - The vowel system is characterized by five standard vowels and the vowel *r* (long and short). The semivowel has been vocalized into *a*.
  - Long jat has produced *ije*, and short jat *e*, for example, *Bijelo Polje—belopòlski*. This is an autochthonous jat development, not a secondary ekavism. Today's exceptions resulted from migrations from the Montenegrin interior. Forms *voleo* 'love-L-PT.M.SG', *boleo* 'hurt-L-PT.M.SG', *belek* 'mark', *dole* 'down' are not jekavisms but a product of softening of *l* in positions before front vowels under the influence of Albanian dialects.
  - Vowel group *ao* has produced long *o* regardless of the origin (*al*, *vl*).
  - Given the short jat product, Jekavian jotation is not a common feature. As a result, consonants *ś* and *ź* are not a stable part of the system. They occur mainly in the dialect of newer Orthodox population.
  - Sonants *v* and *j* are unstable, especially in the intervowel position (*kľūāt* 'to gnaw', *bľūāt* 'to vomit', *Drăgoe*, *zmăevi* 'dragons').
  - Consonant *h* is preserved in the dialect of Muslims, but is absent from the dialect of Orthodox population. It is lost in the initial and final position, and replaced by *v* or *j* in the intervowel position (*bŭva*, *mŭva*, *suvòta*, *Mijòldān*, *snàja* 'sister-in-law', *čòja* 'baize').
  - Phoneme *f* is stable.
  - Sound *z* (*dz*) is registered.
  - Consonant groups *st*, *št*, *zd* in the final position have been simplified (*mlādōs* 'youth', *prîš*, *grōz*).

- Groups *pt*, *pč*, *pš* have been simplified through the loss of the first member, unlike in other Muslim dialects in Montenegro. Thus, we have *tica* ‘bird’, *čëla* ‘bee’, *šenica* ‘wheat’.
- Inserted *d* in words *zdrāk* ‘air’, *zdrāka* ‘ray’ is surely underpinned by the dialects in the area below Lim and other Montenegrin dialects.
- Desonorization of final consonants is a general phenomenon in Muslim dialects, and an ordinary feature in Orthodox ones.
- Forms *kutñi* ‘pertaining to a house’, *božitñi* ‘pertaining to Christmas’, *okuthica* ‘garden’; *mlogo* ‘a number of’, *mlozina*, *najamlik* ‘day laborer’, *gumno*, *obravnica* ‘bag’, *givnazija* ‘gymnasium’, *dimlāk* ‘chimney’, *Damlān*, *kovča/kofča* ‘clasp’, *tefsija* ‘pan’, etc., are part of the general state of affairs in Montenegrin dialects.
- Male names have a final *o*, such as in *Bōžo*, *Vāso*, *Ībro*, *Mēho*, *Sēnčo*. Their possessive adjectives have *-ov*.
- Instead of the locative case plural forms there is the genitive case with the preposition *po* (*po mājstōrā* ‘at repair shops’, *po òghēvā* ‘at fires’, *po pūtovā* ‘at roads’), while the preposition *o* is accompanied only by the locative case, not the genitive.
- Personal pronouns for the first, second, and any person in the dative and the locative case is *mène*, *tèbe*, *sèbe*.
- Enclitic forms *ni* and *vi* (in dative case) and *ne* and *ve* (in the accusative case) are a feature of this dialect as well. The enclitic form of pronoun *ona* in the accusative case singular is *ju*.
- Imperfect and aorist tense forms have survived.
- There are common constructions with *iz* ‘from something’ (instead of *od* ‘from someone’) + *genitive case* (*Uzmi iz Ljuba* ‘Take it from Ljubo’, cf. standard ‘Uzmi od Ljuba’), which is a feature extending to the coast.
- Prepositions *među* ‘between’, *nad*, *pod*, *pred*, *u*, *na* are used with the accusative case (with both stative verbs and verbs of motion), for example, *Eto ga sedi pret kuću i nešto konta* ‘He is sitting in front of the house and thinking’, cf. standard ‘Eto ga śedi pred kućom i nešto konta’. *Uzimali smo ubojni kamen i trlālī ga u vodu* ‘We would take a healing stone and rub it in water’, cf. standard ‘Uzimali smo ubojni kamen i trljali ga u vodi’.
- Instrumental case denoting the means of action is used with the preposition *s* (*Ubo se s nožem* ‘He stabbed himself with a knife’). Instrumental-sociative is never used without the preposition *s*.



# Summary

It has long been known in dialectology that Montenegrin dialects are among the best-studied dialects in the Slavic world. There are no smaller national or dialect areas in that world which have attracted the attention of a larger number of philologists and dialectologists than Montenegro. Nevertheless, no synthetic studies have appeared to date that would offer the classification and description of the major characteristics of individual speech units.

The common criterion for the classification of Štokavian dialects (the issue of jat and the accentual system) has not produced valid results for the classification of Montenegrin dialects. Almost without exception, Montenegrin dialects are Ijekavian-Jekavian (long jat has produced *ije*, and short jat *je*—with certain limitations that have been described). Deviations are reflected in the dialects of Muslims from Podgorica and Gusinje (long jat is long *i*, and short jat is *je*) and in the dialect of Mrkovići on the south of the country (long jat is *e*, and short jat is *je*), as well as in the dialect of the Rožaje-Petnjica-Bijelo Polje area (long jat is *ije*, short jat is *e*). In Podgorica, Plav, and Mrkovići, the long jat alternant was originally not *i*, or *e*; instead, a secondary process *ije* > *i* or *ije* > *e* has taken place. On the other hand, the Rožaje-Petnjica-Bijelo Polje area probably had a separate development of short jat into *e*, which had to be conditioned by social and historical circumstances in that area.

As for the accentual system, five types can be identified in Montenegrin speech patterns. The oldest type has retained both falling stresses in the open ultima (*sestră, sestrê; trāvă, trāvê; potök, potöka; nāröd, nāröda*) and is typical of Primorje from Dobrota to Grbalj and of the area of Kuči-Piperi-Bratonožići. The second type would be the one in which the short falling stress cannot occur in the open ultima (*sěstra, sestrê; tráva, trāvê; potök, potöka; nāröd, nāröda*) and is typical of Primorje—from Paštrovići to far south, and in the continental part in Crmnica, Riječka nahija, and Katunska



nahija (without Ozrinići and Broćanac). Along with the two falling stresses, the third type also has a long rising stress, which occurs in place of old length before the short falling stress in the open ultima. The removal of the short falling stress from this ultima has resulted in a long rising stress in the penultimate syllable (*sèstra, sestrê; tráva, trāvê; potòk, potòka; nāròd, nāròda*). This type is characteristic of Ozrinići with Broćanac and the Plav-Gusinje area. The fourth type has both falling and rising stresses, but the short falling stress may occur in all syllables apart from the ultima. Moving the short falling stress from the ultima has resulted in a rising stress (*sèstra, sestrê; tráva, trāvê; pòtok, potòka; náròd, nāròda*). This type is characteristic of Donji Pješivci, Bjelopavlići, Vasojevići, and the Lim-Ibar area. The youngest type characterizes northwestern Montenegro (*sèstra, sèstrê; tráva, trāvê; pòtok, pòtoka; náròd, náròda*). As illustrated above, there is an almost absolutely regular relationship between the first and the fifth type—the fifth type is obtained from the first type by moving the stress (and its quality) by one syllable toward the beginning.

The characteristics of the accentual system constitute the main distinction between the Montenegrin dialects. The traditionalist divisions largely ignored this fact, dividing the Montenegrin dialects into two strictly separated “dialects”—one so-called Eastern Herzegovinian (with four-accent system and Ijekavian-Jekavian jat alternants), and one (referred to by various names) that comprised the remaining areas. Such a division could conditionally be taken as tenable only if it did not treat dialects as dialects, for which no justification has been provided in the material published to date. On the other hand, traditionalist dialectology invested more efforts to find similarities between perimeter dialects on both sides of the Montenegrin border than it did looking for similarities between Montenegrin dialects of the above two groups. This is how views were formed that Montenegro is split into two parts by a sharp dialect boundary and that the characteristics of both of its dialects were not Montenegrin as they spread beyond the borders of Montenegro. Two crucial facts were neglected here: (1) dialectal phenomena do not have to coincide with the national borders (if these are not spread along wreaths of mountains, river gorges, uninhabited areas, etc.); (2) the status of these phenomena (as omnipresent) in the Montenegrin dialects and (as alternative) in other dialects. No doubt, such divisions were deeply ideologically motivated because they aspired to take away dialectal specifics on the Montenegro-wide level.

The two above criteria were complemented by two more, as important for discerning the Montenegrin dialects. These are the issue of the old semivowel and of the vowel group *ao* (< *al, ɛl*). The old semivowel value (in the strong position) was preserved by the second half of the twentieth century—only in Dobrota and Krtole (Boka), and in Tuđemili, Zupci, and Šestani (Bar). In all other areas in which a specific former semivowel alternant occurs, it is not

a semivowel but a full vowel on the borderline between *a* and *e*, which has preserved certain components of both vowels. Leaving aside the issue of different values of articulation of the old semivowel alternants, we have marked it as *a<sup>e</sup>* in all cases but those where it is marked as characteristic for preserving the old articulation value. The semivowel, or its specific alternant *a<sup>e</sup>* occurs in the entire Primorje, from Dobrota to the far south. From there, it spreads to the entire immediate hinterland, going deep into the interior. Articulation (*a<sup>e</sup>*) occurs in the dialects of Katunska nahija including Čeklići, and in Maine, Pobori, Brajići, Cetinje, Riječka nahija, and Crmnica with Krajina. From there, it is interrupted by the areas of Cuce, Bjelice, Ozrinići, Komani and Zagaračje, Lješanska nahija with Lješkopolje, Zeta, and Podgorica (and Montenegrin dialects in Albania), including again the areas of Piperi, Kući, Bratonožići, Plav-Gusinje and Gornji Vasojevići. In the territory of four-accent dialects, both newer and older (apart from Gornji Vasojevići), there is no semivowel—it has been vocalized into *a*, just like in the standard language.

When it comes to the vowel group *ao*, several areas—Bjelice, Cuce, Lješanska nahija, Lješkopolje, Komani, Zagarač, Ozrinići, Pješivci, Bjelopavlići, Zeta, Podgorica, Nikšić, Župa Nikšićka, Rudine Nikšićke, and all Nikšić villages in the direction of Banjani, Grahovo, Piva, Golija, Drobnjak, Uskoci, Rovca—have contracted each *ao* into *a* (*mõgā, glědā*). The dialects that have preserved the old semivowel value have *ɤl > o*, whereas *ao* remains unaltered (*mõgō; stojāo*). The dialects in which the semivowel has produced a specific vowel value *a<sup>e</sup>* are characterized by different situations: in Paštrovići and Spič *ɤl > o*, and *al > o* (*rëkō; ćërā*), while in Mrkovići and other dialects of that type in the interior *ɤl > a<sup>e</sup>*, *al > a* (*mõgā<sup>e</sup>, ćërā*). Different variations are related to labialization or nasalization of the final *a* / *a<sup>e</sup>*. Other areas have *ao > o* in both cases (Primorje from Orahovac to the border with Croatia with the hinterland, Grahovo, Banjani, Golija, Piva, Drobnjak, Jezera, Uskoci (partly), Morača (Gornja and Donja), Rovca, and Bijelo Polje-Petnjica-Rožaje).

The major common features of the Montenegrin dialects (considering the traditional points of emphasis in dialectology) would include the following:

- Native ijekavisms
- Longer forms in the adjectival and pronominal desinences (e.g., *tije(h), tijem*)
- Jekavian jotation (*tě > će, cě > ce, dě > de, sě > se, zě > ze*)
- *dvje, svje, cvje > de, še, ce* (e.g., *međed, šedok, Četko*)
- Fairly common labial jotation
- Consonant system expanded to include phonemes *ś* and *ź*
- *ě + j > i* (e.g., *cio, sijati* but there are also forms such as *śedeo, viđeo*)

- *-st, -zd, -št* > *-s, -z, -š* (e.g., *plas, groz, priš*)
- Common use of *-j* < *-đ, -ć* (e.g., *goj, doj, moj*)
- Frequent use of the infinitive without final *-i* (e.g., *trčat, pričat*)
- Dative and locative case forms *mene, tebe, sebe*
- Enclitic forms *ni* and *vi*
- Active use of aorist and imperfect tense forms
- Declension *Pero—Pera—Peru* . . .
- Disrupted relation between the cases of location and movement direction

In accordance with the above four criteria, we have proposed a classification of the Montenegrin dialects into two major groups: northwestern and southeastern. Their oppositeness should not be viewed as the oppositeness of two dialects (except for accentual features). The southeastern group is somewhat more dispersed than the northwestern one, and can therefore be divided into several dialect groups: Sub-Lovćen dialect group, Ozrinići dialect group, Southeastern Boka dialect group, Mrkojevići dialect group, Kuči-Piperi-Bratonožići dialect group, Zeta-Podgorica dialect group, Donji Pješivci-Bjelopavlići-Vasojevići dialect group, Rožaje-Petnjica-Bijelo Polje dialect group.

# Notes

## AUTHOR'S PREFACE

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

2. Danilo Vušović, “Dialekt Istočne Hercegovine,” in *Srpski dijalektološki zbornik*, Book III (Belgrade: Srpska kraljevska akademija, 1927), 1–176.

3. This monograph by Rešetar, although very significant for Štokavian dialectology and used and quoted often as such, has not been, until recently, translated into any of the Štokavian standard languages. See Milan Rešetar, *Štokavski dijalekat* (Podgorica: Matica crnogorska, 2010).

4. For researchers of the Montenegrin dialects to date, see Adnan Čirgić, *Dijalektolozi i crnogorski jezik (do 1945)* (Podgorica: ZUNS, 2014) and Adnan Čirgić, *Dijalektolozi i crnogorski jezik (od 1945)* (Cetinje: FCJK, 2017).

5. The paper was also published in *Glasnik Odjeljenja umjetnosti CANU*, 20 (Podgorica: CANU, 2002): 5–13. Although the authors only mention so-called Old-Montenegrin dialects in the title, they bring language material from a wider area as well: Primorje, Zeta, Podgorica, Kuči, Piperi, Bjelopavlići, Pješivci, offering the classification of dialects of these areas.

6. Mihailo Stevanović, “Istočnocrnogorski dijalekat,” *Južnoslovenski filolog*, Book III (1933–1934): 1–128.

7. Jovan Vuković, “Govor Pive i Drobnjaka,” *Južnoslovenski filolog*, Book XVII (1938–1939): 1–113.

8. Milija Stanić, “Uskočki govor,” in *Srpski dijalektološki zbornik*, Vol. 1, Book XX (Belgrade: Institut za srpskohrvatski jezik, 1974), 1–259 and Vol. 2, Book XXII (Belgrade: Institut za srpskohrvatski jezik, 1977), 1–159.

## THE HISTORY OF STUDYING MONTENEGRIN DIALECTS

1. See more in Adnan Čirgić, “Klasifikacija crnogorskih govora,” in *Crnogorski jezik u prošlosti i sadašnjosti* (Podgorica: Institut za crnogorski jezik i književnost, Matica crnogorska, 2011), 51–91.

2. See Drago Ćupić, “Bibliografija govora Crne Gore,” in *Crnogorski govori. Rezultati dosadašnjih ispitivanja i dalji rad na njihovom proučavanju* (Titograd: Crnogorska akademija nauka i umjetnosti, 1984), 97–128.

3. See Vuk Karadžić, *Srpske narodne poslovice* (Cetinje: Narodna štamparija, 1836).

4. Luko Zore, “ѣ i њ u Crnoj Gori i Boki Kotorskoj,” *Slovinac*, Book II (1879): 199.

5. Ivan Broz, “Zamjena poluglasnika u govoru barskome,” *Nastavni vjesnik*, Book I (1893): 64–68.

6. Đuro Škarić, “Deiktične čestice *zi* i *si* u slovenskim jezicima,” *Rad*, Book 229 (1924): 208–93. The examples provided are related to Katunska and Riječka nahija.

7. Aleksej Aleksandrovič Šahmatov, “Prilog istoriji akcenata u slovenskim jezicima,” *Lingua Montenegrina*, 8 (2011): 477–98. The text was originally published in Russian, in the *Proceedings of the Department for Russian Language and Literature* of the Imperial Academy of Sciences and Arts, III, no. 1 (1898): 1–34. Šahmatov substantiates his views on the history of accents with examples from Montenegrin dialects (primarily those from Katunska nahija). The study primarily bears cultural and historical relevance today as it is one of the first dialectological debates on Montenegrin dialects.

8. Tomo Brajković, “Peraški dijalekat,” in *Programm des Gymnasium von Cattaro*, 1892/93 (Zagreb, 1893), 3–21.

9. For more on Milaković, see Dr. Danilo Radojević, *CXIV godina i ličnosti* (Podgorica: DANU, 2011), 81–82.

10. See Adnan Čirgić, “Milan Rešetar kao montenegrinist,” in *Milan Rešetar, Štokavski dijalekat* (Podgorica: Matica crnogorska, 2010), 9–28.

11. Milan Rešetar, *Die serbokroatische Betonung südwestlicher Mundarten* (Vienna: A. Hölder, 1900). The book was recently translated into Montenegrin and should soon be published by the Faculty of Montenegrin Language and Literature in Cetinje.

12. Milan Rešetar, *Der štokavische Dialekt* (Vienna: A. Hölder, 1907). The Montenegrin translation of the book was published in 2010 by Matica crnogorska in Podgorica.

13. Danilo Vušović, “Dialekt Istočne Hercegovine,” in *Srpski dijalektološki zbornik*, Book III (Belgrade: Srpska kraljevska akademija, 1927), 1–176.

14. Savo P. Vuletić, “Neke karakteristične odlike govora u Zeti,” *Brankovo kolo*, Book IX (1903): 186–87.

15. Savo P. Vuletić, “Neke karakteristične odlike govora u Kućima,” *Brankovo kolo*, Book X (1904): 217–19.

16. Alberto Rosi, "O jeziku starih Kotorana," *Smotra Dalmatinska*, 59 (1918): 1–3.
17. *Ibid.*, 1.
18. For more on Vušović's contribution to the study of Montenegrin dialects see Adnan Čirgić, "Doprinos Danila Vušovića montenegristici," *Lingua Montenegrina*, 3 (2009): 487–96.
19. Gojko Ružičić, "Akcenatski sistem pljevaljskog govora," in *Srpski dijalektološki zbornik*, III (Belgrade: Srpska kraljevska akademija, 1927), 115–76.
20. Mihailo Stevanović, "Istočnocrnogorski dijalekat," *Južnoslovenski filolog*, Book III (1933–1934): 1–128.
21. A confirmation that this part (on accents) was indeed completed came from Aleksandar Belić, i.e., his review of Stevanović's monograph (Aleksandar Belić, "Mihailo Stevanović, Istočnocrnogorski dijalekat," *Južnoslovenski filolog*, XIV (1935): 161–81), where he indicates that he had a chance to inspect it and that it would soon be published. What eventually happened to the study remains unknown to us.
22. Mihailo Stevanović, "Sistem akcentuacije u piperskom govoru," in *Srpski dijalektološki zbornik*, X (Belgrade: Srpska kraljevska akademija, 1940), 69–184.
23. Mihailo Stevanović, "Glavne dijalekatske crte vasojevičkog govora," *Zadužbina Luke Čelovića Trebinjca*, Beograd (1933/34): 188–91.
24. See Drago Čupić, *Život u znaku nauke* (Belgrade: Unireks, 2000), 17.
25. Branko Miletić, "O govorima Crne Gore" (Bijelo Polje, Vasojevići, Crmnica), *Godišnjak Zadružbine Sare i Vase Stojanović*, II (1935): 13–16; IV (1937): 21–25; V (1937): 30–32.
26. Branko Miletić, "Crmnčki govor," *Srpski dijalektološki zbornik*, IX (1940): 211–663.
27. Radosav Bošković, "O prirodi, razvitku i zamenicima glasa h u govorima Crne Gore," *Južnoslovenski filolog*, XI (1931): 179–97.
28. Mieczysław Małecki, "Charakterystyka gwary Cucov na tle sasiednich szarnogorskich," *Lud slawiański*, II/2 (1931): A225–A45, quoted in Drago Čupić, *Crnogorski govori* (Titograd: CANU, 1984), 104–28.
29. See Mieczysław Małecki, "Govor Cuca u odnosu na susjedne crnogorske dijalekte," *Lingua Montenegrina*, VI/1, no. 11 (2013): 647–63.
30. The study was also published in *Glasnik Odjeljenja umjetnosti*, 20 (Podgorica: CANU, 2002): 5–13.
31. Radosav Bošković, "O govoru Ozrinića," *Godišnjak Zadružbine Sare i Vase Stojanović*, II (1935): 27–36.
32. "O govorima Crne Gore," *Godišnjak Zadružbine Sare i Vase Stojanović*, II (1935): 21–25; III (1936): 13–14; V (1937): 15–16; "Izveštaj o govorima Paštrovića," *Godišnjak Zadružbine Sare i Vase Stojanović*, VI (1939): 17–20; "Izveštaj o mainskom i spičanskom govoru u Crnogorskom primorju," *Godišnjak Zadružbine Sare i Vase Stojanović*, VII (1940): 36–37; "Izveštaj o ispitivanju spičanskog govora," *Godišnjak Zadružbine Sare i Vase Stojanović*, VIII (1941): 15–22.
33. He published the report on the study of the dialects of Krtoli, Muo, and Grbalj after World War II in *Glasnik SAN*, V/2 (1953): 333–37.

34. Petar Đorđić, “Beleške o gusinjskom govoru,” *Zadužbina Luke Čelovića Trebinjca*, Beograd (1933/34): 183–88.

35. Jovan Vuković, “Akcentat govora Pive i Drobnojaka,” *Srpski dijalektološki zbornik*, X (1940): 185–417.

36. Jovan Vuković, “Govor Pive i Drobnojaka,” *Južnoslovenski filolog*, Book XVII (1938–1939): 1–113.

37. Josip Ribarić, “Razmještaj južnoslovenskih dijalekata na poluotoku Istri,” *Srpski dijalektološki zbornik*, IX (1940): 1–207.

38. Luka Vujović, “Mrkovički dijalekat,” *Godišnjak Zadružbine Sare i Vase Stojanović*, II (1935): 42.

39. Vaso Tomanović, “Akcentat u govoru sela Lepetane,” *Južnoslovenski filolog*, XIV (1935): 59–143.

40. Jovan Erdeljanović, “Stari Srbi Zečani i njihov govor,” in *Belićev zbornik*, I (Belgrade: Mlada Srbija, 1937), 326–38; “Bratonožići, pleme u crnogorskim Brdima,” in *Srpski etnografski zbornik*, Book XII (Belgrade: Srpska kraljevska akademija, 1909), 525–26; “Kući, pleme u Crnoj Gori,” in *Srpski etnografski zbornik*, Book VIII (Belgrade: Srpska kraljevska akademija, 1907), 262–65; “Etničko srodstvo Bokelja i Crnogoraca,” *Glas Srpske kraljevske akademije*, XCVI (1920): 1–78.

41. Andrija Jovičević, “Riječka Nahija u Crnoj Gori,” in *Srpski etnografski zbornik* (Belgrade: Srpska kraljevska akademija, 1911); *Crnogorsko Primorje i Krajina* (Cetinje: Obod, 2004).

42. Pavel Apolonovič Rovinski, *Crna Gora u prošlosti i sadašnjosti*, Vol. 3: *Emografija—Književnost i jezik* (Cetinje, Sremski Karlovci, and Novi Sad: Izdavački centar “Cetinje” and Centralna narodna biblioteka “Đurđe Crnojević” and Izdavačka knjižarnica Zorana Stojanovića, 1994), 633–764.

43. Antun Majer, “Antikni elementi toponomastike podgoričkog kraja,” *Godišnjak nastavnika podgoričke Gimnazije*, Book 1 (1930): 13–24.

44. Dragoljub Majić, “Starinske crte u govoru našeg kraja,” *Godišnjak nastavnika podgoričke Gimnazije*, Book IV, no. 4 (1933): 16–22; “Otkud ikavizam kod naših muslimana,” *Godišnjak nastavnika podgoričke Gimnazije*, Štamparija Ujedinjenje, Podgorica, 1930.

45. We are not considering debates on certain issues of “literary language” here, such as the ones by Bogić Noveljić (see more in: Adnan Čirgić, “Jezička politika u Crnoj Gori od Njegoša do naših dana,” in *Crnogorski jezik u prošlosti i sadašnjosti* (Podgorica: Institut za crnogorski jezik i književnost, Matica crnogorska, 2011), 171–201), or the debates and studies relating to the monuments of Montenegrin literacy, such as the ones by V. Jagić, A. Belić, M. Rešetar, and others. This will be discussed separately. Here, we have restricted ourselves on dialectological studies and studies that have contributed to dialectology.

46. We therefore had to rely on the data provided by the aforementioned Čupić’s bibliography in certain cases.

47. See Josip Ribarić, *O perojskom govoru (leksikografski prinosi)*, ed. Milorad Nikčević (Osijek: Crnogorsko kulturno društvo Montenegro-Montenegrina, 2004).

48. Josip Ribarić, “Perojski govor na poluotoku Istri,” in *O perojskom govoru (leksikografski prinosi)*, ed. Milorad Nikčević (Osijek: Crnogorsko kulturno društvo Montenegro-Montenegrina, 2004), 17.

49. Ibid., 21.
50. Vaso Tomanović, "Akcentat u govoru sela Lepetana (Boka Kotorska)," *Južnoslovenski filolog*, XIV (1935): 59–143.
51. Vaso Tomanović, "Acc. pl. ličnih zamenica prvog i drugog lica: ni i vi (ny, vy)," in *Годишен зборник на Филозофскиот факултет на Универзитетот во Скопје*, кн. 3 (Скопје: Историско-филолошки оддел, 1930, 1950), 1–16.
52. Vaso Tomanović, "O bokeljskim govorima," *Boka*, 2 (1970): 225–29.
52. Vaso Tomanović, "O fonetici reči romanskog porekla u govorima Boke Kotorske," *Boka*, 3 (1971): 203–10.
52. Vaso Tomanović, "O romanskim elementima u bokeljskim govorima i njihovom odnosu prema domaćim," *Boka*, 4 (1972): 159–72.
53. The following studies of his are of capital importance: Luka Vujović, "Istoriski presjek gubljenja glagolske rekcije u crnogorskim govorima," *Južnoslovenski filolog*, XX/1–4 (1953–1954): 87–126; Luka Vujović, "Je li postojao ekavski govor u jugoistočnoj Crnoj Gori i sjevernoj Albaniji?," *Južnoslovenski filolog*, XXVI/1–2 (1963–1964): 511–17; Luka Vujović, "Jedan periferijski starocrnogorski govor (mrkovički) u svjetlosti istorije jezika, međudijalekatskih i međujezičkih pojava," *Naš jezik*, XVI/3 (1967): 171–92; Luka Vujović, "Kako se razvio ekavizam mrkovičkog govora," *Južnoslovenski filolog*, XXIII/1–4 (1958): 235–46; Luka Vujović, *Mrkovički dijalekat*, reprint edition (Podgorica: Savjet Muslimana Crne Gore, 2012).
54. Mitar Pešikan, "Starocrnogorski srednjokatunski i lješanski govori," in *Srpski dijalektološki zbornik*, Book XV (Belgrade: Institut za srpskohrvatski jezik, 1965), 1–294.
55. These two stand out the most—Mitar Pešikan, "Jedan opšti pogled na crnogorske govore," in *Zbornik za filologiju i lingvistiku*, XXII/1 (Novi Sad: Matica srpska, 1979), 149–69; Mitar Pešikan, "Pravci diferenciranja i klasifikacije crnogorskih govora i neki problemi njihovog proučavanja," in *Crnogorski govori* (Titograd: CANU, 1984), 49–56.
56. Dragomir Vujičić, *Iz onomastike, leksikologije i dijalektologije* (Podgorica: Unireks, 1996).
57. Josip Hamm, "Crnogorsko T, D + JAT > ĆE, ĆE," in *Crnogorski govori. Rezultati dosadašnjih ispitivanja i dalji rad na njihovom proučavanju* (Titograd: CANU, 1984), 79–82.
58. Drago Ćupić and Željko Ćupić, "Rečnik govora Zagarača," in *Srpski dijalektološki zbornik*, XLIV (Belgrade: SANU and Institut za srpski jezik, 1997), XX + 615.
59. Drago Ćupić, "Govor Bjelopavlića," in *Srpski dijalektološki zbornik*, XXIII (Belgrade: Institut za srpskohrvatski jezik, 1977), 1–219.
60. Drago Ćupić, "Bibliografija govora Crne Gore," in *Crnogorski govori* (Titograd: CANU, 1984), 97–128.
61. Drago Ćupić, "Osnovne osobine govora Pljevalja," in *Glasnik Odjeljenja umjetnosti*, 8 (Titograd: CANU, 1988), 79–107.
62. Drago Ćupić, "Pregled glavnijih osobina govora Zete," in *Južnoslovenski filolog*, XXXIII (Belgrade: Institut za srpskohrvatski jezik, 1977), 265–82.
63. Milija Stanić, "Uskočki govor," Vol. 1, in *Srpski dijalektološki zbornik*, Book XX (Belgrade: Institut za srpskohrvatski jezik, 1974), 1–259; Milija Stanić, "Uskočki



govor,” Vol. 2, in *Srpski dijalektološki zbornik*, Book XXII (Belgrade: Institut za srpskohrvatski jezik, 1976), 1–159; Milija Stanić, “Uskočki akcenat,” in *Srpski dijalektološki zbornik*, Book XXVIII (Belgrade: Institut za srpskohrvatski jezik, 1982); Milija Stanić, *Uskočki rječnik*, 1 and 2 (Belgrade: Naučna knjiga, 1990 and 1991).

64. Dušan Martinović, “Milija Stanić,” in *Portreti II* (Cetinje: Narodna biblioteka Crne Gore “Đurđe Crnojević, 1987), 300.

65. Dragoljub Petrović, “Glasovne osobine govora Vračana u Zeti,” in *Godišnjak Filozofskog fakulteta u Novom Sadu*, XVI/1 (Novi Sad: Filozofski fakultet, 1972), 179–210; Dragoljub Petrović, “Glavnije osobine akcenatskog sistema u govoru Vračana,” in *Zbornik za filologiju i lingvistiku*, XVII/2 (Novi Sad: Filozofski fakultet 1973), 173–95; Dragoljub Petrović, “Morfološke osobine u govoru Vračana,” in *Godišnjak Filozofskog fakulteta u Novom Sadu*, XVI/1 (Novi Sad: Filozofski fakultet, 1973), 201–33; Dragoljub Petrović, “Iz sintaksičke problematike govora Vračana,” in *Godišnjak Filozofskog fakulteta u Novom Sadu*, XVII/1 (Novi Sad: Filozofski fakultet, 1974), 161–82.

66. Dragoljub Petrović, “Prilog poznavanju govora u okolini Rijeke Crnojevića,” in *Zbornik za jezik i književnost*, Book I (Titograd: Društvo za srpskohrvatski jezik i književnost, 1972), 59–66.

67. Dragoljub Petrović, “Neke vokalske i konsonantske karakteristike pješivačkoga govora,” in *Zbornik za filologiju i lingvistiku*, X (Novi Sad: Matica srpska, 1967), 161–69; Dragoljub Petrović, “Prilog poznavanju akcenatskog sistema u pješivačkom govoru,” in *Zbornik za filologiju i lingvistiku*, IX (Novi Sad: Matica srpska, 1966), 129–35.

68. Dragoljub Petrović, “O govoru Broćanca,” in *Godišnjak Filozofskog fakulteta u Novom Sadu*, X (Novi Sad: Filozofski fakultet, 1967), 231–39.

69. Dragoljub Petrović, “O nekim osobinama akcenatskog sistema u govorima Luštice i Krtola,” in *Zbornik za filologiju i lingvistiku*, XVII/2 (Novi Sad: Matica srpska, 1974), 119–24.

70. Dragoljub Petrović, “Glasovni sistem rovačkog govora,” in *Zbornik za filologiju i lingvistiku*, VII (Novi Sad: Matica srpska, 1965), 157–84.

71. Dragoljub Petrović and Momčilo Popović, “O govoru Spiča: Građa,” in *Srpski dijalektološki zbornik*, LVI (Belgrade: Srpska akademija nauka i umetnosti i Institut za srpski jezik SANU, 2009), 1–275.

72. Dragoljub Petrović, Ivana Čelić, and Jelena Kapustina, “Rečnik Kuća,” in *Srpski dijalektološki zbornik*, LX (Belgrade: Srpska akademija nauka i umetnosti i Institut za srpski jezik SANU, 2013), 1–460.

73. Danilo Barjaktarević, “Bihorski govor,” in *Zbornik Filozofskog fakulteta u Prištini*, III (Priština: Filozofski fakultet, 1966), 9–81; Danilo Barjaktarević, “Bihorski govor,” in *Zbornik Filozofskog fakulteta u Prištini*, IV, Book A (Priština: Filozofski fakultet, 1967), 1–39.

74. Mato Pižurica, *Govor okoline Kolašina* (Titograd: CANU, 1981).

75. Mato Pižurica, “Upotreba padeža u govoru Rovaca,” *Prilozi proučavanju jezika*, 3 (1967): 141–76.

76. Mato Pižurica, "Prilog proučavanju stočarske terminologije u Crnoj Gori," in *Savjetovanje o terminologijama duhovne i materijalne kulture*, Book 31 (Sarajevo: ANUBiH, 1977), 29–45.

77. Mato Pižurica, "Tragovi međujezičkih dodira u govorima Crne Gore," in *Crnogorski govori* (Titograd: CANU, 1984), 83–95.

78. Miodrag Jovanović, *Govor Paštrovića* (Podgorica: Univerzitet Crne Gore, 2005).

79. Miodrag Jovanović, *Poluglasnici i jat u crnogorskim govorima* (Podgorica: CANU, 2011).

80. Nenad Vujadinović, *Govor Kamenara* (Belgrade: Naučno društvo za negovanje i proučavanje srpskog jezika, 2007).

81. Rada Stijević, "Govor Gornjih Vasojevića," in *Srpski dijalektološki zbornik*, LIV (Belgrade: SANU, 2007), 1–312.

82. Adnan Čirgić, *Govor podgoričkih muslimana* (Cetinje: Institut za crnogorski jezik i jezikoslovlje, 2007).

83. Adnan Čirgić, "Građa za izučavanje njeguškoga govora," *Lingua Montenegrina*, 5 (2010): 599–645.

84. Vladimir Ostojić, *Govor Jezera i Šaranaca* (Podgorica: CANU, 2016).

85. The biggest flaw of this monograph is its introductory chapter which, on top of numerous contradictions, ambiguities and traditionalism, brings doubtful conclusions such as the one (on p. 13) that Greeks used to live in Jezera, which is concluded on the basis of the so-called Greek cemeteries.

86. Sanja Orlandić, "Jekavska jotacija u crnogorskim govorima," *Lingua Montenegrina*, 7 (2011): 3–35.

87. Danijela Ristić, *Rječnik govora okoline Mojkovca* (Podgorica: CANU, 2010).

88. Jelena Bašanović-Čečović, *Rječnik govora Zete* (Podgorica: CANU, 2010).

89. However, the dialectological description provided with *Rječnik govora Zete* cannot be deemed more trustworthy or complete in any respect in relation to the existing Stevanović's description. Namely, it brings data that certainly cannot be considered typical for the area in question. For example, on page 20, the following is stated: "In addition to 'general-Serbo-Croatian ekavisms', generally present in most Ijekavian dialects, it is important to note that we have identified reflex *e*—of both long and short 'jat' in this speech area. Common ekavisms (*obezbeđenje* 'security', *doneo* 'bring-L-PT.M.SG', *koleno* 'knee', *severozapad* 'north-west', *primer* 'example', *beseda* 'speech', *Belopoljci*, *ovde* 'here') cannot be explained by the proximity of Ekavian speech area, as is the case in some other Montenegrin speech areas in which we can confirm intensified spread of Ekavian features." It remains unclear what the author meant by the poorly coined phrase "general-Serbo-Croatian ekavisms," and even more unclear in which of the listed examples she expected to find *ije* alternant instead of the long *jat*. It should also be noted that none of the above examples could be said to constitute Zeta's dialectological feature, and one of them is even theoretically impossible. Namely, it is well known that in the dialect of Zeta *l* in positions before front vowels softens into *l'*. As for the term *ovde*, it is well known that this is in no case an ekavism.

## ON PREVIOUS CLASSIFICATIONS OF MONTENEGRIN DIALECTS

1. Mihailo Stevanović, *Ibid.*, 2.
2. See M. Stevanović, *Gramatika srpskohrvatskog jezika za više razrede gimnazije*, 4th edition (Cetinje: Obod, 1962), 10–11.
3. Pavle Ivić, “Osvrt na lingvističke metode dosadašnjih proučavanja crnogorskih narodnih govora,” in *Crnogorski govori. Rezultati dosadašnjih ispitivanja i dalji rad na njihovom proučavanju* (Titograd: Crnogorska akademija nauka i umjetnosti, 1984), 32.
4. Drago Čupić, *Ibid.*, 103.
5. Mitar Pešikan, “Jedan opšti pogled na crnogorske govore,” in *Zbornik za filologiju i lingvistiku*, XXI/1 (Novi Sad: Matica srpska, 1979), 149.
6. Hamm, “Crnogorsko T, D + JAT > ĆE, ĐE,” 80–81.
7. In the aforementioned paper by M. Pešikan (“Jedan opšti pogled na crnogorske govore”) on the same page where the view was expressed that Montenegrin dialects were very dispersed and that there were no Montenegro-wide language features, the following is also stated: “As a whole (highlighted by A. Č.), Montenegrin dialects are a very typical part of the Štokavian speech or dialect.” —p. 149, by which the author negates previously stated views.
8. Mitar Pešikan, *Ibid.*, 149.
9. See Vukić Pulević, “Glasovi *ś* i *ź* u crnogorskoj toponimiji,” *Lingua Montenegrina*, 1 (2008): 75–94.
10. Pavle Ivić, *Dijalektologija srpskohrvatskog jezika. Uvod i štokavsko narečje* (Novi Sad: Matica srpska, 1956), 46–47.
11. A fact that is not mentioned here, although crucially important for the issue, is that these areas (or their largest part) had previously belonged to the Montenegrin state, and that, even during the time of Turkish administration, they still relied the most on Montenegro.
12. Pavle Ivić, *Ibid.*, 47.
13. Ivić calls it “Dinara’s third source of migration.”—*Ibid.*, 47.
14. *Ibid.*, 47–48. Migrations of the Montenegrin population to Herzegovina are also confirmed by Jevto Dedijer in the book titled *Hercegovina* (Belgrade: Srpska književna zadruga, 1909).
15. Ivić, “Osvrt na lingvističke metode dosadašnjih,” 31.
16. Vojislav P. Nikčević, “Crnogorski interdijalektalni/naddijalektalni (koine) standardni jezik,” in *Jezičke i književne teme* (Cetinje: Institut za crnogorski jezik i jezikoslovlje, 2006), 187–88.
17. Ivić, *Dijalektologija srpskohrvatskog jezika*.
18. Asim Peco, *Pregled srpskohrvatskih dijalekata* (Belgrade: Naučna knjiga, 1978).
19. The difference between Ivić’s and Peco’s classification of Štokavian dialects is mainly reflected in the fact that Peco differentiates a separate *northwestern Montenegrin speech type* within the Eastern Herzegovinian dialect—A. Peco, *Ibid.*, 75.

20. This feature is less present in northwestern dialects than in the others.
21. A. Peco, *Ibid.*, 74–75.
22. *Ibid.*, 75.
23. Ivić, *Dijalektologija srpskohrvatskog jezika*, 130.
24. *Ibid.*, 131–32.
25. Asim Peco, “Prilog proučavanju prelaznih govora,” *Radovi*, Book LXX (1981): 43–51 (+27 maps).
26. *Ibid.*, 46.
27. Peco lists these features of the Eastern Herzegovinian dialect: 1. the Ijekavian reflex of jat; 2. *rě* > *rje*: *izgorjeti* “to burn down,” *grjehota* “pity”; 3. suffixes of old stems in the adjectival and pronominal desinences: *našijem* “our-INS.SG/DAT/INS/LOC.PL,” *ovijem* “this-INS.SG/these-DAT/INS/LOC.PL,” *vrućijem* “hot-INS.SG/DAT/INS/LOC.PL,” *dobrijem* “good-INS.SG/DAT/INS/LOC.PL”; 4. only the forms *neko* “someone,” *nešto* “something” are present; 5. unequally represented jotation 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* > *fv*; 9. the sequences *plj*, *blj*, *mlj*, *vlj* (regardless of their origin) can alternate with *pj*, *bj*, *mj*, *vj*; 10. the glide *j* is a stable sound, even in 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 four-accent system; 16. male names such as *Jovo*, *Rade* are subject to the following declension *Jovo–Jova–Jovu*; *Rade*, *Rada*, *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* “He stayed in Montenegro,” cf. standard “*Ostao je u Crnoj Gori*” 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. enclitic forms such as *ni*, *vi*, *ne* “us,” *ve* “you-GEN.PL” are present; 21. demonstrative pronouns *ovi* “this,” *ta* “that,” *oni* “that (far distance)”; 22. the imperfect is known but is rarely used; 23. beside the form *ore plugom* “he works the land using a plow,” the syntagm *ore s plugom* “he works the land with a plow” is present; 24. the abundance of borrowings of Arabic, Persian, and Turkish words—Asim Peco, *Ibid.*, 48–49.
28. *Ibid.*, 49–50.
29. *Ibid.*, 50.
30. Vuković, “Govor Pive i Drobnjaka,” 1–113.
31. Stanić, “Uskočki govor,” Vol. 1; Stanić, “Uskočki govor,” Vol. 2.
32. Stanić, *Uskočki rječnik*, 1 and 2.
33. Stanić, “Uskočki akcenat,” Book XXVIII, 63–191.
34. Vušović, “Dialekt Istočne Hercegovine,” 1–71. As the title of the study does not clearly indicate the area of the dialect 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), *Dragovoljci* 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, Riđani, Straševina, Studenci) because in them “people spoke Montenegrin” since they were inhabited by people who had moved there from Čeklići, Cuce, Čevo, and so on, 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*, *Bročanac*, *Dolovi*; *Petrovići*, *Drpe*, *Klenak*, *Tupan* (Donji and Gornji), *Velinje* (small town), *Miljanići*, *Dubočke* (Donje and Gornje), *Koprivice*, *Crkvice*, *Mirkovići* and *Macavare*. . . . The population of these areas is generally quite old, so we do not need to make additional comments here, as these areas make a complete ethnographic unit.”

35. Peco, *Pregled srpskohrvatskih dijalekata*.

36. *Ibid.*, 74–79.

37. *Ibid.*, 75.

38. Stanić, “Uskočki govor,” Vol. 1, 59.

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

40. *Ibid.*, 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 on which they relied, 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 dialect as the Herzegovinian type instead of the Montenegrin one.

41. Pešikan, “Jedan opšti pogled na crnogorske govore,” XXI/1, 149–69.

## THE ISSUE OF CLASSIFICATION OF MONTENEGRIN DIALECTS

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

2. *Ibid.*, 60.

3. In the quoted paper “Jedan opšti pogled na crnogorske govore,” Mitar Pešikan provides a detailed description of the accentual situation in the Montenegrin dialects.

4. *Ibid.*, 156.

5. Radosav Bošković and Mieczysław Małecki, “Istraživanja dijalekata Stare Crne Gore s osvrtom na susedne govore,” *Glasnik Odjeljenja umjetnosti*, Book 20 (2002), 5–13. The following is stated on page 11: “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*.”

5. This is completely in line with claims by M. Stevanović, stated in the monograph *Istočnocrnogorski dijalekat*, 2, that “there are certain differences in terms of language specifics” among Montenegrin tribes. Within a tribe, whether 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 dialects into smaller dialectal groups and for separation of the parts belonging to other dialectal areas.”

6. 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.*, 169). However, material presented by Milija Stanić (in the two-volume monograph *Uskočki govor*), Jovan Vuković (in the monograph *Govor Pive i Drobnojaka*) and Danilo Vušović (in the monograph *Dijalekt Istočne Hercegovine*) conflicts with this view because some “Zeta specifics” are present to a much larger degree in these dialects, not only in the border area but also far inland.

7. Pižurica, *Govor okoline Kolašina*, 13.

## ACCENTUAL SYSTEM OF MONTENEGRIN DIALECTS

1. This compound marks the dialects encompassing a zone that gravitates to those two mountains as the two ultimate and highest points.

2. Examples such as *Stānĕ* are unknown in this area, which leads to the conclusion that these are not old forms re-established through analogy to a possessive adjective ending in *-ov* such as *Pĕro*: *Pĕrĕv* > *Pĕrĕ*, as is the case in Gornje Cuce, Komani, and Zagarač. The form *Stāne*, it is well known, was obtained through assimilation to the vocative case, and there was no such assimilation in the Zeta-Podgorica area with Lješanska nahija and Lješkopolje.

## THE ISSUE OF VOWEL GROUP AO IN MONTENEGRIN DIALECTS

1. Drobnjak-specific  $\bar{a}$  (<al, b/) among today's elderly population was, inter alia, confirmed to us by Sanja Orlandić. The confusion was created by Jovan Vuković, as he listed the majority of Piva features as specific to the entire area in the previously cited monograph on the dialect of Piva and Drobnjak. After all, it is known that Vuković treated the entire territory of Uskoci as Drobnjak, whereas most of the material he collected came from Piva, where he was born.

# Bibliography

- Aleksić, Radomir. "Izveštaj d-ra Rad. Aleksića." *Godišnjak Zadružbine Sare i Vase Stojanovića*, 7 (1940): 36–37.
- Aleksić, Radomir. "Izveštaj g. Rad. Aleksića." *Godišnjak Zadružbine Sare i Vase Stojanovića*, 6 (1938): 17–20.
- Aleksić, Radomir. "Izveštaj g. Radomira Aleksića." *Godišnjak Zadružbine Sare i Vase Stojanovića*, 8 (1941): 15–22.
- Aleksić, Radomir. "Izveštaj o ispitivanju govora krtolskog, muljanskog i grbaljskog." *Glasnik Srpske akademije nauka*, Book V, no. 2 (1953): 333–337.
- Aleksić, Radomir. "O govorima Crne Gore." *Godišnjak Zadružbine Sare i Vase Stojanović*, II (1935): 21–25; III (1936): 13–14; V (1937): 15–16.
- Barjaktarević, Danilo. "Bihorski govor." In *Zbornik Filozofskog fakulteta u Prištini*, Vol. III, 9–81. Priština: Filozofski fakultet, 1966.
- Barjaktarević, Danilo. "Bihorski govor." In *Zbornik Filozofskog fakulteta u Prištini*, Vol. IV, Book A, 1–39. Priština: Filozofski fakultet, 1967.
- Belić, Aleksandar. "Mihailo Stevanović, Istočnocrnogorski dijalekat." *Južnoslovenski filolog*, XIV (1935): 161–181.
- Bošković, Radosav and Mieczysław Małecki. "Istraživanja dijalekata Stare Crne Gore s osvrtom na susedne govore." *Glasnik Odjeljenja umjetnosti CANU*, 20 (2002): 5–13.
- Bošković, Radosav. "O govoru Ozrinića." *Godišnjak Zadružbine Sare i Vase Stojanović*, II (1935): 27–36.
- Bošković, Radosav. "O prirodi, razvitku i zamenicima glasa *h* u govorima Crne Gore." *Južnoslovenski filolog*, XI (1931): 179–197.
- Brajković, Tomo. "Peraški dijalekat." In *Programm des Gymnasiums von Cattaro 1892/93*, 3–21. Zagreb, 1893.
- Broz, Ivan. "Zamjena poluglasnika u govoru barskome." *Nastavni vjesnik*, Book I (1893): 64–68.
- Čirgić, Adnan. "O klasifikaciji crnogorskih govora." *Lingua Montenegrina*, 2 (2008): 109–128.



- Čirgić, Adnan. "Revizija podjele crnogorskih govora." *Lingua Montenegrina*, 3 (2009): 253–266.
- Čirgić, Adnan. "Doprinos Danila Vušovića montenegristici." *Lingua Montenegrina*, 3 (2009): 487–496.
- Čirgić, Adnan. "Građa za izučavanje njeđuškoga govora." *Lingua Montenegrina*, 5 (2010): 599–645.
- Čirgić, Adnan. "Jezička politika u Crnoj Gori od Njegoša do naših dana." In *Crnogorski jezik u prošlosti i sadašnjosti*, 171–201. Podgorica: Institut za crnogorski jezik i književnost, Matica crnogorska, 2011.
- Čirgić, Adnan. "Klasifikacija crnogorskih govora." In *Crnogorski jezik u prošlosti i sadašnjosti*, 51–91. Podgorica: Institut za crnogorski jezik i književnost, Matica crnogorska, 2011.
- Čirgić, Adnan. "O proučavanju crnogorskih govora do polovine XX vijeka." *Matica* 69 (Spring 2013): 183–194.
- Čirgić, Adnan. *Crnogorski jezik u prošlosti i sadašnjosti*. Podgorica: Matica crnogorska, 2010.
- Čirgić, Adnan. *Dijalektolozi i crnogorski jezik (do 1945)*. Podgorica: Zavod za udžbenike i nastavna sredstva, 2014.
- Čirgić, Adnan. *Dijalektolozi i crnogorski jezik (od 1945)*. Cetinje: Fakultet za crnogorski jezik i književnost, 2017.
- Čirgić, Adnan. *Govor podgoričkih muslimana*. Cetinje: Institut za crnogorski jezik i jezikoslovlje, 2007.
- Ćupić, Drago and Željko Ćupić. "Rečnik govora Zagarača." In *Srpski dijalektološki zbornik*, XLIV, XX + 615. Belgrade: SANU and Institut za srpski jezik, 1997.
- Ćupić, Drago. "Bibliografija govora Crne Gore." In *Crnogorski govori. Rezultati dosadašnjih ispitivanja i dalji rad na njihovom proučavanju*, 97–128. Titograd: Crnogorska akademija nauka i umjetnosti, 1984.
- Ćupić, Drago. "Govor Bjelopavlića." In *Srpski dijalektološki zbornik*, XXIII, 1–219. Belgrade: Institut za srpskohrvatski jezik, 1977.
- Ćupić, Drago. "Govor Grbalj." In *Grbalj u oslobodilačkom ratu 1941–1945*, edited by Jovan Vujadinović, 29–33. Grbalj: Mjesna organizacija SUBNOR, 2000.
- Ćupić, Drago. "Osnovne osobine govora Pljevalja." *Glasnik Odjeljenja umjetnosti CANU*, 8 (1988): 79–107.
- Ćupić, Drago. "Pregled glavnijih osobina govora Zete." *Južnoslovenski filolog*, XXXIII (1977): 265–282.
- Ćupić, Drago. "Sudbina vokalske grupe a + o (al, њl) u govorima Crne Gore." *Glasnik Odjeljenja umjetnosti CANU*, Book 6 (1985): 207–216.
- Ćupić, Drago. *Život u znaku nauke*. Belgrade: Unireks, 2000.
- Dedijer, Jevto. *Hercegovina*. Belgrade: Srpska književna zadruga, 1909.
- Dostinić, Dušan. "Neka zapažanja o hercegovačkom tipu bokeljskih govora." In *Ogledi*, 2, 77–82. Titograd: Republički zavod za unapređivanje školstva, 1963.
- Đorđić, Petar. "Beleške o gusinjskom govoru." *Zadužbina Luke Čelovića Trebinjca*, Beograd (1933/34): 183–188.
- Erdeljanović, Jovan. "Bratonožići, pleme u crnogorskim Brdima." In *Srpski etnografski zbornik*, Book XII. Belgrade: Srpska kraljevska akademija, 1909.

- Erdeljanović, Jovan. "Etničko srodstvo Bokelja i Crnogoraca." *Glas Srpske kraljevske akademije*, XCVI (1920): 1–78.
- Erdeljanović, Jovan. "Kući, pleme u Crnoj Gori." In *Srpski etnografski zbornik*, Book VIII. Belgrade: Srpska kraljevska akademija, 1907.
- Erdeljanović, Jovan. "Stari Srbi Zečani i njihov govor." In *Belićev zbornik I*, 326–338. Belgrade: Mlada Srbija, 1937.
- Fonološki opisi srpskohrvatskih/hrvatskosrpskih, slovenačkih i makedonskih govora obuhvaćenih Opšteslovenskim lingvističkim atlasom*, 523–557, Special editions, Vol. LV, Book 9. Sarajevo: ANUBiH, Social Science Department, 1981.
- Hamm, Josip. "Crnogorsko T, D + JAT > ĆE, ĐE." In *Crnogorski govori. Rezultati dosadašnjih ispitivanja i dalji rad na njihovom proučavanju*, 79–82. Titograd: Crnogorska akademija nauka i umjetnosti: 1984.
- Ivić, Pavle. "Osvrt na lingvističke metode dosadašnjih proučavanja crnogorskih narodnih govora." In *Crnogorski govori. Rezultati dosadašnjih ispitivanja i dalji rad na njihovom proučavanju*, 31–48. Titograd: Crnogorska akademija nauka i umjetnosti, 1984.
- Ivić, Pavle. *Dijalektologija srpskohrvatskog jezika. Uvod i štokavsko narečje*. Novi Sad: Matica srpska, 1956.
- Jovanović, Miodrag. *Govor Paštrovića*. Podgorica: Univerzitet Crne Gore, 2005.
- Jovanović, Miodrag. *Poluglasnici i jat u crnogorskim govorima*. Podgorica: CANU, 2011.
- Jovičević, Andrija. "Riječka Nahija u Crnoj Gori." In *Srpski etnografski zbornik*. Belgrade: Srpska kraljevska akademija, 1911.
- Jovičević, Andrija. *Crnogorsko Primorje i Krajina*, Phototype edition. Cetinje: Obod, 2004.
- Karadžić, Vuk. *Srpske narodne poslovice*. Cetinje: Narodna štamparija, 1836.
- Kašić, Zorka. "Govor Konavala." In *Srpski dijalektološki zbornik*, XLI. Belgrade: Srpska akademija nauka i umetnosti, 1995.
- Lipovac-Radulović, Vesna. *Romanizmi u Crnoj Gori – Budva i Paštrovići*. Novi Sad: MBM-plas, 1997.
- Lipovac-Radulović, Vesna. *Romanizmi u Crnoj Gori – jugoistočni dio Boke Kotorske*. Cetinje and Titograd: Obod and Pobjeda, 1981.
- Majer, Antun. "Antikni elementi toponomastike podgoričkog kraja." *Godišnjak nastavnika podgoričke Gimnazije*, Book 1 (1930): 13–24.
- Majić, Dragoljub. "Otkud ikavizam kod naših muslimana." *Godišnjak nastavnika podgoričke Gimnazije*, Štamparija Ujedinjenje, Podgorica, 1930.
- Majić, Dragoljub. "Starinske crte u govoru našeg kraja." *Godišnjak nastavnika podgoričke Gimnazije*, Book IV, no. 4 (1933): 16–22.
- Małecki, Mieczysław. "Charakterystyka gwary Cucov na tle sasiednich szarnogorskich." *Łud slawiański*, II/2 (1931): A225–A245.
- Martinović, Dušan. "Milija Stanić." In *Portreti II*. Cetinje: Narodna biblioteka Crne Gore "Đurđe Crnojević," 1987.
- Milaković, Dimitrije. *Srpska gramatika sastavljena za crnogorsku mladež*. Cetinje, 1838.

- Miletić, Branko. "Crmnjički govor." In *Srpski dijalektološki zbornik*, IX, 211–663. Belgrade: Srpska kraljevska akademija, 1940.
- Miletić, Branko. "Izvještaji (Bijelo Polje, Vasojevići, Crmnica)." *Godišnjak Zadužbine Sare i Vase Stojanović*, II (1935): 13–16; IV (1937): 21–25; V (1937): 30–32.
- Musić, Srđan. *Romanizmi u severo-zapadnoj Boki*. Belgrade: Filološki fakultet, 1972.
- Nikčević, Vojislav P. "Crnogorski interdijalektalni/naddijalektalni (koine) standardni jezik." In *Jezičke i književne teme*. Cetinje: Institut za crnogorski jezik i jezikoslovlje, 2006.
- Nikčević, Vojislav P. *Crnogorski jezik*, Vol. II (from 1360 to 1995). Cetinje: Matica crnogorska, 1997.
- Orlandić, Sanja. "Jekavska jotacija u crnogorskim govorima." *Lingua Montenegrina*, 7 (2011): 3–35.
- Ostojić, Vladimir. *Govor Jezera i Šaranaca*. Podgorica: CANU, 2016.
- Paštrovske isprave XVI–XVIII vijeka*. Edited by Ivan Božić, Branko Pavićević, and Ilija Sindik. Cetinje: Državni arhiv Narodne Republike Crne Gore, 1959.
- Peco, Asim. "Govor istočne Hercegovine." In *Srpski dijalektološki zbornik*, XIV. Belgrade: Srpska akademija nauka i umetnosti, 1964.
- Peco, Asim. "Prilog proučavanju prelaznih govora." *Radovi*, Book LXX (1981): 43–51.
- Peco, Asim. *Pregled srpskohrvatskih dijalekata*. Belgrade: Naučna knjiga, 1978.
- Pešikan, Mitar. "Jedan opšti pogled na crnogorske govore." In *Zbornik za filologiju i lingvistiku*, XXI/1, 149–169. Novi Sad: Matica srpska, 1979.
- Pešikan, Mitar. "Pravci diferenciranja i klasifikacije crnogorskih govora i neki problemi njihovog proučavanja." In *Crnogorski govori*, 49–56. Titograd: CANU, 1984.
- Pešikan, Mitar. "Starocrnogorski srednjokatunski i lješanski govori." In *Srpski dijalektološki zbornik*, Book XV, 1–294. Belgrade: Institut za srpskohrvatski jezik, 1965.
- Petrović, Dragoljub. "Glasovne osobine govora Vračana u Zeti." In *Godišnjak Filozofskog fakulteta u Novom Sadu*, XV/1, 179–210. Novi Sad: Filozofski fakultet, 1972.
- Petrović, Dragoljub. "Glasovni sistem rovačkog govora." In *Zbornik za filologiju i lingvistiku*, VII, 157–184. Novi Sad: Matica srpska, 1965.
- Petrović, Dragoljub. "Glavnije osobine akcenatskog sistema u govoru Vračana." In *Zbornik za filologiju i lingvistiku*, XVI/2, 173–195. Novi Sad: Matica srpska, 1973.
- Petrović, Dragoljub. "Iz sintaksičke problematike govora Vračana." In *Godišnjak Filozofskog fakulteta u Novom Sadu*, XVII/1, 161–182. Novi Sad: Filozofski fakultet, 1974.
- Petrović, Dragoljub. "Morfološke osobine u govoru Vračana." In *Godišnjak Filozofskog fakulteta u Novom Sadu*, XVI/1, 201–233. Novi Sad: Filozofski fakultet, 1973.
- Petrović, Dragoljub. "Neke napomene o refleksu poluglasnika u govoru Šestana." In *Zbornik radova povodom 70-godišnjice akademika Jovana Vukovića*, 335–337. Sarajevo: ANUBiH, 1977.

- Petrović, Dragoljub. "Neke osobine jezika Stefana Mitrova Ljubiše u svetlosti današnjega govora Paštovića." In *Zbornik za filologiju i lingvistiku*, XIX/2, 55–59. Novi Sad: Matica srpska, 1976.
- Petrović, Dragoljub. "Neke vokalske i konsonantske karakteristike pješivačkoga govora." In *Zbornik za filologiju i lingvistiku*, X, 161–169. Novi Sad: Matica srpska, 1967.
- Petrović, Dragoljub. "O govoru Broćanca." In *Godišnjak Filozofskog fakulteta u Novom Sadu*, X, 231–239. Novi Sad: Filozofski fakultet, 1967.
- Petrović, Dragoljub. "O nekim osobinama akcenatskog sistema u govorima Luštica i Krtola." In *Zbornik za filologiju i lingvistiku*, XVII/2, 119–123. Novi Sad: Matica srpska, 1974.
- Petrović, Dragoljub. "Prilog poznavanju akcenatskog sistema u pješivačkom govoru." In *Zbornik za filologiju i lingvistiku*, IX, 129–135. Novi Sad: Matica srpska, 1966.
- Petrović, Dragoljub. "Prilog poznavanju govora u okolini Rijeke Crnojevića." In *Zbornik za jezik i književnost*, Book I, 59–66. Titograd: Društvo za srpskohrvatski jezik i književnost, 1972.
- Pižurica, Mato. *Jezik Andrije Zmajevića*. Titograd: CANU, 1989.
- Pižurica, Mato. "Prilog proučavanju stočarske terminologije u Crnoj Gori." In *Savjetovanje o terminologijama duhovne i materijalne kulture*, Book 31, 29–45. Sarajevo: ANUBiH, 1977.
- Pižurica, Mato. "Tragovi međujezičkih dodira u govorima Crne Gore." In *Crnogorski govori*, 83–95. Titograd: CANU, 1984.
- Pižurica, Mato. "Upotreba padeža u govoru Rovaca." *Prilozi proučavanju jezika*, 3 (1967): 141–176.
- Pižurica, Mato. *Govor okoline Kolašina*. Titograd: CANU, 1981.
- Popović, Momčilo and Dragoljub Petrović. "O govoru Spiča – građa." In *Srpski dijalektološki zbornik*, LVI, 1–275. Belgrade: Srpska akademija nauka i umetnosti i Institut za srpski jezik SANU, 2009.
- Pulević, Vukić. "Glasovi *ś* i *ž* u crnogorskoj toponimiji." *Lingua Montenegrina*, 1 (2008): 75–94.
- Radojević, Danilo. *CXIV godina i ličnosti*. Podgorica: DANU, 2011.
- Rešetar, Milan. *Der štokavische Dialekt*. Vienna: A. Hölder, 1907.
- Rešetar, Milan. *Die serbokroatische Betonung südwestlicher Mundarten*. Vienna: A. Hölder, 1900.
- Rešetar, Milan. *Štokavski dijalekat*. Podgorica: Matica crnogorska, 2010.
- Ribarić, Josip. "Razmještaj južnoslovenskih dijalekata na poluotoku Istri." In *Srpski dijalektološki zbornik*, IX, 1–207. Belgrade: Srpska kraljevska akademija, 1940.
- Ribarić, Josip. *O perojskom govoru (leksikografski prinosi)*. Edited by Milorad Nikčević. Osijek: Crnogorsko kulturno društvo Montenegro-Montenegrina, 2004.
- Rosi, Alberto. "O jeziku starih Kotorana." *Smotra Dalmatinska*, 59 (1918): 1–3.
- Rotković, Radoslav. "Uvod u izučavanje jezika bokokotorskih prikazanja s posebnim osvrtom na jezik Ivana Antuna Nenadića." *Lingua Montenegrina*, 4 (2009): 3–60.
- Rovinski, Pavel Apolonovič. *Crna Gora u prošlosti i sadašnjosti, Vol. 3: Etnografija – Književnost i jezik*. Cetinje, Sremski Karlovci, and Novi Sad: Izdavački

- centar "Cetinje," Centralna narodna biblioteka "Đurđe Crnojević" and Izdavačka knjižarnica Zorana Stojanovića, 1994.
- Ružičić, Gojko. "Akcentatski sistem pljevaljskog govora." In *Srpski dijalektološki zbornik*, III, 115–176. Belgrade: Srpska kraljevska akademija, 1927.
- Stanić, Milija. "Uskočki akcent." In *Srpski dijalektološki zbornik*, Book XXVIII, 63–191. Belgrade: Institut za srpskohrvatski jezik, 1982.
- Stanić, Milija. "Uskočki govor." Vol. I. In *Srpski dijalektološki zbornik*, Book XX, 1–259. Belgrade: Institut za srpskohrvatski jezik, 1974.
- Stanić, Milija. "Uskočki govor." Vol. II. In *Srpski dijalektološki zbornik*, Book XXII, 1–159. Belgrade: Institut za srpskohrvatski jezik, 1976.
- Stanić, Milija. *Uskočki rječnik*, Vols. 1 and 2. Belgrade: Naučna knjiga, 1990 and 1991.
- Stevanović, Mihailo. "Glavne dijalekatske crte vasojevičkog govora." *Zadužbina Luke Čelovića Trebinjca*, Beograd (1933/34): 188–191.
- Stevanović, Mihailo. "Istočnocrnogorski dijalekat." *Južnoslovenski filolog*, Book XIII (1933–1934): 1–128.
- Stevanović, Mihailo. "Sistem akcentuacije u piperskom govoru." In *Srpski dijalektološki zbornik*, X, 69–184. Belgrade: Srpska kraljevska akademija, 1940.
- Stevanović, Mihailo. *Gramatika srpskohrvatskog jezika za više razrede gimnazije*, 4th edition. Cetinje: Obod, 1962.
- Stijević, Rada. "Govor Gornjih Vasojevića." In *Srpski dijalektološki zbornik*, LIV, 1–312. Belgrade: SANU, 2007.
- Šahmatov, Aleksej Aleksandrovič. "Prilog istoriji akcentata u slovenskim jezicima." *Lingua Montenegrina*, 8 (2011): 477–498.
- Škarić, Đuro. "Deiktične čestice *zi* i *si* u slovenskim jezicima." *Rad*, Book 229 (1924): 208–293.
- Tomanović, Vaso. "Acc. pl. ličnih zamenica prvog i drugog lica: ni i vi (ny, vy)." In *Годишен зборник на Филозофскиот факултет на Универзитетот во Скопје*, кн. 3, 1–16. Skopje: Историско-филолошки оддел, 1930, 1950.
- Tomanović, Vaso. "Akcentat u govoru sela Lepetana (Boka Kotorska)." *Južnoslovenski filolog*, XIV (1935): 59–143.
- Tomanović, Vaso. "O bokeljskim govorima." *Boka*, 2 (1970): 225–229.
- Tomanović, Vaso. "O fonetici reči romanskog porekla u govorima Boke Kotorske." *Boka*, 3 (1971): 203–210.
- Tomanović, Vaso. "O romanskim elementima u bokeljskim govorima i njihovom odnosu prema domaćim." *Boka*, 4 (1972): 159–172.
- Vujadinović, Nenad. *Govor Kamenara*. Belgrade: Naučno društvo za negovanje i proučavanje srpskog jezika, 2007.
- Vujičić, Dragomir. *Iz onomastike, leksikologije i dijalektologije*. Podgorica: Unireks, 1996.
- Vujović, Luka. *Mrkovički dijalekat*, Reprint edition. Podgorica: Savjet Muslimana Crne Gore, 2012.
- Vujović, Luka. "Istoriski presjek gubljenja glagolske rekcije u crnogorskim govorima." *Južnoslovenski filolog*, XX/1–4 (1953–1954): 87–126.
- Vujović, Luka. "Je li postojao ekavski govor u jugoistočnoj Crnoj Gori i sjevernoj Albaniji?." *Južnoslovenski filolog*, XXVI/1–2 (1963–1964): 511–517.

- Vujović, Luka. "Jedan periferijski starocrnogorski govor (mrkovički) u svjetlosti istorije jezika, međudijalekatskih i međujezičkih pojava." *Naš jezik*, XVI/3 (1967): 171–192.
- Vujović, Luka. "Kako se razvio ekavizam mrkovičkog govora." *Južnoslovenski filolog*, XXIII/1–4 (1958): 235–246.
- Vujović, Luka. "Mrkovički dijalekat." *Godišnjak Zadružbine Sare i Vase Stojanović*, II (1935): 42.
- Vujović, Luka. "Mrkovički dijalekat." In *Srpski dijalektološki zbornik*, XVIII, 73–401. Belgrade: Institut za srpskohrvatski jezik, 1969.
- Vuković, Jovan. "Akcentat govora Pive i Drobnjaka." In *Srpski dijalektološki zbornik*, X, 185–417. Belgrade: Srpska kraljevska akademija, 1940.
- Vuković, Jovan. "Govor Pive i Drobnjaka." *Južnoslovenski filolog*, Book XVII (1938–1939): 1–113.
- Vuletić, Savo P. "Neke karakteristične odlike govora u Kućima." *Brankovo kolo*, Book X (1904): 217–219.
- Vuletić, Savo P. "Neke karakteristične odlike govora u Zeti." *Brankovo kolo*, Book IX (1903): 186–187.
- Vušović, Danilo. "Dialekt Istočne Hercegovine." In *Srpski dijalektološki zbornik*, Book III, 1–176. Belgrade: Srpska kraljevska akademija, 1927.
- Zore, Luko. "ъ i ъ u Crnoj Gori i Boki Kotorskoj." *Slovinac*, Book II (1879): 199.



# Index of Names

- Aleksić, Radomir, 3, 4
- Barjaktarević, Danilo, xiv, 5, 8
- Bašanović-Čečović, Jelena, 10
- Belić, Aleksandar, 3, 83n21
- Bojović, Draga, 10
- Bošković, Radosav, xiv, 3, 4, 30–32, 91n5
- Brajković, Tomo, 1, 2
- Broz, Ivan, 1
- Budmani, Pero, 2
- Čirgić, Adnan, vii, viii, ix, x, 41, 45,  
49, 53, 56
- Ćelić, Ivana, 8
- Ćupić, Drago, xiii, xiv, 1, 5, 7, 8, 11, 12
- Ćupić, Željko, 7, 85n58
- Dedijer, Jevto, 88n14
- Đorđić, Petar, 4
- Erdeljanović, Jovan, 4
- Hamm, Josip, 5, 7, 13
- Ivić, Pavle, viii, ix, x, 11, 13–16, 18, 19,  
25, 88n19
- Jovanović, Miodrag, 9
- Jovićević, Andrija, 4, 7
- Kapustina, Jelena, 8
- Karadžić, Vuk, xiii, 1
- Lukić, Milica, 6
- Majer, Antun, 4
- Majić, Dragoljub, 4
- Małeckı, Mieczysław, xiv, 4, 31, 32,  
91n5
- Milaković, Dimitrije, 1
- Miletić, Branko, xiv, 3
- Nikčević, Milorad, 5
- Nikčević, Vojislav P., 15, 26, 30
- Orlandić, Sanja, 10, 92n1
- Ostojčić, Vladimir, 9
- Peco, Asim, x, 16–20, 24–27, 88n19,  
89n27
- Pešikan, Mitar, xiv, 5–7, 11–15, 31–32,  
36, 88n7, 91n3, 91n6
- Petrović, Dragoljub, xiv, 5, 7
- Pima, Jerolim, 2
- Pižurica, Mato, xiv, 5, 8, 33
- Popović, Momčilo, 8
- Rešetar, Milan, xiii, 2, 81n3
- Ribarić, Josip, 4–6



- Ristić, Danijela, 10  
Rosi, Alberto, 2  
Rovinski, Pavel Apolonovič, 4  
Ružičić, Gojko, xiv, 3
- Stanić, Milija, xiv, 5, 7, 21, 25, 90n39,  
91n6  
Stevanović, Mihailo xiv, 3, 10–11,  
30–32, 83n21, 91n5  
Stijović, Rada, 9  
Šahmatov, Aleksej Aleksandrovič, 1,  
82n7  
Šćepanović, Mihailo, 10
- Škarić, Đuro, 1  
Šušanj, Jelena, vii
- Tomanović, Vaso, 4–6
- Vujadinović, Nenad, 9  
Vujičić, Dragomir, 5, 7  
Vujović, Luka, xiv, 4–6  
Vuković, Jovan, xiv, 3–4, 7, 20, 92n1  
Vušović, Danilo, xiii, xiv, 2–3, 22, 25,  
89n34
- Zore, Luko, 1

# Subject Index

- accusative, 21–27, 59–60, 63, 69–75  
adjectival and pronominal desinences, 16, 59, 63, 65–67, 69, 71, 72, 74–75, 79  
Albanian (language) border, 29, 33, 44, 70, 72–74  
aorist, 16, 21, 22, 24, 60, 63, 67, 69, 71, 72, 74, 75, 80
- coastal dialects, 31, 32, 35, 36, 40, 48, 57, 67  
concord, 24, 64, 67  
consonant *f*, 62, 65, 69, 70, 72, 73  
consonant groups, 59, 63, 70, 72, 74, 75  
consonant *h*, 62, 65, 66, 69, 70, 72, 73  
consonant *z*, 67, 69
- dative, 16, 21, 23, 59, 63, 69, 71, 72, 74, 75, 80  
desonorization of final voiced  
  consonants, 65, 66, 69, 70, 75  
dialect boundaries, 19, 26, 33, 44  
Donji Pješivci-Bjelopavlići-Vasojevići  
  dialect group, 72–74
- Eastern Herzegovinian dialect, 11, 16–22, 24–27, 78  
Eastern Montenegrin dialect, xiv, 3, 11  
Ekavian-Jekavian (dialect), 29  
enclitic forms, 16, 59, 63, 67, 69, 71–75, 80
- four-accent system/dialects, 7, 17, 25–26, 30, 33, 35–36, 38–39, 44, 48, 66, 72, 78, 79, 89n27
- genitive, 16, 24, 60, 63, 65, 67, 69, 71–72, 74–75  
group *ьl*, 52–54, 64, 73
- Ijekavian dialects, 17, 19, 24–25, 87n89  
Ijekavian-Ekavian dialects, 29, 33  
Ikavian-Jekavian dialects, 29  
imperfect, 16, 21–22, 24, 60, 63, 67, 69, 71–75, 80  
instrumental, 21–22, 24, 63, 69, 72, 75
- jat, 8, 18, 26, 29, 32–36, 39, 43–45, 47, 58, 62, 64, 66, 68, 70–74, 77–79  
jat alternant, 39, 43–45, 68, 71, 73, 77  
Jekavian jotation, 5, 10, 16, 21, 23, 45, 59, 62, 69, 70, 72–74, 79  
jotation of labials, 16, 20, 23, 59, 70, 73
- Kučiči-Piperi-Bratonožići dialect group, 32, 34–36, 49, 53, 55, 60, 70–71, 80
- labialization, labialized *a*, 52–53, 64, 68, 79  
locative, 16, 21–23, 27, 59, 63, 67, 69, 71–72, 74–75, 80

- Montenegrin dialects (modern),  
classification of, 11–35
- Montenegrin dialects (traditionalist/  
previous), classification of, 11–28
- Montenegrin dialects, history of  
studying of, 1–11
- Mrkovići/Mrkojevići dialect group, 68–69
- Muslims, 9, 16, 29, 37, 43–44, 62,  
71–74, 77
- nasalization, 54, 70, 73, 79
- nominative, 24, 38, 67, 71
- Northwestern Montenegrin dialects,  
16–19, 24, 27, 30, 57–62
- Ozrinići dialect group, 4, 17, 25, 30, 34,  
36, 38, 48, 51, 55, 61–62, 64–66, 73,  
78–80, 90n34
- phonemes *ś* and *ž*, 14, 16, 20, 22–23,  
58, 62–63, 67, 69–70, 73–74, 79
- Plav-Gusinje area, 30–31, 38, 48, 54,  
72–73, 78–79
- Rožaje-Petnjica-Bijelo Polje dialect  
group, 34, 55, 74–75, 77, 80
- semivowel alternant, 48–49, 52, 62, 64,  
68, 70, 73, 78
- Serbian language, 12, 33
- short falling stress, 30, 35–38, 64, 66,  
68, 71–72, 74, 77–78
- Southeastern Boka dialect group, 34, 55,  
60–61, 66, 68, 80
- southeastern Montenegrin dialects, 17,  
55, 60–75
- Sub-Lovćen dialect group, 34, 55, 64–65,  
68, 71, 80
- three-accent system/dialects, 30, 33, 37
- two-accent system/dialects, 26, 30, 33,  
35–36, 64, 66, 68, 70–71
- vocative, 21, 24, 38, 64, 66–68, 71,  
91n2
- vowel group *ao*, 23, 33–34, 47, 51–54,  
59, 62, 64, 66, 68, 71, 73–74,  
78–79
- vowel *r*, 62, 64, 66–74
- vowel system, 58, 62–74
- Zeta-Gornje Polimlje dialect, 31
- Zeta-Lovćen dialect, 11, 24
- Zeta-Podgorica dialect group, 31–34,  
37, 55, 63, 71, 73, 80
- Zeta-Sjenica dialect, 15
- Zeta-South Sandžak dialect, 13, 16–17,  
25

# Index of Word Forms

- (h)älä, 37, 71  
ärät, 58
- bäbò, 37, 71  
báčäo, 52  
bâ°bo, 68  
báša, 58  
baz, 22  
bëbä, 37, 71  
Bele, 20  
belek, 74  
Belopoljci, 87n89  
belopoľski, 44, 74  
beseda, 87n89  
bijelo, 43  
bijo sam u Nišić, 21  
bio sam u Dugu, 24, 60  
bio sam u grad, 24  
bio sam u Kotor, 63  
bizin, 23  
bjelina, 43  
blésnilo, 23, 62  
blésnilo, 59  
bléžati, 21  
blüät, 74  
bog na nebo, a lüdi na zemlü, 22  
böjovi, 69  
Bokijeľ, 23  
bõlä, 37, 71
- boleo, 74  
boles, 20  
Borozän, 65  
boži, 22, 23  
božitni, 75  
Bóžo, 75  
brastvo, 20, 22  
bravik, 69  
bronzin, 23  
brõnzin, 59, 62  
brs, 22  
büa, 59  
Buška, 22  
büva, 74
- capceti, 21  
cesta, 20, 58  
cio, 16, 79  
crvka, 23  
cukati, 23  
čëka, 65  
čëkã, 65  
čëkao, 52, 67  
čeki ja tamo, čeki, a tebe nema, 21  
čekićom, 69  
čëla, 75  
česa, 24  
či, 20, 22  
čitã, 70

- čitào, 52  
 čòja, 74  
 čòjkòm, 72  
 čūvâ, 73  
 éedilo, 21, 23, 62  
 èedilo, 59  
 éelokupan, 21  
 éepanica, 21, 23, 62  
 éepànica, 59  
 èèrâ, 52, 64, 79  
 èèrât, 59  
 éerati, 23  
 èèšīt, 59  
 éešiti, 23  
 èètat, 59  
 éetati, 20, 21, 23  
 Četko, 16, 20, 23, 62, 79  
 Čëtko, 59  
 Četna, 23  
 Čëtna, 59  
 Četulja, 21
- Damílan, 75  
 dāo, 51  
 Dašan, 22  
 daž, 23  
 de'te, 68  
 đigō, 52, 64  
 dijete, 29, 43  
 đijete, 36  
 đijete, 44  
 dimílak, 75  
 dimno, 23, 63  
 đioba, 36  
 dite, 29, 44  
 dīte, 44  
 dobrijem, 89n27  
 doj, 9, 20, 23, 80  
 dôj, 59, 70, 73  
 dole, 74  
 doneo, 87n89  
 donesi mi one pet motika, 24, 64  
 dospłeti, 21, 23, 62  
 dòspłeti, 59  
 doša, 23
- došào, 52  
 Dràgoe, 74  
 drūk, 69, 70  
 duša, 37  
 Duško, 22  
 duvan, 20  
 duvân, 70  
 dvaput, 71, 74  
 dvâš, 71, 74  
 đeca, 43, 44, 68  
 đečëtòm, 72  
 đeteta, 29  
 đever, 23, 62  
 đèvēr, 59
- Eto ga sedi pret kuću i nešto konta, 75
- frātò, 37, 71
- gālep, 69  
 gali'ot, 22  
 Gašo, 22  
 gatník, 22  
 givnazija, 75  
 glava, 37  
 gleda, 23  
 glèdā, 65, 79  
 gleda sam s očima, 24  
 goj, 16, 20, 22, 23, 80  
 gøj, 59, 70, 73  
 golijet, 23  
 Goško, 23  
 gospostvo, 22  
 graktào, 52  
 grana, 37  
 grât, 65, 70  
 gris, 20, 23  
 grīs, 59, 63  
 grjehota, 89n27  
 grmłeti, 21, 23  
 grmłeti, 59  
 gròp, 65, 70, 73  
 groz, 16, 22, 23, 63, 80  
 grôz, 59, 74  
 guvno, 22, 67, 75

- Gvoz, 23  
 Gvôz, 59
- Íbro, 75  
 ìða<sup>o</sup>u, 68  
 igrâ<sup>o</sup>, 52, 64  
 Ikonî'a, 22  
 imâ, 52, 64  
 ìmēnâ<sup>k</sup>, 65  
 isčerati, 23  
 izaj, 22  
 izgorjeti, 89n27  
 izis, 23  
 izđikati, 23  
 izedna, 23, 62  
 ìzedna, 59  
 izelica, 21  
 ìzelica, 58  
 izes, 58, 59  
 izesti, 21, 23  
 ìzvještāj, 64
- ja čeki, čeki, a ñega nema, 63  
 ja osedlaj koña, obłesi jednu obravnicu  
   za kranu, pa pojaši, 22  
 ja tu čeki, čeki, a ñega nema, 24  
 jādä, 37, 71  
 jes, 22  
 jës, 59, 63  
 Jole, 20  
 Jovo, 89n27
- ka<sup>o</sup>zät, 68  
 kâzâ<sup>o</sup>, 52, 64  
 kci, 69  
 kĳat, 58  
 kišelica, 22  
 kišelina, 20  
 kišelo, 20  
 klâše, 58  
 klüät, 74  
 kmestvo, 22  
 kofča, 75  
 kogoj, 22  
 koleno, 87
- kòljēvka, 18  
 kònom, 69  
 konšija, 23, 63  
 konšila<sup>k</sup>, 49  
 konšilak, 49  
 kosijer, 20, 22, 23  
 kota, 23  
 kotâ<sup>e</sup>, 54  
 kôtâ<sup>e</sup>, 54  
 kotâ<sup>en</sup>, 54, 73  
 kotô, 52, 67  
 ko<sup>s</sup>, 68  
 kovča, 75  
 koži, 23, 62  
 kôži, 59  
 kozóca, 52, 67  
 kozôca, 52, 67  
 kozôcä, 52, 67  
 kras, 20  
 krepâ<sup>o</sup>, 53, 68  
 křf, 72  
 křf, 69  
 krnka, 20, 21  
 krvom, 72  
 křvom, 69  
 kudije, 21, 24  
 kuj, 22, 23  
 kùj, 59, 70, 73  
 kumíu, 23  
 kutní, 22, 75
- lâd, 58, 70  
 lâkče, 70, 72  
 Lâkô, 70  
 lažat, 63  
 lažati, 24  
 Ípčce, 72  
 lijepä je, 39, 73  
 Ípcät, 70, 72, 73  
 ljépo, 18  
 lupěš, 69
- Máre, 66  
 mäs, 72  
 maslo, 49

- ma°slo, 49  
 mašcom, 72  
 Mäša, 58  
 mecat, 63  
 mecati, 24  
 međed, 16, 20, 79  
 Međed, 21  
 medník, 20  
 među, 75  
 Mého, 75  
 mene, 16, 23, 27  
 mène, 21, 58, 59, 75  
 mène, 58  
 menè je, 39, 73  
 Menzalîn, 67  
 Mi'ajlo, 22  
 Mijjat, 58  
 Mijjoıldän, 74  
 milos, 23, 63  
 mîlôs, 59  
 miši, 22, 63  
 miši, 71, 72  
 mišlim, 23, 63  
 mišovi, 69  
 Miša, 23  
 Miško, 23  
 mlädôs, 74  
 mléseec, 23, 62  
 mlêšec, 59  
 mlésečina, 23, 62  
 mlêsečina, 59  
 mli(j)êko, 39, 73  
 mlogo, 22, 75  
 mlozi, 67  
 mlozina, 23, 63, 75  
 mnijeko, 67  
 mnozina, 23  
 mögā°, 54, 65, 79  
 mögā<sup>m</sup>, 54, 73  
 mögō, 52, 67, 79  
 moj, 16, 22, 23, 80  
 möj, 70, 73  
 mončad, 20, 21  
 monče, 23, 63  
 mônkom, 72  
 müa, 58  
 munārè, 37, 71  
 mus, 20, 23  
 müs, 59, 63  
 müva, 58, 69, 74  
 m̄slo, 49  
 nà mene, 58  
 nà tebe, 58  
 nãboŕi, 65  
 načinijo kulu na Pišče, 21  
 nad, 24, 60, 63, 75  
 naj, 22  
 najamlík, 75  
 nãodî, 51  
 národ, 36, 38, 39, 58, 72, 78  
 nãröd, 30, 35, 36, 37, 38, 39, 64, 66, 67,  
 70, 71, 77, 78  
 národa, 39, 58, 78  
 nãröda, 35, 36, 37, 38, 39, 64, 66, 67,  
 70, 71, 77, 78  
 naruče, 22, 23, 63  
 nãruče, 59  
 nãrũče, 71, 72  
 našijem, 89n27  
 nedelá, 21  
 ñèga, 58  
 ñèga, 58  
 ñegöf, 65, 70  
 nej, 22  
 nekizi, 63  
 neko, 89n27  
 nemô, 65  
 nèmô, 65  
 ñèmu, 58  
 ñèmu, 58  
 neokle, 23  
 nešto, 89n27  
 nevlèsta, 20  
 ñiñhan, 72  
 nikuj, 23  
 ñinî, 72  
 njésu, 18  
 noćijevati, 22  
 noj, 20, 22

- nôjzîn, 72  
 nōšā, 37, 71  
 nosu, 63  
 notní, 20  
 notník, 22  
 notno, 22  
 n<sup>o</sup>os, 68
- ò nama, 58  
 obezbeđenje, 87n89  
 obíleže, 23, 63  
 òbiljēže, 59  
 obíled, 23, 62  
 òbléd, 59  
 obíleručke, 23, 62  
 oblèručkē, 59  
 oblesiti, 21  
 obravnica, 75  
 obrát, 63  
 obrátati, 24  
 òcu, 69  
 od nāma, 67  
 òdēlát, 59  
 ođeláti, 23  
 ođelo, 21  
 òfca, 72  
 oj, 22  
 okutníca, 75  
 onaj, 21, 23, 59, 63, 72  
 oni, 21, 23, 63, 72, 89n27  
 ònī, 59  
 onògof, 72  
 onudije, 21  
 onudijen, 24  
 orāga, 69  
 orazi, 69  
 ore plugom, 89n27  
 ore s plugom, 89n27  
 orô, 52, 67  
 ôše, 58  
 osto je u Crnu Goru, 89n27  
 ostôže, 71  
 ovaj, 21, 23, 59, 63, 72  
 ovči, 22  
 ovde, 87n89
- ovi, 21, 63, 72  
 òvī, 59  
 ovījā, 72  
 òvijē, 58  
 òvijēg, 58  
 ovizi, 63  
 ovudije, 21, 24
- pantim, 23, 63  
 pasâ°, 52, 64  
 pastijer, 23  
 pašaluk, 23, 62  
 pašaluk, 59  
 paši, 23, 62  
 pāšī, 59  
 pčēnica, 70, 72, 73  
 pe<sup>t</sup>, 68  
 Pero, 80  
 Péro, 66  
 Pêro, 64, 91n2  
 Pērò, 36, 37, 64, 71, 91n2  
 Peško, 22  
 pjěvā°, 52, 64  
 plas, 16, 22, 80  
 plaš, 23  
 plēna, 23, 62  
 plēna, 59  
 plēsma, 20, 23, 62  
 plēsma, 59  
 po kafana, 60, 63  
 po kuća, 16  
 po mājstōrā, 75  
 po ògněvā, 75  
 po pūtovā, 75  
 Pòbrěže, 72  
 počera, 23, 62  
 počera, 59  
 počeraj te dva ovna, 24, 64  
 počijěvat, 58  
 počijevati, 20, 22, 23  
 pod, 60, 75  
 područje, 23  
 podumijenta, 20  
 pogani, 22  
 poj, 20, 23



- pôj, 59  
 pokrijèvat, 58  
 pomã<sup>g</sup>ã<sup>o</sup>, 52, 64  
 pomoj, 22  
 pomotník, 22  
 posão, 52  
 posô, 52, 67  
 pošã, 23  
 pošã<sup>e</sup>, 53  
 pošã<sup>en</sup>, 53  
 pošê<sup>a</sup>, 68  
 pošê<sup>en</sup>, 68  
 poštijer, 22  
 pošto su ove dva tovara, 24, 64  
 pošeko se s nožem, 22  
 potkutníca, 20  
 potök, 35, 36, 37, 38, 39, 64, 66, 67, 68,  
 70, 71, 77, 78  
 pòtok, 38, 39, 58, 72, 78  
 potök je, 39, 73  
 potöka, 35, 36, 37, 38, 39, 64, 66, 67,  
 68, 70, 71, 72, 77, 78  
 pòtoka, 39, 58, 78  
 pred, 24, 60, 63, 75  
 pgregoreti, 22  
 pregrš, 20  
 pričat, 16, 80  
 prîlãs, 70  
 primer, 87n89  
 priš, 16, 20, 22, 63, 80  
 prîš, 74  
 prócep, 23  
 prócep, 59  
 pronašô, 52, 64  
 prošeta, 23  
 pròšeta, 59  
 prövã, 52, 64  
 prs, 22  
 putijer, 20, 22, 23  
 pùtijer, 58  
  
 Rade, 89n27  
 radi, 22  
 rados, 20, 23  
 rãdôs, 59  
  
 ranik, 23  
 raskíseliti, 22  
 rbat, 58  
 rečica, 43  
 rečica, 71, 72  
 rečica, 58  
 Rečine, 63  
 rečit, 64  
 rečit, 58  
 rej, 20  
 rëkã<sup>e</sup>, 65, 70, 73  
 rëkã<sup>en</sup>, 70  
 reklã je, 30  
 rëkô, 52, 64, 67, 79  
 rîječ, 64  
 rôk, 65  
 Rôse, 67  
 rukovijet, 23  
  
 s ovom šekirom se ne siječe, 21  
 saðes, 22  
 sakrijevati, 23  
 salã<sup>o</sup>ta, 68  
 samorãnica, 70  
 sebe, 16, 23, 27, 63, 80, 89n27  
 sèbe, 21, 58, 59, 75  
 sèbe, 58  
 Sénčo, 75  
 sèoce, 36  
 sestrã, 30, 35, 67, 70, 77  
 sèstra, 38, 39, 57, 72, 78  
 sèstra, 30, 35, 36, 37, 38, 39, 64, 66, 67,  
 68, 70, 71, 77, 78  
 sestrã ga, 30, 35, 67, 70, 77  
 sestrê, 35, 36, 37, 38, 39, 64, 66, 67, 68,  
 70, 71, 72, 77, 78  
 sèstrê, 39, 57, 78  
 severozapad, 87n89  
 siðet, 58  
 sijati, 16, 79  
 sšeno, 44  
 sino, 44  
 sño, 44  
 sinsija, 23, 63  
 sño, 58

- siròma, 58  
 siromäk, 69  
 siròmak, 58  
 siromazi, 69  
 skòrčà, 37, 71  
 slanka, 20, 21  
 slijevati, 22  
 smìo, 58  
 smòtã, 37, 71  
 snàja, 74  
 snijevati, 22  
 sò, 72  
 soíom, 72  
 spava pod kuću, 24, 60  
 sporečkat, 63  
 sramotã je, 39, 73  
 srècò, 37, 71  
 srestvo, 20, 22  
 srostvo, 22  
 Stãnã, 36, 37, 64, 71  
 Stãne, 38  
 Stãne, 64, 91n2  
 Stãnè, 36, 64, 91n2  
 Stèvãn, 58  
 stojão, 52, 67, 79  
 strè<sup>h</sup>n, 68  
 streknùjo, 65  
 strèknùjo, 65  
 strìkò, 37, 71  
 su čim, 64  
 su što, 64  
 su pet ljudi, 64  
 su pet ùdi, 24  
 suvo, 20  
 suvotã, 70  
 suvòta, 74  
 svuj, 22  
 svukudijen, 24  
 šenìca, 75  
 šes, 22  
 šlìna, 65  
 šnãga, 65  
 šnijevat, 23, 63  
 šuceti, 21  
 šajan, 23, 62  
 šãjan, 59  
 šedeo, 16, 79  
 šedet, 58, 62  
 šèdet, 59  
 šedeti, 21, 23  
 Šedi, šedi, do mrkla mraka, 21  
 šedok, 16, 20, 21, 23, 62, 79  
 šèdok, 59  
 šedožba, 23, 62  
 šèdožba, 59  
 Šeklòca, 65  
 šeme, 23, 62  
 šème, 58, 59  
 šenina, 44  
 šeroma, 20  
 šeròma, 58  
 šeromag, 22  
 šeromah, 23  
 šeromašica, 22  
 šeròmaština, 58  
 šever, 21  
 šèvèr, 58  
 Šòle, 22  
 Šòle, 65  
 tã, 59  
 tabla, 49  
 tabula, 49  
 табла, 49  
 taj, 21, 23, 59, 63, 72  
 tamñan, 23, 63  
 tavnica, 22, 23, 63  
 tebe, 16, 23, 27, 63, 80, 89n27  
 tèbe, 21, 58, 59, 75  
 tèbe, 58  
 tefsija, 75  
 telãšã, 37, 71  
 tìca, 75  
 t'èška, 68  
 tìja, 44  
 tìjã, 72  
 tìja<sup>c</sup>, 44  
 tìjã<sup>c</sup>, 65  
 tìjã<sup>cg</sup>, 65  
 tìjã<sup>ch</sup>, 65

- tĭje, 66  
 tĭjĕ, 65  
 tĭje(h), 16, 79  
 tĭjĕg, 66  
 tĭjĕh, 65  
 tĭjem, 16, 44, 79  
 tĭjem, 65, 66, 72  
 tĭzi, 63  
 to je avetno, 60, 63  
 todar, 63  
 todarek, 63  
 todareke, 63  
 trava, 37  
 tráva, 36, 38, 39, 57, 66, 70, 72, 78  
 trâva, 36, 37, 64, 68, 71, 77  
 trāvã, 35, 36, 39, 67, 70, 77  
 trávĕ, 39, 57, 78  
 trāvĕ, 35, 36, 37, 38, 39, 64, 66, 67, 70,  
 71, 72, 77, 78  
 trĕcat, 16, 80  
 trĕcu, 63  
 tres, 22  
 triput, 71, 74  
 trĭš, 71, 74  
 trĭpĕti, 21  
 tudije, 24  
 tūtã, 37, 71  
 tužela, 22
- u žli čas, 23  
 uba, 23  
 ŭbã, 52  
 ŭbō, 52  
 Ubo se s nožem, 75  
 uligañ, 49  
 uligañ, 49  
 uligñ, 49  
 umãro, 67  
 umaro, 67  
 ŭmaro, 71  
 umĭlet, 20  
 umĭleti, 21  
 umro, 67  
 usidelica, 58  
 ušedelica, 58
- uvar, 20  
 uvijek je plãno, 60, 63  
 uvoditi, 20  
 uzimali smo ubojni kamen i trĭlãli ga u  
 vodu, 75  
 uzmi iz Ljuba, 75
- vála, 58  
 Vãso, 75  
 Vãso, 67  
 ve, 71, 74  
 veĭlu, 21, 23  
 vĕĭlu, 59, 63  
 ves, 23  
 Vešo, 22  
 Vĕšo, 58  
 vidĭo, 58  
 video, 16, 79  
 vidu, 21, 23  
 vĭdu, 59, 63  
 vijek, 58  
 vĭĕk, 59  
 vijes, 64  
 vila, 37  
 vjĕĕit, 58  
 vleĕit, 23, 62  
 vlĕra, 21, 23, 62  
 vlĕra, 59  
 vlĕš, 22, 63  
 vlĕš, 59  
 vĭetar, 21  
 vodiĕer, 20, 22, 23  
 vōdijer, 58  
 vōleo, 74  
 votñak, 20  
 vrãga, 68  
 vrãk, 68  
 vrãta òd grãda, 67  
 vrĕceti, 21  
 vremena, 43, 64  
 vri(j)ĕme, 39, 73  
 vri(j)ĕme, 39, 43, 73  
 vrĭ(j)eme, 36, 43  
 vrijeme, 43, 64  
 vrijemĕ, 43

- vrijéme, 43, 58, 66  
vrijème, 43  
vrijeme, 43, 66  
Vule, 20
- zā°šô, 64  
zāšô, 52, 64  
zašto, 71, 72  
zbori bratom, 63  
zboru, 63  
zdrâk, 75  
zdrâka, 75  
zeči, 22  
Zējněĭ, 72  
zenica, 20, 58  
zĭkôvâ°c, 70  
zmäevi, 74  
znäo, 51  
znāvâ, 52, 64  
znāvāgū, 58  
zubijuk, 69  
žalos, 20  
žào, 52, 67  
žèna, 30  
ženê, 30  
žene°k, 69
- žif, 69  
Živi u Bar, 69  
Živi u Korita, 22  
živĭlet, 23, 62  
živĭlet, 59  
žli, 63  
žlica, 65  
žnam, 23, 63  
žnâm, 65  
žvākâ, 37, 71  
Žāga, 65  
Žāgo, 58  
Žale, 22  
Žaško, 22  
žáto, 58  
zâva, 52  
Žela, 23  
Želina, 23
- ženāzâ, 37, 71
- žâno, 65  
žâvala, 67  
zavole, 65  
žrno, 69  
žvono, 69



## About the Author

**Adnan Čirgić** was born in 1980 in Podgorica. He graduated from the Faculty of Philosophy in Nikšić (Montenegro) and completed his PhD studies at the Faculty of Philosophy in Osijek (Croatia), defending a thesis titled *The Dialect of Podgorica Muslims—Synchronic and Diachronic Perspectives* in 2007.

The focus of his research work is on dialectology and history of the Montenegrin language, as well as on Montenegrin cultural tradition. He is a member of the Montenegrin PEN Centre, Council for Montenegrin Language Standardization (from its establishment to its termination), as well as of *Matica crnogorska* and the National Education Council. He is the editor-in-chief of *Lingua Montenegrina* journal. He was a director of the Institute for Montenegrin Language and Literature, from its establishment to its transformation into the Faculty of Montenegrin Language and Literature, where he serves as a dean.

He published 200 scientific and professional papers and authored or coauthored 18 books, textbooks, and monographs. He edited 100 books, monographs, and collections and authored the official *Orthography of the Montenegrin Language*.

