

NOTES ON A NEW DIALECTOLOGY OF MONTENEGRIN

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The paper presents some observations on the first post-Yugoslav handbook of dialectology focusing on Montenegrin (Čirgić 2017), which sets criteria for identifying the diacritic features of Montenegrin Štokavian. In contrast to Yugoslav-era treatments of the Štokavian dialect (e.g. Ivić 1958, Peco 1985), the new handbook individuates Montenegrin and presents it as an organic whole, rather than examining its relationship to the broader South Slavic dialectological context. The task is challenging, given that there are two distinct dialect areas of Montenegrin. The trend towards describing former-Yugoslav dialect areas in alignment with the new state formations has been noted for Lisac's handbook (Lisac 2003; Greenberg 2004).

Keywords: dialectology, former Yugoslavia, Montenegro, Štokavian, dialect classification, word prosody, phonology

*Crna Gora je majdan za istraživače.
Adnan Čirgić*

(Simunović 2018:13)

1. INTRODUCTION. The occasion of the Festschrift for Brian D. Joseph provides an opportunity to revisit some ideas that I presented at the 2009 Kenneth E. Naylor Memorial Lecture Series, to which he was not only kind enough to invite me, but also kind enough to overlook the fact that nearly a decade later I have not yet presented him with a suitable-for-publication manuscript of that talk in order for it to appear in the Series proceedings. Accordingly, I hope that this paper will not only honor his many venerable contributions to the overlapping fields of historical-comparative linguistics and Balkan linguistics, but will also elicit his forbearance a little longer.

In the 2009 lecture (Greenberg 2009) I discussed my observations on Ivić's classic text on the Štokavian dialect (Ivić 1958) in the light of advances in post-Yugoslav dialectology and also critiqued his approach to presenting key isoglosses in the Yugoslav era. Among the points I made was that Ivić's emphasis on the gradual, continuous nature of parallel isoglosses stretching across the Yugoslav territory—disrupted only by the 'Macedonian fan'—was that he also implied ideological concerns, such as advancing, or at least sustaining, the notion of fraternal accord among the Slavic groups that constituted the erstwhile Yugoslavia and, in so doing questioned the basis for what does or does not constitute an autonomous language in the LINGUISTIC sense (i.e. a bundle of isoglosses) rather than the political sense (i.e. Max Weinreich's 'army and a navy'). I noted a contrast with post-Yugoslav treatments of languages of the former Yugoslavia, from the scholarly (e.g. Lisac 2003) to the pseudo-scholarly (Šavli et al.

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1989). In the case of Lisac the Štokavian dialect is viewed from the perspective of narrower national interests (e.g. the focus on the premigration picture), which shows the projection of a larger proto-Croatian territory (see also Greenberg 2004). In the case of the latter work, the argumentation descends into unintended farce in an attempt to make a linguistic argument for the nonrelatedness of Slovenes to other (South) Slavs. Among my conclusions was that the rhotacism phenomenon, which is represented in Ivić's book in as one of the parallel phonological isoglosses, is key to understanding the sociolinguistic differentiation of the Štokavian dialect area into a western and eastern zone, conditioned by stylistic considerations connected with confessional differences (see also Greenberg 1999).

In the following I will critically examine the publication of the first handbook of Montenegrin dialectology in the post-Yugoslav period (Čirgić 2017) both in light of its content as well as the nature of dialect classification as carried out in the Yugoslav and post-Yugoslav space. The handbook provides a vehicle for commenting on both the methodology and entailments of dialect classification.

2. The application of the classificatory method to the material is not the reconstruction of a protolanguage, but, rather, a problem of dialect classification. Just as any method in linguistics, dialect classification can be read both as a sign system and a narrative. However, in contrast to, say, the comparative method, the product of the application of the classificatory method to the material is not the reconstruction of a proto-language, but, rather, a way of viewing and justifying what constitutes a group as well as which group belongs or does not belong with others. Because dialect classification is a matter of selection of relevant facts, and there is no specified level of analysis that is required of it, the matter of classification is left to the creativity of the investigators, constrained by general principles of similarity and difference, and analytical framework, as well as, to some degree, by tradition. Furthermore, classification on the surface is understood as a (static) synchronic set of relationships, yet it typically builds its argumentation through the accretion and juxtaposition of linguistic features each having a history. However, in contrast to the reading of a linguistic map, dialect classification does not always take into account whether the history of those features count as innovations or archaisms. Still, classification implies descent, as Darwin (cited in Janda & Joseph 2003:54) pointed out: 'all true classification is genealogical'.

In the case of Yugoslav and post-Yugoslav dialectology the classificatory systems are open to interpretation both on the level of structure and on the level of narrative, with historical implications playing a significant role in the metanarrative, whether pertaining to the chronology of innovations as such or their selection and importance supporting or denying ethnic cohesion or distinctiveness.

NOTES ON ČIRGIĆ 2017. The premise of Čirgić's new dialectology is to describe the features that constitute Montenegrin dialects as a coherent and unified speech territory. The epigraph to the book's preface quotes Dalibor Brozović's impressionistic observation (Brozović 1984) that Montenegrin speakers can be immediately dis-

cerned from other speakers of Neo-Štokavian (7),¹ an observation that is contradicted by what Čirgić identifies as the ‘traditionalist’ approach, a key part of which, under the influence of Aleksandar Belić, his students, and their successors (18ff; Popović 2017:5), views the Montenegrin speech territory as divided into two contrasting halves, northwestern and southeastern. Čirgić’s book aims to demonstrate that Brozović’s impression is underpinned by structural facts and that the traditionalist approach misclassifies the Montenegrin speech territory by downplaying or overlooking the features that unite it. Underlying this putative sundering of the territory is the assumption that the dialects continue into neighboring areas of Bosnia and Serbia and, as such, the Montenegrin speech territory belongs both generally to the Štokavian dialect complex and, ipso facto in terms of ‘language’, to Serbian, a unitarizing notion dating to Vuk Karadžić’s assertion of the triconfessionality of Serbs (see also Čirgić 2011:73; Popović 2017:5).

The nomenclature, itself, plays a significant role in the classificatory enterprise. Čirgić notes that in previous classifications of the dialects in Montenegro, the northwestern dialect is referred to consistently as the Eastern Herzegovinian (*istočno-hercegovački*) dialect, while the remaining dialect territory is referred to with heterogeneous terms, including Eastern Herzegovinian, Zeta-Lovćen, Zeta-Sjenica, Zeta-Southern-Sandžak, Zeta-Upper-Polimlje, etc., all studiously avoiding the attribute Montenegrin (*crnogorski*) (41). This terminological ‘deconstruction’ (to borrow from Popović’s analysis—see Popović 2017) leads to the view that there exists no such thing as a particular dialect zone in Montenegro (42). Here, the perspective of previous researchers has mattered. Features that are identifiable as Montenegrinisms may exceed the borders of Montenegro proper or may not cover the entire territory of Montenegro; the key oversight has been, according to Čirgić, that such features had not been previously recognized as innovating from within the Montenegrin speech territory (42–45). Synthetic works which have influenced non-specialists, most notably Ivić 1956, 1958 and Peco 1985, have summarized the features of Montenegrin dialects, as follows (49–50).

- (1) PSL. **ě* > (*i*)*je*;
- (2) long reflexes of **ě* appear in adjectival and pronominal desinences, (e.g. *tije(h)*, *tijem* ‘of those’, ‘to them’);
- (3) newer jotation of dentals (*tě* > *će*, *cě* > *će*, *dě* > *đe*, *sě* > *še*, *zě* > *že*);
- (4) newer jotation of dentals across /v/: *dvje*, *svje*, *cvje* > *đe*, *še*, *će* (e.g. *meded* ‘bear’, *šedok* ‘witness’, *Četko* ‘Florian’);
- (5) lesser, but still frequent, appearance of jotation of labials, (e.g. *plesma* ‘song’, *obled* ‘dinner’, *mlesec* ‘moon’, *vlera* ‘faith’);
- (6) addition of new consonant phonemes *ś*, *ź*;
- (7) **ě* + *j* > *i* (e.g. *sijati* ‘to shine’)

¹ In order to avoid excessive repetition, references to Čirgić 2017 are given only as page numbers without author-date information.

- (8) **ě* + **l*_b > *io*, albeit not in the *l*-participle, (e.g. *cio* ‘all.MASC.SG’, *śedeo* ‘he sat’, *viđeo* ‘he saw’);
- (9) simplification of final clusters fricative + stop: *-st, -zd, -št* > *-s, -z, -š* (e.g. *plas* ‘layer’, *groz* ‘cluster’, *priš* ‘pimple’);
- (10) appearance of final *-j* < *-đ, -ć* (e.g. *doj* ‘to come’, *moj* ‘to be able to’);
- (11) frequent appearance of the short infinitive, (e.g. *trčat* ‘to run’, *pričat* ‘to speak’);
- (12) syncretism of dative and locative pronouns, (e.g. *mene* ‘me’, *tebe* ‘you’, *sebe* ‘self’);
- (13) enclitic forms of the first and second plural pronouns, *ni, vi*;
- (14) continued use of the aorist and imperfect verb paradigms;
- (15) declension of masculines in *o*, (e.g. *Pero*.NOM.SG, *Pera*.GEN./ACC.SG, *Peru*.DAT.SG ... ‘Peter (hypocoristic)’);
- (16) case syncretism in favor of accusative forms with motion and location;
- (17) use of the genitive plural instead of locative after the preposition *po* (e.g. *po kuća*).

According to Čirgić, traditional ‘Serbo-Croatian studies’ (*serbokroatistika*) has failed to recognize the numerous differences between the Eastern Herzegovinian dialect spoken in Montenegro as opposed to that spoken outside of it, where the Montenegrin varieties display most of the features listed above, as well as others, for example loss of phonemes /f, h/; secondary jat in individual lexical items (e.g. *bolijest* ‘illness’); contraction of *ao* < **al, *bl* (e.g. *gleda* ‘he watched’, *doša* ‘he came’); the use of the archaic 1SG.PRES marker in the verbs *viđu* ‘I see’, *veľu* ‘I say’ (59–60). These features belong to what Čirgić, in agreement with the analysis of Nikčević (2006), calls the Montenegrin koiné (19, 48, 61).

In Čirgić’s view the classificatory system of Montenegrin dialects fits into a framework with four fundamental criteria, with the first one, the accent system, being the most important feature dividing the territory into northwestern and southeastern sub-zones (51, 77): (1) the accent system, (2) reflexes of **ě*, (3) reflexes of **b*, and (4) contraction of *ao* (< **al, *bl*). These criteria are summarized here, and then followed by some commentary. The descriptions of the isogloss patterns may be followed in the maps in the book or with the composite map provided (online) in Vujović 2018:116.

THE ACCENT SYSTEM. The Montenegrin dialects evidence five accent configurations from most conservative to most innovative, as follows, where the **boldfacing**, added editorially, highlights the innovations.

- (1) The two-accent system contrasts long vs. short stressed syllables and quantity in both pretonic and posttonic syllables. In this type the stress—long or short—may occur in the final syllable.

<i>sestrǎ, sestrê</i>	‘sister’ NOM.SG, GEN.SG
<i>trǎvǎ, trǎvê</i>	‘grass’ NOM.SG., GEN.SG
<i>potòk, potòka</i>	‘stream’ NOM.SG., GEN.SG
<i>nǎròd, nǎròda</i>	‘the people’ NOM.SG., GEN.SG

- (2) The two-accent system contrasts long vs. short stressed syllables and quantity in pretonic and posttonic syllables. In this type only the long stress occurs in the final open syllable occurs, while short stress occurs in a final closed syllable.

sèstra, *sestré*
tráva, *trávê*
potòk, *potòka*
nāròd, *nāròda*

- (3) The three-accent system differs from the system in 2 in having a long rising stress as a result of retraction from an open final short-stressed syllable.

sèstra, *sestré*
tráva, *trávê*
potòk, *potòka*
nāròd, *nāròda*

- (4) The four-accent type differs from the system in 3 in having a short rising stress as a result of retraction from a final short-stressed syllable, regardless of the open- or closedness of the final syllable.

sèstra, *sestré*
tráva, *trávê*
pòtok, *potòka*
národ, *nāròda*

- (5) A four-accent type differing from the system in 4 in that it has carried through all of the neo-Štokavian retractions and preserved posttonic quantity distinctions.

sèstra, **sèstrē**
tráva, **trávē**
pòtok, **pòtoka**
národ, **národa**

Not surprisingly, the conservative types (sometimes referred to as old-Štokavian, generally preserving the late-Common-Slavic place of stress), are found at the peripheries of the Montenegrin territory, with types 1 and 2 appearing along the coast and in the immediate hinterland, including a subtype of 2 further inland roughly centering around Podgorica in which, additionally, hypocoristic forms of the type *Pērò* and *Stānā* are preserved. Type 1 also occurs into the eastern-central region up through the Morača river valley (Piperi, Bratonožići, Kuči). Type 3 occurs in two disparate locations, one in the west-central region (Ozrinići, Broćanac), the other directly east near the border with Kosovo (just west of Peć). Type 4 is also represented by two enclaves, one in the central region—Bjelopavlići i Donji Pješivci centered by Danilovgrad—and the other in the northeast, bordering on Serbia: Vasojevići, Bijelo Polje, Petnjica, Rožaje, and Berane. This leaves about two-thirds of the territory with the fully innovating neo-Štokavian system (type 5) in a roughly triangular-shaped zone with vertices at Herceg Novi (southwest), Mojkovac (east-central), Pljevlja (north).

The pattern evidences the innovation penetrating from more central Štokavian territory, developing partially into the highland refugia, and failing to reach the southern coast (see map, 86).

REFLEXES OF **ě*. With regard to the jat reflexes, the Montenegrin territory is fairly uniform and also agrees with neighboring dialects in Bosnia (89ff). In this regard the most widespread reflex represents the archaic Štokavian stage with a rising-sonority diphthong *i(j)e* that was the forerunner of the monophthongizations to both *e* and *i*.

Čirgić recognizes four types, type 1 being the widespread *ije/je* type, with the Montenegrin jotation of preceding dentals: *dijete–deca* ‘child’–‘children’ COLL.FEM. SG. Type 2, with the long reflex in *i* (*dite–deca*), is found only in the Muslim population in Gusinje and Podgorica and is in decline. Type 3 shows the opposite innovation, with *e* being the reflex of long jat (*dete–deca*). This configuration is characteristic only of the Mrkovići dialect enclave in the southeast, which is among the most archaic Montenegrin dialects, along with the southeastern Boka dialect (131). Type 4 lacks the jot element in the short reflex (*dijete–deca*) and is characteristic of the northeastern zone including Bijelo Polje, the town dialect of Berane, and Rožaje, but excluding the villages north of Bijelo Polje that border on the neo-Štokavian-accenting dialects to the north (see map, 92).

According to Čirgić, types 1–3 form a group of alternative innovative paths in the long-syllable reflexes and type 4 represents a separate development with a morphophonemic alternation between *ije~e*, rather than a later simplification of the short diphthong, as evidenced by the lack of jotation in the preceding dental consonant. He attributes the Ekavian reflex in the Mrkovići dialect to Albanian influence (91).

REFLEXES OF **b*. Montenegrin dialects contrast with the majority of Štokavian dialects, with the exception of Torlak (which has *ə* as the jer reflex), in that, part of the dialect area retains a separate reflex of **b* (standing here for the general western South Slavic merger of PSI **b* and **ɔ*) that has merged neither with *e* or *a*. The phenomenon has been captured in the dialect descriptions made in the (mostly first half of the) 20th century, but it is in rapid decline. Because the phonetic quality (or qualities) of the reflex is (are) marked heterogeneously in the literature, Čirgić provisionally uses the symbol *a^e* (96). The *a^e* reflex is found in the south and east of the Montenegrin territory along the coast from the Bay of Kotor to the Albanian border as well as in the coastal hinterland in a line from Dobrota–Ćeklići–Cetinje to the western tip of Lake Skadar (the Crnojević River Nahiya) (see map, 98). The archaism is found also in the Morača River valley—Piperi, Bratonožići, Kuči, and as far north as Vasojevići and east to the Plav-Gusinje Ravine in the Prokletije. Notably, in some areas where the merger has failed to take place, some lexical items have *a^e* in place of PSI **a*, (e.g. *ma^eslo* ‘butter’). Further, Turkish borrowings containing the (typically slightly centralized) back vowel *u* are assigned the nonmerged reflex, for example Piperi-Bratonožići-Kuči dialect *konšila^k* ‘neighborhood’ < Tu. *komşuluk* (the second vowel in Montenegrin is likely influenced by Slavic-internal word formation from the related form *komšija* ‘neighbor’ or the West Rumelian Turkish dialect form *komši*), contrast-

ing with *konšilak* (Podgorica). Elsewhere the reflex has merged with *a*, as in the majority of Štokavian (97).

REFLEXES OF **al*, **bl*. The last of Čirgić's four features is a complex isogloss in that it concerns both the reflex of **b* as well as the reflex of syllable-final *l* (101ff). As such, the mapping of the isoglosses requires greater granularity (see map, 106). The most widespread innovations cover the western periphery (starting at the Bay of Kotor) and the northern third of the country to the Rožaje Municipality in the east, bordering on Serbia and Kosovo, where both types become \bar{o} ; the other defines a wedge from the northern banks of the Lake Skadar to Rudine, Nikšić in the west, continuing through northwards through the central part of the country to Šavnik, in which the reflex is \bar{a} for both types. In both the \bar{o} and \bar{a} areas, the 'uncontracted' variant is found sporadically when the vowel is stressed, (e.g. *däo* 'he gave', *došäo* 'he arrived'). The \bar{a} wedge divides the more archaic hinterland region paralleling the coast and the eastern periphery. The more archaic regions distinguish reflexes based on the inherited (or intercalated jer) vowel, $bl > \bar{a}^e$, $al > \bar{a}$. The southern part of the archaic type, below the wedge, stretches from the west (Njeguši, Cetinje) to the east, bordering with Albania on the southern rim of Lake Skadar (Crmnica, Krajinna). The eastern periphery includes the Morača River valley (Piper, Bratonožići, Kući), continuing north and eastward to the Prokletije (Vasojevići, Berane, Plav, Gusinje). A special enclave is defined by Mrkovići (south coastal hinterland), which shares the archaism, but with two local peculiarities. Namely, the (intercalated) jer type is attested with facultative nasalization in the jer type, $bl > \bar{a}^e \sim \bar{a}^{en}$, while the *al* reflex displays rounding $al > \bar{a}^o$. Nasalization of the jer type occurs also in the Plav-Gusinje region and in both areas is assumed to be a result of contact with Albanian (139).

COMMENTARY. Among the central polemical issues covered in Čirgić's book is his countering the tradition of denying the existence of a Montenegrin language on the basis of a coherent system of features. Notably, Čirgić cites Ivić's treatment of the migrations that spread Montenegrin dialects widely throughout the Štokavian territory, beginning in the 15th century (45–46, Ivić 1956:46–47). Crucially, Čirgić states that the fact that the Montenegrin dialect features are distributed beyond the borders of Montenegro 'does not remove the right to treat the features as Montenegrin, as has been done by the authors mentioned [Pavle Ivić and Mitar Pešikan] and their successors' (47). Further, he notes that Ivić characterizes the Montenegrin dialects as the most strongly variegated of all Štokavian dialects (49, Ivić 1984:31).

The points that Čirgić makes seem reasonable. The arguments show Montenegrin dialects to have a set of innovations that characterize the dialect area from the perspective of local innovation (making it a '*naddijalekatski ili interdijalekatski tip jezika [koine]*' 'supradialectal or interdialectal type of language [koine]') (48, see also Nikčević 2006:187–88). Moreover, the dialect classification of four structural features provides a way of identifying important internal dynamic changes, which in turn give the student of Montenegrin a means of grasping the configurations of the dialect types and a point of departure for investigating both their typological properties and

the historical development of the variation found in Montenegro. In sum, the goals set out by Čirgić, noted at the beginning of this discussion, have been admirably reached.

DIALECTS AT THE PERIPHERIES OF THE WESTERN SOUTH SLAVIC AREA. In the following commentary, I would like to add a few observations based on my work in the more westerly part of the western South Slavic dialects. This is in the hope that this contribution will be one of many that will open up new inquiry into Montenegrin dialects, making good on Čirgić's invitation implied in the epigraph to this paper. One observation dates to my days as a graduate student at UCLA, when I was fortunate to have had the opportunity to study with Professor Ivić, who, when I indicated my interest in Slovene dialects, suggested that I look into the Prekmurje dialect. A few days on after looking through some of the literature on the Prekmurje dialect, I mentioned to him that I was particularly intrigued by the peripheral nature of the dialect, having been taught by my other UCLA mentors that peripheral dialects are the place to look for archaic features. He responded with a statement that has stayed with me all these years to the effect that 'peripheries are also centers for the speakers of those peripheral dialects'. In the synoptic overview of my dissertation, it was easy to demonstrate that the most peripheral of the Slovene dialects and, indeed, the northern periphery of the South Slavic area, displayed both archaic features as well as internal innovations (Greenberg 1993).

It is striking that from a typological viewpoint, features found in Prekmurje Slovene are in some instances oddly similar to those in Montenegro. With respect to the accent system, Prekmurje Slovene (as all of the Slovene Pannonian dialects and neighboring Croatian Međimurje dialect) parallels the Old Štokavian system in Montenegrin dialects in that the archaic (with respect to the dialect base) place of stress is generally preserved, but the inherited pitch contrasts have been lost (e.g. PS1 **kořva* (rising), **vòdŏ* (falling) > Prekmurje *kràva* 'cow', *vodòu* 'water' ACC.SG). Similar, too, is that the first accentual innovation is retraction of a final short stress onto a preceding long or short vowel without the development of a new rising pitch (e.g. PS1 **travǎ*, **ženǎ* > Prekmurje *tràva* 'grass', *žèna* 'wife'). Furthermore, paralleling the penetration of Eastern Herzegovinian accentual innovations, Prekmurje, too, is open to the general tendency from central Slovene dialects to innovate towards lengthening stressed syllables (e.g. Martinje *k'rògva*, 'žèna). Another striking feature is the nonmerger of the South Slavic reflex of strong **b* with *a*, as is typical of most of the western South Slavic area, for example PS1 **dǎnb* > Sn., BCMS *dân* 'day' contrasting with Prekmurje *dên* (merging with the reflexes of PS1 **e*, **ę*). The avoidance of the merger with the reflex of PS1 **a* is found in the entire northern and eastern peripheral dialects of Slovene, including the Carinthian and Pannonian dialect groups. Furthermore, in neighboring Kajkavian dialects the reflex merges with the reflex of PS1 **ě* (e.g. *diên*). As I pointed out in Greenberg 2000:64–65 (and map on 117), the common factor in these deviations from the normal pattern is the likelihood that merger of the strong-jer reflex with the reflex of PS1 **a* was averted by labialization of the latter, a retention in the peripheral dialects mentioned. Indeed, in the Monte-

negrin localities in which the merger of jers with *a* fails to occur, there is typically attested a labial reflex of PSI **a* (this is still so in the Pannonian dialects of Slovene as well as Kajkavian; it occurs sporadically in Carinthian, e.g. Kneža/Grafenbach [OLA 148²]). Such is the case for three of the seven Montenegrin dialects listed in Ivić et al. 1981: Reževići, Gorana, and Njeguši (OLA 72, 73, 74) and it is also the case for the Mrković dialect, as noted above by Čirgić. The latter change may have occurred as a function of contact with Albanian, though this point deserves further investigation.

Another parallel change between Prekmurje Slovene and Montenegrin (and Štokavian in general) is the lenition of final *l* to *o*, which was noticed by Ivić (1958:30, 45; see also Greenberg 2000:155–57). Ivić saw this innovation as a potential connection between this divergent Slovene dialect and Štokavian. But there is no reason to think that the change in Prekmurje is anything more than a case of drift rather than a common innovation with Štokavian. Whatever the motivation for this change, it has an areal dimension in that it occurs in the Hungarian dialects in the bordering areas as well, for example Hu. dial. *kou̯dis/ku̯odis* ‘beggar’ (standard *koldus*), *szántufü̯öd* ‘field prepared for cultivation’ (standard *szántófield*) (Végh 1959: maps 19, 37; Penavin 1966: map 14), where it is dated to the 15th century (Benkő and Imre 1972:304). To the extent that there is a parallel with Montenegrin dialects, the Prekmurje type would be similar to the type found around Boka Kotorska, for example **rèkľb*, **děľalb* > Prekmurje *rèko*, *děľao* (Prekmurje does not have unstressed length). CONCLUSIONS. Čirgić’s book has done important work in helping scholars to grasp the individuality and internal dynamics of the Montenegrin speech territory. As such, the monograph is an important contribution to the South Slavic dialect literature. Undoubtedly, part of the work it will do will be to support efforts to institutionalize and gain acceptance for a standard Montenegrin language that corresponds to the characteristic features of the organic speech varieties found in Montenegro. From the perspective of historical and comparative linguistics, it will invite scholars to reexamine the speech territory both in its own terms as well as in the context of broader South Slavic and Slavic variation. Naturally, phonological isoglosses, though they have pride of place in the tradition of Slavic dialectology, only scratch the surface. Work on morphology, syntax, discourse, lexicon, and language contact still provide rich areas of inquiry to build on Čirgić’s foundational achievement.

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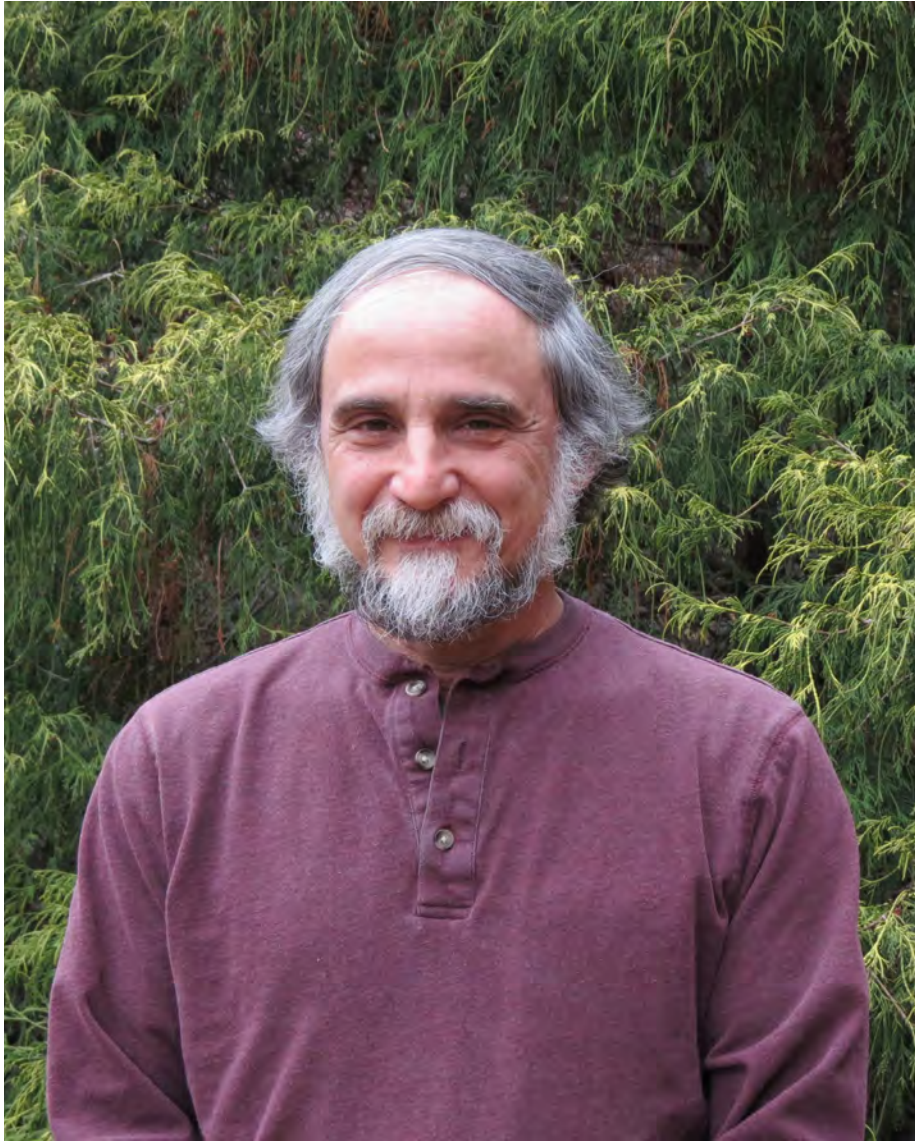
² OLA = *Opšteslovenski lingvistički atlas*, which is the unpublished work that the authors of the FO drew upon. This is explained in Ivić’s *Uvod* to FO, p. 1–2.

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AND THUS YOU ARE EVERYWHERE HONORED



BRIAN D. JOSEPH

AND THUS YOU ARE EVERYWHERE HONORED

Καὶ ἔτσι εἶσαι παντοῦ τιμῆμενος
Σὴ ἄσσητξε ἔση ιουτζιτῶ τυννισήτου
Ἡ τᾶκα σύ σέκατε τζέστεν
Εἴδε ἄσσοῦ γιέ κουντῶ ἰντέρτζημ

STUDIES DEDICATED TO BRIAN D. JOSEPH

EDITED BY
JAMES J. PENNINGTON
VICTOR A. FRIEDMAN
LENORE A. GRENOBLE

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Finally, we would like to thank Andrea Sims specifically for organizing the presentation of the Festschrift to Professor Joseph at the Kenneth Naylor Memorial Lecture on April 5, 2019 and Daniel E. Collins for arranging the details of cementing financial underwriting for the volume.



PREFACE

The title and cover of this volume, like the volume itself, are inspired by my long-time friend, colleague, and coauthor, Brian D. Joseph, whose voluminous scholarship and many achievements are honored in this Festschrift dedicated to him. The quotation is taken from the so-called *Tetraglosson/Četirijazičnik/Fjalori katërgjuhësh/Lexicon di patru limbi* by Hadji Daniil of Moschopolis (Albanian Voskopojë), published 1794/1802. It was the first published work to give texts in representatives of all four of the originally identified Indo-European groups in the Balkan Sprachbund: Albanian, Balkan Romance, Balkan Slavic, and Greek. As such, it represents a fitting allusion to Brian's international reputation as well as many of his contributions in various fields: Balkan linguistics, historical linguistics, Indo-European linguistics, and the linguistics of the Albanian, Greek, Romance, and Slavic groups within Indo-European, although his scholarship also extends beyond these areas to, among others, Sanskrit and general linguistic theory.

I first met Brian at the Second Biennial Conference on Balkan and South Slavic Linguistics, Literature, and Folklore held at the University of Chicago in May 1980 and subsequently read the manuscript of his ground-breaking book *The Synchrony and Diachrony of the Balkan Infinitive* (1983). That work represented a qualitative shift in the model of Balkan linguistics elaborated by Kristian Sandfeld in 1926/1930, by applying subsequent developments in both synchronic and diachronic linguistics. It stands today, as it did when it first appeared in 1983, as a model for the type of investigation that is still worth doing in our field. A significant part of that book was Brian's inclusion of Judezmo, a language of the Balkans about which we coauthored an article many years later, arguing, contra Sandfeld, that the Balkan dialects of Judezmo should be considered among the Balkan languages.

Brian is an exemplar of the passage in the Mishnaic tractate *Avos* (in Judezmo pronunciation *Avot*, literally 'fathers' but also 'fundamental principles'), where it is written: 'Who is honored? He who honors others' (4:1). Brian has not only achieved a tremendous and global reputation as a scholar and teacher—attested to, among many other things, by his two honorary doctorates (La Trobe University, the University of Patras), his memberships in the American Association for the Advancement of Science and American Academy of Arts and Sciences, the fact that he holds all of The Ohio State University's highest faculty awards (including Distinguished Scholar Award, the University Distinguished Service Award, as well as a University Distinguished Professorship), and his presidency of the Linguistic Society of America—but he has also honored the memory of Kenneth E. Naylor as The Kenneth E. Naylor Professor of South Slavic Linguistics at OSU. In this role, he has actively promoted Ken Naylor's legacy in South Slavic and Balkan linguistics not only at OSU, but

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around the world, and thus, accrued additional honor not only to himself, but to the entire field.

And so, just as Brian is indeed everywhere honored, we honor him here with the Festschrift dedicated to his many decades of fruitful and productive scholarship, collaboration, and teaching, with the wish that he continue for many decades to come.

Victor A. Friedman
Skopje, Republic of North Macedonia
8 October 2018