

Izvorni naučni rad

UDK 811.163.4'246.2(497.16Lovćen)

Martin HENZELMANN (Greifswald)

University of Greifswald

martin.henzelmann@uni-greifswald.de

LANGUAGING MONTENEGRO: THE CASE OF THE LOVĆEN NATIONAL PARK

This paper explores languaging in Montenegro and, in particular, in the Lovćen National Park in the west of the country. In the first section, I explain what languaging means and I will highlight the potential behind the study of languaging. In the second section, I will show which particularities can emerge in the study of languaging in Montenegro. In this context, the linguistic situation of the country is also presented, before the third section analyses how languaging takes place in the Lovćen National Park. It is shown which combinations of languages and writing systems are possible on-site, which goals are pursued with them, and which semiotic peculiarities are associated with them.

Keywords: *Languaging, Montenegro, Lovćen National Park, Language in Public Space*

1. Introduction: Why Languaging?

Everything around us is regulated by linguistic signs. This is realized in oral or written form. In this paper, I will focus exclusively on the *written* use of language. I will first highlight what languaging means and what research foci are common when studying languaging. I will further discuss why this concept is important in everyday life, and will then move on to the question of what role languaging plays in Montenegro in general, and in one of the country's most important National Parks in particular.

Languaging, in brief, is a concept that refers to the practice of using language to evoke specific meaning. Languaging is about the concrete use of language in a concrete context and with a concrete goal. It is primarily about the social component that a language has and the role of words expressed in it. Thus, oral communication is just as relevant as written communication because both contain important social elements of language use such as

mutual intelligibility or interaction for information purposes. This provides a clear reference to the question of which social contexts motivate the use of certain varieties (Gynne, 2016: 33). Languageing, however, is also a concept from linguistics, which is primarily studied in two broad directions, the first of which sheds light on the private or public educational process, but also on the production of meanings and learning concepts. The second direction in the study of languageing is a critical approach to sociolinguistic and contact linguistic phenomena. Here, the ontological theorisation of language, and also the description of a language in diverse contexts in which different languages occur, are of main interest (*cf.* in detail: Madsen/Nørreby, 2019).

Thus, languageing is a linguistic research area that scrutinises the concrete application of languages in specific contexts and thereby raises the question of what goal of language use exists in a particular context. In this way, we can examine oral or written communication and illuminate them against the background of origin, intention, or frame semantics. Several factors play a role in this, which arise primarily from the component of social interaction. For this reason, it is obvious why multilingual constellations are often examined in the research of languageing (Ritzau, 2015; Ritzau/Madsen, 2016).

In this paper, I will limit to a domain that focuses on written language. I will shed light on the appearance of different languages in the public sphere in Montenegro and examine it in a concrete geographical area. Before doing so, I will explain why the idea of languageing plays an important role in Montenegro in particular, and what influence it has on different regions of the country.

2. Why Languageing Montenegro?

In the first section, I have outlined the meaning of languageing and the main emphases of its research topics. In this section, I will discuss why the concept of languageing matters in Montenegro and what potential it offers, before turning to a concrete case study with examples from one of the country's most relevant National Parks.

Regarding the options for analysing the concept of languageing in Montenegro, we must first consider the linguistic repertoire this country offers. Two main components can be identified here: On the one hand, those languages that enjoy any official status in Montenegro and thus are legally designated for use in certain contexts, and, on the other hand, those languages that do not have a legally established status but play an important role in the country.

Montenegro's official languages are Montenegrin, Serbian, Croatian, Bosnian, and Albanian. The first four of these languages developed from the Shtokavian dialect continuum, which is characterised by full mutual intelligi-

bility and identical system linguistic specifics (Gröschel, 2009). Differences can be found above all in the preference for a linguonym and individual sociolinguistic domains (on this topic, *cf.* Piper, 2008: 198; Bugarski, 2016: 104). Albanian is the official language in the municipality of Ulcinj in the very southwest of the country, where Albanians make up the majority of the inhabitants (Dymarski, 2017: 212), but also in other places with a significant Albanian population.

After the country gained its independence in 2006, the language issue became particularly important for the newly emerging constitution of the state. In October 2007, this issue was resolved by introducing article 13 into the new law. This article establishes Montenegrin (with equal use of Latin and Cyrillic script) as the official language of Montenegro, while Serbian, Bosnian, Croatian, and Albanian are also being used officially (Kölhi, 2012: 87). It is obvious that the codification of Montenegrin and the new legal status of the language reveal certain unique features (Čirgić, 2011: 210). However, I will not discuss the language status further here but refer to relevant literature on this topic (Okuka, 1998; Gröschel, 2009; Vercher García, 2009: 266–272; Čirgić, 2011 and many others).

In any case, we must also bear in mind that there are two languages which do not enjoy any legal status in Montenegro, but which are particularly important. These are English as the *lingua franca* of international communication, and Russian. Both languages are especially important in the tourism sector.

Now I will come back to the question of why languageing matters in Montenegro. It is relevant because when studying the public presence of different languages, one can see what role is attributed to these languages in oral or written contexts, and what specific goals are pursued with them. Concerning the use of official state languages, this means that these languages shape, or even dominate the public sphere in both oral and written settings. They can be used at all levels of communication relevant to everyday life. In practice, this applies to the languages Montenegrin, Serbian, Bosnian, and Croatian. Albanian, in contrast, is limited to those regions where a significant Albanian population lives. English and Russian, which have no legal status in the country, officially do not have to be considered from a purely legal point of view. In practice, however, they do occur, mainly in oral but also in some written situations.

In the following, I will focus on concrete examples to show how and where different languages appear. I will analyse the role this plays in the semiotisation of space where different signs simultaneously contribute to the meaning, and where they influence our perception (*cf.* Krejdlin/Krongauz, 2022: 150–151).

3. Why Languageing the Lovćen National Park?

Having explained the importance of languageing for Montenegro in the previous section in general terms, I will now turn to the question of how languageing can be illustrated by a concrete example. For this, I have chosen the Lovćen National Park, which is very interesting from a scientific perspective for several reasons. I will give some basic aspects about Lovćen National Park and then go into specifics that seem important to me from a linguistic perspective. Grounded on empirical data, I will show how languages are used in the public space of the National Park¹. In doing so, I will distinguish between the role of the official Montenegrin language and the observations of another language on-site, in this case, English.

Lovćen National Park is located on the territory of the municipalities of Cetinje and Budva in western Montenegro. It is one of five National Parks in the country and is subject to strict nature protection, aimed at preserving exceptional natural beauty and significant or rare natural phenomena. Lovćen National Park has existed since 1952 and covers an area of 6,220 ha, which includes numerous protected forests with significant flora and fauna. This National Park is particularly relevant from a cultural and historical perspective, as it includes a whole series of architectural monuments and extensive hiking trails. On the mountain peak of „Jezerski vrh“ with its 1657 metres, there is the mausoleum of the poet and Montenegrin Prince-Bishop Petar II Petrović-Njegoš, one of the most important heritage monuments in the country of Montenegro.

The Lovćen National Park is in a prominent position in Montenegro due to its scenic and cultural distinctiveness. This inevitably means that language needs to be targeted on-site to evoke points of connection for visitors and inform them about the unique occurrences in the region. In the following, I will analyse the role that the use of language plays in public space and will show, through some examples, that there are concrete functions associated with the use of language in space.

In the Lovćen National Park and its immediate surroundings, the Montenegrin language dominates, while Albanian is not used there. All official inscriptions in public are in Montenegrin and mostly in Latin script. There are, however, some deviations from this scheme, which I will present below, as well as some peculiarities of the function of language use. In brief, I will document five conceivable visualisations of language in the public sphere and will concentrate on Montenegrin and English. This is since a lot of informati-

¹ All photos in this paper were taken by the author in 2021.

on for visitors is posted in English in addition to the national language, but not all of it.

I will now have a closer look at five potential patterns that can be identified in the appearance of language in the public space of Lovćen National Park. The first pattern is also the one that is observed most frequently in the National Park: It is when Montenegrin exclusively in Latin script is used to disseminate certain information. In practice, this is mainly signposts indicating a direction, a spatial distance, or a temporal distance, but also proper names or place signs that are not translated, as we can see in figure № 1. There, the motorist is informed in which direction to turn if he wants to drive to the Njegoš Mausoleum (visible in the background), or down to Cetinje (in the other direction). Such indicators mainly inform the visitor about a spatial relationship that refers to present circumstances that will most likely remain valid in the foreseeable future. They contain always a minimum of information, in this case only the designation of the concrete geographical location that can be reached. Thus, this first monolingual sample acts as a „practical guide“. However, there are also monolingual indicators that do not refer to directions but to historical events.



Figure № 1:
Monolingualism in Latin script.

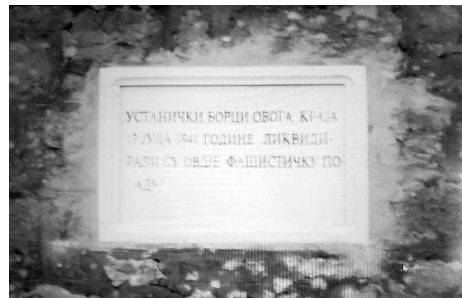


Figure № 2:
Monolingualism in Cyrillic script.

As a second pattern, we find language use in public space, which is also monolingual in Montenegrin but prefers exclusively the Cyrillic script. This is rarely the case and can only be found at certain repositories of memory that are of decisive importance for the history of the region or the entire country. These places include, for example, monuments or plaques to the partisan struggles against fascism. Such a commemorative plaque to the fight against fascism is in figure № 2. The Cyrillic script refers to a historically relevant discourse, framing outstanding significance in the context of national culture and heritage. From a semiotic perspective, this point is intensified by the fact

that the corresponding inscriptions are almost exclusively engraved in grey stone throughout the National Park. This symbolises the steadfastness and immutability of the event as a historical fact. Moreover, grey is the colour that recalls the stones of the mountain, which are statically symbolising the immutability of the event in a figurative sense, so the colour contributes to creating a memory narrative. Grey stands for sad moments, contrasts, and mysterious people or strange events (Nöth, 2000: 492).

Up to this point, I have presented which monolingual Montenegrin forms of language use are visible in the public space of Lovćen National Park. I have also pointed out that monolingualism is only relevant in certain contexts and will now show in which constellations we see bilingual inscriptions on which both Montenegrin and English languages occur.

We observe bilingual information on some signposts that are displayed in the public sphere of Lovćen National Park, *e.g.*, when a Montenegrin text is translated into English. Bilingual signs break up a monocultural context and are an important source of information for all those who are not familiar with the national language. In particular, boards, tourist information, or factual texts about the flora and fauna of the National Park are predominantly also displayed in English. In these cases, the Montenegrin version is above or to the left of the English one. This marks the hierarchy that first appears the official language, and then the foreign language. In almost all cases that we could observe, the font size used is the same for both languages, occasionally the colours vary (for example, there are some panels where the Montenegrin text is written in black letters and the English translation is given in red letters). In figure № 3 we see a sign announcing the entrance fees for the ascent to the Njegoš Mausoleum. This information is, of course, particularly relevant for visitors who come from all over the world to visit this important historical site. In other words, the translation of the text into English is based on a practical necessity. A striking feature is also the colour scheme, as the information sign consists of a white inscription placed on a green background. Green is a colour that strongly evokes associations with nature and thus harmonises excellently with the surroundings (Kalita/Načeva-Marvanová, 2021: 206).

As we can see, the Latin script in the third pattern is preferred to render the Montenegrin language. All bilingual signs that can be identified throughout Lovćen and that give tourists relevant information about the place, behaviour, or ecosystem structure of the National Park are designed exactly in this bilingual constellation. At the same time, a fourth possible pattern, namely the use of Cyrillic script with an English translation was not observed at all, although this could potentially be conceivable. I cannot exclude that such examples exist, but in the public spaces of Lovćen National Park, such signs

are a rarity at best. One basic explanation could be that the Cyrillic script is used to historicise places or objects in a national context, rather than to advertise a recreational activity.

But there is also a fifth potential pattern of written language use, which I would also like to introduce briefly: It is signage written exclusively in English. The objects using English only were erected not by the state but by private entities, and they are aimed primarily at an international audience. We can see this phenomenon in figure № 4, where the sign advertises the National Park as a place for numerous vacation activities that are particularly popular with tourists outside urban areas, such as hiking tours, horseback rides, or quad safaris. The aim of the sign is primarily to draw holidaymakers' attention to the opportunities available to them, whereby in addition to the booze inscriptions themselves, the imitation of the wooden base also symbolises a close interlink to nature.



Figure № 3:
Bilingual sign.



Figure № 4:
Monolingual English sign.

In this section of the paper, I have presented selected forms of languageing that occur in Lovćen National Park. I have given examples of the combination of languages (and scripts) that are relevant for the public sphere. In the table that follows, I will summarise the findings in keywords before making some concluding remarks.

Pattern	Intention	Context	Example
Monolingual: Montenegrin, Latin script	provide clear, distinctive information for everyone	proper nouns, places without translation	road signs, signposts
Monolingual: Montenegrin, Cyrillic script	activate cultural-historical events at a specific location in a national context	the Cyrillic script used to be more relevant in the past	stone plaques that commemorate partisan battles and heroize the place
Bilingual: Montenegrin, Latin script and English	provide comprehensive information for a national and international audience	English as a <i>lingua franca</i> with a large range	information boards on flora and fauna, rules of conduct, entrance fees
Bilingual: Montenegrin, Cyrillic script and English	not verifiable	Cyrillic script is only used in a historical context aimed at those who know the language	not attested
Monolingual: English	appeal to foreign tourists, provide information about possible local activities	private providers opt for English to advertise the available tourism infrastructure	information board with leisure activities

Table № 1: Pattern, intention, and context of language use in the public space of Lovćen National Park with selected examples.

4. Conclusion

In this paper, I explore how languaging is manifested in the Lovćen National Park in Montenegro. I have shown in the first section what languaging means and what the research focuses on. In the second section, I have explained why the concept of languaging is important for Montenegro and what potential it offers. Subsequently, in the third section, I have given examples gathered from one of the most important National Parks in the country, the Lovćen National Park. In this third section, I have argued how languaging works on-site and I have presented five patterns according to which language use in public spaces is conceivable in this concrete nature reserve. I discuss the monolingual use of the Montenegrin language which occurs either in La-

tin or seldom in Cyrillic script. The presence of one of the two scripts fulfills different functions and pursues different goals. I then comment on bilingual inscriptions in which English is chosen in addition to the national language. For this combination, we need to keep in mind that English is always used under the premise of scattering as much input as possible for all visitors. When Montenegrin and English are combined, the Latin script is always used in the Lovćen National Park to render Montenegrin. No example has been attested where English is combined with Montenegrin opting for the Cyrillic script. Moreover, it is also conceivable that information is provided exclusively in English. This happens when private providers advertise infrastructure for tourists.

In sum, we can see that the Lovćen National Park offers an interesting potential for research on languageing. We see that one or more languages are not used arbitrarily but always with a concrete goal. In this way, language reaches specific target groups and spreads relevant information. It will be left to future studies to examine in detail the interaction of language and space in Montenegro, drawing on the concept of languageing.

References

- Bugarski, Ranko (2016). „Jezici u potkrovlju“, *Biblioteka XX vek*, broj 227. Beograd: Čigoja štampa.
- Čirgić, Adnan (2011). „Montenegrin Language in the Past and Present“, *Montenegrina*, Volume 5. Podgorica: Institute for Montenegrin Language and Literature – Matica crnogorska.
- Dymarski, Mirosław (2017). „Political Situation of Ethnic Minority Groups in Independent Montenegro“, [in:] *Studia Środkowoeuropejskie i Balkanistyczne*, tom XXVI, pp. 205–219.
- Gröschel, Bernhard (2009). „Das Serbokroatische zwischen Linguistik und Politik. Mit einer Bibliographie zum postjugoslavischen Sprachenstreit“, *Studies in Slavic Linguistics*, Volume 34. München: Lincom Europa.
- Gynne, Annaliina (2016). „Languageing and Social Positioning School Practices. Studies of Sweden Finnish Middle School Years“, *Mälardalen University Press Dissertations*, No. 205/*Mälardalen Studies in Educational Sciences*, No. 26. Västerås: Mälardalen University Press.
- Kalita, Inna & Načeva-Marvanová, Mira (2021). Калита, Инна & Начева-Марванова, Мира. „Перцепция зеленого спектра в болгарской, русской, белорусской и чешской фразеологии – лингвокультурные и структурные аспекты колоронимов“, [in:] *Bulgarica*, Volume 4, München: AVM, pp. 185–221.

- Kölhi, Jaakko (2012). „Language and Identity in Montenegro. A Study among University Students“, [in:] *Balkan Encounters: Old and New Identities in South-Eastern Europe*. Slavica Helsingiensia, Volume 41, Helsinki: University of Helsinki, pp. 79–106.
- Krejdlín, Grigorij Efimovič & Krongauz, Maksim Anisimovič (2022). Крейдлин, Григорий Ефимович & Кронгауз, Максим Анисимович. *Семиотика, или Алфавит общения. Учебное пособие*. Москва: Флинта.
- Madsen, Lian Malai/Nørreby, Thomas Rørbeck (2019). „Languaging and Languagized Learning“, [in:] *Languaging Relations for Transforming the Literacy and Language Arts Classroom*. New York: Routledge, pp. 93–111.
- Nöth, Winfried (2000). *Handbuch der Semiotik*. 2., vollständig neu bearbeitete und erweiterte Auflage mit 89 Abbildungen. Stuttgart – Weimar: Metzler Verlag.
- Okuka, Miloš (1998). *Eine Sprache – viele Erben. Sprachpolitik als Nationalisierungsinstrument in Ex-Jugoslawien*. Klagenfurt: Wieser Verlag.
- Piper, Predrag (2008). Пипер, Предраг. *Увод у Славистику*. 1. Београд: Завод за уџбенике.
- Ritzau, Ursula (2015). „Learner Language and Polylinguaging: How Language Students’ Ideologies Relate to their Written Language Use“, [in:] *International Journal of Bilingual Education and Bilingualism*, Volume 18/6, pp. 660–675.
- Ritzau, Ursula/Madsen, Lian Malai (2016). „Language Learning, Polylinguaging and Speaker Perspectives“, [in:] *Applied Linguistics Review*, Volume 7/3, pp. 305–326.
- Vercher García, Enrique Javier (2009). „El mundo de los eslavos. Introducción a la eslavística“, *Filología y lingüística. Manuales Major. Manuales en Lengua Rusa*. Granada: Editorial Universidad de Granada.

Martin HENZELMANN

**APLICIRANJE KONCEPTA „LANGUAGE“
U CRNOJ GORI: SLUČAJ NACIONALNOG PARKA „LOVĆEN“**

Ovaj rad istražuje koncept „language“ (ukratko: upotrebu jezika sa različitim ciljevima) u Crnoj Gori i konkretno na primjeru Nacionalnog parka „Lovćen“ na zapadu zemlje. U prvom odjeljku objašnjavam šta se podrazumijeva pod ovim konceptom i ističem potencijal koji stoji iza proučavanja toga koncepta. U drugom dijelu pokazaću koje se posebnosti mogu pojaviti u proučavanju jezika u Crnoj Gori. Biće takođe riječ o jezičkoj situaciji u državi, prije nego što se u trećem dijelu rada analizira kako se upotreba jezika odvija u Nacionalnom parku „Lovćen“. Pokazaće se koje su kombinacije jezika i sistema pisanja moguće na licu mjesta, koji ciljevi se njima slijede i koje semiotičke osobenosti su povezane sa njima.

Ključne riječi: *Koncept „Language“, Crna Gora, Nacionalni park „Lovćen“, jezik u javnom prostoru*