

The New York Missal:

A Paleographic and Phonetic Analysis

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The New York Missal:

A Paleographic and Phonetic Analysis

Andrew R. Corin

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Foreword

The immediate goal of this study is a determination, to the extent possible, of the time and place of origin of the New York Missal (NYM), a Croato-Glagolitic manuscript currently housed in the Pierpont Morgan Library in New York. In order to achieve that goal I first made a preliminary analysis of aspects of the language and script of the Croatian Church Slavonic (CCS) Missale Plenum (MP), in an attempt to define criteria for determining the age, provenance and affiliations of the manuscripts. The results of this examination were then applied to the New York Missal in an attempt to elucidate the origin (age and provenance) and affiliations of this recently discovered manuscript. In addition to any conclusions concerning NYM, then, this study presents a partial description of the state of CCS during the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, including a discussion of variation and ongoing change which can be observed during that period.

The present volume represents a revised and expanded form of my 1986 doctoral dissertation. The same factors which have prevented me from publishing this work in the intervening four years have precluded any lengthy rewriting of the volume at this time. Several of the sections have in fact been significantly enhanced, and I have in a number of instances been able to refer to publications which have appeared since the research leading to the dissertation was completed. The most important exception concerns Damjanović's volume (1984). This monograph came to my attention only after the dissertation was completed, and a thorough discussion of its implications for my own work will have to await a future opportunity.

This study represents part of a larger project for the publication and study of the New York Missal. The first volume, consisting of a facsimile edition of the manuscript with an introduction by H. Birnbaum, appeared in 1977 (Birnbaum 1977). A second volume, consisting of a transliteration and textual study of the manuscript, both by E.-M. Schmidt-Deeg, will appear soon. A further volume of scholarly commentary to NYM is also planned. In addition, I am currently editing

the comparative corpus of text from the manuscripts of the CCS MP for publication as a separate volume.

My own involvement with NYM began with the proofing of the transliteration for the upcoming second volume. This was at the same time the first step in the preparation of this study: it was unthinkable to undertake such a project without a reliable transliteration, and in any case the study would require an analysis of every letter, symbol and accidental mark in the manuscript. As it became clear that I would have to conduct a preliminary study of the paleographic and phonetic features of the other Croato-Glagolitic missals, I came up against the further difficulty that only one of the other manuscripts and the earliest printed edition have been published (the latter only in facsimile). I therefore spent most of the summer of 1983 in Yugoslavia choosing and photocopying a comparative corpus of corresponding text from each of the missals. I worked mostly at the Staroslavenski zavod in Zagreb, making use of their large collection of photographed copies of manuscripts, and consulting with their resident experts. I was also able to visit many sites in western Croatia connected with the Glagolitic tradition, accompanied by collaborators of the Staroslavenski zavod. There I was able to examine numerous Glagolitic inscriptions and graffiti, as well as some local archives and the original manuscripts VbI and VbII.

Following my return to the United States, it was necessary to prepare a transliteration of the comparative corpus which I had photocopied in Yugoslavia (this is now available in computerized form and in print, and contains some 550 pages of text from fourteen manuscripts and the *editio princeps* of 1483). Only following these preliminary steps was I able to begin an analysis of the data in earnest.

The structure of this study and the questions discussed within it have been affected also by two further factors. The first of these is the specific goal of the study: the determination, to the extent possible, of the time and place of origin of NYM. This forced me to limit my analysis to that set of data which would lend itself most readily to quantitative analysis, i.e., the sound system and orthography. However, one of the unique qualities of NYM is the participation in its production of no less than eleven scribes working in rotation. It thus became necessary to determine the characteristics of each individual

hand, and at exactly which points in the text one hand gives way to another. It is for this reason that I deal in (what may be for the reader painful) detail with the form of individual letters, symbols, abbreviation, etc., characteristic of each hand. It is also on account of the basic goal of the study that I not only limit myself to the sound system of the language, but also to a fairly narrow range of "standard" problems within this sphere. Once again, wherever possible, I attempted to gather those data which would allow for quantitative analysis. Thus some very interesting questions are not dealt with at all, while for others I have excerpted and analyzed only those data which are useful for the immediate task at hand. It will remain for later studies to deal in greater depth with the individual problems of orthography, phonology and phonological change which are raised here (a study of phonological and graphic hierarchies in the "vocalization" of the *jer* phoneme is now under way). Still, I believe that the inventory of problems discussed here, as well as the quantitative data presented and the conclusions which I have drawn from them, may help set an agenda and suggest possibilities for future study.

The final factor affecting the structure of this study stems from the fact that this is the first monograph to take as its primary object of study the language and script of a single CCS liturgical manuscript. The volumes by Vrana (1975) and Vajs (1910, 1948) on III4 and BVbI, while providing valuable linguistic and paleographic data, were concerned primarily with the structure of texts. Also, with the exception of Hamm's 1952 study (albeit to a much more limited degree, and concerning the manuscripts of the breviary, rather than the missal), previous researchers have not attempted a quantitative approach to the linguistic dating and localizing of CCS manuscripts. In the absence of a model for such a study, then, I could only follow my own inclinations in determining the particular subjects to be discussed and the format for presentation of data and conclusions.

I wish to thank all those whose aid has enhanced any success which this study may have achieved. First I must mention the staff of the Staroslavenski zavod in Zagreb, and in particular the Director during 1983, the late Dr. Biserka Grabar. Without the facilities put at my disposal by the Institute this study would not have been possible. The

hospitality and friendliness shown me by the staff made my stay in Zagreb an experience I remember fondly. I must especially thank Dr. Marija Pantelić for the hours she spent with me trying to impart some of her vast fund of knowledge, and Dr. Marica Čunčić, without whose help my field trip to western Croatia would not have been realized. Further, I must thank Father Antun Hek of Pazin and Darko Deković of Rijeka, my guides and teachers who introduced me to the Glagolitic ambiances of western Croatia. The staff of the Pierpont Morgan Library made it possible for me to examine the original manuscript of the New York Missal, and thus also contributed directly to the investigation. The encouragement and forbearance of my doctoral committee members was an important factor in my seeing the dissertation through to its completion. In particular, Professor Henrik Birnbaum, my committee chairman, not only provided wholehearted support during the process of researching and writing the dissertation, but devoted considerable time and effort to both stylistic and substantive criticism of drafts of the work. Academician Pavle Ivić was also kind enough to read a draft of the dissertation and make a number of suggestions for its improvement. More recently, my research assistant at Pomona College, Lorraine Routh, has contributed many hours to the task of editing, correcting, and coding the text of the present volume. Finally, I would like to express my deepest gratitude for the patience and understanding of one most important person throughout these years of preparation—my wife Radmila.

Though I have done everything possible to insure accuracy in the preparation of this volume, it is inevitable that it will contain some errors, perhaps in details, and perhaps in certain of the conceptions presented. It is my hope that scholars who discover any such lapses or misunderstandings will not judge me or this book too harshly.

January, 1990

PART I

INTRODUCTION

Chapter 1

Background and Goals

*Irče. kam'ně, Sine čski. m'nišili
daživi buduti kos'ti sie, irěhi gi. ti
visi, (Ezekiel 37,3; NYM 117d 25-
29)*

1.1 Description of the manuscript

The New York Missal is a manuscript of the complete missal, Roman-Croatian liturgy, copied somewhere in northwestern Croatia probably during the mid-fifteenth century. It is currently housed in the Pierpont Morgan Library in New York (signature M 931). It was purchased by that library in 1966 from Martin Breslauer of London, who had acquired it from the collection of Sir Thomas Phillipps that same year. The manuscript had been part of the Phillipps collection since 1830¹.

The manuscript is nearly complete. There is a lacuna between 178v-179r, most likely of one leaf. The missing leaf contained the end of the Prefaces, almost certainly a crucifixion,² and the beginning of the

¹ For details of the sale and known history of NYM see Birnbaum (1977:6 ff.).

² As in the modern Roman missal, many of the medieval missal manuscripts contained a painted crucifixion between the end of the Prefaces and the beginning of the Canon proper. The leaves containing the crucifixions were later cut out of some manuscripts, presumably on account of their perceived beauty.

Canon. There is another lacuna between 179v-180r, again probably of one leaf. The missing text is from the Canon. It seems likely that both missing leaves were of a single sheet of vellum. At the end of the manuscript several folia are missing. The text breaks off in the middle of the christening ceremony. A correct collation is presented by Birnbaum (1977:18-19). Aside from the missing crucifixion, the text is almost without illumination. There are only four miniatures of the evangelists at the beginnings of the Passions (82r, 88r, 93r, 102r).

1.2 Goals of textual analysis

In order to comprehend the significance of this, or any, manuscript, there are several specific questions which we wish to address. These include:

1. The number of scribes involved in the production of the manuscript, and the sequence in which they appear. In order to properly evaluate the language, and also the text of the manuscript, it is necessary to know whether various persons were responsible for producing various parts of it. If this can be answered affirmatively, it must be kept in mind that various scribes may be from various regions, and thus represent various dialects, may differ in the level and nature of their education, and may in fact have copied their respective sections of the manuscript at different times and in different places. The language, orthography and graphics used by any two scribes may differ not only in the relative proportion of Church Slavonic and vernacular, or archaic and innovative features, but also in the particular selection of features which they employ (Church Slavonic vs. vernacular, archaic vs. innovative, characteristic of one or another dialect) and in the degree of consistency characteristic of their hands. Clearly, analysis of the language, orthography and graphics of the manuscript should be carried out and presented as an analysis of the language,

orthography and graphics of each individual scribe involved in its preparation.³

2. Localization (provenance) of the manuscript. This involves searching for both explicit, obvious indicators of provenance—notations about the place where the manuscript was written, or presence of services (in the *Proprium Sanctorum*, or mentioned in the calendar of the manuscript) characteristic of one city or one area⁴—and such less obvious indicators as dialectal features (this presupposes an identification of the number of scribes who copied the manuscript) and textual idiosyncrasies. Since branches of the stemma of the MP text seem to be connected with certain geographic areas⁵, any independent evidence for the provenance of this manuscript may also help to explain its relationship to its sister manuscripts, and may be significant for the study of the stemma itself.
3. Dating of the manuscript. Again, linguistic, orthographic, graphic and textual evidence may be brought to bear. Dating the manuscript will, of course, help to assign it a place in, and also to understand the structure of, the stemma of the MP in early Croatia.
4. Placement of the manuscript in the genealogical stemma of the MP. This is, of course, one of the ultimate goals of any codicological study. It depends on the answers to each of the previous questions, and on a thorough linguistic and textual study of the manuscript. We must further keep in mind that any dating criterion which we attempt to apply to this manuscript will be entirely valid only within the limits of a single definable branch of the stemma of the MP.

³ In the following discussion, *graphics* will refer to ductus and the peculiarities of the formation of individual letters. *Orthography* will refer to the inventory of letters and symbols, and the way they are used to represent the sounds of the *language*.

⁴ Cf. Pantelić (1967:15-18, 36-48).

⁵ M. Pantelić has demonstrated the existence of a northern and a southern branch of the MP tradition (see the discussion in sections 1.3 and 1.5, below).

5. The structure and idiosyncrasies of the language, orthography and graphics of the manuscript. For a linguist this represents not only a tool for answering the previous questions, but is in itself one of the most important goals of study. Of course, such a determination allows us insight into the processes of development and decadence of CCS, as well as providing data for the historical dialectology of Serbo-Croatian.

1.3 Current knowledge about NYM

Up until the present, we have not been able to answer any of the above-posed questions. NYM contains no obvious indications as to its origin. There are no notes (with the exception of corrections to the text) either by the scribes or later possessors of the manuscript. This indicates that the manuscript probably did not pass through many hands during its history and may have been little used. As the end of the manuscript is missing, any colophons which may have existed are lost. The text breaks off during the christening ceremony, but before the litanies of All Saints, and so this possible indicator of origin is also lost⁶. The *Memento Vivorum* of the Canon is lost, and so therefore is the possible scribal autograph which it may have contained. It is not clear whether the manuscript originally had a calendar. If there was a calendar, then it was certainly lost in the lacuna between 178v-179r. This is not likely, though, since the juncture between the Prefaces and the Canon is not a normal location for a calendar.

There are other, less explicit indicators of the origin of the manuscript, though these will require further work before their true value may be ascertained. First, as was mentioned above, M. Pantelić (1967:68-71) has demonstrated the existence of two branches of the MP, one northern (henceforth recension A), and one southern (henceforth recension B), on the basis of lexical correspondences. An analysis of the same locations in the text of NYM has shown that this manuscript, more than any other manuscript of the MP, is evenly divided between words characteristic of recension A and those characteristic of recension B. The text of NYM, in fact, switches from

⁶ On the significance of the litanies, see Pantelić (1967:29 ff.).

recension A to recension B between folia 69d and 70a. Second, a collation of the services for saints represented in the *Proprium Sanctorum* will ultimately provide one of the most important clues concerning the affiliations of NYM. I have collected the information necessary to make such a collation. Considerable work will, however, be necessary before the significance of this information emerges, and such work lies outside the scope of the present study. I have also collected information on the order of presentation of the texts which comprise the MP. Various orders of presentation seem to be characteristic of one or the other of the main branches of the MP identified by Pantelić. Again, more work will be necessary before the significance of this information may be ascertained.

It has thus been possible to say very little about the origin or affiliations of NYM. A cursory examination shows only that it may have been produced either in the late fourteenth or fifteenth century, and in any of the areas in which the Croato-Glagolitic liturgy was practiced. As many as eleven scribes were involved in the preparation of the manuscript, so we may at least assume that NYM was produced in a monastery or other institution employing simultaneously a large number of scribes.

1.4 Work to date on other manuscripts of the CCS MP

NYM is one of only 15 known extant manuscripts of the pre-Trent MP written in CCS. Until the dissolution of the Phillipps library, at which time this manuscript came to the attention of philologists, NYM had remained quite unknown to scholarship (with the exception of Kopitar).⁷ All of the other known manuscripts have been subjected to some degree of study. Several have been described at some length in the literature. The oldest of the missals, III4, has been the subject of two monographs (Vajs 1948, Vrana 1975). In both of these the language and script are discussed, but attention is focused upon the text as such of the MP. No monograph has yet been written which has as its main object of study the language and script of a CCS liturgical

⁷ See Birnbaum (1977:10, 14-17).

manuscript.⁸ Several of the other missals have been described in lengthy articles. These include Mh (Svane 1965), N and 1483 (Pantelić 1967), B, LjII and R (Pantelić 1964), and the commentary to Hm (see below).

Only two of the manuscripts of the CCS MP have been reproduced in full. These are:

1. *Missale Hervoiae Ducis Spalatensis Croatico-Glagoliticum (Hm)*. This is a luxurious two-volume edition. The first volume consists of a facsimile edition reproducing not only the colors, but also the texture and shape of the original vellum. The second volume contains a transliteration into Latin script accompanied by variant readings from N, R, III4 and commentary on the text, language, graphics and ornamentation of the manuscript (see bibliography for complete citation).
2. *The New York Missal*. The first volume of this work, containing a facsimile reproduction of the manuscript, appeared in 1977. Further work is in progress.⁹

In addition, in his monograph on III4, Vrana (1975) excerpted the gospel readings from that manuscript, and presented them transliterated in canonical order, along with assertedly complete variant readings from N, R, and LjII. (None of these manuscripts—III4, N, R, LjII—has been reproduced anywhere in full, either in transliteration or facsimile.) Further, we have the recent reprint of the 1483 *editio princeps* of the MP (*Misal po zakonu rimskoga dvora*; see bibliography). This text originated somewhat later than NYM (though the fourteenth-century N apparently served as one of its matrix¹⁰ texts).¹¹

⁸ Croatian Glagolitic nonliturgical manuscripts have indeed been the subject of more than one linguistic monograph, as has the CCS “Prayer of Šibenik” (“Šibenska molitva”, cf. Malić).

⁹ See bibliography for complete citation.

¹⁰ There seems to be no English term which can unambiguously refer to the manuscript from which a later manuscript was copied, or to the earlier published edition from which a later edition was prepared. The term “original” may lead to confusion, since it may refer

1.5 Obstacles to the study of NYM

We may come to the further conclusion, then, that there is insufficient published primary and secondary literature on CCS, and particularly on the MP, to support research aimed directly at elucidating the significance of NYM. This presents us with a dilemma.

On the one hand, NYM presents an attractive, even exciting topic for linguistic study. Such a study can help to alleviate several acute concerns of scholarship: first, it will help to answer all those major questions which we would pose about any such manuscript (see section 1.2, above); second, considering the scarcity of Glagolitic missals (and the fact that they have been studied in a less than thorough manner), study of NYM may very well allow us to correct our views on, or to gain further insight into, the interrelationships between all the manuscripts of the MP; third, such a study would represent one of the essential prerequisites to an eventual synthetic understanding of the structure and development of CCS.

On the other hand, our approach to the study of NYM is necessarily determined by the present state of scholarship. Prior to an attempt to elucidate the origin and full significance of any given manuscript, we require preliminary detailed studies of aspects of the CCS language and script. Such studies would provide us with reliable criteria on which we could then base our study of individual manuscripts. It should be clear from the preceding survey of the

either to the earlier manuscript from which a later one was copied, or to an original manuscript, as opposed to a modern reproduction of the manuscript. Thus, when referring to the "original" of NYM, it is not clear whether reference is being made to the manuscript from which NYM was in large part copied, or to NYM itself, as opposed to the microfilms, full-size photographs and published facsimile edition of the manuscript which have been produced. The term "protograph" is similarly infelicitous, as it may refer, in the case of NYM, not only to the manuscript from which this missal was copied, but also to an original prototype or model. "Antegraph", likewise, may refer either to the manuscript from which a later manuscript was prepared or copied, or to some more distant predecessor. In this study I will use the term "matrix" or "matrix text" to refer to the earlier manuscript from which a later one was copied. The term "original" will refer to a manuscript, as opposed to a modern reproduction of it.

¹¹ See Pantelić (1967).

literature, however, that there is insufficient textual material currently available in published form to allow for detailed synthetic studies of aspects of CCS.

A potential researcher of some CCS manuscript, then, lacks many of the background studies on which an analysis of the document in question would be based, and has available insufficient published textual material to be able himself (or herself) to undertake the necessary background studies. One of the primary consequences of this situation has been that active participation in the field has been limited to a small number of scholars with access to the original texts (or to the Old Church Slavonic Institute in Zagreb, which has amassed a large collection of photographic copies of CCS manuscripts). The dearth of published textual material, and resultant limitation on the amount of research in the field, are clearly reflected in the current state of scholarship on CCS. I present several concrete examples of how this affects the study of NYM:

1. It would be most helpful if we could identify some of the scribes of NYM (there are as many as eleven) with scribes whose hands are preserved in other manuscript codices or fragments. It would be especially useful to identify this entire set of scribes, or at least several of them, with the set of scribes responsible for the preparation of some other manuscript. It would, in other words, be most helpful to undertake a collation of scribes, i.e. to discover and note which are present in more than one CCS manuscript. Such a project has not been undertaken. Pantelić (1964) has shown that three of the missals and one breviary (the latter is apparently not extant) were copied by one Bartol, a scribe and illuminator from Krbava. This is the only known instance of a scribe responsible for multiple extant texts (but see section 12.1 on the identity of hand **A³** with that of the main scribe of OxI), though we assume that other examples must exist.
2. In order to place our manuscript within the stemma of the MP, it is necessary to distinguish schools of Glagolitic literary or scribal activity in medieval Croatia. As noted above, Pantelić has in fact succeeded, on the basis of lexical correspondences in the missal manuscripts, in distinguishing two areas or centers of activity—one


in the south (Zadar, Krbava, Lika) and one in the north (Krk, Istria). Within my comparative corpus, at least, it is now clear that Ill4, Oxll, R, Mh, and Ljll belong unambiguously to recension A (northern), and Ill8, Oxl, N, B, Vbl, Vbll, Novlj and 1483 to recension B, while Hm and NYM switch from recension A to B at different locations within the corpus. As Vbl, Vbll and Novlj seem to have originated in the more northern area of Glagolitic usage, it is not clear, then, that recension B can accurately be characterized as “southern”. Further, some of the texts of recension A, particularly R and Oxll, in a number of instances contain words or phrases otherwise belonging to recension B, while the more northerly texts of recension B—Vbl, Vbll and Novlj (but not 1483, which was prepared from the southern N)—have instances of words or phrases characteristic of recension A. Still, researchers have only just begun to formulate specific questions about the nature of these two branches of the missal tradition. Among those questions which we will have to answer are: a) Are we dealing with two centers, i.e. organized activity in two specific locations or areas, supervised by some authority which imposed certain rules (e.g. lexical, linguistic, liturgical)? If so, what would these central locations and authorities have been? (For the southern area, the central location would likely be Zadar, cf. Pantelić 1967. It is not as clear where activity in the north might have been centered.) If not, are we dealing with perhaps one organized center of activity and one more remote, less strictly supervised area of activity, or even with two areas of activity, neither of which was more or less strictly unified or controlled, but which were subjected to influences of different sorts and from different directions (e.g. in the south through Ancona and Monte Cassino, in the north through Aquileja and Hungary; cf. Pantelić 1967). b) What would be the boundaries of these schools of activity? Would Krbava refer to the bishopric of Krbava or to the principality of Krbava (the territories do not coincide completely; see Pantelić 1964:5 ff., especially map p. 9)? Do the Kvarner islands belong to the southern or northern group (manuscripts of both recensions seem to have originated on the island of Krk)? c) When did these schools of activity begin to diverge?

These are just two of the gaps in our knowledge of the external history of CCS. They are paralleled by the state of our knowledge of the internal linguistic and paleographic history of CCS. As mentioned above, to date no monograph has focused on the language and script of a CCS liturgical manuscript. In the most ambitious effort to date, Vrana, in his monograph on Ill4, devotes approximately thirty pages to the paleographic and linguistic aspects of Glagolitic texts. Yet this discussion also includes such canonical Old Church Slavonic texts as the codices Marianus and Clozianus, and other Church Slavonic texts (Croatian and other), of the period through the thirteenth century, while of the CCS missals only Ill4, R, N and Ljll are discussed (two of which—R and Ljll—are known to have been copied by a single scribe; see Pantelić 1964).¹² In such a situation it has, of course, been impossible to thoroughly examine or even formulate all possible criteria for determining the age, provenance and affiliations of individual manuscripts.

The problem has been particularly pronounced in the field of paleography. There are certain features of ductus, as well as of the spatial arrangement of letters and peculiarities of individual letters, which may mark a text as being especially old or young. For example, regular use of the “branching m” Ꙗ marks a text as being among the oldest, perhaps from the eleventh or twelfth centuries (though it occurs sporadically in a few later manuscripts; see Štefanić 1969:13, Hamm 1952:37-39). Use of “jor” ꙗ marks a text as being probably no younger than the thirteenth century (Štefanić 1969:12). Unrestricted use of “iže” (ꙗ) in phonetic function for *i* is also probably limited to the thirteenth century. (“Iže” in phonetic function continues to appear sporadically, though ever more rarely and almost only in initial letters, through the end of the fourteenth century (Hamm 1952:41), and, according to Štefanić (1969:13), even into the fifteenth century.) Remnants of the round ductus indicate that a text belongs to the earliest period, as does incomplete adaptation to a bilinear spatial


¹² See now also Damjanović 1984, which nonetheless is still concerned primarily with nonliturgical texts. As mentioned above, I have not been able to discuss the latter volume thoroughly in the present work.

orientation.¹³ On the other hand, infiltration of cursive letter forms into a liturgical book generally marks it as being no older than the last portion of the fifteenth century (cf. Štefanić 1969:15).

However, for most of the fourteenth, and especially the fifteenth century, during which period almost all of the older liturgical manuscript codices originated, current paleographic criteria have been of very limited usefulness. Of course, some characteristics of individual letters do indicate an earlier or later date within this period, but the period of coexistence of older and newer forms may be so great as to render any such characteristic almost meaningless in evaluating a given text. For example, “g” ȝ in earlier texts tends to be bilinear, while in later texts the stem extends below the bilinear space. A bilinear form is characteristic of the fourteenth century, an extended form is characteristic of the fifteenth century. However, the extended form originated in the fourteenth century, while the bilinear form can be found even in some texts of the fifteenth century (e.g. in III8; cf. folia14, 15). The development of “h” ʒ follows a similar pattern. In earlier texts the letter is bilinear, but in the fifteenth century the left stem generally extends below, and often also above the bilinear space. The letter “i” has an intermediate form  between the canonical ȝ and the newer ɣ; the younger form is characteristic of the fifteenth century, but appeared already in the fourteenth (cf. the reproductions from N in Vajs 1932, in which the newer form appears in a few instances alongside the more usual older form). The intermediate form differs from the later form in that the top portion seems to be “leaning against” the bottom portion instead of resting atop it. In earlier texts the upper portion of the letter “l” ll often has a trapezoidal or triangular, instead of square or rectangular shape. Again, the older form, characteristic of the period through the early fourteenth century, may appear even in some texts of the fifteenth century. For the letter “c” ʒ a flattened or rounded bottom is considered characteristic of older manuscripts, while a sharpened bottom, occasionally protruding

¹³ See the discussion in Eckhardt (1955:74-83). Eckhardt points out that while CCS manuscripts approached a bilinear system during the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries, they never actually achieved such a spatial arrangement for all letters.

below the bilinear space, is considered characteristic of younger texts. Yet the scribe of VbII, completed in 1463, uses the older form (cf. folio 58b23).

The codex III8 of the Vatican Library provides a good illustration of the difficulty of paleographic dating of manuscripts of the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries. This manuscript was completed sometime in the middle of the fifteenth century.¹⁴ However, on folio 43a a hand appears which contains some letter forms characteristic of perhaps a century earlier. These include bilinear “g” and “h”, as well as “l” with a trapezoidal upper section. In this hand some older forms coexist with newer forms. For example, a newer form of “z”  (with the main left-hand portion of the letter protruding far below the bilinear space and pointed, and the right-hand extension of the letter large and rectangular) occurs along with a far older form (with the right-hand extension small and round, and hanging above the lower line instead of resting upon it).

A further difficulty with paleographic dating arises from the fact that some apparently archaic features may, in fact, not be archaic at all, but rather represent features of cursive writing which infiltrated into a text in the script of a poorly trained or confused scribe. This may, in fact, account for the trapezoidal or triangular upper projection of the letter “l” which occurs at places in III8, NYM and elsewhere.

Despite these difficulties, the presence of newer or older forms of letters should serve as a useful indicator, if not a certain one, of the date of origin of a manuscript. This can only be proven true, however, when the occurrence of newer vs. older forms is systematically mapped for a large number of CCS manuscripts. Such a mapping has not been accomplished to date (at least in published literature).

The failure of paleographic dating of CCS manuscripts seems, then, to result from two deficiencies of work to date: 1) failure to systematically chart the occurrence of older vs. newer forms of letters. It may yet be possible, on the basis of a considerable number of the

¹⁴ Vajs (1948:23-24) dates this manuscript to 1441 on the basis of a colophon from that year. In fact, there are *two* contradictory dates noted in the manuscript, by two persons, the other from a later Latin inscription which mentions the year 1435.

letters of a manuscript, though not on the basis of one or two letters alone, to assign a more accurate date to a complete manuscript codex than has heretofore been possible. In any case, such a charting would provide us with one check of the accuracy of other dating criteria. 2) We do not yet have a clear picture of the development of Glagolitic cursive script. It may be that some “archaic” features of early Croatian Glagolitic which reappear later in cursive script may have never actually disappeared, but rather been “submerged”—relegated to the sub-literary world of private correspondence and non-literary texts. Other archaic features may have been “submerged”, and then disappeared completely from usage during the fourteenth or fifteenth century.

Along with paleography, in the strictest sense of the word, we must consider orthography, which term I will use very loosely to refer to the manner in which the letters and other graphic symbols are used to express the words and structures of the language. Again, though there have been studies of aspects of CCS orthography, especially recently,¹⁵ we are far from a thorough understanding of this subject. Many basic facts, some of which should serve as dating or localizing criteria, have yet to be analyzed in a systematic manner. For example, in some texts the letter “**HP**” is used to represent the sound *j* overtly. This is clearly a secondary development and may be more characteristic of southern than of northern texts. This problem demands systematic analysis. As another example, Hamm (1952:51-58) suggested a method for relative dating of groups of similar texts on the basis of the relative frequency of the replacement of pronounced “*jer*” (ı or ’) by “*a*”. He demonstrated this possibility on manuscripts of the breviary. Other authors have not taken up this suggestion, and have not discussed it, though it would no doubt provide a valuable tool. We still await a complete study of the orthographic and phonetic reflexes of *ě* in CCS manuscripts, which would likely present us with another valuable tool for dating and localizing manuscripts.

¹⁵ See, for example, Vince (1981), Režić (1981) and Mihaljević (1981). These articles represent a part of the ongoing work at the Old Church Slavonic Institute on the *Dictionary of the Croatian Redaction of Church Slavonic*.

It seems fair to conclude that the limited success of linguistic and paleographic dating and localizing of mature CCS manuscripts¹⁶ to date is far more the result of the underdeveloped state of these fields than of inherent difficulties. Where our concepts about the development of CCS are based on generalization and impression, rather than on rigorous quantitative analysis, they cannot provide reliable criteria for the analysis of individual texts.

1.6 A methodology for the study of NYM

Considering the current state of our knowledge, a serious attempt to answer the questions posed about NYM (cf. section 1.2, above) demands a very specific approach. We must first examine aspects of the internal history of CCS in order to define criteria for dating and localizing CCS manuscripts (and hopefully elucidate aspects of the external history of CCS as well). We can then apply the criteria so defined to the study of NYM.

It seemed natural, therefore, to expand the study to cover the set of extant manuscripts of the CCS MP. This provides us with a corpus homogeneous in content, of which NYM is a member with equal status, and which spans a period of more than 150 years, as well as a range of geographic and political-ecclesiastical settings. As we will see, by taking the MP as the broader subject of our study, it is possible to increase the significance of this study for our understanding of CCS.

The manuscripts of the CCS MP and breviary span a period from the early fourteenth century through the late fifteenth century.¹⁷ This is the mature period of CCS. It is characterized by: a) widespread use of CCS throughout much of the Croatian littoral, Kvarner and Istria; b) a high level of literacy among the Glagolite clergy and upper classes; c) a high degree of consistency in both language and script. As we have seen, despite the relative wealth of extant liturgical manuscripts from

¹⁶ For a definition of the mature period of CCS, see section 1.6 below.

¹⁷ See Vajs (1910, 1948) for approximate dates of most manuscripts of the missal and breviary. The earliest breviary, BVbl, may have been copied before the beginning of the fourteenth century. See Hamm (1952:55-56).

this period (about twenty of various forms of the missal,¹⁸ and more than thirty of the breviary¹⁹), the high degree of consistency which characterizes these codices has made it difficult to define accurate criteria for determining the origin (date and provenance) and affiliations of individual manuscripts.

The mature period of CCS was preceded by a formative period, which lasted roughly through the thirteenth century. During this time, use of CCS was restricted at first to the Kvarner islands and coastal areas opposite them,²⁰ as well as Istria.²¹ Toward the end of this period, though, it spread rapidly through much of Krbava, Lika and the more southerly coastal areas (around Zadar.)²² The language and, especially, script of this period were less consistent than during the mature period. During the formative period important changes took place in the Serbo-Croatian dialects, so that scribes were forced to struggle not only with features of Old Church Slavonic which had never been shared by Serbo-Croatian, but also with confusion caused by recent changes in the local dialects. This struggle had to be carried on in a political-ecclesiastical context in which there was no central authority permitting or sanctioning Slavic literacy, and in which the level of literacy of many scribes must have been low. As we have seen, it is often possible to determine at least a relative chronology for manuscripts of the formative period.

¹⁸ See section 2.2 and note 25. For detailed information on most manuscripts and early printed editions, see Vajs (1948).

¹⁹ See Vajs (1910) for detailed information on most manuscripts of the breviary.

²⁰ This idea is expounded in Štefanić (1963:32-33). Klaić (1965: especially 254-258) demonstrates that some of the islands under the authority of the Dalmatian cities, though not these cities themselves, may have in the tenth century already had a majority of Slavic population. It is these islands, especially Krk, but also others of the Kvarner group and those of the Zadar archipelago, which may represent the territory on which Slavic liturgy and Glagolitic script first gained a foothold in Croatia.

²¹ See especially maps 1 and 2 in Fučić (1982:2).

²² We can follow the spread of Glagolitic literacy through the location of datable epigraphic monuments (see Fučić 1982:1-5), and also through the dates of founding or first mention of institutions - primarily monasteries - which are known to have used Glagolitic script. See Hercigonja 1971.

The third period of CCS, from the sixteenth century onward, is one of decadence. It is characterized by: a) an ever more restricted use of CCS, b) a progressive impoverishment and decreasing level of literacy and culture among the Glagolite clergy,²³ c) a breakdown of the linguistic and graphic patterns followed during the mature period.

The manuscripts of the CCS MP all originated within the mature period of CCS but span virtually this entire period. A description of the norms and variation within this set of texts will therefore provide us with an approximation of a definition of CCS, or at least a major tool to be used in defining the characteristic traits of CCS during that period of time when some stability can be shown to have existed.

1.7 The goals of this study

The basic task for this study was stated at the outset: to determine, to the extent possible on the basis of phonetic and paleographic data, the time and place of origin of NYM. The preceding discussion has demonstrated, though, that it can succeed in accomplishing its basic task only if it achieves at least some success with regard to each of the following more general goals:

1. It should aid in the task of defining CCS and its norms. As in other recensions of Church Slavonic, CCS texts of various types differ in language as well as in subject matter. The missal, as the text of the divine service, is the most resistant to the introduction of vernacular linguistic features, and is most homogeneous throughout its history in language and script. Thus, in a situation in which the language of a manuscript may be described in relation to two extreme poles—CCS and vernacular—the missal may be defined as the archetypal CCS text and the basis for defining the norms of CCS. As noted above, the significance of the MP for the definition of CCS is further supported by the fact that manuscripts of the MP are characteristic precisely of the mature period of CCS.²⁴

²³ Hercigonja (1971:97-98) notes that this process had already begun early in the sixteenth century.

²⁴ For an alternative view as to which texts should be considered in defining the norms of CCS, see Tandarić 1983.

2. This study should help to chart the history and divergent trends of CCS, especially during the mature period, but also, by extrapolation, during the formative and decadent periods.
3. It should help to identify criteria for determining the age and provenance of any individual CCS manuscript.
4. It should thus also help to answer important questions about NYM—a manuscript which has until recently remained unknown to scholars, and which lacks any obvious explicit indicators of the time and place of its origin.

Chapter 2

The Plan of the Investigation

2.1 Transliteration of the manuscript

As mentioned above, a transliteration into Latin script has been prepared by E.-M. Schmidt-Deeg, and has been thoroughly checked.

2.2 Corpus

The corpus must be limited to such a size that it can be analyzed in its entirety. It must include a section of corresponding text from each manuscript, including NYM. These texts, finally, must be available in photographic form (as of 1983 this included all the known manuscripts of the MP except LjI). Within the missal, the lections, prayers and liturgical instructions (rubrics) differ considerably from one another in their degree of conservatism. As it is clearly advantageous to draw the basic corpus from text which is maximally homogeneous, I have taken this corpus only from the lections. There are several advantages to this choice. First, the lections provide the longest comparable connected passages. Second, the language of the lections is particularly conservative. Since one of the purposes of this investigation is to help define CCS and its norms, this choice is thus particularly advantageous. Just as the missal is the most characteristically CCS text, the lections of the missal may be considered as its most characteristically CCS sub-text. A third advantage of the lections is the availability of a source which may be useful in checking for errors. Specifically, we have (in addition to the apparatus in the edition of Hm) Vrana's published gospel texts from Ill4, with variant readings from N, R and LjII, for reference.

I further chose to draw the basic corpus from the lections of the *Proprium de Tempore*, including specifically the lections for the two weeks from the fourth Sunday to the sixth Saturday of the Lenten period. The *Proprium de Tempore* is the section of the MP most

standardized in content, and so it is easiest here to find corresponding passages of text from the largest number of manuscripts. This particular selection allowed analysis to begin at the earliest possible date, as it is contained completely in the first one hundred folia of NYM.

The corpus includes text from each of the manuscripts of the MP except LjI, for which a photographic copy was not available. The manuscripts containing assorted texts for both mass and office were not included, as they generally lack the *Proprium de Tempore*. Neither have I included manuscripts of the abridged missal.²⁵ The corpus also includes the *editio princeps* of the MP, dated 1483, for which we have an excellent facsimile edition.

The corpus was obtained by photocopying photographs of the original manuscripts in the archives of the Old Church Slavonic Institute. Material was obtained in this manner from the following manuscripts: VbI, VbII, OxI, OxII, LjII, B, Mh, III4, III8, N, R, Novlj. For Hm we have the published edition, for NYM I have at my disposal excellent microfilm copies of the entire manuscript, and for 1483 we have the published facsimile edition. In the photocopied corpus there are some illegible spots, but they are not sufficiently numerous to render the copies unusable.

As stated above, I have also analyzed a section of text copied by each of the scribes of NYM who are not represented in the comparative corpus. These samples are taken exclusively from lections, except in the case of those hands responsible for only a very small quantity of text. The samples from the scribes of NYM are, of course, not identical in content, nor are they entirely equivalent in length. I have endeavored to find a section of text containing a sufficient number of examples to allow for reliable conclusions, and have made no special attempt to limit the samples to an identical number of examples for a particular problem (e.g. reflexes of ě) from each scribe. In some

²⁵ The combined breviary-missal manuscripts are Ox. 172, Par. 11 and Lj. 22. Of the abridged missal we have the manuscript of the Metropolitanska knjižnica in Zagreb. I have also eliminated from consideration the so-called Bribir Missal, as it is incomplete to the extent that the entire comparative corpus has been lost from it. See Vajs (1948) for a discussion of each of these manuscripts.

instances I have for a single hand taken a shorter sample of text for the study of one linguistic problem, but a longer sample for the study of another problem. For each problem studied within each hand I have identified the folia from which my sample is taken.

2.3 Scope of the investigation

The investigation is limited to graphic, orthographic and phonetic aspects of the MP. The decision to exclude morphological, syntactical and lexical aspects of the language of the manuscripts was necessary in order to achieve the goals of the project. One of the primary goals was to take CCS textual study past the level of survey, or generalization. I attempted to examine each individual problem on the basis of a large sample within the chosen corpus. Given such an approach, it was impossible to discuss all aspects of the language in the context of this single study. (If, on the contrary, one were to attempt to discuss all aspects of the language, but in less depth, then nothing *qualitatively* new would be added to our knowledge of CCS.)

The decision to limit the discussion to the phonetics and script (orthography and graphics) of the manuscript was thus dictated by practical as well as theoretical considerations. This restriction permitted the examination of a homogeneous and cohesive set of data (since the script cannot be discussed separately from the sound system). In fact, it is that set of data which contains the greatest number of potential tools for the evaluation of CCS manuscripts.

It is of course true that in proceeding as indicated I had to ignore many significant linguistic facts. These will be examined at a later date. For this study, an analysis in some depth, and wherever possible on a quantitative basis, of each individual problem pertaining to the script and phonetics of NYM was my highest priority.

2.4 Organization of data

In presenting the material it has been my goal to provide easy access to data. I have not attempted here to present a systematic structural account of the graphics, orthography and phonetics of the text. Instead, data is presented in terms of specific identifiable problems, or in terms of facts which have value in characterizing NYM, the MP, or CCS as a whole. For example, instead of attempting to deduce the

overall phonological system of the manuscript, or changes in the system, I discuss: 1) reflexes of Common Slavic *ě, 2) reflexes of Common Slavic *ę, 3) reflexes of Common Slavic *dj, *zdj, etc. Only such a format will allow other scholars to derive maximum benefit from this study toward the end to which it will most often be used—i.e. a comparison of NYM with other related manuscripts—without undue effort.

2.5 Order of presentation

This volume is divided into three parts. In the first I have discussed the background of the investigation, previous knowledge about NYM and CCS, obstacles to the study of NYM and a strategy for overcoming these obstacles (Chapter 1). This was followed by an explanation of the structure of the investigation, including the corpus, presentation of data, the specific problems to be discussed and the division of the volume into parts and chapters (Chapter 2).

In Part II, I discuss the scribes of NYM. Following an introductory chapter (Chapter 3) in which I discuss the probable organization of work on NYM, one chapter is devoted to the phonetic, orthographic and graphic characteristics of each identifiable hand (Chapters 4-15). The goal of these chapters is: 1) to establish the number of scribes who participated in the production of NYM; 2) to characterize each scribe; 3) to establish the range of linguistic and graphic variation which occurs within NYM; and, 4) to analyze the data in each hand which may ultimately prove useful for determining the age, provenance and textual affiliations of NYM. Overall, the emphasis in Part II is on the *individuality* of the scribes and the significance of the data contained in each *individually*.

In Part III (Chapter 16) the data from all the hands or scribes is synthesized into a number of general statements on the situation prevailing in NYM with respect to specific linguistic and paleographic problems. The data from NYM is then compared to that from the other manuscripts of the MP and the 1483 *editio princeps*. Finally, on the basis of all available data, I then reach some general conclusions on the value of individual features for determining the age, provenance and textual affiliations of CCS manuscripts, as well as specific conclusions concerning the origin of NYM.

2.6 Specific problems to be investigated

1. Identification of hands and scribes. As just mentioned, a separate chapter (Chapter 3) will be devoted to the organization of work on NYM. The pattern of work is complex, and involves no less than ten scribes working from possibly two or more matrix texts. The methodology for identifying scribes and hands will be discussed.
2. Graphics. It is largely through an analysis of the graphics (in its strictest sense) that I have attempted to distinguish the scribes of NYM. Both general characteristics of ductus or style in each hand and the peculiarities of individual letters and symbols are discussed. For most hands, the analysis is limited to a small number of letters and symbols: *titla*, “a”, “i”, “ž”, “g”, “h”, the superscript form of “t”, and “pr” (in ligature). It is these letters which were found to be most useful in distinguishing between hands. Several of them (*titla*, “i”, “g”, “h” and “pr”) have also proven useful in dating manuscripts of the mature period of CCS. However, I have not discussed the individual letters and symbols of the other manuscripts in detail. This is partly because of the relatively poor quality of the photocopies at my disposal,²⁶ and also in part because of the overwhelming amount of text which would have to be analyzed. As for the 1483 printed edition of the missal, considerable work on the graphics of this incunabula has already appeared in the literature (cf. especially the contributions to *Slovo* vol. 34, which is dedicated to the five hundredth anniversary of this edition). I have also not discussed the style of decorative initial letters (as this requires expertise in the illumination of medieval manuscripts), except to point out the most striking features and interesting examples. However, all Latin initial letters which appear in NYM have been noted.
3. Abbreviation. At least four techniques for abbreviation of words are utilized in Glagolitic texts. In the first technique—suspension—

²⁶ While the photographs in the Staroslavenski zavod are in general of excellent quality, for most of my work I have had to utilize photocopies of their photographs, these being of poorer quality.

the initial letter (or letters) of a word represents the entire word. The technique is relatively rare in the manuscripts of the MP, except in titles of parts of the liturgy. Most instances are of *e.* for *esti* or *n.* for *na* (the latter example obviously need not be considered suspension at all). In the first 27 folia of NYM we have several times the archaic letter “iže” 𐝒 as an abbreviation for the word *iže*, and once even the letter “zělo” 𐝓 for the word *zělo* (the latter abbreviation also appears in a number of instances later in the manuscript). Since use of “iže” in its phonetic function supposedly ceased completely by the end of the fourteenth century (Hamm 1952:41), such use of this letter would seem to suggest a date of origin for NYM before the end of the fourteenth century. (The other manuscripts of the MP and 1483 do not, with one exception, have “iže” for *iže* in any of the positions corresponding to its use in NYM.) However, Štefanić (1964:109) noted that in fact “iže” for the word *iže* is a late development associated with the fifteenth century. Jagić (1911:154, 157 and 158) also assumes that the abbreviation *e.* for *esti* is a late development.²⁷

Abbreviation by suspension is associated, in the majority of hands of NYM, with an alternate shape of the *titla*. This provided a useful criterion for distinguishing between the scribes.

I have investigated the use of abbreviation by suspension in general, but with particular attention to the use of the letter “iže” for *iže* and the letter “zělo” for *zělo*.

The second, and more ordinary, technique of abbreviation consists of contraction—deletion of one or several letters of a word. Generally, all (or all but one) of the vowel letters (with the exception of desinences) are deleted, and one or more consonant

²⁷ Vajs (1932:106-107) speaks of abbreviation *per suspensionem* (“Komolenim slov”) and *per contractionem* (“stažením slov”). He sees contraction as being much more widespread, but does not speak of any tendency for one or the other of these techniques to gain in frequency. Svane (1965:79-80) speaks of suspension as beginning to spread from the end of the fourteenth century. Thus, the scribe of Mh apparently knows “iže” and “zělo” as letters with only numerical value, since even when he uses them as abbreviations for *iže* and *zělo*, he writes them between dots (“periods”) and in red ink below a *titlo*, in the manner in which he writes letters in numerical function.

letters may also be deleted. Some common examples of contraction are: *bžn.* (= *blažen'*), *ns'.* (= *nas'*), *bihm'.* (= *bihom'*), *izbvi.* (= *izbavi*) and *vsmgi.* (= *v'semogi*).

Scribes do differ somewhat in the degree and manner in which they contract words. Clearly, characteristic patterns of contraction represent one of the distinguishing features of a scribe. Though I do not deal with this problem in detail, due to the sheer volume of data, it is worthy of study. In the comparative corpus, all contractions (as well as suspensions) are marked with a period, and so a concordance program may be employed to systematize the data and thus allow for significant conclusions. I hope to undertake such a study at an early date.

The third technique of abbreviation consists of superscription of a letter. This may occur in combination with one of the other techniques. Very often, for example, the "t" of the prefix and preposition *ot-/ot* is written over the "o". While scribes do vary somewhat in their use of superscription, such differences have not proved particularly useful in distinguishing scribes or for dating purposes. For this reason, I do not discuss superscription in detail. One interesting exception concerns the use in some hands of the unusual superscript form $\underset{\cdot}{t}$ or $\underset{\geq}{t}$ of the letter "t". The origin of this form is not clear (most probably it was borrowed from Latin script) and it has not previously been noted in the literature. Use of this form is characteristic of only some of the scribes, and its appearance has therefore been noted in the chapters on individual hands.

The fourth technique consists of the use of ligatures, which clearly increased in later manuscripts. The earliest, canonical Old Church Slavonic Glagolitic manuscripts have very few ligatures.²⁸ In this volume I note only the most striking facts concerning the use of ligatures in NYM. Still, as in the case of contraction, it is clear that specific ligatures or a certain pattern in the choice or formation of ligatures may characterize individual scribes. All ligatures have

²⁸ For a discussion of the development of ligatures in Glagolitic script, including early examples, see Jagić (1911:216-217).

been noted in the comparative corpus, and it is my hope to undertake a study of ligatures in the CCS MP, with the help of a concordance program, at an early date.

No detailed studies of abbreviation in CCS texts exist. It is clear that scribes differ in usage (e.g. only some abbreviate *ěko* to *ěk**,²⁹ and *est* to *e.*), but it is not clear whether particular patterns of usage may be characteristic of specific periods or regions. Further studies may shed light on this problem, though I have found no striking patterns of geographical or chronological variation in the course of my research to date.

4. Inventory of letters. This concerns primarily the letters “iže” and “zělo”, which are discussed along with abbreviation by suspension. The letter “jor”, which appears at least once in Ill4 (cf. Vajs 1948:88), does not appear at all in NYM, nor anywhere in my comparative corpus. The variant Ɱ or Ɱ̇ for the superscript form of the letter “t” is discussed under the heading of that letter in the sections on graphics.
5. Punctuation marks. Relatively little useful data was obtained from such symbols. Use of multiple dots for a full stop is considered to be characteristic primarily of older manuscripts (we encounter this almost regularly in Hm); it is rare in NYM. In this manuscript some hands utilize the symbol – to indicate the end of a section of text which coincides with the end of a line (the symbol rarely occurs within the line). I have noted those hands for which this mark is particularly characteristic.
6. *Jer*. In the area of Glagolitic literacy, phonetic processes affecting the Common Slavic *jer* vowels were completed by or soon after the end of the thirteenth century. Even before the first written records of any Serbo-Croatian dialect, the two vowels had merged into one, which in some positions subsequently dropped. During the thirteenth century the remaining *jer* vowel began to disappear from the phonological system of the čakavian dialects by merging

²⁹ The asterisk following a letter indicates superscription of that letter.

with another vowel.³⁰ Throughout most of čakavian (as well as štokavian) this vowel was *a*. In a few locations on the islands of Krk and Cres, this vowel was *e* or *o*.³¹ The *jer* vowel was indicated in early CCS by the letter “jor”. In mature CCS this letter was replaced by the symbols *ı* and *’*. Not surprisingly, following the loss of the *jer* vowel, scribes occasionally used “a” (“e”) in positions where we have phonetic *a* (*e*) developed from earlier *jer*. Later texts show an increasing proportion of vocalization, as well as an increasing incidence of hypercorrect writing of *ı* and *’* in positions where we have etymological *a*. As mentioned above, Hamm demonstrated that the proportion of vocalization can be used as an accurate indicator of the relative age of similar texts. To the best of my knowledge, no other author has attempted to apply this test to any CCS manuscript. Within the comparative corpus, I have been able to apply this test to a much larger sample than that used by Hamm. In fact, this has provided one of the most significant orthographic dating criteria, though the results are not nearly as straightforward as those reached by Hamm.

I noted several environments in both the comparative corpus and NYM in which an original *jer* vowel was in general vocalized, though it ought to have been dropped in accordance with Havlík’s law. These include: the monosyllabic pronominal forms *tı* and *sı*; the monosyllabic conjunction *nı*; and the prefixes *kı(n)-*, *vı(n)-*, *sı(n)-* and prepositions *kı*, *vı*, *sı* when followed immediately by a vowel, and these same forms when followed immediately by a consonant identical to, or differing only in voicing from, that of the prefix/preposition. In the discussion of the scribes of NYM and in the tables which summarize the data from NYM and the other manuscripts of the CCS MP, it is these categories to which I most often refer. I was not able to discuss the role of prosody in vocalization, nor (with the exception of the virtually complete

³⁰ The first attestation of “vocalization” is from the year 1309; cf. the apparently complete vocalization in the two documents from that year in Šurmin’s collection (1898). On the development of the “vocalization” process in the Serbo-Croatian dialects, see Ivić (1972:10-11).

³¹ On the shift of *jer* to *o* in Dobrinj, see Štefanić (1963:33) and Belić (1969:83).

vocalization of the monosyllabic pronouns and conjunction *ti*, *si*, and *ni* even in the oldest manuscripts) the question of hierarchies in the vocalization of the *jer* vowel. These questions are addressed in work now underway.

Within NYM and the other manuscripts of the MP, we find considerable variation in rendering the “tense *jer*”, i.e. *jer* (or *i*) immediately preceding *j*. Forms of the type *piju* and *p’ju* both occur, and it is possible that a significant pattern might be discerned in that variation. I have not dealt with the problem of “tense *jer*” in this study, and such an analysis should be undertaken in subsequent work.

I have noted hypercorrect use of *ı* and *’* for etymological *a*, as this varies both from hand to hand and from manuscript to manuscript.

A separate issue concerns the use of the symbols *ı* and *’*. Their functions are not strictly delineated, so that they are in general interchangeable. Some generalizations are possible, however. Both symbols are probably of a common origin. It is thought that a graphic variation was originally established in order to distinguish cases when the letter was pronounced from those when it was not.³² In mature CCS the “štapić” (*ı*) is used most often in word-final position. In the infrequent instances in which it is used word-internally, it most often stands for pronounced *a*. The apostrophe is used word-finally or word-internally to indicate \emptyset (more rarely *a*) derived from weak *jer*, but also word-internally within consonant clusters which etymologically were not separated by a *jer*. In this study I have examined the use of these two symbols in detail only in their hypercorrect use for *a* where that vowel is not derived from an earlier *jer*. This discussion is included in the final chapter. Though it has not been possible here, it would be interesting to note which consonant clusters are more, and which are less likely to be separated by an apostrophe. It is possible that later texts will show less of a distinction between the treatment of etymological and “non-etymological” consonant clusters.

³² See Hamm (1952:40). But cf. also the discussion of these symbols in Vrana (1975:28-30). Vrana does not mention any tendency to differentiate the usage of *’* and *ı*.

Finally, I have noted the use of “a” and “e” in the few lexical items in which *e* occurs as a reflex of strong *jer*.

7. ě. The vowel ě was eliminated in much (if not all) of čakavian before the middle of the thirteenth century.³³ In the far north (Istria, a few locations in the Kvarner archipelago) the reflex in all environments was *e*. In most of the Kvarner archipelago and the coastal area opposite, as well as inland regions to the east, the reflex was *e* in alternation with *i*, according to the rule of Jakubinskij-Meyer (henceforth J/M).³⁴ In areas to the south, the reflex is uniformly *i* (except on the island of Lastovo, where the reflex is uniformly *je*).

In dealing with CCS texts we face two questions pertaining to the overall problem of ě. One concerns the reflexes of the vowel ě. In the manuscripts there is a great deal of variation. In one and the same manuscript, there will be both “e” and “i” as reflexes, perhaps most often corresponding to J/M, but sometimes not, while in some instances the letter “ě” appears in its etymologically correct place.³⁵ A second question concerns the value of the letter “ě” in CCS texts. It is generally thought that the phonetic value of the letter in mature CCS was *e* (Milčetić 1890:40 ff., Rešetar 1895). My data have shown this assumption to be correct.

The importance of the vowel ě in the study of CCS manuscripts is indeed great. This one set of questions can provide us with data on both the geographic and chronological coordinates of manuscripts. The proportion and precise nature of *i* and *e* reflexes should correspond in some measure to the place of origin, or branch of the

³³ The fragment of the missal from Split, from the middle of the thirteenth century, already shows numerous instances of the reflex *i*. See Štefanić (1957). Also, the formulation of the rule of Jakubinskij-Meyer (see immediately below) for the distribution of *e* and *i* as reflexes of ě in čakavian dialects which have the mixed reflex seems to indicate that this distribution must have developed at a time prior to the loss of positional palatalization of consonants (preceding front vowels or palatal consonants). For a discussion of the development of ě in the Serbo-Croatian dialects, see Belić (1969:86-95).

³⁴ Cf. Jakubinskij 1925 and Meyer 1929:51. This rule states that the reflex of ě will be *e* in the environment immediately preceding an original hard dental consonant, while elsewhere the reflex will be *i*.

³⁵ See the discussion in Pantelić (1967:50-54 and 68).

stemma of individual manuscripts. In earlier manuscripts we also expect a relatively high percentage of cases in which the letter “ě” stands for etymological ě, while for later manuscripts we expect a lower percentage.

8. *ę. Throughout the štokavian and čakavian dialects the reflex of Common Slavic *ę is *e*. In čakavian, however, there are some lexemes in which *ę yields *a* in the environment following a palatal consonant. This same variation is reflected, to a limited degree, in CCS texts (e.g. NYM *ězikmi*. 76b 18, but Hm *ezikom'* 65c 4, NYM *žajuća* 92d 6, Hm *žajuća* 72b 20, but NYM *žeju* 86c 24, Hm *žeđu* 72d 7, etc.). The data from NYM and the CCS MP in fact do not show significant variation from one manuscript or scribe to the next. In general, a given root, prefix or suffix appears always with *e* or always with *a*, with exceptions (representing vernacularisms) occurring only rarely. Still, I have noted data concerning the reflex *a* from *ę, as this is important for determining the norms and early history of CCS.
9. *dj. In Bulgarian and eastern Macedonian dialects, the reflex of Common Slavic *dj is *žd*. In western Macedonian and in štokavian dialects of Serbo-Croatian, the reflex is *d'/g'*, which in many of these dialects has assibilated to *ž* (soft *ž*). In čakavian and Slovenian, even at the end of the Common Slavic era, Common Slavic *dj (presumably through an intermediary *d'; cf. parallelism with čakavian *t'* for Common Slavic *tj) lenited to *j*.³⁶

This divergent development of *dj within South Slavic has given rise to variation in the CCS textual traditions. In “canonical” Old Church Slavonic manuscripts the Common Slavic sequence *dj is consistently reflected as *žd*. This is also the regular reflex in early CCS manuscripts. In CCS texts of the fourteenth-fifteenth centuries, however, we find an ever increasing proportion of instances of the čakavian reflex *j*. This reflex is indicated in one of two manners: 1) covertly, by a vowel letter either in word-initial

³⁶ The lenition of reflexes of *dj is in fact a central Slavic innovation, which affected only the northwest periphery of South Slavic. See Timberlake (1981) for an extensive discussion of processes affecting the Common Slavic sequence *dj* in the individual Slavic languages.

position or following another vowel letter; 2) overtly, by the letter “đerv” Ѣ. In a single manuscript, as in NYM, we may see both of these graphic variants. The use of “đerv” for *j* is clearly secondary. It also seems to be more characteristic of southern manuscripts of the MP than of northern ones. Thus, some older texts may have more instances of “đerv” for *j* (for example N), while some younger manuscripts have fewer instances (for example Vbl). Neither the chronological nor geographic dimensions of the use of “đerv” for *j* have been previously noted. I have attempted to determine these dimensions both for the relationship *žd - j* and for overt vs. covert expression of *j*.

10. *j*. It should be clear that the analysis of the reflexes of Common Slavic **dj* in CCS manuscripts must be accompanied by an analysis of the expression of *j* in all environments in CCS. I have therefore noted all instances in which *j* is rendered by “Ѣ” regardless of the origin of the sound *j* in the given form.
11. *ž > r*. In western Serbo-Croatian dialects (as well as in Slovene) we find a change of *ž > r* in a small number of lexemes (e.g. western Serbo-Croatian *more*, eastern Serbo-Croatian *može*). This change is reflected in CCS texts unevenly, and affects very few words (perhaps most often *neže - nere*: cf. modern Serbo-Croatian *jer* 'quod, because'). It is not clear that a pattern exists among the manuscripts of the MP with regard to this change. The few examples which I did note were insufficient, both in terms of quantity and variety, to allow for meaningful discussion.
12. **j̇*. Common Slavic **j̇* is reflected in the MP most often as “l”, less often as “l̇” or “l̇̇”. In hand **D** of NYM, however, we encounter a number of instances of the graphic reflex “ul”/“ul̇̇”: *sulzami* (IPl.) 74b30, *dul'žnika* (NDu.) 74c14-15, etc. It is not clear just how these examples are to be interpreted, and I therefore discuss them in some detail in chapter 16.
13. Vowel assimilation and contraction. Unlike manuscripts of the Serbian recension of Church Slavonic, CCS texts show a high percentage of non-contracted forms of the type -VjV-. Jagić (1890) proposed a hierarchy for contraction in such forms in early CCS

texts. I have not examined this problem in the present study, and this should be done in subsequent work.

14. Treatment of consonant clusters. The fall of weak jers created numerous consonant clusters, many of which had not occurred in Common Slavic. Some of the phonetic processes which affected these new clusters may provide useful information for the dating and localization of CCS manuscripts. Voicing assimilation is expressed fairly regularly in CCS (though not across some morpheme boundaries; cf. Režić (1981) on assimilation across prefix-root boundaries). This process, then, may not provide sufficient data (at least for word-internal assimilation) for comparison. The treatment of geminate consonants may yield more useful data. For an adjective or adverb of the type **istinъno*, three means of denotation are possible in CCS: *istin'no*, with ' either by tradition or in order to separate consecutive consonants (a common usage of '); *istinno*; and *istino*. At least the first two types are widely represented for the suffix *-n-*. Similarly, for Common Slavic **otъca* (GSg.), we have forms of the type *oca* and *ot'ca*.

Assimilation for place and manner of articulation (including some simplification of clusters) also is reflected in the MP and other manuscripts of this period. For place of articulation we have *šnim* in place of *si nimi* (assimilated forms of this syntagm are quite regular in NYM); for manner of articulation (along with contraction or simplification) we have *-sn-* for *-stn-* (*žalosnih* for *žalostnih*; cf. Malić 134). Dissimilations also take place, for example *št* for *čt* (*poštenje* for *počtenje*: cf. Malić 134, Moguš 83). I encountered no examples of dropping of consonants similar to the modern čakavian example *šenica* for *pšenica* (cf. Moguš 87). For these latter processes (assimilation for place and manner of articulation, dissimilation and dropping of consonants), it is not clear that sufficient data is available in NYM or the other manuscripts of the MP to allow for meaningful comparison. I discuss some striking facts which came to my attention, but I have not examined this topic in detail.

It should be clear, from this survey of the problems discussed in this volume, that I have not been able to deal with all those areas of

phonetics, orthography and graphics which might yield significant information concerning NYM, the MP and CCS in general. Furthermore, I have not been able to deal in an exhaustive manner even with those issues which I do discuss. More preliminary studies of specific problems, as well as attempts at textual description similar to the present study, will have to be undertaken before all possible paleographic and linguistic criteria for the study of CCS liturgical manuscripts can be refined. Only then will it be possible to produce a volume in which all significant facts in a given manuscript may be exposed and their true significance discerned.

PART II

THE SCRIBES OF THE NEW YORK MISSAL

Chapter 3 The Organization of Labor

3.1 Methodology

Probably 11 scribes participated in the production of NYM. It often proved difficult to decide whether 2 or more “hands” should be attributed to a single scribe: in some instances 2 or more scribes have a very similar script; in others, the script of a single scribe at one place in the manuscript differs in some detail from his script at some later point in the manuscript.

Because of the very complicated pattern of scribal activity in NYM, it was necessary to follow a strict procedure in order to properly identify this pattern. I first determined every point in the text at which some noticeable change in graphics (or, exceptionally, orthography or language) occurs, and noted which features change. Only after the text was thus segmented into a large number of sections, and a few characteristic types of script emerged, was I able to begin to determine just which of the changes in graphics (orthography, language) represent a change of scribe, and which non-contiguous sections of text might be ascribed to a single scribe. These first two steps in the process of identification of scribes can be illustrated by figure 1. In procedure 2, identical upper-case letters indicate that corresponding sections of text are assumed to have been copied by a single scribe, referred to by that upper-case letter. In fact, a third layer of analysis proved necessary. In one case, two distinct hands (**A** and **A³**), each of

which recurred in a number of instances, one early in the manuscript, the other later, proved to be ascribable to a single scribe.³⁷

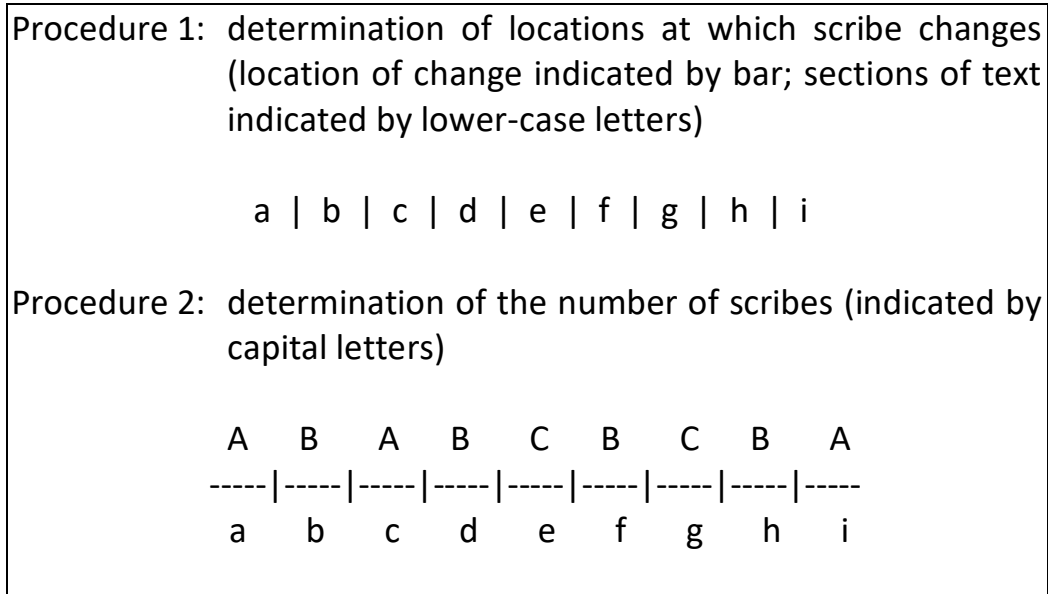


Figure 1: Procedures for identification of scribes

The differentiation of scribes, through procedure 2, is based on graphics in the strictest sense—i.e. ductus and peculiarities in the formation of individual letters or symbols. Differences in language itself (e.g. reflexes of **dj*, *ě*, etc.) may not appear immediately after a change of scribe. More importantly, though, they may reflect inconsistencies in the matrix text or in the habits of a single scribe. Of orthographic considerations, some, for example a sudden change in the use of the letters “ě” and “e” for the sound *e*, might correspond to a change of scribe, but, again, even such a change might reflect a characteristic of the matrix text. It is thus his graphics, in the strictest sense, which are the primary mark of any scribe—that which

³⁷ It thus proved necessary to draw a terminological distinction between “hands” and “scribes”. In the text of this study, though, I will often refer to individual scribes by the designator for their hands (e.g. I will refer to the scribe of hand **A** as scribe **A**), except in those instances where it is necessary to distinguish between scribes and hands.

characterizes him alone, and only in the slightest amount the matrix text.

The primarily graphic examination reflected in the chart of scribal activity (Table 1) was supplemented by an analysis of the language of each hand which had been isolated. I examined the hands of NYM with respect to the same phonetic and orthographic features which served for an analysis of the various manuscripts of the missal. This latter, primarily linguistic, analysis allowed me to determine that hands **A** and **A³** belong to a single scribe, while **A²** certainly belongs to a different scribe. Even a careful graphic analysis showed clearly that hands **B** and **B¹** belong to different scribes. The linguistic analysis tends to confirm this conclusion.

3.2 The Sequence of Hands

A chart of scribal activity in NYM, as identified through the second procedure shown above, is given in table 1. In this table, small letters refer to the four columns of each folio: *a* and *b* on the *recto* side, *c* and *d* on the *verso* side. Sections of text and scribal designators shown in parentheses refer to titles and rubrics written in red ink in the given hand within a section of text which is otherwise copied by some other scribe. Superscript notation is used to indicate that two or more hands bear some striking resemblance to one another, although distinguishing features are also present. Thus, hands **A**, **A¹**, **A²** and **A³** resemble one another in some respects, as do hands **B** and **B¹**. (Perhaps the most important feature of these resemblances is the very characteristic shape of the *titla*).

The pattern of activity which emerges from this chart allows us to make several conclusions about the functions of the individual scribes. First, the relative importance of the scribes varies considerably (see Table 2). At least one hand, and probably two (**H**, and probably also **A¹**, if this latter hand is not by the same scribe as some other hand) copied only a single column of text. Another hand (**C**) copied less than a single folio, while yet another (hand **F**) copied only one- and one-half folio. At the other extreme of importance, no single scribe stands out as being dominant. The most active (hand **D**) copied only about one fourth of the manuscript, and his hand is by no means the most elegant

or correct. For reasons which will be explained below, it is likely that the scribe of hands **A** and **A³** was the leader, or authoritative figure among the scribes. We must conclude that NYM represents a collective effort to a degree observable in no other manuscript of the CCS MP.

Second, work on any section of the manuscript was carried out by a team of 2, or sometimes 3, scribes working in alternation. In some cases, one scribe would copy text, while another would add initial letters, titles and instructions in red ink. In other cases, red ink is in the hand of the same scribe who copied the text. On folia 1 through 18 or

Hand	Folia Copied	
A	10	1/4
A¹		1/4
A²	33	
A³	33	3/4
B	24	3/4
B¹	36	1/4
C		3/4
D	75	1/2
E	56	1/2
F	1	1/2
G	20	
H		1/4

Table 2: Relative Activity of Scribes

24, scribe **A/A³** worked in alternation with scribe **B** (with hand **A¹** also appearing once in the place of hand **A**). **A** is clearly the better scribe, with a fairly elegant, correct hand, while **B** is characterized by occasional textual errors, improperly formed letters, and a larger number of innovative linguistic forms. We have the clear impression that **B** was working *under* scribe **A**. On folia 19 through 51 **B** works in alternation with **A²**, who is also a better scribe than **B**, but to a lesser extent. On folia 51-54, **A²** works in alternation with scribe **C**. The latter scribe is characterized by crude, archaic letter forms; **A²** is clearly the dominant scribe. On folia 54 through 69 we again see **A²** working in

alternation with **B**. On folia 70 through 77 or 70 through 99 we have **D** working in alternation with **B¹**. On folia 77 or 99 through 113 we have **B¹** in alternation with **E**. **E** and **B¹** are more elegant than is **D**, but these three scribes are roughly equivalent in their level of competence. On folia 113-152 **D** alternates with **E**, with **A³** replacing **D** briefly on folio 131. On folia 152 through 192, **F** alternates with **A³**, with **D** replacing **F** on folia 170-175, and **E⁽¹⁾** replacing **F** on folio 186. Alternatively, we could say that **F** replaced **D** temporarily on folio 152, before replacing him entirely from folio 186 ff., while **A³** took the place of **E** from folio 152 forward. This latter suggestion, then, implies a gradual change between 2 teams of scribes. On folia 193-203, **E** works in alternation with **D**. From folio 204 through 223, scribe **G** works alone. This seems to be the only instance in the manuscript of a scribe working quite alone. (Alternatively, of course, we might say that scribes **G** and **H** each replaced **E** for one section of text.) From folio 224 through the end of the manuscript, scribe **D** works in alternation first with **H** (in one instance), then **E**, and then (in one instance) with a scribe which is most likely **G**. Alternatively, we may say that in the final 100 folia of the manuscript, **D** works in alternation with **E**, **G**, and **H**.

Third, a significant break in the text occurs between folia 69 and 70, at the juncture between two gatherings. None of the hands which appear prior to this break (**A**, **A¹**, **A²**, **B** and **C**) appear after it, though hands **A** and **A³** probably belong to the same scribe. The scribes, then, belong to two distinct sets, with **A/A³** the only common member. This same juncture, between folia 69 and 70, corresponds also to another important break in the text. The text through folio 69 (and beginning no later than folio 59) belongs to recension A, while text following this point (at least as far as folio 77) belongs to recension B. The coincidence of these two facts—the discontinuity of the collective of scribes, and the change of recension—suggests that a different matrix text was used for the text from folio 70 forward. Since I have available to me only limited data from the other missals, I have been unable to determine whether any other changes of recension take place within NYM.

There are two possible explanations for this apparent discontinuity within NYM.

First, scribe **A/A³**, the only scribe common to both portions of the manuscript, might have left the scriptorium with the manuscript after only the first 7 gatherings had been completed, and later continued work on it in another scriptorium, with a different matrix text and a different collective of scribes. As he seems to have been the most authoritative of all the scribes of NYM, perhaps this authority was sufficient to allow **A/A³** to take the unfinished manuscript when he left the original scriptorium.

Several facts speak against this hypothesis, however. Scribe **A/A³** was probably a monk. Had he been a lay person commissioned to produce the manuscript, we would expect it to be entirely, or largely, in his hand. We know, though, that he was but one member of a collective of scribes. As a monk, it is most unlikely that he would have personally possessed such a valuable book as a missal, even in unfinished form. Even had this scribe in fact been a layman, it is unlikely that a professional scribe would have the personal wealth or the need to possess such a manuscript.³⁸

A second explanation assumes that work on NYM ceased after folio 69, and was continued much later, perhaps at the same location, after the collective of scribes had changed almost entirely. In this case, it is not so unlikely that a different matrix text would be used than served for the first portion of the manuscript. Of the old scribes, only **A/A³** would remain.

This explanation seems superficially to be more plausible than the first. Work on the manuscript might have ceased when the person or institution which had commissioned it either ceased to exist or became impoverished. The work might then have recommenced when some other person or institution was found to fund completion of the manuscript. More importantly, this explanation does not demand (though neither does it preclude) the improbable component of scribe **A/A³** resettling to a different location together with the incomplete manuscript.

Still, there remain strong reasons to question this second explanation. With one fourth of the manuscript already completed, it

³⁸On the value of liturgical manuscripts in Medieval Croatia, see Runje 1987.

is not obvious that work would have been discontinued even if the intended user or purchaser were no longer able to pay for the manuscript or to use it. Even if work was in fact discontinued after the completion of folio 69, it still seems strange that it would have been continued only after so much time had passed that the membership of the scribal collective would have changed so completely. If, however, many years had passed and new scribes had replaced older ones, we would not expect the only remaining scribe of the original group to be **A/A³**. He was the most correct, or archaic, of the original scribes, and therefore was most likely not one of the younger ones.

Either of the above explanations of the discontinuity within NYM might be correct if some disruption had occurred at the monastery (or other institution) in which work on NYM had begun. Perhaps the original scribes were killed or perished in an epidemic, or their monastery was destroyed or disbanded. If any such disruption had in fact occurred, it would be natural for work on the manuscript to continue at a different location, or after a period of rebuilding, and with a mostly different collective of scribes. Still, we must bear in mind that NYM contains no notations speaking of hardships, or any sign at all that work was carried out in other than peaceful conditions.

NYM does not consist of parts of two separate manuscripts which were later bound together. The text at the juncture between folia 69 and 70 is continuous, though it belongs to different recensions. Interestingly, instead of an identifiable catchword on the bottom of folio 69v, we find an illegible smudge, apparently an erasure of a single letter or symbol (perhaps the letter "s").

4.1 Overview

As mentioned above, this is one of the more elegant hands of NYM, and, at the same time, adheres most strictly to the archaic Church Slavonic tradition. This hand contains two Latin initial letters: a medium-sized but fairly ornate “V” on 14d 11 and a small to medium-sized “N” on 18a 12. On 18c 12 there is an initial “E” which may be considered either Glagolitic or Latin. There is also a small to medium-sized Latin “M” on 3b 14 in a section of text in which red letters are in hand **A**. This letter, of course, need not be considered specifically Latin.

4.2 Characteristic shapes

1. *titla*—The basic stroke is curved, with the left end lower than the right. At its left end, it has a sharp hook upward and to the right, while the right end is characterized by a curve downward and to the left. On 1r the *titla* tends to be flatter, with the hook at the left end and the curve at the right end folded back tightly against the basic stroke.
2. *a*—The central vertical stroke extends only moderately or slightly above the upper line; occasionally, the letter is virtually bilinear. Still, this extension in most instances is noticeably greater than in hand **A**³. The letter is formed from 3 strokes. To the left of the central vertical stroke is a shorter vertical stroke, while to the right of the central stroke is another short vertical stroke which bends at the top to continue horizontally across the central stroke to end at the top of the left-hand vertical stroke. The left corner is thus sharp, while in some instances the right corner is somewhat rounded. The right corner is also sometimes slightly higher than the left.
3. *i*—The stroke leading from the upper right to the lower left corner is often more curved than that leading from the upper left to the lower right corner, though a symmetrical “hour-glass” shape predominates. Neither of these strokes has a sharp “break” in the middle, such as we encounter with some of the other scribes. The tendency for the upper right-lower left stroke to have greater curvature or deviation from a straight line than the upper left-lower

right stroke sharply distinguishes hands **A**, **A¹**, **A²** and **A³** from all others in the manuscript.

4. *ž*—The “antennae” are fairly short. The left antenna may be more curved, the right straighter. The right antenna may be heavier than the left and may be shorter, though not consistently. The center of the angle formed by the antennae points almost directly upward, or slightly to the left. On folio 1r the character of the letter is somewhat different, with antennae in several cases flatter and straighter, and the center of the angle formed by the antennae in some cases pointing slightly to the right.
5. *g*, *h*—The left stem is most often curved gracefully, beginning from nearly perpendicular at the top, and extending considerably below the lower line. The left stem of “h” often does not extend above the upper line or extends very slightly, and then the stroke ends (more likely, begins) at the top with a curve sharply to the left and somewhat downward.
6. *t*—Hand **A** uses only the familiar traditional shape of the superscript form of this letter (∞).
7. *pr*—The shape of the horizontal extension is not stable. Perhaps most often it is a graceful curve with both ends at the same level. Occasionally it extends over the entire following letter, but often it is shorter, extending only partially or not at all over the following letter. In a fairly large number of instances, this stroke is somewhat shallower, or straighter, and may have little or no curve. Occasionally, and especially when the stroke is nearly straight, the right end may be higher than the left, so that the stroke seems to “rise”.
8. Abbreviation by suspension—Hand **A** uses suspension, but to a very limited degree. The form *esti* is abbreviated to *e.*. The alternate form of the *titla* is a short, heavy, fairly straight stroke, perhaps more like a rectangle than a line. It is almost vertical, but in most instances is slanted slightly as in the French accent aigu. I also noted *z.* for *zemla* (= *zemlja*) 10d 3 with the alternate form of the *titla*.

9. Finally, we should note the simplified shape of the letter “č” on 16b 2 (Ψ), in the shape of a pitchfork with only two outside tines, but missing the central, or internal, structure of the letter, similar to the shape of the original Cyrillic letter “č”. This shape can probably be identified with the “Cyrillic č” (ćirilsko č) which Tandarić noted in the breviary from Padova (1977:144).

4.3 Language and orthography

1. *jer*. Within the lections copied in hand **A** there are 66 instances of vocalization of *jer* (both etymological and secondary) out of 110 positions in which vocalization might be expected, for a proportion of vocalization of .6. In two cases the reflex is *e* (*děći*, *děćeri*). The monosyllabic pronominal forms *tī*, *sī* and the monosyllabic conjunction *nī* are vocalized in all 24 occurrences. The prepositions *kī*, *vī*, *sī* and the prefixes *vī(n)-* and *sī(n)-* are vocalized only exceptionally. Out of 15 or 17 occurrences of the prepositions in which we expect vocalization, only in one (*va sně* 13b 23) do we have vocalization. (It is not clear whether in *v' e-jupat* 13c 2-3 and *v' eju-ptě* 16b 6-7 the initial “e” of the noun is to be read *e*—as in modern Serbo-Croatian—or *je*. As the preposition is spelled with *'* in these two cases, but with *ī* in all but one of the others in which vocalization is expected, pronunciation with *je* may in fact be more likely, and vocalization is therefore probably not to be expected in these instances.³⁹) The prefixes *vī(n)-* and *sī(n)-* appear in 14 positions in which we expect vocalization, but this occurs in only 5 instances. Among the examples are *sanma* G. Sg. 11b 29, *san'mičihī* L. Pl. 11d 13, *vičnut'* 3 Pl. Pres. 16c 20 and *vičnetī* 3 Sg. Pres. 16c 30, in which the prefix may at this time have been interpreted as part of the root, and also *sis'-tava* (16d 4-5), the parsing of which is not clear. In other cases, then, aside from those with the prefixes *sī(n)-* and *vī(n)-*, the prepositions *kī*, *vī* and *sī*, and those with the monosyllabic pronominal forms *sī* and *tī* and the conjunction *nī*, we have 34 instances of vocalization and 20

³⁹ See now Mihaljević 1986, in which the author presents evidence for pronunciation with initial *j-* in this and similar words of foreign origin with original initial *e-*.

instances of non-vocalization in which vocalization might be expected, for a proportion of .63. In word-internal position (within the phonological word) for an expected phonetically vocalized *jer* (etymological or secondary), hand **A** uses *ı* 24 times, *'* 16 times (or 18, if we include the examples *v' ejupat* and *v' ejuptě*), and \emptyset (= "null") twice.

2. Hypercorrect use of *ı* and *'*. Within the lections copied in hand **A**, I did not note a single instance of hypercorrect use of these symbols for original *a* (or some other vowel). In this hand, though not in some other hands of NYM, as we will see below, this characteristic may be considered a sign of conservatism.
3. *ě*. The lections written in this hand contain 406 examples of a continuant of Common Slavic *ě*. In 394 instances the continuant is spelled "ě", while in 8 instances we have the overt reflex *e*, and in 4 instances the reflex *i*. Of the instances of *e*, 3 (*verovahom* 1 Pl. Aor./lpt. 1b 26, *veru* A. Sg. 10d 25, *verujućim* D. Pl. 11a 7) occur in a root which in other hands and manuscripts also shows a particular tendency to appear with the reflex *e*.⁴⁰ In *oti otvetěhi* (sic!) 18d 2, we have a root which tends to appear with the reflex *e* not only in CCS manuscripts, but in those of the Serbian recension as well.⁴¹ In *obiteli* (L. Sg. 9a 8) we have a stem which shows the reflex *e* not only in some Church Slavonic manuscripts and older vernacular texts, but also in the modern standard language (though dialectal forms of the type *obitilj* are also well attested: cf. *obitelj* and *obitil* in *JAZU*). In *pr-inese* (3 Pl. Aor. 17b 4-5) the most common form of the root (*nes-*) has probably been introduced into the old sigmatic aorist in order to simplify the paradigm. The adverb *nině* appears in CCS almost always with *e* in the second syllable, as on 1b 23. Only *o razume* (L. Sg. 18d 1) might be seen as evidence that *e* is a phonetic reflex of Common Slavic *ě* in the language of the scribe.

⁴⁰ It is interesting to note that there is one example with *e* in the root of the lexeme *věra* in the fragment of the missal from Split (Bb29), which almost certainly originated in an area with a uniform reflex *i* for original **ě* (cf. Štefanić 1957).

⁴¹ Cf., for example, Kuljbakin 98.

Of the examples with *i*, in *vit'liome* (V. Sg. 17a 7) we have a foreign lexeme which might have an unstable pronunciation, though in OCS it is rendered most often with *e* in the second syllable (cf. *vityleemъ*, *vithleemъ* in ČAV). In *dvěn-adste. lěti iměe* (A. Du. 18c 13) the ending *-i* of the substantive *lěto* could represent a generalization of soft-stem endings (though in that case we would not expect the example *o razume* mentioned above). In *viduće* N. Pl. Masc. Pr.A.P. 1b 21 from *věděti* (*viduće ěk. godna. e. nmi. juže ot sn-a vstati, Et hoc scientes tempus: quia hora est iam nos de somno surgere. Romans 13,11*), the reflex *i*, originating perhaps in an earlier manuscript, leads to confusion of the roots of *věděti* and *viděti*. Such confusion is very common in the manuscripts, and is easily passed on from one to the next during copying (though in this instance the stem vowel *-u-* suggests the verb *věděti*). Only the example *prie* (OCS *prěžde* 14d 26) seems to be a simple case of overt indication of the pronunciation *i* in place of original *ě* in either an *i*-type or an *i*-/*e*-type dialect.

It is clear that from these few examples we may make no conclusions as to the provenance or dialect of the scribe responsible for hand **A**. What is striking here is this scribe's extreme conservatism in rendering Common Slavic *ě*. This conservatism contrasts to his willingness in many instances to allow the spelling "a" in place of original *jer*.

4. Hypercorrect use of "ě". This scribe is somewhat less conservative in his use of the letter "ě". Within the lections we have 22 instances in which this letter is used for a pronounced *i* or *e* which is not derived from original *ě*. In 2 instances it is used for pronounced *i*, and in 20 for pronounced *e*.

In *včěrě*. L. Sg. (from N. Sg. **večerě* [večer'a]) 2c 8, the ending *ě* instead of *i* may be explained by the fact that the palatalized pronunciation of original *r'* in this word was lost at an early date, and so this stem might well be treated as if it ended in a non-palatal consonant. In *lže bolěti mogal' bě* (for *Qui condolere possit* Hebrews 5,2) 14a 2, *bě* for expected *bi* might easily have originated as a misinterpretation of the Latin form. It is also possible that for this scribe the forms *bě* and *bi* in a CCS text were no more than

alternate forms of the aorist and thus considered interchangeable in all contexts. Further, as *bi* (< **bi* and **by*) and *bě* are used to render alternative verbal forms in conservative Church Slavonic manuscripts, this is in fact a textual error, and may thus have been copied through several earlier texts in succession. It is not at all clear, then, that this error originated with hand **A** in NYM.

There are 3 examples in which “ě” stands in place of original *jer*. In *ěslěh* L. Pl. 9a 7, we have a substantive of the old *i*-declension. However, in CCS, these substantives, as well as those of the consonantal declension, regularly have *-eh* (or *-ěh*) in the locative plural. Forms with *-eh* are well-attested already in OCS and early Serbo-Croatian texts. It is clear, then, that in this case the letter “ě” was pronounced as *e*. In *děci* N. Sg. 14d 23 and *d-ěceri* N. Pl. 16c 26-27, we also have “ě” in place of an expected reflex of *jer*. *e* (or the spelling “ě”) appears in the root of this lexeme in all manuscripts. In the dialects, the reflex of *jer* in this lexeme is \emptyset . Vrana refers to this *e* as a svarabhaktic vowel (svarablaktički vokal; Vrana 1975:35). However, retention and vocalization of *jer* in various forms in which it is lost or would be lost in the vernacular is a well-attested phenomenon in CCS, as in other recensions of Church Slavonic. We have no reason, therefore, to believe that we are dealing here with anything other than vocalization of *jer*, with the reflex which is normal in parts of the island of Krk. We encounter this same phenomenon almost regularly in *semrt* for **simrti*, as well as in a few other isolated instances.⁴² It is clear,

⁴² See the example in hand **D** of NYM. Cf. also the examples *poemši* N. Sg. Fem. P.A.P. (from *poěti*) 5DA and *taen* G. Pl. 7EA in III4; *naemnika* G. Sg. 4EA in III4 and VbII; *prětekaniě* (for *prět’kaniě*) A. Pl. 4EA in R; and *ne* (for the conjunction *n’*) 6DB in 1483. It must be noted that all of these examples (with the possible exception of those from NYM) occur in manuscripts of northern provenance. In the Canon of III4 (reproduced in facsimile and transliteration in Vajs 1948) we find the further examples: *priem’* N. Sg. Masc. P.A.P. 166d 2, *nedostoe-n’* N. Sg. Masc. 168b 17-18, *dostoen’* N. Sg. Masc. 168b 29 and *nedos-toen’* N. Sg. Masc. 168d 8-9 (N: *nedostoini rab’ tvoi*; R: *nedostoěn’*), though in each of these instances an analogical interpretation is also possible. III4 is thought to have originated in Omišalj, where *e* is the regular reflex of *jer* in short syllables (cf. Belić 1969:83).

then, that in these examples as well the letter “ě” was pronounced as *e*.

Of the 17 examples in which “ě” stands in place of original *e*, 7 can be explained as a result of analogical processes or confusion of forms. In *obrěćete* 2 Pl. Pres. 9a 21 and 17a 19, we see the vowel of the infinitive or aorist stem being introduced into the present tense. Forms such as *o otroče-tě* L. Sg. 17a 18-19 and *v’ crkvě*. L. Sg. 18c 27) are very common in the manuscripts, and certainly reflect an analogical extension of the locative singular desinence of the *o*- and *a*-stem substantives to consonant-stem substantives, as part of the breakdown of the latter category. In the adverb *drěvlě* 10b 17, we may have a mistaken application of the common adverbial ending -ě, based on a lack of awareness, on the part of the scribe, that this ending is inappropriate for a word in which the stem-final -l- is in fact palatal. (Forms of this root with stem-final -l- apparently do not occur in the Serbo-Croatian vernaculars; *SANU* and *JAZU* have no such entries.) In *šuměćihı* G. Pl. 13a 19, it is possible that a scribe may have interpreted the participial stem, with its pronounced -e-, as being equivalent to the infinitive stem (*šum-ě-ti*). No such explanation can be applied to *čuděća - se* N. Du. Masc. 14d 12-13, as the infinitive stem ends in -i-. Finally, in *na tbě. ž-e s’ siěeti gi.* for *super te autem orietur Dominus* (Isaiah 60,2), *tbě.* 16c 17 for expected *tbe.* might, conceivably, result from incorrect case usage (i.e. locative instead of accusative case). A textual error such as this might well be copied over from the matrix text.

This leaves 10 instances in which use of “ě” instead of expected “e” cannot be explained by any likely analogical process or confusion of forms: *plěn-ami* I. Pl. 9a 5-6, *drěvlě* (root vowel) 10b 17, *děsnuju* A. Sg. Fem. 10b 28, 11c 12 and 11c 14, *vselěnuju* A. Sg. 10c 8, *oběťšajut* 3 Pl. Pres. 10c 27, *včěrě.* (stem vowel) L. Sg. (from **večerě*) 12c 8,⁴³ *t-ělěsa* (second syllable) A. Pl. 18b 11-12 and *čuděća - se* N. Du. Masc. 14d 12-13).

⁴³ *JAZU* (s. *večera*) does report the example *vičira* N. Sg. from the Urbar griški (1544). *JAZU* refers to the *i* in the first syllable as a “pseudoikavizam”.

We may conclude, then, that for this scribe (as indeed for the other scribes of NYM), the letter “ě” represented an alternate spelling of the sound *e*. It was not, however, an arbitrary variant of the letter “e”, but was quite restricted in its use. Only a very limited deviation from traditional CCS norms occurs.

5. **dj*, **zdj*, etc. The lections in this hand contain 12 examples of reflexes of **dj*. In 7 of these the reflex is *žd*, while in 5 it is *j*. Of the latter—i.e. with the reflex *j*—in 3 the sound *j* is indicated by a sequence of vowel letters (*viju* 1 Sg. Pres. 11c 12, *prie* Adv. 14d 26 and *vii* 2 Sg. Imv. 16c 23), while in 2 cases *j* is indicated explicitly by the letter “đ” (*rođeni* A. Sg. Masc. 14c 22 and 16d 25-26).
6. Expression of *j*. In one other instance, the sound *j* is indicated by “đ”: *vođin* G. Pl. 9a 24.
7. Reflexes of **ę*. This scribe, as well as the other scribes of NYM, provides very little interesting data on the reflexes of the Common Slavic front nasal vowel. The reflex is *e*, except in several examples. In *blagopriětni* A. Pl. Masc. 8d 3 we have the root **-jer+m-*, which almost invariably appears with *-a-* in all hands and manuscripts when preceded by a prothetic *j*. Even in OCS, the nasal vowel in the root of *mnogočastn-ě* Adv. 10b 15-16 (*mnogočastn-ě i mnogorazličně, - dřěvlě gla. bi. oce-mi v' prcěhi.*, = *Multifariam, multisque modis olim Deus loquens patribus in prophetis:*, Πολυμερῶς καὶ πολυτρόπως πάλαι ὁ θεὸς λαλήσας τοῖς πατράσιν ἐν τοῖς προφήταις Hebrews 1,1) is often corrupted to *jer*, (cf. ČAV), so that *a* in this instance probably represents a reflex of *jer* in strong position. In *ězici* N. Pl. 16c 20, *a* is the regular reflex in this lexeme in CCS, while instances of *e* represent vernacularisms. The examples *,r.*, *i ,k.*, *i ,g.*, *tisuća* (= 144,000) N. Pl.? 13a 13-14 and 13a 29-30 are interesting, but by themselves are not sufficient to tell us anything about the provenance of the scribe or text. In fact, it is quite possible that the form *tisuća* here represents the nominative singular, as in the second instance the phrase is modified by the pronominal form *ta* (*ta ,r.*, *i ,k.*, *i ,g.*, *tisuća*), apparently in the feminine nominative singular form.

8. Various dialectal and characteristic features. Within lections, prayers and psalms this hand contains very few such features.

Outside of the lections, we encounter several more examples of overt reflexes (and apparent reflexes) of *ě*: *posmijut se* 3 Pl. Pres. 1a 27-28; *Stipani* N. Sg. 11b 24, *si stipano-mi* I. Sg. 11c 3-4, *Stipan* N. Sg. 11c 9, *stipan-a* A. Sg. 11c 24-25, *stipanu* D. Sg. 12a 19 (also the title *Na stgo. stipana mčk.*, 11b 4 and *stipana* G. Sg. 16a 5 in a rubric; but cf. *stěpan-a* A. Sg. 12a 2-3 and *stěpana* G. Sg. 16a 9); *Sedoše* 3 Pl. Aor. 11c 30 (probably analogical); *veru* A. Sg. 13a 5; and *v zavěti* L. Sg. 14c 17.

Several examples indicate possible positional loss of *h*: *Slva. - v' višni* L. Pl.? 1b 6-7, *Slva. v' viš'ni* 1b 12 (cf. *Slva. v. višnihı* 16a 26); and *vi oprvdani. - tvoihı*, 11b 10-11 (= *in tuis iustificationibus* 21:10; but cf. also in 1483 *vi oprvdni. tvoih'* 15b 8).

This scribe regularly uses the ending *-uju* in the phrases: ... *o desnuju...*: *sědi* (2 Sg. Imv.) *o dēsnuju mene*, 8d 11 Psalm 109 (110),1, *sěditi - o dēsnuju veličastvi-ě...* 10b 27-29, *stoeća o dēsnuju sili b-ožije* 11c 14-15, *sědeća o dēs'-nuju sili bžie.*, 11d 5-6 and *stoeća o - dēsnuju ba.*, 12a 12-13. In most hands we find more often the ending *-aju*. We should also note that this scribe regularly spells the root of this adjective with “*ě*”, a trait which appears in some other hands and manuscripts as well.

I also noted 3 instances in which *u* occurs in place of an expected *o*: *s'-tueće u stgo. pvla* 12d 24-25 and *Na uktbu. stihı. mldnc.* 16a 24 in titles, and *Glju. bo blgo-dětiju. danuju mně*, 18b 22 (in a lection; Hm has *danoju* 17a 14).

Other examples worthy of note are: *vihititi se* Inf. 1b 17-18, apparently with the prefix *vi-* (...*da ot nalež-ečhi. grhi. nšihı. pagubi, tob-aju utegli bihomı vihititi - se*; Hm also has *vihititi se* 1b 17); *upvae-mo* 1 Pl. Pres. 12c 30-d 1 with the vernacular desinence *-mo*; *Crěkvi. tvoju* A. Sg. 12a 29 (the čakavian root vowel is rarely spelled out in the texts, with a *titla* almost regularly appearing in its place); *v'zrati se* 3 Sg. Aor. 16b 14 and *v'zratista se* 3 Du. Aor. 18c 24 (for *v'zrati se* and *v'zratista se*); loss of the root-initial *v* in this lexeme is common in the manuscripts (but cf. also *ne v'-zvratiše se* 3 Pl. Aor. 17b 7-8); more widespread dropping of *v* or consonants adjacent to *v* occurs in hand E. We encounter the vernacularism

eziki N. Sg. (for CCS *ěžiki*) 14d 6 in a tract. On 13c 26 we encounter the lexical vernacularism *mankai* 3 Sg. Imv. (*Stihı. tvoihı nmi. gi. mlo-stı. ne man kai*; ČAV has no entry for such a word). Finally, in the prayers, psalms and rubrics copied in hand **A** there are a considerable number of examples with the spelling “đ” for the reflex of **dj*, though they are not predominant.

A considerable number of rubrics are written in hand **A**, and these present a very different situation from that which we encounter in all other texts written in this hand. Here the language is in large part vernacular, with but a small admixture of CCS elements. Some important features which we encounter rarely or not at all in other texts are the following:

a. The rubrics contain several more examples (not cited above) of reflexes of *ě*, which are valuable to us because of the virtual lack of reflex forms in the lections: *ni* (< *něsti* < **ne esti*) 1a 10, *v' prvoi misi* L. Sg. 9b 13, *vopćini* L. Sg. 15b 18, perhaps *Vidimo budi...* 3 Sg. Imv. 14b 15, though the stem suffix *-i-* seems to indicate that the formula here is formed from *viděti* and not *věděti*, *priki* (*stoeće u ste. - mrie.*, *priki tiveri* 15c 18-19 in a title, *dijut se* 3 Pl. Pres. 18a 12, *dimo* 1 Pl. Pres. 1a 20, etc., etc., and *Navićamo* 1 Pl. Pres. 1a 16-17. These examples seem to indicate that this hand does not reflect an *e*-type dialect; there are none, however, which seem seriously to contradict the possibility of an *i*-/*e*-type dialect.

b. We encounter contraction in certain contexts from which it is absent in liturgical texts (*ot nedle. te* G. Sg. Fem. 14b 22, *biva* 3 Sg. Pres. 18a 23, *meju oktabu* I. Sg. Fem. 18a 25, etc.).

c. Other miscellaneous phonetic facts include *dari* for *daže* 1a 18 and 18a 10; *kada* for *kıgda* 12d 19, *tıda* for *tıgda* 17c 7 and *gd-a* (Hm *kada* 1a 9) for *kıgda* 1a 9-10.

d. One orthographic fact worthy of note is the spelling *n'* for the prefix *na* on 16a 6. In liturgical texts, the original *jer* of the conjunction is regularly vocalized in hand **A**, yet in the less strictly regulated liturgical instructions this same scribe is capable of a hypercorrect spelling, using ' where *jer* had never in fact been pronounced.

e. We find examples of contracted soft-stem endings in place of original non-contracted hard-stem endings (*u ste. mrie. velike* G. Sg. Fem. 1a 4, *ot prve ndle.* G. Sg. Fem. 1a 17, *v proste dni* A. Pl. Masc. 1b 5, *re-čene mise* A. Pl. Fem. 1a 24-25, *ostale nedle.* N. Pl. Fem. 18a 20). Another example of soft-stem ending for expected hard-stem ending is *mise* for *misi* G. Sg. 16a 5.

f. From the pronominal/adjectival declension we have such vernacularisms as *rimskoga* G. Sg. Masc. 1a 3 and *prvog-a* G. Sg. Masc. 17c 11-12 with *-oga* for original *-ago/-ogo*, and *nega* G. Sg. 16a 2 and 22 for *nego*, as well as *dnevnoi* L. Sg. Fem. 18a 12 for *dnevněi*.

g. In verbal conjugation we have examples of the 3 Sg./Pl. Pres. without final *-t* (*ni* for *něsti* < **ne esti* 3 Sg. 1a 10, *hote* 3 Pl. 1a 24, *govori* 3 Sg. 12d 12 and 18, *pr-ide* 3 Sg. 15b 1-2 and 17c 17, *zastoe* 3 Pl. 18a 23 (*ako blgdani. - nezastoe*; Hm *a-ko s(ve)t'ci ne zastoeti* 16d 14-15; 1474 *si festum non impediāt* 35,18), *biva* 3 Sg. 18a 23, and *bu-de* 3 Sg. 18a 15-16). In this connection we should also note the example *e* 3 Sg. Pres. enclitic form without *titla* 1a 23. Further, we have examples of 1 Pl. Pres. in *-mo* (*děmo* 1a 10 and *dimo* 1a 20, etc., etc., *Nav-ícamo* 1a 16-17, *či-nimo* 17c 3 and 18-19).

h. Syntactic vernacularisms include “k-words” (originally interrogative) in place of expected “j-words” (with relative meaning): *gd-a* for *kigda* in place of *egda* 1a 9-10, *kko.* for *ěkože* 16a 6, 21 and 25, and *ki* for *iže* 17c 3 and 6); *ako* for *aće* 1a 6, 23, 24, etc., etc.

i. From the lexicon we have *govori* for *glagolet'* 12d 12 and 18; *nič'će* for *ničesože* (= contemporary Serbo-Croatian *ništa*) 14b 19 and 24-25, 17d 7; *o-ve orcije.* N. Pl. Fem. for *sie oracie* 18a 12-13.

Almost none of the vernacular features cited above appear regularly even in the rubrics. Still, it is clear that this scribe consciously differentiated between the liturgical texts themselves, where conservatism and strict adherence to the norms of CCS were absolutely required, and the liturgical instructions, in which comprehension was a functional necessity and there was no serious

reason to oppose introduction of vernacular forms. A distinction between the language and orthography of the biblical lections, on the one hand, and the remaining liturgical texts, on the other hand, is not nearly so clear or consistent.



5.1 Overview

This hand presents a stark contrast to hand **A**. Strokes are straighter and less graceful. There are occasional misformed letters, or corrections in which what was begun as one letter is made over into another. There are also occasional incoherent spots in the text, due to mistakes in syntax.

On 4d 13 we find the preposition *pro* in an apparent interpolation in a gospel text: *ěk. svršet - se v tbě. v'sa ěže rče-na. sut tbě. pro ađi. (= anđeli)* Luke 1,45. Hm has *ka(ko) svršet' se v tebi vsa k-a pro anđli. ot ga. v tebi rč-ena. suti*, 4c 30-d 1, and other manuscripts apparently agree with Hm. It is most likely that this form represents the Croatian vernacular *pro* < *preo* < *preko*. JAZU reports such forms from a variety of regions, including Lika (2. *pro*), though none seem to be used in the abstract sense of 'through the mediation of'. It is less likely that this form represents a direct transposition of the Latin or Greek preposition *pro*. The Vulgate has only *quoniam perficientur ea, quae dicta sunt tibi a Domino* (1474 agrees with the Vulgate, cf. 8:37-38), and the Greek has *ὅτι ἔσται τελείωσις τοῖς λελαλημένοις αὐτῇ παρὰ κυρίου*. Of the Slavic Gospel texts of the eastern rite I have examined the Vukan (cf. 180a) and Banici (cf. 98a) manuscripts (according to the respective editions): these follow the Greek text. The source of this apparent interpolation in the Croatian texts, and thus also its interpretation, must therefore remain for now unresolved. If, as seems likely, the form *pro* represents the Serbo-Croatian dialectal *pro* < *preo* < *preko*, this would be a striking vernacularism in a Gospel text. The fact that it is present in two extant manuscripts (and therefore probably spread through a large branch of the stemma of the CCS MP) would almost certainly be due to the absence of an authoritative Latin text containing this phrase (or older Slavic text containing this phrase, but with a more traditional wording).

As in hand **A**, we find very few Latin initial letters. On 3b 14 and 6a 30 there are fairly small letters "M" with relatively little ornament (the first appears in a section of text in which hand **A** supplied red letters; of course, this "Latin" letter is also common to Glagolitic). On 5c 22 stands a medium-sized letter "N" with some decoration, and on 67c 24 there is a medium-sized letter "S" with little ornament.

5.2 Characteristic shapes

1. *titla*—This symbol takes the form of a fairly straight line, which may be intersected near its middle by a short diagonal stroke, or (particularly in earlier sections of text) may have an upward curve at the left end (or, again, as in 61b 29, it may have both of these additions).
2. *a*—The central vertical stroke extends high above the upper line. As in hand **A**, the right corner is most often higher than the left corner, but often, especially in later sections, the right “horizontal” line intersects the central vertical line at a point which is higher than the right corner. The letter often seems to consist of the following strokes: a central vertical stroke; a vertical left-hand stroke, which curves to the right at the top and continues almost horizontally to the central vertical stroke; and a right-hand vertical stroke, which curves or angles to the left at the top and continues at a diagonal until it intersects the central vertical stroke.
3. *i*—The stroke from the upper left corner of the letter to the lower right corner is very bent, or even sharply broken into 3 pieces, and often gives the impression that the upper section of the letter is leaning against the side of the lower section of the letter. The stroke from the upper right corner of the letter to the lower left corner is almost always less bent.
4. *ž*—The antennae are generally straight or almost so. The right antenna is heavier than the left one, and leans more toward the vertical so that the center of their angle points somewhat to the left of vertical. The antennae are most often of similar length. Occasionally the right antenna is longer, much less often the left one may be longer.
5. *g, h*—The left stem is straighter and more vertical than is that of hand **A**, but it does curve near to the bottom. The left stem of the letter “h” extends above the upper line, though not far, and is often crossed at the top by a short, light horizontal stroke. Both letters extend below the lower line, though not far.
6. *t*—In place of the familiar superscript form of this letter——hand **B** occasionally uses the form . This occurs mostly in the first 10

folia of the manuscript. In later sections I noted only 2 instances of this shape in hand **B** (32a 3 and 69d 18). Hand **A** does not utilize this shape.

7. *pr*—The upper horizontal extension of this ligature often points diagonally upward, and ends with a short curve pointing vertically downward. This shape, with its sharp upward angle and vertical concluding stroke, does not occur consistently, but when it does it is distinctive, as it is found rarely, if at all, in other hands.
8. Abbreviation by suspension—Hand **B** makes greater use of suspension than do most other hands. The form *est* is abbreviated to *e.*, as in hand **A**. For *zemla* (contemporary S.-C. *zemlja*) and case forms of this word we encounter *z* + desinence (e.g. 1d 15, 24, 3b 21, 7d 21, 8b 1, etc.); for *azi* we find *a.* (e.g. 2c 15, 3a 17, 28, 32a 24, etc.); we encounter *s.* for *slovo* (e.g. 3c 13, 19d 18, etc.) and for *svetago* (G. Sg. Neut. 10d 10); for *ljudi* we find *l.* (e.g. 3b 4, 3c 15, etc.); for *naši* - *n.* (e.g. 2b 18, 27c 2, 61c 5, 62a 4, 68d 22, etc.); for *dobro* - *d.* (e.g. 22b 2); once even *k.* for *kako*. 22b 10. The alternate form of the *titla* accompanying suspension appears in 3 fairly distinct shapes. In the first several folia copied in hand **B**, the symbol often begins vertically downward just over the letter and then curves upward to the right and continues into a longish diagonal stroke (cf. 2b 3, 2c 14, 15, 17, 3b 4, etc.). In a number of instances, particularly in the earlier folia in this hand, the alternate *titla* takes the form of a crescent, standing with its ends one over the other and the middle to the left of the ends (cf. 3c 13, 15, 3d 21, 22, etc.). In later sections of text copied in hand **B**, we find almost without exception a third shape of the alternate form of this symbol. The stroke begins as a thin line moving diagonally downward to the left and growing gradually wider as it turns vertically downward (cf. 10d 10, 19c 27, 19d 18, 20a 26, 20c 13, 17, 21a 1, etc.). This latter shape is virtually identical to that found in hand **A**², and may have been introduced under this scribe's influence. In a very few instances (cf. 27c 13, 27c 19, perhaps 7d 21), in an apparent variation of this shape, the stroke is diagonal and of uniform width throughout, as in hand **A**. The use of suspension in hand **B** is most pronounced in the earlier folia, and

later is used somewhat less. In the last 10 folia in this hand (60-69), suspension is limited to *e.* for *esti*, along with just 3 examples of *n.* for *naši* (cited above). On several occasions this same scribe uses the letter “iže” (𐝮; in our transliteration “i”) as an abbreviation for the word *iže* (5a 15, 9d 13, 19a 24, 19b 9, 19c 10, 19c 22, 21b 11, 27c 13 and 28a 27). On 32b 24 we find the abbreviation “zělo” (𐝮; “z” in our transliteration) for *zělo* (*na goru visku. - z.*). In one important respect these latter instances differ from other cases of suspension. As in most other instances, the letter is used as an abbreviation of the word which is its name. That is, the letter “iže” spells *iže*, while the letter “zělo” spells *zělo*. However, each of these letters would represent a striking archaism if used in its original phonetic function. Use of “iže” for the sound *i* seems to have virtually ceased by the end of the fourteenth century,⁴⁴ while phonetic use of “zělo” is in fact not attested in Croatian texts. It may be best, therefore, not to consider most instances of suspension as phonetic applications of these letters, but rather to see letters used in this way as symbols for an entire word (rather than simply as a part of the word). We must note, however, that on 4d 30 “iže” appears in ligature with “v” and “l” — 𐝮𐝮 — for *veli* (*vdni. - oni sti. vli.*). In this case we must admit phonetic use of the letter “iže”. In none of the other manuscripts did I find “iže” for *iže* or “zělo” for *zělo* in the positions corresponding to those cited above. Nor did I find any other instances of these letters used phonetically or as symbols for *iže* or *zělo* in any manuscript within the comparative corpus. Vajs did note several instances of phonetic use of “iže” in III4, while in N (e.g. 10c 7) we encounter an initial “iže” in ligature with “ž”, but with a separate “e”, for *iže*—𐝮𐝮. In NYM hands **C** (1 example), **D** (3 examples) and **A³** (1 example) contain additional instances of “zělo” for *zělo* (cf. sections on each of these scribes). In the example in hand **C**, the scribe was clearly

⁴⁴ Hamm (1952:39 and 41) states that from the end of the thirteenth century, use of the letter “iže” became restricted to large initial letters, and by the end of the fourteenth century was completely displaced by “i”. Štefanić (1969:13) feels that sporadic examples can be found even from the fifteenth century, especially word-initially.

running out of space at the end of a line and could not carry the word over into the following line on account of a large ornamental “V” with which that line was to begin. He may have felt compelled to resort to an unusual expedient in order to finish his sentence. Had he used for the abbreviation the letter “z”, the word might have been read as *zemla* (= *zemlja*). In the example by hand **B**, “zělo” for *zělo* appears at the beginning of a line in the middle of a reading, and therefore cannot be seen as a “last-recourse” expedient. The scribe must have considered this a normal form of abbreviation.

5.3 Orthography and language

1. *jer*. Within my sample (this hand's portion of the comparative corpus), hand **B** has 147 instances of vocalization out of 186 positions in which vocalization might be expected (i.e. in which vocalization occurs in at least 1 hand or manuscript), for a proportion of .79. In 2 cases the reflex is *e* (*meč* A. Sg., twice in 2DA⁴⁵). This lexeme appears almost regularly with *e* in other hands of NYM as well as in other manuscripts. The *e* is attested already in OCS (cf. *мѣчъ* in ČAV), and so it is possible that in CCS it is inherited from earlier OCS texts. This would imply, however, either that the *e* was present already in this lexeme in texts brought to Moravia by the original Byzantine-Slavic mission, whence it found its way directly into the Croatian texts (in this case, the *e* would probably reflect not vocalization, but a different ablaut degree), or it would represent a later influence by the Macedonian literary school. It is possible, of course, that *e* in this word represents a purely Croatian vocalization of *jer*, as we have seen in *deći* and *semrti*. Still, the fact that it is attested already in OCS forces me to conclude that that is its most likely source.

The monosyllabic conjunction *ni* shows vocalization in 22 of 25 occurrences. The N. Sg. Masc. form of the demonstratives *ti* and *si*, however, shows vocalization in only 12 of 21 occurrences. While vocalization is predominant, as in hand **A**, two differences may be

⁴⁵ Examples from NYM which are taken from within the comparative corpus may be cited by the name of the text, rather than by folio, column and line.

noted. First, this scribe is not averse to writing these forms without vocalization. Second, he seems to treat the demonstratives differently from the conjunction.

The prepositions *ki*, *vi* and *si* and the prefixes *vi(n)-* and *si(n)-* seem to show a greater degree of vocalization than was the case with hand **A**. For the prepositions, out of 28 instances in which vocalization either occurs or is expected, the actual number of occurrences of vocalization is 16. In position preceding an initial vowel of the following word, we have 8 cases of vocalization, and only 5 examples without vocalization. In position preceding an initial consonant identical to that of the preposition, or differing from it only in voicing, we have only 1 example with vocalization (*va věru* 2DB) and 3 without (*k' gě./k' gu.* 5DA, 6DA and 6DB). In 2 instances we have vocalization in what we would expect to be weak position (*va me* twice in 6DB). Out of 9 instances in which we expect vocalization because the *jer* is in strong position, vocalization occurs in only 5 examples (*va n'* 2DB and 4DC, *va dne* 6DB, *va vsěh* 7DA and *va tmě* 7DB), while in 4 examples vocalization is absent (*k' mně* 6DA, *v' vskrěšenie* 6DB, *v' tmě* 7DA and *v' v'sěh* 7DA). In *v' mně*, no vocalization would be expected if the pronunciation were *mani*, for which we have considerable evidence in the manuscripts.

While these data may be insufficient for statistical analysis, they do point to a very different pattern of usage from that shown by hand **A**. While **A** avoids vocalized forms of the prepositions *ki*, *vi* and *si* entirely preceding an initial vowel of the following word, **B** shows vocalization in a majority of such examples. The difference in overall proportion of vocalized forms of the prepositions for these 2 hands (.07 or .06 to .71) is far greater than the difference in overall proportion of vocalized forms for all words (.6 to .8).

For the prefixes *vi(n)-* and *si(n)-* we have little data. Out of 15 examples in which vocalization occurs or might be expected to occur, vocalization is actually present in 8. There are no examples of these prefixes preceding a root-initial vowel, and only one (spelled with *i*) with root-initial consonant identical to that of the prefix or differing from it only in voicing. There are 3 occurrences of the lexeme *smrti* without vocalization to *e* (*smrti* D./L. Sg. 6DB, L.

Sg. 6DB and I. Sg.? 1DA). Forms without the *e* are rare in the manuscripts, and may be considered vernacularisms. In several of the remaining examples (*vačnete* 4DA and twice in 4DB, *vačnet* 7DB, *vačnut* 7DA and *sinmića* 4DC), the prefix may not have been recognized as such. We can thus draw no distinction here between hands **A** and **B**.

In all other instances, then, aside from those with the prefixes *vi(n)-* and *si(n)-* and prepositions *ki*, *vi* and *si*, and those with the N. Sg. Masc. demonstrative forms *ti*, *si*, and with the conjunction *ni*, we have 87 examples with vocalization, and only 8 in which vocalization is expected, but does not occur, for a proportion of .92 (excluding the two examples with the reflex *e*).

2. Hypercorrect use of *ı* and *'*. Within my sample I encountered 6 examples in which the symbol *ı* is used for original *a*: *simı* and *sim* N. Sg. Masc. 2DB, *ni zmlı*. Prep. 4DA, *ni zmlju*. Prep. and *simogo* A. Sg. Masc. Anim. 4DC, and *kırmilins-kuju* (5DA, 64d 22-3: *pride žena s-unamitena k' eliseju v goru kırmilins-kuju, Profecta est igitur, et venit ad virum Dei in montem Carmeli: IV Kings 4,25*).
3. *ě*. Of 457 occurrences of a continuant of *ě* in the sample, there are 268 instances with the spelling “*ě*”, and 189 showing the overt reflexes *e* and *i*, for a proportion of retention of “*ě*” of .59. There are 86 occurrences of the reflex *e*, of which only 22 are predicted by J/M, while 64 occur where we would anticipate *i*. Of the 103 occurrences of the reflex *i*, all but 4 are predicted by J/M. The 4 exceptions are *nist* 3 Sg. Pres. (of *biti*) and *rista* 3 Du. Aor. (3 times), all in 4DC. The preponderance of *i*-reflexes suggests that the dialect reflected by this hand is not of the *e*-type. However, the large proportion of the *e*-reflexes which do not correspond to J/M seem to indicate the opposite—that it is indeed an *e*-type dialect which is reflected in this hand. A closer analysis of the data reveals the probable cause of this situation. Certainly, the fact that almost all of the *i*-reflexes correspond to J/M indicates that we are probably not dealing with a pure *i*-type dialect. Many of the apparent *e*-reflexes not predicted by J/M can in fact be explained other than as the simple result of a phonetic process yielding *e* from *ě* in the given form. Several instances can be explained as the

result of analogical leveling processes. In *prinese* 3 Pl. Aor. 2DA, *izvese* 3 Pl. Aor. 3DA and *privese* 3 Pl. Aor. 4DC, the stem of the old sigmatic aorist seems to have given way to that found in other forms of these verbs. Similarly, in *sede* 3 Sg. Aor. 5DB (from *sěsti*), the stem of the present tense may have been generalized in the aorist. In *istočniceh* L. Pl. 7DA, it is conceivable that we are dealing with an expansion of the desinence generally found in the *i-* and consonant-stem substantives. There are also several instances which could result from morpheme-leveling processes in an *i-/e-* type dialect: *telese* L. Sg. (root vowel) 2DB, *vernie* A. Pl. Masc. 3DA, *susedi* N. Pl. 4DC, *izmeri se* 3 Sg. Aor. 6DA, *mesti* L. Sg. 6DB, perhaps *posledni* A. Sg. Masc. 6DB, and, finally, *prebivahově* 1 Du. Ipt. 2DA and *prebivaše* 3 Sg. Ipt. 6DA, with the prefix *prě-*, which often appears in the form *pre-* (where this is not predicted by J/M) even in texts which clearly do not reflect *e*-type dialects.

Further, the reflex *e* appears in a number of non-vernacular, CCS words, in which this reflex is probably a reflection of traditional liturgical pronunciation of CCS. In *otvečavše* N. Pl. Masc. P.A.P. 2DB and *otvečav* N. Sg. Masc. P.A.P. 2DB, we have a verb which appears almost regularly with the vowel *e* in its root in perhaps a majority of manuscripts (and hands of NYM) from III4 onward. Only III8, OxII (as far as 7DA), B, Vbl and Novlj regularly have the spelling “ě” in the root of this verb. It is interesting to note that with the exception of the 2 instances with *e* cited here, hand **B** goes along with those manuscripts which regularly have the spelling “ě” in this word. There are 3 occurrences of the adverb *nine* (4DC, 6DA and 6DB), which appears almost exclusively with the spelling “e” in CCS. In all of the manuscripts, I have found only 3 instances with the spelling “ě”—interestingly, all in hand **B** (4DC twice and 6DB). Lastly, there are 9 examples of the biblical terms or names *moisei-*, *elisei-*, *ijudei-* and *parisei-* with *e* in the third syllable of the root: *moiseju* D. Sg. 4DC, *eliseju* D. Sg. 5DA twice, *elisei* N. Sg. 5DA, *ijudei* N. Pl. 6DB 3 times, *ijudeiskim* D. Pl. Masc. 7DB and *pariseom* D. Pl. 7DB. Other manuscripts, with a very few exceptions, have regularly *ě* in these positions. Even hand **B** writes *ě* in a majority of instances.

Finally, there are a number of instances which must be considered as marginal in the data. The form *priležněe* Comp. of the adverb 2DA is included in the data because a variant has been attested in some Church Slavonic manuscripts (none, though, canonical OCS) with the vowel *ě* in the root (cf. *priležьno*, also *priležьnъ* in ČAV s. v.). The form *nesm* 1 Sg. Pres. (Neg.) of *biti* is included here because I assume that the consonant *s* was affected in late Common Slavic by regressive palatalization assimilation, thus making *i* the expected reflex in this form. It is by no means obvious, though (judging at least by circumstances in modern Russian), that palatalization would be carried over through a labial consonant to a preceding dental consonant. Finally, there are 3 examples—*idem* 1 Pl. Inv. 6DB twice and *izidete* 2 Pl. Inv.—in which the form of the imperative has become identified with that of the present. Though these last instances seem to have originated with a phonetic reflex of *ě* in a pure *e*-type dialect, later scribes undoubtedly interpreted them as present tense forms, and therefore copied through several successive manuscripts without attempting to correct them.

Still, leaving aside these 32 examples in which the reflex *e* has some identifiable explanation other than a pure *e*-type reflex of *ě* in the dialect of the scribe of hand **B**, there remain 32 other examples for which we have no such identifiable explanation. It is, of course, possible that I have failed to identify some words or forms which never belonged to the čakavian vernaculars and thus might be more likely than others to reflect the liturgical *e*-type pronunciation (perhaps *věde* 1 Sg. Pres. 4DC and 7DB). In fact, in any CCS missal, regardless of the region in which it originated, a certain number of forms, irrespective of whether they belong exclusively to CCS, might be expected to occur with the reflex *e* as a consequence of their liturgical pronunciation.

The interrogative adverb *k'de* 6DB, as well as the relative conjunctions *dondeže* twice and *doideže* all in 4DC, and *ideže* 6DB twice, may be included in this category of examples “without explanation”. Although in OCS these words appear primarily with *e*, in CCS forms with *ě* are clearly predominant—for *k'dě* almost without exception, while in the relative conjunctions some

instances of *e* do occur (particularly in the archaic III4, though even this manuscript has examples with *ě*). Even in the Miroslav Gospel (late twelfth century), forms with *ě* are already predominant (Kuljbakin 98). It is clear that in the case of *k'dě* this is a feature of the vernacular which early was accepted and generalized in CCS, leaving virtually no trace of the earlier OCS form. The relative conjunctions may have disappeared from the vernacular before forms with *ě* could be generalized, so that there might have been less pressure for their generalization in CCS than in the case of the interrogative adverb. This would account for the relics of the OCS form of the words which we find primarily in III4.

There is one fact which sets this hand apart from the other hands of NYM and at the same time seems to link it more closely with the dialects with *e*-type pronunciation. Unlike the other hands for which we have considerable data, in hand **B** a large proportion of the “unexplained” examples (in fact 10) occur in declensional desinences: *ribe* A. Du. 1GB, *měste* L. Sg. 1GB, *světle* L. Sg. 2DA, *d've* A. Fem. 2DA, *člověce* L. Sg. 2DB, *srěde* D. Sg. 4DA twice, *siloemsce* L. Sg. Fem. 4DC, *siloemscei* L. Sg. Fem. 4DC and *dve* N. Fem. 6DB. Not only do these examples suggest a pure *e*-type reflex of original *ě* in the dialect reflected by this hand; they also suggest the generalization of hard-stem desinences in declension, which is a well-known characteristic of the čakavian *e*-type dialects. It would be most interesting to investigate the fate of the substantival desinences for the G. Sg. of *a*-stem nouns and N./A. Pl. of *a*- (and *o*-) stem nouns in this respect.

For purposes of comparison, I will list here the remaining “unexplained” instances: *razve* 1GB, *rasecěte* 2 Pl. Imv. 2DA, *seme* A. Sg. 3DA, *be* 3 Sg. Aor. 3DB, *zapovedeh* (root vowel) L. Pl. 4DA, *kupeli* L. Sg. 4DC twice, *prežde* 4DC, *vzvesti* 3 Sg. Aor. 5DA, *utešet* 3 Pl. Pres. 6DB, *vide* 1 Sg. Pres. (from *věděti*) 4DC, *vzvestiše* 3 Pl. Aor. 6DB, *v'seh* L. Pl. 7DA, *severa* G. Sg. 7DA and *věde* 1 Sg. Pres. 7DB.

Considering all of the available data from hand **B**, it seems simplest to conclude that this hand reflects an *i*-/*e*-type dialect, though the scribe's spelling would be influenced by the *e*-type liturgical pronunciation of CCS. It is also possible that the scribe's dialect was spoken in an area near to, and perhaps under some

influence of, an area with a pure *e*-type dialect. As we will see, this pattern of predominantly *i*-/*e*-type reflexes recurs in most hands of NYM and, indeed, in virtually all of the manuscripts of the CCS MP, in stark contrast to the situation in the thirteenth-century Split fragment of the missal.

4. Hypercorrect use of the letter “ě”. The sample contains 86 examples in which the letter “ě” is used for original *e*. In only one example (*putěh* L. Pl. 7DA), is “ě” used in place of an expected reflex of *jer*. As stated earlier, substantives of the *i*- and consonantal-stem declension types regularly have the ending *e* in the L. Pl. in CCS, and so this example may be grouped together with those containing “ě” in place of original *e*.

There are only 4 examples in my sample in which “ě” is used in place of *i* which is not derived from *ě*. In *věd*i*li bihu* for *viděli bihu* in 4DC, we are probably dealing with a confusion of 2 lexemes. Scribes often write “i” instead of “ě” in the root of the verb *věděti*, thus confusing this verb with *viděti* and distorting the meaning of the text. In this case, the scribe appears to have wrongly corrected the *i* “back” to *ě*. In *moisěově učenci*. N. Pl. 4DC, it is possible that the scribe confused the desinence for lexical adjectives (*-i*) with that for active participles (*-e*). If this is the case, then “ě” here would be used for the sound *e*, not *i*. In *bolět* for *bolit* 3 Sg. Pres. 6DB, referring to the singular *lazar* (*egdaže sliša* [Jesus] *ěk. bolět, Ut ergo audivit quia infirmabatur*, John 11,6), it is possible that the scribe mistakenly took the verb to refer to the sisters of Lazarus, as it is they who had sent for Jesus when their brother became ill. In the example *vě* N. of the personal pronoun 4DC, there is no reasonable explanation, other than that “ě” here stands for a pronounced *i* not derived from original *ě*.

5. **dj, *zdj*, etc. My sample contains 20 instances of reflexes of **dj*. In 15 of these the reflex is *žd*, while in 5 it is *j*. In all 5 of the latter examples, *j* is expressed by a sequence of vowel letters (*viěše* 3 Sg. lpt. 2DB, *viju* 1 Sg. Pres. 4DC (twice), *dai* 2 Sg. lmv. 4DC and 6DA).
6. Reflexes of **ę*. In 1GB we encounter *ěčmenihı* G. Pl. and *ěčmenih’* G. Pl. In the first example, all other manuscripts also have *ě* except

III4, which has *e*. In the second example, all manuscripts except III4, R and Mh have *ě*, while the latter have *e*. For the verb **ęti*, as well as compounds and derivatives formed from it in which the root begins with *j*, hand **B**, like all other hands of NYM and all manuscripts, has regularly *a*, (spelled “*ě*”). This includes the adjective *priět’ni*, in the sense of *acceptabilis*, *acceptus* (cf. 1. *Prijatan* in JAZU). We have a probable example of this adjective in 7DA: *v vrime priětno uslišah te* (*In tempore placito exaudivi te*; *καρῶ δεκτῶ ἐπήκουσά σου* Isaiah 49,8, but even closer to the literal meaning of the Slavic root in the restatement in 2 Corinthians 6,2 *Tempore accepto exaudivi te*, in Greek again *καρῶ δεκτῶ ἐπήκουσά σου*). Hand **B** has 2 instances of the lexeme **język* (*ěžici* N. Pl. 4DA and *ěžiku* D. Sg. 7DA), both with the reflex *a*. This is the normal form of this lexeme in the CCS missal, and will not be noted in the discussion of the remaining scribes. Initial *e* appears only exceptionally, as a vernacularism.

7. Various dialectal and characteristic features. As mentioned at the beginning of this section, this scribe's portion of the text is characterized by a larger number of arbitrary spelling errors, errors in the formation of letters and symbols, and instances of syntactic confusion than is encountered in hand **A**. There are also far more examples of deviations from CCS norms which are less arbitrary, recurring in a number of instances. Many of these are obvious vernacularisms, while in other instances the significance is not entirely clear. The following examples are taken from text through 23d.


Hand **B** includes fewer rubrics than we found in hand **A**. As expected, though, these contain a large proportion of vernacularisms, e.g. *ako* for *aće* (7d 14, 8a 26, 8a 28), 3 Sg. Pres. of verbs without final *t* (*pride* 7d 15, *prigodi se* 8a 27), 1 Pl. of verbs with ending *-mo* (*Navićamo* 1 Pl. Pres. 7d 13), desinences of substantives and adjectives (*proste* A. Pl. Masc. 8a 27, *do prvě s’rědě ko-rizme* all forms G. Sg. Fem. 23c 16-17, *prěd vsku. orciju*. I. Sg. Fem. 5a 12) and the conjunction *tere* (= standard Serbo-Croatian *te* 'and', for a presumed original *teže*: *Ot puć-niě. aě., do*

prvě s'řědě ko-rizme, trahtı ne poet' se, - takmo v' ndile. tere v' - stci., 23c 15-19).

Unlike hand **A**, though, this hand contains a considerable number of examples which deviate from CCS norms in other texts as well. Some such examples represent obvious vernacularisms such as might be encountered in many čakavian dialects. These include replacement of relative “j-words” with interrogative “k-words” (*ki* for *iže* 3a 19, 5b 11, 6a 6, 6b 30, 6c 16, 8d 27, 9d 4, as well as *ke* for *eže* A. Pl. 6b 13) and the ending *-mo* in 1 Pl. of verbs (*st'vo-ris'mo* 1 Pl. Aor. 9c 22-23, *Vid-ismo* 1 Pl. Aor. 19b 24-25, *isplivĕmo* 1 Pl. Pres. 22b 9, and *ne v-zmogosmo* 1 Pl. Aor. 23d 16-17). The last example appears in the phrase *ĕk. mi ne v-zmogosmo nemže(.) aće kt-o drzaet, Secundum ignobilitatem dico, quasi nos infirmi fuerimus in hac parte. In quo quis audet (in insipientia dico) audeo et ego: 2 Corinthians 11,21 κατὰ ἀτιμίαν λέγω, ὡς ὅτι ἡμεῖς ἠσθενήκαμεν: ἐν ᾧ δ' ἄν τις τολμᾷ,; Hm has *zane kko. - mi iz'nemogomi o semi, O nem' - aće kto dr'zaeti* 21d 1-3. The phrase *o semi* has apparently been omitted by error in NYM, and so the final *-o* of the verbal form may simultaneously represent the preposition *o* governing the following pronoun. There are two reasons, however, for believing that this scribe interpreted the *o* as belonging exclusively to the verbal form. First, there is a graphic word break between the *o* and the following pronoun. Such a word break never appears between the preposition *o* and the word it governs. Second, there seems to be a *titla* over the pronominal form, which would indicate that the error of omission occurred in an earlier manuscript, while a later scribe, encountering it in his matrix text, interpreted the *o* as belonging to the verb (and therefore separated it graphically from the following word), and the form *nemže* as being an abbreviation for the dative form *nemuže* (and therefore added the appropriate *titla*). This, of course, does not explain the apparent sigmatic aorist form of NYM, but asigmatic form in Hm. In any case, a comparison of the differences between the two Slavic texts to the differences between the Greek and Latin versions of this passage leads one to suspect a complex interaction which cannot be elucidated without further study.*

Some recurrent deviations from CCS norms, however, are more difficult to characterize, and may represent features of a more limited dialectal area, or even idiosyncrasies of the scribe.

There are several examples of loss of *v*. The forms *zuka* for *zvuka* G. Sg. 1c 19 and *v' upan'i* for *v' upvan'i* L. Sg. 21d 13 are isolated instances (though another example from the lexeme *zvuk* occurs later in NYM). Forms of the verb *vzvratiti*, however, often appear without the root-initial *v* in NYM and the other manuscripts, though this omission is by no means regular. In hand **B** through 23d we have *vzrat-ili esi* 2 Sg. Masc. Perf. 3b 2-3, *vzratli. esi* 2 Sg. Masc. Perf. 4c 20 and *v'zra-tiše se* 3 Pl. Aor. 9d 25-26.

One of the more interesting features which recurs in varying degrees in various hands of NYM is the confusion of *o* and *u*. Considering circumstances in the modern čakavian dialects, we should not be surprised to see evidence of close articulation and diphthongization of long *o*, particularly in a closed syllable. While it is difficult to state with certainty just which syllables might have been pronounced with length in an undetermined dialect several hundred years ago, it is almost certain that most of the examples of confusion in NYM involve syllables which were short, especially the final open syllables. Thus the examples in which *u* appears in place of expected *o* are not easy to interpret: *v poslědnee d'n-i* A. Pl. Masc. 3c 2-3, *sipugi* G. Pl. 19a 30, *kt-u* 19d 13-14, *Eže koliždu* 20a 5, *kusnu* for *kosnu* 3 Sg. Aor. 20d 12 (Hm has *kosnu* 19b 4), *svědukuši* for *svědokueši* 2 Sg. Pres. 21b 28, *K kurntiomı*. ('Corinthians') D. Pl. in the title of a reading 22c 12 and *K kurěntiomı* 23d 6, probably *ničesuže* G. 7c 12, and possibly *ubručēnē* D. Sg. Fem. 3d 29 (with an apparent ligature "ubr" , instead of separate "o" plus the usual ligature "br") and *popluvuti* for *poplovuti* (cf. Hm *poplo-vuti* 3b 31-c1) 3 Pl. Pres. 3c 6.

It is even more difficult, though, to interpret the following examples, in which *o* stands in place of expected *u*: *obo* for *ubo* 2c 13, *ne omru* 1 Sg. Pres. 21a 25, *kop'no* for *kup'no* Adv. 22b 13 and *dohvnoe.* for *duhovnoe* A. Sg. Neut. 22d 8.

Though this hand is characterized by a large number of errors, confusion of *o* and *u* occurs in other hands of NYM, and we cannot consider these examples as arbitrary and isolated errors. Though

they seem to run counter to known trends in čakavian phonetics, examples of $o < u$ have been noted in the dialectological literature (e.g. Cronia 1927:871, Težak 1981:231; both dialects in question also have examples with $o > u$). The need to search for a more satisfactory explanation should be further impressed upon us by the fact that hand **B** also contains a number of instances of confusion of e and i . We have i instead of expected e in the following examples: *vstanit* 3 Sg. Pres. 5c 21 (in a rubric), *uviditi* 3 Pl. Pres. for *uvědet* or *uvidet*: *Da uviditi - si iže ot vstoka. sutı* 6a 14-15, *nad pići-ju* for *pećiju* I. Sg. 6b 11-12 (*super fornacem*, Daniel 3,47; this form is otherwise spelled with “e” throughout this text) and *Ni* for *Ne* 22c13: *Ni viste li ěko* (*Nescitis quod...*, Oujk oi[date o{ti... 1 Corinthians 9,24. We have e for expected i in: *obež-du* 1 Sg. Pres. 23b 16-17. Perhaps we should also include here the unusual examples *galěljeju* I. Sg. 7a 8, in which the first “ě” stands in place of expected i , and *v' sěle* for *v' silě* (cf. Hm 7c 25) = *in uirtute* (15:6) 8a 11. The spelling “ě” for original i is unusual in the manuscripts. While I have not noted confusion of i and e as a striking characteristic of any other hand in NYM, it is possible that other examples exist, but that I have interpreted them as arbitrary errors not requiring a linguistic or textual explanation.

I noted the examples *Prneseni* A. Pl. Masc. P.P.P. 20b 5 and *vrme* A. Sg. 22d 14, apparently without the expected *titla*. These examples seem to represent the loss of i following r which occurs in some areas of čakavian, a phonetic change otherwise fairly well represented in some of NYM's hands. In hand **B**, however, we also have examples of omission of some other vowel following r in the absence of the *titla* (e.g. *v'zrdov-a se* for *v'zradova se* 3 Sg. Aor. 4d 8-9, *v'zrdova se* 3 Sg. Aor. 4d 15-16 and *s-krvíca* for *skrovića* A. Pl. 6a 3-4). As this scribe does occasionally seem to omit the *titla* in positions where it would be appropriate, and the symbol itself is often very faint and difficult to discern, it is possible that the above examples result from arbitrary omission of the *titla*, or even that the *titla* is present but has faded to the extent that it cannot easily be seen.

A number of more obvious vernacularisms occur in isolated examples: the desinence of *dostoine* A. Pl. Masc. 10a 11, *da* for the

expected conjunction *ni* 7c 11 (*da* appears regularly in place of *ni* in Hm, but is rare in other manuscripts), omission of *g* in *tada* for *tigda* Adv. 23b 3, and the root vowel *e* for expected *a* in *rěsti* Inf. 22b 13 and *vzrěste* 3 Sg. Aor. 22a 28. In one example we apparently have *ko* + *ga* + finite verb for expected participle + *ego*: *blizi e. - gi. vsmi. prizivajućim' i, v'smi. ko ga* (*koga* written together in original) *prizivajut' va ist-ině, 7c 20-23*, (= *Prope est dominus omnibus inuocantibus eum - omnibus qui inuocant eum in ueritate. 14:6-7*; cf. Hm *Blizi e. gi. vsimi pri-zivajućimi i, i vsimi prizivaju-ćimi vi istině, 7b 10-12*). In this one pair of forms, then, we find both the vernacular form *ko*, (probably for *kto*?), and the vernacular enclitic form of the A. Sg. of the pronoun *on*, in the vernacular word order. The numeral in the phrase *v' edinaděs-te godinu* (contracted from *v' edinu na desete*; cf. Hm. 21b 3) 23b 3-4, shows contraction (at least orthographic) of the original three words into one, including the two original *n*'s in *edin* and *na*, and, lastly, loss of the vowel *e* of the original penultimate syllable of *desete*. The contracted form in NYM does not yet show gender, case and number agreement with the following noun.

A number of other isolated forms are worthy of note, though some may represent no more than simple errors: *toloki* for expected *toliki* G. Sg. Fem. 21a 10, *kromušnuju* for *kroměšnuju* A. Sg. Fem. 21a 18 (cf. ČAV *kroměčьnii, kroměšьnii* with examples from this *locus*—Matthew 8,12—and Hm *kromešnuju* 19c 1), *ottoci* N. Pl. (= *insule* 37:25 'islands') with a hypercorrect double “tt” (cf. *otokъ* in ČAV), *skovozě* for expected *skvozě* or *skozě* Prep. 22d 4, *mazu* for *mazdu* A. Sg. 23b 1, *g-lusih* for *gluhih* G. Pl. 5c 6-7, *hodotaistvo-mi* I Sg. 10a 26-27 (some scribes use *a* in the second syllable, others use *o*), and *pribežiče moie* N. Sg. Neut. 22c 6, with *j* in the pronoun indicated overtly by the letter “i” even amidst a sequence of vowel letters.

Finally, it should be noted that in this earlier section of text in hand **B**, there is a very large number of examples in which the letter “ě” is used for *e* where this sound is not derived from an earlier sound *ě*. (This fact has been noted above in the discussion of the gospel texts in this hand.) These occur particularly often in forms of the verb **gręsti, *grędę* (we will find examples in other hands as

well; in hand **G** the spelling with “ě” is regular in this root), also in **reći*, **rekø*, the stem *desn-* 'right' and the noun *deći*, but many other roots and suffixes are affected.

6.1 Overview

As this hand appears in only one instance, and on only one column of text, we have too small a sample to reach many firm conclusions. It resembles each of the other hands designated by the letter “A,” but is set apart by at least 2 features (*titla* and “a”). There is one Latin initial—a small, unornate “M” on 7b 11.

6.2 Characteristic shapes

1. *titla*—The upward hook from the left end is longer, or more pronounced, and diverges at a greater angle from the basic stroke, than is the case with hands **A**, **A²**, or **A³**. This greater angle of divergence may be due in part to the fact that the basic stroke of hand **A¹** has left and right ends at the same level, or the right end even a bit lower, giving the impression of an (albeit imperfect) arc lying with its ends on a horizontal surface, or one which descends gradually to the right. With hands **A** and **A³** there is a clear tendency for the left end of the basic stroke to be lower, while in hand **A²** the left end also tends to be lower than the right end, though the tendency is less consistently expressed, with the ends often at approximately the same height. In hand **A²**, also, the hook at the left end of the basic stroke is often missing.
2. *a*—The central vertical stroke extends in most cases far over the upper line, and especially over the lower portion of the letter. In hands **A** and **A²** (with some exceptions) the extension is much more moderate, while in hand **A³** this letter is generally quite bilinear. The impression of great extension may be due in part to the fact that the lower portion of the letter remains very low.
3. *i*—The stroke leading from the upper right to the lower left corner is more curved than that leading from the upper left to the lower right corner. In this respect, hand **A¹** agrees with hands **A**, **A²** and **A³**, while it contrasts with all other hands.
4. *ž*—In most instances, the right antenna is straight or straighter than the left. The center of the angle formed by the antennae is vertical or leans slightly to the left. Since in most instances (8) the

antennae reach the same height, the left antenna tends to be somewhat longer than the right.

5. *g*—The left stem is curved, perhaps slightly less (though not consistently) than in hands **A** and **A²**, and extends considerably below the lower line.
6. *t*—In hand **A¹** we encounter the superscript form of this letter only once, in the traditional shape *ₛ*.
7. *pr*—The upper extension is fairly short and rounded, like an arc with its ends resting on a horizontal line. This is similar to what we find in hands **A** and **A³**, though occasionally in the latter (more often in **A** than **A³**), the upper extension is less curved and rises to the right. In hand **A²** the upper extension is very short, and does not extend over the following letters.

6.3 Language and orthography

We can say very little about the language and orthography of this hand. As there is no lection on 7b, we must consider the entire text of this column.

1. *jer*. Of 5 instances in which we expect vocalization of *jer* (*van'mi* 2 Sg. Imv. 7b 6, *vi ob'nov'lenie* Prep. 7b 13, *ob'lah'č-eniě* G. Sg. 7b 15-16, *daž-dite* 2 Pl. Imv. 7b 19-20, and *sablažnajuti* 3 Pl. Pres. 7b 27), vocalization is realized in 4 cases. There are also 2 occurrences of *d-eći* N. Sg 7b 1-2 and 2.
2. **dj*, **zdj*, etc. Hand **A¹** contains 2 examples (*daž-dite* 2 Pl. Imv. 7b 19-20 and *temždě* Particle or I. Sg. of the pronoun 7b 29), both with the reflex *žd*.
3. Hypercorrect use of “ě”. Hand **A¹** contains one instance (just cited) in which “ě” is used for an original *e*.

7.1 Overview

Despite striking similarities, it seems clear that this hand represents the work of a different scribe than that responsible for hands **A** and **A³**. It is more difficult to state with certainty whether or not hands **A¹** and **A²** are the work of a single scribe, though I consider it more likely that they are not.

This hand contains no less than 15 Latin initial letters. Six of these are small letters “M” 25b 19, 34c 28, 36a 6, 39a 26, 43a 2 and 45a 22, only one of which is ornate (39a 26). However, we also have a small but ornate “V” on 34a 29, as well as a Latin or Glagolitic “V” on 41a 12; small letters “D” on 36d 26, 39c 2, 42d 27, 46d 9 and 51c 5, one of which (39c 2) is decorated; finally, a small letter “N” on 43a 16 and a medium-sized, but not ornate, letter “S” on 52c 28. Though we have more Latin initials in this than in previous hands, they are similar to those in previous hands in that they are of moderate size, relatively unornate, and are restricted to a very few letters.

7.2 Characteristic shapes

1. *titla*—This symbol in hand **A²** is occasionally similar to that of hand **A**. Often, however, the upward hook at the left end of the basic stroke seems to be not as sharp, and in later portions of text is often omitted entirely. Where the hook occurs, and especially where it is less sharp or almost a curve, the center of the basic stroke bows away from the line of text (or the bottom of the page), while toward the left end and the hook it straightens out and then curves slightly in the opposite direction (↷), as if anticipating the curve or hook upward. Where the hook is very sharp, it may first double back along the basic stroke, and then curve sharply away from it (↶, similar to hand **E**, but in general shorter), or it may diverge immediately at a considerable angle, but fairly straight. Occasionally the basic stroke is virtually flat, with only a heavy upward curve at the left end. We may conclude, then, that hand **A²** uses several variant forms of *titla*.
2. *a*—The central vertical stroke extends slightly or moderately above the upper line; there is some variation from one section of text to the next. In this respect, hand **A²** is somewhat similar to **A**, but not

to **A**¹ or **B** (or **A**³). The upper extension seems most prominent where **A**² first appears on 24a.

3. *i*—The stroke from the upper right to the lower left corner may be more curved than that from the upper left to the lower right corner, or, more often, both strokes are very curved and to about the same extent, giving the letter a symmetrical shape.
4. *ž*—The left antenna is generally heavier, and most often is longer than the right antenna. Both antennae are ordinarily curved, though there are exceptions, in which one or the other is fairly straight. A striking feature which distinguishes **A**² from all other hands is the center of the angle formed by the antennae. The ray which forms this center tends to lean to the right (where it is not vertical), while this center ray in all other hands tends to lean to the left (again, where it is not vertical).
5. *g, h*—There is no obvious consistent difference between hands **A**² and **A**, though in **A**² the left stem occasionally curves to the left even past the vertical position near its top. Both letters extend below the lower line, often, perhaps, a bit less than in hand **A**, while “h” most often does not extend above the upper line, and occasionally ends at the top with a hook to the left, similar to hand **A**.
6. *t*—Hand **A**² generally uses the traditional shape of the superscript form of this letter. In at least 3 instances, though, I noted the less usual shape t^{z} .
7. *pr*—As mentioned above, the upper extension is most often very short, and does not extend over succeeding letters. There are exceptions to this rule.
8. Abbreviation by suspension—The form *estī* is abbreviated to *e.*. I also noted the forms *lm'*. (= *ljudemī* D. Pl.) 27a 26, *d.* (= *dobro*) 30a 29, *ze.* (= *zemle*) 31a 8, and *g.* (= *glagolet*) 40a 17. The alternate form of the *titla* which we encounter in suspension begins by moving horizontally or diagonally downward to the left; it then turns or curves vertically downward (f or f'), so that it has the

shape of an apostrophe written backwards, or even of a small Roman capital “L” lying on its side.

9. This hand occasionally uses the symbol – at the end of a line, usually to indicate the end of a sentence or section of text. Hand **A** also uses this symbol, but hand **B** does not.

7.3 Language and Orthography

1. *jer*. My sample (which includes data taken from folia 24-36c 5) contains 140 instances in which we encounter or might expect vocalization of *jer*. In 87 of these instances, vocalization is realized, while in 53 it is not, for a proportion of vocalization of .62. In one example the reflex is *e* (*semrti* G. Sg. 35a 22), while in all others it is *a*. (A further example—*deći* N. Sg. 36c 19—follows just after my sample.)

There are only 4 examples of the conjunction *ni*, and 5 of the N. Sg. Masc. form of the pronouns *ti* and *si*. In each of these 9 examples we have vocalization.

The prepositions *ki*, *vi* and *si* show vocalization only exceptionally. Out of 8 examples in which the *jer* is in strong position, there is only one case of vocalization (*sa mnoju* 24a 4), and 7 cases without vocalization (*v' tmě* 30d 14, *vi vsěhi* 31c 30, *v - vsěhi* 32d 22-23; *k m'ně* 33b 9, *k' mně* 34a 21 and 36a 26, and *k mně* 34d 5).

Of 7 examples in which the preposition precedes an initial vowel of the following word, there is again only one with vocalization (*va usilii* 24a 19), and 6 without (*v' istočnicehi* 32d 22, *v' ogani* 33b 28, *k' otpućeniju* 34a 3, *k' isu*. 35b 22, *v' izlvi*. 36b 5 and *k' - idolomi* 36b 13-14). Out of 6 examples in which the initial consonant of the following word is identical to that of the preposition, or differs from it only in voicing (*vi vis-otě* 29d 15-16, *vi vožen'i* 31a 18, *vi veličstvi* 33a 16, *vi vita-niju* 34b 27-28, *v' virsaviju* 35a 15 and *s' sobuju* 35c 26), there are none with vocalization.

There may be a greater tendency to vocalize the prefixes *vi(n)-* and *si(n)-*, though the sample includes far too few examples to allow us to see any real pattern. Of 5 examples in which the *jer* appears in strong position, 3 show vocalization (*vačnu-ti* 3 Pl. Pres.

32d 29-30, *vačneti* 3 Sg. Pres. 36c 3, and *na san'-mičihı* L. Pl. 30b 23-24), while 2 do not (*vičnuti* 3 Pl. Pres. 31a 9 and *v'zva* 3 Sg. Aor. 34d 25).

There are four examples (*v'vedu* 32d 20, *saz-iždjut'* 3 Pl. Pres. 30d 22-23, *sas-ud* A. Sg. 35b 1-2, and *sızıžditli*. N. Sg. 30d 26) in which the root-initial consonant is identical to, or differs only in voicing from, that of the prefix.

There are three other examples in which the *jer* appears in what is clearly weak position, but appears with vocalization in this or other manuscripts. In two of these (*sabl-ažnaet se* 3 Sg. Pres., 24a 24-25 and *sab'-lažnu se* 1 Sg. Pres. 24a 25-26) we have vocalization, while in one (*si-grěšiti* 3 Sg. Pres. 36b 8-9) we do not.

There remain 98 examples in which vocalization occurs or might be expected. In 69 instances we have vocalization, while in 29 we do not. This yields a proportion of vocalization of .70. I have not included in the statistics non-vocalized forms of the L./D. Sg. of the pronoun *azi* (i.e. *m'ně*), in spite of the fact that we have *mani* (D. Sg. 34b 24, and sporadically in various hands and manuscripts, especially Hm). Examples of this form with vocalization are sufficiently rare in the manuscripts to allow us to conclude that they represent a vernacularism, or mistake—a non-CCS pronunciation. I have also excluded from the statistics the 2 instances of *gd-a* (< *kigda*) 33b 18 and 33c 7-8, despite the occurrences of *ka-da* (< *kigda* 33b 11 and 33b 14-15). It is clear from the spelling that in the former examples the etymological *jer* was not pronounced, and so in these instances there can be no question of “vocalization”. Both of these forms—*gda* and *kada*—are yet further examples (albeit of different provenance) of the relatively frequent vernacularisms which occur in hand **A**².

2. Hypercorrect use of ' and ı. The sample text from hand **A**² (folia 24-36c 5) contains 7, or perhaps 8, instances of hypercorrect use of ' or ı for the sound *a*, where it is not derived from *jer*. Five of these instances occur in the preposition *na* (30b 3, 30b 5, 30b 20, 31b 5 and 35d 16), with one in the prefix *na-* (*n'plniti*. sic! 3 Sg. Pres. 30d 18). The remaining example is *pozdravl'ete* 2 Pl. Pres. 31b 11. It is also possible that ı is used for a pronounced analogical *a* (from the -

a declension) in *ot před-ělihı těhi* 36c 15-16 (just outside of my sample). This last example demonstrates the identity of form of the G. Pl. and L. Pl. of substantives. Similar examples occur rarely in the manuscripts.

3. ě. The sample corpus (folia 24-37) contains 313 examples in which a continuant of ě occurs. In 241 instances we have the spelling “ě”, while in 72 a reflex is rendered overtly. This yields a proportion of retention of “ě” of .77. Of the overt reflexes, in 57 examples we have *i*, 49 of which are expected according to J/M. In 15 examples we have *e*, only 3 of which are expected according to J/M. Thus, of 61 instances in which we expect the reflex to be *i*, we have *i* in 49, *e* in 12. Of 11 instances in which we expect the reflex to be *e*, in 3 it is *e*, while in 8 it is *i*.

Clearly, such a distribution of continuant forms suggests a dialect situation with other than pure *e*-type pronunciation. Still, there are 12 examples of the reflex *e* even where we expect *i* according to J/M. For most of these some explanation, more or less likely, may be proposed, other than that *e* was the regular reflex of ě in the dialect which is reflected by this hand. In *Id-eže* 29b 8-9 for original *iděže*, the *e* is widespread in Croatian (as well as OCS) manuscripts, though the spelling “ě” seems to be predominant, at least in the CCS missal. In *plenenie* A. Pl. Masc., P.P.P. 29d 29, the *e* of the root may be seen as analogical to the root of the noun *plěni*, which would have the reflex *e* in most forms, according to J/M. The prefix *pre-*, as in *preidše*. 3 Pl. Aor.? 31b 4 and *preide* 3 Sg. Aor. 36c 12, appears often with *e*, even in manuscripts in which the reflex *i* is predominant. In *v istočnicehi* L. Pl. 32d 22 we may see an analogical extension of the desinence common to the *i*-stem and consonant-stem substantives in the L. Pl. The root vowel *e* in *otveća-jutı* 3 Pl. Pres. 33c 67 is a common phenomenon in CCS. Various manuscripts, both from the north and the south, have forms of this verb with *e* in the root. This includes III4, which regularly has *e* in the root, though it has virtually no other overt reflex forms for other lexemes or morphemes. Hand A², incidentally, ordinarily has “ě” in the root of this lexeme. With regard to *kupeli* N. Sg. 37c 17, *kupel’* A. Sg. 37c 25 and *kupe-li* A. Sg.

37c 27-28, we may note that this lexeme appears with *e* in the vernacular, as well as various old texts, but never with the reflex *i* (cf. *kopěľb* in ČAV, *kupelj* in JAZU, and *kupelj, kupel* in SANU). In *sede* 3 Sg. Aor. 35a 20, it is not clear whether we are dealing with a form of the verb *sěsti* or *sěděti*. In the latter case, it is possible that the stem vowel *e* results from an interpretation of the form as a Pr.A.P., while the root vowel would still seem to be indicative of a dialect with pure *e*-type pronunciation. In the former case, it is possible that the root vowel *e* represents a generalization of the present-tense stem. There seems to be no explanation other than *e* as a reflex of *ě* in the desinence of *po srěde* L. Sg. 34d 26. As we have seen, though, even a considerable number of *e*-reflexes in a text in no way indicates that this reflex was present, at least in all forms, in the speech of the scribe responsible for that text.

The 3 instances of the reflex *e* in which this is the expected reflex according to J/M (*steni* G. Sg. 30d 26, *upitenih* L. Pl. 32d 24, and *zelo* 36c 19) do not lend themselves to an analogical explanation. Still, we must note that *zělo* seems never to appear in the CCS missal with the reflex *i*, and may not have been recognized by all scribes as having contained an original *ě*.

There are 8 instances of the reflex *i* in which we expect *e* according to J/M. Unfortunately, even these examples do not provide an unambiguous indication of the origin of the scribe. Five of these examples—*vidismo* 1 Pl. Aor. 33b 12, 33b 18 and 33c 8, *vidis'mo* 1 Pl. Aor. 33b 15 and *odismo* 1 Pl. Aor. 33b 17 (*cooperuimus*, from the verb **oděti*, Matthew 25,38)—might represent simple morpheme levelling in an *i*-/*e*-type dialect, as the stem vowel *ě* was followed, in most forms, by a syllable with a front vowel. In *nisu-t'* 3 Pl. Pres. of *biti* 34a 3-4, we could have analogy similar to that by which *nisu* is obtained in some dialects of štokavian, instead of the expected *nesu*. Two examples, though, are perhaps indicative: *prid'tičuće* N. Pl. Masc. Pr.A.P. 31b 8 and *pritikaniě* A. Pl. 31c 28. The prefixes *prěd-* and *prě-* occur in CCS very often with the vowel *e*, where it is not predicted by J/M, even in manuscripts which clearly did not originate in areas with pure *e*-type pronunciation. Examples with *i* are rare in the manuscripts, and so are less likely than other instances of the reflex *i* to be

recopied from one manuscript to another, especially by a scribe who was not himself an *i*-type speaker. This is yet one more indication that the scribe of hand **A²** does not reflect an *e*-type dialect, though it may very well reflect an *e-/i*-type dialect.

4. Hypercorrect use of “ě”. I noted 15 instances within the sample corpus (folia 24-37) in which the letter “ě” is used in a position in which the sound *ě* would not originally have occurred. As in other hands, in most of these instances “ě” is used for pronounced *e*. This includes *V putěhi* L. Pl. 24a 6, *V skrbě-hi* L. Pl. 31d 2-3 and *ven-avistěhi* L. Pl. 31d 4-5, in which *e* early replaced a presumed original *jer*. In one case, however, “ě” is used where we would expect *i*: *V gladě* L. Sg. 24a 16. It is not likely that the substantive *glad* was being used as a masculine, for there is no evidence to support such a hypothesis (cf. *JAZU* s. v.).

In conclusion, facts concerning reflexes of *ě* and use of the letter “ě” make it clear that the scribe responsible for hand **A²** was not an *e*-type speaker. It is impossible, though, on the basis of these data alone, to say with certainty whether he was an *i*-type or *i-/e*-type speaker. A very large majority (57 of 72) of examples with overt reflexes show the reflex *i*, but that is in fact the expected reflex, according to J/M, in an equally large majority of examples (61 of 72). Further, of 72 examples of overt reflexes of *ě*, 52 agree with J/M, but fully 20 do not, and it is especially interesting that there are only 3 instances of the reflex *e* among the 11 examples in which it is predicted by J/M. Yet 16 of the 20 overt reflexes which do not conform to J/M can be accounted for by some plausible (and in some cases probable) explanation. The examples *prid'tičuće* 31b 8 and *pritikaniě* 31c 28 seem to point strongly toward an *i*-type dialect, as forms with *pre-* and *pred-* are common even in texts which seem to have originated in areas with *i-/e*-type pronunciation. However, Hamm *et al.* have pointed out that in written documents from the island of Susak, which has an *i-/e*-type dialect, forms with *pri-* and *prid(-)* do indeed occur.⁴⁶ Finally, as the

⁴⁶ Cf. Hamm *et al.* 1956:24 (for *pred* and *prid* in older texts), while for *pre*, *pri* this work cites only the example *naipri* (p. 23, again from an older text).

letter “ě” seems to be a restricted alternate spelling for the sound *e* in all manuscripts of the CCS missal, instances of the use of “ě” for the sound *i* tend to point strongly toward *i*-type pronunciation. Still, we have only 2 such probable instances.

5. Reflex of **ę*. Within the sample taken from the lections in folia 24-37, hand **A²** has 2 instances of *ěziki* G. Pl. 24a 10 and 32d 19), and no instances of *ezik*. As we have already noted, this is the normal situation in CCS texts. This hand contains the interesting examples *vi - žađi* L. Sg. 24a 17, *žađ-anı* N. Sg. Masc. 33b 3-4, *ža-đ’na* G. Sg. Masc. 33b 13-14 and 33c 9, but *Vžedahı* 1 Sg. Aor./Ipt. 33c 1. This seems to suggest a hierarchy, with **ę* > *a* more likely when a palatal consonant both precedes and follows, than when a palatal consonant precedes, but does not follow, the nasal vowel. Further evidence might make it clear whether or not this is a tenable hypothesis.
6. **dj*, **zdj*, etc. Within my sample (folia 24-37), there are 25 instances of reflexes of these Common Slavic sequences, including 2 (*daž-dı* A. Sg. 30b 5-6 and *dažditı* 3 Sg. Pres. 30b 6) of the sequence **zdj*, the rest of **dj*. In 9 instances we encounter the reflex *žd*, and in 16 *j*. Hand **A²**, then, is somewhat less conservative than are **A** and **B** in this respect, but still is not near to being completely vernacularized. In 12 instances of the reflex *j*, this sound is spelled overtly by “đ”, and in only 4 instances by a sequence of vowel letters.
7. Spelling of *j*. There are 3 additional instances within the sample in which the sound *j* is spelled overtly by “đ”: *ěđı i piđı* 2 Sg. Imv. 35a 29 and 35b 6, and *điše* 3 Pl. Aor. 36a 30. In hand **A²**, then, “đ” has become nearly the regular spelling of *j*, where this is the reflex of **dj* (3 of the 4 exceptions are of the single lexeme *meju*, in which the reflex of **dj* does not alternate with *d*). As the scribe would not have had the philological training necessary to recognize in every case just where a reflex of **dj* (i.e. a form requiring “đ”) occurs, it is not surprising that there are exceptions (especially where the reflex of **dj* does not alternate with *d*, but also *Vhoěše* 3 Sg. Ipt. 37c 25),

and that the use of “*đ*” is extended to some instances in which *j* is not a reflex of **dj*.

8. Dialectal and characteristic features. With respect to miscellaneous dialectal and idiosyncratic features, hand **A²** is far more similar to hand **B** than to **A**. In rubrics, as expected, a considerable number of vernacularisms occurs, while in other texts we encounter some of the same features which we found in hand **B**, as well as some others. Examples are taken from folia 24-37.

As in hand **B**, there are a number of examples of interrogative “*k*-words”, where relative “*j*-words” would be appropriate: *ki* for *īže* 24a 30, 30b 3, 30b 20, and 33b 28; *kadě* for *ide* 31b 10; and *ke* for *eže* N. Pl. Fem. 36d 6. Further, loss of *g* in temporal adverbs is represented in *tad-a* 29a 27-28 and *ka-da* 33b 11 and 14-15. There is one example of *o* for expected *u*: *zobomi* I. Sg. 29b 10. Finally, there is one example in which *j* is rendered overtly with “*i*” amidst a sequence of vowel letters: *s-toietı* 3 Pl. Pres. 35d 7-8.

Unlike hand **B**, here we find two examples in which *a* is used in place of expected *o*: *pastavlenı* for *postavlenı* N. Sg. Masc. 29a 22 and *abita* for *obita* 3 Sg. Aor. 34d 22. We have another case of apparent confusion of vowels in *ste-žnu.* for *stuženu* (cf. Hm 27c 17) A. Sg. Fem. P.P.P. 30d 12-13: *i dšu. ste-žnu. naplniši, Et animam afflictam repleveris*, Isaiah 58,10. In this case, we seem to be dealing with a root showing an original front nasal vowel, instead of an expected back nasal vowel.

This hand in several instances confuses the use of the letters “*u*” and “*ju*”. We have “*u*” for expected “*ju*” in: *sab’-lažnu se* 1 Sg. Pres. 24a 25-26, *iscělu* 1 Sg. Pres. 29a 15, *shranu* 1 Sg. Pres. 33a 7 and *priklučit’ se* 3 Sg. Pres. 34d 19. Conversely, we have “*ju*” for expected “*u*” in *h-valju* A. Sg. 34b 25-26.

Whereas hand **B** occasionally seems to lack a *titla* where it would be appropriate, in hand **A²** we sometimes encounter this symbol over a sequence of consonants where there is no abbreviation, e.g. *pravdu.* A. Sg. 29c 29, *postilati.* Inf. 29d 22, *Tigda.* 30a 6, 30d 13 and 31a 6, and *n’plniti.* 3 Sg. Pres. 30d 18. This feature is also characteristic of hand **D**.

Syncretism of the L. and G. Pl. of substantives is indicated by the following example: *I se žen-a hananěiska ot před-ělihī tēhī iz'šad'-šihī* (for *izšadši*) *vapiěše g-ljuće. emu* 36c 14-18, Hm *I se žena hananeiska iz'šad'ši v pu-těhī vip'ěše govorecí* 32b 21-23, *Et ecce mulier Chananaea a finibus illis egressa clamavit, dicens ei*: Matthew 15,22, καὶ ἰδοὺ γυνὴ Χαναναία ἀπὸ τῶν ὀρίων ἐκείνων ἐξελοῦσα ἔκραζεν λέγουσα. The Latin, to which the text in NYM corresponds, shows that *ot* + Gen. is indeed the correct reading, and so the form *před-ělihī* is to be interpreted as G. Pl. The *l* in the penultimate syllable shows that the final *-hī* was added mechanically, as an interpolation, to the earlier correct Church Slavonic ending of the G. Pl. Of course, we cannot exclude the possibility that the ending *-h* is simply an arbitrary error. It is not likely that the scribe was confused or misled by a true L. Pl. form *putěhī* in his matrix text or another text which he recalled. The origin of the phrase *v pu-těhī* in Hm is otherwise unclear. A misreading of ἰδοὺ as ὁδοῦ (as in ἐκ τῆς ὁδοῦ 'on his road', or πρὸ ὁδοῦ 'further on the way, forwards', cf. *LS* s. v.) cannot be considered probable. It is interesting, though, that the text of Hm is otherwise closer to the Greek than is that of NYM, in that NYM and the Latin contain the pronoun *emu*, Latin *ei* D. Sg., which is lacking in Hm and the Greek. The Vukan and Banici texts have the phrase *oti předěli tēhī*, and, as expected, lack both the phrase *vi put'h'* and the pronoun *emu*.⁴⁷

There seems to be a similar example in Hm: *Raz'vi vnašnih'* (for *vnešnihī*) *m-i napastěhī, ke po vse d-ni pečal' mi e. vsimi crkvami.*, 22a 3-6, *praeter illa quae extrinsecus sunt, instantia mea quotidiana, sollicitudo omnium Ecclesiarum*, χωρὶς τῶν παρεκτὸς ἡ ἐπίστασις μοι ἢ καθ' ἡμέραν, ἢ μέριμνα πασῶν τῶν ἐκκλησιῶν. 2 Corinthians 11,28. The Slavic text here does not correspond well either to the Latin or Greek, and so we must consider the possibility that the form in question results from no more than simple confusion as to the parsing or meaning of forms. The text in NYM

⁴⁷ A further deviation from CCS norms in this passage from NYM is the nonagreeing form of the participle: *g-ljuće*. which should agree with its subject - *žen-a*.

displays apparent syntactic confusion: *Razvě izv-anni mi (izv-annimi in original) napasti moihi e-že po vse dni pečal m-i esti vsěmi crkvami.*, 24a 19-22. I have cited this passage because the form *izv-anni* G. Pl. appears to show loss of final *h*, though that is not likely at this time and in this region. It is more likely that the scribe intended the form *izv-annimi* (written with no word break) to be interpreted as I. Pl, though this does not make syntactic sense. Finally, though we cannot exclude the possibility, it is unlikely that the above-cited instances of apparent syncretism of L. and G. Pl., as well as the form *iz'šad'-šihı* for expected *iz'šad'ši* N. Sg. Fem. in the previous passage, in fact represent instances of hypercorrect usage of the letter “h” based on positional loss of *h* in the language of the scribe and consequent uncertainty on his part as to just where the letter “h” was to be used.

Other interesting examples are: *iscělie-tı* for expected *iscělitı* 3 Sg. Pres. Intransitive 29a 19-20, *mani* D. of *azi* 33b 24 (for *m'ně*; the form *mani* occurs almost regularly in Hm, but only sporadically in other manuscripts, and is definitely not to be considered characteristic of CCS), *far-isěi* N. Pl. 35b 22-23 (for more common *parisěi*), *zač'* 35c 7 for standard Serbo-Croatian *zato što* 'because' and *Hoć'* for *Hoćeši* 2 Sg. Pres. 37d 5: *Hoć' li cěli - biti, Vis sanus fieri?* John 5,6 (Hm also has *Hoć'* 33b 9, while Ill4 and R, according to the apparatus in Hm, have *hoćeši*).

8.1 Overview

Hand C is a crude script containing a number of archaic shapes which are in no way characteristic of the late fourteenth or fifteenth century. In his later appearances, the scribe seems to make some attempt to emulate the style of the other scribes. As hand C appears in only a small portion of the text, I will consider all text, without differentiation, in discussing this scribe's language and orthography.

8.2 Characteristic shapes

1. *titla*—This form of the *titla*—a slightly wavy line curved (not hooked) upward at the left end and downward at the right—is archaic, and seems to characterize manuscripts for the most part only through the thirteenth or early fourteenth century.
2. *a*—The central vertical stroke extends at least moderately above the upper line, often about as far as possible without interfering with the line of text above. The height of the central vertical stroke seems to be constrained by the fairly small interlinear space. The lower portion of the letter in a majority of instances takes up most, and sometimes all of the bilinear space. The lower portion of the letter has curves rather than sharp corners. The left “corner” in most cases is somewhat closer to being a real corner; the right “corner”, however, is often just a downward curve. At the lower left-hand corner, the letter often begins with a stroke moving horizontally or diagonally upward, and then immediately curving vertically upward. We encounter this in no other hand.
3. *i*—A sharp break in the stroke from the upper left to the lower right corner is characteristic. In at least some instances (cf. 53b 27) this “stroke” seems to be discontinuous, consisting of 2 strokes which extend as far as, and then end at, their intersection with the stroke from the upper right to the lower left corner. Usually, the stroke from the upper left corner intersects this latter stroke at a point below that stroke's intersection with the stroke from the lower right corner. Occasionally the bottom of the letter is rounded, which in liturgical script is an extreme archaism; this also occurs, however, in relatively careless, “semi-uncial” types of script in more recent times.

4. *ž*—The antennae are curved, and in some instances seem to diverge from separate points, rather than from a common origin. Perhaps most often, the right antenna is heavier and may be shorter, though not consistently. In a number of instances, the antennae curve and then straighten in such a manner that their upper portions both run parallel to the line of text.
5. *g, h*—Both of these letters are strikingly archaic in form. The stems are almost straight (the left stem of “*g*” may curve slightly at the top, and that of “*h*” at the bottom, but not consistently). The left stem is heavier, and the right stem originates from a point above the bottom of the left stem. The left stem does not extend below the lower line, except in some later appearances, where it extends below the lower line and curves slightly, in an apparent attempt to emulate the style of the other scribes. The top of the left stem of “*h*” is capped by a fairly heavy horizontal stroke.
6. *z, c, ju, p*—In most instances, the bottoms of these letters extend only slightly, if at all, below the lower line. “*z*” is sometimes bilinear. It is either squared at the bottom, or the stroke downward along the right side of the large section of the letter curves left at the bottom line and runs left and slightly downward into the interlinear space past the end of the downward stroke on the far left of the letter, to form what appears as a tail. “*c*” at the bottom either has this same “tail”, or the right downward stroke curves and ends at its intersection with the left downward stroke, in a manner more similar to that of the other scribes. The bottom stroke of “*ju*” sometimes seems to be almost parallel to the lower line, certainly more so than in other hands. The “tail” at the lower left corner of the letter sometimes extends diagonally downward into the interlinear space, but sometimes it hooks sharply downward and back toward the body of the letter. The left vertical stem of the letter “*p*” sometimes extends moderately below the lower line, but at other times the extension is slight or even imperceptible.
7. *pr*—The upper parallel extension is very short, similar to hand **A²**, but is straight, rather than curved.

8. Abbreviation by suspension—In one instance (*duša moě smete se* 3. 53a 15, the letter “žělo” is used as an abbreviation, or symbol, for the word *žělo*, though with a normal *titla*. We also have *e.* for *est'* 53b 5, again with a normal *titla*. I noted no other instances of suspension.

We may conclude, then, that hand **C** is characterized by an unusual degree of bilinearity, reminiscent more of the thirteenth or very early fourteenth century, than of the late fourteenth or fifteenth century. However, the spatial orientation of the letters is not that which we find in carefully prepared liturgical script of either of these periods. The upper and lower lines of the text field are not straight, but wavy, and so letters appear sometimes higher, sometimes lower, and sometimes larger, sometimes smaller. The scribe seems either to have been working without ruled guide lines, or to have suspended his letters between them, in a manner reminiscent of some OCS manuscripts.

8.3 Language and orthography

The statistics given below are taken from all of the texts copied in hand **C**.

1. *Jer.* Within this hand's small portion of the manuscript, vocalization of *jer* is either expected or occurs in 19 instances. Vocalization is actually encountered in 16 of these instances, for a proportion of vocalization of .84. Nine of 10 instances which occur within lections show vocalization. There is one occurrence of the conjunction *na* 53b 22, with vocalization. There are 6 occurrences of the prepositions *ki*, *vi*, *si*: *va věk* 52c 19, *si vsěmi* 52c 24, *ki isu.* 53a 17, *va us-ta* 53b 21-22, *ka mně* 53d 25 and *ka isu.* 54b 28. There are also 2 instances of the prefix *si(n)-*: *sabl-azniše se* 3 Pl. Aor. 53b 29-30 and *sa-n'mišća* G. Sg. 54b 15-16. All that we may say with certainty on the basis of this minimal data is that the scribe was certainly not averse to writing vocalized forms of these prepositions and prefixes. Still, in these particular examples with prefixes, it is not at all certain that the scribe would have recognized the prefix as such.

2. ě. We encounter a continuant of ě in 32 instances. In 15 of these we have the spelling “ě”, while in 17 we have an overt reflex. This yields a very low proportion of retention of .47. Within the lections there are 20 instances, 9 with “ě”, and 11 with an overt reflex, for a similar proportion of retention of .45.

Of the overt reflexes, in 6 instances we have *i*, 5 of which we expect according to J/M. Of the 11 instances with the reflex *e*, only 3 are expected according to J/M. Still, the available data seem most consistent with an *i-/e*-type dialect. The 6 examples of *i*—*prizri* (< *prizrě*) 2 Sg. Aor. 52c 16, *pristupajuti* (< *prěstupajuti*) 3 Pl. Pres. 53a 21, *viši* (for *věsi*) 2 Sg. Pres. 53b 27, *vrieme* A. Sg. 54b 10, *zapriti* (< *zaprěti*) 3 Sg. Aor. 54b 22 and *ruci* A. Du. 54b 30—indicate that the scribe was probably not an *e*-type speaker. Of the 8 instances with *e* in which we expect *i* according to J/M, 4 can be explained as examples of morpheme leveling. These include *s’merenie* A. Sg. 52c 16-17 (cf. *měra*), *isceli* 2 Sg. Imv. 53a 13 (cf. *cěli*), (*v*)*s-meše* 3 Pl. Aor. 53a 13-14 (root contains *e*, not ě, except in old sigmatic aorist) and *licemeri* V. Pl. 53b 11 (cf. *měra*). None of these examples, then, contradicts the hypothesis of an *i-/e*-type dialect. Two instances (*parisei* N. Pl. 53a 19 and 53b 28) are of a lexeme restricted to the liturgical language. As with the verb *otvěcati* and the adverb *zělo*, there is little likelihood that there existed a vernacular counterpart. Any change in the spelling of this word is thus likely to reflect the liturgical pronunciation of the letter “ě” (i.e. the sound *e*), rather than the reflex of original *ě in the dialect of the scribe. In *zapvedi*. A. Sg. 53b 9 and *v. veki*, we have words (or phrases, in the latter case) which are, of course, used in the vernacular, but which are nonetheless very characteristic of CCS texts. Even in these cases, then, it is possible that we see a reflection of the liturgical pronunciation with *e*.

The lone example with *i*, in which we expect *e* according to J/M, is *pristupajuti* 53a 21. As we have noted above, this is not inconsistent with an *i-/e*-type dialect.

The 3 examples with *e*, in which *e* is expected according to J/M, are, unfortunately, of little value: *predanie* A. Sg. 53a 27 and 53b 10, and *zelo* 54b 20.

In conclusion, then, there are no data which seem strongly to contradict the hypothesis of an *i-/e*-type dialect, while some data support this hypothesis. Still, we would wish to have more data before reaching a firm conclusion.

3. Hypercorrect use of “ě”. Within its very small section of text, hand **C** has 5 instances in which the letter “ě” is used for *e* not derived from earlier ě (*da ně postiju - se* 52c 18-19, *rěki* N. Sg. Masc. Pr.A.P. 53b 12, *učěci* [*i* sic!] N. Pl. Masc. 53b 17, *ežě* N. Sg. Neut. Rel. Pron. 53b 23 and *stav’ žě* Particle 54b 21) and one in which “ě” is used for original *i*: *zap-ovdě*. A. Pl. 53b 17-18.
4. Reflexes of **ę*. This hand contains no interesting data.
5. **dj*, **zdj*, etc. There are 3 instances of reflexes of **dj*, all with the reflex *j*, and all spelled by a sequence of vowel letters: *da ne postiju se* 1 Sg. Pres. 52c 18-19, *z-ahoěše* 3 Sg. Ipt. 54b 25-26 and *privoěhu* 3 Pl. Ipt. 54b 28.
6. Spelling of *j*. Nowhere in hand **C** is *j* expressed overtly by the letter “*đ*”.
7. Various characteristic and dialectal features. On occasion hand **C** uses a superfluous *titla* (eg., *opvahi.*, *sa-n’mišća.*, and *sunlce.*, see citations below). This is also a striking feature of hand **D**.

In *opvahi*. 1 Sg. Aor./Ipt. 52c 14, *o* stands in place of expected *u*. This phenomenon is repeated in a number of examples by several hands, and is probably not a simple graphic error.

In a number of instances (cf. 52c11, 17, 20 and elsewhere), hand **C** uses the punctuation symbol : (2 dots) instead of the normal single dot (on 53d 26 we may have **ž*, with 3 dots). Use of multiple dots seems to be characteristic primarily of OCS manuscripts, and is already archaic in CCS (cf. Vajs 1932:110-111). Such usage is not common in other hands of NYM, though we find it often in Hm.

In *sa-n’mišća*. G. Sg. 54b 15-16 and *Taši-ća* N. Sg. Substantive 54b 17-18, the sound sequence *šč* [št'] is indicated overtly by the sequence of letters “šč”. The reflexes of both **tj* and **stj* are usually indicated, without differentiation, by the letter “ć”. The overt notation of *šč* by the graphic sequence “šč” is a late innovation, originating perhaps only in the fifteenth century, and is

rare in manuscripts of the missal. This orthographic innovation may reflect an innovation in the pronunciation of CCS. It is reasonable to assume that in the earliest period reflexes of **tj* and **stj*, etc., were pronounced identically, as in OCS. The impetus for a change in spelling would arise only if and when a palatal sound in alternation with *t* came to be pronounced [tʲ], as in the vernacular, or at least words spelled with “ć” which corresponded to vernacular cognates in which ć ([tʲ]) was pronounced, came to be pronounced with ć ([tʲ]) in liturgical texts as well. Apparently, such an innovation in the pronunciation of CCS was taking place during the fifteenth century.

The reflex of **j* in the form *sunlce. (Egdaže sunlce. z-ahoěše)* 54b 25-26 has a counterpart only in hand **D**, where we encounter numerous examples of the reflex *ul* from *j*. I will discuss this example, together with those from hand **D**, in chapter 16.

8.4 Conclusion

While the graphic aspect of hand **C** shows a number of striking archaisms, characteristic of a period probably before the lifetime of any scribe active at the end of the fourteenth century, the language and orthography of this hand are, if anything, more innovative than those of the majority of the hands of NYM. The most likely explanation is that we are dealing with a scribe who was educated—perhaps self-taught—at an isolated location, where his only source may have been one or more extremely old books.

9.1 Overview

This hand is neither elegant, nor especially skillful, but is generally competent. Shapes tend to be squared, rather than oblong, and strokes straight, rather than curved, though some notable exceptions do occur. In its large portion of the manuscript, this hand contains no less than 27 Latin initials. These are restricted to the letters “M” (generally small and with relatively little ornament)—14 examples; “D” (all small) 232b 22, 243b 17, 244c 29 and 291a 11; “V” (generally medium-sized to largish, and fairly ornate, with decoration sometimes extending up and down the margin) 119d 1, 230a 10, 245d 1, 249d 6, 252d 29, 256a 13, 258d 7, and 263b 4; and, finally, one small and almost undecorated letter “B” 290a 7. Though we have more examples of Latin initials than in previous hands, the pattern remains the same: very few letters are represented. The scribe clearly put more effort into the letter “V” than into any other Latin initial letter. The Latin letter “V” is often fairly ornate in other hands as well.

9.2 Characteristic shapes

1. *titla*—This symbol consists of a single curved stroke which may be fairly thick, particularly in its right portion, while the left portion may be thinner. The stroke may be long or short. It never has a hook or additional curve at either end. Occasionally, the titla may be nearly flat and thin through its entire length, in which case it may be virtually indistinguishable from that of hand **B**¹.
2. *a*—The central vertical stroke extends moderately or far beyond the upper line. The right corner is often higher than the left, while the left corner is often “sharper”, though both are generally angular, rather than curved. The letter seems to consist of 3 strokes: a central vertical stroke, a lower vertical stroke on the left-hand side, and a horizontal stroke crossing the central vertical stroke and continuing into a vertical stroke on the right-hand side.
3. *i*—The shape of the letter is often almost rectangular, and is perhaps farthest removed from the “hour-glass” shape of any of the hands of NYM. The letter seems to be discontinuous in the direction upper left to lower right, with separate strokes emanating downward from the upper left corner and upward from the lower

right corner, both of which lean against the smooth curved stroke from the upper right corner to the lower left corner; or, there may be a very sharp “break”—a sharp jog upward and to the right in the middle of a unique stroke from the upper left to the lower right corner.

4. *ž*—The antennae are generally fairly straight, and point upward at a fairly steep angle. The right antenna is often heavier and often straighter, though neither consistently. The left antenna may be a bit longer, though, again not consistently. The center of the angle formed by the antennae points either directly upward or slightly to the left.
5. *g, h*—Both letters extend considerably below the lower line. The left stem of “*g*” is straight, or almost so. The right stem is also fairly straight, and most often diverges sharply from the left stem. Unlike hand **C**, however, the right stem in hand **D** originates at the very bottom of the left stem, i. e., they both diverge from a common point. The left stem of the letter “*h*” is either vertical or nearly so, and most often is at least slightly curved. It extends considerably above the upper line, and has neither a hook nor a “cap” at the top.
6. *t*—Hand **D** has only the traditional shape of the superscript form of this letter: *ₛ*.
7. *pr*—The upper horizontal extension is long, generally covering at least the immediately following letter. It is most often gracefully curved, with beginning and end points at about the same level, thus giving the impression that it is resting on an imaginary horizontal line. Sometimes, however, the right end is higher than the left. In this case, the curve may not seem so pronounced or graceful.
8. Abbreviation by suspension—Hand **D** makes use of various types of suspension. Most common is the abbreviation *e.* (for *esti*), with an alternate *titla* which is a thick, straight, diagonal stroke, similar to that in hand **A**. We also encounter *s.* (for *slovo*), with an alternate *titla* in the form of a small Latin “*T*” (cf. 70d 5), as well as *a.* (for *azi*, cf. 113d 15) and *zi., ze.* (forms of *zemla*, cf. 114a 3, 114c 10, and 230b 29) with an alternate *titla* in the form of a check mark, similar

to what we encounter near the beginning of hand **B**. The unusual abbreviation *bude.* for *budet'* 3 Sg. Pres. with the *titla* in the shape of the thick, straight, diagonal stroke appears on 230b 29. I noted 3 instances of use of the letter “zělo”, with the *titla* in the form of a check mark, as an abbreviation or symbol for *zělo* (in each case for *Mneže zělo*, = *Mihi autem nimis honorificati sunt amici tui, Deus*; Psalm 138 [139],17; 235a,17, 235b 3 and 244c 21). In the first and third instance, the scribe may have felt forced to resort to an unusual manner of abbreviation, as he ran out of space just before a large initial letter which must be positioned at the beginning of a line. In the second instance, though, “zělo” for *zělo* occurs in the middle of a line, and is not followed by an initial letter, or any recognizable graphic break in the text. In this case, clearly, this form of abbreviation was used by choice.

9. *e*—This is one of the most distinctive graphic features of hand **D**, by which it can be distinguished from all others. The upward hook or extension from the left end of the lower horizontal stroke is unusually long, and is considerably longer than the downward extension from the left end of the upper horizontal stroke. In most cases, this letter in hand **D** has a recognizable middle horizontal stroke. Very often this middle horizontal stroke almost meets the upward extension from the left end of the lower horizontal stroke, thus almost forming a box in the lower half of the letter. In a few instances, the strokes actually do meet, and form a closed box.
10. In a few of instances we encounter the punctuation symbol ξ , which is used like the dot, and differs from it only in that it is intersected by a curved line in the shape of a backward Latin “S”. We also occasionally encounter \bullet – (cf. 121b 30), $\ddot{\bullet}$ – (cf. 121a 20), even $\ddot{\bullet}$ – (cf. 117a 5) or $\ddot{\bullet}$ – (125a 8). The symbol – is common also in hand **G**.
11. I noted two instances of the simplified form of the letter “č” — č : *mč.* (= *mučeniki*) 240a 25 and *mč**. (= *mučenice*) 248b 15.

9.3 Language and orthography

1. *jer.* The sample within the comparative corpus contains 124 examples in which vocalization either occurs or might be expected.

In 104 of these examples, we have overt vocalization with *a*, in 14 instances we have lack of vocalization, while in 6 instances we have *e*. If we disregard the instances with *e*, we have an overall proportion of vocalization of .88.

There are 13 instances of the conjunction *ni*, all of which show vocalization. There are 4 examples of the N. Sg. Masc. form of the pronouns *ti* and *si*. All of these as well show vocalization.

There are 22 examples of the prepositions *ki*, *vi*, *si* in which vocalization might be expected. In 16 of these we have vocalization, while in 6 we do not. Of 9 examples in which the *jer* was in strong position, in 8 we have vocalization (*va n'* 2EB, 3EB and 6EB, *va m'ně* 4EB, *ka m'ně* 4EB, 7EA and 7EB, and *va t'mě* 7EB), while in 1 we do not (*ki m'ně* 2EB). Of 9 examples in which the following word begins with a vowel, in 6 we have vocalization (*va ustrmlenie* 3EA, *va ijuděi-ju* 3EB, *va ijuděju* 3EB, *va olokavtomat* 4EB, *va ime* 4EB, *sa učeniki* 6EB), while in 3 we do not (*ki ijuně* 2EA, *vi ot'ci* 4EB, *v' ijuděi* 3EA). Of 3 examples in which the initial consonant of the following word is identical to that of the preposition, or differs from it only in voicing, in 1 instance we have vocalization (*ka gvě.* 2EA), while in 2 we do not (*vi vrětića* 2EA and *ki gvě.* 2EA). There is also 1 example (*va me* 2EB) in which a *jer* in apparently weak position is vocalized.

There are 8 examples of the prefixes *vi(n)-*, *si(n)-*, all of which show vocalization. In 4 instances the *jer* was in strong position: *sabraše se* 3 Pl. Aor. 3EA, *vazva* (really < *viz - ziva*) 3 Sg. Aor. 5EB, *sabraše se* 3 Pl. Aor. 6EB, and *van'mi* 2 Sg. Impv. 7EA. In one instance (*sazadi* Adv. 5EB) the following consonant differed from that of the prefix only in voicing, while in 3 instances (*sabljudet* 3 Sg. Pres. 1DB twice, and *sabljudaju* 1 Sg. Pres. 1DB) the *jer* was in apparently weak position.

Of all other examples, then, excluding those showing the reflex *e*, we have 63 instances of vocalization, and 8 without, for a proportion of .89. (If we include the examples with *e*, the proportion is .90.) Yet of the 8 examples without vocalization, 6 can only marginally be considered as cases in which vocalization might have been expected. In *otr'* 3 Sg. Aor. (from *otrěti/otrti*) 5EB, we are dealing with an original [®] (vocalic *r*). The čakavian

subdialectal secondary *jer* preceding an originally syllabic [®] is almost never indicated in CCS texts, and represents a striking vernacularism, the status of which scribes were obviously aware of. It is clear that no such secondary vowel was pronounced in liturgical reading. This is included as an example of non-vocalization only because in VbII, alone among the manuscripts, we have vocalization in this example. There is only one other example of vocalization of secondary *jer* preceding original [®] in the entire comparative corpus (*umarl* Sg. Masc. Perfect from *umrěti* 6EB Mh). The example *zlaě* A. Pl. Neut. 5EA is included because we have vocalization in 4 of the manuscripts (OxII, VbI, VbII and NovIj). Forms of this adjective with vocalization (aside from N. Sg. Masc. Ind.) also occur sporadically in NYM. *m'ně* D. Sg. (from *azi*) 6EA is included only because Hm in this instance has *mani*, an obvious vernacularism. *s'mrt'* A. Sg. 7EA is an obvious vernacularism, for the regular CCS form *semrt'*. The form *nev'dit'-s'ci* N. Pl. Masc. 2EA 70d 1-2 (*I verovaše mži. nev'dit'-s'ci ssi. gnju., Et crediderunt viri Ninivite in deum, Jonah 3,5*) in VbII appears as *nevđita-sci. s'beret* 3 Sg. Pres. 6EB is included here because Mh has *saberet* in this instance. It must be admitted, though, that such vocalized forms of the present tense of this verb, probably a result of morpheme leveling, are fairly common, and occur also in NYM. The other 2 examples of non-vocalization are *dn* A. Sg. 6EA and *v's* N. Sg. Masc. of the pronoun 6EB.

We may conclude, then, that vocalization is virtually complete in hand **D**; non-vocalized forms are in this hand no more than isolated relics, of no statistical importance. In the prepositions, vocalization is not complete, though it is dominant. This fact, though, may be due to the existence of variant pronunciations, similar to the situation in the modern vernaculars.

Before passing on to the following topic, we must consider several further examples later in the manuscript in which we have apparent vocalization with a reflex other than *a*. There are 2 examples with the reflex *e* in the form *r'venui* 2 Sg. Inv.: *Ne r'venui luka-vimi*, 257c 7-8 and *Ne rvenui lukavimi* 259c 7 (cf. Hm *Ne r'v'nui lukavimi* 196b 17 and *Ne r'vnui luka-vimi* 197d 3-4). There are a number of examples with the reflex *o* in the preposition *vi*: *íci vo*

op'ć-ini apli. 224c 13-14, *ići vo op'ćini apli.* 227b 30, *ići vo op'ćini - , a, mčka.,* 236b 21-22, *ići vo op'ćini ot sgo. k'riža* 239a 23, *ići vo op'ćini ot mnozihi - mčki.,* 239b 3-4, *ići - vo op'ćni. ot križa,* 239b 4-5, *vo op'ćini bisk. mčk. po eđ.* 258a 20, *epliju. ići vo o-p'ćini* 259a 24-25, *Verueši li vo oca. i sna.* 292c 5. All but 1 of these latter examples occur in liturgical instructions, in which we are most likely to see vernacular features (Hm in such cases generally has *v zbori* for *vi op'ćině*). The last example occurs in one of the questions asked by the priest of the godfather (*kum*) in the ceremony for naming a child (*Čini znme-nti. mlděnce.* 292c 2-3). Given the similar phonetic (*jer + o*) and morphological (preposition *vi + noun*) context in each of these examples, we might suppose that they represent an assimilation, perhaps of *a* (in the vocalized form *va*), to the following word-initial *o*, or even, perhaps, an earlier assimilation of *jer* to the following *o*. However, we have already noted that it is a general tendency for CCS manuscripts to show the reflex *a* in just such an environment. We cannot, then, exclude the possibility that these examples reflect a vernacular reflex *o* for *jer*, such as is found in Dobrinj on the island of Krk (cf. Štefanić 1963:33 and Belić 1969:83).

2. Hypercorrect use of *ı* and *'*. Within the comparative corpus I noted no instances of hypercorrect use of *ı* or *'* for original *a*. Later in the manuscript, however, I noted several instances in which *'* stands in place of expected *e*. In Daniel 3,1-24 we have several times the name *Aběděnago* (in King James *Abednego* N. or A. Sg.; 120b 11-12, 120b 20, 120b 25-26, 120c 14) and on 120d 1-2 *ab'-ědengo*. Following these examples, we have several in which the initial "ě" is replaced by *'*: (*a*)*b'děnago* A. Sg. 120d 9, *ab'denago* A. Sg. 120d 20, *ab'de-ngo*. N. Sg. 120d 22-23. Here we may be dealing with no more than an accommodation to the Latin form of the name—*Abdenago*. However, in the same column we encounter the further examples *po-v'ľě* 3 Sg. Aor. 120d 6-7 (*I mžemi. krěp'čeišimi sic! - ot voin'stva s'voego, po-v'ľě s'vězav'se r-ucě i nozě sidha. misa-ka i* (*a*)*b'děnago vvrnutí. sic! v' - peći ognemi gorúcu,* 120d 5-10) and *v'č'ni* V. Sg. Masc. (*V'semogi v'č'ni be.,*) 120d 30. On 256a 21 we have *mat'ri* D. Sg. (*proti-vu mat'ri s'voei*).

3. ě. The sample (this hand's portion of the comparative corpus) contains 295 examples of a continuant of Common Slavic ě. In 183 instances the letter “ě” occurs, while in 112 we have an overt reflex. This yields a proportion of retention of “ě” of .62. Of the overt reflexes, there are 70 instances of *i*, and 42 of *e*. Of the 70 *i*-reflexes, 68 are expected according to J/M, while only 2 are not: *vidili* Sg. Masc. Perf. 70b 8-9 and *vid-il* Sg. Masc. Perf. 74c 6-7, which represent clear instances of paradigm leveling in a dialect in which *i* has been generalized as the stem vowel in verbs of Leskien's classes IVa and IVb. This could easily have taken place in an *i*-/*e*-type dialect. Of the 42 instances of *e*, 17 are expected according to J/M, while 25 are not.

Despite the unusually high proportion of *e*-reflexes which do not correspond to J/M, it seems clear that hand **D** does not reflect an *e*-type dialect. Most importantly, there are far too many *i*-reflexes—a considerable majority—for this to be a reflection of an *e*-type dialect. Admittedly, 20 of these *i*-reflexes occur in nominal desinences and could result from the generalization of “soft-stem” endings rather than from a phonetic change of ě > *i*. Still, there remain more *i*-reflexes than *e*-reflexes. Of the remainder, 15 appear as the stem vowel in forms of verbs which originally had the stem vowel ě (*umřeti*, *viděti*, *hotěti*, *sěděti*, *nenaviděti*, *vželeťi*, *rozuměti*). It is clear, then, that hand **D** reflects a dialect in which *i* was generalized as the stem vowel for these verbs, or certain of their forms. This would not be an *e*-type dialect.

We are faced, then, with the necessity of explaining individually as many as possible of the 25 instances of the reflex *e*, where it is not predicted by J/M. Fully 11 of these *e*-reflexes occur in the roots *ijuděi-*, *parisěi-*, *moisěi-* and *erěi-*. In OCS these roots occur with both *e* and ě. In CCS they occur with ě with sufficient regularity that we may posit an original CCS form for each with ě. Hand **D** also uses the spelling “ě” in these roots on a number of occasions. Of the remaining examples, some probably represent morpheme leveling, or other analogical processes. These include *telěsi* A. Du. 71c 12, *isceli* 3 Sg. Aor. 75b 16 (cf. *celivaše* 3 Sg. Ipt. 74c 2, *celov-a* G. Sg. 74d 3-4, and *celivajuće* non-agreeing gerund 74d 6-7), *s'mereni* N. Pl. Masc. P.P.P. 74a 5, *s'mereniě* G. Sg. 74a 16, perhaps

also *s'nedeti* 3 Pl. Pres. 71c 15, *v-ećanie* A. Sg. 76c 11-12 (= *sivěti*, contemporary S.-C. *savet*; in fact, this is probably an exclusively CCS lexeme, a fact which could by itself account for the reflex *e*); and *videni* L. Sg. 76b 7 (with *e* generalized as stem vowel of verbal nouns, where the stem vowel of the verb is not otherwise *a*). The root of the verb *Otvećav* N. Sg. Masc. 74c 23, as previously stated, most commonly occurs with *e*, as it is a CCS word not occurring in the vernacular. (We should note, though, that in hand **D** this word is otherwise almost regularly spelled with “ě”.) The prefix *prě-*, as in *prebivaet* 3 Sg. Pres. 77b 12-13, occurs with *e* even in manuscripts with predominantly *i*-reflexes. *v'zidete* 2 Pl. Imv.? 72b 1 (*Vi v'zidete - k dnevi. prazdnika sego, - az že ne vzidu...*, John 7,8, 'Go ye up unto this feast: I go not up yet...', ὑμεῖς ἀνάβητε εἰς τὴν ἑορτήν: ἐγὼ οὐκ ἀναβαίνω..., but *Vos ascendite ad diem festum hunc, ego autem non ascendo...*) is probably to be considered a present tense, and thus disregarded. The Latin, with *autem* for Slavic *že*, in any case better corresponds to the CCS text. This leaves 4 examples (*vr-etića* A. Pl. 70d 3-4, *ot gnev-a* G. Sg. 70d 22-23, *več'ni* A. Sg. Masc. 73a 30 and *seti* A. Pl. 76c 9) for which no likely explanation may be offered. We must bear in mind, though, that the spelling “e” for *ě* may reflect not only the dialect of the scribe (or the dialect reflected already in the matrix text), but also the liturgical pronunciation, in which forms normally spelled with “ě” were pronounced with *e*. It is most likely this liturgical pronunciation which is reflected in these and perhaps also others of the above-cited forms.

As my sample from hand **D** contains only 2 examples of the reflex *i* where *e* is predicted by J/M (both of which represent likely instances of morpheme-leveling), while there are 17 instances of the reflex *e* (representing 5 roots: *-věr-*, *-cěl-*, *-běd-*, *-měst-*, *něsti*) in which *e* is indeed predicted by J/M, it is likely that it is in fact an *i*/*e*-type dialect which is reflected in hand **D**.

4. Hypercorrect use of “ě”. My sample from hand **D** contains no less than 37 instances in which the letter “ě” is used in place of an original *e* or *i*. In one of these (*ne oběvue se* 73a 21: *aće ti es-i hi. reci nmi., ne oběvue se*, John 10,24), “ě” is clearly used in place of

original *i*. In 33 instances “ě” is used in place of original *e*. In *v’ - ljuděhi* 72d 23-24, we may consider “ě” either an analogical desinence of the locative case (analogy to the main, or *o*-stem paradigm) or as an alternate spelling (for original *e*) of the CCS desinence of the L. Pl. of *i*- and consonant-stem substantives. In *glvě*. G. Sg. 74d 8 (*ne pomazali esi glvě*. - *moee* Luke 7,46) and *v’dově* N. Pl. 76c 1 (*budite ženi ihı be-z diti i v’dově* Jeremiah 18,21), the spelling “ě” most likely stands not for the original desinence *i*, (< **y*), but for the newer analogical desinence *e* (< **e*).

5. **dj*, **zđj*, etc. Within my sample corpus (hand **D**'s portion of the comparative corpus) there are 14 instances of reflexes of **dj*. In 12 of these the reflex is *j* (once spelled “đ”: *građan* G. Pl. 4EA, otherwise by a sequence of vowel letters). In 2 instances (*prěžde* 1DB and *hoždaše* 3 Sg. lpt. 4EB) the reflex is *žd*. In 4 of the examples we have the 2 Sg. lmv. of *dati* (*dai* 5EA and 7EA), *prědati* (*prědai* 3EA) and *propověděti* (*propovii* 2EA). Of all the manuscripts, only Ill4 shows the reflex *žd* in any of these instances, and at that only in one of them (*prědažd'* 3EA). The remaining 10 examples represent too small a sample to allow for reliable conclusions. For this reason, I have analyzed the lections in 2 further sections of text in hand **D**: 113d 1 - 127b 3 (excluding 124b 29-30) and 170a 1 - 174. In these latter sections of text we have 23 (or 21, see below) examples of reflexes of **dj* and **zđj*. In 12 of these the reflex is *žd*, while in 11 it is *j* (spelled in each case by a sequence of vowel letters). This yields an overall total of 37 examples, of which 14 have the reflex *žd*, while 23 have the reflex *j*. Hand **D** is thus not quite so vernacularized in this respect as our original sample corpus seemed to indicate, but it is not so conservative as hand **A**, or, especially, **B**. The examples *V-iite* 126d 7-8 and *vite* 126d 10 seem to represent hypercorrect forms of the 2 Pl. lmv. (*V-iite ruci moi i nozi moi*, - *ěko sami esmi. azi, Ose-žit. me i vite, ěko ...* Luke 24,39, cf. ἴδετε τὰς χεῖράς μου καὶ τοὺς πόδας μου, ὅτι ἐγὼ εἰμι αὐτός: ψηλαφήσατέ με καὶ ἴδετε, ὅτι...), with the stem of the singular being used in the plural. It is also possible, though, that these are vernacular forms of the present tense, with loss of the intervocalic *d* (cf. *Videte manus meas, et pedes, quia ego ipse*

sum; palpate et videte, quia...). This suggestion is reasonable, of course, only if such forms do indeed occur in the northern čakavian dialects. There are some further patterns in the data which may help to characterize hand **D**. First, the *j* reflex is almost always spelled by a sequence of vowel letters. This sharply distinguishes hand **D** from, say, hand **A**², which is also fairly vernacularized with respect to this feature. Second, in its 6 occurrences within our sample, the particle *-žde* always appears thus, while the preposition **medju* in its 6 occurrences has always the reflex *j*. In 3 occurrences (*daždi* N. Sg. 114a 21, *daž-di* N. Pl. 114b 26-27 and *ot dažda* G. Sg. 118c 27) the Common Slavic stem **dъzdj-* appears with the reflex *-žd-*. We must note, though, that this root rarely occurs with the reflex *j* in CCS.

6. Spelling of *j*. Though hand **D** normally spells the sound *j* by use of a vowel letter (word-initially, or following the apostrophe or another vowel letter), there are a few instances of the overt spelling with “*đ*” (cf. *građa-ni* G. Pl. 73a 1-2, *đihomi* 1 Pl. Aor. 125b 1, *Oči že đeju* G. Du. 125c 6, and *s glsmi. veliđimi* I. Sg. Masc. 174c 4).
7. Reflexes of **ę*. Within the comparative corpus I found no interesting data. At a later point in the manuscript, I noted the form *n-ača* 3 Sg. Aor. (from **načęti* 257a 11-12).
8. **j*. In a number of instances, hand **D** has *ul* as the reflex of Common Slavic **j*. In two other instances the reflex is *u*, and in one it is *lu*. I noted the following examples: *sulzami* I. Pl. 74b 30, *d-ulžnika* N. Du. 74c 14-15, *dul'žna* N. Du. 74c 15, *du-l'žani* N. Sg. Masc. 74c 17-18, *dul'gi* A. Sg. 74c 21, *sul'z-ami* I. Pl. 74d 1-2, *vul'niě* G. Sg. 116a 11 (*i pokri e gi. po s'rede - vul'niě*, Exodus 14,27 *et involvit eos Dominus in mediis fluctibus*), *dul'got'ni* N. Sg. Masc. 117a 24, *sul'zi* N. Pl. 121a 17, *sulncu.* (sic!) D. Sg. 124c 6, *prišul'ci* N. Sg.! 125c 14, *duž'-na* A. Sg. Masc. Anim. 171b 20-21, *dul'gi* A. Sg. 171b 30, *dužani* N. Sg. 171c 7, *dul'gi* A. Sg. 171c 13, *dulgi* A. Sg. 171c 22, *dul'gi* A. Sg. 171c 29, *Sul'-n'ce* N. Sg. 174b 17-18, *vulnahi* L. Pl. 225a 11 (*va vulnahi mors'khi*), *vul'nu* A. Sg. 225d 10 (*V'ziska vul'nu i lanu*), *dulžnimi* I. Sg. Masc. 231a 28, *sul'ce* (sic!) N. Sg. 233c 30, *dul'žni* N. Pl. 239a 11, *sulnca.* (sic!) G. Sg. 246b 23, *prišulci* N. Pl.

251d 4 (but cf. *za - ljubal'shago ni ba*. 252b 13-14), *v'l'uki* (sic!) A. Pl. (or I. Pl.: *Se azi šalju v-i ěk. ov'ce meju v'l'uki*, Matthew 10,16) 253b 9, *dulgota* N. Sg. 255a 10, *dulgotoju* I. Sg. 255d 16, *sulnce*. (sic!) A. Sg. 257b 13, *v' dulgotu*. (sic!) A. Sg. 285c 13, *žul'či* A. Sg. 287a 7, *ispul'nili esi* 2 Sg. Masc. Perf. 287c 26, *su-l'nce* N. Sg. 287d 6-7, and *tul'kućemu* D. Sg. Masc. Pr.A.P. 292b 1-2. It should be clear from the number, variety and distribution of the examples that we are not dealing with insignificant copying errors. Rather, this is a significant characteristic of hand **D**. Only hand **C** has a single example which is probably similar: *sunlce*. N. Sg. 54b 25. The first 6 examples cited above occur within the comparative corpus. No other manuscript has a similar reflex in any of these instances or, for that matter, anywhere in the comparative corpus.

9. The use of the apostrophe and *titla* in hand **D** is striking. The apostrophe is occasionally placed somewhat to the right of the position in which it is expected. At times, in fact, the apostrophe seems to be clearly to the right of a letter when it belongs just as clearly to the left of it. As this phenomenon is not at all regular, it sometimes leads to insoluble difficulties in transliteration, for we cannot always discover the scribe's intention. We must bear in mind that scribes by no means place the apostrophe, ultimately a continuant of the letter "jor", always in the position in which etymology leads us to expect it. In examples such as *tv'oriši* or *t'voriši* 2 Sg. Pres. 72a 17, *Vr'ime* or *V'rime* N. Sg. 72a 24, *tv'oihı* or *t'voihı* G. Pl. 73a 2, *Azb'o* or *Az'bo* N. Sg. 73a 5 and *ist'in'nimi* or *is'tin'nimi* I. Sg. Masc. 73d 3, the scribe's intentions seem clear, for the position of the apostrophe in the first variant of each pair has no parallel in CCS usage, and the apostrophe in this position has no possible function. In examples such as *isk'rnega* or *is'krnega* G. Sg. Masc. 72d 25, *vz'vės-elili esi* or *v'zvės-elili esi* 2 Sg. Masc. Perf. 73a 7-8 and *vs'tajučı*. or *v'stajučı*. G. Pl. Pr.A.P. 73c 6, etc., the scribe's intentions cannot be easily discerned. In the first pair, the apostrophe might well be used to break up a consonant cluster, especially following a cluster-initial *s*, or it might be used preceding (or following) a vocalic *r*. In the second pair, the apostrophe might be used between prefix and root, or in "etymological" position

within the prefix. In either case it serves to break up an (orthographic) consonant cluster. In the third pair, again, the apostrophe may be used following *s* in a consonant cluster, or in “etymological” position within the consonant cluster. We should note, in this connection, that hand **D** is characterized by the particularly widespread use of superfluous, “non-etymological” apostrophe (cf. some of the above-cited examples, also *sv’oihi* or *s’voihı* G. Pl. 70d 27, *prila-st’i* or *prila-s’ti* 3 Sg. Imv. 72d 2-3, *br’ata* or *b’rata* A. Sg. 72d 27 and *ne zn’aju* or *ne z’naju* 1 Sg. Pres. 71c 27, etc., etc.).

Hand **D** is also characterized by the widespread use of superfluous *titla*. This often appears over vocalic *r* or *l*, as in: *semrti*. G. Sg. 70a 14, *žrtvami*. I. Pl. 126a 30, *krvi*. A. Sg. 171a 10, *mrtvihi*. G. Pl. 241d 27, *skrbi*. G. Sg. 230d 16, *isplniti*. Inf. 126d 26, *st’pi*. A. Sg. 118d 3, and many similar examples, which might suggest that the scribe pronounced a secondary vowel along with the liquid in such words, and thus interpreted the absence of an accompanying vowel in CCS orthography to be a form of abbreviation.⁴⁸ However, the *titla* is also used occasionally even when an accompanying vowel is expressed explicitly: *sulncu*. D. Sg. 124c 6, *sulnca*. G. Sg. 246b 23, *sulnce*. A. Sg. 257b 13, and *v’dulgotu*. A. Sg. 285c 13. There are many other instances of superfluous *titla* which do not lend themselves to any such explanation in terms of pronunciation. There are particularly many examples in which a superfluous *titla* occurs over the cluster *tv*,

⁴⁸ I do not include here such forms as *srce*. N. Sg. 170b 26, *Crkvě*. G. Sg. 224c 15, etc., as these words appear almost regularly with *titla* in other hands as well. The form *srce*, which corresponds to vernacular pronunciation, was obviously considered to be an abbreviation of *srd’ce* (the G. Pl. is *srd’c’/srdac’*). It is not clear how we are to interpret the form *srece*. N. Sg. 170b 25. Examples such as *crkva*. reflect the fact that at least some čakavian dialects use forms of this word derived from **crěky*, instead of **crky* (cf. such forms as *crikvi*. *tvoei* D. Sg. 235a 23 - though again with *titla!* - which occur sporadically in the manuscripts; cf. also the name of the town Crikvenica). These forms are thus similar to those of the oblique cases of the noun *ot’c’ - oca., ocu.*, etc. - which regularly appear with the *titla*, as they are considered to be abbreviations of *ot’ca, ot’cu*, etc.

such as: *žrtvi*. G. Sg. 224c 16, *tvoee.*, G. Sg. Fem. 224c 21, *bogatastviě*. A. Pl. or G. Sg. 226a 25, *kletv-i*. G. Sg. 236d 11-12, *roistva*. G. Sg. 240b 22, *hodotaistvomi*. I. Sg. 227d 15, *bl-ažen'stviě*. G. Sg. 225a 18-19, *bal'stvo*. A. Sg. 282d 20, *bogatas'tvo*. N. Sg. 255a 12, *v židovstvě*. L. Sg. 224b 3, *m'nožas'tv-o*. A. Sg. 224a 14-15, *mrtvihi*. G. Pl. 241d 27, and many similar examples. I can think of no obvious reason for this striking fact. I have repeated some of the examples cited above in which *titla* appears above a syllabic liquid. This is because it is not always possible to determine which of its various possible functions the symbol is intended to perform in a given example. There are other examples in which a superfluous *titla* appears above *v*: *upvae-ti*. 3 Sg. Pres. 225d 5-6 (thus often), *krvi*. G. Sg. 224b 20 (and similar examples with this lexeme). There are numerous other examples, however, which do not lend themselves to any generalization, other than that the *titla* seems to occur over a consonant cluster: *pravadniki*. N. Sg. 236b 22, *pos'lidni*. A. Sg. Masc. 226a 16 (in both cases over *dn*), *vlasti*. A. Sg. 227a 23 (over *st*), *istina*. N. Sg. 227b 13, *prazdniki*. A. Sg. 227a 11 (over *zd*), *bisti*. 3 Sg. Aor. 224c 7, *věčni*. A. Sg. Masc. 224c 25, etc.

10. Miscellaneous orthographic facts. Hand **D** often abbreviates an infinitive form in *-titi* to *-tti.*, which is not common in other hands. We occasionally find unusual hypercorrect spelling forms. I noted: *iz žnego* G. Sg. Masc./Neut. 243a 7, *iz žnihı* G. Pl. 244a 3, *iz ž'nego* G. Sg. Masc./Neut. 292c 23, *razizori idoli* N. Sg. Masc. P.A.P. 292d 12 and *raz'zori v'se set-i* N. Sg. Masc. P.A.P. 292d 25-26.
11. Miscellaneous dialectological facts. There is some indication that word-final *t* in the cluster *st* was lost in the dialect reflected by hand **D**. We have *mazi* for *masti* A. Sg. (*v' mazi ne-priětli.*, 260c 28-29 *ad ultionem inimicorum* Wisdom 5,18), but hypercorrect *užas'ti* for *užası* N. Sg. 261a 10 (*Křěpos'tı prvdngo. - putı gni., i užas'tı t'v-orecımı z'lođe, Fortitudo simplicis via Domini, Et pavor his qui operantur malum* Proverbs 10, 29).

I noted 2 instances of *pr-* for *pri-* without *titla*: *Nad prnošen(iemi)* I. Sg. 241b 6 and *prnese-nie* A. Pl. Masc. P.P.P. 248d 13-14, but cf. also *potrbnaě* A. Sg. Neut. 225d 16. I also noted the form *pris't-i* N. Pl. 225d 28-29 (*i pris't-i ee priěše vrěteno.*). This is probably a

hypercorrect spelling of *prst*, and is a strong indication that the scribe of hand **D** (unless, of course, he copied this form from his matrix text, which is not likely) himself spoke with forms having undergone the change *pri* > *pr*.

There are several examples of *o* for *u*. The following examples are clear: *obo* 237d 20 (for *ubo*: *Nine obo sinově - čski. poslušajte me, Nunc ergo, filii, audite me*: Proverbs 8,32), *noě* N. Sg. 242b 15 (for *nužda/nuě*: *Noě bo e. prigo-diti sab'laz'nomi, Necesse est enim ut veniant scandala*: Matthew 18,7), and *om'no-žit' se* 3 Sg. Pres. 256a 11-12 (for *um'nožit' se*). Further, we have the less certain examples *več'noju* A. Sg. Fem. 286c 12 (for *věč'nuju: i otpučenje nmi. - da obdržiti i slvu. - več'noju*) and *prěcen'noju* A. Sg. Fem. 287c 9 (for *prěčěn'nuju: i kr'vi t'voju prěcen'noju*). These 2 examples may show no more than that the scribe did not in his own speech have uncontracted long forms of adjectives, and thus was unable, on occasion, to avoid confusion of the learned endings *-uju* and *-oju*. In the first example he may have mistaken the form *slvu*. for the instrumental case (forms with the čakavian ending *-u* occur sporadically in the manuscripts). In the second example, the scribe may have used the ending *-oju* by analogy to the pronominal "ending" *-oju* in *t'voju*. Conversely, there are a very few examples in which *u* may stand in place of *o*. On 230c 30 we have what appears to be *nuvu* A. Sg. Fem. (for *novu: Vs'poite - gvě. pės. nuvu.,,* with *titla!*), with a ligature "uv". It may be, though, that this apparent spelling with "u" represents no more than an attempt by the scribe to correct an "u" to an "o". On 291a 17-18 we have *olokav'-tumatı* N. Sg. (for *olokavtomatı: Ôko olokav'-tumat ovanı i junacı*).

On 239 20 we read *zlin'emi*. for *znamienı* (cf. Hm *Znmienı. sgo. krž. 180c 26*). This form seems to indicate a dissimilative change *zn* > *zl*. It is not obvious how the *i*, instead of *e*, in this form is to be explained.

On 238a 4 we have *brezi* for the preposition *bezi* (*brezi prikos'neniě*).

On 231a 8 *Lev'lđiti* stands in place of *Lev'diti*. Such apparent hypercorrect spellings, which occur but rarely in the manuscripts, as well as equally rare instances of omission of an expected

epenthetic *l*, seem to indicate that a change of *lj > j* had already taken place at this time. On 288a 10 we have *s'taca* A. Sg. for *star'ca* (*Otroče že - s'taca d'vizaše*).

9.4 Conclusion

Hand **D** encompasses more of the text of NYM than any other hand, and therefore occupies a special place in the discussion of the scribes and the organization of their work. Hand **D** is certainly not the best in the manuscript. Hands **A**, **A²**, **A³**, **B¹** and **E** are more elegant. Hands **A**, **B**, **A³** and **G** are in certain respects considerably more conservative, and all hands (except **B¹**) seem to be more conservative in regard to orthographic vocalization of *jer*. The use of the apostrophe and *titla* is unusual. This scribe also gives expression to certain dialect features which are expressed less, or not at all, in other hands (e.g. *ul* for *l*, *jer > o*, *e*, etc.).

Still, this is a generally competent scribe. We rarely find the crudity which characterizes hand **C**, and we do not find as many mistakes, or instances of confusion, as we encountered in hand **B**.

We can attempt to localize the dialect reflected by this hand, though the answer will remain far from certain. The facts of *ě* suggest an *i-/e*-type dialect, though one in which the tradition of *e*-type pronunciation in liturgical reading was very strong, and in which the scribe may have been regularly exposed to some forms with the reflex *e* where this is not predicted by J/M. Probably, then, we are dealing with an *i-/e*-type dialect in the close proximity and in regular contact with, and possibly under the influence of, some area with an *e*-type dialect. The facts concerning *jer*, with the reflexes *e* (other than in the stems of *semrti* and *deći*) and *o*, seem to point toward the island of Krk.

The apparent changes *pri-* > *pr-* and *u > o* have been noted in other hands as well. The latter "change" has been noted rarely in the dialectological literature, and seems to conflict with known trends in čakavian phonetics.

10.1 Overview

Despite its superficial similarity to hand **B**, this hand is, throughout most of its portion of text, considerably more elegant, and is not characterized by the fairly numerous mistakes and instances of confusion which occur in hand **B**. The upper and lower lines seem in general neater, and letters are not so elongated as those in hand **B**. Strokes seem to be straighter, or have fewer curves, than those in hands **A**, **A²**, **A³** and **B**, but are neater than in hands **C** and (most often) **D**. This hand contains only 4 Latin initial letters: small and insignificant letters “M” on 102a 29 and 109a 10, a large ornate letter “N” on 113b 13, and a probably Latin letter “P”, fairly large and fairly ornate, on 98a 22.

10.2 Characteristic shapes

1. *titla*—Most often this symbol consists of a thin line. It may be long or short, straight or a bit wavy. Occasionally, though not often, at the left end it curves upward or turns upward and back to the right in a curve or sharp hook. At the right end it occasionally curves downward. In a few instances it is crossed by a short diagonal stroke, as happens in hand **B**. When this symbol is not curved or hooked at the ends and is thicker than usual, it resembles the *titla* of hand **D**.
2. *a*—The central vertical stroke extends slightly or moderately above the upper line. The right corner is sometimes replaced by a curved line from the lower line to the central vertical stroke. In most instances, though, the corner is maintained.
3. *i*—Most often there is a much greater curve (or even a break) in the stroke connecting the upper left to the lower right corner than in the stroke connecting the upper right to the lower left corner. Occasionally, however, the latter stroke is just as curved, or even, in instances, a bit more (cf. *rdi.* 110c 30 and *žel-eniemi* 110c 27-28).
4. *ž*—The right antenna is generally straighter and shorter, the left antenna curved or bent downward at its middle and longer. It is difficult to say that either is consistently heavier than the other.

The center of the angle formed by the antennae generally leans somewhat to the left, or it may point directly upward.

5. *g, h*—The left stem of “*g*” is generally curved just slightly (cf. 84c 15, 111a 16, 28), or seems straight, except that it is bent somewhere between the middle and the top (e.g. 83c 30). Occasionally, however, the curve is more noticeable. The left stem of “*h*” tends to be a bit more curved, though not always. The left stem of both letters protrudes moderately below the lower line. The left stem of “*h*” extends slightly, occasionally not at all, above the upper line. It is not “capped” by a horizontal stroke, but often hooks slightly to the left at the top, very similar to hand **A**.
6. *t*—Hand **B¹** uses exclusively the form z . On just one occasion (80a 24), I noted the form z . This is a striking contrast to all other hands of NYM. Hands **B** and **A²** utilize this form, though not regularly.
7. *pr*—The horizontal extension above the upper line can be short and fail to extend over the following letter, similar to hand **A²**. Often, though, it is longer, and can extend over the entire following letter. When the extension is long, it is often so lightly drawn that it does not appear clearly (or at all) in the facsimile edition of NYM. The shape of this stroke is similarly unstable. It can be gracefully curved or straight, and the ends may lie on the same plane, or the right end may be higher.
8. Abbreviation by suspension—Hand **B¹** contains very little abbreviation by suspension, aside from the standard abbreviations *gi. bi.*, if we are to consider this as suspension. The form *esti* is regularly abbreviated as *e.*, but with a normal *titla*. On 78d 11 we have *v' e. d. s. bi.*, for *v' edinstvě duha svetago bogi*,; on 78d 12 *l z. d.*, for *l si duhom*,; on 106b 25 *n.* for *naši*; on 84c 16 *s.* for *slovo*, and possibly several more examples. In all cases a normal *titla* is used. The relative conjunction *ěko* is abbreviated as *ěk.*, with the “*k*” in line (I noted only 1 exception); in hand **D** the “*k*” in this abbreviation is often written above the “*ě*”.

10.3 Orthography and language

1. *jer*. In a sample of 124 examples (taken from the lections in folia 77-84) in which vocalization occurs or is expected, we have 117 actual instances of vocalization, for a proportion of .94.

In all 5 occurrences of the N. (A.) Sg. Masc. form of the pronouns *tī* and *sī* we have vocalization. I have excluded from the statistics the example *Va tī čsī*. 83d 27, in which the pronoun forms a phonological unit with the preceding preposition, which thus has its *jer* in strong position. The *jer* of the pronoun was certainly lost in this position in CCS, just as it is not pronounced in the modern čakavian dialects. In both examples of the conjunction *nī* we have vocalization.

There are 30 occurrences of the prepositions *kī*, *vī* and *sī* in which we might expect vocalization, 28 of which show vocalization. In strong position, there are 7 instances with vocalization and 1 without (*sī* - ,*bi*>, *učenikoma* 82d 13-14). Preceding a word-initial vowel there are 14 occurrences, 13 with vocalization, and 1 without (*v ime* 78c 19). Preceding a word-initial consonant identical to that of the preposition, or differing from it only in voicing, there are 8 occurrences, all with vocalization.

There are 10 occurrences of the prefixes *vī(n)-*, *sī(n)-* in which we might expect vocalization, all of which are vocalized.

This leaves a remainder of 77 examples, in 72 of which we have vocalization, for a proportion of .94. Vocalization is lacking in the following examples: *množstvo* N. Sg. 77d 16 and 78a 4, in which the *jer* was presumably in weak position and subject to being lost in the vernacular (though we also have the example *množ-astvo* N. Sg. 78d 22-23, and similar examples sporadically in the manuscripts); *v dnī* A. Sg. 82b 23; *ot s'na* 83c 17, in which it is not obvious that the preposition was pronounced with a final *-a*; and *crki-vī*. A. Sg. 84a 25-26. I have excluded from the statistics *na či* A. 83d 10 (*Družē na či esi priša-li*), in which, as in the example *Va tī čsī*. 83d 27 cited above, the preposition forms a phonological unit with the following pronoun. The *jer* of the pronoun was lost in this position. There are 4 other examples of the vernacular pronoun *či* in the sample, all with vocalization.

It is clear, from these data, that vocalization is virtually a completed process in hand **B¹**, just as in hand **D**. For these two hands, it is probably incorrect to speak of “variation” between vocalized and unvocalized forms. Rather, vocalization is complete, while only occasional relics remain of the earlier variation.

2. Hypercorrect use of *ı* and *'*. Within the sample (extended to include folia 77-85), I noted only 1 instance in which the symbol *ı* stands in place of an original *a*: *ni-rcaemago*. (for *naricaemago*) G. Sg. Masc. Pr.P.P. 85a 12-13. As in hand **D**, then, we note virtually complete orthographic vocalization of *jer*, along with the almost complete absence of hypercorrect use of *ı* and *'* for original *a*. This latter trait should not be interpreted in these hands as conservatism or correctness. In fact, the very condition which had made possible such hypercorrect usage no longer exists in these hands. When *jer* and *a* ceased to be distinct phonemes, both being pronounced as *a*, it became inevitable that variation in spelling would occur: “a” might be written where formerly *jer* had been pronounced. Conversely, *ı* and *'*, inasmuch as they had in some forms spelled the sound *jer* which had now become *a*, might also be used to spell the sound *a* where it was not derived from an earlier *jer*. During the fourteenth and early fifteenth centuries, a gradual process of redistribution of these symbols took place. The letter “a”, which had always represented exclusively the sound *a*, was generalized to spell that sound in all environments. The symbols *'* and *ı*, which both before and after the merger of *jer* and *a* had been used also in various orthographic functions—particularly as a marker of word boundaries, and between consonant and vowel to indicate the presence of the sound *j* (but also arbitrarily within consonant clusters, especially following *s*)—gradually became specialized for these latter functions. When the letter “a” became generalized for all instances in which the sound *jer* had once been pronounced, by this very fact the functions of these two sets of symbols became distinct and variation between them ended. Thus, we would no longer even expect hypercorrect spelling of *ı* or *'* for *a*, as the very concept of spelling *a* with these symbols no longer existed.

3. ě. My sample (taken from folia 77-86) contains 279 instances of a continuant of Common Slavic ě. In 70 of these we find the spelling “ě”, while in 209 an overt reflex occurs. This yields a rate of retention of “ě” of .25, the lowest for any hand in NYM. Of the overt reflexes, there are 85 occurrences of *i*, fully 78 of which are predicted by J/M, and 124 of *e*, only 50 of which are predicted by J/M. In other words, of 152 instances in which *i* is predicted by J/M, *i* actually occurs in 78, while *e* occurs in 74; of 57 instances in which *e* is predicted by J/M, *e* actually occurs in 50, *i* in only 7.

Unlike the hands we have discussed previously, then, here we have a clear majority of *e*-reflexes; and of these, a clear majority are not predicted by J/M. While this might seem to suggest that hand **B**¹ reflects an *e*-type dialect, a close examination of the data shows that this is not likely. Most importantly, there are still 85 examples of the reflex *i* within the limited sample corpus. Some of these, it is true, admit other explanations than that *i* was the phonetic reflex of ě in the given form in the dialect of the scribe of hand **B**¹. In 14 examples, *i* may represent a generalization of the “soft-stem” desinences in nominal forms: *sebi* D. Sg. 78a 8, *ka - gori* D. Sg. 78b 15-16, *sionovi* D. Sg. Fem. 78b 29 (*Rcite hćeri, sionovi*), *na ždrěb-eti* L. Sg. 78c 1-2, *o imeni* L. Sg. 81d 9, *isvi* L. Sg. 81d 9 (*o imeni isvi*), *v ruci* A. Du. 82b 15, *v' c-rikvi* L. Sg. 84a 2-3 (analogical desinence), *pri dv-ori* L. Sg. 84b 26-27, *va sni* L. Sg. 85a 27, *na čedihi* L. Pl. 85b 18, *po - glavi* D./L. Sg. 85c 5-6, *godini* L. Sg. 86a 1 (*I pri deveto-i godini*), *mnozim'* D. Pl. 86b 1 (*i ěviše se mnozim'*). In 10 examples, *i* may represent a similar process of generalization of the suffix *-i-* in the stem of the imperative, based on the original form of the imperative in verbs with a palatal present stem, as well as in verbs of Leskien's class IV: *rcite* 2 Pl. Imv. 78b 29 and 82d 6, *Idite* 2 Pl. Imv. 82d 5 and 86c 15, *Vstanite* 2 Pl. Imv. 83c 26, *idimo* (sic!) 1 Pl. Imv. 83c 26, and *strzite* 2 Pl. Imv. 86c 15. Here we also have 3 examples in which *i* is not predicted by J/M: *idita* 2 Du. Imv. 78b 18, *rcita* 2 Du. Imv. 78b 24, and *priv-edita* 2 Du. Imv. 78b 22-23. It is not inconceivable that in *bihu* 3 Pl. Ipt. 84a 10 and 86b 7, and in *biše* 3 Sg. Ipt. 86c 5 we are dealing with a generalization of the infinitive stem of the verb *biti*. There remain, though, 54 instances of the reflex *i*, where *i* is predicted by J/M, which cannot easily be

accounted for, other than by a phonetic change of *ě* > *i*. This includes 28 examples in roots, representing 17 lexemes and 16 roots: *mis-eca* G. Sg. 77d 19-20, *riše* 3 Pl. Aor. 77d 25, *s-imo* Adv. 77d 28-29, *siděhomı* 1 Pl. Aor./Ipt. 77d 29, *tribuetı* 3 Sg. Pres. 78b 25, *side* N. Sg. Masc. Pr.A.P. 78c 1, *vist-e* 2 Pl. Pres. 82b 11-12, *vrime* G. Sg. 82c 28-29, *Vrime* N. Sg. 82d 7, *grihovı* G. Pl. 83a 15, *riše* 3 Pl. Aor. 83b 12, *v' c-rikvi* L. Sg. 84a 2-3, *pobigoše* 3 Pl. Aor. 84a 7, *sidiše* 3 Sg. Ipt. 84a 14, *siděše* 3 Sg. Ipt. 84b 26, *Ne vimı* 1 Sg. Pres. 84c 1, *riše* 3 Pl. Aor. 84c 10, *riči* N. Sg. 84c 11, *se obis-i* 3 Sg. Aor. 84d 6-7, *riše* 3 Pl. Aor. 84d 8, *ucinenago* G. Sg. Masc. P.P.P. 84d 20, *uc-iniše* 3 Pl. Aor. 84d 20-21, *Sideću* D. Sg. Masc. Pr.A.P. 85a 22, *vinac* A. Sg. 85b 28, *smišano* A. Sg. Neut. P.P.P. 85c 19, *issikalı* 3 Sg. Masc. Perf. 86b 25, *striči* Inf. 86c 7, and *viste* 2 Pl. Pres. 86c 16. Further, there are 7 examples of the reflex *i* in the stem of verbs of Leskien's class IV/b: *Vidivše* N. Pl. Masc. P.A.P. 82c 1, *skrbiti* Inf. 83b 20, *pobditi* Inf. 83c 5, *sidiše* 3 Sg. Ipt. 84a 14, *vidi* 3 Sg. Aor. 84c 3, *vidivı* N. Sg. Masc. P.A.P. 84c 27, and *vidiv'š-e* N. Pl. Masc. P.A.P. 86b 3-4. A neutralization of the distinction between Leskien's classes IV/a and IV/b is likely, of course, only in a dialect with the *i*- or *i*-*e*-type reflex of Common Slavic *ě* in some forms of these verbs based on the infinitive stem. In 5 instances, the reflex *i* occurs in the stem of verbs not of Leskien's IV/b: *umriti* Inf. 77d 26, 78a 3 and 83b 10, *grediše* 3 Sg. Ipt. 84a 11, and *Imi-še* 3 Sg. Ipt. 85a 10-11. The lexeme **starěišina* occurs 8 times with the reflex *i*: *starišini* N. Pl. 82b 18, 84a 16, 84c 23, 84d 29, and 85a 28, *st-arišini* G. Pl. 83d 2-3, *starišinam* D. Pl. 84d 1, *st-arišinami* I. Pl. 85d 16-17. The remaining 6 examples are *Kadi* (for *iděže*!) 77d 10, *jutri* adverb from original L. Sg. 78a 17, *po dviju - d'nu* L. Num. 82b 12-13, *kadi-koli* conj. 82c 16-17, *Kadi* Interr. Adv. 82d 2, and *vani* Adv. 84b 26. Considering this very significant collection of examples of the reflex *i*, it seems most unlikely that hand B¹ is the work of a scribe who spoke an *e*-type dialect. Some of these examples may very well have been copied by the scribe from his matrix text; it is unlikely, however, that a scribe who was himself an *e*-type speaker would copy such a large number of *i*-reflexes.

There remain 4 examples (other than the 3 discussed above) of the reflex *i*, where this is not predicted by J/M: *rizahu* 3 Pl. Aor. 78c

12, *spridi* Adv. 78c 15, and *svit* A. Sg. (= contemporary S.-C. *savet*) 82b 20 and 84c 21. This number of examples is far too insignificant to suggest that hand **B**¹ might reflect an *i*-type dialect. The forms may have been copied by the scribe from his matrix text; or, alternatively, they may represent vacillation, or a mixture of dialect types in the use of the scribe.

It is necessary, then, to account for the very large number of *e*-reflexes, particularly in cases where *e* is not predicted by J/M. Of the latter instances, in which *i* is predicted by J/M, fully 25 are of the roots (-)*erěi*-, *ijuděi*-, *moisěi*-, *galilěi*- and *parisěi*-, which vacillate between *ě* and *e* even in OCS. As I have mentioned previously, these roots are included here among those with original *ě* because forms with *ě* clearly predominate in CCS manuscripts. Another 8 examples are of the CCS verb *otvěcati* (*otv-ěca* 3 Sg. Aor. 82d 28-29 and 85b 16, *Otvěcav* N. Sg. Masc. P.A.P. 83a 30 and 85b 2, *otvěca-eši* 2 Sg. Pres. 84a 29-30, *otvěcaše* 3 Pl. Aor. 84b 18, *otvěca* 3 Sg. Aor. 84d 30 and *ne - otvěca* 3 Sg. Aor. 85a 3-4), which often appears with *e* even in the more archaic manuscripts (regularly so in III4) and in those in which the reflex *i* is otherwise predominant (especially N and Hm). There are 3 examples of the prefix *prě-* (*prevznes-e* 3 Sg. Aor. 81d 6-7, *preispodnihı* G. Pl. Neut.? 81d 11, *pre-žde* 83b 5-6) which likewise often appears with the reflex *e* even in texts in which the reflex *i* is predominant (especially III8, often in B). There is one example of the conjunction *doideže* (83b 17), which occurs primarily with *e* in OCS, but in CCS most often with *ě* (cf. 4DC: 3 locations, and once in 6DA; for *iděže* cf. 6DB). There are 3 examples of the root *pět-* 'rooster' (*petehı* N. Sg. 83a 6 and *peteh* N. Sg. 84c 15 and 84c 18). *JAZU* (s. *pjeteh*) notes that this form of the lexeme *pjetao* is almost entirely limited to the čakavian dialects, and is attested only with the vowel *e* in the first syllable.⁴⁹ Six examples might be explained as instances of morpheme leveling: in *obrete* 3 Sg. Aor. 81d 1, 83c 2 and 83c 15, we may have a generalization of the vowel of the present stem (*e* < **e*); in *veše* 3 Pl. Aor. 84a 9 and 85c 9 and *vese* 3 Pl. Aor. 84c 25

⁴⁹ "... gotovo samo iz čakavskoga govora, i to samo s vokalom e u prvom slogu, ..."

(from *vesti*, root *ved-*) we likewise may have generalization of the vowel found in most forms of the word. In 3 other examples (*Smeri* 3 Sg. Aor. 81d 2, *mnogocennago* G. Sg. Neut. 82b 29 and *telesa* N. Pl. 86a 27) we may have morpheme leveling in a root which earlier had had *i* in some forms, but *e* in others, in keeping with J/M.

There remain, then, 25 examples of the reflex *e*, where *i* is predicted by J/M, which cannot be easily explained. Twelve examples occur in roots, representing 10 lexemes and 7 or 8 roots: *žrebaci* A. Sg. 78c 6, *otreš'ša* N. Du. Masc. P.A.P. 78b 22, *vetvie* A. Sg. 78c 12, *sedite* 2 Pl. Inv. 83b 16; the first syllable of *si-vedelli*. (incorrect abbreviation of *svěděteli*) I. Pl. 84a 20-21, *si-vedetelstvujuti* 3 Pl. Pres. 84a 30-b 1, *svedtelstva*. G. Sg. 84b 15, and *s'-vedetlstvujuti*. 3 Pl. Pres. 85a 2-3; *v's'-pe* 3 Sg. Aor. 84c 15-16, *setiju* I. Sg. 84d 6, *Svečavše* N. Pl. Masc. P.A.P. 84d 11, and *sedeći* N. Sg. Fem. 86b 28. Six examples occur in desinences: *v' he. ise*. L. Sg. 81c 24, *Temžde* I. Sg. (or adverb) 81d 6, *na oblacehi* L. Pl. 84b 11, *Temždě* I. Sg. (or adverb) 84d 14 and *po ise*. L. Sg. 86b 9. The remaining 7 instances are *gibeli* N. Sg. 82c 3, *ottol-e* adverb 82c 27-28; the second syllable of *svdetlstva*. G. Sg. 84a 18, *si-vedelli*. I. Pl. 84a 20-21 (for *svěděteli*), *si-vedetelstvujuti* 3 Pl. Pres. 84a 30-b 1, and *s'vedetlstvujuti*. 3 Pl. Pres. 85a 2-3; and *Otsele* 84b 8.

We have seen that while many examples of the reflex *e*, in which *i* is expected according to J/M, can be explained other than by a phonetic process yielding *e* from *ě*, there remain many other examples for which no such explanation seems likely. Yet we have already determined that hand **B¹** most likely does not reflect an *e*-type dialect. We must conclude, then, that these instances of the reflex *e* in fact reflect either the liturgical pronunciation (perhaps in an area in which the tradition of pronouncing CCS "ě" as *e* was particularly strong), or a dialect located near to, and subject to influence by, an *e*-type dialect (i.e. in which *e*-type pronunciation may have enjoyed greater prestige). If, however, this large number of examples of the reflex *e* does not indicate that *e* was the normal reflex of *ě* in the dialect reflected by hand **B¹**, we must then also ask just how significant are the numerous examples of the reflex *e* in which *e* is in fact predicted by J/M. If these latter examples of the reflex *e* are no more significant than those in which *e* is not

predicted by J/M, it is possible that the dialect reflected by hand **B**¹ may in fact be an *i*-type dialect. Let us recall, though, that of 57 instances in which the reflex *e* is predicted by J/M, *e* occurs in fully 50 examples. If hand **B**¹ reflected a dialect with *i*-type pronunciation, we would certainly expect a higher proportion of examples of the reflex *i*. In fact, we would not expect a significant difference between those instances in which *i* is predicted by J/M and those in which *e* is predicted. As noted above, however, of 152 instances in which *i* is predicted by J/M, *e* occurs in 74, and *i* in 78. It seems unlikely, then, that we could be dealing here with a reflection of an *i*-type dialect. Of the examples of the reflex *e*, where *e* is predicted by J/M, a considerable number do permit some explanation other than a phonetic change of *ě* > *e* in the underlying dialect. There are 17 examples of the prefix *prě-*, as well as 3 examples of the preposition *prěd*, which behaves similarly. There are 4 examples in which *e* might be due to leveling: in *izvesta* 2 Du. Aor. (root *ved-*) 78a 2, we may have generalization of the vowel found in most forms of the word, while in *obre-tu* 3 Pl. Aor. 84a 19 and 85c 10-11, and *sedše* N. Pl. Masc. P.A.P. 85c 28, we may have generalization of the vowel found in the present tense. There are 3 examples of *zelo* (82d 18, 85a 6 and 86b 5), an exclusively CCS lexeme which seems never to appear with the reflex *i* in the manuscripts. However, it must be noted that this word is sometimes avoided in manuscripts of recension B, in which the reflex *i* is most likely to occur. *opresnaki* G. Pl. 82c 30 (*v prvi že dni. opresnaki*) is an exclusively CCS word. In *zaveta* G. Sg. 83a 12, we have the root *-vět-* as in *otvěcati*. The root *věr-*, as in *v-eruemi* 1 Pl. Pres. 85d 14 and 85d 21-22, seems never to appear with the reflex *i*, while in Ill8, a southern manuscript (along with Oxl, Vbl, Vbll, Novlj, and almost regularly in hands **B** and **D** of NYM) this root occasionally appears with the reflex *e*. Words formed from the stem *člov-* (*čluj-*) - *človati* and the noun *človi* - cf. *cel-uju* 1 Sg. Pres. 83d 5-6 and *ce-lova* 3 Sg. Aor. 83d 8-9, appear most often with the reflex *e* even in southern manuscripts (cf. 3 occurrences in 5EB). Even if we eliminate all of these examples from the statistics, there remain 17 instances of the reflex *e*, expected according to J/M, for which there appears to be no likely explanation other than

a phonetic change of *ě* > *e*: *vsledi* 78c 16, *koleno* N. Sg. 81d 9, *delo* A. Sg. 82c 9, *sadelala* Sg. Fem. Perf. 82c 10, *tel-o* A. Sg. 82c 14-15, *zdelu* A. Sg. 82d 22, *telo* N. Sg. 83a 7, *o-tegotela* Pl. Neut. Perf. 83c 16-17, *ureza* 3 Sg. Aor. 83d 16, *mesto* A. Sg. 83d 19, *cena* N. Sg. 84d 10, *cenu* A. Sg. 84d 20, *kolena* A. Pl. 85b 30, *mesto* A. Sg. 85c 15, *mesto* N. Sg. 85c 17, *t-ela* G. Sg. 86b 19-20 and *telo* A. Sg. 86b 22. We have already noted that of the 7 instances of the reflex *i*, where *e* is predicted by J/M, 3 represent likely instances of paradigm leveling. Thus, even if we exclude a majority of the examples of the reflex *e*, where *e* is the expected reflex according to J/M, *e* still remains the clearly predominant reflex where it is predicted by J/M. We can conclude this section on the reflexes of Common Slavic *ě* by stating that the dialect reflected by hand B¹ was almost certainly of the *i*-*e*-type, though with the qualification stated above. Thus the most accurate picture of circumstances in this dialect is probably what we see in the 4 occurrences of the root -*cěn*- which appear in my sample: *cena* N. Sg. 84d 10 and *cenu* A. Sg. 84d 20, in which *e* is predicted by J/M, as opposed to *ucinenago* G. Sg. Masc. P.P.P. 84d 20 and *uc-iniše* 3 Pl. Aor. 84d 20-21, in which *i* is predicted by J/M.

4. Hypercorrect use of “ě”. Within my sample (again from folia 77-86) there are 33 instances in which the letter “ě” stands in place of original *e* or *i*. In 32 cases “ě” stands in place of original *e*, while in the remaining example—*v podobstvě* L. Sg. 81c 30 (< L. Sg. of **podobistvie* ?)—“ě” would seem to stand for original *i*, though the ending may in fact indicate that the word is being declined as if from a N. Sg. form **podobstvo*. (Hm has *v podobě* 69b 14, with citations of the form *podobi* from Ill4 and N.) Several instances of “ě” for original *e* in desinences may indicate analogical simplifications of the declensional system: *v ljuděhi* L. Pl. 82b 24, *po trihi dně-hi* L. Pl. 84a 26-27 and 86c 6, and *v kame-ně* L. Sg. 86b 25-26. Other instances occur in prefixes, roots, suffixes and desinences. In prefixal position, we have 2 examples of the negative particle (*ně hoteti* 78a 12 and *ně ho-tě piti* 85c 19-20) as well as 3 instances in which *e* is developed from an even earlier *jer*: *do sěmrti* G. Sg. 81d 4 and 83b 23, and *sěmr’-ti* G. Sg. 84b 19-20.

Within roots we have *rěki* N. Sg. Masc. Pr.A.P. 78b 18, 84b 13 and 84d 25, *sěbe* G. Sg. 81d 2, *Věčerajućim* D. Pl. Masc. Pr.A.P. 83a 2 (but cf. *vičeru* A. Sg. 87b 16, indicating that this word may originally have been pronounced with *ě* in CCS; cf. also data for S.-C. *večera* in *JAZU*), *s'-rěbrniki* A. Pl. 84d 7-8, *raspěše* 3 Pl. Aor. 85c 21 and *sěbě* D. Sg. 85c 22. We may note here the particle in *Temždě* 84d 14. In non-desinential suffixes we have only *sěděća* G. Sg. Masc. Pr.A.P. 84b 9, very possibly by analogy to the infinitive stem. In desinences we have *ne o-vrgu. se tbě.* G. Sg. 83b 11, *rěšě* 3 Pl. Aor. 85b 8, and then 11 examples of the N. Pl. Masc. Pr.A.P. desinence: *skrbe-ćě* 82d 17-18, *stoe-ćě* 84c 9-10, *pr-igibajućě* 85b 30-c 1, *gljućě.* 85c 2, *plju-jućě* 85c 3-4, *m-imohodećě* 85d 5-6, *gljućě.* 85d 7, *rugajućě - se* 85d 15-16, *sućěi* 86b 2, *strgućěi* 86b 3, and *gljućě.* 86c 3. This spelling of the N. Pl. Masc. Pr.A.P. desinence may thus be a regular feature of the language of this scribe.

5. Reflexes of **ę*. For Common Slavic **ę* we have only 2 interesting examples: *žainie* G. Sg. Fem. 92c 30 (*ot zmlē. žainie*) and *žajuća* G. Sg. Masc. Pr.A.P. 92d 5-7 (probably for *znajuća: mi že* (but 1483 *Muža*) *bolěž'-niva i žajuća v slab-osti*, cf. *Virum dolorum, et scientem infirmitatem* Isaiah 53,3).
6. **dj*, **zdj*, etc. Within a sample taken from folia 77-92, there occur 26 reflexes of Common Slavic **dj*, along with 1 of Common Slavic **zdj*: *odaždju* 1 Sg. Pres. 78a 6 (*Se azī odaždju hlěbi s'-nbse. ... Exodus 16,4*). Within the sample there are 5 examples of the reflex *žd* (also *Temžde* 81d 6, *pre-žde* 83b 5-6, *Temždě* 84c 14 and *prež'-de* 89a 20-21), and 22 of the reflex *j*, in every case expressed by a sequence of vowel letters. It is interesting that 4 of 5 examples of the reflex *žd* occur in the particle *-žde*, while the remaining example is of a root which seems rarely to occur in the manuscripts with the reflex *j*. We must note, though, that there are also 10 examples of the particle *žde* with the reflex *j*: *takoe* 83b 11, *toe* N. Sg. Neut. 83c 19, *tud-ie* 83d 6-7 (*I tud-ie pristupi ka isu. i rče., Et confestim accedens ad Iesum, dixit: Matthew 26,49*), *Prie* 84c 17, *Takoe* 85d 14, 85d 25, 89a 26 and 91b 13, *tae* A. Pl. Neut. 89b 28 and *prie* 90c 1. Among the remaining examples no obvious patterns seem to occur. We have 7 instances of the reflex *j* in alternation with *d* in

verbal inflection (*nenaviěhu* 3 Pl. Ipt. 82c 2, *roeni* N. Sg. Masc. P.P.P. 82d 28 and 88d 15, *Viěše* 3 Sg. Ipt. 85a 20 and 90d 11, *viju* 1 Sg. Pres. 88a 5 and *saziju* 1 Sg. Pres. 90a 5), and 4 examples in substantival and adjectival roots (*r'ě* N. Sg. 87a 26: *r'ě snist' e = Tinea comedet eos*. Isaiah 50,9, *oděi* L. Sg. 92b 6: *va oděi s'-voei, in stola sua*, Isaiah 63,1,⁵⁰ *žainie* G. Sg. Fem. 92c 30: *ot zmlē. žainie = de terra sitienti* Isaiah 53,2 and *žajuća* G. Sg. Masc. 92d 6: see previous section), as well as the preposition *meju* 78d 18.

7. Spelling of *j*. Within my sample I noted only 1 instance in which *j* is expressed by the letter “*đ*”: *s-azidađet'* 3 Sg. Pres. 85d 10-11. Outside of the sample I noted 3 other instances: *pokriđet'* 3 Pl. Pres. 102a 24, *razumeđete* 2 Pl. Pres. 103d 5 and *v svoju budōsti* A. Sg. 105d 19.
8. Various dialectal and characteristic features. Unlike hand **D**, hand **B¹** has relatively few such features of a phonetic or orthographic nature which could be considered striking. We may note a fairly large number of examples of *r* for intervocalic *ž*: *jure* 83a 16, 83c 22, 88d 27, 89c 4, *d-ari* 83b 22-23 (for *daže*; but cf. *daž-e* 88d 29-30), *moret'* 3 Sg. Pres. 87a 24, *moreti* 3 Sg. Pres. 89 12 and 91b 17, *more* 3 Sg. Pres. (for *možeti*) 78b 6, *n-e more* 3 Sg. Pres. (for *ne možeti*) 89b 21-22, and *morete* 2 Pl. Pres. 88b 16. There is also a considerable number of instances of loss of intervocalic *j* and contraction of the resulting consonant cluster. This occurs most often in forms which can otherwise be considered vernacularized, for example *mog-a* (for *moego*) A. Sg. Masc. Anim. 83d 22-23, *ku* (for *koju*, in place of expected *juže*) A. Sg. Fem. 79a 15, *ko* (for *koe*, in place of expected *eže*) A. Sg. Neut. 84c 17, *ke* (for *koe*, in place of expected *eže*) N. Pl. Fem. 86b 9, etc.

I noted 2 instances of *u* in place of *o*—*po dvuju - dnu* L. Du. 101a 16 (cf. *Po sred-e dvoju životnu* 101b 14), and *kuju riči prinosite* A. Sg. Fem. 103a 29—and no instances of *o* for *u*.

There are 2 instances of *gdo* for *kito* 78b 23-24 and 84b 24-25. The D. Sg. of *děci* is *hćeri* 78b 29. Such forms, with *h* instead of the

⁵⁰Hm also has *v' odě-i* (77a 5-6), but cites the form *odeždi* from III4 and R.

expected *k*, are almost regular in the manuscripts. There is some alternation between the consonant clusters *žr* and *ždr*, cf. *žrě-baci* (or *ždě-baci*) A. Sg. 78b 21-22, *ždrěb-eti* L. Sg. 78c 1-2 and *žrěbaci* A. Sg. 78c 6. In 3 instances we have *bedar* instead of *bodar*, the form occurring in standard Serbo-Croatian: *duh bo bedari e.* (in Hm *gotov*) N. Sg. Masc. 78b 8, 78b 12, 83c 8. In *,bi., leiona anđli.* 83d 24, we seem to have the desinence *-a* of the genitive plural, which is for the most part a štokavian innovation. It is possible, though, that this is the genitive singular (nominative dual) following the numeral *,b., '2'* (cf. also in Hm *12—len'dion'a anđ(e)li* 70d 10-11). We have an unusual case of voicing assimilation across a word boundary in *na ěko ta-d bě* 87c 3-4 (for *sed quia fur erat* John 12,6). On 107c 22-23 we have *v mori čri-mneemi*, with the cluster *črmn-* instead of the usual *črvlen-* 'red' (but cf. also in Hm *v' mori čr'm'něemi* 87c 20-21). I noted 3 instances of the čakavian contracted form of the I. Sg. of the *-a* declension: *s vod-u* 108d 24-25 and *vod-u blenu.* (*i s tam'ěnomi i vod-u blenu.*) 109c 13-14. Finally, I noted one instance of the vernacular adjectival form *slobodnim* I. Sg. Masc. 79a 2-3.

Despite this relatively limited number of miscellaneous phonetic and orthographic dialectal features, the language of hand **B¹** is one of the most vernacularized in the manuscript. We see this not only in the reflexes of earlier *ě* and *jer*, but also in a number of morphological and syntactic characteristics. I will merely list these here, as they do not enter into the topic of this study. There are numerous instances of “k-type” (interrogative) pronouns, where “j-type” (relative) pronouns would be appropriate, though this replacement process is not carried out consistently; use of *ča* and *zač*; many instances of *ako* for *aće*; the use of the verbal enclitic *si* for *esi*; use of the pronominal enclitic *ga* for *ego*; vernacular order of enclitics; use of *ě* for *azi*; use of *mani* for *m'ně* (D./L. of *azi*); at least one instance of the ending *-mo* in the 1 Sg. of verbs; *koga, moga* for *kogo, moego*; loss of agreement of participles with their subject or antecedent.

10.4 Conclusion

We may note two general facts about hand **B¹**. First, the script of this hand is fairly elegant, while in the text itself there are relatively few instances of error or confusion. This would indicate that the scribe was properly trained and fairly experienced. Second, and in seeming contradiction to the previous observation, the language and orthography of hand **B¹** are characterized by a high degree of vernacularism, which would seem to point to insufficient training and experience. The simplest explanation for this apparent paradox would be that the text was copied in the mid- or late fifteenth century, when it was becoming ever more difficult to maintain the older traditional norms of CCS. We must bear in mind, though, that the most vernacularized by far of the missal manuscripts (though not nearly as elegant as hand **B¹**), that of the scribe Butko (Hm), was copied at the very beginning of the fifteenth century. It is possible, even likely, that that manuscript was intentionally vernacularized in order to accommodate the desires or needs of the duke Hrvoje, which certainly cannot be said about the vernacularisms of hand **B¹**. Still, the fact remains that it was possible, even at the beginning of the fifteenth century, to produce a Croatian Glagolitic missal which would be even more vernacularized in certain respects than is the text of hand **B¹**.

11.1 Overview

After the scribe of hand **D**, this scribe copied the largest portion of NYM. The script is fairly elegant, certainly more so than that of hand **D**, but less so than that of hand **B**¹. On occasion (cf. 269c) the letters lean somewhat to the left. The section of text copied by hand **E** contains occasional Latin initial letters (cf. “B” 132b 14, 139b 12, 197d 17, 200d 13, 201c 22 and 267b 28; “S” 145d 22; “V” 148c 5, 199d 3 and 269c 29; “D” 198c 21 (the beginning of the sequence *Dies irae*) and 266d 6. There are also instances of initial “P” which seem to be Latin (cf. 137a 5), though the shape of the archaic Glagolitic initial “P” (ⱑ), when written in ornamental fashion, is generally too close to the shape of the Latin “P” to allow for a clear distinction between them. Three of the most ornate initials in the manuscript occur within the sections of text copied by this scribe. The only zoomorphic initial in the manuscript is the “V” on 196b 19 consisting of a bouquet formed from the large split tongue extending from the mouth of an animal most similar to a giraffe. (There is also an apparent stylized fish under the catchword at the bottom of 283d.) Cf. also the ornamental Glagolitic “V” on 144c 1 and the Latin “V” on 148c 5. The latter initial is strikingly similar to the unusually ornate “V” on 178d 23 within the text copied by hand **A**³ (probably the largest initial in the manuscript). The significance of this latter initial is discussed further in the chapter on hand **A**³. There is one further indication that this scribe may have had some knowledge of Latin, and may have compared his text to the Latin original. On 131a 16 we read *blvihomi. vi iz’ domu gna.* (*Benediximus vobis de domo Domini*, Psalm 117 [118], 26), where *iz’ domu* is a correction, written over an erasure. In Hm (103d 29) stands *blvihom’. vi, v’ ime gne.*. It is clear that the reading in Hm represents an error which was prevalent in at least some of the missals. The scribe of NYM originally copied this error into his own manuscript, and afterward discovered the mistake through a comparison with a text which contained the correct reading. The most authoritative text, i.e. the one most likely to convince him that the version in his own text was erroneous, would be the Latin Vulgate.

11.2 Characteristic shapes

1. *titla*—This symbol consists of a long, slightly curved stroke which is virtually horizontal in orientation, or the left end may seem lower, less often the opposite. The right end may be somewhat heavier and more bent, or may in fact, though less often, end in a downward curl which then curves back a bit to the left. At the left end of this symbol a sharp hook is formed by an upper stroke moving to the right, with the upper and lower strokes forming a doubly concave shape. The upper stroke may be of any length, from very short to almost the length of the lower stroke. Because of the concave orientation of the 2 strokes and the very slight angle at which they diverge from one another, the upper stroke sometimes becomes distinct only near the middle of the lower stroke. In some later sections of text the upper stroke is often not visible or has not been written, and the symbol becomes very similar to that of hands **B** and **B¹**, except that it is longer.
2. *a*—The central vertical stroke of the letter generally extends high above the upper line, and never has less than a moderate extension. Where there are 2 sharp corners, the right corner is most often considerably higher than the left, so that the “horizontal” stroke is in fact somewhat slanted. Occasionally, though, the right portion does not extend upward vertically to a sharp corner, but rather curves over to the central vertical stroke, near which it turns more sharply left and downward. Occasionally the left and right portions of the letter seem to be formed from separate strokes (cf. 270d 12 and 270d 26).
3. *i*—The shape of this letter approaches that of an hour glass, though there is a noticeable “break” or jog in the stroke from the upper left to the lower right corner which is generally greater and more striking than in the stroke from the upper right to the lower left corner. (The latter stroke often contains a single “break”, or sharp angle, disrupting the otherwise continuous smooth curve, but this occurs at a point below the junction of the two strokes.) The upper and lower portions of the stroke from the upper left to the lower right corner seem in general to be continuous.

4. *ž*—Both antennae are in general curved. The right antenna is generally longer than the left. The left antenna is often heavier, though this is not consistent. The center of the angle formed by the antennae often seems to point directly upward, though it sometimes leans somewhat to the left or the right.
5. *g, h*—The left, or main, stem is curved. Most often this curve is slight, though it is sometimes more exaggerated at the bottom of the letter. The shape of this stem is not stable, however, and the entire curve is sometimes more pronounced and graceful. The stem of the letter “*g*”, when not in ligature, extends slightly below the lower line (often the extension is greater when the letter is in ligature), while that of the letter “*h*” extends moderately below the lower line. The left stem of the letter “*h*” also extends slightly to moderately above the upper line, and either ends abruptly, or at the top curves sharply to the left and downward, similar to hand **A**.
6. *t*—Hand **E** uses the more normal superscript form of the letter— t^{v} . Only once, on 145b 25, do we encounter the form t^{v} : *ot*puć-ajutt*ise grěsi t'voi*. In this citation I have left the word division as in the original. The second superscript “*t*” appears directly over the *i* and in the form t^{v} . Though the symbol seems to be in the same style as the surrounding text, we cannot exclude the possibility that it is a later addition, since even without it we have a complete graphic rendition of the vernacular combination of 3 Pl. Pres. of the verb + dative enclitic form of the first person singular personal pronoun, and the addition of the second superscript “*t*”, in order to complete the CCS form of the verb, does not affect the pronunciation.
7. *pr*—The upper horizontal extension seems most often to continue directly from the vertical stem, but sometimes is a separate stroke laid across it. The horizontal extension forms a curve which may be very shallow or more exaggerated. Both ends are about the same level. The extension may be short or long, but generally does extend over the following letter, except where there is some obstacle to this.

8. Abbreviation by suspension—Hand E does not make use of suspension, except for the standard formula *gi. bi.* (= *gospodı bogı*). The form *esti* is abbreviated to *es.*, with a normal *titla*. Only once (269c 20) did I note the abbreviation *e.*, with the *titla* similar to a Latin capital “T” (actually, a longish horizontal stroke with a short vertical stroke downward from its middle). Though the script here seems to be that of hand E, this is not the only abnormality at this location in the text: lines 15 ff. of this column are inscribed *between* the prepared guide lines, touching neither, instead of hanging from the line above, as is normal. As a result, this column has only 29 lines, rather than the normal 30.

11.3 Language and orthography

1. *Jer.* Out of 136 examples in my sample (taken from folia 127-135) in which Common Slavic *jer* is either vocalized or might be expected to be vocalized, there are 85 actual instances of vocalization to *a*, for a proportion of .63. There are only 9 occurrences of the N. Sg. Masc. form of the pronouns *ti* and *si*. In 6 of these we have vocalization, while in 3 we do not. Of 18 occurrences of the preposition *ni*, there are 9 cases with vocalization, and 9 without. These figures do not differ significantly from the overall proportion of vocalization. It is interesting that for a single word—the conjunction *ni*—neither one form nor the other is predominant.

In contrast, for the prepositions *ki*, *vi* and *si*, there are only 3 instances of vocalization out of a total of 21 occurrences in which vocalization might be expected. In the only instance in which the vowel of the preposition is in strong position (*v d'ni* 129d 3), it is not vocalized, though it is possible that this phrase was pronounced *v dani*. Of 14 instances in which the following word begins with a vowel, there are only 2 cases of vocalization (*ka ocu.* 134b 21 and 135b 12) and 12 without (*ki ocu.* 129b 7-8, *ki ocu* 129b 10, 133c 6, 133c 11 and 133c 20, *v' ime* 130a 7, 132a 20, 135a 26 and 135b 4, *- ime* 135a 23-24, *vi ust-ěhi* 132b 29-30 and *v is'tinu* 133b 3). Again, we see that one and the same phrase may occur both with and without vocalization. Of 6 instances in which the following word begins with a consonant identical to that of the preposition or differing from it only in voicing, we have 1 case of vocalization (*sa*

sob-oju 128c 16-17) and 5 without (*ki ko-lesnici* 128c 6-7, *v' vo-du* 128d 16-17, *k' gro-bu* 130d 15, 130d 24 and 130d 27-28).

Of the prefixes *vi(n)-* and *si(n)-*, there are only 10 occurrences in which vocalization might be expected, 6 with vocalization, and 4 without. Of 4 instances in which the vowel of the prefix is in strong position, there are 3 cases of vocalization (*sabrani* N. Pl. Masc. P.P.P. 131d 2, *sazdaniju* D. Sg. 133b 4 and 134a 18) and 1 without (*v'čnuti* 3 Pl. Pres. 132d 13). Preceding a root-initial vowel we have only *viispri*. 130c 11. Preceding a root-initial consonant identical to that of the prefix or differing from it only in voicing we have *vvrže* 3 Sg. Aor. 127d 22, but *saziduite* 2 Pl. Imv. 130c 5. With the vowel of the prefix in apparently weak position we have *sablaz'ni* G. Sg. 130c 21 and *saděvaet'* 3 Sg. Pres. 134a 24, but *s'vršen* N. Sg. Masc. 134a 12 (which is included because in contemporary Serbo-Croatian both *svršen* and *savršen* occur). This leaves 78 other instances in the sample in which vocalization either occurs or might be expected to occur. Of these, there are 61 cases with vocalization, and 17 without, for a proportion of vocalization of .78. We may conclude, then, that vocalization is well advanced in hand **E**, as in most other hands of NYM, though still not quite to the same extent as in hands **D** and **B**¹.

2. Hypercorrect use of *ı* and *'*. Though vocalization cannot yet be considered a completed process in hand **E**, I noted only 3 definite instances within the sample (folia 127-135) of *'* or *ı* in place of a vowel not derived from an original *jer* (*ka-ž'niki* N. Sg. 128d 6-7 with *'* for *e*, *vi-mı* D. Pl. of the personal pronoun *vi* 130c 14-15 and *vojujuti ni - dšu*. 133a 25-26), and one less certain example (*v'mı*. D. Pl. of the personal pronoun *vi*, with both apostrophe and *titla*). It should be noted that in 2 of these instances *ı* is used for *a* at the end of a line; in the first of these, on 130c 14-15, this is obviously done to save space, though in the second, on 133a 25-26, this is not at all clear.
3. *ě*. My sample (taken from folia 127-136) contains 279 examples of continuants of Common Slavic *ě*. In 223 of these examples, this continuant is spelled with “*ě*”, while in 56 examples we encounter the overt reflexes *e* or *i*, for a proportion of retention of .80. I have

not included in the data *Magdalě-no* V. Sg. 129b 2-3 and *magdalěn-a* 129b 13 and 130d 13-14, as I have no other data on the CCS pronunciation of this word, which in OCS is written *magъdalъini*, *magdalini* (cf. ČAV s. v.). Of the 56 examples with overt reflexes, in 27 instances this is *i*, while in 29 it is *e*. Of the 27 instances of the reflex *i*, in 23 of these *i* is indeed predicted by J/M. Of the 29 examples containing the reflex *e*, this reflex is predicted by J/M for only 10 examples, while for the other 19 *i* is the predicted reflex. In other words, of 42 examples in which *i* is the predicted reflex by J/M, *i* in fact occurs in 23, and *e* in 19, while of the 14 examples in which *e* is the predicted reflex, *e* occurs in 10 instances, *i* in 4. We should note immediately that of the many instances of the reflex *e* in which *i* is predicted by J/M, none need be considered indicative of an *e*-type dialect. These include 8 examples of the adverb *nině/nine* 130d 1, 130d 3, 132c 11, 133d 4, 134b 28, 135b 5, 135b 13 and 135b 15, which in CCS occurs almost exclusively with the final vowel *e* (I have found only 2 exceptions to this, both in hand **D** of NYM: *nině* 64a 1, 64a 4). Further, there are 4 examples of the prefix *prě-* and 3 of the verb *otvěcati*, which as we have already noted, often occurs with *e* even in texts with predominantly *i*-reflexes: *prepoěsa - se* 3 Sg. Aor, 127d 21-22, *preob'ladajuću* D. Sg. Masc. Pr.A.P. 133b 5-6, *prela-ćajuće* N. Pl. Masc. Pr.A.P. 134d 20-21 and *pre-bdeti*. 3 Sg. Pres 136a 10-11; *otvećavi* N. Sg. Masc. P.A.P. 128c 27, *Otveća* 3 Sg. Aor. 132a 8 and *otvećaeti* 3 Sg. Pres. 136a 5. Finally, we have *vě-de* 1 Sg. Pres. 127c 3-4, an exclusively non-vernacular form; *sesti* Inf. 128c 16, in which the vowel *e* may be generalized from the present tense stem; *lice-merie* A. Sg. 130b 21-22, in which the root vowel *e* might be generalized from other forms containing this root in an *i*-/*e*-type dialect; and *trpelivi* N. Sg. Masc. 134a 22, a non-vernacular word which often appears with the vowel *e* in older texts, perhaps as a result of dissimilation (cf. JAZU s. *trpeljiv*). The data thus do not suggest that hand **E** reflects an *e*-type dialect.

The 4 examples of the reflex *i* in which *e* is predicted by J/M are similarly not indicative of an *i*-type dialect. Not only are they too few in number, but only 2 roots are in fact represented in these examples. In *s'vi-doci* N. Pl. 127c 2-3 and *s'vidoč-as'tvo* N. Sg. 131c

13-14 (cf. *svidok* and *svidočiti* on the island of Dugi Otok today, Finka 1977:89), we may have the influence of other forms containing the root *-věd-* in an *i/e*-type dialect; similarly, in *izlizoše* 3 Pl. Aor. 127d 28 and *V'iz* N. Sg. Masc. P.A.P. 128a 2-3, the root vowel may be generalized from other forms containing the root *-lěz-* in an *i/e*-type dialect.

As the relatively large number of examples with the reflex *i* makes it unlikely that this hand reflects an *e*-type dialect (though even in many of these examples the *i* could result from analogical processes in an *e*-type dialect), it seems most likely that the scribe of hand **E** was an *i/e*-type speaker. This conclusion must be considered very tentative, however, as very few of the examples of the reflex *e*, where this is the reflex predicted by J/M, need in fact be considered indicative of the reflex of Common Slavic *ě* in the dialect of this scribe or that reflected by his matrix text. There are 3 examples of the prefix *prě-*: *pretikaniě* G. Sg. 130c 20, *pretikajut' se* 3 Pl. Pres. 130c 22 and *Predani* N. Sg. Masc. P.P.P. 132c 3; 2 examples of the preposition *prěd*: 128c 20 and 132a 14; *vsedu* 3 Pl. Aor. 127d 4, in which the root vowel may be generalized from the present tense stem. More indicative are only *neverujućim* D. Pl. Masc. 130c 16 and *verujuti* 3 Pl. Pres. 130c 23, though this root almost never appears with the reflex *i* in the manuscripts of the missal, as well as *obeduite* 2 Pl. Inv. 128a 9 and *mesto* A. Sg. 136a 27.

4. Hypercorrect use of “ě”. Within the sample noted above (folia 127-136) I noted 10 probable instances of use of “ě” for original *e*, and 2 of “ě” for original *i*. In almost every case, some analogical change or confusion of stems can account for the error, or apparent error. In *iděm* (= *venimus*) 1 Pl. Pres. 127d 2, we have the imperative used in place of the present tense. In *Ně* (= *Něst*, cont. S.-C. *Ne*, *Nema* or here *Nemamo: Dě-ti imate li čto s'ně-dno sadě, I rše. emu Ně*, John 21,5) 127d 11, we may be dealing with analogy to the form *něst*; it is not inconceivable that this is a vernacularized form of *něst* lacking the final *-st*. In *něsutı* 3 Pl. Pres. 132a 15, 132c 25 and 132d 10, we are clearly dealing with analogy to the form of the 3 Sg. Pres. *něst*. In *obrěćete* 2 Pl. Pres. 127d 14 and 136a 18, and

obrěceti 3 Sg. Pres. 136a 21, *ě* apparently results from analogy to the aorist stem *obrět-*. In *v tam'nicě* L. Sg. 129c 28, *o ... gě.* (= *gospodě/gospodově*) L. Sg. 133b 25-26, and *v skrběhi* L. Pl. 135a 12, we see the generalization of desinences of the hard *o-* and/or *a-* stems. Only in *povělěl* 3 Sg. Masc. Perf. 129d 29 is there no obvious explanation for the spelling “*ě*” in the root. This, then, is perhaps the only example of arbitrary confusion of the letters “*ě*” and “*e*” in my sample.

5. **dj*, **zdj*, etc. My sample (taken from folia 127-135) contains 22 examples of reflexes of Common Slavic **dj*, as well as 4 of Common Slavic **zdj*. The reflexes of **zdj* include *daždu* D. Sg. 135d 11, *daždi* 3 Sg. Aor. 135d 12, *daždī* N. Sg. 135d 12 and *daždī* A. Sg. 135d 15, thus all in a root which, at least in NYM, appears almost regularly with the reflex *žd*. Of the reflexes of **dj*, there are 15 occurrences of *žd*, and 7 of the reflex *j*. Of the latter, 4 are spelled overtly with the letter “*ď*”, (*V'shod-u* 1 Sg. Pres. 129b 9-10, *viđī* 2 Sg. Imv. 132a 5, *rođeniě* G. Sg. 134d 26 and *ot zab'luđe.* G. Sg./Pl. 135d 20), while 3 are spelled in the older manner, by a sequence of vowel letters (*takoe* 128a 14, *prěe* 130d 27 and *meju* 133c 17). We may note that the spelling “*ď*” occurs in those words in which the sound *j* alternates with *d* in another form or closely related lexeme formed from the same root, while the older spelling is used where no such alternation may be said to exist. No obvious generalization presents itself concerning the relative distribution of the reflexes *žd* and *j*. Both occur in a variety of grammatical environments within the realm of verbal flexion and derivation, as well as in some non-alternating environments. The very limited data in this sample suggest, then, that hand E is one of the more conservative hands of NYM with regard to the reflexes of **dj*, but at the same time that the same scribe was not averse to the newer manner of spelling the sound *j*, i.e. by the letter “*ď*”, at least where *j* was in alternation with *d*.
6. Spelling of *j*. Within my limited sample (folia 127-135), I noted only one additional instance in which the sound *j* is spelled by the letter “*ď*”—in the unusual form *i-s'cěliđete* (in place of the expected *iscělite*, cf. Hm 107b 17) 2 Pl. Pres. 135d 5-6. This paucity of

examples of the spelling “*đ*” for *j* tends to agree with the generalization that this scribe uses “*đ*” primarily as a marker of *j* in alternation with *d*.

7. Reflexes of **ę*. I found no interesting data in hand E.
8. Various characteristic and dialectal features. Hand E contains several instances of forms of the verb *prineti* in which the prefix is abbreviated to *pr-*, but without the *titla*. I noted the following: *prnesite* 2 Pl. imv. 128a 1 and 275b 19, *prnesi* 2 Sg. Imv. 132a 4 and 132a 5, and *prnesu* 3 Pl. Aor. 275b 21. I also noted several instances of apparent elision of pronounced *i* not accompanied by *titla* following other combinations of consonant + *r*: *po - srdě* L. Sg. 267d 29-30, *vrme* A. Sg. 267c 24 and 278a 10, and *ot vrmene* G. Sg. 272d 10. For none of these lexemes are such abbreviated (more likely vernacular) forms regular; I also noted non-abbreviated forms as well as forms abbreviated with *titla*, e.g. *prnese* 3 Sg. Aor. 267c 19, *prinosi* 2 Sg. Imv.? 267b 21, *po s’rědě* 266d 27, *po s’rdě*. L. Sg. 266d 23, *po srdě*. 267d 25, *vr-ime* N. Sg. 266c 8 and 267a 10-11, *vrmena* G. Sg./A. Pl. 266d 17, *vrme*. N. Sg. 266b 28 and *vr-me*. A. Sg. 267a 19-20 and 268d 26, as well as *b’rěme* N. Sg. 265b 6. If indeed we are dealing here with a more general phonetic process of loss of *i* following certain clusters of consonant + *r*, then this process would seem to be more recent than the *i*-reflex of *ě* in the affected dialects.

I noted a number of instances in which the sequence *’i* stands in positions in which Common Slavic *y* had once been pronounced. Such relic spellings occur sporadically in the manuscripts, primarily in definite forms of the past active participle. In hand E we have such examples as *poslav’-i me* 144a 17-18 (*qui misit me*, cf. Hm *poslav’ me* 113b 14; according to the apparatus in Hm, N and R have *poslavii*), *navik’i* 144a 24 (*V’saki s’lišavi ot*ı - oca.*, *i navik’i*; cf. Hm *sli-šav’ ga ... i navikii* 113b 18-19, with *slišav’ ga* mistakenly for an earlier *slišav’i*: *Omnis qui audivit a Patre, et didicit...* John 6,45), *Azi esmi. hlbi. - živi s’šad’i s nbse.*, (cf. Hm *saš’di* 113b 24) N. Sg. Masc. 144b 1, *sišad’i* (cf. Hm *sašad’*) N. Sg. Masc. 144b 4, *sišad’i* N. Sg. Masc. 144b 7, *z’vav’i nas* (cf. Hm mistakenly *zavěti* 118d 18; other manuscripts apparently like NYM) N. Sg. Masc. 151a 7, but

also the more remarkable *ta v'i nauč-iti vsemu* 193a 14-15 (cf. Hm *ta vs'. - naučiti vsemu* 211a 25-26, *ille vos docebit omnia* John 14,26). In this last example, however, the sequence *vi* seems to be corrected from an original ligature “*vt*”, and so the apostrophe may have originally been intended to intervene between the letters “*v*” and “*t*”.

There are few cases of specific čakavian or Serbo-Croatian loss of intervocalic *j* and assimilation and contraction of the vowels in hiatus. I noted the following instances: *ko* (for *koe*, in place of expected *eže*) N. Sg. Neut. 195b 26, *okan'niki* (for *okaěn'niki*, in the sequence “*Dies irae*”; contracted forms are apparently to be found in all of the missals: cf. Hm 241a 10, with citations for similar forms from III4, N and R) N. Sg. 198d 15, *rbi. t'voe* (for *rabi t'voee*) G. Sg. Fem. 201c 4, and *množstv-o muži i ženi*, G.Pl. 143d 29-30 (cf. also the phrase *2000 muži* in 1GB). There are also several examples of the čakavian contracted form of the I. Sg. desinence of feminine *a*-stem substantives and adjectives, as well as of the reflexive personal pronoun: *Premoć'nu rku. t'voeju* (the *e* in *t'voeju* is struck out!; cf. Hm *Premoć'n-oju rukoju tvoeju* 101d 15-16) 128b 5, *si službu pl'nu* 147d 3 (cf. Hm *si služ-boju plnoju* 115d 28-29); also *ako su rodi meju s-obu*, 284a 14-15 (in a completely vernacular phrase) and *I pokro-piti eju vodu bžnu*. 284b 5-6, in liturgical instructions.

There are several instances of apparent omission of *v* or a consonant in contact with *v*: *zuki* A. Pl. 266d 15 (for *zvuki*, Hm also *zuki* 203b 16; cf. also *zuka* G. Sg. 1c 19 in hand **B**), *i izel' me esi* (cf. Hm *i iz'vel' me esi* 208b 2) 272d 10, *da vsaka zledi - zlie las'ti otženet' se* 277b 11-12 (no Latin reading is available; cf. Hm *da vsake zalie - vlasti otženut' se*, 231d 7-8, and NYM *na ot'g'nanie - vskoe. vlas'ti nepriěž-nivei* 279a 4-6), and *pod'vati-ti* Inf. (apparently for *podvratiti*; in Hm *iz'rinuti* 233b 29) 279a 7-8.

There are also 2 instances in which *t* is dropped from the preposition *ot*: *i daši nmi. o nego v'kuš-ajućimi*, (Hm *ot nego* 229b 27) 282d 5-6, and *iže o nego v'-kuseti*, (Hm *ki ot - go vkuseti* 229c 29-30) 283a 18-19. This latter phenomenon (i.e. apparent loss of *t*), however, may represent no more than confusion resulting from some familiarity with the Latin text (not available to me). Specifically, the construction *o* + genitive case may result from

confusion regarding the translation of Latin *de* + ablative, since *de* corresponds both to Slavic *ot* and *o*.

Other vernacular or unusual features are *ě* for *az* 134b 12 and 14 (alongside *az* 134b 14, in a gospel reading!); *ča* for *č'to* (in place of expected *eže*, again in a gospel reading!) 270b 5; *ot ezika* (cf. Hm *ot ězika* 118b 7) G. Sg. 150b 5; *ki* for *iže* N. Pl. Masc. 268b 28 (in a rubric); *v'zres'tete* for *v'zrastete* 2 Pl. Pres. 130b 27, *svěděkuet'* 3 Sg. Pres. 131c 4 and *s'v-ěděkova* 3 Sg. Aor. 131c 16-17 (for the usual stem *svědok-*); and *F'zgrm-ě s nbse. gi.* 3 Sg. Aor. 142c 25-26 (cf. Hm *Vz-grmě* 112b 29-30). I noted 2 instances in which *u* stands in place of expected *o*: *Bžni. ne-poruč'(.)* (for *neporočni*, Latin *Beati immaculati* 441:33) 271d 30-272a 1. This is not an arbitrary mistake, since on 272a 12-14 we again have *Bžn-i. neporuč'ni v' puti hode-će...* (*Beati immaculati in uia qui ambulat...* 441:22; but cf. also *neporoč'ni* N. Sg. Masc. 267a 12: *životi - neporoč'ni = vita immaculata* Wisdom 4,9; Hm also has *životi neporočni* 203c 6).

Finally, this scribe regularly writes forms of the word *srce* without the *titla*, indicating that he does not consider such forms abbreviations: cf. *na srcih* L. Pl. 264d 9, *Bžni. čis'ti s'rcem* I. Sg. 265c 9, *I da em-u s'rce* A. Sg. 266d 3-4, etc. I also noted one instance in which an oblique form of *ot'c* occurs without the *titla*: *bu. i ocu* D. Sg. 286a 6.

11.4 Conclusion

Despite these isolated instances of intrusion of the vernacular into the text, we must conclude that the language and orthography of hand **E** are much more conservative, i.e. adhere much more closely to the traditional norms of CCS, than do those of hands **D** and **B¹**, which precede it in the second portion of the manuscript.

12.1 Overview

This hand is the product of one of the best-trained scribes of NYM. The script is perhaps less elegant than that of hands **B¹** and **E**, with rounder, less angular lines, but there are very few cases of confusion or error, and the language and orthography are considerably more conservative than in the latter hands.

Hand **A³** in fact bears a striking resemblance to hand **A** of the first portion of the manuscript in both its graphic and orthographic-linguistic characteristics. This similarity, which applies both to overall appearance and also to the details of individual graphemes and phonetic-orthographic problems, is of such a nature as to suggest that hands **A** and **A³** represent the work of a single scribe. Still, there are certain differences between the graphics of the 2 hands, as will be shown below.

Several ornate Latin initials occur within hand **A³**. These include the letters “V” on 157d 29, 161d 13 and 168a 1, a letter “B” on 159c 10, a letter “d” (though with very little ornament) on 163c 24, and a letter “n” on 179d 14. In each case (as is invariably the case in NYM, in contrast to some other manuscripts), the Latin initial represents a transliteration of the appropriate Glagolitic letter. As already mentioned, the most impressive Latin initial in the manuscript appears on 178d 23—a “V” 8 lines in height with ornament extending further up and down the page, decorated with an unusual diagonal grid, the spaces within which are filled with a pattern similar to the fleur-de-lis. Within NYM, this initial is similar only to the initial “V” on 148c 5 within hand **E**. However, it has been pointed out to me⁵¹ that this initial is strikingly similar to one found on 154c of Oxl. The script of the main scribe of Oxl appears to be virtually identical to that of hand **A³**; as shall be seen from the appropriate discussions, there are also striking similarities in the language and orthography of the two hands in question. It seems to me very likely therefore that both of these hands, one in NYM and the other in Oxl, result from the work of a single scribe.

⁵¹ M. Pantelić, personal communication.

12.2 Characteristic shapes

1. *titla*—as in hand **A**.
2. *a*—this letter is almost regularly bilinear or virtually so. In hand **A**, it is also very low, noticeably lower than in other hands, but still extends over the upper line a bit further and more often than is the case in hand **A**³.
3. *i*—as in hand **A**.
4. *ž*—as in hand **A**.
5. *g, h*—the left, or more vertical stem is often less curved than is the case in hand **A**. In hand **A**³, this stem in the letter “h” often ends abruptly at or just above the upper line, though occasionally it does resemble more closely the form in hand **A**, where the stem most often curves sharply to the left and downward at the top.
6. *t*—Hand **A**³ uses only the traditional superscript form of this letter.
7. *pr*—as in hand **A**.
8. Abbreviation by suspension—As in hand **A**, hand **A**³ makes very limited use of suspension. The form *estl* is regularly abbreviated as *e.*, with the alternate *titla* as in hand **A**. Otherwise, I noted only a single example of the letter “zělo” for *zělo* 153a 3. As I have already mentioned, this case of abbreviation need not be considered suspension at all.
9. *e*—The right side of the letter is noticeably less rounded than is the case in hand **A**.
10. *c*—Though it is not true in every case, this letter tends to be more symmetrical in hand **A**³ with respect to a vertical line drawn between the two long strokes. It also tends to be sharper and protrude further beneath the lower line than is the case in hand **A**. For a contrast, compare the forms on 158d 4 and 17, 159a 16, 159c 2 and 160a 6 to those on 17c 4, 10, 12, 15, 16, and 17d 3 (but note also the more symmetrical, sharper, and more protruding form at 14c 6).
11. *z*—With somewhat less regularity, this letter is also sharper (i.e. the right-hand long “vertical” stroke curves less at its bottom toward

the left-hand vertical stroke) and protrudes more deeply below the bilinear space than is the case in hand **A**. Compare the forms at 152d 2, 3, 5, 10, 14, 15, 18, 19, 155c 14, 155d 15 and 166d 19 to those on 17d 4, 10, 11, 16 and 19 (but note also the sharper form at 17d 22).

12.3 Language and orthography

1. *jer*. In every respect, the data correspond very closely to those of hand **A**. In my sample (taken from lections written in this hand in folia 131-161) containing 118 examples in which vocalization either occurs or might be expected to occur, vocalization actually occurs in 74, for a proportion of vocalization of .63. In 7 instances the reflex is *e* (all forms of *semrt*). If we count only those instances in which the reflex is *a*, the proportion is .60.

The conjunction *ni* is vocalized in all 11 occurrences, and the N. Sg. Masc. form of the pronouns *ti* and *si* is vocalized in all 9 of its occurrences.

The prepositions *ki*, *vi*, *si* and the prefixes *vi(n)-* and *si(n)-* are vocalized in only 5 of 20 occurrences. The prepositions occur only twice with the *jer* in strong position according to Havlík's rule (both times it remains unvocalized: *vi mn-ě* 157d 16-17 and *v č'-to* 160d 20-21), and twice with the following consonant identical to that of the preposition, or differing from it only in voicing (again unvocalized: *ki grobu* 131a 9 and *si strastmi* 160c 27). The prepositions appear in 9 instances in which a vowel follows immediately. In 4 instances the *jer* is vocalized (*va obnovlenie* 153c 11, *va oděhī* 154c 18, *va obraz-ě* 156a 13-14 and *va uši* 158a 8), and in 5 it is not (*ki oltaru* 153a 20 and 153a 27, *vi ogań* 154d 2, *ki idolom'* 156d 4 and *ki - isu.*, 158d 25-26).

The prefixes occur 4 times with the *jer* in strong position according to Havlík's rule, once vocalized (*s-anmiću* D. Sg. 153a 16-17, in which the initial *s-an* may not have been perceived as a prefix), and 3 times unvocalized (*vičn-eti* 3 Sg. Pres. 160d 14-15, *vičn-ete* 2 Pl. Pres. 160d 19-20, and *vičnemī* 1 Pl. Pres. 161a 15). The remaining 3 examples (all unvocalized) are: *sīblaznite se* 2 Pl. Pres. 152d 25, *siobraz'-ni* N. Pl. Masc. 153c 12-13 and *v'vržet se* 3 Sg. Pres. 154d 3.

This leaves a remainder of 71 other examples, 42 of which show vocalization and 29 do not, for a proportion of .59. The data include *Ne rpečíte* 2 Pl. Imv. 156a 10 and *rptaše* 3 Pl. Aor. 156a 11. I have not noted any examples of vocalization in the first syllable of this root in NYM.

2. Hypercorrect use of *ı* and *'*. Within my sample, I noted only the single example *n'rdı*. D. Sg. 153d 28.
3. *ě*. As in hand **A**, there are very few reflex forms. In a sample taken from folia 131-159a, out of a total of 236 instances in which *ě* would have occurred prior to its loss in the dialects, there are only 4 examples of the reflex *i*, 8 of the reflex *e*, with the spelling “*ě*” occurring in the remaining 224 instances. This yields a proportion of retention of “*ě*” of .95. The reflexes include 4 examples of the adverb *nine*, which almost always occurs in this form in the manuscripts. This leaves only *prısid-et'* 3 Pl. Pres. 153d 17-18, *Nabdıte* 2 Pl. Imv. 154c 16, *ot rıpiě* (= *de tribulis: Eda emljutı ot trni-ě grozdi, ili ot rıpiě smo-kvi*, 154c 21-23) G. Sg., *v dostoěni hvi*. L. Sg. Neut. 155b 5, *sed'* N. Sg. Masc. P.A.P. 155c 8, *Sedoše* 3 Pl. Aor. 156a 2, *ızvraze* (= *abortivo: Poslěd že v'-sěhi ěko ızvraze, ěvi se, i mně*, 1 Corinthians 15,8 157d 9-11) D. Sg., and *prıves-e* 3 Pl. Aor. 158a 3-4. All but the last 2 examples agree with J/M, though the suffix of the imperative form *Nabdıte* and the case ending of the adjectival L. Sg. Neut. *h(rısto)vi* could result from analogical processes. In the last example, which does not agree with J/M, the *e* of the root almost certainly represents a generalization of the shape the root takes in all forms other than the old sigmatic aorist.
4. Hypercorrect use of “*ě*”. Within the sample noted above for reflexes of *ě*, I noted 10 probable examples of hypercorrect use of “*ě*”—8 for original *e* and 2 for original *i*. These include *drěvni*' D. Pl. Masc. 153a 10, *pověě* 3 Sg. Aor. 154a 5, *va oděěhi* (= *in vestimentis* Matthew 7,15) L. Pl. 154c 18, *děkapolskimi* I. Pl. Masc. (*meju přěděl-i děkapolskimi* Mark 7,31) 158a 2-3, *na kameně* L. Sg. 156b 18, *v crkvě*. L. Sg. 156b 28, *k pol'zě* D. Sg. 156d 19, *v ka-meně* L. Sg. 158c 11-12, the last 4 of which seem to represent an analogical extension of the use of “*ě*” in desinences. In *eděe*. A. Sg.

157c 19 (for *evanđelie: Skazaju v-amı eďěe*. 1 Corinthians 15,1) “ě” may in fact stand for either *e* or *i*. In *prilěža* 3 Sg. Aor. 159a 16, “ě” almost certainly stands for original *e*, though, as noted above (section 5.3), the adjective *priležını* does in some non-canonical CS manuscripts have an alternate form with *ě*.

5. Reflexes of *ę. I found no interesting data on the reflexes of Common Slavic *ę in hand **A**³.
6. *dj, *zdj, etc. Here again hand **A**³ is conservative, and diverges little from traditional CCS (and OCS) norms. My sample (folia 131-161a) contains 31 instances of reflexes of Common Slavic *dj. In 26 of these the reflex is *žd*, while in only 5 the reflex is *j*. The 5 cases of the reflex *j* seem to confirm the pattern we noted in hand **E**. In the one instance in which *j* is in obvious alternation with *d*, it is spelled with “ď” (*stidju se* 1 Sg. Pres. 155b 29), while in the remaining instances *j* is spelled by a sequence of vowel letters (*va oděhı* L. Pl. 154c 18, *meju* 158a 2 and 159d 21, and *t-akoe* 159a 28-29). However, my sample also includes 2 examples in which the sound *j* is spelled with “ď” though there is no alternation with *d* (see below). Outside of my sample, I noted the further examples *prěbivaďet’* 3 Sg. Pres. 166a 12 (in a psalm) and *prihoďju* 1 Sg. Pres. 166a 23, only the second of which agrees with the stated tendency, as well as a number of instances in the *Ordo missae* (*nareďenihi* L. Pl. 177a 13, *ograďeniě* G. Sg. 177b 30, *ishoďaše* 3 Sg. Ipt. 178c 14, *Tě-mďe* 179d 3-4, *tkoďe*. 179d 6, *me-ďju* 179d 27-28, *osuďen-iju* D. Sg. 180a 6-7) and later texts, showing a general tendency to be more tolerant of the use of such spellings in non-biblical texts.
7. Spelling of *j*. My sample (folia 131-161) contains only 2 examples in which *j* not in alternation with *d* is spelled with “ď”: *buďe* V. Sg. Masc.! 153a 17 (= *fatue: I iže rčet’*. *buďe* Matthew 5,22) and *zmiďı* G. Pl. 156a 9.
8. Various dialectal and other characteristic features. I found very few such features in this hand worthy of note. On 160b 17 stands *semrtie*. N. Sg. with *titla*. It is not clear whether this indicates a reflex (i.e. *ar* or similar) of the vocalic *r*. On 175b 27 stands *onego*, probably for *ot nego* (no readings from other texts are available to

me): *Be. iže srca. věrnihi sgo. - dha. prosvěčením' nau-čili esi, dai nmi. ml. te o to-mžde dsě. prava razum-ěvati, i onego* (word division for this phrase as in original) *utěšeni v'-sigda rdovati. se.* On 183a 5-6 stands *od'* - *stvorenihı*, showing the reinterpretation of the basic form of the preposition (i.e. *od*, instead of the original *oti*). I noted one instance of specific čakavian loss of intervocalic *j* and contraction: *tvego mlsrdiě*. G. Sg. 184d 16 (for *tvoego*), with no *titla* over the contracted form. Finally, I noted one instance of *o* in place of expected *u*: *omivenie* A. Sg. 190c 10.

One further orthographic fact serves to connect hands **A** and **A³**. In the second syllable of the stem *hodatai-* both of these hands have the vowel *-a-* (cf. *hoda-tajuću* D. Sg. Masc. Pr.A.P. 12a 18-19 and 14b 2 in hand **A**, and *Hodataistvom'* I. Sg. 177b 13, *hodata-istvovati* Inf. 177c 25-26, and *hodataistv-o* N. Sg. 181a 15-16 in hand **A³**). The other hands of NYM which contain examples of this stem regularly have the vowel *-o-* in the second syllable. For example, we have *hodotaistvo-mı* I. Sg. 10a 26-27 in hand **B**, and *ho-dotajuću* D. Sg. Masc. Pr.A.P. 86d 29-30 in hand **B¹**. In hand **D** we find *hodotais'tvo-mı* I. Sg. 203a 2-3; Hm also has *hodotaistv-omi* 218b 6-7 in this location, but with citations of the spelling *hodotaistvom'* from Ill4 and N. In hand **E** we have the examples *hodo-tajuću* D. Sg. Masc. Pr.A.P. 266a 18-19, *Hodotaistvo* N. Sg. 271a 10, and *hodot-ais'tvomı* I. Sg. 272b 17-18. Finally, hand **F** contains the examples *hodotajući* N. Sg. Fem. Pr.A.P. 191c 13 and *hodotaistvomı* I. Sg. 191d 15; for the first of these examples, Hm once again has *hodotajuć-i*, but with citations of the spelling *hodotajući* from Ill4, N and R. Hand **G** regularly abbreviates this stem by leaving out the vowel in question. The scribe seems to have felt uncertain as to just which vowel was correct. The manuscripts of the CCS MP seem to be characterized by one or the other of these spellings. Reading 1DA of the comparative corpus contains the forms *hodatai* N. Sg. and *hodotajući(i)* N. Sg. Masc. Pr.A.P. Each manuscript has the same vowel in both examples. Ill8, OxII, R, Mh, B and Hm have *-o-*; Ill4, N, LjII, VbI, VbII, and 1483 have *-a-*. It thus seems that Ill4 and N regularly have the vowel *-a-* in the second syllable of this stem, while R, like NYM, can have either *-o-* or *-a-*. It is interesting to note that the difference in spelling does

not correlate with textual recension. Considering the probable identity of the main scribe of Oxl with that of NYM's hands **A** and **A³**, it is also interesting that in the examples from the comparative corpus Oxl abbreviates this stem by omitting the second syllable, as in NYM's hand **G**.

12.4 Conclusion

In conclusion, although there are certain noticeable differences in the script of hands **A** and **A³**, the similarities are so striking as to suggest by themselves that these hands are the work of a single scribe. If we also take into consideration the striking similarity in linguistic and orthographic features, as well as the fact that these features are just as strikingly different from those of the other hands of NYM, then it becomes quite justifiable, indeed necessary, to conclude that a unique individual was responsible for both of these hands. Still, the differences we noted in the script suggest that a considerable amount of time, perhaps years, passed between the times when hands **A** and **A³** were produced. Data presented in later discussions will confirm the identity of this scribe with the main scribe of Oxl. Needless to say, the latter manuscript would have been produced nearer to the time of hand **A³**, which it more closely resembles.

13.1 Overview

This hand is in general neat, but is by no means one of the more elegant in NYM. There is some confusion in the texts, perhaps because the scribe (in the latter portions) was dealing with the less familiar votive masses. There are some graphic facts which might be considered archaic, though in language and orthography this hand is characterized by a large number of vernacularisms and breakdown of CCS norms. Because of the small number of lines copied in this hand, I have considered data from texts of all types.

13.2 Characteristic shapes

1. *titla*—This symbol consists of a longish flat stroke with a short hook upward and sharply to the right at the left end. The hook is often heavier than the basic stroke. In several instances, it is actually a smooth curve upward and back to the right (cf. 191c 5, 6).
2. *a*—The central vertical stem extends moderately or even far above the upper line, and is often bent noticeably to the left. The corners are most often very curved, and are almost never sharp. At times they both seem to be formed by a single stroke (e.g. 191b 8), but in a majority of instances they are clearly formed by separate strokes which meet at the central vertical stroke.
3. *i*—The stroke from the upper right to lower left corner is often quite straight, or begins to curve only below the diagonal from the upper left to lower right corner. The latter “stroke” (i.e. from upper left to lower right corner), is most often clearly discontinuous. It contains curves both above and below the intersection with the upper-right to lower-left diagonal. The overall impression is still that of a rounded and almost symmetrical hour glass.
4. *ž*—The antennae are fairly short and may be almost straight, or the left antenna may be more curved than the right. The center of the angle formed by the antennae generally leans somewhat to the left.
5. *g, h*—The left stem may be curved, even gracefully (especially for “h”: cf. 191a 4, 28 and 191b 17) but at other times it is virtually

straight (especially for “g”: cf. 152d 11, 18, 191a 8, 27 and 192b 27-28). The stem penetrates only slightly to moderately below the lower line, and occasionally does not penetrate at all (cf. 191a 4, 18, 19).

6. *t*—Only the traditional superscript form of the letter is used, though the lower projections are shaped like small “v”s, rather than curves or half circles. In this respect hand **F** is similar to hand **D**.
7. *pr*—The horizontal extension is often very light, so that it does not always appear clearly in the facsimile edition. It is fairly short, but may extend over the following letter or part of it. This horizontal extension is slightly curved or virtually straight and either lies flat, with both of its ends at the same level, or lifts slightly to the right.
8. Abbreviation by suspension—I did not note any instances of suspension except in the titles of masses, where this is normal. In all instances the regular *titla*, or no *titla* at all, is used.
9. *z*—Both the shape and spatial orientation of this letter are unusual. The left portion of the letter is triangular, and penetrates only slightly below the lower line or, in a few instances, fails to penetrate at all (cf. 191a 1). In compensation, the top of the triangle often protrudes above the upper line.

13.3 Language and orthography

1. *jer*. Out of a total of 28 positions in which vocalization either occurs or might be expected to occur, there are 19 actual instances of vocalization, for an apparent proportion of vocalization of .68. However, several of the instances without vocalization must be considered marginal. These include *s-mrt'nihi* G. Pl. 191a 25-26 and *smrti* G. Sg. 191b 30, which are in fact no more than vernacularisms in place of the CCS stem *semrt-*; then *izša-stiě* G. Sg. 191d 1-2 and *izšast-iě* G. Sg. 191d 29-30, which are included in the data only because in the modern standard language vocalization (analogical, of course) is found in this stem (cf. *izašao*, by analogy to *izašla*, etc.); and, finally, *edinomis'lni* N. Pl. Masc. 152c 28 and *pogibl-nago* G. Sg. Neut. 191c 10-11, in which a voclic *l* (or perhaps some reflex other than *al*) might in fact have been pronounced. Of the cases

with vocalization, only *vsag'da* 190a 26 and *vsagda* 191b 26 may be considered marginal, as it cannot be entirely certain that the internal *a* in fact developed from an earlier *jer*. If we disregard the marginal instances, then, the proportion of vocalization is in fact .85. We must bear in mind, of course, that this sample is too small to be considered reliable, and that only one of the instances occurs in a biblical reading.

There are 4 occurrences of the conjunction *ni*, all with vocalization. Of the prepositions *ki*, *vi* and *si*, we have *vi vs-ěhi* 152c 21-22, *sa svetimi* 192a 7 and *v' ispovidi* 192a 10. Of the prefixes *vi(n)-* and *si(n)-*, we have *vzvahi* 1 Sg. Aor. 152c 12 (really *viz-* + *zivahi*), *s-as'toeti* 3 Pl. Pres. 191c 3-4 and *sazdatelju* D. Sg. 191d 3.

2. Hypercorrect use of *ı* and *'*. I noted no hypercorrect use of these symbols.
3. *ě*. Within my sample there are 77 positions in which the sound *ě* would have occurred prior to its loss. Of these, we encounter the spelling “*ě*” in only 35 instances, for a proportion of retention of “*ě*” of .45. Even taking into consideration the fact that only 2 of the 77 examples occur within biblical lections, this scribe still shows an advanced state of decadence with respect to this feature. Of the 42 reflex forms, in 12 instances the reflex is *i*, while in 30 it is *e*. In 39 instances in which *i* is predicted by J/M, *i* in fact occurs in only 11 instances, *e* in 28. Of only 3 instances in which *e* is predicted by J/M, *e* occurs twice, and *i* once.

Of all the hands of NYM, then, this is the one most likely to reflect an *e*-type dialect. In spite of the lack of examples in which the reflex *e* is predicted by J/M, it seems unlikely that such data could reflect an *i*-type dialect. The example *is' tila* G. Sg. 191d 2, as it seems to contradict all of the other data from this hand, was most probably copied over from the matrix text. If that is indeed what occurred, then some of the other examples of the reflex *i* might also have been copied over in the same manner. This would explain the occurrence of the forms *vsihı* G. Pl. 191a 19 and 191d 16 alongside *vsehı* G. Pl. 191a 11 and 191d 13.

It is, of course, possible that hand **F** reflects an *i*-/*e*-type dialect. Some of the *e*-reflexes, in which *i* is predicted by J/M, may result

from various analogical processes. This includes such examples as *hotenie* A. Sg. 152c 20 and *želenie* A. Sg. 152c 24, as well as those resulting from leveling processes which would affect many morphemes formerly containing *ě* in an *i-/e*-type dialect (*telesemi* D. Pl. 191b 5, *telěsi* I. Pl. 191b 24, *s'celenie sic!* A. Sg. 191c 25, *v telě* L. Sg. 191c 27, *neizmernoju* I. Sg. Fem. 191d 14, *iscelět' se* 3 Pl. Pres. 191d 24, *ot telese* G. Sg. 191d 30, *nerazdeleno* V. or N. Sg. Neut. P.P.P. 192a 4), and probably also the instances of the prefix *prě-* (*prebivati* Inf. 191b 16 and *preiti* Inf. 191d 19). Other *e*-reflexes occur in forms which are either non-vernacular, or are especially characteristic of liturgical texts, so that their CCS pronunciation might have some currency even in nonliturgical usage: *trpeliv-i* N. Pl. Masc. 152c 29-30, *pogibe-li* G. Pl. 191a 11-12 and 191a 19-20 (which even in old Cyrillic and Latinic texts appears with *e*; cf. *JAZU*), perhaps also *Temđe* I. Sg. Masc. 191c 18 (though examples with *i* are well attested in the manuscripts), *blgodet'niě*. N. Pl. Masc.? 191b 28 (*e* has become generalized in this stem even outside the *e*-type dialects: cf. *blagodjet* in *JAZU*), and *pro-svećenie* N. Sg. 152c 14-15. Even the remaining examples (*sve-s'ti* G. Sg. 190b 3-4, *vsehi* G. Pl. 191a 11 and 191d 13, *ve-čnimi* I. Pl. 191b 9-10, *utešenie* A. Sg. 191b 13, *grešnihi* G. Pl. Masc. 191c 1, *krepko* Adv. 191c 9, *otr-ešetı* 3 Pl. Pres. 191c 9-10 and *gneva* G. Sg. 191c 14) might be considered as consequences of CCS pronunciation, particularly since most of these words are very common in the texts of the missal. However, in a hand which otherwise presents such an abundance of vernacularisms and such an advanced state of decadence of CCS norms, we would expect to see a stronger reflection of the vernacular than of the traditional CCS norms in the reflexes of *ě* as well.

4. Hypercorrect use of “ě”. I noted 15 probable examples within this hand of hypercorrect use of “ě”. In only 2 instances “ě” stands in place of original *i* (*pr-izrě* 2 Sg. Imv. 152c 13-14, and possibly in the uncertain example *zbžně*. N. Pl. Masc.?: *da eg'da tbě. zbžně. s-as'toeti* 191c 34 = *ut dum tibi deuotus existit* 482,33), while in the other examples “ě” stands in place of original *e* (from some source other than *ě*). I have excluded from the data the example

obětovaniě N./A. Pl., though in most manuscripts this stem occurs regularly with the vowel *e*. Although some of the examples may result from analogical processes (*obrěcuti* 3 Pl. Pres. 191b 28, perhaps even *misl-ěmi* D. Pl. 191b 5-6, *po sěmi* L. Sg. 191d 17 and *iscelět' se* 3 Pl. Pres. 191d 24), others represent simple errors in spelling (*mě* A. Sg. of *azi* 152c 14, *sě* reflexive particle 152c 16, 190a 30 and 191b 25, *prilěžno* Adv. 191a 3, *telěsi* I. Pl. 191b 24, *da spasět sě* 3 Pl. Pres. 191b 25 and *ležecágo* G. Sg. Masc. Pr.A.P. 191d 10). In 2 instances the error leads to a confusion of grammatical forms: *prizrě* 152c 13-14 (intended as 2 Sg. Inv., but actually the form of the 3 Sg. Aor.), and *tbě.* 152c 21 (intended as A. Sg. of *ti*, but actually the form of the D./L. Sg.). Such errors seem to indicate either unusually poor training, or unusual lapses of attention (though we have encountered such an example even in hand **A** (*na tebě* 16c 17, intended as A. Sg.: *na tebě ž-e s'siěeti gi., super te autem orietur Dominus* Isaiah 60,2).

5. Reflexes of *ę. Hand **F** contains no interesting data.
6. *dj, *zdz, etc. Hand **F** contains the following 4 examples: *utvrždenie* N. Sg. 152c 5, *ot zabluzhdeniě* G. Sg. 191c 8-9 and 191c 15, and *Temđe* 191c 18.
7. Spelling of *j*. There are no further examples in this hand in which *j* is spelled overtly with the letter “đ”.
8. Various dialectal and characteristic features. As mentioned above, the text in this hand is considerably vernacularized. I noted 3 instances in which *ki* appears in place of expected *iže*: *Msa. - za tgo. ki grihi ispovi* 190a 27-28, *Msa. za nemnka. ki e. blzi.* 191c 19, and ... *rba. - tvoego, ki v telě trpiti ...* 191c 26-27. We have already noted 2 occurrences of the stem *smrt-* instead of the usual CCS *semrt-*. On 191c 25 stands *s'celenie* A. Sg., with the čakavian dialectal *s-* instead of *is-*. On 191b 10-11 we read *Msa. egda - skoti mru(.)*. No *titla* is visible over the form *mru* (though there may be some damage to the text at this spot), and this form ends in the middle of the line, so that it was not abbreviated on account of space. Finally, there are 2 instances of *o* in place of *u*: *na otpoćenie v-sihi grěhovi*, 190b 4-5 and *troda* G. Sg. 191c 29.

14.1 Overview

The graphic characteristics of hand G stand apart from those of the other hands of NYM. Letters are small, especially in the earlier folia, so that more fit onto a line. They are also proportionately shorter than those in other hands, thus leaving a greater interlinear space. In compensation, the extensions of letters above and below the bilinear space, but especially above, are somewhat more exaggerated than in other hands. For example, the interlinear extension of the letter “l” is proportionately larger than in other hands, and in some instances is quite as tall as the basic, bilinear, portion of the letter. The overall impression is similar (though more moderate) to that given by the Cyrillic and Glagolitic diplomatic scripts of the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, with their small letters and exaggerated interlinear extensions. Still, this hand varies greatly in size of letters and degree of neatness. On 212v, in particular (but in a few other locations as well), letters seem somewhat larger than on other pages. In many sections this hand gives the impression of a semi-*ustav* style, while in some locations (e.g. 206c 20-22) the quality of the script deteriorates to the extent that it is no longer possible to speak of this as a formal, or *ustav*, style.

Most initials in hand G are also fairly small, and are constructed of relatively light lines. Some are surrounded by a particularly intricate pattern of light, even delicate strokes, some very long and containing various decorative curls, others done into the shape of leaves or berries. Other scribes use this technique, but none with the intricacy or the degree of regularity which we find in hand G.

The solidly “woven” initials “S” on 210a 17 and 221a 24 are virtually unique in this manuscript, though they are highly reminiscent of those found regularly in N. The only similar initial in NYM is the “T” found on 62d 16, though we can see a more distant resemblance in the stem of several other initials, particularly the “V” on 42c 5 and 48a 12, the “P” (apparently Latin) on 98a 22, and the “R” on 110b 9.

Latin initials in hand G include “N” 209c 26, “D” 210d 12 and 218a 30, “R” 210d 30, “P” 213a 2, and “S” 218c 1.

Beneath the text on folio 210a, and in the same hand as the text, is the surname *zoranići*. The word stands quite alone, and there is no

obvious explanation for its presence here. This is the only annotation of a non-textual nature in the entire manuscript.

14.2 Characteristic shapes

1. *titla*—This symbol consists of a longish straight line, often with a slight (apparently unintentional) curve or wave. Most often there is no embellishment whatsoever, but occasionally a very small upward curl is visible at the far left end (cf. 212a 6, 8).
2. *a*—This is one of the most characteristic letters of hand **G**. The central vertical stroke extends well above the upper line, though in many instances this protrusion seems very moderate in relation to other vertical extensions in this hand. In only a minority of the examples the lower part of the letter has the appearance of a single stroke with fairly well-defined, if not really sharp, corners, the left corner lower than the right one (cf. 204c 23). More often, a left and a right stroke intersect the central vertical stroke. Both consist of a lower vertical and an upper diagonal section. In the left-hand stroke the vertical section is sometimes located farther from the central vertical stroke than is the vertical section of the right-hand stroke. In the left-hand stroke, the vertical section is relatively shorter, and the diagonal section relatively longer than in the right-hand stroke. Most often, though by no means regularly, the right-hand stroke intersects the central stroke at a point above where the left-hand stroke intersects it.
3. *i*—The stroke from the upper left corner to the lower right contains a sharp break, or jog. At times this “stroke” seems in fact to be discontinuous, with the upper and lower portions intersecting at different points the moderately curved stroke from the upper right to lower left corner, though this is hard to discern in the reproduction of the manuscript. Overall, the letter is still not as “squared”, or rectangular, in shape as in, for example, hand **D**.
4. *ž*—The antennae are most often long and are inconsistent in shape, being either straight or curved. In a majority of instances, the left antenna is longer than the right. There is a tendency for the center

of the angle formed by the antennae to lean somewhat to the left but, again, this is not regular.

5. *g, h*—The stems generally protrude far below the lower line. In general, this hand shows the deepest regular protrusion of any in NYM. This hand is characterized by an unusual stylization of the letter “*g*”: the left stem, straight or virtually so, extends at a steep angle or vertically from the upper line, then deflects slightly at or above the lower line, and continues on beneath the lower line at a slightly more shallow angle; the right stem, also straight or nearly so, may begin at the bottom of the left-hand stroke, either coinciding with or diverging slightly from it; as it extends above the lower line, it deflects (or curves) to an angle closer to the horizontal: cf. 214d 29, 215a 23, 221c 19, 221d 28 and 222a 14. Though this stylization is unique (in NYM) to hand **G**, it is far from regular even in this hand. Perhaps more often, the stems, whether straight or slightly curved, do not show an obvious deflection near the lower line. The left stem of “*h*” often extends moderately above the upper line, and most often ends abruptly, though in a few instances it does curl to the left at the very top.
6. *t*—This scribe uses only the traditional superscript form of this letter, except on 209c 14, where we have z .
7. *pr*—The horizontal extension is generally curved, sometimes considerably so, but at other times very slightly. In a majority of instances, the right end is higher than the left, so that the stroke seems to “rise”. On leaf 204, the first in hand **G**, the stroke is very short, virtually as in hand **A**². Subsequently, however, it becomes long and covers at least the following letter, occasionally even more.
8. *d*—The form of this letter in ligatures is particularly characteristic of hand **G**. The top of the letter is sharp and extends far above the upper line, often actually farther than the central vertical stroke of the letter “*a*” (cf. for example 207c 3, 6, 7, 8 and 215a 2, 5, 6, 10).
9. Abbreviation by suspension—Hand **G** makes very limited use of suspension. The form *esti* is abbreviated as *e.*. The *titla* is almost vertical, but whereas in previous hands it leaned slightly in the

direction of the French *accent aigu*, in this hand it leans slightly in the direction of the *accent grave*. I also noted *ze*. G. Sg. (= *zemle*) 221b 10 and *zi*. L. Sg. (= *zemli*) 223c 28, 223d 23, 25 and 27. In these latter instances the *titla* is similar to this scribe's normal *titla*, except that from the left end a shorter upper section hooks sharply to the right. This same *titla*, with the upward hook from the left end of the basic stroke, also occurs in *gjuti*. 3 Pl. Pres. (= *glagoljuti*) 223d 7 and *gte*. 2 Pl. Pres. (= *glagolete*) 223d 12, which can only marginally be considered as suspension (see the discussion in Chapter 16).

10. This scribe makes considerable use of the symbols = , = and = at the end of a line, where this coincides with the end of a text.
11. One of the most striking characteristics of this hand is the presence of numerous and unusual ligatures. Cf., for example, the unusual ligatures “hod” 206c 22, “mož” 213b 25, “do” 213c 8, “pod” 213c 9, “sut” 218b 30, “uds” 219a 5, “gotovt” 220c 17, and “pož” 222b 19, in which one interlinear extension actually crosses over and interferes with another. Cf. also the unusual shape of the letter “l” in the ligatures “pl” 215a 7 and “sl” 216a 27.

14.3 Language and orthography

1. *jer*. Out of a sample (taken from lections in folia 204-220) containing 104 examples in which vocalization either is realized or might be expected to be, the reflex *e* occurs in one example (*semrti* G. Sg. 210c 10), *a* in 45, while vocalization fails to be realized in 58 examples. This yields a proportion of vocalization of .44. (I have not included in the data the examples *po osmihı dněhi*. L. Sg. 206a 5 and *v ... nıpıstehı* L. Pl. 211d 18, because the *ě* or *e* in these examples is due to analogical processes or a different ablaut grade already attested in OCS.) Hand **G** would thus seem to have by far the lowest proportion of vocalization of any hand in NYM.

In keeping with this hand's apparent archaism with respect to this feature, vocalization is particularly prevalent in those Common Slavic monosyllabic words which had *jer* as their vowel. The conjunction *nı* occurs in 9 instances, 6 with vocalization and 3 without. The N. Sg. Masc. form of the pronouns *tı* and *sı* occurs 13

times, 11 with vocalization and 2 without (1 of the instances without vocalization is actually of the pronoun **tidje*: *Tie* 204d 10).

In contrast, in the prepositions *ki*, *vi* and *si*, and the prefixes *vi(n)*- and *si(n)*- vocalization only occurs exceptionally. Out of 31 examples of the prepositions in which vocalization might be expected, we have vocalization in only 6. The tendency does not seem to vary with environment. Of 15 instances in which the *jer* is in strong position according to Havlík's rule, we have 2 examples with vocalization and 13 without. Of 13 instances in which the *jer* is followed by a vowel, there are 3 examples with vocalization, and 10 without. There is no vocalization in either of the examples in which the following word-initial consonant is identical to that of the preposition or differs from it only in voicing. In the only example in which the *jer* of the preposition seems to be in truly weak position (though vocalized forms have been noted in the same phrase somewhere in the data), however, we have vocalization (*va - me* 219a 29-30).

Similarly, in 11 occurrences of the prefixes in which vocalization might be expected to occur, there are but 2 instances of vocalization (several of the examples, though, may be considered marginal). In strong position we have *sanmi* A. Pl. 208a 24, but *sızdah* 1 Sg. Aor. 220b 25 and *vičneši* 2 Sg. Pres. 220c 4, along with the more marginal *vızva* (really from *vız - zıva*) 3 Sg. Aor. 205a 15, *k' - sinmćemi*. D. Pl. 207c 29-30, and *vızvahı* 1 Sg. Aor. 219a 29. With a root-initial consonant identical to that of the prefix or differing from it only in voicing we have only *sisudi* N. Sg. 208a 8, *vıvsta*. (= *vivsta*) 3 Du. Aor. 210c 13 and *sis'tviši*. 2 Sg. Pres. 220c 13. In weak position we have *otı sıšadši-h se* G. Pl. P.A.P. 212c 7-8, but *sa-šad'i* N. Sg. Masc. P.A.P. (N.B. the spelling "i" for *y) 216c 1-2.

This leaves a remainder of 39 instances in which vocalization occurs or might be expected to occur. Of these, vocalization actually occurs in 20 and fails to occur in 19, for a proportion of vocalization of .51. This is still considerably below that of hands **A** and **A³**, making hand **G** the most conservative in NYM with respect to this feature.

2. Hypercorrect use of *ı* and *'*. Given the relative conservatism of hand **G** with respect to orthographic vocalization of *jer*—the process being about half-way to completion—we should not be surprised to see a large number of examples of hypercorrect use of *ı* and *'* for *a* where this sound is not derived from an earlier *jer*. In fact, this is perhaps the one most striking feature of the language and orthography of hand **G**. Within my sample (taken from folia 204-221), I noted no less than 72 instances in which *ı* is used in place of an original *a*. (If we consider only folia 204-220, the sample used for reflexes of *jer*, we have 66 instances of *ı* for original *a*.) It is also worthy of note that it is invariably *ı*, and never *'*, which is used in this manner.

3. *ě*. My sample (taken from folia 204-220) contains 238 examples of continuants of Common Slavic *ě*. In 174 instances the continuant is spelled with “*ě*”, while in 64 instances we have the overt reflexes *e* and *i*. This yields a proportion of retention of “*ě*” of .73. The reflex forms in hand **G** are more difficult to interpret than perhaps in any other hand of NYM. Of the 64 reflex forms, in 35 instances the reflex is *i*, while in 29 it is *e*. Out of 54 examples in which *i* is predicted by J/M, in 31 the reflex is *i*, while in 23 it is *e*. Of course, some examples of the reflex *e* need not be considered significant. The adverb *nne*. occurs twice (210c 16 and 211d 16). There are also several occurrences of the prefix *prě-*, which might well represent morpheme leveling in an *i-/e*-type dialect: *prebista* 3 Du. Aor. 204b 2, *pr-ebivaei* N. Sg. Masc. Pr.A.P. 215d 12-13 and *prepoložih'* 1 Sg. Aor. 219a 30-b 1, as well as *Prežde* 204b 26 and *pre-žde* 204b 6, 210c 11 and 212b 19-20. Further, there are several examples in which *e* might easily be due to analogical processes: *obrete* 3 Sg. Aor. 204b 12, *Vznese* 3 Pl. Aor. (= *tulerunt*) 210b 27, *prosede* (from **prosěsti*, **proseđo*) 3 Sg. Aor. 212b 27, *nevernie* A. Pl. Masc. 220d 23, in which *e* might be due to morpheme leveling processes in an *i-/e*-type dialect, and perhaps even *živeš-e* 3 Sg. Ipt. 204b 1-2. Still, there remain a number of instances for which there is no obvious explanation: *videh* 1 Sg. Aor. 204c 1, *većaniě* N. Pl. 204d 26 (probably a non-vernacular form), *vnutre* 206a 6, perhaps *tarsenina* (*i vzići v domu ijudo-vě imenemı sıvla.*, *tarsenina - rodomı*,

207d 27-29, = *et quaere in domo Iudae Saulum nomine Tarsensem*: ... Acts 9,11) G. Sg., *neistlennoe* A. Sg. Neut. 211d 10 (possibly a non-vernacular form), *obiteli* N. Pl. 215c 19 (*e* has been generalized in many modern dialects, but *i* occurs in some older western texts, cf. in *JAZU*), *otsěle* 215d 3, *dovleđeti* 3 Sg. Pres. 215d 5 and *s'vdetlstvuemi*. 1 Pl. Pres. 216b 26-27.

A similar situation holds among the *i*-reflexes. Some may be the result of analogical processes: *nozi* N. Du. 204d 19, *tomi* D. Sg. 206a 10, *biše* 3 Sg. Ipt. 207d 22, *v' zknj*. L. Sg. 210b 29, perhaps also *k sebi* D. Sg. 215c 23. There are many other examples, however, which might be expected only in an *i*- or *i*-/*e*-type dialect: *mriže*. (sic!) A. Pl. 205a 9, *uzri* 3 Sg. Aor. 205a 11, *s-imo* 206a 10-11 and 208a 29, *vid-iti* Inf. 210a 29-30 and 216b 7, *priporodi* 3 Sg. Aor. 211d 7, *vri-me* A. Sg. 211d 14, 212c 8-9 and 215d 6, *d'-viju* G. Du. Num. 212c 20-21, *vi-ste* 2 Pl. Pres. 215c 25-26 and 215c 26, *viditi* (root and stem both, = *scire* John 14,5) Inf. 215c 28, *uv-iste* 2 Pl. Pres. 215d 3-4, *v'-listi* Inf. 216b 10-11, *viši* 2 Sg. Pres. 216b 19, *ci-nit se* 3 Sg. Pres. 219b 6-7, *pripoložihj* (*pripoložihj stlsti. im-ěti ju*, = *Et proposui pro luce habere illam*, i.e. *sapientiam*) 1 Sg. Aor. 219b 9, *Prie* 220b 25 and *prie* 220b 26, *umiju* 1 Sg. Pres. 220b 30, *zamatorivša* N. Du. Masc. P.A.P. 220c 28 and *vani* 220d 4.

As with hand **F**, unfortunately, there are few examples in which *e* is the reflex predicted by J/M, and most of these are subject to interpretation as the result of analogical processes. The reflex *e* occurs in 6 examples: *obreti* N. Sg. Masc. P.A.P. 204b 6 and 204b 15, *Obretomi* 1 Pl. Aor. 204b 7 and *obretomi* 1 Pl. Aor. 204b 17, all of which may result from analogical processes, as well as *zveta*. G. Sg. 210a 24 and *pred'ragi* A. Sg. Masc. 219b 4. The reflex *i* occurs in 4 examples: *rista* 3 Du. Aor. 204a 28 and *vidi-sta* 3 Du. Aor. 204b 1 and 210c 18-19, all of which could result from morpheme levelling in an *i*-/*e*-type dialect, as well as possibly reflecting an *i*-type dialect, and *Poidita* 2 Du. Inv. 205a 7, which could result from analogical processes in any dialect.

Considering the relatively large number of *i*-reflexes which cannot be attributed to analogy, it seems most reasonable to attribute these to the scribe of hand **G**, while the *e*-reflexes would be considered as reflections of CCS pronunciation, or would simply

be copied over from the matrix text. There are several sets of words in this hand where we find both *i* and *e* in the same morpheme. For example, we have several words with the prefix *pre-*, but also *priporodi* and *pripoložihı* (as well as *prepoložih’*). Since the reflex *e* in this morpheme, even when *i* is predicted by J/M, is very common in CCS, occurring in manuscripts or hands which clearly do not reflect an *e*-type dialect, the forms with the unusual *pri-* are most likely to reflect the usage of this particular scribe. Similarly, while *prežde* reflects traditional CCS norms, the less usual (in NYM, though not in all manuscripts) vernacular form *prie* is perhaps more likely to reflect the usage of this scribe. Finally, the *e* in *videh* may represent traditional CCS pronunciation, while *viditi*, *uzri*, etc., represent the usage of this scribe, though in this instance we have only one instance of the reflex *e* alongside more numerous examples of the reflex *i*.

It seems likely, then, that the *e*-reflexes (where *i* is predicted by J/M) reflect traditional usage or were copied over from the matrix text, while the *i*-reflexes by and large reflect the speech of this scribe, rather than that the *i*-reflexes were copied from the matrix text, while the *e*-reflexes would generally reflect the scribe's *e*-type dialect. Given the paucity of examples in which *e* is predicted by J/M, we may conclude only that the data seem to suggest an *i*- or *i*-/*e*-type dialect, and most probably the latter.

4. Hypercorrect use of “ě”. Within the same sample as that used for reflexes of *ě* (folia 204-220), this hand contains a fairly large number of instances (I noted 27) of hypercorrect use of the letter “ě”. In only one instance, the letter stood in place of original *i*: *uzrěte* 2 Pl. Pres. 204c 3-4. In one instance it stands in place of *i* or *e*: *iz ložesně* G. Sg. or G. Pl.; this word is actually a neuter *pluralia tantum*. In *mno-žěe* Comp. of the adverb *m’nogo* 208b 1-2, the letter “ě” was certainly pronounced as *e*. Comparatives formed from this root and spelled with “e” (of the type *množeiši*, etc.) are common in the manuscripts, and so it is clear that the original OCS spelling “ž” + “ě” for the sound sequence *ž* + *a* had been reinterpreted in CCS as referring to the sequence *ž* + *e*. In all other instances, the letter “ě” clearly stands for pronounced *e*. Forms of

the verb **gręsti* appear regularly with the letter “ě” in the root, cf. *Grědi* 2 Sg. Imv. 204b 13, *grěduća* G. Sg. Masc. Pr.A.P. 204b 22, *grěděše* 3 Sg. Ipt. 208a 17, *grědi* N. Sg. Masc. Pr.A.P. 207d 3, *grědući* N. Pl. Masc. Pr.A.P. 207d 15, *grědti*. 3 Sg. Pres. 216b 20, *grědi* 2 Sg. Imv. 223c 12 and *grěděaše* 3 Sg. Ipt. 223c 13, the last 2 examples occurring outside my sample for data concerning ě and “ě”.

5. Reflexes of **ę*. The lections within a sample taken from folia 204-221 contain 6 examples of the word *ěžik*, all spelled with “ě”: *prědi* *ěžki*. I. Pl. 208a 10, *ě-zki*. G. Pl. 210c 21-22, *ěžkomi*. I. Sg. 212c 1, *v'ěžicěhi* L. Pl. 220b 28, *nid'ěžiki* I. Pl. 220c 10 and *ěžki*. N. Sg. 221c 10. On 219b 29, in a psalm, however, we have the vernacularism *ezki*. N. Sg. 219b 29.
6. **dj*, **zdj*, etc. Out of a sample (taken from all lections written in hand **G**) containing 28 examples of reflexes of Common Slavic **dj*, in 6 of these the reflex is *žd*, while in 22 it is *j*. Four of the examples containing *žd* are of the adverb or conjunction *prežde*: 204b 6, 204b 26, 210c 11 and 212b 19-20 (alongside 3 examples of the vernacularized *prie* 220b 25, 220b 26 and 222d 15). The other 2 examples are *vzděž-děši* 2 Sg. Pres. 223a 11-12 and *s-aziždju* 1 Sg. Pres. 223d 19-20. Hand **G** is thus one of the more vernacularized hands of NYM in this respect. In 5 instances the reflex *j* is spelled overtly with “ď”: *viďi* 2 Sg. Imv. 204b 21 and 206a 11, *utvrđae* N. Sg. Masc. Pr.A.P. 208b 4, *utvrđajućim se* D. Pl. Masc. Pr.A.P. 211d 12 and *voďi* (= OCS *voždb: ěk. siě mdr-osti*. (sic!) *voďi e.* for *Quoniam ipse sapientiae dux est*, Wisdom 7,15) 219b 27. In each case *j* is clearly in alternation with *d*. However, other examples, such as *ne viju* 1 Sg. Pres. 206a 1, *postiev-aše* 3 Sg. Ipt. 208b 2-3, *roenie* N. Sg. 216b 15, etc., make it clear that alternation with *d* was not a criterion which determined how this reflex would be spelled. In fact, no obvious pattern is visible.
7. Spelling of *j*. I noted only 2 other instances in which *j* was spelled overtly with “ď”: *k' (a)r-hiđerěomi* D. Pl. 208a 30-b 1 and *dovleđeti* 3 Sg. Pres. 215d 5.

8. Various dialectal and characteristic features. There are no striking features which appear regularly, though a considerable number occur as isolated instances.

In *ěkva. zbeděo-va* A. Sg. 205a 12-13 and *si zbeděomi* I. Sg. 205a 14, the *b* corresponds to *v* in other hands. In general, there is considerable variation between *v* and *b* in the manuscripts in words of biblical or Greek origin. I have chosen to refrain here from a systematic discussion of this topic, which is ultimately of a textual, rather than linguistic or orthographic, nature. On 206a 10 stands *prnesi*. 2 Sg. Imv. There seems to be a *titla*, though it is possible that this is part of the horizontal extension of the ligature “pr”. On 205d 26 we read *niricami* N. Sg. Masc. Pr.P.P., with contraction, unusual in this form, of *ae > a* following loss of intervocalic *j*.

On 223c 9 stands *vistupi* 2 Sg. Imv. (*Pripoěši se i vistupi v' - plěsnici svoei*), *Praecingere, et calcea te caligas tuas* Acts 12,8). N⁵² and 1483 also have *vistupi*, while Hm has *v'stupi* 167a 20. It is not clear whether this form should be interpreted as being formed with the prefix *vi-* (standard S.-C. *iz-*). In any case, the error seems not to have originated with this scribe.

There are 2 examples in which *o* appears in place of *u*: *młsti. bžiju. da-noju mně* A. Sg. Fem. 208b 7-8 and *naslědoeti* 3 Sg. Pres. 212d 1.

I noted only 2 examples of *u* for *oju*: *lěpotoju tvo-eju i krstoju. tvoju*, I. Sg. Fem. 208c 25-26 and *meju pisku (= paskoju) - i ptiksti.*, I. Sg. 213d 15-16.

There is one instance of *n-ega* for *nego* G. Sg. 212a 16-17.

On 213c 18 we have the apparently hypercorrect form *es'si* 2 Sg. Pres. of *biti*, indicating that the scribe interpreted this form as consisting of the verbal enclitic *si* plus an “intensifying element” *es-*.

On 213d 12 in a rubric we read *ničće ne dimo*. The form *ničće* (for OCS *ničъtože*, contemporary S.-C. *ništa*) appears in a number of instances in rubrics in NYM, as well as in Hm.

⁵² Cf. apparatus in Hm.

On 214a 1-2 in a rubric we read *aće - ne bedti. se čini činiti*. Hm and 1483 have *budet' se* (157c 18) and *se budeti* (299), respectively.

On 215b 4 we read *Azi esmı trsı istinni* for *Ego sum uitis uera* 327:34, showing the simplification of the final cluster *st > s*. This also occurs in Hm 158c 30-31. On 217c 8 we have the vernacularism *ot smrti* with no *titla*. I noted the following instances in which a substantive has *h* at the end of the G. Pl. desinence: *ljudhi. svoihı*, 221c 21 (*Blnı. gi. bı. - izlvı., ěk. posěti i stvri. izb-vlenie. ljudhi. svoihı*); Hm has *ljudi svoihı*, 165a 29, while 1483 has *ljudem' svo-im'*, 313) and *Molenie ljudhi. tvoihı ml. te - gi. mlstvě. usłši.*, 206b 27-28 (not in Hm).

In most hands and manuscripts, the G./L. form of the numeral *d'va*, even when used with masculine substantives, is *dvěju/dvijju*. In this hand, however, this same ending also occurs almost regularly in the masculine form of adjectives: cf. *bžniju. apl-u. tvoeju filipa i ěkva*. 215c 2-3, *stiju. mčku. t-voeju mar'čela i marčelina* 219d 29-30, etc., (but also *bžnoju. mčku. - tvoeju*, 217b 17-18 and *stiju. mčku. - tvoeju* 217b 24-25).

On 213d 8 we read *Niučili si bihomı*. It is not clear whether the form *si* might be considered an enclitic dative form of the reflexive personal pronoun.

15.1 Overview

This hand is neat and fairly elegant. Letters are angular and fairly tall. They lean slightly to the left. In contrast especially to hand **G**, portions of letters above the upper line in this hand are particularly small. This is especially true of the upper portions of the letter “l” and the ligature “ml”, but applies to other letters as well. Though this hand bears some similarities to the hands designated by the letter **A**, it is clearly distinct from them all.

15.2 Characteristic shapes

1. *titla*—This symbol consists of a straight or slightly curved (particularly at the right end) line, with a sharp and heavier-drawn upward hook at the left end. This *titla* is similar to that in hand **A**¹, except that in the latter hand the hook at the left end is not as heavily drawn, while there is a more pronounced downward curl at the right end of the basic stroke.
2. *a*—The central vertical stroke extends above the upper line, but only slightly, similar to hand **A**. The lower portion of the letter consists of 2 strokes, a vertical stroke on the left-hand side, and a vertical stroke on the right-hand side which then curves to the left to become horizontal at or near the central vertical stroke. It goes on to intersect the top of the left-hand vertical stroke and in most instances ends just beyond it. The left corner is thus angular, the right “corner” curved or sloped.
3. *i*—This is the most symmetrical (with respect to a vertical line drawn through its middle) hour-glass shape of any of the hands of NYM. Nevertheless, the upper-left to lower-right “diagonal” seems to be formed from two separate strokes which intersect the upper-right to lower-left “diagonal”.
4. *ž*—Both antennae are fairly short, and both are curved. The left antenna is longer and more curved. The center of the angle formed by the antennae in most instances leans slightly to the right.
5. *g, h*—The stems are curved. In “h” the left stem protrudes above the upper line and ends abruptly, while it protrudes only moderately below the lower line. In “g” the shape of the left stem

varies. It may be entirely bilinear (247b 20); it may protrude moderately below the lower line (247b 27); or, it may curve sharply at the bottom to avoid extending too far below the lower line. In some instances (cf. 247b 11) the right stem seems to originate at a point above the bottom of the left stem, which would be an archaic feature. This may be due to the fact that the 2 stems are very concave, and do not appear to diverge immediately at their common source.

6. *t*—The superscript form of this letter does not occur.
7. *pr*—The horizontal extension is long, and is either moderately or slightly curved. The main portion of this extension rests on an imaginary horizontal line, though it may or may not also have a small downward curl at the end. There is one instance of the ligature “tr” which, in contrast, has a very short horizontal extension, similar to hand **A**². Still, it extends over part of the following letter.
8. Abbreviation by suspension—I noted the example *zju.* (= *zemlju*) A. Sg. line 6, but with the normal *titla*.
9. *z*—The top of the main left-hand portion of this letter extends above the upper line, but is especially flattened, as if the scribe wanted to make it coincide with the upper line.

15.3 Language and orthography

The single column in hand **H** contains no lections; examples are taken from the entire text.

1. *jer.* I noted only a single example in which vocalization might be expected: *Mas'ti* 2 Sg. Inv. 247b 5 (= *Uindica domine ... 397:18*).
2. Hypercorrect use of *ı* and *'*. Surprisingly, I noted 3 examples in this single column: *ni zju.* (= *zemlju*) 247b 6, *tiinami* I. Pl. 247b 18 and *niukom* I. Sg. or D. Pl. 247b 27. In this respect, then, this hand is similar to hand **G**.
3. *ě*. Hand **H** contains 11 examples of a continuant of Common Slavic *ě*. In 9 of these the continuant is spelled with “*ě*”, for a proportion of retention of “*ě*” of .82 (this proportion is of course not

significant, considering the small sample). In 2 examples—the title *Pěs.* 247b 9 and 16—the letter “ě” is part of a formula which a scribe will write once or more in the text of each and every mass, and so cannot be considered particularly significant. There is one example of the reflex *i*: *v’ ... ispv-idi.* L. Sg. 247b 2-3, and one of the reflex *e*: *pros’peti* Inf. 247b 28. In this word, the root clearly contains what was originally *ě*, but 2 of 3 examples in *JAZU* show *e*, including one alongside two words with the reflex *i*: *Čto prospejet človiku, ako bi vas svit dobil, quid proficit homo, si lucretur universum mundum*, from Dalmatin's *New Testament* 98b. Though we have too little data to allow for a quantitative comparison with other hands, and though the data are not taken from lections, as in other hands, it does seem likely that this scribe was fairly conservative in his treatment of forms containing what had once been the sound *ě*.

4. Hypercorrect use of “ě”. In this single column, I found no less than 3 or 4 examples of hypercorrect use of the letter “ě”, in each case for pronounced *e*: *u tb-ě.* G. Sg. 247b 3-4, *v’ ... mlěnii.* L. Sg. 247b 4, *otkup’lěnie* A. Sg. 247b 15, and perhaps *umr’čvěnihı* G. Pl. Masc. 247b 17, though it is not entirely clear just what are the stems of this word.⁵³
5. Reflexes of **ę*. Hand **H** contains no data.
6. **dj*, **zdj*, etc. Hand **H** contains no data.
7. Spelling of *j*. Hand **H** contains no interesting data.
8. Various dialectal and characteristic features. On 247b 30 we have the expression *s’ prnosi* I. Pl. with no *titla*. On 247b 26 we find the form *ob’emleši.* 2 Sg. Pres. with a superfluous *titla*.

⁵³ ČAV has an entry for *mr̃tviti, -čvljǫ, -tviši*, ipf. This form in NYM, then, might seem to reflect possible loss of epenthetic *l*. Sadnik and Aitzetmüller, however, have entries for *umr̃štvēti* (sic!), *-ajǫ* (sic!) “töten”, and *umr̃štvenije* “Tötung”.

15.4 Conclusion

We may conclude that the orthographic and linguistic characteristics of this hand are similar to those of hand **G**. It is clear, though, that this hand cannot be identified with any other in NYM.

PART III

Chapter 16

Synthesis and Conclusions

16.1 Introduction

We have now completed a survey of the hands of NYM. We have noted characteristic features of each, and have adduced ample evidence to justify the conclusion that indeed 11 (if hand **A**¹ is not identical to **A**² or **A/A**³) scribes participated in the production of the manuscript.

In the following sections I will summarize the data, in an attempt both to further justify the claim of participation by 11 scribes, and also to reach a general characterization of the script, phonetics and orthography of the manuscript. Further, I will compare the phonetic-orthographic data from NYM to those which I have gathered in the comparative corpus from 14 manuscripts of the CCS MP and the printed missal of 1483. To be sure, a thorough analysis of the data from the other missals must await a future opportunity. Finally, I will conclude by drawing upon all available data for a discussion of the overall significance of NYM, as best this can presently be determined.

16.2 Graphics

16.2.1 *titla*

Two basic forms of this symbol occur in NYM, each with several main variants. The several resulting shapes seem to have some chronological significance.

1. The symbol consists of a flat or wavy line. It may be without embellishment (often in **B**, **B**¹ and **G**); it may curl upward at the left end (occasionally **B**, **B**¹, **F** and **G**); the upward curl at the left end may be accompanied by a downward curl at the right end (regularly in **C**);

finally, the basic stroke may be crossed by a short diagonal stroke (occasionally in **B** and **B¹**).

2. The basic stroke is curved, with the ends closer than the center to the lower line. It may be without embellishment (regularly in **D**, often in **A²**), or it may have a sharp hook upward and to the right at the left end (regularly in **A**, **A¹**, **A³**, **E**, **H**, often in **A²**).

The two basic types may be summarized as follows: in one, a *flat* or *wavy* stroke with a possible *curl* at the left end; in the other, a *curved* stroke with a possible *hook* at the left end. Only hands **D** and **F** seem hard to classify under this scheme. In hand **F** the basic stroke is straight or wavy, and the extension from the left end is sometimes a curl; more often, though, the extension is a sharp hook, giving this *titla* a hybrid appearance. In hand **D**, the basic stroke is sometimes fairly straight, or a bit wavy; also, the otherwise angular and more archaic ductus which characterizes this scribe suggests that this *titla* should perhaps be considered a variant of the first, rather than of the second basic type.

In the manuscripts of the missal, as well as all other manuscripts from which I have been able to examine samples,⁵⁴ the first basic type is definitely older, while the second seems to be limited largely to the fifteenth century. The earliest scripts, through the thirteenth century, seem to use almost exclusively the variant with a curled upward extension at the left, and curled downward extension at the right end. The variant with no upward or downward curls seems to be limited largely to the fourteenth century. While this scheme is based on an analysis of relatively few samples, and will certainly demand a more rigorous examination, it does provide a criterion for assessing the degree of conservatism of the scribes of NYM. Hand **C**, which otherwise contains extremely archaic features, would be most archaic in this respect as well. Hands **B**, **B¹** and **G** would be somewhat less archaic. Hand **F** (perhaps also hand **D**) would use a shape transitional to the newer fashions, while the remaining scribes (**A/A³**, **A¹**, **A²**, **E** and

⁵⁴ The most important of these samples are those contained in Jagić 1911, Štefanić 1970 and Vajs 1932.

H) would use only variants of the modern, “fashionable” shape of the symbol.

16.2.2 “a”

The scribes of NYM may be distinguished with respect to two features: the height of the central vertical stem, and the relative position and shape of the two lower strokes.

In hand **A³** the central vertical stroke generally does not extend above the upper line; in hands **A**, **A²**, **B¹** and **H** we have a slight or moderate extension, while in all other hands the extension is much greater. In the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, extensions above and below the bilinear space as a rule represent innovations, diverging from the almost complete bilinearity observable during the thirteenth century. The breakdown of bilinearity affected a considerable number of letters, with *g*, *p*, *h* and *c* in particular developing protrusions below the lower line, *a*, *d* (in ligature), *ž*, *z*, *l* and *h* developing (or maintaining, in the case of *ž* and *l*) protrusions above the bilinear space. In the case of *a*, however, an upward protrusion was already regular in the fourteenth century, so that the appearance of bilinear or nearly bilinear forms at the end of this century or in the fifteenth century most likely represents a newer affectation or trend.

The lower portion of the letter is formed in one of three manners: vertical strokes to the right and left of the central vertical stroke curve or bend at the top and both intersect the central stroke; the right-hand vertical stroke curves or bends at the top, crosses the central vertical stroke, and intersects the top of the left-hand vertical stroke, which has no embellishment; or, the right-hand vertical stroke curves at the top and ends at the central vertical stroke, while a separate, more-or-less horizontal stroke extends to the left from the central vertical stroke to the top of the left-hand vertical stroke and ends either at or just beyond the intersection. It is often difficult to determine just which technique is being used, and a single scribe may use more than one technique. It is not clear whether these techniques have any chronological significance. This feature should be noted in paleographic descriptions, though by itself it may not provide a sufficient criterion for distinguishing between hands or scribes.

16.2.3 “i”

The shape of this letter varies in several respects. First, the diagonal from the upper left to bottom right corner may be more curved or “broken” than the diagonal from the upper right to lower left corner (**B**, **B¹**, **C**, **D**, **E**, **F**, **G**), or *vice versa* (**A**, **A¹**, **A²**, **A³**). Second, the letter may be shaped more like an hour glass, narrow at the center and wide at the top and bottom (particularly **A**, **A¹**, **A²**, **A³**, **F** and **H**), or it may be more “squared”, with a wider center due to a particularly sharp break or curve at the center of one of the diagonal strokes (**D** is the most extreme example, perhaps somewhat less in the remaining hands). Third, while in a majority of hands we seem to have at least the appearance of a continuous stroke from the upper left to lower right corner, in hands **C**, **D**, **F**, **G** and **H** this “stroke” is (in some instances) visibly discontinuous, and quite clearly consists of separate strokes emanating from the lower right and upper left corners and intersecting the upper-right to lower-left stroke, often at distinct locations.

All of these facts have chronological significance. The asymmetrical forms (i.e. those with a pronounced “break” or jog in the upper-left to lower-right diagonal, or in which that diagonal is discontinuous) are transitional from the form of the letter in the early “round” (OCS) Glagolitic script to the later “hour-glass” shape. The asymmetrical forms are attested as early as the thirteenth century in shapes similar to those encountered in NYM, and remain predominant throughout the fifteenth century. The symmetrical “hour-glass” shape seems to be restricted largely to the second half of the fifteenth century (cf. Jagič 1911:162). This is one of the paradoxes of NYM. The symmetrical shape of the letter “i” is one of the striking characteristics of hands **A** and **A³**, though these same hands, in their treatment of reflexes of Common Slavic *ě*, show a degree of conservatism second only to Ill4 (among the manuscripts of the missal). In this latter respect, then (i.e. with respect to reflexes of *ě*), they are most consistent with our expectations for a manuscript completed during the late fourteenth century. However, the fact that 4 of the scribes of NYM (**A/A³**, **A¹**, **A²** and **H**) make use of the symmetrical form points to a late date of origin of NYM, perhaps during the latter half of the fifteenth century. This last fact (i.e. that 4 scribes in a single manuscript utilized this otherwise unusual shape) suggests that this

may be a characteristic feature of the scriptorium (or scriptoria) in which NYM originated—a characteristic of the hand of a master scribe (perhaps **A/A³**), which is emulated by those scribes whom he has trained. In this case, NYM might represent one of the earliest appearances of this shape.

Of the asymmetrical forms, those with a discontinuous upper-left to lower-right diagonal are more archaic, and seem to represent an attempt to simplify the formation of the original (canonical OCS) form of the letter. Two variants may be distinguished—one more formal, apparently formed from the strokes *, and the other less formal, apparently formed from the strokes **. The form of the letter with a continuous upper-left to lower-right diagonal represents a further simplification. Again there are two variants—one more formal: ***; and one less so: ****.

* 1) / , 2) γ , 3) ʏ , 4) ʝ , 5) ʒ

** 1) ɔ , 2) ʘ , 3) ʘ

*** 1) / , 2) ʏ , 3) ʝ , 4) ʘ

**** 1) / , 2) ʘ , 3) ʘ

16.2.4 “ž”

In hands **A²** and **H** the center of the angle formed by the antennae tends to lean slightly to the right, while in all other hands it either leans to the left, or the center of the angle is vertical. In some hands the antennae are in general curved (**A**, **A¹**, **A²**, **A³**, **C**, **B¹**, **E**, **H**), while in others they are often straight or irregular, or only occasionally curved (**B**, **D**, **F**, **G**). We must conclude that none of these characteristics seem to have any significance for dating, though they are useful for distinguishing between hands.

16.2.5 “g”, “h”

Three criteria may be of some value for dating. The stems may fail to protrude below the lower line (regularly in **C**, occasionally in **F**, once in **H**). Second, the stem may be straight, regardless of whether a curve occurs at the very bottom (especially in **C**; also in **D**, particularly in the letter “g”; occasionally in **G**, with a bend at or near the lower line, though in more instances there is some curvature), while in other

hands a greater or lesser amount of curvature occurs almost regularly throughout the length of the stem. Third, in **C**, as opposed to all other hands, the right stem originates at a point above the bottom of the left stem. The variants in which the stem fails to extend below the lower line, in which the stem is straight, and in which the right stem originates at a point above the bottom of the left stem, are older, and in fact reminiscent of the fragments from the thirteenth century. Hand **C** is thus by far more archaic than any other hand in the formation of these letters. Hand **D** is also fairly archaic, at least in the formation of “g” (while his “h” generally has some curvature and often extends far above the upper line). Other hands use more innovative forms of these letters.

16.2.6 “t”

Hand **B¹** uses exclusively the innovative shape of the superscript form of this letter: z . Hand **B** also uses this form occasionally, along with the older shape z . Hand **A²** uses the innovative form in 3 instances, **G** once, and **E** perhaps once, while hands **A**, **A³**, **D** and **F** use only the older form of the superscript letter. The newer shape is attested already in the fourteenth century (cf. the description and plate of the Pašman Breviary in Štefanić 1969 I:105-112 and 1970 II:plate 22), and therefore has no value for dating NYM, though it is an important attribute of certain hands.

16.2.7 “pr”

The vertical extension may be short (hand **A²**; also **C** and **B¹**, though their extension is occasionally a bit longer than that of hand **A²**, and **G** on folio 204), or longer, often extending at least over the entire following letter, or even farther (remaining hands).

The extension may be straight (hand **C**, occasionally in **B**, **B¹** and **F**), or more or less curved (slightly in **B¹** and **F**, more often and more noticeably in other hands).

The extension may be flat (i.e. its ends seem to rest on a horizontal, or nearly horizontal line: (hands **A¹**, **A²**, **C**, **E**, **H**; most often in **A**, **A³**, **D**; often in **F**), or the right end may be higher (most often in **B**, **B¹** and **G**; in **F** there is an occasional slight rise).

Finally, in hand **B** we occasionally encounter a very striking idiosyncratic shape in which the extension rises sharply from left to right, and then ends with a downward curl. In hand **H** there is also in several instances a downward curl at the end of the extension.

The short straight flat extension is archaic, though even in early texts it often covers part of the following letter. A longer, curved extension can be found toward the end of the fourteenth, but is characteristic of the style of the fifteenth century. A short curved extension (similar to hand **A²**) is also common in the late fifteenth century. Though it must be admitted that a flat, straight extension continues to occur throughout the fifteenth century, we may conclude that with respect to this ligature hand **C** is again more archaic than the other scribes of NYM, all of which use a shape more or less characteristic of the fifteenth century.

16.2.8 Abbreviation by suspension

As we have seen, scribes differ considerably in the degree to which they use suspension. In almost all hands the form *esti* is abbreviated as *e*. (no suspension was noted in **F**; in **B¹** a normal *titla* is used; in **E** the abbreviation is *es.*, with a normal *titla*). Otherwise, hand **B** makes widespread use of suspension, especially in its earlier sections of text, while other hands use suspension to various more limited extents, and only **F** has no suspension at all (except in the titles of masses, where this is normal).

The alternate form of the *titla* used in suspension varies considerably. Some scribes, in fact, make use of more than one form (**B, D, G**). Hands **B¹, E** and **H**, to the contrary, use a normal *titla* even in suspension.

Suspension, then, is a characteristic feature of NYM. This form of abbreviation, however, has not been widely noted in the literature. Vajs (1932:109) noted it (outside the titles of masses) only in the fifteenth-century manuscript of Frašćić. Svane (1965:79-80) has noted this type of abbreviation in Mh, which is also probably a fifteenth-century manuscript. Štefanić (1964:109) notes suspension of the names of letters of the alphabet in portions of the so-called "Ivančičev zbornik" which dates from the first half of the fifteenth century.

Štefanić (1964:109) states that suspension occurred sporadically from the end of the fourteenth century, but became especially popular in the second half of the fifteenth century. In the reproductions in Štefanić (1970) we find examples of suspension, with an alternate form of the *titla*, in two manuscripts from the second half of the fourteenth century (cf. plate 22, with 6 examples, and plate 24, with one example). In each instance it is the form *estl* which is abbreviated. It is possible that the technique of suspension (here, abbreviation by use of only the first letter of a word, and with an alternate form of the *titla*) began in the second half of the fourteenth century as a means of abbreviating the very common form *esti*. Later, the technique would be expanded to include other forms which were also identical to the names of their initial Glagolitic letter (e.g. *dobro*, *naši*). The use of the letter “iže” for the word *iže* and the letter “zělo” for *zělo* would represent a further extension of the technique, for these words were no longer written with the letter which would serve as their abbreviation (though the letter continued to exist in numerical function and retained its name and position in the alphabet). A further extension of the technique was the addition of desinences to the single letter used as an abbreviation (e.g. *su.* = *slovu*), for here the name of the abbreviating letter is equal only to the *basic form* of the word being abbreviated, but not to the form itself which is being abbreviated. In such cases, in fact, we are no longer dealing with suspension in the strictest sense of the word, but rather with contraction. Finally, the use of suspension may be extended to include forms which have no connection with the name of any Glagolitic letter.

In NYM the form *estl* is that which is most frequently abbreviated by suspension. In fact, only one scribe (**E**) does not abbreviate this form in this manner. Most hands contain a more extensive use of suspension. Other forms identical with the names of their initial Glagolitic letters are thus abbreviated in **A** (*z.* = *zemla*), **B** (*a.* = *azi*, *d.* = *dobro*, *z.*, *l.* = *ljudi*, though generally for some case other than N. Pl., and *s.* = *slovo*), **A²** (*d.*), **D** (*s.*, *a.*) and **B¹** (*n.*, *s.*, but with a normal *titla*). “Zělo” and/or “iže” as abbreviations for *zělo* and/or *iže* are found in **B** (“iže” and “zělo”), and **C**, **D** and **A³** (“zělo” only). Suspension plus a declensional ending different from that in the basic (nominative) form of the name of the initial letter occurs in **B** (*zju.*, *ze.*, even *za*. N. Sg. 3b

21), **A**² (*ze.*, *lmi.* = *ljudemı*; perhaps we should also note here *g.* = *glagole* N. Sg. Masc. Pr.A.P., though only a single letter abbreviates the entire form), **D** (*zi.*, *ze.*), **G** (*ze.* and *zi.*, as well as *gjuti.* = *glagoljuti* and *gte.* = *glagolete*, both of these abbreviations being accompanied by the alternate *titla*) and **H** (*zju.*, but with a normal *titla*). There are almost no examples of suspension in the abbreviation of words not related to the names of letters. In hand **B** we have *s.* for *svetago* in the title of a mass, though with the alternate *titla*. Hand **B**¹ in two instances abbreviates by suspension a series of words in an often-repeated formula (cf. chapter on hand **B**¹, above). In each case the normal *titla* is used.

We may conclude that though the scribes of NYM use suspension to varying extents, the technique is attested at a fairly advanced state in the manuscript. This feature, then, points to a date of origin well into the fifteenth century, perhaps no earlier than the second quarter of the century.

16.2.9 Ligatures

It has not been possible to undertake a detailed examination of the ligatures used in NYM. A more exhaustive study of this, as well as other aspects of abbreviation in NYM will be undertaken at a later date. Still, we should note that certain of the scribes—especially **G**—make use of considerable numbers of “inadequate”, or imperfect ligatures (Štefanić's term is “neadekvatna”, as opposed to “adekvatna ligatura”, cf. 1969:22). In these, portions of the letters which are joined together are not identical.⁵⁵ Many of the ligatures in hand **G** are extreme examples of the imperfect type, and point to a period well into the fifteenth century.

⁵⁵ Thus “v” and “z”, or “p” and “v” could be joined into “adequate” or perfect ligatures (𐝱𐝲 and 𐝱𐝳), while “o” and “l”, or “p” and “o” can only be formed into “inadequate” or imperfect ligatures (𐝱𐝴 or 𐝱𐝵, and 𐝱𐝶).

(B) Vb1	9.5
(B) Vb2	3.5
Pm.....	1.75
Vt5..... 1379	1.6
VO	1396
MR..... 1442	0.5
N1	0.44
SP	0.43
Vn.....	0.4
Vt10.....	0.375
Kk IIIc21..... 1486	0.35
Lj	0.33
(B) B..... 1493	0.3
N2	1493
	0.3

**Table 3: Vocalization of *jer* in the CCS breviary (Job 1,1-12)
(based on Hamm 1952)**

16.3 Language and orthography

16.3.1 *jer*

In the introduction I recounted the most basic facts concerning the development of the Common Slavic *jers* in Serbo-Croatian and, in particular, čakavian. I also noted Hamm's suggestion (1952) that we can determine the date of origin of a CCS manuscript by counting the relative number of vocalized and nonvocalized forms contained in it. Since this has been one of the most crucial aspects of this investigation, in that it has provided perhaps our best hope for linguistic dating of NYM, I will discuss the significance of the data I have compiled, as well as Hamm's data, in considerable detail.

Hamm demonstrated his idea on data from manuscripts of the breviary. For the first twelve sentences from the book of Job (1,1-12), he showed that the “quotient” of vocalization (proportion of nonvocalized forms to vocalized forms) corresponds very closely to the relative age of manuscripts for which this is known (see table 3).

A precise date for (B) Vb1 is not known, but it is clearly the oldest of the extant breviary manuscripts, and may have originated at the very beginning of the fourteenth century, or even before the end of the

thirteenth century. We should recall that the very first attestations of vocalization in a dated manuscript come from the first decade of the fourteenth century.⁵⁶ The high quotient of vocalization in this manuscript accords well with what is otherwise known about it. Among the other manuscripts, there seems to be a relative balance of vocalized and nonvocalized forms until the end of the fourteenth century. Between then and the middle of the fifteenth century, the proportion of nonvocalized forms drops off sharply, and continues to drop throughout the remainder of that century.

Hamm tested his hypothesis on one more set of data, this time

(B) Vb1	12
(B) Vb2	3.3
Pm.....	2.75
MR..... 1442	0.77
N1	0.67
Vt5..... 1379	0.63
SP	0.6
Vt10.....	0.57
(B) B..... 1493	0.375
Kk IIIb25	0.33
VO	0.25
N2	0.1
Lj	0

**Table 4: Vocalization of *jer* in the CCS breviary (St. Augustine)
(based on Hamm 1952)**

from a homily by St. Augustine which is read on the fourth Sunday of Lent.

As we can see from table 4, the relative positions of most of the manuscripts do indeed remain constant. It is important to note, however, that the absolute figures in most cases differ noticeably, though not drastically from those in the excerpt from the book of Job.

⁵⁶ Vocalization is in fact a completed process in the two documents from Novi from the year 1309. Cf. Šurmin 1898:74-76.

More importantly, though, the figures for Vt5 and VO do indeed differ drastically from those obtained from the reading from Job and would seem, assuming the reliability of the original set of data, to indicate a time of origin for Vt5 in the mid-fifteenth century and for VO at the very end of that century!

In an attempt to explain this obvious discrepancy, Hamm noted the popularity of the Augustine homily during the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries and suggested that the scribes of Vt5 and VO had probably committed this lection to memory. In copying it, then, they might have allowed their pronunciation to guide their spelling, paying less attention and adhering less strictly to the matrix text than they would have, had they been less familiar with this lection. Such an explanation is plausible. Still, if we are to be able to use vocalization as a reliable indicator of the age of manuscripts, we must scrutinize Hamm's findings more closely.

The most probable reason for the striking difference in vocalization which we have noted for the two lections in Vt5 and VO is that the individual lections were simply too short to provide a representative sample. Hamm explicitly noted the danger inherent in trying to base conclusions on a text containing relatively few examples of words in which *jer* was pronounced prior to vocalization. However, he was of the opinion that a text containing a minimum of about ten such words should suffice to provide a gradation which will correspond, with occasional exceptions, to the relative age of the manuscripts. In the case of the lection from Job, Hamm did not reproduce the text, nor did he list the words in which vocalization occurs or might occur. Still, in a total of twelve sentences, the number is probably not much higher than ten. For the Augustine homily Hamm listed a total of twelve words in which the *jer* vowel occurred in strong position: *mislī, sućistvo, mogli, visī mirī, množīstvině, nrava* (sic!), *vsedīnnihī, nī* (conjunction, twice), *minše, tīkmo, tī*. For Lj., which presumably has a longer text than at least some of the other manuscripts, Hamm also mentions the vocalized forms *božanstvena* (with the epenthetic *n*, this form is an obvious vernacularism) and *obdannago*. It is my opinion that this sample contains an insufficient number of examples to reliably determine the overall level of vocalization in a manuscript.

While Hamm's results cannot be considered reliable, they are nonetheless highly suggestive of a relationship between the age of a manuscript and the degree to which vocalization is reflected within it. The *relative* consistency of his statistics for the two lections, and the *relatively* good correspondence between the quotient of vocalization and the relative age of manuscripts remains striking, perhaps even more so considering the extremely small sample on which the statistics are based. I had every expectation, then, that in my own work on the manuscripts of the CCS MP, based as it was on a much larger sample of data than that utilized by Hamm, vocalization would prove to be one of the most important tools for paleographic and linguistic dating.

Hamm recognized one other factor which must play a crucial role in any statistical analysis of vocalization. Specifically, it is necessary to define those roots, inflectional forms of words and grammatical morphemes in which vocalization might be expected. Unfortunately, Hamm's limited corpus provided him with very little material for studying the contexts in which vocalization occurs, and he consequently had very little to say about this question.

In my own work on vocalization, then, I was faced with three separate tasks. First, I had to define a sufficient corpus of text on which I would base my study. Second, on the basis of my textual corpus, I had to define the contexts in which vocalization could be expected to occur. Finally, I had to excerpt from the textual corpus and analyze all words in which vocalization either occurs or could be expected to occur. The textual corpus, as we have seen, includes corresponding segments of text from each of fourteen manuscripts of the CCS MP plus the 1483 *editio princeps*. It contains 4763 instances in which vocalization either occurs or might be expected, for an average of 318 such instances per manuscript (including 1483). In addition, I analyzed portions of the text of NYM copied by each of the eleven scribes who participated in the production of that manuscript.

The second and third tasks (i.e. defining the contexts in which vocalization might be expected, and excerpting and analyzing all such instances) could not be approached separately, as one task presupposes the other. I was forced to define the contexts in which strong original or secondary *jer* occurred in CCS during the very process of excerpting. The criteria which I established were as follows:

1. Havlík's rule:

A. A word-final *jer* is assumed to have been weak, except when it was the only vowel in the phonological word. Thus the *jer* of the pronoun was strong in the phrase *ti dīni*, but weak in the phrase *vi ti časi*. As we have seen, this is indeed borne out in the data.

B. A *jer* which was followed within the phonological word by a syllable containing a vowel other than *jer* is assumed to have been weak.

C. A *jer* which was followed within the phonological word by a syllable containing a weak *jer* is assumed to have been strong.

2. A *jer* is assumed to have been strong whenever vocalization occurs in any of the manuscripts represented in the corpus. Thus, the form **dobrī* (N. Sg. Masc. Indef.) is assumed to have contained a strong *jer* if it is manifested as *dobar* in even a single instance anywhere within the comparative corpus, or in the data from any of the scribes of NYM.

In practice these criteria turned out to be quite satisfactory. There were very few questionable forms, and these were excluded from the statistics.

Aside from the general rule (No. 1, above) of strong and weak position of the *jers* in the Slavic languages, several specific conditions were shown to obtain in CCS.

First, the *jer* of the original monosyllabic forms *nī*, *tī*, *sī* (conjunction and demonstrative pronouns, respectively) was strong, and is vocalized regularly already in III4, the oldest of the missal manuscripts.

Second, the *jer* of the prepositions *kī*, *vī* and *sī* was strong when followed immediately by a vowel. We must assume that the *jer* of the prefixes *kī-*, *vī-*, *sī-* was also generally strong preceding a vowel, though the available data are insufficient to either confirm or refute this.

Third, the *jer* of the prepositions *kī*, *vī* and *sī* and the prefixes *kī-*, *vī-*, *sī-* was strong when followed by a consonant identical to that of the prefix or preposition or differing from it only in voicing.

Finally, as in other recensions of Church Slavic, there are a number of individual words or inflectional forms of words which show vocalization in spite of the apparently weak position of the original *jer* vowel.

The data on vocalization in the comparative corpus are summarized in table 5. On the left (columns under the headings “*nj*”, “*tj/sj*”, “Prepositions”, “Prefixes”, “Other”) are the actual numbers of vocalized and nonvocalized forms in the individual categories in which vocalization is expected. In the right four columns (numbered 1 to 4) are percentages, or proportions, of vocalization (proportion of vocalized forms to the total number of forms in which vocalization might be expected) based on various criteria which will be discussed below. For the prepositions and prefixes, I have listed in column “A” the data for examples in which *jer* is in strong position according to the basic rule on strong and weak position (Havlík's rule); in column “B” I have noted those examples in which the preposition or prefix is followed by a vowel; in column “C” are the figures for those examples in which the preposition or prefix is followed by a consonant identical to that of the prefix or preposition, or differing from it only in voicing; and, lastly, in column “D” I have noted those examples in which the *jer* of the preposition or prefix is in weak position according to Havlík's rule, and vocalization cannot be accounted for by any of the conditions stated above. Nonvocalized forms are noted in column(s) “D” only if an otherwise identical form with vocalization has been noted somewhere in my comparative corpus or NYM.

The overall proportion of vocalization (column 1) does indeed correspond roughly to the age of manuscripts, at least in the case of those for which we have a relative or precise date. Despite the obvious and intentional vernacularization of the language of Hm, the proportion of vocalization in that manuscript is clearly less than in manuscripts from the middle and latter half of the fifteenth century. N, produced by a secular functionary, clearly has a proportion uncharacteristically high for the period of its origin. The relatively low proportion of vocalization in 1483 is not surprising if we bear in mind that the text of this edition was based on the much older N.

Vocalization in the monosyllabic conjunction *nj* and the N.(/A.) Sg. Masc. form of the demonstrative pronouns *tj* and *sj* was a completed graphic, as well as phonetic, process even in the oldest manuscripts, as we can judge from III4 (of recension A) and N (of recension B). Nonvocalized forms, particularly in Bartol's manuscripts and NYM, most likely represent a later archaizing

tendency. If we eliminate the data for these forms from our statistics as irrelevant, the resulting figures (column 2) match almost perfectly what is known about the dates of origin of the manuscripts.

In the "other" category, encompassing all words other than *ni*, *ti*, *si*, and the prepositions and prefixes *ki(-)*, *vi(-)*, *si(-)*, vocalization is predominant in all manuscripts other than Ill4. In prepositions and prefixes, however, vocalization is relatively rare in the older manuscripts, but predominant in the later manuscripts. We would expect, then, that statistics for these latter forms by themselves (column 3) would provide an accurate indicator of a manuscript's age. While the figures in column 3 do correspond fairly well to the age of manuscripts, this correspondence is somewhat less clear than that in column 2. The reason for this is probably in the relative paucity of available data, as well as in the tendency to develop free variation between forms of the prepositions with and without a final *a*.

Data for prepositions and prefixes, where their *jer* is in strong position according to Havlík's rule, may be said to belong essentially in the "other" category. We might expect, then, that one of the best indicators of a manuscript's age would be yielded by the data for prepositions and prefixes, excluding those instances in which the *jer* is in strong position according to Havlík's rule (column 4). In fact, the data at my disposal are very scanty, and so the resulting proportions, while corresponding fairly well to age, cannot by themselves be considered reliable.

Data from the other manuscripts of the CCS missal agree with NYM in regard to the circumstances in which a *jer* may be vocalized. In prepositions, vocalization in apparently weak position is almost entirely limited to the phrase *va me*. In the prefixes, vocalization in what we would expect to be weak position is virtually limited to the verbs *sigřěšiti* and *sibljusti/sibljuditi*. Otherwise, vocalization is almost entirely limited to environments which have been identified above.

The proportion of vocalization in the manuscripts of the CCS MP does, then, show a definite correspondence to the age of a manuscript. Basing our conclusions on column 2 of table 5, it emerges that Ill4, produced around the year 1320, has a proportion of vocalization far below that of the other manuscripts. B and Hm, produced at the very beginning of the fifteenth century, have proportions of 35 percent and

41 percent. LjII and R, completed sometime after 1420, have proportions of 50 and 75 percent. III8, completed probably in 1441, already has a proportion of 89 percent. It is perhaps a bit surprising that Vbl, completed in 1456, has a proportion of only 83 percent.

These figures are in fact similar to those reached by Hamm for the breviary. Though Hamm reached lower percentages for the breviary manuscripts of the fifteenth century than I found for the missal manuscripts of the same century, the figures are close enough to suggest that further study of vocalization, especially in the breviary, might lead to a partial resolution of the differences.

Still, we can already note two qualifications to the usefulness of vocalization as a tool for dating manuscripts. First, it is necessary to exclude data for the conjunction *ni* and the N. Sg. Masc. form of the demonstrative pronouns *ti* and *si*. Since the graphic process of vocalization was complete for these forms already in the earliest extant manuscripts, a large number of examples of these forms in an older manuscript can lead to a deceptively high proportion of vocalization. Further, secondary archaizing of these forms, such as we encounter in several manuscripts, can lead to a deceptively *low* proportion of vocalization.

Second, some manuscripts, even over a large sample of text, may show a proportion of vocalization uncharacteristically high (N) or low (1483) for the period in which they originated.

When we compare the data from the comparative corpus to those obtained from study of the scribes of NYM, the situation with regard to vocalization becomes even more complex. The data from NYM are summarized in table 6. Data are arranged as in table 5, with hands identified in the far left-hand column. Those hands marked with an asterisk provided insufficient data for reliable conclusions.

If we examine the figures in column 2 of table 6, we will see that we have within this single manuscript proportions of vocalization as low as 35 percent and as high as 94 percent. While we obviously cannot easily assign a relative date to the manuscript on the basis of such data, they do, nonetheless, provide certain parameters which are useful for dating. The proportion of vocalization for hand **G** would seem to be characteristic of the late fourteenth or the first two decades of the fifteenth century. The figures for hands **A** and **A³** are

similar to those of LjII (1420 or later), though this scribe (i.e. the scribe responsible for hands **A** and **A³**) is identical to the scribe of Oxl, with an even lower proportion of vocalization. At the other extreme, the data for hands **D** and **B¹** seem to be characteristic of the middle or second half of the fifteenth century.

The virtually complete vocalization in hands **D** and **B¹** allows us to conclude that NYM was not finished either in the fourteenth century or, most likely, even in the first two decades of the fifteenth century. The relatively low proportion in hand **G**, and also hands **A** and **A³** (identical with the main scribe of Oxl), however, most likely could not have originated in the second half of the fifteenth century. Data on the vocalization of *jer*, then, seem to suggest a time of origin for NYM in the third, fourth or fifth decade of the fifteenth century.

The great divergence between the hands of NYM with respect to vocalization highlights the danger inherent in linguistic and paleographic dating of manuscripts. If any one of the scribes who participated in the production of NYM had copied the manuscript in its entirety, the data on vocalization might have suggested a rather different date from that reached here. This diversity among the scribes of NYM should therefore not be considered an obstacle to our attempts to date the manuscript. To the contrary, it is a manuscript with more homogeneous data, produced by a single scribe, which is more likely to lead us to posit an inaccurate date of origin, since we are unable to judge whether the proportion of vocalization in that manuscript is at the low end or the high end of the range of variation possible at the time of its origin. In NYM we most likely have represented the full range of diversity possible at the time when the manuscript was produced. This should be considered an unlikely but nevertheless fortunate circumstance.

In conclusion, we may agree with Hamm that vocalization of *jer* is a useful indicator of the age of a CCS manuscript. We must also accept those qualifications on the interpretation and usefulness of such data specified by Hamm. On the basis of this investigation, I would differ with Hamm only in the level of sophistication which is required in the analysis of the data, and in the size of the grain of salt with which we must accept the results of our analysis: I would suggest a

somewhat larger grain of salt. Still, the results of this study are sufficient to suggest that we should proceed with a more thorough analysis of vocalization in the CCS breviary, as well as a study of the process of graphic vocalization in the manuscripts of other recensions of Church Slavic, particularly the Serbian recension.

16.3.2 Hypercorrect use of *ı* and *'*

We have seen that the scribes of NYM vary greatly in the degree to which they allow such use. Hands **B¹** and **D**, which have virtually complete vocalization of *jer*, contain between them only a single example of *ı* for original *a*. Hand **G**, on the contrary, in which vocalization is carried out in less than half of all examples, has numerous examples of *ı* for original *a*. As for the other hands, **A** has no examples of hypercorrect *ı* or *'*, while **A³** has a single example; **A¹**, **C** and **F** also have no examples; **E** has only 3 examples, **B** has 6 and **A²** has 7 or 8; **H** has 3 examples within a single column of text, indicating that this may be a characteristic feature in the usage of this scribe.

Hand **G** uses only *ı*, never *'* for original *a*. In hands **B**, **B¹** and **H** we again encounter only *ı* for original *a*, and never *'*, while in hand **E** the two certain examples have *ı* (the one less certain example contains *'*, as does the example in which *'* stands for pronounced *e*). In hand **A²**, on the contrary, we have 6 examples with *'* for original *a* and only one certain and one less certain example with *ı*. In hands **B¹** and **E**, all 3 certain examples occur at the point at which a word is broken at the end of a line. It may very well be, then, that these scribes felt that this symbol could be used for a pronounced *a* only as a space-saving expedient. The example in hand **A³** also occurs in the last word in a line, though that word is not broken. Among those hands containing more examples of hypercorrect *ı* or *'*, no such tendency (i.e. to use *ı* or *'* as space-saving alternatives to the letter "a") is obvious.

One other tendency may be noted. Hypercorrect *ı* or *'* for *a* occurs most often in an initial syllable *na-*, obviously a graphic analogy to the conjunction *ni*, with its original *jer*. Perhaps most often this hypercorrect *ni* or *n'* occurs in the prefix or preposition *na(-)*, but occasionally the initial syllable containing *n* + hypercorrect *ı* or *'* does not by itself represent a distinct morpheme. The lone examples in hands **A³** and **B¹** occur in an initial syllable *na*, as does one of the two

certain examples for pronounced *a* in hand **E** and two of the three examples in hand **H**. Six of the seven certain examples in hand **A²** occur in the prefix or preposition *na(-)*, as do two of the six examples in hand **B**. In hand **G**, use of *ı* for original *a* is more varied, but even here 10 of the first 16 examples noted, and 13 of the first 34, occurred in an initial syllable *na*.

Many of the remaining examples of *ı* or *'* for original *a* in NYM occur in the initial syllables *sa-*, *va-*, *ka-* and *ta-*, most likely as further graphic analogies to the homophonic prepositions, prefixes and pronominal forms which were originally pronounced with *jer*. This includes the two remaining (only one of them certain) examples for pronounced *a* in hand **E**, the remaining example in hand **H**, the four remaining examples in hand **B**, though not the lone remaining example in hand **A²**. In hand **G**, with its much more varied use of *ı* for original *a*, such examples account for another 8 of the first 34 noted, so that *ı* in initial syllables *na(-)*, *sa-*, *va-*, *ka-* and *ta-* accounts for a total of 21 of the first 34 examples noted.

Within the comparative corpus there is a total of only 63 examples or possible examples. These are shown in table 7. As in the hands of NYM, there is considerable variation among the manuscripts. Six of the manuscripts (LjII, R, III8, VbI, VbII and N) show no or virtually no hypercorrect use of *ı* and *'*. Interestingly, the remaining (and earliest) manuscript by Bartol—B—has a considerable number of examples, but, just as strikingly, only in the first half of the corpus. It is not clear whether this fact is entirely fortuitous. At the other extreme, there is no manuscript with nearly so prolific a hypercorrect use of these symbols as we find in NYM's hand **G**. Of the other manuscripts, III4 has only two certain examples, both of a single form; Novlj and Hm have 3 examples each; 1483 has 4 possible examples (we should note, though, that in this edition *titla* and apostrophe are not always clearly distinguished); NYM has 6 examples; B has between 4 and 8; OxI has 8 probable examples (though in this manuscript also, *titla* and apostrophe are not always clearly distinguished on my photocopies; we should also note that in this respect, OxI differs noticeably from hands **A** and **A³** of NYM); OxII and Mh have 12 or 13 examples each.

III4	bl'gaja ('/.?)	N. Sg. Fem....	4DB	
	vsı-k'	A. Sg. Masc. .	3EA	LE
	vsik'	N. Sg. Masc. .	7EB	
Oxl	Kımen'	A. Sg.	6DB	
	nen'vidıtı	3 Sg. Pres.	3EB	
	Ne v'znen'vidıši.....	2 Sg. Pres. (cf. OxII)	4EA	
	pıče	Adv./Prep.	5EA	
	s nımi.....	I. of <i>mi</i>	5EA	
	nı	Prep..... (cf. Mh)	5EB	
	n'rodı.....	A. Sg. (cf. Mh)	6EB	
	n'rodı.....	N. Pl.	7EB	
OxII	ghlıı. (= glagolalı).....	Sg. Masc. Perf.	3DA	
	v'mı ('/.?)	D. of <i>vi</i>	1DB	
	vzrı-dova se	3 Sg. Aorist...	1DB	LE
	grı-dı.....	A. Sg.	2EA	LE
	běžıkoniě	G. Sg.	2EA	
	zalıgo.....	G. Sg. Masc. .	2EA	
	ıjuděıskıgo	G. Sg. Masc. .	3EB	
	vznenı-vidıši.....	2 Sg. Pres.	4EA	LE
	nımi	D. of <i>mi</i>	4EB	
	kımnıe.	A. Sg.	4EB	
	kımenıe	A. Sg.	4EB	
	nı	Prep.....	4EB	
	kımenıja.....	G. Sg.	4EB	
	N	zna-m'ni	G. Pl. (' for e!)	4DC
B	žil-os'tı.....	N. Sg.	2DB	(LE)
	sızıd'na (dın?).....	N. Sg. Fem. P.P.P.....	2DB	
	s'mı ('/.?)	N. Sg. Masc. .	3DB	
	v(')mı ('?)	D. of <i>vi</i>	3DB	
	nı (ı?)	Prep.....	5DA	
	Slıš'v	N. Sg. Masc. P.A.P.	6DB	
	vs'kı ('/.?).....	N. Sg. Masc. .	7DA	

*LE = end of line

Table 7: Hypercorrect use of ı and ' in the comparative corpus

Mh	tiko.....	Adv.....	2DA	
	posli-všago.....	G. Sg. Masc. P.A.P.....	3DB	LE
	ni.....	Prep..... (cf. NYM).....	4DC	
	p'prići ?.....	G. Pl.....	6DB	
	sliši-v'ši.....	N. Sg. Fem.....	6DB	LE
	imi-ši.....	2 Sg. Pres.....	1DB	LE
	ri-di.....	N. Sg. Masc..	1DB	LE
	di-niela.....	A. Sg.....	3EA	LE
	ni.....	Prep..... (cf. Hm).....	3EA	
	ni.....	Prep..... (cf. Oxl).....	5EB	LE
	ni.....	Prep.....	6EA	
	ni-rodī.....	N. Sg.....	6EB	LE
	vi-šego.....	G. Sg. Masc..	7EB	LE
Vbl	n' ('/.?).....	Prep.....	5DA	
Novlj	d'.....	Conj.....	4DC	
	v'vilo-na.....	G. Sg.....	3EA	(LE)
	ni-ricaemi.....	N. Sg. Masc. Pr.P.P.....	6EB	LE
Hm	ni.....	Prep.....	6DB	
	ni.....	Prep.....	6DB	
	ni.....	Prep..... (cf. Mh).....	3EA	
1483	st'sta.....	3 Du. Aorist..	2DA	
	rzidrušiti se.....	3 Sg. Pres.....	3DB	
	(rzi for rız?)			
	di.....	Conj.....	2EB	
	postivi.....	3 Sg. Aorist...	3EA	
NYM	simi.....	N. Sg. Masc..	2DB	
	sim.....	N. Sg. Masc..	2DB	
	ni.....	Prep.....	4DA	
	ni.....	Prep.....	4DC	
	simogo.....	Acc. Sg. Masc. Anim.....	4DC	
	kirmilins-kuju.....	A. Sg. Fem.....	5DA	(LE)
III8, R, LjII and VbII	no examples			

*LE = end of line

Table 7 (continued): Hypercorrect i and ' in the comparative corpus

A weak correlation between vocalization of *jer* and hypercorrect use of *ı* and *'* may be noted, as in NYM (see table 8). III4, in which vocalization is not yet a widespread phenomenon, need not be considered in this correlation. B and OxI, with a proportion of vocalization in roughly the same range as NYM's hand **G**, do have a considerable number of examples. What is most striking is that at the other extreme III8, VbII and VbI, with proportions of vocalization of 92%, 90% and 87%, respectively, show virtually no hypercorrect use of *ı* and *'*. Mh, with an overall proportion of vocalization of 88%, does contain a relatively large number of examples of hypercorrect use of *ı* and *'*. If we consider only vocalization in the prepositions and prefixes, however, we can see that (graphic) vocalization is in fact not nearly so complete a process in Mh as in III8, VbII and VbI. Between the two extremes, a correlation between vocalization and hypercorrect use of *ı* and *'* is not at all clear. In fact, if we arrange the data according to the proportion of vocalization in the prepositions and prefixes, then in this middle range hypercorrect use of *ı* and *'* seems to increase in *direct* proportion to the proportion of vocalization, rather than the expected inverse relation (see table 9): only Mh and OxII, with the highest proportions of vocalization in this middle range, have a truly large number of examples. While this last conclusion (concerning a direct, rather than inverse, relation between vocalization and hypercorrect use of *ı* and *'* in manuscripts in the middle range) is certainly not proven by my limited data, and in fact does not agree with data from NYM (among the prepositions and prefixes, hand **G** has a proportion of vocalization of only 19%), it does agree with the very reasonable hypothesis that hypercorrect use of *ı* and *'* increased along with the process of graphic vocalization until vocalization approached the status of a completed process, thus eliminating the variation which gave rise to the hypercorrect use of *ı* and *'*.

As among the hands of NYM, most manuscripts use primarily the symbol *ı* for original *a* (or *e*), and only exceptionally *'*. In NYM (within the comparative corpus) and Hm we encounter only *ı*, while in Ill4, OxII and Mh we find *ı* in all certain examples. In OxI *ı* occurs in 4 of 7 certain examples, while in 1483 we have *ı* in 2 of 3 certain examples. In these last two texts, however, I have found it difficult in some cases to distinguish between apostrophe and *titla*. In B 3 of 4 certain examples contain *ı* (though 3 of 4 less certain examples contain *'*). Only Novlj contains a majority (2 of 3) of examples with *'*.

As can be seen from table 7, hypercorrect use of *ı* and *'* is encountered primarily at the end of a line in only two manuscripts—

Vocalization of <i>jer</i> (percentage)	Examples of hypercorrect <i>ı</i> and <i>'</i>	Vocalization of <i>jer</i> (percentage)	Examples of hypercorrect <i>ı</i> and <i>'</i>
Ill4..... 28.....	2 (3)	OxII 81.....	12 (13)
B 37.....	4 (8)	1483..... 82.....	3 (4)
OxI 42.....	8	NYM..... 82.....	6
LjII..... 59.....	0	Vbl 87.....	0 (1)
Hm..... 69.....	3	Mh 88.....	12 (13)
N..... 70.....	0 (1 for <i>e</i>)	VbII 90.....	0
Novlj 73.....	3	Ill8..... 92.....	0
R..... 81.....	0		

Table 8: Hypercorrect usage of *ı* and *'* vs. vocalization in the comparative corpus

Mh and Novlj. This is particularly striking in the case of Mh, in which 8 of 12 certain examples occur at a word break (i.e. at the hyphenation point in a word at the end of a line). It is clear, then, that for this scribe, hypercorrect use of *ı* represented a space-saving device. Since 3 of the 4 remaining certain examples are in the preposition *na*, homophonous with the conjunction *ni*, we may conclude that the hypercorrect use of *ı* is not nearly so characteristic a feature of Mh as the data initially seem to indicate. This conclusion further limits the usefulness of Mh as a counterexample to the hypothesis of an inverse correlation between hypercorrect use of *ı* and *'* and vocalization of *jer*.

Vocalization in prefixes and prepositions (percentage)	Examples of hypercorrect <i>ı</i> and <i>'</i>	Vocalization in prefixes and prepositions (percentage)	Examples of hypercorrect <i>ı</i> and <i>'</i>
Ill4..... 6	2 (3)	NYM..... 64	6
B..... 7	4 (8)	R..... 70	0
Ljll..... 17	0	Mh..... 71	12 (13)
Oxl..... 21	8	Oxll..... 82	12 (13)
Hm..... 25	3	Vbl..... 90	0 (1)
N..... 41	0 (1 for <i>e</i>)	Ill8..... 91	0
Novlj..... 46	3	Vbll..... 92	0
1483..... 58	3 (4)		

Table 9: Hypercorrect usage vs. vocalization in prepositions and prefixes

As in the hands of NYM, some of the other manuscripts exhibit a tendency to use the symbol *ı* (or *'*) in the preposition or prefix *na(-)*, or in an initial syllable *na-*, *ta-*, *sa-*, *ka-* or *va-* regardless of meaning. All 3 examples from Hm (and all 6 from the excerpt from NYM) fall into these categories, as do 7 of 8 examples in Oxl, 2 of 3 in Novlj, and the only possible example in Vbl. In Oxll these environments are somewhat less prevalent, though they still account for 6 of 12 certain examples (or 7 of 13, counting the one less certain example), while in B they account for 2 of 4 certain examples (or 5 of 8 if we count the less certain examples also). In contrast, out of a total of 5 certain examples and 2 less certain ones, Ill4 and 1483 have no examples which conform to these conditions. In Mh only 7 of 12 certain examples fit these conditions. However, every one of the 12 certain examples from this manuscript either conforms to these conditions or occurs at the point where a word is broken at the end of a line. Hypercorrect use of *ı* (and *'*) in Mh, we may conclude, is far different from that which we encounter in Oxll, despite the superficial statistical similarity.

There are a few instances in which two manuscripts have an identical example of hypercorrect *ı* or *'* in corresponding locations (see table 7). Considering the very small overall number of examples in the corpus, it is not likely that these coincidences are fortuitous. Rather, these examples had become part of the textual tradition, and in each of the extant manuscripts containing them had been copied from an earlier manuscript which already contained them.

16.3.3 ě

The continuants of ě in the hands of NYM are summarized in table 10. In column 1 we see for each scribe the percentage of instances in which a presumed reflex of ě is spelled conservatively—i.e. with the letter “ě”. We expect *a priori* that a higher percentage will characterize an older manuscript, while a lower percentage will characterize a younger manuscript. The data in column 1, however, demonstrate that a wide variation in the degree of scribes' conservatism can occur within a single manuscript. At one end of the scale we have hands **A** and **A³** (which represent a single scribe), with a percentage of about 96%; at the other end of the scale we have hand **B¹**, with a percentage of only 25%.

These data are actually not entirely useless for dating purposes. In column 1 of table 11 we have the corresponding data from the other manuscripts of the CCS MP, as well as from the 1483 printed edition of the missal. At the top are listed those missals for which we have at least a relative date, and at the bottom are those for which no date has been determined. We may leave out of consideration the data from Hm, as the language of this codex has in many ways been intentionally vernacularized, perhaps according to the wishes of Hrvoje himself. The percentage of retention in N may also be uncharacteristically low for its period, as this codex, though meticulously prepared, is not the work of a monk or professional scribe. Thus only Ill8 (1441) and R (completed no earlier than 1420) have a percentage of retention of the letter “ě” in the same range as NYM.⁵⁷ Three conclusions may be drawn from these data. First, a percentage of up to 80% is possible even in the second half of the fifteenth century. Thus, the extreme conservatism of NYM's

⁵⁷ For NYM I have presented two set of statistics. The first is for the text within the comparative corpus, which was copied in hands **B** and **D**. The second is designed to show the situation in NYM overall. Since the samples from the various scribes of NYM are unequal in size, I have taken the average of the *percentages* for the scribes (but omitting the statistics from hands **A¹** and **H**). This gives us the percentages which we would expect if each scribe had copied the same amount of text. In these statistics hands **A** and **A³** are treated as belonging to a single scribe. The statistics are skewed in that for scribes (hands) **D** and **F** they encompass data taken from all texts (i.e. not only from the lections).

hands **A** and **A³** need not necessarily indicate great age. Second, a percentage of retention of the letter “ě” as low as that in NYM (within the comparative corpus, or the average of the scribes) occurs in other manuscripts only from the second quarter of the fifteenth century and later. Third, none of the other missals (with the exception of the anomalous Hm) has a percentage of retention even approaching the low percentages characteristic of some of NYM's scribes. These facts taken together would seem to suggest that NYM probably originated during the last portion of the fifteenth century. Still, the extreme conservatism of hands **A** and **A³** would hardly be possible at this late date, and so we must look somewhat earlier, perhaps to the fourth or fifth decades of the fifteenth century, when a scribe trained in the fourteenth century might still have been active.

Needless to say, we hope that the reflexes of ě in NYM will allow for some conclusion as to the place of origin of the manuscript. Columns 2, 3, 4 and 5 of table 10 summarize the overt reflexes of ě for each of the hands of NYM.

Again we see a wide disparity between the hands. In hands **A²** and **D** the reflex *i* is clearly predominant, while in hands **B¹** and **F** the reflex *e* is predominant. In the other hands for which we have sufficient data, the reflexes *i* and *e* seem to be more or less equal.

Several facts are consistent for all hands, though. Each hand for which we have significant data shows as reflexes both *i* and *e*. In each hand only some of these reflexes agree with J/M. A straightforward conclusion as to the dialect of the scribes is thus not possible. Further, instances of the reflex *i* where the reflex *e* is predicted by J/M are relatively rare in all hands. In contrast, there are proportionately many instances of the reflex *e* where *i* would be the reflex predicted by J/M. In fact, in each and every hand there are more instances of the reflex *e* in which it is not predicted by J/M (column 4) than in which it is predicted (column 5).

In order to interpret these data, we must first note that it can be independently shown that in liturgical usage the letter “ě” in mature CCS was generally pronounced as *e* (cf. the following section). Thus many of the examples in column 5 may represent an overt rendering of the *liturgical*, and not the vernacular reflex of ě. Many other examples

are clearly due to analogical processes. Considering the small number of examples in column 3 (and most of these can be explained by analogy) it seems unlikely that the hands of NYM reflect a dialect with a consistent reflex *i* from *ě*. Considering the many examples in column 2, it also seems unlikely that these hands could reflect a dialect with a consistent reflex *e* from *ě*. The hands of NYM, then, seem collectively to point to a dialect with a mixed reflex of *ě*, according to J/M.

This is not the only possible interpretation of these data, however. It is also possible that the texts of the two recensions of the CCS MP, having been developed and used originally in an area with a mixed reflex of *ě*, maintained this characteristic when their use later spread over a much wider area.⁵⁸ Thus, while a manuscript originating in any given area might contain a majority of examples characteristic of a mixed reflex of *ě* and some reflecting various analogies, an *unusually large* representation of one or the other reflex might still be able to give some indication as to the area of origin. As we shall see, this latter hypothesis may in fact be more likely.

If we look at the data in columns 2, 3, 4 and 5 of table 11, we will see that they are very similar to those for the scribes of NYM. Again, every manuscript has examples of both *e* and *i* as reflexes of *ě*, only some of which are predicted by J/M. And, again, while almost every manuscript has a significant number of examples with the reflex *i*, examples in column 3, indicative of a dialect with a consistent reflex *i*, are rare. At the same time, examples in column 4, which need not always be indicative of a dialect with the consistent reflex *e*, are more numerous than the examples in column 5. *All* of the manuscripts, then, seem to point toward at least a common origin (if not in fact to the origin of the individual manuscripts) in a dialect with a mixed reflex of *ě*, and to a liturgical pronunciation of the letter “*ě*” as *e*.

If we compare the data from table 11 to what we know about the place of origin of some of the manuscripts, the significance of the

⁵⁸ Such a conception forces us to place the origin of both of the recensions at a time when the *i/-e*-type reflex of *ě* was already established in the central čakavian dialects, and therefore agrees with the hypothesis of a thorough reworking of the liturgical texts following the privileges of 1248 and 1252.

data becomes somewhat clearer. Those manuscripts which are known or thought to have originated in the south or southwest, in the Krbava-Lika area or in southern coastal areas, are characterized by a large proportion of the reflex *i*. These include N, Hm, B, and III8. Those manuscripts whose origin or earliest history is associated with the northwest—Istria, the Kvarner islands and the coastline opposite these islands—have a somewhat larger proportion of the reflex *e*. This includes R, Mh, Novlj, LjII, VbI, VbII, III4 and 1483. The slight preponderance of the reflex *e* in the 1483 edition is in fact significant, as the edition is based on the text of the southern N, in which the reflex *i* predominates. We know, further, that R and LjII, in which the reflex *e* is predominant, were copied in the north—probably Bakar—by the same scribe (Bartol) who had earlier, in the south, copied B, in which the reflex *i* is predominant (cf. Pantelić 1964).

It seems, then, that a preponderance of one or the other reflex does in fact correspond at least roughly to the area of origin of a manuscript. If we apply this conclusion to the data of NYM, then hand **B¹**, and probably hand **F**, seem to show a northern origin, hands **A²** and **D** point toward a southern origin, while for other hands we have either insufficient data (hands **A**, **A¹**, **A³**, **C**, **H**), or a similar number of examples of each reflex (hands **B**, **E**, **G**). Perhaps hands **A** and **A³** (which represent a single scribe) point weakly to a northern origin, while hand **B** points weakly toward a southern origin.

Thus, while reflexes of *ě* seem to provide a fairly reliable criterion for at least approximate localization of other manuscripts of the CCS missal, this is obviously not true in the case of NYM. It may be that the scribes of NYM, working at a large scriptorium in a monastery or other institution which was obviously of some importance, were indeed drawn from various distant regions. In any case, the data show clearly that the reflexes of *ě*, taken by themselves, can sometimes mislead us as to the origin of a manuscript, for NYM was not produced simultaneously in *both* the northern and the southern area of Glagolitic literacy. In the case of NYM, it seems most reasonable to base our conclusions on those data which point to a northern origin. In particular hand **D**, in which the reflex *i* predominates, contains at least one other dialectal feature which tends to associate it with the island of Krk (reflexes of *jer*).

It is interesting that while we have manuscripts which clearly originated in areas with a mixed reflex of *ě*, and some which just as clearly originated in areas with a consistent reflex *e*, there are none which definitely originated in an area with a consistent reflex *i*. It is not clear, then, that a manuscript from such an area in the south would present a situation similar to what we observe in the extant manuscripts, i.e. a majority of examples agreeing with a mixed reflex of *ě* according to J/M, though along with a disproportionate number of examples with the reflex *e* where *i* is predicted by J/M. A study of the reflexes of *ě* in the manuscripts of the breviary might shed light on this problem. The *i*-type reflex of *ě* reflected in the Split fragment need not be considered as evidence, as this fragment belongs to an earlier textual tradition.⁵⁹

The linguistic significance of the gradation from north to south in the proportion of *i* and *e* reflexes is not clear. On the one hand, it is possible that scribes further to the south and nearer to areas with a consistent reflex *i*, and thus with a greater exposure to documents and textual traditions reflecting a consistent reflex *i*, were more tolerant of forms spelled with this reflex in matrix texts from which they worked; or it is possible that they spelled certain forms with “*i*” in accordance with a southern literary tradition, regardless of pronunciation in their own dialects and of their awareness that the given forms had originally been spelled with the letter “*ě*”. On the other hand, it is possible that this gradation reflects variation in the proportion and number of forms pronounced with *i* and *e*, respectively, in the dialects from north to south. A more detailed collation of dialectological data with the data on reflexes in individual roots, prefixes and suffixes in the manuscripts could certainly shed some light on this problem.

Interestingly, while the reflexes of *ě* provide ambiguous data (at the present level of analysis) for the localization of NYM, they do provide a further dating criterion. In a majority of manuscripts, overt

⁵⁹ The Split fragment contains numerous instances in which the letter “*ě*” is used for an original sound *i*, while this letter is never used for an original *e*. It is clear, then, that this text represents a different orthographic tradition from that which is followed by the CCS missals of the mature period (cf. Štefanić 1957).

reflexes of *ě* are largely restricted to a small number of roots and suffixes. The reflex *i* occurs most often in grammatical suffixes of nouns and verbs, and in the roots of a very few words, e.g. the adjective *slěp* 'blind'. The reflex *e* tends to appear in the root of the verb *otvěćati* 'answer', almost exclusively in the temporal adverb *nině* 'now, nowadays', in the relative conjunctions *idě* 'where', *doiděže* and *don'děže* 'until', in the prefix *prě-*, and in biblical names and titles, as well as a few other contexts. Only in manuscripts from the second quarter of the fifteenth century onward do we find the overt reflexes *i* and *e* occurring in a wide variety of roots, or the reflex *e* in substantival desinences (cf. the manuscripts from Vrbnik and the 1483 printed edition). Several hands in NYM do indeed have reflexes of *ě* in a wide variety of roots, as well as examples of the reflex *e* in substantival desinences (e.g. hand **B**). This is one more indication that NYM does not belong either to the fourteenth century or, indeed, to the beginning of the fifteenth century.

In conclusion, the reflexes of *ě* yield multiple indications that NYM originated perhaps late in the second quarter of the fifteenth century. As far as localization is concerned, the reflexes of *ě* provide only ambiguous data concerning NYM, though in the case of other manuscripts they seem to provide a reliable criterion for at least an approximate localization.

Before moving on to the next section, it is necessary to comment on the more general implications of the data on continuants of *ě* for linguistic dating and localizing of CCS manuscripts. The first conclusion we must draw concerns the need to excerpt and chart a large statistically analyzable sample. As in the case of vocalization of *jer*, even an intimate familiarity with a manuscript does not allow for significant conclusions in the absence of a large body of excerpted and organized data. Second, even statistics from the analysis of a large sample of data can be misleading. NYM shows this clearly. If any one of the scribes who participated in the production of the manuscript had copied it in its entirety, our estimate of its age might differ drastically from that reached here. The scribe of hands **A** and **A³** might point to the late fourteenth or early fifteenth century, while scribe **B¹** might point to the very end of the fifteenth century. The case of OxI illustrates the problem dramatically. The reflexes of *ě*, taken together

with other paleographic and linguistic indicators, point to an origin in the late fourteenth century or the beginning of the fifteenth century. However, paleographic analysis also shows that the main scribe of this manuscript is identical with the scribe of hands **A** and **A³** in NYM, his script being especially close to that of hand **A³**. Such an early date of origin for the first Oxford manuscript is therefore improbable.

We have a similar situation with regard to localization. The facts of NYM prove that a generally accurate indicator may in some instances mislead us. Had the entire manuscript been produced by scribe **A²**, I would have concluded that it probably originated in the south, while I would have considered a northern origin likely had the entire manuscript been produced by scribe **B¹**.

In discussing the continuants of early S.-C. *ě* and *jer* in NYM and the CCS MP, I have pointed out several areas in which our analyses should be expanded in future work. Still, this discussion has already established two facts very clearly. First, we have seen that linguistic dating and localization can be useful, even important, techniques, when based on adequate samples of text. Second, we have at the same time been reminded just how important it is to seek corroboration from as many sources as possible for any conclusions based on these techniques.

16.3.4 Hypercorrect use of “ě”

The data on hypercorrect use of the letter “ě” in NYM are summarized in table 12. As we have already seen, there is a great deal of variation from one hand to the next. We can also see that a hand's ranking for conservatism in the expression of continuants of the sound *ě* (column VII) corresponds almost exactly to its ranking for conservatism with respect to hypercorrect use of the letter “ě” (column V).

One fact is consistent for all hands. The number of instances in which the letter “ě” is used for original *e* is regularly far greater than the number of examples in which it is used for original *i*. While many, though not all, of the examples for original *e* can be explained by analogy, almost every example in which the letter “ě” is used for original *i* can be thus explained.

In the other manuscripts of the missal we see a very similar

	I	II	III	IV	V	VI	VII
A³	224	8	2	10	.04	.95	.....(2)
E	223	10	2	12	.05	.80	.....(3)
A	394	20	2	22	.06	.97	.....(1)
A²	241	14	3	17	.07	.77	.....(4)
G	174	26	1	27	.16	.73	.....(5)
D	183	34	3	37	.20	.62	.....(6)
B	268	86	4	90	.34	.59	.....(7)
C	15	5	1	6	.40	.47	.....(8)
F	35	13	2	15	.43	.45	.....(9)
B¹	70	32	1	33	.47	.25	...(10)
A¹	3	1	0	1	.33	.75	
H	9	3	0	3	.33	.82	

- I: letter “ě” for original ě
 II: letter “ě” for *e* not derived from original ě
 III: letter “ě” for *i* not derived from original ě
 IV: total instances of hypercorrect use of “ě”
 V: proportion: hypercorrect use of “ě”/correct use of “ě” (i.e. for original ě)
 VI: proportion or retention of spelling “ě” for original ě (cf. Table 10)
 VII: ranking for conservatism with respect to retention of spelling “ě” for original ě

Table 12: Use of the letter “ě” in NYM

pattern (cf. table 13). Again, there is a great deal of variation from one manuscript to the next. Unlike the hands of NYM, though, the majority of other manuscripts have a proportion of hypercorrect to correct use of the letter “ě” (column V of table 13) well under 10%. As with the reflexes of the sound ě, then, a fairly conservative situation is possible even into the second half of the fifteenth century, while a more

innovative situation (III8, Vbl and probably NYM) is a good indication of a manuscript's relatively recent origin.

Most manuscripts' rankings for conservatism with respect to use of the letter “ě” (column V of table 13) again correspond fairly well to their rankings for conservatism in rendering continuants of the sound

	I	II	III	IV	V	VI	VII
N	352	5	2	7	.02	.78	.....(8/9)
Hm	225	4	0	4	.02	.45	...(15)
Oxl	358	10	1	11	.03	.90	.....(2)
Novlj	291	5	5	10	.03	.88	.....(3-5)
III4	487	1	19	20	.04	.93	.....(1)
R	302	12	0	12	.04	.63	...(13)
VbII	367	7	10	17	.05	.80	.....(7)
Mh	453	20	8	28	.06	.87	.....(6)
LjII	414	16	7	23	.06	.88	.....(3-5)
B	323	20	1	21	.07	.77	...(10)
1483	373	26	5	31	.08	.78	.....(8/9)
OxII	438	33	5	38	.09	.88	.....(3-5)
III8	298	30	7	37	.12	.64	...(12)
Vbl	347	62	1	63	.18	.76	...(11)
NYM	308	88	4	92	.30	.62	...(14)

- I: letter “ě” for original ě
 II: letter “ě” for *e* not derived from original ě
 III: letter “ě” for *i* not derived from original ě
 IV: total instances of hypercorrect use of “ě”
 V: proportion: hypercorrect use of “ě”/correct use of “ě” (i.e. for original ě)
 VI: proportion or retention of spelling “ě” for original ě (cf. Table 11)
 VII: ranking for conservatism with respect to retention of spelling “ě” for original ě

Table 13: Use of the letter “ě” in the comparative corpus

ě, but there are several notable exceptions. Hm, N and R, which, for various reasons, have an unexpectedly low proportion of retention of the letter “ě” for reflexes of the sound ě, are far more conservative in their use of the letter “ě”. It may seem surprising that III4 is not clearly the most conservative in its use of the letter “ě”. However, fully 16 of

20 instances of hypercorrect usage in this manuscript result from an apparent generalization of the letter “ě” for the stem vowel in the plural and dual forms of the imperative. Other apparent discrepancies result from the fact that most of the rankings for the use of the letter “ě” (column V) are grouped very tightly below 10%.

As in the hands of NYM, there are regularly far more examples in which “ě” is used for original or pronounced *e* than in which it is used for original or pronounced *i*. In the three apparent exceptions (III4, VbII and NovIj) all but one example in which “ě” is used for *i* not derived from an earlier *ě* can be attributed to easily recognizable analogies, the last example resulting from an obvious mistake (see below).

In fact, of the 75 probable examples in which “ě” is used for *i* not derived from an earlier *ě*, fully 66 seem to be the result of such analogies. Of the remaining 9 examples, 2 are obvious mistakes: *hoděhi* 1 Sg. Aor./Ipt. (should be read *hotěh’*, in which the letter “ě” would be correct) 2DA III4 and *i s-ě* (*sě* = N. Sg. Fem. of the demonstrative pronoun, should read *si-ě* with “ě” for the sound sequence *j + a*). In 2DB we have the instrumental form of the numeral in *trěmi* OxII and *t’rěm-i* Mh. It is in fact not unlikely that these forms represent an analogy to *dvěma* and *dvěju*. In any case, the coincidence of these forms indicates that they characterize a particular minor branch of the stemma, and thus probably did not originate in either of the manuscripts in which they are attested. The 3 examples in NYM's hand **B** (the most erratic I have studied with respect to the use of the letter “ě”) have been discussed previously. Only *vě* N. of the personal pronoun 4DC cannot be explained either by analogy or confusion of forms. Thus in the entire comparative corpus only this example, along with *Ně* (for *Ni*) Neg. Part. 2DA III8 and *prěd’ něma* I. Du. of the personal pronoun 5DA OxII, contain an apparently arbitrary use of “ě” for the sound *i* (not derived from *ě*) in forms which were certainly not foreign to fifteenth-century čakavian.

The overwhelming preponderance of hypercorrect use of “ě” for the sound *e* holds for manuscripts of both recensions, and of both northern and southern provenance. This distribution of hypercorrect use of “ě”, then, is not related to the reflexes of the sound *ě* in the local dialects of the areas in which the manuscripts originated. This fact,

therefore, together with the noted tendency to render original *ě* with “e” in nonvernacular, CCS, words, is a strong confirmation of the long-held view that the letter “*ě*” in mature CCS was rendered in reading with the sound *e* (cf. Milčetić 1890:40 ff., and Rešetar 1895).

In conclusion, data on hypercorrect use of the letter “*ě*” point to a relatively recent origin for NYM, certainly after the first quarter of the fifteenth century. These same data, however, give no indication of the place of origin of the manuscript.

16.3.5 **dj*, **zđj*, etc.

The data from the hands of NYM are summarized in table 14. As in the case of the features discussed previously, there is again considerable variation from hand to hand, both in regard to retention of the CCS reflex *žd*, and to the spelling of the čakavian reflex *j*. With regard to the first matter, hands **A/A³**, **B** and **E** seem to show a high proportion of retention of the reflex *žd*, while hands **B¹** and **G** show a much lower proportion of retention and hands **A²** and **D** fall somewhere between the first two groups. With regard to the spelling of the reflex *j*, hand **A²**, and possibly **E**, seem to favor the overt spelling with the letter “*đ*”, while the others clearly favor the spelling by a sequence of vowel letters. As we have seen, some, but not all, of the hands tend to use the letter “*đ*” where *j* is in obvious alternation with *d*, and a sequence of vowel letters in other instances.

Data from the other manuscripts are summarized in table 15. Once again we see that variation among the hands of NYM very much resembles that which occurs among the manuscripts. Contrary to our expectations, there is no good correlation between a manuscript's date of origin and its percentage of retention of the reflex *žd*. True, the oldest manuscript (III4) has by far the highest percentage of retention. At the other extreme, it is also true that the three most recent dated texts (VbI, VbII and 1483) have low percentages, but then so does B, which is not only older, but generally lacks the proclivity for innovative

	Reflex of *dj, *zdj, etc.			Proportion of retention of <i>žd</i>
	<i>žd</i>	<i>j</i>		
		"vV"	"đ"	
A ¹	2	0	0	1.00
A ³	26	4	1	.84
A/A ³	33	7	3	.77
B.....	15	5	0	.75
F.....	3	0	1	.75
E.....	19	3	4	.73
A.....	7	3	2	.58
D.....	2	11	1	
	<u>12</u>	<u>11</u>	<u>0</u>	
	14	22	1	.38
A ²	9	4	12	.36
G.....	6	17	5	.21
B ¹	5	22	0	.19
C.....	0	3	0	.00

Table 14: Reflexes of *dj, *zdj, etc., in NYM

forms which we see in Hm and, to a lesser extent, N. Conversely, III8, a fairly recent manuscript with a more innovative situation in most respects, is fairly conservative with regard to this feature. The degree of conservatism with respect to retention of the reflex *žd* does not correspond to recension or place of origin either.

The one interesting correspondence which we can note in table 15 has to do with the use of the letter "đ". Those manuscripts which are known or thought to have originated in the south (Lika, Krbava and southern coastal areas)—N, B, Hm and III8—have at least 6 examples with the spelling "đ". Those texts which are thought to have originated in the north (Istria, Kvarner and the coastal area opposite the Kvarner islands)—III4, LjII, R, VbI, VbII, Novlj, Mh and 1483—have, with three

exceptions, only a single example with “đ” or none at all. The exceptions here only serve to make the tendency clearer. LjII and R have only 4 and 3 examples with the spelling “đ”, respectively, yet even these few examples may represent a southern “encroachment”. As already noted, these manuscripts were copied in the north, probably in Bakar, by Bartol, a scribe originally from the Krbava area (cf. Pantelić 1964). Thus while in general these texts are adapted to the northern manner and follow a northern matrix text, it is not surprising that this scribe's earlier southern practices surface in occasional examples (viz. those with the spelling “đ” for the reflex of *dj). In 1483 the instances of the spelling “đ”, with only a single exception, are copied from N. In fact, most of the examples which have “đ” in N have actually been changed to a sequence of vowel letters in 1483, or in one instance to the reflex žd. It is clear, then, that the spelling “đ” for the reflex j from *dj is in no way characteristic of 1483.

We should note that the use of the spelling “đ” follows the place of origin, not the textual tradition. The northern manuscripts VbI, VbII and Novlj, which belong to recension B, agree with the other northern manuscripts, rather than with the southern manuscripts of recension B.

It is significant that we find by far the largest number of examples with the spelling “đ” in N and Hm. The first of these manuscripts was copied by a secular functionary, the second is marked by an obvious, and certainly intentional, vernacularizing tendency. It is likely, then, on the basis of the evidence adduced here, that use of the letter “đ” to spell the reflex of *dj, and perhaps to express the sound j in general, was a feature of the *secular styles* of writing in the *southern* area of Glagolitic literacy. This trait found its way to some extent into all liturgical manuscripts which originated in this area, but especially those which were in general heavily influenced by the secular styles. Use of the letter “đ” to render the reflex of *dj was apparently not prevalent in northern regions, at least in the period in which the liturgical manuscripts originated. It should be possible to adduce further evidence for or against this hypothesis, on the basis of preserved secular documents.

As in NYM, it seems that in some (but not all) manuscripts the spelling “đ” is used especially in those cases in which the reflex *j* is in obvious alternation with *d*. Unfortunately, a detailed study of the pertinent examples has not been possible for the present study.

16.3.6 Denotation of *j*

Data from the comparative corpus confirm the hypothesis that use of the letter “đ” to render the sound *j* is primarily characteristic of the

	Reflex of <i>*dj</i> , <i>*zdj</i> , etc.			Proportion of retention of <i>žd</i>	
	<i>žd</i>	<i>j</i>			
			“ <i>vv</i> ”	“ <i>đ</i> ”	
1. III4.....	.....32	.....4	.....1	.86	NW
2. N.....	.....4	.....9	.....32	.09	SE
3. B.....	.....8	.....28	.....6	.19	SE
4. Hm.....	.....0	15.. (16)	.....25	.00	SE
5. Ljll.....	.....14	.....8	.....4	.54	NW
6. R.....	.....10	.....27	.....3	.25	NW
7. III8.....	.....24	.....17	.....6	.51	SE
8. Vbl.....	.....5	.....36	.....0	.12	NW
9. Vbll.....	.....10	.....29	.....1	.25	NW
10. 1483.....	.....2	.....33	.....9	.05	NW
Oxl.....	.....26	.....11	.....9	.57	
Oxll.....	.....18	.....16	.....2	.50	
Mh.....	.....14	.....23	.....0	.38	NW
Novlj.....	.....4	.....27	.....0	.13	NW

Table 15: Reflexes of **dj*, **zdj*, etc., in the comparative corpus

southern area of Glagolitic literacy. In table 16 are listed the 20 examples in which *j* is not derived from **dj* and the spelling “đ” is not inherited from OCS. Of these 20 examples 17 occur in southern manuscripts (III8, Hm, B and N). Of the 3 remaining examples, one is from NYM, which is as yet of uncertain origin, while two (those in 1483 and NYM) occur in biblical names, and may have been influenced by the spelling of other biblical names in which the spelling “đ” is inherited from OCS.

Words which in OCS were spelled with “đ” continue to be spelled thus in CCS. In the comparative corpus, for example, we encounter *andeli*, (as in OCS) 3EA and 7EB, and *nevđit-* (OCS *(ni)nevъđitъ* and *(ni)nevъđitъskъ*, cf. ČAV s. *ninevъgitъ* and *ninevъgitъskъ*) 2EA in all manuscripts. Interestingly, we encounter *đeoza* 'Gehazi' (in other recensions of Church Slavonic *geozii*, *egezi* and *egezi*, but no examples from canonical OCS manuscripts; cf. ČAV s. *geozii*) in III4, Oxl, OxlI, N, Mh, LjII, B (once), VbII, Novlj (once), Hm, 1483 and NYM, while in III8, R

2DA	III8.....	o-tađi.....	Adv.
		živode.....	A. Sg. Neut.
	Hm.....	kiđju.....	G. Du. Pronoun
3DB	1483.....	iđjuděi.....	N. Pl.
4DA	III8.....	novode.....	A. Sg. Neut.
4DC	III8.....	ot*vr'zđi.....	N. Sg. Masc. Def. P.A.P.
6DA	III8.....	iliđi.....	D. Sg.
	Hm.....	điju.....	A. (= G.) Du. Pers. Pronoun
7DB	Novlj.....	mođi.....	N. Sg. Masc. (“ju” corr. to “đ”?)
	NYM.....	gazopilakiđi.....	L. Sg.
1DA	III8.....	hodotađi.....	N. Sg.
		věč'nođe.....	A. Sg. Neut.
3EA	B.....	t'vođi.....	A. Sg. Masc.
4EB	III8.....	kođe.....	A. Sg. Neut. Pronoun
5EA	B.....	po v'seđ'.....	(sic!) L. Sg. Fem.
5EB	N.....	đili.....	Sg. Masc. Perf.
	B.....	đali.....	Sg. Masc. Perf.
7EA	III8.....	vapa-đi.....	N. Sg.
7EB	III8.....	galilěđ'skie.....	G. Sg. Fem.
		kođeju.....	I. Sg. Fem. Pronoun

Table 16: Denotation of *j* by the letter “đ” in the comparative corpus

and VbI the name is consistently spelled *eoza*. The lack of the letter “đ” in this word in the southern texts B and III8 is particularly striking.

The facts presented here allow us to reach several general conclusions about the use of the letter “đ” from early CCS up through the mature period. The earliest pronunciation in Croatia of OCS words spelled with “đ” must have been identical, or soon become identified with the reflex of Common Slavic **dj*. It is also clear that this happened before the loss of occlusion and obstruent qualities in this reflex, for

the OCS words with “đ” were affected by these phonetic processes, while their spelling was not. The stability of their spelling up until a much later date indicates that this spelling must already have been an established tradition at the time of the phonetic change. Use of the letter “đ” to indicate the sound *j* remained restricted to a small number of non-native words until the time when the Glagolitic script began to be adapted for secular use. This device was then gradually adopted in order to overcome one of the main deficiencies of Glagolitic orthography—the denotation of the sound *j*. This innovation was probably centered in the Lika-Krbava area. The use of the letter “đ” remained more conservative, or changed more slowly, in areas farther to the north and west (e.g. Krk, Istria). Further study may allow us to adduce further evidence on the historical development from a variety of textual traditions, and most likely to prove or disprove the hypothesis which I have just sketched. However, this will require an investigation devoted specifically to this problem, and is clearly beyond the scope of the present study.

In their use of “đ” for *j*, where *j* is not a reflex of **dj* and the spelling “đ” is not inherited from OCS, the scribes of NYM once again exhibit considerable diversity. In no hand is such usage prevalent. Hands **B**, **A¹**, **C**, **F** and **H** (all but one of which contain very little data) have no examples. Hands **B¹**, **D** and **E** have one example each in the basic text sample selected, though in each of hands **B¹** and **D** I noted another three examples outside the sample. Hand **G** has two examples, while **A³** has three, and so also do **A/A³** taken together. This use of the letter “đ” is thus neither strikingly absent nor strikingly present in NYM, so that we really cannot conclude anything about the origin of NYM on the basis of these data alone.

Finally, we must note that a tendency to increase the use of “đ” as a marker of *j*, where *j* is not derived from **dj*, is not compatible with a tendency to use “đ” as a marker of *j* in alternation with *d*. Further study should show how these two tendencies interact in the manuscripts.

16.3.7 Reflexes of **ę*

Various suggestions have been made concerning the distribution of the reflexes *a* and *e* from Common Slavic **ę* following a palatal consonant.

Some scholars, for example Ružičić (1930:79-80) and Belić (1969a:73) have felt that the reflex *a* is characteristic primarily of the eastern čakavian (presumably *i*-type), as opposed to the western čakavian dialects. Others disagree (Mladenović 1968:51-55 and Moguš 1977:35-36), or at least feel uneasy about differentiating between the northwestern and southeastern čakavian dialects with respect to this reflex (Cronia 1927-1928:71 note 2). Ivić (1966:378) sees the reflex *a* in a relatively large number of words in various insular dialects, but in very few examples in the mainland čakavian dialects, whether in the northern, southern, or central čakavian regions. He also notes the existence of the generalized štokavian example *žalac*, *žaoce*, *žaoka*, štokavian dialectal *jačmen*, *jačmičak*, as well as similar examples from kajkavian. Such a distribution suggests a gradation between between a “typical” štokavian and “typical” čakavian situation. It also supports the widely held view that čakavian dialects today have fewer examples with the reflex *a* than in the past as a result of štokavian influence.

In older texts we also see considerable variation. In the lectionaries, for example, Rešetar noted the reflex *a* consistently in the environment following *č*, *ž*, and *j* in the Zadar Lectionary, while in Bernardin's Lectionary there is considerable variation between the reflexes *a* and *e* in this same environment (1898a:107). The Zadar Lectionary, at least, seems to predate the intense influence of štokavian speakers upon čakavian which we see reflected already in the language of Zoranić's *Planine*.

Considering the degree of heterogeneity which we find in both the modern dialects and extent older texts, we might expect to encounter a similar degree of variation in NYM and the other manuscripts of the CCS MP. In fact, this is not the case.

The hands of NYM present a fairly homogeneous and stable situation with respect to reflexes of **ę*. The reflex *a* appears regularly in all forms of all lexemes from the root *-im-* where the nasal vowel was preceded by a prothetic *j*, and in the lexeme *ězik*. The vernacularism *ezik* occurs once in hand **G**. Otherwise, I noted only 8 certain instances of the reflex *a*: five in the stem *žaj-* (from **žęd-*) 'thirst' **A**² and **B**¹, two in the stem *ěčmen-* 'barley' **B** (as we shall see below, this is the normal form of this root in CCS, and so these examples need not be considered vernacularisms) and once in the form *nača* 3 Sg. Aor. **D**.

The other manuscripts present a very similar picture. Table 17 contains statistics from the entire comparative corpus. In desinences and stem suffixes the reflex *a* either does not occur or is represented in an isolated instance. In the 9 roots in which a reflex is attested, *a* is either totally or almost totally absent, or is generalized to the extent that it is clearly normal, and thus a part of the textual tradition, while examples with *e* represent vernacularisms (i.e. obvious deviations from the CCS norm).

The reflexes of the front nasal vowel in the CCS missal, then, are too homogeneous to provide any possibility for the localization of individual manuscripts. They do, however, allow for some hypotheses (if not speculation) on the development of CCS, and on the processes of linguistic change which led to the variation which we encounter in the dialects and early texts.

The data suggest that CCS arose, or at least developed, in an area in which the change $\epsilon > a$ was known, but was restricted to a very small number of roots. Specifically, we would be looking for an area in which the substantival stems *čęst-*, *čęd-*, *žę-(tel')-*, and the verbal stems *žęda-*, *počę-*, and *načę-* are pronounced with the reflex *e*. The lack of examples of the reflex *a* in stem suffixes and desinences cannot be

Substantive desinences		<i>e</i>	<i>a</i>	
-ja stem	G. Sg.....	201	0	
	N. Pl.	45	0	
	A. Pl.....	43	(1)	may be <i>a</i> for L. Pl. <i>ah</i>
-jo stem (M.)	A. Pl.....	7	0	
	total	296	0 (1)	
Substantive stem		<i>e</i>	<i>a</i>	
	<i>otročę</i>	81	0	
Substantive root		<i>e</i>	<i>a</i>	
	<i>čęst-</i>	28	0	
	<i>čęd-</i>	95	0	
	<i>jęzik-</i>	4	71	<i>e</i> in Hm (3) and B (1)
	<i>žętel'-</i>	11	1	<i>a</i> in III8
	<i>jęčn/men-</i>	4	24	<i>e</i> in III4 (2), R, Mh
	total	142	96	
Verb desinences		<i>e</i>	<i>a</i>	
Aorist	3 Pl.....	1165	0	
Present	3 Pl.....	36	0	
	total	1201	0	
Verb stem		<i>e</i>	<i>a</i>	
Pr.A.P.	N. Sg. M.....	315	0	
Pr.A.P.	other	38	0	
	total	353	0	

Table 17: Reflexes of *ę in the comparative corpus

considered as significant for purposes of localization. As Mladenović has noted (1968:53-54) the reflex *a* is in general lacking in such environments in both early texts and modern čakavian dialects. What is surprising, therefore, is that I have encountered any examples at all of the reflex $a < *ę$ in desinences. Of the three possible examples in the comparative corpus, two (those of the personal pronoun for the

third person with *ja* for original *ję*: *isud'bi moe shranite ist'-voriteě*; *Et iudicia mea custodiat et operemini*. kai; ta; krivmatav mou fulavxhsqe kai; poihshte. Ezekiel 36,27 OxII 4DA, and *isudbi - moe shranite istvorit-eě* Mh; cf. III4 *is-udbi moe shranite is'tv-oritee*, with other mss. like III4) are almost certainly copied from earlier manuscripts, and represent a branch of the textual tradition. The presence of these two variant forms may be connected with the lack of a corresponding pronoun in the Latin (and Greek) text. One is forced to wonder whether the form *ě* [ja] might not have been introduced into the textual tradition by a scribe who conceived of this form as Acc. Pl. Neut., rather than Fem., having as its antecedent (through confusion) the Latin neuter *iudicia*, rather than the CCS feminine *sudbi*. As for the third example (*imućija* G. Sg. Fem. Def. III8 1GA: *jako m'nožěiša č-eda pos'tie* (sic!) *pače než-e imućě muža*, *Quia multi filii desertae, Magis quam eius quae habet virum*. Galatians 4,27; cf. III4 *pače neže imuće m-uža*,; other mss. like III4, or *imućei* N, 1483, *imući* Hm, *imu-će* NYM, with an uncertain reading in VbII, and a periphrastic construction in OxI), we are almost certainly dealing with a case of syntactic confusion, with the form in question to be interpreted as N. Sg. Fem. Def. (cf. in this regard the English reading *for the desolate hath many more children than she which hath a husband*). In the example *tisuća* 5EA NYM (*ěk. v' tisuća ag'naci t-uč'nihi*, *Et sicut in millibus agnorum pinguium* Daniel 3,40; other mss. have *tisućahi*, *tisućih* but in B *tisući*) it is clearly preferable to see the form of the Loc. Pl., with loss of the final *-h*, such as we encounter in a few isolated instances in the manuscripts. The discussion of these several isolated examples allows us to conclude that, just as in previously studied dialects and early texts, the reflex *a* for original Common Slavic **ę* following a palatal consonant is in fact absent in desinences and stem suffixes in the manuscripts of the CCS MP.

Verb root	<i>e</i>	<i>a</i>	
(<i>v</i> -)žęd-/(<i>v</i>)žęžd-	25	2	<i>a</i> in N, 1483
počę-/načę-	54	1	<i>a</i> in 1483
priję-/poję-/jję-	0	122	
total	79	125	
Adjective desinences	<i>e</i>	<i>a</i>	
Acc. Pl. Masc. Def. (-yję/-eję) final vowel.....	50	0	
Acc. Pl. Masc. (-ę/-eję) first vowel	48	0	
G. Sg. Fem. Def. (-yję/-eję) final vowel.....	173	1	<i>a</i> in III8
G. Sg. Fem. (-ę/-eję) first vowel	14	0	
Acc. Pl. Fem. Def. (-yję/-eję) final vowel.....	35	0	
Nom. Pl. Fem. Def. (-yję/-eję) final vowel.....	8	0	
total	328	1	
Adjective root	<i>e</i>	<i>a</i>	
prijętin- (root -im-).....	0	25	
Adverb	<i>e</i>	<i>a</i>	
jędro.....	6	0	
Pronoun desinence	<i>e</i>	<i>a</i>	
Acc. Pl. Masc.	130	0	
G. Sg. Fem.	197	0	
Acc. Pl. Fem.	66	0	
Nom. Pl. Fem.	34	0	
Relative/Third Person Acc. Pl. Masc.	234	2	<i>a</i> in OxII and Mh, same text
Relative/Third Person G. Sg.. Fem.	142	0	
total	803	2	

Table 17 (continued): Reflexes of *ę in the comparative corpus

Some scholars have suggested that the change *ę > *a* /{č, ž, j}__ must at one time have been general throughout čakavian (Moguš

1977:36⁶⁰, Mladenović 1968:54⁶¹, Hraste 1967:66⁶²). The data from the manuscripts of the CCS MP present us with two arguments against this hypothesis. The first, and weaker, argument is derived from the absence of the reflex *a* in morphological environments. If the phonetic change in question was once general throughout čakavian, then we would expect that it would have affected morphological environments as well as roots. Even if the reflex *a* had very early been eliminated in stem suffixes and desinences through analogical processes, we might still expect to find some relic forms in documents of a liturgical language which was already in use in Croatia at the time of the loss of nasalization as a distinctive feature among vowels. Yet such forms are, as we have seen, absent at least from the manuscripts of the CCS MP. The second, and stronger, argument concerns the very limited distribution of the reflex *a* in roots. The regularity with which the stems *čest-*, *čed-*, *žetel-*, *žeda-*, *poče-* and *nače-* occur with the reflex *e* allows us to conclude that such forms are orthoepic in CCS, at least in the MP. They are a regular feature of a textual tradition which was established probably in the mid-thirteenth century, long before we can speak of massive štokavian settlement of čakavian lands and consequent influence on the dialects. Perhaps most instructive is the case of the adverb *edro* [jedro] < **jędro*. In the sense of 'quickly' JAZU (s. *jedar* 2.) can cite only one example, from a čakavian writer of the seventeenth century, while for adjectival usage in this sense we find only “*kao adj. u knjigama pisanima crkvenijem jezikom, a između rječnika u Daničićevu: jedrǎ 'velox' (Šaf. lesek. 82). Jedro tečenije tvorešti. Danilo 84.*” It seems clear that this adverb, at least in the given meaning, was characteristic of Church Slavonic, and was not used in any S.-C. dialect. If the dialect underlying the usage of the CCS MP had at one time had consistently the reflex *a* < **ę* /*j*__, we would expect that reflex to be retained in a CCS root for which there was no vernacular equivalent, since there would be no neighboring (or more

⁶⁰ “Iz ovoga je vidljivo da se ne radi o nekoj sporadičnoj pojavi koja je zahvatila tu i tamo riječ-dvije nego o sustavnoj promjeni na čitavom čakavskom terenu.”

⁶¹ “Prvobitni redovni refleksi *a* < *f*, pod pomenutim fonetskim uslovima, tokom razvitka čakavskog dijalekta uklonjen je uticajem i unutrašnjih i spoljnih faktora u korist refleksa *e*.”

⁶² “Nekada je u svim čakavskim govorima bio refleks nazala *f* iza palatala (*j, č, ž*) *a*.”

distant) dialect in which the root existed (in the given meaning) with the reflex *e*, and from which the reflex *e* in this word could have been introduced into the dialect underlying the CCS MP. It goes without saying that an analogical explanation is impossible for one or the other reflex in this obviously uniform environment.⁶³ In lection 3DA of the comparative corpus the manuscripts of recension A (III4, OxII, R, Mh, LjII, and NYM at this location) contain the passage *Ot*stupiše edro - ot*puti, iže skaza imi* (III4; similar in other mss.) Exodus 32,8 *Recesserunt cito de via, quam ostendisti eis*. In each of these manuscripts we find the reflex *e*, indicating that this was probably the original reflex of **ę* in this word in the liturgical usage of the region which fostered the textual tradition of the CCS MP. The unfamiliarity of the scribes with this word is reflected strikingly in the fact that in the manuscripts of recension B, instead of *edro* in this location we read *skoro* (e.g. in N: *Skoro ot*stupiše ot*pu-ti iže skaza imi*), while in Hm we read *ot*stupiše hrlo...*

It is difficult to avoid the conclusion that the dialect on which the usage in the CCS MP is based probably *at no time* had a consistent reflex *a* < **ę* in the environment following *č*, *ž*, and *j*. In fact, the virtual lack of examples of the reflex *a* in a majority of expected environments in manuscripts originating in a wide variety of čakavian dialect areas (albeit perhaps not in the most southern areas) suggests that the phonetic change in question may never have been completed in all expected environments in any dialect. Rather, the process was likely halted at a time when it had resulted in phonological reinterpretation of original **ę* as *a* in only a limited number of environments, with some variation from dialect to dialect.

The available data do give us some hints as to the phonetic hierarchies at work in this process, and the developments which inhibited and ultimately halted the process. As noted above, the examples in hand **A**²—*vi - žađi, žađ-ani, ža-đ'na*, but *vžedahı*—suggest

⁶³ One might suspect that speakers would unconsciously favor the reflex *e* in order to avoid confusion with čakavian dialectal *jadro* for standard Serbo-Croatian *jedro* 'sail', but it is not clear just how strong such a psychological influence might be in the case of a word which appeared only in liturgical readings.

that reinterpretation as *a* was more likely in a “more palatal” environment, both preceding and following a palatal consonant, than in a “less palatal” environment, following a palatal consonant but preceding a hard consonant. Further, we may note that the reflex *a* is generalized only in those roots in which it follows *j* (though not in the rare *edro* ‘quickly’). This may be due to the fact that *j* is, at least in phonetic terms, the “most palatal” of all consonants (i.e. associated with maximal raising of the dorsum of the tongue, this raising also being the primary articulation of *j*, while for other soft consonants it is but a secondary articulation).

It is also likely that the process may have been inhibited, earlier in some dialects, later in others, by the hardening of *č*, *ž* and *š*. We must assume that the apparent change of *ɛ* > *a* consisted of two quite separate processes. The first was a purely phonetic change of [ɛ] > [ã] /C' __, setting up allophonic variation between the pronunciation of /ɛ/ in a palatal and nonpalatal environment.⁶⁴ Only subsequently would we have the phonetic (and phonological) loss of nasalization, with [ã] > [a], thus becoming identified with the existing /a/ phoneme; and [ɛ] > [e], thus becoming identified with the existing /e/ phoneme. If the hardening of *š* took place either before or during the period of allophonic variation, but before the beginning of the loss of nasalization, then it would have represented a nonpalatal environment for the vowel /ɛ/ at the time of the loss of nasalization and vowel merger, resulting in the reinterpretation of original **ɛ* as *e*. If the hardening of *č*, *ž* began later, and was still an ongoing process at the time of the loss of nasalization, then we might expect precisely the type of variation among roots and among neighboring dialects which we in fact observe. In the environment following *j*, which, by its very nature, has remained soft to the present day, the vowel **ɛ* would have longest remained subject to the allophonic lowering rule, and would thus have

⁶⁴ Cf. the similar treatment in Ivić 1966:378. During the present discussion I will assume that the proposed phonetic lowering rule came to apply simultaneously to the vowel **f* following any soft consonant. This is by no means obvious, however, and the hierarchies governing the order in which the rule came to apply to various palatal environments may ultimately play a role in explaining the variation between *a* and *e* as reflexes of original **f*.

had the best chance to be reinterpreted as *a* upon the loss of nasalization.

The scheme outlined immediately above explains the hierarchies which we observe in textual and dialectological data (i.e. broader distribution of the reflex *a* following *j*, narrower distribution following *č* and *ž*, and no examples following *š*, e.g. in original **šętati*). It fails, however, to encompass the reflex *e* which we noted above in CCS *edro*. More importantly, though, it seems to be inconsistent with the fact that the reflex *a* has not been reported in original **št'ęděti*. It remains possible that more than one factor was at work in conditioning the

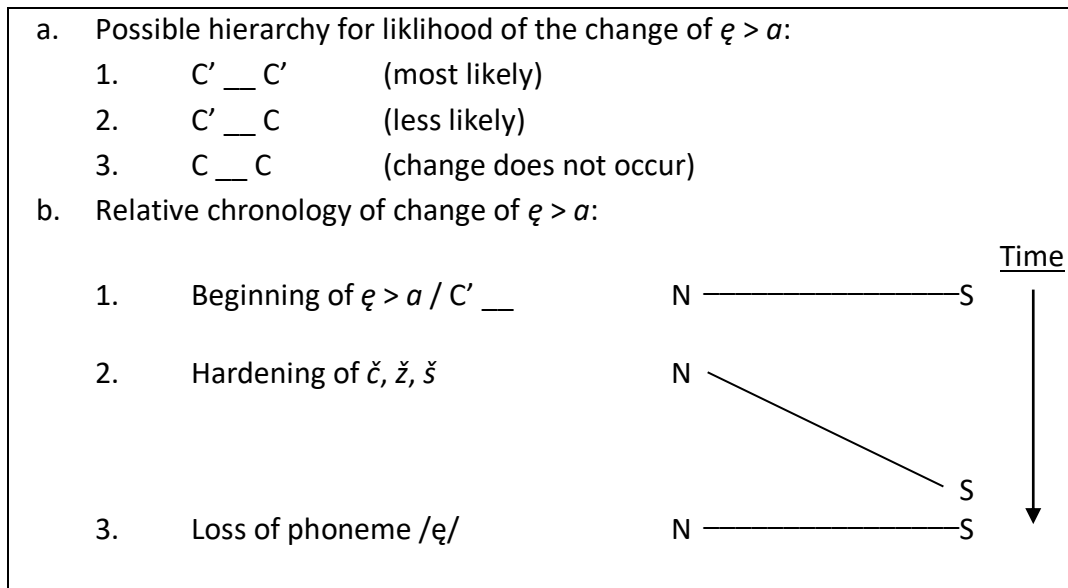


Figure 2: The change of ϵ to *a* in čakavian

allophonic variation which led to the eventual phonemic split.

The available data, then, suggest the hierarchy for the change of $\epsilon > a$ shown in figure 2a, where “1.” is the environment in which the reflex *a* is most likely, and “3.” the environment in which it is least likely (i.e. does not occur). If, as suggested by Belić and Ružičić, the reflex *a* for original **ę* is characteristic primarily of eastern (i.e. southern) čakavian dialects, then the data would also suggest the relative chronology (and hierarchy) of processes in the čakavian dialects shown in figure 2b. The hardening of *č, ž* and *š* may have occurred earlier in the north and later in the south, thus accounting for the existence of

more examples of $e > a$ in the more southern dialects than in the northern areas. Of course, the designations N (north) and S (south) in the diagram are not obligatory. Even if a distinction between northern (western) and southern (eastern) čakavian has no validity with regard to reflexes of $*\epsilon$, it remains likely that dialects in which \check{c} and \check{z} hardened earlier would be more likely to have the reflex e , while those in which it hardened later would be more likely to develop the reflex a .

The evidence cited here in support of the three-tiered hierarchy in Figure 2a is, of course, insufficient. It should be possible in future investigations to adduce additional evidence for or against it from secular documents, or from the manuscripts of other CCS textual traditions

16.3.8 Reflexes of Common Slavic $*j$

The most likely explanation for the spelling ul for original $*j$ found in hand **D**, as well as the similar example in hand **C**, is that the dialect reflected by hand **D** either possessed, or was in the process of developing, the reflex $u < *j$. Malić (1973:110) noted such forms in the “Prayer of Šibenik” (Šibenska molitva), as well as in texts from the sixteenth century. In the latter texts (from the sixteenth century) she seems to interpret these forms as purely graphic (108). However, returning to the presence of $ul < *j$ in the *Šibenska molitva* (123), she notes also Rešetar's citation of such forms from the Korčula Lectionary (Rešetar 1898a:142) and the connection of that manuscript with Zadar; and also the citations of such forms in *JAZU* from Vrančić, Budinić and the Statute of Kastav. On this basis Malić concludes that such forms (with ul from original j) were a feature of the dialect of Šibenik at the end of the sixteenth century.

Still, the fact that such forms have not been attested in any modern dialect suggests that this is most likely a purely graphic phenomenon, reflecting the presence of the reflex u in forms which had traditionally been written with the letter “ j ”. In support of this graphic interpretation we may note that the spelling u occurs alongside ul in the Korčula Lectionary, while in the approximately contemporaneous Zadar Lectionary, as well as in the somewhat later lectionary of Bernardin, Rešetar (1898a:142) reports only the spelling u , with no trace at all of the older pronunciation. This nonphonetic

interpretation of the spelling *ul* for original **l* is further supported by the examples *duž'-na*, *dužani* and especially *v'l'uki* in hand **D**, as well as the lone example *sunlce*. in hand **C**, which would seem to indicate that *ul* was probably not the reflex of **l* in the dialect(s) of these scribes.

16.3.9 Miscellaneous dialectal features

We have encountered very few such features which occur in at least several of the hands of NYM, and which might therefore be useful for localizing the manuscript.

Perhaps most striking is the appearance in a majority of hands of examples of *o* for expected *u*. As stated above in the discussion of hand **B**, this phenomenon has been noted in the dialectological literature, though from two widely separated areas. It is not clear whether there is any area in which it is particularly well represented.

Second, examples of the loss of *v* in consonant clusters, such as we encounter in hands **B** and **E** (especially in the example *last* for *vlast*, as noted in hand **E**) are today characteristic primarily of those čakavian dialects in contact with kajkavian (cf. Finka and Šojat 1973:90 on the dialects in the vicinity of Karlovac; Skok 1956:258-9 on Ūumberak; and Težak 1981:237 on the area of Ozalj; Mihaljević 1985:214 in his review of Damjanović 1984 also concludes that such examples in Glagolitic texts can be considered kajkavisms). We must bear in mind, however, that in Hm, which is linked with the more southern Glagolitic tradition, we also have encountered the example *zuki* for *zvuki* 203b 16.

We have a similar situation with regard to the interrogative pronoun *gdo*, for Common Slavic **kъto* which occurs in hand **B**¹. Today this feature also would be typical of čakavian in contact with kajkavian. Skok, for example, felt that *gdo* is especially characteristic of the Ūumberak area.⁶⁵ It also occurs in Ozalj (Težak 1981:278), but apparently not in the area of Karlovac (Finka and Šojat 1973:123). However, among older texts, this form of the pronoun occurs in Hm, which is linked to the southern area of Glagolitic literacy. In the lectionaries, *gdo* appears regularly in the Zadar Lectionary, and

⁶⁵ "Sonorizacija *gdo* < *kъto* je najkarakterističnija osobina žumberačke čakavštine" (Skok 1956:246).

exceptionally in Bernardin's Lectionary (Rešetar 1898b:144-145), while for Zoranić Ružičić (1930:157) reports both *gdo* and *tko*, with more examples of the latter form. It would seem that up to the fifteenth century the form *gdo* was common or regular in Zadar, but not in Split. By the end of the fifteenth century *gdo* was already giving way to *tko* in the area of Zadar. Since the pronominal form *gdo* clearly appeared over a much broader area in the fifteenth century than today, its presence in a Glagolitic manuscript can tell us little about the origin of that manuscript.⁶⁶

16.4 Conclusions

Given the complexity of this project, the final conclusions will be grouped under several distinct headings.

1. Paleographic and linguistic dating of CCS manuscripts. While there are no criteria which *by themselves* allow us to reliably date a manuscript, there are a number of paleographic, orthographic and linguistic features which show variation with chronological significance. *Taken together*, these features allow us to assign at least a probable relative date or range of dates to a given manuscript. Such graphic features include the shape of the *titla*, the letters “i”, “g”, “h”, “z”, “c”, “r” (in ligature), and perhaps a few others; rounded vs. angular ductus; ductus with exaggerated upper and lower extension vs. ductus with large bilinear space and small extensions; use of abbreviation by suspension; inventory and type of ligatures. Orthographic and phonetic features include reflexes of *jer*, use of the letters “jor” and “iže” in phonetic function, spelling with “ć”：“šč” for the sequence šć, hypercorrect use of ı and ’, reflexes of ě, hypercorrect use of the letter “ě”, and perhaps reflexes of **dj*. With respect to almost all of these sets of data, the scribes of NYM show a striking diversity. Still, a preponderance of evidence points toward the second quarter of the fifteenth century as the time of origin of NYM.

⁶⁶ Belić (1969b:126) seems to suggest that *gdo* is a general čakavian trait linking that dialect group with Slovene.

2. Linguistic and paleographic localizing of manuscripts. Despite initial hopes, I had less success in localizing manuscripts of the missal, and NYM in particular. Still, two useful criteria did emerge. With respect both to reflexes of *ě* and use of the letter “*đ*” for the sound *j*, manuscripts fall clearly into a southern and a northern group. In each case manuscripts from the Lika-Krbava area (southern) are opposed to manuscripts from Istria, the Kvarner islands and the coastal areas opposite these islands (northern). Neither of these criteria, however, proved useful in the case of NYM.

I noted a number of other dialectal and vernacular features in the hands of NYM. Some of these may ultimately yield a closer determination of the place of origin of NYM, though a sufficiently detailed analysis and collation with dialectological data and data from other textual traditions was not possible within the scope of this study. In particular, the reflexes *e* and *o* from *jer*, especially in hand **D**, point to two distinct areas on the island of Krk. The reflexes of *ě* may also yield additional evidence concerning the place of origin of NYM if subjected to further study. The apparent reflex *ul* from *l* (vocalic) in hand **D**, and the example *sunlce* in hand **C**, remain enigmatic. It seems most likely, though, that they represent either an intermediate stage in a dialect which was developing the reflex *u*, or an artificial graphic solution combining the traditional spelling “*l*” with the “*u*” which represented the vernacular reflex in the scribe's dialect. Finally, the surname *zoranić* inscribed on the bottom of 210a tends to link the manuscript with the Lika area, but this can be considered no more than speculation.

3. The nature of CCS. The analyses presented in this study have uncovered a number of phonetic, graphic and lexical norms of CCS during the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, as well as the direction and approximate rate of certain graphic and phonetic changes reflected in the manuscripts. The data examined here have also provided some hints on the earliest development of CCS and the area in which it first developed (reflexes of **ě*, **ę*, *jer*). Such evidence agrees with the conception of the island of Krk as the “cradle” of Croatian Glagolitic literacy.

An important secondary product of this investigation has been the comparative corpus, which provides a source for future comparative studies and demonstrates several important facts about CCS. First, the texts of the comparative corpus confirm and strikingly demonstrate the division of the missal texts proposed by Pantelić into two textual traditions—A (northern) and B (northern and southern)—as well as the degree of influence of one recension upon the other in the individual manuscripts and the heterogeneous nature of Hm and NYM. The comparative corpus also demonstrates the rules of word division in CCS and the inventory of ligatures. Overall, the data from the comparative corpus, together with those from NYM, create a very distinct and striking impression concerning the general state of CCS in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries: aside from a limited number of phonetic changes reflected consistently in the manuscripts, CCS maintains a strong continuity with the OCS tradition, with a minimum of concessions to the linguistic situation in the vernacular. This impression becomes even stronger when we consider certain morphological archaisms which are common in CCS, for example, root aorists and the 1 Sg. Pres. form *vědě*. For a literacy which is often supposed to have arisen in poverty and ignorance, this must be considered an impressive achievement. Despite certain imperfections discussed in the introductory chapter, I hope to publish the comparative corpus, with a minimum of further editing, in order to allow other scholars to benefit from it.

4. Variation within NYM. One of the most important conclusions of this study concerns the division of labor in NYM. The data I have adduced allow us to conclude that eleven scribes participated in the production of the manuscript. With respect to most of the features discussed, the practices of individual scribes vary considerably, sometimes even radically. The implication of this variation is clear: a determination of time and place of origin based on any one of the scribes may be far from accurate, and may contradict the conclusions we might reach based on a study of any other individual scribe who participated in the production of the

manuscript. With respect to any of the features studied, the individual hands suggest a *range* of possible dates (and places). A comparison of the *ranges* suggested by analysis of the greatest possible number of features must be the basis of our estimate of time and place of origin. Conversely, in studying a manuscript produced by a single scribe, we must be aware of the possibility that the language and script (at least with respect to individual linguistic and graphic features) may not correspond well to the actual age of a manuscript, and therefore as much corroborating evidence as is available should be adduced.

The large number of scribes involved in the production of NYM tells us that the manuscript was produced at a large and certainly an important scriptorium. A comparison with historical data (such as that in Hercigonja 1971) may allow us to suggest some specific institution. Also, we may expect sooner or later to identify some of the scribes of NYM with the scribes of other liturgical or secular documents, and so to gain further insight into the origin of NYM.

This investigation has yielded complete answers to very few of the questions which have been posed, and has certainly raised more questions than it has answered. As I stated at the outset, I have not had the opportunity to complete a thorough reworking and expanded analysis of all of the issues raised in the dissertation on which this study is based. Indeed, such an expanded edition would fill several volumes. Still, I believe that the investigation, at the stage manifested in this volume, has increased our understanding of NYM, of the CCS MP, and of the nature of the Croatian Church Slavonic language and literacy. Perhaps the true measure of this study, though, should not be in the finality or adequacy of the solutions proposed, but rather in the degree to which it succeeds in provoking discussion of the many methodological and substantive issues raised, and in whether it can help to establish a pattern or strategy for future linguistic and paleographic studies of Croatian Church Slavonic manuscripts.

Appendix A

Transliteration

Transliteration of a majority of the Glagolitic letters does not require comment. For the more problematical symbols, the following transliteration conventions are adhered to in this volume.

ꙗ ĭ	ꙗ 3
ꙗ ć	ꙗ đ
ꙗ ě	ꙗ ju
' (apostrophe)..... '	ꙗ (štapić) l

Superscription of a letter is indicated by the symbol * placed after the superscript letter. This should not be confused with the same symbol placed at the beginning of a word, to indicate a reconstructed or nonattested form.

Abbreviation, or the presence of a *titla*, regardless of its function, is indicated by a period.

A *dot*, indicating the end of a section of CCS text, is rendered in transliteration by a comma. Multiple dots are indicated by multiple commas. Where the Glagolitic symbol = is used in this same function, it is rendered as such, i.e. in its Glagolitic form.

Examples, whether CCS, OCS, contemporary Serbo-Croatian, Latin, or reconstructed Common Slavic, are rendered in italics.

Individual sounds or sound sequences, as opposed to words or morphemes, are also in most instances rendered in italics. Sounds or sound sequences are given in normal type and enclosed in slashes (/ ... /) or square brackets ([...]) only when it is necessary to distinguish between phonemic and subphonemic levels of analysis.

Letters and spellings, when it is necessary to distinguish them from actual sounds, morphemes or words, are given in normal type and enclosed between double quotation marks (“...”).

Manuscripts of the CCS MP are cited in normal type with the appropriate abbreviation from Appendix C. *Hands* of NYM are cited in bold-faced type. The abbreviation B thus refers to the Berlin Missal, while the bold-faced abbreviation **B** refers to hand **B** of the New York Missal.

Appendix B

Citation of Examples

NYM and Hm (excluding portions of text contained within the comparative corpus): examples are cited with number (of the folio) + letter (a, b, c, or d—indicating the column: a and b on the recto, c and d on the verso side) + number (of the line, generally between 1 and 30). Thus, the citation 147c 27 would refer to line 27 of the first column on the verso side of folio 147.

1483 editio princeps of the Glagolitic missal: examples are cited by page number, and in some cases also column and line number.

Vulgate, Greek New Testament and Septuagint: text is cited only with chapter and verse, as well as the name of the scripture (e.g., John 1,1-2). Citations are given according to the editions listed in the bibliography.

1474 editio princeps of the Latin missal: examples are cited with page and line number, separated by a colon (e.g. 105:20).

Comparative corpus (including some text from NYM, Hm and 1483 contained within the comparative corpus): the location of examples is indicated by reference to the name of the mass as given in the Croato-Glagolitic missals. This consists of:

1. Arabic numeral, indicating the day of the week (1 = Sunday, 2 = Monday, etc.);
2. Transliterated Glagolitic ordinal numeral (i.e., letter in numerical function), indicating how far into Lent the given day occurs; e.g., 3D refers to the fifth (D) Tuesday (3) of Lent;
3. Letter (A, B, or, exceptionally, C), indicating which of the lections for the given day is indicated. A is an Old Testament or non-gospel New Testament text. B is a gospel text, except on 4D (i.e., the fifth Wednesday of Lent), for which there are two non-gospel readings. The letter C occurs only on 4D, where it indicates the gospel reading for that day.

Thus, 2EA indicates the first (A: non-gospel) lection for the sixth (E) Monday (2) of Lent, while 1GB indicates the gospel reading for the fourth Sunday of Lent.

Appendix C

The Manuscripts of the CCS MP

Abbrev.	Description	Reference
III4	<i>Illirico 4</i> : Vatican Library, after 1317	Vajs 1948 Vrana 1975
III8	<i>Illirico 8</i> : Vatican Library, 1441	Vajs 1948
Oxl	First Oxford Missal: <i>MS Canon Liturg. 373</i> , Oxford, Bodleian Library, undated	Vajs 1948
OxII	Second Oxford Missal: <i>MS Canon Liturg. 349</i> , Oxford, Bodleian Library, undated	Vajs 1948
R	Missal from Roč: <i>Codex slav. 4</i> , Vienna, Austrian National Library, after 1420	Vajs 1948 Pantelić 1964
N	Novak's Missal: <i>Codex slav. 8</i> , Vienna, Austrian National Library, 1368	Vajs 1948 Pantelić 1967
Mh	Copenhagen Missal: <i>Ny kgl. Saml. 41b, 2°</i> , Copenhagen, Royal Library, undated	Svane 1965
LjI	First Ljubljana Missal: <i>C 164a/2</i> , Ljubljana, National and University Library, undated	Vajs 1948
LjII	Second Ljubljana Missal: <i>C 162a/2</i> , Ljubljana, National and University Library, after 1420	Vajs 1948 Pantelić 1964
B	Berlin Missal: <i>Ms. Ham. 444</i> , Berlin, State Library, 1402	Pantelić 1964
VbI	First Missal from Vrbnik: Vrbnik, parish archives, 1456	Vajs 1948
VbII	Second Missal from Vrbnik: Vrbnik, parish archives, 1463	Vajs 1948
Novlj	Missal from Novi: Novi, parish archives, undated	Vajs 1948
Hm	Hrvoje's Missal: Istanbul, The Library of Turkish Sultans - Sarayi, 1404	Vajs 1948; <i>Hm</i> (edition)
NYM	New York Missal: <i>M 931</i> , New York, Pierpont Morgan Library	Birnbaum 1977
1483	<i>Editio princeps</i> of the CCS MP, 1483	1483 (edition)

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Table 1: Scribal Activity in NYM

1.	la l	A	20.	32b 23.....	B
2.	lc l	B	21.	32c 1	A ²
	(2d, 3a, 3b, red	A)	22.	46c 11	B
3.	3c 30	A		(46c 14, 18, 20: red [but 46c 24,	
	(3d 5 red.....	B)		also 11?: red by B].....	A ²)
4.	3d 9 middle	B	23.	46d 1.....	A ²
	(4c 20-21 between lines	?)	24.	51a 13 middle	B
5.	7b 1 (middle?)	A ¹	25.	51a 25	A ²
6.	7c 1	B	26.	52c 8 middle	C
7.	8b 25 (middle?)	A		(52c 11 middle -13 middle: red	
8.	8d 21 (middle?)	B		title; also red on 52c 17, 20	A ²)
9.	9a 1	A	27.	52c 27	A ²
10.	9c 1	B	28.	53a 11 middle	C
11.	10a 28	A	29.	53c 1	A ²
	(10a 29 mid. -10a 30: red title	B)	30.	53d 1.....	C
	(10b 3: superscript <i>ni</i>	B)	31.	53d 2 middle: middle of word!	A ²
	(10b, 10d, 11a, 11d?, 12a,		32.	53d 21.....	C
	12b: red, but only some		33.	54a 1	A ²
	[even here some red by		34.	54b 8.....	C
	A; after 12b all red by A].....	B)		(54b 10, 14: red.....	A ² ?)
12.	19a 1	B	35.	54c 1	A ² ?
13.	24a 1	A ²	36.	60a 1	B
14.	24b 1	B	37.	60c 1	A ²
15.	24b 6	A ²	38.	60c 19	B
16.	27c 1	B	39.	70a 1.....	D
17.	29a 12 middle or 13 middle.....	A ²	40.	76c 22 middle	B ¹
18.	32a 1	B	41.	77b 1.....	D
19.	32b 14	A ²			

42.	77c 1 B¹ (97: some red E)	64.	190b 7 middle A³ (190b 22: title of a mass..... F?)
43.	99d 13 E (100a: possibly some red [some red by E] B¹)	65.	191a 1..... F (191a, b: some red [other red by F] A³ ?)
44.	100b 1 B¹	66.	192a 12 middle A³
45.	109d 12 middle E	67.	193a 1..... E
46.	110a 1 B¹ (110b: a rubric.....?) (110c, 111b, 113b?..... D)	68.	193b 12..... D (red..... E)
47.	113d 1..... D	69.	193b 21 middle E
48.	124b 29 E	70.	197a 2..... D
49.	124c l D	71.	197a 15 E
50.	127b 3 middle E	72.	198b 22..... D
51.	131a 4 middle A³	73.	198c 1 E
52.	131a 15 E	74.	203a 1..... D
53.	138c 11 part of a rubric D	75.	204a 1..... G
54.	138c 18?..... E	76.	224a 1..... D
55.	152c 1 F	77.	247b 1..... H (or A⁴ ?)
56.	152d 1 A³	78.	247c 1 D
57.	170a 1 D	79.	264a 1..... E
58.	175a 1 A³	80.	282d 17..... D
59.	186c 28 F	81.	282d 28..... E
60.	186c 30 A³	82.	284c 23 D
61.	186d 19 E⁽¹⁾	83.	284d 1..... E
62.	187a 1 A³	84.	285b 3..... D
63.	190a 22 middle..... F	85.	288a 24 (middle?) G?
		86.	288a 26..... D

Table 5: Vocalization of *jer* in the Comparative Corpus

		<i>ni</i>		<i>ti/si</i>		Prepositions								Prefixes								Other		Totals (Percentages)			
						A strong		B _ V		C C _a _C _a		D weak		A strong		B _ V		C C _a _C _a		D weak				1	2	3	4
		v	nv	v	nv	v	nv	v	nv	v	nv	v	nv	v	nv	v	nv	v	nv	v	nv	v	nv				
III4	c. 1320	45	0	34	0	5	12	0	26	0	21	0	3	0	13	0	0	0	1	0	8	13	170	28	8	6	0
N	1368	43	0	15	0	10	9	1	24	5	12	2	1	8	1	0	0	4	1	4	0	139	53	70	63	41	30
B	1402	15	28	10	6	5	13	0	26	0	16	0	3	1	7	0	0	0	5	0	5	72	70	37	35	7	0
Hm	c. 1404	3	0	33	0	7	10	4	24	0	22	0	2	6	8	0	0	2	0	4	3	158	28	69	41	25	16
LjII	p. 1420	20	10	26	0	4	5	0	16	0	9	0	2	5	6	0	0	0	0	0	5	65	31	59	50	17	0
R	p. 1420	46	2	36	0	13	0	20	6	5	15	2	1	11	1	0	0	1	0	5	2	131	37	81	75	70	58
III8	1441	43	0	19	0	18	2	22	2	16	3	3	0	9	1	0	0	5	0	6	0	168	22	92	89	91	91
VbI	1456	45	0	27	0	16	2	25	2	17	2	0	3	10	0	0	0	4	0	5	0	147	36	87	83	90	88
VbII	1463	44	0	21	0	19	0	24	1	20	1	0	3	9	0	0	1	5	1	6	0	165	29	90	87	92	89
1483	1483	40	1	16	0	11	7	7	19	11	9	3	0	8	0	0	0	5	0	4	0	147	18	82	79	58	52
OxI		40	1	22	2	6	14	7	16	0	8	0	3	1	6	0	0	0	4	1	6	47	111	42	27	21	18
Novlj		31	1	17	0	9	8	8	13	1	8	0	2	8	1	0	0	2	1	1	1	104	31	73	67	46	32
OxII		41	0	32	1	15	3	14	5	19	4	1	1	10	1	0	0	2	0	7	1	143	49	81	77	82	80
NYM		39	5	19	9	13	5	15	11	2	7	3	0	10	2	0	0	1	1	5	2	160	21	82	81	64	55
Mh		43	0	33	0	13	2	17	7	8	9	0	4	9	1	0	0	2	1	9	0	177	19	88	85	71	63

Data:

v = vocalized

nv = nonvocalized

A) **strong** = strong position per Havlík's ruleB) **_ V** = position preceding a vowelC) **C_a_C_a** = position between consonants which are identical or differ only in voicingD) **weak** = other weak position according to Havlík's rule

Totals (Percentages):

- 1) Overall proportion (percentage) of vocalization
- 2) Proportion of vocalization for forms other than *ni*, *ti* and *si*
- 3) Proportion of vocalization in prepositions and prefixes
- 4) Proportion of vocalization in prepositions and prefixes where *jer* is not in strong position according to Havlík's rule

Table 6: Vocalization of *jer* NYM

	<i>ni</i>		<i>ti/si</i>		Prepositions								Prefixes								Other		Totals (Percentages)			
	A	B	C	D	A	B	C	D	A	B	C	D	A	B	C	D	v	nv	1	2	3	4				
	strong	_ V	C _a C _a	weak	strong	_ V	C _a C _a	weak	strong	_ V	C _a C _a	weak	strong	_ V	C _a C _a	weak	v	nv								
	v	nv	v	nv	v	nv	v	nv	v	nv	v	nv	v	nv	v	nv	v	nv								
G	6	3	11	2	2	13	3	10	0	2	1	0	1	5	0	0	0	3	1	1	20	19	44	35	19	24
A	12	0	12	0	1	3	0	7	0	4	0	0	4	6	0	1	0	2	1	0	34	20	60	49	21	7
A³	11	0	9	0	0	2	4	5	0	2	0	0	1	3	0	1	0	1	0	1	42	29	60	52	25	29
A²	4	0	4	0	1	7	1	6	0	6	0	0	3	2	0	0	0	1	4	2	69	29	62	60	27	25
E	9	9	6	3	0	1	2	12	1	5	0	0	3	1	0	1	1	1	2	1	61	17	63	64	29	23
F*	4	0	0	0	0	1	0	1	1	0	0	0	1	1	0	0	1	0	0	2	12	4	68	63	38	40
B	22	3	12	9	5	4	8	5	1	3	2	0	6	2	0	0	0	1	2	1	87	12	79	80	60	57
A¹*	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	2	0	80	80	67	50
C*	1	0	0	0	1	1	2	1	1	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	9	1	84	83	75	80
D	13	0	4	0	8	1	6	3	1	2	1	0	4	0	0	0	1	0	3	0	63	8	88	86	80	71
B¹	2	0	5	0	7	1	13	1	8	0	0	0	3	0	0	0	1	0	6	0	72	5	94	94	95	95+
H*	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	100	100		

Data:

v = vocalized
nv = nonvocalized

A) **strong** = strong position per Havlík's rule

B) **_ V** = position preceding a vowel

C) **C_aC_a** = position between consonants which are identical or differ only in voicing

D) **weak** = other weak position according to Havlík's rule

Totals (Percentages):

- 1) Overall proportion (percentage) of vocalization
- 2) Proportion of vocalization for forms other than *ni*, *ti* and *si*
- 3) Proportion of vocalization in prepositions and prefixes
- 4) Proportion of vocalization in prepositions and prefixes where *jer* is not in strong position according to Havlík's rule

Table 10: Continuants of ě in NYM

	1 Continuant: "ě" Expect:	2 <i>i</i> <i>i</i>	3 <i>i</i> <i>e</i>	4 <i>e</i> <i>i</i>	5 <i>e</i> <i>e</i>	Total of reflexes	Overall total
A	394 97%	3 1%	1 0%	5 1%	3 1%	12 3%	406
A¹	3 75%			1 25%		1 25%	4
A²	241 77%	49 16%	8 3%	12 4%	3 1%	72 23%	313
A³	224 95%	4 2%		6 3%	2 1%	12 5%	236
B	268 59%	99 22%	4 1%	64 14%	22 5%	189 41%	457
B¹	70 25%	78 28%	7 3%	74 27%	50 18%	209 75%	279
C*	15 47%	5 16%	1 3%	8 25%	3 9%	17 53%	32
D	183 62%	68 23%	2 1%	25 8%	17 6%	112 38%	295
E	223 80%	23 8%	4 1%	19 7%	10 4%	56 20%	279
F*	35 45%	11 14%	1 1%	28 36%	2 3%	42 55%	77
G	174 73%	31 13%	4 2%	23 10%	6 3%	64 27%	238
H**	9 82%	1 9%		1 9%		2 18%	11
Average	63%	16%	2%	15%	6%	37%	

* Statistics taken from all text, including nonbiblical texts

** Data not included in overall statistics for NYM

Table 11: Continuants of ě in the Comparative Corpus

Continuant:..... Expect:.....	1 “ě”	2 <i>i</i> <i>i</i>	3 <i>i</i> <i>e</i>	4 <i>e</i> <i>i</i>	5 <i>e</i> <i>e</i>	Total of reflexes	Overall total
III4 c.1320 NW	487 93%	2 0%	1 0%	34 6%	3	37 7%	524
N 1368 SE	352 78%	63 14%	2 0%	36 8%	1 0%	102 22%	454
B 1402 SE	323 77%	66 16%	2 0%	27 6%	2 0%	97 23%	420
Hm c.1404 SE	225 45%	215 43%	10 2%	43 9%	5 1%	273 55%	498
LjII p.1420 NW	414 88%	12 3%	1 0%	46 10%		59 12%	473
R p.1420 NW	302 63%	46 10%		113 24%	18 4%	177 37%	479
III8 1441 SE	298 64%	94 20%	7 2%	46 10%	19 4%	166 36%	464
Vbl 1456 NW	347 76%	35 8%	1 0%	57 12%	17 4%	110 24%	457
VbII 1463 NW	367 80%	17 4%		44 10%	30 7%	91 20%	458
1483 1483 NW	373 78%	47 10%		52 11%	4 1%	103 22%	476
OxI	358 90%	18 5%		9 2%	13 3%	40 10%	398
OxII	438 88%	22 4%		33 7%	2 0%	57 12%	495
Novlj NW	291 88%	6 2%		23 7%	12 4%	41 12%	332
Mh NW	453 87%	20 4%	1 0%	44 8%	5 1%	70 13%	523
NYM¹	308 62%	96 19%	4 1%	66 13%	22 4%	188 38%	496
NYM²	63%	16%	2%	15%	6%	37%	

¹text of comparative corpus from NYM

²average of scribes of NYM