

## Different linguistic layers in *Savvina Kniga*

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### Abstract

This article examines the internal linguistic stratification of *Savvina Kniga* (Sav), a key text in the Cyrillo-Methodian tradition. By analyzing both archaic features and later innovations, the study identifies four distinct linguistic layers within the manuscript. The first layer contains elements shared with the oldest Gospel manuscripts, partly reflecting traces of the original Cyrillo-Methodian translation. The second layer corresponds to a relatively rare textual redaction, also found in the first part of the Vukan Gospel. A third layer reveals sporadic lexical changes associated with the so-called Preslav redaction, although the chronology of these changes remains uncertain. The fourth layer features unique amendments within Sav which possibly stem from deliberate modernization. Notably, two morphosyntactic features – the Genitive-Accusative of the anaphoric pronoun and the use of *mi* and *si* as adnominal datives – can likely be traced back to *pop* Sava himself.

**Key Words** – *Savvina Kniga*; internal classification; genitive-accusative; adnominal dative; *pop* Sava

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## 1. The Cyrillic codex Tp-14\*

The designation *Savvina Kniga* refers both to the Cyrillic codex Tp-14 (Moscow, *Rossijskij gosudarstvennyj archiv drevnich aktov*, f. 381 *Sinodal'noj tipografii*, N° 14)<sup>1</sup> and to the ff. 25-153<sup>2</sup> of the same manuscript, which constitutes its oldest part, and which are the focus of this paper. The name *Savvina Kinga* was coined by Sreznevskij (1868: 6), with reference to two medieval footnotes on f. 51r (*po<sup>p</sup> sava ψalъ* 'pop Sava wrote') and f. 56r (*pomozi °gi rabu tvoemu savi*<sup>3</sup> 'Lord, help your servant Sava'). Sreznevskij (1868: 6) thought that *pop* Sava either wrote the book himself, or at least owned it: Jagić (1881: 583), based on the fact that the sign <ψ> found in the first annotation never occurs in the running text, is more inclined to the latter solution, while Ščepkin (1899: 70), considering the use of the *titlo* in °gi and of the spirit on the *e* of *tvoemu*, believes that *pop* Sava was the writer of the text<sup>4</sup>.

Tp-14 is a short *aparakos*, containing selected readings from the Gospels for Sundays and feast day services, and consists of four parts, written in different periods and regions. The first part (ff. 1-24) is a later addition (late 13th – early 14th century) written in Old Rus' (see Schaeken 2000). The second part (ff. 25-153; hereafter *Sav*) is the oldest, Old Church Slavonic (OCS) part, written in Eastern Bulgaria in the 11th century. The third part (ff. 154-165) was written between the end of the 11th century and the beginning of the 12th century in Old Rus' (see Tóth 1995), while the fourth part consists of f. 166, a fragment of the text of the service for every need, written in Bulgaria in the 11th century (Dogramadžieva 1993).

This article focuses specifically on ff. 25-153, the oldest section of the Tp-14 codex, and aims to analyze its complex textual background, with particular attention to its internal linguistic classification. Before delving into the identification of the distinct linguistic layers within *Sav* (Section 4) and the examination of two morphosyntactic innovations that distinguish *Sav* from the broader tradition (Sections 5-6), background information on *Sav* (Section 2) and the methodology employed (Section 3) will be presented.

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<sup>1</sup> On the website of the RGADA, a high-resolution reproduction of the codex is available: <[http://rgada.info/kueh/index2.php?str=381\\_1\\_14](http://rgada.info/kueh/index2.php?str=381_1_14)> (accessed 07/04/2025).

<sup>2</sup> Throughout this work, folios are cited according to the new edition (Knjazevskaja et al. 1999), which follows the numbering re-established after the restoration of the codex in 1988-1991. Most importantly, ff. 140 and 141 of Ščepkin's edition are now respectively ff. 28 and 29. For the main differences with earlier editions (Sreznevskij 1868; Ščepkin 1903), see Knjazevskaja et al. (1999: 41-44).

<sup>3</sup> Unfortunately, the last sign of this second annotation is only partly legible and it is not clear whether it is a *i* (*savi*, as Sreznevskij 1868: 6 and Micheev 2021: 31 read it) or a *ju* (*savju*, as Jagić 1881: 583 and Ščepkin 1903: 37 read it).

<sup>4</sup> Knjazevskaja is cautious in ascribing the text to *pop* Sava (Knjazevskaja et al. 1999: 31). Micheev (2021: 30-31) suggests that the first annotation was made by a Bulgarian scribe in the 10th or 11th century, while the second annotation should be dated to the 14th century, because of the transition of *ě* to *i* in the name Sava (*savi*), which is characteristic of the Pskov-Novgorod dialects from the mid-12th century. However, it is important to note that all scholars agree that both annotations were written by the same hand, and Micheev's only argument relies on a rather obscure detail (the very last, illegible letter of the second note).

## 2. Savvina Kniga

Sav begins with the sixth Saturday after Easter (though missing the start; f. 25r) and continues without gaps through the readings of the Easter and Pentecost cycles, up to the reading for the 13th Sunday after Pentecost on f. 48v. A gap is found between f. 48 and f. 49, which should have contained the readings for the 14th Saturday (Mt 23.1-12) and 14th Sunday (Mt 22.2-14) after Pentecost and the beginning of the 15th Saturday after Pentecost (Mt 24.1-13): this gap is evident as f. 49r begins with Mt 24.10. Another significant gap occurs between ff. 49 and 50, missing the end of the reading for the 16th Saturday after Pentecost, as well as the readings for the 16th Sunday and 17th Saturday and Sunday after Pentecost and those of the first Saturday and Sunday of the New Year cycle. Folio 50r contains the reading for the second Saturday after Pentecost, but it starts mid-text, and f. 50v holds the reading for the second Sunday after Pentecost, though it ends abruptly. A further gap follows, and f. 51 begins with the reading for the Sunday of the fourth week of the New Year (starting with Lk 8.7), again missing the beginning. Folios 48 and 49 are the only remaining folios (the third and the fifth, respectively) from *quaternio* n. VI (Knjazevskaia et al. 1999: 19). From f. 51 onwards, the text continues without gaps and in the correct order until f. 122<sup>5</sup>.

The New Year cycle is followed by the Great Lent cycle (ff. 75v-88r), the Holy Week cycle (ff. 88r-101r) and by the Passion Gospels (ff. 101r-122v). A significant loss of text occurs between ff. 122 and 123: an entire *quaternio* is missing between qq. XVI and XVII (as numbered in Knjazevskaia et al. 1999: 20-21), which would have included the end of the 8th Passion Gospel, along with the 9th, 10th, 11th and 12th Passion Gospels and the Good Friday readings. On f. 123 the text resumes with the morning reading for the Holy Saturday<sup>6</sup>, followed by the liturgical text (Mt 28.1-20), ending on f. 124r. From f. 124v follows the Menology, starting from the first of September. A folio that originally followed f. 123 in Ščepkin's edition has been relocated, as it contains June readings, and now appears after f. 151, numbered 152. Additionally, there is also a folio missing between ff. 130 and 131.

It is widely accepted that this OCS part was written by a single hand and its handwriting has been described as negligent (*nebrežnoe*, Sreznevskij 1868: 5) or hasty (*spešnoe*, Knjazevskaia et al. 1999: 27), resulting in numerous corrections, erasures, and additions. As for its language<sup>7</sup>, Horálek (1948) provides a comprehensive analysis of Sav's lexicon and syntax, concluding that, alongside many innovative features, the text also retains numerous archaisms. Ślawski (1963; 1978) shows that the first part of Sav is more innovative, while the second part preserves more archaic features. According to Alekseev et al. (1998: 9), the text of Sav underwent «extensive editorial revisions, carried out in deep antiquity».

Concerning the text's prehistory, Dogramadžieva (1991) hypothesizes, based on an analysis of the repeated pericopes in Sav, that its source was an uncommon textual redaction that formed the basis for most of the manuscript. However, the Passion Gospel block (ff. 101-122) was likely sourced from a more common redaction, potentially to provide a more appropriate text, although it was partially corrected by inserting lexical

<sup>5</sup> But see Temčín (2010: 71-98).

<sup>6</sup> Indeed, it is only a link to the 12th Passion Gospel.

<sup>7</sup> See also Pogorelov (1927). For the relevant literature see Grivec (1953), Papazisovska (1970, esp. p. 302), Garzaniti (2001: 317-322) and Dogramadžieva (2003, esp. p. 507).

elements associated with the so-called Preslav redaction<sup>8</sup>: this correction did not affect the syntactic structure or most of the lexical composition. Individual fragments of the remaining text were corrected in a non-systematic manner, particularly the cycles after Easter and Pentecost, as well as the Holy Week cycle. In the Pentecost cycle, for example, one finds corresponding fragments with different redactions in close proximity. According to Dogramadžieva, isolated amendments were probably made during separate transcriptions, leading to the considerable variety of readings in the same text within Sav (Dogramadžieva 1991: 32-33).

This is evident from the comparison of the text of Sav with other manuscripts partially related to its textual tradition, namely the Vukan Gospel (Vk)<sup>9</sup>. In his study preceding the edition of Vk, Vrana (1967: 6-8) notes that Vk was transcribed from two different codices. The first part, which contains more archaic features, covers the readings from Easter to the Monday after Pentecost, while the second part covers the remaining part of the *aparakos* and is associated with the so-called Preslav redaction. Vrana also highlights significant parallels between the first part of Vk and the corresponding readings in Sav (ff. 25r-31v, starting from the sixth Friday after Easter, as the first part of Sav is lost). In this first section, one finds archaic features alongside innovations shared by Vk and Sav, likely introduced to align the text with the Greek or to modernize it. These innovations likely stem from common source of Sav and Vk, although this source cannot be considered the direct antigraph of Sav, since Sav also displays innovations not found in Vk (Vrana 1967: 8-12).

Thus, for Sav, one must assume at least the following stages of composition: 1. the original Cyrillo-Methodian translation; 2. a first redaction that introduced innovations into the old Gospel manuscripts; 3. a reworking of the text that is attested only in the first part of Sav and Vk; 4. the inclusion of the Passion Gospel block; 5. Sav as it has come down to us. At least between some of these stages, one should also assume different copies and transcriptions, where individual amendments were likely made.

### 3. Aim and methodology

The aim of this paper is to demonstrate that some of the innovations found in Sav can be attributed to different linguistic layers, which are partly independent of the stages of Sav's textual composition. To support this claim the text of Sav has been compared to the oldest OCS manuscripts – *Codex Marianus* (Mar; ed. Jagić 1883), *Codex Zographensis* (Zogr; ed. Jagić 1879) and *Codex Assemani* (As; ed. Kurz 1955)<sup>10</sup> – as well as to the apparatus

<sup>8</sup> The existence of a 'Preslav' redaction remains difficult to demonstrate (see, e.g., Vakareliyska 2008, II: 6, 18-19; Alberti 2013), and the history of the Slavic translation of the Gospels is still debated. For the purposes of this work, one can simply distinguish a first redaction containing the *old* text of the Slavic translation, a second redaction containing the so-called Preslav text, and a late redaction with the *newer* text, corresponding to Voskresenskij's third and fourth redactions (see Voskresenskij 1896; Alekseev et al. 1998: 7-37).

<sup>9</sup> Vakareliyska (2007) indicates parallels between Sav and the Curzon Gospel (C) in the *Walking on Water* lection and surrounding text (Sav f. 42v), although the correspondences between C and Sav are limited only to the locations where both codices show lexical and textual idiosyncrasies, while the idiosyncrasies themselves are not the same (Vakareliyska 2008, II: 292).

<sup>10</sup> The data was collected using the electronic texts prepared for the *Corpus Cyrillo-Methodianum Helsingiense* (available at <<http://urn.fi/urn:nbn:fi:lb-2021041522>>, accessed 07/04/2025) and then checked against the cited editions. When necessary, high-resolution reproductions of these manuscripts were used: Mar (<<https://lib-fond.ru/lib-rgb/87/f-87-6>>, accessed 07/04/2025), Zogr

in the editions of the Gospel of John and Matthew edited by Alekseev et al. (1998 and 2005 respectively)<sup>11</sup>, to the apparatus in Voskresenskij's edition of the Gospel of Mark (Voskresenskij 1894) and to the apparatus in the edition of the Curzon Gospel (C; Vakareliyska 2008)<sup>12</sup>. Especially for the readings from the Gospels of Mark and Luke the following editions were additionally consulted: the Carpinian Gospel (Kr; Despodova et al. 1995), the Archangelsk Gospel (Ar; Žukovskaja and Mironova 1997), the Miroslav Gospel (Mir; Rodić and Jovanović 1986), the Mstislav Gospel (Mst; Žukovskaja et al. 1983) and the Vukan Gospel (Vrana 1967)<sup>13</sup>. For the Ostromir Gospel (OE), a comprehensive online resource is now available on the Russian National Library's website<sup>14</sup>, while a high-resolution reproduction of the Ostrog Bible (OB) is hosted on the website of the Library of Congress of US<sup>15</sup>. The Greek text is cited from the 28th edition of the Nestle-Aland (NA<sub>28</sub>; Aland et al. 2012). Data from the *Psalterium Sinaiticum* (PSin) and the *Codex Suprasliensis* (Supr) are drawn from the Universal Dependencies treebank of OCS (Haug and Jøhndal 2008; Eckhoff and Berdičevskis 2015), based respectively on the editions of Severjanov (1922)<sup>16</sup> and Zaimov and Capaldo (1982). The *Glagolita Clozianus* (Cloz) is cited according to Dostál's edition (1959), while Nahtigal's edition (1942) was used for the *Euchologium Sinaiticum* (Euch)<sup>17</sup>.

#### 4. The linguistic layers of Sav

Most scholars who have examined Sav's language have focused on distinguishing its archaic features from the numerous innovations found in the manuscript. However, based on its complex textual background and through comparison with other Gospel manuscripts, at least four linguistic layers can be identified within this text. The notion of linguistic layer, as intended here, refers to the diffusion of specific elements across different manuscripts and must be kept distinct from that of stage of composition, since, while there may be a relationship between the two concepts, it is not necessarily straightforward.

Thus, the first linguistic layer includes elements shared by Sav and at least one of the oldest OCS manuscripts, namely Mar, Zogr, and As. This layer is defined on the basis of the diffusion of an element in the oldest manuscripts, but this element may either represent an archaic feature inherited from the Cyrillo-Methodian translation (stage 1) or an innovation introduced in the compilation of the first redaction (stage 2). Alternatively, it

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(<[https://expositions.nlr.ru/ex\\_manus/Zograph\\_Gospel/index.php](https://expositions.nlr.ru/ex_manus/Zograph_Gospel/index.php)>, accessed 07/04/2025) and As (<[https://digi.vatlib.it/view/MSS\\_Vat.slav.3](https://digi.vatlib.it/view/MSS_Vat.slav.3)>, accessed 07/04/2025).

<sup>11</sup> The testimonies that have not been directly consulted for this work are cited using the abbreviations found in Alekseev et al. (1998: 39-40) and in Alekseev et al. (2005: 9-10), except for the two Athonite redactions, that are referred to as Ath<sub>1</sub> and Ath<sub>2</sub>.

<sup>12</sup> The apparatus in Vakareliyska (2008) comprises variant readings of the Dobrejšo (D) and Banica (Bn; referred to as B in Vakareliyska 2008) Gospels, the Vraca (Vr) Gospel, the Plovdiv (P) and Kohno (K) Gospels and the Vukan (Vk) and Hilandar (H) Gospels (see Vakareliyska 2008, I: xxxiii-xxxiv).

<sup>13</sup> A high-resolution facsimile of Vk is now available on the website of the Russian National Library: <<https://nlr.ru/manuscripts/RA1527/elektronnyy-katalog?ab=B6787682-05A5-4EFE-A251-2FBBFF954930>> (accessed 07/04/2025).

<sup>14</sup> <<https://expositions.nlr.ru/facsimile/OstromirGospel/RA5320/prosmotr>> (accessed 07/04/2025).

<sup>15</sup> <<https://hdl.loc.gov/loc.rbc/Bible.203306>> (accessed 07/04/2025). On the same website, a reproduction of Mir is also available: <<https://hdl.loc.gov/loc.wdl/wdl.2363>> (accessed 07/04/2025).

<sup>16</sup> For the newly discovered part of PSin, the edition by Mareš (1997) has been used.

<sup>17</sup> In the apparatus of the edition edited by Nahtigal, the variant readings from the editions of Geitler and Frček are reported. Of great help was the index compiled by Penkova (2008).

may represent an independent innovation found in two different manuscripts (a later stage of composition), thus revealing a more complex relationship between the notions of linguistic layer and that of stage of composition. Since this layer relates to the problem of the original Cyrillo-Methodian translation of the Gospel, much of the scholarship on this topic has focused on identifying the different stages of composition within it. This subject will not be dealt with here: for further detail one should refer to the classic works of Grünenthal (1910-1911), Horálek (1954) and Moszyński (1968).

The second linguistic layer consists of the elements shared by Sav and Vk, which likely originated from their common source. This layer includes the innovations found in the readings from Easter to the Monday after Pentecost in Vk and in the readings from Easter to the Holy Week in Sav (ff. 25-101; the Passion Gospels and the Menology show a less revised text, see *supra*). Due to the loss of Sav's first folios, only a small portion of text is shared by the two manuscripts (from the sixth Friday after Easter to the first Monday after Pentecost).

Innovations in both manuscripts include instances such as the substitution of an original perfect with an aorist, mirroring the Greek (e.g., in the seventh Sunday after Easter Jn 17.2 Mar et al. *dalъ emu esi*, Sav Vk *dastъ emu* ~ Gk. ἔδωκας 'you gave him'; see also Vrana 1967: 9-11) or the substitution of the common *ne obinoję sę* 'acting plainly' with the otherwise not found in the Gospel texts *sъ drъznoveniemъ* 'with boldness' in Jn 16.25, translating the Gk. παρρησία (seventh Thursday after Easter; but in the first Passion Gospel f. 106r19 Sav has *ne obinuę sę* and Vk 166v17b has *ne obinu*), already studied by Vrana (1967: 8-12). One may also ascribe to this layer the innovations found in the readings from Easter to the Holy Week in Sav and shared by the first part of Vk, although not in the same lections. For example, the use of *o* + loc instead of *vъ* + loc appears in both Sav and Vk in Jn 16.33, 17.10, but only Vk exhibits this construction in Jn 15.7, 17.21, 17.23<sup>18</sup>.

Another notable innovation is the substitution of *vъ vasъ* with *sъ vami* (Novikova 1968: 37) in Sav (Lk 9.41 and Mk 9.19), which is paralleled in the reading for the sixth Saturday after Easter (Jn 14.17), where only Sav and Vk use *sъ vami* instead of *vъ vasъ*. Perhaps also the cases of adnominal dative of nouns and of the anaphoric pronoun found only in Sav are to be ascribed to this layer. Of the instances cited by Horálek (1948: 73-74) 15 out of 17 are found between the 7th Sunday after Easter (f. 25v) and the 13th Sunday after Pentecost (f. 46v)<sup>19</sup>: in Jn 17.2 the adnominal dative (Sav 25v18 *vlastъ vъsjacěi plъti* 'authority over all flesh') is also found in Vk (Vk 24v9b has a slightly different form *vlastъ vъsěkoj plъti* 'id.'), while Sav 109r8 has the genitive *vlastъ vsakoę plъti*. However, in Jn 7.37 (reading for Pentecost) Vk employs the genitive instead of the dative found in Sav. The other two instances<sup>20</sup> are found in the New Year cycle (Lk 12.39; Sav 61v1) and in the Holy Week cycle (Mt 24.43; Sav 91r12): in both cases we find *°gnъ xramině* 'the master of the house'.

The third layer includes elements found in other manuscripts related to the so-called second (or Preslav) redaction, notably the sporadic insertion of lexical items associated with it. These elements are scattered throughout Sav. One could cite the sporadic

<sup>18</sup> In the reading for the seventh Friday after Easter (Jn 17.18-26), Sav has a link to the corresponding passage in the first Passion Gospel. For other instances of *o* + loc in Sav, see Novikova (1968: 36).

<sup>19</sup> Mt 5.45, Mt 7.27, Mt 8.14, Mt 8.28, Mt 9.10, Mt 9.21, Mt 9.34, Mt 10.42, Mt 12.33, Mt 14.20, Mt 18.10, Mt 18.16, Mt 21.40, Mt 24.43, Lk 12.39, Jn. 7.37, Jn 17.2. One could also add Mt 7.3, Mt 9.20 (but the dative *rizě* 'fringe' is also found in Ar, Fl, Tp and Vl; Alekseev et al. 2005: 52), Mt 9.35, Lk 8.14, Lk 8.44 (*krъvi* 'blood' also in D and Bn, according to Vakareliyska 2008, I: 377) and Jn 7.38 (*vody živы* 'living water' in Mar et al., *vodě živě* in Sav, but *vody živыję* in Vk; Alekseev et al. 1998: 35).

<sup>20</sup> Here, Lk 22.44 (also OE and Vr have the dative, according to Vakareliyska 2008, I: 497), found in the Holy Week cycle, should also be added. The form *miru* 'world' in Mt 24.21 could be either a *u*-stem genitive or an *o*-stem dative (most manuscripts have the *o*-stem genitive *mira*; Alekseev et al. 2005: 130).

substitution of *radi* ‘because of’ with *děľě* ‘id.’ (Slavova 1989: 92-94) in the Lent cycle (Mk 2.27, Jn 12.9 and Jn 12.18) and of *šui* ‘left’ with *ľěvъ* ‘id.’ (Slavova 1989: 114-115) in the Lent cycle (Mk 10.37, Mk 10.40) and in the Passion Gospels (Mt 27.28, Mk 15-27, Lk 23.33) or the more systematic substitution of *pastyrъ* ‘shepherd’ with *pastuxъ* ‘id.’ (Slavova 1989: 84-86), found in the New Year cycle (Mt 25.32), in the Holy Week cycle (Mt 26.31) and in the Menology (Jn 10.11, Jn 10.12, Jn 10.14, Jn 10.16, Lk 2.8, Lk 2.15, Lk 2.18, Lk 2.20). This lexical correction may be later than the second layer: first, it covers the whole Sav and not only the first part of it, and secondly some substitutions found in Sav, e.g. the substitution of *životъ* ‘life’ with *žiznъ* ‘id.’ in Jn 17.2 in the seventh Sunday after Easter, are not paralleled in Vk, which has the more common *životъ* both in this reading and in the Passion Gospel. However, in principle, some of these lexical innovations may predate the third layer and possibly be traced back to the common source of Sav and Vk or could have been introduced at different times into Sav’s text.

All the other idiosyncrasies found only in Sav constitute the fourth layer. Here one finds the «isolated amendments made in separate transcriptions» supposed by Dogramadžieva (1991: 33), though it is difficult to determine which stage of composition these elements belong to. Some may even be archaisms preserved solely in Sav (cf. Sławski 1978), while other could be remnants from the common source of Sav and Vk for which no other evidence survives. Some of them might result from glosses inserted into the text during copying. For example, the innovative *vratarevi* ‘portress’ in 112v2 and the archaic *dvъrъnica* ‘id.’ found in 112v3 suggest a marginal gloss meant to apply to both occurrences but copied in the text only once. Similarly, this could also explain the fact that in Mt 10.37 we find the usual *něstъ mene dostoinъ* ~ Gk. οὐκ ἔστιν μου ἄξιος ‘is not worthy of me’ on f. 32v *bis* and on f. 39v10 and 12, but the uncommon (although found also in Cloz 2r8; cf. Vaillant 1947: 47) *něstъ mi na podobъ* ‘id.’ a line earlier, on f. 39v9<sup>21</sup>.

In addition to these isolated amendments, more systematic morphosyntactic innovations set Sav apart not only from the older Gospel texts but also from Vk and second redaction manuscripts. These include the use of genitive-accusative forms of the anaphoric pronoun and the use of short pronominal forms as adnominal datives. The next two paragraphs will focus on these innovations.

## 5. The Genitive-Accusative of the anaphoric pronoun

Genitive-accusative (GA) refers to the use of a form of genitive in contexts that would require an accusative<sup>22</sup>. The GA is attested in all the oldest manuscripts with animate masculine *o*-stem nouns, whereas its use with personal, reflexive and anaphoric pronouns is more restricted<sup>23</sup>. In particular, the figures for the GA of the anaphoric pronoun in the oldest OCS manuscripts are shown in Table 1.

<sup>21</sup> This last example might be traced back to the copyist of Sav, since the <i> of *mi* is corrected from an <e>. The copyist might have had *něstъ mene dostoinъ* in the running text of the antigraph and might have seen the gloss only after having already written the <e> of *mene*. At this point, he might have corrected it. This solution seems preferable to the one proposed by Kul’bakin (1930: 645), namely that the innovative *něstъ mi na podobъ* was already in the text of his antigraph and that the copyist started to write *mene*, influenced by the *mene* in 39v7-8, as this explanation can account for the isolated occurrence of the innovative sequence.

<sup>22</sup> The literature on this subject is extensive: in addition to Meillet (1897), one should at least refer to Comrie (1978), Klenin (1987), Eckhoff (2015) and (2022). Weiss (2015) is dedicated to the GA of personal pronouns, while Kaciba (1982) specifically addresses GA forms in Sav.

<sup>23</sup> Remarkably, there is an almost total absence of these forms in PSin, which, on the contrary, only uses GA forms for animate masculine *o*-stem nouns (Eckhoff 2022: 9, n. 17), see n. 29.

	<i>ego</i>	<i>i</i>	<i>Odds</i>
<b>Mar</b>	9	471	0.019
<b>Zogr</b>	11	400	0.028
<b>As</b>	6	299	0.020
<b>Sav</b>	22	172	0.128
<b>PSin</b>	4	128	0.039
<b>Supr</b>	172	341	0.504
<b>Cloz</b>	2	30	0.067
<b>Euch</b>	3	140	0.021
<b>Tot</b>	239	1981	0.121

Table 1 – Occurrences of GA and accusative singular forms of the anaphoric pronoun

Sav is the only manuscript that occupies an intermediate position between the oldest OCS texts, which show a low rate of GA of the anaphoric pronoun, and Supr, with the highest value of GA. This intermediate position arises from the fact that Sav can be divided in two portions: the first portion (Sav1, ff. 25r-56r) is more similar to Supr, while the second portion (Sav2, ff. 56v-153v) aligns more closely with the other OCS texts<sup>24</sup>. This is confirmed by a pairwise Fisher test, with Holm's correction: there is a highly significant difference between Sav1 and Supr and all the other texts, as demonstrated by the *p*-values in Table 2 (cells with a *p*-value < 0.05 are highlighted in grey).

	<b>Mar</b>	<b>Zogr</b>	<b>As</b>	<b>Sav</b>	<b>PSin</b>	<b>Supr</b>	<b>Cloz</b>	<b>Euch</b>	<b>Sav1</b>
<b>Zogr</b>	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
<b>As</b>	1	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
<b>Sav</b>	2.4e-05	0.00089	0.00041	-	-	-	-	-	-
<b>PSin</b>	1	1	1	0.34330	-	-	-	-	-
<b>Supr</b>	<2e-16	<2e-16	<2e-16	1.9e-08	5.3e-13	-	-	-	-
<b>Cloz</b>	1	1	1	1	1	0.01789	-	-	-
<b>Euch</b>	1	1	1	0.03161	1	2.6e-16	1	-	-
<b>Sav1</b>	4.8e-14	3.1e-12	1.9e-12	0.00013	7.0e-08	1	0.00820	1.6e-09	-
<b>Sav2</b>	1	1	1	0.10988	1	7.2e-16	1	1	7.8e-09

Table 2 – *p*-values of a pairwise Fisher test (with Holm's correction) on data from Table 1

<sup>24</sup> Sav1 has 17x *ego* and 20x *i*, while Sav2 has 5x *ego* and 152x *i*.



A cluster analysis using Euclidean distance was conducted to explore the relationships among the various manuscripts based on the use of the GA forms of the anaphoric pronoun. The analysis utilized a hierarchical clustering method, and the results are visually represented in the dendrogram shown in Figure 1.

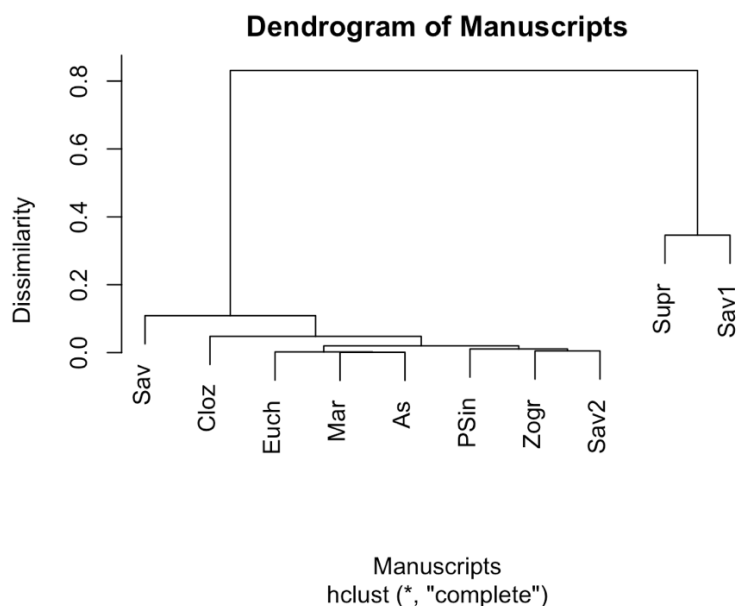


Figure 1 – Dendrogram of manuscripts based on the GA forms

The dendrogram illustrates the hierarchical relationships and distances between the manuscripts based on their use of GA forms. As expected, most of the manuscripts cluster together, indicating similar patterns in their GA usage. In contrast, Supr and Sav1 appear more distinct, suggesting differing approaches to the use of GA forms<sup>25</sup>.

Following the cluster analysis and interpretation of the quantitative results, the individual data points will be further analyzed. In two instances, Sav has the pronoun *ego* alongside all the manuscripts that contain these pericopes: Mt 26.25 *ijuda prědajęi ego*<sup>26</sup> ‘Judas, who was betraying Him’ (Mar, Zogr, As, and Sav 96v5; see also Alekseev et al. 2005: 143) and Mt 27.3 *ijuda prědavyi ego* ‘Judas, who had betrayed Him.’ (Mar, Zogr, As 107a7<sup>27</sup>, and Sav

<sup>25</sup> The relatively high dissimilarity between Supr and Sav1 can be attributed to the fact that Supr is a composite manuscript, containing texts that exclusively use the GA forms (such as nos. 29, 30, and 31) and others that exclusively use the accusative *i* (e.g., nos. 27, 38, and 39).

<sup>26</sup> Mar and Zogr have *prědajęi ego* also in Mk 14.44 (see also Vakareliyska 2008, I: 285 for Bn, C, and Vk). As and Sav do not include the pericope.

<sup>27</sup> In the Passion Gospel, As omits *prědavyi ego*, along with other manuscripts (see Alekseev et al. 2005: 150).

117v2<sup>28</sup>)<sup>29</sup>. These instances are very archaic, if not original, considering the agreement of all the manuscripts.

In Mt 4.8 and Mt 4.11, Zogr is the only manuscript (see Alekseev et al. 2005: 29) that contains a GA form *ego*. In contrast, Sav (146r13, 149r20), along with As and all other manuscripts with these pericopes, uses the accusative form *i*. Similarly, in Jn 12.17, Mar and Zogr exhibit the GA *ego*, whereas As and Sav (88r13), along with other manuscripts (see Alekseev et al. 1998: 57), employ the accusative *i*. Mar and Zogr, along with C, also present a GA in Lk 8.16 (As uses *i*), whereas Sav (53v8), along with P (Vakareliyska 2008, I: 371) and Mir (Rodić and Jovanović 1986: 160), omits the pronoun. In Lk 7.42, Sav, together with P (Vakareliyska 2008, I: 365), omits a pronoun while Mar and Zogr use an accusative and As, along with Mir (Rodić and Jovanović 1986: 150), a GA.

Moreover, Mar exhibits a GA in Mk 16.14 (As uses *i*; Zogr and Sav do not include this reading) and in Lk 9.45 (Zogr uses *i*; As and Sav do not include this reading). On the other hand, Zogr has a GA in Mt 3.15 (As uses *i*; Mar and Sav do not include this reading) and in Jn 6.44 (Mar and As use *i*; Sav does not include this reading).

Overall, there are seventeen instances in which Sav has a GA form of the anaphoric pronoun, against the accusative form found in Mar, Zogr, and As; these instances must therefore be excluded from the first linguistic layer. To ascribe them to the fourth layer (innovations attested only in Sav), one must ensure that they are absent from Vk (otherwise, they would belong to the second layer) and from later manuscripts (otherwise, they would be part of the third layer). The relevant data are presented below, arranged according to Sav's foliation:

- (1) f. 25v13 Jn 14.21 *i azb vbzljublq ego* 'and I will love him' ~ Gk. καὶ ἐγὼ ἀγαπήσω αὐτόν

According to Alekseev et al. (1998: 68), the GA is also present in the Passion Gospel of some manuscripts from the second redaction (Ar, Gf, Ju, Ov) and the late redaction (Ath<sub>2</sub>, OB). While Sav has the GA in the sixth Saturday after Easter, it employs an accusative form in the corresponding Passion Gospel reading (Sav 103r19 *i azb vbzljublq i*). Notably, Vk (24v25a) has the accusative here.

- (2) f. 34v3 Mt 7.24 *upodoblq ego mqževi mqdru* 'I compare him to a wise man' ~ Gk. ὁμοιώσω αὐτὸν ἀνδρὶ φρονίμῳ

Only the late redaction (Cd, Ath<sub>2</sub>, OB) contains the GA here (Alekseev et al. 2005: 44). The form *mqževi* instead of *mqžjq* is not found elsewhere.

<sup>28</sup> Sav has *ijuda předavy ego* with the short form of the participle, but this might be an error of the copyist, since the first line finishes namely with *ředavy*. Even if the change was deliberate, in Lk 7.39 Mar, Zogr and As have the form *ego* after a short past active participle (*farisěi vbzvavy ego* 'the Pharisee who had invited Him'; As *zvavy ego*; Sav does not include the pericope).

<sup>29</sup> In these instances with a substantivized participle functioning as a noun (cf. Cejtlin et al. 1994: 536-537) the form *ego* is ambiguous, as it can be interpreted either as a form of GA or as a genitive governed by the noun. A similar case is found in Lk 23.49, where As attests *znaemii emu* 'those who were known to him' (cf. Jn 18.15 and 18.16, where Zogr, As and Sav have *bě znaem̃ arxiereovi* [As *arxiereu*] 'was known to the high priest'), whereas Mar and Zogr feature the genitive form *ego* (*znaemii ego* 'his acquaintances'). If *znaemii* is considered an adjective (as per Večerka 1993: 198), then the dative *emu* in As should be interpreted as an instance of adnominal dative. Supporting the interpretation of *ego* after a substantivized participle as a form of genitive, the four occurrences in *Psalterium Sinaiticum* listed in Table 1 belong to this category: Ps 36,22 *°blštii ego* 'those that bless him', *kl̃nqštei že ego* 'those that curse him'; Ps 144,20 *ljubjēštjē ego* '[all] who love him'; Ps 149,2 *o s̃b[tv]or̃šiĩ ego* '[in him] that made him'.

- (3) f. 37r1 Mt 8.5 *molę ego* ‘imploring him’ ~ Gk. παρακαλῶν αὐτόν

Only the late redaction (Cd, the two Athonite texts, and OB) exhibits the GA here (Alekseev et al. 2005: 46).

- (4) f. 38r14 Mt 8.31 *běsi že ego molěxq °glqšte* ‘the demons implored him saying’ ~ Gk. οἱ δὲ δαίμονες παρεκάλουν αὐτὸν λέγοντες

According to Alekseev et al. (2005: 49), only Ath<sub>2</sub> and OB have a GA, though it is postposed to the verb (*molěxq ego*); Kr uses an accusative form preposed to the imperfect (*i molěaše*).

- (5) f. 38v3 Mt 8.34 *i viděnbše ego moliše* ‘and when they saw him, they implored him’ ~ Gk. καὶ ἰδόντες αὐτὸν παρεκάλεσαν

Only the late redaction (Cd, Th, Ath<sub>2</sub>, and OB) contains the GA (Alekseev et al. 2005: 49).

- (6) f. 42v8 Mt 14.22 *i variti ego na onb polb morě* ‘[he made the disciples get into the boat] and precede him to the other side of the sea’ ~ Gk. καὶ προάγειν αὐτὸν εἰς τὸ πέραν

According to Alekseev et al. (2005: 81), only the late redaction (Cd, Pg, Ath<sub>2</sub>, and OB) features the GA. Mt 14.22 also serves as the explicit of the reading for the 8th Sunday after Pentecost (Sav 42r1-3), where Sav omits the pronoun alongside Mir, Kr, Or and other manuscripts from the other redactions (Ar, Bn, Dl, Gf, Th, TL, Vk, and Vl; Alekseev et al. 2005: 81; cf. also Vakareliyska 2008, I: 61).

- (7) f. 43r8 Mt 14.31 *°is že prostǔrb rǫkq ętb ego* ‘and Jesus stretched out his hand and took hold of him’ ~ Gk. εὐθέως δὲ ὁ Ἰησοῦς ἐκτείνας τὴν χεῖρα ἐπελάβετο αὐτοῦ

Only Ath<sub>2</sub> and OB have the GA (Alekseev et al. 2005: 81); Or omits the pronoun alongside C (Vakareliyska 2008, I: 62).

- (8) f. 44r7 Mt 17.16 *i privedoxb ego kb učēnikom̃ tvoim̃* ‘and I brought him to your disciples’ ~ Gk. καὶ προσήνεγκα αὐτὸν τοῖς μαθηταῖς σου

While the form *privedoxb* instead of *privěsb* attested in Mar appears in many manuscripts, the GA of the anaphoric pronoun is found only in the Athonite text (both redactions) and in OB (Alekseev et al. 2005: 93). The pronoun is omitted in Bn, C, D, P and Th (Alekseev et al. 2005: 93; Vakareliyska 2008, I: 81).

- (9) f. 44v8 Mt 17.23 *i ubijǫtb ego* ‘and they will kill him’ ~ Gk. καὶ ἀποκτενοῦσιν αὐτόν

The GA is used in Ath<sub>2</sub> and OB (Alekseev et al. 2005: 94).

- (10) f. 45v16 Mt 18.28 *i im̃ · ego bijaše* ‘and having laid hold, he beat him up’ ~ Gk. καὶ κρατήσας αὐτὸν ἔπνιγεν

The GA is also present in the late redaction (Cd, Pg, Th, Ath<sub>2</sub>, OB; Alekseev et al. 2005: 100). Sav is the only manuscript to use *bijaše* ‘he beat up’ instead of *davlěše* ‘he choked’ (Bn has *zadavlěše*).

- (11) f. 48r9 Mt 22.22 *i ostavlъše ego · otidъ* ‘and having left him, they went away’ ~ Gk. καὶ ἀφέντες αὐτὸν ἀπῆλθον

According to Alekseev et al. (2005: 119), *ego* is found in Pg, Ath<sub>2</sub> and OB. It is also present in the matutine service of D1, Gf and Or, while the pronoun is omitted in the synaxarion of Ju. These manuscripts, along with others, also feature the second sigmatic aorist form *otidoše* instead of the older *otidъ*.

- (12) f. 48v10 Mt 21.39 *i ubiše ego* ‘and they killed him’ ~ Gk. καὶ ἀπέκτειναν

Sav is the only manuscript that contains the GA *ego*. The pronoun is omitted in Bn, Cd, Kr, Lc, OE, Pg, Ath<sub>1</sub>, and Ath<sub>2</sub> and OB (Alekseev et al. 2005: 115).

- (13) f. 49r9 Mt 22.35 *iskušaę ego* ‘testing him’ ~ Gk. πειράζων αὐτόν

The GA *ego* is present in the manuscripts of the late redaction (Cd, Pg, Ath<sub>1</sub>, Ath<sub>2</sub>, and OB) and in the matutine service of a group of manuscripts from the second redaction (Gf, Ju, Uv, D1; Alekseev et al. 2005: 120).

- (14) f. 49v2 Mt 22.43 *kako ubo °dvdъ · °dxomъ °ga ego naricaetъ °glę* ‘how then does David by the Spirit call him Lord, saying’ ~ Gk. πῶς οὖν Δαυὶδ ἐν πνεύματι κύριον αὐτὸν καλεῖ λέγων

According to Alekseev et al. (2005: 121), the reading of Sav is also found in the late redaction (Ath<sub>1</sub>, Ath<sub>2</sub>, OB. However, Cd and Pg have *°ga ego zovetъ*), in the matutine service of Gf and in the synaxarion part of the Ostromir Gospel (15th Sunday after Pentecost; 82v18b). The agreement of Sav and OE may suggest that the innovation originated from a possible common source of the manuscripts. However, in this case one, would expect to find the same reading also in other manuscripts. Additionally, Sav and OE do not share other significant innovations in this reading, suggesting that the GA is likely an independent innovation in both codices. Kr, along with Mir, omits the pronoun.

- (15) f. 49v7 Mt 22.45 *ašte ubo °dxomъ naricaetъ ego °ga* ‘if then by the Spirit calls him Lord’ ~ Gk. εἰ οὖν Δαυὶδ καλεῖ αὐτὸν κύριον<sup>30</sup>

Sav is the only manuscript to omit *°dvdъ*, while OE, along with Cd, Gf (in the matutine service), Kr, Pg, Th, Ath<sub>1</sub>, Ath<sub>2</sub>, and OB omits *°dxomъ*. The GA *ego* is present also in Ath<sub>2</sub> and OB. In the matutine service, Gf has *naričetъ ego °ga*, while Pg has *zovetъ ego °ga*. Many manuscripts omit the pronoun (Alekseev et al. 2005: 121).

- (16) f. 50r1 Lk 5.18 *i iskaхъ vъnesti ego* ‘and they were trying to bring him in’ ~ Gk. καὶ ἐζήτουν αὐτὸν εἰσενεγκεῖν

According to Vakareliyska (2008, I: 343), Sav is the only manuscript with the GA *ego*. C, Vk, Vr, and D omit the pronoun, as does the Serbian Mir ‘family’ (Rodić and Jovanović 1986: 144). The GA is also found in OB and in Kr (68r7 *iskaахъ ego vъnesti*), though in the latter the pronoun is preposed to the infinitive, as in Greek, indicating it may be an independent innovation.

<sup>30</sup> D and other manuscripts add ἐν πνεύματι (NA<sub>28</sub>: 75).

- (17) f. 56r10 Lk 8.30 *vъprosi že ego °is* ‘and Jesus asked him’ ~ Gk. ἐπηρώτησεν δὲ αὐτὸν ὁ Ἰησοῦς

According to Vakareliyska (2008, I: 373), Sav is the only manuscript with the GA *ego*. C, Vk and Vr omit the pronoun along with the Serbian Mir ‘family’ (Rodić and Jovanović 1986: 166) and Kr (77r28). The GA is also present in OB.

In most instances, the GA is further attested exclusively by later testimonies, specifically the Čudovskij New Testament, the Athonite text and the Commented Gospel, all codices from the 15th century, that belong to Voskresenskij’s third and fourth redaction (see Voskresenskij 1896 and Alekseev et al. 1998: 40). Notably, there are three instances where the GA is also present in manuscripts from the so-called Preslav redaction (Voskresenskij’s second redaction). These instances occur in the Gospel of Passion (Jn 14.21) and in the matins (Mt 22.22, Mt 22.35), rather than in the Easter and Pentecost cycles as seen in Sav. Consequently, these should be considered as independent innovations. The GA in Mt 22.43 is also attested in the reading for the 15th Sunday after Pentecost in the Ostromir Gospel (82v18b). However, dating the GA back to a common source shared by Sav and OE is problematic, and, thus, also this instance should be considered an independent innovation. Similarly, the occurrence of the GA in Kr in Lk 5.18 (ex. 16) likely constitutes an independent innovation, as the differing word order between Sav and Kr suggests.

There are also four instances of the GA in the plural (*ixъ*), the one in Lk 6.32 (Sav 50v10 *ljubęšteę ixъ* ‘those who love them’) being archaic, considering that it is attested also in Mar, OE, Vk, Bn and H (Vakareliyska 2008, I: 353), as well as in the Mir family (Rodić and Jovanović 1986: 145). Some manuscripts, including Zogr, As, Vr, and K, omit the pronoun altogether, possibly to avoid the sequence *\*ljubęšteę ję* (Weiss 2015: 131, n. 49). The other three cases are as follows:

- (18) f. 26v5 Jn 17.11 *sъbljudi ixъ* ‘protect them’ ~ Gk. τήρησον αὐτούς

On f. 109v15 Sav features the accusative form of the pronoun (*sъblju ę*; *sъblju* appears to be a material error by the copyist, intended to be *sъbljudi*, which is found throughout the tradition). The GA is only present in the late redaction (Ath<sub>1</sub>, Ath<sub>2</sub>, and OB; Alekseev et al. 1998: 78). It is noteworthy that Vk (27r2a) uses the accusative here.

- (19) f. 34v18 Mt 22.41 *vъprosi ixъ °is* ‘Jesus asked them’ ~ Gk. ἐπηρώτησεν αὐτούς ὁ Ἰησοῦς

The GA appears only in the late redaction (Th, Ath<sub>2</sub>, OB). The pronoun is omitted in Bn, Vr (Vakareliyska 2008, I: 121), and in the matin readings of Gf and Or (Alekseev et al. 2005: 121).

- (20) f. 49r18 Mt 7.29 *bě bo učę ixъ* ‘for he was teaching them’ ~ Gk. ἦν γὰρ διδάσκων αὐτούς

The pronoun is absent in Mar, Zogr and the Mir family (Rodić and Jovanović 1986: 74), as well as in many other manuscripts (*bě bo učę*). The accusative form *ję* is added in As, Ar, Gl, Ju, Kr, Lc, OE, Or, Tp and Tr. However, significantly, only Sav and the manuscripts from the late redaction (Cd, Pg, Th, TL, Ath<sub>1</sub>, Ath<sub>2</sub>, OB) have the GA *ixъ* (Alekseev et al. 2005: 45).

The occurrence of the GA of the anaphoric pronoun does not appear to be influenced by the semantic or morphosyntactic context. The antecedents are predominantly animated, with the possible exception of Lk 8.30, where the antecedent is *°dxu nečistomu* ‘impure spirit’, which typically does not trigger the GA. The GA form can be used irrespective of the case of its antecedent, which can be in the nominative (e.g., Mt 7.24 *iže slyšitъ mi slovesa i tvoritъ ja* ‘everyone who hears my words and does them’; Mt 17.23 *°snъ °člsky* ‘the Son of Man’; Mt 22.27 *°is* ‘Jesus’), in the dative (e.g., Mt 8.34 *°isu* ‘Jesus’; Mt 22.36 *kъ °isu* ‘to Jesus’), in the GA (e.g., Mt 17.16 *°sna moego* ‘my son’; Mt 21.39 *°sna ego* ‘his son’) or in the locative (Mt 22.43 *o °xě* ‘about the Christ’). These forms primarily appear in main clauses and seem to exist in free variation with the accusative forms (*i*, *jě*). For example, in Mt 18.15 the antecedent of *i* is *bratъ tvoi* ‘your brother’; in Mt 8.21 the antecedent of *i* is *°is* ‘Jesus’; in Mt 18.27 the antecedent of *i* is the GA *raba togo* ‘your servant’<sup>31</sup>. This phenomenon is particularly evident when both the accusative *i* and the GA *ego* are found in the same verse, as in Mt 21.39 (*i imъše i izvedošę iz vinograda i ubišę ego* ‘and having taken him, they took him out of the vineyard and killed him’), where both pronouns (the accusative *i* in *imъše i* and the GA *ego* in *ubišę ego*) refer to *°sna ego* ‘his son’ from Mt 21.38.

Thus, these instances of GA of the anaphoric pronoun are a distinctive feature of Sav. They do not appear in the manuscripts containing the old texts or in those from the second redaction. During the thorough revision of the Gospel text that led to the late redaction, accusative forms were replaced by GAs. This substitution appears to be entirely independent of the text of Sav, as evidenced by the numerous instances where Sav retains an accusative form while the Athonite text has a GA form (e.g., Mt 8.28, Mt 9.31, Jn 7.44, Jn 14.17, etc.).

Although one must be cautious in attributing the peculiarities of a text to its copyist (cf. Kul’bakin 1930), it seems plausible to trace the introduction of GA forms directly back to *pop* Sava. These GA forms are attested between folios 25v and 56r, but notably absent in the remainder of the manuscript (aside from instances that must be considered archaic, as they are also found in Mar, Zogr and As). Thus, it does not seem to be coincidental that precisely on the folio where the last innovative occurrence of GA (f. 56r) is found, we have the footnote by *pop* Sava, in which he invokes the Lord’s help (*pomozi °gi rabu tvoemu savi*). If this is correct, it could indicate that *pop* Sava himself played a role in editing the text of the first part of Sav, up to f. 56r. It is possible that his intent was to correct the text up to f. 51r, where the note *po<sup>p</sup> sava ψαλς* is found, but that he also made amendments in subsequent folios, perhaps because of the uncommon text of his antigraph. At this point, *pop* Sava must have ceased to intervene directly in the text and began to merely copy from his antigraph.

One might consider antedating the introduction of the GA to an antigraph of Sav. However, while not theoretically impossible, this hypothesis ultimately seems unhelpful. The presence of innovative GA forms not only in the Easter and Pentecost cycles but also extending to the sixth Sunday of the New Year cycle<sup>32</sup> makes it unlikely that at an earlier stage of composition some copyist deliberately introduced this innovative feature only up to the sixth Sunday of the New Year cycle. Additionally, the fact that, in the readings shared with Sav, Vk has the accusative form (examples 1 and 18), suggests a later

<sup>31</sup> There are twenty occurrences of the accusative *i* between ff. 25r and 56r, and only in three cases does it refer to nouns that usually do not take the GA (Jn 14.17 *°dxъ istinъnъ* ‘the Spirit of truth’; Mt 8.7 *otrokъ moi* ‘my servant’; Mt 21.33 *vinogradъ* ‘vineyard’).

<sup>32</sup> The scarcity of occurrences of GA in the first five weeks of the New Year cycle might be due to the significant loss of text between ff. 49 and 51.

introduction of the GA<sup>33</sup>. Accepting this assumption would require positing yet another stage of composition – subsequent to the third stage of composition, with the reworking of the text also found in Vk – whose sole justification would be the testimony provided by Sav itself. However, this would not alter the conclusion that these innovations found exclusively in Sav should be attributed to a late editorial phase of the manuscript, possibly very close to its final redaction<sup>34</sup>.

Also the idea that *pop* Sava conflated two different manuscripts can reasonably be ruled out. The features attributed to the second linguistic layer – shared by Sav and Vk, such as the replacement of *vb* *vasb* with *sb* *vami* (cf. *supra*) – are also found beyond folio 56r (e.g., *sb vami* in Mk 9.19; Sav 80v5). Thus, one would have to assume that both of *pop* Sava's source manuscripts belonged to the third stage of composition – meaning that both contained the text also found in Vk, including the innovations attributed to the second linguistic layer – while one of them had undergone an additional editorial process aimed at introducing the GA form of the anaphoric pronoun. According to this scenario, *pop* Sava would have copied from the first manuscript up to f. 56r before switching to the second manuscript. In this case as well, yet another stage of composition would need to be introduced, in which a copy of the antigraph common to Sav and Vk underwent further emendation. This would unnecessarily complicate the prehistory of Sav without any supporting evidence and without altering the central argument presented here, namely that these innovations should be regarded as very late.

In fact, if indeed *pop* Sava himself revised the text of Sav up to f. 56r, we could attribute to this last stage of composition those innovations of the fourth linguistic layer that occur exclusively up to this folio and for which we have positive evidence that they do not belong to the second layer (i.e., Vk must have at least one parallel reading, which must not contain the innovation). One feature attributable to this stage is the presence of GA *vasb* instead of the accusative *vy* in Mt 5.44 (Sav 32r12 *klbnqštixb vasb* 'those who persecute you'; Mar et al. *klbnqštejē vy* 'id.'; Alekseev et al. 2005: 36), Mt 5.46 (Sav 32v1 *ljubeštixb vasb* 'those who love you'; Mar et al. *ljubeštejē vy* 'id.'; Alekseev et al. 2005: 36), Mt 7.6 (Sav 33v16 *poperqtb vasb* 'they will trample you'; Mar et al. *rastrēgnqtb vy* 'they will tear you apart'; Alekseev et al. 2005: 42) and particularly in Jn 16.27 (Sav 28r17 *tb bo ljubitb vasb* 'for it is he who loves you'; Mar, Sav 108v4 et al. *samb bo otecē ljubitb vy* 'for the father himself loves you'; Alekseev et al. 1998: 76), where Vk (26v2b) agrees with Mar in retaining the accusative *vy*<sup>35</sup>.

<sup>33</sup> There is only one occurrence of the GA *ego* in the readings from Easter to the first Monday after Pentecost in Vk, namely in the sixth Tuesday after Easter (Jn 12.26 Vk 22v11a *počbtetb ego °ocb* 'the father will honour him'): in this passage the GA is present also in C, D and Bn (Vakareliyska 2008, I: 623), in IA and in the Menology of Kr, together with Ath<sub>2</sub> and OB (Alekseev et al. 1998: 59). The distribution of this innovation is problematic since one would not expect an agreement between Vk and the western Bulgarian liturgical tetraevangelia (Bn, C, D). Perhaps, the presence of the GA instead of the accusative *i* might be motivated as an independent innovation inserted to prevent the confusion between the accusative form and the adverb *i* ('also the Father'). Unfortunately, we do not have this reading in Sav, but the same verse in the Menology has the accusative form (Sav 128v10-11). The form *poslavbšaego* in Jn 7.18 (Vk 15r2a) is better interpreted as a corruption of the original *poslavbšaago* (Vakareliyska 2008, I: 575) rather than a sequence of *poslavbša* and the GA *ego*, as proposed by Alekseev et al. (1998: 33).

<sup>34</sup> Moreover, this hypothesis would reduce to mere coincidence (which, admittedly, remains a possibility) the fact that these innovations cease precisely where a note by *pop* Sava appears.

<sup>35</sup> Other manuscripts agree with Sav in having the GA *vasb* in Jn 16.2 (Alekseev et al. 1998: 73) and Mt 10.40 (Alekseev et al. 2005: 59): these cases probably belong to the third linguistic layer. On the other hand, the occurrence of *vasb* in Jn 15.20 (Alekseev et al. 1998: 72) must be old, since Mar and Zogr also have it.

## 6. The adnominal dative of personal and reflexive pronouns

Adnominal dative traditionally refers to a dative used as an attribute of a noun, expressing possession or belonging (this is why Vaillant 1977: 87-89 speaks of *possessive dative*), and is thus in competition with the corresponding genitive forms or possessive adjectives. The use of adnominal dative with nouns and the anaphoric pronoun is well-documented across all canonical texts (Minčeva 1964; Krapova and Dimitrova 2015)<sup>36</sup>: the competing forms of the anaphoric pronoun in such cases are, as for nouns, the genitive forms (*ego*, *eje*, *ixъ*). In contrast, the forms *mi*, *ti* and *si* compete with possessive adjectives and thus do not fall within the dative-genitive opposition that characterizes nouns and the anaphoric pronoun. Their use in this possessive function is limited primarily to Supr, to the first part of Sav and to specific sections of Euch (van Wijk 1926). This suggests that their development may be a distinctive feature of Eastern Bulgarian. Conversely, their usage remains occasional in most canonical texts, as indicated in Table 3.

	Mar	Zogr	As	Sav	PSin	Supr	Cloz	Euch
<i>mi</i>	2	2	3	7	1	21	-	3
<i>ti</i>	1	-	1	-	-	12	-	8
<i>si</i>	1	1	3	4	1	35	-	7
<b>Tot</b>	4	3	7	11	2	68	-	18

Table 3 – Occurrences of the adnominal dative of *mi*, *ti*, *si* in OCS canonical texts.

Three out of four instances in Mar must be considered very old, as they appear in almost every manuscript: in Mt 20.15 *въ svoixъ mi* ‘in my own, with what is mine’ ~ Gk. ἐν τοῖς ἐμοῖς according to Alekseev et al. (2005: 107) only D1 omits the pronoun, while Cd and Pg render the Greek expression as *въ moixъ* ‘id.’; Sav does not include this reading. In Jn 19.27 *въ svoě si* ‘to his own [home]’ ~ Gk. εἰς τὰ ἴδια according to Alekseev et al. (1998: 89) *si* is omitted only in Cd, Ju, OE, Pg and Th. This reading is present three times in As and appears twice in Sav (130v3 and 151v13). In Lk 11.6 the phrase *drugъ mi* ‘my friend’ ~ Gk. φίλος μου features the form *mi* in Mar, Zogr, As, Sav (68v18) and OE; the pronoun is omitted in Ar (71r15-16 *ibo drugъ pride sъ puti kъ mъně* ‘for a friend has come to me from a journey’) and substituted by *moi* in D, Bn and C (Vakareliyska 2008, I: 401).

The occurrence of *ti* in Mar and As in Jn 4.51 (*ěko °snъ ti živъ estъ* ‘for your son is alive’ ~ Gk. ὅτι ὁ παῖς σου ζῇ) must be regarded as an innovation specific to these two codices, since Zogr has the possessive adjective *tvoi*, alongside most testimonies in Alekseev et al. (1998: 19), Vakareliyska (2008, I: 551) and Rodić and Jovanović (1986: 33). Unfortunately, Sav does not include this reading.

<sup>36</sup> A search on the Universal Dependencies treebank of OCS gives the following figures for nouns in dative modifying other nouns: PSin 105x, Mar 99x, Supr 413x. For the dative of the anaphoric pronoun (singular, dual and plural) modifying a noun, I calculated the following figures: PSin 23x, Mar 21x, and Supr 123x. See also *supra*, Večerka (1963: 200) and Novikova (1979) for the variant readings in Mar, Zogr, As, and Sav.



In Jn 15.8, As and Sav (105r4) have *mi* against *moi* found in Mar, Zogr, C, Mst, Mir and many others<sup>37</sup>: As, Sav 105r4 *i bōdete mi učenicī* ‘and you will be my disciples/and you will be disciples for me’; Mar et al. *i bōdete moi učenicī* ‘and you will be my disciples’ ~ Gk. καὶ γενήσεσθε ἐμοὶ μαθηταί. While Horálek (1954: 138) classifies this as a case of adnominal dative, Mrazek (1963: 247) argues that the presence of the verb *byti* and the correlation with a Greek dative, rather than a genitive, warrants its consideration as a separate case, comparable to Ps 9,35 *siru ty bōdi pomoštʹnikъ* ‘for the orphan you will be a helper’ ~ Gk. ὀρφανῷ σὺ ἤσθα βοηθός or Euch 72v5 *bōdi mi pomoštʹnikъ* ‘be a helper for me’. Thus, it might be viewed as an archaic trait preserved in As and Sav. However, a significant issue arises with this interpretation, as OCS never translates a long form (ἐμοί) in Greek with a short form (*mi*). This could indicate that the Greek text associated with the translation found in As and Sav contained a short form of the pronoun<sup>38</sup>. Subsequent redactions, confronted with a Greek text that, as in most cases, presented a long form of the pronoun, rendered the Greek ἐμοί with a possessive adjective (*moi*), as seen also in Jn 13.35.

In addition to these instances, Sav includes five more occurrences of the adnominal dative of the first-person singular pronoun *mi* (Mt 7.24, Mt 7.26, Mt 8.6, Mt 8.8, Mt 18.10) and three occurrences of the reflexive pronoun *si* (Mt 5.43, Mt 9.18, Gv 17.1), which do not have parallels in other texts:

- (21) f. 31r9 Mt 18.10 *lice °ocju mi °nbskumu* ‘the face of my heavenly father’ ~ Gk. τὸ πρόσωπον τοῦ πατρὸς μου τοῦ ἐν οὐρανοῖς

Sav is the only manuscript to feature the adnominal dative for both the noun and the pronoun. Most manuscripts have a translation similar to that of Mar has *lice oťca moego °nbskaago* (but Ar, OE and others have *°nbsnaago*), while As and a few others have a relative clause: *lice °oca moego iže estъ na °nbsexъ* (Alekseev et al. 2005: 97; see also Vakareliyska 2008, I: 87). Ščepkin (1903: 8, n. 1) notes that the superscripted *-mu* in *°nbskumu* may be by a later hand.

- (22) f. 34v2 Mt 7.24 *vsakъ iže slyšitъ mi slovesa* ‘everyone who hears my words’ ~ Gk. Πᾶς οὖν ὅστις ἀκούει μου τοὺς λόγους τούτους

Mar, Zogr, As and others have *vsěkъ ubo iže slyšitъ slovesa moě si* ‘everyone who hears these words of mine’. According to Alekseev et al. (2005: 44) and Vakareliyska (2008, I: 11), Sav is the only manuscript to use the adnominal dative *mi*. Mir omits *moě*, while Bn and C omit *si*, and Or has *si moě*.

- (23) f. 34v9 Mt 7.26 *vsakъ slyšeti mi slovesa si* ‘everyone hearing these words of mine’ ~ Gk. πᾶς ὁ ἀκούων μου τοὺς λόγους τούτους

As in Mt 7.24, Sav is the only manuscript to use the adnominal dative here.

- (24) 37r2 Mt 8.6 *otrokъ mi* ‘my servant’ ~ Gk. ὁ παῖς μου

<sup>37</sup> According to Alekseev et al. (1998: 71), only IA and Ath<sub>1</sub> have *mi*; Pg has *mbně*.

<sup>38</sup> According to Nestle-Aland (NA<sub>28</sub>: 354), L 33 has the short form μοι, while the papyrus 66 and D have the genitive form μου.

According to Alekseev et al. (2005: 46) and to Vakareliyska (2008, I: 13), Sav is the only manuscript that uses an adnominal dative instead of the possessive adjective (Mar et al. *otrokъ moi*). In Mt 8.8 (Sav 37r8-9), the same phrase is translated as *sluga moi* (*sluga* is found only in Sav).

- (25) 37r7 Mt 8.8 *něsmъ dostoinъ da mi podъ krovъ vъnideši* ‘I am not worthy to have you come under my roof’ ~ Gk. οὐκ εἰμι ἱκανὸς ἵνα μου ὑπὸ τὴν στέγην εἰσέλθῃς

Sav adheres closely to the Greek text, translating the genitive pronoun μου with the dative *mi*. At least three layers of translation can be distinguished: the oldest, reflected in Mar, Zogr and As (*vъ domъ moi* ‘into my house’) is found also in part of the subsequent tradition. A second layer, closer to the Greek, appears in the Curzon Gospel and in the Miroslav family (*podъ krovъ moi* ‘under my roof’; cf. Vakareliyska 2008, I: 13; Rodić and Jovanović 1986: 81-82). The final layer is seen in Sav (*mi podъ krovъ* ‘id.’), with this variant additionally found only in the later Karpino Gospel of the end of the 13th century (Alekseev et al. 2005: 46). It should be noted that a similar reading, with lexical variation of the verb, occurs in Supr 154v2-3 *něsmъ dostoinъ da mi podъ krovъ vъlězeši* ‘I am not worthy to have you enter under my roof’ ~ Gk. Οὐκ εἰμι ἄξιος ἵνα μου ὑπὸ τὴν στέγην εἰσέλθῃς.

Sav is the only Gospel manuscript to contain instances of the adnominal dative of the reflexive pronoun (aside from *vъ svoě si* in Jn 19.27, cf. *supra*):

- (26) 25v17 Jn 17.1 *proslavi si °sna* ‘glorify your son’ ~ Gk. δόξασόν σου τὸν υἱόν

According to Alekseev et al. (1998: 77), Sav is the only manuscript to use the adnominal dative *si* here. Almost all other manuscripts, including the oldest Mar, Zogr, As, and the reading in the first Passion Gospel in Sav (109r6), use *proslavi °sna svoego* with the GA for both the noun and the possessive adjective. The accusative *°snъ svoi/tvoi* appears as a sporadic innovation (OE, DL, Gr). Notably, in the seventh Sunday after Easter reading, Vk (24v6b) also uses the possessive adjective *proslavi °sna svoego*.

- (27) 32r10 Mt 5.43 *vъzljubiši bližъnjago si* ‘love your closest [neighbour]’ ~ Gk. ἀγαπήσεις τὸν πλησίον σου

According to Alekseev et al. (2005: 36), only Sav uses the adnominal dative here, while all other manuscripts employ *svoego* (Ath<sub>2</sub> and OB have *tvoego*). Variations occur in the translation of Gk. τὸν πλησίον: Mar et al. have *iskrъněgo* ‘neighbour’, Zogr is unique in having *podruga* ‘fellow’, while *bližъnjago* is found in OE, Ar, and other manuscripts from the second redaction.

- (28) 38v10 Mt 9.18 *vъzloži na nъ rъkъ si* ‘put on her your hand’ ~ Gk. ἐπίθεες τὴν χεῖρά σου ἐπ’ αὐτήν

Sav is the only manuscript with the adnominal dative. Most other manuscripts, including Mar and As (Zogr lacks this text), read *vъzloži na nъ rъkъ tvojo* with the possessive adjective *tvojo*. The Curzon Gospel has *na ně ręcě*, without the possessive adjective (Vakareliyska 2008, I: 19), while P (*ibid.*), Fl, Ath<sub>2</sub> and OB (Alekseev et al. 2005: 52) use *svojo*.

As evident from this data, the occurrences of the adnominal dative, though sporadic, are a distinctive feature of Sav's text. All examples appear in the manuscript's first folios and result from deliberate editorial intervention: in many cases the pronoun is preposed, while the possessive adjective was instead postposed, suggesting a conscious revision of the text. Furthermore, Vk lacks the adnominal dative in the reading shared with Sav (ex. 26). The occurrences, spanning folios 25v to 38v, appear in the cycle after Easter, as well as in the one after Pentecost, and in all likelihood are to be attributed to the scribe himself, working in the spirit of greater adherence to the Greek text and modernization of the translation.

## 7. Concluding remarks

The complex textual background of Sav allows for the identification of distinct linguistic layers within the manuscript. The first layer consists of elements that must be regarded as archaic – either *original* or at least early innovations – since they are shared by Sav and the oldest Gospel manuscripts (Mar, Zogr, As). Scholars of the 20th century have conducted detailed analyses of this layer, focusing on distinguishing archaisms from innovations in an effort to uncover traces of the original Cyrillo-Methodian translation (Horálek 1948 and 1954; Sławski 1963 and 1978; Moszyński 1968). While much of their work concentrated on lexical features, Pogorelov (1927), Horálek (1948) and Novikova (1967, 1968, 1979) also explored the morphosyntactic idiosyncrasies of Sav.

In the introductory study for the edition of the Vukan Gospel, Vrana (1967) demonstrated that Vk was copied from two sources. The first part of Vk (the Easter cycle up to the first Monday after Pentecost) shows notable similarities with readings found in Sav. In comparing the parallel readings found in Sav (cf. also Vereščagin 1972), Dogramadžieva (1991) hypothesized that Sav's source was a relatively uncommon textual redaction, also shared by the first part of Vk. This redaction served as the basis for most of the manuscript, specifically from the Easter cycle up to the Holy Week cycle, while the Passion Gospel block was drawn from a more common redaction. The innovative features between folios 25r and 101r of Sav, which are also shared by the first part of Vk, can be attributed to this second layer.

A third linguistic layer may be identified by the introduction of lexical items associated with the so-called Preslav redaction. These innovations are mostly sporadic, and their relative chronology remains unclear. On the one hand, their presence throughout the text of Sav and the fact that some substitutions in Sav are not mirrored in Vk suggests a later correction of the text. On the other hand, their sporadic nature might indicate that these innovations were introduced piecemeal.

The fourth linguistic layer comprises unique features found only in Sav. Most of these seem to be isolated amendments, likely introduced through separate transcriptions, as noted by Dogramadžieva. However, at least two innovations – the GA of the anaphoric pronoun (and perhaps the GA *vasъ*) and the use of *mi* and *si* as adnominal datives – appear more systematically. These features occur exclusively between folios 25r and 56r and, importantly, are absent from the first part of Vk. This suggests that Sav underwent a second, deliberate modernization, albeit limited to the first folios. In this process, features already present in the oldest manuscripts were introduced with greater frequency, bringing Sav closer to Supr and certain parts of Euch.

Finally, it is worth noting that the last note of *pop* Sava appears on folio 56r, which also contains the last innovative occurrence of the GA *ego*. This suggests that *pop* Sava

may have played an active role in introducing these features into the text. Consequently, these innovations can likely be attributed to the final stage of Sav's composition.

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