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## ON THE ACCENT MARKS IN THE FIRST FREISING FRAGMENT\*

FREDERIK KORTLANDT

Nasal vowels are rarely indicated in the Freising Fragments (henceforth FF): the only instances are I 23 *vu'enfih*, II 19 *funt* (which I take to be the Latin orthography), 48 *mogoncka*, and 105 *vuerun*. As nasality was undoubtedly preserved when the FF were written down, this deficiency in the writing system requires an explanation.

Nasal vowels were not phonemically distinct from sequences of vowel plus tautosyllabic nasal before the loss of weak jers. It is therefore interesting to see how the latter were written in the FF. There are two instances of a tautosyllabic nasal which is *not* written as a nasal consonant, viz. I 6 *uzē vsēm* and II 69 *nikife nikymže*. This leads us to the hypothesis that the macron may have been the regular device for indicating nasal vowels in the original of the FF. When the FF were copied, the language had changed, perhaps by the loss of weak jers, as a result of which the device was no longer appropriate. This may explain the deficient orthography.

How did the copyist handle the nasality marks? In the case of the First FF, he apparently mixed them up with other supralinear signs. As the Second FF was probably read to the copyist, the marks were simply disregarded here, as they were in the Third FF.

The function of the accent marks in the First FF has largely been clarified by J. Schaecken, who has drawn attention to the Old High German usage of separating *uu* /w/ from a following vowel by an accent mark ' (1987: 348, fn. 5). His conclusions are the following:

- (1) The acute between the proclitic conjunction *i* and a following word and the acute between the sequences *vu*, *uv* and a following vowel are delimitation marks preventing misreadings.
- (2) The acute over *o*, *e*, and over *u*, *v* in a final syllable denotes a nasal vowel.

(3) The acute over *u*, *v* in an initial syllable denotes bilabial /w/ or may be a delimitation mark of initial *u*-, *v*-.

These rules clearly reflect the twofold origin of the accent marks. On the one hand, they represent the Old High German usage of the accent as a delimitation mark after *uu* /w/, which was perhaps generalized to some extent. On the other hand, they apparently reflect the use of the macron as a device for indicating nasal vowels. Interestingly, the slanting macron in I 6 *uzē* resembles some of the accent marks more than they resemble each other.

In order to evaluate the explanatory value of Schaecken's conclusions I have compared the actual occurrences of the accent marks in the facsimile (SAZU 1993) with their potential occurrences according to the rules given above. The result is presented below. On the left hand page I have indicated the number of the actual occurrences in accordance with Schaecken's list (1987: 350f.). On the right hand page I have indicated nasal vowels by a raised *n*, antevocalic and initial /w/ by a small circle, and initial morphemes *i*, *u*, *v* by an accent mark. The following decisions require some comment.

Schaecken considers the instances #15 *I<sup>h</sup>meti* and #18 *I<sup>h</sup>me ti* to be "offensichtliche Fehler" (1987: 348). Alternatively, I would propose that these forms can be read *I<sup>h</sup>jměti*, cf. I 7 *Itebe bofirabe*, 25 *Idabim nazem zuete*, 31 *Idabim uzliffal*. In the case of #37 *miloztívi* I agree with Schaecken that the original may have had *miloztiuv<sup>h</sup>i*, cf. #1. I also agree that the accent mark was shifted to the right hand side in #17, #42, #47, #50, #63, and #71, and I would maintain the same for #66 *tvo<sup>h</sup>i/mi*, cf. III 51 *tuouiu*, and also for #29, which seems to have been corrected to #28.

The remaining instances #14, #16, #34, #49, and #53 are less clear. These are indicated by an asterisk in my analysis. It is possible that #16 is a delimitation mark, as Schaecken suggests. I cannot subscribe to his idea that #49 *ácole* and #53 *národ* serve as the opposite of a delimitation mark. It seems possible to me that #49 indicates the nasal vowel of the preceding word *v<sup>h</sup>zel*, which may have been written on the same line in the original. Similarly, #53 may have the same origin as #52 *vu<sup>h</sup>iz*, cf. #29 and #28. Conversely, #14 *o<sup>h</sup>i* may belong to the following word *zuet*, cf. I 12 *zvet*, III 69 *zuu&*. I have no explanation for #34 *Tí*.

Comparing the actual and potential occurrences of the accent marks, we find that the ratio of marked nasal vowels is  $14/45 = 31\%$ , the ratio

of marked /w/ is  $30/69 = 43\%$ , and the ratio of marked *ı-*, *u-*, *v-* is  $24/44 = 55\%$ . This result is compatible with the hypothesis that the nasality mark was regularly (but not consistently) mixed up with the delimitation mark, which was particularly frequent after the proclitic conjunction *i* ( $18/33 = 55\%$ ) and the preposition *v* ( $4/7 = 57\%$ ).

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#### NOTE

\* A Slovene translation of this article has appeared in *Slavistična revija* 42/4 (1994), 579-581.

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## 1 GLAGOLITE PONAŽ REDKA ZLOUEŽA.

- Bofe gozpodi miloztiuv<sup>1</sup>. otze bofe. tebe izpovuede.  
 vuez moi greh. I<sup>2</sup>zuetemu creztu. I<sup>3</sup>zuetei marii. I<sup>4</sup>zue  
 temu michaelu. Iu<sup>5</sup>izem crilatcem bofiem. Izuetemu pe  
 5 tru. Iu<sup>5</sup>zem zelom bofiem. Iu<sup>6</sup>zem musenicom bofiem.  
 Iu<sup>7</sup>zem vuernicom bofiem. Iu<sup>8</sup>zem. devu<sup>9</sup>am praudnim. Iu<sup>10</sup>zē  
 praudnim. Itebe bofirabe. choku<sup>11</sup>. biti. izpovueden. ugeh. moih  
 greh. I<sup>12</sup>vueruu<sup>13</sup>. dami. ie. nazem zuete. beufi. iti se. na on<sup>14</sup>  
 zuet. pakise uztati. nazod<sup>n1</sup> den. I<sup>15</sup>meti mi ie.<sup>16</sup>fivuo<sup>t17</sup>  
 10 pozem. I<sup>18</sup>me ti mi ie. ot puztic moih grechou. Bofe  
 miloztiuvi. primi moiv. izpovued moih grechou. Efe  
 iezem ztuoril zla. pot den pongese bih nazi zvuet.  
 v<sup>19</sup>uuraken. ibih criskan. Efe pomngu. ili ne pomngu. Ili  
 vu<sup>20</sup>olu. ili ne vu<sup>21</sup>olu. Ili vu<sup>22</sup>ede. ili ne vu<sup>23</sup>ede. Ili u<sup>24</sup>ne praud  
 15 nei rote. ili u<sup>25</sup>ifi. Ili tatbe. ili zavuiyti. ili v<sup>26</sup>uzmazi.  
 Ili vziniytue. ili efe mizetomu. chotelo. emuse mibi. ne doz  
 talo. choteti. Ili vpoglagolani. ili zpe<sup>27</sup>. ili nezpe<sup>28</sup>. <sup>29</sup>Ili efe  
 iezem. ne zpazal. nedela. ni zu<sup>30</sup>eta vu<sup>31</sup>ecera. ni mega  
 pozta. I<sup>32</sup>. inoga. mnogoga. efe protubogu. i<sup>33</sup>protiu me  
 20 mu creztu. Ti<sup>34</sup> edin bofe. vu<sup>35</sup>ez. caco mi iega potre  
 ba vu<sup>36</sup>elica. Bofe gozpodi miloztivi<sup>37</sup> tebe ze mil  
 tuoriv<sup>38</sup>. od. zih postenih greh. I<sup>39</sup>. odi neh mnozeh.  
 I. vu<sup>40</sup>enlih. i<sup>41</sup>minlih. Efe iezem ztvoril. teh ze.<sup>42</sup>tebe  
 miltuoriv<sup>43</sup>. I<sup>44</sup>. zuetei marii. I<sup>45</sup>. v<sup>46</sup>zem zvetim<sup>47</sup>.  
 25 Idabim nazem zuete. tacoga grecha pocazen v<sup>48</sup>zel.  
 a<sup>49</sup>cofe ti mi zadenes. ia co se tua<sup>50</sup> milozt. itebe lubo.  
 Bofe ti pride zenebeze. v<sup>51</sup>se ze da vmoku. za vu<sup>52</sup>iz  
 na<sup>53</sup>rod. Dabini zlodeiu ote<sup>54</sup>. otmime vzem zlo  
 deiem. Miloztivui bofe. tebe poronfo me telo. I<sup>55</sup>.  
 30 mo<sup>56</sup>. dufu<sup>57</sup>. I. moia zlovueza. I<sup>58</sup>me delo. I<sup>59</sup> mo<sup>60</sup> vuoliu.  
 I<sup>61</sup>. mo vueru. i<sup>62</sup>moi fivuo<sup>t63</sup>. Idabim uzhlifal. nazodni  
 den tuo<sup>64</sup> milozt vueliu. ztemi iefe v<sup>65</sup>zo vuf tvo<sup>66</sup>  
 mi vzti. Pridete ot za mega izvuolien. pri  
 mete vu<sup>67</sup>ecfne vu<sup>68</sup>ezelie. i<sup>69</sup> vu<sup>70</sup>ecfni fivuo<sup>71</sup>t Efev  
 35 iegt. ugoutoulieno. iz uueka v<sup>72</sup> uuek. a men.

## GLAGOLITE PO NAS RĚDKA SLOVESA.

1

bože, gospodi milostiv°y, otče bože, tebě ispov°ědě  
 v°æs moj grěh, i' sv°e<sup>n</sup>temu kræstu, i' sv°e<sup>n</sup>těj mariji, i' sv°e<sup>n</sup>-  
 temu mihaelu, i' v°æsěm krilatcem božjem, i' sv°e<sup>n</sup>temu pe-  
 tru, i' v°sěm sælom božjem, i' v°sěm mo<sup>n</sup>čenicom božjem, 5  
 i' v°sěm v°ěrnikom božjem, i' v°sěm děv°am pravdnym, i' v°sěm  
 pravdnym. i' tebě, boži rabe, ho<sup>n</sup> byti ispov°ědæn v°sěh mojih  
 grěh, i' v°ěrujo<sup>n</sup>, da mi je, na sem sv°ětě běvši, iti že na on\*  
 sv°ět, paky že v°stati na so<sup>n</sup>dni dæn. i' jměti mi je \*živ°ot  
 po sem, i' jměti mi je odpustæk mojih grěhov. bože 10  
 milostiv°y, prijmi mojo<sup>n</sup> ispov°ěd mojih grěhov: eže  
 jesæm stv°oril zla po t dæn, poñeže byh na si sv°ět  
 u°v°ra<sup>n</sup>en i' byh kræšten, eže pomño<sup>n</sup> ili ne pomño<sup>n</sup>, ili  
 v°o<sup>l</sup>o<sup>n</sup> ili ne v°o<sup>l</sup>o<sup>n</sup>, ili v°ěde<sup>n</sup> ili ne v°ěde<sup>n</sup>, ili v' nepravd-  
 něj rotě ili v' lži, ili tatbě ili zav°isti, ili v' v°zmazi 15  
 ili v' sæničtvě, ili eže mi se<sup>n</sup> tomu hotělo, emuže mi bi ne dos-  
 talo hotěti, ili v' poglagolañji, ili spe<sup>n</sup> ili ne spe<sup>n</sup>, ili eže  
 jesæm ne spasal neděla, ni sv°e<sup>n</sup>ta v°ečera, ni mega  
 posta i' inoga mnogoga, eže protiv bogu i' protiv me-  
 mu kræstu. ty\* edin, bože, v°ės, kako mi je jega potrež- 20  
 ba v°elika. bože, gospodi milostiv°y, tebě se<sup>n</sup> mil  
 tv°orjo<sup>n</sup> od sih počtenyh grěh i' od iněh mnozěh,  
 i' v°e<sup>n</sup>čih, i' mǎñših, eže jesæm stv°oril. těj se<sup>n</sup> tebě  
 mil tv°orjo<sup>n</sup>, i' sv°e<sup>n</sup>těj mariji, i' v°sěm sv°e<sup>n</sup>tym. 25  
 i' da bim na sem sv°ětě takoga grěha pokazæn v°ze<sup>n</sup>l,  
 a\*kože ty mi zadeneš i' akože tv°a milost i' tebě ľubo.  
 bože, ty prijde sæ nebese, u' že se<sup>n</sup> da v' mo<sup>n</sup>ko<sup>n</sup> za v°æs  
 na\*rod, da bi ny zloděju ote<sup>n</sup>l, otmi me<sup>n</sup> v°sěm zlo-  
 dějem. milostiv°y bože, tebě poro<sup>n</sup>čo<sup>n</sup> me tělo i'  
 mo<sup>n</sup> dušo<sup>n</sup> i' moja slov°esa i' me dělo i' mo<sup>n</sup> v°o<sup>l</sup>o<sup>n</sup> 30  
 i' mo<sup>n</sup> v°ěro<sup>n</sup> i' moj živ°ot. i' da bim u'slyšal na so<sup>n</sup>dni  
 dæn tv°o<sup>n</sup> milost v°e<sup>l</sup>o<sup>n</sup> s těmi, je<sup>n</sup>že v°zov°eš tv°oji-  
 mi usty: prijděte otca mega izv°o<sup>l</sup>eni, prij-  
 měte v°ěčne v°eselje i' v°ěčny živ°ot, eže v°y  
 jest u'gotovľeno iz v°ěka v' v°ěk. amen. 35