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## **CONCEPTUALIZATION OF QUANTITY IN THE GLAGOLITIC TWITCH DIVINATION TEXT (*TREPETNIK*) IN COMPARISON WITH OTHER SLAVIC TEXTS**

The paper investigates lexical quantifiers that modify quantity in the twitch divination (*trepetnik*) texts written in Glagolitic and Cyrillic scripts from the 15th to the 17th centuries (a Croatian, two Bosnian, a Macedonian, a Moldavian and a Serbian twitch divination text). The frequency of statements with quantifiers is studied, their semantic features analyzed, and the possibility of establishing syntagmatic meanings in certain metonymic and metaphorical relations is explored. The research shows that the meaning of indeterminacy that characterizes the apodosis of a conditional sentence, as the basic structural element of the *trepetnik*, is also mapped onto the concept of quantity, so that the meaning of syntagmatic conjunctions in which lexical quantifiers occur is typically based on the concept of vertical orientation as quantity and the concept of abstract entities as limited sets that are typically modified by indefinite and proportional quantifiers. From a historical perspective, the foundation of the studied utterances in metonymic and metaphorical relationships related to body and space, especially to the sensorimotor domains, but also a variant connection with the domains of time and emotions, is evident.

Key words: *lexical quantifier, semantics, construction grammar, Glagolitic script, Cyrillic script*

*Trepetnik*, or a book of twitching, is a specific type of a prophetic text in which prediction of future events, valued through the opposing abstract concepts of good and evil, is based on attributing meaning to involuntary (uncon-

trolled) myoclonic twitching of parts of the body, which also have appropriate traditional names like “eye wink”, “eyelid tremor”, “ear ringing”, “ringing in one's ear” (cf. Speranski 1899). This type of divination has been an integral part of folk culture until modern times, and as a motif can be traced back to ancient literature: Speranski (1899) cites examples from Theocritus' *Reliquiae* (the motif of right eye twitching as a positive sign), Lucian's dialogues (on ear ringing), and from Plautus' *Pseudolus* (on eye twitching). As a special genre, books of twitching were particularly diverse in medieval times, when they were also formed and mediated within mysticism; it is only in later explorations of medieval transcripts of books of twitches that their ancient origins are emphasized, and they are attributed to different thinkers, ranging from Socrates' and Plato's contemporaries to Alexandrine mystics (cf. Speranski 1899: 16).

Slavic twitch divination texts can also be found in anthologies and booklets as early as from the 15<sup>th</sup> century, written in Glagolitic and Cyrillic scripts, and they are usually included among folk medicine books or by magical, apocryphal or prophetic texts, such as the book of dreams, caroling book, the book of zodiac, moon divination, thunder divination, kalandologion etc. In this paper, we shall explore a 15<sup>th</sup> century Glagolitic text and compare it to five Cyrillic books of twitching, written contemporaneously or somewhat later, with a special emphasis on specific expressions which modify the quantity of the predicted events.

### GLAGOLITIC AND CYRILLIC BOOKS OF TWITCHING TEXTS FROM 15<sup>TH</sup> TO 17<sup>TH</sup> CENTURIES

Here we present six Slavic twitching divination texts, recorded between the 15<sup>th</sup> and 17<sup>th</sup> centuries. The texts were selected based on their availability and representation in the literature, noting that these are not the only Slavic books of twitching from this period.

The text *Skazan'e trepetnika* ‘Telling of the books of twitching’ was written in cursive Glagolitic script on the sheets 5r–6r of Benković's (Vinodol) Glagolitic folk medicine book, stored at the Archive of the Croatian Academy of Arts and Sciences (*sign. IV d 55*; hereinafter: *IVd55*). This is a booklet containing different divination texts and recipes, written in angular and cursive Glagolitic script in the second half of 15<sup>th</sup> century, in Ikavian-Ekavian Čakavian dialect, with a prominent layer of Old Church Slavonic elements, which is linked to the Vinodol area on the basis of later accounts of its owners, the Benković family from Grižan, and its origins (cf. Štefanić 1969: 168–169). The text, without critical commentary, was

published by Strohal (1910), and we present the critical transliteration in the appendix to this paper.

A 15<sup>th</sup> century book of twitching was also recorded in the Cyrillic Bosnian anthology *Libro di mantica*, part of the De Rossi Collection in Biblioteca Palatina in Parma (*sign Ms 1993 Parmense*; cf. Nakaš 2019; hereinafter: *Parm.*). This is a small volume encompassing apocryphal prophetic texts and *Hronografija*, which has been recognized as written in Ikavian Štokavian pre-migration Livno-Vrbas dialect (cf. Nakaš 2019: 62). With the title *Trepetniki udovčičl(ovi)ka. Začelo trepetnika* ‘Book of Twitching of the Limbs of Men. The Beginning of the Twitching Book’, it was recorded on f. 4r–4v, and its critical transliteration was published in Nakaš (2019: 77).

Moldavian Old Church Slavonic book of twitching from the first half of the 16<sup>th</sup> century, kept in the Russian State Library (*sign. RGB F. 209, No. 201*; hereinafter: *RGB*) was published by Pascal (2023).

Maja Andelković (2002) has published two Cyrillic books of twitching from the second half of the 16<sup>th</sup> century, kept in the National Library of Serbia: the Macedonian book of twitching with the characteristic of the Resava school (*NBS, No. 36*; hereinafter: *NBS36*) and the book of twitching from Western Bosnia (*NBS, No. 53*; hereinafter: *NBS53*).

Among other texts, Speranski has published a Serbian book of twitching from the manuscript kept in the National Library in Sofia (*NBB, No. 80*, f. 64–66; hereinafter: *NBB*), dating from the 17<sup>th</sup> century (cf. Speranski 1899: 36 and Speranski 1899, “Teksty”: 7–13).

Considering the listing of body parts, the general composition of the books of twitching can be traced from the upper to the lower parts: from head to toes (cf. Andelković 2002: 386). In the studied books of twitching, the composition is as follows: from larynx to the outermost toe (pinky toe) and from the top of the head to the foot (*NBS36*), from behind the right ear to the left calf (*NBS53, RGB*), from behind the right ear to the left toes (*IVd55, NBB*), from the top of the head to toes (*Parm.*).

The differences between the manuscripts are visible in the listed body parts: in some manuscripts, individual parts are omitted or not analyzed in detail (cf. the table in Andelković 2002: 386–388). Thus, unlike in *RGB, NBS36, NBS53, NBB*, in *IVd55* and *Parm.*, the tongue is not mentioned. Each finger is listed individually (by its name: *mali, drugi lihi, veliki, palac IVd55, palecъ, mali, srédnii, vtoryi RGB, palecъ, srédenъ, mali NBS36* ‘thumb, second finger, middle/big finger, second odd finger, small finger’, or by the number *Parm.*), or is listed only in general, collectively: *prsti* (*Parm.*), the latter referring to toes.

All books of twitching are characterized by the variability of predictions based on embodied spatial orientation: the outcomes of the prediction are

contrasted with respect to whether the left or right side of the affected body part is twitching. This contrast is also an element of composition, and it has thus been recognized that the manuscript *NBS36* is organized into two units: the first unit refers only to the right side of the body, and the second to the left, while in the manuscript *NBS53* the contrasts of the left and right sides are listed alternately in sequence (cf. Andelković 2002: 385). The left/right contrasts in the sequence of body parts are also listed alternately in the books of twitching *IVd55*, *RGB*, *Parm.*, *NBB*. This difference in the organization of the unit is also an indicator of different textual sources, which are also indicated by certain content differences between the two groups.

The outcomes of predictions are typically marked in terms of value as positive or negative events, or as benefits or harms to the affected individual or group. It has been recognized that typically, although not without exception, the twitching of the right side is interpreted as a prediction of positive events, and the twitching of the left side as indicating negative ones (cf. Andelković 2002: 385); this is also the case in the studied books of twitching. Furthermore, variance with regard to intended users of the books is pointedly based in social stratification has been highlighted among variabilities concerning user groups: the result of the prediction depends on whether it refers to the rich or the poor (cf. Andelković 2002: 384–385); this distinction in the studied books of twitching is not a regular occurrence in the sense of being linked to a specific body part and is typically not contrasting (there are examples in which the same thing is predicted for both groups).

The basic expressive and structural element of the twitching segments is the conditional clause: *If P, then Q*,<sup>1</sup> where the protasis indicates real circumstances of the twitching body parts, while the apodosis states different tendencies of generalizing outcomes/effects, e.g.:

*Ako ti potrepečet' zauš'e des'no pribitak kaže (IVd55) 'If you have twitching behind the right ear/it foretells profit'*

As the projection of alternative future events, the prediction is at the expressional level expanded by asyndetic constructions, and by compound and disjunctive constructions. Andelković notes that some books of twitching contain only copulative constructions: *NBS53*, while others also contain di-

<sup>1</sup> Regarding the structure of conditional clauses from the cognitive and pragmatic perspective, cf. Dancygier and Sweetser (2005). In that book, conditionality, with its typical pragmatic function of prediction, as the imagination of effects and the associated development of a positive or negative attitude, is also presented as an important aspect of human thought in general.

sjunctive relations: *NBS36* (Andelković 2002: 384). Exclusively copulative constructions in apodosis are also featured in *IVd55*, *Parm.*, and *RGB*. In *NBB*, copulative, adversative and disjunctive constructions are found.

Conditional expressions can be stated or unstated. In stated expressions the conjunction is regularly repeated, while the predication may be omitted. The conjunction *if* emphasizes a mental projection in relation to existing reality (cf. Dancygier and Sweetser 2005) and, in the studied corpus, it is recorded in its Old Church Slavonic form: *aće* (*RGB*, *NBS33*, *NBB*), with the intensifying (initially interrogative) particle *aće li* (*NBS33*), and in the vernacular form: *ako* (*IVd55*, *Parm.*). The conjunction ‘when’ underlines the positive epistemic viewpoint (cf. Dancygier and Sweetser 2005: 32), and its form *egda* is predominantly recorded in *NBS36*, while *kada* can be found as an exception in *IVd55*. Elliptical nominalised protases, where body parts are listed without surface conditional expressions (e.g. *nozdrъvъ desna – dobro Parm.* ‘The right nostril – good’) indicate the familiarity of the textual genre on one hand, and on the other, emphasize the definiteness of the condition (the twitching of the body part); in both scenarios, the condition, as a generally known convention, remains in the mental space.

In previous research, variant expressions that express (modify) the quantity of the effect of the condition have not been studied: whether the entity that the prediction refers to will be affected as a whole or partially, to a greater or lesser extent; and this conceptualization, given that it typically refers to general and abstract effects, is fundamentally metaphorical and embodied.

## THE BODY OF THE UNCOUNTABLE

The body parts in the books of twitching are not used in their symbolic or metaphorical meaning, but in their literal anatomical meaning, and their connection to spatial and temporal relations is based in universal conceptual metaphors, which ensures easy transferability and functionality of the texts across languages and cultures. The books of twitching recognize an “anthropocentric perspective of the world view” (Andelković 2002: 383), which is a literal manifestation of the universal embodiment of the human mind: it is precisely within cognitive science that interpretations of abstract concepts are developed by basic spatial relations and projections with respect to the human body (cf. Lakoff and Johnson 1999: 34–35), including with respect to the sensorimotor domains of size and vertical orientation (cf. Lakoff and Johnson 1999: 50–54). In conceptualization of vertical orientation (based in the metaphor **MORE IS UP**) and size (based in the metaphor **IMPORTANT IS BIG**), fusion of spatial relations and intensification comes to the fore, so that quantification

can also be expressed by means whose primary function is intensification. The visual perception of quantity is universal, which characteristic links it to the conceptualization of space and time.<sup>2</sup> It is presupposed that there are at least two cognitive modules for determining quantity: the basic evolutionary one, which refers to estimation, which also implies comparison with other entities: whether there is a lot or a little of something, more or less than something else, and the abstract counting module that evolved from it (cf. Henik et al. 2012).<sup>3</sup> Langacker considers quantification on a syntagmatic level, particularly emphasizing the phenomenon of “mass unitization” of countable nouns in the sense of the human tendency to conceptualize the world through discrete objects that we can understand as wholes (cf. Langacker 2008: 342). Related to this are the conceptualization of discrete entities as typically countable and non-discrete as typically uncountable, but also the ability to conceptualize non-discrete entities as discrete and vice versa (cf. Stanojević 2013: 68).

Šarić (2002) distinguishes between the explicit quantification “by quantifying words” and the implicit one “by general context or context introduced by the sentence containing the quantified unit” (Šarić 2002: 162), emphasizing that “in natural language, the assessment of quantity applies to the sets consisting of separate elements and the sets referring to uncountable totality (*many books – all books; a lot of bread – all bread*)” (Šarić 2002: 158). Belaj and Tanacković Faletar (2014), from the view of construction grammar, distinguish between indeterminate absolute quantifiers (*mnogo, malo, nešto* ‘a lot, a little, some’ etc.), which denote the quantity of elements of the referential set, and the relative quantifiers (*svi, svaki, bilo koji, neki* ‘all, each, any, some’), whose meaning also encompasses “the relation to the whole set, i.e. the total referential quality” (Belaj and Tanacković Faletar 2014: 156). Among the deliberations listed above, the conceptualization of the entity modified by quantifiers as a set, even in cases when the referent is abstract, should be particularly emphasized.

What was stated above shows that the expressions of quantification/quantity, excluding numbers, are diverse and cannot be classified merely on a grammatical level. This is especially evident in ascribing quantity to abstract entities that are not bounded as independent concepts, i.e. that have no body. In those cases, on one hand there is a visible tendency to bring quantifiers clo-

<sup>2</sup> Research has shown that the visual perception of the amount of objects in reality is located in the prefrontal and parietal lobes – in the intraparietal sulcus of the brain (cf. Lakoff and Nuñez 2000: 23–24).

<sup>3</sup> The first method of determining quantity is not only used by humans, but also by many other (if not all) species, while the ability to count (numerical cognition or competence) is recognized as inherent in humans (it is considered to be innate; cf. Lakoff and Nuñez 2000: 15–16).

ser to nominal expressions and qualifiers, and on the other hand to intensifiers, as an amplification of ineffability; in both cases, processes of metaphorical conceptualization aimed at the materialization of the abstract are involved.

The effectiveness of a prophetic text lies in its generality, i.e. in the possibility of interpretation (application) in as many scenarios as possible, so that in the area of projected reality, on which the apodosis is based, abstract and general concepts of good and evil are dominant,<sup>4</sup> modified due to the need to distinguish prophetic utterances referring to different parts of the body; however, in this specification (narrowing down) of abstract concept, generalizing expressions are also used and therefore, when there is a conceptualization of quantity, lexical quantifiers which are not numbers are used,<sup>5</sup> i.e. uncountability expressions are predominant. At the same time, lexical quantifiers objectify the meanings of uncountable nouns by type or quantity, or by the measure of the represented feature.

## QUANTITATIVE AND QUALITATIVE ANALYSIS OF QUANTITY EXPRESSION VARIABLES

In the studied corpus, quantification is achieved by adjectives, adverbs and indefinite pronouns. In the six studied books of twitching, all expressions that modify the quantity or scope of the effect in the apodosis were identified by thorough reading. The prevalence of quantifiers was determined by the ratio of the number of utterances with a quantifier to the total number of conditional utterances.

<sup>4</sup> Abstract nouns are generally uncountable, whether formally belonging to *singularia tantum* or *pluralia tantum* (cf. Znika 2002: 89), they can become countable if “accompanied by a noun which individualizes them through its quantifying character” (Znika 2002: 40), which actually restructures their meaning into a unit/measure or type.

<sup>5</sup> Regarding quantifiers from the structural linguistic aspect cf. Znika 2002, regarding grammaticalization and lexicalization of quantity cf. Kuna 2008, Pranjković 2013, regarding syntactic determination of countability cf. Peti 2005. Kuna (2008: 42–3) and Šarić (2002: 218) divide lexical quantification into definite (which is realized by numbers) and indefinite (which is realized by nouns, adverbs, indefinite pronouns, and the number one). For uncountable nouns, Znika notes that they can only be directly quantified non-numerically, while numerically they can only be quantified indirectly (Znika 2002: 98–99).

Table 1. Quantifier representation

Manuscript	Total number of utterances	Number of utterances with quantifier	Representation (in percentages)
<i>IVd55</i>	56	18	32%
<i>Parm.</i>	57	4	7%
<i>RGB</i>	61	11	18%
<i>NBS36</i>	74	15	20%
<i>NBS53</i>	53	16	30%
<i>NBB</i>	38	7	18%

The highest prevalence of quantifiers is found in the Glagolitic manuscript (*IVd55*), which is comparable in percentage to the Cyrillic manuscript from western Bosnia (*NBS53*). The lowest prevalence is in the manuscript in which the utterances are the most concise, the Bosnian manuscript *Parm.*, in which even superficial expressions of predication are omitted: only nominal words denoting body parts and effects are listed. The Moldavian (*RGB*) and Serbian manuscripts (*NBB*) have a similar prevalence of modifiers, while the Macedonian manuscript (*NBS36*) has a slightly higher prevalence.

Table 2. Types of quantifiers

Expressions in the function of quantifier	Number of tokens per manuscript	Total number of tokens
<i>mnogo, mnogi/mnozi, množi, mnogu</i> ('a lot, many')	5 ( <i>IVd55</i> ), 2 ( <i>RGB</i> ), 2 ( <i>Parm.</i> ), 1 ( <i>NBS36</i> ), 2 ( <i>NBS53</i> ), 1 ( <i>NBB</i> )	13
<i>svi</i> ('all'): <i>vsi, vsem, všesem</i>	5 ( <i>IVd55</i> ), 2 ( <i>RGB</i> ), 1 ( <i>Parm.</i> ), 4 ( <i>NBS53</i> ), 1 ( <i>NBB</i> )	13
<i>svaki</i> ('each'): <i>vsako</i>	1 ( <i>NBS53</i> )	1
<i>neki</i> ('some'): <i>niko, niki, neki, nekoi, nekoe</i>	4 ( <i>IVd55</i> ), 1 ( <i>Parm.</i> ), 7 ( <i>NBS36</i> ), 4 ( <i>NBS53</i> ), 2 ( <i>NBB</i> )	18
<i>nešto</i> ('something'): <i>nečo, nečemu</i>	1 ( <i>NBS36</i> ), 1 ( <i>NBS53</i> ), 1 ( <i>NBB</i> )	3
<i>nikako</i> ('in no way')	1 ( <i>RGB</i> )	1
<i>ničemu</i> (< <i>ništa</i> ) ('to nothing' <'nothing')	1 ( <i>RGB</i> )	1
<i>veliki</i> ('big'): <i>veliki, veliku, velikoju, velie, velikim, vēlika</i>	1 ( <i>IVd55</i> ), 3 ( <i>RGB</i> ), 5 ( <i>NBS36</i> ), 3 ( <i>NBS53</i> ), 2 ( <i>NBB</i> )	14

malo/mali ('little'/'small')	1 (IVd55), 2 (RGB)	3
brzo ('quickly')	1 (IVd55)	1
neprestano ('constantly'): <i>vinu</i>	1 (NBS53)	1
kadgod ('whenever'): <i>otъ kade gode</i>	1 (NBS36)	1
gorko ('bitter')	1 (IVd55)	1

The most prevalent quantifiers are derived from the stem *mnog-* 'a lot', 'many': they appear in all studied manuscripts, but with a total of 11 tokens. The largest token number is found for the quantifier *neki* 'some' (18 in total for quantifier use, excluding *neki* functioning as a determiner), found in five manuscripts. *Svi* 'all' (a total of 13 tokens) and *veliki* 'big' (14 tokens) used as quantifiers (excluding other usages, such as determinators) are found in five manuscripts. The least prevalent are the quantifiers which do not typically signify quantity: these are the modifiers where the quantity is signified by metaphor, and their literal meaning refers to the course of time (*brzo* 'quickly', *vinu* 'constantly', *kadgod* 'sometimes') and sensations (*gorko* 'bitter'), which can serve as intensifiers, but also denote a large quantity of an abstract entity.

Among adjectival quantifiers, antonyms 'big' and 'small', *mali* and *veliki*, are used, with the adjective *big* much more prevalent (14 tokens vs. 3 tokens); it is one of the most frequent modifiers by its general prevalence in the studied corpus. Although they do not independently provide an answer to the question of *How many?*, in the apodoses found in books of twitching, they modify the quantity of the entity to which the projection is directed, and therefore function as quantifiers with additional meaning of intensification (see the example *velikim mōžemъ* below). The adjective *big* can metonymically replace an entire phrase which does not express the quality of bodily height or social significance, but rather a broad and general span of the countable entity: *mali prs t' [livie ruke kaže] s velikim' mužem' ras' prišenie* (IVd55) 'On the left hand, the pinky finger means quarrelling with many people'. When signifying uncountability, it appears in phrases with abstract entities of emotions (joy) and positive events (honor): *velika radost* (RGB), *čestъ velikoju* (NBS36). In phrases with abstract entity of state (illness, care): *boléznъ velikъ* (RGB), *skrъbbъ vělika* (RBB), it unites the meaning of indeterminateness and intensification, alongside qualification. In these examples, the emotion and state are not conceptualized as an individual body compared to other related entities by dimension; rather, a more intense quantity of states and emotions is conceptualized, also activating the vertical orientation domain (the MORE IS UP metaphor).

To denote a weaker intensity of a condition, the phrase: ‘malo bolesti’ (lit. ‘a bit of illness’) is used, signifying a smaller quantity and weaker intensity; in the studied corpus, the idiomatized prepositional phrase “*v mali*” is equal to the adverb *malo: nedqyb v b malé* (RGB), lit. ‘illness in little’ = ‘a little bit of illness’; *A zagr'st' bolézan' v mali kaže*, ‘And the wrist means a little illness’ (IVd55).

The quantitative adverb *mnogo* (‘much’) and adjective *mnogi* (‘many’) have the properties of indefinite absolute quantifiers: they independently denote a quantificational value and, due to their reference to an imprecise quantity, cannot be combined with numerals or with universal and partial relative quantifiers (e.g. with “one”; cf. Belaj and Tanacković Faletar 2014: 152). In prophetic texts, by expressing the impossibility of conceptualizing quantity, the certainty of the appearance of the entity limited by the quantifier is simultaneously underlined. The adjective *mnogi* is also used metonymically for an uncertain large number of individuals: *mnogi* (RGB) in the phrase ‘*mnogi ljudi*’ (‘many people’). This adjective, as a signifier of uncountable mass of agents at the same time functions as an adverb quantifying an indeterminate activity, combined with distributive meaning of the prefix *-po*: *mnozi tomu porabotaqt* (RGB), *mnogi tomui porabotaju* (Parm.), *mnozi tomu porabotajut* (NBS36, NBB), all meaning ‘they will have to work much/a lot’. The adjective *mnogo* quantifies positively marked abstract entities: *mnogo dobro* (IVd55) ‘many goods’, *mnogo iménie* (RGB) ‘much property (higher status)’, or indeterminate concrete entities: *mnogu iminju* (Parm.) ‘with much property’. The adjective *mnogi* signifies the collectiveness of different types of negatively marked conditions: *boliz'ni mnogie* (IVd55) ‘many illnesses’, *mnogim većem pečalb* (NBS53) ‘worrying about many things’.

The indefinite pronoun *neki* (‘some’), as a proportional relative quantifier, in addition to quantity, also includes the relationship to the whole set in its meaning, so it typically profiles a quantity that does not exceed half of the total (cf. Belaj and Tanacković Faletar 2014: 156). In the text of the prophecy, it suggests a lower intensity of the affected entity. This pronoun also expresses a downward divergence from the typical value<sup>6</sup> and is therefore used in the text to modify the meaning of the entity to which it refers, not only in its reduced quantity, but also reduced value. Most often, it appears as the modifier of a general abstract entity with positive value: ‘*neko dobro*’ (‘some good’) (IVd55, NBB, NBS36, NBS53). In addition, it modifies: the utterance (in conjunction with ‘*savjet*’, ‘advice’ Parm.), emotion (*neka griža* NBS36 ‘remorse’), entities which are general even when referring to the material (in conjunction with

<sup>6</sup> In this meaning, it can become the instrument of emotionalization of the utterance, as a “dissociation from the expected value of the element” (cf. Stanojević 2020).

‘blago’, ‘treasure’ *IVd55* and ‘dobitak’, ‘profit’ *NBS36*), indeterminate negatively marked event which can affect an object or body (in conjunction with *ubitak* *IVd55*, *Parm.* ‘danger’ or loss’), abstract general status (*nečastъ nekoju* *NBS36* ‘some dishonor’).

The adjectival pronoun *svaki* (‘each’), as a universal quantifier, profiles “one member of a set, one variant, which stands for all variants” (Belaj and Tanacković Faletar 2014: 157), with particular emphasis on the set from which the entity is separated. In the manuscripts studied, it quantifies one manifestation of emotion: *vъsako oblude* (*NBS53*) ‘each craving/lust’.

The indeterminate pronoun *svi* (‘all’) as both a proportional and a universal quantifier profiles the reference group as a certain dimension of “total referential quantity” (Belaj and Tanacković Faletar 2014: 156). In the studied corpus, this quantifier additionally generalizes the abstract entity, expanding its scope and intensifying positive markedness: ‘*dobro svemu*’ (‘good to all’) (*IVd55*, *RGB*, *Parm.*, *NBS53*, *NBB*), ‘*blago svemu*’ (‘beneficial to all’) (*NBS53*); it has the same function in the quantification of negatively marked condition entity: ‘*o svemu bolest*’ (‘illness on all’) (*NBS53*).

The pronoun *nešto* (‘some’), as an indefinite absolute quantifier (cf. Belaj and Tanacković Faletar 2014: 153–155), does not require the specification of quantitative and qualitative features; the lack of detailed information opens up the possibility that the scope and number of the set can be described depending on the context. In the studied corpus, it is syntagmatically limited only by a positive expectation: “something will come to you that will make you happy” (*NBS36*, *NBB*), or by a negative one: *ubitak nečemu* (‘loss to something’ or ‘danger to something/someone’ *NBS53*), without specifying if it is an object, state or event.

The use of the pronoun *ništa* (‘nothing’), as a quantifier referring to a quantity corresponding to zero, is not characteristic of the text of the prediction; in the single token recorded, it summarizes the expression of double negation: ‘*pogibelj/gubitak ničemu kaže*’ (*RGB*) > ‘does not predict danger/loss to anything’, and is therefore also a kind of reverse implicit prediction that achieves extreme generality and vagueness: if nothing dangerous will happen, then we can assume that nothing will happen at all (which makes the prediction void), or if it does happen, the event, emotion, or state will be positively marked.

In the function of generalized indeterminate reverse prediction, the adverb *nikako* (‘in no way’) is also used which, as a modifier meaning ‘in no case’, also indicates a quantity amounting to zero: ‘*dobro nikako ne kaže*’ (‘does in no way indicate good’) (*RGB*). The above expression suggests that something completely indeterminable is bound to happen, whose only content is the value determinant of negative markedness.

Relative universal quantifier *koji god/bilo koji* ('whichever/any'), as well as the quantifier *svaki* ('each') profiles one member of the set, but this member is imprecisely determined and random (cf. Belaj and Tanacković Faletar 2014: 157), and therefore the entity it modifies is less prominent, i.e. its value is reduced, as is its effect on the user of the prediction. Such relationship of indeterminate particularization is also marked by the temporal adverb *kad god* ('whenever'), which profiles an imprecisely determined and random temporal segment: 'dobar glas od kada god' ('good reputation since whenever') (NBS36).

Metaphorically, the properties of quantification can also be attributed to utterances denoting the passage of time, based on the conceptual metaphor TIME IS SPATIAL MOTION. As a quantifier of the whole of abstract entity, temporal adverb is used: *vinu dobro* (NBS53) 'constantly good'. As a focalizer and bounder of a temporal segment, adverb of manner is used: *brzo dobro* ('quick good') (IVd55), for an indeterminate abstract good predicted to arrive in the near future.

As an intensifier and a marker of a larger quantity, the adverb of sensation *gorko* ('bitter'): *razdrušenie gorko* (IVd55) 'great destruction', is used, which establishes the analogy between the quantity and intensity of the predicted general event and its negative value markedness based on the conceptual metaphor BAD IS BITTER.

The examples show that in the studied texts of the books of twitching, the indeterminacy of quantity in the apodosis of prediction is typically based on the conceptualization of vertical orientation as quantity and the conceptualization of abstract entities as limited sets that are modified by the indefinite absolute independent (context-free) quantifier *mnogi* 'many', the proportional universal quantifier of the total number of elements (*svi*, 'all') and the proportional relative quantifier of the isolated elements of reduced quantity (*neki*, 'some'). The expression of quantity can also be connected with the expression of the passage of time, but these metaphors are exceptions; in the studied corpus they appear with one token each. The above shows us that the conditional sentence of the text of the book of twitching is structured by the metonymic contrast between a part and the whole: the parts of the body (from the protasis) are contrasted with the totality of abstract wholes (in the apodosis), which are attempted to be delimited as a body (set) through quantification. The supplementation of the indefinite content (narrowing and concretization in the number of elements of the set and its scope) depends on the knowledge and experiences of specific twitch divination users, which ensures the effectiveness of the prediction. The striving for the reliability of the text (or its verifiability in the sense of truthfulness of the statement) can go so far that the statement is

completely emptied of content by double negations and reverse predictions, i.e. that both the qualification and positive quantification are completely transferred into the knowledge and experience of the user, which can also be supported by the atypical expression of zero quantity, which is uncharacteristic of books of twitching.

## CONCLUDING REMARKS

The study of the books of twitching written in Glagolitic and Cyrillic scripts from the 15<sup>th</sup> to the 17<sup>th</sup> century shows that the Glagolitic and the majority of Cyrillic texts were formed from the same matrix: of the six studied texts, only one text (Cyrillic Macedonian book of twitching *NBS36*) refers to a different matrix in terms of composition and content. Of the texts that are consistent in composition and comparable in terms of the sequence of content units, the Glagolitic text exhibits more shared features with the Cyrillic texts, the creation of which is linked to the area of western Bosnia and Herzegovina.

The singled-out lexical category of quantifiers is represented in the texts in the share ranging from 8% to 32%, with the highest representation in the Glagolitic text, which in this segment shows the greatest openness to author interventions by the scribe, as particularly evident in the examples of individual modification of quantity by adverbs of manner and sensation. The conditional sentence, which establishes the correlation of the anatomical part of the body from the protasis and the indefinite state, abstract value, emotion and general event as a material set from the apodosis, has been confirmed as the basic structural element of the book of twitching. The use of lexical quantifiers, as expressions of uncountability in apodosis, is consistent with the indefiniteness of prediction, and quantifiers are typically used, which delimit the abstract entity to which the projection is directed as a (material) set of indefinite elements, so in the segment of conceptualizing quantity, the relationship between protasis and apodosis also appears as a metonymic relationship between a part and the whole of the body. In addition to the typical grounding in the spatial and sensorimotor domains, individual solutions also demonstrate metaphorical transfers in the domain of time and emotions (through the senses). A comparison with the texts of the much more numerous younger books of twitching (dating from the 18<sup>th</sup> century to the present day) would show whether the process of individualization has prevailed (in the sense of increasing the frequency and diversity of quantifiers, and also in the segment of their generation through metaphorical mappings, either with the aim of elaborating indeterminacy or with the aim of materializing the abstract) or whether the tendency to preserve the convention of form has prevailed.

## SOURCE

- Archive of the Croatian Academy of Sciences and Arts, *sign. IV d 55. Po ogrdab ka[d] si ogr(dobl)en.* (‘Counter spells; when enchanted?’) Magical texts and recipes, 15th century.

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## APPENDIX: TRANSLITERATED TEXT OF A GLAGOLITIC BOOK OF TWITCHING

Archive of CASA, *sign. IV d 55*

5r, 6–27

Skazan' e trepet'nika.

Ako ti potrepećet' zauš' e des'no pribitak'  
kaže. A livo pos'pih' kaže tême pečal'  
kaže zatilak' plač' kaže.

Oko des'no zlo kaže.

A livo oko m'nogo dobro kaže obrv' desnoga [oka]  
zlo kaže. A livoga dobro i veselie kaže  
Ako nos' potrepećet brzo dobro kaže: nozdrv'  
des'na biis'tvo kaže. A liva nozdrv' dobra  
v'semu i pribitak' kaže. A obi nozdrv' vi  
zaedno m'nogo dobro vsemu i pribitak' kaže.  
ustna des'na suprem' vraždu kaže.  
ust'na liva radoš' kaže  
lice desno plač' kaže lice livo blago-  
šas'tie i veselie kaže. brade desna  
strana dobro kaže. A liva ne dobro

Zubi sasikaûće razdrušenie gorko kaže.  
Obi rameni ranam' obrêt(e)nie kažeta  
Miš'ca liva trud na blago kaže i sla-  
vu kaže. oba lakta radoš' kažeta  
Ruka des'na v' miš'ci velikim' nedug'  
a ubozim' delo kaže. A zagr'st' bolêzan'  
v mali kaže. A desna zag'rst' ot' v'se-  
ga s'hranenie i vsemu dobru kaže.

5v, 1–25

Ruke de[s]nie prst' mali obledenie kaže  
A lihi plač' kaže. Pr'st' veliki m'nogo  
dobro vrazi tvoi padut' se. Pr'st'  
četrti niko dobro kaže. Palac' imeniû  
g(ospo)din' i vladika budeš. livie ruke

### Explanation of twitches

If you get a twitch behind your right ear, this means/predicts a gain, and behind the left, a success. The top of the head means worries, and back of the head weeping.

The right eye means misfortune, and the left a great good.

The right eyebrow means misfortune and the left means good and joy. If your nose twitches, it means soon/strong/great good. The right nostril means poverty (scarcity), and the left means good and gain to all. Both nostrils together means good and gain to all.

The right lip means quarrelling with the enemy, and the left lip means joy. The right side of face means weeping, and the left side of face means well-being and joy. The right side of chin means good, and the left not good.

If your teeth grind, this means great/strong/bitter destruction. Both shoulders, means being wounded. The left biceps (upper arm muscle) means fruitful effort and glory. Both elbows mean joy. The right biceps means weakness (sickness) for the wealthy and labor for the poor. And the wrist means a little bit of illness. And the right wrist means protection from everything and good in everything.

The right pinky finger means longing and the odd finger means weeping. The big finger means great good, and your enemies shall fall (die). The fourth finger means some good. The thumb means that you shall be a lord and owner of property.

[livie ruke]

mali prs't' s velikim' mužem' ras'priše-  
nie. drugi lihi pečal' kaže.  
Srēdni veliki radost kaže.  
Četr'ti ne dobro ubitak niki kaže.  
Palac' v'z'vračenie miru kaže.  
Sasac' desni v' nikoi ti strani blago  
kaže. sasac' livi bolizan' kaže.  
Črivo livo po putu šastie kaže.  
A des'no radost kaže. uho des'no ako poz'vo-  
nit pečal kaže. uho livo ako poz'vonit  
[bla]go ti niko kaže. sluh' des'ni časti  
slišaniē kaže. sluh livi blago ka-  
že. Rebra desna vsemu dobru kaže.  
Rebra liva pečal bludnac' o če-  
ladi radost' kaže. Pleće desno  
dobro kaže. Pleće livo pečal kaže  
koleno desno radost' kaže koleno  
(ko)leno levo put' kaže. steg'no desno  
gda poigra mnozi tomu porabotaût'  
stegno livo boliz'ni mnogie bēzet  
6r, 1–6  
list' livi pribitak' kaže.  
list' desni radost' kaže.  
Prsti noge des'ne radost' kaže.  
A live pribitak' kaže.

On the left hand, the pinky finger means fighting (quarrelling) with many people.

Second odd finger means worrying.

Middle big finger means joy.

Fourth finger means not good, danger/loss.

The thumb means the return of peace.

The right breast predicts fortune in some area. The left breast means illness.

The left gut means travelling and the right means joy. If the right ear rings, it means worries. If the left ear rings, it means some benefit. If the right hearing hums, you will hear honor, and if the left hums, it means benefit. Right ribs mean good in all,

left ribs mean worries for fornicators, and joy to other people. Right shoulder (right part of the shoulder) means good. Left shoulder means worries. Right knee means joy, and the left knee means travelling. When the right thigh twitches, many shall work,

and the left thigh means that many illnesses shall flee.

The left calf means gain

and the right calf means joy.

Right toes mean joy

and the left toes mean danger.

**Gordana ČUPKOVIĆ & Petra BUŠELIĆ**

**OPOJMLJIVANJE KOLIČINE U GLAGOLJIČNOM  
TREPETNIKU U USPOREDBI S DRUGIM  
SLAVENSKIM TEKSTOVIMA TREPETNIKA**

U radu se proučavaju leksički kvantifikatori kojima se modificira količina u tekstovima trepetnika zapisanih glagoljicom i cirilicom od 15. do 17. stoljeća (hrvatski, dva bosanska, makedonski, moldavski i srpski trepetnik). Razmatra se učestalost iskaza s kvantifikatorima, raščlanjuju se njihova značenjska obilježja te se propituje mogućnost utemeljenja sintagmatskih značenja u pojedinim metonimijskim i metaforičnim odnosima. Istraživanje pokazuje da se značenje neodređenosti koje obilježava apodozu pogodbene rečenice, kao osnovnoga strukturnoga elementa trepetnika, preslikava i na opojmljivanje količine pa je značenje sintagmatskih sveza u kojima dolaze leksički kvantifikatori tipično utemeljeno opojmljivanjem vertikalne orientacije kao količine te opojmljivanjem apstraktnih entiteta kao omeđenih skupova koji se tipično modificiraju neodređenim i proporcijskim kvantifikatorima. Iz historijske perspektive vidljiva je utemeljenost proučavanih iskaza u metonimijskim i metaforičnim odnosima vezanim za tijelo i prostor, posebno za senzomotoričke domene, ali i varijantno povezivanje s domenama vremena i emocija.

Ključne riječi: *lexički kvantifikator, semantika, konstrukcijska gramatika, glagoljica, cirilica*