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**Slavic numerals in the Heiligenkreuz Codex from the third
quarter of the 12th century (Heiligenkreuz OCist., Cod. 250)
in the context of Alpine Slavic and Early Slovenian¹**

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¹ This article is the author's response to the contribution in Lewaszkiewicz & Wydra 2021 and is based predominantly on the publications in Šekli 2014, 2018a, 2018b, 2021, 2022a and 2022b. For a more detailed discussion on the historical linguistic context of Slavic numerals in the Heiligenkreuz Codex and the linguistic interpretation of the numerals themselves, cf. Šekli 2022a and 2022b. I am deeply grateful to Prof. Dr Vera Smole, Prof. Dr Jožica Škofic, Associate Member of Slovenian Academy of Sciences and Arts, and Acad. Prof. Dr Marko Snoj for their careful reading of my contributions in Šekli 2022a and 2022b as well as for their constructive suggestions. However, I assume full responsibility for possible errors in my texts.

1. The discovery of the Slavic numerals 1 through 10 in the Heiligenkreuz Codex from the third quarter of the 12th century²

In last year's edition of *Rocznik Slawistyczny* (n. 70, 2021), the Polish linguists Prof. Dr Tadeusz Lewaszkiewicz and Prof. Dr Wiesław Wydra published a scientific article with the title „Słoweńskie/karyńckie/podjuńskie” (?) liczebniki w łacińskim rękopisie z trzeciej ćwierci XII wieku (Heiligenkreuz, Cod. 250) / “Slovenian/Carinthian/Jaun Valley dialect” numerals found in a Latin manuscript dated to the third quarter of 12th century (Heiligenkreuz, Cod. 250). The Latin codex was produced in the Cistercian monastery at Heiligenkreuz in the Vienna Woods (German *Wienerwald*) in the third quarter of the 12th century and is kept in the library of that monastery under the signature Heiligenkreuz OCist., Cod. 250. It consists of 181 individual folios of parchment and contains two works, viz. *Collationes (Conlationes) (patrum)*, pars I–III (folios 1–167r) of John Cassian (Johannes Cassianus) (c. 360 – c. 435 AD) as well as *Contra collatorem*, cap. 13–22 (folios 169–181v) of Prosper of Aquitaine (Prosper Aquitanus) (c. 390 – after 455 AD). Page 168r is blank. Moreover, page 168v contains a sort of impressum, written in a mirror image (i.e. from right to left), asserting the codex was owned by the monastery at Heiligenkreuz. It is followed by an *anathema*, a postscript threatening that everyone who would not respect this fact would be banished. A set of numerals 1 through 10, each fully written out, that appear as catchwords at the bottom of pages 8v, 16v, 24v, 32v, 40v, 48v, 56v, 64v, 72v and 73r, dates back to the time of the production of the codex. The numerals are indubitably of Slavic origin. They are written out in two parts, namely to the left and right of a Roman numeral, most probably representing ordinal numerals I through X. To illustrate, ET.I^o.NO. (8v), where I^o = *primum* ‘the first’ and ET.I^o.NO. = ETNO. In the article cited above, the authors provide a graphematic and linguistic analysis of the newly discovered Slavic linguistic material, whereby they affirm that the exact genealogical linguistic attribution of the language of the Heiligenkreuz numerals is not possible³. On the basis of some linguistic features of the numerals (namely, the nasal reflex of the Proto-Slavic nasal vowel **ę*, the cardinal numeral *edno* and the ordinal numeral *tretji*), the two scholars are inclined to recognize a variant of Slovenian in them, more precisely, one of its Carinthian dialects, most likely the Podjuna/Jauntal dialect, as this Slovenian dialect has retained the old nasal vowels

² This text was written using the ZRCola input system (<http://zrcola.zrc-sazu.si>), developed at the Research Centre of the Slovenian Academy of Sciences and Arts in Ljubljana (<http://www.zrc-sazu.si>) by Peter Weiss.

³ “Przeanalizowane zapisy liczebników dotyczą niewątpliwie liczebników słowiańskich, ale jednoznaczne wskazanie konkretnego języka słowiańskiego nie jest możliwe” (Lewaszkiewicz & Wydra 2021: 81).

until the present day. However, they do not exclude the possibility of the linguistic basis of the numerals being Polish either.

The Slavic numerals 1 through 10 in the Heiligenkreuz Codex from the third quarter of the 12th century are undoubtedly the most important discovery of new historical linguistic material in Slavic studies in recent times. The great credit of the discovery goes indisputably to the two Polish linguists. However, their statement that the exact attribution of the numerals to a concrete Slavic language is not possible poses a huge challenge to Slavic historical comparative linguistics. Linguistic material permitting, it is in fact historical comparative linguistics (as a part of genealogical linguistics) with its exact methodology that is able to establish the exact genealogical linguistic affiliation of a given linguistic system. In the 1870s, the Leipzig Neogrammarians came to the correct conclusion that sound change is by far the most systematic process among the changes that can affect a given language (cf. the Neogrammarian hypothesis of the regularity of sound change). Sound changes can be accurately captured by mathematically precise rules (rather appropriately, the Neogrammarians called them *Lautgesetze*, i.e. sound laws). As such, the historical phonology of a language is undeniably the most important criterion for an accurate genealogical classification of languages. The morphological criterion as well as syntactic and lexical features may complement this, but only if the areas of innovation in the other domains overlap with those involving sound change⁴.

This article aims to provide a genealogical linguistic attribution of the Slavic numerals in the Heiligenkreuz Codex. Firstly, the language of the newly discovered numerals is historically contextualized through what is known of the Slavic language in the Eastern Alpine and the western Pannonian regions in the period between the mid-6th and late 12th centuries. Furthermore, contemporaneous Slavic idioms to the immediate south and the immediate north of that linguistic area are considered as well. In this context, particular attention is paid to the language of the *Freising Fragments* (Slovenian *Brižinski / Freisinški spomeniki*), with a controversy over its linguistic affiliation still persisting in some scholarly works up to the present day. Secondly, through careful consideration of the historical phonology underlying the attested forms first divested of graphemic peculiarities and subjected to phonetic interpretation, the contribution arrives at a genealogical linguistic attribution to the particular Slavic language to which these numerals must belong.

⁴ For a very accurate discussion of the theory and methodology of historical linguistics, cf. Hock ³2021. For the criteria of genealogical linguistic classification, using Slavic linguistic material, cf. Šekli 2018a.

2. The original Slavic linguistic area in the Eastern Alps and western Pannonia

The locality of Heiligenkreuz happens to be situated in the Vienna Woods. It thus lies in the broader Eastern Alpine region along the Danube River, stretching from Traungau in the west to the western outskirts of the Pannonian Basin in the east. In the period from the second half of the 6th to the end of the 12th century, this territory was, to a great extent, part of the Slavic linguistic area. The Slavic settlement of the region took place in the second half of the 6th century, in two migration waves⁵. After c. 550 the Slavs started to occupy their future “homeland” from the north-east (i.e. from the later West Slavic area) along the Danube and its tributaries, while in c. 585 immigration from the south-east (i.e. from the later South Slavic area) along the Sava River and its affluents took place, the latter together with and under the rule of the Avars. The first historical records of the Slavic presence in the Eastern Alps date back to the end of the 6th century and refer to the area along the upper course of the Drava/Drau River. Specifically, according to *Historia Langobardorum* ‘History of Lombards’ (IV, 7) by Paul the Deacon (Paulus Diaconus) (c. 720/730–799), a Lombard historian from Cividale/Cividât/Čedad, Duke Tassilo I of Bavaria (591–610) broke into the *Sclaborum provincia* ‘the region of the Slavs’ in c. 592, referring to the area in the vicinity of the ancient *Aguntum*, i.e. a Roman *municipium* near the present-day town of Lienz (Kos 1902: 144–145). However, after the Frankish-Avar wars (791–803), which saw the Eastern Alps come under the domain of the Franks, the Bavarians started to populate the land (south-)eastwards from Bavaria. In this way, Alpine Slavic came into direct contact with Bavarian Old High German. In the following centuries, the progressive recession of Slavic in favour of Bavarian can be clearly observed. The last attestations of the presence of the Slavs and their personal names in the area between Traungau and the Vienna Basin (German *Wiener Becken*) date back to the second half of the 12th century (cf. *Liuboszta Sclava, uxor Laztei de Sippach* [...], *Laztey sclavus* ‘the she-Slav *Liuboszta*, wife of *Laztei* from Sipbach [...], the Slav *Laztey*’ in the *Necrologies of the Monastery of Saint Florian* (*Necrologia monasterii Sancti Floriani*) (Sankt Florian in present-day Upper Austria), where *Liuboszta* = **Ľubosta*, *Laztei/Laztey* = **Vlastěj*) (Kronsteiner 1975: 49, 85)⁶.

Mirroring the presence of different ethno-linguistic identities and the actual administrative organisation, the stretch of land along the Danube carried various

⁵ The historical facts concerning the “Slovenian” history are taken from Štih 1999 and 2016, while those in relation to the “Austrian” history are to be found in Vocolka 2000 and Bruckmüller 2017.

⁶ For the last attestations of Slavs and personal names of Slavic origin in the territory of present-day Upper and Lower Austria in the second half of the 12th century, cf. Kronsteiner 1975: 120–121, 1980: 218 and Holzer 2007: 235.

denominations in written sources. In the decades following the Frankish-Avar wars, the area was still called *partes Sclavorum et Avarorum* ‘the area of the Slavs and Avars’ (805), *Avaria* (811) or *Sclavinia* (837) (Holzer 2001a: 24, 35; Kos 1906: 40, 100–101). Nonetheless, after the reformation of the Holy Roman Empire in 828, the whole area populated by the Slavs, encompassing the whole Eastern Alpine region, was organised into the Bavarian *plaga orientalis* (German *Ostland*) ‘eastern land’ (the Latin name is attested for the first time c. 870)⁷. Within this new administrative entity, the Eastern March (German *Ostmark*) was established along the Danube. In 976 *Luitpoldus*, i.e. Leopold I of Babenberg (976–994), became the *marchio* ‘margrave’ of this new *marcha* ‘march’, which was then ruled by members of the House of Babenberg up to their extinction in 1246. In 1133 Margrave Leopold III (1095–1136) founded the Cistercian monastery at Heiligenkreuz. The name of the march itself was attested for the first time in 996 as *Ostarrîchi* (> German *Österreich* ‘Austria’)⁸. Finally, in 1156 the March of Austria was elevated to the Duchy of Austria.

In the period from the second half of the 6th up to the end of the 12th century, the Slavic settlement area in the Eastern Alps and western Pannonia spanned the approximate area from the Danube in the north to the Adriatic Coast and the Kolpa/Kupa River in the south as well as to the western outskirts of the Pannonian Basin in the east⁹. This medieval Slavic-speaking area is solidly confirmed by several facts, viz. 1) the historical records of the time, all in Latin, attest to the presence of the Slavs in the Eastern Alps, providing the Latin denominations for them and their new homeland¹⁰, as well as the epichoric geographical and personal names of Slavic origin¹¹; 2) the geographical names of pre-Slavic and Slavic origin intergrated as loanwords from Slavic into Bavarian High German¹²; 3) the geographical names displaying the element *Windisch-* ‘Slavic’ (in the south later semantically narrowed to ‘Slovenian’, cf. the titles of the first two Slovenian printed books *Catechismus In der Windischen Sprach* and *Abecedarium vnd der klein Catechismus In der Windischen Sprach*, published in Schwäbisch Hall in 1550 by Primož Trubar (1508–1586)) started to appear in written sources in the

⁷ “Diese *plaga orientalis* deckte sich also fast genau mit dem slavisch besiedelten Gebiet im bairischen Machtbereich” (Holzer 2007: 235).

⁸ Although most probably interlinguistic synonyms, the terms *plaga orientalis* and *Ostarrîchi* do not denote the same area. While *plaga orientalis* refers to the whole Eastern Alpine region populated by the Slavs, *Ostarrîchi* became limited to its stretch of land along the Danube.

⁹ Cf. the map *Slovenci po naselitvi* in Kos 1955: 75 (however, the denomination *Slovenci* ‘Slovenians’ is not appropriate for the period of the Early Middle Ages) as well as *Karte 167.2 Siedlungsnamen slawischer Herkunft in Österreich* in Wiesinger 1995 and *Karte 235.1 Slavische Gewässernamen mit dem Suffix -ica* in Udolph 1995: 1542.

¹⁰ Cf. Kos 1902, 1906, 1911, 1915; Kronsteiner 1980; Holzer 2001a, 2008.

¹¹ Cf. Kronsteiner 1975, Holzer 2001a, Bergmann 2005, Anreiter 2015.

¹² Cf. Ramovš 1924 and 1936: passim; Snoj 2009: passim.

12th century, in the period when Slavs in the northern part of the Eastern Alpine region already constituted a minority in relation to the Bavarian population; the adjective is attested for the first time in 1111, cf. the place name *Windisscendorf* ‘Slavic Village’ near Eggenburg in the vicinity of the Schmide River, i.e. a northern tributary of the Danube in present-day Lower Austria (Kronsteiner 1975: 197–198); 4) the archeological evidence¹³; 5) the so called *decima sclavonica* ‘the Slavic tithe’, documented for the period 800–1100¹⁴; 6) the actual Slovenian linguistic area¹⁵, which represents just the remnants of a once much larger Alpine Slavic / Early Slovenian speech territory.

3. The Slavic language in the Eastern Alps and western Pannonia in the period c. 550–1200

In the period between c. 550 and c. 1200, the Slavic language in the Eastern Alpine and western Pannonian regions developed gradually from Proto-Slavic to Slovenian¹⁶. Taking into consideration the modelling of the linguogenesis and the internal linguistic history of Slovenian, the following Slavic chronolects (i.e. chronological varieties) and geolects (i.e. spatial varieties) can be defined: Proto-Slavic (c. 550–800) – Alpine (South) Slavic (c. 800–1000) – Early Slovenian (c. 1000–1200) – Dialectal Slovenian (c. 1200–). Early Slovenian was the common starting point of all Slovenian dialects and was, as such, not yet dialectally differentiated. At the beginning of the last period, i.e. c. 1200, Slovenian split at first into two main macrogeolects, viz. Northwestern and Southeastern Slovenian. Within these two original dialect continua, the Slovenian dialectal bases were gradually formed (by the end of the 14th century), which were (and still are) further splitting into dialects (some of them into subdialects) and their local varieties. In the following Alpine Slavic and Early Slovenian are briefly presented as mirrored in written sources.

Alpine Slavic and Early Slovenian are fragmentarily documented in several geographical and personal names dispersed through several contemporaneous epichoric documents written in Latin. Alpine Slavic turning into Early Slovenian is directly attested in the language of the *Freising Fragments* (*Monumenta*

¹³ Cf. Reitinger 1980 and the other archeological articles in the publication *Baiern und Slawen in Oberösterreich* (Holter 1980) for the situation in the northwestern margins of the former Slavic settlement area (i.e. in present-day Upper Austria).

¹⁴ Cf. Tremel 1966, citation according to Kronsteiner 1975: 199.

¹⁵ Cf. Ramovš 1936: 1–2; Logar & Rigler 1983; SLA 1–(2) (2011–(2016)).

¹⁶ Cf. Ramovš 1936; Rigler 1963; Logar 1974, 1981; Bezljaj 1976–2007; Šivic-Dular 1996; Greenberg 2000; Smole 2001: 1–10; Snoj & Greenberg 2012; Šekli 2018a: 148–156, 297–349; Šekli 2021.

Frisingensia = MF) (c. 972–1039). As far as orthography is concerned, the Slavic attestations reflect the Bavarian High German writing system of the Bavarian scriptoria of the time. This means that the Slavic sounds were represented by the graphemic signs utilized for writing out the equivalent or similar sounds in Bavarian (Old and Middle) High German¹⁷. To illustrate, the Bavarian spelling <ſ> for [ʃ/z] was used to represent the Slavic palatals š, ž, č (Ramovš & Kos 1937: 6) (cf. MF *naſ* (II, 1) = *naš* ‘our’ < PSi. **našb*; MF *ſivuot* (I, 9) = *život* ‘life’ < PSi. **životb*; considering č see the discussion of the numeral CeS.III⁹.TIRI. in section 5.). Furthermore, in the second and the third Freising Fragment, for example, some vowels were equipped with circumflex signs (cf. MF Npl m *Tige* (II, 41) = *tije* ‘the same’ < PSi. **ti de*; MF Nsg m ptc. praes. act. *bdê* (III, 32) = *bdê* ‘sleeping’ < PSi. **b̃b̃dê*) marking long accented vowels in Old and Middle High German.

Alpine Slavic (c. 800–1000) is an intermediate chronolect between Proto-Slavic and Early Slovenian. The most important documents of this period happen to be two “collections of personal names”, viz. the *Confraternity Book of the Abbey of Saint Peter in Salzburg* (*Liber confraternitatum Sancti Petri Salisburgensis*) (784–907), consisting of two parts, i.e. the older *Liber confraternitatum vetustior* (LCv, pp. 4–44) and the younger *Liber confraternitatum recentior* (LCr, pp. 45–56) (Kos 1906: 256–257), as well as the *Gospel of Cividale* (*Codex Foroiuliensis* = CF) (9–10th century) (Kos 1906: 248–256). However, toward the end of the 10th century, the most important linguistic document of that period was produced, namely the already mentioned *Freising Fragments*. The codex contains three religious texts produced in the Carolingian minuscule. These texts were composed in the Ottonian era, probably between 972 and 1039, but most likely not after 1000 (Ramovš & Kos 1937: 7; Grdina 1992/2004: 23). The fragments consist of the following three texts: I *Glagolite po naš redka sloueza* = *Glagolite po nas ředka slovesa* ‘Say after us [these] few words’ (formula for confession), II *Eccę bi detd naſ ne zegreſil* = *Eće bi đed naš ne sęgrešil*

¹⁷ “Als ich zum ersten male unter Leskiens anleitung diese [Freisinger] denkmäler las, machte dieser auf verschiedene absonderlichkeiten der orthographie aufmerksam und vermutete, dass dieselben aus dem deutschen ihre erklärung finden möchten**). Die richtigkeit dieser vermutung war mir sofort klar; es liegt ja auch so nahe, dass der oder die verfasser, mit der damals für das ahd. üblichen orthographie vertraut, deutsche lautbezeichnungen auf das slavische anzuwenden suchten. **) Ähnlich auch schon Kopitar [1836] p. XLII” (Braune 1874: 527–528). “Ist somit in allen drei Denkmälern die Schreibung der *Zischlaute* auf Grund althochdeutscher Ausspracheverhältnisse durch mehr oder minder häufiges Versprechen zu verstehen, so kann auch hinsichtlich der übrigen Laute kein Zweifel bestehen, daß ihre Schreibung *nicht den altslovenischen Lautwert an sich*, sondern die asl. Laute in *althochdeutscher* Aussprache darstellt” (Pirchegger 1931: 44). “Pisec brižinskih spomenikov je bil, kakor že rečeno, učenec starobavarske grafične šole in je obvladal stvnem. grafiko zelo dobro” (Ramovš & Kos 1937: 11–15). “Die althochdeutsche Schreibung der Freisinger Denkmäler stellt „*nicht den altslovenischen Lautstand an sich*, sondern die asl. Laute in *althochdeutscher Aussprache*“ dar (Pirchegger 1931: 44, seine Hervorhebungen), die Freisinger Denkmäler sind also „eingedeutschte“ slavische Texte” (Holzer 2001b: 96).

‘If our forefather had not sinned’ (sermon on sin and repentance), and III *Iaz ze zaglagolo zlogeiu* = *Jaz se zaglagolŏ zloděju* ‘I renounce the devil’ (formula for confession). Using the theory and methodology of genealogical linguistics, the Slavic language of this codex can be defined as Alpine Slavic turning into Early Slovenian.

Alpine Slavic can be, in terms of relative and absolute chronology, clearly delimited both from Proto-Slavic, on the one hand, and Early Slovenian on the other. Its *terminus post quem* is represented by the Slavic liquid metathesis, datable to c. 800, with across-the-board vowel-lengthening in South Slavic, including the old-acuted and non-old-acuted anlauting sequence **oRC-* (cf. the place name *Labanta* attested in 860 = **Labotъ* (> Sln. *Lábot*, borrowed into German as *Lavant*, i.e. after the metathesis, but before the denasalisation) < PSl. **Olbotъ*, an early integration of the substrate name *Albanta* (Ramovš 1936: 24, 27; Snoj 2009: 222, 80; Repanšek 2016: 119, 123), and the personal name *Razemuza* attested in 864 at Krka/Gurk in Carinthia = **Rastimysla* < PSl. **Orstimysla* (Kos 1886: 133, 1906: 146–148; Kronsteiner 1975: 60), as well as the metathesized forms in MF such as *razumeti* (II 29) = *razuměti* ‘to understand’ (> Sln. *razuměti*) < PSl. **orzuměti*, and Asg m anim. *lafna* (II 44–45) = *lačna* ‘hungry’ < PSl. **olčьna*). On the other hand, the *terminus ante quem* of Alpine Slavic could be represented by the South Slavic fronting of the Proto-Slavic middle high vowel **y*, turning it into a front high vowel **i*, and, above all, the common Slovenian simplification of the sequence **tv* in some post-Proto-Slavic complex consonant clusters. Both sound changes are datable to c. 1000 and are documented in the language of the Freising Fragments, where they were still in progress. As far as the fronting of Proto-Slavic **y* is concerned, *y* occurs only sporadically after labial consonants (written as <ui>, <ugi>, <u>) (cf. MF 2sg imper. *muzlite* (II 84) = *myslite* ‘think!’ < PSl. **myslite*; MF *buiti* (II 42) = *byti* ‘to be’ < PSl. **byti*), while in the majority of cases *i* seems to be attested (cf. MF *biti* (I 7, III 21) = *biti* ‘to be’ < PSl. **byti*; MF Npl *zinouue* (II 16) = *sinove* ‘sons’ < PSl. **synove*), the ratio between the two reflexes being 5 vs. 53 in favour of *i*. A similar process is to be found in the reflexes of the post-Proto-Slavic consonant cluster *stv* (cf. MF Nsg ptc. praet. act. *ztuoril* (I 12) = *stvoril* vs. MF *ztoriti* (II 107) = *storiti* ‘to do, create, commit, make’ < PSl. **sьtvoriti*, cf. Sln. *storiti*). As far as Proto-Slavic nasal vowels are concerned, Alpine Slavic undoubtedly attests to their presence (cf. the personal name *Zunduco* (LCv, 13) = **Sodьkь* (Kronsteiner 1975: 65)). However, in written documents they are not consistently marked¹⁸. In fact, the Freising Fragments do not mark them systematically, consider MF Gpl m *vuenſih* (I 23) = *veſjix* ‘of bigger’ < PSl. **veſьbьjixъ* vs. MF *zueti* (II 89) = *sveti* ‘holy’ < PSl. **svetьjь*; MF 1sg praes.

¹⁸ “Pisava z *e* in *o* brez *n* je deloma že zelo zgodnja, na drugi strani pa se tradicionalna *en* in *on* dolgo držita. Treba je poudariti, da se nosni izgovor večkrat ni grafično izrazil” (Ramovš 1936: 31).

poronfo (I 29) = *porqčq* ‘I give, I deliver’ < PSl. **porqčq* as opposed to MF *porufo* (III 61) = *porqčq* ‘I give, I deliver’ < PSl. **porqčq*, and MF Asg m inanim. *zodni* (I 27) = *sqdni* ‘of judgement’ < PSl. **sqdъnъjbъ*).

Early Slovenian (c. 1000–1200) is an intermediate linguistic stage between Alpine Slavic and Dialectal Slovenian. There are no texts preserved from this period. As in the previous period, the language is documented in epichoric proper names. The most important “collection of personal names” is represented by the *Seckau Confraternity Book* (*Liber confraternitatum Seccoviensis* = LCS), which was produced in the Benedictine monastery in Seckau (German *Seckau* originates from Early Slovenian **Sěkova*) in Upper Styria in the second half of the 12th century, most probably after 1180 (Kos 1913; Kos 1915: 471–475). Early Slovenian shows further linguistic changes towards contemporary Slovenian. However, these changes are still common Slovenian, i.e. characteristic of the whole past and current Slovenian linguistic area. Common Slovenian linguistic changes predominantly encompass accent changes, which, however, are not discernible from medieval texts, which are provided with no accent signs. The *terminus ante quem* of Early Slovenian can be set before the denasalization of the Proto-Slavic nasal vowels **ę* and **ǫ* in Southeastern, but not in Northwestern Slovenian, where the nasals were preserved. In fact, they are retained in a part of the Podjuna/Jauntal dialect in Carinthia up to the present day (cf. Zdovc 1972: 74–85). Thus, the denasalization in the southeastern part of Slovenian denotes the beginning of the dialectal fragmentation of Slovenian into the two dialect areas already mentioned above.

An in-depth analysis of all the sparse, but very important linguistic fragments confirms a relative linguistic uniformity of the Slavic language in this span of time in the whole Eastern Alpine (as well as, most probably, in the western Pannonian) region. During the 11th and 12th centuries, the Slavic speech territory still spanned the approximate area from the Danube in the north to the Kolpa/Kupa in the south. Early Slovenian can be defined on the basis of some specific linguistic features, predominantly in the domain of phonetics but not disregarding morphology and lexicon either. These specific linguistic phenomena, be they archaisms or innovations, delimited Early Slovenian from the adjacent Slavic geolects present to the north and to the south of that linguistic area, i.e. from the language later developing into Czech and Slovak on the one hand and the Central South Slavic continuum, more specifically Kajkavian and Čakavian, on the other.

Divested of the “Bavarian High German” graphemic peculiarities in the written sources of the period in question, the linguistic features that carry diagnostic value for the geolinguistic delimitation and, consequently, genealogical definition of Early Slovenian are as follows: 1) the South Slavic reflex of liquid metathesis displaying vowel lengthening in the metathesized Proto-Slavic non-old-acuted anlauting sequence **oRC-* (cf. the place-name *Rauna* attested in 1108–1125 (> German *Ranna* in the vicinity of Mühldorf near Melk) ← **Ravъna* (Anreiter 2015:

114) < PSl. **Orvьna* ← **orvьnъ* ‘level, even, flat’ and the 12th-century attestation of the personal name *Raztegoj* at Leoben (Kos 1913: 19; Kronsteiner 1975: 59) = **Rastigoj* < PSl. **Orstigojъ* ← **orsti* ‘to grow’); 2) the Slovenian and Central South Slavic reflex of the Proto-Slavic palatal **tʲ* yielding **tʲ* (> **č̣* > **č*), which was integrated into Bavarian High German as *k*, hence the graphemic representation of Slavic **tʲ* by Bavarian <c, k, ch, ck> (Ramovš 1924: 265–268, 1936: 51) (cf. PSl. **Peľane* ‘inhabitants of rocks’, Lpl **Peľaxъ* → German *Pöckau* ‘Peče/Pöckau (in Carinthia)’ (Ramovš 1936: 52; Snoj 2009: 303; Zdovc 2010: 82); 1170 *Tobiric* (Wiener Neustadt) (Kronsteiner 1975: 32) = **Dobritʲ* < PSl. **Dobritь*; 1170 *Zverich* (in present-day Upper Austria) (Kronsteiner 1975: 89) = **Zvěritʲ* < PSl. **Zvěritь*); 3) the completion of the South Slavic fronting of the Proto-Slavic middle high vowel **y*, resulting in the front high vowel **i* in all positions (as demonstrable for the 12th century by the likes of *Mabilka*, which was attested at Kremsmünster (Kronsteiner 1975: 50) and must be interpreted as **Mabilka* ← PSl. **Domabyľka*); 4) the completion of the common Slovenian simplification of the Proto-Slavic sequence **tv* in some complex consonant clusters (cf. *Tridislav* at Sankt Michael, upper part of Styria, documented in 1188 (Kos 1886: 141, 1915: 372; Kronsteiner 1975: 78) and indubitably spelling **Tʲdislav* < PSl. **Tvьrdislavъ*); 5) the perseverance of Proto-Slavic nasal vowels (cf. the 12th-century attestation of the name *Zwento* at Sankt Florian (in present-day Upper Austria) (Kronsteiner 1975: 73) = **Svęt* < PSl. **Svętь*); 6) the South Slavic form of the pronominal stem **seb-* (reduced to **se-*) ‘of oneself’ (cf. the personal name *Zebon* (Kos 1906: 83; Kronsteiner 1975: 61) = **Sebonъ* attested in 827 in Puchenau (in present-day Upper Austria), which continues the PSl. **Sebonъ*, a hypocoristic form of the compounds with the **sebě-* element); further examples: 864 *Zebedrach* (Krka/Gurk), 1134 *Zebdrach* (Otmanje/Ottmanach in Carinthia) (Kos 1886: 134, 1906: 147, 1915: 73; Kronsteiner 1975: 60) = **Sebědrag(ъ)* < PSl. **Sebědorgъ*); 7) the South Slavic form of the adjective **toplъ* ‘warm’ (cf. the German place name *Döbling* (Vienna) deriving from **Toplikъ* ← SSl. **toplъ* (Anreiter 2015: 76)).

The two features that carry irrefutable diagnostic value for the delimitation of Early Slovenian from the adjacent Slavic geolects present to the north and to the south are the common Slovenian simplification of some complex clusters involving **tv* and the retention of Proto-Slavic nasal vowels. This is because both Czech-Slovak and Kajkavian-Čakavian linguistic areas feature a perseverance of the consonant cluster **tv* (cf. the personal names Old Czech *Turdimir* (12th century) = *Tv̋rdim̋r* (Pleskalová 1998: 143) < PSl. **Tvьrdimirъ* and Kajkavian-Čakavian TVRD(O)SLAV(I)Ć (Ozalj, 1544) (Fučić 1982: 275) = **Tv̋doslavić* < PSl. **Tvьrdoslaviť*) as well as an early denasalization of Proto-Slavic **ę* and **ǫ* that cannot actually be younger than the 11th century, when the change is first documented (the 11th-century Prague Fragments (Czech *Pražské hlaholské zlomky*) attest to 3pl aor. *kupiša* ‘they bought’ < PSl. **kupišę*

and 3sg aor. *prěstupi* ‘he sinned’ < PSl. **perstopi*, while the Krk Inscription (Croatian *Krčki natpis*) from the island of Krk (in the Čakavian speech area) dating to the 11th century reads RUGOTA (Fučić 1982: 223) for PSl. **Rŏgota*).

4. A short note on the linguistic affiliation of the language of the *Freising Fragments*

In spite of nearly a century of serious inquiry in historiography and historical linguistics (cf. Grafenauer 1936; Ramovš & Kos 1937) as well as a new critical edition equipped with a complete scientific bibliography (cf. *Brižinski spomeniki* 1992/2004) a now rather outdated view still seems to persist in Paleoslavonic studies of the second half of the 20th and the beginning of the 21st century that the language of the Freising Fragments represents a “Pannonian Slovenian” recension of Old Church Slavic etc.¹⁹. After an in-depth analysis of the two attested Old Slavic language varieties within the theoretical and methodological framework of genealogical linguistics, one can but ascertain that Old Church Slavic and the language of the Freising Fragments represent two distinct South Slavic geolects. Furthermore, the difference between the two is not only spatial, but chronological as well. Taking into consideration the linguistic features of the Classical Cyrillo-Methodian era (863–885), Old Church Slavic can be defined as Eastern South Slavic of the 9th century (in a great majority of the cases, the oldest preserved texts from the end of the 10th and from the 11th century reflect faithfully the language of the 9th century), i.e. Early Eastern South Slavic or, alternatively, Early Bulgarian and Macedonian, still undifferentiated at that time. On the contrary, the language of the Freising Fragments represents Western South Slavic from the end of the 10th century, or Alpine Slavic turning into Early Slovenian, to be precise. This fact is irrefutably confirmed by a mere enumeration of the sound changes in both linguistic systems that are diagnostic in the determination of the genealogical linguistic status of the two linguistic systems²⁰.

Old Church Slavic (OCS) displays a number of very early sound changes typical of Eastern South Slavic, among which a rather diagnostic one seems to be the coalescence of the Proto-Slavic palatals **ĭ* and **ĭ̃* and the palatal consonant clusters **šč* and **žž*, yielding the typically Eastern South Slavic clusters *št* and *žd* (cf. PSl. **světa* > OCS *svěšta* ‘lamp, torch, candle; fire’ = PSl. **puščati* > OCS *puštati* ‘to be leaving, to keep leaving’; PSl. **meda* > OCS *mežda* ‘border,

¹⁹ Cf. Hamm 1974: 189; Damjanović 2004: 153–154; Večerka 2006: 104–105. For an opposing view, however, see, e.g., Trunte 2021: 290, 427.

²⁰ For a detailed discussion on the linguistic affiliation of Old Church Slavic and the language of the Freising Fragments, cf. Šekli 2014 and 2018b.

road' = PSl. **drožžbje* > OCS *droždьbje* 'yeast'). On the other hand, the language of the Freising Fragments does not display a single Eastern South Slavic diagnostic linguistic feature, but only Western South Slavic (i.e. Slovenian, Kajkavian, Čakavian and West Štokavian) sound changes such as: 1) PSl. **t̃*, **d̃* > Slovenian, West Kajkavian, Čakavian **t̃*, **j* > MF *t̃*, *j* (PSl. **pomotb̃* > OCS *pomoštь* 'help' vs. MF Lsg *na pomoki* (III 20) = *na pomoti* 'in help'; PSl. **žędbñb̃* > OCS *žęždbñb̃* 'thirsty' vs. MF Asg m anim. *fegna* (II 45-46) = *žejna* 'thirsty'); 2) PSl. **šč̃*, **žž̃* > Slovenian, Kajkavian, Čakavian, West Štokavian **šč̃*, **žž̃* > MF *šč̃* [**st̃*/**št̃*] (**žž̃* is not attested) (PSl. Nsg m ptc. praet. pass. **kr̃b̃ščęñb̃* > OCS *kr̃b̃šteñb̃* 'baptized' vs. MF *criſken* (I 13) = *kr̃ščęñ* 'baptized'); 3) PSl. **b̃*, **b̃* > Western South Slavic **ə* > MF *ə*, i.e. the merger of Proto-Slavic jers in strong position to a mid-vowel quality (in MF graphically represented by <e> or <i> irrespective of their Proto-Slavic origin) is a common Western South Slavic innovation (PSl. **ṽbx̃b̃* ≥ **ṽb̃śb̃* > OCS *ṽbs̃b̃* 'whole' vs. MF Asg m inanim. *vuez* (I 3), *vuiž* (I 27) = *vəs* 'whole'; PSl. **dbñb̃* > OCS *dbñb̃* 'day' vs. MF Asg. *den* (I 9, 12, 32) = *dən* 'day'; PSl. **s̃b̃lb̃* > OCS *s̃b̃lb̃* 'messenger' vs. MF Gpl *zil* (II 15) = *səl* 'of messengers'; 4) PSl. **VžV* > Slovenian, Kajkavian, Čakavian, West Štokavian *VžV* > *VrV*, MF *VžV* > *VrV*, i.e. the change of the Proto-Slavic intervocalic **ž* to *r* (rhotacism) was a non-common South Slavic innovation (it only occurred regularly in Slovenian, Kajkavian, Čakavian and West Štokavian): PSl. 1pl praes. **možęm̃b̃* > OCS *možęm̃b̃* 'we can', MF *moſęm* (II 41) = *možęm* 'we can'; PSl. **te že* > OCS *te že* vs. MF *tere* (II 32, 110) = *tere* 'and', cf. Sln. *ter*). The only properly "Slovenian" linguistic innovation could potentially be recognized in the common Slovenian simplification of the post-Proto-Slavic consonant cluster *stv* > *st* (see above).

To conclude, the language of the Freising Fragments does not reflect an admixture of the older autochthonous Eastern South Slavic features and younger allochthonous "Slovenian" characteristics. Consequently, as is clearly discernible from the changes on the level of phonology that took place between the Proto-Slavic period and the language of the Freising Fragments, the hypothesis that the latter represents a "Pannonian Slovenian" recension of Old Church Slavic fails to convince. Nevertheless, the genealogical linguistic approach does not exclude any cultural and, consequently, textual interference between the Bavarian Old High German (OHG), "Alpine Slavic" and Old Church Slavic texts in the Eastern Alps and western Pannonia, most probably in the regions linked to Carantania, Carniola, and Lower Pannonia. It is in fact very probable that the three idioms came into contact during the stay of Constantine-Cyril (826/827–869) and Methodius (814–885) at the court of Duke Kocel (861–874) in Lower Pannonia between 867 and 874. To illustrate, the texts of the confession formula display a striking resemblance in the three languages in question, viz. OHG *Trohtin, dir uuirdu ih pigihtik allero minero suntōno enti missatāteo* (*Altbairisches/St. Emmeramer Gebet*, 1–2), MF *Boſe, gozpodi miloztiuvi, otze boſe, tebe izpovuede vuez moi greh* = *Bože, gospodi milostivi, očę božę, tebę izpovědě vəs*

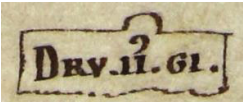
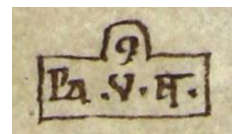
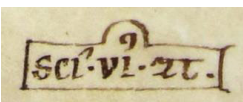
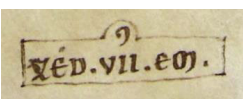
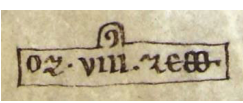
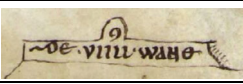
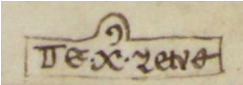
moj grěx (*Freising Fragments*, I 1–2), and OCS *G[ospod]i b[o]že, tebě bōdō azъ ispovědenъ vsěxъ moixъ grěxъ* (*Euchologium Sinaticum*, 72a 5–6, more precisely *Činъ nadъ ispovědajōštiimъ sę*). Furthermore, some coinciding passages have been established in the MF II sermon on sin and repentance (the first sentence reciting *Eccę bi detd naf ne zegrefil* = *Eće bi dēd naš ne sęgrēšil*) and the OCS homiletic text *Poučenije na pamjatъ apostola ili mučenika*, ascribed to Clement of Ohrid (c. 830/840–916), disciple of Constantine-Cyril and Methodius, as well. However, the potential interferences on the textual level cannot change the genealogical status of a given idiom.

5. The Slavic numerals 1 through 10 in the Heiligenkreuz Codex

The language of the Slavic numerals 1 through 10 in the Heiligenkreuz Codex displays the phonetic features of the Early Slovenian of the 11th and 12th centuries. This section provides a graphematic and phonetic analysis of the numerals, paying particular attention to those aspects in which the present interpretation of the linguistic material differs from that in Lewaszkiewicz & Wydra 2021. The documentation and interpretation of each numeral are organized as follows: the Proto-Slavic reconstruction is followed by the intermediate Common Slovenian form (presented on both segmental and suprasegmental levels) as well as its historical records (i.e. the oldest attestation, dialect form if significant for historical linguistic interpretation, and modern standard form)²¹.

ET.I⁹.NO. (8^v) = **ETNO** = **edno*. The spelling <T> for *d* is quite common, as speakers of Bavarian High German used to mix up (Slavic) voiced and voiceless obstruents. In fact, in written sources both the spelling <t> for *d* (cf. 1134 *Ratus* (Loka/Latschach in the vicinity of Štalenska gora/Magdalensberg in Carinthia) (Kronsteiner 1975: 59) = **Raduš* <PSl. **Radušь*) as well as the spelling <d> for *t* (cf. 957–993 *Lazdimir* (Lurnsko Polje/Lurnfeld in Carinthia) (Kronsteiner 1975: 85) = **(V)lastimir* <PSl. **Volstimirь*; 1240 *Widetz*, 1250 *Widitz* (Styria) (Kronsteiner 1975: 84) = **Vitac* <PSl. **Vitьcbь*) occur. The form **edno* is the neuter form of the cardinal numeral ‘one’, viz. PSl. **(j)edъnъ*, **(j)edъnā*, **(j)edъnō* (Ramovš 1952: 110; Bezljaj 1976: 124–125; Snoj ³2016: 148) > Sln. **(j)edān*, **(j)ednā*, **(j)ednō* (Stična Manuscript II (c. 1440) *edn* (IV 15, V 50) = *edān*, dial. Sln. *adān*, *adnā*, *adnō* = Nadiža/Natisone dialect (in the locality of Jevšček) *a'dan*, *ad-na*, *ad'no* (the original **e* was partially reduced to *a* in a pretonic syllable), Std.

²¹ The reconstruction of the Proto-Slavic accent is based on the works of Ch.S. Stang and V.A. Dybo (cf. Stang 1957; Dybo 1981, 2000) as well as the interpretations of M. S. (i.e. Marko Snoj) and M. F. (i.e. Metka Furlan) in Bezljaj 1995, 2005 and Snoj ²2003 (³2016). The Common Slovenian accent is deduced from its Proto-Slavic starting point in concomitance with Ramovš 1950, Rigler 1963 and Logar 1974, 1981; cf. Furlan 2013 as well.

Heiligenkreuz OCist., Cod. 250 ²²	Interpretation in Lewaszkiewicz & Wydra 2021	Interpretation in Šekli 2022b
	ET.I ⁹ .NO. edno	ET.I ⁹ .NO. *edno
	DRV.II ⁹ .GI. drugi	DRV.II ⁹ .GI. *drugi
	TRE.III ⁹ .TIGL. tretiji	TRE.III ⁹ .TIGL. *tretji
	CeS.IIII ⁹ .TIRI. CCS.IIII ⁹ .TIRI. četiry, čtiri/štiri	CeS.IIII ⁹ .TIRI. *če-, *čtiri/*štiri
	Pa.V ⁹ .NT. pět	Pa.V ⁹ .NT. *pět
	SCI.VI ⁹ .ZT. šest	SCI.VI ⁹ .ZT. *šest
	ZED.VII ⁹ .EM. sedem	ZED.VII ⁹ .EM. *sedəm
	OZ.VIII ⁹ .ZEM. osem	OZ.VIII ⁹ .ZEM. *osəm
	DE.VIIII ⁹ .WANØ. devět	DE.VIIII ⁹ .WANØ. *devět
	DE.X ⁹ .ZeNØ. desět	DE.X ⁹ .ZeNØ. *desět

²² The photographs of the entire codex Heiligenkreuz OCist., Cod. 250, from which the Slavic numerals 1 through 10 have been cropped, is available on the following page: <https://www.scriptoria.at/cgi-bin/digi.php?ms=AT3500-250>.

Sln. *éden* [édən] used as a noun, and *èn* in the adjectival function, *éna*, *éno* (with simplification of the consonant cluster *dn* > *n*).

DRV.II⁹.GI. (16^v) = **DRVGI** = **drugi*. The form **drugi* is the masculine form of the ordinal numeral ‘the second’ and descends from the original pronominal adjective PSl. **drŭgъ* ‘other (than this)’ (Ramovš 1952: 113; Bezljaj 1976: 118; Snoj ³2016: 156) > Sln. *drŭg*, which was secondarily used as the ordinal numeral ‘the second’, as such appearing in the definite form **drugъjb*/**drŭgъjb* > Sln. **drŭgi* (Lower Carniolan dialect *drŭgi*, Std. Sln. *drŭgi*).

TRE.III⁹.TIGI. (24^v) = **TRETIGI** = **tretji*. The spelling <G> for *j* is expected. In Old High German, the glide *j* in front of the front vowels *e*, *i* was graphemically represented by <g> in most cases (and rarely by <i>) (cf. OHG *jēhan* ‘to confess, to swear, to speak’, spelled as both <gehan> and <iēhan>) (Braune ¹⁶2018: 155–156). Indeed, the spelling <g> for *j* occurs in the Freising Fragments as well (cf. MF Dsg m *gemu* (II 2, 7, 96) = *jemu* ‘to him’ < PSl. **jemu*; MF Asg m anim. *fegna* (II 45–46) = *žejna* ‘thirsty’ < PSl. **žedъna*). The form **tretji* is the masculine form of the ordinal numeral ‘the third’, viz. PSl. **trětъjb-(jb)*²³, **trětъja(ja)*, **trětъje(je)* > Sln. **trètji*, **trètja*, **trètje* (Rateče or Celovec/Klagenfurt Manuscript (2nd half of the 14th cent.) *trettyi* (III 6) = *tretji*, Std. Sln. *trètji*, *trètja*, *trètje*). In Lewaszkiewicz & Wydra 2021: 71, the form TRETIGI is supposed to spell *tretiji*. However, from the etymological point of view, this interpretation runs contrary to the facts. The sequence IGI seems to be just a graphemic representation of **ji*. In fact, the sequences *j* + vowel were often spelled with a “pleonastic” *i*, which is documented in the Freising Fragments as well, where *je* is spelled <ige> (cf. MF *ugongenige* (II 23) = *ugo*[*ijenje* ‘contemplation, satisfaction’ < PSl. **ugoděnje*]; thus, if <ige> = *je* then <IGI> = *ji*).

CeS.III⁹.TIRI. (32^v) = **CeSTIRI**. The spelling CeSTIRI appears very problematic for a plausible linguistic interpretation. The authors of the first

²³ It is usually assumed that Sln. *trètji* must have originated in the definite form PSl. **trětъjbjb* (Ramovš 1952: 114; Snoj ³2016: 803–804). However, this is not the only possible interpretation (cf. Šivic-Dular 1998: 10–14). The origin of the post-Proto-Slavic sequences of the type **-jī*, **-jā*, **-jē*, reflecting the Proto-Slavic adjective in **-bjb*, **-bja*, **-bje* (PSl. **kōrvъjb*, **kōrvъja*, **kōrvъje* ‘of / relating to cow’ > Sln. **krāvji*, **krāvja*, **krāvje* > Std. Sln. *krāvji*, *krāvja*, *krāvje*), can be interpreted in at least two different ways. On the one hand, because of their relational meaning, this type of adjectives could have had the Proto-Slavic definite forms (Ramovš 1952: 104) which were later subject to contraction: PSl. **-bjbъjb*, **-bjajja*, **-bjēje* > post-PSl. **-jī*, **-jā*, **-jē*. However, they could have had the indefinite forms PSl. **-bjb*, **-bja*, **-bje* as well (Šivic-Dular 1998: 10–14), yielding the same result after three different changes: because of the weakening of the auslauting jer, the form in **-bjb* was subject to contraction (PSl. **-bjb* > post-PSl. **-ī*), while the other two forms experienced just a compensatory lengthening because of the loss of weak jers (PSl. **-bja*, **-bje* > post-PSl. **-jā*, **-jē*); the latter, being reinterpreted as contracted forms of the definite ones, caused the recomposition of PSl. **-ī* to **-jī* (for recomposition cf. Hock ³2021: 219–222).

publication favour the reading CeS.III⁹.TIRI., but they do not exclude the reading CCS.III⁹.TIRI. either. In a footnote they point out the reviewer's opinion that the numeral in question should read *č(e)štiri*, i.e. some sort of hybrid form between *č(e)tiri* and *štiri* (Lewaszkiwicz & Wydra 2021: 72, 77). The form must, most probably, read CeSTIRI²⁴, which, however, cannot be explained unequivocally in a satisfactory way.

If <e> has no actual phonetic value, the form must most probably be interpreted *CSTIRI = *čtiri, whereby it seems more plausible that the spelling <CS> stands for the affricate *č, and not for the fricative *š. In fact, in the Freising Fragments the spelling <cf>, which occurs twice, must read č in both cases (cf. MF Asg n *vüecfne* (I 34) = *věčně* 'eternal' < PSI. **věčbnoje*; MF Asg m inanim. *vüecfni* (I 34) = *věčni* 'eternal' < PSI. **věčbnъjъ*) (on the contrary, č is spelled in many other ways, viz. <z>, <f>, <tz>, <c>, <f>), while š is never spelled <cf> (but <f>, <ff>, <z>). If <e> does have actual phonetic value and in fact reflects a certain e, it is very possible that the spelling represents a sort of hybrid form of the type *čečtiri/*češtiri. If this is the case, the question arises whether <e> is just a misspelling or it mirrors a real existing form. Anyway, one gets the impression that *čečtiri/*češtiri is a sort of hybrid between the continuants of the Proto-Slavic ordinal numeral *četvrtъjъ 'the fourth' and the Proto-Slavic cardinal numeral *čbtyri 'four', both characteristic of the Slovenian linguistic area. Indeed, the Slavic numerals in the Heigenkreuz Codex happen to be both ordinal (cf. **drugi*, **tretji*) and cardinal (cf. **edno*, **pęt* etc.). If *čečtiri/*češtiri is a misspelling, it is possible to hypothesize that the scribe started to write the ordinal numeral, which came next to **tretji*, ordinal as well, thus *Ce = *če-, but changed his mind and continued to write out the cardinal numeral *STIRI = *čtiri/*štiri. If the form in question is not a misspelling, but a real form, the explanation of its origin must consider the same possibility of contamination.

Thus, the explanation of the numeral 'four'/'fourth' must take into consideration both the ordinal and the cardinal numeral. The ordinal numerals in the Slavic languages are continuants of two original forms, viz. PSI. *četvrtъjъ 'the fourth' > (OCS *četrvrtъyi*, New Štokavian *četrvrti*) Sln. *četiřti and PSI. *čbtyrtъjъ (> Old Czech *čtvrť* > Czech *čtvrtý*, Slovak *štvrtý*) (Snoj ³2016: 115)²⁵. The Proto-Slavic cardinal

²⁴ I would like to thank Acad. Prof. Dr Peter Štih for his help in disambiguating between the readings CeS and CCS. Without any doubt, he reads CeS.

²⁵ The form *čbtyrtъjъ is usually interpreted as being characteristic of West Slavic (Snoj ³2016: 115). The form of dial. Sln. *štirti* 'the fourth' most probably arose by analogical levelling under the influence of *štirje*, *štiri* 'four'. However, as Northwestern Slovenian displays some "West Slavic" features (cf. the retention of the consonant clusters *tl, *dl and *tn, *dn as well as the verbal prefix *vy- 'out of'), the form *štiri* in Northwestern Slovenian could theoretically be related to the West Slavic ones (cf. the attestations in the Zilja/Gailtal dialect (Brdo/Egg and Potoče/Potschach) *štirja* m, *štiri* f/n 'four', *štirti* 'the fourth' (Pronk 2009: 97) and the Rezija/Resia dialect (Bila/San Giorgio) *štirji* m, *štiri* f/n 'four', *štirtnji* 'the fourth' (Steenwijk 1992: 317)).

numerals, on the other hand, were PSl. *četyŕe m, *četyŕi f/n ‘four’ (> OCS *četyre*, *četyri*, Doric Greek τέτορες, Attic Greek τέτταρες, Old Indic *catvāras* < Proto-Indo-European *k^uet-), and PSl. *čbtyŕe m, *čbtyŕi f/n (Homeric and Aeolic Greek πίσυρες, Latin *quattuor* < Proto-Indo-European *k^uo-t-, i.e. the reduced root grade with an anaptyctic vowel, traditionally referred to as *schwa secundum*) (Ramovš 1952: 111; Bezlaj 2005: 114; Snoj ³2016: 764; Mayrhofer 2012: 161–162, 175–176; Fritz, Meier-Brügger ¹⁰2021: 90) > Sln. *čtŕe, *čtŕi > *štŕe, *štŕi (Std. Sln. *štŕje*, *štŕi*; the form *štŕje* instead of the expected *štŕe arose by analogical levelling, remodelled on *trŕje* (Ramovš 1952: 111); cf. the four-part analogy (Hock ³2021: 200–207): a = *tri*, a’ = *trŕje* vs. b = *štŕi*, thus b’ = *štŕje*). In the Heiligenkreuz Codex the feminine/neuter form *čtŕi/*štŕi occurs.

The phonetic interpretation of the numeral *čtŕi/*štŕi cannot avoid answering the question of the chronology of the common Slovenian simplification of the consonant cluster *čt [ʦtʃt] to *št. As far as the language of the Freising Fragments is concerned, Ramovš drew attention to the fact that “že v briž. spom. beremo *poŕtete* II. 111, *poŕtenih* I. 22” (Ramovš 1924: 292). However, later on he apparently changed his mind and interpreted the spelling <ŕt> standing for čt (Ramovš & Kos 1937: 19, 24). Anyway, for the language of the Freising Fragments, it seems more plausible to reconstruct the unsimplified forms (MF Lsg *vŕziniŕtue* (I 16) = *v s(a)ničtvě* ‘in fornication’ < PSl. *vŕ sŕničbŕtvě; MF Gpl m *poŕtenih* (I 22) = *počtenih* ‘of enumerated’ < PSl. *počbtenŕjixŕ; MF 2sg imper. *poŕtete* (II 111) = *počtete* ‘enumerate!’ < PSl. *počbtěte). This assumption could be confirmed by the fact that the affricate č is often spelled <ŕ>²⁶.

To conclude, the hypothesized spelling *CSTIRI most probably does not display the change *čt > *št and thus confirms a later date of this simplification (the perseverance of the consonant cluster *čt is well attested in West Slavic)²⁷. On the other hand, the spelling *STIRI can read both *čtŕi and *štŕi. Anyway, both spellings do attest to the fronting of the middle high vowel *y to the front high vowel *i, which was absent in the West Slavic of the period in question (Old Czech *čtyři* > Czech *čtyři*, Slovak *štyri*, Old Polish *cztyry* > *cztery* > Polish *cztery*²⁸. Kashubian *sztërë*, Lower Sorbian *styri*, Uppen Sorbian *štyri*).

²⁶ The spelling <ŕ> for č in the Freising Fragments: Dpl *mufenicom* (I 5) = *mōčenikom* ‘to the martyrs’; 1sg praes. *poroŕfo* (I 29), *poruŕfo* (III 61) = *porōčō* ‘I give, I deliver’; 1pl praes. *nareŕemze* (II 16–17) = *narečem se* ‘we are called’; 1pl praes. *naŕnem* (II 43) = *načnem* ‘we begin’; Asg m anim. *laŕna* (II 44–45) = *lačna* ‘hungry’; Idu *oŕima* (II 76, 86, III 55) = *očima* ‘with (two) eyes’; 1pl *cliuŕi* (II 102) = *kluči* ‘with hooks’; 2pl praes. *raŕŕite* (III 20) = *račite* ‘you bless’; Gpl *mofenŕic* (III 16–17) = *mōčenŕic* ‘of martyrs’; Lpl *reŕŕh* (III 34) = *rečax* ‘(in the) things’.

²⁷ If in the Heiligenkreuz Codex the form *čtŕi (and not *štŕi) has to be postulated, the reading *št reconstructed for the Freising Fragments in Ramovš 1924: 292 and, under his influence, in Šekli 2014: 387 fails to be correct.

²⁸ The sound change Old Polish *cztyry* > *cztery* reflects the lowering of the high vowels *i and *y to *e in the position before *r. It occurs in Polish, Pomeranian, Polabian and Sorbian (cf. PSl.

Pa.V⁹.NT. (40^v) = **PaNT** = **pēt*. The spelling <an> for the open reflex of the Proto-Slavic front nasal vowel **e* appears quite frequently in the sources (cf. 12th cent. *Zwantiz* (Vetrinj/Viktring in Carinthia) (Kos 1915: 472; Kronsteiner 1975: 71) = **Svētac* < PSl. **Svętъcb*; 1190 *Zwanzlawi* (Admont in Upper Styria) (Kos 1915: 343; Kronsteiner 1975: 70) = **Svętislaw* < PSl. **Svętislawъ*), especially in the position after labials. The form **pēt* descends from the cardinal numeral for ‘five’, viz. PSl. **pētъ* (Ramovš 1952: 111; Bezljaj 1995: 29–30; Snoj ³2016: 533–534) > Sln. **pēt* (Videm/Udine Manuscript (1458) *pet* = *pet*, Podjuna/Jauntal dialect (in the locality of Rinkole/Rinkolach) Gpl *ut pátex* (Zdovc 1972: 85), Std. Sln. *pēt*).

SCI.VI⁹.ZT. (48^v)²⁹ = **SCIZT** = **šest*. The spelling <SC> could stand for **š*. The graphemic representation of inlauting **s* before a consonant by <Z> is quite predictable as well (cf. MF *milozt* (I 26) = *milost* ‘mercy’ < PSl. **milostъ*). The form **šest* originates in the cardinal numeral for ‘six’, viz. PSl. **šěstъ* (Ramovš 1952: 111; Bezljaj 2005: 35–36; Snoj ³2016: 746) > Sln. **šēst* (Videm/Udine Manuscript (1458) *fef* = *šes* (with the simplification of the auslauting consonant cluster **-st* > *-s* of the type *prst* > *prs* ‘finger’ in dialect Slovenian), Std. Sln. *šēst*). However, the spelling <I> for *e* seems much less clear. The vacillation in the spelling of *e* is well attested in other sources, too (cf. 958–991 *Zidraga* (Salzburg) = **Sedraga* (Kronsteiner 1975: 61) ← PSl. **Sebēdorga* vs. 1065–1075 *Zedrach* (Milje/Millstatt in Carinthia), 12th cent. *Zedrach* (Seckau) = **Sedrag* (Kronsteiner 1975: 61) ← PSl. **Sebēdorgъ*). The function of the sign ‘next to <I>’ is not quite clear. It could be an accent mark, specifically a circumflex *ˆ*, which was used to mark long accented vowels in Old and Middle High German as well as in the second and the third Freising Fragment (for examples see above). If the assumption is correct, a long accented **e* could be marked in this way.

ZED.VII⁹.EM. (56^v) = **ZEDEM** = **sedam*. The spelling <Z> for anlauting *s* is quite common (cf. MF *na zem zuete* (I 8) = *na sem svētē* ‘in this world’ < PSl. **na semъ svētē*). The form **sedam* represents the cardinal numeral ‘seven’, viz. PSl. **sědmъ* (Ramovš 1952: 111; Bezljaj 1995: 222; Snoj ³2016: 666) > Sln. **sēdam* (Videm/Udine Manuscript (1458) *fedem* = *sedam*, Std. Sln. *sēdem* [sēdēm]).

OZ.VIII⁹.ZEM. (64^v) = **OZZEM** = **osam*. The spelling <ZZ> for intervocalic *s* is very common (cf. MF *Asg m anim. bozza* (II 46) = *bosa* ‘barefoot’ < PSl. **bosa*). The form **osam* goes back to the cardinal numeral ‘eight’, viz. PSl. **ōsmъ*

**širokъjъ* ‘wide, broad’ > Old Polish *szyroki* > *szeroki* > Polish *szeroki*, Kashubian *szeroczi*, Polabian *sarūtē*, Upper Sorbian *šěroki*). Furthermore, a parallel development is observable in the secondary sequence **ir*, the reflex of post-Proto-Slavic front/palatalized syllabic liquid **r̥* in the position not in front of hard dentals (in broader sense) **t*, **d*, **n*, **l*, **r*, **s*, **z* in Lechitic and Sorbian (cf. PSl. **sъmъrtъ* ‘death’ > Old Polish *śmirć* > Polish *śmierć*, Kashubian *smierc*, Polabian *sāmart*, Lower Sorbian *smjerś*, Upper Sorbian *smjerć*).

²⁹ The alternative reading Sef.VI⁹.ZT. in Lewaszkiewicz & Wydra 2021: 71 seems to be less probable.

(Ramovš 1952: 111; Bezljaj 1982: 256; Snoj ³2016: 503–504) > Sln. *òsəm (Videm/Udine Manuscript (1458) *ofam* = *osəm*, Std. Sln. *ósem* [ósəm]).

DE.VIII⁹.WANΘ. (72^v) = **DEWANΘ** = **devet*. This form is the cardinal numeral ‘nine’, viz. PSl. **děvętь* (Ramovš 1952: 111; Bezljaj 1976: 99; Snoj ³2016: 135) > Sln. **devēt* (Videm/Udine Manuscript (1458) *deuet* = *devet*, Std. Sln. *devēt*). For the spelling <aN> for the open reflex of the Proto-Slavic front nasal vowel **ę*, cf. Pa.V⁹.NT. (40^v) = PaNT = **pęt*.

DE.X⁹.ZeNΘ. (73^r) = **DEZeNΘ** = **deset*. The form mirrors the cardinal numeral ‘ten’, viz. PSl. **děsetь* (Ramovš 1952: 111; Bezljaj 1976: 98; Snoj ³2016: 133) > Sln. **desēt* (Videm/Udine Manuscript (1458) *defet* = *deset*, Podjuna/Jauntal dialect (Rinkole/Rinkolach) Gpl *du desâtex*, ordinal numeral *ta desâti* (Zdovc 1972: 85), Std. Sln. *desēt*). In contrast to the position after labials occurring in **pęt* and **devet*, the reflex of the Proto-Slavic **ę* is spelled as <eN> after a dental in a broader sense (in fact, alveolar).

To sum up, the Slavic numerals 1 through 10 in the Heiligenkreuz Codex display the following phonetic features: 1) the perseverance of Proto-Slavic nasal vowels, where the reflex of **ę* is attested three times, viz. the spellings <aN>, <AN> in the position after labials (PaNT = **pęt* < PSl. **pętь*, DEWANΘ = **devet* < PSl. **devętь*) and the spelling <eN> in the position after dentals in a the broader sense (DEZeNΘ = **deset* < PSl. **desętь*); 2) the presence of the post-Proto-Slavic consonant cluster **čt* (**čtiri* < PSl. **čbtyri*); 3) the retention of the post-Proto-Slavic consonant cluster **dn* in the numeral ‘one’ (ETNO = **edno* < PSl. **edьno*); 4) the fronting of the Proto-Slavic middle high vowel **y* to a front high vowel **i* (**čtiri* < PSl. **čbtyri*); 5) the rise of a secondary, anaptyctic vowel in the auslauting consonant clusters obstruent + resonant, the vowel being conventionally interpreted as a schwa [*ə] (ZEDEM = **sedəm*, OZZEM = **osəm*).

6. Conclusion

The Latin manuscript Cod. 250, kept in the Cistercian monastery at Heiligenkreuz in the Vienna Woods, dates back to the third quarter of the 12th century and was produced in that monastery, founded in 1133 by Leopold III (1095–1136), the Margrave of Austria and a member of the House of Babenberg. A set of the first ten numerals, each fully written out, that appear as catchwords at the bottom of individual pages and must indubitably belong to a contemporaneous Slavic idiom of the Eastern Alpine region, goes back to the time of its production. These are ET.I⁹.NO. (8^v), DRV.II⁹.GI. (16^v), TRE.III⁹.TIGI. (24^v), CeS.III⁹.TIRI. (32^v), Pa.V⁹.NT. (40^v), SCP.VI⁹.ZT. (48^v), ZED.VII⁹.EM. (56^v), OZ.VIII⁹.ZEM. (64^v), DE.VIII⁹.WANΘ. (72^v), DE.X⁹.ZeNΘ. (73^r), which, divested of all linguistically insignificant graphemic peculiarities, are revealed to stand for

ETNO, DRVGI, TRETIGI, CeSTIRI, PaNT, SCIZT, ZEDEM, OZZEM, DEWANΘ, DEZeNΘ and must be interpreted to spell **edno*, **drugi*, **tretji*, **če-/čtiri/*štiri*, **pēt*, **šest*, **sedam*, **osam*, **devet* and **deset*. The purely linguistic characteristics of the attested forms fortunately involve two symptomatic features (one conservative, the other innovative) that are decisive for their genealogical attribution. These are 1) the perseverance of Proto-Slavic nasal vowels (PaNT = **pēt* < PSI. **pētъ*, DEWANΘ = **devet* < PSI. **devetъ*, DEZeNΘ = **deset* < PSI. **desetъ*), and 2) the completion of the fronting process that affected the Proto-Slavic middle high **y*, turning it into a front high **i* (**čtiri/*štiri* < PSI. **čьtьri*). When taken seriously, these features cannot but call for an interpretation that will recognize the language to which these numerals must have belonged as Early Slovenian of c. 1000–1200.

Early Slovenian of the 11th and 12th centuries spanned the entire Eastern Alpine region (as well as the western part of Pannonia) and is fragmentarily documented in several geographical and personal names dispersed through several contemporaneous epichoric documents. In the Danube region of the Bavarian *Ostarrîchi* ‘Eastern March’, which in 1156 was to become the Duchy of Austria, there are several instances of Slavic personal names recorded in 12th-century manuscripts from Kremsmünster, Sipbach (Neuhofen an der Krems), Sankt Florian, Melk, and Wiener Neustadt. Just like the numerals from the Heiligenkreuz Codex, these, too, attest to a perseverance of Proto-Slavic nasal vowels (cf. the 12th-cent. attestation of the personal name *Zwentō* at Sankt Florian = **Svęt* < PSI. **Svętъ*) and to an already completed process of **y* to **i* fronting (as demonstrable for the 12th cent. by the likes of *Mabilka*, which was attested at Kremsmünster and must be interpreted as **Mabilka* ← PSI. **Domabyľka*). In addition to across-the-board vowel lengthening in the metathesized Proto-Slavic anlauting sequence **oRC-* (cf. the place name *Rauna* attested in 1108–1125 (> German *Ranna* in the vicinity of Mühlendorf near Melk) ← **Ravьna* < PSI. **Orvьna* ← **orvьnъ* ‘level, even, flat’ and the 12th-cent. attestation of the personal name *Raztegoj* at Leoben = **Rastigoj* < PSI. **Orstigojъ* ← **orsti* ‘to grow’), and the common Slovenian simplification of some complex consonant clusters involving **tv* (cf. *Tridislav* at Sankt Michael, upper part of Styria, documented in 1188 and indubitably spelling **Tr̥dislav* < PSI. **Tv̥rdislavъ*), which are not represented in the scarce material from Heiligenkreuz, it is exactly those two features that happen to carry an equally irrefutable diagnostic value for the geolinguistic delimitation of Early Slovenian from the adjacent Slavic geolects present to the north and to the south of that linguistic area. In particular, both Czecho-Slovak and Kajkavian-Čakavian linguistic areas display an early denasalization of Proto-Slavic **ę* and **ǫ* that cannot actually be younger than the 11th century, when the change is first documented (the 11th-cent. Prague Fragments attest to 3pl aor. *kupīša* ‘they bought’ < PSI. **kupīšę* and 3sg aor. *pr̥stupi* ‘he sinned’ < PSI. **perstōpi*, while the Krk Inscription (from the Čakavian speech area), dating to the 11th century, reads

RUGOTA for PSl. **Rogota*). Moreover, the West Slavic languages, as opposed to Slovenian, Kajkavian and Čakavian, show no early sign of any kind of *jery* fronting (cf. PSl. NApI f/n **četyri* ‘four’ > Old Czech *čtyři* > Czech *čtyři*, Slovak *štyri*, Old Polish *cztery* > *cztery* > Polish *cztery*, Lower Sorbian *styri*, Upper Sorbian *štyri*).

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Povzetek

Slovanski števnik v Heiligenkreuškem rokopisu iz tretje četrtine 12. stoletja (Heiligenkreuz OCist., Cod. 250) v kontekstu alpske slovanščine in zgodnje slovenščine

V članku so s stališča genealoškega jezikoslovja obravnavani slovanski števnik v t. i. Heiligenkreuškem rokopisu iz tretje četrtine 12. stoletja, ki sta jih leta 2021 v znanstveni reviji *Rocznik Slawistyczny* (št. 70, 2021) prva objavila in interpretirala Tadeusz Lewaszkiewicz in Wiesław Wydra. V latinski kodeks, ki je nastal v cistercijskem samostanu Heiligenkreuz v Dunajskem gozdu (nem. Wienerwald) – samostan je leta 1133 ustanovil mejni grof Vzhodne marke (stvnem. *Ostarrîchi*) Leopold III. (1095–1136) iz rodbine Babenberžanov – v tretji četrtini 12. stoletja in se hrani v tamkajšnji samostanski knjižnici pod signaturo Heiligenkreuz OCist., Cod. 250, so bili namreč v času nastanka rokopisa kot kustode z besedo vpisani števnik od 1 do 10, in sicer v tedanjem slovanskem jeziku vzhodnoalpskega prostora.

V prvem delu je predstavljen slovanski jezik v Vzhodnih Alpah in zahodni Panonski nižini od sredine 6. do konca 12. stoletja, in sicer predvsem v odnosu do zemljepisno stičnih slovanskih geolektov severno in južno od tega. V časovnem

zaporedju si v jeziku vzhodnoalpsko-zahodnopanonskega prostora sledijo naslednje časovne in zemljepisne jezikovne različice (kronolekti in geolekti): praslovanščina (ok. 550–800), alpska slovanščina (ok. 800–1000) in zgodnja slovenščina (ok. 1000–1200). Posebna pozornost je namenjena jeziku Brižinskih/Freisinskih spomenikov (zapisanih v obdobju 972–1039). V drugem delu je podana natančna zgodovinskoglasoslovna analize heiligenkreuških števnikov, katerih zapis je bil najprej interpretiran grafično in glasoslovno. Na tej podlagi je vzpostavljena osnova za genealoško jezikoslovno določitev slovanskega jezika, v katerem so bili zapisani.

Grafična in glasoslovna interpretacija heiligenkreuških števnikov se glasi: ET.I⁹.NO. (8^v) = ETNO = *edno, DRV.II⁹.GL. (16^v) = DRVGI = *drugi, TRE.III⁹.TIGI. (24^v) = TRETIGI = *tretji, CeS.III⁹.TIRI. (32^v) = CeSTIRI = *če-, *čtiri/*štiri, Pa.V⁹.NT. (40^v) = PaNT = *pet, SCI'.VI⁹.ZT. (48^v) = SCIZT = *šest, ZED.VII⁹.EM. (56^v) = ZEDEM = *sedem, OZ.VIII⁹.ZEM. (64^v) = OZZEM = *osam, DE.VIII⁹.WANΘ. (72^v) = DEWANΘ = *devet, DE.X⁹.ZeNΘ. (73^v) = DEZeNΘ = *deset. Jezik teh števnikov med drugim izkazuje dve glasovni lastnosti (arhaizem in inovacijo), ki sta diagnostični za njegovo genealoško jezikoslovno določitev: 1) prisotnost praslovanskih nosnih samoglasnikov (PaNT = *pet < psl. *petb, DEWANΘ = *devet < psl. *devetb, DEZeNΘ = *deset < psl. *desetb) in 2) prednjenje praslovanskega srednjega visokega *y v sprednji visoki *i (*čtiri/*štiri < psl. *čbtyri). Gledano genealoško jezikoslovno je upoštevanje ugotovljeni glasovni lastnosti možno reči, da gre za zgodnjo slovenščino.

Ključne besede: primerjalno slovansko jezikoslovje, alpska slovanščina, zgodnja slovenščina, števniki, Heiligenkreuz, OCist., Cod. 250.

Summary

Slavic numerals in the Heiligenkreuz Codex from the third quarter of the 12th century (Heiligenkreuz OCist., Cod. 250) in the context of Alpine Slavic and Early Slovenian

This article aims to provide a genealogical linguistic attribution of the Slavic numerals in the Heiligenkreuz Codex. Firstly, the language of the newly discovered numerals is historically contextualized through what is known of the Slavic language in the Eastern Alpine and the western Pannonian regions in the period between the mid-6th and late 12th centuries. Furthermore, contempora-

neous Slavic idioms to the immediate south and the immediate north of that linguistic area are considered as well. In this context, particular attention is paid to the language of the *Freising Fragments* (Slovenian *Brižinski / Freisinški spomeniki*), with a controversy over its linguistic affiliation still persisting in some scholarly works up to the present day. Secondly, through careful consideration of the historical phonology underlying the attested forms first divested of graphemic peculiarities and subjected to phonetic interpretation, the contribution arrives at a genealogical linguistic attribution to the particular Slavic language to which these numerals must belong.

Keywords: comparative Slavic linguistics, Alpine Slavic, Early Slovenian, numerals, Heiligenkreuz Codex, OCist., Cod. 250.