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## **Innovation in tradition : Tönnies Fonne's Russian-German phrasebook (Pskov, 1607)**

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## o. PREFACE

This study explores the history of the language of a manuscript traditionally referred to as *Tönnies Fenne's Low German Manual of Spoken Russian (Pskov 1607)*, or *Tönnies Fenne's phrasebook* for short.

I shall be arguing that the phrasebook is not, as many scholars have assumed, the result of the efforts of a 19-year-old German merchant, who came to Russia to learn the language and who recorded the everyday vernacular in the town of Pskov from the mouths of his informants. Nor is it, as others claim, a mere compilation by him of existing material. Instead, I contend that the manuscript must be regarded as the product of a copying, innovative, meticulous, German-speaking, professional scribe who was acutely aware of regional, stylistic and other differences and nuances in the Russian language around him, and who wanted to deliver an up-to-date phrasebook firmly rooted in an established tradition.

I shall attempt to show how the scribe handled the sources at his disposal, subjected the material to close scrutiny, and did not hesitate to rearrange, straighten out, correct or update the data from his sources. The image that arises from the investigation will be more complete than the image held thus far. It will help to assign the phrasebook its proper place in the tradition of Western conversation manuals, and illustrate how the linguistic study of the phrasebook can benefit from the incorporation of the historical dimension of the data.

At the same time, it should be made clear from the very outset what this study is *not*. It is, first and foremost, *not* a full grammar of the variety of Russian as represented in the phrasebook. Also, it does *not* treat all aspects of the linguistic data in the phrasebook in detail. Instead, it focuses on a selection of issues on several levels that can be distinguished in both the contents and the physical appearance of the manuscript. It is a philological study of the manuscript, seen through linguistic eyes, shedding light on the data, on their relation to already existing material, and on the attitude and input of the scribe. The main purpose of this study is to paint a richer picture of the manuscript and the data contained within.

In one regard, this study departs from customary usage, especially among linguists: I shall refer to the historical figure whose name is connected with the phrasebook as Tönnies *Fonne*, rather than Tönnies *Fenne* (see §1.2.3). Although the original manuscript, which I have closely examined in the course of my investigation, leaves room for doubt, the choice for 'Fonne' does justice to the work of those who have managed to establish his identity. It should, so to speak, set the record straight in this regard.

## 1. INTRODUCTION

### 1.1 Codicological context

Tönnies Fonne's manuscript is held at the Royal Library in Copenhagen at shelf mark Thott 1104 4<sup>to</sup>, and currently consists of 251 leaves (or 502 pages). The manuscript shall be referred to in this study as F.

#### 1.1.1 Contents

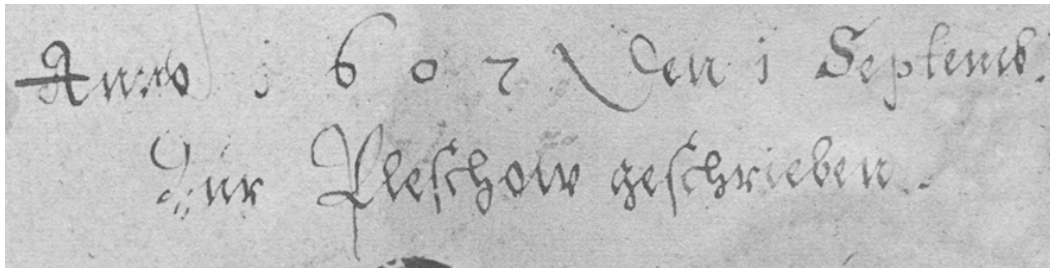


Figure 1: “Anno 1607 den 1 septemb. zur Pleschow geschrieben” (F 1 2-3)

The manuscript under investigation in this study is a phrasebook. Page 1 of the phrasebook informs the reader that it was written on 1 September 1607 in the town of Pskov, Northwest Russia (see Figure 1).<sup>1</sup> It is linked to circles of Northern German merchants originating from towns that belonged to the Hanseatic League, and its explicit aim was to be used as a means of learning the Russian language. As such, the phrasebook is mostly bilingual, in Low German<sup>2</sup> and Russian.

The arrangement of this 17<sup>th</sup>-century phrasebook is not very different from that of modern-day phrasebooks: it presents the user with long lists of vocabulary, gives a small grammatical compendium and contains handy phrases. A com-

<sup>1</sup> On dating the manuscript, see also §1.1.3 below.

<sup>2</sup> Or, to be more precise: Middle Low German (*Mittelniederdeutsch*). The High German of the same period is called Early New High German (*Frühneuhochdeutsch*). For simplicity's sake, the two language varieties will be referred to as Low and High German or, if that distinction is irrelevant, simply as German.

plete listing of the manuscript's contents can be found in Appendix A. The general breakdown of the document is as follows:

- INTRO Introductory part – 12 pp.
- LEX Lexical part
  - LEX-GEN Vocabulary: general – 77 pp.
  - LEX-TRADE Vocabulary: trading – 23 pp.
- GRAM Grammatical part – 131-184; 49 pp.
- PHRAS Phraseology
  - PHRAS-GEN Phraseology: general – 187-272; 83 pp.
  - PHRAS-TRADE Phraseology: trading – 273-464; 190 pp.
- PROVERB Proverbs, riddles and sayings
  - PROVERB-MISC Miscellaneous proverbs – 14 pp.
  - PROVERB-INDECENT Indecent proverbs, riddles, swear words, bywords and turns of speech – 10 pp.
- RELI Religious texts – 10 pp.
- POLISH Polish texts – 12 pp.
- NUM-LET Numbers and letters – 19 pp.

The introduction (INTRO) comprises a number of rhymes, emblematic texts and formulaic introductions as well as the Lord's Prayer in a mixture of Latin, High German, Low German, Russian and Church Slavonic. The Russian is written using Cyrillic script as well as in Latin transliteration. A typical page from INTRO is reproduced in Figure 2. See §2.3 for a more detailed discussion of INTRO.



Figure 2: Rhymes in INTRO (F 4)



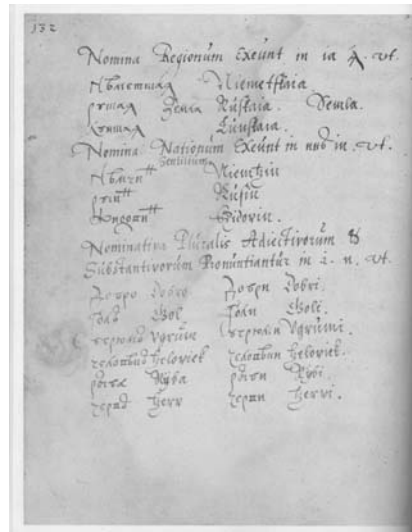


Figure 4: F 132, explaining the morphology of names of countries and peoples, and the plural of nouns and adjectives (GRAM)

GRAM is followed by the phraseological part, PHRAS, the most important and voluminous part of the manuscript. As was the case with LEX, it is divided into two parts. The first section (PHRAS-GEN) contains phrases on general issues, the second (PHRAS-TRADE) deals with trade-related issues. The typical layout of a page is illustrated by Figure 5 below.

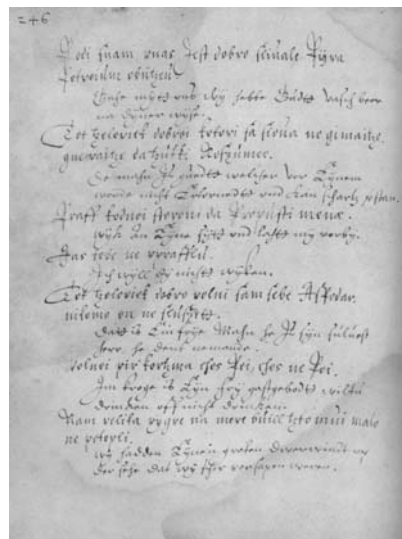


Figure 5: F 246, a typical page of PHRAS

A typical page in PHRAS is made up of one column only, and gives a Russian phrase in Latin script, followed by its equivalent in Low German (indented).

Apart from a few rather isolated cases, the Cyrillic alphabet is not used in this part of the phrasebook. At the end of PHRAS-GEN, pages F 262-269 constitute a clearly alien body in the text. More information on this in §2.1.

The following part, PROVERB, contains proverbs, riddles and sayings, and is indistinguishable in appearance from PHRAS: one column with Russian phrases in Latin script, followed by their Low German equivalents. It is worth noting that the Cyrillic alphabet is used for both the Russian phrases and their German equivalents for a number of indecent phrases (again, see §2.1).

The final three parts comprise a number of religious texts (RELI), Polish religious texts and letter samples (POLISH), and numbers and letters (NUM-LET).

### 1.1.2 Text edition

The manuscript entered the collection of the Royal Library in Copenhagen from that of Baron Otto Thott after his death in 1785. It was first described in Adolf Stender Petersen's 1917-18 inventory of the library's Slavic manuscripts.<sup>3</sup> A four-volume edition of the manuscript was published between 1961 and 1986 under the general editorship of Louis L. Hammerich and Roman Jakobson: *Tönnies Fenne's Low German Manual of Spoken Russian. Pskov 1607* (henceforth TF). The edition contains a facsimile reproduction of all the pages of the manual (TF I, 1961), a transliteration and translation into English of the text of the manuscript (TF II, 1970), and two dictionary volumes for the Russian and German lexical material, respectively (TF III, 1985; TF IV, 1986).<sup>4</sup>

The edition – especially the transliteration offered in the second volume – has been the basis of most research on the phrasebook by scholars in different fields. Yet despite its exemplary nature, the available edition proved unsatisfactory for this study. Among other things, the black-and-white photographs of the facsimile edition do not adequately render smaller details, and the transliteration emendations and philological information – which will play a crucial role in the philological approach taken in this study – are either silently resolved or reduced to footnotes. Therefore, the material contained in the manual was digitised and stored in a database. This database was then checked against the original manuscript in Copenhagen and enriched with palaeographical information. An electronic text edition was distilled from this master database and published on the Internet in 2006 (Hendriks and Schaeken 2006, revised edition 2008a).

<sup>3</sup> See Stender-Petersen 1918 as well as TF I: 6.

<sup>4</sup> L.L. Hammerich devoted a few paragraphs to the discovery and subsequent edition of Fenne's manuscript in his memoirs (Hammerich 1973: 425f.).



At this point, a word of caution is appropriate. The organisation of this electronic text edition differs from its paper predecessor in one important regard. The original edition numbered *items*, based on content. Item numbers typically refer to the combination of a Russian word (in both scripts) and its German equivalent (LEX, GRAM), or to the combination of a Russian *phrase* and its German equivalent (PHRAS, PROVERB, RELI). The electronic edition uses individual *lines* as the basic unit of reference, which allows for more precise citations. To avoid confusion, the shift from items to lines as the basic unit of reference is reflected in their notation. In older literature, the second item on F 246, for instance, would be indicated by ‘246.2’ (with a full stop separating page and item number). Here, the same item will be referred to as ‘F 246 5-8’ (using a space rather than a full stop as a separator), indicating that the Russian and the German phrase of this item span lines 5-8 on page 246 of F.

Unless stated otherwise, all citations from the phrasebook are based on the electronic text edition. English translations for phrases in F have been taken from TF II, as have the normalised transliterations. Deviations in the transliteration originate from corrections on the basis of later literature or my own analysis.

### 1.1.3 Dating the manuscript

The text of the manuscript provides a number of clues as to when it may have been written. Most importantly, it contains two full dates. The first date is 1 September 1607 (F 1 2; see Figure 1 above), the second is 9 June 1609, the date on which the manuscript was passed on to one Hinrich Wistinghauszen (F o 12-14).

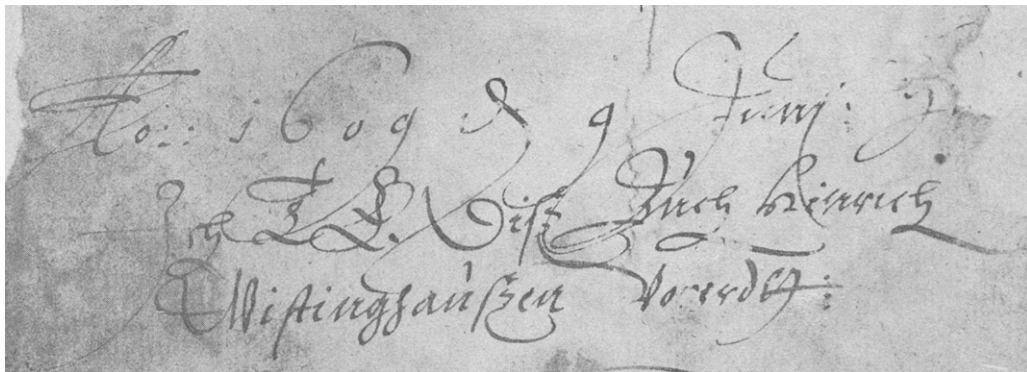


Figure 6: “Ao: 1609 d(en) 9 Juni: [H]{ab} Ich TF.  
Disz Buch Hinrich Wistinghauszen Vorerdt.” (F o 12-14)

The year 1607 pops up again, around the crest of the partial coat of arms on F 7 (see Figure 7).



Figure 7: The year 1607, figuring on F 7

More dates are given in three Polish letters near the end of the manuscript (POLISH): Easter Sunday 1566 (F 531) and 1571 (F 532; German version of the same letter); 1571 (F 534) and 1566 (F 536; German version of the same letter); and finally 1566 (F 537 and 538; both in the Polish and the German version of the letter). Bolek (2003: 215) discovered that these Polish letters fully coincide with those in a 1539 Polish-German phrasebook called *Książeczki polskie*; the dates may have been taken from reprintings of this work from 1566 and 1571 by a Königsberg printer (Bolek 2003: 215).

Another method to pinpoint the manuscript in time and place are the watermarks of the paper. The 1961 facsimile edition discusses two watermarks, labelled *a* and *b*, with *a* occurring on pp. 135-146 only and *b* occurring elsewhere in the manuscript (TF I: 7f.). Examination of the manuscript has revealed a third watermark, which we shall call watermark *c*. It is approximately 43 mm wide, 47 mm high, and occurs 28 times throughout the manual, as opposed to 29 instances of watermark *b* and only 4 of watermark *a* (on two bifolios). Watermark *c* is closely related to *b* and occurs in the same gatherings. An image of the watermark is reproduced here by means of an electron radiograph made at the Royal Library in Copenhagen (Figure 8).



Figure 8: Watermark *c*

The reason why watermark *c* may so far have been overlooked, is probably its location: unlike watermark *b*, which is always on one leaf, watermark *c* is consistently located in the fold of a bifolio, i.e. spread over two leaves. In two cases, only half of the watermark is present, as the other half of the bifolio is missing.<sup>5</sup>

In 1960, the editors of TF I contacted the Forschungsstelle Papiergeschichte, Zentralarchiv für Wasserzeichen of the Gutenberg-Museum in Mainz. According to the information provided by the Forschungsstelle, the paper showing watermark *a* is from Augsburg and dates from between 1596 and 1643. The only conclusion reached as to watermark *b* was that “das Papier aber wohl aus Schwaben [ist]” (viz. Augsburg or Memmingen) (TF I: 8, quoting from correspondence with the Forschungsstelle).

In 2006, I contacted the Deutsches Buch- und Schriftmuseum at the German National Library in Leipzig, which took over the archives from the Forschungsstelle. A staff member of the section Papierhistorische Sammlungen undertook a renewed attempt to identify the paper. Consultation of the various collections held there, including collections not available in 1960, neither confirmed nor disproved the earlier conclusions.<sup>6</sup> This means that there still is no further evidence confirming the origin of the paper containing watermarks *b* and *c*.

<sup>5</sup> This concerns the leaf originally attached to 507-508 (viz. 495-496), and 553-554.

<sup>6</sup> E-mail from Ms Andrea Lothe (25 September 2006).

The years 1607 and 1609 fit well with the biographical data of Tönnies Fonne (see §1.2.2 below); I assume that they tell us when this particular manuscript was made. There are no codicological arguments that compel us to assume that we are dealing with a more recent copy in which these dates were retained.

#### 1.1.4 Pages and gatherings

Apart from the flyleaf of the manuscript, the 251 leaves of the manuscript are numbered in “Arabic numerals of the same form as those used in the text, thus probably by the scribe of the [manuscript]” (TF I: 9). A flyleaf is followed by paginated leaves, with numbers running from 1 to 566, numbering the recto and verso sides of each leaf. Missing page numbers indicate missing leaves. Apart from the original pagination, the facsimile shows another, less frequent pagination. This pagination is of a more recent date, and will be ignored.<sup>7</sup>

The original pagination is quite regular; only two things stand out. First, the digit *1* in page number *417* is not present in the manuscript. It must have been drawn into the facsimile reproduction. Second, the missing digit ties in with another phenomenon, occurring slightly later in the manuscript. From F 490 onwards, most page numbers have been emended by the original scribe. The pattern is a consistent decrease by ten: for instance, *494* first was *504*, *500* was *510*, etc. In most cases, only the middle digit had to be changed; between 490 and 499 the first digit too had to be changed from a *5* into a *4*. There is no obvious motivation for the renumbering.

The original edition lists information on the gatherings of the manuscript (TF I: 9-10). These gatherings show an almost regular pattern of 8 leaves (or 4 bifolios) per gathering, with a number of deviations, concentrated at both ends of the manuscript. This description is generally accurate, but needs correction in two regards. The concluding gatherings are documented as follows:

“1 leaf, pp. 553-54.

(1 leaf, pp. 555-56, missing).

5 leaves, during rebinding folded up so that they now constitute 1 sheet, pp. 557-66.” (TF I: 10)

“[W]e cannot from the present *exterior state* conclude whether pp. 565-66 also originally constituted the last leaf of the book.” (TF I: 10)

In fact, the leaves containing pp. 553-566 constitute one gathering of 6 leaves, of the structure illustrated in Figure 9 below. As it shows, leaf 555-556 is missing.

<sup>7</sup> This pagination is applied in pencil rather than in ink, and in a distinctly modern hand. The manuscript reveals yet another, third pagination, not yet present in TF I, which can also be ignored.

The original bifolios were separated and rearranged during rebinding: the leaves are now attached to 3 narrow strips of paper in the fold of the gathering, also shown in the figure. Leaf 553-554 contains one half of watermark *c*, with the other half missing entirely (see §1.1.3). The other leaves do not show any watermarks.

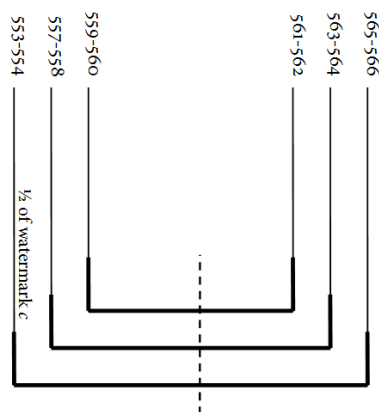


Figure 9: Organisation of the last gathering of F

The combination of the presence of the previously overlooked watermark *c* and the observed structure of the last gathering allow us to say something about the presence of additional leaves. The missing part of the watermark must have been present in the original gathering. The two possible locations of the other half of watermark *c* are:

- the missing leaf 555-556;
- a now missing leaf 567-568.

Both options presuppose that one or more leaves followed leaf 565-566. In the first case, one bifolio (containing pp. 553-554 and 555-556) would constitute a gathering by itself. Assuming that leaf 565-566 was the final leaf of the manuscript, this would mean that an odd number of leaves constituted a gathering. It is difficult to imagine how 5 leaves could have constituted a gathering by themselves, i.e. without assuming the presence of at least a leaf 567-568.

The second option assumes that the original gathering consisted of 8 leaves. In this constellation, the missing leaf 555-556 would have formed one bifolio with 565-566. Leaf 553-554 and a leaf 567-568 – both containing one half of watermark *c* – would have been the outer bifolio of the gathering.

The second option is more plausible than the first one: a 2-leaf gathering (option 1) would be unparalleled in the manuscript, whereas an 8-leaf gathering (option 2) is the regular size throughout the manuscript. Whichever option

holds true, the conclusion of the editors must be rejected: at least one leaf must have followed leaf 565-566.

Although several leaves of the manuscript are missing, and rebinding has led to minor disruptions of the original binding, examination of the page numbers, watermarks and gatherings does not indicate that the leaves have at any point been rearranged. I assume that the current binding of the manuscript reflects the original order of the leaves.

## 1.2 Historical context

### 1.2.1 The Hanseatic League and Northwest Russia

By the early 17<sup>th</sup> century, the Northern German cities that belonged to the Hanseatic League had been trading with Russia's Northwest over the Baltic Sea for many centuries. The League maintained an active presence in the Russian cities of Novgorod and Pskov, which it reached through the nearby non-Russian cities of Reval (Tallinn), Narva and Dorpat (Tartu).<sup>8</sup>

Historically, the most important town in Russia for the Hanseatic League was Novgorod, host to one of the League's only four major branch offices (*Kontore*). Novgorod was an independent city-state until its incorporation into the Grand Duchy of Moscow in 1471. After Grand Prince Ivan III closed down the Novgorod office – the Court of Saint Peter, or *Peterhof* – in 1494, Pskov tried to take over the role of Novgorod as the most important centre of Hanseatic trade in the area, until it too came under control of Moscow, under Grand Prince Vasilij III in 1510. Although the Court of Saint Peter in Novgorod reopened in 1514, it never regained its former position.

Later in the 16<sup>th</sup> century, the Livonian War (1558-1583) delivered another blow to the activities of the Hanseatic League in Russia's Northwest. After the war had ended, attempts to revive the Hanseatic trade were little successful. Only in 1603 did tsar Boris Godunov accede to pleas delivered by a Hanseatic delegation to Moscow; in the same year – in the middle of the Time of Troubles (1598-1613) – the Lübeck Court (*Lübecker Hof*) in Pskov reopened, only to be fully destroyed in 1609.

In order to communicate with the Russian authorities and trade partners, the German side actively trained people in the language of their counterparts. This tradition goes back as far as the late 13<sup>th</sup> century: in a 1268 draft for a German-Russian trade agreement, the Germans requested that their children, as *sprake-lerer* 'language learners', be allowed unrestricted access to the Novgorod land in order to learn Russian (Bruchhäuser 1979: 660).

<sup>8</sup> See, e.g., Angermann and Endell 1988 for more information on these trade relations.

At the German courts, professional interpreters and translators offered their services and enjoyed special protection under the agreements between the Hanseatic League and the Russians, but it is clear that knowledge of Russian did not remain restricted to this small group. There were others, too, who could profit from knowledge of the language, such as merchants, for whom an active knowledge of the language of their trading partners was an asset the importance of which it is hard to overrate.

As a result, a lively language industry must have existed in towns such as Novgorod and Pskov, where native Russians took it upon themselves to take foreigners into their homes and teach them their language (cf. Angermann and Endell 1988: 96). Several phrases in Fonne's phrasebook have been seen as an illustration of this practice:<sup>9</sup>

- (1F) Posallui ospe batzke vtzitza mne povaszum  
 præmo govorit, da roszudi mne ruskÿie sloua  
 kack bui builo præmo, à tzto tebe dati mne dovet-  
 dotza, ÿ ias tebe to oddam.  
 Ich bidde dÿ leue vader lehre mÿ vp iuwe  
 sprake recht spreken, vnd vnderrichte mÿ  
 bidde ich, de ruschen worde recht tho vorstahn,  
 vnd watt dÿ van mÿ tho kumptt datt will  
 ich dÿ geuen vnd betahlen. (F 197 1-9)
- Пожалуй, оспе бачке, учися мнѣ по вашѣм  
 прямо говорить, да россуди мнѣ руские слова,  
 как бы было прямо, а что тебѣ дати мнѣ доведѣтся,  
 и яз тебѣ то отдам.  
 'Please, [master] (dear) father, teach me to speak  
 correctly in your language, and teach me (, please,) to  
 understand the Russian words correctly, and what I should  
 give you, I will give (and pay) it to you.'

The recently edited correspondence between the foreigner Roman Vilimovič and his Pskov teacher Pëtr Ignat'evič from the 1680s provides a first-hand look into how the teaching of language students could take place in daily practice (see Stefanovič and Morozov 2009).<sup>10</sup>

<sup>9</sup> See for this view, e.g., TF II: IX, Pickhan 2001: 502, and Stefanovič and Morozov 2009: 25.

<sup>10</sup> The subtitle of the edition of this correspondence is "Pskovskij arxiv anglijskogo kupca 1680-x godov" ("The Pskov archive of an English merchant from the 1680s"). In his review (forthc.), Jos Schaeken makes a strong case for the identification of Roman Vilimovič with Robert Bruce (1668-1720). The Scotsman Bruce, of noble descent and neither English nor a merchant, was born in Pskov and later in life became the first commandant of St. Petersburg (1704).

### 1.2.2 Tönnies Fonne: the person

The first line of page 1 of the manuscript contains the single mention of the name which has given the manuscript its common title. The editors of TF read the line as “Tönnies Fenne gehordt düt boek”, and consequently referred to the person as Tönnies Fenne, who, they figured, was a Baltic German merchant, and on whose activities in Pskov L.L. Hammerich speculated in an article that appeared between the publication of TF I and TF II (Hammerich 1967).

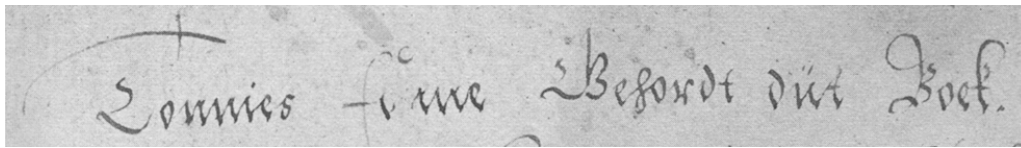


Figure 10: The single mention of the name which gave the phrasebook its name (F 1 1)

In 1973, Pierre Jeannin, on the basis of archival records, revealed the existence of a Tönnies Fonne, a German merchant from Lübeck (Jeannin 1973b). As a result of his discovery and the research that followed (Erpenbeck 1993, summarised in Klueting 1993), we now know quite a bit about his life.

Tönnies Fonne was one of seven children of Hans Fonne, a Lübeck citizen and a merchant dealing in Russian goods, member of the *Novgorodfahrerkompanie*. Tönnies Fonne, named after his paternal grandfather, was born in or around 1587. He became a Lübeck citizen on 6 November 1617, and got married in the same month. His marriage produced at least one child, baptised in Saint Peter’s Church in Lübeck in March 1619. After 1619, Fonne resurfaces for the last time in 1627, when he and his siblings sold the family house in the Königstraße after their mother had died.

More relevant than these general facts about his life are Tönnies’s activities in Russia and in cities on the Baltic coast. He must have followed in his father’s footsteps as a trader: records show that he stayed in Pskov in the winter of 1607-08 and in Narva later in 1608. Tönnies – around 20 years old at the time – proved to be somewhat of a reckless young man: he was involved in a number of brawls and incidents, both in Pskov and in Narva. He faced a judge for these incidents on several occasions in Narva, then under Swedish rule. A description of one of the more colourful incidents was given by Dirk Erpenbeck (1993: 557f.): At an official reception in Narva on 24 October 1608, Tönnies was so dismayed by the music that the next day he forcibly took the double bass from the musicians, took it to the town square and hung it from the pillory (*Pranger*). The instrument did not survive the incident, and a few days later, Fonne was fined 50 *Reichstaler*, a sum which included the replacement of the bass.

The incidents described were not beneficial for Tönnies Fonne’s career as an active merchant in Russia. At the same time, the entire area was going through a time of war, unrest and other threats to a prospering trade environment:



“Russia was going through the Time of Troubles [1598-1613], civil wars, peasant revolutions, Polish interventions, and rapid changes of rulers and impostors. The dramatic events of Pskov’s recent history still left their vestiges in the life and the different social and political trends of the townspeople. Moscow’s gradual suppression of Pskov’s autonomy was still in fresh memory, as well as the menace of Polish occupation and Stefan Batory’s siege of Pskov in 1581. The danger of foreign intervention was constantly felt in the city.” (TF II: xxv-xxvi)

In fact, the *Lübecker Hof* in Pskov was destroyed by foreign troops in 1609, and a big fire in August 1610 left Narva largely devastated. The editors of TF II have already noted that any reference to the Time of Troubles is absent from the text (TF II: xxvi). More than that, the text of F hardly refers to events or circumstances which can help situate the document in time and place but in a very loose way. This can be seen as something characteristic of the genre: a phrase-book was meant to be quite generic, not fixed in time and space, or linked to a specific person.

Whether it was the incidents or the unrest and chaos which must have dominated daily life, Tönnies Fonne most probably left the area and settled back in his hometown of Lübeck. The biographical data of Tönnies Fonne fit well with the dates mentioned in the manuscript (see §1.1.3). The link is further compounded by the identification of “Hinrich Wistinghauszen”, to whom “T.F.” transferred the manuscript in 1609 (see F O 13-15), as a member of the Wistinghusen family, with which the Fonne family maintained close relations: Hinrich Wistinghusen had become a Lübeck citizen in August 1608, with Jost Wistinghusen as one of his guarantors; Jost, in his turn, had had Tönnies’s father, Hans Fonne, as a guarantor when he became a citizen in July 1603 (Jeannin 1973b: 52f.). Tönnies Fonne may have given Hinrich Wistinghusen the manuscript after he had returned to his hometown and no longer needed the phrase-book.

There is no reason why the “Tönnies F[o]nne” of the manuscript should not be identified with the historical figure of Tönnies Fonne. Whether he is the author, compiler, copyist or – as the first line on page 1 states – merely the owner of the manuscript has been a topic of discussion. I shall return to this question at the end of this study.

### 1.2.3 “Tönnies F[o]nne”: the name

Since Jeannin’s publication in 1973, historians have, broadly speaking, switched to *Fonne*, whereas linguists have stuck to the initial reading *Fenne*.<sup>11</sup> A number of factors may have contributed to this. The first is the fact that linguists, more than other scholars, are interested in the linguistic data rather than the historical setting of the manuscript: to them, the choice between *Fenne* and *Fonne* may be rather arbitrary. In this situation, accepted usage and fear of confusion impede the switch to *Fonne*. In the words of Gernentz et al.: “In der Sekundärliteratur hat sich der Name *Fenne* so eingebürgert, daß ein Übergang zu *Fonne* nur verwirrend würde” (Gernentz et al. 1988: 80).

Some scholars who opt for *Fenne* additionally defend their choice by pointing at the manuscript, an argument which is voiced by, again, Gernentz:

“Der Buchstabe zwischen dem *F* und dem ersten *n* in der Namensangabe der Hs. ist zwar, wie der Faksimiledruck zeigt, schwer lesbar, aber ein *o* ist er offenbar nicht.” (Gernentz 1988 et al.: 80)

The letter under discussion in greater detail:

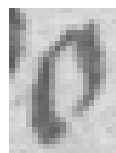


*F?nne* (F 1 1)

Usually, *e* and *o* are indeed clearly distinct, as the following examples illustrate:



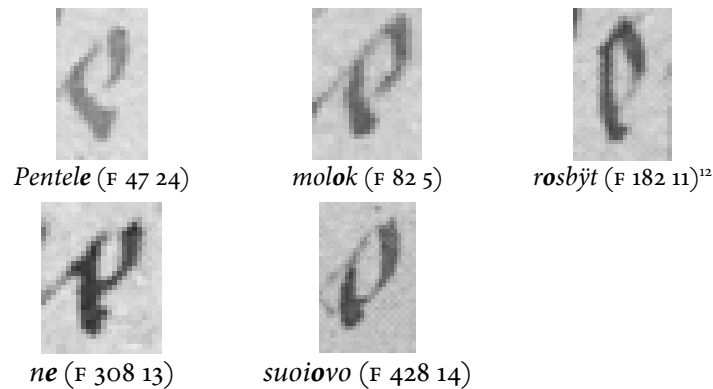
*pledonika* (F 63 10)



*pledonika* (F 63 10)

But the ductus of the two letters is not that different, and as a result, it is sometimes hard to tell the letters apart. This is shown by the following letters from the manuscript:

<sup>11</sup> A few examples: the historical publications Angermann and Endell 1988, Harder-Gersdorff 1990, Pickhan 2001, and Stefanovič and Morozov 2009 all use *Fonne*; the linguistic publications Schaeken 1992, Mžel’skaja 1995, Bolek 1997, and Zaliznjak 2004 all use *Fenne*.



Ulrich Obst concluded the following:

“In der Tat ist [...] der zweite Buchstabe des [...] Familiennamens von *Fenne/Fonne* sehr verblaßt und kann anhand des Facsimiles allein nicht sicher identifiziert werden. Beide Lesarten, sowohl die als *e* wie auch die als *o*, sind möglich.”  
(Obst 1989: 250)

Even close examination of the manuscript does not allow for a confident conclusion. On the basis of the historical proof, the electronic text edition tentatively gives the name as “F[o]nne”. As I pointed out in the preface, I intend to do justice to the historical figure, and shall consistently use the name Tönnies Fonne.

### 1.3 Philological context

#### 1.3.1 Phrasebooks as a genre

An environment where the need for the ability to understand and speak the language of one’s counterpart was felt most acutely was trade. This gave rise to the genre of merchant phrasebooks, of which Tönnies Fonne’s is a representative. By the early 17<sup>th</sup> century, the genre had established itself firmly: the oldest merchant phrasebook known today dates back as far as 1424. It was compiled by a Master George of Nuremberg and targeted Italian merchants who wanted to learn High German (see Gernentz et al. 1988: 21-23).

The genre of merchant phrasebooks, in its turn, is part of a strong Western European tradition of learning foreign languages through the use of phrasebooks, vocabularies and language primers. Whereas in its initial stages the language to be learnt was usually Latin, the decline of that language as the *lingua franca* in the late Middle Ages gave rise to material for languages such as Italian,

<sup>12</sup> The three examples in this line are from LEX, the Latin script *e* and *o* (2×) correspond to *e* and *o* (2×) in the Cyrillic entries.

French, Dutch, Spanish, Low and High German, Polish and Russian. Well-known representatives of this tradition are the *Livre des mestiers* (mid-14<sup>th</sup> century) and Noël de Berlaimont's *Vocabulare* (1527).

In the 16<sup>th</sup> and 17<sup>th</sup> centuries, the Hanseatic League, which had been trading with Novgorod and Pskov for centuries, received company of other parties who became interested in Russia, its language, and its customs: diplomats, travellers, and explorers started to visit Muscovy on a regular (and often regulated) basis. Foreigners' accounts documenting these visits are Sigmund von Herberstein's *Rerum Moscoviticarum Commentarii* (first published in 1549), Giles Fletcher's *Of the Russe Common Wealth* (1591) and the travel notes of the Amsterdam burgomaster Nicolaes Witsen (published as *Moscovische Reyse*, 1664-1665 in the 1960s).

Between fifteen (Fałowski 1994: 2) and twenty (Volkov and Mžel'skaja 1995: 41) Russian phrasebooks by foreigners are known today. The most important of these – varying in quality, age, size, and place of origin – are, in chronological order:

- the Anonymous *Ein Rusch Boeck...* (manuscript, mid-16<sup>th</sup> century, Pskov; Low German and Russian; 94 leaves; edition and analysis Fałowski 1994, 1996);
- *Einn Russisch Buch* by Thomas Schroue (manuscript, between 1582-1591, Pskov; High German and Russian; 113 leaves; edition Fałowski and Witkowski 1992, Fałowski 1997);
- a phrasebook by Laurentius Schmidt, the municipal secretary of Reval (fragments of a manuscript, 1551; Low German and Russian; 23 lines; edition Johansen 1954);
- the *Dictionaire Moscovite* by Jean Sauvage (manuscript, 1586, Novoxolmogory (present-day Arkhangelsk); French and Russian; 620 lines/lemmas; edition Larin 2002);
- *A Dictionarie of the Vulgar Russe Tongue*, attributed to Marc Ridley (manuscript, late 16<sup>th</sup> century; English and Russian; 152+90 pages; edition Stone 1996);
- Fonne's phrasebook;
- the notes by Richard James known as his *Slovar'-dnevnik* (manuscript, 1619-20, Arkhangelsk; English and Russian; 144 pages; edition Larin 2002);
- Heinrich Newenburgk's *Russisches Elementarbuch* (manuscript, 1629; High German and Russian; 34 leaves; edition Günther 1965 and 1999);
- the conversation manual known as the *Kopenhagener Gesprächsbuch* (manuscript, mid-17<sup>th</sup> century; Russian only; 54 half pages; edition Sørensen 1962);

- the Trondheim Russian-German MS Vocabulary (manuscript; copy from the 1680s; High German and Russian; 111 leaves; edition Lunden 1972);
- Johannes von Heemer's *Wordt Boeh van neder-duijts in russe sprach oversettet* (manuscript, 1696; Dutch and Russian; 40 pages; edition Günther 1965 and 2002);<sup>13</sup>
- Heinrich Wilhelm Ludolf's *Grammatica Russica* (printed book, 1696; Latin and Russian; 90 pages excluding preface and appendices; edition Unbegaun 1959).

### 1.3.2 Initial assessment of Fonne's phrasebook

Given the fact that the creation of language-learning materials was a tradition, and that the circumstances under which they arose were comparable, similarities between various phrasebooks are hardly surprising. As Siri Lunden puts it:

“The fact that a great many of the words recorded coincide in the vocabularies written in the same period is not surprising; if such manuals were to be of any use, they must contain the everyday words, the ‘basic lexical fund’ of the language that was necessary to the foreigners.

Nor is the similarity of the pattern astonishing, though at first it seems amazing that widely different people like the French captain Jean Sauvage, the British chaplain Richard James, or the North German merchant Tönnies Fenne should produce manuals along the same lines. But thematic vocabularies, ‘Nomenclatores’, have a long tradition in the history of learning, and constituted an integral part of the teaching of Latin in the schools of the Humanists.” (Lunden 1972: 22)

From the very onset, scholars have been aware that Tönnies Fonne's manuscript too draws upon this tradition. In the preface to the facsimile edition (TF I), the editors speak of “a common model” (19) and “borrowed framework” (25), and of a “traditional pattern of Russian-German manuals and of Hanseatic bilingual textbooks in general” (22), and they even allow for “migratory components that found their way from one compilation into another” (25). At the same time, the editors stress that, in their opinion, the influence of the tradition should not be overstated. They mention the “Pskov background of Fenne's native informants” (24), who “must have been both old residents and various newcomers” (25) as well as the “great amount of new observations and original records” (25) which have found their way into the manuscript. In the second volume of the edition, this independence is stressed even stronger. The editors of this volume mainly

<sup>13</sup> Although the terms *niederdeutsch* and *Nederduits* historically have a broad variety of different meanings, Erika Günther's consistent reference to the language of this phrasebook as “niederdeutsch” is misleading.

speak of Fonne as a “foreign inquirer” (TF II: x) who “no doubt communicated freely and largely with the Russians” (xxiv) during his “field work” (viii). Talking to his “native informants” (x), Fonne used his “rare gift in observing the sound shape of Russian speech” (xix) and together with the informants conducted a “joint search for German-Russian semantic equivalents” (x). And “[m]ost of the sentences occurring in the Manual are actual specimens of Russian speech recorded by Fonne directly from natives” (xvii). All in all:

“Tönnies Fenne was the scribe and the owner of the manuscript [...] There is no reason to doubt Tönnies Fenne’s authorship of the book, but it is evident that he did not compose all of it independently. He relied on several sources, not only for the religious texts and the Polish texts, but also for part of the vocabulary and the commercial conversations” (TF II: xxii)<sup>14</sup>

Over time, this image is one that stuck. Some scholars may have suspected that the phrasebook relied heavily on earlier material, but the discussion remained limited, as there was not much material available that could back up any suspicions or claims. Even when the influence of earlier material in phrasebooks was acknowledged, some scholars were convinced that the migratory nature of chunks of texts should not be overrated:

“The instances [of migratory components in phrasebooks] are numerous, – just as a comparison of 20th-cent. textbooks and dictionaries would reveal much more ‘migratory material’ than the authors would like to acknowledge” (Lunden 1972: 22)

Thus, the dominant view since the mid-1970s includes the image of Tönnies Fonne arriving in Pskov, finding a number of informants to teach and help him, and collecting his data – either new or existing, spoken or written –, independently and unspoiled by Russian literary linguistic norms.

### 1.3.3 Two older phrasebooks

The introduction of TF I includes references to a small number of 19<sup>th</sup>-century fragmentary descriptions of two other Hanseatic phrasebooks, both slightly older than Fonne’s: the Anonymous phrasebook known as *Ein Rusch Boeck...* (abbreviation: A), the other Thomas Schroue’s *Einn Russisch Buch* (s). The editors of TF I point at striking similarities between Fonne’s phrasebook and these earlier manuscripts, especially in their formulaic introductions, the headings, and the beginning of the vocabulary lists (see TF I: 18-22). In fact, these descriptions were what prompted their comments about the manuscript’s “common framework”, “borrowed items” and “migratory components”. Unfortunately, at

<sup>14</sup> Note that the origin of the Polish texts has been traced by Bolek (see above, §1.1.3).

the time of publication of TF 1, these older phrasebooks could not be traced: owned by the Prussian State Library in Berlin, they had been brought to safety in the Second World War, but were considered lost in the turmoil of war.

The exact relationship between the manuscripts remained unclear until, in the 1980s, the phrasebooks were rediscovered in the Jagiellonian Library in Cracow,<sup>15</sup> and subsequently edited by Slavists from that city. The Polish editors very quickly realised that the similarity between the three phrasebooks went far beyond a mere thematic similarity and a “common model”. The following two phrases from the three phrasebooks clearly illustrate this:

- (2F) Sam ti ne vedaies tzto tÿ skasis: boltaies.  
 Du west suluen nichtt wat du bladderst. (F 230 5-6)  
 ‘Сам ты не вѣдаешъ, что ты скажешъ: болтаешъ.’  
 ‘You yourself do not know what you say: blather.’
- (2S) Szam thÿ newedaÿes stho thÿ sattaÿes. *p*  
 Du weist selber nicht was du plapperst. *p*. (S 64r 6-7)
- (2A) Ty sam newedajesch tzto boltajesch/  
 Du weist selbest nicht wat balderst/ (A 86v 8-9)
- (3F) Koli tvoi tovar priveszon ÿ tÿ pridi komne  
 ffmoie podvorie, da skasi mne, ia chotzu kak  
 budet prigose stoboiu torgovat.  
 Wen dÿne wahre gekommen is so kum in  
 mÿne herberge vnd segge idtt mÿ an, ich  
 wÿll alß redlich ist mÿtt dÿ kopslagen. (F 276 1-6)  
 ‘Когда твой товар привезён, и ты приди ко мнѣ  
 в мое подворье да скажи мнѣ; я хочу, как  
 будет пригоже, с тобою торговать.’  
 ‘When your goods have arrived, then come to me  
 in my inn and tell me. I want to trade with you  
 decently.’
- (3S) Kollÿ thuoÿe thowar prÿsszoll: prÿuesszon Itÿ prÿdÿ  
 komuÿ offmoÿe potuorÿe Ja gotzu kack budeth prÿgoßÿ  
 stoboÿ thurguwath. *p*.  
 Wann deine wahr kumbtt, so kum zu mir, Ihn meine herberge  
 Ich will mit dir kaufschlagen als es redtlich ist. *p* (S 3V 22; 4r 1-4)
- (3A) Kolli twoie towar pridith Inno pridÿ kome-  
 ne na moJe podwory. Ja chotzu kack pri-  
 gosno stoboi torgowat.  
 Wenner dyne war kumpth so khum tho mi  
 Ihn mine Harbarge. Ick wÿll mitt dy kop-  
 schlagenn Also redelÿck Is. (A 59v 9-14)

<sup>15</sup> See Whitehead (1976, 1980), also Stone (1990: 341-344), and Bolek (2003: 213).

These two phrases are not isolated. In fact: the editors conclude that the percentage of phrases in Schroue's phrasebook that also occur in Tönnies Fonne's runs as high as 80 (Fałowski 1997: 10). If we take Fonne's phrasebook as point of departure, and include the Anonymous phrasebook in the equation, a rough statistical look at the data yields the following figures:

- Of a total of 685 entries in PHRAS-GEN, 201 phrases can also be found in s (29%). If we include phrases that only correspond to a phrase in A, the number of corresponding phrases rises to 235 (34%).
- In PHRAS-TRADE, the overlap between F and s is considerably higher: of a total of 991 entries in F, 709 are also attested in s (72%). If we also take into account the small amount of exclusive correspondences between F and A (29 instances), the percentage rises to 74.
- PROVERB-MISC contains 86 entries, of which 16 correspond to s (19%); an additional 5 correspond to A alone (24% in total).
- PROVERB-INDECENT contains 47 phrases, of which only 1 phrase is attested in A.
- Of the 12 phrases in RELI, 6 were attested elsewhere (5 in s, 1 in A).

Thus, of the total sum of 1,821 phrases in F, 1,001 phrases are also attested in s, A or both. It is mainly due to the overwhelming number of corresponding phrases in the trading sections of F and s (72%), that the overall percentage of non-original phrases in the main phraseological sections in F is at least 55%.<sup>16</sup>

These numbers allow for a number of important conclusions. First and foremost we must conclude that a majority of the phrases in Fonne's phrasebook has been proved not to be original. Fonne's and Schroue's phrasebooks are more closely related to each other than either of them is to the Anonymous phrasebook. The idea of a loose "common model" must be abandoned in favour of that of a strong textual relation between the manuscripts. In other words: the three phrasebooks ultimately share the same protograph.

## 1.4 Linguistic context

### 1.4.1 The language of Pskov

The language spoken by the native inhabitants of early 17<sup>th</sup>-century Pskov was a dialect of Russian. Historically, the Old Pskov dialect (*drevnepskovskij dialekt*) was a very interesting one: it belongs to the Old Novgorod dialect (*drevnenovgorodskij dialekt*) "in its broader sense" (Zaliznjak 2004: 4-7), which was markedly different from all other varieties of East Slavic.

<sup>16</sup> The overlap of lexical items in LEX with those in s has not been separately investigated.



The main source of information on the Old Novgorod dialect is the corpus of more than one thousand birchbark letters (BBL) that have been unearthed in Novgorod and elsewhere since the first letter was found in 1951.<sup>17</sup> Birchbark documents are usually not of an official nature, but are everyday notes and letters, spanning a period from approximately the early 11<sup>th</sup> to the end of the 15<sup>th</sup> century. Interesting from a linguistic point of view is the fact that the vast majority of these letters is written in the vernacular, rather than in Church Slavonic or more supraregional varieties of Russian.

A description of this vernacular dialect can be found in Zaliznjak's revised 2004 edition on the subject. Salient characteristics include:

1. NOM.SG. of masculine *o*-stems ended in *-e* (*Иване, хлѣбе*);
2. absence of the so-called second palatalisation (*кѣл-* 'whole' instead of *цѣл-*; *на рукѣ* 'on the arm/hand' instead of regular Old Russian *на руцѣ*);
3. absence of the so-called third (or progressive) palatalisation in the root of the word for 'whole, all': *вѣх-* (regular Old Russian *вѣс-*);
4. generalisation of Old Russian soft endings (such as the GEN.SG. of *a*-stems *-ѣ*, rather than *-ѣ*);
5. (only in Pskov) reflection of Proto-Slavic *\*tl* and *\*dl* as *kl* and *gl* rather than regular East Slavic *l*;
6. (only in Pskov) *šokan'e* (the merger of etymological /s'/ and /š/, and /z'/ and /ž/);
7. the more widespread phenomenon of *cokan'e* (the merger of etymological /c/ and /č/).

The attention for the Pskov dialect is not restricted to its historical varieties: many dialectologists take an active interest in the contemporary dialects of the region as well. The regular publication of new volumes of the still unfinished *Pskovskij oblastnoj slovar' s istoričeskimi dannymi* (POS, 1967-) testifies to this lasting interest. The inclusion of historical data, as indicated by the title, shows that elements that historically define the dialects remain relevant today. A relatively recent result of the lasting attention for the Pskov dialects is the discovery of *-e* – which, apart from isolated relics, was long believed lost – as a still-present NOM.SG.M. ending (see Honselaar 2001: 178f).

#### 1.4.2 The language of Fonne's phrasebook

Fonne's phrasebook, from the same general dialect area as the birchbark letters, postdates the youngest birchbark letter by more than a century, but shows many

<sup>17</sup> Compared to the number of BBLs found in Novgorod, the numbers of letters found in other cities are meagre. So far, a total of 8 BBLs were discovered in Pskov.

of the dialect traits that are so characteristic of the Old Pskov dialect. See, for instance (4F) and (5F):

- (4F) Ia tebe ne **vinovate** [...] (F 292 14, 16)  
 Ich sÿ dÿ nicht schuldig [...]  
 ‘Я тебѣ не **виновате**’  
 ‘I am not in debt to you’
- (5F) Tÿ sebe fftom tovari **obotzkles: otzkles** [...] (F 388 10, 12)  
 Du heffst dy vp der wahre vorteldt [...]  
 ‘Ты себе в том товарѣ **обочклись: очклись**’  
 ‘You have made an error in reckoning on these goods’

In (4F), the adjective *vinovate* ‘in debt’ shows the typically Novgorod NOM.SG.M. ending *-e*. In (5F), the linguistically interesting words are *obotzkles* and *otzkles* ‘miscounted’, morphologically corresponding to Modern Standard Russian *обочёлся* and *очёлся*, from the root \*čьt- ‘count’. *Obotzkles* and *otzkles* have the same NOM.SG.M. on *-e* as *vinovate*, but additionally show the Pskov reflex *-kl-* for earlier *-tl-*.<sup>18</sup>

The dialectal elements in the language of Fonne’s phrasebook are prominently used by Zaliznjak, mostly in order to confirm words and constructions found on birchbark, as the following examples taken from Zaliznjak 2004 illustrate:

- The GEN in *Iestli vtebe solonich mechoff prodasnich* ‘Have you any salt bags for sale?’ (F 376 18) has a parallel in the GEN.SG. *солоду* in [...] *ино у тебе солоду было* [...] (BVL 363) (2004: 159).
- The use of *добро* as a conjunction meaning ‘so that, in other that’ (BVL 129) is confirmed by the phrasebook (200).<sup>19</sup>
- The construction *въ сю недѣлю* ‘this week’ (BVL 752) fully matches *всю недѣлю/fftzu nedlu* (F 34 11) (252).
- The rare word *молодогъ* ‘malt’ in BVL 847 and 689 is confirmed by the entry *молодог/molodog* ‘malt’ (F 64 8) (287).
- The construction *искати на кого* ‘take someone to court’, with an ACC rather than a LOC, in BVL 724 also occurs in Fonne’s phrasebook: *добро tÿ tovo opæt na menæ ne iszis* ‘so that you may not again sue me for it’ (F 361 2) (354).

<sup>18</sup> In the Latin script, the manuscript uses *tz* for both /c/ and /č/ (see §5.2.1); it is impossible to say whether *obotzkles* and *otzkles*, apart from the dialectal features mentioned, also show the effects of *cokan’e*.

<sup>19</sup> On the use of the synonymous conjunctions *добро* and *дате* see §7.3.

In general, Zaliznjak qualifies Fonne's phrasebook as a priceless source of information ("bescennyj istočnik", 2004: 14) on the spoken language of Pskov at the beginning of the 17<sup>th</sup> century.

### 1.5 Research context: state of the field

The publication of TF I and TF II in 1961 and 1970 attracted the attention of scholars from a range of disciplines. Historians delved into the archives and succeeded in revealing more about Tönnies Fonne and his background (see §1.2.2). Ethnographers and historians also quickly realised the value of the manuscript, and data from it were brought into the ambit of the study of Russian-German commercial and cultural contacts.<sup>20</sup>

#### 1.5.1 Linguistic research

To linguists, Fonne's phrasebook offers an enormous advantage as well as a huge danger. The advantage and the danger concern the same aspect of the manuscript: it was made by a foreigner.<sup>21</sup>

The attractiveness of using foreigners' accounts of Russian in linguistic research was first stressed by a group of Soviet lexicologists and lexicographers centred around B.A. Larin. In the late 1930s and the years immediately following the Second World War, they had turned to these sources, claiming that they more reliably reflect the East Slavic vernacular than other sources, which were influenced by Church Slavonic (see Larin 2002: 5-20).<sup>22</sup>

Linguists from these circles quickly started to examine the lexical stock of Fonne's phrasebook in individual publications,<sup>23</sup> and started to include the material in dictionaries such as POS and the *Slovar' russkogo jazyka XI-XVII vv.* (SRJA XI-XVII).

But in the eyes of many, the non-nativeness of the data, the diversity of presupposed informants, and the use of the Latin script either made the data unreliable or at best non-informative. Reviewers pointed out that the language of the phrasebook was not Russian but "near-Russian" (Gardiner 1972: 718), and that the interpretation of the text is a dangerous undertaking. The value of the

<sup>20</sup> Xoroškevič 1966b; more recently Harder-Gersdorff 1990 and 1998, Pickhan 2001.

<sup>21</sup> The editors of TF II were of course aware of the non-nativeness of the scribe. In fact, this had led them to indicate uncertain transliterations with '(?)' and of perceived errors with '(!)'.

<sup>22</sup> Kryš'ko points out that the political situation in the Soviet Union played a role in the use of these secular documents as well: at the time, everything Old Russian – let alone Church Slavonic – was suspect (Kryš'ko 2007: 107).

<sup>23</sup> See the bibliographies in Mžel'skaja 2003 and Bolek 2003 for a list of relevant studies and publications.

phrasebook for linguistic research, several reviewers judged, would remain limited:

“Such a text is not only the result of an untrained foreigner’s attempt to fix on paper his progress in the study of the language (with the attendant difficulties in the perception of sounds and phonemes in addition to those of spelling, transliteration and translation), but reflects a variety of language which may be influenced by that of foreigners.” (Gardiner 1972: 718)

“One should not [...] expect too much information from the text on the phonetics or syntax of seventeenth-century Russian or of the Pskov dialect.” (Gardiner 1972: 718)

“Unfortunately Fenne’s spelling does not throw much light on problems of dialectal phonology or morphology.” (Leeming 1972: 115)

Whether for these reasons or others, the research into phenomena belonging to areas other than the lexicon of Fenne’s phrasebook remained fairly limited.<sup>24</sup> This changed once Zaliznjak became involved with the corpus of birchbark letters and research into the Old Novgorod dialect generally took an upturn.

Zaliznjak had already used data from Fenne’s phrasebook as early as 1986, but made a firm case for its reliability as a source for birchbark research in his 1998 article entitled “Iz nabljudenij nad ‘Razgovornikom’ Fenne” (“Observations on Fenne’s ‘Phrasebook’”). In the article, Zaliznjak charted the local characteristics of F and examined the reliability of the data. If the data are taken at face value, he argues, individual words and their morphology, but also syntactic constructions that had seemed strange or downright wrong to the editors of *TF II*, fit the Northwest Russian data extraordinarily well.<sup>25</sup> The following topics are addressed in Zaliznjak’s article:

- phrases with an infinitive predicate (e.g., *Besz glaskoff tebe ne vidett* ‘Без глазков тебѣ не видѣть / Without spectacles you cannot see’, F 231 15-16);
- constructions with a discongruent predicate (e.g., *Tuoi tovar mnie polubilos: prigoditze* ‘Твой товар мнѣ полюбилось: пригодится / Your wares have pleased/will suit me’, F 286 15);

<sup>24</sup> The most notable exceptions include investigations of the *NOM.SG.M.* ending *-e* (Jakobson 1971 (1966), Zaliznjak 1986, Schaeken 1992), *polnoglasię* (Mürkhein 1979), *sokan’e* and *šokan’e* (Gluskina and Bol’šakova 1988), initial *v-/f-* in cases where Old Russian dialects typically have initial *u-* (Gluskina and Bol’šakova 1988), and the historical change *e > ’o* (Le Feuvre 1993).

<sup>25</sup> This is something which had earlier been suspected by Helge Poulsen in a review of *TF II*: “[B]ut in evaluating the manuscript one must give attention to the question if peculiarities, which at first sight seem to be mere idiomatic blunders, actually ought to be evaluated as dialectal phenomena” (1972: 214).

- NOM.SG. *-ята* in words for baby animals (e.g., *teleta* ‘телята / little calf’, F 486 4);
- GEN.PL. forms of the type *людий*;
- NOM.PL. adjective endings;
- the following lexical items: *вылезнуть, голызнивый, загладити, зва-тай, изневъсти, изумитися, косати, лежати въ деньгах (на деньгах), лъгати/легати, молодогъ, назнатьбать, номна/номня, нить ничего, окомъ мегнути, поводно, потчивати/потчевати, потыкати, розлазка/розлазъ, сослати, хрепати, шавитися*;
- several other individual observations.

Zaliznjak concludes that in almost all these cases, the data of Fonne’s phrasebook are actually more reliable than the editors of ТФ II had supposed: “In almost all cases, the interpretations proposed in this article lead to the recognition of Fenne’s notation as more reliable than has been assumed before” (274).

The incorporation of Fonne’s phrasebook into the research of the Old Novgorod dialect, has proved to be very fruitful, and Zaliznjak’s approach to the data has had a twofold effect. On the one hand, it has allowed the data from the phrasebook to be used to reliably confirm phenomena attested (or suspected) in birchbark letters, as the numerous references to Fonne’s manuscript in Zaliznjak 2004 and other publications show (see above). On the other hand, a successful match of a lexical item or linguistic phenomenon in Fonne’s phrasebook with something found in a birchbark letter can confirm or improve the interpretation of the data in the phrasebook and, therewith, its usability as a linguistic source.

### 1.5.2 Philological research

The rediscovery of *л* and *с* (see §1.3.3) spawned several strands of investigation, incorporating the tradition of phrasebooks to which Fonne’s so clearly belongs.

In the rhetorically titled article “Czy Tönnies Fenne zasługuje na miano pioniera slawistyki?” (“Does Tönnies Fenne deserve the title of pioneer of Slavistics?”), Anna Bolek strips Tönnies Fonne of his title as the pioneer of Slavistics and assigns it to Thomas Schroue instead:

“Until recently, the phrasebook which came about in 1607 in Pskov and has been ascribed to T. Fenne was considered the oldest German compendium for the study of the Russian language [...]. In the light of the newest investigations, its suspected author (or, rather, compiler), whom modern researches so loftily assigned the title of pioneer of Slavistics [...] has to step down from this pedestal and yield the position to another, no less enigmatic German, Thomas Schroue, whose name occurs on the recently rediscovered *Ein Russisch Buch* with the date of 1546.” (Bolek 1997: 63)

Bolek concludes that Fonne's phrasebook is a more refined, and philologically and formally more elaborate version of Schroue's phrasebook ("wersja udoskonalona, filologicznie i formalnie bardziej dopracowana", 65). Neither Fonne nor Schroue can be considered the author; they were merely successive compilers (*kolejni kompilatorzy*) of existing data, or perhaps even just sponsors of these manuscripts (63).

Another strand of research is linked to the name of the Russian historian Anna Xoroškevič. In the late 1960s, she was one of the scholars who enthusiastically started using the edition of the manuscript for historical and historical-economic research (see, e.g., Xoroškevič 1966a, 1966b, 1967). In 2000, she took up the conclusions by Bolek and set out to trace the origin of the material back in time. She projects the ultimate protograph back to the last third of the 13<sup>th</sup> century (see Xoroškevič 2000 and §3.1.2 below).

Some of the Russian lexicographical and lexicological research also takes the new data offered by Schroue's and the Anonymous phrasebook into account. In her 2003 monograph, Mžel'skaja acknowledges the conclusions drawn by the Cracow Slavists (15, 197f.), but otherwise mostly treats the three related phrasebooks as self-contained works and sources of lexical information in their own right.

Of the more linguistically oriented research, the work of Vadim Krys'ko should be mentioned, who uses material from Fonne's phrasebook as well as from the Anonymous phrasebook (see, e.g., Krys'ko and Šalamova 1998).

### 1.6 Conclusions

It is clear, as we saw in §1.3 above, that in its structure and contents, Fonne's manuscript depends on earlier sources. But if this is the case, it must depend on them linguistically too. This obvious fact has received too little attention. And although Bolek touches upon the subject by listing a number of morphological and syntactic traits where *s* and *ʃ* most typically diverge (see §4.2 below), she neither discusses the origin of these divergences nor their implications. Especially historical linguistic research – both relating to birchbark documents and to other areas – would benefit from more clarity about the question of to what extent the language of Fonne's manuscript depends on earlier sources and to what extent it does in fact reflect the spoken language of early 17<sup>th</sup>-century Pskov.

The main point I intend to assess in this study is how the qualification of Fonne's phrasebook as a priceless source of information ("bescennyj istočnik", Zaliznjak 2004: 14) on the spoken language of early 17<sup>th</sup>-century Pskov holds up in light of the historical and philological depth of the linguistic data in Fonne's

phrasebook, thereby deepening and broadening the picture that currently exists of the language reflected in F.

The main question shall be answered gradually, by exploring a number of issues on various levels of the manuscript. First, I shall treat the manuscript as the product of a scribe (chapter 2), followed by a discussion of the manuscript as a copy, rather than as an original work, including its relation to the earlier Anonymous phrasebook and Schroue's phrasebook (chapter 3), and undertake an attempt to obtain more clarity about the copying process (chapter 4). The investigation and attempt to explain the differences with Schroue's phrasebook in particular (both structural and occasional) – elaborated in chapters 5, 6, and 7 – and the exploration of the relation between the German and Russian data in both manuscripts (chapter 8) will eventually shed more light on a range of issues: the interpretation of certain passages in the text, the *modus operandi* of the copyist (or copyists), the linguistic situation in 17<sup>th</sup>-century Pskov and changes that were occurring in the language of that time.

The findings from chapters 2 to 8 will be evaluated in the concluding chapter. There I shall return to the question of the position of Fonne's manuscript in the tradition of Hanseatic phrasebooks and to the image of Tönnies Fonne as a young, talented student of the Russian language.

## 2. THE SCRIBE AND HIS WORK

In this chapter, we shall take a look at the scribe and the manuscript as the fruit of his work. First, I shall address the issue on the number of scribes that have actually worked on the manuscript. This will be followed by an exploration of scribal habits, especially pertaining to the application of correction and emendations, and to the indication of synonyms. Finally, I shall discuss the form and contents of *INTRO*.

### 2.1 Number of scribes

On the 499 pages of *Fonne's* phrasebook, we find two languages (Russian and German) and two alphabets (Cyrillic and Latin). We also find three different scripts: in the Latin alphabet, a Gothic script is used for the transliteration of the Russian material as well as for section headings and most of *INTRO*, and a current script is used for the German equivalents of the Russian words and phrases. The variation in the use of the alphabets and the scripts is illustrated by the sample pages included in §1.1.1.<sup>26</sup> The variation also led to claims and conjectures about the number of scribes that have had their hand in the creation of the manuscript, as the following quotes show:

“Fonne arbeitete insbesondere zu Beginn eng mit seinem russischen Lehrer zusammen, was Unterschiede in der kyrillischen Handschrift des Kopenhagener Originals verdeutlichen.” (Pickhan 2001: 502)

“Ich gehe davon aus, daß Fenne dieses Buch mehr oder minder vollständig ausgerüstet mit russischen Wörtern, teilweise mit Sätzen und Gesprächsmustern entweder bekommen hat oder ihm – besonders im Wörterbuchteil – das russische Belegmaterial, die Transliteration und einige Überschriften der grammatischen Abschnitte nach einem Muster von einem russischen deutschsprechenden Gewährsmann vorgeschrieben wurden[.]” (Prowatke 1985: 69)

“Der junge Fenne wollte und sollte diese Sprache aber erst erlernen, er war also noch gar nicht im Besitz von Sprachkenntnissen, die es ihm gestattet hätten, vorerst selbst zu schreiben. [...] Ganz besonders deutlich wird das im Wörterbuchteil.

<sup>26</sup> As far as the language varieties are concerned, the situation is slightly more complicated than depicted here; see Appendix A. Note that *s* does not contain any Cyrillic at all, and *Λ* only very little (cf. Fałowski 1996: 11-13).





Where columns were swapped in LEX, the source must have been copied line by line. In other cases, the colour of the ink reveals that a column-by-column approach was followed:

- F 31 – The last four lines are darker than the preceding lines, with the colour of the ink getting progressively lighter from column to column (left to right).
- F 105 – Columns 1 and 2 of line 10 are darker than column 3, which has the same colour as the rest of the text. This suggests that column 3 of that line was written before columns 1 and 2.
- F 159 – The colour of the ink shows that lines 1-4 and 9-13 were written before lines 5-8, which were copied column by column, with the ink getting lighter in each column.
- F 163 – Judging from the ever lighter colour of the ink, the scribe first filled the first 13 rows of column 1, then the same number of rows in column 2, followed by 14 rows of column 3. He then dipped his pen and finished the page; all remaining words are darker but reveal no further information.

Not only the organisation of the various parts of each entry, but also their appearance shows how closely they are related, for example when it concerns the intrusion of the Cyrillic alphabet in Latin-script text and the other way around, as is shown in Figure 12.

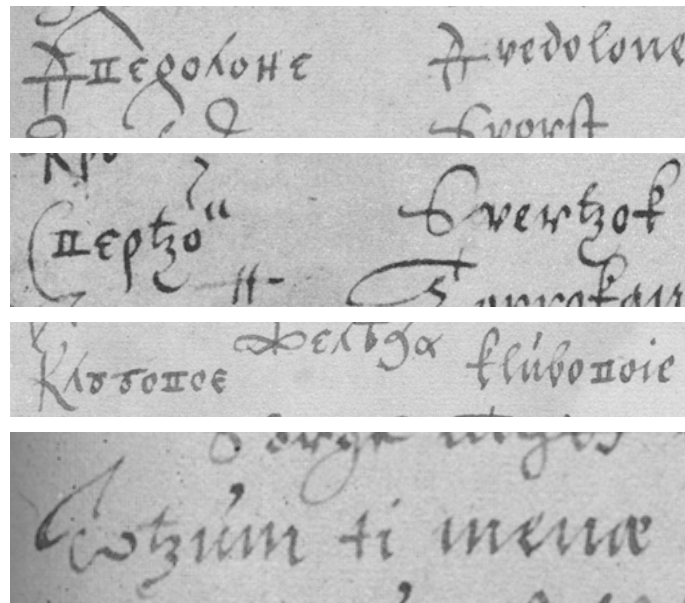


Figure 12: *dvedolone* (F 59 16), *certzo*<sup>κ</sup> (F 70 11), *klubovoie* (F 114 5), *Gtzum* (F 209 20)

In all examples, one or more letters are out of line with the alphabet of the rest: the Cyrillic *ð* in *ðvedolone*, Latin *tz* in *свептзо<sup>к</sup>*, Cyrillic *в* in *klubovoie* (all from LEX), and Cyrillic *Ѣ* in *Ѣtzum* (from PHRAS). More examples can be added:

- LEX: *spielo* (F 67 2), *pukavitza* (F 112 21), *miexi* (F 103 16);
- GRAM: *ðadut* (F 146 19), *popukudat* (F 169 13);
- PHRAS: *ðato* (F 190 3);
- PROVERB: *opta* (F 485 5).

In these cases, the use of Cyrillic in Latin script and the other way round, are inadvertent mistakes. However, uses of the Cyrillic alphabet that are the result of a very conscious decision can be found elsewhere in the manuscript. In one case in PHRAS, the Cyrillic alphabet is used to indicate when two closely related phrases should be used: one should be used “Коли добро” (‘When it is good’, F 236 1), the other “Коли худо” (‘When it is bad’, F 236 3). On several pages in PHRAS-TRADE, the Cyrillic alphabet is used for the Russian part of the phrases (F 444-45), and in PROVERB-INDECENT for both the Russian and the German part of each phrase (F 488-489, F 492 1-5), obscuring their obscene nature. This practice is illustrated in the following example:

- (6F) Чoрна пeгa пeстрa пиздa нe бѣлa.  
 Е<sup>н</sup>нe свартe спринкeлдe бунтe кутe дe  
 и<sup>с</sup> нихтѣ витѣ. (F 489 6-8)  
 Чѣрна, пѣга, пестра пизда не бѣла.  
 Eine swarte, sprinkelde bunte kute, de is nicht wit.  
 ‘A black, spotted, motley cunt is not white.’

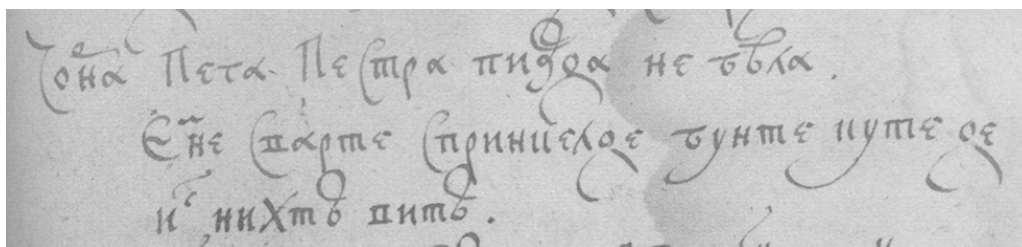


Figure 13: Cyrillic for Russian and German (F 489 6-8)

It is hard to explain the complex of the mixing up of columns – both of columns 1 and 2 (Cyrillic and Latin transliteration) and of columns 2 and 3 (Latin transliteration and German) –, the alternation of the line-by-line and the column-by-column approach, the inadvertent use of the Cyrillic alphabet in otherwise Latin text, and the unexpected use of the Gothic and the current scripts if one assumes that more than one scribe wrote the main parts of the manuscript.

There is one part where we may be able to identify the hand of another scribe. This is the alien body at the end of PHRAS-GEN (F 262-269), which is markedly

different from the preceding and following text. As far as the exterior appearance of these pages is concerned, the ink on these pages is distinctly darker, and especially the current script used for the German phrases looks decidedly different, as Figure 14 shows. The alien character of the text is reinforced by, among other things, the stilted style, the subjects that are discussed (partially addressing diplomatic issues), and the use of High German rather than Low German. At the very least, we are dealing here with a different writing event, possibly we are dealing with a different hand altogether. It is important to note that this different hand remains confined to the alien body.<sup>28</sup>

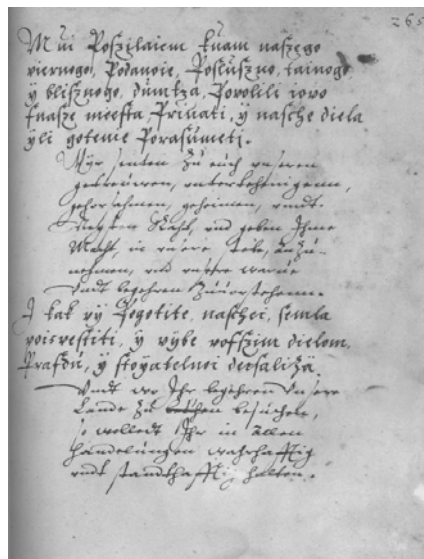


Figure 14: The alien, High German body (F 265)

Excluding the alien body, I conclude that the coherence of the material in its organisation and appearance shows that the manuscript was compiled by one scribe only. This scribe knew German and Russian, and knew how to read and write in the Latin and the Cyrillic alphabets.<sup>29</sup>

<sup>28</sup> The pages are part of a gathering which spans pages F 255 to F 270. The continuous pagination shows that they must have been present when the pages were numbered and the manuscript was first bound.

<sup>29</sup> The use of the Cyrillic script to obscure the obscene nature of some phrases from the prying eyes of casual users means that the supposed user of the phrasebook – if this was not the scribe – was clearly meant to read Cyrillic as well. See §5.2 for a more thorough discussion of the Cyrillic data in F.

## 2.2 Scribal habits

Leafing through the manuscript – or even the facsimile edition – one cannot help but be struck by the regularity of its appearance. With the exception of the alien, High German body (F 262-269), there are hardly any disruptions: page after page, long wordlists (LEX and GRAM) and phrases (PHRAS, PROVERB, RELI) follow, in a remarkably regular shape and without major disruptions when it comes to layout and arrangement, ink colour, et cetera.

The impression this leaves is that of a scribe who put a lot of effort in the production of this phrasebook. Zooming in on the text itself, this impression grows stronger. The scribe's conscientious *modus operandi* can be seen in at least two phenomena: the application of emendations and corrections, and the careful indication of synonyms in the manuscript.

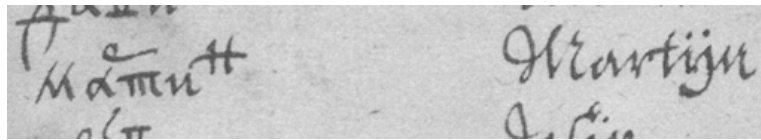
Emendations and corrections are applied very carefully, in a number of ways: letters have been changed into other letters, letters or words have been delicately struck out, inserted secondarily – either on the line or supralinear –, and every so often insertion marks are used to indicate the position where one or more words should be entered in a phrase. The following examples illustrate these techniques.

In the lexical entry below, the *yn* in *Martyn* was corrected from initial *Martim*, as the manuscript shows.

Ма<sup>р</sup>ти<sup>н</sup>

Martyn

(F 48 16)



In the following examples, letters were inserted on the line: in *promesznika* 'промежника' (F 297 11), this is the case for the letter *z*, in *tajnoia* 'тайное' (F 257 1) for *i*:

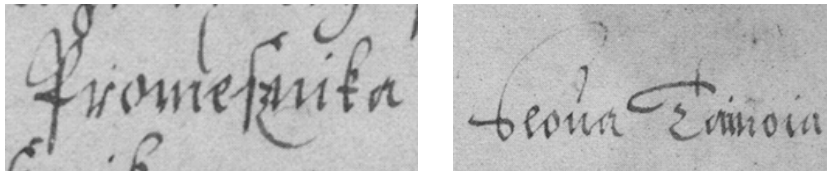


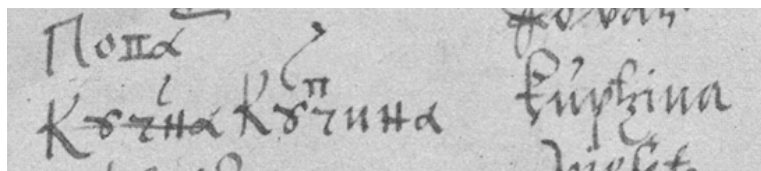
Figure 15: *promesznika* (F 297 11) and *tajnoia* (F 257 1)

In another lexical entry, initial *кचना* was struck out by the scribe and replaced by *кшчина* 'merchant':

кѣчина кѣчина

kuptzina

(F 53 10)



Insertions could be added supralinear. In *Tÿ ne rosumeis* 'ты не розумѣшь' (F 216 6), the negative particle *ne* was added by means of an insertion mark, and in *грѣчина* – *gretzina* 'грѣчина; buckwheat' (F 64 18) an *r* was added in the Latin transliteration of the word.

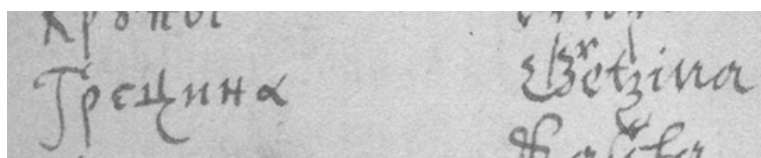
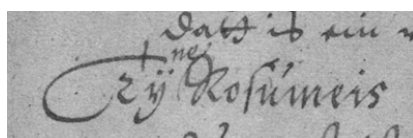


Figure 16: *Tÿ ne rosumeis* (F 216 6), *gretzina* (F 64 18)

In the same phrase where we find *promesznika* (see above), the words to be inserted, *promeszi nas*, are not directly over the position in the phrase where they belong, but in the line above. The manuscript clearly shows that the words and the position in the phrase are marked by an identical insertion mark.

- (7F) Podi dabuit promesznika kottoroi *promeszi nas* promesztzalet  
besz promesznika nam stoboi ne torgovat.

Gahe vnd krich eÿnen mekeler, de twischen  
vns mekele sunder mekeler kopslage wÿ  
mÿtt dÿ nicht.

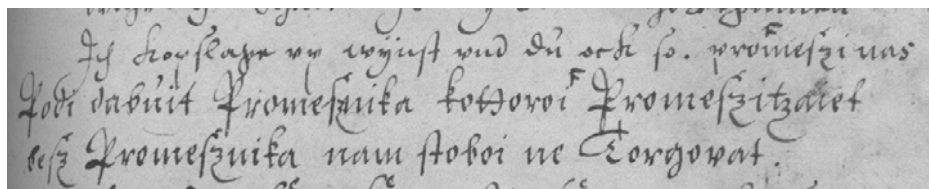
(F 297 11-15)

Поди добыть промежника, которой промежи нас промеж<н>ичает.

Без промежника нам с тобой не торговать.

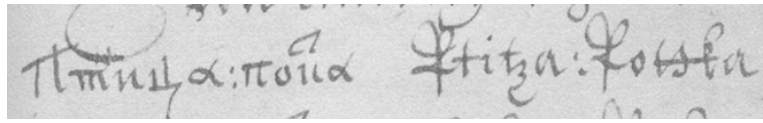
'Go and find a broker who is to mediate between us. Without a

broker we [, you and I, cannot trade together] (do not trade with you).'



Occasionally, superscript numbers indicate that letters, words, or entire phrases should swap position. The following phrases show how this procedure worked





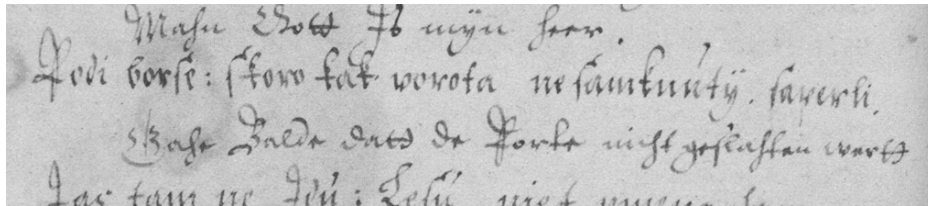
(11F) Podi **borse: skoro** kak vorota ne **samknutŷ: saperli.**

Gahe **balde** datt de porte nicht **geslahten wertt.**

(F 254 6-7)

Поди борзѣ: скоро, как ворота не замкнуты: заперли.

‘Go quickly [/ soon] that the gate will not be closed [/ they will not lock the gate].’



### 2.3 INTRO

Fonne’s phrasebook starts with a lengthy introductory section, INTRO, and contains texts in a number of languages, among them Latin, High German, Low German, Russian, and Church Slavonic. Equally diverse are its contents. On the flyleaf we find the invocation *Soli Deo gloria* and the notice which tells us that Tönnies Fonne passed on the manuscript to Hinrich Wistinghusen. This is followed, on F 1 by the declaration of ownership (*Tönnies F[o]nne gehordt düet boek*, F 1 1), the time and place of origin (F 1 2-3), a psalm verse (*Initium Sapientiae timor Domini*; Psalm 111:10, F 1 5), a number of phrases that stem from the Roman poets Marcus Manilius (F 1 6) and Ovid (F 1 7-10), followed by a traditional incantation warning off any would-be thieves (F 1 11-14). Pages F 2 and F 3 contain religious phrases. The phrases on F 3 stem from Saint Augustine (F 3 1-6), the motto of the Order of Saint Benedict (F 3 7), and the works of Saint Bernard of Clairvaux (F 8-11). F 4 and F 7-8 (lower half torn out) contain High German verses in a decorative layout (see Figure 2), warning the reader and giving pieces of worldly wisdom (e.g., *Dem bosenn tuhe baldt widerstandtt. / Lasz es nicht nehmen vberhandtt* ‘Oppose evil betimes. Do not let it get the upper hand’, F 52-53). Additionally, F 7 contains the upper part of a coat of arms, which figures a lute player in its crest (see Figure 7).<sup>31</sup> All the elements of INTRO that have been discussed – which are not specifically related to the manuscript as a phrasebook – until this point are lacking in the related phrasebooks, s and A.

<sup>31</sup> The coat of arms remains unidentified, although the crest does not match that of the Fonne family (Erpenbeck 1993: 554n.).



Advice of a more practical nature follows on F 13 and 14, showing the phrasebook's nature as a practical tool for the reader as a learner of the Russian language and as a foreigner in Russia who should always remember that he is German:

- (12F) Du most ock den gangk tho den dutschen lahten  
 datt werdt dÿ kamenn tho groten bahtenn  
 Deistu datt vaken vnd drade  
 so kumpstu tho der sprake gerade (F 13 1-4)  
 'You must refrain from visiting the Germans.  
 That will be of great benefit to you.  
 If you do that often and speedily,  
 Then you will come straightway to the language'
- (13F) Wiltu in Rußlandt de sprake lehren  
 so laht dÿ van den rußen nicht vorföhren  
 Holdtt dÿ na der dutschen wise,  
 vndt esche vaken frische spise. (F 14 1-4)  
 'If you want to learn the language in Russia  
 Then do not let yourself be led astray by the Russians  
 Hold fast to the German way of life  
 And demand often fresh food'

In contrast with the non-specific introductory matter, these practical pieces of advice, which introduce the manuscript as a phrasebook and language-learning tool for German merchants, are not unique for Fonne's phrasebook. Similar passages can be found in other phrasebooks, especially in A, which introduces the manuscript and serves the reader with advice for almost 8 pages (A 1r-5r); s has a small introduction, consisting of slightly over 3 pages (s 1r-2v, and a few lines on s 3r; s 1v is blank).

The first statement introducing the material offered by the phrasebook follows on F 22 (see §3.3.2), and INTRO is concluded by a *Liber ad lectorem* (F 23) and the Our Father (F 24; also on A 5v). Of these texts, it is this *Liber ad lectorem*, an introduction for the reader, which is the most interesting: it is unique among the phrasebooks, and may very well be of the scribe's own making. After a general opening statement (F 23 1-5), we find comments on the spelling system of Russian, and instructions on how to pronounce a number of letters and sounds. Its contents have so far received little attention. As I shall return to this *Liber ad lectorem* a number of times throughout this study, it seems useful to quote the instructions here in full:

- (14F) [...] vnd wor du finst B vedi sprick vth  
 vor ein v. oder f. vnd nicht vor ein w. Vnd wor ein  
 ff steit schriff ein f. Vnd wor ein ж oder љ steÿt  
 liß vor ein sg doch pronuciere dat g. nicht vehle, sundern  
 eÿn weÿnich bÿ(n)nen mundeß, vnd wor ein 3 ode s

vor. ansteÿt dat pronuntiere is. Vnd wor ein *iii*  
steÿt dat schriff scha doch sprick idt nicht gahr scharp  
vth. Vnd wor ein *iii* steÿdt schriff vnd liß stz.  
εε. s3. γ8. φθ. geldt eÿn so vehll  
also dat ander. Alleÿne wen du wilt van Godt-  
lichen, vnd keÿsers oder hern dingen schriuen willt  
so bruke ε. s. γ. φ. Wen du auerst van hellischen  
vnd geringen dingen schriuen wilt so schriff  
dat ε. 3. 8. θ. Sunst werstu mit dißem boeke  
nicht tho rechte kamen. Vor ein *c* sch *sclova*. liß *sc*.  
(F 23 5-19)  
‘And where you find a *β vedi*  
pronounce a *v* or an *f* and not a *w* and where an  
*ff* stands write an *f*. And where a *κ* or *ζ̄* stands  
read *sg* but do not pronounce the *g* very much but  
a little inside the mouth, and when a *3* or *s*  
stands before pronounce that *is*, and when a *uu*  
stands write that *scha* but do not pronounce it very sharply.  
And when a *uu* stands write and read *stz*.  
εε. s3. γ8. φθ. the one of these is equivalent  
to the other. But if you want to write of Divine  
and Imperial or noble matters,  
then use ε. s. γ. φ. But when you want to write of hellish  
and trivial matters then write the  
ε. 3. 8. θ. Otherwise you can’t use this book  
properly. For an *c sch sclova* read *sc*.’

The overall impression of INTRO is that the scribe put a lot of effort in filling the introductory part of the phrasebook with traditional *sententiae* and wisdoms, as well as introducing the manuscript as a phrasebook according to what must have been the tradition of the genre. The introduction is larger in size and more diverse in content than that of S and A. Coupled with the effort and care that has been put into the appearance of the section – especially F 3-4 and the coat of arms on F 7 – this betrays the attitude of the scribe, who must have wanted to make the introduction look beautiful and impressive.

## 2.4 Conclusions

The conclusions for this chapter can be brief. The coherence of the material must lead to the conclusion that the manual was compiled by one scribe only, fluent in both the Cyrillic and the Latin alphabets (§2.1). The regularity of the many pages, the meticulous application of corrections and emendations, and the careful and consistent method of indicating synonyms, point to the scribe’s efforts to give the phrasebook a rather polished appearance (§2.2).

The efforts put into the manuscript by the scribe also show in the introductory section, which is more elaborated than in comparable phrasebooks. The section combines rather generic Latin and German elements with specific texts

identifying the manuscript as a Russian-German merchant phrasebook and giving the user advice on how it should be used (§2.3).

### 3. THE PHRASEBOOK AS A COPY

As we have seen, the scribe put a lot of energy into the general appearance and shape of his manuscript. At the same time, the majority of the material in Fonne's phrasebook is not original. This raises the question of how the scribe handled his sources. In this chapter, therefore, I shall discuss the manuscript as a copy rather than as an independent work. First, I shall investigate the origin of the material by looking at the relation with the older phrasebooks (s and A), and the variety of German used in these earlier sources. After this, the discussion will focus on the composition and organisation of the phrasebooks. This will be done by zooming in from the highest level – the organisation of the phrasebook as a whole – to the level of individual items and how they are organised, and will finally be on the level of words.

#### 3.1 Origin of the material

Having established that most of the material in Fonne's phrasebook is not original, but was copied from earlier sources, the linguistic dependence of the phrasebook on these older sources can be established by comparing the data in Fonne's phrasebook with those in s and A. The availability of text editions of these two older phrasebooks makes it possible to explore philological issues that touch upon this relationship. The phrasebooks s and A, which in this study have only been cursorily introduced, will be presented in more detail here.

##### 3.1.1 Schroue and Anonymous

Of the two available related phrasebooks, Schroue's phrasebook shows the largest number of correspondences with Fonne's phrasebook. s contains 227 pages, slightly less than half the number of pages in F. Its historical and philological context is the most complicated of all three phrasebooks. A factually coherent picture was first given sixty years ago by Mixail Alekseev (1951), and the issue was more recently taken up by Anna Xoroškevič (2000). The most relevant facts:

- The text is dated 1546 (s 1r).
- The German part of the phrasebook is in High German.
- The Russian is written exclusively in the Latin alphabet.
- The phrasebook is part of a convolute which includes two other works.

- This convolute can be dated to the period 1582-1591 (Fałowski and Witkowski 1992: 12).
- The 1582-1591 copy we have is probably a copy of a text from 1546 (Alekseev 1951: 108 = 1974: 27).
- A Thomas Schroue was mayor of Dorpat (present-day Tartu, Estonia) and died somewhere between 1498 and 1501. He was a speaker of Low German, and probably did not know Russian at all (Fałowski and Witkowski 1992: 12).<sup>32</sup>
- The 1546 text was probably copied from a text dating from before the death of Thomas Schroue (Alekseev 1951: 110 = 1974: 29).

Although the historical figure of Thomas Schroue bears no relation to this copy, other than his name occurring in it, we will follow accepted usage and refer to this copy as Schroue's phrasebook.

Copying a text is not without danger, especially if the copyist does not know Russian. A cursory examination of the text already reveals that this was the case for the scribe who compiled this manuscript. As a result, the text is highly distorted, especially on the graphical level (e.g., the confusion of similar looking letters, such as *v*, *u*, *n* and *r*). The editors reach the following conclusion:

“In comparison to other historical texts of the same type ([references to TF I-IV and A]), the manuscript now published shows many phonetic and grammatical deformations, as well as contortions distorting the meaning of individual phrases. They may have appeared at the various stages of the development of the text and been caused by a variety of circumstances. These certainly included imperfect knowledge of Russian by German authors, lack of knowledge of the Cyrillic alphabet and the principles of rendering the Russian language with that sign system, the lack of attention of successive copyists, as well as the imprecise nature of noting down utterances heard from Russian informants or dictated in Hanseatic scriptorium” (Fałowski 1997: 10)

With the Anonymous phrasebook we face a different picture. With 188 pages it is the smallest of the three phrasebooks. The manuscript is not dated, but can be attributed to the mid-16<sup>th</sup> century on the basis of palaeographical and linguistic arguments (Fałowski 1996: 165). We have seen that the number of phrases which correspond to phrases in one or both of the other phrasebooks is relatively low. And although exact correspondences can be found, often the correspondences are much looser. At the same time, the text is not as distorted as that of Schroue's phrasebook: “Die Wörter und Sätze sind außerordentlich korrekt, ohne ernstliche Fehler und Deformationen, aufgezeichnet” (Fałowski 1994: 10).

<sup>32</sup> See also, apart from the cited references, Stone 1990.

### 3.1.2 Stemma

In 2000, Anna Xoroškevič proposed a stemma for the three phrasebooks, reproduced here as Figure 17. It is mostly based on a number of salient lexical items: the terms used to indicate the weighing-house and a number of words referring to coins and money. In her view, the material ultimately goes back to the last third of the 13<sup>th</sup> century.<sup>33</sup>

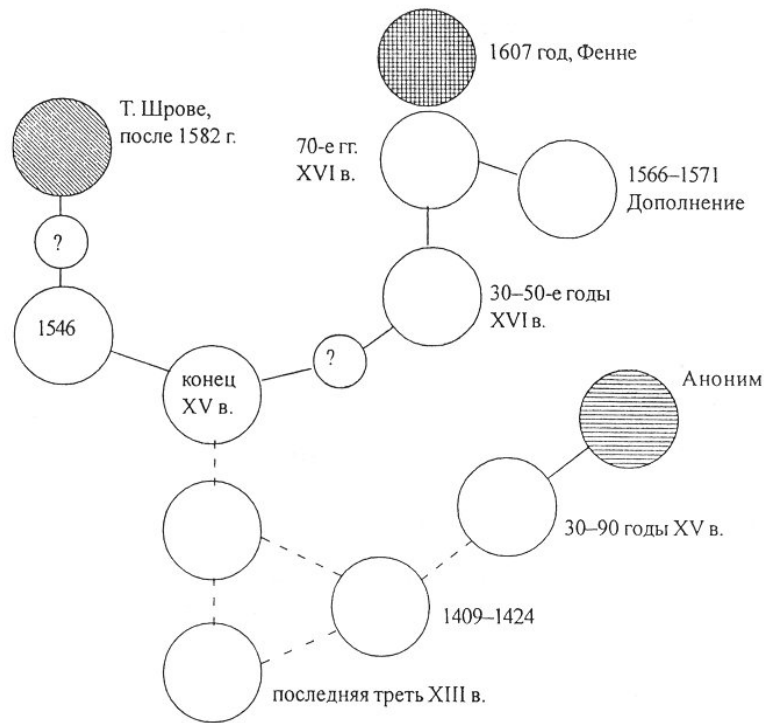


Figure 17: Stemma including the three phrasebooks F, S and A (Xoroškevič 2000: 91)

This study does not aim to retrace this stemma in full detail. Rather, I will try to shed some light on the branch of the stemma that links the two most closely related phrasebooks – Fonne’s and Schroue’s. Xoroškevič dates the common source for these two phrasebooks to the end of the 15<sup>th</sup> century (Xoroškevič 2000: 85-91; also Bolek 2003: 215).

<sup>33</sup> This would make the material over a century older than the High German-Italian phrasebook by Master George from 1424, the oldest merchant book known today (see §1.3.1).

### 3.2 Low German and High German

The many striking similarities between the phrasebooks of Schroue and Fonne gave rise to the assumption that they are textually related. At the same time, there is one striking difference that needs an explanation: whereas Fonne's phrasebook almost exclusively uses a variety of Low German, Schroue's phrasebook uses High German throughout. It is clear, however, that the language of the common source for both phrasebooks is Low German. The editors of TF I already noted that Schroue's High German is a translation from Low German:

"This High German text has evidently been translated from a Low German text corresponding to that of the Fenne manuscript: e.g. *beuten* [s 3r 9, see (19s) below] is not a genuine High German word but a transposition of the Low German verb *buten*; the same is true of the verb [*behufet*] [s 3r 8]." (TF I: 20n.)

Gernentz et al. later confirmed this: Low German elements shine through the High German text on the orthographical level as well as on the levels of morphology, the lexicon, and syntax (1988: 27, 39f.; see also Xoroškevič 2000: 82, Stone 1990: 347). If we posit a common source for both phrasebooks, the translation of the Low German text into High German must be of a later date. In other words: the common source of both phrasebooks was still in Low German.

In addition to what Gernentz and the editors of TF found, actual relics of Low German can be found in S, as (15) below shows:

- (15S) Nadop botßka Ißwýnom Ißkrÿpÿth doobro ne voßzor,,  
wetsse **menn moeth**. p. **Man mus** die thunnen mit  
dem Wein Vast machen lassen, das sie nicht von einand[er] springen. p. (S 51V 19-21)
- (15F) Nadob botzka smödum skrepit dobro ne roszorutze.  
**Men modt** de tunne mit dem mede  
vaste maken, dat se nicht van ander springe. (F 391 6-8)

In (15S), the Low German words *menn moeth* immediately precede High German *Man mus*. It corresponds exactly with Low German *Men modt* in the corresponding phrase in F. Another example of Low German interference, slightly more complicated, can be found in (16).

- (16S) Touar vmenna offrÿgu posszol nadop Imne sagÿm  
Jechgath **de war Is mÿ**  
Ich mus nach der wahre vorreÿsenn, dan sie ist mir vf Riege gesannt. p. (S 25V 13-16)
- (16F) Tovar otmenæ fkolivan poschol: schol cшo"  
nadob mnie sa ihm iechat.  
**De wahre is van mÿ** vp Reuell gesandt: gegahen  
ich modt ehr na reÿsen. (F 327 20-23)  
Товар от меня в Колывань пошёл: <и>сшёл;  
надобь мнѣ за им ѣхать.  
'My goods have been sent/have gone off to Revel; I must travel after.'

In this phrase, the order of the two sentences that make up the German phrase in *s* and *F* is reversed. The intrusion of *de war Is my* in the Russian phrase of *s*, corresponding to *De wahre is van my* in *F*, shows that the order in *F* is the original order (see §8.5.2); the words *de war Is my* are another Low German relic in *s*.

### 3.3 Composition<sup>34</sup>

#### 3.3.1 Arrangement of sections

Fonne's phrasebook is by far the largest of the three phrasebooks: page numbers in the edition run to 566, but of these, 499 pages with text remain.<sup>35</sup> Schroue's manuscript counts 226 pages with text, the Anonymous phrasebook 183.<sup>36</sup> Figure 18 below illustrates the composition of the three manuscripts with regard to the textual length of the various parts.

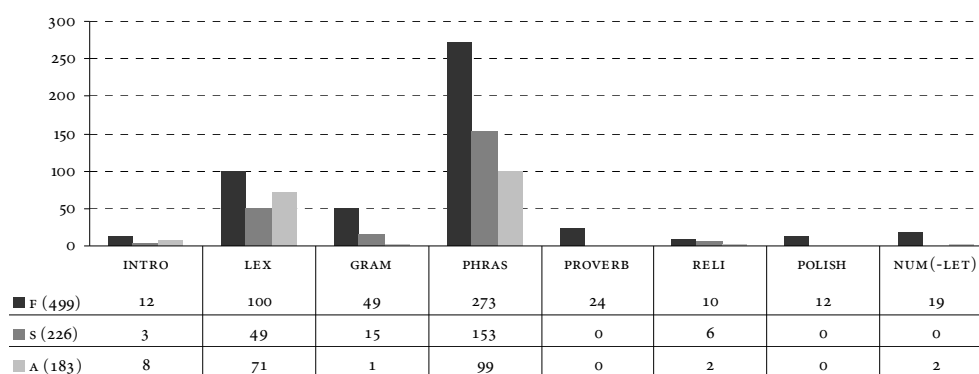


Figure 18: Proportional comparison of the sections in *F*, *s* and *A* (in number of pages)

With the exception of *PROVERB* and *POLISH*, all sections in *F* correspond to sections in at least one other phrasebook. But although the contents of the various sections of the three manuscripts are comparable, the order in which they appear in the manuscripts is not. Overall, the organisation of Fonne's material is much more logical than Schroue's, as was already briefly noted by Bolek:

“T. Fenne in turn, using essentially the same material as Th. Schroue arranged it in a more thought-through manner. The sections follow each other in a logical

<sup>34</sup> The remaining sections of this chapter closely follow Hendriks and Schaeken 2008b.

<sup>35</sup> There are 60 missing pages (*F* 5-6, *F* 9-12, *F* 15-20, *F* 25-30, *F* 143-144, *F* 173-174, *F* 185-186, *F* 271-272, *F* 465-268, *F* 295-296, *F* 503-506, *F* 511-526, *F* 539-544, *F* 555-556), 2 torn-out pages (*F* 483-484), as well as 7 blank pages (*F* OV, *F* 21, *F* 160, *F* 270, *F* 446, *F* 461, *F* 560).

<sup>36</sup> *s* has 1 blank page (*s* IV) and 1 duplicate leaf number (*s* 89 rv, *s* 89a rv), *A* has 5 blank pages (*A* 6rv, *A* 50v, *A* 51v, *A* 53v).



order. [...] Within the sections the phrases are arranged in a different order than in [s]" (Bolek 1997: 65)

The more logical organisation of the various sections is illustrated by Figure 19, a graphical representation of the breakdown of Fonne's phrasebook as discussed in §1.1.1 above, compared with that of s and A.

Overall, the order of the various sections of Fonne's phrasebook, and the order of clusters and phrases within those sections is very sensible: LEX precedes PHRAS, it first treats general topics (LEX-GEN) before going into more specific, trade-related issues (LEX-TRADE), and each cluster of words is given an appropriate heading. The arrangement of the phrases in PHRAS is equally logical: sentences of a more general type (mainly concerning social affairs; PHRAS-GEN) precede phrases that are specific to commercial discussions and negotiations (PHRAS-TRADE). PROVERB is closely linked to PHRAS, and immediately follows it. The remaining sections can be characterised as useful appendices to the main body of the text.

Schroue's phrasebook equally marks off each of the various parts of the manuscript, but its textual structure is less systematic. Firstly, it does not keep the lexical and phraseological subsections together: it contains two lexical sections and two phraseological sections. One phraseological section comes at the very beginning, the other at the very end, with all other sections coming in-between. The religious section is located between the first phraseological section and the first lexical section, the grammatical section keeps the two lexical sections apart.

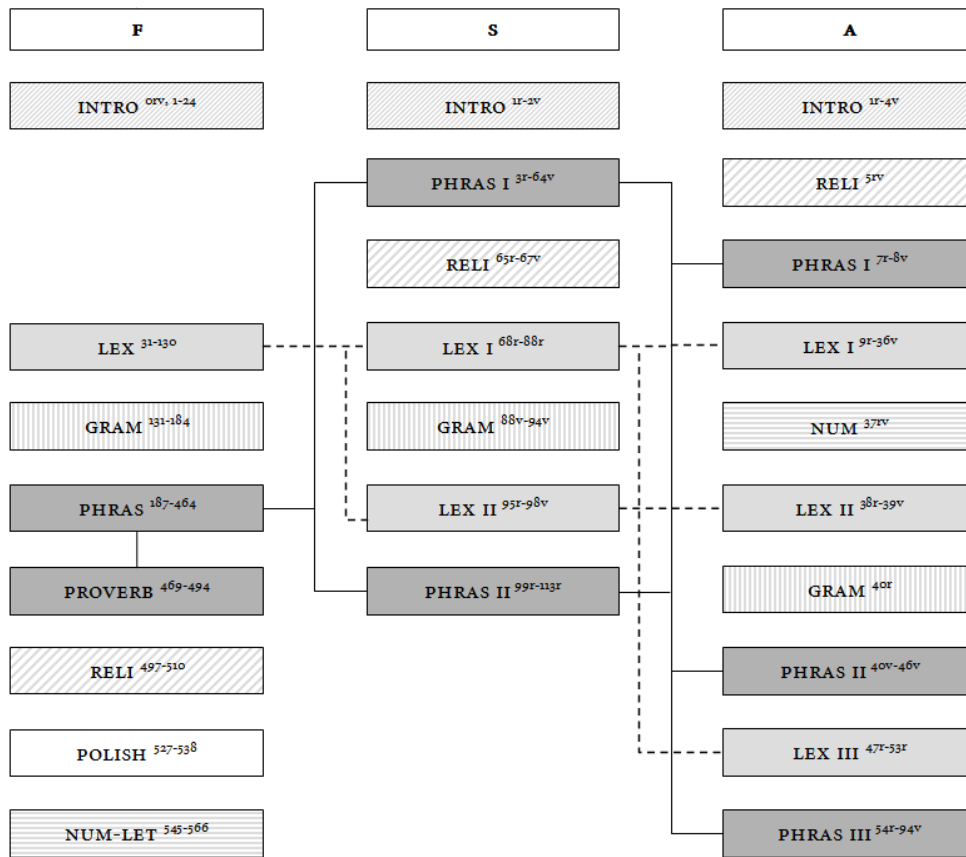


Figure 19: Schematic comparison of the sections in F, S and A

The textual organisation of the Anonymous phrasebook is even less clear. The lexicon and the phraseology are each divided over three different parts of the manuscript. In general, A does not always clearly distinguish between the different sections, such as the lexicon and the phrases (cf. A 11v 15-20, A 13v 20-24, A 18v 13-26, A 20r, A 20v 19-20, A 21r, A 27v 1-4, etc.),<sup>37</sup> or the brief grammatical section (A 40r, *Van Kleinen vockabulen*) and the following pages of the second phraseological section. Also, the list of numbers (A 37r 1-38r 2; F's part NUM-LET) is actually more a part of the lexicon (preceded by the unit *Van Gelde Vnder-schede*) than a separate section.<sup>38</sup>

<sup>37</sup> The division of the lexical and phraseological sections of F and S is usually straightforward. There is only one instance where a phrase in LEX has a counterpart in a different section in S (*pust kon segodni opotzinutt – latt datt perdt van dage rowenn* in F 80 18-19 and *Pust koenn so-godne opottsýne – Las das pferdt ruhen* in S 103v 17, part of the second phraseological section).

<sup>38</sup> The list roughly corresponds to F 545-554. In contrast with F, there is no list of letters in A; S contains neither numbers nor letters.

### 3.3.2 Arrangement of introductory statements

The introductory statements of the phrasebooks are another illustration of F's more rational organisation. The introduction of F (INTRO; 14 pages) at the beginning of the manuscript is considerably longer than A's (8 pages), and especially than that of s (3 pages). At the end of the section, the following statement marks the beginning of the phrasebook proper:

- (17F) Voima Svætaia Troitza ia potzinall pizatt tu  
 ruschuiu knigu Gospodi Isus Christus Sin Bosej  
 pridi komne da posobbi mne ti ruschigi retzi præmo  
 vtzitza da pochvatitt j̄ oposle præmo pizatt j̄ da j̄  
 mne svoiu milost sdorovie ffsvoiem ffstrachu sžiti.  
 à tie ruschigi retzi vollodiett. Amin.  
 Ihm nahmen der hilligen drefoldicheitt  
 begunde ich dutt rusche boek tho schriuen. herr Iesus  
 Christus söhne gades kum mj̄ tho hulpe de rusche  
 sprake recht tho leren vnd tho vahten vnd darna  
 recht tho schriuen vnd giff mj̄ dine gnade here  
 mj̄tt gesundthej̄dtt in dinen fruchten tho  
 leuen vnd de rusche sprake mitt leue tho  
 gebrukenn. Amen. (F 22 7-20)
- Во имя Святая Троица(!) яз починал писать ту  
 рускую книгу. Господи Исус Христос, Сыне Божей,  
 приди ко мнѣ да пособи мнѣ тѣ рускии рѣчи прямо  
 учиться да похватить и опослѣ прямо писать и дай  
 мнѣ свою милость здорвье в своем в страху(!) жити,  
 а тѣ рускии рѣчи володѣть. Амин.  
 'In the name of the Holy Trinity I began to write this  
 Russian book. Lord Jesus Christ, Son of God, come to my  
 assistance to learn the Russian language properly and to  
 comprehend it and after that to write it correctly and grant  
 me Thy grace, (Lord,) with health in fear of Thee to live and  
 to make use of the Russian language (with affection). Amen.'

These lines are not the only introductory statement. Both phraseological subsections, PHRAS-GEN and PHRAS-TRADE, are introduced with similar statements (F 187-188 and F 273):

- (18F) Sdies ias bosieiu pomotziu potziu pizatt  
 ruskuiu retzi kak nemtzinu sruszinom  
 poruskj̄ govorit [...]  
 H̄jr wj̄ll ich mj̄tt der hulpe gotts  
 anfangen tho schriuen de rusche sprake alse  
 de dutzschen mj̄t den rußen behouen rusch tho  
 spreken [...]. (F 188 1-3, 10-13)
- Здѣсь яз божьею помощью поч<ин>у писать  
 рускою рѣчь<ю>, как нѣмчину с русином  
 по-русски говорить [...]

‘Here, with the help of God, I shall begin to write  
in the Russian tongue, how the German(s) should  
speak with the Russian(s) in Russian’

- (19F) Woimæ svætaia troÿtza  
ias potzinu sdies pizsat kak nadob nemptzinu  
sruszinom torgovat [...]  
Im namen der hilligen drefoldicheitt.  
wÿll ich hir anfangen tho schriuen wo de  
dutschen behouen mÿtt den rußen tho  
koepslagen [...] (F 273 12-14, 6-9)  
Во имя Святая Троица(!).  
Яз почину здѣсь писать, как надобь нѣмчину  
с русином торговать,  
‘In the name of the Holy Trinity. I shall begin here to  
write how the German(s) should trade with the Russian(s)’

Schroue’s phrasebook also has three sets of introductory phrases. The first is located at the beginning of the manuscript (s 3r), the second and third precede the religious section (s 64v-65r; i.e., after the first phraseological section) and the second phraseological section (s 99r). Each can be linked to a phrase in F, as the numbers indicate:

- (19S) Ißde Jagotzu ißboßÿu pomotÿÿu potßÿnath kack nadop  
ißrusszÿmum turguwath da menetße tho war kupÿth  
vrußÿna da mÿnetze thowar prothiff tho war kollÿ  
Aspodu Bochgu Hube,  
Itzunndt will ich mit der Hulffe gottes beginnen, Als man  
mit denn Russen behufet zu kaufschlagen, die wahr  
von denn Russen zu kauffenn, vnnd zu beuten, wahr  
gegen war wie es unserm Hergott geliebt. *p.* (s 3r 3-10)
- (17S) Iste Ja gottzu mÿloßzÿrdÿe boßÿe rußkÿm Jassÿkum  
pottsÿnath tacko menne aspodÿ boch ffmoÿe ßÿrtze  
prÿßlath pottsÿnath BockBossobÿ Imne tho pottwattÿth  
premo rußkaÿa kuÿka pÿssath da Issdorouo bes  
strachu boßÿe wolodÿeÿth Imnogo dobbro ÿmeth.  
Hier will ich mit der Hulff gottes die russische sprache  
Anfahenn, vnndt so viell mir gott in das Hertze senndt  
gott help mir sie zu vassen vnd ein recht russisch buch  
zuschreibenn mit gesundtheit in der furchte gottes zu  
brauchenn Manniche Liebe zeidt. (s 64v 21-65r 8)
- (18S) Issde Ja gottßne mÿlos sÿodÿe boßÿe Pottsÿnath  
Da Pÿsath kack nadup Ißrußÿmum gauwerÿth.  
Hier will ich mit der hulffe gottes beginnen vnd  
Schreibenn, als man behuffet mit den Russenn zu  
sprechenn, als hiernach volgd. *p.* (s 99r 8-12)

The main introductory statement in Fonne's phrasebook, (17F), roughly corresponds to the second such statement in s, (17S), which introduces the religious part. The link between the statements is compounded by the presence of the Our Father in Russian (without translation) in the main introduction of Fonne's phrasebook. This corresponds to the end of the religious part in Schroue's phrasebook, where at the bottom of s 67v we find: "Nu volgett das Reussiche Vatter Vnser Auff dieselb sprache".<sup>39</sup>

The second introductory statement in Fonne's phrasebook, (18F), corresponds to the third statement in Schroue, which introduces the second phraseological part of that phrasebook. The two remaining introductions can also be matched (19) (cf. also TF I: 19-21).

The introductory statements in the Anonymous phrasebook show fewer correspondences with F and s. This is not surprising, given the looser relation of A with the other two phrasebooks. Still, the one real introductory statement, located at the beginning of the first lexical section, can be characterised as a shortened version of (17F) and (17S):

- (17A) Hospody Blahoslavi Otze.  
 Gott der herr helpe zw dem Ahnfange.  
 Hospody boch posobbi mene potsinati da konsati Rus-  
 komu Jasicku Vtziti sa  
 Gott helpe mi Ahnfangen Vnd Enden Rusüsche schprak  
 to leren. (A 9r 1-6)<sup>40</sup>

Also, an echo of (19) can be heard in a loose phrase (German only) in the third phraseological section of the Anonymous phrasebook:

- (19A) Hiernach vollgett wo man met den Ross-  
 enn schall kopschlagenn. (A 59r 1-2)

Yet despite the more distant relationship, the similarities of A with F and s are still striking. For example, after the introductory statements (17S) and (17A), both phrasebooks continue with the same phrase, not in Fonne's manuscript:

- (20S) Aspoddi Iseus Christus sÿm bosie bomÿluÿ nas grechnich. p  
 Her Jesu Christe du sohne gottes Erbarme dich vber vnns

<sup>39</sup> The next folio of s does not in fact give us the Our Father. Instead, the lexical section starts right off with the heading *Vonn gott vnd Himlischenn Dinngenn*. The catchword *Otze nas* at the bottom of page s 67v suggests that one of the folios disappeared before they were numbered and bound (see Fałowski and Witkowski 1992: 17).

<sup>40</sup> After these introductions s and A continue with the same phrase: s 65r 9-11 *Aspoddi Iseus Christus sÿm bosie bomÿluÿ nas grechnich* (*Her Jesu Christe du sohne gottes Erbarme dich vber vnns Armen sunders*) ~ A 9r 7-9 *Isus Christus sine bosie pomilui nas gresnych* (*Jesus Chrÿstus sone gades vorbarme die unser Armen sÿnders*). The phrase does not occur in F.

- Armen sunders. *p.* (s 65r 9-11)
- (20A) Isus Christus sine bosie pomilui nas gresnych.  
Jesus Chrüstus sone gades vorbarme die unser Armen  
sünders (A 9r 7-9)

Also, the very first (rhymed) sentences of A can be matched with those in s, again to the exclusion of F:

- (21S) Einn Russisch Buch binn ich genannndt,  
Ihm deutschenn Lanndt gantz vnbekannndt, (s 1r 1-2)
- (21A) Ein Rusch Boeck Bin Ick Genanth / mit ve-  
len Ehrlücken lüden sey Ick Allto  
wol nicht Bekhant (A 1r 1-3)<sup>41</sup>

Several of the next rhymed sentences on pages s 1r, 2r and A 1r are also rather similar:

- (22S) geschriebenn [...] Lebenn  
erdenn [...] werde  
Lerenn [...] bekerenn (s 1r, 2r)
- (22A) geschrewen [...] leben  
Erden [...] werd(en)  
leren [...] keren (A 1r)<sup>42</sup>

To conclude the examination of the introductory phrases, close textual correspondences between the introduction of the Anonymous phrasebook and Fonne's manuscript – this time excluding Schroue's phrasebook – can be found on A 1r-1v and F 14, for example:

- (23F) Wiltu in Rußlandtt de sprake lehren  
so laht dÿ van den rußen nicht vorföhren (F 14 1-2)
- (23A) Wultu Ihn Rußlandt de schpracke leren/ so lathe die vor den  
hungerigen Russen nicht vorferen/ (A 1v 4-5)<sup>43</sup>

### 3.3.3 Content and arrangement of LEX

As I pointed out above (§1.5.1), the lexicon of F, s, and A has been studied in considerable detail, including the vocabulary in the lexical sections; a relatively

<sup>41</sup> Cf. the very similar passage s 25 2-3, and Alekseev's comments (Alekseev 1951: 107-109).

<sup>42</sup> Note that the rhymes in High German are rather imperfect, proving once again the Low German origin of the material in s (see §3.2).

<sup>43</sup> The other correspondences are F 14 7-8 ~ A 1r 16-17; F 14 9-10 ~ A 1v 1-2; F 14 11-12 ~ A 1v 9-10; F 14 13-14 ~ A 1v 11-12; F 14 21-22 ~ A 1v 13-14; F 14 25-26 ~ A 1v 6.

recent work in the field is Mžel'skaja 2003. In this section, I restrict myself to a few general comments.

LEX contains approximately 1,950 entries. It is subdivided into LEX-GEN, with 40 different chapters (running from *Van den veer elementenn* to *Van schepenn*), and LEX-TRADE, with another 14 chapters (starting with *Van allerleÿ pelterienn* and ending with *Van allerleÿ lakenn*). Although *s* normally contains fewer entries per chapter, the way in which the lexemes are ordered is remarkably the same. It is striking that the first lexical section of *s* (68r-88r; cf. Figure 19 above) nicely corresponds to LEX-GEN (F 31-107), whereas the second section (*s* 95r-98v, and also the first five lines of 99r) precisely covers LEX-TRADE (F 108-130). More than half of the entries in LEX are also attested in *s*, and almost every single chapter of F can also be encountered in *s* (see Gernentz et al. 1988: 63-76 for some detailed comparisons).

The connection between F and A – the combined lexical sections of which make up a considerable part of the entire document (cf. Figure 18) – is less obvious than between F and *s*. Nevertheless, more than one third of the lexemes in F can also be found in A, frequently arranged in exactly the same order. Examples of such corresponding passages are F 189-190 ~ A 20V and F 259 ~ A 20V, 21V.

In conclusion: comparison with *s* and A shows that at least two thirds of the vocabulary in F is not original.

### 3.3.4 Content and arrangement of PHRAS

The phrases which occur in both F and *s* do not correspond randomly. Even a casual look at the concordance between F and *s* (see appendix B) reveals an overwhelming amount of exact parallel sequences of corresponding phrases, schematically illustrated in Figure 20 below.

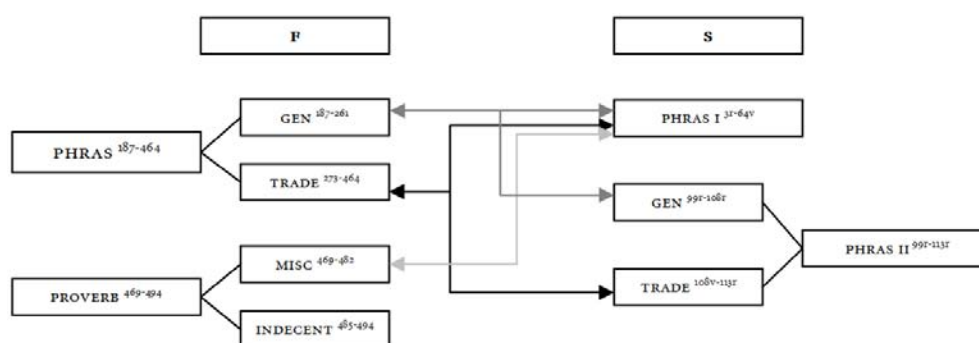


Figure 20: Parallel sequences in F and *s*

Speaking in broad terms, PHRAS-GEN (F) first runs parallel with PHRAS II-GEN (s), then with parts of PHRAS I (s). PHRAS-TRADE (F) first closely follows PHRAS I

(s), then matches PHRAS II-TRADE (s), and at the end again relates to parts of PHRAS I (s). The majority of correspondences in PROVERB can be found in the PHRAS I (s). These parallel sequences show the extremely close textual relationship between the two phrasebooks.

At a more detailed level, disruptions to the regular pattern reveal the scribe's keen eye for the layout of his text. Three different categories can be distinguished.

The first category is constituted by sequences of corresponding phrases which are disrupted by the last phrase at the bottom of a page in F. A typical example is F 341-342, which follows the sequence of s 32rv, with the exception of the last phrase on F 341:

F	S
...	...
341 16-19	32r 15-18
341 20-21	32r 19-20
341 22-23 (end of page)	32v 5-6
342 1-6	32r 21-24 (end of page)
342 7-10	32v 1-4
342 11-12	32v 7-8
...	...

**Table 1:** Typical order of phrases at the end of a page in F in relation to s

The phrase following F 341 20-21 (~ s 32r 19-20) does not match s 32r 21-24, as one would expect, but corresponds to a phrase located on the next page of s (32v 5-6). On the next page, F picks up the order of s again – leaving out, of course, s 32v 5-6, which had already been used.

This deviation from the standard pattern is governed by a simple layout consideration: the scribe of F never splits up a single phrase over two different pages, a habit with no exceptions in the manuscript. In this particular case, there was room in F for one more phrase after F 341 20-21. If the next phrase in the scribe's source corresponded to s 32r 21-24, this phrase would have been too long for the space left. The scribe's solution to this problem was to select a shorter phrase slightly further down his source, appearing as F 341 22-23. The phrase that was omitted initially turns up as F 342 1-6, taking up six lines.<sup>44</sup>

The same layout consideration can be invoked to explain the second category of disruptions of parallel sequences, in which the last phrase of a page in F

<sup>44</sup> Other examples of this procedure can easily be found throughout PHRAS: F 201 22, F 285 18-22, F 286 21-23, F 296 20-21, F 300 21-22, F 301 19-22, F 308 18-21, F 312 19-21, F 315 16-21, F 325 20-21, F 331 20-21, F 336 21-22, F 341 22-23, F 352 22-23, F 364 21-23, F 366 20-23, F 367 21-22, F 384 21-23, F 385 21-22, F 386 21-22, F 389 20-21, F 394 21-22, F 397 21-22, F 405 20-21.



lacks a counterpart in s. For example, the phrases on F 456-457 closely follow those on s 15v and 16r, with the exception of the last phrase on F 456 (20-21):

F	S
...	...
456 14-16	15v 15-16 <sup>45</sup>
456 17-19	15v 21-23
456 20-21 (end of page)	-
457 1-3	15v 24-26 (end of page)
457 4-6	16r 1-2
457 7-9	16r 3-4
...	...

**Table 2: A parallel sequence in F and s is disrupted by a missing phrase in s**

In several cases, the phrases in F which lack a counterpart in s correspond to a phrase in A, proving that they were copied from a written source. Examples of this phenomenon are F 278 23-24 ~ A 75r 18-19; F 288 21-23 ~ A 83v 8;<sup>46</sup> F 305 16-20 ~ A 72r 16-18.<sup>47</sup>

The final category of disruptions is in a way the mirror image of the previous category: this category comprises pages in F that have no correspondences in s with the exception of the last phrase of the page, as illustrated by the following table:

F	S
...	...
213 15-16	-
213 17-18	-
213 19-20 (end of page)	67v 12-14
214 1-2	-
214 3-4	-
214 5-6	-
...	...

**Table 3: A corresponding phrase shows up as the last item on a page without further correspondences**

Other pages showing this pattern are F 237 22-23 ~ s 106v 5-6 and F 426 21-22 ~ s 101v 11. Of course, this final pattern of missing correspondences can be explained in different ways. All three sets of phrases combined, however, do make

<sup>45</sup> The missing lines s 15v 17-20 roughly correspond to F 452 3-4 and 5-6.

<sup>46</sup> Italic page and line numbers indicate a rough rather than an exact correspondence.

<sup>47</sup> Even in the case of F 456 20-21, which does not have a correspondence in A, a written source will have to be assumed: the verb form *menetzu* shows traces of the conversion from earlier *хо-чу ... меняться* (see §7.4).

clear how close the textual composition of PHRAS actually is to the corresponding sections in s.

Again, the connection between the composition of F and A is less strong than between F and s. Correspondences can be found throughout the text of A. In PHRAS-GEN, there is a concentration of phrases which correspond to phrases A 54-59, 86 and 91. Here and there, PHRAS-TRADE shows rough parallel sequences of sentences (e.g., F 273-277 ~ A 59-60, F 297-302 ~ A 68-70), but far less frequently and systematically than in the case of F and s.

Although we have not systematically searched for exclusive correspondences between s and A, it feels safe to conclude that there are only few cases in which similar phrases in s and A are not shared by F.<sup>48</sup>

### 3.3.5 Conclusions

As far as the overall composition of the two most closely related phrasebooks, F and s, is concerned, there are two possible explanations for the more sensible and refined organisation of the material in F. One explanation is that the state of affairs in s is a distortion of a more logical composition of the common source. This is a view held by Bolek and Xoroškevič:

“The not very logical arrangement, the occurrence of repeated sentences in the phrasebook, and the absence of the Our Father promised in the text (s 67v) allow for the assumption that *Einn Russisch Buch* unites the reflection of several phrasebooks previously functioning in different versions.” (Bolek 1997: 64)

“The inclusion of separate sections of the dictionary and the phrasebook of Schroue (and the partial duplication of texts about trade matters in the first and the last parts), the arrangement of these sections which is different from that in the dictionary of Fenne, and the inclusion of three separate introductions suggest that the maker of Schroue’s dictionary (or his helper) had at his disposal several separate Russian manuals in the form of ‘books’, which were united by him or his helper in one historical text.” (Xoroškevič 2000: 83)

Another explanation for the difference between F and s is that F represents an improvement over the common source: the retention of the various introductory sections in F and their more logical arrangement then can be said to bespeak the scribe’s eye for composition and layout, and Fonne’s phrasebook as a whole as a next stage in the development of the genre, a viewpoint also hinted at by Bolek:

<sup>48</sup> Examples are s 4r 17-20 ~ A 60r3-5; s 15r 21-24 ~ A 80r 4-7; s 16v 15-16/31r 8-9 ~ A 72r7-8; s 33r6-7 ~ A 77r 7-8; s 41r 1-2 ~ A 85r 7-8; s 63r 20-24 ~ A 85v 16+17+18; s 106v 1-2 ~ A 54v 5; s 106v 9 ~ A 54v 11.

“Both the arrangement of the material and the large volume of the phrasebook [...] require us to see in this language compendium an improved, and philologically and formally more refined version.” (Bolek 1997: 65)

The layout considerations governing the disruption of parallel sequences, but also the investigations and observations presented in the following chapters, show that the scribe did not copy the material blindly and haphazardly, but that he operated with care and precision. It is likely that the organisation of F in fact does constitute an improvement over its immediate sources.

A final comment has to be made about the frequent repetition of identical phrases in s. In the eyes of Bolek and Xoroškevič, these testify to the compilatory nature of the text, showing that the scribe did not master the material he was copying (Bolek 1997: 64, Xoroškevič 2000: 84). But duplicate entries do not only occur in s: they can also be found in F.<sup>49</sup> There are indications that the scribe was well aware of some of these at least (see §8.6.3). If their retention was a conscious choice, the double occurrences of phrases can be regarded as the reflection of a perceived independence of the various sections.

Of course, the two explanations for the differences in the overall organisation of F and s are not mutually exclusive.

### 3.4 Textual correspondences

#### 3.4.1 F and s

The close correspondence between the phrasebooks of Fonne and Schroue is not limited to the composition of the texts. The following examples, which can easily be found throughout PHRAS, further illustrate the direct relationship between both manuscripts on the levels of orthography, grammar and syntax:

- *Dobranitz* (F 190 16) ~ *Dobranithz* (s 99r 6) (cf. TF II: 128, n. 16: “Ukrainian influence in secular greeting”).
- *Doboszdorouie* (F 190 17) ~ s 99r 14 *Dabes drowe* (for *добро здоровье*, both written without *r*).
- *svoi polat* (F 205 6) ~ *swoÿ pollat* (s 103r 8). In both cases, masculine *полат* is used for the feminine noun *полата*.

<sup>49</sup> Examples of phrases that are repeated literally or with some variation: F 189 9-11 ~ F 191 3-8 ~ F 274 1-5; F 214 17-18 ~ F 472 8-11; F 217 15-17 ~ F 277 10-13; F 219 4-7 ~ F 332 1-4, F 219 11-12 ~ F 390 21-23, F 225 13-17 ~ F 348 16-20; F 229 19-20 ~ F 472 3-4, F 257 1-4 ~ F 331 5-7. Note that repetition does not only occur between PHRAS-GEN and PHRAS-TRADE, but also within PHRAS-TRADE: F 285 13-14 ~ F 322 13-14, F 288 16-20 ~ F 417 4-7, F 293 1-4 ~ F 316 15-22, F 296 20-21 ~ F 318 17-18, F 301 1-6 ~ F 336 17-20, F 305 6-8 ~ F 339 20-22, F 321 1-2 ~ F 384 6+10, F 336 10-12 ~ F 439 13-15, F 339 12-15 ~ F 349 18-23, F 356 1-5 ~ F 463 9-13.

- *ffrtorg* (F 208 21, ‘*vp den markede*’) ~ *offturk* (s 105r 20). Both forms lack a LOC.SG. ending.
- *sprimka* (F 279 9, ‘*vp winst*’) ~ *Isprjmkka* (s 5v 4). In both instances an INSTR would be expected.
- The word *поводно* ‘выгодно’ (cf. Zaliznjak 1998: 261-262) occurs for the first time in F as *povodno* (F 279 19). In the corresponding phrase s has *pouodua* (s 5v 11), where *-du-* has to be read as *-dn-* (as in numerous other instances in s). There are 3 other cases of *поводно* in F, all without *d* and with a single *n* (*povono* 280 7, 286 9, *povonu* 376 3), most probably reflecting assimilation of *dn* > *nn* (Zaliznjak 1998: 262). In the corresponding cases in s, the word is written in the same way (*pouono* 5v 20, 7v 21, *powono* 46v 24).
- *Moi aspodar velil mnie ottebe dengi ffzæt* (F 309 5) has the German equivalent *Myn herr heffft my ~~tho dÿ gesandtt vnd~~ gehehten van dÿ dat geldt tho entfangen*. The words that are crossed out can be found in the corresponding phrase in s: *Meinn Her hat mich zu dir gesannndt, das geldt zu holenn* (s 18r 26). See also §8.5.2.
- The explicit addition including *iestze* at the end of F 311 17-18 (*al. iestze bolse sudit*) corresponds to *Towar Jese bolße ßudÿth* (s 19r 22).
- *Sol dorogo büil* (F 320 13, for *была*) ~ *Soall dorogo buÿll* (s 22v 3).
- *snakon* (F 320 21, for *знаком*) ~ *Ißnakonn* (s 23r 10).
- *polübitz ÿ tÿ* (F 334 6, *полюбитс<я>, и ты*) ~ *pololubÿtz Ithÿ* (s 29r 8). Cf. Günther 1974: 790, Zaliznjak 1998: 272.
- *ias buit tebe* (F 354 12-13, for *яз бы тебе*) ~ *Jas buth debbe* (s 37r 23).
- *tzob tovar* (F 360 3, ‘(TF II) *ч<т>об товар<у>*’) exactly corresponds to *tzoep thowar* (s 40r 18-19).
- *Tuoi krasenina* (F 371 10, for *твоя*) ~ *Tuoÿ kraßmÿna* (s 45r 8).
- *tÿ mecha* (F 377 2, 3 *sack*) ~ *thÿ mechga* (s 47v 17, *Dreÿ Secke*). Here, of course, the letter *r* is omitted in the numeral in both F and s.
- *nasch drusba* (F 377 17, for *наша*) ~ *nas trusba* (s 47r 17).
- *da kotorum tÿ slubuies* (F 407 4, ‘(TF II) *котору<ю>*’) ~ *da kotoroÿm thÿ Ißlubuÿes* (s 60v 12).
- *prismotritz: prigleditz* (F 412 1, ‘(TF II) *присмотритс<я> / пригля-дumтс<я>*’) ~ *prÿßmotritz: prÿgleditzs* (s 62v 12).
- *mosit dielat* (F 469 14, *kan doen*) notes the alternative infinitive (without German gloss) *spiraitze* as a secondary addition at the end of the phrase (cf. F 210 21-22 *spiraitze – twisten*). The addition corresponds to the reading of *mossÿ spÿratse* (s 112r 3, *kann Zwÿtrechtich sein*).
- The German equivalent of F 471 13-14 reads so *erkendtt he sine hefft he noch de qwahle tho nehmen* (~ s 39v 6 *so hat er noch dem willenn zuleben. vnnnd zuhandlen*). The words that are crossed out in F cannot possibly correspond to the Russian text (*ÿno iestze ÿsumilsa ffzæt* ~ s *Imo Jese*

om Ißmueles). However, they occur in s a few lines further on the corresponding page in a phrase that is not attested in F: *Wenn ein Mann Ihn Nottenn ist, so **erkennt er seine** vorachtigenn freunde* (s 39v 20-21). This suggests that the direct source of F also included the phrase, but that it was left out by the scribe.

### 3.4.2 F and A

The following examples illustrate the more distant relation of the Anonymous phrasebook to F and s. It is further removed from them in the sense that phrases often match only partially and that the correspondences are more indirect, vague and associative:

- The phrase *Na velikum saluange bog dall pollno* (F 195 21-22) is a combination of two separate phrases on A 27r: *Dal boch polno* in line 16 and *Na welicko salowange* in line 20.
- The phrase *Ia chotzu stoboi sreditza* (F 215 5) roughly corresponds to *Jas stoboi otom pomirymsa* (A 76v 8-9). The next phrase in F, *Otzum tÿ na menæ varavis / Worumb luchstu vp mÿ* (F 215 6-7) is thematically close to the previous phrase in A, *Mnoho ty Chwastajesch da lsesch / Du lawest die sehr vnd liehst* (A 76v 6-7).
- *Dolgo tÿ sÿiues poru tebe vmerett / Du leuest lange idtt is tÿt dattu steruest* (F 256 16-17) corresponds to *Dolgo ty syl na sem swete / Du hefst lange gewet Auf diesser Erd(en)* (A 18v 16-17) and the next line *pora tebbe vmerety / Ist tyth dat du sterwest*. The preceding phrases in F and A touch upon the theme of sin (“sunde”), although different expressions are used.
- The phrase *Pravo vbütka mnie lichu potzinat ia torguiu spributka da tÿ takovos* (F 297 7-10 ~ s 12r 24-27) is a free combination of two short phrases in A: *Prawo na vbytek chudo torgowat* (A 61r 15-16) and *Torgui na pributeck* (17-18).
- The phrase F 297 11-15 corresponds to A 68v 9-15 and deals with the need of finding a broker to mediate in the trade. Interestingly, the concluding part of the phrase in A, *togo dla sto Ja ne snaiu gorasdo ruskogo Jasycka / darumb das Ick nicht khan die Ruschische schpracke woll*, is missing in F.
- In view of the sequence of phrases, *Ias stoboi tebe rosplatilsa da tebe ne vinovate* (F 311 7-9 ~ s 19r 13-15) can be matched with *Jas tebe ne winowat da nesnaJu toba* (A 74v 14-15). Only *tebe ne vinovate* corresponds to the text in A.
- F 319 15-20 (~ s 22r 13-17) is a full phrase consisting of seventeen words. It can be matched with A 80v 9-10, which, however, only records the be-

ginning of the sentence (F *Otzum tÿ moi tovar roskladivais: perekladivais ... ~ A Czemu perekladass towar*).<sup>50</sup>

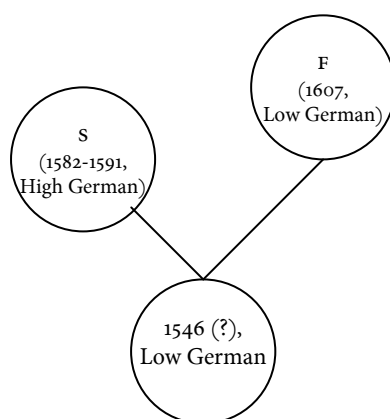
- In view of the sequence of phrases, *Moi tovar snakon ne nadob mnie iovo klemit* (F 320 21-23 ~ s 23r 10-11) corresponds to A 81r 10-11 and 12-13. However, the correspondence between F and the two different sentences in A is restricted to a few words only: *Czemu ty na swoi towar Kleym ne Polosyl* and *Nenadob wet snackom tzoloweck*.
- F 328 10-12 matches A 83r 8-9, and F 328 16-17 matches A 83r 12-13. The phrases in between do not correspond textually: cf. *Tzto tebe fftom tovaru stalo proroff na dorogi* (F 328 13-15) and *Nonetza proroff welick day desat Rublow* (A 83r 10-11). However, both show the word *проторъ* ‘costs’, which is otherwise rare. The only other phrase in which *проторъ* is used in F is *Protori mnie stalo velikÿ* (F 319 21-22). This phrase, which is not attested in s, vaguely alludes to A 83r 10-11.
- Whereas the last three phrases on F 329 accurately match the last ones on page s 26r, the corresponding part in A (A 83v 6-7+8-9) only uses some similar words (*добывать, не вѣрять* and *поручникъ*) in the same theme.
- *Ia tebæ otovo spaszaui: vgimaiu kak druga, vieri tÿ mnie* (F 400 12-15 ~ s 57r 3-4) corresponds fairly well with the first part of A 84v 11-12: *Ja toba beregu kack druga ...* The second part of the sentence in A (... *podì opet nasady*) is completely different but is attested elsewhere: *Podì opæd nasad* (F 214 21).
- The two phrases F 408 10-18 and 410 1-7 are combined in a single entry in s 61v 1-16. In A, *my chotzem tebbe dati wo twoJe rutze* (A 69r 2) alludes to *mÿ tebe dadim ffsuoïu volu da ruku* (F 408 11-12 ~ s 61v 3), whereas *da skasi pramo ne wosmi po sulu da ne prodai duschu dyawolu* (A 69r 2-3) corresponds to F 410 1-2 and s 61v 5-7 (both reading *бѣсѣ* instead of *дѣволѣ*).

### 3.5 Conclusions

In §3.2, Figure 17 reproduced the stemma devised by Xoroškevič. In her view – as well as Bolek’s – the common source for the phrasebooks of Fonne and Schroue dates back to the end of the 15<sup>th</sup> century. There would be one (or two) intermediate copies for s and as many as three (or four) for F. In other words: to get from s to F, one would need between five and seven steps. In view of the strong philological and linguistic similarities explored in this chapter, one

<sup>50</sup> There are more examples in A where only the first words of corresponding phrases in F and s are attested: F 321 1-2 ~ A 81v 1, F 322 20-23 ~ A 82r 3-4, F 323 1-4 ~ A 82r 5-6, F 328 1-4 ~ A 83r 4, F 328 5-7 ~ A 83r 5, F 332 1-4 ~ A 56r 1, F 332 9-14 ~ A 44r 13-14, F 365 1-5 ~ A 73r 3-4, F 393 7-13 ~ A 93r 6-7, etc.

would have to assume that the one (or two) steps to *s* and the three (or four) steps to *F* would all be unaltered copies of the common source dating to the end of the 15<sup>th</sup> century, down to the level of spelling and arrangement of phrases. This is unlikely. The observations from this chapter – which can easily be added to – give rise to the hypothesis that *s* and *F* share a more direct common source. In the simplest scenario, the relevant branch of the stemma need not look much more complicated than the stemma in Figure 21 below.



**Figure 21: Revised relationship between *F* and *s***

This scenario proposed here does not conflict with the supposed history of Schroue's phrasebook, which could look like this:

At the end of the 15<sup>th</sup> century Thomas Schroue, mayor of Dorpat, needed a phrasebook. He copied or compiled it from several earlier sources, or had it copied or compiled for him. The variety of German used was his native Low German. The resulting manuscript was copied in 1546, and still included the name of Thomas Schroue. A following copy – the copy we have been discussing under Schroue's name – was made between 1582 and 1591. On page *s* 1r, the scribe paid homage to Thomas Schroue, whom he believed was the author, and included the year 1546 of the source he copied. This scribe did not know Russian, but translated the Low German text of the source into High German.

In 1607, Tönnies Fonne needed a phrasebook. He copied or compiled it himself, or had it copied or compiled for him by a single scribe. For the main body of the phrasebook, there were several Low German sources available, which may have included the same 1546 phrasebook that led to Schroue's phrasebook. It is highly unlikely that the 1582-1591 manuscript, written in High German, was a direct source of *F*. If the 1546 phrasebook was one the sources of *F*, the name of Schroue which occurred in it was not copied into *F*.

It is not surprising that the scribes of both *s* and *F* made use of existing material. From a practical point of view alone, it would be illogical to start from scratch rather than to use already existing material circulating in the same cir-

cles of Hanseatic merchants. The relation between *s*, *F*, and *A* testifies to the fact that, indeed, the use of existing material as the basis for the next generation of a text must have been common. We saw that Tönnies Fonne too most probably passed on his phrasebook once he did not need it anymore (see §1.2.2).

What did this shared source for *F* and *s* look like? As far as its organisation is concerned, it was probably closer to *s* than to *F*: the scribe of *F* did not have a problem rearranging and reorganising the material on a smaller or larger scale, as that is obviously what he did. Of course, the scribe of the 1582-1591 manuscript may also have rearranged phrases, but if he did, he would only have been able to base himself on the German equivalent of each Russian sentence, given the fact that he did not know Russian at all.

On the level of the text, the common source was probably not as distorted as Schroue's phrasebook. The distortions in *s* can be categorised into those on the surface level of the graphical representation, and those on the deeper level of the language itself, the majority being graphical mistakes. As the scribe of *s* did not know Russian, he certainly did not repair any surface-level errors, mistakes or distortions that were already there, but probably only added more. Take, for example, the Russian in (24) below: it is almost unintelligible without the accompanying German phrase and, in fact, the corresponding phrase in Fonne's phrasebook.

- (24*S*) Imno tÿ piÿproßÿnaÿs vboff  
 Du Hieschest zuuuel zu, schlagk etwas ab (S 12r 12-13)
- (24*F*) Mnogo tÿ priproszivaies vbaff  
 Du eschest tho vele slae wadt aff. (F 296 12-13)

On the level of the language, on the other hand, things look different. Here, the same lack of knowledge of Russian must have actually helped preserve the language of the original. Ignoring any surface distortions – aided both by the German equivalent and by the corresponding phrases in *F* – we see that *s* actually reflects a quite normal Russian text.

Of course, the picture could be more complicated than has been painted here. More steps could lie between *s* and *F* than the mere two posited in Figure 21 – although a figure as high as seven, as I pointed out above, is unlikely. Although it is certain that the scribe of *F*, besides the common source, used one or more other written sources for the main body of his text (some of which may have actually looked more like *A*), and although it is likely that he used native Russian informants, the proximity of *F* and *s* – and hence that of *F* and its source – is clear on all levels of the manuscript.

In this chapter we have looked at the organisation of the phrasebook as a whole and the organisation of individual phrases in it. In the next chapters we will



examine the material on the level of the phrase and on the level of the language. Using a philological approach, we will attempt to determine to what extent the material was simply copied from the source (or sources) and to what extent it was changed and improved. The premise for this approach is the assumption that what we find in *s* is also what can be found in the unknown source of both manuscripts, with all the caution this assumption demands.

## 4. EXPLORING TEXTUAL DEPTH

In the previous chapter we looked at the similarities between *s* and *F*, testifying to the proximity of their shared source. From this chapter onward, we shall mainly be focusing on the differences between the two manuscripts. Comparison of *F* and *s* reveals that these manuscripts differ from one another. Some of these differences concern a single word, others concern entire phrases, and they can be either isolated or of a surprisingly structural nature.

I will first introduce the types of differences that can be found between *F* and *s*. The language of the latter manuscript is structurally closer to the common source. The scribe as a copyist and as an agent of change will be the centre of attention.

We shall see that the differences can be used to identify and confirm copying errors on the part of the scribe of *F*. When differences are the result of conscious intervention of the scribe, they can shed light on the linguistic validity and reliability of the data, but they can also be used to reveal information about language developments or the persistence of known dialectal and other characteristics.

### 4.1 Isolated differences

In the following examples, we are most likely dealing with straightforward copying errors, where the scribe of *F* left out a word present in the source text:

- In *Ia ne sameril suoi tovar* (*F* 335 10-14, *Ich hebbe nicht auer de mahte mine wahr vorlauet*) the preposition *za* is most probably missing; cf. *Ja ne samerjll ßa ßuoÿ thowar* (*s* 28v 22-29r 3) and also *Tÿ sa suoi tovar samerivaies* (*F* 279 19-23).
- *sa to|menæ ne poveszui* (*F* 378 5-8, *darumb vorkerdt mÿ nicht*) should be probably be read as *sa to na menæ ne poveszui*; cf. *ßa tho namenna ne poueßuÿ* (*s* 48r 10-12) and also *satim na menæ ne poveszui* (*F* 229 1-5), *ne poveszui tÿ namenæ* (*F* 291 1-4), and *ne poveszuiiu tÿ na menæ* (*F* 326 8-12, where *na* was inserted afterwards).

- The Russian phrase in F 223 1-4 probably erroneously leaves out the equivalent of the German *wedder*; cf. *opeth* in the corresponding phrase s 4v 26–5r 2.<sup>51</sup>

In the following cases, s seems to confirm readings in TF II:

- ‘(TF II) ПОВѢЩУ<Й>’ for *poveszuiu* (F 326 8-12); cf. *poneßuÿ* (s 25r 7-10);
- ‘(TF II) КУП<ИТЬ>-ЛИ’ for *kupli* (F 316 9-12); cf. *kupÿth* (s 20v 15-18);
- ‘(TF II) МНОГ<О>-ЛЬ’ for *Mnogl* (F 420 14-17); cf. *Imnogoll* (s 111v 8-10);
- ‘(TF II) дела<ть>’ for *dielal* (F 421 15-19); cf. *delath* (s 112r 17-22).

In other cases, comparison with s must lead to a new interpretation:

- ‘(TF II) Заповѣдал(!)’ for *Sapovedall* (F 201 11-12, *Idtt is vorbaden*) should probably be read as ‘Заповѣда<н>’; cf. *Tho Jest sapowedan* (s 100v 3-5).<sup>52</sup>
- ‘(TF II) наш сговорит’ for *na sgovorit* in *tzto promesznik na sgovorit* (F 299 11-15, *wat vns de mekeler affsprÿktt*) should be read as ‘на<м> сговорит’; cf. s *stho promeßnÿck nam* *Ißgouwarÿth* (s 13r 18-22) and also *tzto tÿ nam* *sgovoris* (F 408 10-18, *wadt du vnß sprikst*) ~ *stho thÿ nam* *Ißgouwerÿs* (s 61v 61v 1-16).
- The addition *isobÿ* in F 351 13-16 (after the sentence which contains the verb *sobÿsai*) should probably be understood as the perfective imperative *изоби<дь>*, and not as a simple “correction for *sobÿsai* without the appropriate initial i” (TF II: 319); cf. the variants *Ißobißaj*: *Ißobÿt* ‘изобижай: изобидь’ (s 36r 7-9).<sup>53</sup>
- ‘(TF II) примѣти т<от> дом’ for *Primeti te dom* (F 358 21-23, *Merke dat hueß*) should, in view of *Prÿmetÿe the that podworÿe: pallath* (s 40v 3-5) and *Prÿmeth thÿ* (s 51v 6-8), probably be corrected to ‘примѣти т<ы> дом’ or even ‘примѣть <т>ы т<от> дом’.
- ‘(TF II) руки (!)’ for *rukÿ* in *Schupai rukÿ ffmech* (F 372 7-10, *Taste mÿt der handt in den sack*) should be corrected to INSTR.SG. ‘рук<о>ÿ’; cf. *Szupaÿ ruckoÿ off mech* (s 46r 7-10).
- ‘(TF II) заку<п>и’ (NOM.SG. *закунъ*) for *Sakuni* in *Sakuni iesdet, da tovaru sakurau, da iovo dorosaiut* (F 386 1-4, *De vorkoper rÿden, vnd vorkopen, de wahre vnd maken se duer*) should be read as ‘заку<п>ни’

<sup>51</sup> See §8.4.3 for a discussion of these and similar cases.

<sup>52</sup> See phrase (108) in §7.3.

<sup>53</sup> On the variable presence of prothetic [i], see §5.6.3.

(NOM.SG. *закупень*); cf. the corrupt passage *Sakup mÿ (Die vorkauffer)* in the corresponding phrase in s (s 50r 8-10).<sup>54</sup>

- ‘(TF II) на(!)’ for *na* in *dobro ~~na~~ na obemæ ne builo obidno* (F 463 14-20, *datt vnß beÿden keÿn vnrecht geschee*) should be corrected to ‘на<M>’; cf. s 46v 16-21 *bobbre nam obemo nebude obedduo*.

#### 4.2 Language-conscious copying

In §3.3.4, we have seen that the scribe often copied whole sequences of phrases directly from his source, veering from this approach in a number of cases to prevent phrases from being split over page boundaries. This is a rather mechanical solution to something he perceived as a problem. Comparison of F and s also reveals a more language-conscious approach. In (25), the long phrase in s corresponds to two smaller phrases in F. It might well be the work of the scribe of F, whose motivation in this case would have been that the split-up prevented the phrase from being spread over two pages (see §3.3.4):

(25s) Тÿßа Ёuoÿ thowaer samerÿ waÿes ne pouodua  
 Inne tho war na tuthz zeuo vÿßeth me gotzÿs thÿ  
 themÿ vbauÿth Inne Ja inde turguÿu ackde Ludÿ  
 posakone prodaduth  
 Du vorlobest deine wahre sie dienet mir nicht, die wahre  
 Auf denn kauf zu kauffenn, wiltu den kauf nicht vor,  
 mindern, so kaufschlage ich ein Ander wegen, Da die  
 Leute die wahre vor ihren werd vorkauffenn. p (s 5v 11-18)

(25F) Тÿ sa suoi tovar samerivaies, ne isoide: povodno  
 mne tovaru na tut tzenu ffzæt.  
 Du vorlauest dÿne wahre, idt en dendt mÿ  
 nichtt: ick en kan se vor den koep nicht  
 annehmen. (F 279 19-23)  
 Ты за свой товар замѣриваешь, не изойде: поводно  
 мнѣ товару на ту цѣну взять.  
 ‘You overprize your goods, [nothing will come out /]  
 it does not suit me (/I am unable) to take [goods] (them)  
 for this price’

(25F’) Ne vbafflis, tÿ tzenu, ino ia inde torguiu,  
 chdie ludi posakonou prodadut.  
 Wultu den koep nicht vorminneren so wÿll  
 ich eÿn anderwegen koepslagen, dar de  
 lude vor de werde vorkopen. (F 280 1-5)  
 Не убавлишь(!) ты цѣну, ино я индѣ торгую,  
 гдѣ люди по закону продадут.

<sup>54</sup> See also SRJA XI-XVII, s.v. *закупень* = *закупщикъ* ‘Тот, кто закупает крупные партии товара для перепродажи’, which nicely fits the meaning of *Zakuni* in F.

‘If you will not lower the price, (then) I will trade elsewhere, where people sell according [to the standard] (at the value).’<sup>55</sup>

There are more cases where two consecutive phrases in F reflect a longer phrase in s, as in (26), or the other way round, as in (27):

- (26S) Ja gottsu stoboÿ oßaklath sa Lossÿth thrÿ grÿuen  
tho tack kack Ja sthassalle  
Ich will dreÿ Marck darauff vorwetten, es ist also  
wie ich gesagt habe (S 105V 4-7)
- (26F) Ia stoboi osaklu to takkak ia schasale.  
Ich wÿll mÿtt dÿ wedden dat idt so is also ich sede. (F 209 3-4)  
Я с тобой озакл<аж>у: то так, как я сказале.  
‘I will bet you that it is as I said’
- (26F’) Ia na tom saklad salöszu tri griuena to tack.  
Ich wÿll vm dre M wedden datt is so. (F 209 5-6)  
Я на том заклад заложу три гривена(!): то так.  
‘I will lay three [grivny] (mark): that is so’<sup>56</sup>
- (27S) Vkogo neth Imno nÿchde Joua vÿßeth, p.  
Der nichts hat, der kan niergendt nichts bekomenn. p. (S 51r 18-19)
- (27S’) Vkock neth Imno netsÿm Jamo plathÿth, p.  
Der nichts hat, der kan niergendt nicht bezalenn. p. (S 51r 20-21)
- (27F) Vkovo niet ino nichde iomu ffzæt:  
nietsim iomu platit.  
De nichteß hefft de kan nergens nicht krigen  
de kan nergens nicht betahlen. (F 387 20-23)  
У ково нѣт, ино нѣгдѣ ёму взятъ:  
нѣчим ёму платитъ.  
‘If someone has nothing, then he cannot get anything  
anywhere / he has nothing with which to pay’

Additional examples can be found in s 6r 3-10 ~ F 280 11-15 and 16-20, s 6r 14-23 ~ F 280 1-5 and 6-10, s 7v 7-10 ~ F 285 13-14 and 15-17, s 41r 3-15 ~ F 361 5-11 and 12-19, s 105v 4-7 ~ F 209 3-4 and 5-6 (one phrase in s, two phrases in F), s 63v 9-10 and 11-12 ~ F 414 11-12, s 59r 8-9 and 10-14 ~ F 404 6-11<sup>57</sup> (two phrases in s, one in F).

<sup>55</sup> On *vbaflis* ‘(TF II) убавлишь(!)’ see §7.4.5, especially footnote 205.

<sup>56</sup> On *osaklu* ‘(TF II) озакл<аж>у’ see §7.4.5, especially footnote 201.

<sup>57</sup> The phrase in F, both Russian and German, lacks a negation present in s. This is an example of a difference between s and F matched in both languages, on which see §8.3.

### 4.3 Insertion of new phrases

In a few cases, F deviates from s in a way where innovation and free association of the scribe of F may be assumed:<sup>58</sup>

- *Tzto tack pachnett* (F 204 20, *Wadtt stinckett so*) corresponds to *Stho kack pachane* (s 103r 5). The next two phrases on F 204 continue the subject of ‘smelling’: *Tzto tack nuchatt* (F 204 21), *Nuchai na tutt traffka* (F 204 22). Both phrases are missing in s. After this digression F resumes the parallel sequence of corresponding phrases.<sup>59</sup>
- *Perevesi tÿ menæ seres reku* (F 228 10-11, *Vor mÿ auer de beke*) thematically does not belong to the set of phrases on F 227-228, which deal with invitations and guests. The sentence, which begins with *Perevesi*, was included, so it seems, as a kind of association to the last word(s) of the previous phrase: *besz perewodoff: du* (F 228 5-9, ~ s 57r 5-9 *bes verewodaff perewodu*).<sup>60</sup>
- *Nichto isbohu ne dumall to vedait bog odin* (F 230 15-17) corresponds to s 112r 6-8. The next phrases in F, which are not included in s, can be considered a string of lexical associations: *Ne nadob mne oboronætza, bog mnïe oboronitt da praffda* (F 230 18-21) alludes to lines 15-17 (*isbohu; bog*) and also to 11-14, beginning with the word *Nadob*; *Ne vpaddÿvai: torropis: vrobe ot ioga da oboroni sebe otïogo* (F 230 22-25) alludes to lines 18-21 (*oboronætza*).

### 4.4 Structural differences

So far, the close relationship of F and s has been illustrated and explored on a fairly compositional level. But how do the two phrasebooks hold up to each other in terms of language? Bolek (1997: 67) lists a number of the most salient morphological and syntactic differences between F and s:

- NOM.SG.M. ending *-e* in nominal and pronominal paradigms (more in s than in F).
- Masculine *l*-participles in *-e*, sometimes with the typical Pskov development of *\*dl, tl > \*gl, kl* (leading to *блюгле* from *блюсти* (stem: *блюд-*) instead of *блюл*) (more in s than in F).

<sup>58</sup> Or, if a more complicated stemma is preferred: innovation of the scribe of F or the scribe of a version of the phrasebook that comes between the common protograph and F.

<sup>59</sup> On the *-a* in *traffka* in an ACC.SG. context, see §6.5.

<sup>60</sup> Etymologically, of course, the association is incorrect. The isolated Cyrillic word *перевези* at the end of the line supports the claim that this word triggered the inclusion of this specific phrase.

- GEN.SG. pronominal and adjectival ending *-ovo* as opposed to *-ogo* and *-oga* (more in F than in S).
- PRON.PERS.1SG. NOM *ja* ~ *jaz* (more cases of *jaz* in F than in S).
- Initial [n] in the oblique cases of PRON.PERS.3SG and 3PL (more in F than in S).
- The use of PRON.PERS.3SG and 3PL as PRON.DEM. (more in S than in F).
- IND.PRES.3SG and 3PL endings without *-t* (more in S than in F).
- The future tense construction *хотѣти* + INF (more in S) ~ a synthetic future tense (more in F).
- IMP. constructions with a PRON.PERS.2SG. in postposition (more in S than in F).
- NOM.SG. nouns in *-a* as a direct object (more in F than in S).
- Preposition *у* (in S) ~ *ом* (in F).
- A number of archaic or regional words present in S but not in F.

Although we shall deal with most of these features separately in the following chapters, it is important to give examples at this point, showing how these and other differences take form in actual phrases:

(28S) Ja tebbe ßasscasszu dokull thÿ Imne denock ne saplateÿs  
 Kack saplattis Ja tepe obeth wÿposto: wÿpustu,  
 Ich will dich lassenn setzenn so lange das mich betzalest  
 vnnnd wan du mich betzalest will ich dich wied[er] los Lassen. *p* (S 9r 13-16)

(28F) Ias tebe sasaszu dokul tÿ mnie dengi ne platis,  
 kak plattis ias tebe opæt vÿpuszu.  
 Ich wÿll dÿ lahten setten, so lange du mÿ  
 datt geldt nicht betahlst, vnd alß du mÿ  
 betahlst, wÿl ich dÿ wedder vthlahten. (F 288 16-20)  
 Яз тебе засажу, докуль ты мнѣ деньги не платишь;  
 как платишь, яз тебе опять выпущу.  
 ‘I will put and keep you in prison so long as you do not pay me  
 the money. (And) like you pay (me), I will release you again.’

- PRON.PERS.1SG. NOM *я* ~ *яз* (2X)
- PRON.PERS.1SG. DAT *Imne* ~ *mnie*
- GEN.PL. *denock* ~ ACC.PL. *dengi* ‘деньги’ (in a negated sentence)
- lexicon: *заплатитъ* ~ *платитъ* (2X)
- variation: *wÿposto: wÿpustu* ~ *vÿpuszu* ‘выпущу’

(29S) Ja thÿwar, suoÿ ßmetÿll Imne vtogo thowaru nÿ  
 prÿeth nÿ naloßÿth.  
 Ich habe meine wahr vberschlagenn, das ich darauff nicht  
 gewinne oder vorliere. *p* (S 31r 4-7)

- (29F) Ia suoi tovar smetill mnie vtovo tovaru  
ne prinet ne nalozsit.  
Ich hebbe mÿne wahre auerslagen, dat ich  
dar nicht vp winne och nicht vorlese. (F 339 12-15)  
Я свой товар смѣтил; мнѣ у тово товару  
ни принять, ни наложить.  
'I have evaluated my goods, (so that) I shall neither gain  
nor lose on [those goods] (them).'
- position of PRON.POSS.: *товар свой ~ свой товар*
  - PRON.PERS.1SG. DAT *Imne ~ mnie*
  - pronominal ending GEN.SG.M.: *у того ~ у тово*
  - epenthetic [n] in *-(н)ять: прять ~ принять*
  - The German of s and F are both adequate equivalents of the Russian phrase, F reflects the repeated negating element.
- (30S) Ja gottßu sthoboÿu premo turguwath ne omanÿ  
dobbro thÿ ßomnoÿu vÿmeÿu poru rade opeth  
turguwath kollÿ thÿ Ißturarum prÿdÿs. p  
Ich will mit dir recht kaufschlagenn, nicht mit betrogk  
das du Auff ein Ander zeidt gerne wieder mit mir kauf,,  
schlagest, wawn ich wahren habe, so dir dieneth. p. (S 45r 1-6)
- (30F) Ia præmo stoboi torguiu, ne voman, dobro tÿ  
somnoiu vinuporu rad opæt torgovat, koli  
tÿ stovarum pridis.  
Ich wÿll recht mÿt dÿ koepslagen, nicht mit  
bedroch, dattu vp eÿn ander tidt gerne wedder  
vmb mÿt dÿ mÿ koepsлагест, wan du mit  
wahre kumpst. (F 370 16-20)
- Я прямо с тобой торгую, не в оман, добро ты  
со мною в ину пору рад опять торговать, коли  
ты с товаром придешь.  
'I (will) trade with you honorably, without deceit, so that  
you may be glad to trade with me again any other time,  
when you come with wares.'
- future tense: *хочу ... тургувать ~ торгую*
  - PERS.PRON.2SG INSTR *тобою ~ тобой*
  - word order: *хочу с тобою прямо тургувать ~ прямо с тобой торгую*
  - expression: *оманÿ* (INSTR.SG.? INSTR.PL.?) ~ *в оман*
  - NOM.SG.M. ending *-e: раде ~ рад*
  - prothetic *i-*: *ис ту<в>аром > с товаром*
  - The German phrase in s and F both reflect the word order of *с тобою прямо ~ прямо с тобой*.
  - Only in F the German phrase matches 'коли ты с товаром придешь' correctly.<sup>61</sup>

<sup>61</sup> Note the correspondence between s and F of INSTR.SG. *мною* and the spelling of 3SG *придешь*.



#### 4.5 Conscious innovation

The fact that *s* and *F* reveal many differences, both isolated and structural, is not surprising considering the very practical nature of the genre: copies were compiled for individual use, and the available source, or sources, were adapted, corrected and updated, and new information (either first- or second-hand) was added. The structural differences of the kind listed by Bolek and illustrated in the examples above show that the language of the phrases was thoroughly revised. In fact, there is hardly a single phrase which was not revised.

The revision could lie in the removal of German-sounding constructions, or in updating archaic or dialectal Russian forms with their more contemporary or supraregional equivalents. Bolek does not discuss the origin or the implications of the structural differences between *s* and *F*. It is clear that they are the result of conscious linguistic innovation. But if, on a linguistic level, *s* is a more accurate representation of the common source than *F*, who is responsible for these changes? We have already established that the scribe of *F* not only knew how to read and write Cyrillic (§2.1) and took a very conscious approach to both the outward appearance and the composition and layout of the manuscript he was making (chapter 2 and 3), but we must also assume that he knew Russian to some extent (as could be inferred from the examples in §4.2 and §4.4). It remains to be seen, however, whether the scribe's knowledge of Russian allowed him to revise the phrases, and whether the manuscript proves that he actually did. Another question is how thorough his knowledge of the language was, and what that means for the reliability of the representation in *F*.

The answers to these questions are not obvious. It is clear that the selection and revision of the available material were by no means flawless. In phrases that are literal copies or revised versions of phrases in older sources we could be dealing with copying errors (cf. §4.1); in revised phrases, non-native linguistic innovation may have led to errors, and in newly conceived phrases, although copying errors can of course be ruled out, the risk of non-native linguistic incompetence is all the more imminent. To illustrate the kind of errors that can arise, take the very first line of Russian in the phrasebook:

- (17F) Воимя Святая Троица. [...]  
 Voima Svætaia Troitza [...]  
 Ihm nahmen der hilligen drefoldicheitt [...] (F 22 1, 7, 13)  
 'In the name of the Holy Trinity'

Xoroškevič noted that in his formulaic introductions, *F* refers to the Holy Trinity, to which the Pskov cathedral was dedicated, a reference absent from Schroue's manuscript (2000: 83). If the invocation of the Holy Trinity is indeed an innovation in *F*, it reflects an imperfect command of Russian in its use of the

НОМ.СГ. *Святая Троица* rather than the expected ГЕН.СГ. *Святой Троицы* – an error repeated in the third introductory statement (see 9F).

These linguistics errors are not surprising: they can be expected of people dealing with a language that is not their own. And although native speakers may have been consulted to make corrections and additions, the imperfections and violations against the Russian language show that the assistance was only limited.

In the following chapters, the structural differences between S and F and their linguistically conscious nature will be further explored, traced and interpreted. These chapters will not give a full description and analysis of the linguistic phenomena in Fonne's phrasebook, but, instead, factual material will be used to draw a better picture of its language.

The question that guides these explorations is: if the structural differences can be confidently linked to the scribe of F, what are the implications of his linguistic awareness for the appraisal of the data? On a purely practical level, the focus on what can be proven rather than on what can only be guessed, means that more attention will be paid to those phrases in F that are also attested in S (or sometimes A) than to those whose earlier existence is uncertain.



## 5. SPELLING AND SOUNDS

In the previous chapters, I presented Fonne's phrasebook in its historical, philological, and linguistic context, and discussed its composition, organisation and layout. Among other things, we saw the careful composition of F, compared to that of the related phrasebooks s and A. We also established the intimate relation of the phrasebook with Schroue's phrasebook. The proximity of F and s makes it possible to hold the material of F up to the light, especially when the differences are of a structural nature and could reveal more about the history of the text and its consequences for the value and the usefulness of the data for historical linguists of the data.

It is clear that the scribe thoroughly revised the original source (or sources) at his disposal. The current chapter will discuss matters of writing and orthography. To come to a full appreciation of the scribe's *modus operandi*, the observations in this chapter rely on the original manuscript, for example in the form of scribal emendations, revealing much more information about the revision process than has thus far been noted.<sup>62</sup>

### 5.1 The fate of *w*

One of the emendations that can be found in a manuscript that has been so carefully prepared, is so structural and comprehensive, and so telling of the meticulous attitude of the scribe, that it deserves separate attention. It concerns the removal of the letter *w* from the Russian data.

The letter *w* is a rare letter in the Russian part of Fonne's phrasebook: it occurs 50 times throughout the Russian data of the phrasebook. In all of these cases, the letter represents the phoneme /v/. The related phrasebook of Thomas Schroue uses *w* much more often; in fact, *w* for /v/ is highly frequent in s. Given the close relation of both phrasebooks, what was the fate of *w* in F?

<sup>62</sup> The information that scribal emendations provide is to a large extent obscured in TF II, which most scholars have relied upon since 1970. The electronic text edition of F tries to do justice to these emendations and other textual quirks and peculiarities of the original manuscript.

The following examples illustrate the use of the letter *w* in Fonne's phrasebook:

▪ LEX

свѣтъ – swiēt ‘world’

(F 49 1)

молода пиво – molodo piwo ‘new beer’

(F 85 7)

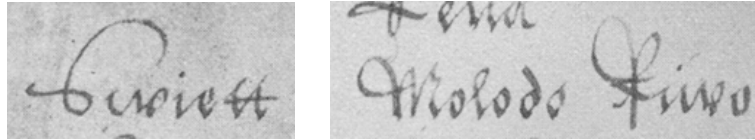


Figure 22: Examples of the letter *w* in LEX

▪ PHRAS

wosmi ‘возьми’

(F 197 11)

iowo ‘ёво’

(F 208 16)

priwöl: priwesll ‘привёл: привезл’

(F 250 17)

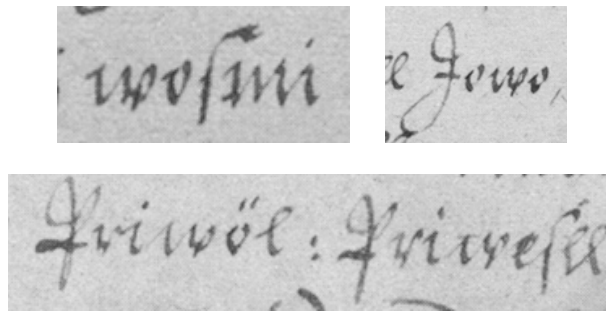


Figure 23: Examples of the letter *w* in PHRAS

Manuscript evidence that has so far gone unnoticed, suggests that the relatively rare occurrence of *w* in F is the result of thorough editing. In approximately 420 cases, a word which originally contained a *w* has later been changed: using a sharp object such as a stylus, the letter was erased and replaced with another letter, usually *v*. The following examples show how the results of this procedure:

▪ LEX

свѣтъ – swiēt (< swiēt) ‘light’

(F 31 6)

вода – voda (< woda) ‘water’

(F 31 7)



Figure 24: Examples of *w* > *v* in LEX

■ PHRAS

Pripretivai (< Pripretiwai) 'припрятывай'	(F 196 4)
Tzölloveck (< Tzölloveck) 'человѣк'	(F 202 1)
suieti (< swieti) 'свѣтъ'	(F 225 5)
suoi (< swoi) 'свой'	(F 234 14)

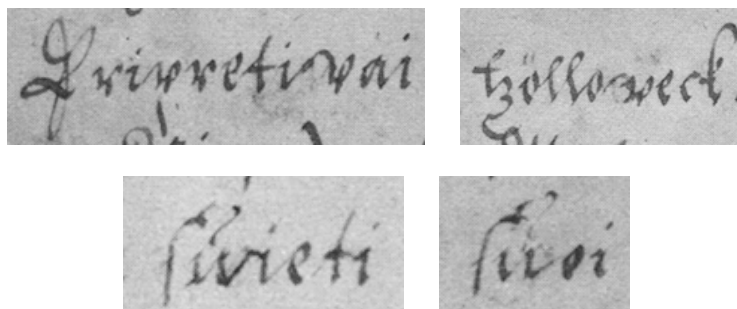


Figure 25: Examples of  $w > v$  and  $w > u$  in PHRAS

In 18 cases,  $w$  was replaced by something other than  $v$ :  $w > u$  (16×),  $w > ff$  (1×; *slawnoi* > *slaffnoi* 'славной', F 44 6) and  $w > ue$  (1×; *swite* > *sueite* 'свѣтъ', F 208 3).

The letter  $v$  occurs approximately 3,500 times in the Russian words and phrases (in the Latin script), which means that in approximately 12% of the cases this  $v$  was not original. These numbers point to a large-scale revision of the material after it was originally copied. At the same time, the change of  $w > v$  is not evenly spread throughout the phrasebook: 180 of the 420 cases occur in LEX, 230 occur in PHRAS-GEN. In other words: there are hardly any reliable attestations in GRAM or the vast PHRAS-TRADE.

In most cases, the emendation of  $w$  into  $v$  was straightforward, as the examples in Figure 24 and Figure 25 show: the left part of the letter  $w$  was erased and, if necessary, the remaining letters were linked up again. In other cases, the emendation required more effort and creativity. Several additional techniques can be distinguished. One of these is the reduplication of the preceding consonant (approximately 10×). Examples:

posalwatt > posallvatt 'пожал<о>вать'	(F 199 14)
otwetzat > ottvetzat 'отвѣчать'	(F 226 10)

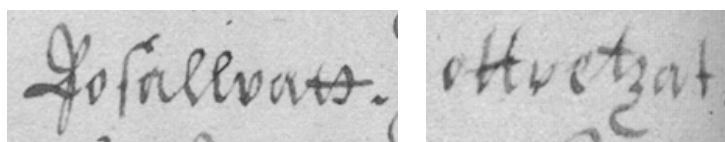


Figure 26: *posallvatt* (F 199 14) and *ottvetzat* (F 226 10)

In twice as many cases (approximately 20%), no reduplication took place, but the change  $w > v$  nevertheless left its mark on adjacent letters. Examples:

*da gowori* > *da govori* ‘да говори’ (F 198 7)  
*dirsi swoi* > *dirsi svoi* ‘держи свои’ (F 215 10)

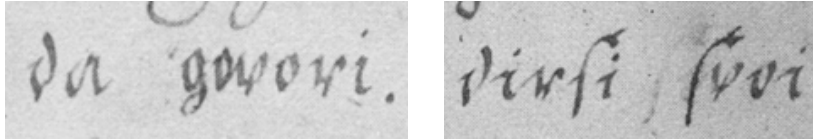


Figure 27: *da govori* (F 198 7) and *dirsi svoi* (F 215 10)

Figure 27 shows that in *govori*, the left part of original  $w$  was changed into  $o$ , original  $o$  was changed into  $g$ , and original  $g$  was removed. In *svoi* the same procedure was applied: under the initial letter of *svoi*, the left part of original  $w$  can still be seen, as can original  $s$ , left of the word.

A third technique consisted in actually changing the neighbouring letters. This can be seen in the emendation of  $iw$  into  $jv$  (approximately 20%). Examples:

*piwa* > *pjva* ‘пиво’ (F 195 3)  
*sastaffliwaiu* > *sastaffljvau* ‘заставливаю’ (F 201 7)

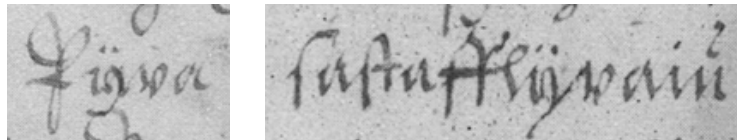


Figure 28: *pjva* (F 227 18) and *sastaffljvau* (F 201 7)

The emendations of this type reveal how important the removal of  $w$  was to the scribe. It certainly was more important than the distinction between  $i$  (typically for /i/) and  $j$  (typically for /y/), which was largely optional (see §5.2.4).

A final technique to remove  $w$  is striking out the letter immediately after writing it:

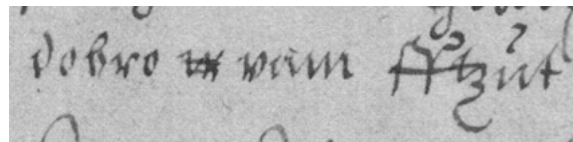


Figure 29: Emendation by striking out: *dobro w vam fftzut* ‘добро вам в суд’ (F 289 19)

This final technique is important, as it shows that it is the scribe of F who is responsible for this change. In all other cases,  $w > v$  could have been applied at a later stage, perhaps during a revision process by someone else, but the striking

out of *w* shows that the source still contained *wam*, and that a mechanism of self-correction was in place.

As was indicated above, the scribe chose to replace *w* with *u* 16 times. It is unlikely that the choice for *u* was based on phonetic grounds. If it was, it would be hard to explain why he chose to emend *swiutt* to *sviutt* (Figure 24), but *swieti* to *suieti* (Figure 25), or why *podworie* was emended to *poduorie* in line F 242 1, but to *podvorie* a few lines down (F 242 6):

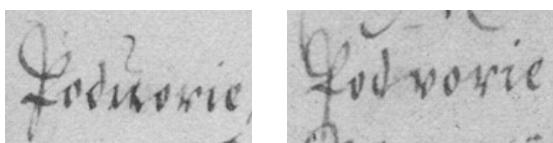


Figure 30: *podworie* > *poduorie* (F 242 1) and *podvorie* (F 242 6)

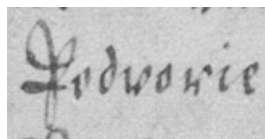


Figure 31: Original, unemended *podvorie* (F 242 5)

For similar reasons, phonetic considerations cannot explain the retention of *w* in the remaining 50 cases. On F 192, the scribe changed *w* into *v* at least twice, and possibly three times in line 5 (*voda*, *von* and possibly in *vylei*), but left *woda* in line 3 untouched (see Figure 32).<sup>63</sup>

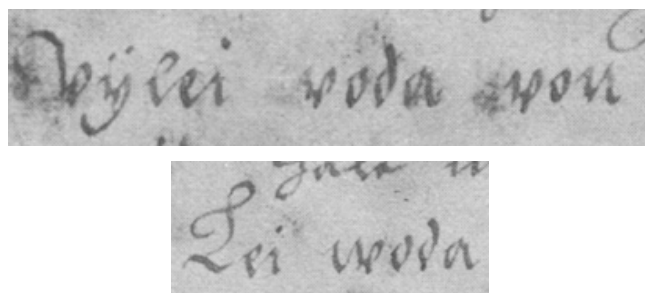


Figure 32: *Vylei voda von* (F 192 5, < *Wylei woda won*) and *Lei woda* (F 192 3)

<sup>63</sup> On the whole of F 192, *v* occurs 9 times in the Russian text; 5 or possibly 6 *v*'s were originally *w*'s, 3 are not.



A philological explanation of the change is much more likely. In light of the high frequency of *w* for /v/ in *s* and the close relation between the two manuscripts, it is probable that the source (or sources) of *F* also used *w* as one of the ways to render /v/. The many emendations show that the scribe initially used both *v* and *w*. At some point, he must have made up his mind, and decided that only *v* was to be used. This decision started a revision process, which we can trace throughout the manual.

For some reason, the scribe became convinced that for Russian /v/, the Latin spelling *v* was ‘right’ and *w* was ‘wrong’. This reason can be found in the scribe’s native Low German, where the letters *v* and *w* represented two different sounds (see Lasch 1914: 150-158). This conviction is reflected in the *Liber ad lectorem*, the introduction to the reader (see §2.3):

vnd wor du finst v vedi sprick vth vor ein v. oder f. vnd nicht vor ein w. (F 23 5-6)  
 ‘And where you find a v vedi pronounce a v or an f and not a w [...]’

The revision itself must have been rather mechanical in nature, as is shown by the erroneous correction of German *witt solltt* into *vitt solltt* ‘white salt’ in *F* 115 12 (Figure 33). Of course, *witt* should not have been emended to *vitt*, but as one of the cases where the German translation ended up in the wrong column (see §2.1), the scribe mistakenly emended it when he went through the column in search of *w*.

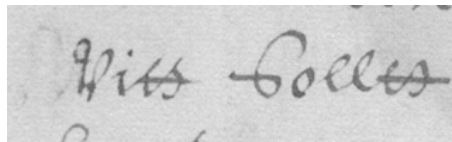


Figure 33: *Vitt solltt* (F 115 12)

The scribe went to great lengths to delete the letter *w* from his Russian text. The remaining cases were probably simply overlooked. The whole operation, which must have cost him a lot of time and painstaking effort, shows both the rather perfectionist approach of the scribe and the critical attitude towards his sources.

## 5.2 Two alphabets: Cyrillic and Latin

We have seen in §2.1 that in the text of *F* the Cyrillic and the Latin alphabets are intertwined, showing that the scribe knew how to read and write Cyrillic, and that it can be assumed that the material was compiled by one scribe only.

On the whole, the Cyrillic alphabet plays a minor role in *F*. It is used in marginal texts, such as the formulaic introductions of the various parts (F 22, F 187, F 273, F 469 1-3), for prayers and religious texts (F 24, F 507-510), for the numerals (F 545-554) and for the alphabet (F 561-566). In the most voluminous and interesting parts of the phrasebook – *PHRAS* and *PROVERB* – the Cyrillic alphabet is

mostly absent. Exceptions are, as we have seen in §2.1, F 444-445 (PHRAS-TRADE), F 488-489 and F 492 1-5 (PROVERB-INDECENT; indecent phrases, for both Russian and German), as well as incidental words or letters (F 206, F 212, F 213, F 224, F 228, F 236 (bis), F 242, F 243, F 245, F 301, F 327, F 296, F 418, F 429, F 435 (bis), F 442, F 469, F 470, F 471).

The only parts where the Cyrillic alphabet is used consistently and throughout are LEX and GRAM, spanning 150 pages in total. And although that constitutes only 30 per cent of the 502 remaining pages of the manuscript, this is considerably more than in the two related phrasebooks: Schroue's phrasebook does not include the Cyrillic alphabet at all, and in the Anonymous *Ein Rusch Boeck*... it is restricted to a few rather isolated cases.<sup>64</sup>

### 5.2.1 Cyrillic and Latin correspondences

Anyone who wants to write Russian using the Latin alphabet, is faced with the problem that this alphabet is not tailored to match the sound system of the language. As a result, spelling systems using the Latin alphabet are often both imperfect and inconsistent. The scribe of F was faced with this problem as well.

This section will discuss the entries in LEX and GRAM, which include data in both the Cyrillic and the Latin alphabet, in order to reveal to what extent the scribe was aware of transliteration difficulties and the way he handled them.

Table 4 below shows the correspondences of Cyrillic letters in LEX and GRAM to those in the Latin transliteration.

<i>Cyrillic</i>	<i>approx. # of occurrences</i>	<i>Latin (regular)</i>	<i>Latin (exceptions)</i>
а	1600×	a (~ 100%)	o, æ
б	350×	b (99%)	p
в	700×	v (66%) ff (19%) u (9%) w (3%)	
г	300×	g (99%)	ch, k
д	450×	d (97%)	dd, dt, dtt, t, tt, td, g
е	1200×	e (98%)	ö, o, i, æ, a, ie
ж	175×	sž, szV <sup>65</sup> (78%) š, sV̄ (12%) sz (4%) s (4%)	

<sup>64</sup> Cyrillic text can be found in phrases on A 5r (without Latin transliteration), 34v and 46r (with Latin transliteration) and as isolated words on A 23v, 41r, 51r (all without Latin transliteration).

<sup>65</sup> Here and elsewhere, V represents any of the vowels *ā, ē, ī, ō, and ū* (see §5.3).

<i>Cyrillic</i>	<i>approx. # of occurrences</i>	<i>Latin (regular)</i>	<i>Latin (exceptions)</i>
з	250×	s (83%) sz (15%)	sch, ſ, z, tz, is, isz
и	1450×	i (97%) ÿ (3%)	u, ï, ĭ, a
к	975×	k (93%) ch (4%) ck (3%)	n, p, q
л	950×	l (92%) ll (8%)	n
м	550×	m (99%)	mm, n
н	1100×	n (99%)	nn
о	1925×	o (99%)	a, u, ō, e
п	650×	p (~ 100%)	b
р	1125×	r (~ 100%)	n
с	1025×	s (89%) sz (8%) sc (1%)	ſ, tz, z
т	1325×	t (82%) tt (13%)	th, ttz, ddt, d
у	75×	v (63%) u (37%)	
ф	16×	ff (38%) f (25%) ph (25%)	fff, pf
х	150×	ch (93%) g (6%)	x
ц	300×	tz (75%) ttz (5%)	s
ч	175×	tz (81%) ttz (14%)	s
ш	125×	sch (76%) s (7%) sh (7%) sz (7%)	
щ	30×	stz (77%) s (3%)	
ъ	100×	-	e
ы	175×	ÿ (61%) i (24%) ui (10%)	

<i>Cyrillic</i>	<i>approx. # of occurrences</i>	<i>Latin (regular)</i>	<i>Latin (exceptions)</i>
б	375×	-	
ю	50×	u (52%) iu (33%) <sup>66</sup> ü (8%)	
я	325×	æ (41%) ia (/ja/, 31%) a (13%) ia (other, 5%) e (8%)	
с <sup>67</sup>	55×	s (94%) sz (6%)	
ї	28×	i (93%)	
ѡ	125×	o (99%)	
ѣ	250×	ie (65%) e (31%) i (2%)	
Ѧ	26×	ia	
Ѧ	1×	- <sup>68</sup>	
Ѧ	1×	x	
Ѧ	24×	f (50%) ff (50%)	
Ѧ	450×	u (94%) v (6%)	
Ѧ	50×	ot (94%) ott (6%)	

**Table 4: Latin correspondences for Cyrillic letters in LEX and GRAM**

The table immediately reveals how consistently the Cyrillic and Latin entries are correlated. Near-exclusive correspondences can be observed for Cyrillic letters such as *б*, *м*, *н*, *п* and *р* – each of which occur several hundred, or even over one thousand times.

This extreme consistency also applies to the transliteration of Cyrillic vowels. The Cyrillic letter *а*, for instance, occurs approximately 1,600 times. In only a handful of cases (6 in total) does this letter not correspond to an *a* in the Latin transliteration. Over 1,900 occurrences of Cyrillic *о* correspond to Latin *o*; the number of cases in which it corresponds to another letter, such as *a* or *u* remains under two dozen. Especially for the vowels *a* and *o*, the absence of varia-

<sup>66</sup> All for /ju/.

<sup>67</sup> Apart from two exceptions in LEX (*кн(я)сб* in F 38 4 and F 38 8), Cyrillic *с* only occurs in GRAM.

<sup>68</sup> The single occurrence *ж* corresponds to the Latin entry *iujβ* for *ѣж* ‘hedgehog’ (F 76 9).

tion in combination with the high number of occurrences is remarkable, given the possible interference of phonetic reality in the form of vowel reduction.

It is clear that the scribe was guided by the idea that there should be a clear correlation between the Cyrillic and the Latin alphabet of his wordlist.

### 5.2.2 Corresponding columns

Emendations in LEX and GRAM show how the scribe actively sought to attain and maintain this clear correspondence between the two columns. Quite regularly, for example, emendations in one column are mirrored in the other:



Figure 34: *метатни<sup>к</sup>* (< *метални<sup>к</sup>*) and *metatnik* (< *metalnik*) 'метатник, tumbler, jongleur' (F 54 16)

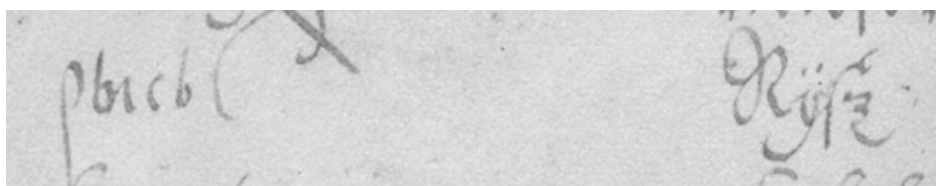


Figure 35: *рысь* (< *рисъ*) and *rjysz* (< *risz*) 'рысь, лунх' (F 108 3)

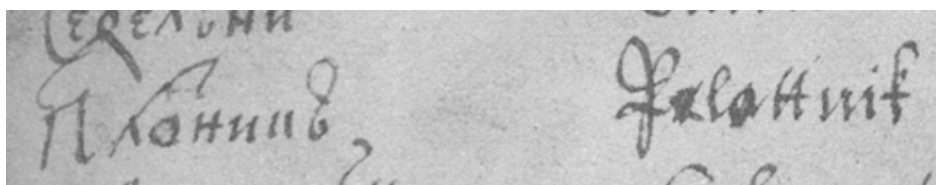


Figure 36: *плотникъ* (< *полатникъ*) and *płottnik* 'плотник, carpenter' (F 52 10)

In the three examples above, the emendation of both columns perfectly preserves the correspondence between the two alphabets. Other examples which show this attitude will be addressed later in this chapter. They are the emendation of *medænoi* into *miedænoi* (F 115 7) (bringing it in line with *мѣдяно<sup>у</sup>*; see §5.2.4), of *proszlaia* into *proschlaia* (F 34 12) (corresponding to *прошлая*), and of *ponaszum* into *ponaschum* (F 155 10) (for both see §5.2.5).

### 5.2.3 Consistency in variation

Not only is there a high degree of consistency between the Cyrillic and the Latin alphabets, the Cyrillic entries also show significant *internal* consistency.

Words which end in a consonant are consistently written with either a hard or soft sign (*ъ, ь*) or with the final consonant in superscript. Also, the Cyrillic letter *и* in its function as /j/ can be encountered both on the line and in superscript. The relevant words of the randomly chosen page F 73 illustrate this principle:

■ Superscript consonant

таине <sup>н</sup>	‘таймень, Siberian salmon’
ци <sup>к</sup>	‘сиг, whitefish’
оете <sup>р</sup>	‘фетеръ, [eel basket] (creel)’
глѣме <sup>н</sup> звѣрь	‘глумень звѣрь, wondrous beast’
сло <sup>н</sup>	‘слон, elephant’
їноро <sup>г</sup>	‘инорог, unicorn’
верблю <sup>д</sup>	‘верблюд, camel’
ло <sup>с</sup>	‘лось, elk’
оле <sup>н</sup>	‘олень, deer’
ло <sup>ш</sup>	‘лось, stag (pl.)’
ры <sup>с</sup>	‘рысь, lynx’

■ Hard or soft sign

дикои звѣрь	‘дикой звѣрь, wild animal’
глѣме <sup>н</sup> звѣрь	‘глумень звѣрь, wondrous beast’
люто <sup>н</sup> звѣрь	‘звѣрь, lion’
тѣръ	‘тур, aurochs’
медвѣтъ	‘медвѣдь, bear’
волкъ	‘волк, wolf’
бобръ	‘бобр, beaver’

This scribal practice is applied consistently throughout the Cyrillic data. The single exceptions are *стер<sup>м</sup>ь* (F 92 12) and *рѣбел* (2×, F 120 15, 16). The examples above show that the distribution of hard and soft signs need not be consistent (cf. 2× *звѣрь* and 1× *звѣрь*), meaning that the hard and soft signs need not have been distributed etymologically correctly.

Superscript letters can also be encountered for word-internal syllable-closing consonants; no system seems to apply.

A number of Cyrillic letters are paired with another letter: *ѡ* ~ *о*, *Ѡ* ~ *я*, and *ѣ* ~ *у*. The members of the letter pair *ѡ* ~ *о* are in complementary distribution. The former letter is used exclusively word-initially, the latter word-internally and word-finally. The only exceptions are the proper name *Антѡни* ‘Anthony’ (F 47 25) and the word *оро<sup>н</sup>* ‘eagle’ (F 67 12).

The letter *Ѡ* is very rare and is used word-initially (24×) and twice in a iotated environment: *силѠ* ‘силѣ’ (F 137 20), *таѠть* ‘таять’ (F 176 16). The letter *ѣ* is more frequent and occurs approximately 330×, both word-initially (15×) and in other positions.

The distribution of the third pair,  $\mathfrak{z} \sim \gamma$ , is more complicated. In word-final position, only  $\mathfrak{z}$  is used. In other positions, a distinction must be made between LEX and GRAM:

- word-initial

LEX	$\gamma$ (34×), $\mathfrak{z}$ (7×)
GRAM	$\mathfrak{z}$ (22×), $\gamma$ (12×)

- word-internal

LEX	$\mathfrak{z}$ (296×), $\gamma$ (6×)
GRAM	$\mathfrak{z}$ (89×), $\gamma$ (20×)

These numbers show that in word-initial position LEX and GRAM do not prefer the same letter: LEX prefers  $\gamma$  (34×), whilst in GRAM,  $\mathfrak{z}$  predominates. In word-internal position, LEX and GRAM both prefer  $\mathfrak{z}$ , although in GRAM  $\gamma$  has a higher rate of occurrence.

The consistent use of the Cyrillic alphabet, showing a high degree of compliance with the etymologically expected spellings, and the consistent distribution of various related letters indicate that the scribe was well-aware of Cyrillic writing habits.

A number of Cyrillic consonants in Table 4 show variation in their Latin correspondences; still, a distribution pattern can usually be determined. A number of these letters will be discussed here.

Cyrillic  $\kappa$  corresponds to  $k$  in 93% of the cases. A much rarer correspondence is  $ch$  (4%). In the vast majority of cases, this concerns Latin  $sch$  for Cyrillic  $с\kappa$ . A third correspondence is  $ck$ , which is used especially word-finally. Examples:

русская – ruschaia	(F 49 7)
Псков – Pschoff	(F 50 10)
белок – belock	(F 81 17)
потолок – potollock	(F 96 12)

Cyrillic  $\theta$  is quite rare: it occurs only 24 times throughout LEX and GRAM. Word-initially it corresponds to  $f$  (12×), word-internally with  $ff$  (11×). Only one exception can be found:  $\omega\theta\text{ини}^m$  (F 167 18) is transliterated as *ofinit* (cf.  $\omega\theta u^u$  in F 95 12, transliterated as *offin*).

The Latin correspondences for Cyrillic  $\theta$  are slightly more complicated. The table lists 4 different correspondences:  $\nu$ ,  $ff$ ,  $u$  and  $w$ . If we discard  $w$  for the moment (see §5.1.2), the distribution lies as follows (including examples):

- word-initial

$ff$ - if followed by a consonant ( $ffC$ -)
$\nu$ - if followed by a vowel ( $\nu V$ -)

<b>вдове</b> <sup>и</sup> – <b>ff</b> dovetz	(F 41 21)
<b>всяки</b> <sup>и</sup> <b>цвѣто</b> <sup>и</sup> – <b>ff</b> sækim tzvietom	(F 128 10)
<b>выблядо</b> <sup>к</sup> – vible <b>ff</b> dock	(F 42 4)
<b>ворваня</b> <b>кожа</b> – vorvania <b>kos</b> ža	(F 112 23)

- word-internal

-*ff*- between a vowel and one or more consonants (-*VffC*-)<sup>69</sup>  
 -*v*- (450×) or -*u*- (approximately 60×) between vowels (-*VvV*-/*VuV*-) or between one or more consonants and a vowel (-*CvV*-/*CuV*-)

<b>це</b> <sup>а</sup> <b>ка</b> – tze <b>ff</b> ka	(F 58 13)
<b>ѡвчи</b> <sup>и</sup> <b>ки</b> – offt <b>z</b> inki	(F 112 3)
<b>дерево</b> – dere <b>uo</b>	(F 61 16)
<b>бородовица</b> – borodov <b>itza</b>	(F 89 20)
<b>скалва</b> – skal <b>ua</b>	(F 58 3)
<b>зве</b> <sup>с</sup> <b>ка</b> – sves <b>z</b> ka	(F 117 18)

- word-final

-*ff* following a vowel (-*Vff*) (approximately 65×)

<b>тер</b> <sup>и</sup> <b>ли</b> <sup>а</sup> – ter <b>pliff</b>	(F 44 18)
<b>проти</b> <sup>в</sup> <b>ъ</b> – prot <b>iff</b>	(F 156 13)

The distribution of Latin correspondences for *y* and *ç* is also clear: word-initially (approx. 75×), these letters correspond to *v*; in other positions, (approx. 450×), *u* is used. Examples:

- word-initial

<b>утро</b> – <b>vtro</b>	(F 33 13)
<b>угорь</b> – <b>vgor</b>	(F 72 9)

- word-internal

<b>д</b> џ <b>дник</b> – <b>dud</b> nik	(F 54 12)
<b>с</b> џ <b>тага</b> – <b>sut</b> aga	(F 113 10)

- word-final

<b>коб</b> џ <b>д</b> џ – kob <b>edu</b>	(F 34 1)
<b>корм</b> џ – korm <b>u</b>	(F 106 10)

<sup>69</sup> This applies to 46 out of 50 occurrences of word-internal *ff*. The 4 exceptions are *veroffeschnik* (*верове*<sup>и</sup>*ни*<sup>к</sup>) ‘верёвочник, rope-maker’ (F 53 7), *prilaffok* (*прилаво*<sup>к</sup>) ‘прилавок, counter’ (F 100 7), *kudræffa* (*кѡдрѡва*) ‘кудряво, curly’ (F 136 1) and *kudræffe* (*кѡдрѡве*<sup>и</sup>) ‘кудрявѣй, curlier’ (F 136 2).



#### 5.2.4 *n* and *e*, *vi* and *u*

Two pairs of Cyrillic vowels deserve special attention: *n* and *e*, *vi* and *u*. Table 4 shows that *e* is typically transliterated as *e* (98%), *n* as *ie* (65%).<sup>70</sup> The scribe clearly considered *n* a letter in its own right (different from *e*), which also deserved a different transliteration than *e*. The emendations shown in Figure 37 and Figure 38 support this assumption.

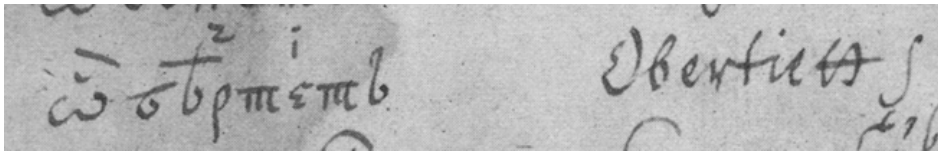


Figure 37: ѡбѣ<sup>2</sup>ртѣ<sup>1</sup>иѣ and obertiett (F 130 6)

In Figure 37, the superscript numbers indicate that original ѡбѣртѣиѣ should in fact be read ѡбертѣиѣ ‘обвертѣть, to wrap up’, which corresponds to the transliteration *obertiett*. Figure 38 shows the same *e* ~ *ie* distinction in the transliteration: мѣдѣно<sup>и</sup> was first transliterated as *medænoi*, which was then changed to *miedænoi*: *e* was emended to *i*, and an extra *e* was inserted.

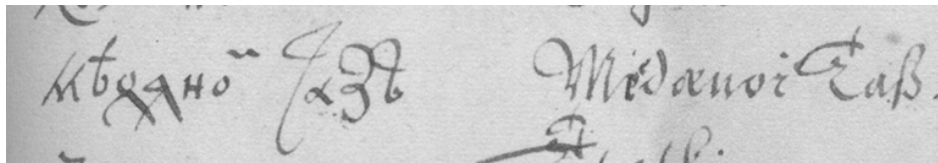


Figure 38: мѣдѣно<sup>и</sup> тазъ and *miedænoi* tазъ (F 115 7)

The distinction between *e* and *n* does not remain restricted to LEX and GRAM. Similar emendations can be found on F 445, when the Cyrillic alphabet temporarily resurfaces in PHRAS-TRADE. In Figure 39 *сметиль* (for etymological *смѣтил*) was emended to *смѣтиль*, and in Figure 40 *ѡмее<sup>и</sup>* was emended to *ѡмѣе<sup>и</sup>*.

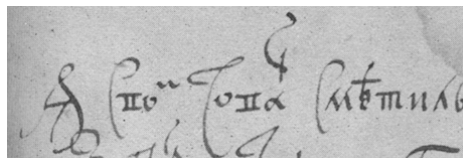


Figure 39: Я своѣ товаѣ смѣтиль (F 445 1)

<sup>70</sup> In clearly iotated cases – such as *е<sup>и</sup>тарѣ* - *ientar* (F 118 18) ‘amber’, *зашее<sup>к</sup>* - *sascheiek* (F 85 19) ‘nape of neck’ and *зелье стрѣльчѣе* - *selie streltzeie* (F 123 5) – the letter combination *ie* has been counted as *e*.

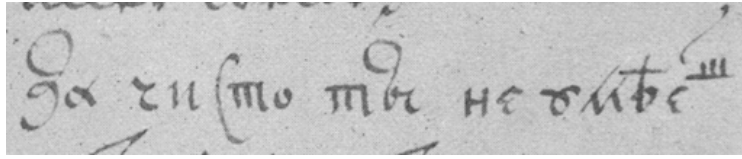


Figure 40: *за чисто ты не змѣе<sup>ш</sup>* (F 445 14)

Yet despite the concern of the scribe, the percentage of *n*'s transliterated as *e* is quite high: 31% – as opposed to only one single case where a non-iotated *e* is transliterated as *ie*: *ста<sup>м</sup>бре<sup>м</sup>* ‘стамбрет’ (F 129 12), transliterated as *stambriet*.

Etymological considerations strengthen this image: overall, the use of Cyrillic *e* and *n* in LEX and GRAM is etymologically correct in 75% of the cases. If you approach the same data from another angle: etymological /e/ corresponds to Cyrillic *e* in 81% of the approximately 1,100 cases, and to *n* in less than 4%. The 400 cases of etymological /ě/ correspond to *n* in 48% of the cases, to *e* in 46%.<sup>71</sup>

Something similar applies to the transliteration of Cyrillic *u* and *yl*: *u* corresponds to *i* in 97% of the cases, *yl* with *ÿ* in 61%. The letter *yl* corresponds to *i* in 24% of the occurrences, but *ÿ* only accounts for 3% of the occurrences of Cyrillic *u*.

In a small number of cases (18×), Cyrillic *yl* corresponds to *ui*. This occurs exclusively after the labial consonants *m*, *b*, *p* and *v* and the consonant cluster *bl*:

<i>мыта<sup>п</sup></i> - <i>muitar</i> ‘tax collector’	(F 53 3)
<i>бы<sup>к</sup></i> - <i>buik</i> ‘bull’	(F 75 5)
<i>пыл</i> - <i>puil</i> ‘dust’	(F 64 14)
<i>выпрѣгаи ко<sup>н</sup></i> - <i>vuipregai kon</i> ‘unharness the horse’	(F 79 18)
<i>бѣмаго проблыва<sup>м</sup></i> - <i>bumago probluiwat</i> ‘(permit to sail through) [paper]’	(F 94 9)

The transliteration *ui* also occurs in an emendation: *сабыть* ‘забыть, to forget’ (F 175 10) corresponds to *sabuÿt*, from earlier *sabÿt* (or *sabit*).

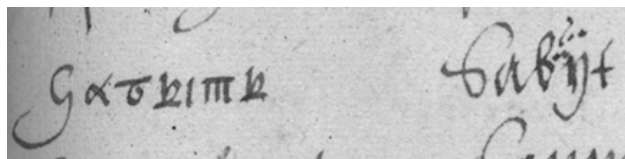


Figure 41: *сабыть* and *sabuÿt* (< *sabÿt* or *sabit*) (F 175 10)

The exclusive occurrence of *ui* after labial consonants and the consonant cluster *bl* and the explicit emendation from *sabÿt* – with the ‘regular’ correspondence

<sup>71</sup> Note also that all 4 emendations in F (mentioned above) of these letters make etymological sense.

$bi \sim \ddot{y}$  – to *sabuýt* suggests that the correspondence  $bi \sim ui$  can be attributed to phonetic factors: to the non-native ear, the difference in pronunciation of /by/ and /bi/ must have been more distinct than, say, that of /ry/ and /ri/.

The overall numbers of the correspondences of *e* and *nb*, *u* and *bi* tell us that to the scribe of  $\mathbb{F}$ , the letter *nb* must have represented ‘a kind of /e/’, and *bi* ‘a kind of /i/’. The distinction between the letters *nb* and *e*, *bi* and *u* was, to a certain extent, optional. This may be explained by his background as a speaker of Low German, which does not distinguish between the sounds these letters represent.

### 5.2.5 Hushing sounds

A number of sibilant and affricate sounds in Russian must have been very difficult for the scribe to render in the Latin alphabet. One reason for this is the lack of Latin letters conveying the specific phonemes behind the Cyrillic letters  $\mathfrak{ж}$ ,  $\mathfrak{ц}$ ,  $\mathfrak{ч}$ ,  $\mathfrak{ш}$  and  $\mathfrak{щ}$ . A second explanation lies in the fact that the Pskov dialect was characterised by *šokan’e*: the conflation of etymological /s’/ and /š’/, /z’/ and /ž’/ into /s’’/ and /z’’/ (Zaliznjak 2004: 52, Gorškova 1968: 170f.). Another dialectal feature – much more widespread in the region than *šokan’e* – is the non-distinction of etymological /c/ and /č/, a phenomenon known as *cokan’e* (Zaliznjak 2004: 39, Gorškova 1968: 75f.). Additionally, the difference between these sounds must have been difficult for the scribe’s non-native ears.

Let us take a look at the correspondences in LEX and GRAM for a number of Cyrillic consonant letters:  $\mathfrak{ж}$  and *z/s*, *c* and *u* (both for *šokan’e*),  $\mathfrak{ц}$  and *u* (for *cokan’e*) and finally  $\mathfrak{щ}$  (as a very specific Russian sound). The question of etymological correctness is not considered here; the purpose is merely to illustrate the scribe’s approach to the data in his capacity as a transliterator.

The table below lists the most frequent Latin correspondences for the first group of Cyrillic letters; the percentages in the third column indicate how many cases this most frequent Latin correspondence covers.

$\mathfrak{ж}$	<i>sž, š, sŷ, szŷ</i> <sup>72</sup>	90%
$\mathfrak{з}$	<i>s</i>	83%
<i>s</i>	<i>s</i>	94%

<sup>72</sup> All four letter combinations share the diacritical mark  $\ddot{}$ ; this diacritic is in fact the main distinction of the Cyrillic letter in the Latin text (see §5.3). The reader is reminded that  $\mathfrak{V}$  can stand for any vowel with the diacritical mark over it.

c	s	89%
ш	sch	76%

**Table 5: Correspondences for ж, з, s, c and ш**

To the scribe, ж and з/s were clearly different sound symbols, requiring their own transliteration. Aberrations in *šokan*'e environments are very few in number, e.g. *женухъ* - *senich* (F 41 9), *ужо<sup>n</sup> ты* - *vsoll tÿ* (F 79 20) and *сазеньъ* - *saszen* (F 59 20-22, 3×). Similarly, ш and c are distinct from each other. Aberrations in *šokan*'e environments include *ушеньъ* - *oszen* (F 36 7) and *рѣсин* - *ruszin* (F 51 2) (and none with ш corresponding to s), both of which are not rendered with the prototypical *sch*.

A different picture emerges when we look at two other Cyrillic letters and their Latin correspondences, interesting because of *cokan*'e: ѱ and ѱ. The scribe does not succeed in distinguishing these two letters in the Latin script at all: the prototypical Latin correspondence for both letters is *tz*.<sup>73</sup>

ѱ	tz	75%
ѱ	tz	81%

**Table 6: Correspondences for ѱ and ѱ**

Finally, there is the sibilant ш, of which the prototypical representation in LEX and GRAM is *stz* (77%).

The scribe was clearly aware of the different nature of ш ~ c, of ж ~ з/s, and of ш, and tried to distinguish between each of these letters in his transliteration. At the same time, he was unable to graphically express the difference between ѱ and ѱ, and between voiceless c and voiced з/s.

The most striking distinction the Latin alphabet does *not* make is that between voiceless c and voiced з and s: for all three, Latin *s* is the most frequent correspondence (ranging from 83 to 90% of the cases). Examples:

▪ word-initial

земла – *semła* ‘земля’ (F 31 4)  
сухо – *sucho* ‘сухо’ (F 31 18)

<sup>73</sup> Another frequent transliteration for both Cyrillic letters is *ttz*, used in word-initial position. Sumnikova (1964: 351) noted that in the Cyrillic entries, the etymological distinction between /c/ and /č/ is upheld rather well: for /c/, F mainly uses ѱ, for /č/ mainly ѱ (with ѱ being used occasionally).

- word-internal

мѣсяць – mesetz ‘мѣсяц’	(F 31 13)
низо <sup>к</sup> – nisok ‘низок’	(F 42 21)
лизать – lisat ‘лизать’	(F 162 19)

- word-final

уксѣ – vksus ‘уксус’	(F 84 19)
черѣ го <sup>а</sup> – tzeres god ‘через год’	(36 13)

Despite the shortcomings, the picture that emerges in this section is one of the scribe as a conscientious transliterator of the various sibilant and affricate sounds of Russian. Several entries and emendations strengthen this picture. Take, for instance, two entries on F 135: *житиши* ‘жидше, thinner, runnier’ (line 6) and *чи<sup>с</sup>иши* ‘чище, cleaner’ (line 12). The Latin transliteration of these entries can be entirely reproduced using the correspondences in Table 4: *sžitschi* and *tzisschi*.<sup>74</sup> In two cases, a possible emendation shows that to the scribe, *sz* and *sch* were clearly to be distinguished:

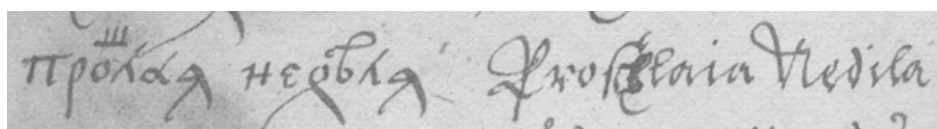


Figure 42: *proschlaia nedila* < *proszlaia nedila* (F 34 12)

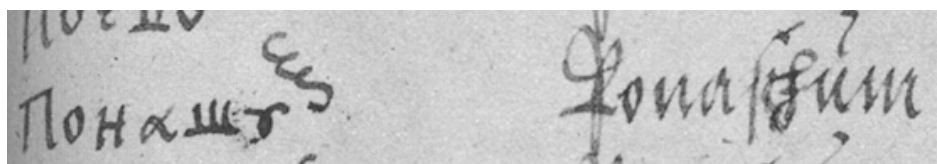


Figure 43: *ponaschum* < *ponaszum* (F 155 10)

The single most telling example of a complex, yet exact correspondence can be seen in F 41 16, where we find the Russian equivalent for German *denst magedtt* ‘servant girl’:

<sup>74</sup> The conscientiousness of the transliteration is corroborated by the fact that the Latin consonant cluster *ssch* only occurs once in the entire phrasebook. The Latin consonant cluster *tsch* occurs in one other word only: *nowagratschoi* for *новагра<sup>т</sup>ско<sup>а</sup>* ‘новаградской, Novgorod (adj.)’ (F 120 15 and 17).

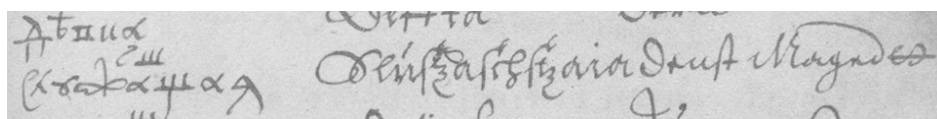


Figure 44: *слѣжащѣя/sluszaschstaia* (F 41 16)

The entry in F reads *слѣжащѣя* for the Cyrillic and *sluszaschstaia* for the Latin. Although the combination *шш* is not etymologically expected, the transliteration of the Cyrillic letters, in all its complexity, corresponds exactly with the prototypical correspondences.

### 5.3 The diacritic ˇ

The Latin transliteration of the text uses a diacritical mark which in the electronic text edition was rendered with the sign ˇ. The diacritic appears approximately 260 times, in the combinations *š*, *sž* or over the vowels *a*, *e*, *i*, *o* and *u* following *s* or *sz* (collectively indicated as *s*ˇ and *sz*ˇ).<sup>75</sup> Examples of its use are *dosžd* ‘дождь’ (F 31 16), *musīk* ‘музык’ (F 40 18) and *Otlosži* ‘отложи’ (F 194 7).

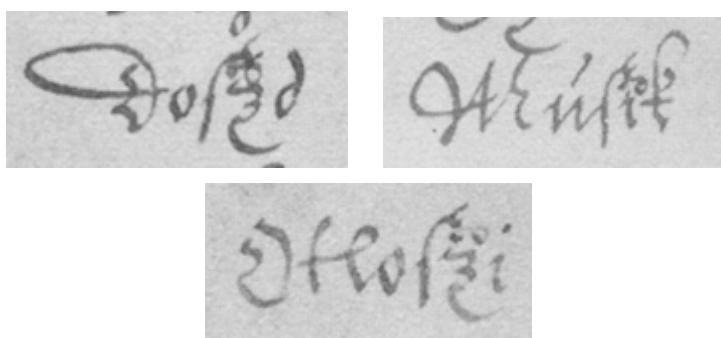


Figure 45: *dosžd* (F 31 16), *musīk* (F 40 18) and *Otlosži* (F 194 7)

The scribe may not have always added the diacritical marks in the Russian text straight away. In some cases he probably did – whenever their ink colour cannot be distinguished from that of the surrounding text. But at other times, the diacritical marks leap out from the page by their distinctly darker colour, as is the case on F 111, F 213 and F 219, where even the black-and-white facsimile reveals their salience. These diacritical marks were added later, either after the scribe had finished a page, or during a later revision process.

<sup>75</sup> There is one exception to this distribution: *posalūite* ‘пожалуйте’ (F 228 2). The position of the diacritic must be considered a slip of the pen: the word *пожалуй* regularly appears as *pošalui* or *posālui* (see below).

So far, the meaning of the diacritical mark has not been investigated. Minlos considers them to be void of meaning:

“We do not consider the ‘circumflex’ (˘) over a letter to be distinctive; in particular, we consider, for all intents and purposes, *sz* and *sž*, *s* and *š* to be one grapheme and do not distinguish syllables of the type *s* and *sā* (with *a* for any vowel); it seems sensible to do so until the application of this sign will be shown to be systematic, if only for a subsystem.” (Minlos 2001: 255)

Minlos’s observation must be adjusted in several respects. We have seen in §5.2.5 that in LEX and GRAM the diacritic – in any combination, and without exception – signals the occurrence of *ж* (or, in a few cases: *жж*) in Cyrillic. This accounts for approximately 160 out of the 260 occurrences of ˘. The approximately 100 occurrences of the diacritic that remain occur in PHRAS. There too, an explicit link with *ж* (or *жж*) is not hard to find. It can be found in the small number of Cyrillic entries in PHRAS:

<i>sũpis</i> – жупи <sup>c</sup> ‘шупишь’	(F 212 17)
<i>lsžiuetz</i> – лживецъ ‘лживец’	(F 224 17-18)
<i>ffsiesžsžai</i> – възьѣжжа <sup>n</sup> ‘възьѣзжай’	(F 242 5-6)
<i>sžsžogl</i> – жжогль ‘сжѣгл’	(F 245 16) <sup>76</sup>

What has escaped the attention of researchers so far, is that the 100 occurrences of ˘ in PHRAS are not evenly spread throughout this section: 90 of them can be found in PHRAS-GEN and the first 10 pages of PHRAS-TRADE (F 188-283); the remaining 9 instances appear rather isolated on pages F 432, F 472, F 480, F 482, F 491, F 494, F 497, F 499 and F 501.

In most of these cases, there is no Cyrillic entry to match the diacritic with. Etymology has to provide further information. In approximately 75 cases, the diacritic corresponds to an etymological /ž/.<sup>77</sup> Out of the 340 reconstructed occurrences of /ž/ for the combined page range F 188-283 and F 432-501, the diacritic is used in 22% of the cases.

The distribution seems to be lexically determined rather than anything else. A small number of roots account for the majority of these 75 cases: *пожал-*,<sup>78</sup> *-лож-*/*-леж-*,<sup>79</sup> words related to *жить*,<sup>80</sup> *ужё*, *бож-*<sup>81</sup> and *служ-*<sup>82</sup> to-

<sup>76</sup> One counterexample: *nesszit* – не зжить (F 471 5).

<sup>77</sup> In the remaining cases it corresponds to /s'/ (11×), /š/ (8×), /s/ (5×), /šč/ (2×) and /z'/, /z/, /c/ and /st/ (all 1×).

<sup>78</sup> *пожалуй, пожалуйте, пожаловати.*

<sup>79</sup> *положи, заложил, лежишь, отложи, доложу, заложился, наложи, положал.*

<sup>80</sup> *живет, жить, жив, отживѣл, ожилось, заживе, живете, животох, жил, живешь, живи, жива, живут, животное.*

<sup>81</sup> *божьей, божбы, божья.*

<sup>82</sup> *служит.*

gether make up 64 out of these 75 cases, although the diacritic does not appear consistently in any of these roots.

	<i>with</i> ˘	<i>without</i> ˘	<i>total</i>
<i>пожал-</i>	19	10	29
<i>-лож-/леж-</i>	18	9	27
<i>жить</i>	15	10	25
<i>ужĕ</i>	5	3	8
<i>-бож-</i>	5	9	14
<i>служ-</i>	2	3	5
<b>total</b>	<b>64</b>	<b>44</b>	<b>108</b>

**Table 7: Distribution of ˘ in a selected number of roots**

Finally, the distribution of the diacritic is not evenly spread even within the page range F 187-283 and F 432-501, as the table below shows for *пожал-*:

<i>line</i>	<i>with</i> ˘	<i>without</i> ˘	<i>line</i>	<i>with</i> ˘	<i>without</i> ˘
F 195 17		Posallui	F 228 1	posāluite	
F 196 8		Posalui	F 228 2	posālūite	
F 197 1		Posallui	F 229 15	posālui	
F 198 7		Posallui	F 237 14	Posālui	
F 199 14		posallvatt	F 239 1	Posāllui	
F 201 13		Posallui	F 239 5	Posālui	
F 204 5	Posāllui		F 242 1	posālui	
F 204 8	Posāllui		F 247 11	posālui	
F 206 9		posalowall	F 248 2		posalui
F 217 1		Posallui	F 269 6	poszālovati	
F 218 19	Posāllui		F 283 14	Posālui	
F 223 5	Posāllui		F 432 9	poszālui	
F 224 1	Posālui		F 443 8		Poszalui
F 226 16	posāllui		F 494 8	Poszālui	
F 227 14	Posālui				

**Table 8: Distribution of ˘ in *пожал-***

Minlos's observation is correct in the sense that the scribe did not need the diacritic to express in Latin what he would render in Cyrillic with *ж*. At the same time, wherever it occurs, it should be interpreted as representing that letter. And in many cases, the scribe was etymologically right in choosing it.

#### 5.4 The alphabet of the source

The absence of the Cyrillic alphabet from the closely related *s* raises the question whether it was present in the source shared by *f* and *s*. Most researchers



who have explicitly mentioned the topic, claim or speculate that the sources used by the scribe of F did not contain Cyrillic:

“Both the arrangement of the material and the large volume of the phrasebook, but also the inclusion of Cyrillic insertions not present in Th. Schroue require us to see in this language compendium an improved, and philologically and formally more refined version.” (Bolek 1997: 65)

“In said case [*ѡкоме<sup>н</sup>ше<sup>м</sup>*], Fenne’s Cyrillic notation, so it would seem, simply copies the Latin [*okomegnuet*] (as it happens very often in the manuscript)” (Zaliznjak 1998: 261)

“[...] Schwierigkeiten bei der Übertragung des mit lateinischen Buchstaben geschriebenen russischen Textes ins Kyrillische [...]” (Günther 1974: 789)

“Die Nichtübereinstimmung von *r* und *v* [in the entries *зворобору<sup>и</sup>* and *svoroborin* (F 66 20) in the light of Vasmer’s *своробовина* (Vasmer II: 596)] könnte ein Lautwechsel sein, wäre aber auch als Schreibfehler erklärbar, da in der deutschen Schreibung der russischen Wörter die Buchstaben *r* und *v* oft kaum zu unterscheiden sind. Diese Annahme setzt voraus, daß der Text von T. Fenne von einer nicht-kyrillischen Vorlage abgeschrieben wurde[.]” (Günther 1990: 893)<sup>83</sup>

Bolek talks about the inclusion (*włqczenie*) and insertion (*wstawki*) of Cyrillic entries in F, suggesting that these were not there in the original source. Zaliznjak’s observation can be read in the same fashion: the original source did not contain Cyrillic, which was added by the scribe on the basis of Latin. Although he does not provide evidence for his claim, some entries in LEX suggest that indeed the Latin alphabet influenced the spelling of the corresponding Cyrillic entries, pointing to the secondary nature of the Cyrillic:

- ж - *iuß* ‘ёж, hedgehog’ (F 76 9) in the section ‘Van tamen dertenn’: *iuß* shows traces of *šokan’e* (see above), and was confused with the name юс of the letter ж;
- *нѡю<sup>м</sup>* *ниеть* - *piet* ‘пѣть, to sing’ in the list of verbs: the Cyrillic entry mimics the Latin entry, ‘transliterating’ *ie* back to *ue*. (F 161 16);
- the Cyrillic entries *pe<sup>и</sup>сока* (F 97 17) and *ѡмеица* (F 101 2) copy the unusual *ei* of their Latin equivalents *reisoka* ‘рѣшка, grill’ and *omeisa* ‘омежа, ploughshare’;
- the Cyrillic entries *ко<sup>и</sup>* *ржои<sup>м</sup>* (F 78 1) and *то<sup>и</sup>це<sup>м</sup>* (F 98 3) do the same for the unusual notation *oi* in Latin *kon rszoitt* ‘конь ржёт, the horse neighs’ and *toitzett* ‘точить, to whet’.

<sup>83</sup> Note that Günther’s case in point is flawed: in 17<sup>th</sup>-century Russian, *своробовина* (as in Vasmer’s dictionary) and *свороборин(а)* (as in F) were synonymous (see SRJA XI-XVII vol. 23, s.v. *своробовина* and *свороборина/свороборинъ*).

Another indication that the source indeed primarily used the Latin alphabet are a small number of mistakes in the Cyrillic. The corresponding Latin transliteration, wherever present, does not copy these mistakes, which can be explained by the similarity of *н* and *и*, of *к* and *н*, and of *з* and *ч* – when translating to Cyrillic:

- Cyrillic *н* for correct *и*: *бн<sup>м</sup>* - *bjtt* (F 56 10), *грнве<sup>к</sup>* - *griu.* (F 58 11), *нс(ы)номъ* (F 508 12);
- Cyrillic *н* for correct *к*: *прѣгаите нони* - *pregaite koni* (F 79 19);
- Cyrillic *ч* instead of correct *з*: *долчо* - *dolgo* (F 136 13), *торчюю* - *torguiu* (F 145 7).

However, it is clear that the Cyrillic alphabet at times assumed primacy over the Latin alphabet. One example showing the influence of the Cyrillic alphabet is the Latin entry *ievangli* (F 93 4). It copies the unresolved sacred abbreviation *ева<sup>гли</sup>* for *евангелие* ‘Gospel’ on the same line. Another entry, *калено<sup>и</sup>* - *каленон* (F 114 20) – for correct *калено<sup>и</sup>* - *kalenoi* ‘каленой, charred’ – makes the same mistake in both alphabets, confusing Cyrillic *н* and *и*. And the confusion of *к* and *н* may also explain *крянка* - *крупка* (F 115 14) for *крупна* ‘coarse’. Note that these mistakes must have originated in Cyrillic, as Latin *n* and *i*, *n* and *k* are unlikely to be confused.

Another argument for the leading role of the Cyrillic alphabet is the unidirectional character of the transliteration: it is easier to predict the spelling of many Latin entries from the Cyrillic than the other way round.

This applies to the entries *житиуи/sžitschi* (F 135 6) and *новагра<sup>мско</sup>/nouagratschoi* (F 120 15, 17), discussed in §5.2.5. Cyrillic *ти* and *ск* (*житиуи* and *новагра<sup>мско</sup>*) regularly yield *-tsch-*, as *sžitschi* (F 135 6) and *nouagratschoi* (F 120 15/17) show. However, the road back is blocked: *tsch* could yield *ск*, *ти*, or even *мсх*. The transliteration of the Latin cluster *-stz-* into Cyrillic suffers from the same ambiguity, as the following examples show:

<i>лѣсца</i> – <i>lustza</i> ‘лужца, puddle, pool’	(F 61 7)
<i>квасци</i> – <i>kuastzi</i> ‘квасцы, alun’	(F 124 5)
<i>считаю</i> – <i>stzитайи</i> ‘считаю’	(F 145 6)
<i>считатьъ</i> – <i>stzитайт</i> ‘считать, to count’	(F 166 1)
<i>счесть</i> – <i>stzест</i> ‘счесть, to reckon up’	(F 166 2)
<i>ома<sup>и</sup>щикъ</i> – <i>omanstzick</i> ‘оманщик, deceiver’	(F 46 6)
<i>щепетиньѣ</i> – <i>stzепетиниѣ</i> ‘щепетиньѣ, small goods’	(F 121 10)
<i>свощинами ме<sup>и</sup></i> – <i>svostzinami med</i> ‘с вощинами мед, honey with the wax’	(F 116 15)

Generally speaking, the quality of the Cyrillic entries in LEX and GRAM is high, so much is clear. The primacy that the Cyrillic alphabet at times has over the Latin alphabet is also obvious. If the immediate source (or sources) of F did

contain Cyrillic, the scribe copied it and probably did not hesitate to change it if he thought this was necessary. If the sources did *not* contain Cyrillic, the scribe of F must have had a very thorough knowledge of Russian and its writing tradition or have received external help.

The phrases in PHRAS, by contrast, only contain entries in one alphabet: the Latin alphabet (on the exceptions see §2.1). The manuscript shares the use of this alphabet with s and A.

The frequent confusion of *v* and *n*, and *n* and *r* in Schroue's phrasebook suggests that its entries are based on a Latin original. Generally, the overall high number of corrupted entries in Schroue's phrasebook makes it implausible that the scribe based himself on the Cyrillic alphabet. Therefore, we assume that the source of F also contained the Latin alphabet. The assumption that the source of F did *not* additionally contain the Cyrillic alphabet in the phraseological section also seems safe. The practical nature of the genre makes it unlikely that each Russian phrase in the vast phraseological section was written down twice: it would have dramatically increased the volume of the phrasebook, as well as the required time and effort on the part of the scribe – especially in the light of the thorough revision of the material – whilst bringing few or no advantages.

### 5.5 Spelling regularisation

In chapter 3, we saw that F is more regular than s as far as the layout and the arrangement of different sections are concerned. The replacement of *w* by *v* and the consistent transliteration of the Cyrillic alphabet shows that extreme care was given to the use of the alphabets, its letters and their correspondences. This section makes the step from the level of individual letters to that of meaningful words, and will reveal that the regularity that we find on the level of individual letters extends to words as a whole. Spelling is more regular and consistent than in s, and the consistent spelling of a word in F speaks of an attempt to remove the variation present in the original sources.

#### 5.5.1 Four examples of regularisation

One phenomenon that can be observed is spelling regularisation. The scribe of F was of the opinion that the same word should be spelt consistently. Four examples of spelling regularisation in highly frequent words illustrate this point.

The first regularisation concerns the word *mbi* 'you'. With 627 occurrences, it is the second most frequent word in the entire phrasebook, after *ne* 'not' (801×). *Tbi* is regularly written *tj̄*. In 32 cases, *tj̄* was emended from earlier *ti*, for in-

stance in F 199 12 (Figure 46).<sup>84</sup> The spelling *ti* remains in another 28 cases. *Tbi* is spelt as a separate word in all but 7 cases.<sup>85</sup>

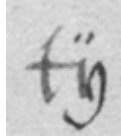


Figure 46: *tj̃* < *ti* (F 199 12)

Of course, *m̃bi* is a highly frequent word in Schroue's phrasebook too (583 occurrences). The spelling variation there, however, is much higher: it occurs as *thj̃/Thj̃* (507×), *-tj̃* (39×), *Tj̃/tj̃* (22×), *Tj̃-/tj̃-* (2×), *-thj̃* (5×), *dj̃* (2×), *thj̃e* (1×), *ej̃* (1×), *de* (1×), *the* (1×), *-tj̃-* (1×), *-tej̃* (1×).<sup>86</sup>

It would not be logical to assume that Schroue's most frequent spelling, *thj̃/Thj̃*, was any different from that in his source. Since the scribe did not know Russian, he merely copied the material (see §3.2.1). As for F, *tj̃* is a more faithful transliteration of *m̃bi* than *thj̃* is. If you take into account the scribe's thorough knowledge of Cyrillic word images (as displayed in LEX), it is not unreasonable to assume that he was the person who consistently changed the many occurrences of *thj̃* to *tj̃*, without leaving any trace. This effort could be seen as the reflection of a desire to let the Latin notation of the Russian material follow the regular Cyrillic spelling, with clear Latin correspondences for Cyrillic letters.

A second highly frequent word is *товар*. It occurs slightly under 400 times throughout the phrasebook as a NOM.SG. and ACC.SG. As such, *товар* is by far the most frequent substantival word form, followed at a considerable distance by the GEN.SG. of the same word, *товару* (121×), and the NOM.SG. *боз* (110×). In the Latin alphabet, *товар* is regularly written as *tovar*. Exceptions are *tova* (F 323 13) and *tovari smokne* '(ТФ II) ТОВАР ИЗМОКНЕ' (F 370 2, cf. *thowar Ißmockne*, s 45r 2 and §5.6.1). In s, the NOM.SG. and ACC.SG. of *товар* occurs as *thowar*, *themar*, *towar*, *thowaer*, *thewar*, *thowarj̃*, *thouar*, *Thowar*, *dobar*, *Touar*, *de war*, *thouaru*, *thouaer*, *Towar*, *dhowar*, *thowas*, *thobar*, *dowar*, *touars* (NOM.SG.), *thowar*, *thowar*, *thewar*, *towar*, *thowaer*, *thowaru*, *thowarum*, *dowar*, *thowaer*, *thower*, *thawar*, *thouar*, *-to war-*, *thj̃war*, *dowaer*, *to ber*, *thowaeru*.

<sup>84</sup> Here, as with other variation, the 32 cases are not evenly spread throughout the data: 30 emendations occur before F 260, the remaining 2 – both uncertain – on F 354 and F 443. The emendation of *i* > *j̃* is otherwise relatively frequent and occurs throughout the manuscript; cf., e.g., *rj̃bj̃* < *ribj̃* (F 223 1).

<sup>85</sup> These 7 cases are F 219 11, F 232 1, F 269 5, F 280 11, F 386 13, F 390 21, F 488 12.

<sup>86</sup> A hyphen in these forms indicates that it is written attached to the preceding or following word.

Even if you account for variation and corruption introduced by the scribe of *s*, the scribe of *F* must have considerably regularised the spelling of *моваp* when copying the material.<sup>87</sup>

The following example is the infinitive *торговать*. It occurs 33 times and is the third most frequent of almost 592 infinitives in the phrasebook: only *кунуть* (35×) and *взять* (50×) occur more often. Its regular spelling is *torgovat*; there are 2 instances where it is written *torguvat*. In *s*, the same verb form occurs as *turguwath*, *thurguwath*, *torgowath*, *turguuath*, *tuguwath*, *turgunath*, and *turguath*.

This means that the scribe of *F*, again, considerably regularised spelling. Most notably, he removed the possible dialectal influence of *ukan'e* ([u] for etymological /o/, e.g. *тургувать* or *торгувать* for *торговать*; see on *ukan'e* Fałowski 1997: 250-251 and Günther 1963: 494) and brought the spelling more in line with etymological expectations.<sup>88</sup>

The final example is the pronoun and conjunction *что*. It occurs 183× in the Latin script throughout the manuscript (70× as a conjunction, 113× as an interrogative pronoun). Its usual spelling is *tzto*. Exceptions are *sto* (5×), *ttzto* (4×), *ttzo* and *tzo* (both 1×).

The word *что* was emended in approximately 20 cases, usually from earlier *sto*. The emendations are obvious, as Figure 47 and Figure 48 show.

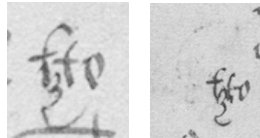


Figure 47: *tzto* < *sto* (F 195 1) and *tzto* with an erased *s* (F 208 21)

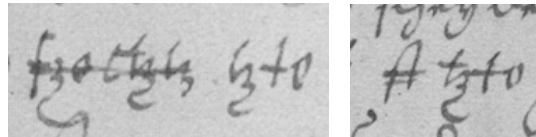


Figure 48: ~~st~~ ~~tz~~ ~~tz~~ *tzto* (F 211 18) and ~~st~~ *tzto* with an erased *s* (F 217 18)

Judging by the strike-through emendations, the spelling *sto* must have been present in the source. This is confirmed by Schroue's phrasebook, which has the following spellings for *что* in its various functions: *stho*, *-stho*, *Osto*, *stho*, *Stho*, *sto*, *-tzoo*, *sto-*, *-tho*, *sthe*, *βto*, *tho*, *sto-*.

<sup>87</sup> See §6.6 for an in-depth discussion of the entire paradigm of *моваp*.

<sup>88</sup> The emendation ~~Мѣ~~ *Москва* – *Moszkva* (F 50 8) shows that the scribe was aware of this phenomenon. If the corresponding entry *Moskauwa* (s 75r 22) is representative of the source of *F*, this also shows that *ukan'e* was a real characteristic of the language at that point in time.

### 5.5.2 Etymology: *солнце* and *бог*

In the examples in the previous subsection, the result of the regularisation brings the words – in their Latin form – closer to their etymological spelling. This also happens in the case of *солнце*, where there is significant reason to doubt that etymological /l/ was actually pronounced. The following table lists all instances of the lexeme *солнце* in F and s:

F	s
солънѣцо - solnszo (F 31 12)	Suaßza (s 68r 17)
солнца - sonsa (F 32 4)	Sunßze (s 68v 12)
солнца - solnsa (F 32 5)	Sumße (s 68v 14)
солнца - solnsa (F 32 6)	
солнца - solnsa (F 32 7)	Sunße (s 68v 13)
	Sunße (s 68v 15)
Sonłsža (F 238 19)	
sonsza (F 388 2) /	ßuße (s 41v 17) /
szolnsa (F 478 6)	soutßa (s 52v 12)

Table 9: The lexeme *солнце* in F and s

s consistently spells the word *солнце* without /l/. F, on the other hand, adds the etymological /l/, albeit not entirely flawlessly: in F 32 4, the Cyrillic entry includes the *l*, yet the Latin entry does not. In another case, the *l* was added secondarily, yet not in the correct position: *Sonłsža* (F 238 19) (see Figure 49). And in yet another case, the *l* was not added at all. Nevertheless, the addition of *l* testifies to the scribe's strong feel for the 'proper' spelling of lexemes.<sup>89</sup>

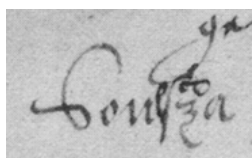


Figure 49: *Sonłsža* (F 238 19)

Another frequent emendation where etymological considerations play a role is that of NOM.SG. *boch* into *bog* (for the highly symbolic word *бог* 'God'). It is concentrated in PHRAS-GEN: 30 out of 46 occurrences of the word are emended.<sup>90</sup> The emendation *boch* > *bog*, illustrated in Figure 50, shows that the Cyrillic or etymological spelling *бог* was considered more important than the probable

<sup>89</sup> See §8.6.2 for a discussion of textual coherence in relation the entries with *солнце* on F 32-7.

<sup>90</sup> The NOM.SG. *бог* occurs another 64 times in PHRAS-TRADE, PROVERB, and RELI, without this emendation.

phonetic reality (cf. Modern Standard Russian [box] for *бог*). The change of *bohu* into *bogu* (F 189 4) fits the pattern as well.

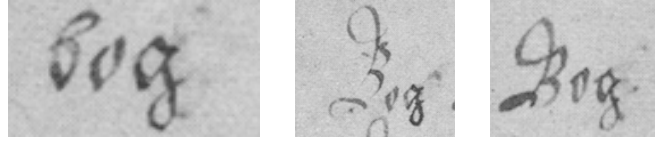


Figure 50: *bog* (F 189 19), *Bog* (F 190 1) and *Bog* (F 209 15)

### 5.5.3 -вѣс- and -вѣстѣ-

Although the establishment of etymologically correct spellings was one of the motivating factors behind spelling regularisation, it was not the sole factor. Another factor which played a role is that of word images: the same word (or group of words) was preferably spelt consistently throughout the text, not necessarily complying with its etymology.<sup>91</sup>

Consider the spellings of the similar roots -вѣс- ‘weigh’ and -вѣстѣ- ‘message’. The following tables display the occurrences of -вѣс- and -вѣстѣ- in F and, wherever applicable, the corresponding occurrences in S:

	F	S
<i>вѣс</i> ‘weight’		
<i>вѣс</i>	ВѢСЪ (F 445 8)	-
	viesz (F 309 18)	wes (s 18v 5)
<i>вѣсу</i> (GEN.SG.)	vieszu (F 309 18)	wesÿ (s 18v 5)
<i>вѣсу</i> (DAT.SG.)	vieszu (F 336 17)	-weißu (s 29v 6)
<i>вѣсѣть</i> ‘weigh’		
<i>вѣсѣть</i>	veszitt (F 58 4)	wesÿth (s 75v 13)
	vescit (F 167 14)	-
	vieszit (F 310 13)	weßÿth (s 18v 18)
	vieszit (F 323 18)	weßÿth (s 24r 22)
	viesit (F 345 4)	wÿßÿth (s 33r 23)
<i>вѣсят</i>	vieszet (F 310 2)	weßÿdth (s 18v 10)
<i>вѣсь!</i>	viesz (F 282 4)	-
<i>вѣшен/вѣшен</i>	vieszen (F 310 12)	weßen (s 18v 17)
	vieschon (F 379 1)	-
<i>вѣсец</i> ‘weigher’		
<i>вѣсец</i>	viesetz (F 53 11)	-

<sup>91</sup> Minlos notes that in the distribution of fricative sounds, certain roots seem to be spelt consistently in one way or the other: “It is easy to see that some roots are written in a certain way with relative consistency. For example, [*пожалуй*] is also written with the grapheme *s*, but the root [*леж*]/[*лож*] always with *sz*. It is unlikely that this system is governed by some phonetic phenomenon; we are most likely dealing with ‘orthograms’ of sorts” (Minlos 2001: 4).

	viesetz (F 58 1)	Wesetz (s 58v 12)
	viesetz (F 282 4)	-
	viesetz (F 311 2)	wÿssetzs (s 19r 2)
	vieszetz (F 345 4)	wiſſÿtz (s 33r 23)
	vieszetz (F 310 12)	wÿßzomu (s 19r 2)
<i>вѣсец</i> (DAT.SG.)		
<i>вѣсча полата</i> 'weigh-house'		
<i>вѣсча</i>	vieszia (F 311 1)	weßrÿu (s 19r 1)
<i>вѣсчий</i> 'weigher'		
<i>вѣсчѣво</i>	viestzovo (F 345 5)	wÿst zogo (s 33v 1)
	viestzovo (F 381 20)	-
	viestzovo (F 400 16)	weÿstzogo (s 57r 15)
	viestzovo (F 428 2)	-
<i>отвѣсцить</i> 'weigh out'		
<i>отвѣсцить</i>	otvescit (F 183 5)	-
	otvieszit (F 336 18)	othweßÿdt (s 29v 7)
<i>отвѣсцу</i>	otvieschu (F 301 2)	ottweßu (s 13v 22)
	otvieschu (F 301 8)	ottueßzÿth (s 13v 36)
<i>отвѣсцишь</i>	otvieschis (F 301 3)	ottweßÿs (s 13v 23)
<i>провѣсцить</i> 'weigh away'		
<i>провѣсць!</i>	provös < proves (F 282 4)	-

Table 10: *-вѣс-* in F and s

	F	S
<i>вѣсць</i> 'message'		
<i>вѣсци</i> (GEN.SG.)	vesti (F 363 11)	westÿ (s 42r 2)
<i>вѣсць</i> (ACC.SG.)	vest (F 416 16)	west (s 108v 16)
<i>вѣсци</i> (NOM.PL.)	vesti (F 274 17)	westÿ (s 3v 3)
	vesti (F 274 19)	westÿ (s 3v 5)
<i>вѣсций</i> (GEN.PL.)	westi (F 275 1)	-
	vesti (F 275 4)	westÿ (s 3v 10)
<i>вѣсци</i> (ACC.PL.)	vesti (F 369 6)	westhÿ (s 44v 12)
	vesti (F 369 11)	westhÿ (s 44v 17)
	vesti (F 378 20)	-
<i>изневѣсти</i> 'unexpectedly'	<del>is</del> isne vesti (F 228 1)	Ißne westÿ (s 55r 21)
	isne vesti (F 359 15)	Iste westÿ (s 40r 11)
<i>поизвѣстити</i> 'visit'		
<i>поизвѣстити</i>	poisvestiti (F 265 14)	-
<i>повѣстити</i> 'let know'		
<i>повѣстил</i>	povestil (F 415 10)	powestÿll (s 64v 11)
<i>отвѣстѣ</i> 'reply, message'		
<i>отвѣстѣ</i> (ACC.SG.)	otvestie (F 206 13)	-
	otvestie (F 333 2)	ottweßÿ (s 28r 2)
	otvestie (F 333 15)	otwostÿe (s 28r 8)



	F	S
	otvestie (F 363 18)	otwestie (s 42r 15)
	otvestie (F 399 10)	ottwestyje (s 56v 12)

Table 11: *-вѣстѣ-* in F and s

Table 10 shows that in *-вѣс-*, the scribe almost consistently spells the etymological vowel /ě/ as *ie*. For the root *-вѣстѣ-*, however, he prefers *e* in every single case, as can be seen in Table 11. Schroue's phrasebook usually has *e* in both roots, although the root *-вѣс-* is subject to more variation than *-вѣстѣ-*.

As in other cases, the levelling of the spelling must be attributed to the scribe of F, as the emendation in Figure 51 shows: the form *otveschu* – in line with *ottweßu* in s – was emended to *otvieschu*.

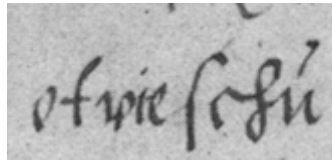


Figure 51: *otvieschu* from earlier *otveschu* (F 301 2)

The word form *otvieschis* 'отвѣсѣшь' (F 301 3; see Figure 52), one line further down on the same page, is also insightful, but in another regard: the letter combination *sch*. The *sch* of *otvieschis* is atypical for the /s'/ we find in *отвѣсѣшь*; the infinitive *отвѣсѣть*, for instance, also with /s'/, is written *otvieszit* (F 336 18) elsewhere in the manuscript, using more frequent *sz* for /s'/. The addition of the lone Cyrillic letter *u* on the same line shows, however, that *sch* is actually meant to represent /š/, which means we are dealing with *отвѣшѣшь*, rather than expected *отвѣсѣшь*. The added Cyrillic letter also shows that the spelling *otvieschis* is the outcome of a process of conscious deliberation of the scribe. Two factors must have contributed to this result. The first is the influence exerted by *otvieschu* 'отвѣшу', with *sch*, which occurs twice on the same page (F 301 2 and 8). The second factor is the difficulty the scribe experienced to come to terms with the phenomenon of consonant alternation in IND.PRES. forms, especially in this case, where the consonant alternation involved (/š/ ~ /s'/) concerns exactly the consonants which are affected by the local feature of *šokan'e* (see §5.2.5).

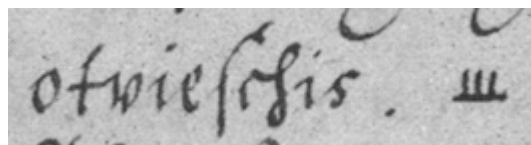


Figure 52: *otvieschis. u* (F 301 3)

Note that less frequent words do not necessarily escape the influence of word images. An example of this are *uynaiŭ* and *nouynaiŭ*. The first is spelt *schupai* in two different phrases (F 372 7, F 460 9). The first phrase has a match in *s*, which has *Szupaÿ* (s 57r 7). For *nouynaiŭ*, *s* has *postzuÿaÿ* (s 16r 19); F spells the word as *poschupai* (F 458 5), following the word image of *schupai*. He has even emended the form *poschupai*, as the facsimile shows:

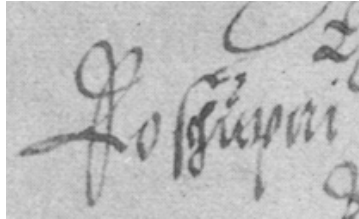


Figure 53: *poschupai*, with *ch* < ? (F 458 5)

#### 5.5.4 *euŷe*

Another example of the influence of word images is the spelling of reconstructed normalised *u*. Its typical transliteration in LEX and GRAM is *stz*. In PHRAS, PROVERB and RELI, it occurs approximately 100 times. It is spelt in a number of ways: *sz*, *stz*, *s*, *sch*, *sž*, *tz*, *ssz*, *z*. The spelling *stz* only occurs a few times. However, it is relatively frequent in the word *euŷe/euŷë*: out of 39 occurrences of the word in PHRAS, it is written with *stz* 27 times:

iestze (21×)  
 iestzo (3×)  
 iestzo (2×)  
 iestze (1×)  
 iesze (10×)  
 ieszo (2×)<sup>92</sup>

In fact, the scribe made a deliberate effort to include the *t*, as can be seen in the three examples in Figure 54, where *t* was added secondarily.

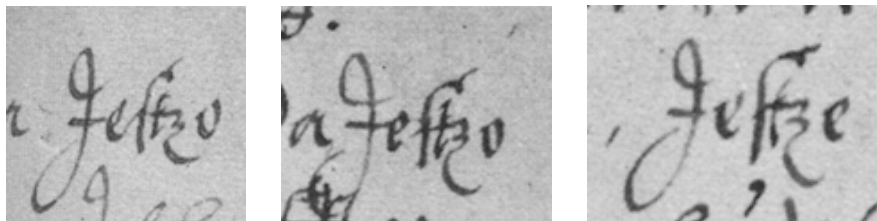


Figure 54: *iestzo* (F 221 1, F 275 15), *iestze* (F 275 16)

<sup>92</sup> In Schroue's phrasebook, the following spellings occur: *Jeße* (16×), *Jesse* (10×), *Jeße* (4×), *Jesse* (4×) *ßeo* (1×), *Jeste* (1×), *Jeße-* (2×), *Jeßa* (1×), *gesse* (1×).

The phrase in F 221 1-2 does not have a matching phrase in s. F 275 15-21 (from which the other two examples come), however, does: s has *Jessze* both times. We can assume that the source copied by the scribe of F did not have *t* in these cases; it was added for consistency's sake.

### 5.5.5 G and ch

Another point where F is much more regular than s is the notation of velars. The editors of s note that this phrasebook renders the velars /k/, /g/ and /x/ inconsistently; for /g/ alone, they find *J*, *ck*, *ch*, *g*, *h* and *chg*, whilst for /x/ the notations *g*, *ck*, *ch*, *chg* and *chz* can be found (Fałowski 1997a: 13).

A look at the Russian data of F yields the following numbers: there are approximately 1450 words in which a /g/ may be assumed, and approximately 600 in which we assume a /x/. F uses *g* for /g/ and *ch* for /x/ in over 90% of the cases. Rather than embarking on an exhaustive statistical analysis of the data, one group of examples will be used to illustrate the differences between s and F: words starting in /x-/.

In the index of the edition of s, approximately 300 different attested words can be found which are reconstructed as beginning with /x-/ (230 occurrences of them being forms of *хотѣть*). With only 18 exceptions, this /x-/ can be found in the manuscript as *g*. F, although larger in size, actually has fewer words that are reconstructed as beginning with /x-/: approximately 250. This lower number is mainly due to the large-scale removal of the verb *хотѣть* (see §7.4). And whereas s uses *g* in approximately 280 cases (93%), F uses *g* in only 42 (17%), listed in the table below.

	F	s
<i>харатѣя</i>	гараця - garatzia (F 93 6)	gratia (s 84r 16)
<i>хвастатѣ</i>	gvastai (F 214 17)	guastÿ (s 113r 1)
<i>хвастливый</i>	Guastliue (F 229 19)	Guast Lÿue (s 59v 1)
	Guastlive (F 472 3)	Guastlÿue (s 106v 16)
<i>хвост</i>	хвостъ - gvost (F 78 2)	guost (s 78v 5)
<i>хлѣв</i>	вгле <sup>b</sup> - fgleff 'в хлев' (F 80 17)	
	гле <sup>b</sup> - gleff (F 95 9)	gleff (s 81v 14)
<i>ходитѣ</i>	ходи <sup>r</sup> - godit (F 161 14)	
	godill (F 207 21)	godÿle (s 104v 14)
	godis (F 228 12)	goddÿs (s 52r 14)
	godis (F 485 11)	
	godit (F 389 2)	
	godile (F 486 5)	
<i>ходоватѣ</i> (?)	годою <sup>r</sup> - godoiutt (F 80 1)	
<i>холоп</i>	холопъ - golop (F 56 12)	gollop (s 87v 20)

	Ƒ	s
<i>хор</i>	хоръ - gor (Ƒ 70 14)	
<i>хомутина</i>	ґмютина - gumutina (Ƒ 79 14)	
	gumutini (Ƒ 393 2)	gomutÿnÿ (s 53r 12)
<i>хотѣть</i>	gotzis (Ƒ 226 12)	gottßÿs (s 41r 17)
	gotim (Ƒ 266 3)	
	gotiti (Ƒ 267 1)	
	gotim (Ƒ 268 1)	
	gotim (Ƒ 268 16)	
<i>хотѣнье</i>	gotenie (Ƒ 265 5) <sup>93</sup>	
<i>хорки</i>	горкы - gorcki (Ƒ 108 15)	Gorckÿ (s 79r 15)
<i>хороший</i>	хороса - gorosa (Ƒ 139 15)	
<i>хребтовой</i>	грештово - greptovo (Ƒ 109 19)	
	грештово <sup>и</sup> торлопъ - greptovoi torlop (Ƒ 110 4)	
<i>хрепять</i>	грешля - greple (Ƒ 78 6)	greple (s 78v 9)
<i>храбрый</i>	grabroi (Ƒ 264 8)	
<i>храмать</i>	гра <sup>м</sup> лить - gramlitt (Ƒ 78 5)	grabe (s 78v 7)
	гра <sup>м</sup> лить - gramlitt (Ƒ 78 11)	
	гра <sup>м</sup> лить - gramlitt (Ƒ 78 13)	
	gramlat (Ƒ 163 4)	
	gramlutzi (Ƒ 486 18)	
<i>хрестьян</i>	хрестия <sup>и</sup> - grestian (Ƒ 39 8)	
<i>худой</i>	ґдои - gudoi (Ƒ 46 14)	
	gudo (Ƒ 217 11)	
	gudieĥ (Ƒ 225 9)	
	sgudim (Ƒ 412 2)	Ißgudÿm (s 62v 13)
<i>хуй</i>	ґи - gui (Ƒ 89 14)	guÿ (s 85r 22)
	ґи (Ƒ 492 2)	

Table 12: Initial /x-/ as g in Ƒ

When we take a look at this table, we see that wherever a corresponding form in s can be found, Ƒ's g corresponds to a g in s. Note, also, that in 6 cases from LEX, the entry in the Cyrillic column has *x*, deviating from Ƒ's regular correspondences  $z \sim g$  and  $x \sim ch$ .

<sup>93</sup> The forms *gotzis*, *gotim* (3x), *gotiti* and *gotenie* are all related to the verb *хотѣть*. 5 of these 6 forms are found on Ƒ 262-269, which constitute a foreign body in the text of Ƒ (see §2.1). The form *pogotite* (Ƒ 265 13), not included in the table because /x/ is not initial, could be added to the forms of *хотѣть* with g. It looks like the scribe did not realise that, elsewhere in the phrase-book, forms of *хотѣть* have *ch*- rather than *g*-.

Like in other cases, the differences between the two manuscripts must be attributed to the scribe of F, which can be shown with emendations. In was emended from earlier *zodu<sup>m</sup>*. More examples can be found:

<del>eh</del> greiszi 'грѣиси'	(F 213 8)
<del>eh</del> goverki 'гов<о>ркѣ'	(F 473 2)
<del>eh</del> golj 'голым' <sup>94</sup>	(F 476 9)
<del>gh</del> chudi 'худы'	(F 314 20)
ходи <sup>t</sup> /godit 'ходить' (with emendation of <i>x &lt; z</i> )	(F 161 14)
chotim 'хотим' (with possible emendation of <i>ch &lt; g</i> )	(F 214 15)
roschulu 'расхулю' (with possible emendation of <i>ch &lt; g</i> )	(F 432 1)

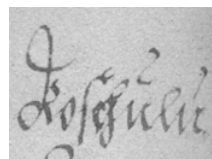
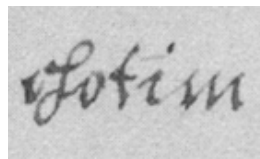
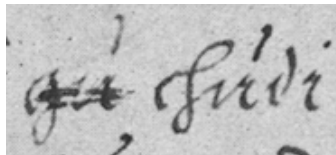
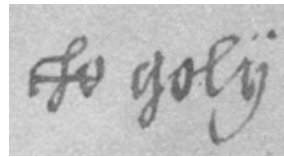


Figure 55: ~~eh~~ golj (F 476 9), ~~gh~~ chudi (F 314 20), chotim (F 214 15), roschulu (F 432 1)

I assume that in all 7 cases, the source of F contained a *g*. In the first 3 cases, the scribe initially replaced the *g* with *ch*, but immediately corrected himself. In the case of ~~gh~~ chudi, we see the opposite: he initially copied the *g* before realising that *xudu* should have *ch* instead. In *xodu<sup>m</sup>/godit*, the Cyrillic entry was corrected, but the Latin entry remained. And in the two final cases, the scribe first copied the source, and carefully emended the forms when he noticed that *gotim* and *rosgululu* should actually be written with *ch*.

The scribe was acutely aware of the difference between /x/ and /g/. He attempted to render both phonemes in the Russian data correctly, an attempt which by and large succeeded.

<sup>94</sup> Cf. *Gollj* (s 66r 4) in the corresponding phrase in S.

### 5.5.6 Hushing sounds, again

We already saw how the scribe struggled to consistently distinguish the various sibilant and affricate sounds of Russian in the Cyrillic and the Latin alphabet in LEX and GRAM (see §5.2.5). I bring up the same topic once again, because emendations in the spelling of these sounds also illustrate the principle of spelling regularisation. They should be seen as part of the scribe's effort to bring the Cyrillic and Latin entries into line with each other. Corresponding entries in s show that differences (and emendations) are usually *away* from s and *towards* etymologically more expected forms. Examples:

солнца пошло втѣчу – solnsa pos <del>h</del> lo ffitutzu <sup>95</sup>	(F 32 6)
ужина <sup>r</sup> – vszīnatt	(F 33 22)
~ <i>Wsenath</i> (s 69r 14)	
жонка – s <del>z</del> onka	(F 40 20)
~ <i>sonka</i> (s 72r 29)	
шутли <sup>b</sup> – sh <del>u</del> tli <del>ff</del>	(F 45 4)
~ <i>Sutlyue</i> (s 73v 5)	
смышли <sup>b</sup> – smuis <del>h</del> li <del>ff</del>	(F 45 7)
~ <i>Smustliue</i> (s 73v 11)	
промышле <sup>n</sup> – promuis <del>h</del> len	(F 45 9)
извозщи <sup>k</sup> – svostzick	(F 53 13)
шарь – <del>sh</del> ar schar	(F 112 14)
~ <i>Szar</i> (s 95v 7; <i>sar</i> elsewhere in s)	
тошно – toshno	(F 138 15)
тошне <sup>n</sup> – toshnei	(F 138 16)

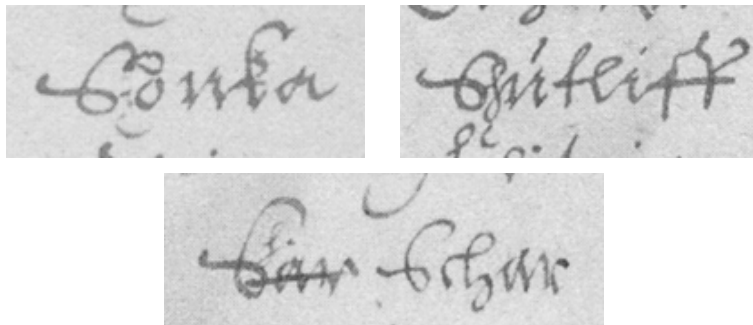


Figure 56: Emendations *szonka* (F 40 20), *shutliff* (F 45 7), and ~~sh~~ar schar (F 112 14)

However, regularisation of the spelling of hushing sounds does not only occur in LEX and GRAM, but also in PHRAS (where there was no Cyrillic to guide the scribe; see §5.2), as illustrated by the scribal corrections in the list below. The

<sup>95</sup> See also §8.6.2 for a discussion of this phrase in relation to textual coherence.

correspondences with *s* show that the innovation and the concomitant hesitation must be attributed to the scribe of F.

- kak **naszh** stoboi prigovor buill ‘как наш с тобой приговор был’ (< *nasch*) (F 300 4)  
 ~ *nas sthoboÿ* (s 13v 6)  
 da **pokaszi** suoi tovar ‘да покажи свой товар’ (*szi* < *si*) (F 372 11-12)  
 ~ *da pokaßÿ thÿ suoÿ thowar* (s 46r 11-12)  
 Ia suoi vbütok **bosziu** milostiu ponapolnu  
 ‘(TF II) Я свой убыток божью(!) милостью понаполню’ (*szi* < *si*) (F 405 16)  
 ~ *Ia gottßu suoÿ vbuthock boßÿu mÿlostÿu Ißpolnÿth* (s 60r 5)  
 ne **szivet** ‘не живет’ (*szi* < *si*) (F 473 18)

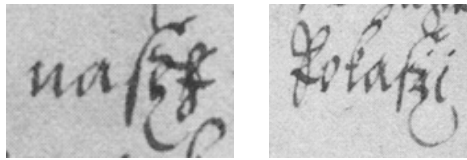


Figure 57: *naszh* (F 300 4) and *pokaszi* (F 372 11)

As a final point, consider the following occurrences of the verb form *-scholl* ‘-шёл’: in all of them, *ch* in *-sch-* has been emended from something which cannot be restored:

- prischoll* (F 198 11)  
*prischoll* (F 205 8)  
 ~ *possle* (s 103r 13)  
*prischoll* (F 228 13)  
 ~ *prÿßoll* (s 52r 15)  
*prischoll* (F 236 17)  
*poscholl* (F 208 17)  
 ~ *possle* (s 105r 16)<sup>96</sup>  
*poscholl* (F 212 14)

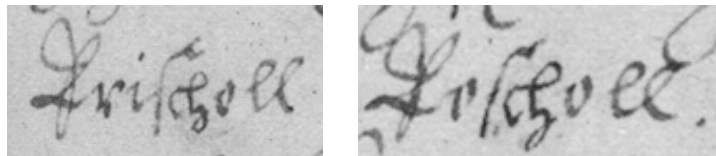


Figure 58: *prischoll* (F 205 8) and *poscholl* (F 208 17)

These cases are in line with other examples of regularisation we have seen so far in this chapter. The regularisation covered both highly frequent words (*ты*, *товар*, *торговать*, *что*) and very infrequent words (*пошуйнай*); it could be

<sup>96</sup> The same line also has *naszoll* ‘нашёл’ (s: *nassoll*).

based on considerations such as etymology (*солнце, бог*) and word images (*-вѣс- ~ -вѣсть-*); and it covered words in which dialectal features can be expected to have played a role (*/x/* and */g/*, hushing sounds).

The numerous emendations confirm that the conscious regularisation is largely – if not entirely – the work of the scribe of F. On the whole, the Latin notation of the Russian material in PHRAS is looser than in LEX and GRAM, which may be attributed to the absence of the Cyrillic alphabet as a constant reminder and guideline. At the same time, the scribe approached his task in a very meticulous and thought-out fashion.

### 5.6 Phonological and phonetic phenomena

The phenomena that came under the influence of the spelling regularisation explored in the previous section largely consider issues of orthography. Relatedly, this section will discuss the scribe's influence on how a number of phonological and phonetic phenomena and developments are reflected in the data, especially those that are characteristic of the dialect of the town of Pskov. I will investigate whether they show the same regularisation efforts of the scribe, and how his general attitude plays a role here.

Of the many interesting phonological and phonetical phenomena that can be studied on the basis of the data in Fonne's phrasebook, only a small number will be explored here. Some of them have over time been raised in the literature, others have not. The choice of which issues to discuss was made on the basis of how well they support the main task undertaken in this study, which is to explore how the philological relation between the phrasebooks of Fonne and Schroue puts the data of Fonne's phrasebook in a new light. Structural differences between the two phrasebooks and emendations in Fonne's phrasebook, which lay bare the input of the scribe, will enjoy special attention.

The image that emerges is that of a conscious effort on the part of the scribe to remove traits that were perceived as too strictly local, yet at the same time allowing supraregional elements from the spoken language to enter the text.

#### 5.6.1 Prothetic vowels

A very salient characteristic of Schroue's manuscript is the occurrence of prothetic vowels such as [i] and [o] before specific initial consonant clusters:

*Ißbudÿthse* 'сбудется' (s 64v 2), *Ißgÿneth* 'сгинет' (s 66r 10), *Ispor* 'сбор' (s 69v 5), *Isdoroua* 'здорово' (s 99v 17), *Ißgrobum* 'сгребом' (s 108v 4)



*off duaret* ‘вдварядь’ (s 24v 8), *offzajmÿ* ‘взаймы’ (s 40r 13), *offmesto* ‘вмѣсто’ (s 5r 7), *offzeras* ‘вчерась’ (s 62v 12), *Offtornÿck* ‘вторник’ (s 70r 7), *ock komu* ‘к кому’ (s 89ar 30)<sup>97</sup>

The differences between s and ʀ are explored below. The focus will lie on prothetic [i], which allows for the clearest comparison. In Fonne’s phrasebook, these prothetic vowels are virtually absent, illustrated by the following three examples of corresponding phrases from ʀ and s:

- (31s) Ja offzoras vÿdbe twoÿ thowar bude dobbro da monnÿtza  
**Iß**gudÿm **Iß**meßonn da **Iß**utonn, (s 22r 18-19)
- (31ʀ) Ia ffzeras tuoi tovar vidal buil dobro  
 ninetza schudim smeszon da schitron.  
 Ich sach gistern dÿne wahre de was gutd nu  
 iß se mit quader vormengedt vnd vorvelschedt. (ʀ 320 1-4)  
 Я вчерась твой товар видал, был добро<й>;  
 нынѣча с худым смѣшён да схитрѣн.  
 ‘I saw your wares yesterday, they were good; now they are  
 mixed with bad and falsified.’
- (32s) **Iß**rouenaÿem muÿ thowaer **Iß**thouarum stho nam  
 obeme ne bude obÿeduo. (s 37v 16-17)
- (32ʀ) Sroffnaiem mÿ tovar stovarum, tzto nam obemæ  
 ne budet obidno.  
 Laht vns de wahre mÿt wahre vorliken,  
 dat vns beÿden keÿn vnrecht gesche. (ʀ 355 9-12)  
 Сровнаем мы товар с товаром, что нам обѣмя  
 не будет обидно.  
 ‘Let us compare wares with wares, so that there may be no  
 injustice to either of us.’
- (33s) To **Im**ne pereno **Iss**abuth (s 104v 2)
- (33ʀ) To **m**nie præmo sabuill. Datt is mÿ rechtt ernst. (ʀ 207 16)  
 То **мнѣ** прямо за былъ  
 ‘I am really in earnest’

The explanation prothetic [i] has received over time is very cursory. The transliteration volume of the edition of s offers a phonetic explanation in the form of a reference to B.A. Larin, who attributes these prothetic vowels to the influence

<sup>97</sup> s shares the feature of prothetic [i] with ʀ, as the following examples show: *Istÿm* ‘с тим’ (ʀ 7r 1), *Isvalom* ‘с валом’ (ʀ 8r 7), *Iskwos* ‘сквозь’ (ʀ 40v 18), *Iskladati* ‘складати’ (ʀ 41v 16), *Ischronisa* ‘схронися’ (ʀ 57v 16), *Isdorow* ‘здоров’ (ʀ 59r 8), *Is Kolicko* ‘сколько’ (ʀ 76r 7).

of non-Slavic languages in the Russian North.<sup>98</sup> An explanation for prothetic [i] along more morphological lines is put forward by Fałowski in his grammatical analysis of А: before initial *c*- and *з*- prothetic [i] is a typical Pskov dialect feature, the result of the merger of the prepositions and prefixes *c*- and *уз-/ус-*, a development also attested in Western Russian historical texts as well as Belarusian dialects (1996: 32, also 1997b: 25of.). However, this morphological approach does not explain the forms they aim to explain: words from А such as *Iskwos* ‘сквозь’ (А 40r 18) and *Isdorow* ‘здоров’ (А 59r 8) do not contain the prefix *c*-. Also, it does not explain the consistent use in s of prothetic [i] before initial consonant clusters such as *мн-*, *жн-*, *жд-* and *ни-*: *Imnogo* ‘много’ (passim), *Imne* ‘мнѣ’ (occurring hundreds of times), *Iβny* ‘жни’ (s 103r 16), *Iβdath* ‘ждать’ (s 60v 24) and *Ipsonno* ‘пшѣно’ (s 96v 23).

The edition of s states that “it should be stressed that prothetic [i] appears almost exclusively in verbal formations; in nominal formations it has a sporadic character” (Fałowski 1997a: 18). This is misleading. Apart from words which just happen to start with *c*- or *з*- (not the preposition or prefix; some of them mentioned above), prothetic [i] also affects the preposition *c*, as the following examples of this preposition in its meaning ‘with’ show:

<i>Iβrusszytium</i> ‘с русином’	(s 3r 4)
<i>Iβgudym</i> ‘с худым’	(s 22r 19)
<i>Iβturarum</i> ‘с товаром’	(s 45v 3)
<i>Iβ wjnum</i> ‘с вином’	(s 51v 15)

The many occurrences of prothetic [i] in s and А leave no doubt as to its existence in the spoken language. It must have been present in the language around the scribe of F.<sup>99</sup> At the same time, prothetic [i] has no room in traditional forms of written Russian. This consideration may have provided the scribe of F with the motivation to remove prothetic [i] from the data of his sources. The scribe himself hinted at this in the *Liber ad lectorem*, containing, among other things, pronunciation instructions for the user. On words starting in *c*- and *з*- this text reads:

vnd wor ein z ode s vor. ansteÿt dat pronuntiere is.	(F 23 9-10)
‘And when a z or s stands before pronounce that is’	

The explicit pronunciation instruction means that the scribe realised that writing and speaking are two different skills, each exacting their own rules and customs. The removal of prothetic [i] shows that the instruction was by no means a dead letter for him. It also shows that the scribe was aware of the local dialect

<sup>98</sup> Fałowski 1997a: 18, referring to Larin 1959: 37 (= 2002: 199).

<sup>99</sup> Confirmed by entries in POS such as *имгл...* “см. мгл...” and *лгун* “вар. елгун, илгун”.

features (especially concerning pronunciation) as opposed to a less locally marked written form of the language.

The scribe was aware that some words in their written form should start in *c-* or *z-* and others in *uz-/uc-* – even though their pronunciation must have been virtually identical.

Especially problematic in this respect are verbs (and their derivations) with the etymological prefixes *c-* and *uz-*. This is a problem for the interpretation of the data in all three phrasebooks (F, S and A). The editors of TF II were aware of this, too:

“In some cases, e.g. *isoidet mnie iovo tak prodat* [reference to F 365 10], and other instances of the same verb, it is questionable whether we have to do with the verb *изойти* in standard spelling or perhaps with a supercorrect form of the verb *сойти*” (TF II: XXI).<sup>100</sup>

I will not try to establish the correct distribution of verbs in *c-* or *uz-*, but, instead, highlight the scribe’s struggle with the removal of [i], as it did not always go smoothly. Traces of it can still be found here and there in the manuscript. The editors of TF II already noted spellings such as *ischrebi* ‘срѣби’ (F 194 8) and *isdorouo* ‘здорово’ (F 196 14), which they called “supercorrect” (TF II: XXI). The manuscript provides direct clues of the removal of [i]. The first clue is an entry in LEX, where the word *узовици*<sup>\*</sup> was originally copied as *звовици*<sup>\*</sup> in Cyrillic. The initial *u* protrudes into the left margin, and *узовици*<sup>\*</sup> is in fact written with two capital letters (*ИЗвоци*<sup>\*</sup>) which means that the scribe discovered it should be there after all:

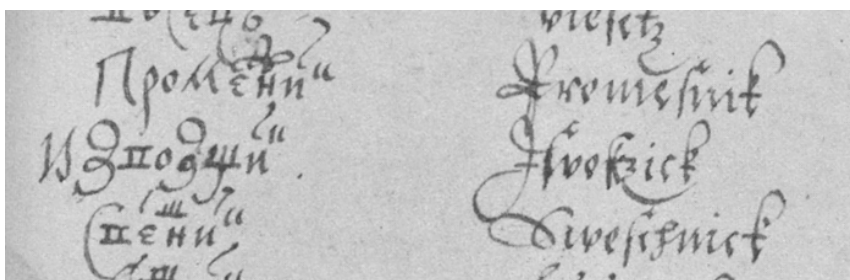
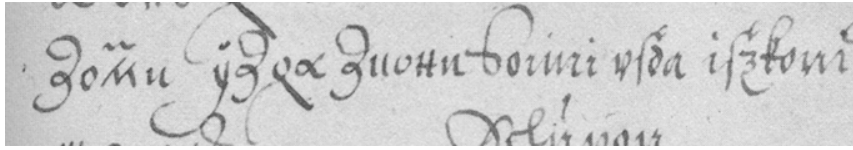


Figure 59: *звовици*<sup>\*</sup> > *узовици*<sup>\*</sup> (F 53 12-14)

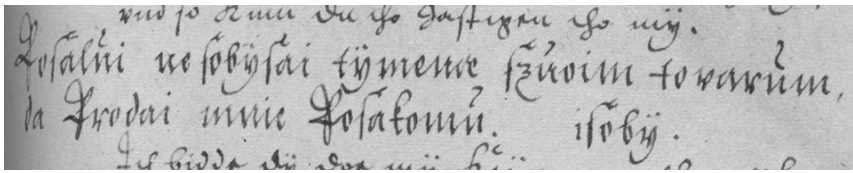
The second clue is a mismatch between the Cyrillic and the Latin columns in LEX, which is rather unusual (cf. §5.2.1 and §5.2.2): in F 79 10 *зоми узда зкони* is opposed to *soimi vsda iszkoni* ‘сойми узда с кони’.

<sup>100</sup> Cf. on this issue also Fałowski 1997a: 18 (on S), Günther 1998: 183, 185, Krys’ko and Šalamova 1998: 130, 132 (on A).

Figure 60: *зконн ~ iszkoni* (F 53 12-14)

A final clue, from PHRAS, is the verb *изобижать* ‘insult’, which occurs as *sobÿsai* ‘<и>зобижай’ (where /i-/ was removed too enthusiastically) and as *isobÿ* ‘изоби<дъ>’.<sup>101</sup>

- (34F) Posalui ne **sobÿsai** tÿ menæ szuoim tovarum.  
da prodai mnie posakomu. **isobÿ**.  
Ich bidde dÿ doe mÿ keÿn vnrecht, mÿt  
dÿner wahre, vnd vorkop se mÿ vor de werde. (F 351 13-16)
- Пожалуй не <и>**зобижай** ты меня своим товаром  
да продай мнѣ по зако<н>у. **изоби<дъ>**  
‘Please do not do me an injustice with you goods and sell  
them to me [according to the standard] (at the value).’

Figure 61: *sobÿsai* and *isobÿ* (F 351 13-14)

- (34S) Poſſaluÿ ne **Iſobiſaÿ**: **Iſobÿt** thÿ memne suoÿum  
thouarum, [...] (s 36r 7-8)

The verb *искать* ‘search, seek’ also illustrates the scribe’s attempts to remove initial [i] where it was prothetic and retain it where it was etymologically correct. The following table shows how, in s, the verb consistently reflects initial [i], whereas in F, spelling is less stable, fluctuating between forms *with* and forms *without* initial [i]:

	F	S
<i>искать</i>	зкать, skat (F 165 9)	-
<i>ищу</i>	<b>istzu</b> (F 209 9)	Issu (s 105v 9)
	<b>iszu</b> (F 229 13)	Iſu (s 57r 13)
	<b>iszu</b> (F 299 13)	-
	<b>iszu</b> (F 290 17)	ÿsszu (s 10r 12)
	sszu (F 330 2)	-
	<b>iszu</b> (F 403 3)	Iſu (s 11r 10), Isszu

<sup>101</sup> On the reading *изоби<дъ>*, see §4.1 above.

	Ƒ	s
		(s 58v 6)
<i>ищешь</i>	iszis (Ƒ 361 2)	Isszÿs (s 40v 22)
<i>ищи</i>	ssÿ (Ƒ 281 12)	-
	sszÿ (Ƒ 330 6)	Ißÿ (s 26r 6)
	sszi (Ƒ 400 3)	-
<i>искал</i>	зкаль, skal (Ƒ 145 15)	-
	iskall (Ƒ 208 16)	Ißkale (s 105r 15)
	skall (Ƒ 247 17)	-
<i>иск 'claim'</i>	isk (Ƒ 400 20)	Istk (s 57v 6)

Table 13: *искать* and *иск* in Ƒ and s

On the whole, the scribe's removal of prothetic [i] was thorough: for the adverb *Isde* 'здѣ' in s, we consistently find *sdies* 'здѣсь' in Ƒ (26 occurrences throughout Ƒ). And in the correspondences of the highly frequent *Imne* 'мнѣ' in s, there is not a single case of *i-* in Ƒ (at over 500 occurrences). Nevertheless, *i-* shines through the text every now and then:

- Isdesli* 'ждешь-ли' (Ƒ 211 7)  
 ~ *Ißdeslÿ* (s 107v 9). Interestingly, the very next line in Ƒ contains *sdu* 'жду', corresponding to *estdu* (s 107v 11), where the prothetic vowel was removed.
- iszotu ne vedaiet* 'счѣту не вѣдает' (Ƒ 254 19)
- Voimnogich goradoch* 'Во многих городох' (Ƒ 215 14)
- Isbohum* 'с богом' (Ƒ 210 21)  
 ~ *Ißbohum* (s 107r 10)
- isbohu* 'с бого<м>' (Ƒ 230 15)  
 ~ *Isbogum* (s 112r 6)
- tovari smokne* '(ТѢ П) товар измокне'<sup>102</sup> (Ƒ 370 2)  
 ~ *thowar Ißmockne* (s 45r 2)
- Is malimi kunami dengami* 'с малыми кунами: деньгами'<sup>103</sup> (Ƒ 281 11)
- Poisdarauo* 'поздорову' (Ƒ 274 6)  
 ~ *poÿßdoroua* (s 3r 23)
- A number of occurrences of *c um* 'with him': *ischim* (Ƒ 227 11 ~ *Isgÿm*, s 48v 14), *isÿhm* (Ƒ 362 17 ~ *Ißÿm*, s 41v 12), *isÿhm* (Ƒ 368 11 ~ *Isgÿm*, s 45r 9), *ischim* (Ƒ 389 20 ~ *Isgÿm*, s 51r 12) and the rather odd form *sihim* (Ƒ 393 15 ~ *Ißgÿm*, s 53v 10).<sup>104</sup>

The scribe's removal of many instances of prothetic [i] – whether right or wrong, from the point of view of the dialect of Pskov or a more supraregional

<sup>102</sup> Here, *i* was reinterpreted as the ending of *tovar* (see §6.6)

<sup>103</sup> No correspondence in s, but a correspondence to *Ismalymi dengami* (A 75r 16) in A.

<sup>104</sup> The last form also occurs without the prothetic [i] as *sihim* (Ƒ 419 2; *Ißgÿm*, s 110r 14). The form *snim* 'с ним', including a prothetic [n], is also attested (see §6.4.3 below).

form of Russian – adds a philological layer to this problem. Yet it seems that on the whole, he was probably too rigorous, rather than too cautious.<sup>105</sup>

### 5.6.2 Pskov -кл- and -гл- (< \*tl and \*dl)

The clusters -кл- and -гл-, reflecting Proto-Slavic \*tl and \*dl are a well-known characteristic of the Old Pskov dialect. They are attested on birchbark (see Zaliznjak 2004: 49), in historical Pskov texts (see Karinskij 1909), in the phrasebooks of Schroue and Fonne, as well as in present-day dialects (see Honselaar 2001: 23, attested in one lexeme).

In the phrasebooks, the Pskov reflexes are restricted to the *l* participle of a small number of verbs and their derivations, such as *вести* (*вед-*), *блюсти* (*блюд-*), and especially *честь* (*чт-*), in combination with the NOM.SG.M. ending -e (*-есѣ*) or the NOM.SG.N. ending -o (*-осѣ*). Examples:

*poblugl* ‘поблюгл’ (F 289 7), *obotzkles* ‘обочклесь’ (F 388 10), *roszotzkles* ‘розочклесь’ (F 343 19)

*dauechle* ‘довегле’ (s 106v 13), *blugle* ‘блюгле’ (s 51v 4), *ottoβkle* ‘оточкле’ (s 23v 22), *roβzozklos* ‘розочклесь’ (s 33r 13)

At the same time, the regular East-Slavic reflexes are found as well: we find *bluil* ‘блюл’ (F 390 1), *obsolsa* ‘обчёлся’ (F 343 1).

The table below lists those cases where either s or F show the Pskov reflex and, wherever applicable, the corresponding form in the other manuscript.

	F	s
<i>блюсти</i>		
<i>блюсти</i>	bluil (F 294 13)	blugele: beuggle (s 11r 25)
	bluil (F 390 1)	blugle (s 51v 4)
<i>поблюсти</i>	poblugl (F 289 7)	poblugele (s 9v 4)
<i>вести</i>		
<i>довести</i>	-	dauechle (s 106v 13)
<i>перевести</i>	perevöll (F 278 19)	pereuochle (s 5r 17)
	perenell ‘перенял’ (F 348 8) <sup>106</sup>	pereuoll: pereuothgele (s 34v 12)
<i>привести</i>	privössll ‘привёзл’ (F 275 13)	prÿuelle (s 3v 14)

<sup>105</sup> The topic of prothetic [o] is not studied in detail here. The feature is not as prominent in s as prothetic [i], but its absence in F is obvious. Here too, remains of it can be seen shining through the text: *овтупору* (F 247 12, F 366 1), contrasted with *втупору* (7x). The form *вса<sup>а</sup>ка/ffsanka* ‘<o>всянка’ (F 69 5) shows the hypercorrect removal of [o] (cf. correct *wβe<sup>e</sup>*: *wβca/oves*: *offsa* (F 64 7) and *wβзаного/offtzanogo* (F 81 6) elsewhere in LEX). The word *wβто<sup>р</sup>ни<sup>к</sup>/offtornik* (F 35 20) can be considered lexicalised (cf. SRNG 22, s.v. *авторник*).

<sup>106</sup> Note that this is a different verb.

	F	s
	privell (F 289 2)	prÿwechbe (s 9r 19)
<i>розвести</i>	rosvogel (F 441 19)	-
<i>блясти</i>		
<i>проблясти</i>	-	propleggele (s 93r 13)
<i>честь</i>		
<i>дочестья</i>	dotzolsa (F 342 2)	doetzles (s 32r 22)
	dotzsolsa: doslo (F 341 22)	dotzolssze: detzkles:
		doßlo (s 32v 5)
<i>обчестья</i>	dotzolsa (F 342 15)	dotzkles (s 32v 11)
	obsolsæ (F 302 17)	obotzkles (s 14v 4)
	obsolsa (F 342 19)	obotzkles (s 32v 15)
	obsolsa (F 343 1)	obotzkles (s 32v 17)
	obotzkles (F 388 10)	obotzkles (s 50v 18)
<i>отчесть</i>	otzol (F 322 9)	ottßul: ottoßkle (s 23v 22)
<i>отчестья</i>	dotsolsa (F 343 1)	ottotzkles (s 32v 17)
<i>очестья</i>	otsolsæ (F 302 18)	ockleß (s 14v 4)
	otzolsa (F 342 19)	otzkles (s 32v 15)
	otzolsa (F 343 1)	otzkles (s 32v 17)
	otzkles (F 357 22)	-
	otzkles (F 388 10)	ottkles (s 50v 18)
<i>причесть</i>	pritzol (F 342 15)	prÿtzkle (s 32v 13)
	pritzol (F 342 19)	prÿtzkle (s 32v 15)
	pritzol: pritzkle (F 344 1)	pritzßoll: pritzßle (s 38r 4)
	pritzol [...] pritzkle (F 344 5-6)	prisszoll [...] pritzkle (s 38r 8-9)
<i>причестья</i>	pritzlos (F 342 11)	prÿtzkles (s 32v 7)
	pritztklos (F 342 13) (n.)	prÿtzbles (s 32v 9) (n.)
<i>росчестья</i>	roszotzkles (F 343 19)	roßzozklos (s 33r 13) (m.)
<i>счесть</i>	stzol: tzitall <sup>107</sup> (F 301 19)	ßockle (s 14r 21)
<i>счестья</i>	sotzkles (F 343 8)	ßotzkles (s 32v 23)
<i>учесть</i>	vtzkle (F 357 22)	-
	vtzol: vtzkle: vtægal (F 387 3)	vtzkle: vtzball (s 50v 3)

Table 14: Pskov reflexes *-кл-* and *-зл-* (or the lack thereof)

The general tendency is clear: compared to Schroue's phrasebook, Fonne's phrasebook contains fewer instances of this dialectal feature and more of the more general Russian reflex *\*l*. The 33 occurrences in s contrast sharply with F's meagre 12. The Pskov reflex was mostly simply replaced in F (as was the accom-

<sup>107</sup> With *tzitall* < *stzitall* (possibly), belonging to *считать*.

panying NOM.SG.M. ending *-e*; see §6.4). In a number of cases, the relevant word form was replaced with a different word, a synonym was added, or the dialectal form with *-кл-* and the regular Russian form swapped positions to indicate a preference for the latter.

Yet *s* shows variation too. A number of times two synonyms only differ in the reflex of *\*tl* and *\*dl* (such as *pritzßoll: pritzßle* ‘причёл: причкле’ in *s* 38r 4).<sup>108</sup> The disappearance of the Pskov reflexes from the text of *F* gives the impression that the scribe removed these very local forms to a certain extent. In the case of their retention (e.g. as *otzkles* ‘очклись’), the large degree of dissimilarity with the regular Old Russian form (*очёлся*) may have favoured the preservation of both variants, which could be explained pragmatically: the user of a phrasebook that only recorded a non-local form such as *очёлся* would be confused if they encountered the very different variant *очклись* in their daily business.

### 5.6.3 /uC-/

Gluskina and Bol’šakova (1988) wonder whether *F* reveals any information about a dialectal feature specific for the Pskov land: the pronunciation of the initial phoneme in /uC-/ as [v] or [f] rather than as [u], e.g. in modern dialect forms such as *вбытък* ‘убыток’ and *вмею* ‘умею’. They assume that this feature is in fact represented in *F*. Their main argument for this is that for /u-/ *F* uses *v* in over 90% of the cases, which – despite the graphic instability of *v* and *u* in the German writing tradition of the time – *must* mean something.

However, the scribe’s approach to the data considerably troubles this image. The large-scale replacement of the original source’s *w* by *v* (see §5.1) means that *v* can now reflect both /v/ and /u/. Yet, at the same time, *F* consistently distinguishes between /vC-/ and /uC-/ in word-initial position: *ff-* is used for /v/ in /vC-/, whereas in /uC-/ /u/ is represented by *v-*. This initial *v-*, by the way, is not once emended from earlier *w-*.

We have seen that in his approach, the scribe was guided by considerations of etymology and word images. Could the consistency of *F* be the result of his own input? As far as /uC-/ is concerned, this seems not to be the case: comparison shows that, barring a few exceptions, *s* also consistently uses *v-* to represent /u/ in /uC-/. The representation of /vC-/ in *s*, on the other hand, is more diverse. We find spellings as diverse as *off-* (e.g. *off duaret* ‘вдварядь’, *s* 24v 8), *ff-* (*ffladdýka* ‘владыка’, *s* 71r 3), *u-* (*ureth* ‘вряд’, *s* 51v 10) and *v-* (*výaff* ‘въявь’, *s* 59r 19). The answer to the question of the historical reflection of the dialectal feature that Gluskina and Bol’šakova’s investigate is more likely to be found in *s*

<sup>108</sup> On doublets, see §2.2.



than in F, and will have to take into account the representation of /vC-/. As an investigation of the state of affairs in s falls outside the scope of this study, this issue is not further explored here.

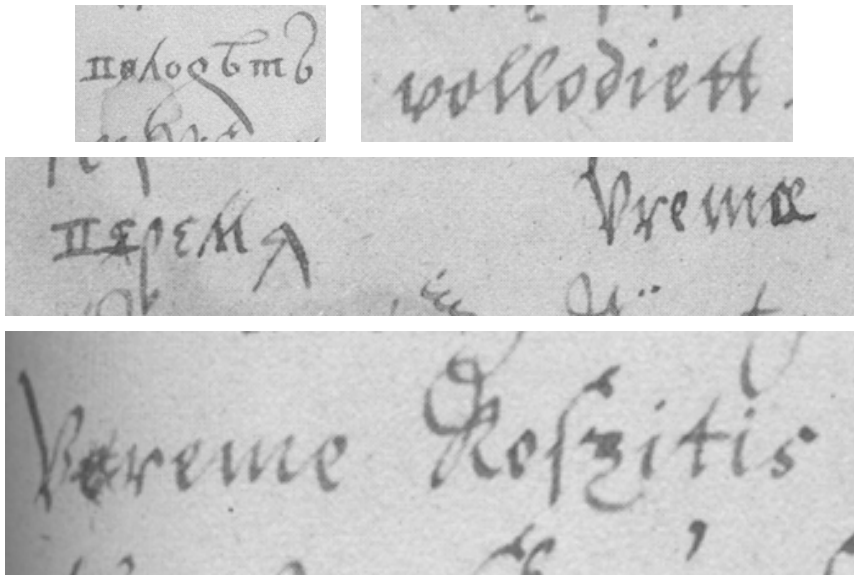
#### 5.6.4 Pleophony

In East Slavic, Proto-Slavic *\*TorT* developed into *ToroT*, a phenomenon called pleophony (or *polnoglasie*, in Russian). The relation between pleophonic and non-pleophonic forms has been discussed both for phrasebooks in general (Mžel'skaja 2003: 105-132) and Fonne's phrasebook in particular (Mürkhein 1979). Fonne's phrasebook largely reflects this historical sound law in the expected fashion, with a number of roots showing the South Slavic reflex *TraT*, which can be considered loans from Church Slavonic (cf. Mürkhein 1979).

So far it has not been noticed that the scribe of the phrasebook was aware of the difference between pleophonic and non-pleophonic forms. Case in point are three forms, from the introductory text, LEX and PHRAS. TF II lists them as follows:

vollodiett 'володѣть'	(F 22 12) <sup>109</sup>
vremæ 'время'	(F 158 17)
Vereme rozzitis ... 'Веремя розытись'	(F 277 10)

The facsimile edition, however, shows a clear strike-through emendation in all three cases:



<sup>109</sup> This form is used in INTRO; the Cyrillic version that is present on the same page in F, is replaced in TF II by the Cyrillic transliteration of the Latin-script text.

The electronic text edition corrects *TF II* as follows:

<i>вѡлодѣть</i> - <i>vollodiēt</i>	(F 22 6, 12)
~ <i>wolodŷeŷth</i> (s 65r 3)	
<i>вѡремя</i> - <i>vremæ</i>	(F 158 17)
<i>Vereme rozšitis</i> [...] ‘Время розыгись’	(F 277 10)
~ <i>Verme rošoytŷs</i> (s 5r 7)	

The emendations confirm a general observation by Mžel’skaja, considering the advance of Church Slavonic non-pleophonic *время* at the cost of the original East Slavic pleophonic *веремѣ* (2003: 125f.). The scribe of *F* obviously preferred *время* over *веремѣ*. In a similar vein, he seems to have preferred the non-pleophonic form of *володѣть*, at least in the Cyrillic version of the text in *INTRO*, as the emendation shows. The result, however, is a half-correction: the hybrid *влодѣть* rather than expected Church Slavonic *владѣть*. In the Latin version of the introductory text, the word form *володѣть* of the source (as reflected in *s*) is retained, probably out of oversight.

When talking about pleophony, another issue can be addressed as well. In the birchbark corpus, a small number of forms reflect *TroT* where regular East Slavic pleophonic *ToroT* would have been expected. Zaliznjak offers two explanations for this phenomenon (2004: 40f.). The first explanation is the regular development of *\*TorT* into *ToroT* with a secondary drop of the first vowel. The second is that of a direct development *\*TorT* > *TroT* for at least some areas where the Old Novgorod dialect was spoken. Analogically, *\*TolT* and *\*TerT* would have yielded *TloT* and *TreT*.

The same kind of forms have been noted by Fałowski for the Anonymous phrasebook. He favours the explanation where the first vowel was secondarily dropped, in describing it as “the drop of the first (never of the second) letter denoting an unstressed pleophonic vowel” (1996: 27). Examples from *A* are *Ischronen* ‘исх<о>ронен’ (*A* 15r 7), *drewenna* ‘д<е>ревенна’ (*A* 28v 12) and *stregy* ‘ст<е>реги’ (*A* 82v 11).

Fonne’s phrasebook also contains a number of cases where the first pleophonic vowel is absent, often alternating with forms showing regular pleophony. The following table lists these cases, with the corresponding forms in *s* where applicable.

<i>F</i>	<i>S</i>
<i>poprok</i> ‘поп<е>рёк’ (F 456 17)	<i>poperok</i> (S 15v 21)
<i>stregit</i> ‘ст<е>регить’ (F 168 6)	-
<i>stregutt</i> ‘ст<е>регут’ (F 211 1)	<i>stregu</i> (S 107r 14)
<i>dreffno</i> ‘д<е>ревня’ (F 94 16)	<i>derevne</i> (S 81r 15; same section)
<i>vrochnutze</i> ‘в<о>рохнуться’ (F 169 5)	-

F	S
<i>vrochnutze</i> ‘в<о>рохнуться’ (F 226 7)	-
<i>skronilsa</i> ‘сх<о>ронился’ (F 244 5) <sup>110</sup>	-

Table 15: Absence of the first pleophonic vowel in F

It would be premature to accept these forms as proof of a direct or secondary reflex *TroT*, for three main reasons. First of all, because other cases show that not only the *first*, but also the *second* pleophonic vowel is susceptible to being dropped:

<i>terbi</i> ‘тер<е>би’	(F 78 9)
<i>Torpliff</i> ‘Тор<о>плив’	(F 318 6)
~ ( <i>Straßlüue</i> ) (s 21v 9) ~ <i>Toropliw</i> (A 79v 18)	
<i>Törpliff</i> ‘Тор<о>плив’	(F 427 5)

Secondly, vowels in similar, but etymologically non-pleophonic environments are also sometimes absent (both the first and the second vowel). Examples are *posallvatt* ‘пожал<о>вать’ (F 199 14) and *kronovanie* ‘к<о>ронованьѣ; coronation’ (F 266 16),<sup>111</sup> and especially *grasna* (5x: F 192 11, F 205 10, F 222 7, F 245 14, F 492 12) and *grasno* (F 202 9) ‘г<о>разно’.<sup>112</sup>

But most importantly, the scribe was probably aware of the linguistic or perceived instability of pleophonic – or similar – vowels. This awareness can be inferred several times. First of all, in a small number of cases, the phrasebooks of Schroue and Fonne deviate from each other as to the presence of a pleophonic vowel:

<i>Doboszdorouie</i> ‘Доб<р>о здорвьѣ’	(F 190 17)
~ <i>Dabes drowe</i> (s 99r 14)	
<i>derevo</i> ‘дерево’	(F 204 19)
~ <i>derwo</i> (s 103r 4)	
<i>storonyj</i> ‘стороны’	(F 297 17)
~ <i>sthony</i> (s 12v 8)	
<i>storoni</i> ‘стороны’	(F 298 2)
~ <i>sthromj</i> (s 12v 13)	

A second illustration is the word г<о>разно. It does not only occur in F as *grasna* and *grasno* (as seen above), but also as *gorasno* (F 205 16, F 412 10, F 464 5), *garasno* (F 298 15, F 356 23, F 457 7) and in Cyrillic as *гараѣна* (F 492 1). This

<sup>110</sup> Cf. Zaliznjak 1998: 270 on the dialectal verb *крониться* ‘прятаться, хорониться’ (Arkhangelsk; SRNG).

<sup>111</sup> This may be influenced by German *Krone* ‘crown’.

<sup>112</sup> None of these cases correspond to s or A.

variation is absent from *s*, which consistently spells the word without the first vowel. In the 5 cases where *s* and *F* correspond, the first vowel may have been inserted by the scribe of *F*.

In yet another case, two similar words – *сорок* ‘40; timber’ and *срок* ‘term’ – were mixed up:

- (35F) Koli tvoi **sorok** budet [...] (F 238 5-6)  
 Wenner dÿne tÿtt komptt [...]  
 Коли твой **с<ро>к** будет [...]  
 ‘When your time comes’
- (35A) Koli twoi **srock** budet [...] (A 92V 17)
- (36F) [...] da dolozu **srok**. (F 409 5, 11)  
 [...] vnd make datt timmer vull.  
 да доложу **с<о>рок**  
 ‘and make the timber complete’
- (36A) [...] da dolossu **sorock** polno (S 61V 25)

Given the instability of both the first and second pleophonic vowel in *F*, the drop of vowels in similar but non-pleophononic clusters, and the scribe’s relative awareness of the matter, it does not seem safe to conclude that forms like *stregutt* (F 211 1) and *vrochnutze* (F 169 5, F 226 7) point to a direct or secondary reflex *TroT* of Proto-Slavic *\*TorT*.

### 5.6.5 /j/

Zaliznjak describes a relatively rare phenomenon on birchbark: the letter *z* representing the sound [j] (2004: 604). His two examples are *ногиха(ти)* ‘поехать’ (BVL 266; 1360-1380) and *мравгици* (possibly, for *муравьичь*) (BVL 273; 1360-1380) (Zaliznjak 2004: 604). Comparable is the confusion of [γ] and [j] found in BVL 715 (1220-1240), which has *анеело* (to be read as *аньѣль*, for expected *ангелъ*) and *ароханело* (*аръхан(ъ)ѣль*, for expected *архангелъ*) as well as the change of the proper name *Гюрьги* into *Юрьи* in the 14<sup>th</sup> century (Zaliznjak 2004: 92, 104).

A similar phenomenon can be found in *s*: throughout the manuscript, *j* may represent /g/ or /x/ and, conversely, *g* can stand for /j/, as the following examples show:

- /x/

*хочу*: *Jotsu* (s 11V 28), *Jotzu* (s 19V 14, s 57r 23, s 101V 5, s 107V 3), *Jotts* (s 44r 9, s 63V 23), *jotzu* (s 102r 12)

- /g/

*голодне*: *Jolodne* (s 100V 25)

зуба: *Juba* ‘губа’ (s 84v 10)

■ /j/

ялосъ: *gallos* (s 55v 13)

ясны: *gaßnÿ* (s 59v 5)

еще: *gesse* (s 105v 17)

oblique cases of PRON.PERS. он: *gogo* (s 57v 1), *geÿ* (s 88v 22), *-geÿ* (s 88v 36), *-gotu* (s 53v 9), *gaggo* (s 11v 23), *goga* (s 30v 20), *-gogo* (s 44v 17), *gogo* (s 52v 7), *-gÿt* (s 4r 6, s 4r 10, s 25v 13, s 25v 17, s 45r 9, s 48v 14, s 49v 6, s 51r 12, s 53v 10, s 53v 18, s 88v 27, s 105r 4, s 110r 14), *ginÿ* (s 17r 10), *gÿm* (s 35v 18, s 25v 21), *-gÿ* (s 9r 25), *gÿoch* (s 24r 1), *gÿch* (s 33r 6, s 41r 17, s 61v 23), *-gÿm* (s 22v 21), *gÿm* (s 33r 16), *gÿch* (s 33r 6, s 46v 16, s 59v 14), *-gÿmÿ* (s 49v 1)

This phenomenon is largely absent from F. In a small number of cases, it can be found in F. These cases (18× *g*, 1× *ch*) are listed in the table below; corresponding forms in s, although few in number, are listed as well.

	F	s
<i>аир</i>	<i>ахіръ/achir</i> (F 122 12)	<i>Achÿr</i> (s 96v 16)
<i>с д&lt;в&gt;оими</i>	<i>sdoigimi</i> (F 212 11)	
<i>жал&lt;о&gt;ванъ</i>	<i>saluange</i> (F 190 7)	
	<i>saluange</i> (F 195 21)	
	<i>saluange</i> (F 229 9)	<i>saluange</i> (s 57r 10)
	<i>saluange</i> (F 258 10)	
<i>-имать</i>	<i>obgimat</i> ‘объимать’ (F 171 2)	
	<i>otgimai</i> ‘отъимай’ (F 196 3)	
	<i>peregimai</i> ‘переимай’ (F 201 17)	<i>peregimaÿ</i> (s 101r 6)
	<i>vgimaiu</i> ‘уимаю’ (F 237 3)	
	<i>gimaitze</i> ‘имается’ (F 246 5)	
	<i>vgimaiu</i> ‘уимаю’ (F 400 12)	<i>vgÿmaÿv</i> (s 57r 3)
<i>их</i>	<i>gich</i> (F 213 5)	
	<del>h</del> <i>gich</i> ‘их’ (F 214 15)	
	<i>gich</i> (F 226 13)	<i>gÿch</i> (s 21r 17)
<i>моими</i>	<i>moÿgimi</i> (F 212 5)	
<i>приятельного</i>	<i>prigotelного</i> (F 264 15)	
<i>русских</i>	<i>рꙋски<sup>n</sup>/ruschigi</i> (F 22 9)	
	<i>рꙋски<sup>n</sup>/ruschigi</i> (F 22 12)	

Table 16: /j/ as *g*, *ch* in F

The reverse phenomenon is attested as well: *ωστρο*<sup>113</sup> - *ostroi* ‘остроги, spurs’ (F 80 21; cf. *Ostheochga* ‘spur’ and *Ostheochgŷ* ‘spurs’, s 87r 16-17).<sup>113</sup>

In light of the scribe’s attention for the letter *g* in his sources, which he often replaced with *ch* (see §5.5.5), it seems safe to assume that he can also be credited with the replacement of *g* with *i* (and *i* with *g*). It is interesting to note that the phenomenon seems to occur mainly before /i/ (like in the birchbark attestations). The exceptions are *saluange* (probably lexicalised, along the same lines as we saw in §5.5) and *prigotelnogo*.

### 5.6.6 /e/ > /’o/

One of the changes particular to East Slavic is the development of /e/ (reflecting Proto-Slavic \*/e/ as well as vocalised \*/ь/) into /’o/ (i.e., an /o/ with a preceding soft consonant). The oldest attestations on birchbark go back to the mid-12<sup>th</sup> century. The conditions of the development varied from place to place; in Novgorod, the development occurred independent of stress (Zaliznjak 2004: 69f.)

Up until the introduction of the letter *ě* in the late 18<sup>th</sup> century, it was hard to comfortably express the word-internal result of this sound change, /’o/, in Cyrillic. One basically had to choose between indicating the /o/ (e.g., *ω ного* ‘от нѣго’ in BBL 370, 1360-1380) or indicating the softness of the preceding consonant (e.g., *у нѣго* ‘у нѣго’ in BBL 271, from the same period). The scribe of F was faced with this dilemma as well. In the Cyrillic script, we find both notations, both outside and under the stress. Given the close relation between the Cyrillic and the Latin script in LEX (see §5.2), the Latin entries follow suit:

<i>ледъ</i> – <i>led</i> ‘лѣд, ice’	(F 33 7)
<i>тѣка</i> – <i>tetka</i> ‘тетка, aunt’	(F 41 1)
<i>берѡза</i> – <i>berosa</i> ‘берѣза, birch’	(F 62 15)
<i>орѡ</i> <sup>n</sup> – <i>oroll</i> ‘орѣл, eagle’	(F 67 12)
<i>лѡ</i> <sup>n</sup> – <i>lon</i> ‘лѣн, flax’	(F 117 7)

Claire Le Feuvre (1993) investigated the /e/ > /’o/ change for both the birchbark documents as well as for Fonne’s phrasebook, for which she notes:

“The *e* > *o* change is widely attested in Fenne’s *Manual*[.] [...] It should be noted that [’o] is far more frequent in the second part [PHRAS, PROVERB], than in the first part [LEX] [...] Other facts confirm the difference between the two parts, the first of which is closer to the Muscovite literary norm, whereas the second one reflects more faithfully the local dialect[.]” (Le Feuvre 1993: 230)

<sup>113</sup> The interpretation ‘острие’ (TF III) must be rejected (cf. SRJA XI-XVII, s.v. *ωστροга*). Note also *Юрѡгу* – *Iurgi* (F 48 13), rendered in German as *Jurgen*.

In LEX and GRAM, this phonetic change can be observed in relative isolation, without endings and the effects of analogical levelling of forms with /e/ or /'o/ within a single paradigm cluttering the view. Comparison of the data of these sections show that *e* in F quite often corresponds to *o* in s, as the following table shows.

F	s
ведро – vedro (F 31 19)	Woddro (s 68v 5)
тепло погодия – teplo pogodia (F 31 22)	Toplo pogodÿa (s 68v 23)
вето <sup>x</sup> мѣсяць – vetoch mesetz (F 32 11)	Woetoch (s 68v 9)
стѣдено – studeno (F 32 21)	Studonna (s 68v 16)
тепло – teplo (F 32 22)	Topplo (s 68v 17)
ледъ – led (F 33 7)	Loeth (s 68v 22)
сегодни – segodni (F 33 14)	Sogodna (s 69r 6)
вчерась – fftzerras (F 33 17)	Offzoras (s 69r 9)
среда – sereda (F 35 21)	Seroda (s 70r 8)
ве <sup>с</sup> на – vesna (F 36 6)	Wossna (s 70r 20)
се <sup>с</sup> тра – sestra (F 40 10)	Sostra (s 72r 20)
те <sup>с</sup> ка – tetka (F 41 1)	Tothka (s 72v 5)
берегъ – bereg (F 61 5)	Berock (s 81r 9)
кле <sup>н</sup> – klen (F 62 10)	Klon (s 77r 29)
вере <sup>с</sup> – veres (F 62 13)	Weros (s 77r 22)
пелы – peli (F 64 11)	Pollÿ (s 77v 16)
мои ко <sup>н</sup> выпросе <sup>н</sup> – moi kon vÿprosen (F 80 2)	Kon wÿpersom (s 87v 9)
сметана – smetana (F 81 22)	Smotana (s 79v 14)
вареное – varenoe (F 83 7)	Warona meša (s 79v 16)
печено – petzeno (F 83 8)	Pettβona (s 79v 17)
верчено – vertzeno (F 83 9)	Wertzona (s 79v 18)
стеколцѣта – stekoltzeta (F 96 5)	Stockoltza (s 81v 3)
сте <sup>с</sup> ла – stekla (F 96 6)	Stocklo (s 81v 4)

Table 17: /e/ > /'o/ – F has e, s has o

If the situation in s is representative of that in the source of F, the scribe of F must have removed the effects of /e/ > /'o/ from the text he copied. This would be in line with the innovative nature of F. The elimination may have been prompted by the use of the Cyrillic alphabet and the scribe's relative familiarity with Russian orthography and writing tradition. As a result, the entries in F are more in line with their etymological and traditional notation. The result is also that F is more conservative and less informative on a linguistic development than s. Emendations in F prove the hand of its scribe in this issue. They also

show that the replacement of *o* with *e* failed to satisfy him completely: he actually hesitated between etymological or traditional /e/ (graphically: *e*) and the new pronunciation [’o] (*o*), as the following emendations show.

<i>вѣна</i> – <i>vesna</i> (Latin <i>e</i> < <i>o</i> )	(F 36 6)
~ <i>Wossna</i> (s 70r 20)	
<i>стеколицъта</i> – <i>stekoltzeta</i> (Cyrillic <i>e</i> < <i>o</i> )	(F 96 5)
~ <i>Stockoltza</i> (s 81v 3)	
<i>мѣдная котельна</i> – <i>miednaia kotelna</i> (Cyrillic <i>e</i> < <i>o</i> )	(F 113 8)
~ <i>Kottelna met</i> (s 89v 27)	
<i>крѣжек воскъ</i> – <i>krusžok voszku</i> (Latin <i>o</i> < <i>e</i> or <i>e</i> < <i>o</i> )	(F 116 12)
<i>ло<sup>и</sup></i> – <i>lon</i> (Cyrillic <i>o</i> < <i>e</i> , or the other way around)	(F 117 7)
<i>цѣрко<sup>и</sup>неи ло<sup>и</sup></i> – <i>tzerkoffnei lon</i> (Cyrillic <i>o</i> < <i>e</i> or <i>e</i> < <i>o</i> )	(F 117 8)
<i>сиресе лен</i> – <i>sirese lon</i> ‘сырец лён’ (Cyrillic <i>e</i> < <i>o</i> )	(F 117 10)
<i>зелоное</i> – <i>selonoie</i> (Cyrillic <i>o</i> < <i>e</i> , or the other way around)	(F 127 11)
<i>те<sup>и</sup>но зеленое</i> – <i>temno selonoie</i> (Cyrillic <i>o</i> < <i>e</i> or <i>e</i> < <i>o</i> )	(F 127 12)

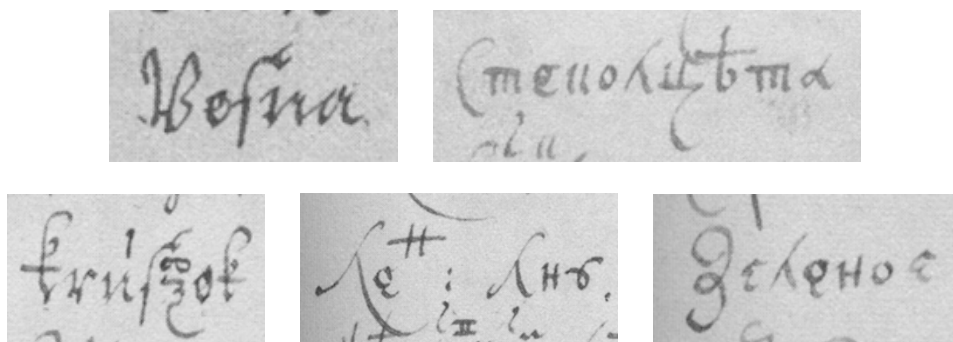


Figure 62: *vesna* (F 36 6), *стеколицъта* (F 96 5), *krusžok* (F 116 12), *ло<sup>и</sup>* (F 117 7), *зелоное* (F 127 12)

In other cases, the scribe chose to retain the *o* from his sources, as the full correspondence in this regard of F and s shows. This approach was especially popular after sibilants (as it was in the Cyrillic tradition) and sparingly after etymological /r/ (which may have hardened, cf. Gorškova 1968: 169, Zaliznjak 2004: 79f.). Examples of this approach are listed in Table 18 below.

F	s
<i>жона</i> – <i>sžona</i> ‘жѣна’ (F 40 19)	<i>Sonna</i> (s 72r 28)
<i>мачоха</i> – <i>matzocha</i> ‘мачѣха’ (F 40 22)	<i>Matzoch</i> (s 72r 32)
<i>Семонъ</i> – <i>Seмон</i> ‘Семѣн’ (F 48 10)	<i>Senon</i> (s 85v 30)
<i>троска рыба</i> – <i>troszka riba</i> ‘трѣска-рыба’ (F 72 5)	<i>Torßkrýka</i> (s 76v 11)



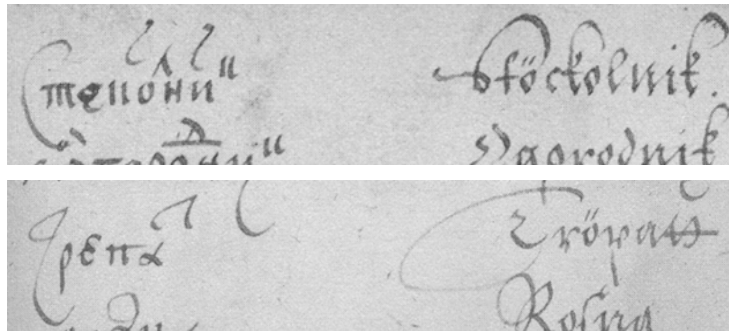
F	S
соло – solo ‘сёло’ (F 94 18)	Szola (s 81r 14)
котолъ – kottoll ‘котёл’ (F 97 5)	Kottle (s 82r 7) <sup>114</sup>

Table 18: /e/ &gt; /'o/ – F and S both have o

The hesitation in the rendering of [e] and [’o] led to a third solution: the Latin letter *ö*, already noted by Le Feuvre (see below). It is a rare letter, occurring only 63 times throughout the Russian data of the phrasebook. In LEX and GRAM it occurs 10 times:

мерзло – mörslö ‘мёрзло’	(F 33 5)
~ <i>Morßla</i> (s 68v 20)	
смертъ – smörtt ‘смёрд’	(F 39 11)
~ <i>Smorth</i> (s 73r 10)	
стеко <sup>н</sup> ни <sup>к</sup> – stöckolnik ‘стёкольник’ (Cyrillic <i>e</i> < <i>o</i> )	(F 53 1)
вешъ – vösch ‘вѣс, scales’ <sup>115</sup>	(F 58 2)
ле <sup>н</sup> – löd ‘лёд’	(F 61 11)
трепа <sup>т</sup> – tröpath ‘трёпать’ (Cyrillic <i>e</i> < <i>o</i> )	(F 105 7)
~ <i>Thropath</i> (s 83v 26)	
лекко – lökko ‘лёгко’	(F 134 3)
лекци – löktzi ‘лёгче’	(F 134 4)
несить – nöscit ‘нести/носить(?)’	(F 167 2)
потепить – potöpit ‘потепет(?)’ ( <i>ö</i> < <i>e</i> , possibly)	(F 175 15)

As can be seen, Latin *ö* is always paired with Cyrillic *e*. Correspondences in *s* have *o*, and a number of emendations in F speak of the scribe’s hesitation: *стеко<sup>н</sup>ни<sup>к</sup>* and *трепа<sup>т</sup>* were emended from earlier *стоко<sup>н</sup>ни<sup>к</sup>* and *тропить*, and *potöpit* was probably emended from earlier *potepit*.



<sup>114</sup> In this case, the *o* was probably not present in the source, but inserted by the scribe, who replaced dialectal *котле* by more standard *котёл* (see §6.4).

<sup>115</sup> *Вѣс* rather than *тѣ и* and *III*'s *вѣщъ*.

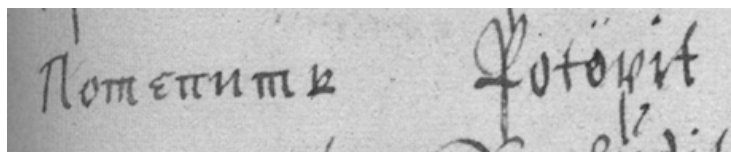


Figure 63: *стеко<sup>n</sup>ни<sup>k</sup>* (F 53 1), *тrena<sup>m</sup>* (F 105 7), *potöpit* (F 175 15)

The conclusion must be that the difference between F and s is caused by the scribe's awareness of the development of /e/ > /o/, and his efforts to address the problem of its notation in several ways. In LEX and GRAM, the entries occur in relative isolation; the presence of Cyrillic, too, probably led the scribe to careful consideration of the entries before writing them down, although he kept hesitating between the various options.

In PHRAS, the image we find is somewhat of a mixed bag. Again, we see that the use of *e* and *o* in F and s does not match in this regard, suggesting that the innovation of the scribe of F did not remain limited to LEX and GRAM. To cite but two examples: *vernu* 'верну' (F 286 3) ~ *vornuth* 'вёрнуть' (s 7v 13), and *dovedem* 'ведем' (F 336 1) ~ *weddom* 'ведём' (s 29r 23). But the reverse also occurs. Compare, for instance, *svorstaie<sup>m</sup>* 'свёрстаем' (F 284 7) ~ *ßmersthaem* 'сверстаем' (s 6v 19). In s, the adverb *еще/ещё* occurs exclusively with final /-e/, not final /-o/. The scribe of F generally shared this preference for /-e/ (32 cases). Yet in 9 cases, F has /-o/ – 4 of these cases correspond to /-e/ in s.<sup>116</sup>

But with this phenomenon as with others, word image seems to have played a role to a certain extent. Consider the words *дешевый* ~ *дешёвый*, *вчера* ~ *вчёрась* and *перед* ~ *перёд*, in the tables below:

F	s
deszovo (F 285 1)	desszowo (s 7r 22)
deszovoi (F 285 7)	desszouwe (s 7v 2)
deszovo (F 288 2)	desszewo (s 8v 2)
deszevo (F 316 2)	deßoua (s 20v 4)
deszovo (F 326 18)	desszowa (s 25r 15)
deszovo (F 348 21)	desszeuo (s 34v 23)
deszovo (F 349 5)	deßowe (s 35r 12)
deszovo (F 362 18)	desszouwo (s 41v 13)
desovo (F 374 3)	deßouo (s 46v 5)
deszovo (F 393 7)	desszouo (s 53v 1)
deszevo (F 401 20)	desszeu (s 58r 8) / dessa <sup>u</sup> wo (s 58r 11)
deszevo (F 408 5)	dessowo (s 61r 18)

<sup>116</sup> In 30 strict correspondences, /-e/ in s corresponds to /-e/ in F 26 times, and with /-o/ 4 times.

F	S
deszovo (F 411 11)	deßeuwo (s 62r 24)
deszevo (F 424 5)	

Table 19: дешевый/дешёвый in F

F	S
ffzeras (F 241 15)	
fftzeras (F 244 17)	
ffzeras (F 289 6)	offzora (s 9v 3)
ffzeras (F 295 6)	offzeros (s 11v 17)
ffzeras (F 312 2)	offoras (s 19r 27)
ffzeras (F 312 10)	offzoros (s 19v 6)
ffzeras (F 320 1)	offzoras (s 22r 18)
ffzeras (F 321 12)	offzoros (s 23v 8)
ffzeras (F 321 13)	offzoras (s 23v 9)
ffzeras (F 332 9)	offzoras (s 28r 22)
ffzeras (F 350 7)	offzeros (s 35v 10)
ffzeras (F 368 2)	offzoras (s 44r 13)
ffzeras (F 401 9)	offzoras (s 57v 15)
ffzeras (F 412 1)	offzeras (s 62v 12)
ffzeras (F 418 6) / ffzeras (F 460 6)	offzaros (s 53v 13)
вчера <sup>c</sup> (F 444 1)	
вчера <sup>c</sup> (F 488 5)	
вчера <sup>c</sup> (F 488 12)	
ffzeras (F 464 1)	
ffzeras (F 493 15)	

Table 20: вчерась/вчёрась in F

F	Emendations in F	S
peretoboi (F 208 7)		- (s 107r 9)
perett sudiu (F 210 9)		perodsudÿa (s 106 v 7)
pered drugom (F 218 4)		
pered nim (F 218 16)		
pered neÿu (F 218 17)		
pered nimi (F 218 18)		
<b>perod</b> bogum (F 235 8)		
pered bogum (F 236 8)		
<b>Perot</b> kim (F 290 4)		peretkÿm (s 9v 20)
<b>Perod</b> ludimi (F 290 12)		perot Ludÿm (s 10r 7)
peredt sudiu (F 294 14)		perodth ſudÿa (s 11r 26)
peret otzima (F 298 14)		peroth otzÿma (s 12v 25)
<b>perod</b> polatoi (F 311 2)		perodt polathÿ (s 19r 2)

F	Emendations in F	s
pered sudiu (F 330 1)		peroth ſudÿu (s 26v 1)
pered toboi (F 330 5)		peroth tebbÿ (s 26r 5)
peret bohum (F 331 1)		<b>pereth</b> bohum (s 26v 23)
peretoboi (F 356 17)		potelle ‘по тебѣ’ (s 38v 4-9)
peretoboi (F 356 18)		- (s 38v 4-9)
peret sudeie (F 371 19)	e < o	perodt ſudÿe (s 45v 23)
<b>perod</b> kim (F 374 5)		<b>pereth</b> kÿm (s 46v 6-7)
<b>perod</b> sudiu (F 375 7)	o < e	peroth sudÿ (s 47v 6)
peretoboi (F 377 16)		po tebbe ‘по тебѣ’ (s 47r 15-21)
<b>perod</b> sudiu (F 387 2)		poroth sudÿu (s 50v 2)
<b>perod</b> sudiu (F 387 3)		peroth sudnÿ (s 50v 3)
<b>perod</b> sudiu (F 387 11)		peroth sudÿu (s 50v 9)
peretoboi: potebæ (F 400 2)		potebbe (s 56v 2)
<b>perod</b> sudiu (F 401 1)		peroth ſuÿÿdu (s 57v 1)
<b>perod</b> sudiei (F 403 3)		perot gudÿe (s 11r 9-10) /
		pereth sudÿ (s 58v 7)
peret otzima (F 404 15)		<b>peretotſÿma</b> (s 59v 3)
peret ludimi (F 412 6)		<b>pereth</b> Ludmÿ (s 63r 17)
peretotzima (F 413 5)		perot ottſÿma (s 63v 19)
peret ludmÿ (F 435 12)		

Table 21: *neped/nepëd* in F

In *дешевый ~ дешёвый*, F mostly has /o/ and a few instances of /e/, without much of a system. In *вчерась ~ вчёрась*, by contrast, the manuscript reveals an obvious effort to remove the /o/. The same effort was made for *neped ~ nepëd*: despite cases of *nepëd*, F mostly has *neped*. The main exception here is *nepëd судью* ‘before the judge’: the scribe’s initial choice is *neped судью* and *neped судьею* (he even emends *perot* > *peret* in F 371 19), but then changes his mind and consistently uses *nepëd судью* despite general *neped*.

The use of the letter ö, which we have seen for LEX and GRAM, also occurs in PHRAS (53 occurrences); about the use of this letter in F, Le Feuvre remarks:

“Fenne uses both <o> and <ö> for [ʰo], and sometimes <ö> for [o]: there is no apparent distribution rule.” (Le Feuvre 1993: 230n.)

There is no basis for Le Feuvre’s claim that ö is used for /o/: in the majority of cases (38 instances), ö must be read /ʰo/ < /e/, indicating the softness of the preceding consonant wherever applicable. These cases are listed in the table below; relevant emendations showing the scribe’s input are included as well.

F	Emendations in F	s
löchall 'лѣгал' <sup>117</sup> (F 193 15)	ö < e	
nitzögo (F 193 17)	ö < e or i	
tzöllloveck (F 202 1)		Salueck (s 101r 11)
tzölllovekum (F 207 11)		soluckum (s 104r 12)
ptzöllli (F 207 17)		
vödro (F 232 19)		
obumörl (F 241 12)		
tzöllloviek (F 245 14)		
priwöl (F 250 17)		
Smördum (F 253 10)	ö < e	
vödra (F 259 5)		
privössll (F 275 13)		prÿuelle (s 3v 14)
perevöll (F 278 19)	ö < e	pereuochle (s 5r 17)
tuörda (F 282 10)		thworda (s 6v 5)
ffprök (F 300 3)		offpnock (s 13v 5)
ffvödu (F 329 18)		offfodu (s 26r 24)
dovöl (F 371 19)		dowaell (s 45v 23)
		dauechle (s 106v 13)
perevörnul (F 371 19)	ö < e	-
privöl (F 384 11)		prÿwoll (s 49v 1)
smödum (F 391 6)		Ißwÿnom 'с вином' (s 51v 19)
vöszut (F 415 18)		wessu (s 64v 17)
tuördol (F 425 14)	ö < e, possibly	twordoll (s 64v 5)
tzöd 'шѣд' (F 426 12)		
Törpliff		
'тор<о>плив' (F 427 5)		
berög (F 427 21)		
sögo (F 428 17)		
striszöna (F 451 12)		
striszöni (F 451 14)		
kraszöny (F 456 10)	ö < ?, possibly	kraßona (s 15v 12)
odöszu (F 469 4)		
vödro (F 474 9)		
odösot 'одѣжѣт' (F 477 16) <sup>118</sup>		
töpit (F 486 15)		
pöstra (F 486 18)		
vnövo (F 492 13)	ö < e	

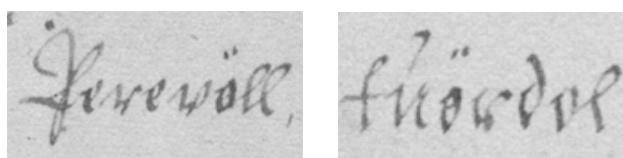
<sup>117</sup> See Zaliznjak 1998: 257 (TF II: лѣжал).

<sup>118</sup> See Zaliznjak 1998: 274 (TF II: лѣжит).

F	Emendations in F	s
pöstra (F 493 7)		
möd (F 493 15)		
vnövo (F 494 10)		

Table 22: /e/ &gt; /'o/ - F has ö

Emendations show the hesitation and input of the scribe at this point. Especially telling are the emendations *perevöll* < *perevell* (F 278 19) and *tuördol* < *tuerdol* (F 425 14) paired with s's *pereuochle* and *twordoll* (see Figure 64). They suggest that the scribe first removed *o* (reflecting /'o/, yet without indicating the softness) from his source, but then decided to add it again, now as *ö*.

Figure 64: Emended *perevöll* (F 278 19) and *tuördol* (F 425 14)

The remaining cases of *ö* do not reflect /'o/ < /e/, but also fail to convince as a regular representation of /o/, as Le Feuvre sees it. These 15 cases are listed in the table below.

	F	Emendations in F	s
<i>вѣс</i> 'scales'	na vösch		na semolÿu
	'на вѣс' (F 281 16)		'на землю' (s 18v 25)
	svöschu 'с вѣсу' (F 281 18)	ö < e	
	na skalua: vösz		na stholua
<i>поукрѣпит</i>	'на скалва: вѣс' (F 344 19-20)		'на скалва' (s 33r 17)
	pövkrepiti (F 266 4)		
<i>творец</i>	tvörtza (F 256 4)	ö < e, possibly	
	dovedu: dovödum (F 330 10)		doueddu (s 26v 9)
<i>-лож-</i>	salöszu (F 209 5)		sa Lossÿth
	nalöszu (F 337 11)		'заложить' (s 105v 4)
			na loßÿdt
			'наложить' (s 30r 12)
<i>-воз-</i>	vöszill 'возил' (F 212 15)		
	otvödüt (F 361 13)		othwoddÿth (s 41r 6)
<i>-вод-</i>	otvödis (F 361 15)		otwoddÿs (s 41r 8)
	pronöszu 'проносу' (F 331 5)	nö < ve, possibly	preuifÿu (s 27r 7)
<i>-нос-</i>	vÿnöszt (F 345 1)		wuÿ neßÿth (s 33r 20)

	F	Emendations in F	S
	nöszit (F 475 9)		
<i>вѣс-</i> 'weigh'	provös 'провѣсь' (F 282 4)	ö < e	

Table 23: /e/ > /'o/ – remaining cases of *ö*

Most of these 15 cases are not very telling.

With the spellings *vösch* and *vösz*, the scribe probably attempted to reflect the word *вѣс* (cf. the entry *вѣшъ* - *vösch* in LEX, F 58 2), with /ě/ rather than /e/.<sup>119</sup> *Pövkrepiti* occurs in the alien, High German, body in the manuscript. *Do-vödum* was probably added by the scribe as well, and may well be incorrect. The verbs with *-лож-*, *-воз-*, *-вод-*, *-нос-* may have been confused with their closely related counterparts with *-лж-*, *-вез-*, *-вед-* and *-нес-*. *Provös* may be linked to *вѣс* or was confused by the scribe with *-вез-/воз-*. The only remaining case where *ö* might stand for /o/ is *tvörtza*, possibly influenced by *tuörda* 'твёрдо' (F 282 10) and *tuördol* 'твёрдо-ль' (F 425 14). It is reasonable to assume, therefore, that with *ö*, the scribe of F intended to represent /'o/.

The scribe was aware of the change /e/ > /'o/ and employed various strategies to faithfully record the Russian data, as discussed above. Overall, though, he seems to have been less attentive to the phenomenon in PHRAS than in LEX and GRAM. A case in point are the *n*-participles, where in all but a few cases, F follows s in the choice between *-on-* and *-en-*:

	F	S
<i>-ён-</i>	<i>vteszonna</i> (F 225 18)	[treßna 'тѣсна'] (S 35r 1-2)
	<i>poteszon</i> (F 226 1)	- (S 35v 15-16)
	<i>smiron</i> (F 252 11)	<i>smÿronn</i> (~ S 101r 4-5)
	<i>poteszon</i> (F 252 11)	- (~ S 101r 4-5)
	<i>priveszon</i> (F 276 1)	<i>prÿuesszon</i> (S 3v 23-4r 4)
	<i>vstafflona</i> (F 278 3)	<i>vsstafflonna</i> (S 4v 18-21)
	<i>vstafflonona</i> (F 283 2)	<i>vstafflonna</i> (S 6v 9-18)
	<i>obrutzon</i> (F 284 15)	<i>obruthßen</i> (S 7r 12-15)
	<i>smeszon</i> (F 320 2)	<i>Ißmeßonn</i> (S 22r 18-21)
	<i>schitron</i> (F 320 2)	<i>Ißuton</i> (S 22r 18-21)
	<i>priveszon</i> (F 323 13)	<i>prÿueßzonn</i> (S 24r 19-20)
	<i>vstafflona</i> (F 335 20)	<i>vstafflona</i> (S 29v 19-20)
	<i>pereplafflona</i> (F 341 12)	<i>pereplafflona</i> (S 32r 6-8)
	<i>primetzona</i> (F 367 14)	<i>prÿmetßona</i> (S 44r 7-8)

<sup>119</sup> TF II and TF III interpret *vösch* as *вѣшъ* (TF II) and *вѣшъ* (TF III), which is unlikely. Cf. also the doubts expressed by Mžel'skaja (2003: 183).

F	s
kuplon (F 373 5)	kuplōnn (s 109r 15-23)
solonich (F 376 18)	βolōmoch (s 46r 20-21)
sgottofflon (F 383 11)	Iβgottofflenno (s 49r 3-6)
poloszon (F 397 11)	pollosszon (s 55r 13-18)
postavilon (F 397 11)	postanoŷlon (s 55r 13-18)
vstafflona (F 416 11)	vstafflonna (s 108v 12-15)
kraszönŷ (F 456 10)	kraβona (s 15v 12-13)
-en- priveszen (F 275 16)	[prŷsszoll 'пришѣл'] (s 3v 18-22)
chitrene (F 305 9)	gŷthrene (s 16v 21-22)
vieszen (F 310 12)	weβen (s 18v 17-20)
schitren (F 339 16)	Iβchtrŷnne (s 31r 10-12)
smuitzen (F 339 16)	Iβmutzenŷ (s 31r 10-12)
privesanæ (F 416 15) <sup>120</sup>	[prŷwossu 'привѣзу'] (s 108v 16-19)

Table 24: /e/ > /'o/ – n-participles in -on- and -en-

The weakened attention for the /e/ > /'o/ change in PHRAS can be considered a natural consequence of the fact that in this section, there was no Cyrillic alphabet which prompted careful consideration of the issue. Nevertheless, the scribe of F was acutely aware of the sound change /e/ > /'o/ and the lack of possibilities in both Cyrillic and Latin to indicate both the quality of the vowel and the softness of the preceding consonant. He consciously addressed the problem of its notation in several ways, both in LEX and GRAM, and in PHRAS.

### 5.6.7 /'a/ > /'e/

A phenomenon occasionally witnessed in birchbark documents, is the *umlaut* of /'a/ to /'e/. Examples are *воспрашееть* (rather than *восъпрашаееть*; from BBL 68, 1240-1260) and *метель* (rather than *матель*; from BBL 418, 1320-1340) (see Zaliznjak 2004: 74f.). The same phenomenon – either following a soft consonant or only between two soft consonants – is attested widely in the various phrasebooks from the Russian North and Northwest. Among them are F, s, and A, but also, for example, that of Johannes van Heemer (cf. Günther 1963: 493). As far as the three phrasebooks F, s and A are concerned, the following quotes give a picture of the phenomenon for each of the phrasebooks:

“Nevertheless, the observations on the Russian orthography of Fenne already allow to draw conclusions about several features of that region of Russia where he studied Russian and collected the material for the manual: [...] The pronunciation of [e] instead of [a] in stressed position between soft consonants: боле<sup>н</sup>ка – бо-

<sup>120</sup> With *a* < *e*, possibly.



letzka, [142]; перенеть – *perenet*, 180; нарѣдни<sup>к</sup> – *narednik*, 38; кнѣзь – *kneß*, 38; drugarett, 207, and similar cases” (Sumnikova 1964: 350, on F)

“The umlaut of  $\text{'a} > e$  between soft consonants, in both stressed and unstressed position. This phenomenon must have been widely spread in the period when s came about, as testified by the frequency of notations such as *Boletzka* (болячка) 91.28; *vreth* (вряд) 51v.10 [...]” (Fałowski 1997a: 17f., on s)

“This is the most distinctive phonetic trait, extensively documented in the spelling of the historical text. The number of examples with the graphic realisation of this trait both for stressed and unstressed [’a], independent of the nature of the immediately following consonant (soft or hard), exceeds the number of cases where the trait is not visibly expressed in writing by a factor of two.” (Fałowski 1996: 33, on A)

If the situation in s is representative of that in the source of F, we see that, as was the case with  $/e/ > /o/$ , the scribe of F was aware of the dialectal or at least unetymological nature of this feature. He actively moves away from it by introducing  $\text{æ}$  for  $/a/$  into the text, especially in LEX. In this section, we find a few cases of  $/a/ > /e/$  represented as Cyrillic *e* – Latin *e*, but mostly cases of  $\text{я} - \text{æ}$ , as well as the combination  $\text{я} - e$ . Examples, including corresponding entries from s (all with *e*), are listed in Table 25 below.

	F	s
<i>e/e</i>	пѣно – <i>petno</i> ‘пятно’ (F 80 20) ѡловени <sup>к</sup> – <i>olouenick</i> (F 97 12) пѣсть – <i>pest</i> ‘пять’ (F 59 9)	<i>Petno</i> (s 82v 24) <i>Ollowennÿck</i> (s 81v 32) <i>pestka</i> (s 76r 9)
<i>я/æ</i>	моло <sup>л</sup> мѣсяць – <i>molod mesætz</i> (F 32 10) пѣтница – <i>pætnitza</i> (F 35 23) княгина – <i>knægina</i> (F 38 9) пѣта – <i>pæta</i> (F 89 7)	<i>Mollet Mesetza</i> (s 68v 8) <i>Pedtnitza</i> (s 70r 10) <i>Knechgÿnna</i> (s 71v 18) <i>Peta</i> (s 85r 30)
combinati- on	мѣсяць – <i>mesetz</i> ‘moon’ (F 31 13) выблядо <sup>к</sup> – <i>vibledock</i> (F 42 4) вино горяцѡе – <i>vino goretzoe</i> (F 84 13)	<i>Mersetz</i> (s 68r 18) <i>Wibbetke</i> (s 73r 15) <i>Wino goretkoÿe</i> (s 80r 32)

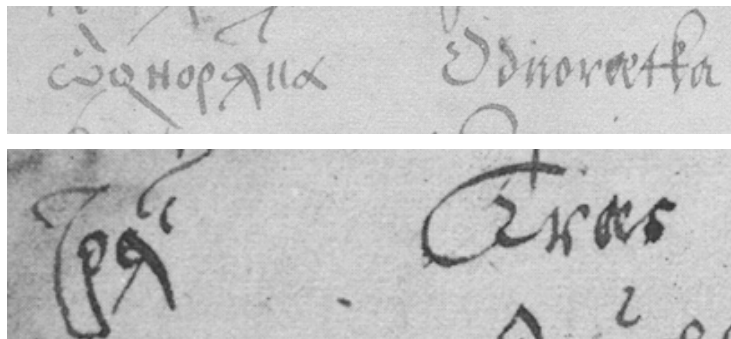
Table 25:  $/a/ > /e/$  variation in F – e in s

Emendations show the hand of the scribe in the introduction of  $\text{я} - \text{æ}$ . Examples:

*ѡднорятка* – *odnorætka* ( $\text{æ} < ?$ , possibly) (F 90 3)  
~ *Odtneretka* (s 86v 2)

*тряс* – *træs* ( $\text{я} < \text{e}$ )

(F 142 14)

Figure 65: Emended *odnorætka* (F 90 3) and *тряс* (F 142 14)

The issue continued to occupy the scribe in PHRAS, where emendations can be found as well, listed in Table 26.

F	Emendations in F	s
gnætze (F 204 19)	$\text{æ} < \text{e}$	gutze (? , s 103r 4)
vnætza (F 217 22)	$\text{æ} < \text{e}$ , possibly	
proklætt (F 249 2)	$\text{æ} < ?$	
dvoræninum (F 253 10)	$\text{æ} < ?$	
spæchnut (F 282 19)	$\text{æ} < \text{a}$ , possibly	
ffsækoi (F 285 6)	$\text{æ} < ?$	offtzokÿ (s 7v 1)
detzæti (F 321 8)	$\text{æ} < ?$	detzetkÿ (s 23v 4)
operetzæ (F 360 17)	$\text{æ} < ?$	operetze (s 40v 11)
schræsnil (F 381 13)	$\text{æ} < ?$	
smenæel (F 383 2)	$\text{æ} < ?$	Ismenell (s 48v 18)
ffzæt (F 422 1)	$\text{æ} < ?$	offßeth (s s 112v 1)
ffzækoie (F 452 11)	$\text{æ} < ?$	
gulænie (F 475 19)		-

Table 26: /ʔa/ &gt; /ʔe/ emendations in PHRAS

On the whole, however, the introduction of  $\text{æ}$  in PHRAS was strongly connected to individual words. A look at corresponding phrases in F and s shows that  $\text{æ}$  is especially encountered in a handful of highly frequent words:

*взял* (typically *ffzæel*, 7x; s typically *vjßell*)  
*взять* (*ffzæt*, 37x; s typically *vjßeth*)  
*донять* (*donæt*, 12x; s typically *dojeth*)  
*объмя* (*obetæ*, 7x; s typically *obeme*)  
*опять* (*opæt*, 36x; s typically *opeth*)  
*прямо* (*præto*, 26x; s typically *preto*)  
*пять* (*pæt*, 4x; s *opedt*, *peth*, *beth*, *pedt*)

a number of cases in *-ся* (13×)

The hesitation of the scribe and the role fixed word images must have played are confirmed when we take a look at the various verbs in *-нять*. In PHRAS, we find *otnett* ‘отнять’ (F 201 9) and *vnætza* (F 217 22, *æ* < *e* possibly), and *pronetza* ‘проняться’ (F 431 2) vs. *pronætza* ‘id.’ (F 433 15), while at the same time the 12 occurrences of the infinitive *донять* (typically *donæt*) contrast with the 9 occurrences of *принять* (8× *prinēt*, 1× *prināt*<sup>121</sup>).

The awareness of the scribe of this dialectal feature can also shed light on another phenomenon – the dialectal hardening and subsequent loss of /t/ (see Zaliznjak 2004: 79), for which Zaliznjak (1998: 269) sees proof in a single occurrence of *opæ* for ‘опя<ть>’ in F:

- (37F) Ia tebe togo diela ne podarill, tzto tebe menæ **opæ**  
 odaruvatt. Darumb hebbe ich dÿ nichtt begiffitgett  
 dattu mÿ wedderumb soldest begiffitgen. (F 223 22-24)  
 (TF II) Я тебѣ того дѣля не подарил, что тебѣ меня **опя<ть>**  
 одаровать.  
 ‘The reason that I made you a gift, was not that you should  
 make me a gift in return’
- (37S) Ja tebbe thÿm delom nepodarÿll stho tebbe menne  
**opet** otdaruwath (S 26v 3-4)

Zaliznjak suggests that *opæ* may have to be read as *оня*, rather than TF II’s *опя<ть>*. Most likely, however, we are dealing here with a scribal error. First of all, the form *оня* is entirely absent from the more dialectal phrasebooks S and A: S most typically has *онаять* as *opeth* – its scribe consistently spells the word with *e*, and with a final *t* or variant thereof.<sup>122</sup> In the light of the introduction of the vowel *æ* in all corresponding cases of *онаять* (most typically *opæt*) by the scribe of F, it seems unlikely that a word which had the scribe’s explicit attention (because of the vowel) would represent this dialectal feature.

In conclusion, it is obvious that the dialectal feature of the umlaut of /’a/ to /’e/ (which, given the phrasebooks of S, A and van Heemer, we must assume was very much a linguistic reality) was something that the scribe was aware of and actively tried to avoid by introducing *æ* as a spelling for /’a/. This observation

<sup>121</sup> Interestingly enough, *prināt* (F 267 4, the alien, High German body) was emended from *prinēt*.

<sup>122</sup> Alternative spellings are *opet*, *obeth*, *opedt*, *obedt*, *oputh*, *opedth*, *Opedt* and *Apeth*.

has implications for linguistic claims and should be incorporated in further research on this topic.<sup>123</sup>

### 5.7 Conclusions

In this chapter, I have looked into a number of issues concerned with the spelling of Russian in F, the sounds these spellings represent and how a number of phonological developments and phenomena are reflected in the data.

The large-scale removal of the letter *w* to represent /v/, mostly in favour of *v*, was a largely automated process. The explicit pronunciation instruction in the *Liber ad lectorem* provides a clue as to the motivation behind the change, the thoroughness with which it was performed speaks of the perfectionist approach of the scribe.

Comparison of those data that are available in both the Cyrillic and Latin alphabet, shows that the scribe was a very conscientious transliterator. He was clearly guided by the idea that both alphabets should be correlated or, in other words, that the entry in the Latin alphabet should faithfully and reliably represent the Cyrillic entry. The distinction between similar historical phonemes such as /ě/ and /e/, /i/ and /y/ and the conscientious transliteration of the various hushing sounds that was at least partially introduced when compared to *s* confirms the image.

In his efforts to keep the various hushing sounds apart, the scribe used the diacritic *ˇ*. The fact that this diacritic was often added secondarily shows how important the ‘proper’ distinction between the sounds must have been to the scribe. At the same time, the diacritic is not applied consistently, nor is it evenly spread throughout the manuscript.

The data in LEX and GRAM make it hard to ascertain the alphabet (or alphabets) of the sources (or sources) used by the scribe. The absence of Cyrillic in related phrasebooks speaks against its presence in the direct source (or sources) of F, as do a number of strange errors. At the same time, it is clear that the Cyrillic entries sometimes have primacy over the Latin entries, as becomes clear, for instance, from the unidirectional character of the transliteration. This presupposes the presence of Cyrillic, external help in combination with a sound knowledge of the Cyrillic writing tradition. The situation for PHRAS is clearer: given the nature of the genre, its presence is unlikely, and the manuscript itself

<sup>123</sup> One such claim was made by Baldur Panzer (1971: 94), suggesting that *æ* in stressed and *e* in unstressed positions in F (e.g. *mæko* ‘мякко’, *pæt* ‘пять’ vs. *mesetz* ‘месяц’) could point to the retention of Proto-Slavic nasal vowels in stressed positions. Also, Sumnikova (1964: 350), who already pointed out that *e* frequently occurs in stressed position, including cases where Proto-Slavic had a nasal vowel.

does not provide any compelling reasons which force us to assume that the source contained Cyrillic.

The spelling of words in *F* is considerably more regular than in *s*. Emendations show that this is the result of a considerable regularisation effort on the part of the scribe of *F*. The regularisation was based, among other things, on considerations of etymology and word images.

The efforts to regularise spelling show the scribe's familiarity with Russian in its more traditional written form as well as in the form of the living language, which showed all kinds of innovations departing from tradition. This becomes clear from a look at a number of dialectal phonological and phonetic features. Dialectal features which were perceived as being extremely local or not conforming to etymological or literary 'standards' (e.g., *-kl-/-gl-*, prothetic *i* and *o*, the notation of /j/, /a/ > /e/) were eliminated by the scribe of *F* – with varying success. The scribe's awareness of various 'options' springing from historical phonological developments, some of them very delicate, is clear. This pertains to pleophony (*веремѧ vs. времяѧ*), but especially to /e/ > /o/. There, he hesitated between rendering linguistic reality (/o/, written *o*) and complying with Cyrillic writing tradition (written *e*). In *LEX*, he chose the side of the tradition, helped by the Cyrillic alphabet, in *PHRAS*, he veered more towards the side of linguistic reality.

The emendations discussed in this chapter confirm, yet again, the image of the intricate relation that *s* and *F* enjoy. The scribe did not hesitate to use his sources as something to build upon. On an organisational level, the efforts of the scribe were directed at the improvement of the overall internal consistency of the material. Linguistically, the scribe's interventions generally moved the language away from clearly dialectal features towards more traditional or more supraregional Russian. On the whole, we must conclude that the scribe was very much aware of what he was doing and approached his task in a very conscientious way.

## 6. NOMINAL AND PRONOMINAL FORMS

In the previous chapters, we saw that the scribe took a critical and conscientious attitude towards his sources, and was not afraid to intervene in matters such as the composition of the phrasebook as a whole, the organisation of individual items, and surface-level phenomena such as the alphabet, the spelling and sounds of words.

Starting from this chapter, the surface level will fade into the background and make way for the exploration of matters that could show that the scribe had a more in-depth knowledge of the language, starting with nominal morphology. Can the same critical attitude as we have seen earlier also be discerned there? Questions that will be central to the discussion are: What did the scribe do with his sources? How did he intervene, and – if possible – can we determine what motivated him to do so? Are they improvements, or do they betray an imperfect command of the language? And, especially, what do these changes mean for the linguistic evaluation of the source?

What will follow is not an exhaustive discussion of the nominal morphology. Rather, I will highlight a number of phenomena that can shed light on the questions raised above, treating them in ascending order of complexity. The phenomena discussed are the vacillation between the endings *-o2o* and *-obo* in the GEN.SG.M/N. of adjectives and pronouns (§6.1), variation in the forms of personal and reflexive pronouns (§6.2), the use of the reflexive pronoun *цвоѣ* (§6.3), the typical Old Novgorod NOM.SG.M. ending *-e* (§6.4), nominative objects and ACC.SG.F. forms in *-a* (§6.5), and the paradigm of *мовар*, by far the most frequent noun in the data (§6.6).

### 6.1 *-o2o* vs. *-obo* (GEN.SG.M/N. of adjectives and pronouns)

The GEN.SG.M/N. ending of adjectives in the Old Novgorod dialect was *-o2o* or *-o2a*; pronouns had *-o2o/-e2o* and *-o2a/-e2a*.<sup>124</sup> These are the endings we consistently find in Schroue's phrasebook, as Bolek notes, whereas in Fonne's

<sup>124</sup> See Zaliznjak 2004: 118, 120 (adjectives); 126-127 (pronouns). An earlier adjectival ending was *-a2o* (ibidem)

phrasebook the endings are less consistent: the more recent ending *-ovo/-evo*, most probably originating from Moscow, protruded into the manuscript:

“In the light of the general orthographic instability in [s], the consistency in the notation of the GEN.SG. ending of adjectives and pronouns is surprising. Without exception we find here *-ogo* or *-oga*, e.g. *bohatoga*, *rodnoga*, *mojogo/mojoga*, *kogo*. [...] T. Fenne is less consistent in his notation, and apart from the ending *-ogo* we often see *-ovo*, e.g. *bohatovo*, *moioغو/moiovo*, *ffsækovo*, *kovo*. No doubt, at the beginning of the 17<sup>th</sup> century, the new, most likely Muscovite forms already permeated the speech of the inhabitants of Pskov.” (Bolek 1997: 66)

The state of affairs in Fonne’s manuscript, however, is not as straightforward as Bolek suggests. First of all, we have to conclude that forms representing *moza* in s systematically correspond to either *mozo* or *movo* in F, as illustrated in (38) and (39). In other words: the dialectal endings *-oza* and *-eza* play no role of importance in F.

- (38F) Ne boroni ti mnie **togo tzogo** ias ottebæ proszu.  
Weÿer mÿ datt nichtt wadtt ich van dÿ bydde. (F 208 11-12)  
He борони ты мнѣ **того, чѣго** яз от тебя прошу  
‘Do not deny me what I ask of you.’
- (38s) Ne boronÿ thÿ Imne **toga tzoga** ja vtebbe vtebbe  
poprossw, (s 105r 7-8)
- (39F) Blaggo tÿ menæ **ottovo** tzelovieka spaszal [...] Idt iß gudt dattu mÿ vor dem mahne gewarnet heffst [...] (F 372 1, 4-5)  
Благо, ты меня от **тово** челоувѣка спасал  
‘It is good that you [saved me from] (warned me about) that man.’
- (39s) Blago Menne **othoga** szoluecka spaßle [...] (s 46r 1)

Also, the observation that Fonne is “less consistent” in his use of the endings does not hold up to closer scrutiny. In fact, the distribution of *-ozo/-ezo* vs. *-ovo/-evo* is very clear:

- LEX  
consistent *-ozo/-ezo* (very few cases)
- GRAM  
consistent *-ovo/-evo*;
- PHRAS  
until F 310: consistent *-ozo/-ezo*  
F 310-326: mixed *-ozo/-ezo* and *-ovo/-evo*

from F 327 onwards: consistent *-ovo/-evo*<sup>125</sup>

Exceptions to this distribution pattern are negligible. They include, for instance, the alien body (F 262-269; inconsistent in its endings). The majority of exceptions seems restricted to a small number of words, and may be the result of the influence of spelling regularisation of word images (see §5.5 above):

- *сегодня* is consistently written *segodni* (LEX, 2×) or *sagodne* (PHRAS, 15×, of which 9× after F 326);
- *иново* ‘ИНОВО’ (F 261 14) ties in with the 4 remaining occurrences of *иново* (occurring from F 348 1 onwards);
- 3 forms reflecting *доброго* (F 372 15, F 470 8, F 474 1); *доброво* does not occur at all.<sup>126</sup>

It is interesting to see the occurrence of *иново* (with *-ovo*) on F 261, before the onset of *-ovo/-evo* on page F 310. The manuscript shows no sign of emendation of any kind on the part of the scribe, so if we assume a linear production of the phrasebook, the form *иново* would mean that the scribe already knew that he was going to spell *иново* rather than *иного* further on in the manuscript.

We must assume that the scribe at some point consciously decided to replace *-ого/-его* and *-ога/-ега* by *-ово/-ево*. After initial hesitation (F 310-326), virtually no form was overlooked. The replacement was largely automatic in nature (similar to the replacement of *w* by *v* discussed in §5.1 above). This is supported by 9 occurrences of *мново* ‘МНОВО’, rather than *много* ‘МНОГО’. All 9 occurrences can be found after F 326, which systematically has the GEN.SG.M. ending *-ово/-ево*, and contrast with regular *много* ‘МНОГО’ (31 occurrences).<sup>127</sup> Although SRNG lists *мново*, meaning ‘МНОГО’, for the “Онежский уезд Архангельской губернии” (SRNG 18, s.v. *мново*) – which shows that *мново* as such is not far-fetched – we must reject the assumption that *мново* represents linguistic reality for Pskov, and treat it as the rather infelicitous result of the automatic replacement by the scribe of word-final *-ого* (in the source) with *-ово*. This conclusion is supported by the co-occurrences of *много* and *мново*, by the correspondence of phrases in F with those in s, and by a number of emendations.

<sup>125</sup> Note that the break in PHRAS does not coincide with a thematic break, such as the transition from PHRAS-GEN to PHRAS-TRADE. A question that remains unanswered is why large-scale replacement does not occur before F 310.

<sup>126</sup> The remaining exceptions are *storonskovo* ‘сторонсково’ (F 329 14 ~ *sthoroufskogo*, s 26r 21), *chudoga* ‘худога’ (F 479 3) and *slepogo* ‘слѣпого’ (F 480 9).

<sup>127</sup> *Mnovo* occurs in 382 3, F 406 21, F 411 12, F 411 18, F 414 19, F 415 18, F 428 15, F 429 5 and F 464 3.



First of all, in one case *mnogo* and *mnovo* co-occur in one and the same phrase in F (with the corresponding phrase in s having *Imnnogo* and *Imnogo*):

- (40F) Ia tebe ne difflu: veszuiu, tÿ rad chotil dorogo  
 prodāt da **mnogo** prinet, da ia ~~eh~~ i rad deszovo kuplu  
 da **mnovo** prinu.  
 Ich vorkerdt dÿ nicht du woldest gerne, duer  
 vorkopen, vnd vehle winnen, vnd ich wil gerne  
 guden kop kopen vnd vehle winnen. (F 411 10-15)
- Я тебе не дивлю: вѣщую; ты рад хотѣл дорого  
 продать да **МНОГО** принять, да я рад дешёво куплю  
 да **МНОВО** прину.  
 ‘I do not take it amiss of you; you would like to sell dear  
 and profit much, and I like to buy cheap and profit much.’
- (40S) Ja tebbe ne dÿfflu wiessuÿu thÿ gottſÿs rade torgo  
 prodath da **Imnnogo** prÿeth da Ja gottſu rade deæeuwo  
 kupÿth da **Imnogo** prÿdth. (S 62r 23-25)

In all 5 cases in which a phrase with *mnovo* has a correspondence to s, that phrasebook unambiguously has a form with -g- (i.e. *Imnogo* or *Imnogu*).

Emendations also show that we are dealing with a rather automatic replacement: on F 437-439, *mnogo* was emended from earlier *mnovo* in 4 cases, and *nimnogo* ‘немного’ from *nimnovo* in 1 additional case. In the most plausible scenario the scribe first replaced the -g- in his source by -v-, then decided that it should be -g- after all, upon which (*ni*)*mnovo* was emended to (*ni*)*mno*g<sup>128</sup>.

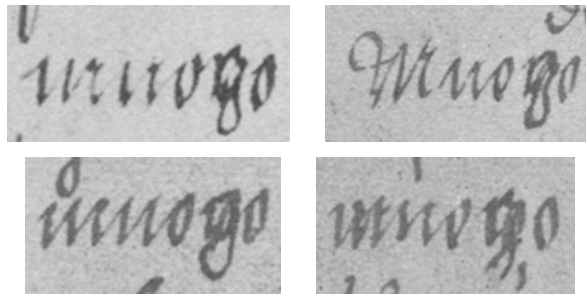


Figure 66: *mnogo* < *mnovo* (F 437 13, F 438 5, F 438 11, F 437 17)

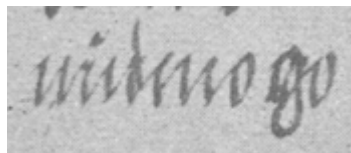


Figure 67: *nimnogo* < *nimnovo* (F 438 8)

<sup>128</sup> *Mnogo* was emended from *mnovo* in F 437 13, F 438 5, F 438 11 and F 439 17; *nimnogo* was emended from *nimnovo* in F 438 8.

A small number of forms merit further investigation at this point: *toga* ‘тора’ and *tova* ‘това’. About these forms, Zaliznjak points out the following:

“We point out that Fenne (197, 388 [mistakenly for 366]) has *toga* and *tova* ‘торо’, but these notations could reflect [tóga], [tóva] rather than [togá], [tová] (in which cases the effects of *akan’e* cannot be ruled out).” (Zaliznjak 2004: 152)

On philological grounds, Zaliznjak’s careful reservation can actually be dismissed: the 4 forms *toga* (3×) and *tova* (1×), in (30)-(44), in fact *do* show the archaic *-a*, as will be argued below.

- (41F) Ne sabuitt tÿ **toga** sloua [...] (F 197 17, 18)  
 Vorgitt datt wordtt nicht [...] (F 197 17, 18)  
 Не забудь ты **тога** слова  
 ‘Do not forget that word’
- (42F) Schorometza mnïe **toga**. Ich vorscheme mÿ des. (F 222 4)  
 Соромѣться мнѣ **тога**  
 ‘I am ashamed of this’
- (43F) Koli tÿ mnïe **toga** ne das [...] (F 224 13, 15; *thoga*, s 28r 14)  
 Wan du mÿ datt nichtt en giffst [...] (F 224 13, 15; *thoga*, s 28r 14)  
 Коли ты мнѣ **тога** не дашь  
 ‘If you do not give me that’
- (44F) Ne strasz **tova** tovaru kupit [...] (F 366 6, 8; *thoga*, s 43r 12)  
 Fruchte dÿ nicht de wahre tho kopen [...] (F 366 6, 8; *thoga*, s 43r 12)  
 Не страшъ **това** товару купить  
 ‘Do not be afraid to buy these wares’

*Toga* and *tova* contrast with *togo* ‘того’ and *tovo* ‘тово’, by far the most frequent word in *-ogo/-ovo* in the phrasebook (136 occurrences). For the 3 occurrences of *toga*, I assume that the source contained something reflecting *moza*. In one case (F 224 13, corresponding to s’s *thoga*) it is hard to imagine that it did not. The scribe should have replaced *toga* by *togo*, as he did with the other occurrences of *toga* at that stage of the manuscript, but accidentally overlooked these three instances.

To explain *tova* (F 366 6), an extra step is needed. Given the form *thoga* in the corresponding phrase in s, it is reasonable to assume that the source of F reflected *moza* as well. At this stage of the phrasebook, the scribe should have replaced this with *tovo*, as he did with other occurrences of *moza*. Instead, we find the hybrid form *tova*. It can be explained by assuming a scribal lapse: the *a* (present in the source) was not replaced by *o*, possibly under the influence of the *a* in the similarly written word *tovaru*, which immediately follows *tova*.

Taking the four cases together and considering the frequency of *moza* in Schroue's phrasebook, which can explain *toga* and *tova* in F, it is not necessary to assume *akan'e* had any influence, which Zaliznjak suggests.

On a more general level, the replacement of *-ozo/-ezo* and *-oza/-eza* by *-ovo/-evo* provides a peek into the considerations of the scribe. In this case, the replacement represents a move away from traditional written Russian forms (*-ozo/-ezo*) or rather restricted dialectal forms (*-oza/-eza*) towards a form which was more representative of the spoken language in its less local form (*-ovo/-evo*).

## 6.2 Personal and reflexive pronouns (forms)

### 6.2.1 PRON.PERS.1SG. NOM: Я and ЯЗ

In the Old Novgorod dialect, the NOM of the PRON.PERS.1SG., attested throughout the corpus of birchbark letters, was either ЯЗЪ or Я. Both forms coexisted side by side, without clear rules governing their distribution. The form ЯЗЪ also existed, but carried a distinct Church Slavonic character (cf. Zaliznjak 2004: 130f.).

In the administrative language of the first half of the 16<sup>th</sup> century, as examined by Unbegaun, the regular written form was ЯЗ; in the spoken language Я must have existed alongside (Unbegaun 1935: 354f.). In texts from the second half of the 17<sup>th</sup> century, Cocron hardly ever encounters ЯЗ (1961: 133-135); for the spoken language he considered the form Я "la seule possible" (1961: 133).<sup>129</sup>

The various phrasebooks paint a rather diverse picture. The 16<sup>th</sup>-century Anonymous phrasebook records both forms: ЯЗ (99×), Я (138×) (Fałowski 1996: 49). The *Kopenhagener Gesprächsbuch* (mid-17<sup>th</sup> century) and the Trondheim Russian-German Ms Vocabulary (late 17<sup>th</sup> century) show a similar, rather archaic image (see Sørensen 1962: 84-85, Lunden 1972: 83-85). Schroue's phrasebook, by contrast, almost invariably uses Я, which – one could argue – would reflect the spoken language of the time rather nicely.<sup>130</sup>

Despite being closely related to s, Fonne's phrasebook does not mirror this usage at all. Besides the Я of Schroue, it extensively uses ЯЗ, also in corresponding phrases, as the following two examples show:

- (45F) Ostansi domoi **ias** budu ktebe.  
           Bliff tho hus ich will tho dÿ kamen. (F 206 1-2)  
           Останьси домоi(!), яз буду к тебѣ  
           'Stay at home, I shall come to you'
- (45S) Ostanÿ domo **Ja** bude ack tebbe (S 104r 5-7)

<sup>129</sup> See also the discussion in Lunden 1972: 83-85, Kiparsky 1967 130-131.

<sup>130</sup> According to the index of the edition, the form ЯЗ only occurs 9 times.

- (46F) **Ias** tebe potekaiu kupi tÿ tovar otmenæ, **ias** tebe  
iovo prodam povono otlutzkogo **ia** ottebe ne  
doimu otlutzkogo.  
Ich rade dÿ koep de wahre van mÿ ich wÿll  
dÿ de wahre vorkopen beter kop alß de  
lude vorkopen, ich wÿll van dÿ nicht nehmen  
alß mÿ de lude gebaden hebben. (F 286 8-14)
- Яз** тебѣ потыкаю, купи ты товар от меня, **яз** тебѣ  
ѣво продам поводно от людского, **я** от тебе не  
дойму от людского.  
'I [favour] (advise) you, buy the goods from me, I will sell [them] (the  
goods) to you at a more suitable price than people sell at, I will not  
take from you [what people do] (as much as other people have offered  
me).'
- (46S) **Ja** patekaÿo tobbÿ kupÿ thÿ thowar vmenna **Ja** tobbÿ  
Jage prodam pouono otlutzkogo **Ja** vtebbÿ me doÿomo  
otluckogo (S 7V 20-22)

The NOM of the PRON.PERS.1SG. is a highly frequent form: with slightly under 800 occurrences for *я* and *яз* combined, the only word more frequent is the particle of negation *не* (801 occurrences). The ratio of *я* : *яз* in PHRAS, PROVERB and RELI is approximately 3 : 1 (in absolute numbers 585 : 192). Bolek explains the prevalence of *яз* by Fonne's knowledge of Church Slavonic (1997: 66). However, Church Slavonic, as I pointed out above, has *азъ* rather than *язъ*, a form which does not occur in F at all. Another explanation seems necessary.

Apart from a few general trends and observations, it is hard to establish a linguistic pattern governing the distribution of *я* vs. *яз*. Examples of such observations are that in combination with *бы*, only *яз* occurs (*яз бы*, 9×), and that in combination with *с тобой/тобою*, it is *я* which takes the upper hand (*я(3) с тобой/тобою*: 34× *я*, 3× *яз*).<sup>131</sup> The most eye-catching trend is that *яз* is used far more frequently in the collocations *я/яз тебе* and *я/яз тебѣ* than the overall 3 : 1 ratio. In these collocations, *я* is used 143 times, but *яз* no fewer than 110 times, a ratio of approximately 1.3 : 1. It is tempting to explain the alternation in terms of contrasting focus or stress (cf. Zaliznjak 2004: 130), but to a large degree, the variation seems random more than anything else.<sup>132</sup> I shall illustrate this by a number of examples of *я* vs. *яз*. The first phrase, which includes *яз тебѣ*, stems from F 257:

<sup>131</sup> This could be a spelling or a sandhi issue, given the final *s* of [jas] and the initial *s* of [stoboj].

<sup>132</sup> Other combinations can be added without any effort, such as *ia chotzu* (F 199 14, F 215 5), which alternates with *ias chotzu* (F 201 21, F 204 7).

- (47F) **Ias tebe** skasu vernoia sloua [...] (F 257 1, 3)  
 Ich wÿll dÿ eÿn heimlich wordtt seggen [...]  
**Яз тебѣ** скажу вѣрное слово [...]  
 'I will tell you a [true] (confidential) word'

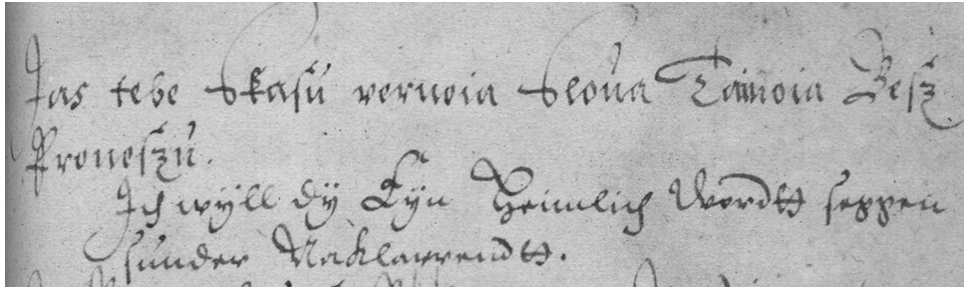


Figure 68: *Ias tebe skasu vernoia sloua* (F 257 1)

The phrase is repeated on F 331, but there the very same phrase has *я тебѣ* rather than *яз тебѣ*:

- (48F) **Ia tebe** skasu virnoio slovo [...] (F 331 5-6)  
 Ich segge dÿ eÿn heimlich wordtt vorborgen [...]  
**Я тебѣ** скажу вѣрное слово [...]  
 'I will tell you a [true] (confidential) word'

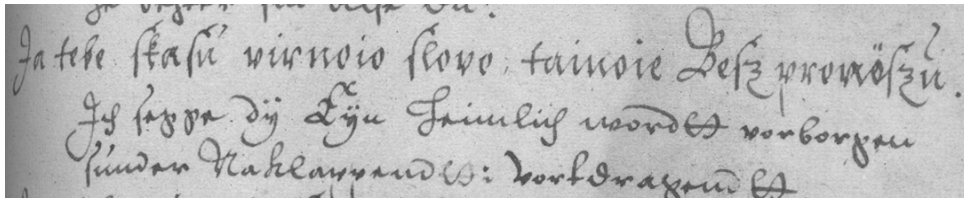


Figure 69: *Ia tebe skasu virnoio slovo* (F 331 5)

The two phrases that follow this second occurrence, continue the unpredictable alternation:

- (49F) **Ias tebe** virnoie slovu sopnu [...] (F 331 8-9)  
 Ich wÿll dÿ eÿn heimlich wordtt tho ruhnen [...]  
**Яз тебѣ** вѣрное слово шѣпну [...]  
 'I will whisper you a [true] (confidential) word'
- (50F) **Ia tebe** to soptal [...] (F 331 11-12)  
 Datt ruhnde ich dÿ tho [...]  
**Я тебѣ** то шѣптал [...]  
 'I whispered that to you'<sup>133</sup>

<sup>133</sup> s has *Ja tebbe* in all corresponding cases (s 27r 7, 11, 13).

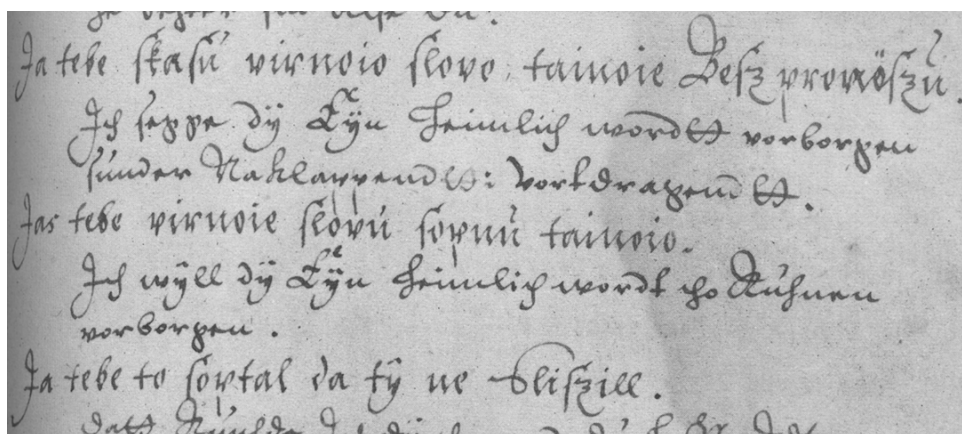


Figure 70: *Ia tebe ... Ias tebe ... Ia tebe* (F 331 5-11)

The unpredictability of the alternation is illustrated even by the variation in consecutive, nearly identical phrases:

- (51F) [...] tam **ia tebe** suoi  
 tovar otvieschu [...]
  - [...] dar wýll ich
  - dý mýne wahre affwegen [...] (F 301 1-2, 4-5)
 там **я тебѣ** свой товар отвѣшу  
 ‘There I will weigh my goods for you’
  
- (52F) [...] tam **ias tebe** suoi  
 tovar otvieschu.
  - [...] dar wýll ich dý
  - mýne wahre tho wegen [...] (F 301 7-10)
 там **яз тебѣ** свой товар отвѣшу  
 ‘There I will weigh my goods for you’

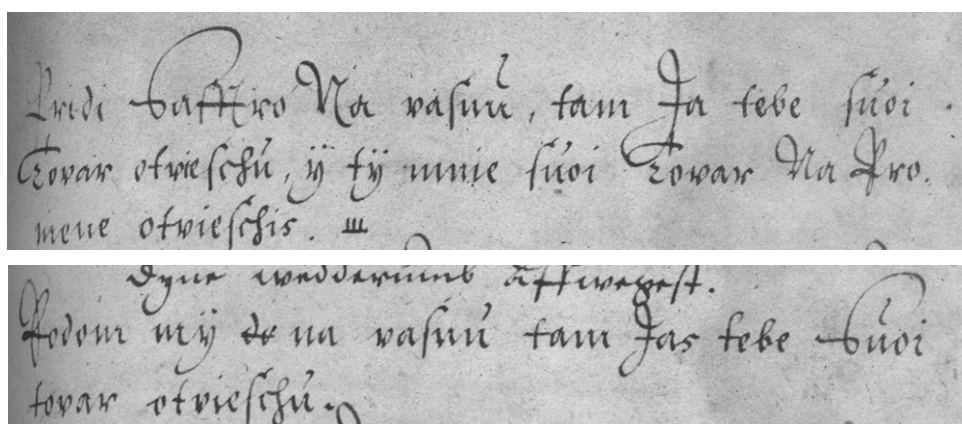


Figure 71: *ia tebe suoi tovar otvieschu* (F 301 1-2)

and *ias tebe suoi tovar otvieschu* (F 301 7-8)<sup>134</sup>

Evidence shows that the change of *я* (from the source) into *яз*, despite the lack of a clear distribution pattern, was a conscious approach taken by the scribe of F. This evidence is twofold. Firstly, the *s* of *ias* regularly stands out from the rest of the text by its darker colour, suggesting that it was added secondarily.<sup>135</sup> Secondly, we often find a large space between *ia* and the following word, with sufficient space left to add an *s*. The combination of these two phenomena suggest that the scribe quite regularly wrote *ia*, but intended to return to these points at a later stage and add and reconsider the choice between *ia* and *ias*. When he chose to add the *s*, this resulted in a distinctly darker colour of the letter, when he chose not to, an atypically large space was the result. Examples of these spaces are provided by the images in Figure 72:

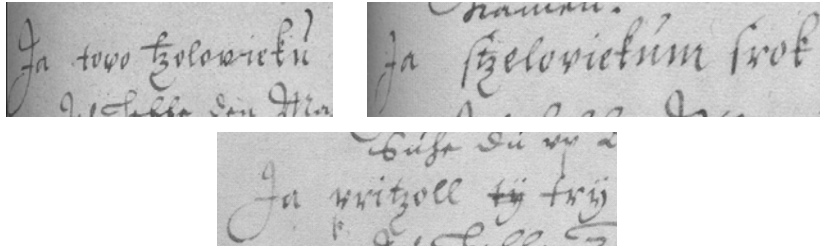


Figure 72: *Ia tovo tzolovieku* (F 227 1), *Ia stzeloviekum srok* (F 249 8), *Ia pritzoll tji trji* (F 278 23)

What could have motivated the scribe? We have already seen that the most typical form for the spoken language of the 17<sup>th</sup> century must have been *я*. Lunden, in her study of the Trondheim Russian-German Ms Vocabulary, launched the following hypothesis to explain the frequent use of *яз*:

“[T]he document does not actually reflect the facts of the spoken language. The scribe is proficient, and he is above all a scribe.<sup>136</sup> He has learnt the traditional forms of the pronoun, which he writes sometimes fully, sometimes with a supra-lineal *z*; the whole word is to him only a grapheme to be copied beautifully and clearly; the different spellings have no more to do with his linguistic habits than the different graphemes for *ja*[.]” (1972: 85)

<sup>134</sup> *s* has *Ja tebbe suoje thowar ottweßu* (s 13v 21-22) and *tam Ja gotsu dobbje ottueßzýth* (s 13v 26).

<sup>135</sup> This is not as visible in the facsimile edition as it is in the original manuscript, but see, e.g., F 215 8, F 215 14, F 234 10, F 311 7, F 327 16.

<sup>136</sup> On the nationality of the scribe of the Trondheim Vocabulary: “He may be assumed to be a Russian; if he is not a native, he must be an exceptionally well-trained foreigner; he writes much better than the majority of Russians at the time” (Lunden 1972: 13).

The same explanation could *mutatis mutandis* also apply to Fonne's phrase-book. It would not at all be far-fetched to assume that the structural difference between s and F in the use of я versus яз is in fact an innovation on the part of the scribe of F – in line with other innovations we have seen so far. The introduction of яз into the text would have introduced a variation into the material that the scribe must have been familiar with from dealing with the language around him.

Influence of the traditional written form of Russian are the formulaic introduction in Cyrillic on F 22 – which has Я<sup>s</sup> почина<sup>n</sup> нуца<sup>m</sup> in the Cyrillic version (F 22 2), yet *ia potzinall pizatt* in the Latin transliteration a few lines further down on the same page (F 22 7) – and the high frequency of яз in the few phrases in PHRAS, PROVERB and RELI which are written in the Cyrillic alphabet: the ratio of я : яз in these phrases is 1 : 3 (in absolute numbers, 3 : 9), the reverse of the overall ratio 3 : 1.

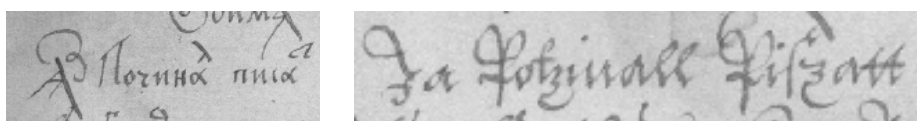


Figure 73: Я<sup>s</sup> почина<sup>n</sup> нуца<sup>m</sup> (F 22 2) vs. *ia potzinall pizatt* (F 22 7)

The introduction of яз into the text suggests that the scribe considered this form to be allowed besides, if not preferred over я. This preference is implicit in GRAM: on F 149, both forms of the pronoun are listed, with яз presented first.

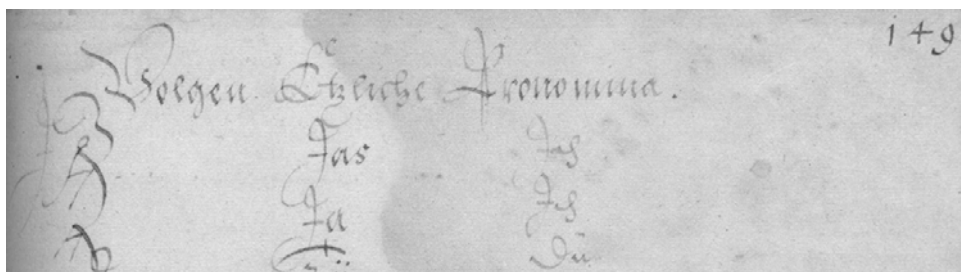


Figure 74: Я<sup>s</sup>/ias and Я/ia (F 149 2-3)

The scribe of F, who was well-trained in the Russian writing tradition, must have been familiar with both я and яз, the distribution of which, in the eyes of the scribe, may have been more complex than a simple distinction between written versus spoken language. The form я and яз may have been in free distribution in some environments, and a combination such as *ias tebe* may have been a word image that stuck. Whichever holds true, matters are subtler, and philological examination of the material shows that it has more layers than one would at first sight assume.



### 6.2.2 PRON.PERS./REFL. GEN/ACC and DAT/LOC

In the Old Novgorod dialect, the forms for the GEN and ACC of the 1SG and 2SG PRON.PERS. and PRON.REFL. were *мене*, *тебе*, and *себе*. The word-final vowel of these forms contrasts with the Modern Standard Russian equivalents *меня*, *тебя*, *себя*. For the DAT and LOC of the same pronouns, *мѣнѣ*, *тобѣ*, *собѣ* are attested in the Old Novgorod dialect; the *o*-vocalism of the latter two contrasts with the *e*-vocalism of more recent *тебѣ*, *себѣ*.

The exact transition between the various sets of forms has not been completely clarified. As far as the birchbark corpus is concerned, GEN/ACC forms *мена*, *теба*, *себа* appear from the middle of the 14<sup>th</sup> century onwards, whilst DAT/LOC *тебѣ*, *себѣ* are practically absent from the birchbark letters.<sup>137</sup> The form *меня*, according to Kiparsky, “wird im 16. Jh. ganz allgemein und im 17. alleinherrschend” (1967: 131).

Tracing and explaining the transition from *тебе/себе* to *тебя/себя* is more complicated, due to the existence of forms with *o*-vocalism, *тобе/тобя* and *собе/собя*, in the 14<sup>th</sup> and 15<sup>th</sup> centuries, with the *o* being influenced by the DAT/LOC forms. Naturally, this also impacts the transition from DAT/LOC *тобѣ* to *тебѣ*, *собѣ* to *себѣ*. Unbegaun concludes that for the official language of the 16<sup>th</sup> century, *e*-vocalism was the rule for the GEN/ACC as well as for the DAT/LOC (1935: 360). For the 17<sup>th</sup> century, Cocron follows Unbegaun: “Le vocalisme *-e-* était au XVII<sup>e</sup> siècle dominant dans la langue écrite comme dans la langue parlée” (1961: 135). Yet, according to Unbegaun, one should be careful and not regard *тебѣ* and *себѣ* as ‘higher’ than *тобѣ* and *собѣ* (1935: 360), as well as consider the possibility that *o*-vocalism in non-Moscovian texts, e.g. from Rjazan’ or Novgorod, had a dialectal background (1935: 359; cf. Cocron 1961: 136).<sup>138</sup>

What do we find in the various phrasebooks? In the Anonymous phrasebook, the ratio of GEN *мене* (old) : *меня* (new) is approximately 5 : 1, for the ACC the ratio is 2 : 1. For the GEN of PRON.PERS.2SG. and the PRON.REFL. combined, Fałowski finds the old form *тебе* (20×), the new *тебя/себя* (4×), but also the hybrid *тобя/собя* (15×). For the ACC the ratio, again, is different: *тебе/себе* (29×), *тобя* (9×), *тобе* (1×).

In s, the old and new forms of the PRON.PERS.1SG. also show a different ratio for the GEN and the ACC forms. For the GEN, the editors put the ratio of *menna* (new) : *mne/mene/menne* (old) at 75 : 46, for the ACC at 4 : 46. As to forms with *e* or *o* (GEN/ACC and DAT/LOC): both *e*- and *o*-vocalism occur, although the

<sup>137</sup> For this and the previous paragraph, see Zaliznjak 2004: 130-131.

<sup>138</sup> For this paragraph, see Zaliznjak 2004: 130-131. On the various forms, their explanation and their history, see, besides Unbegaun 1935 and Cocron 1961, also Kiparsky 1967: 132, Lunden 1972: 85f., Sørensen 1962: 85.

forms with *o* (*mob-*, *cob-*) constitute the minority of cases. For this paragraph, see Fałowski 1997: 21.

Fonne's phrasebook shows less variation in the forms under discussion than *s*. Quite remarkably, GEN/ACC and DAT/LOC forms showing *o*-vocalism are entirely absent.

The GEN and ACC of the PRON.PERS.1SG. is *меня*. In GRAM only *меня/менæ* is written. The same Latin spelling, *menæ*, is almost universally used for the ACC in PHRAS, PROVERB and RELI: *menæ* occurs 130 times, *mena* only 3 times (F 291 2, F 330 6, F 400 20). In the GEN, the spelling *mena* occurs more frequently, relatively speaking: *меня* is written *менæ* (105×), *mena* (28×) and, once, Cyrillic *меня* (F 444 3). The spelling *mena* is especially frequent in combination with the preposition *y*: there are 25 cases of *vmena* (out of 28) versus 32 of *vmenæ*. The difference between *menæ* and *mena* seems to be a spelling difference only, without a phonetic basis. In one case, *vmenæ* and *vmena* are even presented as equivalents:

- (53F) Gostite posāluite **vmenæ vmena** sdies [...] (F 228 1, 3)  
 Ich bȳdde iw kamett tho mÿ tho gaste [...]  
 Гостите пожалуйста **у меня: у меня** здѣсь  
 'Please, be my guests [here]'

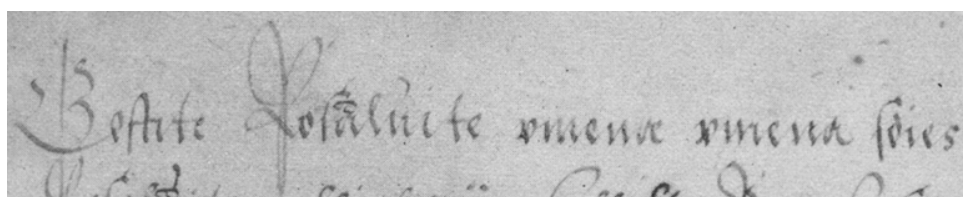


Figure 75: *vmenæ: vmena* (F 228 1)

The DAT of the PRON.PERS.1SG. in F is *мнѣ*. With 504 occurrences in PHRAS, PROVERB and RELI, it is highly frequent. It is written *mnie* (420×), *mne* (78×), *mni* (1×) or, in Cyrillic, *мнѣ* (5×).<sup>139</sup> The distribution of the spelling *mnie* is restricted: it is used mostly in PHRAS-GEN, occurring only 9 times in PHRAS-TRADE, mostly in the beginning;<sup>140</sup> GRAM has *мнѣ/mnie*.

The LOC only occurs twice in the data, written as *mne* (F 200 8) and *mnie* (F 360 12).

In the GEN of the PRON.PERS.2SG. morphological variation, rather than spelling variation, occurs. The 'old' form *tebe* 'тебе' predominates: it is used 101 times in PHRAS, PROVERB and RELI; the new form *tebæ* 'тебя' occurs only 30 times in

<sup>139</sup> Cyrillic in lines F 187 8, F 444 15, F 445 2, F 489 13, F 489 17. In *s*, the most frequent spelling is *Imne*; on initial *i*, see §5.6.1.

<sup>140</sup> F 276 1, F 276, 2, F 276 7, F 277 1, F 279 20, F 295 1, F 322 8, F 341 20, F 359 17.

these sections, and is also the only one listed in GRAM. However, the distribution is by no means balanced. The form *tebæ* is only used twice before F 395,<sup>141</sup> whereas *tebe* practically stops occurring from that same page onwards (only 9 occurrences after p. 395).

The ACC form *mebe* (written: *tebe*) occurs 88 times in PHRAS, PROVERB and RELI; starting from p. 395, it occurs another 16 times. The form *мебя* is rare: it occurs 5 times, with the first instance occurring on F 399; it is written *tebæ* (3×), *teba* (1×) and, in Cyrillic, *мебя* (1×). In GRAM, only *мебя/tebæ* is listed.

The DAT *мебѣ* is much more frequent: it has 436 occurrences in PHRAS, PROVERB and RELI. It is written *tebe* almost universally. Exceptional spellings are *tebie* (6×),<sup>142</sup> Cyrillic *мебѣ* (7×),<sup>143</sup> *tebæ* (1×, F 326 9), *tebi* (1× in *tebil* ‘тебѣ-ль’, F 310 3).

The LOC occurs very little: as *tebe* ‘тебѣ’ (2×, F 237 6, F 330 1) and *tebæ* ‘тебя’ (1×, F 429 13).

Note that this means that before, roughly speaking, F 395, there is in many cases no spelling difference between the GEN, DAT, ACC and LOC of the PRON.PERS.2SG.: all are written *tebe*. The decision to start using GEN *tebæ* rather than *tebe*, starting on F 395, must have been a conscious decision on the part of the scribe. It helped to disambiguate the GEN (*tebæ*) from the DAT and ACC (*tebe*). The lone spelling *tebæ* for the LOC confirms this: it occurs in *ottebæ* ‘о тебя’ (F 429 13), mimicking correct – and highly frequent – *ottebæ* ‘от тебя’ (with a GEN). The phrase repeats an earlier phrase, which has expected *ottebe* ‘о тебе’ (F 237 6).

The PRON.REFL. is far less frequent in PHRAS, PROVERB and RELI than the other two pronouns discussed here.

The only form for the GEN is *sebe* ‘себе’ (7×; 2× after F 395). GRAM, by contrast, has *себя/sebæ* (F 150 12).

For the ACC, like for the GEN, we find *sebe* ‘себе’ (14×; 1× after F 395), as well as two instances of *sebæ* ‘себя’ (F 209 18, F 500 3, the latter being in RELI). Again, GRAM differs from this usage: it lists only *себя/sebæ* (F 150 22).

The DAT is *себѣ*, occurring 42 times. It is written as *sebe*, with only two exceptions: *sebie* (F 211 7) and *sebbe* (F 397 8). GRAM has *себѣ/sebie* (F 150 11).

The LOC is *sebe* ‘себѣ’, only occurring once (F 227 4).

This means that *sebe* is used for all oblique cases except INSTR, much like *tebe* before F 395. Apparently, here, the scribe saw no need to distinguish between the various case forms, which could find its motivation in its relatively low frequency.

<sup>141</sup> F 208 11, F 326 8.

<sup>142</sup> F 384 1, F 396 1, F 402 17 (emended from *tebæ*), F 413 12, F 414 15, F 416 16.

<sup>143</sup> F 444 1, F 444 4, F 444 6, F 444 16, F 489 13, F 489 17.

### 6.2.3 PRON.PERS.1SG/2SG. and PRON.REFL. INSTR.SG.

In the Old Novgorod dialect, the INSTR.SG. of the PRON.PERS.1SG/2SG. and the PRON.REFL. was *мъною, тобою, собою* (Zaliznjak 2004: 130). Modern Standard Russian has *мною, тобой, собой*, with the longer forms *мною, тобою* and *собою* being reserved for metric or stylistic purposes. For the 16<sup>th</sup> and 17<sup>th</sup> centuries, both Unbegaun (1935: 362) and Cocron (1961: 136) only found the long forms.

The numbers in s lie approximately as follows: *мною* : *мною* at 17 : 5 (3.4 : 1), *тобой* : *тобою* 52 : 19 (2.7 : 1), *собой* : *собою* 5 : 1. A prefers *мною* over *мною* (20 : 7), as well as *тобой/собой* over *тобою/собою* (40 : 3). Compared to s, the ratio of short and long forms has shifted in F.

The ratio of *мною* 'мною' : *мною* 'мною' comes out as 28 : 7 (4 : 1). The two forms are not evenly distributed over the data. Whereas before F 370 *мною* predominates, both forms occur equally often starting from that page: 6× *мною* vs. 5× *мною*.

71 cases of *тобой* contrast with 22 cases of *тобою* (3.2 : 1). Again, F 370 can roughly be seen as a turning point, but in the reverse direction compared with *мною* ~ *мною*: the short form *тобой* occurs as much before this page as it does after (35 : 36); the long form *тобою* occurs 17 times before F 370, but only 5 times on or after that same page.

The reflexive *собой/собою* does not occur very often. GRAM has *ссобою/soboю* 'с собою' (F 153 7), the following sections of the phrasebook have *soboю* (1×), *seboi* (2×) and *soboi* (3×). Especially the form *seboi* (F 201 3, F 244 1) – transliterated in TF II as 'с<o>бой' – draws attention. The first time (F 201 3), *seboi* occurs in a phrase which has a correspondence in s (100r 20-22). This phrase has *promesÿ sebbe* 'промежи себе', using the GEN rather than the INSTR. If the case was changed by the scribe, the notation *seboi* – rather than *soboi* – may have been given in by the e-vocalism of the source's *sebbe*, the low frequency of *собой* (relative to the much more frequent *тобой*) and the general tendency to remove o-vocalism from the PRON.PERS.2SG. and PRON.REFL. of his source.

### 6.2.4 PRON.PERS.3SG/3PL.: epenthetic [n] in oblique cases

In Modern Standard Russian, the oblique cases of the 3<sup>rd</sup> person PERS.PRON. *он, она, оно, они* have an initial [n] when used after prepositions. Well-known examples are *нет его* 'he's not there' (GEN.SG.M. *его*) yet *без него* 'without him', and the INSTR.SG.F. *ей* 'her' yet *с ней* 'with her'. The use of this [n], however, is subject to considerable variation, both in dialects (see, e.g., DARJA II, map 66, on the variation of the GEN.SG.F. following a preposition) as well as in the standard language (see, e.g., Rozental' 1997, §167.5).

Historically, this [n] was not part of the pronoun. It is generally believed that its origin is the final *n* of the Common Slavic prepositions \**vъn* ‘в’, \**sъn* ‘с’ and \**kъn* ‘к’, which in combinations such as \**kъn jemu* was reanalysed as belonging to the personal pronoun (\**kъ njemu*) (Hill 1977: 306f.). From there, it spread to cases where the pronoun was governed by other prepositions (Hill 1977: 307ff.).

In the birchbark corpus, forms with [n] are the rule. Zaliznjak explicitly points out its absence, as a dialectal feature, in *y ку* (BBL 129; 2004: 128, 645) and [n]p[*u uxо*] (BBL 193; 2004: 129).

In the various phrasebooks, the picture is more diverse. *s* does not have *n*- (Bolek 1997: 66), whilst in *А* it occurs regularly (Fałowski 1996: 51). In *F*, initial *n*- is frequent, as was already noted by Bolek (1997: 66), although she does not further quantify her observation. The numbers lie as follows: in all of PHRAS, [n] occurs in 25% of the cases where 3<sup>rd</sup> person PRON.PERS. occurs after a preposition: 33 out of 132 cases.<sup>144</sup>

However, the pronouns with [n] are not evenly spread over all prepositions. The table below shows all cases of a preposition governing a 3<sup>rd</sup> person PRON.PERS., in descending order of their total frequency.

<i>preposition</i>	<i>without [n]</i>	<i>with [n]</i>	<i>total</i>
<i>за</i> + ACC/INSTR	32	0	32
<i>от</i>	22	1	23
<i>у</i>	14	5	19
<i>с</i> + INSTR	10	5	15
<i>в</i>	5	6	11
<i>к</i>	0	9	9
<i>на</i>	4	2	6
<i>по</i> + LOC	2	2	4
<i>без</i>	2	0	2
<i>опричь</i>	2	0	2
<i>по</i> + ACC	1	0	1
<i>про</i>	2	0	2
<i>с/из</i> + GEN	2	0	2
<i>до</i>	1	0	1
<i>перед</i>	0	3	3
<b><i>total</i></b>	<b>99</b>	<b>33</b>	<b>132</b>

**Table 27: Prepositions governing a PRON.PERS.3SG/3PL.**

<sup>144</sup> The ratio does not change when only strict correspondences between *s* and *F* are considered (25 out of 99 cases).

The table illustrates that pronouns with [n] never occur with *za* (e.g. *sa iovo* and *sa ihm*), always with *κ* (e.g. *knemu*), and irregularly with some other prepositions. Two consecutive phrases from F 386 show the irregular insertion of the [n] in very similar cases (the corresponding phrases in s both have *vjogo*):

- (54F) Podruzisti mnje tovaru kupit **viovo**, on mnje  
odnomu ne verit.  
Weß borge vor mÿ de wahre van ehme thokopen,  
he gelouedt mÿ alleÿne nicht. (F 386 13-16)  
Подручись ты мнѣ товару купить у **ѣво**, он мнѣ  
одному не вѣрит.  
'Be bailsmen for me to buy the goods from him, he does  
not believe me alone.'
- (55F) Ia potzel stim tzeloviekum torgovat, da tovar  
**vnevo** ne storgoval.  
Ich begunde mÿt dem mahanne tho  
koeslagen, (F 386 17-20)  
Я почал с тим челоуѣком торговать, да товар  
у **нево** не сторговал.<sup>145</sup>  
'I began to bargain with that man but I did not [achieve  
the bargain] (buy the goods from him).'

In one case, (56), we find a form with [n] as a synonym of a form without [n]. Note that in this case the pronoun is not governed by a preposition (see Mžel'skaja 1983: 49).

- (56F) Tuoi lisitzi chori sportili satim ia **gich: nich**  
ottebe ne kuplu.  
Dine foße hebben de worme gegehten: v(or)doruen  
darumb wil ich se van dÿ nicht kopen. (F 322 20-23)  
Твои лисицы хори <и>спортили; затим я **их: них(!)**  
от тебе не куплю.  
'Your foxes are [spoilt by moths] (eaten / spoilt by worms);  
therefore I will not buy them from you.'<sup>146</sup>

Although the insertion of forms with [n] could be the work of an unknown earlier scribe (if one posits a more complicated stemma than proposed in §3.5), it seems reasonable to assume that in this case, like in others, the scribe of F is responsible for the innovation. This innovation can be interpreted as a conscious effort on the part of the scribe to move away from markedly local forms without [n] to less dialectal forms starting in [n]. This motivation falls in line with what we have seen so far.

<sup>145</sup> In both cases, the corresponding phrase in s has *vjogo*.

<sup>146</sup> s only has *gjoch*.

### 6.3 PRON.REFL. *своѣ* (use)

Unlike Russian, German does not have reflexive possessive pronouns, which makes their use in Russian by a native speaker of German prone to errors. Fonne's and Schroue's phrasebooks both employ the pronoun *своѣ* extensively, and in most cases, correct referral does not pose a problem, even in phrases where multiple instances of the pronoun refer to different subjects, as (57) illustrates.

- (57F) [...] da tÿ mnie priprovadis **suoi** tovar  
 da ias tebe **suoi** tovar na promenu priprovaszu.  
 vnd du leuerst mÿ **dÿne** wahre tho, vnd ~~du~~ ich  
 wÿll dÿ **mÿne** wahre wedderumb tho leuern. (F 300 6-7, 14-15)
- да ты мнѣ припроводишь **своѣ** товар, да яз тебѣ  
**своѣ** товар на промѣну припроважу  
 'And you will deliver your goods to me, and in return I shall deliver  
 my goods to you'
- (57S) da thÿe Imne prÿprowaddÿs **ſuoÿ** thowar I. Ja tebbe  
**ſuoÿ** thowar na promenu prÿprouaßzu. (S 13v 8-9)

Some smaller differences in the use of these reflexive pronouns can be found. In the following phrase, F employs a slightly different construction than S; the use of the pronoun is correct in both manuscripts:

- (58F) Skasi mne tzto mnie **svoiemu** aspodaru ottvetzat.  
 Segge du mÿ watt ich mÿnem heren  
 antworden schall. (F 210 6-8)
- Скажи мнѣ, что мнѣ своему осподарю отвѣчать.  
 'Tell me what I am to say in answer to my master.'
- (58S) Schassÿ thÿ Imne stho **moÿumu** aspodaru otwestaÿ  
 Sage du mir, was ich meinem herren Antworten soll, (S 106v 3-4)

The Anonymous phrasebook has the same construction as F, and also reflects *своѣ*: *Skasy mene tzto mene svoiemu hospodaru otwetzaty* (A 54v 6).

It is quite likely that the scribe of F was aware of the possibilities to vary between, e.g., *своѣ* and *моѣ* without a major difference in meaning. In the following phrase, S reflects *своѣ*, but F has *моѣ* instead:

- (59F) Ne vosmi tÿ na suoi duschu oddai tÿ moi præmo,  
 da duschi **tuoi** ne potoppi.  
 Nim idt nicht vp dine sehle, giff mÿn recht  
 wadt mÿ gehordtt vnd vordome **dÿne** sehle  
 nicht. (F 292 9-13)

- (59S) Ne woszmÿ thÿ na swoÿu dußu oddaÿ thÿ moÿe premoÿe  
 da dussze **suope** nepotoppÿ  
 Nim es nicht vf deine sehle, gib mir hehe recht was mein ist  
 vnnd vordöme **deine** sehle nicht. (S 10V 19-22)

Only in a small number of cases, the use of a reflexive pronoun is at odds with its German translation. One example is the following phrase from F, reflecting *своÿ* rather than expected *твоÿ*:

- (60F) Smetli mnie **suoiogo** tovaru smotrit na  
 suoiu luboff.  
 Mach ich **dÿne** wahre woll besehen. vp  
 mÿn behag. (F 304 1-4)  
 СМѢТЬ ЛИ МНѢ СВОЁГО(!) ТОВАРУ СМОТРИТЬ НА  
 СВОЮ ЛЮБОВЬ?  
 ‘May I look at your wares at my leisure?’

- (60A) Smejutli **twoi** towar posmotryti  
 Darf Ick wyne war besehen (A 77v 8-9)

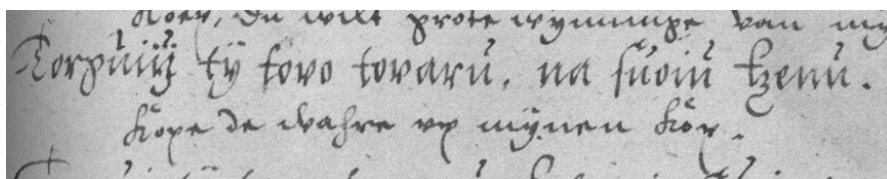
The phrase has no correspondence in s, but the corresponding phrase in the Anonymous phrasebook, (60A), has the expected *твоÿ*, which could point to conscious innovation on the part of the scribe of F. Conscious innovation may also be assumed in the following phrase in F, which *does* have a correspondence in Schroue’s phrasebook:

- (61F) Otzum tÿ **moi** tovar smotzil: pomotzil.  
 Worumb heffstu **dÿne** wahre genettetd. (F 320 17-18)  
 Очѐм ты мой товар смочил: помочил?  
 ‘Why did you get [my] (your) goods wet [/moist]?’

- (61S) Vtßum tuÿ **suoy** thowar pomotzÿle  
 Warumb hastu **deine** wahre genoteth. p. (S 23r 4-5)

The clash of *moi* and *dÿne* in (61F) is not found in (61S), which has *suoy* ‘своÿ’ and *deine*. Another phrase, not corresponding to s, but showing emendations instead, reveals the innovation of the scribe:

- (62F) Torguiÿ tÿ tovo tovaru, na **suoiu** tzenu.  
 Kope de wahre vp **mÿnen** kop. (F 349 12-13)  
 Торгуй ты тово товару на **свою** цѣну.  
 ‘Buy the goods at [your] (my) price’

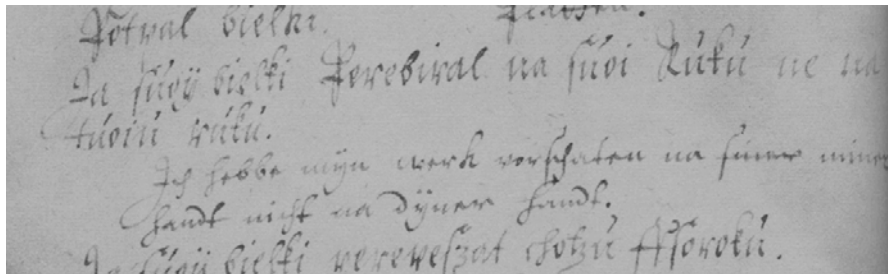




In this phrase, the pronoun *своѣ* is at odds with the German translation *mÿnen* ‘my’ (rather than *dÿnen* ‘your’). Several relevant facts show that this mistake is the scribe’s own doing. Firstly, the whole phrase has no correspondence in *s*, and interrupts a sequence of corresponding phrases between the two phrase-books (see §3.3.4). Secondly, *Torguiÿ* was emended from earlier *Torguiu* ‘top-ryu’. This points to the fact that the scribe initially started by writing a phrase from the perspective of a first person singular. On second thought, he switched to an imperative singular, even before writing *tÿ*, suggested by the lack of emendation in this word. The confusion between first and second person singular, however, remained, as is shown by the mistranslation of *na suiou tzenu* as well as the emendation of the first letter of *tovo* from *s*, the initial letter of *suoi*.

A final example of the awareness of the scribe of the relatively complex meaning of *своѣ* is the secondary correction of *siner* into *miner* in (63F); the original *siner* may have been prompted by the same initial letter or sound of *suoi* and *siner*:

- (63F) Ia suoÿ bielki perebiral na **suoi** ruku ne na  
 tuoiu ruku.  
 Ich hebbe mÿn werk vorschaten na ~~siner~~ miner  
 handt nicht na dÿner handt. (F 462 10-13)  
 Я свои бѣлки перебирал на свой руку, не на  
 твою руку.  
 ‘I sorted out my squirrel pelts to my advantage, not to your advantage.’



The scribe’s influence on the use of reflexive pronouns as such does not impact the evaluation of the linguistic value of the material in the same way as some of the other phenomena discussed in this study, but illustrates that the awareness of the scribe of Russian grammar, as well as his difficulties in actively using it, extended to syntactically dependent phenomena.

#### 6.4 The NOM.SG.M. ending -e

A well-known feature of the Old Novgorod dialect is the NOM.SG.M. ending *-e* for nominal and pronominal masculine *o*-stems (Zaliznjak 2004: 96, 99-102). This ending contrasts with the zero ending  $\emptyset$  elsewhere in Slavic. To name but one typical example: *убилѣ ма пасынкѣ и выгонилѣ ма изо двора* ‘избил меня

пасынок и выгнал со двора' (BVL 415; 1360-1380), with two *l*-participles and the word *пасынок* 'stepson' showing this particular ending. Honselaar showed that the ending survives to the present day in the dialect of Ostrovcy in Pskovskaja oblast' (2001: 178f.).

It is not surprising that the same NOM.SG.M. ending *-e* can be found in the phrasebooks of Schroue and Fonne. Its occurrence in F is documented by Zal-iznjak (1986) and further investigated by Schaeken (1992), as well as by Le Feu-vre (1993), but only in the context of the *e > o* change. In this section, the data will be re-examined, especially in the light of the insights gained from comparing them with those in Schroue's phrasebook. This comparison will lend depth to the investigation by Schaeken. I will show that the NOM.SG.M. ending *-e* was consciously removed by the scribe of F, for which he employed a number of different strategies. The removal of the ending left its traces on the data, impacting the linguistic value of the data.

#### 6.4.1 s and F compared

The NOM.SG.M. ending *-e* occurs in both s and F. But there are some striking differences, as Bolek observes:

"The ending *-e* can be encountered decidedly more often in s, especially where in adjectives F has the general Russian forms without *-e*, e.g. *brattka - bratk, druge - drug, Paszynncke - paszinok, grebte - chrebett, Wethe - vetoch, Jollodne - golloden, golle - goll, Neme - nem, rade - rad*, and similar cases." (Bolek 1997: 65)

"What speaks in favour of the archaic character of the text of Thomas Schroue is the use of the *l*-participle in the form *-le* (approx. 250 cases), with an abundance that may be unparalleled in any other historical text. T. Fenne retains these forms, but in many cases they have been consistently replaced by a participle in *-l*, such as [s] *bule* (14 occurrences), [F] only *buil/bül*, [s] *welele* (6), *welell* (4), [F] only *velel*, [s] *wolodele*, [F] *volodell*." (Bolek 1997: 65f.)

As we have seen in other cases, the difference between F and s is familiar: the data in s reflect the more local and more archaic situation (i.e., NOM.SG.M. *-e*), whilst many corresponding entries in F have the NOM.SG.M. ending *-Ø* typical for the rest of Russian, making them less locally marked as a result.

A look at the data in their context conveys a better picture of how the ending manifests itself. First, I will discuss the data from the lexical sections of s and F. An extensive analysis of these data is not necessary to establish that they comply with the general picture: the lexical section of Schroue's phrasebook shows more occurrences of *-e* than Fonne's. The highest density of contrasting cases can be found in the lists with adjectives used to describe people (s 73r-74r, F 42-46), as illustrated by the following entries:

Wÿsokum Lÿue Solueck

(s 73r 30)

Guastl̥yue Solueck	(s 73r 31)
Sutl̥yue Solueck	(s 73v 5)
Bohate Solueck	(s 73v 10)
Muchmate Solueck	(s 73v 14)
Sedate Solueck	(s 74r 4)
Neme Solueck	(s 74r 15)
Slepe Solueck	(s 74r 16)
Bluchge Solueck	(s 74r 17)
Sylue Solueck	(s 74r 20)
высокъ <sup>м</sup> ли <sup>в</sup> [ч(е)л(о)в(ѣ)к] – visokumliff [tzelovek] ‘высок<о>умлив’	(F 45 21)
хвастъли <sup>в</sup> [чел(о)в(ѣ)к] – chvastliff [tzelovek] ‘хвастлив’	(F 46 3)
шутли <sup>в</sup> [ч(е)л(о)в(ѣ)к] – s <sup>h</sup> utliff [tzelovek] ‘шутлив’	(F 45 4)
богатъ [ч(е)л(о)в(ѣ)к] – bogatt tzelovek ‘богат’	(F 45 13)
мо <sup>х</sup> натъ – mochnat ‘мохнат’	(F 43 18)
седатъ – sedatt ‘сѣдат’	(F 43 15)
нѣмъ – niem ‘нѣм’	(F 43 9)
слепъ – slep ‘слѣп’	(F 43 7)
глѣхъ – gluch ‘глух’	(F 43 8)
силенъ – silen ‘силен’	(F 43 13)

As we shall see, the sections with full phrases (for F: PHRAS, PROVERB and RELI) are much more interesting when it comes to the ending under discussion. Again, two typical examples show the difference between s and F:

- (64F) Dovedi menæ stzeloviekum dobrum tzto ia tebe  
**vinovat** [...]  
 Auerbring idt mÿ mÿt eÿnem fromenn  
 mahne dat ich dÿ schuldig sÿ (F 329 1-2, 3-4)  
 Доведи меня с человѣком добрым, что я тебѣ  
**ВИНОВАТ.**  
 ‘Prove against me, through a reliable man, that I am in debt to you’
- (64S) Doweddÿ thÿ menna solueckum dobrum stho Ja tebbe  
**wÿnowathe** [...] (s 26r 9-10)
- (65F) Botzka slonum roszipalos, da lon vies **smelsa:**  
**smotzilsa: sgresnilsa.**  
 Dat flaß iß faht iß geborsten van ander  
 vnd dat flaß iß altomahle vorworen:  
 natt: vnd vnreÿn geworden. (F 391 9-13)  
 Бочка с лёном россыпалось, да лён весь <и>змялся:  
 <и>змочился: <и>згрязнился.  
 ‘The vat of flax has burst apart and all the flax has become [crushed]  
 (entangled)/wet/(and) dirty’
- (65S) Voetßka Ißolmom voßÿpakas da Loem wes **Ißmeeles:**  
**Ißmottsÿles: Ißgreßnÿles.** (s 52r 1-2)

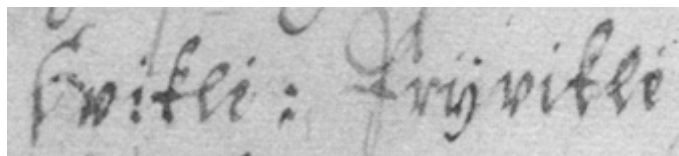
In (64), F's *vinovat* 'виноват' contrasts with s's *wjnowathe* 'виновате'. In (65), the zero-ending and the reflexive suffix *-ся* in F *smelsa* '<и>змялся', *smotzilsa* '<и>змочился' and *sgresnilsa* '<и>згрязнился' correspond to the NOM.SG.M. *-e* ending and reflexive suffix *-сь* of *Ißmeeles* 'измялесь', *Ißmottsyles* 'измочилесь' and *Ißgrefßnyles* 'изгрязнилесь' in s.<sup>147</sup>

#### 6.4.2 Removal as innovation

Structural linguistic differences between s and F are the outcome of a consciously applied innovation. So far, we have seen time and again that Schroue's manuscript reflects the situation in the shared source, whereas the data in Fonne's phrasebook reflect the innovation. Also, emendations showed that the scribe of F should be credited with many of these innovations. It lies within reason to assume that in this case, too, the data of F are more innovative than those in s. Can this assumption actually be backed with facts? In other words: does Fonne's phrasebook show any physical traces of the removal of the NOM.SG.M. ending *-e*? There are not many, but traces can in fact be found.

This is the case in the phrase below (no correspondence in s), where the words *svikli* 'свыклый' and *prjvikli* 'привыклый' were emended from earlier *svikle* (or even *swikle*, 'свыкле') and *privjkle* (or even *priwikle*, 'привыкле'):

- (66F) Ia **svikli**: **prjvikli** togo diela dielat.  
 Ich si datt werk gewondtlich tho doende. (F 236 12-13)  
 Я **свыклый**: **привыклый** того дѣла дѣлать.  
 '[I am an experienced one/] I am used to doing that work'<sup>148</sup>



If we accept this reading, the scribe of F replaced the short forms *свыкле* and *привыкле* by the long forms *свыклый* and *привыклый*.<sup>149</sup> In another, very similar phrase in F and s, the scribe of F chose to maintain the short forms *Ißwÿkle* 'свыкле' and *rowÿckle* 'новыкле', as reflected in s, but leaving out the local ending *-e*:

<sup>147</sup> The scribe of F also removed – perhaps overzealously – the initial *i-* as part of his attempts to get rid of prothetic *i-* (see §5.6.1).

<sup>148</sup> On *свыкл* and *привыкл* rather than *свык* and *привык*, see §6.4.4 below.

<sup>149</sup> Note the reading *svikli*: *prjvikle* 'свыклый: привыкле' by the editors of TF II (and other publications, such as Schaeken 1992); the original manuscript, however, clearly reads *svikli* and *prjvikli*.

- (67F) Ia povadilsa: **svikl: privikl** stoboiu torgovat [...] (F 370 8, 11)  
 Ich si idt gewandt mÿt dÿ tho kopslagen [...] (F 370 8, 11)  
 Я повадилса: **свыкл: привыкл** с тобою торговать.  
 'I have [got the habit/] become accustomed to trade with you'<sup>150</sup>
- (67s) Ia powaddeles: **Ißwÿkle: powÿckle** sthoboÿ turguwath [...] (s 45r 20)

Two entries from LEX can be adduced as additional, indirect evidence of the scribe's efforts:

- погиблъ/pogible 'arm bedrouett; [is] wretched, grieved' (F 43 16)  
 тоскъли<sup>8</sup> [ч(е)л(о)в(ѣ)к]/toskliue [tzelovek ] 'bemoÿedtt; [is] worried' (F 45 14)

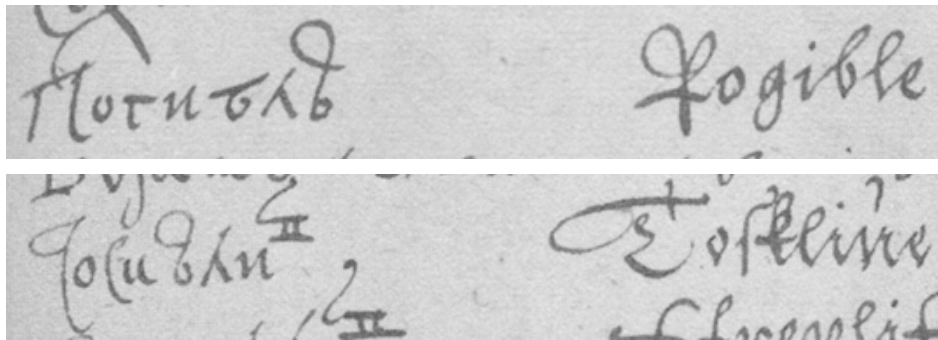


Figure 76: *погиблъ* – *pogible* (F 43 16), *тоскъли<sup>8</sup>* – *toskliue* (F 45 14)

In these entries, the Cyrillic and Latin columns do not match: Cyrillic *погиблъ* 'погибл' and *тоскъли<sup>8</sup>* 'тосклив' (with a zero-ending) correspond to Latin *pogible* 'погибле' and *toskliue* 'тоскливе' (with *-e*). This non-correspondence is atypical (see §5.2 above), but can be explained by assuming that F's source reflected *погибле* and *тоскливе*. The entry *podÿble Solueck* 'погибле чѣловѣк' (s 73v 17) in s confirms this for the first entry.<sup>151</sup> The scribe of F adopted the ending *-Ø* in the Cyrillic column, which is closer to the Cyrillic writing tradition, but failed to apply the same change in the Latin column.<sup>152</sup>

The general pattern of scribal innovation in Fonne's phrasebook, as well as the direct and indirect evidence lead to the conclusion that the scribe of F consciously removed the NOM.SG.M. ending *-e* from the text he copied.

For this, the scribe must have had a motivation. It is unlikely that the ending simply disappeared from the vernacular (especially given the modern-day evidence, see above). But to speakers of Russian – native and non-native alike – the ending must have been highly salient, and perceived as distinctly local. For the

<sup>150</sup> See §6.4.4 on the final consonant cluster *-kl*.

<sup>151</sup> The reading of *podÿble* as 'подлый' (by the editors of s) is improbable.

<sup>152</sup> On *погибл* rather than *погиб*, see §6.4.4 below.

scribe of F, this seems a plausible motivation for removal. At the same time, more than 70 occurrences remain in the data, preferring rather specific environments (Schacken 1992); it is unlikely that a conscientious scribe simply overlooked all of these cases (see §6.4.4 below).

### 6.4.3 Removal strategies

In order to rid himself of the marked ending *-e*, the scribe of F had multiple strategies at his disposal.

The first strategy was removing the ending. In the majority of cases this was as straightforward as simply dropping word-final *-e* from an *l*-participle or adjective. We have seen a number of examples from LEX above, here are a few from PHRAS:

<i>godill</i> ‘ходил’	(F 207 21)
~ <i>godyle</i> (s 104v 14)	
<i>vysakladall</i> ‘вызакладал’	(F 209 8)
~ <i>wyßakledale</i> (s 48v 12)	
<i>davall</i>	(F 297 2)
~ <i>dauale</i> (s 12r 18)	
<i>dall</i>	(F 308 3)
~ <i>dale</i> (s 17v 28)	
<i>vtesnill</i>	(F 225 20)
~ <i>vteßnyle</i> (s 35r 3)	
<i>volodell</i>	(F 371 13)
~ <i>wolodele</i> (s 45v 19)	
<i>potenul</i>	(F 379 17)
~ <i>potemnule</i> (s 48r 19)	
<i>saplatil</i>	(F 347 9)
~ <i>ßaplattyle</i> (s 34r 18)	
<i>dumall</i>	(F 229 21)
~ <i>dumale</i> (s 60v 6)	
<i>dirsal</i>	(F 322 2)
~ <i>dyeßale</i> (s 23v 17)	
<i>vinovatt</i>	(F 203 19)
~ <i>wynowate</i> (s 102r 8)	
<i>vinovat</i>	(F 385 1)
~ <i>wynowathe</i> (s 49v 12)	

In other cases, this particular strategy required the scribe to work around and adapt the shape of the reflexive suffix *-ся/-сь*, insert a fleeting vowel, or remove the typically Pskov reflex *-кл-* or *-л-* (or combinations thereof):

<i>Sdruszilsza</i> ‘сдружился’	(F 209 1)
~ <i>Issdrusyles</i> (s 105 4)	
<i>ialsa</i> ‘ялся’	(F 314 15)
~ <i>Jeles</i> (s 22r 3)	

<i>saloszilsa</i> ‘зложился’	(F 382 17)
~ <i>loßyles</i> (s 48v 9)	
<i>nadialsa</i> ‘надъялся’	(F 414 19)
~ <i>nadejelys</i> (s 64r 18)	
<i>poscholl</i> ‘пошёл’	(F 208 17)
~ <i>possle</i> (s 105r 16)	
<i>proszol</i> ‘прошёл’	(F 292 20)
~ <i>proßle</i> (s 11r 5)	
<i>priszol</i> ‘пришёл’	(F 322 15)
~ <i>prjßle</i> (s 24r 5)	
<i>naszol</i> ‘нашёл’	(F 364 6)
~ <i>naßle</i> (s 42r 12)	
<i>bluil</i> ‘блюл’	(F 294 13)
~ <i>blugele: beuggle</i> ‘блюгеле: блюгле’ (s 11r 25)	

Another strategy was to change the tense of a verb form, or change the short form of an adjective into a long form, as we have already seen above:

<i>ne pokorisza</i> ‘не покорисься’	(F 210 1)
~ <i>ne poroljēs</i> ‘не покорилесь’ (s 106r 14)	
<i>molvis</i> ‘молвишь; redest’	(F 353 3)
~ <i>folgale moluyle</i> ‘солгале: молвиле; Lügenhaftigk sagest vnnd nachredest’ (s 36v 15)	
ia <b>velikoi</b> kuptzina ‘я великой купчина’	(F 393 3)
~ Ja <b>velicke</b> kuerptsyna ‘я велике купчина’ (s 53r 13)	

Another category of strategies employed by the scribe of F relies on the use of synonymous alternatives. In a number of cases, s includes two (or more) alternatives for a specific word, of which only one displayed the ending *-e*. In such cases, the scribe of F could choose to simply delete the form with that ending, and retain the alternative:

<i>oprafflu</i> ‘оправлю’	(F 203 13)
~ <b>oprasyles</b> <i>opraulu</i> ‘ <b>опросилесь</b> : оправлю’ (s 101v 18-19)	
<i>otzol</i> ‘отчёл’	(F 322 9)
~ <i>ottßull ottoßkle</i> ‘отчёл: <b>оточкле</b> ’ (s 23v 23)	
<i>putal</i> ‘пытал’	(F 418 6)
~ <i>puthall sottzybe</i> ‘путал: <b>сочиле</b> ’ (s 110v 4)	
<i>saleszalsa</i> ‘залежался’	(F 285 13)
~ <i>salesfall: poruoloykes</i> ‘залежал: <b>провоноклесь</b> ’ (s 7v 7) <sup>153</sup>	
<i>posnalsa</i> ‘познался’	(F 396 12)
~ <i>poßnalße: poßnales</i> ‘познался: позналесь’ (s 54v 18)	
<i>ne dotzsolsa: doszla</i> ‘не дочёлся: дошло’	(F 341 22)

<sup>153</sup> In a highly similar phrase elsewhere in F, the verb was retained: *provoloklos: saleszalsa* ‘провоноклесь: залежался’ (F 322 13). Note the neuter gender of *провоноклесь* (see §6.4.4 below).

~ *dotzolssze: detzkles: doβlo* ‘дочёлся: дочклесь: дошло’ (s 32v 5)

Another solution was to reverse the position of two alternatives, placing the unmarked variant at the beginning:

*vtzol: vtzkle: vtægal* ‘учёл: учкле: утягал’<sup>154</sup> (F 387 3)  
~ *vtzkle: vtzball* ‘учкле: учёл’ (s 50v 3)

The following example is a bit of a special case:

*ialles: ialsa* ‘ялесь: ялся’ (F 206 7)  
~ *Jassle* (s 108r 1)

If the source of F also had the corrupt form *Jassle* as reflected in s (rather than something which unambiguously pointed at *ялесь* or *ялся*), we must conclude that the scribe reconstructed the two alternatives himself. If the source contained *ялесь*, the scribe in fact added *ялся* as an alternative.<sup>155</sup>

Sometimes, the ending *-e* disappeared as a result of more radical changes. In a number of cases, a word with the ending *-e* was replaced by a synonym, and the ending was removed at the same time:

*teresv* ‘терезв’ (F 209 20)  
~ *tweressne* ‘тверезне’ (s 105v 18)  
*kral* ‘крал’ (F 226 19)  
~ *vgrabyle* ‘уграбиле’ (s 42v 14)  
*chodil* ‘ходил’ (F 412 15)  
~ *proβle* ‘прошле’ (s 63r 3)  
*perenell* ‘перенял’ (F 348 8)  
~ *pereuoll: pereuothgele* ‘перевёл: перевёлгле’ (s 34v 12)  
*Poteral* ‘потерял’ (F 365 6)  
~ *Promottβy: promutyles* ‘? : промытилесь’ (s 42v 17)  
*protorguvalsa* ‘проторговался’ (F 377 16)  
~ *otkuryles* ‘окупилесь’ (s 47r 16)

A similar approach by the scribe was not to use a different word, but to change the construction altogether, as shown in the following three cases:

<sup>154</sup> Also note the added alternative *утягал*, which must have been taken from the following phrase in the source (cf. *ottegales*, s 50v 10, and its absence in F 387 10-14).

<sup>155</sup> We cannot exclude the possibility that the source had *ялся*, in which case we would be forced to assume that the scribe of F added, rather than removed, a NOM.SG.M. in *-e*. This would be atypical, and in light of its removal in *Jeles* (s 22r 3) ~ *ialsa* ‘ялся’ (F 314 15) not very likely.



- (68F) Pomnis tzto tÿ mnïe ffzeras **govorill**, tÿ chotil  
 mnïe kuptzinu dabuit, kotori otmenæ tovar  
**kupit** [...]  
 Gedenkestu och wadt du gistern lauedest,  
 du woldest mÿ eÿnen kopmahn krigen,  
 de de wahre wolde van mÿ kopen [...] (F 401 9-11, 12-14)
- Помнишь, что ты мнѣ вчерась **говорил**? Ты хотѣл  
 мнѣ купчину добыть, который от меня товар  
**купит**.  
 ‘Do you remember what you [said to] (promised) me yesterday?  
 You wanted to get me a merchant who would buy the wares from me’
- (68S) Pomnißlÿ thÿ stho thÿ Imne offzoras **Jalles gouwerÿll**  
 thÿ Imne gottele kuoptßÿn dabueth kotorÿ **gottsele**  
 vmenna thowar **kupÿth** da thÿ [...]  
 Gedenncke was du mir gesternn gelobet hast, Du  
 woltest mir einen kauffman zuwegebringen, der  
 wahre wolte vonn mir kauffenn [...] (S 57V 15-17, 19-21)
- (69F) [...] daffno on mnïe  
 poszulil tovar **prodat**, [...]  
 [...] altohandt  
 lauede he mÿ de wahre thouorkopen [...] (F 359 10-11, 12-13)
- Давно он мнѣ посулил товар продать.  
 ‘[Long ago] he (just) promised to sell me the goods’
- (69S) [...] da wettßa onn  
 Imne poßulull, **Jales** thowar **prodath** [...]  
 [...] Abendts lobete ehr mir die wahre zuuorkauffen [...] (S 40r 1-2, 4)

Note that where words were replaced or constructions altered, we cannot be fully sure of what prompted the change: was it the desire to eliminate the NOM.SG.M. ending *-e* or a welcome side-effect of a change applied for other reasons?

Of course, the various strategies could be combined:

- ialsa** ‘ялся’ (F 366 20)  
 ~ **Jales Imales** ‘ялесь : ималесь’ (S 44r 4)
- ne dosuk mena sanel* ‘недосуг мнѣ занял’ (F 291 2)  
 ~ *nedosszugk Imne bule: samelo*: ‘недосуг мнѣ быле: заняле’ (S 8r 24)
- roslesles: rosplatilsa: røsmoluilsa*  
 ‘розлѣзлесь: расплатился: смолвился’ (F 343 18)  
 ~ **roßzoklos: roßleeßles: roßplattÿles: roßprauÿles**  
 ‘розочклесь: розлѣзлесь: расплатилесь: рoсправилесь’ (S 33r 13)

The various strategies used by the scribe point to the fact that he did not mechanically remove the ending *-e*, but determined the best approach for each new

form he encountered. This shows that he was working in a conscious and precise way.

#### 6.4.4 Linguistic consequences

The large-scale removal of *-e*, a conscious effort on the part of the scribe of F, compels the researcher to be very careful in drawing conclusions about the language of the time, and to be aware of traces that the removal may have left.

First of all – and no different from what we find in the corpus of birchbark letters – it seems that in the 16<sup>th</sup> and 17<sup>th</sup> centuries the NOM.SG.M. endings *-e* and *-Ø* were in concurrent use. Of the two variants, *-e* was a distinctly local ending and *-Ø* was more in line with less local or more official forms of Russian as well as the language of the Church. This variation can be found in both s and F. In s, the oldest phrasebook, we find *быле* next to *был*, *вельле* next to *вельл* and *виновате* next to *виноват* (cf. also Bolek's observations quoted above). The conclusion is further compounded by explicit synonymous alternatives in S:

<i>ponaddyles: powaddyelße</i> 'повадилесь: повадился' <sup>156</sup>	(s 9r 17)
<i>ottßull ottoßkle</i> 'отчёл: отчкле'	(s 23v 23)
<i>dotzolssze: detzkles: doßlo</i> 'дотчёлся: дочклись: дошло'	(s 32v 5)
<i>pereuoll: pereuothgele</i> 'перевёл: перевегле'	(s 34v 12)
<i>pritzßoll: pritzße</i> 'причёл: причкле'	(s 38r 4)
<i>vtzkle: vtzboll</i> 'учкле: учёл'	(s 50v 3)
<i>poßnalße: poßnales</i> 'познался: позналесь'	(s 54v 18)
<i>sarawedane: saklickanne: saklickann,: sarowedann</i> 'заповѣдане: закликане: закликан: заповѣдан'	(s 61r 16-17)

This situation had not changed meaningfully when Fonne's phrasebook was compiled: we still find *виновате* and *виноват*, *причёл* and *причкле*. Still, there are decidedly fewer instances of *-e* in F. In 1992, Schaeken concluded that the ending was retained best in *l*-participles preceded by a consonant cluster or the reflexive particle *-ся/-сь*, and that in adjectives the ending *-e* is basically restricted to predicative contexts (1992: 292). There is no reason to fundamentally revise these conclusions, as long as it is kept in mind that the data do not allow us to conclude with certainty that the 'retention' of the ending is due to linguistic circumstances.

It is not hard to come up with extra-linguistic explanations for the state of affairs in F. One such explanation relies on the assumption that the scribe did not always manage to recognise the ending *-e*. If it was word-final, it could easily be

<sup>156</sup> The editors of s read *ponaddyles: powaddyelße* 'gewont; used, accustomed' as 'понадилесь: повадился' (cf. Modern Ukrainian *понадити*). On the basis of *powaddeles: Ißwýkle: powýckle* 'повадилесь: свыкле: повыкле' (s 45r 20), the reading *повадилесь* cannot be excluded.

spotted; the subsequent removal was as easy as simply dropping it (see above). But if it was followed by the reflexive suffix *-ся/-сь* and/or a consonant cluster such as the local Pskov reflexes *kl* or *gl*, the ending became harder to spot, and harder to remove without making mistakes.<sup>157</sup> In the following case, for example, only one of two forms (the ‘easier’ one) was stripped of its ending:

*vprauilsa: sotzkles* ‘управился: сочклись’ (F 343 8)  
 ~ *roßprauyles: ßotkles* ‘росправилесь: сочклись’ (s 32v 23)

A second possible scenario presupposes that the scribe did in fact recognise the ending, but chose not to remove it for practical reasons, namely out of consideration with the user of the phrasebook. Take, for example, the high rate of retention of the NOM.SG.M. ending *-e* in the frequent derivations of *честь(ся)*, such as *сочклись* (F 343 8), occurring next to forms such as *сочёлся*. On first thought, the retention seems odd: it goes against the general trend to remove markedly local elements from the data, two of which (*-кл-* as well as *-e*) are present in *сочклись*. But the main motivation behind the preservation of both may have been exactly this combination of local characteristics. Had the ending *-e* in a form such as *сочклись* been consistently removed – in favour of *сочёлся*, which additionally has a different form of the reflexive suffix – the user of the phrasebook might have been unable to relate this form, which must have been frequent in the streets of Pskov, to the quite different non-local form *сочёлся* in his phrasebook. With the accumulation of elements in *сочклись* that would have had to be changed, the scribe may have concluded that he had hit, so to speak, a certain boundary. The retention of the local reflexes can then be explained as serving a communicative purpose.

As a consequence of the removal of NOM.SG.M. *-e*, in all its complexity, future research will have to consider the philological effects of the removal before using the data for linguistic analysis. After all, the removal left its traces on the data, but is hardly ever directly visible without comparing the data with those in *s*. In some cases, data will have to be discarded from linguistic analysis or, at the very least, used with extreme caution. However, a careful philological approach, despite the problems, can lead to new insights, as will be illustrated here. The first example concerns a small number of forms that have thus far been perceived as erroneous. They can now be explained as failed attempts of the scribe to remove an ending *-e*, as in the following entry in LEX:

<sup>157</sup> For a similar set of cases where the reflexive suffix caused problems, see §7.4.5.

браткъ/bratk 'brother'

(F 40 9)

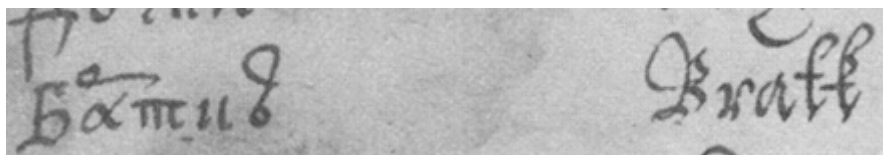
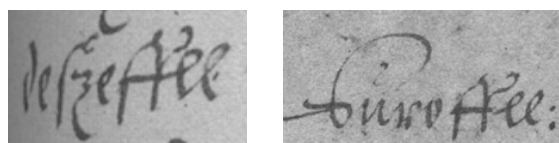


Figure 77: браткъ/bratk (F 40 9)

F's *браткъ/bratk* is directly matched by s's *Bratka* 'Ein bruder', most probably reflecting *bratke* (cf. s 72r 20). The editors of TF II read it as *братк<e>*, and indeed it should be seen as a failed attempt to remove the ending *-e*, with an artificial form as its result. A more successful attempt can be found elsewhere: *brat* (F 478 1) corresponds to *brattke* (~ s 37r 20). Two adjectives in an unusual comparative degree can also be explained by assuming that the *-e* was removed in F as a form of hypercorrection:

- (70F) [...] tovar  
**deszeffll** togo ne budet  
 [...] de wahre werdt  
 nicht behter kop werden. (F 323 8-9, 11-12)  
 [...] товар **дешевл<e>** того не будет  
 'The goods will not get any cheaper'
- (70S) [...] thowar  
**deszeffle** thogo ne bude. p. (S 24r 15-16)
- (71F) Prodaisli mnie tovar ŷ tŷ mnie iovo **suroffll**:  
 skoro prodai [...]  
 Wultu mŷ de wahre vorkopen, so vorkop se  
 mŷ hastigen [...] (F 341 1-2, 3-4)  
 Продаешь-ли мнѣ товар, и ты мнѣ ёво суровль:  
 скоро продай  
 'If you are going to sell me the goods, then sell them to  
 me quick[er/fast]'<sup>158</sup>

Figure 78: *deszeffll* (F 328 9), *suroffll* (F 341 1)

<sup>158</sup> The reading in TF II, *suroffee* 'суровѣ', must be rejected on the basis of the original manuscript.

A final isolated illustration is the case of *smoluils*, which must be interpreted as the *l*-participle of *смолвиться* with a reflexive suffix *-ся*. The actual form *smoluils* is a half-correction, somewhere mid-way between *смолвилесь* and *смолвилсяя*:

(72F) Ia **smoluils** stim tžöllovekum.  
 Ich bÿn eins mÿtt dem manne. (F 207 11-12)  
 Я **СМОЛВИЛСЬ** С ТИМ ЧЁЛОВЪКОМ  
 ‘I made an arrangement with that man’

(72S) Ja **smolwÿlÿs** Istÿm soluckum [...] (S 104r 12)

More structurally, the removal left its traces in a set of forms which show word-final consonant clusters that are atypical for East Slavic. In East Slavic, *l*-participles ending in consonant clusters such as *\*-blǔ*, *\*-glǔ*, *\*-klǔ*, *\*-rlǔ* and *\*-zlǔ* were simplified and lost their word-final *-l* (i.e., *\*moglǔ* became *мог*, etc.); the *l* was retained in the other genders, such as SG.F. *могла* and SG.N. *могло*.

The same simplification can be found in Fonne’s phrasebook: *пръгъ – priek* ‘пряг’ (F 79 21), *srok* ‘срѣк’ (F 249 8), *prives* and *privesz* ‘привез’ (F 274 17, F 290 1). But it also lists a number of forms in which the simplification of these word final consonant clusters as we know it from other Russian dialects seemingly did not take place, listed in the table below.

	F	S
<i>блюсти</i>		
<i>поблюгл</i>	poblugl (F 289 7)	poblugele (S 9v 4) <sup>159</sup>
<i>везти</i>		
<i>привезл</i>	priwesll (F 250 17)	-
<i>привѣзл</i>	privösl (F 275 13)	pereuoohle ‘перевегле’ (S 3v 14)
<i>волочь</i>		
<i>волокл</i>	volokll (F 214 13)	-
<i>отволокл</i>	otvolokl (F 432 4)	-
<i>-выкнуть</i>		
<i>свыкл</i>	svikl (F 370 8)	išwÿkle (S 45r 20)
<i>привыкл</i>	privikl (F 370 8)	powÿckle (S 45r 20)
<i>-гибнуть</i>		
<i>погибл</i>	погиблъ/pogible (F 43 16)	podÿble (S 73 v 17)
<i>жечь</i>		
<i>жѣгл</i>	sžsžogl (F 245 16)	-

<sup>159</sup> Of course, this would have been *поблюдл* or *поблюл*, if not for the Pskov reflex *gl* (see §5.6.2).

	F	S
<i>зябнуть</i>		
<i>озябл</i>	Osabl (F 207 2)	-
<i>льзти</i>		
<i>розльзлся</i>	roslietzlsa (F 311 10)	roßleeßles (S 33r 13)
<i>мочь</i>		
<i>перемогл</i>	peremogll (F 199 4)	-
<i>перемогл</i>	peremogll (F 244 17)	-
<i>тереть</i>		
<i>стерл</i>	sterl (F 417 14)	ißterle (S 109v 21)
<i>течь</i>		
<i>потекл</i>	potekll (F 248 2)	-
<i>умереть</i>		
<i>обумёрл</i>	obumörl (F 241 12)	-

Table 28: Word-final *-bl*, *-gl*, *-kl*, *-rl* and *-zl* in F

If one takes the data at face value, it is tempting to see in these forms in F the reflection of linguistic reality. The *l* in, say, *potekll* ‘потекл’ may have been retained or have been analogically restored under the influence of F *потекла*, N *потекло*, etc., where it was regular.<sup>160</sup> However, all safely corresponding forms in S reflect the presence of the ending *-e*, as the table shows. I assume, therefore, that the scribe simply removed the dialectal ending, yet did not simplify the now word-final consonant cluster, which did not necessarily reflect linguistic reality. This assumption is corroborated by a case in which the scribe *did* simplify the cluster: *privesz* ‘привез’ (F 290 1) corresponds to *prjweßle* ‘привезле’ (S 9r 22).

It cannot be excluded that, in a number of cases, intervention on the part of the scribe led to unexpected results concerning gender agreement. Several of these entries play a role in Zaliznjak’s discussion of non-congruent predicates as an archaic feature in F (see 1998: 245f.), but they may have to be re-examined:

<i>ne velika promuszall</i> ‘не велико<й>/велико промысел’ <sup>161</sup>	(F 229 19)
<i>ne velike promuszal</i> ‘не велике промысел’	(F 472 3)
~ <i>neth veljke promußlon</i> ‘нѣт велике промышлене’ (S 59v 1)	
<i>moi serdetzna drug</i> ‘мой сердечно<й> друг’	(F 337 11-12)
~ <i>moje druge veljke</i> ‘мое друге велике’ (S 30r 12-13)	

<sup>160</sup> Fałowski summarily mentions *prywykl* ‘привыкл’ (A 54r 2) and *privesle* ‘привезле’ (A 59v 2), under the heading “Retention of final clusters *-kl*, *-zl*” (1996: 36), but does not offer an explanation.

<sup>161</sup> The Cyrillic transliterations are from TF II or, following a slash, as suggested by Zaliznjak (1998).

<i>tzerdetsna druk</i> ‘сердечно<й> друг’	(F 363 2-3)
~ <i>druck velykj</i> ‘друг великий (велике)’ (s 41v 20)	
<i>torg rosna</i> ‘торг розно’	(F 377 17)
~ <i>turck roßne</i> ‘торг розне’ (s 47r 17)	
<i>moi plates ... gotova</i> ‘мой платеж [...] готова/готово’	(F 406 16)
~ <i>moj plattes [...] gottoue: gottjjeff</i> ‘мой платеж [...] готове: готов(?)’ (s 60r 23)	
<i>Mech [...] rosveszalos: rosdralos: rosdralsa</i> ‘Мѣх розвзалось: роздралось: роздрался’	(F 391 14)
~ <i>Mech [...] roßdrales</i> ‘Мѣх роздралесь’ (s 52r 8)	
<i>tovar provoloklos: saleszalsa</i> ‘товар проволоклось: залежался’	(F 322 13)
~ <i>thowar saleßall: poruoloykes</i> ‘товар залежал: проволоклесь’ (s 7v 7)	
<i>tovar dobro büil</i> ‘товар добро<й> был’	(F 416 20)
~ <i>thowaer dobbre bule</i> ‘товар добре быле’ (s 109r 3) <sup>162</sup>	

The overall conclusion is that the scribe of F was acutely aware of the local nature of the NOM.SG.M. ending *-e* and actively strove to eliminate it in many cases. The wide range of strategies employed to accomplish this shows that his command of Russian was good enough to choose between multiple, and at times complicated options when copying the material from his sources. Nevertheless, the removal of *-e* was not always flawless, and left its traces on the data.

### 6.5 Nominative objects and ACC.SG.F. forms in *-a*

A typical syntactic feature of the Old Novgorod dialect is the regular occurrence of constructions of the type *вода нити*, where the direct object of an infinitive predicate occurs in the nominative rather than the accusative case. In the birch-bark corpus, evidence almost exclusively relates to *a*-stem feminine nouns in the singular.<sup>163</sup> In other contexts, like dependent infinitives and imperatives the use of the accusative is the norm on birchbark.<sup>164</sup>

In his 1974 monograph on the use of nominative objects in North Russian, Alan Timberlake discusses how this original situation changed and the nominative object spread to other contexts as well (as, for instance, infinitives governed by modal predicatives like *надо* and *можно*, finite environments like *хочу пить холодная вода*, and to prepositions requiring an accusative case, such as *он идет на могила*). In his view, this change occurred “through the reanalysis of the nominative object rule from a syntactic rule of case specification to a mor-

<sup>162</sup> If one takes into account non-corresponding phrases, the combination *velika vjgre* ‘велико<й> вихре’ (F 246 20) could fall into the same category.

<sup>163</sup> A notable exception is the use of NOM.SG. *доци* (= *дочи*) rather than ACC.SG. *дочери* (ВВЛ 40 from Staraja Russa; see Zaliznjak, Toropova, Janin 2005: 30); a 16<sup>th</sup>-century example of *дочи* is given by Unbegaun (1935: 129), quoted by Timberlake (1974: 62).

<sup>164</sup> Paragraph based on Zaliznjak 2004: 156-157.

phological rule of syncretism” and is to be dated to the beginning of the 17<sup>th</sup> century.<sup>165</sup>

Nominative objects can also be found in the phrasebooks of Schroue and Fonne. Bolek remarked that their frequency in F is higher (1997: 67), an unquantified observation that is, in fact, borne out by the data. We will first look at those phrases where a direct comparison is possible, before discussing the material in its entirety. Throughout F, there are 14 cases of an ACC.SG.F. direct object in *-a* occurring in phrases which directly match a phrase in S (listed in Table 29). There appear to be no cases of the reverse situation, i.e. where S has an ACC.SG.F. in *-a*, in contrast with F revealing *-u* in the corresponding phrase.

	F	S
<i>однорядка</i>	Tÿ vtesnill <b>moi odnoretka</b> . (F 225 20) [...] nadob mnie dast <b>odnoretka</b> schit. (F 460 1-2)	Thÿ vteeßnyÿle <b>moÿu odneratku</b> . (s 35r 3) [...] nadoep Imne dath <b>odnerecka</b> ßÿeth. [...] (s 38r 15-16)
<i>бочка</i>	Nadob mnie <b>ta botzka</b> svarum saliet [...] (F 282 10) Nadob <b>botzka</b> smödum skrepit [...] (F 391 6) Posmotri <b>botzka</b> ladami ÿ vturorami [...] (F 425 14)	Nadoÿ Inne <b>ta botka</b> ÿßmala ßalÿth [...] (s 6v 5) Nadop <b>botßka</b> Ißwÿnom Ißkrÿpÿth [...] (s 51v 19) Posmotrÿ <b>kottskÿ</b> Laddamÿ: .I. v. toramÿ [...] (s 64v 5)
<i>правада</i>	Skasi <b>praffda</b> ot tzista tzirtze [...] (F 383 6) [...] on tebe <b>praffda</b> ne skal. (F 400 9) [...] ia iomu <b>praffda</b> skasu [...] (F 402 11-12)	Skaßÿ <b>praudu</b> otßÿsta ßÿrtze [...] (s 48v 23) [...] onn tebbe <b>praffÿ</b> ne skaßzae. (s 57r 1) <sup>166</sup> [...] Ja jomu <b>praudu</b> schaßne [...] (s 58r 16-17)
various	Vÿlei <b>voda</b> von ne tzista da pri-nesz <b>tzista</b> (F 192 5) Sciplota chotze <b>kuritza</b> vtzitt. (F 230 1-2) Nadob <b>sonka</b> ffgrosze dirsatt [...] (F 230 11) Perestaff <b>kruska</b> dobro <del>kruska</del> ne rosßibetz. (F 232 7) Poteral tÿ fftum tovaru ÿ <b>golova tuoia</b> (F 365 6)	Wuleÿ <b>Wodÿ</b> woen prenosßÿ <b>sÿsta</b> (s 101v 12) Sÿplotta gottele <b>kunÿthßa</b> vthsÿth. (s 64r 8) Nadoep <b>Zoncka</b> offgrosse dÿrs-sath [...] (s 111v 18) Pere Stahff <b>krusskw</b> . (s 103v 8) Promottßÿ: promutÿles thÿ off thom thowarÿ I <b>golluwa tuoÿa</b> [...] (s 42v 17-18)

Table 29: Nominative objects in F

<sup>165</sup> Paragraph based on Timberlake 1974: 104-112.

<sup>166</sup> A has GEN.SG. *prawdy* (A 84v 9).



The table shows that in 7 out of 14 cases, a form in *-a* in F is not matched by a similar form in s. Instead, in s we find regular ACC.SG.F forms in *-u* (*odneratku* ‘однарядку’, *praudu* ‘правду’ (2×), *krusskw* ‘кружку’) or GEN.SG.F. forms in *-y/-i* (*kottskÿ* ‘бочки’, *praffÿ* ‘правды’, *Wodÿ* ‘воды’).

In addition to these nominative objects, a form in *-a* pops up in a number of corresponding phrases not as a direct object, but following a preposition requiring an ACC. These cases are listed in Table 30.

	F	S
<i>скалва</i>	Koli mÿ tovar na <b>skaluva</b> polozim [...] (F 310 1) Poloszi na pletze da poloszi na <b>skalua</b> . (F 323 5) Veli tomu tzelovieku tovar na <b>skaluva</b> , neszit: Prineszit [...] (F 323 16-17) Podi da sovu kasaki, da veli ihm tovar na <b>skalua</b> : vösz vest: privest. (F 344 19-20)	Kollÿ muÿ thowar na <b>sthallu</b> poloßÿm [...] (s 18v 9) Poloszoÿ na pletze da poneßÿ na <b>schalua</b> . (s 24r 9) Vollÿ thomu solucku thouar na <b>schalua</b> prÿuest [...] (s 24r 21) Prodÿ da suoÿ dregeloff da vellÿ gÿm Loem west: wesszÿ pwest na <b>stholua</b> . (s 33r 16-17; concordance 1); Vellÿ Ludÿm thowar na <b>schalwa</b> prÿwesth. p [...] (s 36r 10; concordance 2)
other	[...] ÿ tÿ mnie na <b>promena</b> vinovat [...] (F 394 5-6)	[...] Itÿ Imne wÿnowatha na <b>promenu</b> [...] (s 53v 21-22)

Table 30: ACC.SG.F. in *-a* following a preposition in F

Compared to Schroue’s phrasebook, F seemingly expands the use of forms in *-a* after prepositions: the variation in s between *на скалву* (1×) and *на скалва* (3×) has disappeared in favour of the latter, and s’s *на промъну* has made way for *на промъна*.

Additional to the corresponding forms above, the following list enumerates the non-corresponding cases in F of nominative objects and ACC.SG.F. forms in *-a*:

▪ Infinitive contexts

<b>рыба</b> лови <sup>r</sup> – <b>riba</b> louitt	(F 72 19)
<b>бмаго</b> проблыва <sup>r</sup> / <b>bumago</b> probluiwat	(F 94 9)
скорнячи <sup>r</sup> <b>мъздра</b> /skornætzitt <b>miesdra</b>	(F 110 1)
Podi da veli matzka <b>trinoska</b> na vgon postauitt ia ribi varu.	(F 194 14-15)
Tziplota chotze <b>kuritza</b> vtzit.	(F 472 1) <sup>167</sup>

<sup>167</sup> This phrase literally repeats an earlier phrase (F 230 1-2, listed in Table 29) with the same form *курица*.

- [...] sim nam **kapusta** varit ‘чим нам капуста варить?’ (F 481 4-5)
- Imperative contexts
    - зо<sup>м</sup>и **узда** зкони – soimi **vsda** iszkoni (F 79 10)
    - Malitz prinesži **tzista voda** ia ruka moi. (F 191 19)
    - Lei **woda** ffumevalniko. (F 192 3)
    - [...] da satoppi **gornitza** (F 192 8)
    - Iemli venik da vŷpasži **gornitza**. (F 192 14)
    - Iemli **metla** da vŷmeti iszbŷ. (F 192 16)
    - Otkroi okona da prikroi **okontzina**: stekoltzeta. (F 193 1)
    - Sagasži **svetzka**. (F 193 6)
    - Nadei **odnoretka**. (F 194 8)
    - Poles von da ne roszi **golova**. (F 213 1)
    - Nenka dai dieta **soska**. (F 228 18)
    - Iees da pei da bohum mollitze, da **sobota** pokin. (F 252 14)
    - Napisi **kabala** (F 263 9)
    - Sermega** ne rosderi (F 480 13)
    - Proglotti **verba** (F 486 15)
    - He nasere **пизда** (F 488 13)
  - Present- and past-tense contexts
    - Malitz prinesži tzista voda ia **ruka** moi. (F 191 19)
    - Ne verŷ tŷ iomu on tebe **praffda** ne schasat. (F 214 19)<sup>168</sup>
    - ia tebe **ovetziu kosa** dam sa tvoiu volokidu. (F 248 3-4)<sup>169</sup>
    - [...] ino **svoie duschæ** otchrecha ogorosŷaiet. (F 256 10-11)
    - ‘ино свое(!) душа(!) от грѣха огорожает’
    - да девка показаль емѣ **пизда** (F 288 6-7)
    - [...] da **drusba** mŷ stoboi satsedim [...] (F 430 12-13)
    - ‘(TF II) да дружба(!) мы с тобой засядем(?)’
    - Видалты вчера<sup>c</sup> **королица** на ѡлице (F 488 12)
  - Prepositions
    - Nuchai na **tutt traffka**. ‘(TF II) Нюхай на(!) ту травка(!)’ (F 204 22)
    - Dai aspodi tebe na **gora**. ‘(TF II) Дай Осподи тебѣ на гора(!)’ (F 261 10)
    - To dno stravilos, ne vmeet iovo opæt **ffbotzka** ffstavit (F 426 4-5)
    - ‘То дно стравилось, не умѣет (TF II)/умѣть (Zalijnjak 1998)
    - ѣво опять в бочка(!) вставить’
    - Kutza na **kutza**. ‘(TF II) Куча на куча(!)’ (F 439 10)
    - Golova na **golova**. ‘(TF II) Голова на голова(!)’ (F 439 11)
    - Guba ffguba. ‘(TF II) Губа в губа(!)’ (F 439 12)

<sup>168</sup> Literally repeated, including *правда*, in F 400 9 (in a series of corresponding phrases; already listed in Table 29).

<sup>169</sup> Note the hybrid combination *овечью кожа*; Timberlake lists the similar construction in modern dialects *солома-та всю расфатают* and *сняси вот маю касá*, with the oldest attestation dating back to 1724 (1974: 109-10).

The material gathered here shows that we are by no means dealing with the restricted context in which the nominative object regularly occurred in the Old Novgorod dialect, viz. that of non-dependent infinitives. The many contexts in which the direct object in *-a* occurs include dependent infinitives, imperatives, finite forms (present and past tense) as well as prepositions.

Given the nature of the source, we cannot *a priori* accept this increased number of cases of the nominative object in F as the reflection of the early 17<sup>th</sup> century reanalysis put forward by Timberlake, but have to consider the possibility of scribal influence first.

The following non-corresponding phrase shows that the hand of the scribe can be discerned in the differences between s and F:

- (73F) Vjppolloszi kruska tzista da prinesz pÿva.  
 Spöle de kannen rejn vndtt hale beer. (F 195 3-5)  
 (TF II) Выполощи кружка(!) чисто да принесь пива.  
 'Rinse the jug clean and bring some beer'

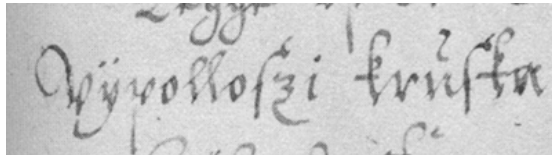


Figure 79 *Vjppolloszi kruska* (F 195 3), with *a < u*

In (73F), the word *kruska* was emended from earlier *krusku*. The emendation was applied immediately, before the scribe finished writing the word, as the usual mark over the *u* is altogether absent.<sup>170</sup> He must have come to the conclusion that *выполощи кружка* was to be preferred over *выполощи кружку*.

Another emendation, involving the same word *kruska*, occurs in another phrase:

- (74F) Perestaff **kruska** dobro ~~kruska~~ ne rosizibetz.  
 Sette de kanne wech datt se nicht entweÿ kame. (F 232 7-8)  
 (TF II) Переставь кружка(!), добро не росшибетс<я>.  
 'Set the jug aside so that it may not break.'  
 (74S) Pere Sthaff **krusskw**. Setze die kannen hinweg. p. (S 103V 8)

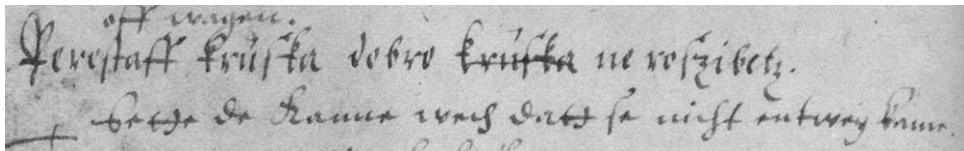


Figure 80 *dobro kruska ne rosizibetz* (F 232 7)

<sup>170</sup> Alternatively, the original form could have been *kruskn*, which is unlikely.

The last part of (74F), *добро (кружка) не росшибется*, does not occur in s. In the first part of the sentence, s reflects *кружку*, rather than F's *кружка*. The scribe of F may, like in the previous phrase, have replaced *кружку* of his source by *кружка*. The second part of the phrase may have been copied from one of his sources, or might be the scribe's own addition. Initially, he may have distinguished both occurrences of *kruska* (the former being direct object, the latter subject), but later noticed their formal identity and stroke out the second occurrence. The motivating factor behind this may have been stylistic: the scribe judged the repetition of a word used earlier in the same sentence unwanted. In other words: in his eyes, striking out the second *kruska* did not affect the grammatical correctness of the phrase. This emendation shows that the result is the outcome of conscious consideration: the scribe must have been convinced that this was correct.

Having established that the scribe was aware of the difference between the endings *-y* and *-a* in these instances, the cases listed above have to be approached with caution.

In some cases, lexical influence may be discerned, meaning that ACC.SG. *-a* is systematically found in a specific lexeme. Take *однорядка*, for instance: there is, in fact, not a single 'regular' occurrence of *однорядка* in PHRAS. In all instances where the word occurs as a direct object, the manuscript reflects *однорядка* (3x; all listed above). The same form also occurs in a GEN.SG. context: *ottuoi odnorætka* 'от твoй(!) однорядка(!)' (F 225 22). This GEN.SG. *odnorætka* is attested in a non-corresponding phrase immediately following one where *odnoretka* occurs as a direct object (F 225 20-21), and where the corresponding phrase in s reflects *однорядку* (s 35r 3). The correspondences suggest that the source of F may have had variation between *однорядка* and *однорядку* as an ACC.SG., with the former form predominating. This variation was then removed by the scribe, who generalised the form in *-a*, *однорядка*.

A similar lexical influence can be found for the word *скалва* 'scales': Fonne's manuscript without exception has *на скалва*. Four times this occurs in the context of an ACC (see Table 30; s reflects *на скалву* once). Once the same form occurs in the context of a LOC: *Moi tovar na skalua* 'Мой товар на скалва' (F 300 21; corresponding to *Moÿ thowar Jest na schalua* in s 14r 3-4). Again, the variation that there was in s (3x *на скалва* and 1x *на скалву* in an ACC context, 1x *на скалва* in a LOC context) was removed in F.

Another case where forms in *-a* seem to be linked to a particular lexeme, is *бочка*. This form is used as a direct object 3 times (see Table 29 above), and following the preposition *в* once. *В бочка* occurs in the non-corresponding phrase *To dno stravilos, ne vmeet iovo opæt ffbotzka ffstavit* 'То дно стравилось, не умѣтъ ёво опять в бочка вставить' (F 426 4-5).

Note that there is also innovation in the reverse direction: *perett sudiu* (F 210 9) versus *perodsudÿa* (s 106v 7), *peredt sudiu* (F 294 14) versus *perodth ßudÿa* (s 11r 26). This must also be seen as lexically determined: to the scribe *перед судью* must have been a fixed combination.

In some cases – especially those having no correspondence in *s* – we have to consider the possibility that, apart from lexical influences, we may be facing the result of the scribe’s own inventiveness. Especially when it comes to forms in *-a* following a preposition, the evidence for its validity is flimsy.

To start with the phrase *Nuchai na tutt trafka* ‘Ruck dat krudtt’ (F 204 22): it is probably of the scribe’s own making: in an attempt to fill up a page after the phrase *Tzto tack pachnett* ‘Wadtt stinckett so’ (F 204 20), he wrote down the variations *Tzto tack nuchatt* ‘Wat ruckt so’ (F 204 21) and *Nuchai na tutt trafka*.<sup>171</sup>

The three phrases *Kutza na kutza* ‘Hup vmb hup’, *Golova na golova* ‘Houedt auer höuedt’ and *Guba ffguba* ‘Top vmb top’ (F 439 10, 11, 12) also have no correspondence in *s*, and are consecutive phrases which might be the scribe’s own addition.

Then there is the phrase *Dai aspodi tebe na gora / Godt geue dattu mögest an den strandt lopen* ‘God grant [you to be on] (that you may come to) the shore’ (F 261 10). This is a non-corresponding phrase at the very end of PHRAS-GEN, a part of the section which has very few corresponding phrases and comes right before F 262-269, which are in a different hand. The phrase may have been the invention of the scribe.<sup>172</sup>

The only form in *-a* after a preposition which is not philologically suspect, occurs in *ÿ tÿ mnie na promena vinovat* (F 394 5). F usually reflects *на промѣну* (occurring 5 times throughout PHRAS), and furthermore has a clear correspondence in *s*, which has *на промѣну*. *Na promena* might be a conscious innovation by the scribe of F, although it could also be a simple copying error.

The most unsuspect cases of nominative objects occur with infinitives and imperatives. The conscious innovation of the scribe is most obvious in the emendation of *kruska* (2×) and by the correspondence *Vÿlei voda von ne tzista da prinesz tzista* (F 192 5) versus *Wuleÿ Wodÿ woen prenossÿ sÿsta* (s 101v 12). If we add the Anonymous phrasebook to our considerations, we may add the correspondence *Pei voda* (F 235 22) versus *Pey wodu* (A 54r 8), as well as *da piÿu voda ÿ quasz* ‘да пью вода и квас’ (F 258 4; *пью* as a 3PL) versus *da wodu pytu* ‘да во-

<sup>171</sup> See §4.4.

<sup>172</sup> The scribe may also have confused *gora* ‘mountain; (also) shore’ with *zope* ‘sorrow; misfortune’: the phrase *Дай Господи тебѣ на зопе* ‘May God grant it to your misfortune’ would make a lot more sense within the context of a trade-related phrasebook.

ду пяти' (А 43v 18; using a different construction, with the INF. *numu*), showing the same general tendency.

When it comes to nominative objects and ACC.SG.F. forms in *-a*, lexical influence and scribal inventiveness have had their influence on the text of F, for the better and for the worse. In several cases, the correctness of the resulting forms is doubtful, showing that the scribe – with all his awareness of delicate grammatical issues – did often not produce correct forms when he had to build them from scratch.

In the light of Timberlake's observation that the combination *Passauy chelou-zachaya* 'позови служащая' in Jean Sauvage's 1586 *Dictionaire Moscovite* may be "one of the earliest unmotivated uses of the nominative for object" (1974: 40; see also Larin 1933: 49-50), the conscious innovation of the scribe of F in infinitival and imperative contexts – being some two decades younger than Sauvage's – could in fact be seen as confirming Timberlake's observation of the early 17<sup>th</sup>-century spread of nominative objects. The material in F, however, should be used with care.

## 6.6 Exploring nominal morphology: *товар*

### 6.6.1 Introduction

By far the most frequent Russian noun in Fonne's phrasebook is, unsurprisingly, *товар* 'wares': it occurs well over 600 times in various cases, leaving the runner-up, *боз*, behind at no more than approximately 125 instances, almost exclusively attested in the NOM.SG. Forms of *товар* are not evenly spread throughout the manuscript: they are essentially restricted to PHRAS-TRADE, with one exception in PHRAS-GEN (*tovar*, F 245 10). Still, its high frequency makes *товар* a suitable candidate for a case study of nominal morphology.<sup>173</sup>

The sheer volume of the data alone makes this a complex matter to present, and is made yet more complex by the philological situation of the manuscript. Let us therefore start by what is already available in terms of analysis: the interpretation reflected in the normalised transliteration of TF II and the subsequent lexical categorisation in TF III, with all the caution that the use of these data requires (cf. Zaliznjak 1998: 237). On the basis of TF III, the following paradigm can be reconstructed:

	SG	PL
NOM	товар (137×) / това<p> (1×)	-
GEN	товару (110×) / товар(!) (1×)	-

<sup>173</sup> The regular spelling of *товар* as *tovar* was discussed in §5.5.1.

ДАТ	товару (28×) / товар<у> (1×)	-
АСС	товар (241×) / товару (24×)	товары (5×)
ІNSTR	товаром (38×) / товарѢ (3×)	-
LСC	товарѢ (14×) / товаром (3×)	-

This paradigm is interesting for a number of reasons. First of all: there are no plural forms of *товар*, save for the lone ACC.PL. *товары*. Secondly, the form *товару* is classified as one of three cases: GEN.SG., DAT.SG., or ACC.SG., illustrated in (75)-(78).

- (75F) [...] ne smeiu ia tzenu  
**vtogo tovaru** ne vbauit ne pribauit [...]
   
 [...] ich dor den kop  
 van der wahre nicht vorminnern offt vor-  
 mehren [...] (F 283 2-3, 7-9; TF III: GEN.SG.)  
 Не смѣю я цѣну **у того товару** ни убавить ни прибавить  
 'I dare neither lower the price (for the goods) nor raise it'
- (76F) Ia **suoioغو tovaru** ne chitril tovar bez chitrosti.  
 Ich hebbe mÿne wahre nicht vorvelschedt.  
 de wahr is sunder valscheÿdtt. (F 305 6-8; TF III: GEN.SG.)  
 Я своѣго товару не хитрил, товар без хитрости.  
 'I have not falsified my wares, the wares are without falsification.'
- (77F) **Kdobromu tovaru** ludi trutze: prilipaiutt [...]
   
 Tho guder wahr sindt de lude genegedtt:  
 drengen [...] (F 287 1, 3-4; TF III: DAT.SG.)  
 К **доброму товару** люди трутся: прилипают  
 'People [cling / stick to] (are keen on/crowd to have/care for) good wares'
- (78F) Ia tebe **товару** sam ottotzstu [...]
   
 Ich wÿll dÿ de wahre suluest afftellett [...] (F 343 4, 6; TF III: ACC.SG.)  
 Я тебѣ **товару** сам оточту  
 'I will count off the goods for you myself'

And finally, we have the forms *товаром* (written *tovarum*) and *товарѣ* (written *tovari*, with *i* for /ě/). According to TF III, *товаром* (the form for the INSTR.SG.) also turns up in contexts where one would expect a LOC.SG., whereas the LOC.SG. form *товарѣ* also turns up in an INSTR.SG. context, as illustrated in (79)-(82).

- (79F) [...] da menæ **suoim tovarum** ne obisai.  
 [...] vnd bedruch mÿ nicht mit diner wahre. (F 337 7, 9; INSTR.SG.)  
 да меня своим товаром не обижай  
 'And do not cheat me with your goods'
- (80F) [...] tÿ **fftom tovarum** ne  
 protorguvalsa [...]
   
 [...] du bist mit der wahre

- nicht bekoepsagedt [...] (F 377 15-16, 19-20; LOC.SG.)  
 ты в том товаром не проторговался  
 ‘You have not let yourself be chated with these goods’
- (81F) Besz meru ti proszis **na tum tovari** [...] (F 319 9, 11; LOC.SG.)  
 Ahne mahte eschestu vor de wahre [...]  
 Без мѣры ты просишь на том товарѣ  
 ‘You are asking a price beyond the limit for these goods’
- (82F) Mnogl tÿ denoch **sa suoium tovari** sagodne  
 vlovil: dabuil.  
 Heffstu vehle geldes van dage vor dÿne  
 wahre gelosedt: gekregen. (F 420 14-17; INSTR.SG.)  
 Мног<о>-ль ты денѣг за своѣм товарѣ сегодне  
 уловил: добыл?  
 ‘Have you caught / gained much money for your  
 goods today?’

In this section, I present some observations on the various forms of *товар* that can be found in F. These observations are based on comparison of the data in F with those in S, revealing structural differences between both manuscripts. In many cases, the data in F can be explained as the result of interference on the part of the scribe of F, prompted by a corrupt source. It is important to keep in mind that I point out general tendencies rather than try to explain all individual forms.

Direct evidence showing the linguistic awareness of the scribe of Fonnes phrasebook and proving that structural differences are the result of innovations on his part has so far been found in emendations in the original manuscript. In the case of the paradigm of *товар*, this type of evidence can be found in two different contexts: the replacement of the preposition *за* with *на* (§6.6.2) and the GEN.SG. *товару* (§6.6.3).

### 6.6.2 Replacing *за* with *на*

A few times, F and S differ in the choice between the prepositions *на* and *за*. A fairly typical example is the following phrase:

- (83F) Ne meneies tÿ somnoi tovaru protiff tovaru  
 ÿ tÿ inomu **sa dengi** prodai [...] (F 338 15-16, 19-20)  
 Wiltu mÿt mÿ buhten wahre iegen wahre,  
 so vorkop se eÿnem andern vorgeldt [...]  
 Не мѣняешь ты со мной товару против товару,  
 и ты иному за деньги продай  
 ‘If you will not change goods for goods with me, then  
 sell to another for money’
- (83S) Ne meneÿs sumnoÿ thÿ thowar na tho war Itÿ Imnomu  
 prodaj **na dengÿ** [...]



Wiltu nicht mit mir beutenn wahr vmb wahr, so vorkauffts  
 einem vor geldt [...]

(S 30V 13-14, 16-17)

An analysis is unproblematic here: both *na dengy* ‘на деньги’ (s) and *sa dengi* ‘за деньги’ (F) are constructions requiring the ACC. An analysis is equally unproblematic in 3 similar cases that can be found elsewhere.<sup>174</sup> In other cases, the situation is more complicated, as in (84).

(84F) Ne suegi ottum: proto, da dai mnie **sa tom**  
**tovari** kak ia ottebæ proszil.

Dinge darumb nicht, vnd giff mÿ vor de  
 wahre, also ich van dÿ geeschedt hebbe.

(F 417 17-20)

(TF II) Не звяги отом: про то да дай мнѣ **за(!) том**

**товарѣ**, как я от тебя просил.

‘Do not haggle about it, but give me what I asked  
 you for those goods.’

(84s) Ne Suoggÿ oftom: ottum: protho, da daÿ Imne, **na tum**  
**thowarÿ** stho Ja vtebbe prossÿll,

(S 110r 5-6)

As in the previous case, the preposition *na* in s corresponds to *za* in F. Furthermore, there is direct evidence that the scribe of F is responsible for this change: Figure 81 clearly shows that F initially had *na* ‘на’, which was later changed into *sa* ‘за’.

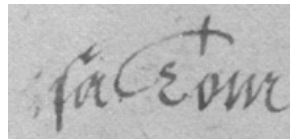


Figure 81: *sa tom* < *na tom* (F 417 17)

By extrapolation of (83) and (84), I assume that correspondences of *na* (s) and *za* (F) are the result of conscious interference by the scribe of F.<sup>175</sup> If we restrict ourselves to *za tovar* versus *na tovar*, 3 additional cases similar to (84) can be identified, all within a range of 15 pages. The table below lists all 4 cases, with the suggested transliterations in TF II.

<sup>174</sup> These 3 cases are: *na kumany* (s 12r 5) ~ *sa dengi* (F 296 4-5); *na suoÿe tzenu na suaÿ kumÿ* (s 30r 11) ~ *na suoiu tzenu*; *sa suoie dengi* (F 337 10-11), *na to* (s 33v 14) ~ *sa to* ‘for the amount which’ (F 345 21).

<sup>175</sup> Sometimes, this change went beyond a change of preposition: compare *na thom* ‘на том’ (s 31r 16) with *sa tovar* ‘за товар’ (F 339 23), where the anaphoric reference was replaced with the noun *tovar*.

F	s
dai mn̄ie sa <b>tom tovari</b> 'дай мнѣ за(!) том товарѣ' (F 417 17-18)	da daÿ Imne, na <b>tum thowarÿ</b> (s 110r 5)
Mnogl tÿ denoch sa <b>suoium tovari</b> sagodne vlovil: dabuil. 'Мног<о>-ль ты денѣг за своем товарѣ(!) сегодне уловил / добыл?' (F 420 14-15)	Imnogoll thÿ dennock sogodnÿ na <b>suoÿom thowarÿ</b> vlouÿle (s 111v 8-9)
Vsli tebe isoslo to sa <b>suoium tovari</b> ffzæt '<з>a своем товарѣ(!)' (F 422 1)	Vssolÿ tebbe Issofflo, tho na <b>suoÿum thowarum</b> offβeth (s 112v 1-2)
Doszt ia tebe sa <b>suoium tovari</b> daval 'за своём товарѣ(!)' (F 431 18) <sup>176</sup>	-

Table 31: *za* (F) vs. *na* (s)

At the time, the editors of TF II were not aware of the data of Schroue's phrasebook. This made their analysis significantly more difficult, to which the inconsistent transliterations of the phrases testify. They cannot decide whether the preposition *za*, the case ending *-n̄*, or both were unexpected. The editors of TF III also struggled with the analysis, and ended up categorising all 4 cases of *tovari* as INSTR.SG. If one includes the data of s, and accepts the innovative nature of F, the data in F are relatively easy to explain.

In (83s), we encountered the construction *na* + ACC, which made the replacement of *na* with *za* (*za* + ACC) a simple task. In the 4 cases above, however, we are dealing with *na* + LOC., e.g. *na tum thowarÿ* 'на том товарѣ'. But the preposition *za* would still require an ACC in these contexts, e.g. *za tom tovar*. What we find in F, as a result of the scribe's interference, are essentially hybrids: the combinations such as *sa tom tovari* and *sa suoium tovari* are stuck midway between *na tom/своём товарѣ* and *za tom/свой товар*, and hard to analyse in a linguistically meaningful sense.<sup>177</sup> A hybrid of a similar kind, involving a personal pronoun rather than the noun *товар*, can be found elsewhere in the phrasebook: *sa iom* 'за ём' (F 314 2; rather than something like *sa nim* 'за ним') corresponds to s's *na Jam* 'на ём' (s 20r 10).

This line of reasoning can be taken a step further. Take phrase (85):

(85F) Ia tebe tolko **sa tovari** ne dam kak tÿ moluis [...]

<sup>176</sup> This occurrence is not included in TF III, but is in fact similar.

<sup>177</sup> s's entry *na suoÿum thowarum* (s 112v 1-2), rather than something like *na suoÿum thowari*, should be considered corrupt. If the source copied by the scribe of F indeed contained the same combination, F's correspondence *sa suoium tovari* (F 422 1) should be seen as an attempt to rectify this.

- Ich wÿll dÿ souehle vor de wahre nicht geuen.  
alß du sechst [...] (F 314 1, 6-7)
- (TF II) Я тебѣ только за товары не дам как ты молвишь  
'I will not give you as much for the goods as you say'
- (85s) Ja debbe tolku **na tuoÿ thowarÿ** ne dam kack thÿ  
moluÿs [...]  
Ich will so viell nicht gebenn als du sagest [...] (S 20r 10-11, 14)

Corresponding to s's *na tuoÿ thowarÿ* we find *sa tovari* in F. The phrase in F omits the personal pronoun and is transliterated by the editors of TF II as *за товары*, and *tovari* accordingly categorised as an ACC.PL. in TF III. The table below lists all 5 occurrences of *tovari* marked as an ACC.PL. in TF III:

F	s
[...] tzto ia sa <b>tovari</b> malo proszil (F 312 3)	stho Ja na <b>tho waru</b> morle proßÿll (s 19r 28)
Ia tebe tolko sa <b>tovari</b> ne dam [...] (F 314 1)	Ja debbe tolku na <b>tuoÿ thowarÿ</b> ne dam [...] (s 20r 9)
Isoslol tebe tolko sa <b>tovari</b> ffzæt [...] (F 376 8)	Ißoßloll tebbe tolko ßa <b>thowar</b> vÿßeth [...] (s 47r 3)
[...] tzto iomu præmo sa <b>suoim tovari</b> ffzæt. (F 381 17)	-
Malo sa <b>tovari</b> podaies [...] (F 431 14) <sup>178</sup>	-

Table 32: *tovari* as an ACC.PL. in TF III

Although the correspondences with phrases in s are not as clear-cut as in the previous table, there is no need to strictly separate the cases in both tables from one another. In all likelihood, all 9 cases in the two tables above are the result of interference on the part of the scribe. In the light of the absence of any reliable cases of *товар* occurring in the plural (both in s and F), the analysis of the cases of *tovari* in the table above as an ACC.PL. *товары* cannot be upheld. These cases should be discarded from linguistic analysis. At the same time, they do give more insight into the way the scribe treated his sources and to his less-than-perfect command of Russian.

### 6.6.3 GEN.SG. *товара* and its expansion

The regular GEN.SG. ending for masculine *o*-stem nouns is *-a*. At the same time, the GEN.SG. form *товара* is completely absent from Fonne's phrasebook, which

<sup>178</sup> Misread in TF II as *товар*.

features *товары* as a GEN.SG; this is in line with what we find in s and A.<sup>179</sup> The corpus of birchbark letters only has attestations of *товара*, like in Modern Standard Russian.<sup>180</sup> Still, *товары* is a perfectly plausible form. It is in line with Zalznjak's observation that uncountable masculine *o*-stem nouns in the birchbark corpus "also have -y" (2004: 96n.). The GEN.SG. *товары* can also be found in the *Gramoty Velikogo Novgoroda i Pskova* (especially *чюжего товары* in letter 101, dated 1476-77), in the 16<sup>th</sup>-century data collected by Unbegaun ("le génitif *товары* est très fréquent dans nos textes", 1935: 117), and the 17<sup>th</sup>-century data collected by Cocron (1961: 41).

Comparison of the data in Fonne's phrasebook with those in Schroue's yields a number of cases where GEN.SG. *товары* in F – as analysed in TF III – matches *товар* in s. These cases are listed in the table below, grouped together according to linguistic context.

	F	s
<i>negated predicate</i>	Ne meneies tÿ somnoi <b>товару</b> protiff tovaru (F 338 15) tzto mnie <b>товару</b> ne prodas (F 357 19) ne mogu ia <b>товару</b> ottebe vÿkupit (F 359 1-2) Otzum tÿ mnie <b>товару</b> ne priprovadis (F 374 1) da ne priprovadis mnie <b>товару</b> (F 413 1-2) kotoroi <b>товару</b> ne smutit (F 415 21-22)	Ne meneÿs sumnoÿ thÿ <b>thowar</b> na tho war (s 30v 13) stho thÿ Imne <b>thowaer</b> ne prodajes (s 39r 7) ne mogo Ja <b>thowar</b> vtobbÿ vÿkubÿth (s 39v 11-12) Ottÿsum thÿ Imne <b>thowar</b> ne prÿprowadÿs (s 46v 3) da ne prÿprowaddÿs thÿ Imne <b>thowaer</b> (s 63v 15-16) kothori <b>thowar</b> na Iÿmutÿth (s 108r 18)
<i>(possible) partitive</i>	kolko vmenæ <b>товару</b> tzislum (F 279 5-6) mnogo <b>товару</b> (F 290 1) Stobÿi tÿ mnie <b>товару</b> na sto rubloff privesos (F 418 1-2)	kolcko vmenne <b>thowaer</b> Jesth (s 5v 1) Imnogo <b>tho war</b> (s 9r 22) Stoboÿ thÿ Imne, <b>thowar</b> na stovubelloff prÿwesses (s 110r 9)

<sup>179</sup> For A, see Fałowski 1996: 42.

<sup>180</sup> *Товара* occurs in BBL 107 (1180-1200), 249 (bis; 1380-1400), and 624 (1160-1180).

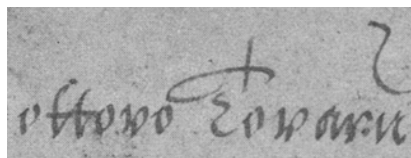
	F	S
<i>ellipsis</i>	Kdobromu tovaru ludi trutzte: prili-paiutt da otchudogo <b>товару</b> bezzat ludi protz (F 287 2)	Vck dobberomu thouaru pryľubaÿu da otgudoga [ø] obegaÿu (s 8r 10)
<i>fixed expression</i>	Ne meneies tÿ somnoi tovaru <b>protiff tovaru</b> (F 338 15) chto büi somnoiu menel tovaru <b>protÿff tovaru</b> (F 338 17-18)	Ne meneÿs sumnoÿ thÿ thowar <b>na tho war</b> (s 30v 13) actho sumnoÿu memell tho war, <b>na thowaer</b> (s 30v 14-15)
<i>remaining</i>	товар <b>против товаров</b> /товар <b>protiff tovaru</b> (F 273 4, 15) steregi <b>moiovo tovaru</b> (F 327 1) <sup>181</sup> Ot <b>dobrogo tovaru</b> (F 346 15) Ne strasz <b>tova tovaru</b> kupit (F 366 6)	thowar <b>prothiff tho war</b> (s 3r 5) sthereggÿ thÿ <b>moÿogo thowar</b> (s 25r 20) Oth <b>dobbrogo thowar</b> (s 34r 6) Ne straßÿs <b>thoga thowar</b> kupÿth (s 43r 12)

Table 33: F *товару* ~ s *товар*

To establish that this difference may well be retraced to interference of the scribe of F, a digression is in order, after which I shall return to the table above. Take a look at phrase (86), which, at first sight, is a wholly unremarkable phrase: the combination *ottovo tovaru* ‘от тово товару’ is grammatically flawless, and corresponds to s’s *vtago tho waru*.

- (86F) Ostalesli vtebe skodok: ostatok **ottovo tovaru**.  
Is dÿ nicht eÿ auerlop gebleuen van d(er) wahre. (F 321 1-2)  
Осталесь ли у тебе сходок: остаток от тово товару?  
‘Have you (not) some [remainder /] rest from those goods?’
- (86s) Oßtalßÿ vtebbe sodock: vßatock **vtago tho waru** prodaßno  
Hastu nicht einen vbelkauf zukauffe, vonn der wahre. (s 23r 12-13)

However, F shows that *tovaru* was emended from earlier *tovar*. (i.e., *tovar*, followed by a full stop), as the figure below shows.

Figure 82: *ottovo tovaru* < *ottovo tovar*. (F 321 1)

<sup>181</sup> On the use of the GEN.SG. as the case for a direct object in combination with *степечь*, cf. Kryš’ko 2006: 228.

This emendation is confirmed by a repeated instance of the same phrase later in the manuscript (F 384 6 + 10), which has *ottovo tovar*, rather than *ottovo tovaru*, as in (87).

(87F) Ostalesli vtebe ostatok: skodok, **ottovo tovar**

1 Heffstu eynen auerloep van der wahre.

(F 384 6, 10)

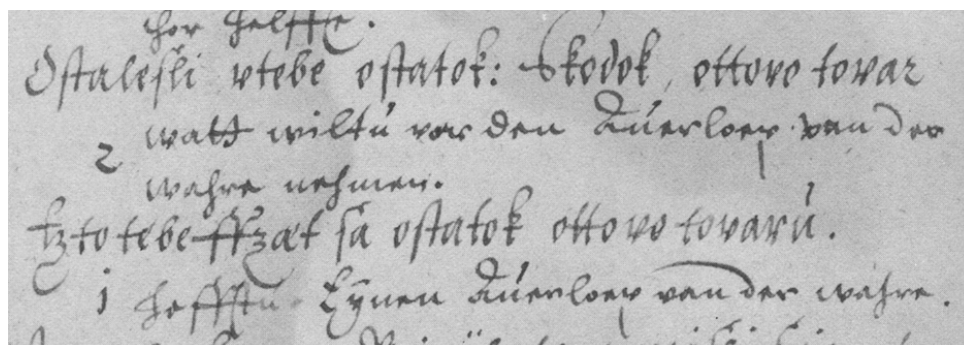


Figure 83: *ottovo tovar* (F 384 6) and reversed translations

The repetition of this phrase in F is atypical for three reasons. First of all, literal repetitions, although they do occur, are relatively rare for F. Also, the scribe mixed up the German parts of two consecutive phrases (cf. Figure 83), which he corrected by adding the numerals 2 and 1 to the translation of the phrases. Finally, the repeated phrase is the only phrase on that page in F which does not correspond to a sequence of phrases on pages 49r and 49v in s; the phrase is, so to speak, out of place.

It is hard to ascertain how the situation we are faced with in (86) and (87) came about. It would be tempting to see the emendation of *ottovo tovar* into *ottovo tovaru* in (86F) as the elimination of an error in the source he was copying: the occurrence *ottovo tovar* in (87F) would then be the retention of this error in the source. However tempting this may be, correct *vtago tho waru* in (87s) makes this improbable.

We could be dealing with a *Verschlimmbesserung*, or an improvement for the worse. If we assume that the source copied by the scribe of F, like Schroue's phrasebook, reflected the form *y mozo movapy*, F's *ottovo tovar* in (87F) would be such a disimprovement. The exact same phenomenon can be found elsewhere in the manuscript: *vtovo tovar* (F 342 1-2) corresponds to s's *vtago thowaru* (s 32r 21). If we accept the possibility of an improvement for the worse, the scribe would have copied *movap* instead of *movapy* 3 times, of which 1, (86F), was corrected. To put these cases in a broader context, it has to be kept in mind that the scribe did not simply copy the phrases from his sources. For every single phrase, he had to keep an eye on a large number of different phenomena which were subject to adaptation, correction or change. Copying a phrase was a

multiply complex operation (see §4.2). The change of *tovar* into *tovaru* – i.e. the changes listed in Table 33 – was one of these phenomena to be aware of. In the case of *ottovo tovar* (2×) and *vtovo tovar*, the scribe may have been triggered into action by the desired outcome rather than the initial situation. The trigger worked in the opposite direction, and led to the ‘improvement’ of *tovaru* into *tovar*. In the case of *ottovo tovar* (87F), the scribe may additionally have been distracted by the fact that the phrase had to be copied from another sequence of phrases in the source (see above). In *ottovo tovaru* (86F), the error was repaired. Whichever scenario holds true, the emendation at least tells us that the scribe was aware of this ending.

Now the influence of the scribe has been established, we return to the table, and start looking at the linguistic environment of the phrases listed there. What could have prompted the scribe of F to change the *товар* in his source (as reflected in s) into *товару*? This is where the grouping of phrases into categories is helpful.

The largest group encompasses contexts with a negated predicate, a likely environment for a direct object to occur in the genitive case (cf. for the birch-bark corpus, Zaliznjak 2004: 159).

Another group comprises those cases where *товару* occurs in a context where a partitive interpretation is either obligatory or possible, such as *много товару* (F 290 1).

In other cases, the table shows that we are dealing with a different construction which requires a different case (*s на товар* versus F *против товару*), or an elliptic context in s which is non-elliptic in F (*s да от худого [товару] бегаю* versus F *да от худого товару бежат люди прочь*).

In the remaining cases, Fonne’s manuscript reflects the form *товару* which would have been the expected form in Schroue’s phrasebook as well (judging by the preposition or the endings of the adjectives and pronouns).

All in all, there seems to be no case where F’s *товару* is less acceptable than *товар*. The expansion of GEN.SG. *товару* makes sense.

The expansion of the GEN.SG. ending *-y* is apparent in other words as well. Fonne’s phrasebook has 7 instances of a GEN.SG. *человѣку/чѣловѣку*,<sup>182</sup> besides 9 cases of regular *человѣка*. The 7 instances of *человѣку/чѣловѣку* only have 2 correspondences in s, which both show the ending *-a* expected for animate *o*-stem nouns. Further occurrences of *-y* with animate nouns are *svosniku* ‘<и>звоннику’ (F 328 8; s *Ißmaßnick*, 8v 12; A *wosnicka*, 83r 6) and *bogu* ‘бogy’ (F 475 17).

<sup>182</sup> F 219 18, F 222 5, F 227 1 (~ S 43v 17), F 244 13, F 331 1 (~ S 26v 23), F 474 1 (2×).

6.6.4 ACC.SG. *товару*

In 24 cases, the editors of TF III analyse *товару* (or, twice, *tavaru*) as an ACC.SG. Given the unlikelihood of a true ACC.SG. form *товару*, we may be dealing with the imperfect command of Russian of the scribe of F. The table below lists these cases (grouped together, like above).

	F	S
<i>nosmotprьmb</i>	ia pridu [...] <b>tuoiego tovaru</b> posmotrit (F 277 1-2) ia [...] priszol <b>tuoiego tovaru</b> posmotrit (F 306 17-18) Ias <b>tuoiovo tovaru</b> posmotru (F 338 1) Mÿ <b>tovaru</b> posmotrim (F 338 11) prischol ia [...] <b>tuoiovo tovaru</b> posmotrit (F 424 1-2)	Ja Prÿde vttbbe <b>tuoÿgtho waru</b> posmotrÿth (s 4r 21-22) Ja [...] prißzoll <b>tuoÿogo thowaru</b> poßm trÿth (s 17v 2-3) Ja <b>tuoÿoga thowaru</b> poßmotriu (s 30v 1) Muÿ <b>thowaru</b> poßmotrÿm (s 30v 9) -
<i>negated predicate</i>	ne isoide: povodno mne <b>tovaru</b> [...] ffzæt (F 279 19-20)	ne pouodua Inne tho war [...] vÿßeth (s 5v 11-12)
<i>direct object</i>	prodai tÿ mnie <b>tovaru</b> sa tzisto (F 291 12) ias tebe <b>tovaru</b> perepuszu (F 293 2) Ne meneies tÿ somnoi tovaru protiff tovaru [...] chto büi somnoiu menel <b>tovaru</b> protÿff tovaru (F 338 15-18) ÿ tÿ komu lübo tomu <b>tovaru</b> prodavai (F 340 16-17) Ia [...] <b>tovaru</b> sam ottotzstu (F 343 4) Torguiÿ tÿ <b>tovo tovaru</b> (F 349 12) Torgui tÿ <b>tovo tovaru</b> (F 349 14) tÿ mnie <b>tovaru</b> priprovadis, ne priprovadis tÿ mnie tovaru (F 375 6-7) Sakuni [...] <b>tovaru</b> sakupaiu (F 386 1) Podruzisti mnie <b>tovaru</b> kupit (F 386 13) koiovo dni tÿ mnie <b>tovaru</b> pripro-	prodaiÿ thÿ Imne thowar ße ßÿsto (s 10v 1) Ja tebbe thowar pene pusszu (s 11r 14-15) Ne meneÿs sumnoÿ thÿ thowar na tho war [...] actho sumnoÿu memell tho war, na thowaer (s 30v 13-15) Itÿ kumÿ lube thomu thowar predawaÿ (s 31v 15) Ja [...] thowar ßam ottotzßuo (s 32v 19) - Turguÿ thÿ <b>thowaru</b> (s 35r 18) thÿ Imne thowar prÿprowaddÿs ne prÿprowaddÿs thÿ Imne thowaru (s 47v 4-5) Sakup mÿ [...] thowar ßakupaiÿu (s 50r 8) Produetsÿffÿs Imne <b>thouaru</b> kupÿth (s 50r 17) -



	F	S
	vadis (F 426 8-9) Pospeesli mnie [...] <b>tovaru</b> pripro- vaditt (F 435 16) Ffsæk <b>suoiovo tovaru</b> chualit (F 443 4)	- - -
<i>remaining cases</i>	Ia moi dengi [...] <b>fftovaru</b> po- loszal. (F 282 15) Otzum tÿ mnogo sueszis <b>na moiu tovaru</b> (F 317 1) bes meru tÿ <b>sa tovaru</b> proszis (F 410 17-18) Ia <b>tovaru</b> ottebæ odolsitza: odol- sus (F 432 15) Otzum tÿ <b>na suoiu tovaru</b> veliku tzenu saloszil (F 434 9)	- Vttßum thÿ Immogo ßueßÿs omoÿum thowarÿ (s 21r 7) bes meru thÿ ßa thowar proßÿs (s 62v 8-9) - -

Table 34: *movapy* analysed as ACC.SG. in TF III

Let us take a look at the cases, according to the various categories that are distinguished in the table above.

The direct object of *nosmotpъmbъ*, a verb of visual perception, can occur both in the GEN.SG. and the ACC.SG.; this variation is also documented by Kryś'ko, who cites examples from various phrasebooks as well as originally Russian documents (2006: 227). The cases of *tovaru* in the table above, should doubtlessly be seen as GEN.SG.; the same GEN.SG. can be found in the corresponding phrases in s and are not due to an innovation on the part of the scribe of s.<sup>183</sup>

Innovation on the part of the scribe *can* be discerned in the phrase *ne isoide: povodno mne tovaru [...] ffzæet* (F 279 19-20). The scribe may have replaced *tovar* from his source, as witnessed by s, by *tovaru*, prompted by the context of a negated predicate; it constitutes another instance of the expansion of the GEN.SG. *movapy* in contexts of negation.

In 13 cases, F uses *movapy* as a direct object (contrasted with many more instances of *movap*), a clear expansion when compared to the corresponding phrases in s. If they are the doing of the scribe of F, one could wonder what prompted him to do so. In a few cases, one may hazard a guess: in F 338 15-18,

<sup>183</sup> In 2 cases, s and F do not concur in the use of ACC.SG. or GEN.SG. in combination with *nosmotpъmbъ*: *Posmotri tovar na vierchu* 'Посмотри товар на вѣрху' (F 338 7) vs. *Postmotrÿ thÿ thowaru na wÿrgu* (s 30v 5), and, the other way round, *posmotri vgomonu* 'посмотри угомону' (F 472 8) vs. *posmotrÿ vgomon* (s 113r 1).

for instance, every other instance of *товар* (3×) in the source was replaced by *товару* as well; and in F 375 6-7, *tÿ mnie **товару** priprovadis*, we find a negated-predicate context with *товару* and *priprovadis* later in the same phrase. A more structural motivation could be an expansion of the GEN in the meaning of unspecified plural of objects (cf. Kryś'ko 2006: 223).

In 4 of the 5 remaining occurrences of *товару* listed in the table, the alleged ACC.SG. form *товару* follows the preposition *в*, *на* or *за*. None of these cases is matched by *s*. If the general situation in *s* matches that of the source of F (ACC.SG. *товар*) these cases of *товару* should be ascribed to the scribe of F. What prompted him to change *товар* into *товару* – other than the general trend towards more cases of *товару* – is unclear.

### 6.6.5 LOC.SG.

The last case to be discussed is the LOC.SG. For the 16<sup>th</sup> century, Unbegaun summarily states that for the word *товар*, the “locatif est en -Ѣ” (1935: 117). *Товарѣ* is in fact attested in Fonne’s phrasebook as *товари* (14× in TF III; with *i* for */n/*). Additionally, TF III also analyses 3 occurrences of *товарум* as a LOC.SG. This enumeration, however, does not do justice to the data. Conspicuously absent from TF III under *товар* are a number of cases – at least 14 – in which *товару* occurs in a LOC.SG. context. One example of such a LOC.SG. context:

- (88F) [...] dobro  
 tÿ sebe **fftovaru** ne osmotrisza.  
 [...] datt dÿ dar nicht vp vorsehest. (F 415 1-2, 4)  
 добро ты себе **в товару** не осмотришься.  
 ‘So that you make no mistake about [the goods] (them)’

When we turn to Schroue’s phrasebook and the morphological analysis presented by its editors, and compare the instances of the LOC.SG. of *товар* with those in F, a rather complex picture emerges, especially when it comes to the distribution of the same endings in both manuscripts.

The following table attempts to present a clear picture of the data of *s* and F. It lists all cases of the LOC.SG. of *товар* in *s* (in the analysis of its editors) for which a corresponding form in F can be established. The table groups together cases based on their ending in *s* and based on the difference between *s* and F.

ending in <i>s</i>	<i>s</i>	F
-i/-ÿ	na tum thowari (s 23v 12) offtum thowarÿ (s 27v 9) na thowarÿ (s 34v 16) na suoÿum thowarÿ (s 39r 4) offthonn thowarÿ (s 41v 18) matum thowarÿ (s 42v 1)	na tum tovari (F 321 17) fftom tovari (F 335 5) na tovari (F 348 12) na suoium tovari (F 357 15) fftom tovari (F 363 1) na tum tovari (F 364 15-16)

<i>ending in s</i>	s	F
	offtum thowarÿ (s 50v 18) offsuoÿum thowarÿ (s 112v 13) na suoÿum thowarÿ (s 112v 14-15)	fftom tovari (F 388 10) ffsuoium tovari (F 422 5) na suoium tovari (F 422 6-7)
	na tuoÿ thowarÿ (s 20r 9) na tum thowarÿ (s 110r 5-6) na suoÿom thowarÿ (s 111v 8)	<b>sa</b> tovari (F 314 1) <b>sa</b> tom tovari (F 417 17-18) <b>sa</b> suoium tovari (F 420 14)
	off thom thowarÿ (s 42v 17) off thom thowarÿ (s 42v 17) off thowarÿ (s 64r 15) off thowarÿ (s 109v 20) offtom thowarÿ (s 110v 7)	fftum tovaru (F 365 6) fftum tovaru (F 365 6) fftovaru (F 415 2) fftovaru (F 417 13) fftum tovaru (F 418 9)
	omoÿum thowarÿ (s 21r 7) offthom thowarÿ (s 47r 15)	<b>na</b> moiu tovaru (F 317 1) fftom tovarum (F 377 15)
<i>-um</i>	na moÿum thowarum (s 36r 12)	na moim tovarum (F 351 17)
	na tum thowarum (s 21v 21) offtuoÿum thowarum (s 27v 19-20) off suoÿum thowarum (s 48v 1)	na tum tovari (F 319 9) fftuoium tovari (F 335 1-2) ffsuoium tovaru (F 382 8)
	na suoÿum thowarum (s 112v 1) offthom thowarum (s 35v 17)	<b>sa</b> suoium tovari (F 422 1) <b>tim</b> tovarum '(INSTR.SG.) ТИМ ТОВАРОМ' (F 350 19)
<i>-u</i>	na tho waru (s 19r 28) vmoÿomu thowaru (s 43r 1) off towaru (s 112r 17-18)	<b>sa</b> tovari (F 312 1) omoio <b>om</b> tovari (F 365 15) stovarum 'с ТОВАРОМ' (F 421 15)
<i>-∅</i>	offmoÿam tho war (s 10v 9)	ffmoium tovarum (F 291 17)

Table 35: LOC.SG. of *товар* in s

For the sake of completeness, the table below includes the cases of *товар* in a LOC.SG. context in Fonne's phrasebook that have not been listed before:

F	S
fftom tovaru (F 328 13)	-
na moio tovaru (F 351 1-2)	namaÿ thowaru (s 35v 19) <sup>184</sup>
fftom tovari (F 429 6)	-
sstarum tovari	-
‘(TF II) старом товарѣ’ (F 431 3)	-
na moium tovaru (F 431 9)	-
fftom tovarum (F 443 10)	-

Table 36: Remaining instances of *товар* in LOC.SG. context (F)

The most frequent ending in s is *-i/-ÿ* (19×). Fonne’s manuscript mirrors s in fewer than half of these cases (9×). The remaining 10 cases show a mixed picture. 3 times, F matches Schroue’s *на ... товаръ* with a construction with *за* (on which see §6.6.2). In another 5 cases, *в товаръ* turns up as *в товару*, introducing the ending *-u*. The combination *omoÿum thowarÿ* (s 21r 7) can be found as *na moiu tovaru* in F (interpreted as an ACC.SG. construction in TF III, see §6.6.4). And finally, in one case *thowarÿ* in s is matched by *tovarum* in F.

In LOC.SG. contexts, the ending *-um* of s generally does not survive in F: it is matched with LOC.SG. *tovarum* only once (F 351 17).<sup>185</sup> In three cases, *thowarum* appears in F as *tovari* or *tovaru*. In one case, *na* was replaced with *sa*, resulting in the hybrid *sa suoium tovari* (see §6.2.2 above). Finally, in *offthom thouarum* (s 35v 17), the construction *в* + LOC.SG. matches an INSTR.SG. without preposition.

The 3 cases of *-u* in Schroue’s phrasebook are not matched by the same ending in F at all.

Accepting the innovative nature of F, two issues need to be discussed at this point.

The first is the LOC.SG. *товару*. Wherever s shows *-y*, F does not, and vice versa. If the source copied by the scribe of F matches s, the scribe actually removed *-y* from the combinations in s *на товару*, *у моёму товару* and *в товару*. Yet in other cases, mostly where s reflects *в товаръ*, it was introduced, resulting in the same *в товару* that was removed elsewhere.

The other words showing a LOC.SG. in *-y* in F are *берег*, *верх* (2×), *ворот*, *воск*, *кряж*, *мѣх*, *род*, *рот* (perhaps), *сорок* ‘timber’, *страх*, *сѣньзд*, *торг* (2×),

<sup>184</sup> Classified as an ACC.SG. in s. Cf. also *na moiu tovaru* (F 317 1; in the table above) as well as *na suoiu tovaru* (F 439 9).

<sup>185</sup> The editors of TF III interpret *na moim tovarum* as an INSTR.SG. This may be due to the INSTR.SG.-like *moim*, rather than the more LOC.SG.-like *moium* we find elsewhere.

угол. The linguistically quite reliable Anonymous phrasebook also has one occurrence of *товару*.<sup>186</sup> But although the LOC.SG. ending *-y* is rooted in linguistic reality, we might well be facing an overgeneralisation of *товару* – used more than 170 times for the GEN and DAT.SG.

The second point is the ending *-um*. If the source copied by the scribe of F contained *-um* in the same cases as S, we must conclude that the scribe consciously removed *-um* in LOC.SG. contexts: in only 1 out of 6 cases it was retained, in *na moim tovarum* (F 351 17). At the same time, it occurs in 3 other cases: *ffmoium tovarum* (F 291 17 ~ *offmoÿam tho war*, s 10v 9) and *fftom tovarum* (F 377 15 ~ *offthom thowarÿ* (s 47r 15); F 443 10, no correspondence in S).

Rather than the *товаром* which the editors of TF II and TF III read in this, we may also be dealing with an overgeneralisation of the final *-m* of the pronoun preceding every single occurrence, and which may have led the scribe astray. We find the same in *ffsuioium slovim* '(TF II) В СВОЁМ СЛОВОМ(!)' (F 401 11) versus *offzoogÿm flouÿ* (s 57v 17) and in *ffsuoium suknum* '(TF II) В СВОЁМ СУКНОМ(!)' (F 458 11) versus *na suoÿum sucku* (s 16r 24).

A broader tendency of the scribe to 'level' endings can be distinguished in the INSTR.SG. forms *tim dielim* 'ТИМ ДЪЛ<О>М; [relieve me of] this business' (F 205 18) and *kakim dielim* 'КАКИМ ДЪЛ<О>М; for what business' (F 210 4, F 257 10).

At the same time, this *-m* must be seen in the light of many other unexpected final *-m*'s in Schroue's phrasebook, which the scribe of F had to come to terms with, and which therefore enjoyed his special attention (see also §6.1). Take, for example, the correct removal of *-m* in F as opposed to S in the following cases: *ne sadorosi suiogo tovaru* (F 308 7-8) and *da ne ßodoreos thÿ suoÿoga thowarrum* (s 14v 18); *pili [...] da ne buili* 'пили [...] да не были' (F 202 6) as opposed to *pÿlÿm [...] ne bulÿm* (s 101r 13); or *novoÿ obrutzÿ* '(ACC.PL.) НОВОИ ОБРУЧИ' (F 356 7) versus *nouÿm obruÿÿ* (s 38r 22-23).

In other cases, *-m* may have been removed too rigorously: *Nichto isbohu ne dumall* 'Никто с бог<ом> не думал; Nema(n)dtt hefft mÿ gott tho rade gegahen' (F 230 15) versus *Nichto Isbogum ne dumall* 'Niemand hat mit gott zu rathe gegangen' (s 112r 5-6); possibly due to incorrect interpretation, cf. *mÿ* 'me' rather than *mÿt* 'with' in the German translation.

There are also cases where *-m* was added where it should not have been. We have already seen possible cases of overgeneralisation, to which can be added *besz vhmom* 'без умом' (F 386 10) as opposed to *bes vma* (s 50r 15), under the

<sup>186</sup> The ending *-u*, however, was rare in that phrasebook: "The ending *-u*, carried over from the old thematic *u*-declension, occurs extremely rarely and is not at all conditioned by the ending being stressed: (w) *Sorocku* 73a.9, (na) *towaru* 81a. 18, (w) *torgu* 83a.2" (Fałowski 1996: 42).

influence of *vmom* ‘умом’ earlier in the same sentence.<sup>187</sup> Also, *соль* and *милость* may have been perceived as masculine *o*-stem nouns, resulting in an incorrect INSTR.SG., which in one case was corrected:

*Karabloff mno prischol ssolium* ‘Кораблѣв мно<го> пришѣл(!) с сольюм’ (F 362 9)

~ *Karobellof Imnogo pryβlo βoliu* (s 41v 5)

*Mech szolium rosveszalos: rosdralos: rosdralsa* ‘Мѣх с солью розвzалось: роздралось: роздрался’ (F 391 14)

~ *Mech Iβolyu roβdrales* (s 52r 8)

*Botzka szoliu* ‘Бочка с солью’ (F 391 19)

~ *Bottβka Iβolum* (s 52r 5)<sup>188</sup>

*sradenim milostium boseiu* ‘с радѣнием милостью божью’ (F 264 10; no correspondence in S)

No matter how the final *-m*'s in both Schroue's phrasebook and Fonne's can be explained, the issue must have enjoyed the definite attention of the scribe. The attention for this construction seems especially clear where *offthom thouarum* in Schroue's phrasebook (s 35v 17) corresponds to the INSTR.SG. construction *tim tovarum* in Fonne's (F 350 19). This philological fact has to play a role in the explanation of the forms that are attested in the phrasebook.

### 6.6.6 Evaluation

On the basis of the comparison of the data of Fonne's phrasebook with those in s, and the discarding of strange cases in which non-native scribal innovation may be assumed, the following paradigm of *товар* may be reconstructed:

	SG	PL
NOM	товар	-
GEN	товару	-
DAT	товару	-
ACC	товар	-
INSTR	товаром	-
LOC	товарѣ (/ товару)	-

We have seen in this section that the form GEN.SG. *товару* was subject to expansion, as a conscious linguistic innovation on the part of the scribe. This ex-

<sup>187</sup> The reading ‘безумьѣм’ in TF II has to be rejected, on the basis of the translation ‘sunder sinne’ and *bes vma* in s.

<sup>188</sup> *Iβolum* in s may point to the fact that the perception of *соль* as an *o*-stem masculine noun was already present in the source in some form.

pansion included cases of *мовапу* as a direct object which have previously been categorised as ACC.SG.

Although the critical attitude of the scribe towards his sources may have resulted in the elimination of many inconsistencies and fallacies in the source material, the same attitude unmistakably introduced new errors into the material. We have seen this in the replacement of *на* by *за*, where the dependent nouns, pronouns and adjectives were not changed accordingly to reflect the different inflection caused by these prepositions. This same change of preposition puts the occurrence of *мовапу* in the plural in doubt. Another context where the scribe was prone to errors and inconsistencies is the LOC.SG., especially where this concerned the occurrence of *-m*, fitting in a larger pattern of final *-m*'s in *с* and *р*.

### 6.7 Conclusions

In previous chapters, we saw that the copyist put a lot of careful effort in his work and was concerned with rearranging and reviewing the material in his sources, showing an awareness of what he was doing on the level of arrangement and organisation of the data, on the level of alphabet, sounds, and spelling.

At the end of this chapter we must conclude that the scribe's delicate sensitivity for details extends to the linguistic level of nominal morphology. The general summary of what we find on this level can be brief: a conscientious copyist was confronted with sources of which the morphological data were in part local, archaic, and corrupt. As a result, he was forced to act.

Only a subset of the issues structurally addressed by the scribe have been treated in this chapter, but the scribe's approach is clear. If traits were deemed too local, they were subject to removal. Examples are the NOM.SG.M. ending *-e* (§6.4), the absence of [n] in oblique cases of the PRON.PERS.3G. (§6.2.4), or the *o*-vocalism in GEN., DAT and ACC of the PRON.PERS.2SG. (§6.2.2).

At the same time, the scribe had a hard time in addressing the tension caused by variation in the language, caused by the difference between spoken and written language, between local and non-local elements, by variation dependent on syntactic context, or variation of some other origin. Examples of these are the introduction of *яз* into the manuscript (§6.2.1), the removal of the traditional (or local) ending *-ого* in favour of the spoken form *-ово* (§6.1), and the difficulty of coming to terms with the use of the PRON.REFL. *свой*. The same tension protrudes in the unsteady wavering between *мноѡ* (spoken or new) and *мною* (written or old) (§6.2.3).

The removal of local traits was not complete, either as the result of oversight or of a conscious decision. One is tempted to think that the rigorous replacement of forms like *розвѣгле* by *розвѣл* was a step the scribe was not willing to

take: after all, given the scribe's sensitivity for the material he was handling, it is unlikely that he was not aware of the distinctly local character of a form like *розвезле*. This can be considered as an attempt to reconcile the intent to remove local traits with the communicative aim of the material: *розвезле* and *розвёл* are so different that a less well-trained non-native speaker could well have failed to connect the two when confronted with the local form in the streets of Pskov.

When it comes to the scribe's awareness of nominal morphology, the investigation of nominative objects in *-a* (§6.5) and *товар* (§6.6) has shown that the scribe was very aware of case endings as such. He obviously felt confident enough to intervene in the material that he was dealing with.

Looking at *товар*, we have seen that the scribe straightened out endings, changed prepositions, knowing well that they required a different case (§6.6.2, but also *на ~ против* in §6.6.3). He also changed the rection of prepositions, and was somehow triggered into expanding the use of the GEN.SG. *товару* over the ACC.SG. *товар*, possibly based on considerations such as a negated predicate, or partitive meanings. At the same time, the scribe clearly struggled to apply the correct endings in the right context.

A similar struggle can be seen in the case of nominative objects in *-a*. We have seen that lexical influence and scribal innovation interfered with a burgeoning change in the language (i.e., the rise of *-a* in different contexts than that of the direct object of infinitives), making it hard to determine the validity of each individual form in *-a*. The scribe's difficulty of coming to terms with this matter is especially visible in phrases which are likely of his own making (for example, as they have no correspondence in *s* and, as far as content is concerned, can be seen as a variation on a theme), casting doubts on his ability to produce adequate Russian phrases without an example as guidance.

The fact that the source text he was copying was corrupt, and that many other phenomena in every phrase had to have his attention as well, must not have been favourable to the outcome. This has its consequences for the linguistic value of the data: concerning these points, they cannot be accepted as representative of the Pskov vernacular of those days.





## 7. VERBAL FORMS

The discussion of morphological issues, which in the previous chapter concerned nominal and pronominal forms and their use, continues in this chapter with verbal forms.

### 7.1 IND.PRES.3SG/3PL. *-m*

In Modern Standard Russian, the 3SG and 3PL of the IND.PRES. end in *-t* (*нри-дѣт*), contrasting with Old Russian *-tb* (*нридетъ*). Judging from the birchbark corpus, the Old Novgorod dialect alternates this ending *-tb* with a zero ending: *нриде*. The zero ending is widespread in modern dialects in the Russian North, such as that of Ostrovcy (Honselaar 2001: 168).

On birchbark, according to Zaliznjak (2004: 135-138), the zero ending only occurs when the IND.PRES.3SG/3PL. is not followed by enclitic forms of the PRON.PERS. (including *-ca*) or the enclitic particle *mu*. The alternation between *-tb* and  $-\emptyset$  in the environments where it does occur, depends on the type of sentence ( $-\emptyset$  is especially frequent in sentences expressing conditions or aims; Šachmatov 1903: 117, 139) and verb class ( $-\emptyset$  is more frequent after *-e* – i.e. *-e* vs. *-etb* – than in other verb classes). Part of the occurrences of *-tb* are attributed to the influence of Church Slavonic formulae or the writer's orientation towards supradialectal forms. Outside the birchbark corpus – e.g. in chronicles – the zero ending is virtually absent, suggesting that the 'literary norm' (*книжная норма*) required the ending *-tb*. The ending *-tb* (rather than *-tb*) makes its appearance in the mid-14<sup>th</sup> century.

The phrasebooks under consideration also record the zero ending.<sup>189</sup> In *Λ*, it occurs a few dozen times for the 3SG – far outnumbered by forms in *-t* –, yet not at all in the 3PL (Fałowski 1996: 59f).<sup>190</sup> In *s*, it is frequent, but the distinction as

<sup>189</sup> Contexts where according to Zaliznjak the zero ending does not occur will not be considered in this section. Of course, these contexts, such as IND.PRES.3SG. forms of reflexive verbs, do occur in *Ф*. The ending is mostly written as *-tza*, *-tze* or *-tz*. The editors of *TF II* reconstruct this as *-тсѧ* or *-тс<ѧ>*, which seems reasonable.

<sup>190</sup> In all phrasebooks, the difference between *-tb* and *-tb* is lost, mainly due to the use of the Latin script.

found by Šachmatov could not be confirmed by its editors (see Fałowski 1997: 22).

In Fonne's phrasebook, there are far fewer instances of a zero-ending IND.PRES.3SG/3PL. than in Schroue's, as has already been noted by Bolek:

“Oba zabytki [i.e. s and F] notują równoległe formy 3 osoby l. poj. i mn. czasu teraźniejszego bez *-t* i z *-t* [...] czasowników wszystkich koniugacji, chociaż formy RS notuje znacznie częściej”<sup>191</sup>(1997: 66).

Let us take a look at what we find in F. First the IND.PRES.3SG.: PHRAS, PROVERB and RELI have approximately 60 instances of a zero-ending between them, against approximately 240 instances in *-t*. These 60 instances are distributed over 35 different verbs, with *изоїде* (9×), *лежи* (7×) and *суди* (5×) accounting for one third of all instances.<sup>192</sup> Similar to what we find in the birchbark corpus, most 3SG zero-ending forms end in *-e* (more than 40×). The exceptions are the following: *изволи* (F 209 15), *дрожи* (F 232 13), *види* (F 429 17), *ходи* (*chode*, transliteration following TF II; F 390 1), as well as the already mentioned *лежи* (7×) and *суди* (5×).<sup>193</sup>

For the 3PL, there are 11 instances of a zero-ending against 60 endings in *-t*. The zero-ending forms are: *bretza* ‘бряча’ (F 201 22), *obide* ‘обидя’ (F 242 17), *vъpaddu* ‘выпаду’ (F 245 7), *sziui* ‘живи(?)’ (F 258 1), *iede* ‘ѣдя’ (F 258 2), *iedu* ‘ѣд<я>’ (F 258 4), *kupe* ‘купя’ (F 311 13), *chote* ‘хотя’ (4×).

There are no cases (in either SG or PL) of corresponding phrases where s has a form in *-t* and F does not.

The difference between s and F is especially apparent in *буде* versus *будет*. Among the 50 instances of the 3SG of this verb in s, the ratio of *буде* versus *будет* is approximately 39 : 11. The ratio *буде* : *будет* in F, however, is 4 : 60. An example of a typical corresponding phrase:

<sup>191</sup> “Both historical texts, s and F, have parallel forms of the IND.PRES.3SG./3PL. of all conjugations with and without *-t*, although they are significantly more frequent in s.”

<sup>192</sup> The competing 3SG forms with the ending *-t* (*изоїдѣт*, *лежит* and *судит*) occur 2×, 6× and 9× respectively.

<sup>193</sup> Zaliznjak (1998: 237-8) mentions *суди* in his discussion of the merits and fallacies of TF III. According to him, the editors of this volume of the edition wrongly analyse *суди* as an imperative in most cases, and he ‘transfers’ a number of these cases to the IND.PRES. One of the imperatives left alone by Zaliznjak, *sudi* (F 324 21), should be transferred as well; the context does not warrant analysis as an imperative.

- (89F) Kaitze tebe **budet** togo tovaru ne kupiff tovar  
deszeffll togo ne **budet**,  
Dat werdt dÿ noch ruwen, dat du de  
wahre nicht gekofft heffst, de wahre werdt  
nicht behter kop werden. (F 323 8-12)
- Каятъся тебѣ **будет**, того товару не купив; товар  
дешевл<е> того не **будет**.  
'You will regret not having bought these goods;  
the goods will not get any cheaper.'
- (89S) Kaÿtze tobbe **bude** thago thowaru ne kupiff thowar  
deszeffle thogo ne **bude**. (S 24r 15-16)

The form *bude* 'буде' remains in only 4 instances. In 2 of these cases, it is followed by the question particle *ли*, and by *budet* 'будет' (i.e., with *-t*) later in the phrase.

- (90F) [...] mne safftro iechat **budell**  
vödra all ne **budett**.  
[...] ich wÿll (F 259 4-5, 6-7; no  
morgen reÿsen idt werde weder oder nicht. correspondence in s)  
мнѣ завтра ѣхать, **буде-ль** ведро аль не **будет**  
'I will travel tomorrow, whether it be good weather or not'
- (91F) **Budel**|uvas tzenna vstafflona al ne **budet**.  
Wÿll gÿ kop~~en~~ maken oder nicht. (F 335 20-21)  
**Буде-ль** у вас цена уставлѣна аль не **будет**?  
'Will you set a price or not?'
- (91S) **Buddell** vwas tzena vstafflona alle ne **bude** (S 29v 19)

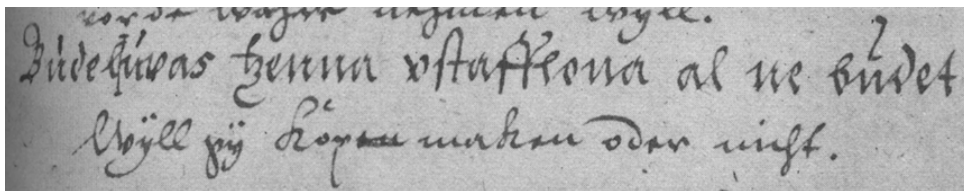
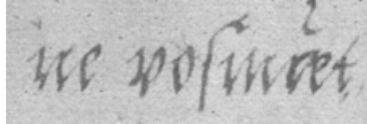


Figure 84: *Budel|uvas tzenna vstafflona* (F 335 20)

Phrase (91F) enjoyed the explicit attention of the scribe: the manuscript shows (see Figure 84) that *uvas* was emended from earlier *was*, and when, as a result of the emendation, space was running out, the scribe tried to delineate word boundaries with a vertical line. The resulting phrase must have been something he was content with, including *budel* 'буде-ль'. In the light of the explicit attention for this phrase and the scribe's general preference for *budet* – which actually occurs later in the same phrase – the form *bude* cannot be attributed to scribal oversight. The input of the scribe is even clearer in another phrase, (92F), centring on the unexpected 3PL *vosmæt* 'возьмѣт', with *æ* < *u*:

- (92F) [...] da ludi  
 otmenæ na tut tzenu ne **vosmæt** [...]  
 [...] vnd de lude  
 wÿllen se nicht na dem kope nehmen, (F 403 7-8, 11-12)  
 (TF II) да люди от меня на ту цѣну не возьмѣт(!)  
 ‘But people will not take them from me at the price’



- (92S) [...] da ludÿ vmenna na tu tzenu ne woßmo [...] (s 58v 15)

The source of F must have reflected *возьму*, like *woßmo* in s. The scribe initially copied this as *vosmut*, adding the *-t* for the 3PL ending. The subsequent change into incorrect *vosmæt* probably occurred under the influence of the vowel in the infinitive *ffzæt* ‘взять’ occurring later in the same sentence.

The addition of *-m*, like in *возьму(m)* above, occurs quite regularly:

- prodadut* (F 280 7, F 352 12, F 376 3)  
 ~ *prodaddo* (s 5v 20), *prodaddu* (s 46v 24), *prodatu* (s 36v 6)  
*prodaiut* (F 362 9)  
 ~ *prodaÿo* (s 4v 7), *prodaÿu* (s 41v 5)  
*kupæt* (F 279 16, F 307 19)  
 ~ *kupe* (s 5v 8, s 17v 20)

The scribe must have been aware of the markedness of the zero ending in 3SG and 3PL and must have actively tried to remove it from the data. At the same time, it was probably introduced into the data in a small number of other cases, where F deviates in lexicon (93, 94) or morphology (95) from s:

- (93F) Tott tzölloveck pÿr naresatt da gosti **stane** pottzvat.  
 De mahn wÿll ein gastgebodtt anrichten vndtt  
 geste plegen. (F 202 1-3)  
 (TF II) Тот чѣловѣк – пир наряжать да гости **стане** подзвать(!).  
 ‘That man will arrange a party and invite guests.’
- (93S) Te Salueck gottzu pÿr na resath da gotzu posswath.  
 Der Mann will ein gastgebott thun vnd wil geste Ladenn, (s 101r 11-12)<sup>194</sup>

<sup>194</sup> This phrase in s is probably corrupt. On the use of *стать* as an auxiliary verb for the future tense, and the reading *подзвать* vs. Zaliznjak’s suggested *пом<ч>евать* (1998: 262), see §7.5.6.

- (94F) Kolli bog tzelovieka komne **prinesze** [...]
   
Wen mÿ godtt eÿnen mahn touogede [...] (< *принести*, F 276 7, 9)
   
Коли бог чeлoвѣка ко мнѣ **принесе**
  
'If God [brings] (brought) me a man'
- (94S) Kollÿ boch thoga saluecka komnÿ **prÿuedda** [...]
   
Wen gott mir einen Man zufugte [...] (< *привести*, s 4f 5, 7)
- (95F) [...] dobro tovar ffiei ne **ismokne**.
   
[...] dat de wahre darin nichtt
   
natt en werde. (F 282 11, 13-14)
   
добро товар в ей не **измокне**
  
'so that the goods in it may not get wet'
- (95S) [...] dat thowar off Je ne Ismock. (s 6v 5)

Keeping the scribe's awareness of the *-t* at the back of one's mind, a number of forms, in (96)-(100), deserve a closer look.

- (96F) пѣсть ко<sup>n</sup> сегoдни **wпоцинѣтъ** – pust kon segodni **opotzinutt** –
   
latt datt perdt van dage rowenn (F 80 18-19)
   
(TF II) пусть конь(!) сегoдни **опочинуть**
  
'Let the horse rest today'
- (96S) Pust koenn sogodne **opottsÿne** (s 103v 17)

The phrase in s is flawless: *путь* combines with a NOM subject and an IND.PRES.3SG. (without *-t*). In F, the verb form is replaced by the infinitive *опочинуть* 'rest', resulting in a construction where *конь* is no longer correct.

Another construction, discussed by Zalznjak, is *мнѣ* (*ему*, etc.) (*не*) *умѣть* + INF. 'I (he, etc.) can (cannot)'. More specifically, he points out that it is more frequent in F than the one occurrence identified by the editors of TF II (1998: 241-2):

- (97F) Besz dengi **nikomu ne omett** tovar kupitt.
   
Sunder geldtt kan nemandtt wahr kopen (F 245 10-11)
   
Без деньги **никому не умѣть** товар купить
   
'Without money, no one can buy goods.'

Zalznjak identifies more than 10 additional cases of the same construction. Most probably, the scribe knew how to actively use the construction. In two consecutive phrases, the construction takes the place of a construction with *нельга* 'нельзя' in s:

- (98F) Isbohum **ne omeett** spiraitze.
   
Midtt godtt is qwatt twisten. (F 210 21-22)
   
(Zal) С богом **не умѣть** спираться.
   
'With God it is [impossible] (bad) to quarrel.'

- (98s) Ißbohum **nelga** pÿrattße, Mitt gotte ist  
bose schimpffenn., (S 107r 10-11)
- (99F) **Ne omeett** mnie togo ffzætt ludi stregutt.  
Ich kans nicht krigen de lude wachten. (F 211 1-2)  
(Zal) **He умѣтъ** мнѣ того взятъ, люди ст<е>регут.  
'It's impossible for me to get it, people are watching.'
- (99s) **Nelga** Imne offzet Lude stregu, Es ist bose  
Zubekommen die Leute vorwarens, (S 107r 14-15)

In one of the additional cases identified by Zaliznjak, F's *omeet* 'умѣтъ' corresponds to *omeÿe* 'умѣе' in S:

- (100F) Poloszi tovar redum, ino **omeet** iovo rozsobrat.  
Legge de wahre in de rege, so kan men  
se van ander lesen. (умѣтъ; F 353 20-22)  
Положи товар рядом, ино **умѣтъ** ёво розобратъ.  
'Lay the goods in a row, then it is possible to separate them'
- (100s) Položÿ thowar poredu Imno **omeÿe** Jogo roßrobrath. p.  
Lege die wahre vf eine reÿge so kann man sie vnterscheidenn. p (умѣе; S 37r 7-8)

Zaliznjak could be right in his analysis, in which case *omeet* reflects *умѣтъ*. Alternatively, if F's source also reflected *умѣе*, the form *omeet* could also reflect the addition of *-t* to the IND.PRES.3SG. *умѣе*; a comparable zero-ending 3SG in F is retained in *roszumee* 'розумѣе' (F 246 6).

In sum, it has to be kept in mind that the scribe was aware of the markedness of the zero-ending. The general trend that can be gleaned from the data is one of elimination, of which in some cases the traces can be seen. The active elimination confirms the image of the zero-ending forms as being local or at least not belonging to the 'literary norm'.

## 7.2 Pluperfect

Unlike the aorist and the imperfect, the pluperfect was not alien to Old Russian in its spoken form. Morphologically, it was formed by combining the *l*-participle of a verb with *был* (*была*, etc.).<sup>195</sup> In the semantics of the pluperfect, several uses have to be distinguished. First of all, there is the classical pluperfect meaning, indicating that an event in the past preceded another event in the more recent past. This meaning of the pluperfect is characteristic for 'literary' texts, such as the chronicles. On birchbark, the pluperfect merely indicates that

<sup>195</sup> For the introductory paragraph of this section, cf. Zaliznjak 2004: 143 (morphology), 175-177 (semantics).

something took place in the past, without relating it to the present. The pluperfect can also be used to indicate an aborted action (*prervannoe dejstvie*), the precursor of Modern Standard Russian constructions of the type *он было пошел, да раздумал* ‘he was almost on his way, but then changed his mind’. This meaning of the pluperfect is not attested on birchbark, which Zaliznjak attributes to the limited data, rather than to other factors.

In Fonne’s phrasebook, however, a number of instances of the pluperfect in this latter meaning can be found. Two examples mirror the same use in Schroue’s phrasebook:

- (101F) Ia **bül nadialsa** mnovo tovaru slubka, da nynetza  
ffzo na more potenul.  
Ich hadde mÿ vorhapedt vehle wahre van Lubke  
vnd nu iß se all tho sehwardt gebleuen. (F 414 19-22)  
Я **был надѣялся** мново товару <и>з Любка, да нынѣча  
всѣ на морѣ пот<о>нул.  
‘I had expected many goods from Lübeck, but now everything  
sank at sea’
- (101S) Ja **buel Nadeÿelÿs** Imnogu thowaru Is Lubka da  
nomÿtza off ßo na morÿ potable. *p* (S 64r 18-21)
- (102F) Tovar **buil opal**, da nynetza opæt sdorosaiet:  
sdinitza: podinitza.  
De wahre waß aff geslagen vndt nu  
werdt se wedder duer. (F 417 21-24)  
Товар был опал, да нынѣча опять <в>здорожает:  
<в>здынется: подынется.  
‘The goods had fallen off, but now they will go up again.’
- (102S) thowar **bule vpale** da nonnÿtsa opeth Isdoroßajeth  
podÿmaÿtze: podÿmutze: da bude opeth dorrogo. *p*. (S 110r 19-20)

In one instance, this use of the pluperfect occurs in a phrase in F which has no equivalent in S:

- (103F) Tott tzeloviek **buill obumörl** da opet otsuuell.  
De mahn was **ge** beswogedt vnd nu is he  
wedder erqwicktt. (F 241 12-14)  
Тот человѣк **был обумёрл** да опять отживѣл.  
‘That man had swooned and (now he) has been revived again.’

In yet another instance, s has a simple perfect where F has a pluperfect:

- (104F) Ia **buil** na tebe **nadialsa** à tÿ komnie ne prischol.  
Ich vorleht mÿ vp dÿ vnd du quemest nicht  
tho mÿ. (F 424 15-17)  
Я был на тебе надѣялся, а ты ко мнѣ не пришёл.  
‘I had placed my hope in you but you didn’t come to me’



- (104s) Ja **na delaÿes** na tobbe thÿ ne prissoll,  
 Ich vorlies mich Auf dich vnndt du kamest nicht, (s 104v 4)<sup>196</sup>

If we accept the innovative nature of F, the use of the pluperfect in (104F) may point to the insertion of this tense in the context of an aborted action. The fact that ten pages before, the exact same construction was used (*был ... надъялся*; see phrase (101F) above), may have helped the insertion; if this is indeed the case, this again is evidence of the close attention that the scribe of F paid to the content of the phrases he was copying.

Finally, there is one case where a pluperfect in s does not match a pluperfect in F:

- (105s) Ottßum thÿ Menne ne powestÿll kack vtebbe buell  
 dobbroÿ thowaer prodaßnÿ, kabbuÿ **Ja wedall buell**  
 Jasbu vtebbe kupÿll. p. [...] (s 64v 10-12)

- (105F) Otzum tÿ menæ povestil, kak vtebe büil dobroï tovar  
 prodasni, kabui **ias vedal**, ias bui ottebæ kupil.  
 Worumb dedestu idt mÿ nicht tho wehten, dattu  
 gude wahre tho kope haddest, hadde iktt gewust  
 ich wolde van dÿ gekofft hebben. (F 415 10-14)
- Очём ты меня повѣстил, как у тебе был доброй товар  
 продажный? Кабы **яз вѣдал**, яз бы от тебя купил.  
 ‘Why did you not let me know, that you had good wares for sale?  
 If I had known it, I should have bought from you.’

If in this phrase we are dealing with the elimination of the pluperfect from the source, it too may very well have been a conscious decision: if it was retained, it would have been the only pluperfect in an irrealis context rather than that of an aborted action.

Although there is no direct evidence to prove that these changes should be attributed to the scribe of F, it is, at the same time, not unlikely given the innovative nature of the manuscript and the linguistic sense the differences make. However limited these data are, they might be seen as a reflection of the decline of the morphological pluperfect in meanings other than indicating an aborted action.

### 7.3 Differences in verbal forms between s and F

We have seen already (§4.1) how the close relationship between the phrasebooks of s and F can reveal copying mistakes or shed light on dark spots in Fonne’s

<sup>196</sup> The phrase also occurs in A, which mirrors s: ‘Jas na toba nadalsa a ty ko mene ne prischol ko mene’ (A 75v 9).

manuscript. In the two examples below, the conjectures of the editors of TF II must be regarded as correct: the reconstructed infinitives *дѣлать* and *спроситъ* fit the context better and are confirmed by s:

- (106F) Otzum tÿ moltzis da ne govoris, tzto tebe stovarum  
**dielal**, prodatli iovo chos al vsebe dirsîs.  
 Worumb swichstu vnd sprickst nicht, wo du  
 idt mÿt der wahre maken wilt, wiltu  
 se vorkopen, oder wiltu se suluen beholden. (F 421 15-19)
- (TF II) Очѣм ты молчишь да не говоришь, что тебѣ с товаром  
**дѣла<тъ>**? Продать ли ёво хошь аль у себе держишь?  
 ‘Why do you keep silent and not say what you want to do with the goods;  
 do you want to sell them or will you keep them yourself?’
- (106S) Ottsum thÿ Moltÿs da ne gauwerÿs stho tebbe off  
 toware **delath** prodatlÿ thÿ Jogo gottsÿs al Jogo  
 vssobbe dÿrsath (S 112r 17-19)
- (107F) Podsim iest mne slouo ottebe **sprosÿi** ne velika:  
 ie mne nitzovo ottebe poputat.  
 Kum hir ich hebbe dÿ eÿn weÿnschen tho fragen  
 nichtt sehr grodt. (F 231 1-4)
- (TF II) Подъ сѣм, есть мнѣ слово от тебе **спроси<тъ>** невелико:  
 е мнѣ нѣчѣво от тебе попытать.  
 ‘Come here, I have a wee bit to ask of you [I have something to question  
 you about] (not very much).’
- (107S) Pottako sÿm Jest Imne slouo vtebbe **sprossÿth** ne  
 velÿka Jest Ja netso vtebbe poputhath, (S 112v 9-10)

In the example below, the source of F probably reflected the past participle *заповѣдан* rather than the past tense *заповѣдал*, identified by the editors as odd:

- (108F) **Sapovedall** vesde nimtzi ne dirsatt.  
 Idtt is vorbaden allerwegen keÿne dutschen tho hold(en). (F 201 11-12)
- (TF II) **Заповѣдал(!)** вездѣ нѣмчины не держать.  
 ‘It is forbidden anywhere to keep Germans.’
- (108S) Tho Jest **sapowedan** estÿse rusÿna ne vmeÿu nÿmpt,  
 sÿne dÿrsath deÿaule, .p (S 100v 3-4)

If indeed the sources of F reflected *дѣлать*, *спроситъ* and *заповѣдан* (like s), the changes in F cannot exactly be called an improvement. The motivation behind these discrepancies is unclear: are we dealing with a scribal error or a conscious change? As in the case of *товар* (§6.6), we need to realise that the scribe of F must have been dealing with a source, or sources, which were to a considerable extent corrupt. When reading a phrase in his source, the scribe had to in-

terpret it. If he found that it contained a mistake, he had to correct it. Obviously, the scribe could perceive his source as corrupt when in fact it was not, in which case his innovations are a form of overcompensation. This might have happened in (106)-(108).

In the following examples, Fonne's manuscript is arguably better than s's:

- (109F) Ia stoboi vprauilsa: sotzkles da tebe **otplatil**.  
 Ich hebbe mit dÿ gerekent vnd dÿ affbetalt. (F 343 8-9)  
 Я с тобой управился: сочклись да тебѣ **отплатил**.  
 'I have [squared /] settled accounts with you and paid you off'
- (109S) Ja stoboÿ roßprauÿles: ßotzkles,; da tebbe **ottplatÿth**. p  
 Ich habe mit dir gerechnet vnnd habe dich bezaldt.p (S 32v 23, 33r 1)
- (110F) Ia ffzeras tuoi tovar vidal **buil** dobro  
 Ich sach gistern dÿne wahre de was gudt nu (F 320 1, 3)  
 Я вчерась твой товар видал, **буил** добро.  
 'I saw your wares yesterday, they were good.'
- (110S) Ja offzoras vÿdbe twoÿ thowar **bude** dobbro [...]  
 Ich sach gesternn deine wahr die war gutth, [...] (S 22r 18, 20)
- (111F) [...] vtebe **buil** suetle: vidne den, da iasni glasi.  
 [...] du haddest den lichten dach vnd klare ogen. (F 404 16, 18-19)  
 У тебе **буил** свѣтле: видне день да ясны глаза.  
 'You had bright daylight and clear eyes'
- (111S) [...] vtebbe **bube** vÿdne: suetle denn da gaßnÿ glaßnÿ.  
 [...] du hattest den Lichtenn tagk vnnd klare augenn. (S 59v 4-5, 7-8)

In some cases, a conscious change – not necessarily for the better – is more likely:

- (112F) Kak tuoi aszudar **obedal** ÿ tÿ mnie skaszi  
 ia sihim pogovoru, mnie do iovo diela iest.  
 Alß dÿn herr **gegehen** hefft de middages  
 kost, so segge idt mÿ ich will mÿt ehme reden. (F 419 1-4)  
 Как твой осударь **обѣдал**, и ты мнѣ скажи,  
 я с им поговорю, мнѣ до ёво дѣла есть.  
 'When your master has dined, tell me, I will have a talk with him,  
 [I have business with him]'
- (112S) Kack tuoÿ Aspodar **odt obedath** Itÿ Imne sassÿ Ja Ißgÿm  
 pogauweru Imne vÿogo debbo Jest  
 Waner deine Herren die Mittags Malzet gessen habenn [...] (S 110r 14-16)

The form *odt obedath* in s looks like an infinitive, but may also reflect a contracted form of the IND.PRES.3SG. of the perfective *отобѣдать* 'to finish lunch',

which goes well with the conjunction *как* in the meaning ‘как только, as soon as’.<sup>197</sup> The scribe of F chose to use a past tense of *объдать* (an imperfective verb), which may be motivated by the use of the present perfect *gegehen hefft* in the German translation. In a similar vein, the past tense *срудился* in the following phrase – contrasting with an IND.PRES. in S – may have been influenced by the present perfect in the German translation:

- (113F) Pokroi tovar dat ne ruditze, koli tovar  
**срудилса**, ѥно луди кному не идѣ.  
 Decke de wahre tho, dat se nicht vnrejn werde  
 wan de wahre bestauen: besöldt iß, so gahen  
 de lude dar nicht tho. (F 350 1-5)
- Покрой товар да-ть не рудится; коли товар  
**срудился**, ино люди к нёму не ид<у>.  
 ‘Cover the goods, so they may not get soiled; if the goods  
 are (covered with dust /) soiled, then the people do not  
 come for them’
- (113S) Pocknoÿ thowar dat ne rudÿtze polÿtzÿ kollÿ  
**Исрудÿtzÿ** Imno Ludÿ ock Jomu ne Idu. p.  
 Decke die wahre zu das sie nicht vnrein werde, dann so die  
 wahre bestobenn oder besudlet ist, so wollen sie die Leute nicht  
 kauffenn. p. (S 35r 22-23, 35v 1-3)

Another area where the philological relation between S and F puts the linguistic discussion in a new light, is the use of verbal forms in combination with conjunctions of purpose. Through the centuries, the Old Novgorod dialect employed several such conjunctions. A specifically local conjunction for the Old Novgorod dialect was *дать* (also: *даму*) ‘пусть, чтобы’, a continuation of earlier *да му*, and occurring as an indivisible conjunction on birchbark from the 14<sup>th</sup> century onwards, mostly combined with an IND.PRES. (Zaliznjak 2004: 199). The conjunction *дать* was gradually replaced by *добро*, a process which spanned a period from the 14<sup>th</sup> to the 17<sup>th</sup> centuries (Zaliznjak 1986: 161-162, 2004: 200). In the Old Novgorod dialect, Zaliznjak argues, *добро* was synonymous with *дать*, both in meaning and in use (1986: 161-162). Eventually both *дать* and *добро* were ousted by *чтобы* – which was combined with a past tense or an infinitive.

The two phrasebooks explicitly confirm the synonymity of *дать* and *добро*. Both manuscripts contain a phrase where the two conjunctions are presented as synonyms:

<sup>197</sup> See, for example, the similarly contracted IND.PRES.3SG. forms *wedath* (S 66v 7) and *wedadt* (S 89va 26) from *въдаты*.

- (114S) Nadoÿ Inne ta botka ýßmala ßalyth, da narýddÿth thworda  
**dobro dat** thowar off Je ne Ismock. *p.*  
 Ich mus die thonne dichte machen, damit die wahre darinnen nicht  
 naß werde, (S 6V 5-8)
- (115F) Saffri mosnu **dobro** ti dennoch ne vÿranis:  
**dat** dengi ne vÿpaddu.  
 Doe tho den budell dattu datt geltt nichtt  
 uthlahtest vallen (F 245 6-9)  
 Заври мошну, **добро** ты денёг не выронишь:  
**дать** деньги не выпаду.  
 ‘Close the bag, so that you won’t let the money fall out  
 [/ so that your money will not fall out]’

Zaliznjak concludes that in early 17<sup>th</sup>-century Pskov, *добро* was more popular than *дать*, a conclusion which seems to be based on nothing else but its higher frequency (1986: 162). Comparison of S and F actually bears out the conclusion: it shows the decline of *дать* and the concomitant increase in usage of *добро* (and *чтобы*).

The numbers in S lie as follows: *дать* – 10x, *добро* – 20x, *чтобы/чтоб* 6x.<sup>198</sup> Of the 10 occurrences of *дать* in S, only 4 can be found in F. In 3 cases, we find *добро* instead, in 2 we find *чтоб*, and in 1 case the sentence reflects a different construction. Phrase (116) shows how *дать* in S corresponds to *добро* in F; the other cases are S 4V 22-23 ~ F 278 7-8 and S 6V 5-6 ~ F 282 10-11.

- (116F) Okasis tÿ peredomnoi tzto tÿ mnie vinovate,  
**dobro** ia na tebe ne iszu.  
 Bekenne du vor mÿ watt du mÿ schuldich  
 bist datt ich an dÿ nichten soke. oder datt  
 ich vp dÿ nicht sake. (F 290 16-20)  
 Окажись ты передо мной, что ты мнѣ виновате,  
**добро** я на тебе не ищу.  
 ‘Acknowledge before me what you owe me, so that I may not prosecute you.’
- (116S) Otkaßÿs thÿ Imne peret donnoÿ stho thÿ Inne  
 wÿnenathe **dat** Ja na tobbÿ ýsszu. *p.* (S 10F 11-12)

Two more cases of *дать* occur in highly similar phrases (117S) and (117S’). In F, the repetition is eliminated, and the sole matching phrase (117F) shows *чтоб* rather than S’s *дать*:

- (117S) Ne pore wolaißÿ Imne frock da saplattÿ thÿ Imne moÿe  
 dengÿ kack Ja schoboÿ sieck polossiell **dath** ie na tobbÿ perot  
 gudÿe ne **Ißu.** *p.* (S 11F 8-10)

<sup>198</sup> Only 1 of this total of 36 occurrences occurs in a non-corresponding phrase.

- (117S') Ne perewollotsÿ Imne porÿ da saplattÿ thÿ Imne  
moÿ kumÿ kack Ja stoboÿ stock poloßÿll **dat** Ja  
na tobbÿ pereth sudÿ ne **Isszu. p.** (s 58v 5-7)
- (117F) Ne perevolotzi mnïe poru da saplati mnïe  
moÿ dengi, kak ia stoboi srok poloszil, **tzto**b**** ia na  
tebæ perod sudiei ne **iszu.**  
Vorthue mÿ de tÿtt nicht vnd betaell mÿ  
mÿn geldt alß ich mÿtt dÿ bestemmedt hebbe,  
datt ichs vor dem vagedt, an dÿ nicht soke. (F 403 1-6)
- (TF II) Не переволочи мнѣ пору да заплати мнѣ  
мои деньги, как я с тобой срок положил, чтоб я на  
тебя перѣд судью не **ищу**(!).  
'Do not stretch me out the time but pay my money [at the  
term which] (like) I set with you, so that I may not lodge a  
complaint against you before the judge.'

Clearly, *datъ* was avoided in (117F) and other phrases, and replaced by other conjunctions. At least as important is the fact that *datъ ... ищю* in (117S) and (117S') sheds light on the unexpected use of the IND.PRES. in *чтоб ... ищю* in (117F): when *datъ* was replaced by *чтоб*, the accompanying present-tense form was left untouched, and not replaced by the required *l*-participle.

Comparison of S and F also throws light on other tense issues. *Датъ* and *добро* were usually combined with an IND.PRES. Zaliznjak states that *datъ* "over time became more independent and started to be combined not only with a present tense, but also with several other forms of the verbal paradigm" (1986: 161), which also applies to *добро* (162). *Добро*, for instance, could be combined with an infinitive, exemplified by *добро ... не лазитъ* 'добро ... не лазить' (F 289 19-20). Another possible combination is that with a past tense. For this construction, Zaliznjak (1986: 161-162, 2004: 199) only gives two examples from his sources, both from F:

- (118F) [...] nadob mnïe iovo tak prodat, **dat** mnïe  
ffnaklad **ne bülo.**  
[...] ich modt mÿne wahre  
so vorkopen, dat ich dar keÿnen vorlust  
vr hebbe. (F 393 8-9, 11-13)  
надобъ мнѣ ёво так продать, **даты** мнѣ  
в наклад **не было.**  
'I must sell [them] (my goods) so as not to sustain a loss  
on them'
- (119F) [...] **добро** на на обемæ **не builo** obidno.  
[...] datt vnß beÿden keÿn vnrecht geschee. (F 463 15-16, 19-20)  
(TF II) **добро** на<м> обѣмя **не было** обидно  
'So that no injustice may be done to either of us'

In both cases, comparison with *s* changes the picture. In (118s), *s* reflects the construction *дати бы + l-participle* (cf. Zaliznjak 1986: 161; 2004: 199), whereas in (119s), *F*'s *ne builo* corresponds to the IND.PRES. *nebude* 'не буде' in *s*:

- (118s) [...] nadoep Imne Jogo tack prodath **dath** Imne  
 offnaklath ne **bulop**. *p.*  
 Ich mus also vorkaufenn, das ich keinen vorlust auf meine  
 wahre Nehme. *p.* (s 2-3, 5-6)  
 надобъ мнѣ ёго так продать, **дате** мнѣ  
 в наклад не **было б**.
- (119s) [...] **bobbre** nam obemo **nebude** obeduo.  
 [...] das vns beiden kein vngleich geschehe. (s 46v 18, 21)  
**добро** нам объма **не буде** обидно

No other combinations of *дати* and *добро* with a past tense were found in other sources (such as birchbark documents). Taking this and the non-native intervention in *F* into account, one has to be very careful in claiming that *дати/добро* could in fact be combined with a past tense. More reliable, native examples are needed.<sup>199</sup>

The discussion of phrases and verbal forms in this section must lead to the conclusion that here, too, *F* shows traces of scribal innovation. Sometimes these interventions turned out to be correct, in other cases their correctness is doubtful. This innovation was prompted, in some cases, by the scribe's interpretation of the sources as corrupted – whether this judgement was correct or not. In other cases, the scribe attempted to update the material, replacing one conjunction (*добро*) with another (*чтоб*), yet leaving the corresponding IND.PRES. untouched.

#### 7.4 Future tense

The phenomenon where we see the hand of the scribe of *F* most clearly and extensively is the expression of future tense, which shall be described in this section, focusing on the construction *хочу + INF*.<sup>200</sup>

##### 7.4.1 Periphrastic future-tense constructions in Old Russian

In older stages of Russian, future tense could be expressed either through the IND.PRES. of a perfective verb, or through several periphrastic constructions,

<sup>199</sup> One reverse correspondence can be found in *F*: *Ismock* 'измок' (s 6v 6) corresponds with *ismokne* 'измокне' (F 282 11).

<sup>200</sup> The findings from this section were presented at the 18<sup>th</sup> International Conference on Historical Linguistics (ICHL, Montreal, Canada, 2007) and the 14<sup>th</sup> International Congress of Slavists (Ohrid, Macedonia, 2008), and published as Hendriks 2008.

combining an auxiliary with an infinitive. The general picture given here is based on Andersen 2006b.

For Old Russian in general, Andersen lists the following auxiliaries which, combined with an infinitive, yield a periphrastic future tense: *хочу* ‘will’, *имамь* (INF *имѣти*) ‘have to, must’, *иму* (INF *яти*), and various verbs with IND.PRES.1SG. in *-чну* (*начну*, *почну*, *учну*) ‘begin’ (2006b: 71).

For the Old Novgorod dialect in particular, Andersen concludes that the periphrastic future was formed using the phasal verb *почну* (2006b: 76). The other verbs are all dismissed for this function. In his view, *имамь* and *хочу* belonged to the (Church Slavonic) high code in Russian, and can be assumed to retain their original, modal meaning when encountered in Russian (Andersen 2006b: 73). The verb *иму* is very marginal in the Old Novgorod region, and is only attested once in the birchbark corpus (2006b: 75). The most recent example of the ‘*почну* + INF’ construction that Andersen found in the birchbark corpus, dates from the end of the 14<sup>th</sup> or the beginning of the 15<sup>th</sup> century (BBL 129).

In contrast with birchbark documents, s makes abundant use of a periphrastic construction ‘*хочу* + INF’ which seems to have future-tense meaning (see also §7.4.4 below). Comparison of corresponding phrases shows that it is used far less in F. The following phrases exemplify typical correspondences between s and F:

- (120F) Ia suoi tovar **prodam** [...]
   
Ich **wÿll** mÿne wahre **vorkopen** [...] (F 280 21-22)
   
‘Я свой товар **продам**’
   
‘I will sell my goods’
- (120S) Ja **gotſu** suoÿe thowar **prodath** [...]
   
Ich will meine wahre vorkauffenn [...] (S 6r, 11-12)
- (121F) Ia sa sebe **otvetzaiu** [...]
   
Ich **wÿll** vor mÿ suluest **antworten** [...] (F 290 9-10)
   
‘Я за себе **отвѣчаю**’
   
‘I answer for myself’
- (121S) Ja **gotzu** sa sabbÿ **otweſath** [...]
   
Ich **will** mich **vorantworten** [...] (S 9v, 26; 10r, 1)

Bolek already drew attention to this phenomenon, saying that “as a rule, the rather numerous analytic future-tense forms of the type *chotěti* + INF in s correspond to simple forms in F” (1997: 66). She does not further quantify her observation. First, therefore, we will have to determine how widespread the phenomenon is, and what forms it takes.



### 7.4.2 The removal of ‘*хоуу* + INF’

If we limit ourselves to corresponding phrases, we find 147 instances of ‘*хоуу* + INF’ in *s*. In the corresponding phrases in *F*, we find the construction only 27 times. In the remaining 120 phrases, we find a range of other constructions, as the table below shows. The reverse situation – where *F* would have *хоуу* + INF, but *s* would not – does not occur.

<i>хоуу</i> ( <i>s</i> )	# of cases
present-tense form	90
DAT + INF	22
<i>стану</i>	1
other	7
total	120

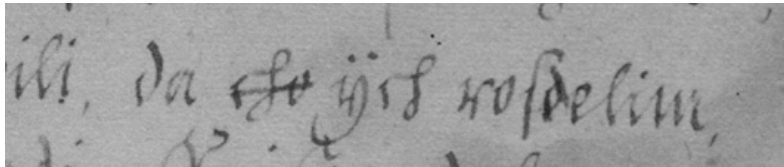
Table 37: Cases where *s* has *хоуу*, but *F* does not

We can glean from the table that the construction *хоуу* + INF in *s* mostly corresponds to a simple present-tense form in *F* (as in the two examples above). The second most frequent correspondence is the construction DAT + INF:

- (122F) **Mnie** stoboi ne **beszeduvat** [...] (F 397 18-19)  
 Ich will nicht mit dÿ tho doende hebben [...]  
 ‘Мнѣ с тобой не бесѣдовать’  
 ‘I will have nothing to do with you’
- (122S) Ne **gottsu** Ja stobuÿ **boſeduwath** [...] (S 55V, 1-2)  
 Ich wil nicht mit dir zuthun haben [...]

There is both direct and indirect evidence for scribal intervention in cases of non-correspondence between *s* and *F*. The direct evidence takes the usual form of scribal corrections in *F*. The phrases (123) and (124) suggest that the source of *F* still contained the construction ‘*хоуу* + INF’, which was adapted by the scribe of *F*.

- (123F) [...] da ~~cho~~ ÿch rosdelim [...] (F 463 14, 18)  
 [...] vnd wÿlle(n)se van ander dehlen [...]  
 ‘да ~~хо~~ их роздѣлим’  
 ‘we are going to divide them’

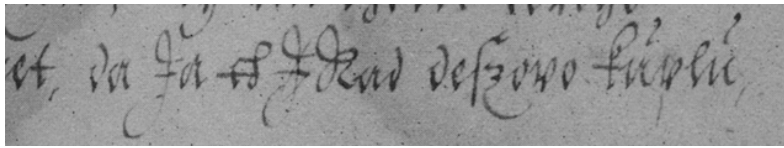


- (123S) [...] da gottÿm muÿ gÿch roſdelÿth [...] (S 46V, 16-17, 19-20)  
 [...] vndt wollenn sie von einander theilenn [...]

We see that the scribe has struck out *cho* (presumably of *chotim*) and continued with *ÿch* at the same place where *s* has the verb form *gottÿm*.

In (124F) below, the scribe similarly started to write *chotzu*, changed his mind, crossed it out, then started to write *ia* again, noticed his mistake, crossed it out, and proceeded to copy the rest of the phrase, all in the same place where *s* reflects *хочу*:

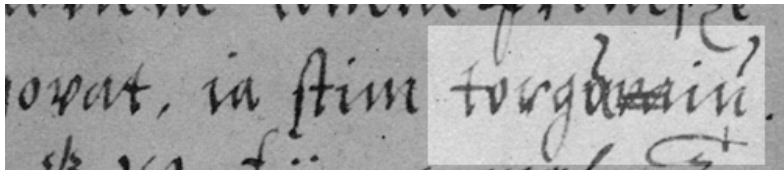
- (124F) [...] da ia ~~ch~~ i rad deszovo kuplu [...] (F 411 11, 14-15)  
 [...] vnd ich wil gerne guden kop kopen [...] (F 411 11, 14-15)  
 ‘да я ~~ж~~ рад дешёво куплю’  
 ‘and I like to buy cheap’



- (124S) [...] da Ja **gottſu** rade deſeuwo kupÿth [...] (S 62r, 24-25; 62v, 2-3)  
 [...] vnnnd ich wolte gerne gutten kauſſ kauffenn [...]

Scribal corrections also provide us with indirect evidence of the same process, shown in phrases (125)-(127). In each of these phrases, F shows a scribal correction, and in each case, the corresponding phrase in S shows the construction ‘*хочу* + INF’. The corrections are then most easily explained by assuming that the source of F still contained an infinitive, as part of that same construction.

- (125F) [...] ia stim **torgu~~v~~aiu**. (F 276 8, 10-11)  
 [...] mÿtt deme wolde ich gerne koepslagen,  
 ‘я с тѣм **торгуваю**’  
 ‘I trade with him’

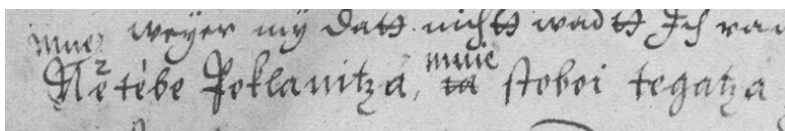


- (125S) [...] Ja rade **gotſu** Isgÿm **turguwath**. p (S 4r, 6, 8)  
 [...] Ich wolte gerne mit ihm kaufſchlagenn. p.

In (125F), the auxiliary *хочу* was removed, but *torgu~~v~~aiu* still shows traces of the infinitive: *va* was struck out, and *u* was emended from earlier *o* (from the infinitive, regularly written *torgovat*).

In (126F), the emendation is quite complex, as the image from the manuscript also shows. The order of the two expressions in F has been reversed compared to S, but we also see clear traces of the conversion from ‘*хочу* + INF’ to ‘DAT + INF’:

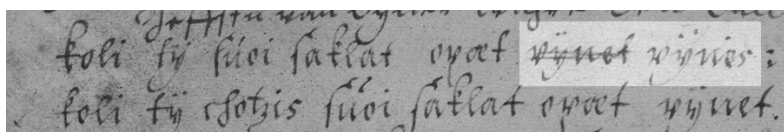
- (126F) *Mne* ne 2 tebe 1 poklanitza, ~~ia~~ *mnie* stoboi tegatza.  
 Ich wÿll mÿ nichtt vor dÿ nÿgen, ich wÿll  
 mitt dÿ tho rechte gahen. (F 208 13-15)  
**Мнѣ тебѣ не** поклонитъся, **я** **мнѣ** с тобой тягаться.  
 ‘I will not bow down before you, I will go to court with you’



- (126S) Ja **gotts**u stoboy **tegasthe** Ja ne **gotts**u tebbe **poklanÿtze**,  
 Ich will mit dir rechnen, Ich will dir nicht vorgnugenn. p. (S 105r, 12-14)

Finally, F has a phrase in which two constructions are presented as being synonymous: one construction employs the perfective present, the other is ‘*хочу + INF*’. The corresponding phrase in s only has the latter construction.

- (127F) Koli tÿ suoi saklat opæt ~~vÿnet~~ **vÿnes**:  
 koli tÿ **chotzis** suoi saklat opæt **vÿnet** [...]  
 Wann er wiltu dÿn pandt wedder inlosen [...]  
 (F 294 11-12, 15)  
 Коли ты свой заклад опять ~~вынять~~ **вынешь**:  
 коли ты **хочешь** свой заклад опять **вынять**?  
 ‘When [do /] will you redeem your pledge again?’



- (127S) Kallÿ thÿ **gottzÿs** ßuaÿe ßackladt opedt **wuÿed** polmo [...]  
 Wan ehr wiltu dein pfandt wied[er] losen [...]  
 (S 11r, 24; 11v, 1)

The crossed-out infinitive *vÿnet* ‘*ВЫНЯТЬ*’ in the first construction could of course be interpreted as anticipating the infinitive in the next construction, but in all likelihood reflects the infinitive of the original.

### 7.4.3 Removal gone wrong

In the examples above, the process of conversion may have been bumpy, but the resulting Russian phrase is grammatically unsuspect. However, the elimination of ‘*хочу + INF*’ was not always that smooth: the abandonment of the construction left its traces, even where it has disappeared.

In quite a few cases, verb forms which seem odd or even simply incorrect can be explained by comparing the phrase in which they occur with s, as (128F) below illustrates. In essence, this phrase is similar to the example with *torgu~~vaiu~~* in (125F). The corresponding phrase (128S) shows the construction *хочу ... понаимовать*. The scribe meant to replace this construction with the present-tense form *понаимую*, but treated the verb in *-овать* like a regular verb

in *-atъ* (such as *читатъ*), leaving us with *понаимоваю* instead, which this time was not corrected:

(128F) Ia isvostzikoff **ponaimovaiu** [...] (F 288 8, 10)  
 Ich wÿll forlude huren [...] (TF II) Я извозчиков понаимоваю  
 ‘I will hire carters’

(128S) Ja **gotſu** Iſuosmÿkoff **ponaÿmowath** [...] (s 8v, 8-9)  
 Ich will furleute Heuren [...] (s 8v, 8-9)

A similar line of reasoning can explain the odd verb form *подуму* in the following phrase:

(129F) Ia fperot ssuoim tovariszum, **podumu** [...] (F 363 17, 20-21)  
 Ich wÿll mÿ ersten mÿt mÿnem maschoppe bedenken [...] (TF II) ‘Я вперёд с своим товарищем подуму(!)’  
 ‘First I will consider with my companion’

(129S) Ja **gotſu** off piruo Iſuoÿm thowarÿſÿm **podumath** [...] (s 42r, 14, 16-17)  
 Ich will mich erst mit meinem Mastkop bedennckenn [...]

The present-tense form *podumu* ‘подуму’, rather than *podumaiu* ‘подумаю’ can be explained by assuming that the source of F, like S, reflected the construction *хочу ... подуматъ*. The infinitive ending *-tb* and the preceding vowel *a* were cut off from *подуматъ*, and replaced by *-u*, the prototypical ending for the IND.PRES.1SG.<sup>201</sup>

The removal of ‘*хочу + INF*’ can also explain the strange verb forms *mollitzu* and *vtzitzu* in (130F):

(130F) Ia bhogu **mollitzu** da pristoino **vtzitzu**. (F 191 1-2)  
 Ich wÿll godtt bidden vnd flitigen lehren. (TF II) Я Богу **МОЛИТЬСЮ(!)** да пристойно **УЧИТЬСЮ(!)**  
 ‘I shall pray to God and learn diligently’

(130S) Ja **gotzu** boch **mollitze** da **vtzÿtze**. p (s 65r 22-23)  
 Ich will gott bittenn vnnd Lerenn. p

Confronted with *хочу ... молиться да учиться* in his source, the scribe wanted to remove this construction; but he failed to recognise the reflexive suffix *-ся* for what it was. Rather than adding the first-person ending *-y/-ю* before the suffix, he instead deformed the suffix.

<sup>201</sup> Another example is the verb form *osaklu* ‘(TF II) озакл<аж>у’ of (16F): the scribe interpreted his source’s equivalent of *oſaklath sa Lossÿth* as two synonymous infinitives (something like ‘закла<с>тъ : заложить’) rather than as ‘заклад заложить’. He removed the second variant and converted the ‘infinitive’ *oſaklath* into the perceived 1SG *osaklu* ‘озаклу’.

Mistakes were not only made with the conversion of ‘*хочу* + INF’ to a present-tense form, but also when conversion to ‘DAT + INF’ took place. This is shown in (131), where the originally nominative subject remained unchanged:

- (131F) **Ti** mnie to otnett : sapovedatt  
 Wultu mÿ dat vorbeden. (F 201 9-10)  
 (TF II) ТЫ МНѢ ТО ОТНЯТЬ(!): ЗАПОВѢДАТЬ(!)?  
 ‘Will you deny: prohibit me that?’
- (131S) **Gottsÿs** thÿ Imne tho **Sapuwedath**, p.  
 Wiltu mir das vorbietenn. p. (S 100V, 1-2)

The final example that will be given here, (132), shows another incomplete conversion: the conversion of the first verb construction (*хочу продать* > *продам*) went well, but in the second ([*хочу*] *взять* > *возьму*) the infinitive was left untouched.

- (132F) Ia suoi tovar prodam, da frutz dengi **ffzæt**.  
 Ich wÿll mÿne wahre vorkopen vnd redtt geldtt nemen. (F 280 21-23)
- (132S) Ja **gotfsu** suoÿe thowar **prodath** da ffnuths kunÿ **ffÿsedth**  
 Ich will meine wahre vorkauffenn vnd bahr geldt  
 daruon nhemenn, p. (S 6r, 11-13)

The type of errors discussed above is by no means rare. Of the 120 cases where S has *хочу* and F does not, F shows morphological or syntactic mistakes in 29 cases, as shown in Table 38.

<i>хочу</i> >	# of cases	# of mistakes
present-tense form	90	25
DAT + INF	22	2
<i>stanu</i>	1	0
other	7	2
total	120	29

Table 38: mistakes made during the conversion of ‘*хочу* + INF’

The pattern is clear: *хочу* + INF was removed from the text. Of course, individual odd verb forms could be explained linguistically. Take, for example the forms *primetu* and *naredu* and their suggested transliteration in (133F) and (134F):

- (133F) Ia tebe **primetu** kudi tÿ idis.  
 Ich wÿll dÿner achtt hebben wor du hen geist (F 211 16-17)  
 (TF II) Я тебе примѣ<ч>у, куды ты идешь.  
 ‘I will pay attention to you where you go.’
- (134F) Ia stoboi sapovet **naredu** [..]  
 Ich will mit dÿ eÿn verbundt maken [...] (F 406 5, 7)

(TF II) Я с тобой заповѣдь наря<ж>у  
 'I will set up a contract with you'

Zaliznjak (1998: 269, 273) suggests that *primetu* and *naredu*, rather than *примѣчу* or *наряжу*, might reflect *примѣтью* and *нарядю*, showing the influence of analogical levelling. Comparison with s, however, shows that the phrase originally contained the construction 'хочу + INF':

(133s) Ja **gotts**u tobbe **pr̄metÿth** kuddÿ thÿ Ides  
 Ich wil dir nachsehen wo du hinn gehen wildt, (s 108r 11-12)

(134s) Ja **gotts**u stoboÿu sapowedth **naredÿdt** [...]  
 Ich will mit dir einenn bunnd machen [...] (s 60r 11, 13)

In the light of the presence of 'хочу + INF' in s and the absence of similar cases of analogical levelling in F, Zaliznjak's suggestion has to be discarded. Instead, *primetu* and *naredu* do not reliably reflect either *примѣчу/наряжу* or *примѣтью/нарядю*, but rather the same truncation procedure as we have seen in (129).<sup>202</sup> They should be discarded from linguistic analysis; the best explanation for the oddities as a group is philological.<sup>203</sup>

The pattern can be extrapolated to cases where F shows a suspicious verb form even *without* a direct correspondence in s. The criteria for this extrapolation are that the corresponding German phrase shows *willen*, and that the odd verb form can be explained by assuming the presence of the construction 'хочу + INF'.

The verb forms *voiovu* and *menetzu* in (135F) and (136F) below illustrate this. *Voiovu* is like *torguvaiu* and *ponaimovaiu* in (125F) and (128F), *menetzu* is like *molitzu* and *vtzitzu* in (130F).

(135F) Ia protiff tebe **voiovu**.  
 Ich wÿll igen strÿden. (F 199 6-7)  
 (TF II) Я против тебе воёву(!)  
 'I (shall) struggle against [you].'

(136F) S suknum ia stoboiu **menetzu**.

<sup>202</sup> The editors of TF II noticed the conversion in a few cases. They considered the verb forms *sdaisli* (F 409 14), *rosvestu* (F 442 5), *prirovenis* (F 458 18), *починѣ* (F 469 2), *rosplođu* (F 502 3), and *blagoslovu* (F 502 4), as well as the construction *mnie tebæ rad sluszu* 'мнѣ тебя рад слышу' (F 399 5) to be blends of some kind. Since they had no access to s, they could not know the origin of the hypothesised contaminations.

<sup>203</sup> A small number of correspondences between F and s do not seem to fit the general pattern. In all of these, s combines *хочу* not with an infinitive but with another present-tense form. For example, s *Ja [...] gottzu dobbe dam* 'я хочу тебѣ дам' (s 101r 15) corresponds to F *Ia [...] tebe dam* (F 202 11). The other examples can be found in F 286 21 ~ s 10v 5; F 290 12 ~ s 10r 7 (2x); F 313 1 ~ s 19v 14; F 402 15 ~ s 58r 23. These cases do not disturb the general picture presented here.

Midt laken will ich mÿt dÿ buhten. (F 456 20-21)  
 (TF II) С сукном я с тобою меняться(!).  
 ‘I shall exchange with you in cloth’

In the above cases, we are dealing with the conversion of ‘*хочу* + INF’ to a present-tense form. The errors are mostly morphological in nature. In case of conversion to the construction ‘DAT + INF’, they are mostly syntactic. In (131F) above, the nominative subject should have been converted to a dative object (or the verb should have been conjugated in the IND.PRES.). In (137F), the conversion to ‘DAT + INF’ was successful, but the resulting construction, retaining the element *pad*, is still wrong:

- (137F) **Mne rad** tvoi orudio **isoruduvat**: postrepatt.  
 Ich wÿll dÿ gern dÿn warff besturen. (F 211 3-4)  
 (TF II) Мнѣ(!) рад тво<ѣ> орудѣ изорудовать / постряпать  
 ‘I am willing to [put in order /] take care of your case.’
- (137S) Ja **Jotzu** tebbe **Issoruduwath** rade,  
 Ich will dirs gerne werbenn, (S 107V 3-4)

#### 7.4.4 Other constructions

Although the cases with ‘*хочу* + INF’ constitute the bulk of the errors in verbal morphology, the attention of the scribe was not only focused on this particular construction. Changes in other future-tense constructions can be found as well.

In (138), a ‘DAT + INF’ construction in s corresponds to an IND.PRES. construction in F:

- (138F) Samli **tÿ** sa ihm **iechas** [...]  
 Wultu darsuluest na reÿsen [...] (F 328 1, 3)  
 (TF II) Сам-ли ты за им ѣхашь(!)  
 ‘[Do] (Will) you travel after them yourself?’
- (138S) Sammomull **tobbÿ** ßagÿm **ÿochgath** [...]  
 Wiltu selberenn darnach reÿsenn [...] (S 25V 17, 19)

The IND.PRES. form transliterated as *ѣхашь*, rather than the expected *ѣдешь*, shows the same stem as the infinitive *ѣхать* we find in s, and which was probably simply copied.

In (139F), the scribe of F tried to repair a faulty construction in his source, reflected in s:

- (139F) [...] tochdi **mnie** tebæ **rad sluszu**.  
 [...] so  
 will ich dÿ gerne horen [...] (F 399 5, 7-8)  
 (TF II) тогда мнѣ(!) тебѣ(!) рад слушу  
 ‘Then I shall be glad to listen to you’
- (139S) [...] thochdÿ Ja tebbe **vade sslussÿth**.

[...] so will ich dir gerne zu willen sein. (s 56r 4, 6)

Where s has *Ja tebbe vade sslussÿth* ‘ich [will] dir gerne zu willen sein’, interpreted as ‘я тебя раде служить’ by its editors, F has *mnie tebæ rad sluszu*. The transliteration in TF II reads ‘МНѢ(!) тебя(!) рад слушу’, with *слушу* based on the German equivalent ‘ich [will] dÿ gerne horen’. The scribe of F intended to replace the infinitive by a IND.PRES.1SG., but presumably confused *служить* and *слушать*, and adjusted the German phrase. Still, *sluszu* should be read as IND.PRES.1SG. *служу* rather than the non-existing \**слушу*. Even the corrected reading ‘МНѢ тебя рад служу’, however, makes little sense; the attempt of the scribe to improve upon the source failed.

#### 7.4.5 Implications for the data

As the transliterations from TF II in the previous sections show, the editors sometimes recognised that something was amiss. They indicated this with (!), emended forms with brackets (<...>), and sometimes transliterated a form without further comment, such as *понаимоваю* in (128F). Of course, having no access to the text of Schroue’s phrasebook, the editors simply could not explain the odd forms. Now that we do have access to this text, we have been able to establish that ‘*хочу* + INF’ was consciously removed from the source texts, and that occasionally other constructions also underwent change. This has its implications for the interpretation of the data. In some cases, the transliteration in TF II has to be adjusted, in others the verb form in the manuscript should be considered linguistically uninformative, in yet others a philological explanation will have to be seriously considered before accepting the linguistic validity of a form.

A number of these forms, without pretension to exhaustiveness, are discussed below; some of them have already been mentioned above. In each category the verb forms in phrases with a correspondence in s precede those from phrases without such correspondence.

##### ▪ Reflexive verbs

*Ia ... mollitzu da ... vtzitzu* ‘(TF II) Я ... молиТЬся(!) да ... учиТЬся(!)’ (F 191 1)  
~ *Ja gotzu ... mollitze da vtzÿtze* (s 65r 22)

*Ia ... ismoluÿtzu* ‘(TF II) Я ... смоЛвиться(!)’ (F 207 10)  
~ *Ja gottßu ... smolwÿtze* (s 104r 10)

*menetzi* ‘(TF II) мѢнять <х>чешь’ (F 296 4; IND.PRES.2SG.)  
~ *menetzell thÿ gotzÿs* (s 12r 12-13)

*Ia ... na tebe salvatzu: salitzu*  
‘(TF II) Я ... на тебе жал<о>ваться(!) / жалиться(!)’ (F 330 1-2)  
~ *Ja ... gottßu na tebbe ßalÿtze* (s 26v 1)

*ia pairitzu* ‘(TF II) я париться(!)’ (F 196 8)



- ias ... ne bositzu* '(TF II) яз божитьсью(!)' (F 218 1)
- Pomiritzu stoboiu 2 ia 1 do smerti*** '(TF II) Помиритьсью(!) я с тобою до смерти' (F 258 19)
- Ia ... stoboi posnatzu: posnavatzu***  
'Я ... с тобой познатьсью(!): познаватьсью(!)' (F 396 12-13)
- Na ... savetzætzu: schavitzu torgovat [...]*** *шави<sup>m</sup>цю*  
'(TF II) <Я> ... завѣчатсью(!) / шавитьсью(!) торговать' (F 435 1, 2)

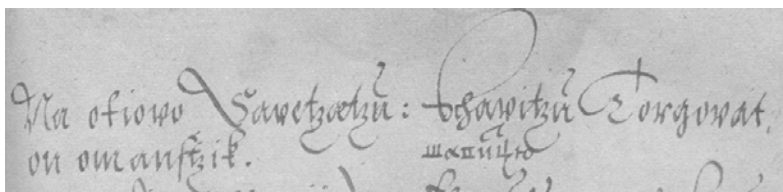


Figure 85: *Na ... savetzætzu: schavitzu torgovat [...]* *шави<sup>m</sup>цю* (F 435 1, 2)

- Ia ... savetzætzu torgovat.*** *завѣзавечя<sup>m</sup>цю*  
'(TF II) Я ... завѣчатсью(!) торговать' (F 435 5)

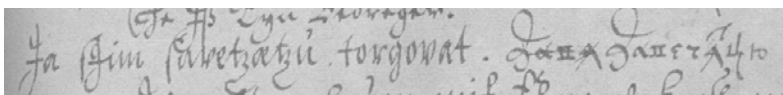


Figure 86: *Ia ... savetzætzu torgovat.* *завѣзавечя<sup>m</sup>цю* (F 435 5)

- ia stoboiu menetzu* '(TF II) я с тобою мѣнятьсью(!)' (F 456 20)
- Verbs in *-овать*
    - Ne torgovaisli tÿ somnoi* '(TF II) Не торговаешь ли ты со мной' (F 306 6)<sup>204</sup>  
~ *Ne gottsÿs thÿ somnÿ turguwath* (s 17r 5)
    - torgovaisli somnoi*** '(TF II) торговаешь-ли со мной' (F 276 16-17)  
~ *Gottßÿs thÿ sonnoÿ turguwath* (s 4r 13)
    - torgovaisli snim*** '(TF II) торговаешь-ли с ним' (F 384 11)  
~ *gottsÿs thy Ißgÿmÿ turguwath* (s 49v 1)
    - Ias tuoi orudie isorduvu* '(TF II) Яз тво<е> орудие изор<у>ду<ю>' (F 333 14)  
~ *Ja thuoÿe orudÿe gottzu Ißoruduwath* (s 28r 7)
    - Ia protiff tebe voiovu* '(TF II) Я против тебе воѣву(!)' (F 199 6)
    - Ia isvostzikoff ponaimovaiu* '(TF II) Я извозчиков понаимовую' (F 288 8)
    - ia ... vÿdolguvu* '(TF II) я ... выдолгу<ю>' (F 385 1-2)
  - Consonant alternation within present-tense conjugation
    - Ia tebe primetu* '(TF II) я тебе примѣ<ч>у' (F 211 16)  
~ *Ja gottsu tobbe prÿmetÿth* (s 108r 11)

<sup>204</sup> None of the forms *торговаешь* received a '(!)' in TF II.

- Ne vbafflis, tÿ tzenu* '(TF II) Не убавлишь(!) ты цѣну'  
 ~ *me gotzÿs thÿ themÿ vbauÿth* (s 5v 12-13) (F 280 1)<sup>205</sup>
- ias ... rad ... tebe ponarovu* '(TF II) яз ... рад ... тебѣ понаров<л>ю'  
 ~ *ia ... rade ... tebbe ponorouÿdt* (s 30v 23-24) (F 339 5-6)
- Ia ... tebe daszadu* '(TF II) я тебе <з>аса<ж>у'  
 ~ *Ja ... gottÿsu tebbe sassÿdÿth* (s 57v 1) (F 401 1)
- Ia stoboi sapovet naredu* '(TF II) Я с тобой заповѣдь наря<ж>у'  
 ~ *Ja gottÿsu stoboÿu sapowedth naredÿdt* (s 60r 11) (F 406 5)
- ia budu da klemu* '(TF II) я буду да кле<й>му(!)'  
 (F 426 17)
- ias tuoich siemen rosplodu* '(TF II) яз твоих сѣмен роспло<ж>у'  
 (F 502 3)
- ia ... blagoslovu* '(TF II) я ... благослов<л>ю'  
 (F 502 4)
- Less straightforward relationship between present-tense and infinitive stem
 

*Kudi tÿ tovar poslas* '(TF II) Куды ты товар посл<е>шь'  
 ~ *Kuddÿ thÿ thowar gottzÿ poÿslath* (s 25v 11) (F 325 20)

*Samli tÿ sa ihm iechas* '(TF II) Сам-ли ты за им ѣхашь'  
 ~ *Sammomull tobbÿ ßagÿm ÿochgath* (s 25v 17) (F 328 1)

*ia ottebe ne prinu* '(TF II) я от тебе не прину'  
 ~ *Ja vtebbe nÿ prÿedt* (s 30r 12) (F 337 11)<sup>206</sup>

*Ia ... ottebe ne prinu* '(TF II) Я ... от тебе не прину'  
 ~ *Ja ... vtebbe primu* (s 30r 17-19) (F 337 17)<sup>207</sup>

*ia eÿ ð rad [...] mnovo prinu* '(TF II) я рад ... мново прину(!)'  
 ~ *Ja gottÿsu rade ... Imnogo prÿdth* (s 62r 24-25) (F 411 12)<sup>208</sup>

*tÿ ... mnie ffpol primes* '(TF II) ты ... мнѣ впол принешь(!)'  
 ~ *tÿ Imogo offpoll preÿmes* (s 61r 19) (F 408 5)<sup>209</sup>

*sdaisli iestze somnoiu* '(TF II) ждаешь(!) ли еще со мною'  
 ~ *gottÿÿ Jeÿe somnoÿo ... Istadt* (s 62r 8-9) (F 409 14)
  - Overgeneralisation of *дать*

*Ia ... to diela rosgadam* '(TF II) Я ... то дѣло розгадам(!)'  
 (F 205 14)

<sup>205</sup> Note that the addition of *-l-* in *vbafflis* (compared to *s*'s *vbauÿth* 'убавить') points to the fact that the scribe was actually aware of the phenomenon of consonant alternation in the present-tense conjugation, or had its imperfective counterpart *убавлять* in his mind.

<sup>206</sup> *F*'s *prinu* versus *s*'s *prÿedt* has to be in the light of the addition of an epenthetic [n] in verbs like *при(н)ять* (see §7.6).

<sup>207</sup> The replacement of correct *приму*, as reflected in *s*, by *прину* can be explained by the attention of the scribe for epenthetic [n] (see §7.6).

<sup>208</sup> See footnote 206.

<sup>209</sup> See footnote 207.

~ *Ja gottzu tho dela rosgadath* (s 103v 18)

*ia ... to diela ... roszuzu: rosgadaiu: rosgadam*

‘(TF II) я ... то дѣло ... россужу: розгадаю: розгадам(!)’

(F 368 7-8)<sup>210</sup>

~ *Ja ... tho dela ... voßgaddaÿu: voßzußu* (s 44r 18-19).

■ Various

A<sup>3</sup> ... *починг* / *ias ... potziu* ‘(TF II) -’

(F 187 4, F 188 1)<sup>211</sup>

~ *Issde Ja gottßne mylos syodÿe boßÿe Pottsÿnath* (s 99r 8)

A3 *починг* ... *nica<sup>m</sup> / ias potzinu ... piszat* ‘(TF II) Яз почну ... писать’

(F 273 2, 13)<sup>212</sup>

~ *Jagotzu ... potßÿnath* (s 3r 3)

*Tÿ suoi tovar ... prirovenes: prilosis* ‘(TF II) Ты свой товар ... прировнишь’

(F 345 9)<sup>213</sup>

~ *Gottßÿß thÿ suoÿ thowar ... prÿloßzÿth: prÿrononeth* (s 33v 4)

*na kovo tÿ perenetzis* ‘(TF II) на ково ты перенять чешь(!)’

(F 357 6)<sup>214</sup>

~ *na kogo thÿ gotzÿß pereÿetz* (s 38v 16)

*Ia ... podumu* ‘(TF II) Я подуму(!)’

(F 363 17)

~ *Ja gotßu ... podumath* (s 42r 14)

*Ia ... perebiru. rosbiru* ‘(TF II) Я ... переберу: розберу’

(F 414 13)<sup>215</sup>

~ *Ja Jottsü .. porobÿrath: Roßbÿrath* (s 63v 23)

A<sup>3</sup> ... *починг* *писать* ‘(TF II) яз почну писать’

(F 469 1-2)<sup>216</sup>

We have seen in the previous section that conversion went wrong in (139F), which is also the case in (140F):

(140F) [...] *kak mnie* isvorotzus ia tebe saplatzu.

[...] *also*

*ich vehle geldes krÿge so wÿll ich dÿ betahlen.*

(F 325 3, 7-8)

(TF II) *как мнѣй* изворочусь, я тебѣ заплачу

‘When I [am in a little better situation] (get a lot of money) I will pay you’

(140S) [...] *kack* Ja Ißworatsuß Ja tebbe saplatßu [...]

[...] *wan* ich viell geldes bekomme, so will ich dich auch betzalenn [...]

(s 24v 2, 6)

<sup>210</sup> Note that the incorrect *розгадам* was actually added here as a synonym for *розгадаю*.

<sup>211</sup> TF II does not transliterate these forms. The form *почину* (rather than correct *почну*) is explained by the reflection of *починать* in s.

<sup>212</sup> See footnote 211.

<sup>213</sup> s’s *prÿrononeth* reflects ‘прировнять’. Cf. also *priroveneis* ‘(TF II) прировняешь’ (F 458 18).

<sup>214</sup> A more realistic transliteration is *перенячишь*, as if it were the IND.PRES.2SG of a verb \**перенячить*.

<sup>215</sup> Corrected transliteration: *перебиру, розбиру*, reflecting the vowel of the imperfective *перебирать* and *розбирать*, as found in S. On the choice between perfective *-братъ* and imperfective *-биратъ*, see §7.5.1.

<sup>216</sup> See footnote 211. Corrected transliteration is *почину*, reflecting the vowel of a posited imperfective *починать* from the source.

The German equivalent of the verb *изворотиться* in both F and s reflects ‘to get a lot of money’. More literally, it should be interpreted as ‘to get out of a dire situation’ (cf. *изворот* ‘(пск.) выход из затруднения’ in SRNG), or ‘to pay off one’s debts’ (cf. the noun *изворотъ* ‘погашение долга’ in SRJA XI-XVII, vol. 6). In s, the Russian construction is clear. In F, it is less so. The editors of TF II were confronted with *мние*, and decided to interpret it as *мнѣй* ‘less’. However, this does not fit the semantics of *изворотиться*, which has the element of ‘leaving an unfavourable situation behind’. Most probably, what we are dealing with is that the scribe of F replaced *я* with *мнѣ*, but left the IND.PRES. untouched; the transliteration should be adjusted accordingly: ‘как мнѣ(!) изворочусь’.

Finally, there is the syntactic idiosyncrasy in (141F):

(141F) Ia	<b>мне</b> podumaiu [...]	
	Ich will mÿ bedenken [...]	(F 199 19-20)
	(TF II) Я <b>мнѣ(!)</b> подумаяю [...]	
	‘I will think it over’	

This phrase, which has no correspondence in s, may very well have originated from *я хочу подумать*, as a contamination of *я подумаяю* and *мнѣ подумать*.<sup>217</sup>

#### 7.4.6 Motivation of the scribe

The scribal corrections as well as the mistakes the scribe made show that the removal of ‘*хочу* + INF’ must have been very much on the scribe’s mind, and the trigger to innovate must have been quite mechanical. Even the religious and the highly formulaic parts flanking the main body of the text did not escape conversion, to which the forms *rosplođu* and *blagoslovu* from RELI, and the cases with the verb *почать* or *починать* from the formulaic introductions testify.

Yet despite the automatic execution on the part of the scribe, the conversion in and of itself was a very conscious effort. This is shown by the elaborate emendation in (126F), as well as by the addition of Cyrillic forms on F 435 of the manuscript (see Figure 85 and Figure 86 in the previous section). For some reason or other, the ‘*хочу* + INF’ construction had fallen out of favour.

One motivation behind the conversion of ‘*хочу* + INF’ into other constructions relates to the question of whether *хочу* in this case is actually an auxiliary verb, or whether it retains its lexical meaning ‘want, will’. After all, although ‘*хочу* + INF’ was used as a periphrastic future construction in Church Slavonic, the construction is considered alien to East Slavic (Andersen 2006b: 71). Also, and per-

<sup>217</sup> Also, the possibility of interference with the corresponding German phrase ‘Ich will mÿ bedenken’ cannot be excluded.

haps more importantly, in all but a few cases the Russian construction ‘*хочу* + INF’ in s shows a suspicious correspondence to the German construction ‘*willen* + INF’. In fact, ‘*хочу* + INF’ may be no more than a literal translation of the German construction.<sup>218</sup> Both Bolek and Fałowski have in fact suggested that the abundant use of *хочу* in s and A may be influenced by the corresponding German construction (Bolek 1997: 66-67, Fałowski 1996: 62).

At the same time, the construction was not replaced (in imperfective contexts) by the innovative constructions ‘*буду* + INF’ and ‘*стану* + INF’ (Cocron 1961: 248), which would have been very simple in terms of conversion, but by a present-tense form, which required more knowledge of the language. The construction ‘*стану* + INF’, favoured by the spoken language of the time (Cocron 1961: 248), was added only in one phrase. This phrase, (142), was already discussed in §7.1 as (93), but is reproduced here for the sake of convenience.

(142F) Tott tzölloveck pÿr naresatt da gosti **stane** pottzvat.  
De mahn wÿll ein gastgebodtt anrichten vndtt  
geste plegen. (F 202 1-3)

(TF II) Тот чѣловѣк – пир наряжать да гости **стане** подзвать(!).  
‘That man will arrange a party and invite guests.’

(142S) Te Salueck gottzu pÿr na resath da gotzu posswath.  
Der Mann will ein gastgebott thun vnd wil geste Ladenn, (S 101r 11-12)

Most likely, we are dealing here with a corrupt source. In s we find *gottzu*, which has to be interpreted as IND.PRES.3SG. *хоч<e>*. The interpretation of the second instance of *gotzu*, further down the sentence, is unclear: it, too, could reflect *хоч<e>*, but then the element of ‘guests’ (*гости*) remains unexpressed. The scribe of F may have been confronted with the same situation in his source, which first of all prompted him to write *gosti* and, secondly, to use the auxiliary verb *стане*.

Furthermore, Zaliznjak rejects the reading *подзвать* proposed in TF II (1998: 262). In his view, *подзвать* would have the wrong aspect (perfective, rather than the imperfective expected after *стану*), the wrong form (*подзвать* rather than *подозвать*), and the wrong translation (*plegen* does not mean ‘to invite’). He proposes the imperfective *пом<ч>евать*, which does not have any of these problems. It is hard to tell whether Zaliznjak’s assumption is correct. The following observations will have to be considered: The perfective aspect of the in-

<sup>218</sup> Low German, *willen* ‘want’, *schöllen* ‘shall, will’ and *werden* ‘become’, could be used as auxiliaries to form an analytic future tense (see Sarauw 1924: 225; similarly Lasch 1914: 222f.). If one wonders whether ‘*willen* + INF’ has a modal shade over it (see Günther 1964: 61, Lunden 1972: 94), it is worthy of note that despite the introduction of new constructions in F, the German phrases retain the verb *willen*.

finitive in *стане позвать* could be explained by the original construction, *хочет позвать*. Given s's *posswath* 'позвать', *pottzvat* may in fact be linked with *позвать* (rather than with \**подзвать*). This is shown by another phrase from F and s, highly similar to the one above:

(143F) Ias chotzu gosti **potzvatt**. Ich will geste laden. (F 201 21)  
 (TF II) яз хочу гости **позвать**  
 'I want to invite guests'

(143S) Ja gotzu gossy **posswath**, p.. Ich will geste Ladenn. p. (S 101r 10)

Here, *potzvatt* 'позвать' is translated with correct *laden* 'to invite', rather than with *plegen* 'care for; look after'. Zaliznjak's proposed *потч<e>вать* is represented elsewhere in F as *попотчивать*: *ropotzyvatt* 'попотчивать; nodigen' and *ropotzyvaiu* 'попотчиваю; plegen vnd nodigen' in F 227 18-19.<sup>219</sup> This suggests that the scribe was confused between the verbs *потчевать* 'care for; look after', *позывать* 'invite' and *подзывать* 'summon'.

A number of times, the interpretation *подзываю* in TF II will have to be replaced by *позывать*, corresponding to s's *posswath* 'позвать':

(144F) Ia tebe perett sudiu **potzyvaiu**.  
 Ich will dÿ vor den vagedtt eschen. (F 210 9-10)  
 Я тебе перед судью **подзываю** (TF II) / **позываю**  
 'I (will) summon you before the judge.'

(144S) Ja gottzu tebbe, perodsudä **poßuath** (S 106v 7)

(145F) [...] ia iovo perod sudiu **potzival** [...]  
 [...] ich eschede ehm vor den vagedt [...]. (F 387 2, 6)  
 (TF II) я ёво перёд судью **подзывал** (TF II) / **позывал**  
 'I summoned him before the judge'

(145S) [...] Ja Jogo poroth sudÿu **poßuaell** [...] (S 50v 2)

(146F) [...] da menæ,  
 perod sudiu **potzival** [...]  
 [...] vnd eschede mÿ vor den vagedt [...]. (F 387 10-11, 13)  
 да меня перёд судью **подзывал** (TF II) / **позывал**  
 'And summoned me before the judge'

(146S) [...] da  
 menna peroth sudÿu **poßuall** [...] (S 50v 8-9)

These phrases at the same time show that the scribe was confused, that he wanted to use a consistent spelling, and that his knowledge of Russian verbs was

<sup>219</sup> In that phrase, the correspondence in s has *pottßÿwath* (not translated) and *pottsiuaÿu* 'notigenn' (S 43r 18, 19). See phrase (192).

quite thorough. He was aware of the various constructions and possibilities of expressing future-tense meaning. His critical attitude towards his sources, as well as the fact that he was not afraid to innovate, led to large-scale intervention. And although the exact motivation of the scribe may not be fully clear, the process itself is obvious and the traces left on the data are clear and tangible. In all this, both the scribe's feel for the language and his imperfect command of it are obvious.

### 7.5 Verbal aspect

The editors of TF II noticed Fonne's "hesitant search for expression of future" in Russian, which should "undergo a critical examination" (TF II: xvii). It is not entirely clear what they mean by "hesitant search", but it is clear that the scribe of F was aware of the semantic differences between members of aspectual pairs.

#### 7.5.1 Verbal aspect and 'xoy + INF'

The expression of future tense in Russian is intricately connected with the use of verbal aspect. Therefore, it should come as no surprise that the conversion between future-tense constructions – such as 'xoy + INF' – as discussed in the previous section also left its traces on the use of verbal aspect, especially where conversion resulted in the use of a present-tense form.

Table 39 shows how the verbal aspect of 77 present-tense forms (out of a total of 90; see Table 38) in F correlates with that of the infinitive following xoy in s. These 77 forms constitute those cases where the infinitive in s could confidently be assigned to the categories of perfective or imperfective verbs.<sup>220</sup>

	PERF (s)	IMPERF (s)
PERF (F)	42	1
IMPERF (F)	7	20
unclear (F) <sup>221</sup>	3	4
total	52	25

Table 39: Aspect of present-tense forms in F after conversion from 'xoy + INF'

<sup>220</sup> I have excluded 13 cases. In 12 cases, the verb involved is *кунуть*; the other case concerns the verb *сказать*. According to SRJA XI-XVII, these are biaspectual verbs (see vol. 8: 127f. and vol. 24: 165ff.).

<sup>221</sup> This category includes 7 cases where the verb form in F is either wrong or so obviously converted that it is difficult to confidently decide whether it is perfective or imperfective. These are *починг/potziu* (2x: F 187 4/188 1, F 273 2/13), *rosadam* (F 205 14), *poslas* (F 325 20), *podumu* (F 363 17), *perebiru* (F 414 13) and *rosbiru* (F 414 13).

A clear pattern emerges from this table. Typically, the aspect of the present-tense form in F follows that of the infinitive in s. If the infinitive in s is perfective, then so is the present-tense form in F; if it is imperfective, then so is the present-tense form in F. The following two examples illustrate these categories:

- (147F) Ia nimnusch **opotzinu**.  
 Ich wyl ein wenig rowen (F 206 19; PERF)  
 Я немножко **опочину**  
 'I will rest a little'
- (147S) Ja gotts **neymsofka opottsynet**,  
 Ich will ein wenig ruhenn. p. (S 104r, 1-2; PERF)
- (148F) Ia stoboi **torguiu** [...]  
 Ich wyl [...] mytt dy kopslagen. (F 303 4-5; IMPERF)  
 Я с тобой **торгую**  
 'I (will) trade with you'
- (148S) Ja gotzu **turguwath** stoboyou [...]  
 Ich will mit dir kaufschlagenn [...] (S 14v, 13, 15; IMPERF)

The pattern is only disturbed by a relatively small number of counterexamples: 1 case of PERF in F ~ IMPERF in s, 7 cases of IMPERF in F ~ PERF in s, illustrated by the following two examples:

- (149F) Ne otzitaÿ ia same **otzitaiu**.  
 Worumb wiltu my ahne schuldt bedregen. (F 203 6-7; PERF)  
 Не отчитай, я same **отчитаю**.  
 'Don't count it up, I will count it up myself'
- (149S) Ne otsytaÿ Ja **gotzu sam thÿ taÿt. p.**  
 Zelle nicht ab ich will Selbst abzeleenn. p. (S 101v 9-10; *читать*, IMPERF)<sup>222</sup>
- (150F) **Prodaisli** mnie tovar [...]  
 Wultu my de wahre vorkopen, so [...] (F 341 1, 3; IMPERF)  
**Продаешь-ли** мнѣ товар  
 'If you are going to sell me the goods, then [...]'
- (150S) **Gottſÿ** thÿ Imne thowar **prodath** [...]  
 Wiltu mir vorkauffenn, so [...] (S 31v 20, 22; PERF)

Out of the 7 cases where an imperfective verb in F matches a perfective verb in s, 5 concern one and the same verb: perfective *продать* in s, corresponding to the imperfective 2SG *продаешь* in F; this may be the reflection of some sort of lexicalisation (see below in §7.5.2).

<sup>222</sup> The Anonymous phrasebook has the phrase as *Ne otzitaÿ ty Ich Jas sam chotzu Ich ot tzesti* (A 77r 7).



Overall, the best predictor for the aspect of the IND.PRES. form in F is the aspect of the infinitive in s; conversion was rather automatic.

This does not mean that the scribe never made a conscious decision. In a few phrases where there is some kind of conversion of future-tense expressions, an aspectual decision can be assumed. In (151), perfective *я хочу розобрать* in s is reflected as imperfective *мнѣ розбирать* in F:

- (151F) Mnie suoi tovar **roszbirat** [...] (F 320 5, 7)<sup>223</sup>  
 Ich wÿll mÿne wahre vnder scheÿden [...]  
 Мнѣ свой товар **розбирать**  
 ‘I [am to] (will) separate my wares’
- (151S) Ja tuoÿ thowar **gotsu vosobrath** [...] (S 22r 22)

And in (152) below, *сам-ли ты посылаешь* in F is matched with *самому-ль тобѣ послать* in s:

- (152F) Samli tÿ [...] al tovarisza  
 sa ihm **poszilaies**.  
 Wultu darsuluest [...] oder wiltu  
 dÿnen maschoppe ehr na reÿsen. (F 328 1-4)  
 аль товарища за им **посылаешь**  
 ‘Or are you sending your companion after them?’
- (152S) Sammomull tobbÿ [...] all thowarrÿÛa  
 tobbÿ sa gÿm **poßlath** (S 25v 17-18)

The editors of TF II spoke of a “hesitant search” for the expression of future tense (see above). The facts presented in this section shed new light on a large number of both imperfective and perfective IND.PRES. forms. Cases such as (148F), where an imperfective present-tense form (*торгую*) corresponds to a clear future tense in German (*wÿl [...] kopslagen*) could enhance the feeling of this “hesitant search”.

Looking at the forms presented in this section, we have to conclude that inconsistencies in the expression of future tense can to some extent be attributed to retention of the original aspect when future-tense constructions were converted (especially the abandonment of ‘*хочу* + INF’).

### 7.5.2 Other contexts

Whereas the process in the previous section resulted in a more or less automatic choice between a perfective and an imperfective verb, related to that of the

<sup>223</sup> We find the same in *Mnie tovar vÿbirat* ‘Мнѣ товар выбирать’ (F 304 9) ~ *Ja gotßu towar sam wÿbrath* (S 5r 13).

source, there are indications that the scribe was actually aware of the semantic effects of the use of perfective and imperfective verbs.

First, a number of examples will give an idea of the differences between s and F in this regard.

In the first phrase, *зamyкaть* in F matches *замну* in s, in the second F reflects *розрушил* where s has *розрушал*, and in the last example, F's *прошу* corresponds to *нопрошу* in s:

- (153F) Ia idu svoi polat **samikatt**.  
 Ich gahe mÿn steinhus tho thosluten. (F 205 6-7)  
 Я иду свой(!) полаг(!) **зamyкaть**.  
 'I am going to lock up my mansion.'
- (153s) Ja Idw swoÿ pollat **samnu**. p (s 103r 8)
- (154F) Otzum tÿ suoi tovar **rosruszil** [...]  
 Worumb heffstu dÿne wahre vordehlet [...]  
 Очём ты свой товар розрушил  
 'Why did you divide up your wares?' (F 360 8, 10)
- (154s) Ottßum thÿ suoÿ tho war **roßusszall** [...] (s 40r 24)
- (155F) [...] tzogo ias ottebæ **proszu**.  
 [...] wadtt ich van dÿ bydde. (F 208 11-12)  
 чёго яз от тебя **прошу**  
 'What I ask of you'
- (155s) [...] tzoga Ja vtebbe vtebbe  
**poprossw** (s 105r 7-8)

More subtle, when it comes to language use, is the elimination of the secondary imperfective *не купливал*, as reflected in s, in favour of *не купил* in (156) and – conversely – the choice of *сказале* over *сказывал* in (157):

- (156F) [...] ia  
 takova tovaru, peresze soge ne **kupil**.  
 [...] ich hebbe vor dußer  
 tidt sodahne wahre nicht gekofft. (F 399 13-14, 16-17)  
 Я таково товару переже сёр<о> не купил.  
 'I have never bought such goods before now.'
- (156s) [...] Ja tackoua  
 thowaru pereßze ßoggo ne **kupluwall** (s 56r 17-18)
- (157F) Tÿ **skasuval** mnïe [...]  
 Du sedest mÿ [...]  
 Ты сказывал мнѣ  
 'You told me.' (F 306 16, 19)
- (157s) Tÿ **shaßlabe** Imne [...] (s 17v 1)

In one case, (158), F presents both secondary imperfective and perfective variants as synonymous:

- (158F) [...] ino tebe sato silno **sastafflivaiu**:  
 siloiu **sastafflu**.  
 [...] so will ich dÿ dartho dwingen. (F 407 16-17, 22)<sup>224</sup>  
 ино тебе зато сильно заставляю:  
 силою заставляю  
 ‘Then I [compel /] will compel you to it by force’
- (158S) [...] Imno Ja tebbe  
 ßa tho ßÿloÿ: ßÿlnu **saßtaffliu**. (S 61r 8-9)

In a single case, the scribe’s awareness also protrudes in the German translations of a Russian phrase. In (159), perfective *сторгуем* and future-tense *wÿll ... kopslagen* in F correspond to imperfective *торгуем* and present-tense *kaufschlage* in S:

- (159F) [...] ino mÿ stoboiu **storguiem**.  
 [...] so **wÿll** ich mÿtt dÿ **kopslagen**. (F 303 12, 14)  
 ино мы с тобою сторгуем  
 ‘Then I will trade with you’
- (159S) [...] muÿ sthoboÿu **turguÿum**  
 [...] so **kaufschlage** ich mit dir (S 15r 4, 6)

In addition to the example above, F and S differ in the use of perfective *сторговать* and imperfective *торговать* in 8 more cases. Where there is a difference in the IND.PRES., F mostly reflects the perfective verb and S the imperfective; the German translation in both manuscripts then typically reflects a future tense with *willen*:

- storguiem* ‘сторгуем’ (F 298 10)  
 ~ *turguÿum* (S 12v 21)
- Mnie ne motzi storgovat* ‘мнѣ не мочи сторговать’ (F 298 20)  
 ~ *Imne motzÿ ... thurguwath* (S 13r 6)<sup>225</sup>
- bog tebe napomotz storgovat* ‘Бог тебѣ на помочь сторговать’ (F 307 2)  
 ~ *boch debbe napomoths turguwath* (S 17v 9-10)<sup>226</sup>
- storguiiu* ‘сторгую’ (F 334 7)  
 ~ *turguÿu* (S 29r 9)
- storguiiu* ‘сторгую’ (F 365 10-14)  
 ~ *turguÿu* (S 42v 22)

<sup>224</sup> Cf. *silne ne sastafflyvaiu* ‘сильнѣ не заставляю’ (F 201 7).

<sup>225</sup> German translation: *Ich kan nicht mÿt dÿ kopslagen* (F 298 22) ~ *Ich kann nicht mit dir kaufschlagen* (S 13r 8).

<sup>226</sup> German translation: *godtt helpe dÿ tho kopslagen* (S 307 3-4) ~ *gott helfe dir zu kaufschlagenn* (S 17v 11).

*Storguioṃ ... ne storguioṃ* ‘сторгуём ... не сторгуём’ (F 366 15)  
 ~ *Turguṃum ... ne Isturguṃum* (s 43v 1-2)<sup>227</sup>

In 2 cases, the difference is the other way round: F has imperfective *торговать*, s *сторговать*. In both cases, the German translation in both manuscripts has a present tense:

*ne torguies* ‘не торгуешь’ (F 354 18)  
 ~ *ne Isturguṃes* (s 37v 5)  
*torguiu* ‘торгую’ (F 396 18)  
 ~ *storguṃu* (s 54v 21)

The link that can be made between perfective *сторговать* (Russian) and future tense (German) on the one hand, and imperfective *торговать* and present tense on the other in F – and the absence of such a link in s, points to the circumstance that the scribe of F was aware of the semantic difference between these two, and probably other such verbs.

Another category where the usage of aspect differs between F and s is constituted by the aspectual pair *дать* ~ *давать*. F has *даеишь* throughout the manual as *daies* (8×), but also repeatedly reflects *даишь* where s has *даеишь*. This pattern extends to prefixed verbs with the same root. This means the scribe knew and used both forms, and in several cases for some reason preferred the perfective over the imperfective, and went as far as to change it:

- (160F) Koli tḃ mnie toga **ne das** [...] (F 224 13, 15)  
 Wan du mḃ datt nichtt en giffst [...]  
 Коли ты мнѣ того **не дашь**  
 ‘If you do not give me that’
- (160S) Kollḃ thḃ Imne thoga **ne daḃes** [...] (s 28r 14)
- (161F) [...] moḃei tzeni tḃ **ne das** [...] (F 308 2, 5)  
 [...] du giffst mḃnen kop nichtt [...]  
 моей цѣны ты **не дашь**  
 ‘You do not give me the price.’
- (161S) [...] moḃ  
 szeneḃ thḃ **ne daḃs** [...] (s 17v 27-28)
- (162F) [...] tḃ  
 mnie rostu **ne das**.  
 [...] du giffst mḃ keḃne rente. (F 371 13-14, 18)

<sup>227</sup> The German translation atypically has a present tense in both manuscripts: *Koepslage wḃ ... koepslage wḃ nicht* (F 366 17-18; present tense) ~ *kaufschlagenn wir ... kaufschlagen wir nicht* (s 43v 3-4; present tense).

- ты мнѣ росту **не дашь**  
‘You give me no interest.’
- (162s) [...] thÿ Imne rostu  
**ne daÿs. p.** (S 45V 19-20)
- (163F) Kak tÿ tovar **prodaies** svalumli: sgrobumli  
tÿ iovo **prodas** al na rosnitzu.  
Wo wiltu de wahre vorköpen, wiltu se im  
hupen vorkopen; im summen: oder bi stucken. (F 339 1-4)  
Как ты товар **продаешь?** Свалом ли: сгрѣбом ли  
ты ёво **продашь** аль на розницу?  
‘Will you sell them all in a heap / altogether or by retail?’
- (163s) Kack thÿ thowar **prodaÿes** sualumljÿ: Ißgrobulÿ: thÿ  
goga **prodaÿes** all na roßnitzu thÿ Joga **prodas.** (S 30V 19-20)
- (164F) [...] tzto mnje tovaru **ne prodas.**  
[...] dat du mÿ de  
wahre nicht vorkoffst. (F 357 19-21)  
что мнѣ товару **не продашь.**  
‘[...] not to sell the goods to me’
- (164s) [...] stho thÿ  
Imne thowaer **ne prodaÿes** (S 39F 8-9)

More instances can be found where the manuscripts of s and F diverge as to the choice of the aspect. The following list of forms does not pretend to be exhaustive, but gives a clear pictures of the differences that can be found:

- narovitt* ‘наровить’ (F 220 8)  
~ *vnarowÿth* (S 34F 1)
- omanil* ‘оманил’ (F 298 16)  
~ *manÿwall* (S 13F 2)
- tzulil* ‘сулил’ (F 300 6)  
~ *roßulÿlle* (S 13V 7)
- ne chitril* ‘не хитрил’ (F 305 6)  
~ *ne Isgÿtriell* (S 16V 17); *ne, sÿthoÿljÿ* (S 31F 13)
- Privedetze* ‘приведется’ (F 324 4)  
~ *prÿwoditzÿe* (S 22V 17)
- ne veschuii* ‘не вѣщую’ (F 326 13)  
~ *ne raueßuÿu* (S 25F 11)
- proszil* ‘просил’ (F 335 11)  
~ *prossall* (S 29F 1)
- vÿnel: vÿbiral* ‘вынял: выбирал’ (F 350 8)  
~ *wuÿell: wÿbrall* (S 35V 11)
- chotzet ... perekupat* ‘хочет ... перекупать’ (F 365 16)  
~ *gottße ... perekupÿth* (S 43F 2)
- spaszal* ‘спасал’ (F 372 1)  
~ *spraßle* ‘спасле’ (S 46F 1)

<i>stzol</i> ‘счёл’	(F 384 21)
~ <i>tzýtall</i> (s 49v 20)	
<i>potzival</i> ‘позывал’	(F 387 2)
~ <i>poßuaell</i> (s 50v 2) <sup>228</sup>	
<i>výbrat</i> ‘выбрать’	(F 401 16)
~ <i>wýrýrath</i> (s 58r 1)	
<i>ne tzulil</i> ‘не сүлил’	(F 404 1)
~ <i>ne poßulýll</i> (s 59r 3)	
<i>ne velil ... poputat</i> ‘не велѣл ... попытать’	(F 498 8)
~ <i>ne welell ... pudaýth</i> (s 66r 21)	
<i>ieffga ... velel kusat</i> ‘Евга ... велѣл(!) кусать’	(F 499 12-13)
~ <i>wellell Jeffke Adam kusýth</i> (s 66v 15)	

If the differences in the list above can be attributed to the scribe of F, they could be seen as illustrative of his feel for the semantics of Russian verbal morphology. This conscious choice for verb forms of a certain aspect discussed in this section, paired with the rather mechanical choice in future-tense expressions discussed in the previous section, shows the complex philological layers of the data.

### 7.6 Epenthetic [n]: -(н)ять, -(н)имать

A phenomenon which is in essence similar to *ego* vs. *него* (see §6.2.4), is the epenthetic [n] in the infinitive and *l*-participle of prefixed compounds of the verb -(н)ять ‘take’. The [n] is historically regular only in *внять* (< \**vъn-jęti*) and *снять* (< \**sъn-jęti*), and spread from there. The analogical nature of this ‘new stem’ -*нять* has led to ample lexical and stylistic variation, both in Modern Standard Russian (cf. *подъять* vs. *поднять*, *отъять* vs. *отнять*) as well as in the various dialects.

The variation and expansion of the variants in [n] is also attested in historical documents. SRJA XI-XVII includes *отъяти* and *отняти*, *прियाти* and *приняти*, to mention just two related pairs, as separate entries. The variants with [n] mostly include examples from the 17<sup>th</sup> century. The birchbark documents discussed in Zaliznjak 2004 predominantly use variants without [n] (*заяти*, *наяти*, *отъяти*, *перяяти*, *пояти*, *прियाти*, *уяти*, *яти*, *ятиса*), but the following verbs occur with [n]:

- УНАТИ (оуналъ, BVL 446, 1380-1400);
- СНАТИ (снати, BVL 142, 1300-1320);
- ОТНАТИ (отналъ, BVL 494, 1410-1420; ѡтна(ли), BVL 521, 1400-1410);
- (possibly) ПОДНАТИ (п[од]н[а]т[а], BVL 353, 1380-1400).

<sup>228</sup> On *позвать* vs. *под(о)звать*, see §7.4.5.

Let us now turn to the phrasebooks. *Λ* exclusively uses forms with [n].<sup>229</sup> *s*, on the other hand, uses mostly forms without [n], with a handful of exceptions:

<i>vnello</i> ‘уняло’	(s 45v 13)
<i>doneth</i> (2×)	(s 14r 14 and 16)
<i>doreth</i>	(s 17r 15)
the doublet <i>prjell: prjnell</i> ‘приял: принял’	(s 14v 21)
the doublet <i>perejeth: pereneth</i> ‘переть: перенять’	(s 44r 1)
possibly <i>penualβa</i> ‘перенялся?’ <sup>230</sup>	(s 5r 17)

As was the case with the PERS.PRON.3SG/3PL., the scribe of *F* judged that, in some cases, [n] should be added to the form found in his sources. The table below lists the occurrences in PHRAS of prefixed compounds of *-ять*. Corresponding forms in *s* are included in the table.

	<i>F</i>	<i>s</i>
<i>въять/внять</i>	<i>vnætza</i> (F 217 22)	
<i>выять/вынять</i>	<i>vjnell</i> (F 240 7)	
	<i>vjnel</i> (F 250 8)	<i>wuÿell</i> (s 35v 11)
	<i>vjnet</i> (F 294 12)	<i>wuÿed</i> (s 11r 24)
	<i>vjnel</i> (F 421 13)	<i>wuÿell</i> (s 111r 11)
<i>доять/донять</i>	<i>donætt</i> (F 301 12)	<i>doÿeth</i> (s 13v 27)
	<i>donæt</i> (F 301 19)	<i>thoÿdt</i> (s 14r 21)
	<i>donætt</i> (F 302 3)	<i>doneth</i> (s 14r 14)
	<i>donæt</i> (F 302 5)	<i>doneth</i> (s 14r 16)
	<i>donæt</i> (F 302 12)	<i>doÿeth</i> (s 14r 25)
	<i>donæt</i> (F 308 19)	<i>daÿeth</i> (s 18r 20)
	<i>donæt</i> (F 310 3)	<i>doÿeth</i> (s 18v 10)
	<i>donæt</i> (F 321 3)	<i>doÿeth</i> (s 23r 16)
	<i>donet</i> (F 343 11)	<i>doÿeth</i> (s 33r 3)
	<i>donæt</i> (F 358 14)	<i>doÿeth</i> (s 39v 8)
	<i>donæt</i> (F 394 7)	<i>doÿeth</i> (s 54r 1)
	<i>donæt</i> (F 403 14)	<i>doÿeth</i> (s 58v 21-22)
<i>заять/занять</i>	<i>sanel</i> (F 291 2)	<i>samelo</i> (s 8r 25)
	<i>sanel</i> (F 326 9)	<i>βamell</i> (s 25r 8)
<i>наять/нанять</i>	<i>naial</i> (F 438 19)	
<i>отъять/отнять</i>	<i>otnæl</i> (F 332 5)	<i>otÿell</i> (s 27v 3)

<sup>229</sup> The verbs involved are *занять*, *перенять*, *поднять*, *принять* and *уняться*. Fałowski lists *родоути* ‘подойми’ (Λ 7r 13) under *подъять* (1994: 172); the disruption of the pattern, however, is unnecessary.

<sup>230</sup> An *n* also occurs in *wiuÿneÿs* ‘вынешь’ (s 11r 24). *Вынешь* (rather than *вы(ÿ)мешь*) could be due to the transition of *вынять* (*вы(ÿ)му*, *вы(ÿ)мешь*, etc.) > *вынуть* (*выну*, *вынешь*, etc.).

	F	S
<i>переть(ся)/перенять(ся)</i>	otnett (F 201 9)	-
	perial (F 344 9)	-
	perenell (F 348 8)	pereuoll: pereuothgele 'перевёл: перевёгле(?)' (S 34v 11-12)
<i>подъять/поднять</i> <i>прять/принять</i>	pereneltzi 'перенялси' (F 278 19)	reneualða (S 5r 17)
	podiat (F 221 9)	
	prinati (F 265 4)	
	prinat (F 267 4)	
	prinet (F 303 16)	prÿedt (S 15r 10)
	prinet (F 336 7)	prÿeth (S 29v 14)
	prinet (F 339 13)	prÿeth (S 31r 5)
	prinet (F 349 18)	prÿeth (S 31r 5)
	prinet (F 357 11)	prÿeth (S 38v 21)
	prinet (F 383 17)	prÿeth (S 49r 8)
	prinet (F 411 11)	prÿeth (S 62r 24)
<i>проять(ся)/пронять(ся)</i>	proietza: pronetza (F 431 2)	
	pronætza (F 433 15)	
<i>розъять/рознять</i> <i>уять/унять</i>	rosnett (F 226 13)	voßÿth (S 41r 17)
	vnelo: ielo	vnello (S 45v 13)
	'уняло: яло' (F 371 1)	

**Table 40: Infinitives and *l*-participles of *ять(ся)* and its prefixed compounds in PHRAS**

As the table shows, *n-* was added to compound verbs with *-ять* quite consistently. The preference for epenthetic [n] is especially clear in the most frequent verbs, *до(н)ять* and *при(н)ять*: there, [n] is used without exception, contrasting with the mostly *n*-less forms we find in s. At the same time, the use of [n] is not universal, which is clear from the occurrences of, for instance, the verb *перенять(ся)*. The explicit doublet *proietza: pronetza* 'прояться: проняться' (F 431 2) suggests that the *n*-less stem was not perceived as unacceptable.

In two cases, it is reasonable to assume that a form in F reflects the scribe's own choice. The first such case is F's *Ti mnïe to otnett: sapovedatt* 'Ты мнѣ то отнять: заповѣдать?' (F 201 9) contrasts with s's *Gottsÿs thÿ Imne tho Sapuwedath* 'Хочешь ты мнѣ то заповѣдать?' (S 110v 1). The result of the intervention of the scribe in the construction as a whole is obviously unfortunate (see §7.4.3), but there is no reason to doubt the validity of the addition of *отнять*. The second case where the form in F reflects the choice of the scribe is *tÿ na iovo perenell* 'ты на ёво перенял' (F 348 7-8), which contrasts with s's *thÿ na Joga pereuoll: pereuothgele* 'ты на ёга перевёл: перевёгле(?)' (S 34v 11-12). Here, the original verb *перевести* was replaced with *перенять*.



The simplex *ятъ* occurs as well. In sharp contrast with the compounds with *-нятъ*, F prefers forms without epenthetic [n] for the simplex, as the following table shows.

	F	S
<i>ятъ(ся)</i>	ialles: ialsa (F 206 7)	Jassle (s 108r 1)
	ialles (F 237 22)	-
	ialsa (F 249 5)	
	ialsa (F 249 8)	
	ialsa (F 278 1)	
	ialsa (F 314 15)	Jeles (s 22r 3)
	ialsa (F 366 20)	Jales Imales (s 44r 4)
	vnelo: ielo ‘уняло: яло’ (F 371 1)	vnello (s 45v 13)
	Ialsa (F 373 1)	Jalsse (s 109r 15)
	ialsa (F 407 14)	Jalße (s 61r 6)
	nella ‘няла’ (F 421 1)	Jella (s 111v 22)
	Ialsa (F 433 08)	
	ialos (F 478 17)	gallos (s 55v 13)

Table 41: the simplex *ятъ(ся)* in PHRAS

The synonyms *vnelo: ielo* ‘уняло: яло’ (F 371 1) contrasts with s’s single *vnello* ‘уняло’ (s 45v 13). Assuming that *ielo* was added by the scribe of F, it shows that the forms without [n] must have been considered appropriate for the simplex. The form *nella* ‘няла’ (F 421 1) corresponds to *Jella* in s, which could either be a form of the simplex *нятъ* (attested in the Pskov area, cf. SRNG vol. 21, s.v. *нятъ*) or, not unlikely, an overgeneralisation of the scribe, who, as we have seen, added [n] in numerous compounds with the same verb.

The [n] does not only surface in the infinitive and *l*-participle, but every now and then also pops up in the present-tense form of the same verbs. The table below shows the present-tense forms of the derived compounds of *-ятъ(ся)* in PHRAS.

	F	S
<i>вынять</i>	<del>vynet</del> vynes (F 294 11)	gottzÿs [...] wuÿed (s 11r 24)
	vynes (F 294 13)	wuÿneÿs (s 11r 25)
	vÿmi ‘ВЫМИ’ (F 372 11)	wuÿnnÿ (s 46r 11)
<i>донять</i>	doimu (F 286 10)	doÿomo (s 7v 21)
	Doimi (F 441 14)	
<i>изъять</i>	isinet (F 480 3)	
<i>отнять</i>	ottoimi (F 248 3)	
	ottoimi (F 251 16)	

	F	S
<i>перенять</i>	pereimit (F 251 18)	
	pereiimi (F 251 19)	
	perenetzis (F 357 6)	gotzÿß pereÿetz (s 38v 16)
	pereimis (F 395 19)	pereÿmÿs (s 54r 24)
	Podoimi (F 396 7)	Podoÿmÿ (s 54v 14)
	podoimet (F 430 8)	
	podoimu (F 435 8)	
<i>принять</i>	primes (F 297 2)	prÿmes (s 12r 19)
	primu (F 375 5)	primu (s 47v 4)
	prinu (F 337 11)	prÿedt (s 30r 12)
	prinu (F 337 17)	primu (s 30r 17)
	prinu (F 411 12)	gottÿs [...] prÿdth (s 62r 23-24)
	prines (F 408 5)	preÿmes (s 61r 19)

**Table 42: Present-tense forms of *ятъ(ся)* and its prefixed compounds in phras**

Linguistically, the occurrence of [n] could be explained as a case of analogical levelling: from the infinitive and the *l*-participle, where it had become regular, the [n] could have spread to other forms, ousting the etymologically correct *-m-* in the process. However, we have seen above that the scribe of F consciously added the [n] where it was necessary. Given these efforts, it is simpler to assume that he overgeneralised this rule. This is especially true in those cases where he could not immediately rely on his sources to determine the correct conjugation, for instance where the present-tense form replaced an earlier construction with *хочу* + INF (see §7.4). This accounts for the forms *perenetzis* (F 357 6), *prinu* (F 337 11) and *prinu* (F 411 12) in the table above. The forms *prinu* (F 337 17) and *prines* (F 408 5) – corresponding in s with etymologically correct *primu* (s 30r 17) and *preÿmes* (s 61r 19) – would then be the only basis for a claim that forms like *прину* and *принешь* were part of the linguistic reality around the scribe.

## 7.7 Conclusions

In this chapter, a number of issues considering the morphology and use of verbs have been explored.

We have seen that the scribe of F was aware of the markedness of the zero-ending IND.PRES.3SG/3PL. (§7.1), and tried to eliminate it from the data in most cases. The elimination shows that the scribe clearly felt that it did not belong to the ‘literary norm’.

We have also seen that a morphological pluperfect was used to indicate an ‘aborted action’ (*прерванное действие*), a meaning which is not accounted for on birchbark, but which is the precursor of Modern Standard Russian construc-

tions of the type *он было пошёл*. The pluperfect used in another meaning was probably actively removed from the sources at the disposal of the scribe of F (§7.2).

The comparison of s and F also permits us to confirm a number of transliterations proposed in TF II, especially where it concerns the hesitation between past tense (-л) and present tense (-т). At the same time, the phrases concerned show that the scribe must have been dealing with a source that was corrupted to a considerable extent, and that he tried to make the best of it (§7.3). On a more structural level, the data from both manuscripts also allow us to reach conclusions about the decline of the conjunction of purpose *дать*, the rise of the synonymous *добро* and their eventual replacement by *чтобы*, as well as about the verb forms (present tense or past tense) associated with these conjunctions (also §7.3).

The scribe of F was acutely aware of the various constructions and possibilities of expressing future-tense meaning. The critical attitude towards his source (or sources), as well as the fact that he was not afraid to innovate, led to the large-scale removal of '*хочу* + INF', and the reshuffling of other future-tense constructions. This operation left its traces on the data. Comparison of s and F now allows us to identify these traces, and to reinterpret the data, propose new transliterations or discard data from linguistic analysis (§7.4).

The usage of verbal aspect by the scribe of F has so far been called "hesitant". Comparison of s and F now allows us to highlight both the automatic, mechanical choice for the perfective or imperfective aspect – caused by the elimination of '*хочу* + INF' –, as well as the very conscious choice for one aspect or the other made by the scribe (§7.5).

On a more morphological level, we return to a topic also addressed in the previous chapter – that of epenthetic [n] –, but this time in a range of prefixed verbs in -(н)ять and -(н)имать (§7.6). The scribe tried to modernise the language of his sources, by adding the [n] where it had become required, testifying to his linguistic awareness. At the same time, his non-nativeness shows in the fact that he overgeneralised the [n], especially where he could not immediately rely on his sources to determine the correct conjugation

In verbal forms, the opposition of 'local' versus 'non-local', 'archaic' versus 'contemporary' is not felt as acutely as in the nominal domain. Nevertheless, the general trend is confirmed: local forms are avoided, archaisms are removed. In his attempts to improve upon his sources, the non-native intervention of the scribe of F also produced some strange results, which can now be identified by comparing the data of F with those of s.

## 8. RUSSIAN AND GERMAN

In the preceding chapters, I have shown that the scribe who compiled Fonne's phrasebook took his task very seriously. Whether it concerns the organisation of the manuscript as a whole, the organisation of individual items, issues concerning orthography, spelling and sounds, questions concerning the morphology and the use of nominal and verbal forms, we have seen that the scribe took a very conscious approach to his sources. In doing so, he displayed his feel for nuances in the Russian language. At the same time, the data show that he was prone to making errors.

One thing that so far has not yet been discussed, is the most basic and intuitive unit of the manuscript: the phrase. Or rather: the phrase pair, the combination of a Russian phrase and its German equivalent. Can the meticulousness of the scribe that could be uncovered on the other levels be found here as well?

### 8.1 Spot the differences

The approach taken in this chapter is similar to those in earlier chapters: what do the differences between the Russian and German phrases in F and S tell us about the input of the scribe. To give an idea of the differences we are dealing with, take (165)-(167) below.

- (165F) Ne dirsi tÿ visokumliue tzirtze.  
Holdtt dÿ nicht hochmodig van herten. (F 201 19-20)  
He держи ты высок<о>умливъ сердце.  
'Do not keep yourself proud of heart.'
- (166F) Vosmi denoch da dai mnïe tovaru sa dengi kak sudi.  
Nim datt geldt vnd giff mÿ wahre vor datt  
geldt also se werdt iß. (F 417 1-3)  
Возьми денѣг да дай мнѣ товару за денѣги как суди.  
'Take (that) money, and give me goods for the money according  
to what they are worth.'
- (167F) Tzto mnogo boltaies, besz boltania govori.  
Watt bladderstu veell, sprick sunder stamerent. (F 209 12-13)  
Что много болтаешь? Без болтанья говори.  
'Why do you chatter so much? Talk without gabbling.'

At first sight these three phrases seem rather unrevealing. From a morphological and syntactic point of view, the Russian is not very remarkable, and the tenor of the phrases is not out of line with what one would expect in a phrase-book of this kind. Only comparison with the corresponding phrases in *s* shows that there can be major differences between the phrases:

- (165s) Ne dŷrsse thŷ wŷsokumlŷue tzirtze. *p.*  
Halt dich nicht hochmutigk von hertzenn. *p.* (s 101r 8-9)
- (166s) Wossmŷ dennock **vmenne** da daŷ Imne thowaeru  
sa denngeŷ kack sudŷ  
Nim geldtt **vonn mir**, vnnd gib mir wahre wiederumb  
vor geldtt als es werdt ist *p.* (s 109r 7-10)
- (167s) Stho thŷ boltaues Imnogo **tŷ bes boltanya gouwerŷs**  
Was plapperstu viell, sprich sunder stammerndt, *p.* (s 106r 4-5)

Phrase (165) shows not a single difference between the two manuscripts: both Russian and German are completely in line with each other, if one abstracts from surface-level orthographical issues and the High German of *s* as opposed to the Low German of *F*.<sup>231</sup> Sentences of this kind – without any differences to speak of on the levels of orthography, morphology, syntax as well as meaning – are relatively rare. In phrase (166) we see that *s*'s *vmenne* 'у мене' as well as the corresponding German *vonn mir* are absent from *Fonne*'s manuscript. In other words: a difference in the Russian phrase is matched by the same difference in the German phrases. Differences of this kind shall be referred to hereafter as 'parallel differences'. The Russian imperative construction *без болтанья говори* in (167F) corresponds to an indicative-present construction in (167s): *ты без болтанья говоришь*. This contrasts with the German of both manuscripts, which has an imperative construction. Note that in this particular case, the Russian and German of *F* are more in line with each other than in *s*. See below. The difference in Russian is not matched by a corresponding difference in German. These differences shall be called 'non-parallel differences'.

Of course, the differences as discussed above as well as similar differences between the two manuscripts can be explained in multiple ways. We may be dealing with a difference in the original sources of both manuscripts, with *F* and *s* each faithfully copying their own source. If, on the other hand, the source of both manuscripts agrees on a particular issue (or if both manuscripts share the same source), we could – broadly speaking – be dealing with a copying error or with a conscious innovation by one of the scribes.

<sup>231</sup> On this latter issue see §3.2 above.

In this chapter we shall be looking at the parallel and non-parallel differences as in (166) and (167) above, establish their nature, and try to ascertain what caused the differences to arise, as well as the role of the scribe of F. I will argue that, overall, the relation and mutual dependence between the Russian and the German halves of phrase pairs tends to be stronger in F than in its source (or sources), as a result of a conscious decision on the part of the scribe of F.

## 8.2 Relation between Russian and German: previous research

Sample phrase (166) above showed that a difference between F and S did not only show up in the Russian phrase, but also in the German one. And in (167), the Russian of F matched its German equivalent better than was the case in S.

This indicates that the relation between both languages can be important. And it is exactly this relation of the two interdependent halves of the data – after all, each language accounts for roughly 50 percent of the data – that so far has hardly been studied. Two important factors contribute to this. First of all, a study into this aspect of Fonne’s manuscript only gains depth when the data are compared with those in Schroue’s phrasebook, something which until recently was not possible. But more importantly, linguists mainly studied the manuscript from either a Russian or a German angle, and scholars in other fields usually used only one of the languages as a source of information.

The only work which from its very outset compares the German and Russian data of Fonne’s phrasebook is an article by Ilga Brigzina (1988); however, the scope of her study is rather limited. The largest part of Brigzina’s article (87-97) is devoted to an exploration of German and Russian words denoting persons. On the six pages that follow, the author briefly explores cases where the Russian ‘translation’<sup>232</sup> deviates from German (97-100) or should be considered wrong (100-102).

A deviation is considered by the author as small a difference as the use of a paraphrase, a different part of speech or a different sentence construction. This means that *ia dremlu* ‘я дремлю; I am dozing’ (F 250 1; verbal predicate) and *Ich sÿ schleperig* ‘I am sleepy’ (F 250 3; nominal predicate) are already considered deviations, as are the bold-faced words in the phrase below:

(168F) Ia tovo tzolovieku **vÿrutzill**, da poÿom **porutzilsa**.  
 Ich hebbe den manne **vth der besahte gelosett**  
 vnd **sÿ borge** vor ehm **geworden**. (F 227 1-3)  
 Я тово чѣловѣку(!) выручил, да по ём поручился.  
 ‘I freed that main (from jail), and stood him bond.’

<sup>232</sup> “in der Russischen Übersetzung” (Brigzina 1988: 97).

This definition of a deviation is rather technical, and contrasts with the statement by Brigzna that the differences found by her reflect how things are expressed differently from one language to the other.<sup>233</sup> And although she states that most deviations can be found in PHRAS (98), most of her attention goes out to deviations and errors present in LEX. Despite this limited scope of Brigzna's article, her assessment of the scribe is positive:

“Zusammenfassend kann gesagt werden, daß die Abweichungen, von denen die Rede war, sehr verschiedenartig sind und sich schwer systematisieren lassen. Immerhin zeugen sie davon, daß der Autor des Gesprächsbuches imstande gewesen ist, mit seinen Kenntnissen der russischen Sprache geschickt und elastisch umzugehen, wenn auch nicht immer vollständig korrekt.” (Brigzna 1988: 100)

In order for her conclusion – which in and of itself does not appear odd in the light of what we have seen in this study so far – to remain upright, the scope of the investigation will have to be widened.

### 8.3 Parallel differences

First, we shall be looking at the category of parallel differences as described above: differences in the Russian phrase between F and S which coincide with a similar difference in the German phrase. The category of parallel differences can be further subdivided as follows:

- the Russian and German of F have fewer words than S;
- the Russian and German of F have more words than S;
- the Russian and German of F have different words than S;
- F and S have the same words in Russian and German, but in a different order.

An example of the first category (F has fewer words than S) was given in phrase (166) above: (166S) has *vmenne* and *von mir*, which do not occur in (166F). A second example is (169):

(169F) Otzum ti menæ chotzis vootzi omaniwat, ia  
visu tzto tovar ne tzist, da sa tzisto tÿ mnie  
iogo prodaies.

Worumb wultu mÿ ansendes bedregen  
ich sehe dat de wahre nicht reÿn is, vndtt  
du wÿlt se mÿ vor reÿn vorkopen

(F 291 5-10)

Очём ты меня хочешь во очи оманывать, я  
вижу, что товар нечист, да за чисто ты мнѣ  
его продаешь.

‘Why do you want to cheat me to my face, I see that the

<sup>233</sup> “unterschiedliche Ausdrucksmöglichkeiten in beiden Sprachen” (Brigzna 1988: 88).

goods are not clean, and you are selling them to me for clean'

- (169s) Otišum thÿ Imne gottšÿs off glašzach omamuwath  
 Ja vÿštu stho towar ne šÿst da sa šÿst thÿ Imne  
 thoga prodajÿes **szitele thÿ Ja slepe**  
 Warumb wiltu mich vor Augenn blinndt machen, vnnd  
 betriegenn Ich sehe die wahre ist nicht rein, vnnd du  
 wildt sie mir vor reine vorkauffenn, **meinestu das**  
**ich blinndt seÿ. p.** (s 10r 15-21)

The missing parts in both phrase pairs can be explained in several ways. One explanation that cannot be excluded is that we are dealing here with a deviation in the source as copied by each scribe. If, however, we are dealing with a source that is identical on these points, other explanations must be sought.

For this, there basically are two options. The first option is that of a copying error in either F or s. However, a copying error which occurs in both Russian and German is unlikely. So most probably we are dealing with a conscious innovation, which extended to both halves of the phrase pair. Conscious innovations in the Russian part of the data are unlikely to stem from the copyist of s, but very likely to come from that of F. In this particular case, he has chosen – for whatever reason – not to copy the parts *читале ты, я слÿне* and the Low German equivalent of *meinestu das ich blinddt seÿ*.<sup>234</sup>

The second category of parallel differences is constituted by those cases where the Russian and German of F have one or several words more than s, as in (170) and (171) below:

- (170F) Ia buil na tebe nadialsa à tÿ **komnie** ne prischol.  
 Ich vorleht mÿ vp dÿ vnd du quemest nicht  
**tho mÿ.** (F 424 15-17)  
 Я был на тебе надÿялся, а ты ко мнÿ не пришёл.  
 'I had placed my hope in you but you didn't come to me.'
- (170s) Ja na delaÿes na tobbe thÿ ne prissoll,  
 Ich vorlies mich Auf dich vnndt du kamest nicht, (s 104v 4-5)<sup>235</sup>
- (171F) Ne naroui nikomu da skasi na obæ  
 storoni præmo **besz koluverte.**  
 Voge nemande vnd sprik na beÿden siden  
 recht **sunder argerlist.** (F 298 1-4)

<sup>234</sup> A third possible example is F 208 5-6 ~ s 103v 9-10: *sa dwerw* 'за дверью' and *vor die thur* in s do not match anything in F; the correspondence between these phrases in s and F is approximate.

<sup>235</sup> This phrase pair also contains a non-parallel difference, which is the use of the Russian conjunction *a* in (170F).



Не нарови никому да скажи на обѣ  
 стороны прямо, без коловерти.  
 ‘Do not be compliant to anybody but speak on both sides  
 forthrightly, without evasion’

- (171S) Ne ponarouÿ nÿkomu da sthaßÿ thÿ na obe sthromÿ  
 promo  
 Wisse keinem nichts zu willenn, sondern sage vf  
 beÿdenn seÿtenn gleÿch recht. *p.* (S 12V 13-16)

In (170), *s* lacks both *ко мнѣ* and the High German equivalent of *tho mj*. In (171) the same applies to *без коловерти* and *sunder argerlist*. When we assume that the source of both manuscripts was identical at this point, the explanation of the difference as the outcome of a conscious innovation by the scribe of F is to be preferred over the explanation of it as a copying error, which would leave the parallelism unexplained.<sup>236</sup>

The third category of parallel differences does not concern the appearance or disappearance of words from one manuscript in relation to the other, but a change of one or more words, in both languages. This even stronger shows that the copyist considered the Russian and German halves of each phrase pair to be interdependent: one half could not be changed without considering the consequences for the other half.

An example of this kind of difference already appeared before, in the discussion of the verb in §7.5.2. In (159), the perfective-present verb *storguiem* ‘сторгуем’ corresponds to the future-tense construction *ich wÿll kopslagen* in German, whereas the corresponding phrase from *s* shows an imperfective present in Russian and a present tense in German: *turguÿum* and *ich kaufschlage*. Thus, the change in one half of the phrase is reflected in the other.

A second example is (172) below, where the concept ‘I must’ of *s* corresponds to ‘one must’ in F:

- (172F) **Nadob torguvat** bez omanki.  
**Men modt kopslagen** ane bedroch. (F 336 21-22)  
**Надобъ торговать** без оманки.  
 ‘One should trade without deceit.’
- (172S) **Nadop Imne turguath** omankÿ.  
**Ich begere zu kauffschlagenn** Ahne betrugk. *p.* (S 30r 24-25)<sup>237</sup>

<sup>236</sup> More examples: F 208 1-2 ~ S 104v 18-19, F 290 12-15 ~ S 10r 7-10, F 208 1-2 ~ S 104v 18-19, F 208 5-6 ~ S 105r 5-6, F 333 1-7 ~ S 28r 1-6, F 351 13-16 ~ S 36r 7-9, F 404 6-11 ~ S 59r 8-9 and 10-14, and, more complicated, F 336 5-6 ~ S 29v 3-5.

<sup>237</sup> Apart from this difference, the Russian of *s* also lacks *без*, which is a non-parallel difference (see below).

This example shows a parallel difference whose origin must have been carefully considered. This can be seen in the fact that the difference between ‘I must’ and ‘one must’ is achieved differently in the two languages: in Russian it is expressed through the presence or absence of the DAT.SG. *мнѣ*, in German by the choice between the PRON.PERS. *ich* or *man*. So a scribe who would like to change from one meaning to the other, had to apply different methods in the two languages to reach his goal.<sup>238</sup>

In all the cases of parallel differences we have looked at so far, the difference entails a different meaning of the phrase. The copyist who added, removed or changed words, was aware of what he was doing. The last subcategory of parallel differences shows that the meaning of the phrase need not necessarily change, as shown in (173).

- (173F) Ia **praemo stoboi** torguiu, ne voman, dobro tÿ  
somnoiu vinuporu rad opæt torgovat, koli  
tÿ stovarum pridis.  
Ich wÿll **recht mÿt dÿ** koepslagen, nicht mit  
bedroch, dattu vp eÿn ander tidt gerne wedder  
vmb mÿt ~~dÿ~~ mÿ koepsлагest, wan du mit  
wahre kumpst. (F 370 15-21)
- Я **прямо с тобой** торгую, не в оман, добро ты  
со мною в ину пору рад опячь торговать, коли  
ты с товаром придешь.  
‘I (will) trade with you honorably, without deceit, so that  
you may be glad to trade with me again any other time,  
when you come with wares.’

- (173S) Ja gottßu **sthoboÿu premo** turguwath ne omanÿ  
dobbro thÿ ßomnoÿu vÿmeÿu poru rade opeth  
turguwath kollÿ thÿ Ißturarum prÿdÿs. p  
Ich will **mit dir recht** kaufschlagenn, nicht mit betrogk  
das du Auff ein Ander zeidt genre wieder mit mir kauf,,  
schlagest, wan ich wahren habe, so dir dieneth. p. (S 45V 1-6)

Here we see that not only does F’s *прямо с тобой* correspond to *с тобою прямо* in S, but the words are also reversed in German: *recht mÿt dÿ* (F) corresponds to *mit dir recht* (S). The parallelism shows that this difference must be conscious. The scribe may have been linguistically motivated to have the words switch position in one of the two languages. By mirroring this in the other language as well, the linear link between the two languages remained intact. This may have served a pragmatic purpose: a linear link makes it easier for a Ger-

<sup>238</sup> More examples: F 204 7 ~ S 102V 5, F 391 6-8 ~ S 51V 19-21, F 320 5-6 (*свой товар, мÿне wahre*) ~ S 22r 22-5 (*твой товар, deine wahre*).

man-speaking user of the manuscript to read the Russian. The German equivalent of a Russian phrase becomes somewhat like a gloss.

#### 8.4 Non-parallel differences

A non-parallel difference, as discussed in the introductory section of this chapter, is a case where a difference in one language between the manuscripts is not matched by a corresponding difference in the other language. Phrase (167) served as an example of this category. For the record: inclusion into this category is restricted to differences which are important on the phrase level. That is to say, it specifically excludes the orthographical and morphological differences discussed in previous chapters.

There are many more non-parallel differences than parallel differences, and they are, by their very nature, more diverse. The most striking cases will be discussed below. The translation of Low German to High German, of which *s* bears the traces, may have caused many non-parallel differences in the German phrases between the two manuscripts.<sup>239</sup> This section will, therefore, focus more on the non-parallel differences that can be found in the Russian phrases.

##### 8.4.1 The lexicon

A number of the non-parallel differences between *F* and *s* concern the Russian lexicon: the same German words in *s* and *F* correspond to different Russian words in both manuscripts. These differences are one of the aspects of the material which over the years has enjoyed much attention. Mžel'skaja 2003, to name a relatively recent example, meticulously compares several semantic fields in a list of phrasebooks. Although she recognises the close textual relation of *F*, *s* and *A* (see 170-198, especially 171 and 197-8), the differences are merely acknowledged. She does not treat the changes and the processes which must have led to these changes. Exactly because of the relatively well-researched status of the lexicon, it shall not receive much attention in this study. Some observations, however, are in order.

A structural difference between *F* and *s* is that the monetary unit *куна* (PL. *куны*) in *s* often corresponds to *деньги* in *F*.<sup>240</sup> Other designations for money are

<sup>239</sup> See, for example, the correspondence of *vordehlet* (for *rosruszil* 'розрушил') in *F* 360 10 with *vorzelth* 'miscalculated' in *s* 40v 1 (rather than something like *verteilt*), as a result of a translation mishap.

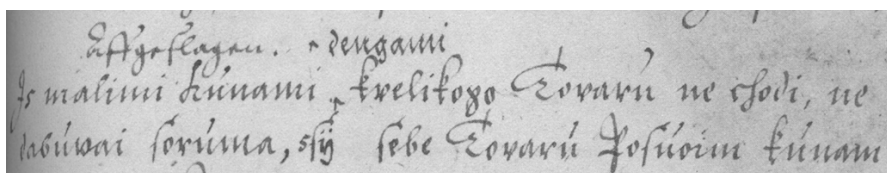
<sup>240</sup> See *F* 208 5-6 ~ *s* 105r 5-6, *F* 280 21-23 ~ *s* 6r 11-13, *F* 296 4-7 ~ *s* 12r 4-7, *F* 309 5-12 ~ *s* 18r 23-28, *F* 315 9-15 ~ *s* 20r 26-20v 3, *F* 321 17-21 ~ *s* 23v 12-15, *F* 337 10-16 ~ *s* 30r 11-16, *F* 390 17-20 ~ *s* 52r 19-22, and elsewhere.

subject to variation as well.<sup>241</sup> These changes in F reflect a reform of the monetary system and paint an adequate picture of the situation of the early 17<sup>th</sup> century (see Fałowski 1997: 9, Xoroškevič 2000: 85f). It makes sense to ascribe these changes to the copyist of F. This is confirmed by an emendation in F. The supra-linear insertion of *kunami* in (174F) next to the original *dengami* suggests that the source of F must still have reflected the old situation:

(174F) Is malimi **kunami dengami** kvelikogo tovaru ne chodi, ne dabuvai soruma, ssÿ sebe tovaru posuoim kunam.  
 Mÿtt ringem gelde gahe nicht vp grote wahre,  
 krich dÿ suluen keÿne schande, soke dÿ wahre  
 na dÿnem gelde.

(F 281 11-15)

С малыми кунами: деньгами к великого(!) товару не ходи, не добывай сорома, <и>щи себѣ товару по своим кунам.  
 ‘With scant money do not go after big wares, do not cover yourself with shame, look for wares according to your money.’



Similar lexical differences can be found elsewhere. They include the various Russian words for ‘weighing-house’ and ‘scales’: *вѣсча полата*; *вѣс*, *вѣщѣ* and *скалва* in F, *скалвеница*; *скала*, *вѣсѣ* in s (see Mžel’skaja 2003: 182f. and Xoroškevič 2000: 88f.). Less structural differences include the following cases:

[tovar] iestze **na dorogo** ‘еще на дорог<ѣ>’ / [de wahr] is noch vp wege (F 275 16, 19-20)

~ [thowar] Jessze **na puthÿ** ‘еще на пути’ /

[die wahre] ist noch nicht gekommen (s 3v 18-22)

vootzi ‘во очи’ / ansendes (F 291 5 8)

~ off glaßzach ‘в глазах’ / vor Augenn (s 10r 15, 18)

It is interesting that the structural substitution of one word for the other does not only occur with realia, but also with other parts of speech than nouns. The replacement of the conjunction *дать* by *добро* was treated above (§7.3), and in parts of the manuscript the adverb *сим* ‘hither’ in s corresponds to the synonymous *сюды* in F on a structural basis, just as s’s *номна* ‘now’ was in many cases replaced by the synonymous *нынѣча* in F.<sup>242</sup> These changes can essentially be compared with other structural changes, such as the replacement of the end-

<sup>241</sup> See F 201 22 *dengi* ~ s 101v 1 *pennÿsÿ*, F 395 12-18 *trÿ rubloff* ~ s 54v 3-8 *teÿ grÿuennÿ*, and F 396 1-6 *due rubli* ~ s 54v 9-13 *due grÿuenÿ*.

<sup>242</sup> Он *номна* (от *номня*), see Zaliznjak 1998: 259.

ing *-o2o* by *-o6o*. We must assume that in the eyes of the scribe, the original words for some reason needed fixing.

#### 8.4.2 Tough call: mechanical error or conscious innovation?

In some cases, it is hard to tell what was the cause of a non-parallel difference, as in phrase (175):

(175F) Dai mne **noszżick** na podirsania.  
 Lehne mÿ ein mest. (F 204 14-15)  
 Дай мнѣ ножик на подержание.  
 ‘Lend me a knife.’

(175S) Daÿ Imne na podorsama, Leihe mir dein Messer, p. (S 102V 20)

The relevant non-parallel difference in this phrase is the occurrence of *ножик* in F and its absence in S, whereas the German in the two manuscripts has *ein Mest* and *dein Messer*, respectively. This difference may have any of the following explanations:

- a difference in the source, F and S both faithfully reflect their own source;
- an identical and correct source for F and S in combination with a copying error by the scribe of S;
- an identical but corrupt source for F and S, with the corruption detected and repaired by the scribe of F.

If we assume that the source was identical, it is hard to assess whether we are dealing with a copying error in S or an innovation in F.

Two more examples where similar scenarios could apply. In (176), the German PRON.POSS. *dÿner* (176F)/*deiner* (176S) corresponds to *твоёму* in F, yet with *моёму* in S. In (177), F’s *opæt* corresponds to *wedderumb*, whereas the German *widder* in S remains unexpressed in Russian:

(176F) **Ktuoiomu** tovaru ludi ne prilipaiut kupit [...]  
 De lude drengen sich nicht tho **dÿner** wahre  
 tho kopen [...] (F 327 9, 12-13)  
 К твоёму товару люди не прилипают купить  
 ‘People do not [stick] (rush) to your wares to buy’

(176S) **Vckmoÿomu** thowaru Ludÿ neprÿlubaÿu [...]  
 Die Leute dringen sich nicht nach **deiner** wahre [...] (S 25V 1, 3)

(177F) Saglædi: podtzerni: tÿ tovo, tzto ias tebe  
 saplatil, dobro tÿ tovo **opæt** na menæ ne iszis.  
 Do idt vth datt ich dÿ betahldt hebbe, dattu  
 idt nicht **wedderumb** an mÿ sökest. (F 361 1-4)  
 Заглади: почерни ты тово, что яз тебѣ

заплатил, добро ты тово опять на меня не ищешь.  
 ‘Note [/ underscore] the fact that I have paid you, so that  
 you may not again sue me for it.’

- (177s) Saglath podtzernÿ thoga stho Ja tebbe staplatÿll dobbro  
 thÿ toga namne ne Isszÿs. *p*  
 Da besche Aus das ich dir betzalt habe, das du nichts **widder**  
 Ann nnir suchest oder Manest. *p.* (S 40V 21-24)

Similar cases can be added.<sup>243</sup> As the origin of these non-parallel differences cannot be pinpointed to Fonne’s phrasebook with certainty I will refrain from further discussion.

### 8.4.3 Clearer cases

As opposed to the phrases discussed in the previous section, there are numerous examples where it is much more likely that it is indeed Fonne’s phrasebook which is different from its source. We will see that the scribe’s input consisted both of unwanted copying errors as well as linguistically conscious innovations out of a wish to improve the material, and which in turn went both right and wrong.

First, the copying errors; take, for instance, the following phrases:

- (178F) Tolko tÿ iomu pridás [...]  
 So vehle giff ehm **noch** tho [...] (F 299 19, 21)  
 Только ты ёму придашь  
 ‘Give him so much in addition’
- (178s) Tolcko thÿ Jomu **Jeßze** prodaÿs [...] (S 13r, 26; 13r 1)  
 So woll gÿff ihm **noch** tho [...]
- (179F) Ia tuoi oszudnik, bog tuoi oszudnik.  
 Ich sÿ din richter **nicht** godt iß dÿn richter. (F 398 10-11)  
 Я твой осудник, Бог твой осудник.  
 ‘I am (not) your judge, God is your judge’
- (179s) Ja **ne** was offzudnick boch was offzudnick. *p.*  
 Ich bin **nicht** ewr richter, sondern gott ist ewr richter. *p* (S 55V 15-16)

The Russian of (178F) lacks the equivalent of s’s *Jeßze* ‘еще’, unlike the German *noch* in both manuscripts. In (179F), the negation *ne* is missing. If we assume that the source was identical, this source either did or did not contain *еще* and *не*. If it did not, it must have been added by the scribe of s, which is unlikely

<sup>243</sup> F 202 14-15 ~ s 101r 18 (s does not have *добро* ‘sehr’), F 229 21-22 ~ s 28v 16-17 (s does not have *на помочь*), F 330 9-15 ~ s 26v 8-13 (s does not have *не*), F 336 21-22 ~ s 30r 24-25 (s does not have *без*), F 337 17-20 ~ s 30r 17-19 (s does not have *не*).

given his track record in matters Russian. It is far more likely, therefore, that the source did contain these words, but that they were not copied by the scribe of F. Seeing that this scribe did know Russian, and that the changes can hardly be called a successful or logical innovation, we must be dealing with copying errors.<sup>244</sup>

In other phrases, linguistic innovation is more likely than copying errors. A telling case is phrase (180):

- (180F) Ia safflues stoboiu torgovat **tÿ omansik**.  
 Ich vorlauedt mÿt dÿ tho koeplagen du  
 bist eÿn bedreger. (F 361 20-22)  
 Я шавлюсь с тобою торговать, ты оманщик.  
 'I [stop trading] (promised myself not to deal) with you, you are a deceiver'
- (180s) Ja saßleus stoboÿ turguwath **thÿ Jest oddÿm omanßÿck**  
 Ich vorlobe mit dir zukaufschlagen, du bist ein betrieger, (s 41r 20-21)

In (180s), the German *du bist ein betrieger* corresponds to *thÿ Jest oddÿm omanßÿck* 'ты есть один оманщик' in Russian, an all too literal one-on-one translation from German. The scribe of F does not follow this, and prefers the idiomatically more correct *tÿ omansik* 'ты - оманщик'.

The same conclusion must be reached in phrases (181) and (182). The negative particle *ne* in (181s) and the adverb *номна* in (182s) do not correspond to anything in the German equivalent of the Russian phrases. F consequently leaves them out. The meaningful non-copying of these words by the scribe of F is more likely than their addition by the scribe of s:

- (181F) Otzum tÿ komnie prischol bez politznoio: snameni  
 otiovo [...]  
 Worumb kumpstu tho mÿ sunder wahrteken [...] (F 332 16-17, 19)  
 Очём ты ко мнѣ пришёл без поличноё(!): знамени  
 от ёво?  
 'Why [did] (do) you come to me without [an evidence /]  
 a token [from him]?'
- (181s) Ottsuum thÿ **ne** komnÿ prÿßoll bes Ißnamenÿ otJogo  
 Warumb kumbstu zu mir sunder warzeÿchenn vonn Ihm (s 28v 6-7)<sup>245</sup>

<sup>244</sup> Similar cases: F 223 1-4 ~ s 4v 26-5r 2 (F has *wedder* in German, but does not have an equivalent of s's *opeth*), F 301 19-22 ~ s 14r 21-24 (F has no negation in *Al iestzo tÿ tzitall*, despite the German *oder heffstuds noch nicht gerekendt*; s has *all Jeßze thÿ ne ßÿtall*), F 412 15-18 ~ s 63r 3-5 (F has *Frundt* in German, but does not have an equivalent of s's *Druske*).

<sup>245</sup> There are more changes in this phrase, however less successful: F adds *поличноё* (yet in the uncalled for NOM.SG.), and, unlike is the case in S, *om ёво* remains unexpressed in German.

- (182F) Ne dai bog tomu tak buit, kak tÿ menæ  
 proklinaies, dirsi vsebe proklinku sam.  
 Godt geue datt so nicht thogeschen, alß du mÿ  
 flokest, beholdt dÿnen floeck vor dÿ suluest. (F 378 1-4)  
 Не дай Бог тому так быть, как ты меня  
 проклинаешь; держи у себе проклинку сам.  
 ‘God grant it may not [be] (happen) as you threaten  
 me in cursing, keep your curse for yourself.’
- (182S) Ne daeth daÿ boech tomu tack pudÿth kack thÿ **nomna**  
 proklÿnaÿes dÿeßÿ vßobbe proklincku ßam. *p*  
 Gott gebe das also nicht geschehe als du mir fluchest, behaldt  
 deinen fluch selbst. *p.* (S 48r 6-9)

The impression of the scribe of F as the agent of change grows stronger by looking at (183). The German of (183F) includes the equivalent of *pust tovar ninetza leszit fffkutzu*, absent from the German of (183S). At the same time, however, it reshuffles and rephrases the Russian phrase (and adjusts the German accordingly):

- (183F) Otzum tÿ moi tovar roskladivais: perekladivais.  
 tÿ kupiffÿ, togdi tÿ iovo roskladivai, pust  
 tovar ninetza leszit fffkutzu.  
 Worumb lechstu mÿne wahre van ander  
 wan du se gekofft heffst so legge se van  
 ander **laht de wahre nu liggen im hupen.** (F 319 15-20)  
 Очём ты мой товар roskладываешь: перекладываешь?  
 Ты купивши, тогда ты ёво roskладывай; пусть  
 товар нынѣча лежит в кучу.  
 ‘Why are you separating [/ moving] my goods? When  
 you have bought them, then separate them; now let the goods  
 lie in a pile.’
- (183S) Vtsum thÿ moÿ thowar roßkladdeuaÿes: perkladdeuaÿes:  
 pust thowar nomÿthe leßÿ offkutze kupÿffzÿ tochdÿ  
 Jego roßkladeuaÿ  
 Warumb legestu meine wahr vonn einender, kauffe sie  
 vorhinn, vnnd lege sie darnach voneinander. *p.* (S 22r 13-17)<sup>246</sup>

In (183), both the Russian and the German were subject to change. In (184), we see that the scribe of F critically examined the German in order to determine whether it was suitable as an equivalent for the Russian phrase:

<sup>246</sup> Additional case: F 214 17-18 ~ S 113r 1-4.



- (184F) Ia tebe ne vinovate, ia vtebe saprus: poprus **na prasna** tÿ menæ kleples, ne snaiu ne vedaiu.  
 Ich sÿ dÿ nicht schuldig, ich vorsake idt dÿ,  
**mÿtt vnrechte** betÿestu mÿ, ich kennes  
 vnd wehtes nichtt. (F 292 14-18)
- Я тебѣ не виновате, я у тебе запрусь: попрусь; **напрасно**  
 ты меня клеплешь, не знаю, не вѣдаю.  
 ‘I am not in debt to you, I shall deny it before you; you accuse  
 me without reason, I know and wot it not.’
- (184S) Ja tebbe, newÿnowathe Ja vtebbej saprus: proburg: **na prassna** thÿ menne kleples ne Ismaÿu ne medaÿu  
 Ich seÿ dir nichts schuldighk ick vorsaket dÿ **mit vnrechte**  
**vorgebens** betzeugestu mich, Ich kennes nicht vnndt  
 weiß es nicht. p. (S 10V 23-11r 3)

In (184F), *напрасно* corresponds to *mÿtt vnrechte* ‘unjustly’. In (184S), however, it corresponds to *mit vnrechte* as well as with *vorgebens* ‘in vain’, which are presented as synonyms. The scribe of F straightens out the German phrase and removes one of the alternatives. The word *напрасно* can, in fact, mean both ‘unjustly’ and ‘in vain’, but in combination with the verb *клепать*, the former is the only meaning that should be expressed.

## 8.5 Motivating factors

The assumption that in §8.4.3 we are dealing with the product of an innovative scribe, automatically raises the question as to what prompted these innovations.

The search for the motivating factors should take into account the *modus operandi* of the scribe. In copying the data of his sources, the scribe time and again took a phrase, examined the various constituent elements, decided what should be changed and what should be retained and eventually wrote down the result. He wanted the result to be correct. On the level of the phrase, this ‘correctness’ is made up of three elements: the Russian should be grammatically correct, the phrase should make sense, and the German phrase should be a faithful reflection of the Russian phrase.

Ideally speaking, the source of F would already meet all these criteria, or be thought to meet them by the scribe. In those cases, the scribe would choose to copy both halves of the phrase unchanged. But if the scribe judged that something was wrong, he was, as we have seen, not afraid to change the phrases.

### 8.5.1 Correction and elimination of errors

In some cases, the motivating factor is quite obvious. The replacement of *ты есть один оманщик* by *ты - оманщик* in (180) is such a case in which the re-



- (186F') Мѹ пили фсавертт **да бѹли grasno** пѹни.  
 Wÿ drunchen auerflodig vnd worden **se** drunchen. (F 202 9-10)  
 Мы пили взавертъ **да были г<о>разно** пѹни.  
 'We drank excessively and were extremely drunk'

In (186F) the conjunction *да* and the negation *не* were added to the Russian, and *sehr* removed from the German phrase. The result was a grammatically correct Russian phrase, which was also firmly linked to its German equivalent. Yet the scribe must have not been entirely happy with the result, perhaps for pragmatic reasons: it is hard to imagine that one would drink excessively and not end up being drunk. This led to the second phrase, (186F'), based on the same phrase in the source. Like in (186F) it adds *да*, but unlike this phrase it removes the negation, adds the concept of 'very' to the Russian phrase,<sup>248</sup> and alternates *впроход* with *взавертъ*.

### 8.5.2 Harmonisation of Russian and German

In phrase (182) above, the adaptation is more arbitrary than in the other examples discussed above. The elimination of *номна* from the Russian phrase in (182F) leads to a closer link with the German phrase, but the addition of 'now' to the German phrase would have had the same result. Still, the restoration of the link between Russian and German can be assumed to be the motivating factor behind the change. This, in turn, may have mostly had pragmatic reasons.

In the case of non-parallel differences, the German of F most typically is a more faithful reflection of its Russian counterpart than in s. This should not always be attributed to the scribe of F, however. Most likely, the scribe of s also took some liberty in translating Low German into High German.<sup>249</sup> Whichever explanation holds true in any given case, the result is that F generally shows a tighter link between Russian and German than s.

A simple case of this are phrases like (187) and (188), where F, unlike s, has only one translation of *бранимся*:

- (187F) Dospem mÿ ffpervoi prigovar, dat mui oposle  
 ne branimsæ.  
 Lahtt vns eÿn vorbeschedt maken datt wÿ  
 на **nicht kiuen**. (F 320 9-12)  
 Доспѣ<е>м мы впервой приговор да-тъ мы опослѣ  
 не бранимся.  
 'Let us make an agreement beforehand, so that later we

<sup>248</sup> Perhaps exactly because of his focus on *sehr*, the scribe made a mistake in exactly this word, resulting in *se* instead of *sehr*. The spelling *grasno* is regular for F (see §5.6.4).

<sup>249</sup> See (16) in §3.2, where s reverses the order of the two sentences that make up the German phrase; this difference must be ascribed to the copyist of S.

may not quarrel.’

- (187s) Dosspeom muÿ offÿ prÿgouor dath muÿ opoßle  
ne branuÿ.  
Laß vnns erst mit einander einigk werden, das wir vnns  
darnach **nicht kÿfenn oder Hadernn**. *p.* (s 22r 7-10)
- (188F) Tÿ saperles: popererles: sapiraieltza moi deneg.  
Du versakest **mÿn geldtt**. (F 209 10-11)  
Ты заперлесь: поп<ер>лесь: записрался мои(!) денег.  
‘You have denied me my money.’
- (188s) Thÿ sapreles: poperles: sapÿraÿeste: moÿe denock  
Du vorlaugnest **meine denige, oder mein geldt**. *p.* (s 105v 10-11)<sup>250</sup>

Sometimes, the German of F and s amount to the same thing as far as the gist of the phrase is concerned, but F’s German more closely follows the Russian phrase, as in the underlined parts in (189):

- (189F) Koli vieszia polata iesze ne otominuta, ÿ tÿ  
tovar perod polatoi kladi, dokul vieszetz  
polato otomine.  
Wo de wage nicht vp gedaehn is, so legge  
de wahre vor de wahge, **so lange datt**  
**de weger de wahge vpsludtt**. (F 311 1-6)  
Коли вѣсча полата еше не отом<к>нута, и ты  
товар перѣд полатой клади, докуль вѣсец  
полату отом<к>не.  
‘If the weigh-house is not yet open, then lay the goods  
before the weigh-house until the weigher opens the weigh-house.’
- (189s) Kollÿ weßrÿu polata Jeße ne ottumÿnuta Itÿ  
thowar preodt polathÿ kladdÿ dokull wÿssetzs  
polato ottomÿne  
Wo die wage noch zu vnnd nicht Aufgethann so lege die  
wahre so Lange vor die wage vnnd las sie Liegen **bis**  
**der weger kumbtt**, *p.* (s 19r 1-6)<sup>251</sup>

In other cases, the difference between the German of F and s is not as innocuous. In those phrases, the German of s has a hard time matching the Russian phrase, even to the extent of seemingly representing a very different phrase. In

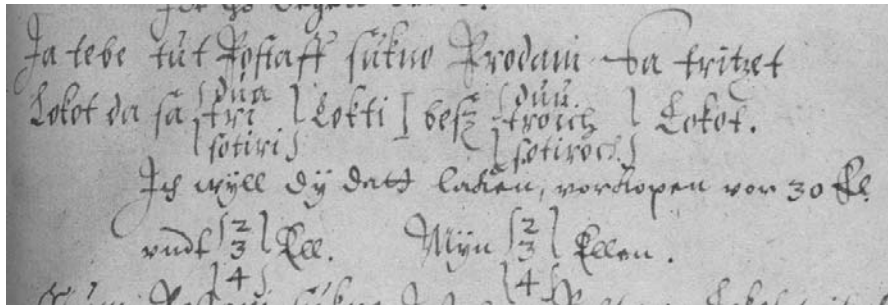
<sup>250</sup> Similar cases: F 211 7 ~ s 107v 9-10, F 296 1-3 ~ s 12r 1-3.

<sup>251</sup> The German of (189F) also leaves out the element ‘not yet’, which is present in both the Russian phrase, *iesze*, as well as in both parts of (189s). This can be explained by assuming that the source of F reflected the same situation we see in s. The words *zu* and *nicht Aufgethann* can be considered synonyms. The scribe of F wanted to remove the least literal one, but inadvertently removed not only the equivalent of *zu* and the conjunction *vnnd*, but also the preceding *noch*.

these cases, it is likely that the link was restored by the scribe of *F* rather than destroyed by the scribe of *S*: even if the scribe of *S* is prone to paraphrasing sentences, he must have been wary to venture too far from the source. Examples of this:

- (190F) Jest vmenæ sukna odnim tzuatum: odnim  
litzum: vodín liek.  
Ich hebbe laken van eýner farue, van  
eýnem tōgeñ. (F 458 16-20)  
Есть у меня сукна одним цвѣтом: одним  
лицом: в один лик.  
'I have cloths of one colour / of one pile.'
- (190S) Jest vmenna suckna odnÿm suetum odnÿm litzum  
off odnÿm lýcck  
Ich habe mehr Lackenn vnnd vonn Andererfarbe. *p.* (S 16r 16-18)
- (191F) Ne podiui na tovo tzelovieku on peret bohum  
lutze tebe budet.  
Vor achte den mahnne nicht. **vor gade werdt  
he behter sin else du.** (F 331 1-4)  
Не подиви на тово чelовѣку(!), он перед Богом  
луче тебе будет.  
'Do not scorn this man, before God he will turn out  
to be better than you.'
- (191S) Ne podiuy thÿ no thoga saluecka on pereth bohum lusse  
tebbe bude. *p.*  
Vorschmahe denn Man nicht, **er wirdts vorwar beßer  
wissenn Als du.** *p.* (S 26v 23-27r 2)<sup>252</sup>
- (192F) Ia tebe tut postaff sukno prodam sa tritzet  
{ dua } { duu }  
lokot da sa { tri } lokti | bez { troich } lokot.  
{ sotiri } { sotiroch }  
Ich wÿll dÿ datt laken vorkopen vor 30 el.  
{ 2 } { 2 }  
vndt { 3 } ell.mÿn { 3 } ellen.  
{ 4 } { 4 } (F 457 10-17)  
Я тебѣ тот постав сукна продам за тридцать  
локот да за два / три / чѣтыри локти, без дву / троих / чѣтырѣх локот.  
'I will sell you [that bolt of] (the) cloth for thirty ells  
plus two / three / four ells, minus two / three / four ells.'

<sup>252</sup> Similar case: F 309 1-4 ~ S 18r 17-18.



- (192S) Ja tebbe tho posthoff suckna prodam sa trützet lakoth  
 da ßa dua: trÿ: ßottÿrÿ locktÿ bes dueÿu: Troch: sa,,  
 tÿroch: lokot ßa ßorock  
 Ich will dir das Lackenn wandes vorkauffen, 2,3 od[er] 4.  
 dergleichenn zwo, dreÿ, oder vier ellenn, so viell du  
 desselbigenn bedarf hast. *p.* (S 16r 5-10)<sup>253</sup>

Still, these striking differences are the exception rather than the rule: most of the differences are more subtle, as in the following phrases:

- (193F) Pridi komne safftro **ffpoldobedia** [...] **Kum morgen tho mÿ vmb halfwege thom mÿddage** [...] (F 295 1, 3-4)  
 Приди ко мнѣ завтра в полдобѣдѣя  
 ‘Come to me tomorrow in the mid-morning’
- (193S) Bud: buÿdÿ thÿ kumÿ ßofftro **off polda bedÿa** [...] (S 11v 12, 15)<sup>254</sup>  
 Kum Morgenn **vmb acht, oder zehen**, zu mir [...]
- (194F) Pribütka **mnie** lutze vbutka. (F 296 20-21)  
 Wÿnst is **mÿ** behter else vorlust.  
 Прибытка мнѣ луче убытка.  
 ‘Proft is better for me than loss.’
- (194S) Prÿbutkÿ **Imne** Lusthe kack vbutkuÿ (S 12v 1-2)  
 Gwinnt ist **allezeit** besser dann vorlust. *p.*
- (195F) [...] satim tÿ ingot **opæt** otmænæ kupis. (F 305 2, 4-5)  
 [...] darumb dattu **wedder umb** van mÿ kopest.  
 затим ты ингод опячь от меня купишь  
 ‘So that you will buy from me [sometimes] again.’
- (195S) [...] ßatÿm thÿ Ihn gott **opeth** vme,,  
 nna kupÿs.

<sup>253</sup> Similar cases: F 287 10-17 ~ S 8r 18-23, F 339 1-4 ~ S 30v 19-22.

<sup>254</sup> The corresponding phrase in A has *do obeda* ‘vor d(er) maltidth’ (A 67r 8-9).

[...] das du ein Ander mahll **mehr**  
vonn mir kauffest *p.*

(s 16v 10-11, 13-14)

In some cases, as I pointed out above, it is impossible to prove to which of the scribes the differences between s and F should be attributed. In other cases, the desire of the scribe of F to have a close, and if possible one-on-one link between Russian and German can be attested in Fonne's manuscript:

(196F) Moi aspodar velil mnie ottebe dengi ffzæt [...]

Mÿn herr heffft mÿ ~~tho dÿ gesandtt vnd~~

gehehten van dÿ dat geldt tho entfangen [...]

(F 309 5, 8-9)

Мой осподарь велѣл мнѣ от тебе деньги взятъ

'My master ordered me to get from you the money'

(196s) Moÿ Aspodar velebe Imne vttebe kumÿ vÿßeth [...]

Meinn Her hat mich **zu dir gesandtt**, das geldt zu holenn [...]

(s 18r 23, 26)

In this phrase, the scribe of F originally copied the German phrase from his source, and only then realised that the phrase did not fully reflect the Russian phrase. To correct this, he struck out the words which had no equivalent in Russian.

In (197), we can discern the different stages of the copying process:

(197F) Primeti te dom dobro tÿ iovo opæt **posnaies: naides.**

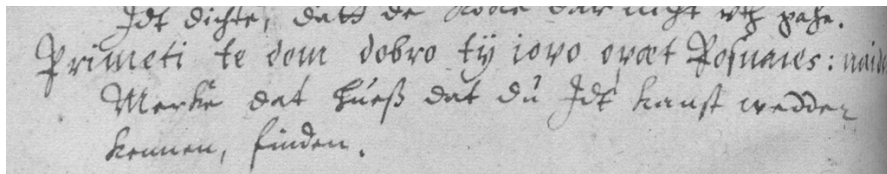
Merke dat hueß dat du idt kanst wedder

**kennen, finden.**

(F 358 21-23)

Примѣти т<ы> дом, добро ты ёво опять познаешь: найдешь.

'Note the house, that you may be able to recognise / find it again.'<sup>255</sup>



This phrase is identical to (197s) and largely identical to (197s'), another phrase further down Schroue's phrasebook:

(197s) Prÿmetÿe the that podworÿe: pallath, done thÿ Jogo opeth

**poßmaÿes, p.** Nim einn gemercke von dem Hause

Auf das du es wieder kannst **findenn.** *p.*

(s 40v 3-5)

(197s') Prÿmeth thÿ togo soluecko dobbro Itÿ Jogo opedth

**poßnaÿes, p** Nim ein gemercke vf den Mann, das du

ihnn wiederumb **kennest.** *p.*

(~ s 51v 6-8)

<sup>255</sup> For the reading 'Примѣти т<ы> дом' or even 'Примѣти т<ы> тот> дом' see §4.1.

In (197F), *posnaies: naides* corresponds to *kennen, finden*. The manuscript shows that *naides* is secondary, squeezed in at the end of the line. Its equivalent, the verb *finden*, also shows traces of having been added later. Apparently, the copyist did not think that *finden* was a fair equivalent of *posnaies*. He then proceeded as follows. First, *finden* was replaced by *kennen*, maybe under the influence of (197S). Upon closer consideration, the scribe did not want to lose *finden* completely. He added the Russian equivalent, *naides*, to the end of the line, and then added the original *finden* back to the German sentence, leading to the phrase we find in the phrasebook.

A variation upon this theme can be seen in (198):

- (198F) Divia diela potzinat da chuda kontzat: **tesolo**.  
 Eÿne sake ist licht anthofangen vndtt  
**swer** tho endigen. (F 469 9-11)  
 Дивья дѣло починать, да худо кончатъ: тяжёло.  
 'It is easy to begin a work but [painful /] difficult to finish'
- (198S) Diuÿa pottzÿnath da guda konsadt, Es ist  
 gutt anzufahenn, aber **bose** zuuolbringenn. p (S 104v 7-8)

In (198F), the German *swer* reflects only *tesolo* 'тяжело', not *худо*. It can be explained by assuming that the source contained the equivalent of S's *bose*. The scribe replaced it by the more idiomatic *swer* 'heavy; difficult'. Upon realising that this loosened the link between Russian and German, he added the Russian equivalent of 'heavy', *тяжело*, to the end of the Russian phrase.

The attention for synonyms is consistent and occurs in various forms throughout the manuscript. In (199F) below, two Russian synonyms correspond to two German synonyms – not once, but twice. The German of (199S), by contrast, has only one variant in both instances:

- (199F) Nadob mnie **smuislet: peremuislet**: kabui  
 mnie ne **promoluitze: promachnutze**: sa  
 tovar proszit.  
 Ich modtt mÿ **bedenken: besinnen** dat ich  
 mÿ nicht **vorspreke: vorsehe**, vor de wahre  
 tho eschende. (F 284 1-6)  
 'Надобь мнѣ **смыслить: перемыслить**, кабы  
 мнѣ не промолвиться: промахнуться - за  
 товар просить.'  
 'I must think it over / consider so that I may not say  
 something wrong / make a mistake in asking for the goods.'



(199s) Nadob Imme **snußbeth: promußlÿth** kabbu Imne me  
**promaluýtze: promachnutze** so thowar prosszÿth.  
 Ich mus mich **bedenncken**, das ich mich nicht **vorspreche**  
 vor die wahre zuheischenn. *p* (s 6v 23-24, 7r 1-2)<sup>256</sup>

Non-parallel differences which may be considered to be motivated by a desire for equalisation of German and Russian can easily be found throughout the manuscript.<sup>257</sup> If they can indeed be ascribed to the copyist of F, they once again confirm both his eye for detail as well as his active knowledge of Russian.

## 8.6 Further observations

### 8.6.1 Mistakes and near-mistakes

In the previous section we have seen several phrases where it is likely that the scribe of F is the point where the differences between F and s originated. In a handful of cases, the manuscript provides solid evidence, e.g. in (197). But there are more cases where the manuscript actually provides some clues. These could be termed mistakes or near-mistakes.

One of these near-mistakes is (200F) below, with an emendation in the German part of the phrase. The Russian phrase almost fully corresponds to (200s) and partly with (200s'). The emendation ~~wahre~~ *werde* may indicate that the scribe of F also used his source's equivalent of (200s') when he was copying the equivalent of (200s): in (200s') *wahre* and *werde* are reversed, which could explain the initial copying mishap:

(200F) Ia lisново ottebe ne prinu, posakonu ias  
 tebe tovar prodam.  
 Ich wÿll nicht auerschörich van dÿ winnen  
 vor de ~~wahre~~ **werde** wil ich dÿ de wahre vorkopen. (F 337 17-20)  
 Я лишнёво от тебе не прину, по закону яз  
 тебѣ товар продам.  
 'I will not take excess profit from you; I will sell you the  
 goods [according to the standard] (at their value).'

(200s) Ja Lÿßnoge vtebbe primu poßakumu Ja tebbe thowar  
 prodam, Ich will nichts vbriges Ann dir gewinnen, vmdt  
**Auf guttenn glaubenn** Will ich dir die wahr vorkauffenn. *p*. (s 30r 17-19)<sup>258</sup>

<sup>256</sup> It is hard to tell whether the synonyms were added by the scribe of F or removed by the scribe of s.

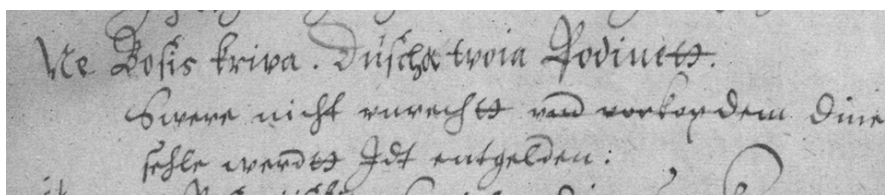
<sup>257</sup> Similar cases: F 296 14-19 ~ s 12r 14-17, F 299 16-18 ~ s 13r 23-25, F 300 16-20 ~ s 13v 16-20, F 301 15-18 ~ s 14r 9-12, F 307 1-5 ~ s 17v 9-12, F 317 17-21 ~ s 21v 1-4, F 318 1-5 ~ s 21v 5-8, F 335 1-4 ~ s 27v 19-22, F 337 17-20 ~ s 30r 17-19, F 338 7-10 ~ s 30v 5-8, F 225 11-12 ~ s 32r 13-14.

<sup>258</sup> Note that the Russian of (200s) leaves out the expected negation *ne*, which can be found in (200F). See §8.4.2 and footnote 243.

- (200s') Ja tobbe suoÿe thowar poßakomu prodam  
Ich will dir meine **wahre** vor die **werde** vorkauffenn, (~ s 15r 7-8)

Something along the same lines may be assumed in (201):

- (201F) Ne bosis kriva. Duscha tvoia podinet.  
Swere nicht vnrecht ~~vnd vorkop dem~~ dine  
sehle werdt idt entgelden. (F 216 16-18)  
Не божись криво. Душа твоя подынет.  
'Do not swear unjustly. Your soul will have to pay (for it).'



- (201s) Ne boßÿs krÿua da dußÿ ne toppÿ. p.  
Schwer nicht vorgebens vnrecht, vnd vorthume dein sehll nicht. p. (s 27v 7-8)  
(201s') Dussa twoÿea podÿue, Die sehl wird es entgeltenn, (s 100r 11)

In this case, the German phrase shows the traces of yet another expression: *da bieszu duschi ne prodai / vnd vorkop dem duuell dÿne sehle nÿcht* (F 299 16-18, also occurring at F 410 2, 5-6), which comes close to (201s). Both the combination of two remote phrases as well as the influence of yet another thematically related phrase testify to the meticulousness with which the scribe assembled the manuscript.

Not necessarily a case of a near-mistake, but interesting nonetheless is phrase (202). The source of (202F) probably contained the Low German equivalent of the *Hunger vnnd deure zeidt* we find in s, as an equivalent for the Russian *голод*. Of these two, the scribe of F removed the more literal *Hunger*:

- (202F) Koli na sim suieti **gollott**, ÿno mnogo ludi  
sgolloda primrutt.  
Wen vp dißer weldtt **dure tÿtt** is so steruen  
veele lude van hunger. (F 225 5-8)  
Коли на сим(!) свѣтъ голод, ино много людей  
с голода примрут.  
'When there is famine in this world, then many people die  
from hunger'  
(202s) Kollÿ na sum suethÿ **gollodt** Imno Imnogo ludÿ  
Ißgolloda prÿmerÿth.  
Wenn vf dieser werlet ist **Hunger vnnd deure zeidt**, so  
sterbenn da viell leute vonn Hunger. p (s 31v 5-8)

Reasons why the scribe may have favoured the more biblical *dure tÿtt* ‘famine’<sup>259</sup> could include the desire to distinguish between ‘famine’ and ‘hunger’, or the wish to avoid the literal repetition of *Hunger*, which may have been undesirable from a stylistic point of view.

In a number of other cases it is clear that innovation by the scribe did not necessarily mean an improvement. In (203) below, we must assume that the scribe of F replaced the original *свой* ‘(here) yours’ with *мой*, but forgot to replace the original *dÿne* accordingly with *mÿne*:

(203F) Otzum tÿ **moi** tovar smotzill: pomotzil.  
 Worumb heffstu **dÿne** wahre genettedt. (F 320 17-18)  
 Очём ты мой товар смочил: помочил?  
 ‘Why did you get [my] (your) goods wet [I moist]?’

(203S) Vtßum tuÿ **suoy** thowar pomotzÿle  
 Warumb hastu **deine** wahre geneteth. p. (S 23r 4-5)<sup>260</sup>

In (204), the scribe tried to make sense of his sources, but failed to recognise the construction *каков ... таков и*. As a result, he mistakenly removed the conjunction *и*, and rephrased the German to reflect what he thought the Russian meant. It is clear that in this case, s has both better Russian as well as German:

(204F) Podi somnoi ias tebe tovar roskladu ÿ tÿ  
 iovo smotris **kakoff okol takoff ffnutri**.  
 Gahe mÿtt mÿ ich wÿll dÿ de wahre van  
 anderleggen, **vnd besuhe se van buten vnd**  
**van bÿnnen**. (F 295 12-16)  
 Поди со мной, яз тебѣ товар roskladu, и ты  
 ёво смотришь: каков окол, таков внутри.  
 ‘Come with me, I will spread out the goods for you;  
 and look at them[: on the inside they are just as on the outside]  
 (on the outside and on the inside).’

(204S) Podÿ ßumnoÿ Ja tebbe thowar neßkladdu, Itÿ Jogo fratris  
**kackoff ockell tackoff I offnuthÿ**.  
 Gehe mit mir ich will di die wahre von einander legenn  
 vnnnd besich sie, **wie sie Auswendigk ist, also ist sie auch Inwendigk**. (S 11V 8-11)

In (205F), the German phrase contains a part which is not matched in either the Russian phrase or the corresponding phrase (205S):

<sup>259</sup> The expression *teure Zeit* ‘famine’ is used in Luther’s translation of the Bible (GEN 41).

<sup>260</sup> The corresponding phrase in A also has *ты ~ свой*. For a discussion of the use of *свой*, see §6.3).

- (205F) Otzum tÿ menæ draszis ia tebe ne durn: vrode  
 blagoi: vpir.  
 Worumb ouestu mÿ ich sÿ dÿn geck nichtt **datt**  
**du mÿ ouest.** (F 225 1-4)
- Очём ты меня дражишь? Я тебѣ не дурнь: вродѣ  
 благой: упирь.  
 ‘Why do you tease me? I am not your fool [/ like  
 madman / freak] (that you should tease me).’
- (205S) Ottßum thÿ menne drasÿs Ja tebbe ne blagÿ: durÿ:  
 vÿÿg:  
 Warumb vbestu mich. Ich seÿ deinn geck oder narre. *p.* (S 28v 3-5)<sup>261</sup>

At the same time, these examples of innovation gone awry do not detract much from the overall picture. They enhance the image of a linguistically competent non-native copyist who took his task to approach his sources critically and if possible improve upon them in the process of copying them into the new book. He was obviously not afraid to do so, and in many cases succeeded in his goal. Yet being the non-native speaker of Russian that this German copyist was, it is only natural that his innovations are not always successful.

### 8.6.2 Textual structure: the case of *солнце*

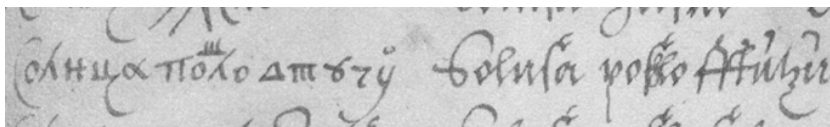
The lexeme *солнце* was already discussed in §5.5.2. The same is also very telling of the textual structure of the phrasebook and the approach of the scribe. Take the following sequence of entries from the lexical section of S:

- |                          |                           |            |
|--------------------------|---------------------------|------------|
| Sunßze soßla             | die Sonne ist aufgangenn, | (S 68v 12) |
| со<л>нце <в>зошло        |                           |            |
| Sunße soßla salÿs,       | die Sunne gehet vnter     | (S 68v 13) |
| со<л>нце сошло за лес    |                           |            |
| Sumße Jefna,             | die Sonne scheinett,      | (S 68v 14) |
| со<л>нце явно (ясно?)    |                           |            |
| Sunße ne Jefna,          | die Sonne scheinett nicht | (S 68v 15) |
| со<л>нце не явно (ясно?) |                           |            |

Of the four entries, those on lines 12 and 14 describe a situation where the sun is out (or comes out), and those on lines 13 and 15 a situation when it is not (i.e., the sun has set or is at least not visible). In F, the sequence of entries is organised differently:

<sup>261</sup> More examples: F 373 12-18 ~ S 109v 1-6 (German of F is slightly redundant); F 403 7-13 ~ S 58v 14-20 (the copyist of F attempted to reconstruct the corrupt Russian of his source, but failed); F 417 21-24 ~ S 110r 19-22 (German is less literal).

солнца взошло солнце взошло 'The sun has risen'	sonsa ffzoschlo	de sunne is vpgegahn	(F 32 4)
солнца асно солнце ясно 'The sun is shining'	solnsa iasno	de sunne schinedtt	(F 32 5)
солнца пошло втучу солнце пошло в тучу 'The sun has gone behind the dark cloud'	solnsa poshlo fftutzu	de sume is achter de swerk(e)	(F 32 6)



солнца пошло за лес солнце пошло за лес 'The sun has gone [behind the wood] (to rest)'	solnsa poshlo sales	de sune is tho gade gegahn	(F 32 7)
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As can be seen, the scribe of F chose to group the synonymous (or almost synonymous) entries together: the entries on lines 4 and 5 describe the situation where the sun is out, the entries on lines 6 and 7 describe the situation where it is not.

On a lexical level, it is not clear whether *Jefna* in s 68v 14 and 15 reflects *ясно* 'clear, bright' or *явно* 'clear, visible; obvious'. In the latter case, the use of *ясно* in F 32 5 constitutes a non-parallel difference, as the German equivalent in F and s is identical.

On the level of the entries, we see that the scribe of F did not copy the equivalent of s's *Sunße ne Jefna* (s 68v 15), maybe because it was too similar to *Sumße Jefna* (s 68v 14), which he had copied as *солнца асно - solnsa iasno*. Instead, the scribe inserted the first part of a phrase we find in PHRAS:

(206F) Son[s]za poslo fftutzu, da ninetza ne petzot. De sunne schindtt nicht, is achter de swerke. Солнце пошло в тучу да нынѣча не печёт. 'The sun went behind a cloud, [and now] does not [scorch] (shine).'			(F 238 19-20)
---	--	--	---------------

This particular Russian phrase was probably selected because of the first part of the German phrase, *De sunne schindtt nicht*, which is exactly the same as the German equivalent of phrase that was skipped in s, *die Sonne scheint nicht*. After the scribe had copied the first half of the Russian part of (206F) as F 32 6, he started paying attention to the relation between Russian and German. He then chose to render the Russian part of F 32 6 in German more literally as *is achter de swerke* 'has gone behind the dark cloud', which is identical to the second half of the German part of (206F).

As far as emendations are concerned, we see that *poslo* (F 238 19) corresponds to the emended form *poshlo* in F 32 6. Although (206F) does not have a correspondence in *s*, the emendation in LEX shows that it was copied from a source which reflected *poslo*: when the scribe was working on LEX, *poslo* was emended with a *h*, whereas in PHRAS, it was not.

The occurrence of the entry on F 32 6 shows the coherence of LEX and PHRAS. More precisely: the scribe was aware of the contents of PHRAS when he was compiling LEX. This awareness extended so far that he could replace a lexical item which to his eyes was not needed (s 68v 15) by a similar phrase which occurred in an entirely different section.

### 8.6.3 Textual structure: removal of variation

The Russian of (207F) includes the word *вчера*, which oddly enough does not occur in the German equivalent, and does not appear in *s*, thereby introducing a discrepancy between Russian and German in this phrase:

(207F) Ia vedaiu takovo tovar fftzetiroch mestach  
 prodasni, kakovo tÿ **ffzeras** otmenæ putal.  
 Ich weht sodane wahre vp veer steden tho kope  
 also du van mÿ gefragedt heffst. (F 418 5-8)  
 Я вѣдаю таково<й> товар в четырёх мѣстах  
 продажный, каково ты **вчера** от меня пытал.  
 'I know of such wares for sale in four places, such as you  
 demanded of me [yesterday]'

(207S) Ja wedau tack thowaer off satÿroch mestoch prodassnÿ  
 kack offa thÿ vmenna puthall sottzÿbe,  
 Ich weis solcher wahre an vier orthen zukaufe, als du  
 vonn mir gefragt hast, (S 110v 3-6)

The addition of *вчера* is odd. Where, after all, would it come from? A similar phrase further on in the manuscript, (208F), could be the origin of the addition. This phrase corresponds to s 53v 13-15, which, like F, contains the concept of 'yesterday', both in Russian and German.

(208F) Iest vmenæ takova sukna takim tzuietum, kakova  
 tÿ **ffzeras** otmenæ putal.  
 Ich hebbe sodahne laken so dahner farue, alß  
 du **gisteren** van mÿ fragedest. (F 460 5-8)  
 Есть у меня таково сукна таким цвѣтом, каково  
 ты **вчера** от меня пытал.  
 'I have such cloth of such a colour as you asked me  
 for yesterday'

If this other phrase is indeed the source of the word *вчераць*, it means that the copyist of F had acquainted himself with the contents of his sources very well. This impression is enhanced by two other phrases in F and s:

- (209F) Ia suoioġo tovaru ne chitriľ **tovar** bez chitrosti.  
 Ich hebbe mÿne wahre nicht vorvelschedtt.  
**de wahr** is sunder valscheÿdtt. (F 305 6-8)  
 Я своёго товару не хитрил, товар без хитрости.  
 ‘I have not falsified my wares, the wares are without falsification.’
- (209s) Ja suoġo thowaeru ne Isgÿtriell **touaru** Ja tebbe  
 bes schÿtrostÿ brodam.  
 Ich habe meine wahre nicht vorfelschet, **die wahre** will  
 ich dir sunder betrugk vnnd vnuerfelschet vorkauffen *p.* (S 16V 17-20)
- (210F) Ia suoioġo tovaru ne chitriľ, **moi tovar** bez chitrosti.  
 Ich hebbe mÿne wahre nicht vorvelschet  
**mÿne wahre** is sunder falscheidt. (F 339 20-22)  
 Я своёво товару не хитрил, мой товар без хитрости.  
 ‘I have not falsified my wares; my wares are without falsification.’
- (210s) Ja suaġoġo thowaru ne, sÿthoÿľÿ, **moÿ thowaer**  
 bes sÿtrostÿ. *p.* Ich habe meine wahre nicht  
 vorfelschet, **Meine wahre** ist vnuorfelschett. *p.* (S 31F 13-15)

Both phrases belong to a sequence of corresponding phrases. Whereas the phrases in s, (209s) and (210s), are merely similar, their counterparts in F, (209F) and (210F), are almost identical: The only difference between (209F) and (210F) is that the latter has the PRON.POSS. *moi* and *mÿne*. We must assume that, upon encountering the equivalent of (209s) in his sources, the scribe of F chose to replace the second part of the phrase by that of (210s). The absence of *moi* or *mÿne* from (209F) is a relic of the original phrase that occurred at that point in the source of F, which, as (209s) shows, did not have this PRON.POSS.

Interestingly, of these two phrases in F, the one occurring first in the manuscript is the one that has been adapted to match the other. If the leaves are still in their original order, this would mean that the scribe at this point already knew what was coming.

#### 8.6.4 Textual structure: chiasms

Comparing F and s on the phrase level and including German in the comparison reveals once more how close the common source must have been to the two manuscripts that have survived until today. An especially striking cohesion effect is revealed by a small number of chiasmatic correspondences: phrase pairs where the Russian of one manuscript is more closely related to the German of the other.

In the first example, the German of F has the word *itz* 'now', which is not featured in the Russian; the Russian of s, conversely, has *nonnýtŕa* 'now', which is absent from its German:

- (211F) Mnie ne doszuck tebe popotzÿvatt: tzeztovatt  
 pridı vetzere opæt komne ias tebe rad popotzÿvaiu.  
 Ich hebbe **itz** keÿne tÿtt dÿ tho nodigen: togern.  
 kum vp den auentt tho mÿ ich wÿ dÿ gerne  
 plegen vnd nodigen (F 227 18-22)
- Мнѣ недосуг тебе попотчивать: чествовать;  
 приди вечерѣ опять ко мнѣ, яз тебе рад попотчиваю.  
 '(Now) I have no time to entertain you [/ to do homge]  
 (/ to ask); come [again] (to me) this evening, I shall  
 gladly (take care of and) entertain you.'
- (211S) Imne **nonnýtŕa** ne dosuck tebbe pottŕÿwath  
 prÿdÿ wetsery opeth kumnÿ Ja tebbe uade pottsuaÿu. p  
 Ich bitte dich kum Morgenn Auf denn Abendd zu mir  
 Ich habe keine zeitd dich zu notigenn zu mir zu komen. p (S 43r 18-21)

It is not easy to explain this chiasm. One explanation would be that the common source contained 'now' in both Russian and German. The scribe of F then could have omitted it in Russian, the scribe of s in German. This is possible, but would introduce the element of chance. Another explanation is that the asymmetric correspondence in F was brought about by the fact that the source (as reflected in s) was asymmetric in the first place, albeit a reverse asymmetry. If this is true, we have to assume that the scribe first looked at the Russian and the German phrase, and noticed that the element 'now' was not reflected in German. He then copied the Russian phrase and, with the German in mind, left out the element 'now'. Then he took another look at both phrases in the source, and started copying the German. Once again, he had seen the element 'now' in the Russian text of his source, the element of which he was very aware. This may explain how it ended up in the German phrase.

A second chiasm can be seen in (212), where *opæt* in F is only matched in s by *wiederumb*:

- (212F) Goli mÿ rodilsı na suiet da ~~eh~~ golÿ nam **opæt**  
 otsvieta.  
 Nakedt kame wÿ in de weldt, nakedt  
 möte wÿ van der weldt. (F 476 9-12)
- Голы мы родил<и>си на свѣт да голы<м> нам опять  
 от свѣта.  
 'Naked we [were born] (come) into the world, [and] naked  
 we must [in turn] depart from the world.'



- (212s) Gollÿ muÿ prÿdem na swÿeth da golle muÿ idem Ißweth  
 Nackenndt komenn wir Auf die weldt, Nacken musser wir  
**wiederumb** aus der weldt. *p*, (s 66r 4-6)

### 8.6.5 Corruption of the source

Some other insight that comparison gives us, is that in the possible corruption of F and s's common source (see already §8.5.1 above). In this regard, s is particularly relevant. Its scribe had no knowledge of Russian, which seriously hampered him in repairing a corrupt or illegible source, having only the German half to go by. The manuscript therefore reveals information about the aspects of how corrupt or illegible the common source of F and s may have been, showing what the scribe of F had to deal with.

Take, for example, phrase (213). The German of (213F) is a more faithful reflection of the Russian phrase than that of (213S):

- (213F) Kolko berkoffski tuoi vosk potenul.  
 Wo mannich schippundt hefft **dÿn waß**  
 gewagen. (F 310 9-11)  
 Колько берковски(!) твой воск потянул?  
 'How many berkovec did your wax weigh?'  
 (213S) Koliko tuoÿ woestk berkauwÿth potenule  
 wo viell schief pfund hats **in der wage** gewogen, (s 18v 15-16)

Why does the German of s use *wage* 'scales' rather than *wachs* 'wax'? A possible explanation is to assume that the source was corrupt or illegible. The scribe of s tried to make sense of the source, interpreted whatever it said as *wage* (*waß* and *wage* have the same initial letters) and adjusted the rest of the German phrase, resulting in the grammatically correct and not illogical phrase *Wo viell schief pfund hats in der wage gewogen* 'How many *Schiffpfund* did it weigh on the scales?'<sup>262</sup> The scribe of F, on the other hand, was able – based on the Russian or of a second source – to form a correct phrase pair.

In (214) too we would have to assume either a corrupt source or a gross misinterpretation of the source by the scribe of s:

- (214F) Ne blüdtzis torgovat, torgovat kak **voiovat**,  
**komu** bog posobit.  
 Furchte dÿ nicht tho koepslagen, koepslagendt,  
 iß alß **veÿden**, **weme** godt helpedt. (F 419 14-17)  
 Не блюдучись торговать: торговать как воёвать,  
 кому Бог пособит.

<sup>262</sup> In the two following phrases in s (s 18v 17-20 and 21-24), the Russian *воск* is also entirely absent from the German phrase.

[One must trade without being afraid] (Don't be afraid of trading): trading is like warfare; there is someone whom God helps.'

- (214s) Ne blÿdessÿs thÿ turguwath, turguwath kack **wöÿo**,  
**wath komu** boch bossobbÿ.  
 furchte dich nicht zu kauffschlagenn, kaufschlagenn ist einem  
**eine frewde, wann** gott hilfftt. .p. (s 11r 18-21)

The scribe of s mistook his source's equivalent of *veyden* 'fight' for *Freude* 'joy', and adjusted the rest of the phrase accordingly so that it made sense.<sup>263</sup>

In (215) it is the scribe of F who must have reinterpreted his source, possibly on the grounds of its corruption:

- (215F) Kolko: potzumu: pomnogl tÿ sa tovar dal.  
 Wouehle heffstu vor de wahre gegeuen. (F 340 7-8)  
 Колько: почёму: помног<у>-ль ты за товар дал?  
 'How much did you give [/ did you give much] for those goods?'  
 (215s) Puttßum: kolko: poImnogoll thÿ dall stha thowaer  
 vißedt all vßebbe gotzÿs. togo tÿrsadth. p.  
**Sage mir rechtenn ernst**, was du recht vor die wahrenn  
 Nemen wildt od[er] wildt sie selbern behaltenn. p (s 31r 21-22, 31v 1-2)

In this case, the Russian of s is ungrammatical, especially the combination of *dall* 'дал' and *vißedt* 'взять' in the first part of the phrase. In fact, it looks like a contamination of 'How much have you given for the wares?' and 'How much do you want to take for the wares, or do you want to keep it for yourself?' From a grammatical point of view, the German half of (215s) is slightly better. (215F) is notably better, and shows an unremarkable Russian phrase and a correct German equivalent.

Even though the Russian of (215s) looks like a contamination, it is unlikely that the scribe of s contaminated two phrases at this point. This is explained by the fact that we lack the source of the contaminations. Seeing that the phrase is part of a series of consecutive corresponding phrases between F and s, we would have expected the source of a contamination to show up in F as well. It is more logical to assume that the common source was corrupt at this point, which was recognised and repaired by the scribe of F for his manuscript. The scribe of s could not do so.

<sup>263</sup> The same may be assumed for *durffenn* 'be allowed to' (s 111r 15; instead of *trauern*) corresponding to *truren* 'fret' (F 472 6) for Russian *тужить* 'grieve for' in both manuscripts, as well as for *Ende* 'end' (s 32r 13; instead of *Ernte*) corresponding to *Arne* 'harvest' (F 225 12) for Russian *без отплады* (s) and *без отпруды: плоду* (F).

### 8.6.6 Reanalysis

In some cases, the comparison of F and s forces us to reanalyse the material. One example is (216F), which shows a less than perfect correspondence of Russian and German :

- (216F) Ia ne vedaiu tzei tot tovar bog vedi kupeitz vtogu  
 tovaru poschol **protz**.  
 Ich wedtt nicht wehme de wahre hordtt **godt**  
**wedtt wor de koepmahn van der wahre is**  
**he is wech gegahen.** (F 277 17-21)
- (TF II) Я не вѣдаю, чей тот товар; Бог вѣдѣ; купец у того  
 товару пошѣл **прочь**.  
 'I do not know to whom these goods belong; God knows, (where) the  
 merchant of these goods (is; he) has gone away.'

The translation of the phrases in F reads as follows:

- '[...] God knows, the merchant of these goods has gone away' (Russian)  
 '[...] God knows where the merchant of these goods is; he has gone away' (German)

If we now include (216S) into the analysis, it becomes clear what has probably caused this discrepancy:

- (216S) Ja ne wedaÿa teÿ tot towar boch wedaÿu **kudÿ** kupßÿ  
 na uthoga thowaru posszoll. *p*.  
 Ich weis nicht wem die wahre gehort, **gott weis es**  
**wo der kaufman von der ware gegangen ist.** *p* (S 4V 14-17)

The German phrases in s match their Russian counterparts as they should:

- 'God knows where the merchant of these goods has gone' (Russian)  
 'God knows (it,) where the merchant of these goods has gone' (German)

The phrases in F show all the signs of having being reworked from the original phrase, which is reflected in s. I assume that first the German was rephrased: the one subclause of the original was replaced by a subclause followed by a main clause, at the same time adding the element 'away'. Then the scribe tried to let the Russian reflect the same situation. He added *прочь* at the end, and then removed *куды*, but did not replace it by the required *здѣ*. This leads to the following suggested transliteration: 'Бог вѣдѣ, <гдѣ> купец у того товару; пошѣл прочь', which restores the link between German and Russian.

In (198), too, comparison of both manuscripts leads to a correction of the analysis proposed in TF II:

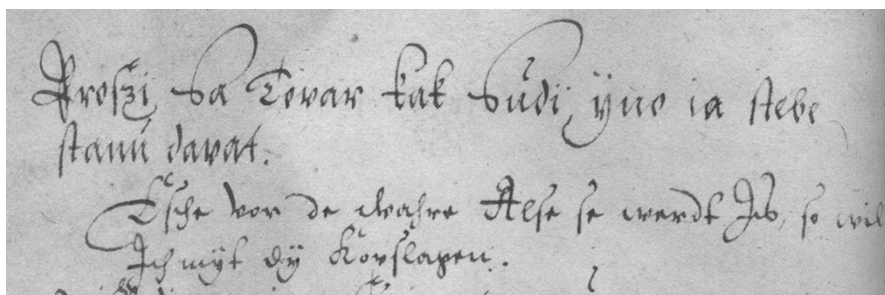
- (217F) Proszl sa tovar kak sudi, ÿno **ia stebe**  
 stanu davat.

Esche vor de wahre also se werdt is, so wil  
ich mÿt dÿ kopslagen.

(F 352 1-4)

(TF II) Прoси за товар как суди, ино **яз тебъ**  
стану давать.

‘Ask for the goods what they are worth, then I shall  
bargain with you’



(217s) Proßÿ ßa thowar kack sudÿ **Ja tebbe** sthonde dauath. p.

Ich will bittenn, du wollest vor deine ware was recht ist, foddern,

(s 36r 17-18)

For *ia stebe*, the editors of TF II propose the transliteration *яз тебъ*. This misspelling by the scribe of F would be unique for the manuscript. I assume that the source of F, like s, reflected *я тебъ*, and I also assume that this is not a simple case of wrong word division. The misspelling may have been prompted by the German equivalent of the phrase. If you look at the German phrase in s, we see that the final *я тебъ стану давать* from the Russian phrase remains unmatched in s. In F, on the other hand, it receives the translation *so wil ich mÿt dÿ kopslagen*. This, however, is not a literal translation of the Russian text; it is the regular equivalent of *ia stoboi torguiu* ‘я с тобой торгую’, encountered multiple times elsewhere in the text. As a result, the *s* in *stebe* may be interpreted as the result of the scribe’s confusion with this construction.

### 8.7 Conclusions

In §8.2 we have seen that Brigzna assumes that the German phrases are original and that the Russian phrases should be seen as translations. The interaction between German and Russian, as explored in this chapter, paints a richer picture.

Again, the many examples shown in this chapter lead to the conclusion that the scribe is not a copyist in the sense that he blindly copied the material. He is as much a copyist as he is a translator and interpreter of the data. He did not sit still when, in his eyes, there was something amiss with the source. This not only applies to the levels we have explored in previous chapters, but also to the level of the phrase as a whole, which could be called the discourse level.

More specifically, we see that the scribe of F was aware of the close relation between the two halves of the data. The parallel differences discussed in §8.3 show that he actively sought to maintain the relation between the German and

Russian part of each phrase. And the treatment of non-parallel differences in §8.4 shows that the link could even be strengthened or, if necessary, restored. This sometimes led to the adaptation of the Russian, sometimes to that of the German phrase. The motivating factors that prompted the scribe to not blindly copy the data included both the correction and elimination of errors as well as the harmonisation of both halves of the data (§8.5).

Incorporation of the effort of the scribe to maintain a detailed relation between the Russian and German of each phrase is useful and insightful in that it lends depth to the material; at times it is even necessary to fully appreciate the material.

So how should the influence of the scribe be evaluated? The data show that by and large, the influence of the scribe was positive. Many imperfections of the source were removed from the data. Yet it is inevitable that the innovations of a non-native scribe are less than perfect. New imperfections were introduced.

By comparing complete phrase pairs in  $F$  with their correspondences in  $s$ , these new imperfections can be traced and evaluated (§8.6). This provides information about the possible corruption of the source, and can in several cases lead to a different analysis of the data than has been proposed so far.

The comparison also puts the scribe's intention and his competences in a broader perspective. From a pragmatic point of view, it is clear that the scribe deemed it important not only that the endings were correct (although often-times they are not), but also that the phrasebook was a text which made sense. For the benefit of the intended non-native user, the data should be transparent. It should be suitable for communication, and useable in day-to-day circumstances.

## 9. CONCLUSIONS

In this study I have explored the language of *Tönnies Fonne's Low German Manual of Spoken Russian (Pskov 1607)*. My main aim, as stated at the end of the introduction, was to determine how the reputation of Fonne's phrasebook (F) as a priceless source of information holds up to the historical and philological depth of the text, given the fact that most of the material contained in the phrasebook is not original.

### 9.1 The manuscript

The first two chapters of this book addressed a number of preliminary issues in order to place the manuscript in its broader context. In chapter 1, I introduced the contents of the manuscript, discussed the codicological, historical, philological, and linguistic context of the manuscript, and gave a brief outline and evaluation of the linguistic research conducted on the basis of F so far.

The explicit aim of the phrasebook, as stated in the introduction of the manuscript, is to aid merchants in their attempts to acquire a sound knowledge of the language and customs of their Russian trading partners. It has already been known for a long time that the manuscript we are dealing with is not unique, but that it represents a specific genre, namely that of bilingual phrasebooks, and that, within this genre, F is part of a larger group of German-Russian phrasebooks that should be situated in circles of the Hanseatic League.

The manuscript dates back to the year 1607. This date is mentioned in the manuscript several times. The different watermarks of the paper comply with this date, as do the biographical data of the young merchant Tönnies Fonne (born in or around 1587), whose name occurs on page 1 of the manuscript.

Fonne's phrasebook is related to the phrasebook of Thomas Schroue (s) and the Anonymous *Ein Rusch Boeck...* (A). Comparing the three manuscripts on the basis of a concordance of corresponding entries revealed that at least 55% of the phrases in F is not original, which automatically raised the question on how the textual history of F affects the language of the manuscript, especially given the extensive scholarly use that has been made of the phrasebook as a source of information on the Old Pskov dialect.

In chapter 2, I discussed the phrasebook as the product of the work of a scribe. I arrived at the conclusion that it is the work of a single scribe, who was responsible for the rendering of both the Russian data (in two alphabets) and the German data. The scribe took pride in his work, as evidenced by the general appearance of the manuscript, its regularity, the meticulous application of corrections and emendations, and the elaborate introductory section.

### 9.2 The phrasebook and its sources

In chapters 3 and 4 the sources of the data stood at the centre of attention. The chapters focused especially on the following questions

- What did the source (or sources) of F look like?
- What are the differences between F and its source(s)?
- How can these differences be explained?

The first two questions were addressed by making use of the close relation between the three phrasebooks F, s and A (and especially between the two most closely related ones, F and s). Although earlier research had acknowledged their relation, the connection between the manuscripts had never been studied. This connection was explored in chapters 3 and 4.

Chapter 3 focused on the similarities of the phrasebooks. I discussed the language of the phrasebooks, their overall composition, the arrangement of introductory statements, long sequences of matching phrases, and pointed out a large number of close textual correspondences. This investigation led to the conclusion that the manuscripts of F and s are very closely related indeed, and actually may have used the same immediate source.

The scribe of s did not know Russian at all, which has led to considerable corruption of the data from a source that itself must have already been corrupted to a certain degree. But the scribe must have copied the Russian data from his source rather mechanically. When we abstract from surface-level corruption, s represents a faithful image of the language of the common source without any fundamental alterations.

Although caution is required, the assumption that the state of affairs in s is representative for that in the immediate source of F turned out to be a very fruitful point of departure for answering the remaining questions.

In chapter 4, I set out to investigate the differences rather than the similarities between the two manuscripts. Some of the structural differences between F and s were pointed out in Bolek 1997, but were neither quantified nor elaborated upon. The differences between F and his source, as reflected in s, are, in fact, twofold. They can be structural and pervasive, but also incidental and isolated. Such incidental differences range from simple copying errors to language-

conscious innovations. Comparison of *s* and *F* explains – sometimes in a straightforward, sometimes in a very delicate and complex way – why *F* looks the way it does. The differences between *F* and *s*, as introduced in chapter 4, have been brought up throughout the following chapters in order to illustrate specific phenomena.

Both on a broad, general level and on the level of the tiniest details, comparison of *s* and *F* lends depth to the data of *F*, in the sense that it sheds light on what we find in *F*. A pattern quickly emerged: it is very clear that in many cases, *F* is innovative. Time and again, emendations and corrections show, in combination with the general textual coherence, that the state of affairs in *s* must have been identical to that in the immediate source of *F*. This pattern is so strong that it can be extrapolated, which also answers the third question: where the two manuscripts differ, *F* has to be seen as an innovative source, even if there is no direct evidence that proves the innovative nature in a specific issue.

### 9.3 The scribe and his sources

The investigations of chapters 5 to 8 help to answer a number of questions. A natural question that comes up pertains to the issue of what the differences between *F* and *s* say about the scribe of *F*. The answer is clear: as far as language-conscious innovation in the Russian data is concerned, the scribe of *F* is to be held responsible for both incidental and structural differences between the two phrasebooks. The exploration of these differences provided a clear insight into the *modus operandi* of the scribe of *F*, a new method in the study of *F*.

The image of an innovative scribe fits the findings from chapters 2 and 3. There, we saw a scribe who had a keen eye for the outer appearance of the manuscript, its overall composition, and the arrangement of individual items and phrases, and who did not hesitate to take action when he thought it was beneficial to his goal of producing a good phrasebook. The exploration of the language of *F* showed that the resolute approach of the scribe extended to the contents of the phrasebook as a whole and to the language of individual entries: he was conscious of the language he was copying, and not afraid to change or alter sentences if he thought this was necessary.

The scribe was triggered into innovation when he found that simply copying his source was not an option. This judgement could concern a range of phenomena: word order, inflectional endings, spelling, choice of words, entire phrases, et cetera. The fact that almost every single phrase in *F* with a correspondence in *s*, reveals a number of linguistically conscious changes, illustrates that copying a phrase was a complex operation: for each phrase pair, it entailed an assessment of the content, the order of the words, their morphology, their spelling, and the relation between the Russian and the German halves of each phrase pair. Any of



these elements could be subject to some sort of action on the part of the scribe. We have seen that he could choose not to copy a phrase, or to copy it in an adapted form. In the latter case, the scribe could even draw other phrases into the equation that occur earlier or, in several cases, even later in the manuscript. Words could swap position, be replaced by a synonym or alternative, or both. Spelling variation was eliminated, based on etymology, word image, or alignment with previous (or, in several cases, following) mentions of the same word. Phonological, morphological and other properties of endings, words, or entire constructions were also critically examined: if they were deemed outdated or too local, they were updated or replaced by a less marked form.

It is safe to say that the scribe of F was aware of a wide range of phenomena in the Russian language, such as the traditional Cyrillic spelling of words, the consistent transliteration into the Latin alphabet, case endings, the semantics and use of verbal tense and aspect, differences between the written and the spoken form of the language, and local and less-local language use. The changes the scribe made reveal that he was not afraid, that he was convinced of his knowledge of Russian and confident in his judgement on whether or not to copy a specific feature unaltered. Of course, native Russian speakers may have helped the scribe during this process, either pointing out these features or providing him with other pieces of information. It is clear that the scribe was in control of his material. An example was the regularisation of an infrequent word like *schupai* (see §5.5.3). It is also clear that the scribe knew the contents of the various sections of his sources before he commenced, as is shown by various entries which anticipate entries that refer to material at a later point in the manuscript, such as *солнце пошло в тучу* in LEX, anticipating an entry in PHRAS (see §8.6.2).

Several phenomena show that the scribe sometimes hesitated when forced to choose between two (or more) options. One such phenomenon was the sound shift /e/ > /'o/. Especially in LEX and GRAM, and within these sections especially in Cyrillic, the scribe wavered between rendering a word in its traditional form (with *e*) and rendering its pronunciation with /'o/. Another example was the variation between *я* and *яз* that was introduced by the scribe, whilst at the same time variation was removed from another PRON.PERS.: the newer form DAT *тебѣ* was preferred over older *тобѣ*. These phenomena showed how the scribe struggled between his wish to act according to tradition (or: how it was supposed to be) and his desire to do justice to linguistic reality (or: how it actually was).

#### 9.4 The language of F

The linguistically conscious innovations by the scribe of F obviously influenced the language of the phrasebook. As a result, knowledge of these innovations in-

fluences the appraisal of the value of the material of *F* for linguistic research. I have shown that this can be explored by looking at the result of the scribe's innovations.

On the whole, it must be said that the material was well thought through. The changes have been applied consciously, often consistently, and often in line with linguistic developments that we know took place. As a result, *Fonne's* phrasebook is of an overall better quality than *Schrone's*. At the same time, it would be surprising if changes by a non-native scribe – possibly reflecting linguistic innovations in the local 17<sup>th</sup>-century Russian dialect – were flawless. And indeed, they were not. In other words: the scribe made mistakes in the interpretation and innovation of the material.

We saw that a number of factors contributed to these mistakes. The non-nativeness of the scribe, already mentioned, is one of those factors. A second factor amplified the first: the scribe was dealing with corrupt sources. He had to make linguistic sense of what he found in these sources and determine whether or not a given word, construction or phrase was right or not. Sometimes he succeeded, sometimes he did not. A third factor is, as we saw above, that copying a phrase was a complex operation, which took its toll on the attention of the scribe and the accuracy of his interventions. We saw that some of the changes were applied rather mechanically, leading to changes showing up in situations where they should not.

In its language, the phrasebook is not always consistent or, more precisely, it is not a monolithic whole. Some internal boundaries can be distinguished, which not necessarily coincide with the natural boundaries between the various sections of the manuscript. We saw a number of peculiar transitions which illustrate this concept: the sudden disappearance of the diacritic *~*, the transition from *-ogo* to *-ovo*, the choice for *v* over *w* as the representation of /v/ (and the subsequent large-scale removal of *w*), as well as choices in the domain of the lexicon. We may assume that the scribe used not one but several sources, but the internal boundaries could also be considered the result of the fact that the manuscript must have been written over a longer period of time, maybe with some intermittences. After a break, it took a while before the scribe felt at ease again with the complexity of the task at hand.

At this point, I repeat a quote from *Brigzina 1988*, given in §8.2:

“Zusammenfassend kann gesagt werden, daß die Abweichungen, von denen die Rede war, sehr verschiedenartig sind und sich schwer systematisieren lassen. Immerhin zeugen sie davon, daß der Autor des Gesprächsbuches imstande gewesen ist, mit seinen Kenntnissen der russischen Sprache geschickt und elastisch umzugehen, wenn auch nicht immer vollständig korrekt.” (*Brigzina 1988: 100*)

Although Brigzna based her conclusion on a very small investigation, we can confidently say that it also applies to the phrasebook as a whole, and in a much more structural way than she could have known when she wrote her article.

The findings of this study affect the appraisal of the manuscript as a reliable source of information on the Old Pskov dialect. The qualification of the phrasebook as a priceless source of information (Zaliznjak) and as the work of yet another compiler (Bolek) are not contradictory, but complement each other.

It is now clear that the data of F should not be taken at face value without a certain degree of caution. The phenomena explored in this study show that the material was thoroughly revised. As far as historical linguistics is concerned, researchers interested in eliminating all influence of the scribe of F, had better turn to s rather than to F. But comparing the two manuscripts, studying the differences, and, in doing so, exploring the textual depth of the material leads to a more complete image of the language of F, and introduces a new dimension in the status of F as a priceless source of information, making it even more priceless.

Most importantly, the principle that dictates that the material of F – like that of the birchbark documents – should be taken seriously, and that its linguistic validity should be assumed, should be supplemented by the principle that for any given word, expression, or phenomenon, the influence of an innovative, non-native-speaker scribe should be expected, both when it can be proven and when it cannot.

Variations in the lexicon, morphology, syntax and other domains of the language of the various phrasebooks has often been presented as facts rather than as developments. In this study we saw that many differences between F and s can in fact be ascribed to the scribe of F. Examples of such changes that were treated in the chapters of this study are the occurrence or non-occurrence of *-t* in 3SG and 3PL present-tense forms, the expression of future tense, the NOM.SG.M. in *-e*, the pluperfect, and the use of the conjunctions *до́бро* and *да́мь*.

The structural comparison of F and s not only allows us to determine the changes that were applied, but also allows the investigation of the motivation behind them, for conscious changes were applied for a reason. In fact, if one abstracts from incompetent non-native innovations, the exploration of these and other phenomena can provide new insights into developments that had taken or were still taking place in the language of early 17<sup>th</sup>-century Pskov, and into variation that existed in the immediate environment of the scribe at the time of compilation of the phrasebook.

### 9.5 The scribe

In chapter 1, I discussed the person whose name is connected with the phrasebook: Tönnies Fonne. He was introduced as a 19-year-old German who spent the winter of 1607-08 in Pskov, probably as a *sprakelerer*. We saw that what stuck in the minds of many researchers was the image of a young man as the author of the phrasebook. Tönnies Fonne gradually acquainted himself with the Russian language by compiling the phrasebook from earlier sources and making extensive use of Russian native-speaker informants. Once he found himself back in his hometown of Lübeck, he passed on the manual to a member of a befriended family.

The handwriting of the transfer formula of “ich, T.F.” (F 1 1) is in fact similar to that of the rest of the material. But what are the chances that the manuscript was in fact written by Tönnies Fonne?

The facts we know about the life of Tönnies Fonne portray him as a rather wild young man, who spent some time in Pskov and Narva and more than once managed to get himself into trouble before he returned to his hometown, probably for good (see §1.2.2).

The image of Fonne contrasts sharply with the image of the scribe that arises from the manuscript. The appearance of the manuscript shows that we are dealing with a meticulous scribe: it is very polished, very regular and betrays a keen eye for detail. Further study of the material shows that the keen eye extends to the contents. A good and detailed knowledge of Russian is obvious from the very beginning of the manuscript, as the many structural differences between F and S show. The emendations and corrections show that the phrases from the sources were adapted by the scribe ‘on the go’.

It is highly unlikely that Tönnies Fonne was the person who compiled the phrasebook.

Let us turn back to the introductory section of F, its appearance and its contents. Someone who compiles a phrasebook for their own use, is hardly likely to include the rich illustrations and rhymes that make up a large part of INTRO. More importantly, this also applies to the *Liber ad lectorem*, which advises the reader about matters of spelling and pronunciation of letters and sounds (see §2.3). If you compile a phrasebook for yourself, you do not need this.

The phrasebook is much more likely to have been compiled *for* Tönnies Fonne rather than *by* him. The person who actually compiled it, maybe for a considerable sum of money, used existing sources to deliver a polished, well thought through, custom-made and up-to-date phrasebook. Updating both the contents and language of the phrasebook meant staying faithful to the practical and pragmatic aim of the genre of phrasebooks: elements, whatever their form, which were no longer considered up to date, were removed or changed.

If Tönnies Fonne can no longer be considered as the scribe of the manuscript, then who was the scribe, and what was his background? The scribe of the manuscript must have been a German with a sound knowledge of Russian. His knowledge of Russian is shown by the many innovations, his non-nativeness by the many quirks and mistakes he made. Based on the variety of Low German used and the occurrence of some Estonian loans, Hammerich supposed that the scribe grew up in a predominantly German town in the Baltics, such as Reval (Tallinn) or Dorpat (Tartu) (1967: 264). This may very well be possible, although it is unlikely that the scribe was a merchant himself, as Hammerich supposed. The compiler of Fonne's phrasebook may in fact have been a professional scribe, who at any rate was located in the circle of Germans that lived and worked in Pskov for a longer period of time.

### **9.6 Innovation in tradition**

Tönnies Fonne's phrasebook was not mechanically copied from a ready prototype. Older sources were updated especially for this manuscript, but despite the tremendous effort it must have taken to update the language of the sources, the aim of the phrasebook does not seem to have been to serve as a prototype for a new generation of phrasebooks. The phrasebook was explicitly dedicated to Tönnies Fonne, who ordered and owned it, and passed it on to a member of the Wistinghusen family in 1609. How the manuscript ended up in Count Otto Thott's collection is unclear, but the good state of the manuscript and the fact that it has been preserved in the first place, suggests that it has not been used as a practical language guide on the market square, or at least not much.

In phrasebook research, the migratory character of the material is often noted and acknowledged, but seldom explained. The question of exactly how the data found their way from one phrasebook to another is often necessarily left hanging in the air. The study of *F* and *s* reveals the scribe of *F* as the agent of change. The scribe's attitude of innovation and improvement, as an integral part of the tradition and the genre to which the phrasebook belongs, is perhaps more tangible in Fonne's phrasebook than in any other comparable phrasebook known today.

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## APPENDIX A. TABLES OF CONTENTS (F, S, A)

This appendix provides detailed tables of contents of Fonne's phrasebook (F), Schroue's phrasebook (S), and the Anonymous *Ein Rusch Boeck...* (A). The tables of contents follow the division made in §3.3.

The description of F is partly based on TF I: 11-16. The explanations for S are based on Fałowski and Witkowski 1992: 15-18. The English explanations for A are not literal translations of the original Low German headings and phrases, but follow the High German explanations of Fałowski 1994: 12-14.

### 1. Fonne's phrasebook (F)

#### I. Introductory part (INTRO) (flyleaf, 1-4, 7-8, 13-14, 21-24; 12 pp.)

flyleaf	<i>recto</i> : dedication, <i>verso</i> : blank
1	"Tonnie F[o]nne gehordt düt boek"
1-3	Latin verse
4	emblematic title page (High German)
5-6	<i>missing</i>
7-8	emblematic title pages (High German)
9-12	<i>missing</i>
13-14	rhymed introduction (Low German)
15-20	<i>missing</i>
21	<i>blank</i>
22	introduction (Russian in Cyrillic and Latin transcription, Low German)
23	explanation on transcription and pronunciation (Low German)
24	Our Father (Church Slavonic in Cyrillic)
25-30	<i>missing</i>

#### II. Lexical part (LEX) (31-130; 100 pp.)

Three columns:

Cyrillic – Latin transcription – Low German equivalent

##### 1. Vocabulary: general (LEX-GEN)

31-32	<i>Van den veer elementenn</i> 'Of the four elements'
32-34	<i>Van winde vnd der mane</i> 'Of winds and the moon'

35	<i>Namen der mahnte vnd dage</i> 'Names of the months and days'
36	<i>Van den veer tiden desz iahres</i> 'Of the four seasons of the year'
37	<i>Van geistlichen standt vnd regimentt</i> 'Of spiritual rank and order'
38-39	<i>Van weltlichen stande vnd regimentt</i> 'Of secular rank and order'
40-42	<i>Van frundtschop vnd thobehoringe</i> 'Of kinship and family ties'
42-43	<i>Van personen vnd gestaltt der lude</i> 'Of persons and the physical appearance of people'
44-45	<i>Van geschikeden luden guder artt</i> 'Of pleasant people of good character'
46	<i>Van vngeschickten luden bozer artt</i> 'Of unpleasant people of evil character'
47-48	<i>Van menschen namen</i> 'Of personal names'
49-50	<i>Van lendern vnd steden</i> 'Of countries and cities'
51	<i>Van nationen der lude</i> 'Of the nationalities of people'
51-54	<i>Van allerley handttwerkenn</i> 'Of all kinds of crafts'
55-56	<i>Van kriege vnd orlichs geschefftenn</i> 'Of war and military affairs'
57	<i>Van allerley spellwark</i> 'Of all kinds of instruments'
58-59	<i>Von mahten vndtt wichtenn</i> 'Of measures and weights'
59	<i>Bredtt vndtt lank</i> 'Broad and long'
60	<i>Van der erdenn</i> 'Of the earth'
60-61	<i>Van waterenn</i> 'Of waters'
61-63	<i>Van buschen vnd holte</i> 'Of brush and wood'
64-65	<i>Van fruchten der erdenn</i> 'Of the fruits of the earth'
66-67	<i>Van allerley awette</i> 'Of all kinds of fruits'
67-69	<i>Von allerley vögelln wiltt vnd tam</i> 'Of all kinds of birds, wild and tame'
70	<i>Van allerley gewormte</i> 'Of all kinds of creeping things'
71-73	<i>Van fischen vnd ehrer artt</i> 'Of fish and their like'
73-74	<i>Van wilden dertenn</i> 'Of wild beasts'
75-76	<i>Van tamen dertenn</i> 'Of tame beasts'
76-78	<i>Van perdenn</i> 'Of horses'
78-80	<i>Van rustingen thon perden</i> 'Of equipment for horses'
81-82	<i>Vonn allerley vitallie</i> 'Of all kinds of victuals'
82-83	<i>Van allerley flesch</i> 'Of all kinds of meat'
84-85	<i>Van allerley gedrenke</i> 'Of all kinds of drink'
85-89	<i>Van menschen ledttmaten</i> 'Of people's limbs'
90-92	<i>Van bekleedinge</i> 'Of clothing'
93-94	<i>Van schriffwahrenn</i> 'Of writing materials'
94-101	<i>Van huszgerade</i> 'Of household things'
102	<i>Vann fuer</i> 'Of fire'
103-105	<i>Van handttwerkes reschop</i> 'Of working equipment'
106-107	<i>Van schepenn</i> 'Of ships'

**2. Vocabulary: trading (LEX-TRADE)**

108-110	<i>Van allerley pelterienn</i> ‘Of all kinds of skins’
111-112	<i>Van allerley ledder vnd huden</i> ‘Of all kinds of leather and hides’
113-115	<i>Van allerley dutscher wahr</i> ‘Of all kinds of German wares’
115-116	<i>Van solte vnd heringe</i> ‘Of salt and herrings’
116-117	<i>Van wasze vnd tallige</i> ‘Of wax and tallow’
117-118	<i>Van flasze vnd hemp</i> ‘Of flax and hemp’
118	<i>Van edelgesteinen</i> ‘Of precious stones’
119-120	<i>Van goldtt vnd suluer</i> ‘Of gold and silver’
120-121	<i>Van der ruschen muntte</i> ‘Of Russian coin’
121-124	<i>Van krudern vnd gewurtze</i> ‘Of herbs and spices’
125-126	<i>Van sidengewande</i> ‘Of silken cloth’
126	<i>Van linen wande</i> ‘Of linen cloth’
127-128	<i>Van allerley farue</i> ‘Of all kinds of colours’
129-130	<i>Van allerley lakenn</i> ‘Of all kinds of cloth’

**III. Grammatical part<sup>264</sup> (GRAM) (131-142, 145-172, 175-184; 49 pp.)**

Typically three columns:

Cyrillic – Latin transcription – Low German equivalent

131-132	derivational suffixes of substantives and adjectives
132	number
133-138	list of adjectives in positive and comparative degree
139-142	modal words and expressions
143-144	<i>missing</i>
145-148	conjugation
149-155	pronouns and their prepositional constructions
156	prepositions
157-159	adverbs
159	conjunctions
160	<i>blank</i>
161-172	list of verbs, single and prefixed
173-174	<i>missing</i>
175-184	list of verbs, single and prefixed
185-186	<i>missing</i>

<sup>264</sup> I shall stick to the term ‘grammatical’, introduced in TF I, although it would be more appropriate to speak of ‘word derivation and word classes’.



**iv. Phraseology (PHRAS)** (187-270, 273-446, 451-464; 273 pp.)

One column:

Russian phrase in Latin transcription, followed by Low German equivalent (indented)

**1. Phraseology: general (PHRAS-GEN)**

187-188	introduction (Russian in Cyrillic and Latin transcription, Low German)
189-261	domestic and social phrases
262-263	phrases on slightly different topics
	N.B. 262-269 in a different hand and in High German rather than Low German
264-269	titles and samples of diplomatic correspondence
270	<i>blank</i>
271-272	<i>missing</i>

**2. Phraseology: trading (PHRAS-TRADE)**

273	introduction
274-445	general commercial phrases
446	<i>blank</i>
447-450	<i>missing</i>
451-460	phrases on cloth trade
461	<i>blank</i>
462-464	phrases on trade in squirrel pelts
465-468	<i>missing</i>

**v. Proverbs, riddles and sayings (PROVERB)** (469-482, 485-494; 24 pp.)

One column:

Russian text in Latin transcription, followed by Low German equivalent.

The Russian phrases and their Low German equivalents on pp. 488-489 and of the first phrase on p. 492 are in Cyrillic.

**1. Miscellaneous proverbs (PROVERB-MISC)**

469-482	various proverbs
483-484	<i>missing</i>

**2. Indecent proverbs, riddles, swear words, bywords and turns of speech (PROVERB-INDECENT)**

485-494	indecent proverbs, riddles, swear words, bywords and turns of speech
495-496	<i>missing</i>

**VI. Religious texts (RELI)** (497-502, 507-510; 10 pp.)

497-502	story of the Fall (Russian text in Latin transcription with a Low German translation)
503-506	<i>missing</i>
507-509	Credo (Russian text in Cyrillic alphabet)
509-510	Prayer of the Virgin (Lk 1: 46-55; Russian text in Cyrillic alphabet)
511-526	<i>missing</i>

**VII. Polish texts (POLISH)** (527-538; 12 pp.)

527	Credo
528-530	prayers
530	Easter Carol with Low German translation
531-538	epistolary samples with Low German translation
539-544	<i>missing</i>

**VIII. Numbers and letters (NUM-LET)** (545-554, 557-566; 19 pp.)

545-554	numerals (Cyrillic words, Latin transcription, Arabic numerals)
555-556	<i>missing</i>
557-559	numbers (Cyrillic and Arabic figures)
560	<i>blank</i>
561-564	graphic samples of all Russian letters
565-566	names of these letters in Cyrillic spelling (565) and Latin transcription (566)

**2. Schroue's phrasebook (s)****I. Introductory part (INTRO)** (1r-2v; 3 pp.)

1r	<i>German rhymed verses</i>
1v	<i>blank</i>
2rv	<i>German rhymed verses</i>

**II. Phraseological part I (PHRAS I)** (3r-64v; 124 pp.)

3r-64v	<i>Phrases on trade</i>
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**III. Religious texts (RELI)** (65r-67v; 6 pp.)

65r-67v	<i>Religious texts (prayers, fragments of Biblical texts: Adam and Eve, Deluge)</i>
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**IV. Lexical part I (LEX I)** (68r-88r; 41 pp.)

68r	<i>Vonn gott vnd Himlischenn Dinngen</i> 'Of God and heavenly things'
69r	<i>Vonn Zeitenn Des Jahrs</i> 'Of the seasons of the year'
70v	<i>Vonn dem Geistlichenn Stanndt</i> 'Of spiritual rank'

71v	<i>Vom weltlichem Stande</i> ‘Of secular rank’
72r	<i>Vonn freunnd vnnd Gesiebschafften</i> ‘Of friendships and kinship’
73r	<i>Vonn Mannes Persohnenn</i> ‘Of men’
74v	<i>Vonn Handwerckenn</i> ‘Of crafts’
75r	<i>Vonn Sthedtenn</i> ‘Of cities’
75v	<i>Vom Stedten Vnndt Landschaftten</i> ‘Of cities and landscapes’
75v	<i>Vom Gewichte</i> ‘Of weights’
76r	<i>Vonn gewichte Maß vnnd Ellenn</i> ‘Of units of weights and ells’
76r	<i>Vonn fischenn</i> ‘Of fish’
76v	<i>Vonn Vogellnn</i> ‘Of birds’
77r	<i>Vonn Holtz</i> ‘Of wood’
77v	<i>Vonn Kornn</i> ‘Of grain’
77v	<i>Vonn Viehe</i> ‘Of cattle’
78r	<i>Vonn pferdenn</i> ‘Of horses’
78v	<i>Vonn Wildwergk od(er) Wildwahren</i> ‘Of wild game’
79r	<i>Vonn Výtalyenn</i> ‘Of victuals’
80r	<i>Vom getrencke</i> ‘Of drinks’
80v	<i>Vonn der Sehe vnndt Schieffenn</i> ‘Of the sea and ships’
81r	<i>Vonn Hausgeradt vnd Derselben Zubehorunng</i> ‘Of household things and their accessories’
82v	<i>Vonn Haushaltung vnd Derselben Zubehorung</i> ‘Of housekeeping and its accessories’
82v	<i>Vonn Eýserwergk</i> ‘Of ironwork’
83v	<i>Vonn Nehewergk</i> ‘Of sewing work’
83v	<i>Vonn Dreschenn</i> ‘Of threshing’
84r	<i>Vonn Schreybwergk</i> ‘Of writing work’
84r	<i>Vonn Menschlichenn gliedtmassenn</i> ‘Of people’s limbs’
85v	<i>Vonn Mannes Namen</i> ‘Of personal names’
86r	<i>Vonn Betten Vnnd Ihrer Zubehorunge</i> ‘Of beds and their accessories’
86v	<i>Vonn Kleýdunng</i> ‘Of clothing’
87v	<i>Vonn Rustungenn zu Pferdenn</i> ‘Of equipment for horses’
87v	<i>Vonn Kriege Vnd Seiner Zubehorunng</i> ‘Of war and its accessories’
88r	<i>Vonn Tantzen Singenn Vnnd Springen</i> ‘Of dances, singing and jumping’

**v. Grammatical part (GRAM) (88v-94v; 15 pp.)**

88v	<i>Vonn kleinenn worten als Alhier Nacheinander volgen Ja Jas Jaell Is Ick</i> ‘Of small words as follow’
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**vi. Lexical part II (LEX II) (95r-98v; 8 pp.)**

95r	<i>Vonn Rauch Wahr als Hiernach Volggt</i> ‘Of tobaccos as follow’
95v	<i>Vonn allerley wahren als hernach vollgtt</i> ‘Of all kinds of wares as follow’

96r	<i>Vonn Allerley Kreude</i> ‘Of all kinds of herbs’
97r	<i>Vonn Edlenn gesteinenn</i> ‘Of precious stones’
97r	<i>Vonn golde vnndt goltwerck</i> ‘Of gold and goldwork’
97v	<i>Vonn der Russischenn Muntze</i> ‘Of Russian coin’
98r	<i>Vonn Sejdenn gewandt</i> ‘Of silken cloth’
98v	<i>Vonn allerley farben</i> ‘Of all kinds of colours’
99r	<i>Vonn Allerley Lackenn</i> ‘Of all kinds of cloth’

## VII. Phraseological part II (PHRAS II) (99r-113r; 29 pp.)

99r-107v	<i>Phrases: complimentary phrases, dialogues on everyday subjects</i>
108r-113r	<i>Phrases on trade</i>

## 3. The Anonymous *Ein Rusch Boeck...* (A)

### I. Introductory part (INTRO) (1r-4v; 8 pp.)

1r-4v	<i>German rhymed verses, ending with religious/ethical pleas</i>
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### II. Religious texts (RELI) (5rv; 2 pp.)

5rv	<i>Biblical texts (about the Deluge, among other things)</i>
6rv	<i>blank</i>

### III. Phraseological part I (PHRAS I) (7r-8v; 4 pp.)

One column:

Russian phrase in Latin transcription, followed by Low German equivalent on next line<sup>265</sup>

7rv	<i>Conversations about various topics</i>
8rv	<i>Conversations about trade</i>

### IV. Lexical part I (LEX I) (9r-36v; 56 pp.)

Typically two columns:

Russian entry in Latin script – Low German equivalent<sup>266</sup>

9rv	<i>Van Gott vnnd hemmelschen dingen</i> ‘Of God and heavenly things’
10r	<i>Van Geüstlüchenn wesenn</i> ‘Of spiritual creatures’
10v	<i>Van weldttlücker Oberügkheütt</i> ‘Of representatives of secular power’

<sup>265</sup> The other phraseological sections of A have the same general layout as PHRAS I.

<sup>266</sup> The other lexical sections of A have the same general layout as LEX I. Occasionally, minor deviations can be found; especially in the form of four columns, where the pattern is repeated.

11r-12r	<i>Van tüden des Jars vnnd dagen werme Auch tunden</i> ‘Of seasons, times of day, units of time, and the weather’
12v	<i>Van Allerlei Watter</i> ‘Of all kinds of water’
13r	Again of astronomical and meteorological phenomena
13r	<i>De quatuor. Elementis</i>
13v	<i>De 12 Mensibus. De quatuor Tempora auuii</i>
14r-15v	Physical and mental properties of man
16rv	<i>Van münschen dat gantze lüff vnd sin wesen</i> ‘Of the human body and its parts’
17rv	<i>Van Krüges Lüdenn</i> ‘Of people and military gear’
18rv	Continuation: physical and mental properties
19r-20r	<i>Hüer wül Ick schriuen van Vader vnnd moder Süster vnd Broder vnd Fründtschap</i> ‘Of kinship’
20v-21r	<i>Women sück schal vnder Eünander Erbeiden</i> ‘Politeness phrases, getting acquainted’
21v	<i>Van Allerlei Namen Der münschen</i> ‘26 men’s names’
22rv	<i>Van Allerlei Ampten vnd meisters</i> ‘Of professions’
23r-24r	<i>Van schriuers vnnd Brüeffen</i> ‘Of scribes, scripts, and the chancellery’
24v	<i>Van Bückeren</i> ‘Of books’
25r	<i>Van Kleidungen</i> ‘Of clothing’
25v-26r	<i>Van Steden vnd slotten Lande vnde dorpen</i> ‘16 country names, 21 city names’
26v-27v	<i>Van Eten vnd drüncken vnd bedarff Hefftt to Der nott</i> ‘Of food, beverages and preparing meals’
28r-30v	<i>Vann Hus vnnd Hus Haltung</i> ‘On the house, housekeeping, tools and appliances’
31r	<i>Van Allerlei Holtt vnd büschkenn vnnd Anderen bemen</i> ‘Of trees, shrubs and wood products’
31v-32v	<i>Van wülden türen vnd Anderen Viehe vnd perdenn</i> ‘Of wild and domestic animals’
33r	Of horses and horse-gear
33v	<i>Van varwen der pferde</i> ‘Of equine coat colours’
34r	<i>Van Allerlei füsckcken Im watter</i> ‘Of fish’
34v-35r	<i>Van Allerlei voegel vnder Hemmel</i> ‘Of birds’
35v-36r	<i>Van Goldtt. sülber. Eüsern. Koper</i> ‘Of gold, silver, iron, and copper’
36v	<i>Van Gelde Vnderschede</i> ‘Of monetary differences’

#### v. Numbers (NUM) (37rv; 2 pp.)

Two times two columns, each pair consisting of:

Russian numeral in words – Arabic number

37rv	<i>De Ruschcke tall. tzüslo</i> ‘Numbers and numerals’
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**vi. Lexical part II (LEX II) (38r-39v; 4 pp.)**

38r	<i>Van Allerlei Erdt Beren vnnd Abest</i> 'Of berries, fruit, and vegetables'
38v	<i>Schterbens Leüfften vnnd Kranckheiten</i> 'Of diseases'
39r	<i>Van Schepenn</i> 'Of ships'
39v	<i>Van Edel Gesteünen</i> 'Of precious stones'

**vii. Grammatical part (GRAM) (40r; 1 p.)**

(40r) Two times two columns, each pair consisting of:

Russian entry in Latin script – Low German equivalent

(40v) Lines with alternating Russian and German correspondences (multiple entries per line)

40r-40v	<i>Van Kleinen Vockabulen: Als. Ick/ du/ He/ wi/ gi/ se/ vnnd wo man Allerlei Nenen schal</i> 'Pronouns, prepositions, adverbs'
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**viii. Phraseological part II (PHRAS II) (40v-46v; 13 pp.)**

41r-42v	Various turns of speech, verbs, adverbs
43r	Conversation about a journey
43v	Flirting; conversation about Germans and Russians
44r	Conversation about masters
44v-46r	<i>Von Rossüschemn Rechten</i> 'Of Russian law'
46v	3 aphorisms

**ix. Lexical part III (LEX III) (47r-53r; 11 pp.)**

47r	<i>Van Allerley wüine vnd Bier</i> 'Of all kinds of wine and beer'
47v-48r	<i>Van Edelen Kreütereren</i> 'Of noble herbs, spices, sweets'
48v-49r	<i>Van Seiüden Gezeüg</i> 'Of textiles'
49v-50r	<i>Van wandtt lacken</i> 'Of cloth'
50v	<i>blank</i>
51r	<i>Van Allerleie verwenn</i> 'Of colours'
51v	<i>blank</i>
52r-53r	<i>Van motten vnnde Lasten vnd gewüchtenn vnnd Allerlei kaufmanes war</i> 'Of measures and weights, and all kinds of wares'
53v	<i>blank</i>

**x. Phraseological part III (PHRAS III) (54r-94v; 82 pp.)**

54r-58v	<i>Conversations about various topics</i>
59r-94v	<i>Hiernach vollget wo man mit den Rossenn schall kopschlagenn</i> 'Conversations about trading'



## APPENDIX B. CONCORDANCE (F, S, A)

The matching phrases and entries presented in this study are based on a concordance of corresponding entries of Fonne's phrasebook (F), Schroue's phrasebook (S), and the Anonymous *Ein Rusch Boeck...* (A). This appendix reproduces this concordance, which was originally published as an appendix to Hendriks and Schaecken 2008b. A handful of new correspondences were added sinds 2008, marked by asterisks (\*).

The concordance focuses on the phraseological section in F (PHRAS). Most importantly, it does not include the many obvious parallel sequences in LEX. The three entries from the lexical section (LEX) mentioned in the table, are merely included because they atypically match entries in a phraseological section in S. Although exclusive correspondences between S and A were not systematically investigated, it feels safe to conclude that there are only few cases in which similar phrases in S and A are not shared by F.<sup>267</sup>

References to F are based upon the electronic text edition (Hendriks and Schaecken 2008a), references to S and A on the respective editions of these manuscripts. Page numbers in italics indicate a rough or partial textual correspondence between the manuscripts. To some extent the distinction made between exact and rough correspondences can only be arbitrary.

F	S	A	F	S	A
				<i>99r 8-12 /</i>	
<b>LEX (F 31-130)</b>				* <i>99r 22-23 /</i>	
				* <i>99v 3</i>	
* 79 17	<i>102r 17</i>		189 9-11 (191	<i>3r 19-20 /</i>	<i>59r 6-7+8</i>
* 79 18	<i>102r 18</i>		3-8, 274 1-5)	<i>99v 13 / 99v</i>	
* 80 18-19	<i>103v 17</i>			<i>20-21 / 100r 1</i>	
			189 12-14	<i>99v 15-16</i>	<i>20v 17</i>
<b>PHRAS-GEN (F 187-272)</b>			189 15-16	<i>99v 22</i>	<i>20v 11</i>
			189 19-20		<i>20v 13</i>
187-188	<i>66r 12-15 /</i>		190 1	<i>65r 13 /</i>	

<sup>267</sup> Examples are S 4r 17-20 ~ A 60r 3-5; 15r 21-24 ~ 80r 4-7; 16v 15-16 / 31r 8-9 ~ 72r 7-8; 33r 6-7 ~ 77r 7-8; 41r 1-2 ~ 85r 7-8; 63r 20-24 ~ 85v 16+17+18; 106v 1-2 ~ 54v 5; 106v 9 ~ 54v 11.



F	S	A	F	S	A
	99v 18		203 4-5	101v 5-6	
190 2	99r 19	20v 7 / 59r 3	203 6-7	101v 9-10	77r 7-8
190 4	99v 19	27r 13-14	203 8	101v 8	
190 7		20v 8	203 9	103v 3-4	
190 9	100r 15		203 10-11	101v 14-15	
190 10	100r 14		203 12	101v 17	
190 12	99v 7		203 13-15	101v 18-102r	
190 13	99r 13	20v 2 / 59r 4		2	
190 14		20v 4	203 16-17	102r 5-6	
190 15	99r 15	20v 5	203 18	102r 7	
190 16	99r 16	20v 6	203 19-20	64r 1-2 /	
190 17	99r 14			102r 8-9	
190 18	99r 17		204 1-2	102r 19	33r 16-19
190 19	99r 18		204 3-4	102r 20+21-	
191 1-2	65r 22-23			22 / 102v 6	
191 3-8 (189	3r 19-20 /	59r 6-7	204 5-6	102v 1-2	56v 6-7
9-11, 274 1-5)	99v 13 /		204 7	57r 23 /	
	99v 20-21			102v 5	
192 5-7	101v 12-13		204 8-11	102v 7-9	
193 4-5	52v 19-20		204 12	102v 13	
194 1		58v 11	204 13	102v 14-15	
195 21-22		27r 20-	204 14-15	102v 20	
		21+16-17	204 16-17	103r 1	
196 1-2		27r 22-23	204 18	103r 2	
196 18-19	* 99v 10	56r 8	204 19	103r 4	
197 1-9	104v 9-10		204 20	103r 5	
198 10	102v 10	56v 8	205 1	103r 6	
201 3-6	100r 20-22		205 2	103r 7	
201 7-8	100r 23-24	91v 9-10	205 5	103r 10	58r 7
201 9-10	100v 1-2	90r 9	205 6-7	103r 8-9	
201 11-12	100v 3-5		205 8	103r 13	57v 10-11
201 13-14	100v 10-11		205 9	103r 14	57v 12
201 15-16	100v 12-13		205 11	57r 22 /	
201 17-18	101r 6-7			103r 18	
201 19-20	101r 8-9		205 12	103r 15	58r 4
201 21	101r 10		205 13	103r 19-20	
201 22	101v 1		205 14-15	103v 18-19	
202 1-3	101r 11-12		205 16-17	103v 11-12	
202 6-8	101r 13-14		206 1-2	104r 6-7	86v 2-3
202 11-12	101r 15-16		206 7	108r 1	
202 13	101r 17		206 13-14	104r 8	
202 14-15	101r 18		206 15-16	104r 3	
202 16-17	101r 19-20		206 19	104r 1-2	
202 18-20	101r 21		206 22	103v 9-10	
202 21-22	101r 22-23		207 6	104r 4-5	
203 1-2	101v 2-3		207 7	103v 5	
203 3	101v 4		207 8	103v 6-7	

F	S	A	F	S	A
207 9	104r 9		211 7	107V 9-10	
207 10	104r 10-11	76V 3	211 8	107V 11	
207 11-12	104r 12-13		211 9	107V 15	
207 13-14	104r 14-15		211 10-11	107V 16-17	
207 15	104r 17		211 12-13	108r 6-7	
207 16	104V 2		211 14	108r 16	
207 19-20	104V 11-12		211 15	65V 9-10 /	
207 21-22	104V 14-15			108r 8	
208 1-2	104V 18-19		211 16-17	108r 11-12	
208 3-4	103V 1-2		211 18	108r 13	
208 5-6	105r 5-6		212 1-2		86V 11-12
208 7-8	107r 9		213 19-20	67V 12-14	
208 9-10	105r 1-3		214 17-18	113r 1-4	
(* 234 18-21)			(472 8-11)		
208 11-12	105r 7-9		214 21		84V 11-12
208 13-15	105r 12-14		215 5		76V 8-9
208 16-20	105r 15-19		215 17-18		57V 21-22
208 21	105r 20-21		216 10-11	14V 1-3	
209 1	105r 4		216 16-18	27V 7-8 /	
209 3-4	105V 4-7			100r 11	
209 5-6	105V 4-7		217 15-17	5r 7-8	84V 5-6
209 8	48V 12-13 /		(277 10-13)		
	105V 8		219 4-7	27r 19-21	56r 1
209 9	105V 9		(332 1-4)		
209 10-11	105V 10-11		219 11-12	52V 3-4	
209 12-13	106r 4-5		(390 21-23)		
209 15-16	106r 1-2		220 8	34r 1	
209 17	106r 3		223 1-4	4V 26-5r 2	
209 18-19	106r 6-7		223 5-9	5V 24-6r 2	
209 20-22	105V 17-19		223 10-13	9r 9-12	
210 1		54r 6	223 14-16	10r 22-25	
210 2-3	106r 14-15	54V 1	223 17-21	23r 20-23V 3	
210 4-5	106r 16-17	54V 2	223 22-24	27r 3-6	
-	106V 1-2	54V 5	224 1-5	26V 18-22	
210 6-8	106V 3-4	54V 6-7	224 6-8	27V 1-2	
210 9-10	106V 7-8		224 9-12	27V 13-16	
-	106V 9	54V 11	224 13-16	28r 14-17	
210 11-12	107r 1-2 /	83V 9 / 87r 9	224 17-20	28r 18-21	40V 20-21
	107r 3-4		224 21-22	28V 16-17	
210 13-14	107r 5-6	55r 1	225 1-4	28V 3-5	
210 17-18	107r 7-8		225 5-8	31V 5-8	
210 19-20	107V 5-6		225 11-12	32r 13-14	
210 21-22	107r 10-11		225 13-17	34V 20-22	
211 1-2	107r 14-15		(348 16-20)		
211 3-4	107r 16-17 /		225 18-19	35r 1-2	
	107V 3-4		225 20-21	35r 3-4	
211 5-6	107V 7-8		226 1-4	35V 15-16	



F	S	A	F	S	A
277 1-4	4r 21-24	60r 6-9 / 62r 11-14	286 1-7 (312 1-8)	7v 11-16 / 19r 26-19v 4	82r 11-13
277 10-13 (217 15-17)	5r 7-8	84v 5-6	286 8-14	7v 20-25	84r 4-5
277 14	4v 10-11		286 15-20	8r 5-9	64r 3-4+5
277 15-16	4v 12-13		286 21-23	10v 5-8	
277 17-21	4v 14-17		287 1-5	8r 10-13	
278 3-6	4v 18-21		287 6-9	8r 14-17	
278 7-10	4v 22-25		287 10-17	8r 18-23	
278 11-14	5r 3-6		287 18-22	9r 5-8	
278 15-18	5r 9-12	63r 10-11 / 93r 1-3	288 1-7	8v 1-7	
			288 8-11	8v 8-11	
278 19-22	5r 17-20		288 12-15	8v 17-18	
278 23-24		75r 18-19	288 16-20	9r 13-16 /	
279 1-4	5r 21-24	71r 1-2	(417 4-7)	109r 11-14	
279 5-8	5v 1-2		288 21-23		83v 8
279 9-12	5v 3-6		289 1-5	9r 17-21	
279 15-18	5v 7-10		289 6-14	9v 3-10	
279 19-23	5v 11-18		289 15-18	9r 24-9v 2	
280 1-5	5v 11-18		289 19-22	10r 4-6 +	
280 6-10	5v 19-23			26v 14-15	
280 11-15	6r 3-10		290 1-2	9r 22-23	
280 16-20	6r 3-10		290 3-8	9v 20-25	
280 21-23	6r 11-13		290 9-11	9v 26-10r 3	
281 1-5	6r 14-23		290 12-15	10r 7-10	
281 6-10	6r 14-23		290 16-20	10r 11-14	
281 11-15		75r 16-17 + 75v 1-2	291 1-4	8r 24-27	
			291 5-10	10r 15-21	
281 16-17	18v 25-26		291 11-16	10r 26-10v 4	65v 7-8
281 18-21		74v 5-8	291 17-20	10v 9-12	
282 1-3	6r 24-26		291 21-22	10v 13-14	
282 6-9	6v 1-4		292 5-8	10v 15-18	
282 10-14	6v 5-8		292 9-13	10v 19-22	
283 1-11	6v 9-18		292 14-18	10v 23-11r 3	
283 14-20	7r 3-8	63r 16-17	292 19-23	11r 4-7	86v 1
284 1-6	6v 23-7r 2		293 1-4	11r 14-20 /	79r 8-9
284 7-11	6v 19-22		(316 15-22)	20v 25-21r 6	
284 12-14	7r 9-11		293 5-6		63v 15-16
284 15-18	7r 12-15		293 20-22	11r 21-23	
284 19-25	7r 16-21		294 9-10		75r 14-15 / 93r 4-5
285 1-5	7r 22-25				
285 6-10	7v 1-4		294 11-18	11r 24-11v 3	
285 11-12	7v 5-6		294 19-22	11v 4-7	89v 16-17
285 13-14 (322 13-14)	7v 7-10	82r 2	295 1-5	11v 12-16	67r 8-9
285 15-17	7v 7-10		295 6-11	11v 17-21	62r 16-62v 2 / 67r 10-12
285 18-22	8r 1-4				64v 1-2 / 66v 12-13

F	S	A	F	S	A
295 17-22	11V 22-26	66v 10-11	303 15-20	15r 9-14	
296 1-3	12r 1-3	8r 11 / 78r 7-8	303 21-22	15r 15-16	
296 4-7	12r 4-7		304 1-4		77v 8-9
296 8-11	12r 8-11	61r 6-7 /	304 5-8	16r 26-28	
296 12-13	12r 12-13	65v 12-13 61r 8-9 / 65v 16-17	304 9-13	5r 13-16	
296 14-19	12r 14-17	61r 10-12	304 14-17	16v 1-4	
296 20-21	12v 1-2	61v 1 /	304 18-21	16v 5-8	
(318 17-18)		90r 14	305 1-5	16v 9-14	
297 1-6	12r 18-23	61r 13-14 / 67v 5-8	–	16v 15-16 /	72r 7-8
297 7-10	12r 24-27	61r 15-16+17- 18	305 6-8	31r 8-9	
297 11-15		68v 9-15	(339 20-22)	16v 17-20 /	77v 13-14
297 16-22	12v 7-12		305 9-11	16v 21-22	
298 1-4	12v 13-16		305 12-15	17r 1-4	
298 5-8	12v 17-20	68r 6-9	305 16-20		72r 16-18
298 9-13	12v 21-24	68r 10-13	306 1-5	16v 27-30	72r 11-15
298 14-19	12v 25-13r 5	62v 5-11	306 6-10	17r 5-9	
298 20-23	13r 6-9	68r 14-16	306 11-15	17r 10-13	73r 11-12
299 1-4	13r 10-13	68v 6-8	306 16-21	17v 1-4	
299 5-10	13r 14-17	68r 19-20 + 68v 1-2	307 1-5	17v 9-12	
299 11-15	13r 18-22		307 6-9	17v 5-8	
299 16-18	13r 23-25		307 10-14	17v 13-16	
299 19-22	13r 26-13v 2	69r 8-11	307 15-18	17v 17-19	
300 1-15	13v 3-15	67v 13-68r 5	307 19-22	17v 20-23	
300 16-20	13v 16-20	69v 6-11	308 1-6	17v 27-18r 2	
300 21-22	14r 3-4		308 7-12	18r 3-7	
301 1-6	13v 21-25 /	69v 13-15	308 13-15	18r 8-9	
(336 17-20)	29v 6-9		308 16-17	18r 15-16	
301 7-10	13v 26-14r 2	69v 16-18 / 70r 3-4	308 18-21	18r 19-22	
301 11-14	13v 26-14r 2 / 14r 5-8	70r 5-6	309 1-4	18r 17-18	
301 15-18	14r 9-12	70r 7-8	309 5-12	18r 23-28	90v 18-19 / 92r 3-4
301 19-22	14r 21-24	70r 11-12	309 13-17	18v 1-4	73v 11-12 / 92r 5-6
302 1-11	14r 13-20	70r 9-10	309 18-21	18v 5-8	78r 13
302 12-16	14r 25-28 / 54r 6-7		310 1-8	18v 9-14	74r 9-12
302 17-21	14v 4-7	70r 13-14	310 9-11	18v 15-16	74r 13-14
303 1-3	14v 11-12		310 12-15	18v 17-20	74r 15-16
303 4-6	14v 13-16		310 16-19	18v 21-24	74v 1-4
303 7-10	14v 17-20		310 20-23	19r 9-12	74v 16-18
303 11-14	15r 3-6		311 1-6	19r 1-6	
			311 7-9	19r 13-15	74v 14-15
			311 10-11	19r 16-17	75r 1-2
			311 12-16	19r 18-21 /	75r 3-5 /
				52v 15-18	86r 1
			311 17-20	19r 22-23	75v 15-17
			311 21-22	19r 24-25	76r 1-2

F	S	A	F	S	A
312 1-8 (286 1-7)	19r 26-19v 4 / 7v 11-16	82r 11-13	321 6-7	23r 18-19	
312 9-13	19v 5-9		321 8-11	23v 4-7	65r 13-65v 2 / 81v 12-15
312 14-18	19v 10-13		321 12-16	23v 8-11	81v 16-17
312 19-21	20r 1-2	78v 5-6	321 17-21	23v 12-15	81v 18-19
313 1-5	19v 14-17	78v 1-4	322 1-7	23v 16-21	
313 6-12	19v 18-23		322 8-12	23v 22-25	
313 13-16	19v 24-28		322 13-14	7v 7-10	82r 2
313 17-19	20r 4-5	77r 17	(285 13-14)		
313 20-22	20r 6-8	77r 15+16	322 15-19	24r 5-8	
314 1-12	20r 9-18		322 20-23	24r 1-4	82r 3-4
314 13-19	22r 1-6	80r 11-16	323 1-4	24r 11-14	82r 5-6
315 1-8	20r 19-25		323 5-7	24r 9-10	82r 7-8
315 9-15	20r 26-20v 3		323 8-12	24r 15-18	67r 6-7
315 16-21	20v 10-14	78v 13-14	323 13-15	24r 19-20	82r 9-10
316 1-8	20v 4-9		323 16-21	24r 21-24	82r 14-15
316 9-12	20v 15-18	78v 15-18	324 1-3	22v 15-16	
316 13-14	20v 19-20	64r 16-17	324 4-7	22v 17-19	
316 15-22 (293 1-4)	11r 14-20 / 20v 25-21r 6	79r 8-9	324 8-16	22v 20-23r 3	
317 1-6	21r 7-11		324 17-21	24v 8-12	82v 1-2
317 7-12	21r 16-20		325 1-8	24r 25-24v 7	
317 13-16	21r 21-24	79v 6-9	325 9-12	24v 15-18	
317 17-21	21v 1-4		325 13-16	24v 19-22	
318 1-5	21v 5-8		325 17-19	24v 23-24	
318 6-11	21v 9-14	79v 18-80r 3	325 20-21	25v 11-12	83r 1-2
318 12-13	21v 15-16	61r 15-16 / 67v 9-12	326 1-7	25r 1-6	
318 14-16		79v 16-17	326 8-12	25r 7-10	82v 9-10
318 17-18 (296 20-21)	12v 1-2	61v 1 / 90r 14	326 13-16	25r 11-13	
318 19-22	21v 17-20		326 17-22	25r 14-19	
319 9-12	21v 21-24		327 1-4	25r 20-21	82v 11-12
319 13-14	22r 11-12	80v 2-4	327 5-8	25r 22-25	82v 13
319 15-20	22r 13-17	80v 9-10	327 9-15	25v 1-6	
320 1-4	22r 18-21	80v 15-17	327 16-19	25v 7-10	
320 5-8	22r 22-25		327 20-23	25v 13-16	83r 1-2 / 83r 3
320 9-12	22r 7-10	80r 17-80v 1	328 1-4	25v 17-20	83r 4
320 13-14	22v 3-4		328 5-7	25v 21-22	83r 5
320 15-16	22v 14	81r 5	328 8-9	8v 12-13	83r 6-7
320 17-18	23r 4-5	81r 8-9	328 10-12	8v 14-16	83r 8-9
320 21-23	23r 10-11	81r 10-11+12- 13	328 16-17	25v 23-24	83r 12-13
321 1-2 (384 6+10)	23r 12-13	81v 1	328 18-20	26r 1-2	83r 14-15
321 3-5	23r 16-17	81r 6-7	328 21-22	26r 3-4	83r 16
			329 1-5	26r 9-12	83v 4
			329 6-9	26r 13-16	83v 4
			329 10-13	26r 17-20	83v 6-7+8-9
			329 14-17	26r 21-23	83v 6-7+8-9
			329 18-20	26r 24-25	83v 6-7+8-9

F	S	A	F	S	A
330 1-4	26V 1-3		338 1-6	30V 1-4	
330 4-8	26r 5-8		338 7-10	30V 5-8	62v 14-
330 9-15	26V 8-13				15+16-17+20
330 20-21	26V 16-17		338 11-14	30V 9-12	63r 4-7
331 1-4	26V 23-27r 2		338 15-22	30V 13-18	
331 5-7	27r 7-8		339 1-4	30V 19-22	61v 7-8
(257 1-4)			339 5-11	30V 23-31r 3	
331 8-10	27r 11-12		339 12-15	31r 4-7	72r 3-6
331 11-13	27r 13-14		(349 18-23)		
331 14-16	27r 15-16		339 16-19	31r 10-12	
331 17-19	27r 17-18		339 20-22	16V 17-20 /	77v 13-14
331 20-21	27V 17-18		(305 6-8)	31r 13-15	
332 1-4	27r 19-21	56r 1	339 23-24	31r 16	
(219 4-7)			340 1-3	31r 17-18	
332 5-8	27v 3-6		340 4-6	31r 19-20	
332 9-14	28r 22-28v 2	44r 13-14	340 7-8	31r 21-31v 2	
332 15-22	28v 6-13		340 9-10	31v 3-4	
333 1-7	28r 1-6 /		340 11-14	31v 9-11	
	107v 1-2		340 15-22	31v 12-19	
333 8-11	28r 11-13		341 1-5	31v 20-24	
333 14-18	28r 7-10		341 6-11	32r 1-5	
333 19-20	29r 12-13	86v 4+5	341 12-15	32r 6-8	
334 1-5	29r 14-17		341 16-19	32r 15-18	
334 6-9	29r 8-11		341 20-21	32r 19-20	
334 10-14	29r 4-7		341 22-23	32v 5-6	
334 15-21	29r 18-22		342 1-6	32r 21-24	77r 3-6
335 1-4	27V 19-22		342 7-10	32v 1-4	
335 5-9	27v 9-12		342 11-12	32v 7-8	
335 10-14	28v 22-29r 3		342 13-14	32v 9-10	
335 15-19	28v 18-21		342 15-16	32v 11-12	
335 20-21	29v 19-20		342 17-18	32v 13-14	
336 1-4	29r 23-29v 2		342 19-20	32v 15-16	
336 5-6	29v 3-5		343 1-3	32v 17-18	
336 7-9	29v 14-15	67r 1-2	343 4-7	32v 19-22	
336 10-12	29v 16-18	63r 14-15	343 8-9	32v 23-33r 1	
(439 13-15)			343 10-13	33r 2-5	
336 13-16	29v 21-30r 3	70r 9-10	-	33r 6-7	77r 7-8
336 17-20	13v 21-25 /	69v 13-15	343 14-17	33r 8-10	
(301 1-6)	29v 6-9		343 18-21	33r 13-15	
336 21-22	30r 24-25		344 1-4	38r 4-7	
337 1-3	29v 10-11	94v 1-5	344 5-8	38r 8-10	
337 4-5	29v 12-13	94v 6-7	344 9-10	38r 11-12	
337 6-9	30r 7-10	63v 3-4	344 11-13	38r 13-14	
337 10-16	30r 11-16		344 14-15	36r 3	
337 17-20	15r 7-8 /		344 16-18	33r 11-12	
	30r 17-19		344 19-22	33r 16-19 /	
337 21-24	30r 20-23			36r 10-11	

F	S	A	F	S	A
345 1-3	33r 20-22		353 1-6	36v 13-17	
345 4-8	33r 23-33v 3		353 7-11	36v 18-21	
345 9-10	33v 4-6		353 12-13	36v 22-23	
345 11-14	33v 7-9		353 14-19	37r 1-6	
345 15-16	33v 12-13		353 20-22	37r 7-8	
345 17-18	33v 10-11	79v 1-2	354 1-4	37r 9-12	
345 21-23	33v 14-16		354 5-8	37r 13-15	
346 1-4	33v 17-19		354 9-10	19r 7-8 /	
346 5-10	33v 20-24			37r 16-18	
346 11-14	34r 2-5		354 11-17	37r 22-37v 3	
346 15-18	34r 6-7		354 18-22	37v 4-7	
346 19-22	34r 8-10		355 1-8	37v 8-15	
347 1-4	34r 11-14		355 9-12	37v 16-18	
347 5-8	34r 15-17		355 13-17	37v 19-22	
347 9-11	34r 18-20		355 18-22	37v 23-38r 3	
347 12-13	34r 23-24		356 1-5	38r 18-21	
347 14-15	34r 21-22		(463 9-13)		
347 16-21	34v 1-5		356 6-11	38r 22-38v 3	
348 1-5	34v 6-9		356 12-15	39r 10-12	
348 6-11	34v 10-15		356 16-22	38v 4-9	
348 12-15	34v 16-19		356 23-24	39r 1-2	
348 16-20	34v 20-22		357 1-5	38v 12-15	
(225 13-17)			357 6-9	38v 16-19	
348 21-23	34v 23-24		357 10-14	38v 20-23	
349 1-4	4v 1-2 /		357 15-18	39r 4-6	
	35r 10-11		357 19-21	39r 7-9	
349 5-7	35r 12-13		358 1-7	39r 16-21	
349 8-11	35r 14-17		358 8-12	39r 22-39v 3	
349 14-17	35r 18-21		358 13-16	39v 8-10	
349 18-23	31r 4-7	72r 3-6	358 17-20	39r 13-15	
(339 12-15)			358 21-23	40v 3-5 /	
350 1-5	35r 22-35v 3	72v 10-11 / 80v 5-8		51v 6-8	
350 6-12	35v 9-14		359 1-9	39v 11-17	
350 13-18	35v 4-8		359 10-14	40r 1-5	
350 19-22	35v 17-18		359 15-22	40r 11-16	
351 1-4	35v 19-20		360 1-7	40r 17-23	
351 5-8	35v 21-36r 2		360 8-11	40r 24-40v 2	
351 9-12	36r 4-6		360 12-15	40v 6-9	84r 11-12
351 13-16	36r 7-9		360 16-23	40v 10-17	
351 17-18	36r 12-13		361 1-4	40v 21-24	
351 19-22	36r 14-16		-	41r 1-2	85r 7-8
352 1-4	36r 17-18		361 5-11	41r 3-15	
352 5-9	36r 19-22		361 12-19	41r 3-15	
352 10-17	36v 4-9	92v 9-10	361 20-22	41r 20-21	
352 18-21	36v 10-12		362 1-4	41v 1-4	
352 22-23	37r 19	92v 3-4	362 5-8	41r 22-24	



F	S	A	F	S	A
362 9-12	4v 6-9 / 41v 5-8		372 19-22	46r 17-19	
362 13-16	41v 9-11		373 1-11	109r 15-23	
362 17-22	41v 12-16		373 12-18	109v 1-6	
363 1-9	41v 18-25		373 19-22	46r 22-46v 2	
363 10-16	42r 1-7		374 1-17	46v 3-15	
363 17-22	42r 14-18	64r 14-15 / 72v 4-7	374 18-21	109v 7-10	
364 1-4	42r 8-11		375 1-20	47r 22-47v 15	
364 5-7	42r 12-13		376 1-7	46v 22-47r 2	
364 8-10	42r 19-21		376 8-12	47r 3-6	
364 11-14	42r 22-25		376 13-17	47r 7-10	
364 15-20	42v 1-6		376 18-19	46r 20-21	
364 21-23	43r 16-17		376 20-23	47r 11-14	
365 1-5	42v 7-10	73r 3-4	377 1-14	47v 16-48r 5	
365 6-9	42v 17-20		377 15-23	47r 15-21	
365 10-14	42v 21-24		378 1-4	48r 6-9	
365 15-23	43r 1-8	89r 3	378 5-8	48r 10-12	
366 1-5	43r 9-11		378 9-10	48r 17-18	
366 6-10	43r 12-15		379 3-4		76r 7-8
366 11-14	43r 22-24		379 5-6		76r 9
366 15-19	43v 1-6		379 7-8		76r 11-12
366 20-23	44r 4-6		379 17-20	48r 19-22	
367 1-6	43v 7-11		382 1-2		87v 12
367 7-9	43v 12-13		382 8-11	48v 1-4	
367 10-13	43v 14-16		382 12-15	48v 5-7	
367 14-16	44r 7-8		382 16-20	48v 8-11	
367 17-20	44r 9-11		382 21	48v 8-11	
367 21-22	44r 22-23		383 1-5	48v 17-22 / 110r 1-4	
368 1-6	44r 12-15		383 6-10	48v 23-49r 2 / 59r 19-23	
368 7-10	44r 18-21		383 11-15	49r 3-6	
368 11-15	45r 9-13		383 16-19	49r 7-10	
368 16-22	44v 1-6		383 20-23	49r 11-14	
369 1-24	44v 7-28		384 1-5	49r 15-18	
370 1-7	45r 1-7	85r 10-13	384 6+10 (321 1-2)	23r 12-13	81v 1
370 8-14	45r 20-26	87v 15-16	384 7-9	49r 20-21	
370 15-21	45v 1-6		384 11-15	49v 1-4	
371 1-5	45v 13-17		384 16-20	49v 9-12	
371 6-9	45r 14-19		384 21-23	49v 20-21	
371 10-11	45r 8		385 1-4	49v 13-17	
371 12-18	45v 18-22		385 5-8	49v 18-19	
371 19-22	45v 23-25 / 106v 13		385 9-15	49v 22-50r 3	
372 1-6	46r 1-6		385 16-20	50r 4-7	
372 7-10	46r 7-10		385 21-22	52r 18	
372 11-14	46r 11-14				
372 15-18	46r 15-16				

F	S	A	F	S	A
386 1-4	50r 8-10		394 21-22	55v 6	
386 5-9	50r 11-14		395 1-6	54r 14-18	67v 3-4
386 10-12	50r 15-16		395 7-11	54r 19-23	93v 10-11
386 13-16	50r 17-19		395 12-18	54v 3-8	
386 17-20	50r 20-22		395 19-22	54r 24-54v 2	
386 21-22	53v 7-8		396 1-6	54v 9-13	
387 1-9	50v 1-7		396 7-11	54v 14-17	
387 10-14	50v 8-13	72r 9-10	396 12-16	54v 18-19 +	
(436 4-7)				55r 1-2	
387 15-19	51r 1-5		396 17-23	54v 20-25	
387 20-23	51r 18-		397 1-2	55r 3-4	
	19+20-21		397 3-7	55r 9-12	84r 1-3
388 1-5	41v 17-18 /		397 8-10	55r 7-8 /	
	52v 11-14			106v 14-15	
388 6-9	50v 14-17		397 11-17	55r 13-18	
388 10-13	50v 18-21		397 18-20	55v 1-2	84r 13-14
388 14-16	50v 22-23		397 21-22	55r 19-20	
388 17-21	51r 6-9		398 1-4	55v 3-5	84r 15
389 10-14	51r 14-17		398 5-9	55v 7-10	
389 15-19	51r 22-51v 2		398 10-11	55v 15-16	46v 3-4
389 20-21	51r 12-13		398 12-15	55v 17-19	
390 1-4	51v 3-5		398 16-19	55v 23-56r 2	
390 5-8	51v 9-11		398 20-23	56r 7-10	
390 9-13	51v 12-14		399 1-3	55v 20-22 /	
390 14-16	52r 12-13			107v 12-13	
390 17-20	52r 19-22		399 4-8	56r 3-6	
390 21-23	52v 3-4		399 9-12	56v 11-13	84v 7-8
(219 11-12)			399 13-17	56r 17-21	
391 1-5	51v 15-18		399 18-21	56r 22-25	
391 6-8	51v 19-21		400 1-8	56v 1-6	
391 9-13	52r 1-4		400 9-11	57r 1-2	84v 9-10
391 14-18	52r 8-11		400 12-15	57r 3-4	84v 11-12
391 19-21	52r 5-7		400 16-19	57r 15-18	
391 22-23	52v 7-8		400 20-22	57v 6-7	
392 1-4	52v 5-6		401 1-5	57v 1-4	
392 5-8	52v 21-53r 2		401 6-8	57v 13-14	
392 9-14	53r 5-9		401 9-15	57v 15-22	
392 19-22	53r 10-11		401 16-18	58r 1-3	94r 13-14
393 1-6	53r 12-15 +		401 19-22	58r 8-9 /	94r 16-17
	53r 18-19			58r 10-13	
393 7-13	53v 1-6	93r 6-7	402 1-5	58r 4-7	94r 15
393 14-18	53v 9-12		402 8-10	58r 14-15	44r 17
393 19-20	53v 16-17	93v 6-7	402 11-14	58r 16-19	
394 1-4	53v 18-20		402 15-21	58r 20-58v 4	
394 5-12	53v 21-54r 5		403 1-6	11r 8-13 /	
394 13-16	54r 8-10			58v 5-10	
394 17-20	54r 11-13		403 7-13	58v 14-20	

F	S	A	F	S	A
403 14-16	58V 21-22		412 19-20	63r 6-7	
403 17-20	58V 23-59r 2		413 1-4	63V 15-18	87r 5-6
404 1-5	59r 3-7		413 5-8	63V 19-22	
404 6-11	59r 8-9+10-14		414 11-12	63V 9-10+11-12	87r 11-13
404 12-14	59r 17-18		414 13-14	63V 23-24	
404 15-19	59V 3-8	76r 5-6	414 15-18	64r 3-5	
404 20-22	59V 21-23		414 19-22	64r 18-21	
405 1-3	59V 9-11		415 1-4	64r 14-17	
405 4	59V 12-13		415 5-7	64r 22-23	
405 5	59V 14		415 8-9	64r 12-13	
405 6-9	59V 15-18		415 10-14	64V 11-15	
405 10	59V 19		415 17-20	64V 16-18	
405 11	59V 20		415 21-24	108r 17-108V 2	
405 12-15	60r 1-4		416 1-5	108v 3-7	
405 16-19	60r 5-7		416 6-9	108v 8-11	
405 20-21	60V 3		416 10-14	108v 12-15	
406 1-4	60r 8-10		416 15-19	108v 16-19	
406 5-8	60r 11-14		416 20-23	109r 3-6	
406 9-12	60r 15-18		417 1-3	109r 7-10	
406 13-15	60r 19-22		417 4-7	9r 13-16 / (288 16-20)	
406 16-20	60r 23-60V 2		417 8-12	109r 11-14	
406 21-22	60V 4-5		417 13-16	109V 11-15	
407 1-2	60V 9-10		417 17-20	109V 20-22	
407 3-8	60V 11-16		417 21-24	110r 5-8	
407 9-12	60V 17-19		418 1-4	110r 19-22	
407 13-22	61r 5-13		418 5-8	110r 9-11	
408 1-2	61r 14-15		418 9-13	53v 13-15 / (460 5-8)	
408 3-9	61r 16-23	85r 1-6	418 14-17	110V 3-6	
408 10-18	61V 1-16	69r 1-7	418 18-22	110V 7-11	
408 19-22	61r 1-4		419 1-4	110V 12-15	
409 1-11	61V 21-62r 5		419 5-9	110V 16-19	
409 12-22	62r 6-16		419 10-13	110r 14-18	
410 1-7	61V 1-16	69r 1-7	419 14-17	110V 20-111r 2	
410 8-11	61V 17-20		419 18-19	111r 3-6	
410 12-16	62r 17-22		420 1-5	111r 18-21	
410 17-20	62V 8-11		420 6-7		79V 16-17
411 1-9	63r 8-16	85v 19-22	420 8-13	111r 22-23	
411 10-15	62r 23-62V 3	85r 17-18 / 85v 1-2	420 14-17	111r 13-14	
411 16-22	62V 17-23		420 18-21	111V 3-7	
412 1-5	62V 12-16		420 22-23	111V 8-10	
412 6-9	63r 17-19		421 1-4	111V 15-17	
-	63r 20-24	85v 16+17+18		112V 7-8	
412 10-14	63V 3-8			111V 22-112r 2	
412 15-18	63r 3-5	85v 11-13			

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421 10-12	111r 7-9		457 4-6	16r 1-2	
421 13-14	111r 10-12		457 7-9	16r 3-4	
421 15-19	112r 17-22		457 10-17	16r 5-10	
421 20-22	112v 5-6	88r 1	457 18-19	16r 11-12	
422 1-4	112v 1-4		457 20-23	16r 13-15	
422 5-10	112v 13-18	88r 4	458 1-4	16r 16-18	
422 11-15	112v 19-22		458 5-7	16r 19-20	
423 1-3		76r 14-15	458 8-10	16r 21-23	
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425 14-18	64v 5-8			18r 10-14	80v 20-81r 2
425 19-21	64v 9-10		* 459 19-20	111v 13-14	
426 21-22	101v 11		460 1-4	38r 15-17	
427 11-14		81v 2-4	460 5-8	53v 13-15 /	
428 10-16		75r 8-9	(418 5-8)	110v 3-6	
434 9-12		70v 15-17	463 9-13	38r 18-21	
436 4-7	50v 8-13	72r 9-10	(356 1-5)		
(387 10-14)			463 14-20	46v 16-21	
438 5-7		70v 13-14			
439 5	106r 12		<b>LEX (F 469-494)</b>		
439 13-15	29v 16-18	63r 14-15	469 9-11	104v 7-8	
(336 10-12)			469 14-17	112r 3-5	
440 13-14		66r 5-6	471 5-7	38v 10-11	
* 440 19-20	107v 14 /		471 8-12	39v 22-24	
	111v 13-14		471 13-17	39v 4-7	
441 12-13	108r 3		471 18-21	52v 9-10	
452 3-4	15v 17-20		472 3-4	59v 1-2 /	
452 5-6	15v 17-20		(229 19-20)	106v 16-17	
452 11-12		72v 1-2	472 5-7	111r 15-17	
452 13-14		77v 10-11	472 8-11	113r 1-4	
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453 1-4		77v 12	472 12-13		88r 13-14
453 5-6		77v 12	474 12-13		88r 12
453 20-21	15v 7		476 6-8	66r 1 /	
454 15-16		81r 14-15		66r 2-3	
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455 12-14	15r 28-29				43v 13
455 15-16	15v 1-2		476 15-16		7v 1-2
456 1-2	15v 3-4		478 1-2	37r 20-21	
456 3-4	15v 5-6		478 3-5	40v 18-20	
456 5-6	15v 8-9		478 11-14	55r 5-6	83r 16
456 7-9	15v 10-11		478 15-16	55v 11-12	46v 1-2
456 10-11	15v 12-13		478 17-18	55v 13-14	
456 12-13	15v 14		* 487 9-12		90v 12-13
456 14-16	15v 15-16				
456 17-19	15v 21-23				

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* 497 2-11	66r 7-8	
* 498 7-19	66r 21-66v 6	
<b>F</b>	<b>S</b>	<b>A</b>
* 499 1-4	66v 7-8	
* 499 12-16	66v 15-17	
* 501 12-18	66v 18-23	
* 508 3-4		5r 10-11+12-
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## APPENDIX C. LIST OF NUMBERED PHRASES FROM F

The table below contains a list of all numbered phrases from *Fonne's* phrase-book and the page and line numbers they cover. It is not a full index. More specifically, words and phrases in running text, unnumbered lists, and tables are not included here.

<i>phrase no.</i>	<i>lines</i>	<i>phrase no.</i>	<i>lines</i>
(12F)	F 13 1-4	(147F)	F 206 19
(13F)	F 14 1-4	(72F)	F 207 11-12
(23F)	F 14 1-2	(33F)	F 207 16
(14F)	F 23 5-19	(38F), (155F)	F 208 11-12
(17F)	F 22 7-20	(126F)	F 208 13-15
(10F)	F 76 4	(26F)	F 209 3-4
(96F)	F 80 18-19	(26F')	F 209 5-6
(18F)	F 188 1-3, 10-13	(188F)	F 209 10-11
(130F)	F 191 1-2	(167F)	F 209 12-13
(73F)	F 195 3-5	(185F)	F 209 17
(1F)	F 197 1-9	(58F)	F 210 6-8
(41F)	F 197 17, 18	(144F)	F 210 9-10
(135F)	F 199 6-7	(98F)	F 210 21-22
(9F)	F 199 8	(99F)	F 211 1-2
(9F')	F 199 9	(137F)	F 211 3-4
(141F)	F 199 19-20	(133F)	F 211 16-17
(131F)	F 201 9-10	(201F)	F 216 16-18
(108F)	F 201 11-12	(42F)	F 222 4
(165F)	F 201 19-20	(37F)	F 223 22-24
(143F)	F 201 21	(43F), (160F)	F 224 13, 15
(93F), (142F)	F 202 1-3	(205F)	F 225 1-4
(186F)	F 202 6-8	(202F)	F 225 5-8
(186F')	F 202 9-10	(168F)	F 227 1-3
(149F)	F 203 6-7	(211F)	F 227 18-22
(175F)	F 204 14-15	(53F)	F 228 1, 3
(153F)	F 205 6-7	(2F)	F 230 5-6
(45F)	F 206 1-12	(107F)	F 231 1-4

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(74F)	F 232 7-8	(51F)	F 301 1-2, 4-5
(66F)	F 236 12-13	(52F)	F 301 7-10
(35F)	F 238 5-6	(148F)	F 303 4-5
(206F)	F 238 19-20	(159F)	F 303 12, 14
(103F)	F 241 12-14	(60F)	F 304 1-4
(115F)	F 245 6-9	(76F), (209F)	F 305 6-8
(97F)	F 245 10-11	(195F)	F 305 2, 4-5
(11F)	F 254 6-7	(157F)	F 306 16, 19
(47F)	F 257 1, 3	(161F)	F 308 2, 5
(90F)	F 259 4-5, 6-7	(196F)	F 309 5, 8-9
(19F)	F 273 12-14, 6-9	(213F)	F 310 9-11
(3F)	F 276 1-6	(189F)	F 311 1-6
(94F)	F 276 7, 9	(85F)	F 314 1, 6-7
(125F)	F 276 8, 10-11	(81F)	F 319 9
(216F)	F 277 17-21	(183F)	F 319 15-20
(25F)	F 279 19-23	(31F), (110F)	F 320 1-4
(25F')	F 280 1-5	(151F)	F 320 5, 7
(120F), (132F)	F 280 21-23	(187F)	F 320 9-12
(174F)	F 281 11-15	(61F), (203F)	F 320 17-18
(95F)	F 282 11, 13-14	(86F)	F 321 1-2
(75F)	F 283 2-3, 7-9	(56F)	F 322 20-23
(199F)	F 284 1-6	(70F), (89F)	F 323 8-12
(46F)	F 286 8-14	(140F)	F 325 3, 7-8
(77F)	F 287 1, 3-4	(176F)	F 327 9, 12-13
(128F)	F 288 8, 10	(16F)	F 327 20-23
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(121F)	F 290 9-10	(64F)	F 329 1-2, 3-4
(116F)	F 290 16-20	(191F)	F 331 1-4
(169F)	F 291 5-10	(48F)	F 331 5-6
(59F)	F 292 9-13	(49F)	F 331 8-9
(4F), (184F)	F 292 14-18	(50F)	F 331 11-12
(127F)	F 294 11-12, 15	(181F)	F 332 16-17, 19
(193F)	F 295 1, 3-4	(91F)	F 335 20-21
(204F)	F 295 12-16	(200F)	F 337 17-20
(24F)	F 296 12-13	(172F)	F 336 21-22
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(7F)	F 297 11-15	(83F)	F 338 15-16, 19-20
(171F)	F 298 1-4	(163F)	F 339 1-4
(178F)	F 299 19, 21	(29F)	F 339 12-15
(57F)	F 300 6-7, 14-15	(210F)	F 339 20-22

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(71F), (150F)	F 341 1-2, 3-4	(117F)	F 403 1-6
(78F)	F 343 4, 6	(92F)	F 403 7-8, 11-12
(109F)	F 343 8-9	(111F)	F 404 16, 18-19
(62F)	F 349 12-13	(134F)	F 406 5, 7
(113F)	F 350 1-5	(158F)	F 407 16-17, 22
(34F)	F 351 13-16	(36F)	F 409 5, 11
(217F)	F 352 1-4	(40F), (124F)	F 411 10-15
(100F)	F 353 20-22	(101F)	F 414 19-22
(32F)	F 355 9-12	(88F)	F 415 1-2, 4
(164F)	F 357 19-21	(105F)	F 415 10-14
(197F)	F 358 21-23	(166F)	F 417 1-3
(69F)	F 359 10-11, 12-13	(84F)	F 417 17-20
(154F)	F 360 8, 10	(102F)	F 417 21-24
(177F)	F 361 1-4	(207F)	F 418 5-8
(180F)	F 361 20-22	(112F)	F 419 1-4
(129F)	F 363 17, 20-21	(214F)	F 419 14-17
(44F)	F 366 6, 8	(82F)	F 420 14-17
(67F)	F 370 8, 11	(106F)	F 421 15-19
(173F)	F 370 15-21	(104F), (170F)	F 424 15-17
(30F)	F 370 16-20	(136F)	F 456 20-21
(162F)	F 371 13-14, 18	(192F)	F 457 10-17
(39F)	F 372 1, 4-5	(190F)	F 458 16-20
(80F)	F 377 15-16, 19-20	(208F)	F 460 5-8
(182F)	F 378 1-4	(63F)	F 462 10-13
(87F)	F 384 6, 10	(123F)	F 463 14, 18
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(5F)	F 388 10,12		
(15F)	F 391 6-8		
(65F)	F 391 9-13		
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(122F)	F 397 18-19		
(179F)	F 398 10-11		
(139F)	F 399 5, 7-8		
(156F)	F 399 13-14, 16-17		



