

ON THE COMPOSITION AND LANGUAGE OF THREE EARLY MODERN RUSSIAN-GERMAN PHRASEBOOKS

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1. Introduction

In the 1930s and 1940s, bilingual phrasebooks compiled by foreigners were discovered as a source of information on older stages of Russian. Approximately fifteen such phrasebooks from the 16th and 17th centuries have been handed down to our times. The present contribution will focus on three genetically related phrasebooks linked to the Northwest-Russian town of Pskov: the phrasebook by Tönnies Fenne (1607; henceforth F), *Einn Russisch Buch* by Thomas Schroue (S) and the Anonymous *Ein Rusch Boeck ...* (A), both of which are slightly older.¹

Before anything else, the interest in the three phrasebooks has been of a lexicographic and lexicological nature. The lexicological research is often explicitly comparative and treats the phrasebooks as representatives of the long-standing tradition they are part of. The comparative attitude of this research has led to the realisation that F, S, and A share a protograph, whose origin has been projected back as far as the last third of the 13th century (Xoroškevič 2000).

The present contribution offers a concordance to the text of F, S, and A (see the Appendix). On the basis of this concordance, we will show how the compiler of F selected, reorganised, and critically examined the material available to him.

We will argue that close textual comparison of the composition and language of F and S can shed light on the tradition these texts are part of, on the protograph of F and S, as well as on the input of the compiler of F.

In a separate paper elsewhere in this volume (Hendriks 2008), one of the authors will show how the linguistic research into the phrasebooks – which has so far treated the manuscript as a much more independent source – can benefit from the philological insights presented in this contribution.

¹ All references to F are based on the electronic text edition by Hendriks and Schaecken (version 1.1, July 2008). References to S and A point to the text in Fałowski 1997 and Fałowski 1994 respectively.

2. State of the field

2.1 The three manuscripts

The interest in foreigners' accounts of the Russian language as a source of information about its older stages dates from the late 1930s and the years immediately following the Second World War.² The Soviet scholars who turned to these foreign sources motivated their choice with the argument that they more reliably reflect the East-Slavic vernacular than other sources, which were influenced by Church Slavonic (see Larin 2002: 5-20).³

Approximately fifteen such accounts have survived, varying in size, quality and contents.⁴ Typically, they contain a section with lists of lexical items, and a section with phrases or little dialogues. In the present contribution we will focus on three phrasebooks:

- the phrasebook of Tönnies Fenne (F), 502 pages, date of 1607 in the text,⁵ Low German, four-volume edition (TF I-IV) and electronic text edition (Hendriks and Schaecken 2008);
- *Einn Russisch Buch* by Thomas Schroue (S), 224 pages, dated by the watermarks between 1582 and 1591,⁶ date of 1546 in the text, High German, facsimile and text edition (Fałowski and Witkowski 1992, Fałowski 1997);
- the Anonymous *Ein Rusch Boeck ...* (A), 183 pages, dated mid-16th century,⁷ High German, facsimile, text edition, and analysis (Fałowski 1994, 1996).

Historically, these three phrasebooks are connected to circles of the Hanseatic League and to the League's trading activities with the Russian cities of Novgorod and Pskov, through Reval (Tallinn), Narva, and Dorpat (Tartu) (see, e.g., Angermann and Endell 1988: 96f.). Merchants could use these manuscripts when dealing with their Russian counterparts. As such, these phrasebooks are

² The most important name in this respect is B.A. Larin, whose publications on the topic culminated in a doctoral dissertation in 1946 (republished as Larin 2002).

³ Kryś'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 (Kryś'ko 2007: 107).

⁴ See for an overview Günther 1994 and the introductory chapter in Mžel'skaja 2003 (5-40).

⁵ A renewed attempt to pinpoint the watermarks of the paper of F in 2006 (cf. TF I: 7f.) has not been successful. The authors express their gratitude to Andrea Lothe, section *Papierhistorische Sammlungen* of the *Deutsches Buch- und Schriftmuseum der Deutschen Nationalbibliothek Leipzig*.

⁶ Fałowski and Witkowski 1992: 14, based on Stone 1991: 23.

⁷ Fałowski 1994: 10.

firmly rooted in a Western tradition of compiling manuals to cope directly with foreign languages.⁸

Being aware of this tradition, scholars have realised from the onset that F, S, and A cannot be considered independent works of one single author. The authorship of S was discussed by M.P. Alekseev as early as 1951, and in the preface to the facsimile edition of F (1961), Roman Jakobson and Elizabeth van Schooneveld concluded that F and S were based on a “common model” (TF I: 19). For a long time, however, the exact relationship between the three phrasebooks remained unclear, as both S and A – previously in the Prussian State Library in Berlin – were considered to be lost after the Second World War.

2.2 Research to date

Lexicographers welcomed the edition of F, and quickly started to use the Russian data from the manuscript as a valuable source for dictionaries such as the *Псковский областной словарь с историческими данными* (POS) and the *Словарь русского языка XI-XVII вв.* (SRJa XI-XVII).

After the manuscripts of S and A had resurfaced in Cracow in the late 1970s (see Whitehead 1976, 1980, also Stone 1990: 341-344, Bolek 2003: 213), S and A became available to a wider audience in the 1990s. In lexical studies, scholars such as Ol'ga Mžel'skaja, Larisa Kostjučuk, Adam Fałowski, and Anna Bolek examined the lexicon of F, S, and A – and often of a number of other phrasebooks – from an impressive range of perspectives (see, e.g., the bibliography of Mžel'skaja 2003, and Bolek 2003). Their research into these three phrasebooks is an important contribution to our knowledge about the historical lexicon of the Russian language.

As a result of the mainly comparative nature of the lexicological research – which has ensured that time and again the scholars were confronted with the tradition the phrasebooks are rooted in – it became clear very soon that the similarity between F, S, and A goes far beyond a mere thematic similarity and a “common model”.

In fact, the manuscripts of F, S, and A ultimately share the same protograph. Within the tradition, F and S are more closely related to each other than to A. To give a rough impression: approximately 80% of the material in S also occurs in F (see Fałowski 1997: 10, and sections 3.3 and 3.4 below). Anna Xoroškevič and Anna Bolek date the protograph for F and S at the end of the 15th century (Xoroškevič 2000: 85-91, Bolek 2003: 215). On the basis of a number of lexical archaisms – mainly referring to coins and scales – the protograph of all three

⁸ The oldest merchant phrasebook known of – with High German and Italian as its languages – dates back as far as 1424, and was compiled by a Master George of Nuremberg (see Gernentz et al. 1988: 21-23). The tradition itself is even older.

manuscripts is pushed back as far as the last third of the 13th century (Xoroškevič 2000: 85-91).⁹

When we take a look at the more linguistic research into the three phrasebooks, we face quite a different picture. Of the three phrasebooks, F has received most attention. Not only is F by far the largest phrasebook, but it has also been accessible to scholars since the 1960s, and as such has received more attention than S and A.¹⁰

Yet even after more than half a century, there is no full description and analysis of the language of F,¹¹ and its material is usually used rather than explicitly studied. Publications that exceptionally do look at the text of F as an object of study are Jakobson 1971 (1966), Zaliznjak 1986: 133, and Schaeken 1992 (all on the nominative singular in *-e*), Mürkhein 1979 (on *polnoglasi*), Gluskina and Bol'sakova 1988 (on *sokan'e/šokan'e* and on initial *v-/f-* in positions where Old Russian dialects typically had initial *u-*), and Le Feuvre 1993 (on *e > o*).

The most notable exception, however, is Zaliznjak 1998. In this article Zaliznjak made a case for the manuscript's reliability as a linguistic source. In doing so he drew F into the ambit of Russian birchbark research.¹² He takes the data at their face value, and shows that individual words and their morphology, but also syntactic constructions that seemed strange or downright wrong to the editors of the manuscript, fit the Northwest-Russian data wonderfully well.¹³ His conclusion is that “почти во всех случаях предложенные в настоящей статье интерпретации ведут к тому, что запись Фенне может быть признана более достоверной, чем предполагалось ранее” (Zaliznjak 1998: 274).

We seem to be faced here with two strands of research. One qualifies Tönnies Fenne as a mere “kolejn[y] kompilator[.]” (Bolek 1997: 63), the other treats F as a “бесценный источник” (Zaliznjak 2004: 14). These qualifications are not mutually exclusive per se. Yet if one thing is clear, it is that once and for all we must forsake the idea that Tönnies Fenne went to Pskov to compile his phrasebook merely based on what he heard in the streets of the town, aided in his undertaking by one or more native informants (cf. also Mžel'skaja 2003: 200). This raises

⁹ This would make it older than the oldest phrasebook known to exist; see footnote 8.

¹⁰ Nevertheless, A is the only phrasebook of which a linguistic analysis is available (Fałowski 1996). Unfortunately, it is hardly exhaustive: syntactic features, for instance, are barely touched upon (see Krys'ko and Šalamova 1998). S has received almost no linguistic attention (see the introductory chapters to Fałowski and Witkowski 1992 and Fałowski 1997).

¹¹ This description is now under preparation as part of the PhD project (2005-2010) of Hendriks.

¹² The manuscript of F is approximately 150 years younger than the most recent birchbark letter (mid-15th century), but stems from the same general dialect area. The Old Pskov dialect belonged to the Old Novgorod dialect “в широком смысле” (Zaliznjak 2004: 13).

¹³ Something which earlier had been suspected by Helge Poulsen (1972: 214).

the question, however, as to the exact position of F within the tradition, and of the compiler's attitude towards his sources and his own input.

2.3 The present contribution

In the light of the above, we will argue that a philological and a linguistic approach should be combined in order to come to a full appreciation of the language of F.

For our observations, we will use a concordance of the text of F, S, and A, which we present as an Appendix to this article. This concordance is based on the references given in the edition of S, but has been considerably expanded and corrected, and for the first time also includes corresponding phrases in A.

First we will look at the textual organisation of F as compared to that of the other two phrasebooks (section 3.1). The various occurrences of introductory phrases in the three manuscripts will be discussed (section 3.2) and we will very briefly touch upon the contents of their lexical sections in order to get a full picture of the relationship between the manuscripts (section 3.3). The main focus, however, will be on the composition of the phraseological sections of F and S (section 3.5), as they turn out to be the most closely and intimately related. The phraseological section of A is related as well, albeit more loosely (section 3.6). Our observations do not only illustrate the nature of the tradition, but also the position of F within it, and the way the compiler of F approached his sources.

Then, we will turn to the language of the phrasebooks (section 4). We will see that the attention of the compiler of F for the composition of his phrasebook also extends to its language.

Close textual comparison will lead to new insights on the protograph shared by F and S (section 5). The insights gained from the observations about composition and language shed light on the input of the compiler. This clears the view on the data as well as on the underlying linguistic system that can be gleaned from them.

3. Textual organisation of F, S, and A

3.1 General

The topics covered in the three phrasebooks F, S, and A largely overlap. However, the phrasebook of F reveals the most logical and systematic way in which a learner's guide of a foreigner to the Russian language can be compiled (cf. Bolek 1997: 65).

The composition of F in comparison with that of S and A is illustrated by Tables 1 and 2: with regard to the different sections and the order in which they

appear in the manuscripts (Table 1), as well as with regard to the textual length of each section (Table 2).¹⁴

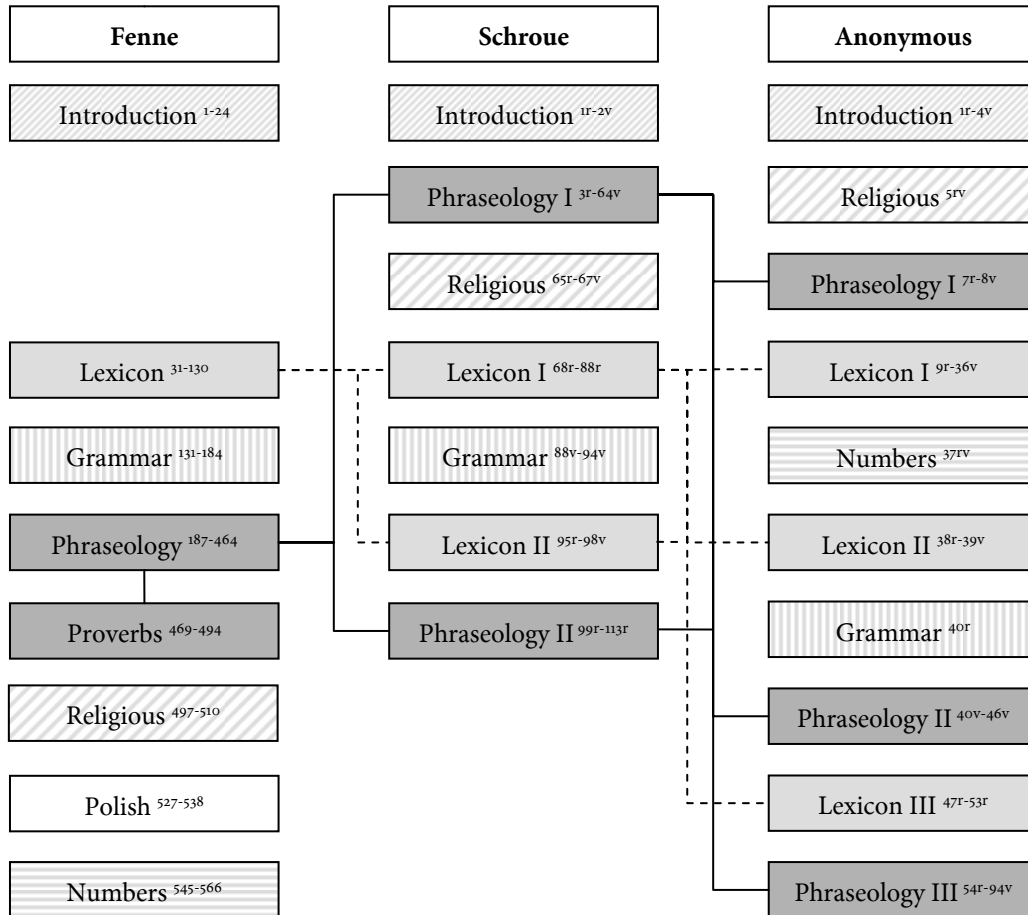


Table 1: Schematic comparison of the sections in F, S and A

¹⁴ For detailed tables of contents see TF I: 11-16, Fałowski and Witkowski 1992: 15-18, Fałowski 1994: 12-14.

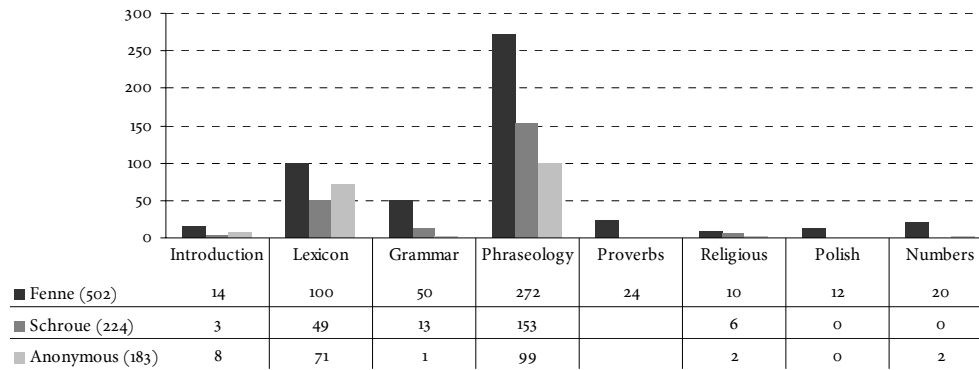


Table 2: Proportional comparison of the sections in F, S and A (in number of pages)

The lexical section of F starts out with single words in thematic clusters, ranging from very general to more specific (commercial) topics, and grouped under headings of the type *Van vngeschickten luden bozer artt* ‘Of unpleasant people of evil character’ and *Van allerley lakenn* ‘Of all kinds of cloth’.

Then, in between the lexical and the phraseological sections, F provides a grammatical sketch,¹⁵ including lists of frequently used ‘little words’.¹⁶

The phrases in the phraseological section constitute the main part of the phrasebook. As was the case in the lexical section, these phrases are arranged logically, starting with sentences of a more general type – mainly concerning social affairs – and leading up to phrases that can be used in commercial discussions and negotiations (see Table 3 in section 3.5).

In close relationship, the phraseological part is followed by more or less fixed expressions, with a separate section of “indecent proverbs, riddles, swear words, bywords and turns of speech” (TF I: 15) at the end, which, of course, also belong to the language of everyday life. The manuscript concludes with several sections that can be considered useful appendices to the main body of the text: religious phrases, Polish texts, and lists of numbers and letters.

A closer look at Table 1 shows that – with the exception of the Polish texts – all sections in F also occur in S and A. However, in comparison with F the textual structure of S, and especially A, is less systematic. In S, the lexical and phraseological sections are each located in two different places (with the lexical sec-

¹⁵ We will stick to the term ‘grammatical’ used in the table of contents in TF I: 13-14. However, for the section 131-184 (as well as the corresponding parts in S and A), it would be more appropriate to speak of ‘word derivation and word classes’.

¹⁶ Cf. the heading *Vonn Kleinenn Worten* (S 88v 12).

tions placed between the phraseological ones), and in A even in three different places.

In A, the list of numbers (37r 1–38r 2) is actually more a part of the lexicon (preceded by the unit *Van Gelde Vnderschede*) than a separate section.¹⁷ In general, A does not always clearly distinguish between the different sections, such as the lexicon and the phraseology (cf. 11v 15–20, 13v 20–24, 18v 13–26, 20r, 20v 19–20, 21r, 27v 1–4, etc.),¹⁸ or the brief grammatical part (40r *Van Kleinen vockabulen*) and the following pages of the second phraseological section.

In S, the religious and grammatical sections are located in the middle of manuscript, between the phraseological and lexical parts, although they are still clearly marked off as separate units. The religious section has a few (rough) correspondences with the one in F: F 497 2–11 ~ S 66r 7–8, 498 7–19 ~ 66r 21–66v 6, 499 1–4 ~ 66v 7–8, 499 12–16 ~ 66v 15–17, 501 12–18 ~ 66v 18–23.¹⁹ The grammatical part of S is not as elaborate as the one of F (especially when it comes to the list of simple and prefixed verbs on pages 161–184), although occasional matches can be found between clusters of words in the lists of adjectives (cf., e.g., F 133 11–18 ~ S 90v 13–20), pronouns (e.g., F 149 20–150 3 ~ S 88v 19–22), prepositions, adverbs (e.g., F 157 1–6 ~ S 89rb 12–16), conjunctions, and verbs.

3.2 Introductory phrases

The introduction of F (14 pages) at the beginning of the manuscript is considerably larger than that of A (8 pages), and especially that of S (3 pages). At the end of the section, F marks the beginning of his enterprise with the following statement:

- (1) Voima Svætaia Troitza ia potzinall pizatt tu
 ruschuiu knigu Gospodi Isus Christus Sin Boseÿ
 pridi komne da posobbi mne ti ruschigi retzi præmo
 vtzitza da pochvatitt ÿ oposle præmo pizatt ÿ daÿ
 mne svoiu milost sdorovie ffsvoiem ffstrachu sÿiti.
 à tie ruschigi retzi vollodiett. Amin.
 Ihm nahmen der hilligen drefoldicheitt
 begunde ich dutt rusche boek tho schriuen. herr Iesus

¹⁷ The list roughly corresponds with F 545–554. In contrast with F, there is no list of letters in A (see F 565–566). S contains neither numbers nor letters.

¹⁸ The division of the lexical and phraseological parts of F and S is usually straightforward. We found one instance of a phrase in F which is located in the lexicon (80 18–19 *pust kon segodni opotzinutt – latt datt perdt van dage rowenn*) and which has a counterpart in the second phraseological section of S (103v 17 *Pust koenn sogodne opottsÿne – Las das pferdt ruhen*).

¹⁹ There is one phrase in the religious section of F that has a counterpart in the one of A: F 508 3–4 ~ A 5r 10–11+12–13.

Christus söhne gades kum mÿ tho hulpe de rusche
 sprake recht tho leren vnd tho vahten vnd darna
 recht tho schriuen vnd giff mÿ dine gnade here
 mytt gesundttheÿdtt in dinen fruchten tho
 leuen vnd de rusche sprake mitt leue tho
 gebukenn. Amen.

(F 22 7-20)

These introductory lines are not the only statement of this kind. The phraseological section is introduced with a similar statement on pages 187-188, and the part of this section that deals with trading issues – starting on page 273, see Table 3 below – is also clearly marked off:

- (2) Sdies ias bosĕiu pomotziu potziu pizatt
 ruskuiu retzi kak nemtzinu sruszinom
 poruskÿ govorit [...]
 Hÿr wÿll ich mytt der hulpe gotts
 anfangen tho schriuen de rusche sprake also
 de dutzschen myt den rußen behouen rusch tho
 spreken [...]

(F 188 1-3, 10-13)

- (3) Woimæ svætaia troÿtza
 ias potzinu sdies pizat kak nadob nemptzinu
 sruszinom torgovat [...]
 Im namen der hilligen drefoldicheitt.
 wÿll ich hir anfangen tho schriuen wo de
 dutschen behouen mytt den rußen tho
 koepslagen [...]

(F 273 12-14, 6-9)

Like F, the phrasebook of S also has several sets of introductory phrases. There are three introductory statements, located at the beginning of the manuscript (3r), preceding the religious section (64v-65r) and the second phraseological section (99r):

- (4) Iſde Jagotzu iſboſÿu pomotÿu potſÿnath kack nadop
 iſrussÿmum turguwath [...]
 Itzunndt will ich mit der Hilfe gottes beginnen, Als man
 mit denn Russen behufet zu kaufschlagen [...]

(S 3r 3-4, 7-8)

- (5) Iste Ja gottzu mÿloſÿÿrdÿe boſÿÿe ruſÿkÿm Jassÿkum
 pottsÿnath tacko menne aspodÿ boch ffimoÿe ſÿÿrtze
 prÿſlath pottsÿnath BockBossobÿ Imne tho pottwattÿth
 premo ruſÿkaÿa kuÿka pÿssath da Issdorouo bes
 strachu boſÿÿe wolodÿeÿth Imnogo dobbro ÿmeth.

Hier will ich mit der Hulff gottes die russische sprache
Anfahenn, vndt 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)

- (6) Issde Ja gottßne mýlos sýodýe boßýe Pottsýnath
Da Pýsath kack nadup Ißrußýmum gauwerýth.
Hier will ich mit der hulffe gottes beginnen vnd
Schreibenn, als man behuffet mit den Russenn zu
sprechenn, als hiernach volgdt. *p.*

(S 99r 8-12)

We can see that the main introductory statement of F, (1), roughly corresponds to (5), which introduces the religious section of S. The link between (1) in F and (5) in S is strengthened by the fact that the main introduction of F on page 24 gives us the Lord's Prayer in Russian (without translation), which corresponds with the end of the religious section of S, where the bottom of page 67v reads: *Nu volgett das Reussiche Vatter Vnser Auff dieselb sprache.*²⁰

Furthermore, the second introductory statement in F, (2), corresponds with (6), the introduction to the second phraseological section of S. The introductions (3) and (4), in F and S respectively, can also be matched (cf. also TF I: 19-21).

As A is more loosely related to F and S, the introductory statements have fewer correspondences. Still, the one real introductory statement to A, located at the beginning of the first lexical section (9r), can be considered a shortened version of F's (1) and S's (5):

- (7) Hospody Blahoslawi 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)²¹

²⁰ The next folio of S does not in fact give us the Lord's Prayer. Instead, the lexical section starts right off with the heading *Vonn gott vnd Himlischenn Dinnngenn*. The catchword *Otze nas* at the bottom of page 67v suggests that one of the folios disappeared before they were numbered and bound (see Fałowski and Witkowski 1992: 17).

²¹ After these introductions S and A continue with the same phrase: S 65r 9-11 *Aspoddi Iseus Christus sým bosie bomýluý 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 Chrüstus sone gades vorbarme die unser Armen sünders). The phrase does not occur in F.

On top of this, an echo of introduction (3) of F and (4) of S is heard in a loose phrase (German only) in the third phraseological section of A:

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

Despite the more distant relationship between F and S on one side, and A on the other, the similarities are still striking. For example, after the introductory statements (5) and (7), S and A continue with the same phrase, absent in F:

- (9) Aspoddi Iseus Christus sÿm bosie bomÿluÿ nas grechnich. *p*
Her Jesu Christe du sohne gottes Erbarme dich vber vnns
Armen sunders. *p.* (S 65r 9-11)

Isus Christus sine bosie pomilui nas gresnych.
Jesus Chrÿstus sone gades vorbarme die unser Armen
sÿnders (A 9r 7-9)

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

- (10) Einn Russisch Buch binn ich genanndt,
Ihm deutschenn Lanndt gantz vnbekanndt, (S 1r 1-2)

Ein Rusch Boeck Bin Ick Genanth / mit ve-
len Ehrlücken lüden sey Ick Allto
wol nicht Bekhant (A 1r 1-3)²²

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

- (11) geschriebenn [...] Lebenn²³
erdenn [...] werde
Lerenn [...] bekerenn (S 1r, 2r)

geschrewen [...] leben
Erden [...] werd(en)
leren [...] keren (A 1r)

²² Cf. the very similar passage S 25 2-3, and M.P. Alekseev's comments concerning their authorship (Alekseev 1951: 107-109).

²³ The words only rhyme in Low German; see section 5 on the translation of S from Low German into High German.

Close textual correspondences between the introduction of A and F – this time excluding S – can be found on the verso side of the same folio in A and page 14 in F, for example:

- (11) Wiltu in Rußlandtt de sprake lehren
so laht dÿ van den rußen nicht vorföhren (F 14 1-2)
- (12) Wultu Ihn Rußlandt de schpracke leren/ so lathe die vor den
hungerigen Russen nicht vorferen/ (A 1v 4-5)²⁴

The repeated introductions in S have led some scholars to assume that S unites several previously existing phrasebooks (see Bolek 1997: 64, Xoroškevič 2000: 83f.). The somewhat haphazard impression made by the introductions, contrasts with the more rational arrangement of the same introductory statements in F (Xoroškevič 2000: 84). The fact that the compiler of F has retained the various introductory sections – and arranged them in a more rational way – suggests that he considered the various sections as more or less independent parts or chapters that could be arranged in different ways.²⁵

3.3 Lexical sections

As has been pointed out above (section 2.2), the lexicon of F, S, and A has been studied in considerable detail, including the vocabulary in the lexical sections; a recent work in the field is Mžel'skaja 2003. In this section, we therefore restrict ourselves to a few general comments.

The lexical section of F contains approximately 1,950 entries. It is subdivided into a general vocabulary with 40 different chapters (running from *Van den veer elementenn* to *Van schepenn*), and a vocabulary for trading with another 14 chapters (starting with *Van allerley pelterienn* and ending with *Van allerley lakenn*).

More than half of the entries in the lexical section of F are also attested in S and almost every single chapter of F can be encountered in S (see Gernentz et al. 1988: 63-76 for some detailed comparisons).

²⁴ The other correspondences are F 14 7-8 ~ A 1r 16-17; 14 9-10 ~ 1v 1-2; 14 11-12 ~ 1v 9-10; 14 13-14 ~ 1v 11-12; 14 21-22 ~ 1v 13-14; 14 25-26 ~ 1v 6.

²⁵ The retention of double occurrences of the same phrase in the various sections could be seen as a confirmation of this perceived independence. Examples of phrases that are repeated literally or with some variation: 189 9-11 ~ 191 3-8 ~ 274 1-5; 214 17-18 ~ 472 8-11; 217 15-17 ~ 277 10-13; 219 4-7 ~ 332 1-4, 219 11-12 ~ 390 21-23, 225 13-17 ~ 348 16-20; 229 19-20 ~ 472 3-4, 257 1-4 ~ 331 5-7. Note that within the large section on trading repetitions also occur: 285 13-14 ~ 322 13-14, 288 16-20 ~ 417 4-7, 293 1-4 ~ 316 15-22, 296 20-21 ~ 318 17-18, 301 1-6 ~ 336 17-20, 305 6-8 ~ 339 20-22, 321 1-2 ~ 384 6+10, 336 10-12 ~ 439 13-15, 339 12-15 ~ 349 18-23, 356 1-5 ~ 463 9-13.

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. Table 1 above) nicely corresponds with the general vocabulary of F (31-107), whereas the second section (95r-98v, and also the first five lines of 99r) precisely covers the vocabulary for trading in F (108-130).

The connection between F and A – whose combined lexical sections make up a considerable part of the entire document (cf. Table 2) – is less obvious than between F and S. Nevertheless more than one third of the lexemes of 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.

3.4 Phraseology: general

The Appendix to the present contribution provides a list of textual correspondences in the phraseological sections of F, S, and A. It should come as no surprise that in general, the list shows far more correspondences between F and S than between F and A. A rough statistical comparison (cf. also Table 3 below) yields the following figures:

- Of a total of 685 entries in the section which could be labelled ‘Phraseology: social’ (187-261), 198 phrases can also be found in S (29%). If we also include A, there are 232 corresponding phrases (34%).
- In the section ‘Phraseology: trading’ (273-464), the overlap between F and S is considerably higher: of a total of 991 entries in F, 707 are also attested in S (71%). If we also take into account the small amount of exclusive correspondences between F and A (29 instances), the percentage rises to 74.
- The section ‘Proverbs: various’ (469-482) has 86 entries, of which 16 correspond with S (19%) and 20 with S and A (23%).
- In the section ‘Indecent sayings’ (485-494)²⁶ we only found one phrase that is attested elsewhere.²⁷

²⁶ This section is called “indecent proverbs, riddles, swear words, bywords and turns of speech” in TF I (15).

²⁷ Tÿ ne sibaies særini gusi seres ogoroda da krasnoi sonki.
Du werpest keyne braden ~~honer~~ göse vnd suuerliche fruwen auer den tuhen. (F 487 9-12)

Ty ne schibass sarenych da warenych gusy tzeres tyn
Du werpest keine bradene nach gesadene guse Auer den tom (A 90v 12-13)

It looks as if F added *da krasnoi sonki* to the standard proverb.

Thus, of the total sum of 1,762 entries in F, 989 phrases are also attested in S and/or A. It is mainly due to the overwhelming number of corresponding phrases in the trading sections of F and S (71%), that the overall percentage of non-original phrases in the main phraseological sections in F is at least 56%.

3.5 Phraseology: F versus S

The composition of F and S reveals a clear correspondence between the different phraseological sections:

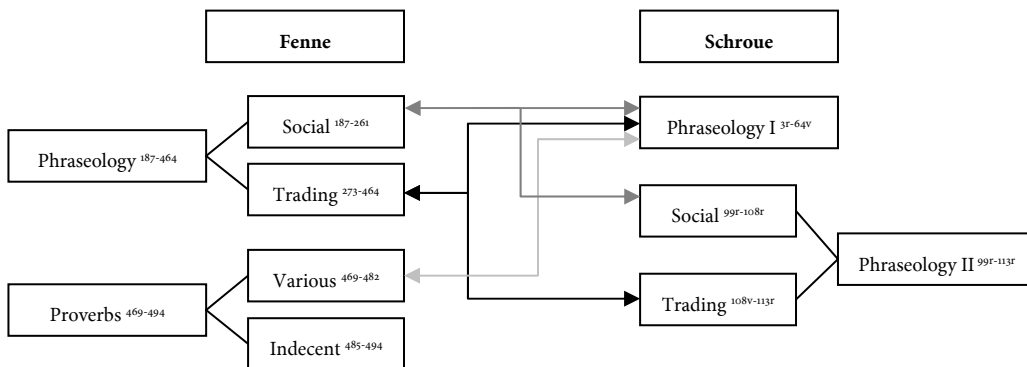


Table 3: Close-up comparison of the phraseological sections of F and S

The concordance further shows an overwhelming amount of exact parallel sequences of phrases, testifying to the extremely close textual relationship that F and S enjoy.

Speaking in broad terms, the section 'Phraseology: social' (F 187-261) first runs parallel with S 99r-108r, then with parts of S 3r-64v. The section 'Phraseology: trading' (F 273-464) first closely follows S 3r-64v, then matches S 108v-113r, and at the end again relates to parts of S 3r-64v. The majority of correspondences in the section 'Proverbs: various' (F 496-482) can be found in the section S 3r-64v.

A closer look at parallel sequences of phrases reveals the keen eye of the compiler of F for the layout of his text.

In quite a few cases, a sequence which runs parallel with S is disrupted by the last phrase at the bottom of the page. A typical example is F 341-342, where F follows the sequence of S 32rv, with the exception of the last phrase on page 341:

Fenne	Schroue
...	...
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 4: Typical order of phrases at the end of a page in F in relation to S

The phrase after 341 20-21 in F is not the counterpart of S 32r 21-24, but a phrase (341 22-23) which corresponds with 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, the already used 32v 5-6.

The principle that seems to govern this deviation from the standard pattern is that the compiler of F does not split up a single phrase (including the Russian and German sentences) over two different pages. In this particular case, F had room for one more phrase after 341 20-21. We assume that the next phrase in his source corresponded with S 32r 21-24, which, however, was too long for the space left – it turns up as F 342 1-6, taking up six lines. His solution was to pick two lines somewhat further on in his copy.²⁸

This procedure may also explain another category of cases where parallel sequences of phrases are disrupted. These are instances in which the last phrase of a page in F lacks a counterpart in S. For example, the phrases on pages 456 and 457 in F closely follow the phrases on S 15v and 16r, with the exception of the last phrase on page 456 (20-21):

²⁸ Other typical examples of this procedure can easily be found throughout the phraseological section of F, e.g., 201 22, 285 18-22, 286 21-23, 296 20-21, 300 21-22, 301 19-22, 308 18-21, 312 19-21, 315 16-21, 325 20-21, 331 20-21, 336 21-22, 341 22-23, 352 22-23, 364 21-23, 366 20-23, 367 21-22, 384 21-23, 385 21-22, 386 21-22, 389 20-21, 394 21-22, 397 21-22, 405 20-21.

Fenne	Schroue
...	...
456 14-16	15v 15-16 ²⁹
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 5: A parallel sequence in F and S is disrupted by a missing phrase in S

In a number of cases these phrases in F – which lack a counterpart in S – correspond with a phrase in A. Examples of this are F 278 23-24 ~ A 75r 18-19; F 288 21-23 ~ A 83v 8; F 305 16-20 ~ A 72r 16-18. This means that these phrases in F stem from some written source.³⁰

There is a final set of phrases which can be related to layout considerations on the part of the compiler of F. There are pages in F that have no correspondences in S with the exception of the last phrase of the page. The following table illustrates a typical case:

Fenne	Schroue
...	...
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 6: A phrase from S shows up as the last item on a page without correspondences

Other cases 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 clear how close the textual composition of the phraseological part of F to that of S actually is.

²⁹ The missing lines S 15v 17-20 roughly correspond with F 452 3-4 and 5-6.

³⁰ If neither S nor A show the phrase, they could stem from a written or from an oral source. In the case of F 456 20-21, a written source will have to be assumed. The strange form *menetzu* in this phrase, transliterated in TF II as *мѣнятьсю*, points to the syntactic conversion of earlier *хочу ... меняться* (see Hendriks 2008).

3.6 Phraseology: F versus A, S versus A

Like in the case of the lexicon, the connection between the composition of F and A is less strong than between F and S. We find correspondences throughout the text of A. In the section ‘Phraseology: social’ (F 187-261) we see some concentration of corresponding phrases on pages 54-59, 86 and 91 of A. The part ‘Phraseology: trading’ here and there 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 versus S.

Although we have not systematically searched for exclusive correspondences between S and A only, we feel safe in concluding that there are only few cases in which similar phrases in S and A are not shared by F.³¹

4. Language

4.1 F versus S

The close correspondence between F and S is not limited to the composition of the texts. The following examples, which can easily be found throughout the phraseological sections, further illustrate the direct relationship between both manuscripts on the orthographical, grammatical, and syntactic levels:

- F 190 16 *Dobranitz* ~ S 99r 16 *Dobranithz* (cf. TF II: 128, n. 16: “Ukrainian influence in secular greeting”).
- F 190 17 *Doboszdorouie* (for *Добро здоровье*) ~ S 99r 14 *Dabes drowe* (both written without *r*).
- F 205 6-7 *svoi polat* ~ S 103r 8-9 *swoj pollat*. In both cases *полата* is treated as masculine.
- F 208 21 *fftorg* (*vp den markede*) ~ S 105r 20-21 *offturk* (both lacking a locative ending).
- F 279 9-12 *sprimka* (*vp winst*) ~ S 5v 3-6 *Isprymka*. In both instances an instrumental case is to be expected.
- The word *поводно* (‘выгодно’, cf. Zaliznjak 1998: 261-262) occurs for the first time in F as *povodno* (279 19-23). In the corresponding phrase S writes *pouodua* (5v 11-18), where *-du-* has to be read as *-dn-* (as in numerous other instances in S). There are three other cases of *поводно* in F, all without *d* and with a single *n* (*povono* 280 6-10, 286 8-14, *povonu* 376 1-7), most probably reflecting assimilation of *dn* > *nn* (idem: 262). In the corresponding cases in S, the word is written in the same way (*pouono* 5v 19-23, 7v 20-25, *powono* 46v 22-47r 2).

³¹ 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 287 18-22 *prigourival* (TF II: 247 *пригов<a>ривал*) ~ S 9r 5-8 *prýgowrýuall*.
- F 309 5-12 *Moi aspodar velil mnie ottebe dengi ffzæt* has the German translation *Mÿn 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 gesandtt, das geldt zu holenn* (18r 23-28).
- The explicit addition including *iestze* at the end of F 311 17-20 (*al. iestze bolse sudit*) corresponds with the text in S 19r 22-23 (*Towar Ieße bolße ßudÿth*).
- F 320 13-14 *Sol dorogo büil* (for *была*) ~ S 22v 3-4 *Soall dorogo buÿll*.
- F 320 21-23 *snakon* (for *знаком*) ~ S 23r 10-11 *Ißnakonn*.
- F 334 6-9 *polübitz ÿ tÿ* (*полюбитс<я>, и ты*, cf. Günther 1974: 790, Zaliznjak 1998: 272) ~ S 29r 8-11 *pololubÿtz Ithÿ*.
- F 351 17-18 *na moim tovarum* (*вр myner wahre*) ~ S 36r 12-13 *na moÿum thowarum*.
- F 354 11-17 *ias buit tebe* (for *яз бы тебе*) ~ S 37r 22-37v 3 *Jas buth debbe*.
- F 360 1-7 *tzob tovar* for *ч<t>об товар<y>* (TF II: 328) exactly corresponds with S 40r 17-23 *tzoep thowar*.
- F 371 10-11 *Tuoi krasenina* (for *твоя*) ~ S 45r 8 *Tuoiÿ kraßmÿna*.
- F 377 1-14 *tÿ mecha* (3 sack) ~ S 47v 16-48r 5 *thÿ mechga* (*Dreÿ Secke*). Here, of course, the letter *r* is omitted in the numeral in both F and S.
- F 377 15-23 *nasch drusba* (for *наша*) ~ S 47r 15-21 *naß trusba*.
- F 407 3-8 *da kotorum tÿ slubuies* (TF II: 381 *котору<ю>*) ~ S 60v 11-16 *da kotoroÿm thÿ Ißlubuÿes*.
- F 412 1-5 *prismotritz: prigleditz* (TF II: 387 *присмотритс<я> / приглядитс<я>*) ~ S 62v 12-16 *prÿßmotritz: prÿgleditzs*.
- F 469 14-17 *mosit dielat* (*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 with the reading of S 112r 3-5: *mossÿ spÿratse* (*kann Zwÿtrechtich sein*).
- The German text of F 471 13-17 reads *so ~~erkennt he sine~~ heffft he noch de qwahle tho nehmen* (~ S 39v 4-7 *so hat er noch dem willenn zuleben. vnnnd zuhandlen*). The words that are crossed out in F cannot possibly be the translation of the Russian text (*ÿno iestze ÿsumilsa ffzæt* ~ S *Imo Ieße 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* (39v 20-21). This suggests that the direct source of F also included the phrase.

4.2 F versus A

The following examples illustrate that the text of A belongs to the same manuscript tradition as F and S, yet is further removed from F and S in the sense that

often phrases match only partially and that the correspondences are more indirect, vague and associative:

- F 195 21-22 *Na velikum saluange bog dall pollno* is a combination of two separate phrases on page 27r of A: *Dal boch polno* in line 16 and *Na welicko salowange* in line 20.
- F 215 5 *Ia chotzu stoboi sreditza* roughly corresponds with A 76v 8-9 *Jas stoboi otom pomirymsa*. The next phrase in F (215 6-7 *Otzum tÿ na menæ varavis – Worumb luchstu vp mÿ*) is thematically close to the previous phrase in A (76v 6-7 *Mnoho ty Chwastajesch da lsesch – Du lawest die sehr vnd liehst*).
- F 256 16-17 *Dolgo tÿ sziues poru tebe vmerett* (*Du leuest lange idtt is tÿt dattu steruest*) corresponds with A 18v 16-17 *Dolgo ty syl na sem swete* (*Du hefst lange gelewet Auf diesser Erd(en)*) and the next line *pora tebbe vmerety* (*Ist tyth dat du sterwest*). The preceding sentences in F and A touch upon the theme of sin (“sunde”), although different expressions are used.
- F 297 7-10 *Pravo vbütka mnie lichho potzinat ia torguii spributka da tÿ takovos* (~ S 12r 24-27) is a free combination of two short phrases in A: 61r 15-16 *Prawo na vbytek chudo torgowat* and 17-18 *Torgui na pributeck*.
- F 297 11-15 corresponds with 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, F 311 7-9 *Ias stoboi tebe rosplatilsa da tebe ne vinovate* (~ S 19r 13-15) can be matched with A 74v 14-15 *Jas tebe ne winowat da nesnaJu toba*. Only *tebe ne vinovate* corresponds with 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 beginning of the sentence (F *Otzum tÿ moi tovar roskladivais: perekladivais ... ~ A Czemu perekladass towar*). 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.
- In view of the sequence of phrases, F 320 21-23 *Moi tovar snakon ne nadob mnie iovo klemít* (~ S 23r 10-11) corresponds with 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 Kleyem 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. F 328 13-15 *Tzto tebe ff-*

tom tovaru stalo protoroff na dorogi and A 83r 10-11 *Nonetza protoroff welick day desat Rublow*. However, both show the word *проторъ* ‘costs’, which is otherwise rare. The only other phrase in which *проторъ* is used in F is 319 21-22: *Protori mnje stalo veliky*. This phrase, which is not attested in S, vaguely alludes to A 83r 10-11.

- Whereas the last three phrases on page 329 in F accurately match the last ones on pages 26r in S, the corresponding part in A (83v 6-7+8-9) only uses some similar words (*добывать, не вѣрять* and *поручникъ*) in the same theme.
- F 400 12-15 *Ia tebæ otovo spaszaui: vgimaiu kak druga, vieri tÿ mnje* (~ 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 (... *podj opet nasady*) is completely different and is attested elsewhere in F (214 21 *Podi opæd nasad*).
- The two phrases F 408 10-18 and 410 1-7 are combined in a single entry in S 61v 1-16. A 69r 2 *my chotzem tebbe dati wo twoJe rutze* alludes to F 408 11-12 *mÿ tebe dadim ffsuoiu volu da ruku* (~ S 61v 3), whereas A 69r 2-3 *da skasi pramo ne wosmi po sulu da ne prodai duschu dyawolu* corresponds with F 410 1-2 and S 61v 5-7 (both reading *бѣсъ* instead of *дьяволъ*).

5. The protograph of F and S

In our opinion, the observations presented in 4.1 – which can easily be multiplied – give rise to the hypothesis that F and S share a *direct* common source.

In more cautious terms, we cannot agree with the complicated stemma of Xoroškevič (2000: 91), who presupposes a common source for F and S dating back to the end of the 15th century, with two intermediate copies for S and as much as three for F. This stemmatological distance is unlikely in view of the strong philological and linguistic similarity which we have shown above.

If we assume that the scribes of F and S used the same source, we could imagine the following scenario for S.³² At the end of the 15th century, Thomas Schroue, mayor of Dorpat, ordered a Russian phrasebook, which was copied or compiled for him from earlier sources. The language used was his native Low German. This manuscript was copied in 1546, and retained the name of Thomas Schroue. A next copy – the copy we have been calling S – was made between 1582 and 1591 (cf. section 2.1 above). On page 1r, the scribe paid homage to Thomas Schroue, whom he thought was the author, and included the year 1546 of the source he copied (cf. Alekseev 1951: 108). With regard to language, this scribe was obviously not competent in Russian at all (cf., e.g., Fałowski 1997: 9). His main linguistic merit was the translation of the Low German text of the

³² Cf. also Alekseev 1951, Bolek 1997, Xoroškevič 2000.

source into High German. A piece of direct evidence of this translation is Low German *menn moeth* immediately preceding High German *Man mus* (S 51v 19-21), which exactly corresponds with *Men modt* in F (391 6-8).³³

This scenario raises a number of questions. These questions pertain to the nature of the source that F and S copied, and especially to the scribe of F, his knowledge of Russian and his input.

Given the lack of knowledge of Russian on the part of the scribe of S, we assume that the scribe of S copied the source of his manuscript in a rather mechanical fashion. He may have rearranged or left out phrases here and there – based on German –, but S is to be regarded as a fairly accurate representation of the text and composition of the common source of F and S.

The scribe of F, on the other hand, composed his work in a much more logical and rational way (see above). Moreover, he obviously also knew how to read and write the Cyrillic alphabet. It is used not only in the lexical section, but occasionally in the phraseological section as well.³⁴ Any assumption that the Cyrillic words and passages were written by a different scribe (see, e.g., Prowatke 1985: 69) should be discarded in the light of cases such as *ðvedolone* (59.16), *peki^mtt* (108.8), *ðadut* (146.19), *Bog ðato* (190.3), *Ŵtzum* (209.20), and the remarks *Колѹ добро* and *Колѹ худо* (236.3).³⁵

One could wonder whether the common source of F and S was as corrupt as S. We assume that this was not the case, and that the extreme distortion of the text of S on the orthographical and grammatical levels is due to the scribe of S.³⁶ Had the common source been equally corrupt, we would have to assume that F corrected his copy from cover to cover in a fundamental way only a native speaker could be capable of. Although we assume that F used a native speaker to make corrections and additions, in the light of the imperfections and violations against the Russian language witnessed in F, we have to conclude that the assistance was only limited.

Still, the scribe of F did know Russian to some extent. Structural differences between F and S should be regarded as the input by the scribe of F, with or

³³ Gernentz et al. provide a list of cases where the Low German original shines through in the High German text (1988: 39f).

³⁴ Single words (206 22, 212 17, 213 6, 224 18, 228 10, 242 6, 243 6, 245 16, 301 3, 327 20, 418 2, 429 18, 435 2, 435 5 (crossed out), and 442 16), as well as whole phrases (as on pages 444, 445, 488, 489, and 492).

³⁵ It is an interesting question whether or not the direct source of S and F contained Cyrillic. If it did, the scribe of S – not knowing Russian – removed it. If it did not, the scribe of F must have added it. For the moment, we shall leave this question aside.

³⁶ A typical example is S 12r 12-13 *Imno thÿ piÿproßÿnaÿs vboff*, which is almost unintelligible without the accompanying German equivalent (*Du Hieschest zuuuel zu, schlagk etwas ab*) and, in fact, the corresponding phrase in F (296 12-13): *Mnogo tÿ priproszivaies vbaff*.

without the aid of a native informant. The attitude of the scribe of F towards his source was free and conscious. This attitude is to be expected considering the very practical nature of the genre. Copies were compiled for individual use in everyday life and the available source (or sources) were adapted, corrected, updated and new – first- or second-hand – information was added.

All this means that the list of structural morphological and syntactic differences between F and S noted by Bolek (1997: 65-67), must be considered innovations by F with regard to its source. The most important example is the structural change in the way how future tense is expressed (item 7 on Bolek's list). Hendriks 2008 illustrates how the scribe of F largely removed the construction 'xouy + INF' from his source, and discusses the linguistic implications of this change.

The following differences between F and S further illustrate what in our opinion should primarily be regarded as the result of the compiler's own input in F (again, with or without the help of an informant or any other sources he had at his disposal):

- F 204 20 *Tzto tack pachnett (Wadtt stinckett so)* corresponds with S 103r 5 *Stho kack pachane*. The next two phrases on page 204 continue the subject of 'smelling': F 204 21 *Tzto tack nuchatt*, F 204 22 *Nuchai na tutt traffka*. Both phrases are missing in S. After the digression in F, both texts continue with the same phrases.
- The German phrases in F 209 17 and S 106r 3 are very similar: *Im warhafftiger warheidtt* and *Inn rechter warheit*, respectively. However, they are translated in a totally different way: F *Voistinnu praffdu* and S *Proprauomo slaua*.
- F 228 10-11 reads *Perevesi tj menæ seres reku (Vor my auer de beke)*. Thematically it does not belong in the set of phrases on pages 227 and 228, which deal with invitations and guests. It seems that the sentence, which begins with *Perevesi*, was included as a kind of association to the last word(s) of the previous phrase: F 228 5-9 *besz perewodoff: du* (~ S 57r 5-9 *bes verewodaff perewodu*). Etymologically, of course, the association is incorrect. Interestingly, at the end of the line *nepevezu* is added in cyrillic by the same hand.
- F 230 15-17 *Nichto isbohu ne dumall to vedait bog odin* corresponds with S 112r 6-8. The next phrases in F, which are not included in S, can be considered a string of lexical associations: 230 18-21 *Ne nadob mne oboronætza, bog mnie oboronitt da praffda* alludes to 15-17 (*isbohu; bog*) and also to 11-14, beginning with the word *Nadob*; 230 22-25 *Ne vpaddÿvai: torropis: vrobe ot ioga da oboroni sebe otiogo* alludes to 18-21 (*oboronætza*).
- The long phrase in S 5v 11-18 is split up into two separate phrases in F; the first one at the bottom of page 279 (19-23), the second one at the top of page 280 (1-5). This is in accordance with the layout principle that guides the scribe of F (see above). In a number of other cases a single phrase in S is

split up in F.; cf., e.g., 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. An interesting case is S 105v 4-7 *Ja gottsuo stoboÿ ofsaklath sa Lossÿth thrÿ grÿuen tho tack kack Ja sthassalle* (*Ich will dreÿ Marck darauff vorwetten, es ist also wie ich gesagt habe*), which was rearranged in F 209 3-4 *Ia stoboi osaklu to takkak ia schasale* (*Ich wÿll mÿtt dÿ wedden dat idt so is also ich sede*) and 209 5-6 *Ia na tom saklad salöszu tri griuena to tack* (*Ich wÿll vm dre M wedden datt is so*). Sometimes we also find the opposite procedure, where F combines two separate phrases of S: cf., e.g., F 387 20-23 ~ S 51r 18-19 and 20-21, F 414 11-12 ~ S 63v 9-10 and 11-12. In the case of F 404 6-11 ~ S 59r 8-9 and 10-14 the concluding remark in F *ffnasche semla vaschi dengi chodæt* (*in vnsem lande iß iuwe geldt gankbahr*) says the opposite of S: *off semlÿ wasÿÿ kumÿ ne godde* (*In vnserm Lande gildt eur geldt nicht*).

- The phrases in F and S just mentioned above also show that F uses the word *деньги* in stead of *куны*, as in quite a few other cases: 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, etc. Also note F 281 11-15 *dengami* inserted right after *kunami*. Similar cases where different monetary units are involved are 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 grÿuennÿ*. The changes made in F obviously reflect the actual monetary system of the early seventeenth century (cf. Fałowski 1997: 9, Хорошкевиç 2000: 85f.).
- Besides *деньги* versus *куны* we find other cases of lexical variation between F and S; cf., e.g., F 275 15-21 *na dorogo* ~ S 3v 18-22 *na puthÿ*, F 291 5-10 *vootzi* ~ S 10r 15-21 *off glaßzack*, and F 344 19-22 *kasaki* ~ S 33r 16-19 *dregeloff*. The word *казакъ* does not seem to occur in S, whereas F translates German *dregelger* either as *казакъ* or *дрягиль* (e.g., F 345 4-8 *dregila* ~ S 33r 23-33v 3 *dregÿla*). On the different words for German *wage*, *wachttschaell* in F (*вѣсча полата; вѣс, вѣщъ, скалва*), S (*скалвеница; скалва, вѣсѣ*), and also A (*важня, важница*), see Mžel'skaja 2003:182f., Хорошкевиç 2000: 88f.
- F 291 5-10 seems to have left out the last part of the corresponding phrase in S 10r 15-21: *szitele thÿ Ja slepe* (*meinstu das ich blinndt seÿ*). In other cases we find additions in F, like for instance in 298 1-4 (~ S 12v 13-16), where F adds *besz koluverte* (*sunder argerlist*) at the end of the phrase, or in 209 18-19 (~ S 106r 6-7) where F notes *ili tusis* at the end of a sentence as an alternative reading for the verb *soblis* in the phrase. F shows many other examples of additional variant readings (mostly of verbs and verb forms) in contrast with S; cf., e.g., F 223 1-4 *Prikin: pribaff* ~ S 4v 26-5r 2 *prÿbaff*, F 226 1-4 *Buitt veszoll: rodosten: da poteszon* ~ S 35v 15-16 *Buth weßoll*, F 227 8-10 *porukudam: porutzilsa* ~ S 44r 1-3 *porutsull*, F 279 5-8 *peremetit: peretzest* ~ S 5v 1-2 *parametÿth*, F 308 1-6 *naloszit: nakladat* ~ S 17v 27-18r 2 *na loßÿth*, F 311 21-

22 *rosdumal*: *rosmuislil* ~ S 19r 24-25 *rossdumall*, F 346 19-22 *oblitzu*: *vlitzu*: *dovedu* ~ S 34r 8-10 *oblýttsu*: *dauedye*, F 364 5-7 *sa naleiski*: *nachotki* ~ S 42r 12-13 *sa naßotkj*, F 371 1-5 *vnelo*: *ielo* ~ S 45v 13-17 *vnello*, F 371 19-22 *dovöl*: *vlitzil*: *oblitzil*: *perevörnul* ~ S 45v 23-25 *dowaell*: *vlyttsyll*: *blittsýs*, F 373 1-11 *Ialsa*: *isimalsa* ~ S 109r 15-23 *Jalsse*, F 402 8-10 *Výmeti*: *výpachi*: *výtzisti* ~ S 58r 14-15 *Weýpas*. On the other hand, we also find cases where F leaves out variant readings that are recorded in S; cf., e.g., F 228 12-15 *fftzest* ~ S 52r 14-16 *off radost*: *offzest*, F 230 7-10 *smuschaies* ~ S 64v 1-4 *skaßýs*: *smußayes*, F 287 10-17 *plosze* ~ S 8r 18-23 *guße*: *ploße*, F 311 7-9 *rosplatilsa* ~ S 19r 13-15 *platýles*: *rosplattýles*, F 341 22-23 *dotzsolsa*: *doszla* ~ S 32v 5-6 *dotzolssze*: *detzkles*: *doßlo*.

Although S produced a text which is highly corrupt, especially when it comes to orthography and grammar, it still turns out to be a valuable source to trace and to clarify possible mistakes made by F, which partly have already been emended in the edition (TF II). Here are some examples:

- F 201 11-12 *Sapovedall* (*Idtt is vorbaden*) should probably be read as *Заповѣда<н>* (TF II: 142 “Заповѣдал (!)"); cf. S 100v 3-5 *Tho Jest sapowedan*.
- In F 223 1-4 the Russian translation probably by mistake leaves out the German word *wedder*; cf. S 4v 26-5r 2 *opeth*. Similar cases are F 299 19-22, where German *noch* has no translation (cf. S 13r 26-13v 2 *Jeßze*) and F 301 19-22, where the negation in *Al iestzo tý tzeitall* (*oder heffstuddt noch nicht gerekendt*) is missing (cf. S 14r 21-24 *all Jeßze thý ne ßýtall*).
- F 299 11-15 *na* in *tzto promesznik na sgovorit* (*wat vns de mekeler affsprýktt*) should be read as *нам*, not *нам* (as in TF II: 260); cf. S 13r 18-22 *stho promeßnýck mam* *Ißgouwarýth* and also F 408 10-18 *tzto tý nam* *sgovoris* (*wadt du vnß sprikst*) ~ S 61v 61v 1-16 *stho thý nam* *Ißgouwerýs*.
- The emendation in TF II: 278 of F 316 9-12 *kupli* = *куп<уть>-ли* is confirmed by the infinitive *kupýth* in S 20v 15-18.
- In F 320 17-18 *Otzum tý moi* *tovar smotzill*: *pomotzil* (*Worumb heffstu dýne wahre genettedt*) the possessive pronoun should be *свой*, not *мой*; cf. S 23r 4-5 *Vtßum tuý suoý* *thowar pomotzýle*. There are more cases where F mixes up *свой* with *мой* and *мой*, e.g. in 304 1-4 *Smetli mnie suoioogo tovaru smotrit* (*Mach ich dýne wahre woll besehen*). This phrase is not attested in S, but the mistake is obvious if we look at the corresponding text in A (77v 8-9): *Smejutli tvoj tovar posmotryti*.
- In F 335 10-14 *Ia ne sameril suoi tovar* (*Ich hebbe nicht auer de mahte mine wahr vorlauet*) the preposition *za* is most probably missing; cf. S 28v 22-29r 3 *Ja ne samerýll ßa* *ßuoý* *thowar* and also F 279 19-23 *Tý sa* *suoi tovar samerivaies*.

- In view of the variants *Išobīšaj: Išobýt* (*изобижай: изобидь*) in S 36r 7-9, the addition *isobý* in F 351 13-16 (after the sentence which contains the verb *sobýsai*) should probably be understood as the perfective imperative *изобидь*, and not as a simple “correction for *sobýsai* without the appropriate initial *i*” (TF II: 319).
- F 358 21-23 *Primeti te dom* (*Merke dat hueß*) is emended in TF II: 327 as *примѣти т<ом> дом*. However, in view of S 40v 3-5 *Prýmetye the that podworýe: pallath* and also S 51v 6-8 *Prýmeth thý*, the corrupt passage in F may well include the personal pronoun *ты* (*примѣти т<ы> дом*) or even both *ты* and the demonstrative *том* (*примѣть <т>ы т<ом> дом*).
- F 372 7-10 *ruký* (TF II 342 “руки (!)”) in *Schupai ruký ffmech* (*Taste mýt der handt in den sack*) should be corrected into the instrumental singular form *рук<о>ÿ*; cf. S 46r 7-10 *Szupaj ruckoÿ off mech*.
- 378 5-8: F *sa to|menæ ne poveszui* (*darumb vorkerdt mý nicht*) should be corrected in *sa to na menæ ne poveszui*; cf. S 48r 10-12 *βa tho namenna ne poueßuÿ* and also F 229 1-5 (*satim na menæ ne poveszui*), 291 1-4 (*ne poveszui tÿ namenæ*), and 326 8-12 (*ne poveszuiiu tÿ na menæ*, where *na* was inserted afterwards). Note that in the last phrase the correction in TF II: 290 *повѣщуй<ÿ>* for *poveszuiiu* is confirmed by S 25r 7-10 *poneßuÿ*.
- F 386 1-4 *Zakuni* (*De vorkoper*) in *Sakuni iesdet, da tovaru sakupaiu, da iovo dorosaiut* (*De vorkoper rýden, vnd vörkopen, de wahre vnd maken se duer*). If we take into account the corrupt passage *Sakup mý* (*Die vorkauffer*) in the corresponding phrase in S (50r 8-10), F should be emended *заку<n>ни* (<НОМ закупень>), and not *заку<n>и* (from НОМ закупъ) as in TF II: 357. 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.
- The emendation in TF II: 398 of F 420 14-17 *Mnogl = Мног<о>-ль* is corroborated by *Imnogoll* in S 111v 8-10. The same holds for *dielal = дела<т>* (TF II: 399) one page further on in F (421 15-19); cf. *delath* in S 112r 17-22.
- In F 463 14-20 *dobro ~~na~~ na obemæ ne builo obidno* (*datt vnß beyden kejn vnrecht geschee*) *na* should be corrected in *nam*; cf. S 46v 16-21 *bobbre nam obemo nebude obedduo*).

6. Conclusions

At the end of section 2 we have raised the questions of the exact position of F within the tradition of compiling and copying phrasebooks, of the scribe’s attitude towards his sources and of his own inputs. What were his merits if he was indeed only one of many successive compilers – as supposed by Bolek? And how should we evaluate the manuscript’s status as a priceless source – a qualification by Zaliznjak – in the light of the tradition it is rooted in?

In this contribution, we have argued that F and S go back to a *direct* common source. This conclusion was drawn on the basis of the closeness of the textual organisation (section 3), as well as of a multitude of exact correspondences brought to light by close textual comparison of both texts (section 4). These exact correspondences show that tradition plays a crucial role in the phrasebook of Tönnies Fenne. At the same time, we have seen that the scribe took an independent and conscious attitude towards his sources, and have suggested a number of corrections to the reading of the text of F (section 5).

If we want to come to a full appreciation of the Russian material in F, of the underlying linguistic system, and of the input of the scribe of F, close textual comparison is indispensable. In other words: the study of the language of F would be unthinkable without including the data that S has to offer.

The study of the historical Old Novgorod dialect – as reflected in the birch-bark documents – could profit from the study of S as well. Here too, close textual comparison of S and F is indispensable. It is the only way to see through the distortions that block the view on the underlying linguistic system of S, which more closely represents that of its source than the system which underlies the data of F.

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APPENDIX: CONCORDANCE OF F, S, AND A

The concordance lists all the corresponding phrases in the phraseological sections of the manuscripts of F, S, and A. Compared to the references to corresponding phrases in the text edition of S (Fałowski 1997), the present concordance contains a considerable number of corrections and additional correspondences. A concordance of textual correspondences between F and A was so far unavailable.³⁷

References to F are based upon the electronic text edition by Hendriks and Schaecken (version 1.1, July 2008). References to S and A point to the editions Fałowski 1997 and Fałowski 1994 respectively. 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.

Fenne	Schroue	Anonymous			
<i>Phraseology: Social (187-261)</i>			191 1-2	65r 22-23	
187-188	66r 12-15 / 99r 8-12		191 3-8 (189 9-11, 274 1-5)	3r 19-20 / 99v 13 / 99v 20-21	59r 6-7
189 9-11 (191 3-8, 274 1-5)	3r 19-20 / 99v 13 / 99v 20-21 / 100r 1	59r 6-7+8	192 5-7	101v 12-13	
189 12-14	99v 15-16	20v 17	193 4-5	52v 19-20	
189 15-16	99v 22	20v 11	194 1		58v 11
189 19-20		20v 13	195 21-22		27r 20- 21+16-17
190 1	65r 13 / 99v 18		196 1-2		27r 22-23
190 2	99r 19	20v 7 / 59r 3	196 18-19		56r 8
190 4	99v 19	27r 13-14	197 1-9	104v 9-10	
190 7		20v 8	198 10	102v 10	56v 8
190 9	100r 15		201 3-6	100r 20-22	
190 10	100r 14		201 7-8	100r 23-24	91v 9-10
190 12	99v 7		201 9-10	100v 1-2	90r 9
190 13	99r 13	20v 2 / 59r 4	201 11-12	100v 3-5	
190 14		20v 4	201 13-14	100v 10-11	
190 15	99r 15	20v 5	201 15-16	100v 12-13	
190 16	99r 16	20v 6	201 17-18	101r 6-7	
190 17	99r 14		201 19-20	101r 8-9	
190 18	99r 17		201 21	101r 10	
190 19	99r 18		201 22	101v 1	
			202 1-3	101r 11-12	
			202 6-8	101r 13-14	
			202 11-12	101r 15-16	
			202 13	101r 17	

³⁷ We have not systematically searched for exclusive correspondences between S and A only.

202 14-15	101r 18
202 16-17	101r 19-20
202 18-20	101r 21
202 21-22	101r 22-23
203 1-2	101v 2-3
203 3	101v 4
203 4-5	101v 5-6
203 6-7	101v 9-10 77r 7-8
203 8	101v 8
203 9	103v 3-4
203 10-11	101v 14-15
203 12	101v 17
203 13-15	101v 18-102r 2
203 16-17	102r 5-6
203 18	102r 7
203 19-20	64r 1-2 / 102r 8-9
204 1-2	102r 19 33r 16-19
204 3-4	102r 20+21- 22 / 102v 6
204 5-6	102v 1-2 56v 6-7
204 7	57r 23 / 102v 5
204 8-11	102v 7-9
204 12	102v 13
204 13	102v 14-15
204 14-15	102v 20
204 16-17	103r 1
204 18	103r 2
204 19	103r 4
204 20	103r 5
205 1	103r 6
205 2	103r 7
205 5	103r 10 58r 7
205 6-7	103r 8-9
205 8	103r 13 57v 10-11
205 9	103r 14 57v 12
205 11	57r 22 / 103r 18
205 12	103r 15 58r 4
205 13	103r 19-20
205 14-15	103v 18-19
205 16-17	103v 11-12
206 1-2	104r 6-7 86v 2-3
206 7	108r 1

206 13-14	104r 8
206 15-16	104r 3
206 19	104r 1-2
206 22	103v 9-10
207 6	104r 4-5
207 7	103v 5
207 8	103v 6-7
207 9	104r 9
207 10	104r 10-11 76v 3
207 11-12	104r 12-13
207 13-14	104r 14-15
207 15	104r 17
207 16	104v 2
207 19-20	104v 11-12
207 21-22	104v 14-15
208 1-2	104v 18-19
208 3-4	103v 1-2
208 5-6	105r 5-6
208 7-8	107r 9
208 9-10	105r 1-3
208 11-12	105r 7-9
208 13-15	105r 12-14
208 16-20	105r 15-19
208 21	105r 20-21
209 1	105r 4
209 3-4	105v 4-7
209 5-6	105v 4-7
209 8	48v 12-13 / 105v 8
209 9	105v 9
209 10-11	105v 10-11
209 12-13	106r 4-5
209 15-16	106r 1-2
209 17	106r 3
209 18-19	106r 6-7
209 20-22	105v 17-19
210 1	54r 6
210 2-3	106r 14-15 54v 1
210 4-5	106r 16-17 54v 2
-	106v 1-2 54v 5
210 6-8	106v 3-4 54v 6-7
210 9-10	106v 7-8
-	106v 9 54v 11
210 11-12	107r 1-2 / 83v 9 / 87r 9 107r 3-4

210 13-14	107r 5-6	55r 1
210 17-18	107r 7-8	
210 19-20	107v 5-6	
210 21-22	107r 10-11	
211 1-2	107r 14-15	
211 3-4	107r 16-17 / 107v 3-4	
211 5-6	107v 7-8	
211 7	107v 9-10	
211 8	107v 11	
211 9	107v 15	
211 10-11	107v 16-17	
211 12-13	108r 6-7	
211 14	108r 16	
211 15	65v 9-10 / 108r 8	
211 16-17	108r 11-12	
211 18	108r 13	
212 1-2		86v 11-12
213 19-20	67v 12-14	
214 17-18 (472 8-11)	113r 1-4	
214 21		84v 11-12
215 5		76v 8-9
215 17-18		57v 21-22
216 10-11	14v 1-3	
216 16-18	27v 7-8 / 100r 11	
217 15-17 (277 10-13)	5r 7-8	84v 5-6
219 4-7 (332 1-4)	27r 19-21	56r 1
219 11-12 (390 21-23)	52v 3-4	
220 8	34r 1	
223 1-4	4v 26-5r 2	
223 5-9	5v 24-6r 2	
223 10-13	9r 9-12	
223 14-16	10r 22-25	
223 17-21	23r 20-23v 3	
223 22-24	27r 3-6	
224 1-5	26v 18-22	
224 6-8	27v 1-2	
224 9-12	27v 13-16	
224 13-16	28r 14-17	
224 17-20	28r 18-21	40v 20-21

224 21-22	28v 16-17	
225 1-4	28v 3-5	
225 5-8	31v 5-8	
225 11-12	32r 13-14	
225 13-17 (348 16-20)	34v 20-22	
225 18-19	35r 1-2	
225 20-21	35r 3-4	
226 1-4	35v 15-16	
226 12-15	41r 16-19	
226 19-21	42v 14-16	
226 22-23	52r 17	
227 1-3	43v 17-19	
227 4-7	43v 20-23	
227 8-10	44r 1-3	
227 11-13	48v 14-16	
227 14-17	48r 13-16	
227 18-22	43r 18-21	
228 1-4	56v 16-18	
228 5-9	57r 5-9	
228 12-15	52r 14-16	
228 16-17	52v 1-2	
228 21-23	55r 21-23	
229 9-12	57r 10-12	
229 13-14	57r 13-14	
229 15	57r 19	
229 17-18	57v 11-12	
229 19-20 (472 3-4)	59v 1-2 / 106v 16-17	
229 21-23	60v 6-8	
230 1-2	64r 8-9	
230 3-4	60v 20-21	
230 5-6	64r 6-7	86v 8
230 7-10	64v 1-4	
230 11-14	111v 18-21	
230 15-17	112r 6-8	
232 4-6		58v 16-17
232 7-8	103v 8	
233 15-18	35r 7-9	
234 10-12		75r 1-2
235 22-23		54r 8
236 5-7		86r 8
236 10-11		54r 1
236 12-13		54r 2
236 19-20	106r 8-9	

237 22-23	106v 5-6	
238 5-7		92v 17-19
239 1-4		86v 14-15
239 5-6		55r 5
239 19-20	100r 12	
240 6-10		91v 15-16
245 21		7v 9
251 9-13	3r 11-16	
252 11-13	101r 4-5	91r 15-16
252 23-24	65v 16-17	
256 16-17		18v 16-17+18
257 1-4	27r 7-8	
(331 5-7)		
257 5-7	104v 16-17	
257 8-9		94r 4-5
257 10		94r 8
258 1-9		43v 18- 19+20-22
258 10-11		27r 22-23
258 15-17		91r 13-14
259 4-7		33r 22-25
259 11	99v 2	
259 12		20v 19-20
259 13		21v 7
259 14		20v 19-20 / 21v 3
259 15		8r 9 / 21v 8 / 77v 16-17
261 18		60v 14

Phraseology: Trading (273-464)

273 2-16	3r 3-10	59r 1-2
274 1-5 (189 9-11, 191 3-8)	3r 19-20 / 99v 13 / 99v 20-21	59r 6-7
274 6-8	3r 23-24 / 100r 6-7	59r 9
274 9-10	3v 1-2	59r 11 / 59r 13-14
274 11-12		59r 15
274 17-18	3v 3-4	59r 16-17
274 19-22	3v 5-7 / 100r 3	

275 1-3	3v 8-9	8v 6-7+8 / 59r 18
275 4-6	3v 10-11	
275 11-12	3v 12-13	59v 1
275 13-14	3v 14-15	59v 2-3 / 8r 5
275 15-21	3v 18-22	59v 4-8
276 1-6	3v 23-4r 4	59v 9-14
276 7-11	4r 5-8	
276 16-22	4r 13-16	8v 3-5 / 59v 15-60r 2
-	4r 17-20	60r 3-5
277 1-4	4r 21-24	60r 6-9 / 62r 11-14
277 10-13 (217 15-17)	5r 7-8	84v 5-6
277 14	4v 10-11	
277 15-16	4v 12-13	
277 17-21	4v 14-17	
278 3-6	4v 18-21	
278 7-10	4v 22-25	
278 11-14	5r 3-6	
278 15-18	5r 9-12	63r 10-11 / 93r 1-3
278 19-22	5r 17-20	
278 23-24		75r 18-19
279 1-4	5r 21-24	71r 1-2
279 5-8	5v 1-2	
279 9-12	5v 3-6	
279 15-18	5v 7-10	
279 19-23	5v 11-18	
280 1-5	5v 11-18	
280 6-10	5v 19-23	
280 11-15	6r 3-10	
280 16-20	6r 3-10	
280 21-23	6r 11-13	
281 1-5	6r 14-23	
281 6-10	6r 14-23	
281 11-15		75r 16-17 + 75v 1-2
281 16-17	18v 25-26	
281 18-21		74v 5-8
282 1-3	6r 24-26	
282 6-9	6v 1-4	
282 10-14	6v 5-8	
283 1-11	6v 9-18	
283 14-20	7r 3-8	63r 16-17

284 1-6	6v 23-7r 2	
284 7-11	6v 19-22	
284 12-14	7r 9-11	
284 15-18	7r 12-15	
284 19-25	7r 16-21	
285 1-5	7r 22-25	
285 6-10	7v 1-4	
285 11-12	7v 5-6	
285 13-14	7v 7-10	82r 2
(322 13-14)		
285 15-17	7v 7-10	
285 18-22	8r 1-4	
286 1-7	7v 11-16 /	82r 11-13
(312 1-8)	19r 26-19v 4	
286 8-14	7v 20-25	84r 4-5
286 15-20	8r 5-9	64r 3-4+5
286 21-23	10v 5-8	
287 1-5	8r 10-13	
287 6-9	8r 14-17	
287 10-17	8r 18-23	
287 18-22	9r 5-8	
288 1-7	8v 1-7	
288 8-11	8v 8-11	
288 12-15	8v 17-18	
288 16-20	9r 13-16 /	
(417 4-7)	109r 11-14	
288 21-23		83v 8
289 1-5	9r 17-21	
289 6-14	9v 3-10	
289 15-18	9r 24-9v 2	
289 19-22	10r 4-6 +	
	26v 14-15	
290 1-2	9r 22-23	
290 3-8	9v 20-25	
290 9-11	9v 26-10r 3	
290 12-15	10r 7-10	
290 16-20	10r 11-14	
291 1-4	8r 24-27	
291 5-10	10r 15-21	
291 11-16	10r 26-10v 4	65v 7-8
291 17-20	10v 9-12	
291 21-22	10v 13-14	
292 5-8	10v 15-18	
292 9-13	10v 19-22	
292 14-18	10v 23-11r 3	
292 19-23	11r 4-7	86v 1

293 1-4	11r 14-20 /	79r 8-9
(316 15-22)	20v 25-21r 6	
293 5-6		63v 15-16
293 20-22	11r 21-23	
294 9-10		75r 14-15 /
		93r 4-5
294 11-18	11r 24-11v 3	
294 19-22	11v 4-7	89v 16-17
295 1-5	11v 12-16	67r 8-9
295 6-11	11v 17-21	62r 16-62v 2
		/ 67r 10-12
295 12-16	11v 8-11	64v 1-2 /
		66v 12-13
295 17-22	11v 22-26	66v 10-11
296 1-3	12r 1-3	8r 11 /
		78r 7-8
296 4-7	12r 4-7	
296 8-11	12r 8-11	61r 6-7 /
		65v 12-13
296 12-13	12r 12-13	61r 8-9 /
		65v 16-17
296 14-19	12r 14-17	61r 10-12
296 20-21	12v 1-2	61v 1 /
(318 17-18)		90r 14
297 1-6	12r 18-23	61r 13-14 /
		67v 5-8
297 7-10	12r 24-27	61r 15-16+17-18
		68v 9-15
297 16-22	12v 7-12	
298 1-4	12v 13-16	
298 5-8	12v 17-20	68r 6-9
298 9-13	12v 21-24	68r 10-13
298 14-19	12v 25-13r 5	62v 5-11
298 20-23	13r 6-9	68r 14-16
299 1-4	13r 10-13	68v 6-8
299 5-10	13r 14-17	68r 19-20 +
		68v 1-2
299 11-15	13r 18-22	
299 16-18	13r 23-25	
299 19-22	13r 26-13v 2	69r 8-11
300 1-15	13v 3-15	67v 13-68r 5
300 16-20	13v 16-20	69v 6-11
300 21-22	14r 3-4	
301 1-6	13v 21-25 /	69v 13-15
(336 17-20)	29v 6-9	

301 7-10	13v 26-14r 2	69v 16-18 / 70r 3-4	309 13-17	18v 1-4	73v 11-12 / 92r 5-6
301 11-14	13v 26-14r 2 / 14r 5-8	70r 5-6	309 18-21	18v 5-8	78r 13
301 15-18	14r 9-12	70r 7-8	310 1-8	18v 9-14	74r 9-12
301 19-22	14r 21-24	70r 11-12	310 9-11	18v 15-16	74r 13-14
302 1-11	14r 13-20	70r 9-10	310 12-15	18v 17-20	74r 15-16
302 12-16	14r 25-28 / 54r 6-7		310 16-19	18v 21-24	74v 1-4
302 17-21	14v 4-7	70r 13-14	310 20-23	19r 9-12	74v 16-18
303 1-3	14v 11-12		311 1-6	19r 1-6	
303 4-6	14v 13-16		311 7-9	19r 13-15	74v 14-15
303 7-10	14v 17-20		311 10-11	19r 16-17	75r 1-2
303 11-14	15r 3-6		311 12-16	19r 18-21 / 52v 15-18	75r 3-5 / 86r 1
303 15-20	15r 9-14		311 17-20	19r 22-23	75v 15-17
303 21-22	15r 15-16		311 21-22	19r 24-25	76r 1-2
304 1-4		77v 8-9	312 1-8	19r 26-19v 4 (286 1-7) / 7v 11-16	82r 11-13
304 5-8	16r 26-28		312 9-13	19v 5-9	
304 9-13	5r 13-16		312 14-18	19v 10-13	
304 14-17	16v 1-4		312 19-21	20r 1-2	78v 5-6
304 18-21	16v 5-8		313 1-5	19v 14-17	78v 1-4
305 1-5	16v 9-14		313 6-12	19v 18-23	
-	16v 15-16 / 31r 8-9	72r 7-8	313 13-16	19v 24-28	
305 6-8 (339 20-22)	16v 17-20 / 31r 13-15	77v 13-14	313 17-19	20r 4-5	77r 17
305 9-11	16v 21-22		313 20-22	20r 6-8	77r 15+16
305 12-15	17r 1-4		314 1-12	20r 9-18	
305 16-20		72r 16-18	314 13-19	22r 1-6	80r 11-16
306 1-5	16v 27-30	72r 11-15	315 1-8	20r 19-25	
306 6-10	17r 5-9		315 9-15	20r 26-20v 3	
306 11-15	17r 10-13	73r 11-12	315 16-21	20v 10-14	78v 13-14
306 16-21	17v 1-4		316 1-8	20v 4-9	
307 1-5	17v 9-12		316 9-12	20v 15-18	78v 15-18
307 6-9	17v 5-8		316 13-14	20v 19-20	64r 16-17
307 10-14	17v 13-16		316 15-22 (293 1-4)	11r 14-20 / 20v 25-21r 6	79r 8-9
307 15-18	17v 17-19		317 1-6	21r 7-11	
307 19-22	17v 20-23		317 7-12	21r 16-20	
308 1-6	17v 27-18r 2		317 13-16	21r 21-24	79v 6-9
308 7-12	18r 3-7		317 17-21	21v 1-4	
308 13-15	18r 8-9		318 1-5	21v 5-8	
308 16-17	18r 15-16		318 6-11	21v 9-14	79v 18-80r 3
308 18-21	18r 19-22		318 12-13	21v 15-16	61r 15-16 / 67v 9-12
309 1-4	18r 17-18		318 14-16		79v 16-17
309 5-12	18r 23-28	90v 18-19 / 92r 3-4	318 17-18	12v 1-2	61v 1 /

(296 20-21)		90r 14
318 19-22	21V 17-20	
319 9-12	21V 21-24	
319 13-14	22r 11-12	80v 2-4
319 15-20	22r 13-17	80v 9-10
320 1-4	22r 18-21	80v 15-17
320 5-8	22r 22-25	
320 9-12	22r 7-10	80r 17-80v 1
320 13-14	22v 3-4	
320 15-16	22v 14	81r 5
320 17-18	23r 4-5	81r 8-9
320 21-23	23r 10-11	81r 10-11+12-13
321 1-2	23r 12-13	81v 1
(384 6+10)		
321 3-5	23r 16-17	81r 6-7
321 6-7	23r 18-19	
321 8-11	23v 4-7	65r 13-65v 2 / 81v 12-15
321 12-16	23v 8-11	81v 16-17
321 17-21	23v 12-15	81v 18-19
322 1-7	23v 16-21	
322 8-12	23v 22-25	
322 13-14	7v 7-10	82r 2
(285 13-14)		
322 15-19	24r 5-8	
322 20-23	24r 1-4	82r 3-4
323 1-4	24r 11-14	82r 5-6
323 5-7	24r 9-10	82r 7-8
323 8-12	24r 15-18	67r 6-7
323 13-15	24r 19-20	82r 9-10
323 16-21	24r 21-24	82r 14-15
324 1-3	22v 15-16	
324 4-7	22v 17-19	
324 8-16	22v 20-23r 3	
324 17-21	24v 8-12	82v 1-2
325 1-8	24r 25-24v 7	
325 9-12	24v 15-18	
325 13-16	24v 19-22	
325 17-19	24v 23-24	
325 20-21	25v 11-12	83r 1-2
326 1-7	25r 1-6	
326 8-12	25r 7-10	82v 9-10
326 13-16	25r 11-13	
326 17-22	25r 14-19	
327 1-4	25r 20-21	82v 11-12

327 5-8	25r 22-25	82v 13
327 9-15	25v 1-6	
327 16-19	25v 7-10	
327 20-23	25v 13-16	83r 1-2 / 83r 3
328 1-4	25v 17-20	83r 4
328 5-7	25v 21-22	83r 5
328 8-9	8v 12-13	83r 6-7
328 10-12	8v 14-16	83r 8-9
328 16-17	25v 23-24	83r 12-13
328 18-20	26r 1-2	83r 14-15
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
330 1-4	26v 1-3	
330 4-8	26r 5-8	
330 9-15	26v 8-13	
330 20-21	26v 16-17	
331 1-4	26v 23-27r 2	
331 5-7	27r 7-8	
(257 1-4)		
331 8-10	27r 11-12	
331 11-13	27r 13-14	
331 14-16	27r 15-16	
331 17-19	27r 17-18	
331 20-21	27v 17-18	
332 1-4	27r 19-21	56r 1
(219 4-7)		
332 5-8	27v 3-6	
332 9-14	28r 22-28v 2	44r 13-14
332 15-22	28v 6-13	
333 1-7	28r 1-6 / 107v 1-2	
333 8-11	28r 11-13	
333 14-18	28r 7-10	
333 19-20	29r 12-13	86v 4+5
334 1-5	29r 14-17	
334 6-9	29r 8-11	
334 10-14	29r 4-7	
334 15-21	29r 18-22	
335 1-4	27v 19-22	
335 5-9	27v 9-12	
335 10-14	28v 22-29r 3	

335 15-19	28v 18-21	
335 20-21	29v 19-20	
336 1-4	29r 23-29v 2	
336 5-6	29v 3-5	
336 7-9	29v 14-15	67r 1-2
336 10-12 (439 13-15)	29v 16-18	63r 14-15
336 13-16	29v 21-30r 3	70r 9-10
336 17-20 (301 1-6)	13v 21-25 / 29v 6-9	69v 13-15
336 21-22	30r 24-25	
337 1-3	29v 10-11	94v 1-5
337 4-5	29v 12-13	94v 6-7
337 6-9	30r 7-10	63v 3-4
337 10-16	30r 11-16	
337 17-20	15r 7-8 / 30r 17-19	
337 21-24	30r 20-23	
338 1-6	30v 1-4	
338 7-10	30v 5-8	62v 14- 15+16-17+20
338 11-14	30v 9-12	63r 4-7
338 15-22	30v 13-18	
339 1-4	30v 19-22	61v 7-8
339 5-11	30v 23-31r 3	
339 12-15 (349 18-23)	31r 4-7	72r 3-6
339 16-19	31r 10-12	
339 20-22 (305 6-8)	16v 17-20 / 31r 13-15	77v 13-14
339 23-24	31r 16	
340 1-3	31r 17-18	
340 4-6	31r 19-20	
340 7-8	31r 21-31v 2	
340 9-10	31v 3-4	
340 11-14	31v 9-11	
340 15-22	31v 12-19	
341 1-5	31v 20-24	
341 6-11	32r 1-5	
341 12-15	32r 6-8	
341 16-19	32r 15-18	
341 20-21	32r 19-20	
341 22-23	32v 5-6	
342 1-6	32r 21-24	77r 3-6
342 7-10	32v 1-4	
342 11-12	32v 7-8	

342 13-14	32v 9-10	
342 15-16	32v 11-12	
342 17-18	32v 13-14	
342 19-20	32v 15-16	
343 1-3	32v 17-18	
343 4-7	32v 19-22	
343 8-9	32v 23-33r 1	
343 10-13	33r 2-5	
-	33r 6-7	77r 7-8
343 14-17	33r 8-10	
343 18-21	33r 13-15	
344 1-4	38r 4-7	
344 5-8	38r 8-10	
344 9-10	38r 11-12	
344 11-13	38r 13-14	
344 14-15	36r 3	
344 16-18	33r 11-12	
344 19-22	33r 16-19 / 36r 10-11	
345 1-3	33r 20-22	
345 4-8	33r 23-33v 3	
345 9-10	33v 4-6	
345 11-14	33v 7-9	
345 15-16	33v 12-13	
345 17-18	33v 10-11	79v 1-2
345 21-23	33v 14-16	
346 1-4	33v 17-19	
346 5-10	33v 20-24	
346 11-14	34r 2-5	
346 15-18	34r 6-7	
346 19-22	34r 8-10	
347 1-4	34r 11-14	
347 5-8	34r 15-17	
347 9-11	34r 18-20	
347 12-13	34r 23-24	
347 14-15	34r 21-22	
347 16-21	34v 1-5	
348 1-5	34v 6-9	
348 6-11	34v 10-15	
348 12-15	34v 16-19	
348 16-20 (225 13-17)	34v 20-22	
348 21-23	34v 23-24	
349 1-4	4v 1-2 / 35r 10-11	
349 5-7	35r 12-13	

349 8-11	35r 14-17	
349 14-17	35r 18-21	
349 18-23 (339 12-15)	31r 4-7	72r 3-6
350 1-5	35r 22-35v 3	72v 10-11 / 80v 5-8
350 6-12	35v 9-14	
350 13-18	35v 4-8	
350 19-22	35v 17-18	
351 1-4	35v 19-20	
351 5-8	35v 21-36r 2	
351 9-12	36r 4-6	
351 13-16	36r 7-9	
351 17-18	36r 12-13	
351 19-22	36r 14-16	
352 1-4	36r 17-18	
352 5-9	36r 19-22	
352 10-17	36v 4-9	92v 9-10
352 18-21	36v 10-12	
352 22-23	37r 19	92v 3-4
353 1-6	36v 13-17	
353 7-11	36v 18-21	
353 12-13	36v 22-23	
353 14-19	37r 1-6	
353 20-22	37r 7-8	
354 1-4	37r 9-12	
354 5-8	37r 13-15	
354 9-10	19r 7-8 / 37r 16-18	
354 11-17	37r 22-37v 3	
354 18-22	37v 4-7	
355 1-8	37v 8-15	
355 9-12	37v 16-18	
355 13-17	37v 19-22	
355 18-22	37v 23-38r 3	
356 1-5 (463 9-13)	38r 18-21	
356 6-11	38r 22-38v 3	
356 12-15	39r 10-12	
356 16-22	38v 4-9	
356 23-24	39r 1-2	
357 1-5	38v 12-15	
357 6-9	38v 16-19	
357 10-14	38v 20-23	
357 15-18	39r 4-6	
357 19-21	39r 7-9	

358 1-7	39r 16-21	
358 8-12	39r 22-39v 3	
358 13-16	39v 8-10	
358 17-20	39r 13-15	
358 21-23	40v 3-5 / 51v 6-8	
359 1-9	39v 11-17	
359 10-14	40r 1-5	
359 15-22	40r 11-16	
360 1-7	40r 17-23	
360 8-11	40r 24-40v 2	
360 12-15	40v 6-9	84r 11-12
360 16-23	40v 10-17	
361 1-4	40v 21-24	
-	41r 1-2	85r 7-8
361 5-11	41r 3-15	
361 12-19	41r 3-15	
361 20-22	41r 20-21	
362 1-4	41v 1-4	
362 5-8	41r 22-24	
362 9-12	4v 6-9 / 41v 5-8	
362 13-16	41v 9-11	
362 17-22	41v 12-16	
363 1-9	41v 18-25	
363 10-16	42r 1-7	
363 17-22	42r 14-18	64r 14-15 / 72v 4-7
364 1-4	42r 8-11	
364 5-7	42r 12-13	
364 8-10	42r 19-21	
364 11-14	42r 22-25	
364 15-20	42v 1-6	
364 21-23	43r 16-17	
365 1-5	42v 7-10	73r 3-4
365 6-9	42v 17-20	
365 10-14	42v 21-24	
365 15-23	43r 1-8	89r 3
366 1-5	43r 9-11	
366 6-10	43r 12-15	
366 11-14	43r 22-24	
366 15-19	43v 1-6	
366 20-23	44r 4-6	
367 1-6	43v 7-11	
367 7-9	43v 12-13	

367 10-13	43V 14-16		
367 14-16	44r 7-8		
367 17-20	44r 9-11		
367 21-22	44r 22-23		
368 1-6	44r 12-15		
368 7-10	44r 18-21		
368 11-15	45r 9-13		
368 16-22	44v 1-6		
369 1-24	44v 7-28		
370 1-7	45r 1-7	85r 10-13	
370 8-14	45r 20-26	87v 15-16	
370 15-21	45v 1-6		
371 1-5	45v 13-17		
371 6-9	45r 14-19		
371 10-11	45r 8		
371 12-18	45v 18-22		
371 19-22	45v 23-25 /		
	106v 13		
372 1-6	46r 1-6		
372 7-10	46r 7-10		
372 11-14	46r 11-14		
372 15-18	46r 15-16		
372 19-22	46r 17-19		
373 1-11	109r 15-23		
373 12-18	109v 1-6		
373 19-22	46r 22-46v 2		
374 1-17	46v 3-15		
374 18-21	109v 7-10		
375 1-20	47r 22-47v		
	15		
376 1-7	46v 22-47r 2		
376 8-12	47r 3-6		
376 13-17	47r 7-10		
376 18-19	46r 20-21		
376 20-23	47r 11-14		
377 1-14	47v 16-48r 5		
377 15-23	47r 15-21		
378 1-4	48r 6-9		
378 5-8	48r 10-12		
378 9-10	48r 17-18		
379 3-4		76r 7-8	
379 5-6		76r 9	
379 7-8		76r 11-12	
379 17-20	48r 19-22		
382 1-2		87v 12	
382 8-11	48v 1-4		
382 12-15	48v 5-7		
382 16-20	48v 8-11		
382 21	48v 8-11		
383 1-5	48v 17-22 /		
	110r 1-4		
383 6-10	48v 23-49r 2		
	/ 59r 19-23		
383 11-15	49r 3-6		
383 16-19	49r 7-10		
383 20-23	49r 11-14		
384 1-5	49r 15-18		
384 6+10	23r 12-13	81v 1	
	(321 1-2)		
384 7-9	49r 20-21		
384 11-15	49v 1-4		
384 16-20	49v 9-12		
384 21-23	49v 20-21		
385 1-4	49v 13-17		
385 5-8	49v 18-19		
385 9-15	49v 22-50r 3		
385 16-20	50r 4-7		
385 21-22	52r 18		
386 1-4	50r 8-10		
386 5-9	50r 11-14		
386 10-12	50r 15-16		
386 13-16	50r 17-19		
386 17-20	50r 20-22		
386 21-22	53v 7-8		
387 1-9	50v 1-7		
387 10-14	50v 8-13	72r 9-10	
	(436 4-7)		
387 15-19	51r 1-5		
387 20-23	51r 18-		
	19+20-21		
388 1-5	41v 17-18 /		
	52v 11-14		
388 6-9	50v 14-17		
388 10-13	50v 18-21		
388 14-16	50v 22-23		
388 17-21	51r 6-9		
389 10-14	51r 14-17		
389 15-19	51r 22-51v 2		
389 20-21	51r 12-13		
390 1-4	51v 3-5		
390 5-8	51v 9-11		

390 9-13	51V 12-14
390 14-16	52r 12-13
390 17-20	52r 19-22
390 21-23 (219 11-12)	52v 3-4
391 1-5	51V 15-18
391 6-8	51V 19-21
391 9-13	52r 1-4
391 14-18	52r 8-11
391 19-21	52r 5-7
391 22-23	52v 7-8
392 1-4	52v 5-6
392 5-8	52v 21-53r 2
392 9-14	53r 5-9
392 19-22	53r 10-11
393 1-6	53r 12-15 + 53r 18-19
393 7-13	53v 1-6 93r 6-7
393 14-18	53v 9-12
393 19-20	53v 16-17 93v 6-7
394 1-4	53v 18-20
394 5-12	53v 21-54r 5
394 13-16	54r 8-10
394 17-20	54r 11-13
394 21-22	55v 6
395 1-6	54r 14-18 67v 3-4
395 7-11	54r 19-23 93v 10-11
395 12-18	54v 3-8
395 19-22	54r 24-54v 2
396 1-6	54v 9-13
396 7-11	54v 14-17
396 12-16	54v 18-19 + 55r 1-2
396 17-23	54v 20-25
397 1-2	55r 3-4
397 3-7	55r 9-12 84r 1-3
397 8-10	55r 7-8 / 106v 14-15
397 11-17	55r 13-18
397 18-20	55v 1-2 84r 13-14
397 21-22	55r 19-20
398 1-4	55v 3-5 84r 15
398 5-9	55v 7-10
398 10-11	55v 15-16 46v 3-4
398 12-15	55v 17-19
398 16-19	55v 23-56r 2

398 20-23	56r 7-10
399 1-3	55v 20-22 / 107v 12-13
399 4-8	56r 3-6
399 9-12	56v 11-13 84v 7-8
399 13-17	56r 17-21
399 18-21	56r 22-25
400 1-8	56v 1-6
400 9-11	57r 1-2 84v 9-10
400 12-15	57r 3-4 84v 11-12
400 16-19	57r 15-18
400 20-22	57v 6-7
401 1-5	57v 1-4
401 6-8	57v 13-14
401 9-15	57v 15-22
401 16-18	58r 1-3 94r 13-14
401 19-22	58r 8-9 / 94r 16-17 58r 10-13
402 1-5	58r 4-7 94r 15
402 8-10	58r 14-15 44r 17
402 11-14	58r 16-19
402 15-21	58r 20-58v 4
403 1-6	11r 8-13 / 58v 5-10
403 7-13	58v 14-20
403 14-16	58v 21-22
403 17-20	58v 23-59r 2
404 1-5	59r 3-7
404 6-11	59r 8-9+10- 14
404 12-14	59r 17-18
404 15-19	59v 3-8 76r 5-6
404 20-22	59v 21-23
405 1-3	59v 9-11
405 4	59v 12-13
405 5	59v 14
405 6-9	59v 15-18
405 10	59v 19
405 11	59v 20
405 12-15	60r 1-4
405 16-19	60r 5-7
405 20-21	60v 3
406 1-4	60r 8-10
406 5-8	60r 11-14
406 9-12	60r 15-18
406 13-15	60r 19-22

406 16-20	60r 23-60v		417 1-3	109r 7-10	
	2		417 4-7	<i>9r 13-16 /</i>	
406 21-22	60v 4-5		(288 16-20)	109r 11-14	
407 1-2	60v 9-10		417 8-12	109v 11-15	
407 3-8	60v 11-16		417 13-16	109v 20-22	
407 9-12	60v 17-19		417 17-20	110r 5-8	
407 13-22	61r 5-13		417 21-24	110r 19-22	
408 1-2	61r 14-15		418 1-4	110r 9-11	
408 3-9	61r 16-23	85r 1-6	418 5-8	<i>53v 13-15 /</i>	
408 10-18	61v 1-16	<i>69r 1-7</i>	(460 5-8)	110v 3-6	
408 19-22	61r 1-4		418 9-13	110v 7-11	
409 1-11	61v 21-62r 5		418 14-17	110v 12-15	
409 12-22	62r 6-16		418 18-22	110v 16-19	
410 1-7	61v 1-16	<i>69r 1-7</i>	419 1-4	110r 14-18	
410 8-11	61v 17-20		419 5-9	110v 20-111r	
410 12-16	62r 17-22		2		
410 17-20	62v 8-11		419 10-13	111r 3-6	
411 1-9	63r 8-16	<i>85v 19-22</i>	419 14-17	111r 18-21	
411 10-15	62r 23-62v 3	<i>85r 17-18 /</i>	419 18-19		<i>79v 16-17</i>
		<i>85v 1-2</i>	420 1-5	111r 22-23	
411 16-22	62v 17-23		420 6-7	111r 13-14	
412 1-5	62v 12-16		420 8-13	111v 3-7	
412 6-9	63r 17-19		420 14-17	111v 8-10	
-	63r 20-24	<i>85v 16+17+18</i>	420 18-21	111v 15-17	
412 10-14	63v 3-8		420 22-23	112v 7-8	
412 15-18	63r 3-5	<i>85v 11-13</i>	421 1-4	111v 22-112r	
412 19-20	63r 6-7		2		
413 1-4	63v 15-18	<i>87r 5-6</i>	421 5-9	112r 9-12	
413 5-8	63v 19-22		421 10-12	111r 7-9	
414 11-12	63v 9-10+11-	<i>87r 11-13</i>	421 13-14	111r 10-12	
	12		421 15-19	112r 17-22	
414 13-14	63v 23-24		421 20-22	112v 5-6	<i>88r 1</i>
414 15-18	64r 3-5		422 1-4	112v 1-4	
414 19-22	64r 18-21		422 5-10	112v 13-18	<i>88r 4</i>
415 1-4	64r 14-17		422 11-15	112v 19-22	
415 5-7	64r 22-23		423 1-3		<i>76r 14-15</i>
415 8-9	64r 12-13		424 15-17	104v 4-5	<i>75v 9-10</i>
415 10-14	64v 11-15		425 14-18	64v 5-8	
415 17-20	64v 16-18		425 19-21	64v 9-10	
415 21-24	108r 17-108v		426 21-22	101v 11	
	2		427 11-14		<i>81v 2-4</i>
416 1-5	108v 3-7		428 10-16		<i>75r 8-9</i>
416 6-9	108v 8-11		434 9-12		<i>70v 15-17</i>
416 10-14	108v 12-15		436 4-7	<i>50v 8-13</i>	<i>72r 9-10</i>
416 15-19	108v 16-19		(387 10-14)		
416 20-23	109r 3-6		438 5-7		<i>70v 13-14</i>

439 5	106r 12	
439 13-15 (336 10-12)	29v 16-18	63r 14-15
440 13-14		66r 5-6
441 12-13	108r 3	
452 3-4	15v 17-20	
452 5-6	15v 17-20	
452 11-12		72v 1-2
452 13-14		77v 10-11
452 15-16		77v 10-11
453 1-4		77v 12
453 5-6		77v 12
453 20-21	15v 7	
454 15-16		81r 14-15
454 17-18		81r 14-15
-	15r 21-24	80r 4-7
455 12-14	15r 28-29	
455 15-16	15v 1-2	
456 1-2	15v 3-4	
456 3-4	15v 5-6	
456 5-6	15v 8-9	
456 7-9	15v 10-11	
456 10-11	15v 12-13	
456 12-13	15v 14	
456 14-16	15v 15-16	
456 17-19	15v 21-23	
457 1-3	15v 24-26	
457 4-6	16r 1-2	
457 7-9	16r 3-4	
457 10-17	16r 5-10	
457 18-19	16r 11-12	
457 20-23	16r 13-15	
458 1-4	16r 16-18	
458 5-7	16r 19-20	
458 8-10	16r 21-23	
458 11-15	16r 24-25 / 18r 10-14	78r 11-12 / 80v 20-81r 2
460 1-4	38r 15-17	

460 5-8 (418 5-8)	53v 13-15 / 110v 3-6	
463 9-13 (356 1-5)	38r 18-21	
463 14-20	46v 16-21	
Proverbs: Various (469-482)		
469 9-11	104v 7-8	
469 14-17	112r 3-5	
471 5-7	38v 10-11	
471 8-12	39v 22-24	
471 13-17	39v 4-7	
471 18-21	52v 9-10	
472 3-4 (229 19-20)	59v 1-2 / 106v 16-17	
472 5-7	111r 15-17	
472 8-11 (214 17-18)	113r 1-4	
472 12-13		88r 13-14
474 12-13		88r 12
476 6-8	66r 1 / 66r 2-3	
476 9-12	66r 4-6	
476 13-14		7v 1-2 / 43v 13
476 15-16		7v 1-2
478 1-2	37r 20-21	
478 3-5	40v 18-20	
478 11-14	55r 5-6	83r 16
478 15-16	55v 11-12	46v 1-2
478 17-18	55v 13-14	

SUMMARY

This contribution deals with the tradition of bilingual Early Modern Russian merchant phrasebooks, and the position of Tönnies Fenne (Pskov, 1607) within this tradition. Can the qualification of Tönnies Fenne as one of many successive compilers be united with that of the phrasebook as a priceless source of information for research into older stages of Russian?

Based on a concordance of three genetically related phrasebooks linked to the Northwest-Russian town of Pskov, the textual organisation of Fenne's phrasebook is examined. Close textual comparison of corresponding phrases enhances the impression that the phrasebook is so intimately related to the phrasebook of Thomas Schroue that a direct common source can be posited.

Comparison of the data of these phrasebooks makes it possible to determine the attitude of the scribe to his sources and to find out the extent of his own input, clearing the view on the data. A philological approach is of vital importance for coming to a full appreciation of the language of the phrasebook of Tönnies Fenne as well as of the underlying linguistic system.