

ARTICLES

Structure of a Story-Telling Performance Among Carpatho-Rusyns in
Zakarpats'ka Oblast' of Ukraine: A Case Study

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Abstract

This article analyses the transcript of the story-telling session with two participants, an 89-year-old woman and a 54-year-old man, that I audio-recorded in August of 2014 in the village of Novoselytsia in the Transcarpathian region of Ukraine. Although Western Ukrainian and Rusyn folk stories have been extensively collected since 1880-s (Hnatiuk 1897, 1898, 1900, Rozdol's'kyi 1899, 1900, etc.), entire story-telling sessions in these region have not been studied. My transcript reflects certain features of story-telling performance's macro- and micro-structure that either do not get recorded or get edited out in publications of folk texts, such as interaction between participants, discourse markers for organizing performance, repetitions, and digressions into everyday reality. After analyzing these features using Hymes' approach to linguistic and discourse markers in folk performance, I foreground the precise mechanism through which the collective creation of folklore [Jakobson and Bogatyrev 1980 [1929]] takes place.

Introduction

In the summer of 2014 in Novoselytsia I was fortunate to have the opportunity to record approximately an hour-long story performance: an 89-year-old woman and her 54-year-old adopted son were telling me stories that *dido* 'old man', the woman's late husband, used to tell. I transcribed the entire story-telling session, which consisted of twenty-one stories and the remarks during and between stories. The stories are listed below; the complete transcript may be found in the Appendix to this article.

At first glance, the transcript of the recording appears awkward. Each storyteller uses a lot of repetitions, repairs, and filler words; participants interrupt each other, add some details, argue about others, and remember things after the story is finished. However, all these features are important because they capture the story-telling session I witnessed and participated in. They are essential for analyzing this session as performance, which is the goal of this article. I argue that these corrections, interruptions, and discussions, usually omitted from publications of folk texts, are in the performance for a reason; they are pivotal in establishing the two-way connection between participants, which in its turn shapes the performed piece. Jakobson and Bogatyrev [1980 [1929]] defined

folklore as a collective creation, and it has been one of central ideas in folkloristics for almost a century, but the exact mechanism of collective creation needs studying in the context of each tradition. My research starts to fill this gap for the Rusyn story-telling.

The approach to folklore as performance is also part of the mainstream in folkloristics today. There have been several approaches that stress the central role of performance in folklore. One approach views oral performance, analyzed from the point of view of language and discourse, as central for understanding the connection between verbal art, culture, and society, since performance constantly creates and re-creates tradition. (1) As Hymes put it, “in an oral tradition performance is a mode of existence and realization that is partly *constitutive* of what the tradition is” [1975: 19]. A great deal of research taking this approach has been done, mostly on Native American and other non-European cultures. (2) Another approach that emphasizes performance and its constitutive role in tradition is the oral theory, beginning with Parry and Lord’s work on Homer and Yugoslav epics (3); this approach has largely been confined to the Slavic tradition, and focuses only on epic songs (see, e.g., the overview in Foley [1996a]), rather than on Slavic prose genres.

My basic goal was to study the features of the recorded performance and their functions. Following Hymes, I relied on a number of his methods. Working with the disappearing tradition of Chinookan narrative, Hymes distinguished between performance, which is the main, constitutive aspect of tradition, and other dimensions of folkloric knowledge that may exist even when the tradition of authoritative performance is no longer there. He noticed three dimensions of competence in a cultural tradition, namely, the ability to report, interpret, and perform a certain aspect of culture [Hymes 1975: 14 ff]. Hymes’ insight that reporting and performance are different, though interconnected phenomena, has been corroborated in my material; for one, performance turned out to be more gender-specific than reporting and interpretation (both performers knew, and could discuss the meanings of, all the stories, but they had distinct preferences in telling them.) The reasons for this distinction merit further investigation. Second, Hymes paid special attention to linguistic features of performance, including its discourse features. Applied to the story-telling session in Novoselytsia, this attention to linguistic phenomena revealed that both the macro-level and micro-level in the performance contained a number of structural features that were mostly overlooked before. The reason why these phenomena largely remained invisible for folklore study was that they almost never made it into published texts. On the one hand, they were traditionally considered to be useless interruptions for the smooth flow of narration. In addition, before the advent of audio-recording technology, they were too difficult or even impossible to record. On the macro-level, the phenomena I have observed in this session are: interruptions during performance, exchanges between participants (suggestions by listeners and acceptance or rejection of these suggestions by story-tellers, etc.); discussions before and after stories (negotiations of meaning and supplying additional details); and choice of a new story to tell. (4) On the micro-level, they include

certain types of discourse organizing devices: inversion of word order, connectors, and repetition. Other types of discourse devices used for organizing performance, namely, poetic formulae, have also been studied in epic poetry by the school of Lord and Parry. My material does not include poetic formulae *per se*; however, I show that certain devices present in my material, namely, connectors and repetition, play in prose story-telling a role which is similar to the role of formulae for poetic genres: both groups of phenomena organize performance for performers, giving them time to think, and for the audience, providing a feeling of suspense. Finally, I show that the features of performance present in my material on both the micro- and macro-level are pivotal to the shaping of stories during the process of interaction between story-teller(s) and their audience. This interaction is the precise mechanism of the collective creation, which is the essence of folklore according to Jakobson and Bogatyrev [1929].

I was especially interested in the following issues, which I will address in detail below after a discussion on the narrators' background and the performance context:

- 1 general organization of the performance on the macro-level: its parts, markers for specific parts, ways of linking parts together (e.g., what happens between one story and another);
- 2 techniques for participation of the two story-tellers; their roles, respective contributions, their interaction with each other and with me, their corrections and explanations;
- 3 how the text is generated (in the assumption that it is not all told from memory); what elements are used in its generation; how the text is organized on the micro-level;
- 4 ways of connecting the world of the stories with the present, and the status of stories for the tellers as truth;

Finally, I will consider the roles of these elements generally in the creation of the folk performance and/or text.

Background information

Novoselytsia

The village of Novoselytsia is situated at 48° 41' 59" N 23° 29' 12" E, in the Zakarpats'ka *oblast'* (region), Mizhhir'ia district, in a mountainous area 475 meters above sea level. There are 1054 inhabitants in Novoselytsia according to the 2011 census. The Zakarpats'ka region was part of the Austro-Hungarian Empire, and then, between the wars, became part of Czechoslovakia, but Novoselytsia itself is only a couple of miles away from the mountain ridge separating the Zakarpats'ka region from the L'vivs'ka and Ivano-Frankivs'ka regions that once belonged to Poland. These historical borders are still remembered; in Novoselytsia people often referred to the linguistically and

culturally similar population of the neighboring villages of L'vivs'ka and Ivano-Frankivs'ka regions as *poliaky* (Poles).

The climate in Novoselytsia is moderate, but the winter is long, about 5.5 months, and snowy. The main crop that can be cultivated in this climate is potato; also important are cabbage, cucumbers, onions, beets, and several types of beans; before WWII, people also used to grow oats for bread. Much of the land is used for mowing grass for hay. Most inhabitants practice traditional agriculture: they have gardens, and keep cows, pigs, and chickens; some also keep sheep or goats that are herded in the mountain meadows in summer. There are not many jobs available, and people mostly survive off their land. In order to earn money, men may go to other countries to work as builders; women can earn money by gathering blueberries in summer for sale. There are two schools in the village, an elementary school (4 grades) and a high school (11 grades).

Fieldwork and language

I came to Novoselytsia several times between 1986 and 1992, recording texts and collecting information on the dialect. In 2010 during the expedition financed by a Collaborative Research Project Grant from NEH to study dialects and folklore of Transcarpathia and adjacent regions, I visited Novoselytsia again for a one-day pilot study. Since that time, I have travelled to Novoselytsia several times, recording dialectal texts, mostly from women, and from some men, in their 70s and 80s. (5)

The language my informants speak between themselves and the one I address them in is Rusyn. Rusyn is an idiom with a number of regional varieties; in Slovakia and Serbia, it is viewed as a minority Slavic language, and in Ukraine as a dialect of Ukrainian; for more detailed treatment see, Pugh [2009: vii-20]. My field materials, on which the article is based, reflect the variety spoken in Novoselytsia, which may vary from other types of Rusyn.

Informants, recording session, and its results

The recorded story-telling session took place in August of 2014 in Novoselytsia. My informants were: HK, female, 89 years old, illiterate, and her adopted son, IS, 54 years old, high school graduate. The family's brief history is as follows: HK was born in Pryslyp, the neighboring village, in 1925; she married a man from Novoselytsia and moved there in the 1940s. They had one son who died in 1970; after that they adopted their remote relative, IS, who was in the 9th grade. The goal of adoption was to have a person who could help them work, take care of them in their old age, and inherit their house and land after they were gone. Later IS got married and lived in the couple's house with his wife, LS. His children are now college students and have moved away. IS performs the functions of a reader in the local church; he is respected as a teetotaler.

HK's husband died several years ago, leaving his wife, adopted son and daughter-in-law (around 50 years of age) in the house. Their interaction is friendly and respectful. IS and LS do work in the house and in the field on behalf of HK;

she is still active and participates in household tasks; they ask her not to strain herself, but she states she cannot 'sit around doing nothing.'

The interaction took place in HK's house. I was brought in and introduced by the principal of Novoselytsia high school; he began with the standard introductory words that I was from America and had been coming to Novoselytsia for a number of years because I was interested in 'how people lived in olden times.' I indicated my wish to talk with HK because she was the oldest person in the household and I wanted to record what the members of the older generation remembered. Having received HK's oral consent for recording and using materials for possible publication in America, I started asking her open-ended questions about household practices in the times past (e.g., How did you spin and weave? How did you do laundry? How did you bake bread? etc.). I turned the recorder on at the beginning of the session and left it on for the entire conversation. HK was interested and talked with enthusiasm for about an hour; sometimes I would ask her for explanations or switch the topic, if she was silent for a while. I asked HK first about weaving and flax and hemp-working techniques and then about Christmas rituals. At some point IS joined us; I repeated that I wanted to record the elder generation. He was very understanding and did not volunteer much information, though he listened with great interest. Generally, I discourage members of the younger generation from participating because elderly people sometimes feel embarrassed that they do not 'speak the proper language,' especially when the younger generation starts to correct their speech offering non-dialectal, 'city,' or literary Ukrainian forms instead. However, IS was speaking the village dialect to his adoptive mother, and she did not change her manner or speaking habits when he joined us. IS reminded HK if she forgot certain details, but other details were unknown to him, and he was interested in what HK was saying.

After about twenty more minutes, HK and IS started discussing village events that had a supernatural twist, i.e., how and why a certain woman got struck by lightning, and from there they switched to other folk stories of various genres. I did not interrupt them, and they were talking for quite some time. Then I started asking whether they heard such and such a story, suggesting plots I had heard in other Carpathian villages; they most often had not heard these stories, but remembered other stories similar in some respect, and then they added even more stories. Apparently, HK was more of authority in weaving and even in Christmas rituals than she was in stories, where she accepted IS's suggestions more often than not. HK and IS mentioned that some of these stories were the ones *dido* ('the old man,' i.e., the deceased husband of HK and adoptive father of IS) used to tell. They repeated several times what a good story-teller he was and what a pity it was I had not met him. The whole story-telling session lasted for approximately forty-five minutes; at that point IS stepped out, and HK continued talking and answering my questions for about fifteen more minutes. Then she invited me to have a meal with them, and I turned off the recorder. However, in the course of the meal HK or IS sometimes remembered another story; then I would turn on the recorder again, record the story, and then turn it off till the next story. In such a way I

recorded an additional 12 minutes of story-telling. Altogether I recorded twenty-one stories, including an account of the death of HK's own son and the two dreams she had in this connection.

Story content

A brief summary of the plots of their stories is in the chart below. An entire transcript of the stories may be found in the Appendix:

#	Content	Place in recording	Teller	Who suggested	Genre
#1	a woman in the village says she is not afraid of lightning and then she is struck by lightning	21-1:04 - 21-1:06 (6)	HK	HK	memorate
#2	three pregnant women receive prophecies about their children's future deaths; all three children die exactly the way it was predicted	21-1:06 - 21-1:10	HK	IS	religious legend
#3	a young woman wants to go to church but cannot do so because no one can sit with her baby; when an unknown old man (an angel) lets her go, she sees a full church and hears a beautiful sermon; when she comes home, the old man tells her there were only three people in the church, and the priest was driving bricks; when she asks the priest, it turned out he was really thinking about building his house and not about the sermon	21-1:10 - 21-1:14	HK	IS	religious legend
#4	a soldier is going home, asks to sleep in a certain house, in this house a woman gives birth and the soldier hears someone prophesy that the newborn girl will be this soldier's wife; the soldier puts a girl on a stick in the fence and leaves; years later	21-1:14 - 21-1:21	HK	IS	tale of fate akin to ATU 930

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#	Content	Place in recording	Teller	Who suggested	Genre
	he marries that very girl and then recognizes her by the scar				
#5	a student is going home, an old man in an oxcart gives him a ride, when they are in the middle of a river the old man tells the student to get off the cart; then the student stays for a night at the old man's house, steals the fried goose from the oven and leaves old shoes in the oven instead	21-1:21 - 21-1:27	HK, IS	HK	anecdote
#6	St. Peter expresses a wish to be God, and has to herd geese for the whole day	21-1:27 - 21-1:29	HK	HK	religious legend / jest ATU 774D
#7	St. Peter and Jesus encounter a lazy young man and a hard-working girl, and Jesus says this man will marry this girl because this way they will both survive	21-1:29 - 21-1:30	HK	IS	religious legend ATU 822
#8	St. Peter and Jesus stay for the night at the house of a man and his wife who is drinking hard, and she beats St. Peter twice	21-1:30 - 21-1:34	HK	IS	religious legend / jest ATU 791
#9	a Roma outwits a priest: first the Roma says he killed a rabbit by shooting it with a hoe, and then they have a dream-telling contest where the Roma cheats the priest out of the rabbit	21-1:34 - 21-1:37	IS	IS	anecdote
#10	a monk in a monastery exorcises a devil out of a person	21-1:38 - 21-1:40	HK, IS		memorate
#11	a person from a village makes a thief who stole his harrow bring the harrow back to him	21-1:41 - 21-1:42	IS	?	memorate

#	Content	Place in recording	Teller	Who suggested	Genre
#12	a man is going by cart; when he passed a building site the builders magically stop his horses; he makes horses go again and makes one of the builders hurt himself	21-1:42 - 21-1:46	HK	HK	memorate
#13	a woman in the neighboring village magically stops a tractor that trespassed on her land	21-1:46 - 21-1:47	IS	IS	memorate
#14	certain tree in the forest is destined to kill a person	21-1:50 - 21-1:51	HK	IS	belief? memorate ?
#15	a man gets lost in the woods because he went to the woods on Sunday; he only can find the way when he makes the sign of the cross	21-1:52	HK		memorate
#16	three girls are going across the rail track before a train but are not killed; devil says he cannot harm them because they are protected by the sign of the cross or by prayer	21-1:53 - 21-1:54	HK		religious legend
#17	in a place where a person got killed by a tree there is a voice that says 'watch out, watch out'	21-1:56	HK		belief?
#18	how the speaker's son died and what two dreams she saw in this connection	21-1:58 - 21-2:05	HK		personal experience tale; memorate
#19	Roma outwit a rich landowner who wanted to know how they earned their living, and cheat him out of his two horses	22-00 - 22-02	HK	?	anecdote
#20	'don't pity an orphan, don't tell the truth to your wife, don't let a rich landowner borrow your money'	22-03 - 22-07	HK, IS	HK	realistic tale, akin to ATU 893 <i>The Unreliable Friends</i> and ATU

#	Content	Place in recording	Teller	Who suggested	Genre
					910-919 <i>Good Precepts</i>
#21	devil introduces hard liquor, makes a man beat his wife, and makes people behave like foxes, like wolves, and like pigs	22-07 - 22-12	HK	IS?	religious legend similar to AT 1427.1

Organization of the performance on the macro-level

The performance I attended was different from what a regular performance would be like, first and foremost because I was (in) the audience. My initial request to hear “about the old life” was an artificial occasion, and I was an unusual listener. I also wanted to listen mostly to HK, which could have influenced the distribution of roles in performing. On the other hand, this performance was closer to a regular performance than to a one-on-one recording session in the sense that there were two performers, who were not only bearers of the same culture, but members of the same household, apparently with experience of participating in similar events in their family circle. They seemed to incorporate me in their event, not worried by, but alert to, my presence. This alertness mostly showed in their being extra helpful, explaining meanings of words and realia to me, a stranger (1:12, 1:14, 1:16, etc.). There seemed to be more of such explanations than there would be, for example, at a session including a younger family member. Otherwise, it felt like a normal and successful performance, in the sense that both performers seemed to have a good time telling stories to a new audience, as good performers usually do.

The general pattern of the session was as follows: one person would remember and suggest a story, then s/he or the other person would tell it, while the one who was not telling would listen and comment. The comments were usually short, from a couple of words to a short sentence, but numerous, up to 6-7 comments during a 5-minute long story. The commentator would either explain what was going on (IS: “She did not have anyone to leave a baby with,” 1:11) or anticipate what was going to happen (HK: “And off he went,” 1:22). The teller would mostly agree with the comments and continue with the story. When the story was over, the participants would discuss it, repeating key moments from the story, explaining the characters’ motivation and commenting on the general meaning of the story (e.g., see the discussions at the end of #1 at 1:05, or #4 at 1:21, or #19 at 02 in the appendix). This discussion would last for some time until one of the tellers suggested another story.

Differences in the story-telling of HK and IS

The two performers each had a distinct part in the telling. HK told the most stories. Her stories were intricate and captivating, though her memory, probably due to her age, was at times faulty: while telling, she sometimes said she was not sure of a detail (1:07, 1:09, 1:16, 1:20, 1:43, 1:46, etc.), or she would forget something and add it as an afterthought (1:09), or IS would add it for her (1:18). She also was the only one to add a long digression to one of her stories (how she used to go on foot to the nearest town 1:15). When IS was telling a story, HK would comment from time to time, mostly to suggest a word (1:24), to anticipate a narrated event (1:22), or just to agree (1:22).

HK told three times as many stories (18 stories out of 21, 3 of them together with IS, 15 independently, while IS told 6 stories, 3 of them with HK, 3 by himself). However, IS was also able to tell stories, which he did a couple of times when he thought HK was wrong or when she did not remember the plot (1:22 - the story of the student, 03 - 'don't tell secrets to your wife'). In terms of number of words, HK said only a little more than twice as many words as IS (HK - 6683 words, IS - 2687 words). That is, IS was true to his word and let HK tell more stories, but at the same time he himself was talking a lot. On the one hand, his stories, though fewer, tended to be long and elaborate, containing a number of episodes each, as well as a lot of detail and dialogue (#5, 9, 20). On the other hand, he gave a lot of commentary and explanations on a number of topics, from explanations of words and realia (1:12, etc.) to commentaries on the plot and the characters' motivations (1:13, 1:14, etc.). He often rephrased something that had been already said, or added a detail. He also corrected HK if he felt she was mistaken (1:22). He also often remembered a new story and suggested that HK tell it (stories #2, 3, 4, 7, 8, 14, possibly 21).

The difference between the styles of the two performers seems to stem from their attitude to the stories and, generally, to the tradition. HK was inside the tradition; she did not perceive story as object (7); for her, the performance and the story were fused. She did not think I might need explanations on the story during performance and only rarely provided spontaneous translations (1:12). IS was more conscious of story as object, and of the possibility that I, a stranger, would not understand it, so he was providing report and interpretation during the telling. (8) In addition, IS apparently felt in charge not only for the text, but also for the performance. When he did not know something HK knew, he urged her to tell about it (1:47, about the tree killing a person). Several times when she forgot a detail he perceived as important, he jumped in and supplied it (1:12 - about the angel seeing only the three people who prayed devoutly as the ones really present in the church; 1:18 - about the soldier rejecting the idea that the girl he saw being born would become his wife, etc.) On several occasions he thought of a story and reminded HK of it, so that she could tell it. However, besides organizing the performance, he also could perform (in Hymes' terms), and was just as good a story-teller as HK was.

There also seemed to be a difference between the genres of stories each person preferred to tell. The stories include: memorates (in which I also include the stories told by 'friend of a friend', i.e., ## 1, 10, 11, 12, 13, 15), religious legends and tales of fate (##3, 4, 6, 7, 8, 16, 20, 21), and anecdotes (##5, 9, 19, 20). Among the six memorates, most were, expectedly, told by HK (told 4, suggested 2). IS told, or participated in telling, three memorates, and suggested only one. However, the two memorates he told on his own (##11 and 13) are short and not as impressive as, for example, a well-developed #12, suggested and told by HK. The overall impression is that memorates were not IS's favorite genre.

Memorates

<i># Teller</i>	<i>Who Suggested</i>	
1 HK	HK	
10	HK, IS	
11	IS	?
12	HK	HK
13	IS	IS
15	HK	

Out of eight religious legends and tales of fate, HK told eight and suggested two; IS told one (together with HK) and suggested five. Again, HK was the main teller. IS often suggested a tale, but rarely told it himself (maybe because I had said I wanted HK to talk). However, he seemed to know them all, and if HK forgot something, IS was eager to step in (#20).

Religious Legends, Tales of Fate

<i># Teller</i>	<i>Who Suggested</i>	
3 HK	IS	
4 HK	IS	
6 HK	HK	
7 HK	IS	
8 HK	IS	
16	HK	
20	HK, IS	HK
21	HK	IS?

In anecdotes and non-religious legends, IS was more often a teller than in other story types: he told three stories out of four (two of them with HK), and suggested one, while HK told three (two of them with IS), and suggested two. Though HK may have suggested an anecdote and start telling it, IS just could not help himself because he was sure he knew the story better and could tell it better (as in #5). With stories of other types, according to my request, IS tried to let HK tell as many stories as she remembered, but with anecdotes, more often than with other types of stories, IS told the stories himself.

Anecdotes

# Teller	Who Suggested
5 HK, IS	HK
9 IS	IS
19	HK ?
20	HK, IS HK

Thus, the recorded storytelling session showed a difference between male and female roles in storytelling performance, if not in the knowledge of the stories of various genres. IS knew all three types of stories, i.e., memorates, religious legends, and anecdotes, but he preferred to tell anecdotes. My impression was that he was not particularly interested in memorates. However, he vividly discussed one memorate (#12), possibly because he knew and trusted the person (*dido*) who used to tell it. HK knew and told all three types of stories, but memorates and religious legends seemed to be more to her taste.

Thus, we can hypothesize that anecdotes are more of a men's domain, while religious legends and memorates are women's. This contention is supported by previous research as well; see, Dégh [1999: 582] noticing that in contemporary story-telling, "[d]evelopment of genre specialization may be observed between the sexes: the *märchen* and the ghost stories became almost exclusively feminine, whereas men became the tellers of jokes, lies, and humorous and adventurous occupational and personal narratives," or Kiliánová [1999:104] stating that among her informants in rural Slovakia in 1981-83, "the best narrators of anecdotes from the society's point of view (and also my own view) were men...while the best performer of magic tales and ghost stories was a woman." Moreover, Dégh [1989: 159] observed during her fieldwork in the Hungarian village of Kakasd in the 1940s-50s, that religious legends "were especially favored by [...] women." Thus, the fact suggested in literature that men are more prone to telling certain types of stories (i.e., anecdotes), and women, others (i.e., religious legends), is supported by the recording session in Novoselytsia. What is significant is that it while performance is gender-specific, knowledge of the stories is not. Both IS and HK were equally familiar with narratives of all three genres.

Organization of the performance on the micro-level

Both HK and IS followed particular patterns when telling a story. First, they suggested a story: they referred to it either by a plot summary (that happened more often with short, uncomplicated stories): "how one person was told that he would die from a tree, when a beam fell on him" (#2), "how St. Peter was herding geese" (#6), "how a woman beat St. Peter" (#8), "a woman stopped tractors" (#13), "where moonshine came from" (#21), etc., or by using the initial, expository portion: "how that woman wanted to go to church" (#3), "how a soldier was returning from the army" (#4), "how a student crossed a river" (#5), "how that guy was lying under a pear-tree when they were passing by" (#7), or, less frequently, by a punch line: "when God permits, a hoe fires" (#9), "don't pity an

orphan, don't tell the truth to your wife, don't lend money to a nobleman" (#20). The majority of such references were relative clauses beginning with the word "how." They may not be titles in strict sense. Since some of them include deictic elements ("that woman", "that guy"), they might be occasional descriptions rather than fixed titles for these specific stories, and might have only a mnemonic function. (9)

Stories usually started with a sentence where a subject and predicate were in the reversed order, i.e., predicate (underlined in the examples below) - **subject** (bolded): #1: НК | сиділи **трі жінки** | у канторі | 'Three women were sitting in the office' 1:04; #3: НК а | тото **тото ішли** | ішли **трі жінки** | б'ерем'єньні | ай іш'є за німи **дідо** | та не | дідо | ангель іш'є | за німи | 'Once, three women were walking, three pregnant women, and behind them, an old man was walking. It was not an old man, but an angel, he walked after them' 1:06, etc. This word-order in the closely related Russian language "ha[s] long been associated with folklore, poeticity, and stylization [e.g. Adamec 1966, Kovtunova 1980]" [Yokoyama 1986: 284]. However, in the recording session, this word order occurred not only at the beginning of a story. It also marked the occasions when a new person was (re)introduced in the narration: | она бы ішла до ц'єркви | і туй заходит **дідо** | до х'єжі 'And this one wants so much to go to church. And here an old man enters the house.' (1:11); она б'ыла нішла айбо дитину | айно ніє на кого лишіти | но і заходить **дідо** | 'She wanted to go, but there was no one to leave the baby with. And so an old man comes in, ...' (1:11); | б'ог приємле | лише тр'єх | а др'угых нет | но | думат она тогда собі но ш'є | 'God accepts only three, but not others. Well, then she thinks to herself...' (1:13); дідо ніш'є г'єт | б'уде она іти до пона | б'є казати се понову | 'The old man went away. She [decided] to go to the priest, will tell that to the priest...' (1:13), etc. Overall, this word order seems to be a device to shift the focus of the narration to a new person, whether it is at the beginning of the story or in its middle, rather than a specific device for starting a story.

In the text of each story one can detect a number of discourse markers with framing functions. (10) The expressions *a* 'and', *i* 'and', *туй*, *туйкы* 'here', *ужє* 'already', *но* 'well, and', *айно* 'yes, well' mark a beginning of a new episode (framing devices are underlined in the examples below). (11) They may be combined, as in *быв* | іш'є *із* | *сол...* | *із армії солдат* | і туйкы *ужє* *ся* *прим'єрькло ніч* | 'a soldier was returning from the army, and it already became dark, the night started' (1:15; the English translation is not a word-by-word translation and does not always convey the clustering of markers), or: | *і казав* | *но* | с'єі жоньі *ся* *вт'опит с'єі жоньі* | *но* *забыла м ш'є* | *а с'єі жоньі* | дерево *уб'є* | айно | но і туйкы *ужє* | *хл'єнци* *повыростаі* | *ростут* | 'and he said, this woman's [child] will drown, this woman's - I forgot what, and this woman's [child] will be killed by a tree. Yes. And then boys already grew up, they are growing' (1:07). The expressions *тай ніч* / *но і ніч* / *но і в'єсо* 'and that's it', 'nothing more happened', 'OK' usually close an episode and at the same time build suspense, making listeners anticipate what is coming: *ІС* *ніп* *думав ш'є* | *ш'є* *в'єрати ш'є* | *ГК* *ніп* *в'єрат ІС* *но* | *най* *буде* | но *тай ніч* | *п'єлігали*

спáти сплѣт | а зя́ць у печі́ | печé ся | рáно пробуді́ли ся | IS: ‘... The priest thought he would win something. HK: That the priest would win. IS: Well, OK, OK. They went to sleep, they are sleeping, and the rabbit is in the oven, baking. In the morning they woke up...’ (1:36). The words *маї́ ма́к* ‘and that is it; and that is how it was’ often served as an episode closing marker; sometimes they ended the whole story (1:14, 1:30, 2:05), but they also could end an episode (1:26, 08) or a digression within a story (1:15).

These markers indicating the opening and closing of an episode may appear to be mere fillers, but in fact they function similarly to formulae in oral poetry by giving the teller time to think, and, at the same time, creating suspense for listeners. Unlike the formulae in oral poetry, these markers do not have rhythmical structure, as one would expect in a prose genre, but they add both structure and suspense, allowing the listeners to detect what part of episode they are in, and at the same time holding them in anticipation about what content they are going to hear. (12) Another device that functions similarly to opening and closing markers is repetition, as in: | *но маї́ ліга́ют спáти | маї́ полі́зали спáти маї́ |* ‘And they go to sleep. And they went to sleep’ (1-24). The repetition is never exact, but repeating the word with slight variations in several sentences allows the storyteller to gain time to think, and slows the story down for the listeners, building suspense. (13)

In the recording session there were no specific folkloric formulae closing a story (of the type e.g., of the rhyming “I stepped on a rock, and that was the end of the story. I stepped on a stick, tell me if [what I told] was not right” as in Pan’kevych [1938:463]. Pan’kevych recorded this ending in a humorous personal experience tale; though generally such endings are known from fairy tales, it appeared in another type of story in this case. Theoretically an ending like this could have appeared in one of the stories in the session; however, it did not. It is not clear whether such endings are generally not typical for genres other than fairy tales (14), or have disappeared from the story-telling practices, or whether they are still in usage under specific circumstances, e.g. if the end of the story is also the end of a story-telling session, or whether some tellers use them while others do not.

After a story would end, the two participants would start a discussion, repeating the punchline if there was one, discussing the meaning of the story, its connection to everyday life (“So that’s how it is now too” 1:14), returning to a specific episode of the story and repeating something from the text or adding what they had forgotten to say, and then again returning to the overall meaning of the story, tying the details with the main message. This commentary would take some time. Its point seems to be to keep the audience and the tellers in the story-telling mood; this mood lingers while the discussion is going on until someone thinks of another story to tell; if no one does, the session is over. My questions to the two story-tellers whether they knew of such and such story seemed to fall within the framework of a story-telling session; these questions helped the story-tellers remember a new story even though usually it was not the one I suggested. In my view, it was appropriate to suggest a story to HK and IS, since that was what they

did between themselves as well. I also asked questions about details of the previous story and that prompted them to expand on the explanations and, therefore, to stay in the story-telling mood. The only difference I could see between my and their discourse strategies is that I asked questions, while they did not; their suggestions, explanations and even questions would be in the form of a statement or a request. The general role of questions and statements in discourse in the dialect of Novoselytsia may be different from English (e.g., the normal way of saying “I don’t know” is *а я знаю?* ‘(What) do I know?’). However, in this case, I think I have an understanding of HK and IS’s usage of statements in form: even if they expressed their uncertainty about specific details, their statements might have indicated their knowledge of these stories, in terms of both meaning and context, while my questions indicated I was ignorant of the tradition and asking for assistance in a way.

In order to make clear how these elements operated in context, I will now provide an analysis of the transition from one story to the next on the micro-level. Below is a transition between stories #18 and #19, at 02, in English translation.

1. HK: [finishing the story] [...] The Roma got on the horse and says: now one pull [the coach], and the other, push it. And off he went, and never came back, this way he went to fetch the *manta* [deception]. They [the Roma] took both horses. And the coach remained, and the nobleman remained, and his coachman remained.
2. IS: The Roma got on the horse and says: fare you well...
3. HK: Yes, yes, fare you well...
4. IS: One person, pull it, the other, push it.
5. HK: And the other, push it. So that one would pull it, and the other, push from behind.
6. IS: That’s the *manta*.
7. HK: Yes, that’s the *manta*. And the Roma live from that *manta*. They deceive here and deceive there, and so they live from *manta*. Well, and also I remembered another story, and I think let it be here, so that you have it.

First, in (1), HK ends the story, then the (rhyming) punchline is repeated and corrected by IS (2, 4), and HK agrees (3, 5) and explains the meaning of the punchline (5). Then IS explains what the Roma’s words mean (6), and HK agrees and explains the connection between the story and the real life (how Roma live from *manta*); in the meantime, she remembers another story to tell (7). When IS interrupts HK, who is the story-teller at the moment, to add his own commentaries, he is not saying the whole thing at the time, but gives a short utterance (half of a punchline, or a short comment) every time, as if he is pondering what and how to say. HK approves of his words every time, and only then does IS go on with another detail. On the other hand, HK not only approves

of IS's words, she then, true to her role as a teller of this story, expands and explains IS's words, as in (6) and (7), as if improvising on the theme given by IS. This exchange during which both participants, one as the story-teller, the other as the audience, are shaping the story together, seems characteristic not only for this story-telling performance, but for many others that I recorded in Novoselytsia.

True or False? Tellers' attitudes toward stories and techniques for connecting them to the real world

In the excerpt quoted above, one can see another feature that is common to many stories in this session. The explanation about the Roma living from *manta* connects the world of the story with the world of here-and-now, and thus validates the story's truthfulness. (15) The majority of stories have some type of anchoring device, though the exact means used to anchor them may vary depending on the genre of story.

We can summarize the anchors as follows. Typically, all the memorates contain personal and/or place names (*Ivanycka; there was one Yurchak; the father of that Evka Diakova; somewhere in Volosianka*, etc.) Religious legends and tales of fate often contain either: 1) ethnographic details (often in the form of digressions introduced by the explanation that "it used to be that way long ago", as in #2 – the digression about beams and chimneys and in #3 – the digression about walking long distances); or, 2) the remark that "such things happen now too" (#3 - nowadays people also get distracted in church, #6 - nowadays geese also damage gardens, #16 - nowadays one also needs to pray before going somewhere, #21 - people also get drunk now). Anecdotes contain 1) one referral to some authoritative person who told the story (and that is why it is truthful) e.g., #5; or, 2) 'such things happen now too' - #19 (as in religious legends).

Thus, the stories of near past are grounded in the world of here-and-now by mentioning real and familiar (at least to the performer) people and places. (16) The stories of olden times are connected with the present by referring to certain details from the story that still may be found in the present and are familiar to listeners (such as geese damaging gardens) or that have changed recently, but are still familiar to performers (such as walking long distances on foot before the time of cars and buses). While the first type of linking is a typical verisimilitudinal device, the mentioning of archaisms may serve to preserve "the long-ago setting of the tales." (17) The figure of a respected story-teller who used to know and tell the story also can be evoked to ground the story in the tradition and thus to confirm its truth.

The devices to connect two worlds, the one of the story and the one of the performance, thus are various and genre-specific. It did not seem, however, as if the tellers were using them to convince the listener of the reality of their artistic creation in which they did not believe themselves. On the contrary, based on their commentary, it was clear that the belief of the two tellers in the truthfulness of their stories was sincere, possibly absolute, regardless of the genre. In the course of the session, neither of the tellers said anything that could be understood as

doubt about the truthfulness of any story. The recording contains one instance of a statement about stories being true, when IS mentioned, after finishing an anecdote about a student outwitting a peasant: “That is not that someone made it up, it was like that. That is what our old man, blessed be his soul, used to tell” (1:27). During the discussions after the end of each story, the two tellers at times disagreed about details (e.g., when exactly the soldier married the girl that had been destined to become his wife or whether a new monk would make a good exorcist), but only once one of them doubted the truthfulness of the story, when, between the stories #10 and #11, the question arose whether the old man who said that thieves would bring him back stolen sacks really meant it, i.e., whether he had some powers to make it happen. Even in this case, the question was whether this man was bluffing in this particular case, not whether such things were possible; that was beyond doubt. HK was more often using a story as a source of teaching about right and wrong, as an instruction for living right, while IS was less moralizing and seemed to tell stories more for entertainment, but for both of them, the stories were true.

Conclusion

Until recently, recordings of entire performances of Slavic tales have been scarce. (18) For Rusyn, they have been nearly non-existent. Such recordings are an invaluable source for an analysis of the structure of folk narrative, which some researchers, beginning with Hymes, call *ethnopoetic features*, and others, namely Bauman, call *keying of performance*. This approach, in its turn, is important since “careful attention to linguistic details can reveal much about the poetics and aesthetics of the source-language versions” [Webster 2008a: 441]. Such analysis is a variant of the discourse-centered approach to language and culture developed by Sherzer [1987, 1990], Urban [1991], Webster [2008a]. Though particular discourse features of a folkloric performance can be recovered from a text dictated to a person who recorded it by hand ([Hymes 2003] and [Webster 2008a], etc.), a transcript of an audio performance can reveal much more. For example, although the majority of his stories are simply texts as dictated, Pan’kevych [1938] has also published a few transcripts of audio texts. These transcripts show an impressive number of details of narrative structure missing from dictated texts alone. One can appreciate the drastic difference in discourse devices between two stories, #36, audio recorded from an informant born in a village from the Irshava district, and #35, dictated by an informant from the same district: in the story transcribed from the audio recording, the word *HO* ‘well,’ a sign of continuation of a narrative, occurs ten times in a text less than a page long, while in the dictated story, *HO* does not occur even once in a narrative of more than two pages. This example shows that when recording by hand, important discourse elements can be considered unnecessary fillers even by thorough dialectologists such as Pan’kevych and will be omitted at the stage of narration. Conversely, faithful transcripts of audio-recorded texts allow us to preserve more elements that are vital to understanding narrative and performance. Even more information can be provided by transcripts

of entire performances, including not only the stories, but also all the communication that takes place before, after, and between them, which, as far as I know, has not yet been done with Rusyn or Ukrainian material. Such sound recordings can be pivotal for understanding the overall organization of folkloric performance in the area. Published collections of folkloric texts from Western Ukraine and specifically Carpathian region, despite their abundance, may not provide necessary details for such research.

This article is the first attempt to analyze an instance of story-telling performance based on Rusyn material. Even though, as I mentioned, this performance cannot be considered totally typical since I was present in the quality of a listener, it allowed us to highlight several important factors about performance structure in Rusyn culture that merit further investigation. First, there is a definite structure to a story-telling session. Stories are suggested, and then told (not obligatorily by the one who suggested them). While they are told, other participants can suggest corrections, explanations, and anticipate the next move. When the story is over (there were no specific folkloric endings to stories in the recorded session), the story-teller and other participants usually discuss this story, adding details, teasing out the overall meaning of the story and its connection to their lives. During this discussion, another participant may remember another story and tell it or suggest it to another participant as a possible narrative for the session. If no one remembers another story, someone may suggest something else to do, and the story-telling will be over.

This discussion between the stories, as well as the interruptions by other participants during the story, seem to be the very instruments of the “collective creation,” as well as of “preventive censure” that Jakobson and Bogatyrev mention as characteristic features of folklore [1980[1929]: 20 and *passim*]. These two forms of interaction during a story-telling session convey folk knowledge and the expectations of the entire audience to the current story-teller, and also allow for the collective negotiation of the meaning of the story. It is noteworthy that during the recorded story-telling session the current story-tellers agreed with, and incorporated in their stories, most of the suggestions by the other participant. This practice is thus a living example of how “collective creation” works.

The role of an individual performer in creating and maintaining the Rusyn folk tradition certainly needs more research, since our sample is limited. There were only two performers in the recorded session; their roles were different in one respect, and similar in other. However, we can make some preliminary conclusions: the gender and age of performers influenced their performance. The male story-teller seemed to be more prone to tell anecdotes (anecdotes), while the female story-teller preferred religious legends. However, both were similar in their living knowledge of tradition and the ability to perform a variety of genres. Both knew each other’s repertoire in all genres, commented on each other’s tales, and helped out when the other performer forgot certain details. The younger performer, IS, at 54 years of age, was as good a story-teller as his 89-year-old adoptive mother HK. Moreover, he felt responsible for the whole performance and tried to organize it as best he could, helping HK with details, but at the same

time complying with my request to let HK talk more. The overall impression was that the younger generation can maintain the story-telling tradition, not only in the sense of knowledge of tradition, but also in the sense of the ability to do an authoritative performance [Hymes 1975:69]. Thus, the traditional rural folklore in Novoselytsia continues to thrive, (19) at least in the generation which is now 50-60 years of age, even if the tradition for them is more “external” than for the elder generation, i.e., they are more likely to view the stories as objects, as we have seen. Moreover, the serious attitude towards tradition and the belief in the truth of the stories coming from a traditional source as demonstrated by IS (“That is not that someone made it up, it was like that. That is what our old man, blessed be his soul, used to tell”) indicate that the tradition continues to have authority in this generation despite of many other influences. IS’s respect to tradition is not diminished by the fact that he is also a high school graduate and an active member in the church. His sharing of a traditional worldview seems to be rooted in his rural lifestyle and daily communication with like-minded people. The demographic data on the Transcarpathian region show solid and growing rural population. (20) That suggests that the rural environment continues to provide an opportunity for traditional Rusyn folklore to live and develop.

On the micro-level, a performed story includes a number of linguistic markers indicating the beginning or an end of an episode and the introduction of a new person. These markers seem to orientate listeners within an episode. They also seem to build suspense, as well as give the speaker time to think of what to say next; that is, they perform a similar function to what formulae do in epic genres of folklore. However, in prose stories they do not carry the function of maintaining the required rhythm. Building suspense and giving the speaker time seems also to be the function of repetition of words and phrases, similar to its function in poetic folklore genres. Stories and participants’ comments also contain a number of verisimilitudinous devices connecting the world of story and the world of story-tellers and their audience, either through digressions about details that are similar in both worlds or by referring to the authority of tradition. Thus, the micro-structure of a story-telling performance, same as its macro-structure, abounds in devices that may seem to interfere with the smoothness of narration (and that is why they are usually omitted when stories are dictated or edited for publication), but are absolutely essential for building the two-way connection between story-tellers and their audience. (21) This connection, in turn, is the very mechanism that propels the “communal creativity”, which is, according to Jakobson and Bogatyrev, the mode of existence of folklore.

Appendix: Transcript of the recording session

Recording, minute	Text (22)	Translation
[21-1:04] (23)	ГК ... у нас відиш як у у кант́орі коли жд́ну́ грім у у сиді́ли трі́ жо́ны у кант́орі	HK: ...In our village, you see how...In the office when a woman was k[illed] (24) by lightning... Three women were sitting in the office.
[21-1:05]	IS кд́лгд́спні ГК га IS кд́лгд́спні ГК кд́лгд́зні коли́ при кд́лгд́спі тай́ сі́ли тай́ та́м неда́леко і шчо́тчик а жо́ны ся ві́тсува́ют а она́ ка́же а вы́ ся ка́же боі́те жо́на ка́же а та боі́ме ся а она́ сі́ла тай́ грім ци́ не убі́в йе́ї та́мки аа іване́цьку IS ка́зала шчо́ не бойе́ть_ ся ГК о́на ка́зала шчо́ не бойе́ть_ ся не за тто́ йе́ї убі́в шчо́ ка́зала шчо́ не бойе́ть_ ся ай́ за то́ шчо́ така́ і судьба́ бы́ла об́ы від́ о́гня уме́рла ... (25)	IS: Collective farms. HK: What? IS: Collective farms [office]. HK: Collective farms. At the time of collective farms. So they sat down, and there was an electric meter not far from there, and [these] women moved further from it, but she said: oh, you are afraid? one woman said. -- Sure, we are afraid! And she sat there, and you know, the lightning killed her there. Her, Ivanycka. IS: She said she was not afraid. HK: She said she was not afraid. Not because of that, she got killed not because she said she was not afraid, but because it was her destiny, to die of fire. [Interviewer: Have you heard about someone predicting how another person would die, and later it would turn out to be true?]
[21-1:06]	ГК а́ я зна́ю ... ГК шчо́зь_ бы́ло тако́е бы́ло такое́	HK: I don't know. [Interviewer: Or maybe someone could predict the time when he himself would die?]

Recording, minute	Text (22)	Translation
	<p>ІС но то́ як одні́му чо́лво́віку ка́зали хт́о т́о ка́зав шчо́ від д́ерева умре́ коли́ грятка на ньо́го упала́ </p> <p>ГК а то́то то́то ішли́ ішли́ три́ жо́ны бе́ремє́нни ай ішо́в за ні́ми д́ідо та не́ д́ідо а́нгель_ ішо́в за ні́ми і ка́же сьє́сь ся ут́опит одє́н віт чо́го умре́</p> <p>ІС ...</p> <p>ГК ... віт чо́го е́дєн ка́же </p>	<p>HK: There was something, there was something like that.</p> <p>IS: Well, it is how one person was told, who was that told him, that he would die from a tree? when a beam fell on him.</p> <p>HK: Ah, that? Once, three women were walking, three pregnant women, and behind them, an old man was walking.</p> <p>It was not an old man, but an angel, he walked after them and he said: this one will drown, one will - of what will he die?</p> <p>IS: [unclear]</p> <p>HK: [unclear] What will one die of, he said?</p>
[21-1:07]	<p>е́дєн ся ут́опит </p> <p>ІС мо́же ма́шина убьє́ ци шчо́ </p> <p>ГК но за́была м а і ка́зав но сє́ї жо́ны ся вт́опит сє́ї жо́ны но за́была м шчо́ а сє́ї жо́ны д́ерево убь'є́ айно́ но і туйки́ уже́ хлб́пці́ по́выроста́ли росту́т і то́т о́ я́ не зна́ю ци то́т ся ско́рше уто́пив ся як і то́го д́ержали́ лишє́ на печі́ обы́ го д́ерево не убі́ло </p> <p>ІС аа́ ті хлб́пці́ шчо́ ма́є ся ур́одити́</p> <p>ГК то́ты́ три́ хлб́пці́ і оні́ уже́ в́ыросли́ то́ты́ хлб́пці́ та́кі шчо́ уже́ вели́чкі́ бы́ли хлб́пці́ і ні́где не пушча́ли ні́где бись не йшо́в бо те́бе ма́є д́ерево убі́ти і ні́где</p>	<p>one will drown?</p> <p>IS: Maybe he would be hit by a car or something.</p> <p>HK: Well, I forgot. So, and he said, this woman's [child] will drown, this woman's - I forgot what, and this woman's [child] will be killed by a tree. Yes.</p> <p>And then boys already grew up, they are growing, and that one, I don't know if one drowned first, or how, but that one was only kept on the oven so that he does not get killed by a tree...</p> <p>IS: that was these boys who had to be born...</p> <p>HK: These three boys. And they already grew up, these boys, so that they were guys. And that one, [his parents] did not let him go anywhere, don't go</p>

Recording, minute	Text (22)	Translation
	<p>бись не йшо́в а давно́ бы́ли такі но старі хыжі така́ была грятка і грятка тотá ся </p>	<p>anywhere because you will be killed by a tree, don't go anywhere. And long ago, there were such old houses, and there was such a beam, and that beam</p>
[21-1:08]	<p>відломіла у хыжі і убіла того́ на печі дере́во го убило́ ІС такі́ дві ви́блиці не́ ГК а у ко́го бы́ли дві а у ко́го єдна́ ли́ше бы́ла ІС та на єдні́ грятці́ на одні́ ви́блиці держа́ло ся дві бы́ли ГК тай ві́д від сы́ціны до́ сы́ціны бы́ла грятка́ ІС но а на то́му дрыва́ скла́довали ГК аа но то́то коли́ бы́ли бы́ла шче́ й тотá коли́ дымня́нкы́ бы́ли айно́ дымня́нка такі́ хыжі́ бы́ли такі́ дымня́нкы́ што́ ту́й кла́ли серет хыжі́ о́гня́ а у по́ва́лі тако́е вікно́ бы́ло і туды́ дым ішо́в ... ГК ко́мина не бы́ло і то́то так лю́де жи́ли но айбо то́то давно́ давно́ то́то бы́ло но і то́т і то́го му́сіла раз </p>	<p>got broken in the house and killed that one on the oven. He was killed by a tree. IS: There were such two beams. HK: Some people had two, some people had just one. IS: So on one beam, on one beam it was all supported, were there two? HK: And the beam was from one wall to the other. IS: People used to keep firewood on that. HK: Yes. It was when there were...when there were houses without chimney. Yes. Houses without chimney, there were such houses that here, in the middle of the house they would make fire, and there was such a window in the ceiling, and the smoke went there. [Interviewer: There was no chimney?] HK: There was no chimney, and people lived this way. But that was long, long ago. And so...it had to...</p>
[21-1:09]	<p>ві́н від дере́ва мав уме́рти іі так уме́р ІС і ні́гда не йшо́в ли́ше у ха́ті сиді́в і грятка́ </p>	<p>he had to die of a tree, and that is how he died.</p>

Recording, minute	Text (22)	Translation
	<p>ГК і грятка тотó ся відломіла і на ньóго упáла і убíла і всьó нó а трéтый я забыла шо </p> <p>ІС машíна йóго мáла убíти а нó щчó </p> <p>ГК е та машíн тогдý не бы́ло я не зна́ю е мáв ся задавíти но е́дін ся утопíв тóт ся ма́є задавíти а тóго ма́є дéрево убíти тай всьó айно і та тóго дíдо в́ыказав і дíда не стáло а дíдо за т́ыми жонáми шóв і так казáв за т́ыми трьомá щчо íшли бéременьні перед н́им </p> <p> ... </p>	<p>IS: And he did not go anywhere ever, he only sat in the house, and the beam...</p> <p>HK: and the beam broke, and fell on him, and killed him, and that's all. And the third one, I forgot what happened.</p> <p>IS: He had to be killed by a car. Do you remember?</p> <p>HK: But there were no cars then. I don't know. Ah, he had to choke. Yes, one drowned, the other had to choke, and the third one had to be killed by a tree. That's it. Yes. And that old man, he said that and disappeared. The old man went after these women and said so, after these three women that were pregnant.</p> <p>[Interviewer: So that was not an old man?]</p>
<p>[21-1:10]</p>	<p>ГК то áнгел бы́в то не дíдо бы́в то лиш дíдо ќіп дíдів бы́в айно то не дíдо бы́в а хтó був тотó хтó бы тотó зна́в такóе айно і тотó тák ся пóлучíло всьó як дíдо казáв тák ся тотó всьó пóлучíло </p> <p>ІС а щчé роскажіте як тотá до цéрквы хóтіла йті ко́лі дíдо ї пу́стíв не мáла на кóго лишíти </p> <p>ГК но бы́ла нéвістка тáг_ бы íшла до цéркве та кáже уже мáчóсі мáттери ужé чóлв́ічóві мáмо кáже пусьціт менé кáже до</p>	<p>HK: That was an angel, not an old man. He only looked like an old man, that was not an old man. But who else could know that? And it all happened like that, as the old man said, it all happened like that.</p> <p>IS: Also tell how that woman... wanted to go to church when an old man let her go. She did not have anyone to leave her children with.</p> <p>HK. Yes. There was a young woman, she wanted so much to go to church, and she says to her stepmother, to her husband's mother: please let me</p>

Recording, minute	Text (22)	Translation
	<p>цѣркви я бим каже так ишла до цѣркви а нет я йду уже мати каже я йду ты не йдѣш но і зобрала ся і пішла мати пішла </p>	<p>go to church, I want so much to go to church. Oh no, I am going to church, the mother[-in-law] says, I am going, and you are not. So she got ready and went, the mother-[-in-law].</p>
[21-1:11]	<p>і туй заєнно шчо она бы ишла до цѣркви і туй заходит дїдо до хыжи</p> <p>ІС не має на кого дїтїну лишїти </p> <p>ГК а дїтїна малейка а дїтїна у колысьци тай нїе на кого дїтїну лишїти она была пішла айбо дїтїну айно нїе на кого лишїти но і заходить_ дїдо тай тай каже шчо ишла бим до цѣркве та ишла та я кае тебе пущу каже ты йди я кае з дїтїнов каже буду но тай дїдо ся лишїв із_ дїтїнов а она пішла до цѣркви і приходид_ домї уже была на службї была в цѣркви приходид_ домї тай дїдо коло дїтїны дїдо всьо тай звьїдат но як у цѣркви йбї дуже каже файно было так і людѣй было і а казаня такос файное было каже шчо я каже дуже каже ми ся поллюбыло </p>	<p>And this one wants so much to go to church. And here an old man enters the house.</p> <p>IS: She did not have anyone to leave a baby with.</p> <p>HK: And the baby was little, baby in the cradle. And there was no one to leave the baby with. She wanted to go, but there was no one to leave the baby with. And so an old man comes in, and she says that she wants to go to church, and he says, I'll let you go, you may go, I will stay with the baby, he says. And she went to church. Then she returns home, she was in the church, she was present at the service. So she comes home, and the old man is sitting with the baby. And he asks: how was it in the church? She says: oh, it was so good, there were a lot of people, and the priest said such a fine sermon. I liked it very much, she says.</p>
[21-1:12]	<p>ІС прѣповїдь рѣзумїсте</p> <p>ГК но аа пїп а а а дїдо каже е лю... людѣй лишѣ трѣе было у цѣркви а пїп не казаня казав ай це... цеглу возив ци знаете </p>	<p>IS: The sermon, you know?</p> <p>HK: Yes. And the priest... and the old man says, there were only three people in the church, and the priest did not say the sermon, he was driving bricks.</p>

Recording, minute	Text (22)	Translation
	<p>цѣгла но ка́же лиш трѳе люде́й бы́ло у це́ркви та де́ она́ ка́же та де́ по́вна це́рковь бы́ло люде́й мно́го тай пѳп фа́йное ка́заня ка́зав а дѳдо о́пья́т лишѳе трѳе бы́ло в це́ркви а пѳп цѣглу возѳв </p> <p>ИС ці́лу слѳ́жбу </p> <p>ГК ці́лу слѳ́жбу но нѳ́ч іде́ тогѳ іде́ а то́ усѳ ма́ли ѳ́нчі думкы́ не дѳ́мали тѳ́м </p>	<p>Do you know what bricks are? Well. He says there were only three people in the church. How come, she says, the church was full, there were a lot of people. And the priest said a nice sermon. And the old man says again: there were only three people in the church, and the priest was driving bricks.</p> <p>IS: The whole time of the service.</p> <p>HK: The whole time of the service. OK. And that is, everyone had other thoughts, did not think about...</p>
[21-1:13]	<p>а трѳе лишѳе шчо дѳ́мали шчо ѳ́ні на слѳ́жбі </p> <p>ИС шчо мо́лили ся</p> <p>ГК шчо мо́лили ся шчи́ро так бо́г приѳ́мле лишѳе трѳѳ́х а дру́гих не́т но дѳ́мат она́ тогды́ сѳ́бі но шчо́ тай дѳ́до піш... дѳ́да у́же не ста́ло дѳ́до пішо́в ге́т бу́де ѳ́на іті до по́па бде́ ка́зати се по́пови прихѳ́дит ка́же ѳ́ бы́ла ка́же на слѳ́жбі тог/ды і тогды́ та ка́же вѳ́ ка́зали ка́же ка́заня і люде́й бы́ло но і ѳ́на у́же ро́сказа́ла у́же шчо дѳ́до у не́ї бѳ́в якъ_ ѳ́еї пустѳ́в на слѳ́жбу і ка́же та ка́зав шчо вѳ́ не ка́заня ка́зали ай цѣглу сѳ́те возѳ́ли а пѳп ся будова́в тогды́ та у по́па не бы́ло то́то у го́ловѳ́ шчо вѳ́н ка́же з еванге́лія ай дѳ́мав ѳ́к вѳ́н за́втра бу́де </p>	<p>and there were only three people who thought they were at the service.</p> <p>IS: Those who were praying.</p> <p>HK: Those who were praying from their heart, God accepts only three, but not others. Well, then she thinks to herself... The old man disappeared, he went away. She decided to go to the priest, will tell that to the priest. She comes to the priest and says: I was, she says, at the service then and then, and, she says, you said a sermon, and there were a lot of people. So she told him that there was an old man at her house, how he let her go to the service, and, she said, that old man said you were not saying a sermon, but driving bricks. And the priest was building his house then, and he did not think of what he</p>

Recording, minute	Text (22)	Translation
		was saying from the Gospel, but he was thinking, how he was going to
[21-1:14]	<p>цэглу возіти на хыжу та яг_буде будова́ти ци рѳзуме́сте но тай та́к </p> <p>ІС цілу́ службу́ цеглу́ вози́в </p> <p>ГК цілу́ службу́ пі́п і при ка́заню та не ка́заня ка́зав ай ду́мав ба як ба як я бду́ цеглу́ за́втра та ко́го я заклі́чу хто́ мні́ приве́зе на хыжу́ цеглу́ </p> <p>ІС говори́в одно́ а ду́мав дру́гоє</p> <p>ГК но та та́к то́то є і те́пе́рькы то́то коли́ ся іде́ до це́рькви та тре́ба ся а тре́ба ду́мати шчо́ я йду́ до це́рькве та слуха́ти бо́жі слова́ айбо́ ке́тъ то́ не та́к то не та́к ся полу́чит то́ дру́гі думкы́ май пере́бь'ют не та́к </p> <p>ІС а шче́ роскажі́т як солда́т із а́рміі йшо́в а ну́ ж </p>	<p>drive bricks the next day to build his house, and how he will build it. Do you understand? Well, it was like that.</p> <p>IS: During the whole service he was driving bricks.</p> <p>HK: During the whole service. The priest, at the time of the sermon...and he did not say the sermon, but he was thinking, but how I am going to...the bricks tomorrow, who I could call that would drive the bricks for me so that I could build the house.</p> <p>IS: He was saying one thing, and thinking another thing.</p> <p>HK: Yes. So that's how it is now too, when one goes to church one needs to think that I am going to church, and listen to God's word. But what to do if it is not so, it happens otherwise, other thoughts interfere, right?</p> <p>IS: And also tell the story how a soldier was returning from the army, please,</p>
[21-1:15]	<p>... забы́ли </p> <p>ГК но та та́к шчо́ ішо́в був ішо́в із сол... із а́рміі солда́т і ту́йкы́ уже́ ся приме́рькло́ ніч </p> <p>ІС маши́н не бы́ло так як те́пе́рь</p>	<p>have you forgotten?</p> <p>HK: So it was this way: a soldier was returning from the army, and it already became dark, the night started.</p> <p>IS: There were no cars, as there are now.</p>

Recording, minute	Text (22)	Translation
	<p>ГК то пішкóм то не тák ги тѣпѣрь як я́ я самá та з вóлівця мóже двáццѣть рáз им і у волóвѣць пішкóм ци знáєте дѣ волóвѣць і у волóвѣць пішкóм і туды м нѣсла і з вóлівця пішкóм і вѣтты м нѣсла до двáццѣть рáз а аж ім не бýла тай рáз а тѣпѣрь дѣ тѣпѣрь óде кїло о о пáру крóків йóй кобы машїна бýла я не гóнна пїтї но тай тák солдáт ішóв із áрмії тай туй ся примѣрькує ужé тай йой дѣ бим і(?) спáв но і зайшóв до хýжї і </p>	<p>HK: So he had to go on foot, not as now. Even I, from and to Volovec, I went there maybe twenty times on foot. Do you know where Volovec is? So I went there and back on foot, twenty times, carrying loads. And now, forget it. If I have a kilogram to carry, a couple of steps, oh I wish there was a car, I cannot walk! OK, so the soldier was returning from the army, and it was becoming dark. He thinks: where will I sleep? He entered one house,</p>
<p>[21-1:16]</p>	<p>попросїв ся прїяли йогó від рáзу прїяли там де спáти будѣш но а давнó не бýло тых постѣлїв та дивáнів тай хýжїв хýжа еднá тáм еднá якáсь пóсьцїль пїч там прїпїчок там лáва такá ширóкї бýли лáвы і куды хтó пóлїгáли і спїт но ба дѣ бдѣ спáти солдáт кладýд_ го на сьцїв шчóсь там постелїли ци бýло шчóсь ци я́к</p> <p>ІС стóлы дóвгї бýли дóвгї не такї як тѣпѣрь </p> <p>ГК аа дóвгый сьцїв бýв шчѣ май не такый гї у нáс он тотá плáшка шчѣ май дóвгї бýли поклáли на сьцїв і будѣш спáти туйкы туй жóну імїли пѣрѣймы рóдити но </p>	<p>and asked if he could sleep there. They agreed at once. Where will you sleep? And long ago there were no beds or coaches or many rooms. There was one room, and there was one bed, one oven, a bench next to an oven, and a bench, such wide benches. And people slept where they could, they lied down and slept. And where should the soldier sleep? They put him on the table. They put some cloth there, I don't know whether there was something.</p> <p>IS: Tables were long ag that time, long, not as now.</p> <p>HK: Yes, the table was long. Maybe even longer than our table, here with this board, that table was still longer. So they put him on the table, "you will</p>

Recording, minute	Text (22)	Translation
		sleep here". And a woman went into labor, she will have a baby.
[21-1:17]	<p>і туй жона у хыжі вьсьо в хыжі і і солдат на столі </p> <p>ІС вінь_ нібы то спит</p> <p>ГК вінь_ нібы то спит а ангелы єдин на двори а єдин у хыжі та тот ізо двору зьвідат ци є уже дітина а сесь іс хыжі каже шчє нис най є тогды опьят мало пбвїть опьят зьвідат ци є нис но опьят чєкат чєкат тогды опьят зьвідат ци є є а шчо дівочка сесє каже бдє он тму каже жона шчо оде спит на столі а він чус солдат чус вьсьо но ай то він нібы то спит а він вьсьо чус но й тото вьсьо уже упбрятковали дітину уві... і тото уже шчо трє было то </p>	<p>And there, the woman is in the house, everything is in the house, and the soldier is on the table.</p> <p>IS: He is pretending that he is asleep.</p> <p>HK: He is pretending that he is asleep. And the angels, one in the yard and the other in the house, and the one from the outside asks: is there a baby already? and the one from the house answers, not yet. Then again, a bit later he asks again, if there is a baby. Not yet. And again. He waits, waits, and then he asks again if there is a baby. Yes, there is. And who is it? A girl. This girl, he says, will be married to that guy who is asleep there on the table. And he hears, the soldier hears everything. Well, and... He pretends he is asleep, but he hears everything. And all that already...they did what they had to do with the baby, swaddled it...everything that was necessary,</p>
[21-1:18]	<p>помыли пуп підрізали вьсьо ппбрятковали і пблїгали спати і дітину уже повїли повїли поклали так на стбп дітину коло так на печі сплят пблїгали а солдат помалейкы устав тихенько і дітину на руки і на двір дє моя жона о</p>	<p>they washed the baby, cut the umbilical cord, did everything, and went to sleep. And the baby was swaddled and put on the oven, next to the people who were sleeping on the oven. So they went to sleep and the soldier got up quietly, and took the baby and went outside.</p>

Recording, minute	Text (22)	Translation
	<p>тотó бЫла обы о тотó бЫло і як шóв і тák дiтiну на копáч натягну́в на двóрі у плóті копачi такi бЫли ге плiт шчо гóрòдят та двá копачi і тák на єдiн копáч натягну́в тóту дiтiну і сáм пiшóв устаю́т ни дiтiны ниє ни солдáта </p> <p>IC дé то мóя жонá бУде ГК ге IC думат дé то мóя жонá бУде</p>	<p>“How come that will be my wife!” and as he was walking, he put the baby on the stick, in the yard, there were such sticks in the fence, so when they make a fence there are two such [vertical] poles, so he put/impaled the baby on one of the poles, and went away. The people woke up, there is neither the baby there, nor the soldier.</p> <p>IS: “How come that will be my wife!”</p> <p>HK: What?</p> <p>IS: He thinks, how come she will be his wife.</p>
<p>[21-1:19]</p>	<p>ГК но пó двóру пó двóру рác вiдят шчо дiтiна iздiта і вiзяли дiтiну дiвлят нiч лиш так нiжчка бЫла мáло роспорóта ага тай нiч </p> <p>IC живá дiтiна </p> <p>ГК і дiтiна ростé дiвочка ростé дiвочка туй ужé вiросла шчо і вiдавáти ужé і туй прийшóв і тот узiв тóту дiвочку тот солдáт ужé жили якóсь ся онá убирáла бЫла онó тотó якóсь ся стыдiли єднó дрýгого і онá ся убирáла якóсь і вiн додiвив ш...шкрám на нiсьци на нòзи а шчо у тебé кáже тотó є кáже тáмки ге </p> <p>IC вiн не знáв шчо тотó тáм ГК ба дé вiн знáв </p>	<p>HK: Yes. And they went in the yard, and they see that the baby is on the stick, and they took the baby and they see, there is nothing, only one leg was a little cut. OK.</p> <p>IS: The baby was alive.</p> <p>HK: And the girl is growing up, growing up. Then already she grew up and it is time to arrange a marriage. And there, he came and married that girl, that soldier. And they already lived together. And once she somehow got dressed, because they were a bit ashamed of each other. And she got dressed, and he somehow saw the scar on the leg, on the leg. And what do you have here, he asked, there.</p> <p>IS: He did not know it was there.</p>

Recording, minute	Text (22)	Translation
		HK: Of course he did not know.
[21-1:20]	<p>він не зна́в но і она́ нача́ла роска́зовати ся́к ме́ні ка́же роска́зовали шчо ішо́в солда́т із а́рмії та спа́в у на́с а я́ ся уро́дила та узя́в ня та зды́в ня на копа́ч а то́т самы́й уже́ </p> <p>ІС она́ йо́му росказа́ла</p> <p>ГК не зна́ву шчо поду́мав шчо то́то він і взя́в то́ту і жи́ли так но айбо́ я́ уже́ не знаю́ ци каза́в ї шчо він то́то зроби́в сесе́ я́ уже́ не знаю́</p> <p>ІС мо́же і каза́в</p> <p>ГК мо́же пак де́сь ся розго́вори́ли та мо́же і каза́в а від ра́зу мо́же і не каза́в но </p> <p>ІС як а́нгел упові́в шчо то йо́го ма́ла бы́ти тай му́сила бы́ти </p> <p>ГК но тай му́сила бы́ти ІС мо́же через два́цьці́т ро́ків</p> <p>ГК тай му́сів чека́ти два́цьці́т рі́к {лі́т} но а мо́же і не чека́в два́цьці́т ро́ків мо́же май ско́рше а хто́ йо́го зна́е мо́же як то́то </p> <p>ІС ...на́цьці́т</p> <p>ГК зна́єш як студе́нт_ ішо́в чере́з во́ду </p>	<p>He did not know. So she started telling him: I was told, she tells him, that a soldier was returning from the army and he stayed for a night in our house, and I was born, and he took me and impaled me on a stick, and that one, that very one...</p> <p>IS: She told him.</p> <p>HK: I do not know. He thought... that was he... And he had married her, and they lived together. But I don't know if he told her that it was he who had done that, I don't know that.</p> <p>IS: Maybe he did tell her.</p> <p>HK: Maybe later, when they were talking, maybe he told her, but right then maybe he did not. Yes.</p> <p>IS: As the angel said that she had to be his wife, so she had to become his wife.</p> <p>HK: Yes, she had to become his wife.</p> <p>IS: Maybe in twenty years.</p> <p>HK: And he had to wait twenty years. Or maybe he did not wait twenty years, maybe earlier, who knows. Maybe...</p> <p>IS [unclear]</p> <p>HK: You know how a student crossed a river. [unclear]</p>
[21-1:21]	<p>ді́до прика́зовав ішо́в студе́нт іш_шко́лы а ту́йки нады́шла бу́ря туй</p>	<p>Our old man used to tell. A student was going home from school. And there a storm came,</p>

Recording, minute	Text (22)	Translation
	<p>дóшч вода́ трéба бы йти́ а дiдо иде́ из во́лы тоты́ а ге но якiсь дiдо IC пiшóв на дрыва́ ГК ци на дрыва́ iшóв ци де́ ка́же вí бы ка́же мене́ не перевéзли через рiку́ а та перевéзу тя ка́же но а та тi шчо́ за едeн я́ ка́же студeнт но а шчо́ бы тí робiв як бы серед во́ды быкí ся вíпрягли </p>	<p>rain. There was a river. He had to cross, and there is an old man going by a cart with oxen. That...well, some old man. IS: He went to get firewood. HK: Maybe to get forewood, or for some other reason. He says: could you give me a ride across the river? OK, he says, I will give you a ride, and who are you? He says, I am a student. -- Well, and what would you do if in the middle of the river the oxen get unharnessed,</p>
[21-1:22]	<p>а руд упáв в во́ду я́ уже́ забы́ла шчо́ казáв шчо́ зробит IC то́ не та́к бíло ГК IC вíн сíв на вíс та íдут íдут та́й туй́ ши́ро́ка рiка́ така́ дiдо́ серед во́ды ста́в во́лы ста́ли серед во́ды пiю́т во́ды дiдо́ ка́же зли́зай зли́зай из во́за серед во́ды ГК ага́ айно́ айно́ IC а вíн бíв у хо́дака́х та́кi хо́дакí бíли зна́ете но ГК та́к та́к IC вíн у хо́дака́х бíв но я́к туй́ серед во́ды ка́же куды́ я зли́зу серед во́ды з во́за а вíн зна́ете во́лы руд та́кiй бíв поме́жи а та́м я́рмо́ а вíн скóчив на руд та пó рудóви пiшóв та та вíтягнув свóрiнь то́ шчо там я́рмо́ а туй́ а та́м бíв</p>	<p>and the pole falls into the water? I already forgot what he said he would do. IS: No, it was differently. HK: [unclear] IS: He got into the cart, and they started off. And here, the river was so wide, and the old man stopped the cart in the middle of the river. The oxen have stopped in the middle of the river, and they are drinking the water. The old man says, get off the cart. In the middle of the river. HK: Yes, yes, yes. IS: And he was wearing homemade shoes. Such homemade shoes, do you know what these are. HK: Right, right. IS: He was wearing such shoes. Well, how I can get off the cart here in the middle of the river,</p>

Recording, minute	Text (22)	Translation
	<p>такый сів на ярмо імів ся за роги тай </p> <p>ГК тай пішов </p> <p>ІС перенесли воли його на то́д_ бік </p>	<p>in the middle of the river. And he... you know, oxen... there was such a pole between the two oxen, and the yoke was on it, and he jumped on this pole, and went on the pole, and pulled out the peg that was holding that yoke... and there was such a...and he sat on the yoke and grabbed the horns...</p> <p>HK: And off he went.</p> <p>IS: The oxen carried him on the other bank.</p>
[21-1:23]	<p>йой а то́т дідо нача́в йой та лиши́в ся дідо серед воды́ йой заведі заведі воли́ запряжи́ будеш у мене уже́ і ночова́ти і всьо́ бо то́ уже́ до́ста ве́чером бы́ло та́ уже́ він яко́сь там оберну́в воли́ яко́сь там до́сягну́в то́т ру́т опья́т запря́х ГК він студе́нт </p> <p>ІС но дідо хѳтів провѳрити шчо́ ты шчо́ ты зна́еш якшчо́ ты студе́нт тай всьо́ при́хали тай уже́ прийшли́ до́мі до́везли ся до́мі а то́ уже́ ве́чером то́ уже́ зме́рькає ся но́ уже́ будес_ спа́ти у нас а то́ была велико́дня субо́та він ішо́в на вели́гдєнь до́мі а на дру́гий дє́нь уже́ вели́гдєнь но́ і всьо́ а ты́ уже́ будес_ спа́ти а за́втра ра́но устанеш тай підеш то́ шче́ тре́а бы́ло дє́сь через на дру́ге село́ іти́ пішкѳм черес се́ла так та́к як із</p>	<p>And that old man started... So that old man was left in the middle of the river. Oh, bring back the oxen, harness them, I will let you sleep in my house. And that's it, because it was already in the evening. And he somehow turned the oxen around, somehow reached that pole, and harnessed the oxen again.</p> <p>HK: That student did.</p> <p>IS: Yes. The old man wanted to check what you... what do you know if you are a student. And well, they came home. They came home, and that was already in the evening, and it was getting dark. "So you will sleep in our house." And it was the Saturday before Easter. He was going home for Easter. And the next day is already Easter. "OK, so you will sleep here, and tomorrow early you will get up and go," he still needed to go to the next village, on foot</p>

Recording, minute	Text (22)	Translation
	вдлівця́ як вы́ ка́жете но і ніч айбо то́ ишчѐ́ гусака́	through several villages. So as from Volovec, as you were saying. OK, and there also, they need to slaughter a goose,
[21-1:24]	<p>щѐ́ тре́а зарі́зати бо обов`яско́во гусака́ тре́ кла́сти у коша́р на вели́кдѐнь съвяті́ти та́кый обы́чай бы́в у ніх оні́ щѐ́ там зарі́зали гусака́ ско́ро то опску́бли всьо́ то́то </p> <p>ГК наряді́ли</p> <p>ІС наряді́ли всьо́ покла́ли ба́ба покла́ла в пі́ч гусака́ печи́ покла́ла у пі́ч ді́до сѐбі́ та́м уже́ ко́сьцю́м выла́джує на за́втра </p> <p>ГК хо́дакы́ </p> <p>ІС хо́дакы́ то́же хо́дакы́ у ді́да які́сь но́ві хо́дакы́ уже́ на вели́кдѐнь не́ тоты́ старі́ хо́дакы́ ді́до то всьо́ начі́стив всьо́ там сѐбі́ скла́в де́сь коло́ поро́га вбы́ ра́но то всьо́ гото́вое бы́ло но та́й ліга́ют спа́ти та́й по́лігали спа́ти та́й ишчѐ́ і не спля́т від ра́зу щчо́сь сѐбі́ каску́ют а ді́до звьі́дат уже́ студѐнта а які́й у вас те́перь у́рят у се́лі́ хто́ у вас там те́перь а ві́н ка́же студѐнт ка́же </p>	<p>because it is necessary to put a roasted goose in the basket on Easter, to bless it, they had such a custom. They slaughtered the goose, plucked it fast, all that.</p> <p>HK: Dressed it.</p> <p>IS: Dressed it, put everything there. And the wife put the goose in the oven to bake. She put it in the oven. The old man is preparing his clothes for the next day.</p> <p>HK: The shoes.</p> <p>IS: The shoes, also the shoes. The old man had some new shoes for Easter, not those old shoes. So the old man cleaned all that, and put all that together somewhere near the threshold so that in the morning all that is ready. And they go to sleep. And they went to sleep, but still they are not sleeping, still talking. And the old man asks the student: and who is in power in your village now? Who is the boss? And he says, the student says,</p>
[21-1:25]	<p>бы́в гусако́вський а гусако́вський пішо́в у то́рбо́вський а хо́дако́вський та його́ бра́т на його́ місьцьє а ді́до ага́ та́к як бы́ він і́х зна́в ты́х не зна́в ни ді́до ни то́т </p>	<p>Mr. Goose was before, but Mr. Goose went to Bag-Town, and Mr. Shoe and his brother are in his place. And the old man says, yes, as if he knew them. These people. He did not know, neither the old man nor the</p>

Recording, minute	Text (22)	Translation
	<p>то шчі́ тák сусі́дньое село́ тай ніч оні́ заспа́ли всьо́ спля́т студéнт у но́чі вста́е гусака́ іс пéчи </p> <p>ГК у то́рбу</p> <p>ІС до́сiга́т і в то́рбу кладе́ тоты́ ді́довы хо́дакы́ шчо ді́до вíладив до це́ркиви у піч покла́в у піч закрыв́ і всьо́ но тай́ ра́но пробуді́ли тай тай я́ встаю́ бо я́ йду́ ме́ні шче́ тре́ йти́ ишче́ на дру́ге село́ на вели́гдeнь ужé тай то́т то́рбу взя́в та пішо́в но тай оні́ вста́ли ді́до з ба́бiв тай ужé там по хíзiйству попо́рали(н/д) ся шчо́ но тай іду́т вyiла́джовати коша́р ужé там ба́ба йде́ гусака́ </p>	<p>student. It was the next village. OK. They went to sleep, fell asleep. In the night the student gets up, takes the goose from the oven...</p> <p>HK: Into his bag.</p> <p>IS: He takes the goose and puts it in his bag. And the old man's shoes that the old man prepared to go to church in, he put them in the oven, closed it, and that's it. So in the morning they woke up and [he says]: I am getting up because I need to go to the next village for Easter. And he took the bag and off he went. And they got up, the old man and his wife, and took care of the household. And then they are going to prepare the basket, and the wife goes to get the goose...</p>
[21-1:26]	<p>гусака́ то́то ді́до ужé та́м дíвить ужé о́дiва́ть_ся хо́дакы́ хо́дакiв ни́е но ка́же взи́в взи́в ó то́т хо́дак ка́же взи́в то́т моi хо́дакы́ но взи́в тай взи́в тай ді́до найшо́в яки́сь старí тоты́ шчо вчо́ра хо́дiв на дры́ва но та у старíх а у чíм пiде́ то́т узи́в хо́дакы́ но ту́й ба́ба дíвить_ся у піч </p> <p>ГК а гусака́ ни́е </p> <p>ІС а гусака́ ни́е </p> <p>ГК гуса́к пішо́в у то́рбу гíс[ако́вськ....]</p> <p>ІС ай хо́дакы́ у пeчí но ка́же ді́ду ту́й твоi хо́дакы́ </p>	<p>The goose... The old man already is looking to put on the shoes, and there are no shoes. Well, he says, he took the shoe... that guy took my shoes. OK, so he took the shoes. So the old man found some old shoes that he was wearing the day before when he had gone to get firewood, and he had to go in the old shoes, because there was no choice, that guy took the shoes. And then the woman looked in the oven...</p> <p>HK: And the goose is not there.</p> <p>IS: And the goose is not there.</p>

Recording, minute	Text (22)	Translation
	<p>а гусака́ нис̄ но́ ка́же ба́бі шчы́ ми ка́же сно́чи каза́в шчо ка́же гусако́вський пішо́в у то́рбо́вський а ходако́вський та його́ бра́т ка́же на його́ мис̄ці но тай так є тай та́к студэ́нт вы́мудровав а дідо х́отів прод́идати но шчо́ він ся научи́в шчо́сь шчо́ він шчо він зна́є шчо́ його́ там у́чат </p>	<p>HK: The goose went into the bag. Mr. Goose...</p> <p>IS: And in the oven, there are shoes. She says, old man, here are your shoes, and there is no goose here. Well, he says to the woman, he told me last night that Mr. Goose had gone to the Bag-Town, and Mr. Shoe and his brother, he said, were in his place. And it was like this. Like this, the student was smart. And the old man wanted to check what the student had learned. What he knows, what they teach them there.</p>
<p>[21-1:27]</p>	<p>но то́ то́ не́ хт́ось вы́дума́в то́ так бы́ло ссе́ дідо́ прд́шчін бы́ наш роска́зовав я́ то́то запом́нив ГК дідо́ мно́го зна́в ІС ôô дідо́ сякы́х казо́к зна́в ду́же мно́го ... но роска́зовав ГК но а то́то як петро́ гу́си пас ... ІС роска́жете вы́ ци́ я́ роска́жу ГК но ішли́ уже́ христос̄ іс петро́м ішли́ іс селá на селó на прáзник тай йд́ут а петро́ ка́же го́споди я́ бы ка́же так го́... я́ бы х́отів ходь_ е́ден де́нь бо́гом бы́ти </p>	<p>Well that... That is not that someone made it up, it really was like that. That is what our old man, blessed be his soul, used to tell. I remembered that.</p> <p>HK: Our old man knew a lot.</p> <p>IS: Oh, our old man knew a lot of such stories.</p> <p>[Interviewer: Did he by any chance tell stories about Jesus going around together with St. Peter?]</p> <p>IS: Yes, he told that.</p> <p>HK: Well, and that one, how St. Peter was herding geese.</p> <p>[Interviewer: I haven't heard that one, please tell it!]</p> <p>IS: Will you tell or I should tell?</p> <p>HK: Well, Jesus and St. Peter were going from one village to another to the village church</p>

Recording, minute	Text (22)	Translation
		feast. So they are walking, and St. Peter says: Lord, I would like so much to be God at least for one day.
[21-1:28]	<p>но тай йдѹт йдѹт а скотарѹ... скотарѹ выгнав гѹси пасти на поле выгнав тай лишѹв тай і іде сѹбі а христѹс каже но а на кого ты лишѹв тѹту худѹбу каже та кае пиде каже по пѹ лютьскѹх грят... та_ги у нас пѹ грятках пиде та пидѹт та шкѹду нарѹблят гѹси а а тот пастѹх пѹвѹв а нѹй их дѹзѹрат гѹспѹдь бѹх а христѹс каже нѹ пѹтре тѹ ннѹсѹка бѹгом та бѹдь із гѹсмѹ скотарѹ із гѹсмѹ ІС петрѹ цѹлий дѹнь гѹси пас ГК та христѹс пѹшѹв </p>	<p>So they are going, and a person has taken geese to a field to graze, and has left them there, and he is walking away, and Christ asks: to who did you leave these creatures to herd? They will, he says, go to people's gardens... as here, if they go to vegetable patches, they can make a lot of damage, the geese. And that person said: let God look after them. And Christ said: listen, Peter, you are God today, so be with the geese, herd the geese.</p> <p>IS: St. Peter was herding geese for the whole day.</p> <p>HK: And Christ went</p>
[21-1:29]	<p>на прѹзник до цѹрѹкви а петрѹ ся лишѹв із гѹсмѹ скотарѹити із гѹсмѹ </p> <p>ІС а як тот пид грѹшѹв лежѹв коли ішли</p> <p>ГК ѹпѹт ішѹв христѹс іс петрѹм но тай ідѹт ідѹт та звѹдают єдин лежит пид грѹшѹв а кудѹ о дѹрѹга тудѹ та тудѹ а тот нѹгѹв указѹв ге он тудѹ каже он тудѹ ідѹт ѹпѹт а дѹвѹчка ци цѹрь'я пѹлѹкала в рѹцѹ ци шѹ звѹдадь_ дѹвѹчку а кудѹ от дѹрѹга дѹрѹга тудѹ та тудѹ а она ся пѹтхватила тай устѹла тай каже йѹй он</p>	<p>to church at the village church feast, and St. Peter stayed with the geese, herding geese.</p> <p>IS: And how that guy was lying under a pear-tree when they were passing by?</p> <p>HK: Again, Christ went together with St. Peter, so they are walking, and they ask, they ask one guy lying under a pear tree, "Where is the road there and there?", and that guy pointed with his leg. There, he says. They go again, and a girl was whether rinsing clothes in the river, or something. They ask the girl: where is that road</p>

Recording, minute	Text (22)	Translation
	туды он туды йой ідіт о туды та о туды та о туды	there and there? And she came and said: oh, there, and there, oh, go there, and there.
[21-1:30]	ідут ІС далéко пòбїгла з нїми ГК ішла далéко ука́зовати сюды та туды ідіт сев дòрòгòв сюды по́казала но тай онї пішли а дівочка ся вернула а петро ка́же а шчо бы сї дівóцьці ка́же за сé шчо нáс ка́же так вітпáвила спáвила та та он тóго шчо óнде під грúшев лежїт ка́же но тай тák ІС петро ка́же бóже но тай як така́ чїтава дівка та тако́го ГК лїнївого но а христòс ка́же та тák бо як бы ðбòе чїтаві тай тák а я_ бы ðбòї лїнїві тай тák недòбре ай мусит б́йти енно лїнївое а енно чїтавое ІС по при ню і він прожїе ГК приéмное обы приéмное было шчо лóбы нашòї тїлько ниé ты йдеш дойти	So they are going... IS: She went far with them. HK: She went far to show them the way. Here, and there, take this road there. She showed them. And then, they went on and the girl returned. And St. Peter says: what will be given to this girl that she showed us the way? -- That one that is lying under the pear-tree, Jesus says. Well. And it was so. IS: St. Peter says: Lord, but how come, such a hard-working girl and such a HK: lazy one. Well. And Christ says: it is because if they were both hard-working, it will be like this, and if both were lazy, that is not good either, so it must be one lazy person and one hard-working. IS: He will survive next to her. HK: Good, that one person should be good. Why is our Luba not coming for so long? Will you go and milk the cow?
[21-1:31]	ІС шчé там шчòсь ішли тóже шчо́ то шчé б́ыло а як петра́ жона́ б́ила зна́ете ч́ули с́ые ГК а а ч́ула ч́ула м як петра́ жона́ б́ила давнò давнò так б́ыло шчо́ жòны жòны керьва́ли людьмі	IS: There is another story, they also went, what was it? How a woman beat St. Peter? Do you know, have you heard that one? HK: Yes, I heard it, I heard how a woman beat St. Peter. Long ago, long ago it was so that women bossed men around.

Recording, minute	Text (22)	Translation
	<p>ІС старші жоны ГК старші жоны чоловік ніч жона сдби пиде і напь'є ся і шчо і прийде і чоловіка набы'є і а ты тото не зробив а ты он тото набы'є чоловіка і всьо бо і верьх но і туйкы </p> <p>ІС бо петро все жоны жаловав ГК аа а петро айно жаловав все жоны </p>	<p>IS: Women were bosses. HK: Women were bosses, and men not at all. A wife would go and get drunk, and come and would beat a man: you did not do that, you did not do this, and she would beat her husband, and that's it. Because she was the boss. And here... IS: Because St. Peter always pitied women. HK: Yes, St. Peter really always pitied women,</p>
[21-1:32]	<p>шчо жонам бида бида то все жин жаловав </p> <p>ІС то петро выпросив шчобы жоны были старші </p> <p>ГК но но і туйкы прийшли тоты уже два христос іс петром і запросили они ся до чоловіка до хыжи ци ты бы нас спати прияв чоловік добре а жоны ние жона сдби у корчмі і приходит туй п'яно {п'яна}(26) начала на чоловіка вадити ся гойкати а то сь не зробив он тото а он тото шчо тото сплят у постели она і покі тото я забыла м </p> <p>ІС божі старці ГК божі старці ци як айно треба было і казати дай покій а тотя взяла ожих ци шчо </p>	<p>because women's life is hard, so he always pitied women. IS: That was Peter who asked that women were bosses. HK: Yes. And then... These two already came, Christ and St. Peter, and asked a man to let them in his house, whether you would let us sleep in your house. The man goes: OK, and the wife was not there, the wife was at an inn. And she comes back drunk, and starts yelling at the husband, yelling, you did not do this, you did not do that, and what are these, sleeping in the bed, and she... I forgot. IS: God's old men. HK: God's old men or what. OK. He should have told her "leave them alone". And she took a poker or something</p>
[21-1:33]	<p>начала бити а петро іс краю спав а христос по при сьцину начала петра бити </p>	<p>and started beating... St. Peter was in the bed on the edge, and Christ was next to the wall. She</p>

Recording, minute	Text (22)	Translation
	<p>тай пішла на двір а на двір ишчѐ за чймось біти ишчѐ но петро каже йѐй каже пусті каже менѐ там бо каже зайде та ђпят каже менѐ бде біти а жона зайшла та начала аа шчѐ м вон того пса не біла коло съціны та ђпят начала петра біти но пѐтре</p> <p>ІС петро двѣчи був бітый ђжогом</p> <p>ГК христѓс каже но пѐтре ты ци обы жоны каже старші были йѐй каже нѣт гѓсподи каже нѣй бде чѓлѓвѣк старшый </p>	<p>started beating St. Peter. And went outside, to fetch something else to beat with. Well, St. Peter says: oh, he says, let me there, because, he says, she will come back and she will beat me again. And the woman come in and started... oh, I haven't yet beaten that dog next to the wall, and she started to beat St. Peter again. Well, Peter...</p> <p>IS: St. Peter was beaten twice, with a poker.</p> <p>HK: Christ says, well, Peter, do you still want women to be bosses? Oh, Lord, no, he says, let men be bosses.</p>
[21-1:34]	<p>шчѐ м он того пса не біла ... </p> <p>каже шчѐ м он того пса каже не біла за христа а христѓс а то ђпят петро тамкы ой гѓсподи</p> <p>ІС а шчѐ як пѣп зайця колі убѣв іс цѣганом вѣ мѓже і забѣли пѣп казав шчо коли бѓг даѐ так і мотыка стрѣлят </p> <p>ГК мотыка стрѣлят </p> <p>ІС а цѣган так жѣв блѣско коло попа коло фѣры та всѐ так до до попа заходѣв </p>	<p>“I haven't yet beaten that dog”! [Interviewer: What?]</p> <p>HK: She says: “I haven't yet beaten that dog”, about Christ, and Christ... and it's Peter again there. Oh my God.</p> <p>IS: And also... how the priest... when he killed a rabbit, with the Roma. You may have forgotten this one. The priest said, when God permits, a hoe fires.</p> <p>HK: A hoe fires.</p> <p>IS: And the Roma lived near from the priest's house, and always dropped by to the priest's.</p>
[21-1:35]	<p>тай усѐ коли бѓг даѐ так і мотыка стрѣлят пѣп каже тай рас тѣй іде пѣп на ѓхѓту у попа была пушка а</p>	<p>And [unclear] The priest says: if God permits, even a hoe can fire. And once the priest goes hunting, the priest had a rifle,</p>

Recording, minute	Text (22)	Translation
	<p>циган іс жонѳв там копають шчѳсь на гѳрѳді бѳлі ци шчѳ там кѳпають тай дѳсь там зѳяць бѳжит тай пѳп пѳднѳв та бѳг а цѳган пѳднѳв мѳтыку та бѳг тѳже тай цѳган бѳгом за зѳйцьом пѳбѳх тай хѳпив зѳйця но а пѳп кѳже ѳ убѳв зѳйця а цѳган кѳже ѳ убѳв зѳйця ѳк ты убѳв чѳм тѳ убѳв зѳйця а вѳ казѳли шчѳ коли бѳг даѳ то і мѳтыка стрѳлят тѳк ѳ убѳв зѳйця мѳтыкѳв но но шчѳ с тѳго суперѳчають_ ся {суперѳчать_ ся} спѳрят но тай шчѳ тѳй докѳжеш но кѳже пѳп но най будѳ бѳдемѳ рѳзом їсти </p>	<p>and the Roma and his wife are digging something in the garden, potatoes or something. And here a rabbit runs. The priest raised the rifle and bang. And the Roma raised the hoe and bang, also. And the Roma ran after the rabbit and grabbed the rabbit. The priest says: I killed the rabbit, and the Roma says: I killed the rabbit. -- How did you kill it, what with? -- And you said that when God permits, a hoe can fire, so it was me who killed the rabbit, with my hoe. Well, so what? They are arguing, arguing, but what can you prove here. Well, the priest says, let it be, we'll eat it together,</p>
[21-1:36]	<p>мѳтушка згѳтѳвит онѳ дѳма згѳтѳвит і бѳдемѳ рѳзом їсти но ѳ прѳйшли до попѳ тѳм ужѳ тѳго облупѳли покѳлали тѳм тѳже так у пѳч зѳйця пѳкчѳ пѳчѳ у пѳч тай пѳлѳгѳли спѳти цѳган ужѳ спѳт у попѳ бѳ обѳ не втрѳтив зѳйця ужѳ у попѳ спѳт но тай кѳже пѳп кѳже кѳмѳ мѳй фѳйный сѳн будѳ снѳти ся тай тѳт тѳго будѳ і зѳяць но цѳган кѳже нѳй будѳ но пѳп дѳмав шчѳ шчѳзь_ вѳгрѳти шчѳ </p> <p>ГК пѳп вѳгрѳт</p> <p>ІС но най будѳ но тай нѳч пѳлѳгѳли спѳти спѳят а зѳяць у пѳчѳ пѳчѳ ся рѳно пробудѳли ся но пѳп кѳже но а нѳ роскѳзѳй шчѳ тѳбѳ ся</p>	<p>my wife will cook it, it will cook it at home, and [we] will eat it. Well, they came to the priest's house, skinned the rabbit, put it in the oven, to bake the rabbit, and went to sleep. The Roma is sleeping at the priest's so that he does not loose sight of the rabbit, he is sleeping at the priest's. And the priest says, the one who sees a better dream, he will take the rabbit. Well, OK, the Roma says. The priest thought he would win something.</p> <p>HK: That the priest would win.</p> <p>IS: Well, OK. OK. They went to sleep, they are sleeping, and the rabbit is in the oven, baking. In the morning they woke up, and the priest says: well, tell me</p>

Recording, minute	Text (22)	Translation
	снійло цїганови каже цїган каже	what dream you saw. He says that to the Roma. The Roma says:
[21-1:37]	та як я буду казати та кажит вы каже вы май старший кажит вы но пїп начав росказовати мнї са снійла такá высóка драбїна аж до неба і я пò тї драбїні лїз лїз лїз аж на небо пїп каже цїган каже пãне óтче я вас там вїдїв аж на вышнóму цїпкú я думав шчо вы не вернете ся вїтты а я зáйця їзїв а цїган у ночї встáв та стрипáв зáйця я думав шчо вы ся вїтты не вернете та я шчо вы в царство ужé пїшли та я їзїв зáйця я вас вїдїв аж на вышнóму цїпкú а цїган усé выхётровав ГК но дóшч падé é ІС шчóсь такóе	how will I tell, you tell first, you are more important, you tell. So the priest started telling: I dreamed, there was such a high ladder, so that it reached the sky, and I was climbing this ladder into the heaven. The Roma says: Father, I saw you there on the highest rung of the ladder, I thought you were not coming back from there, and I ate the rabbit. And the Roma had woken up at night and ate the rabbit. I thought, he says, you wouldn't come back from there and I... thought that you already went to heaven, and I ate the rabbit. I saw you on the highest rung of the ladder. So the Roma outsmarted the priest. HK: Yes. See, it is raining. IS: Something like this.
[21-1:38]	... ГК é é такї é ІС á та давнó былó шчóсь такóе ГК а тѐпѐрькы а тѐпѐрь ужé май бїльше та їдúт по монастырѝх та тѐпѐрькы а давнó давнó былó такóе шчо помагáли якóсь еннї другым тѐпѐрь пóпы помагáют ...	[Interviewer: Have you heard, are there such people that can see devils and help possessed people?] HK: There are such people, yes. IS: Yes, long ago there was something like that. HK: And now... and now already more often... People go to monasteries now. And long ago, people used to help one another somehow. Now it is the priests who help.

Recording, minute	Text (22)	Translation
	<p>ГК помага́ють ту́й бізі́вно у на́з б́ыв ге юрча́к но та ходи́ли у б́орняву та́м б́ыв та́кый пі́п </p> <p>ІС мо́нах</p> <p>ГК мо́нах по́пы не́т то́то лиш мо́нахы мо́гли помо́чі но та пі́шли там у мона́стырь та при́казовала уже́ жо́на </p>	<p>[Interviewer:] Do they?</p> <p>HK: They do. Here, in our neighborhood there was one Yurchak. So they went to Boronjava, there was such a priest...</p> <p>IS: A monk.</p> <p>HK: A monk. Priests cannot do that, it is only monks that could help. So they went there to the monastery, and the woman told us,</p>
[21-1:39]	<p>шчо там які привозі́ли та́м і́рже го́йкат уся́ко рычи́ть ги́ коро́ва уся́ко но та е́нні жо́ні уже́ ка́зала шчо о́на від ні коли́ чита́в тот мо́нах е́нні жо́ні та ка́же чита́в до чо́тыри до чо́тыри го́дини ка́зала шчо та́к із ньо́го уже́ лиш вода́ па́дала е́е текла́ та́к як цю́рько́м </p> <p>ІС і́змучи́в ся б́ыв</p> <p>ГК і́змучи́в ся б́ыв но і ка́же выходи́ а а із не́ї ка́же не в́ыйду ка́е не в́ыйду а да́ле о́п'ят мо́лити ся мо́лит ка́же выходи́ не в́ыйду і та́к аж дру́гий де́нь пак в́ыйшо́в </p>	<p>that such cases were brought there, people who neighed as horses, yelled, mooed as cows, all sorts. And one woman says, that monk was reading [prayers] over a woman until 4 am [or: 4 hours in a row?], she said that he was sweating, streams were running down his face.</p> <p>IS: He got exhausted.</p> <p>HK: He got exhausted. And then he says: come out! And it responds from inside her: I am not coming out! And he is praying and praying again, and says: come out! -- I won't! And so only the next day it came out</p>
[21-1:40]	<p>із іж_ жо́ны ага́ е́ та́ко́е е́ о́на ка́зала шчо тто́ та́мкы уже́ та і́ржух го́йкають </p> <p>ІС но́ злі́ духы́ із лю́дины выхо́дят</p> <p>ГК злі́ духы́ но </p> <p>ІС е́ та́ко́е </p>	<p>from that woman. Yes, such things happen. She said that people there neigh and yell.</p> <p>IS: Yes, evil spirits come out from a person</p> <p>HK: Yes, evil spirits.</p> <p>IS: Such things happen.</p>

Recording, minute	Text (22)	Translation
	<p>ГК його пак вітты взяли я забыла де теперь із бѳрѳнявы друкый монах та практикуе ся бѳг знае як ци ци бде так та мѳже і бде молитвы всѳо молитвы ІС як він буде та трѳ мати сїлу ГК но ай як ... </p>	<p>HK: He was later transferred there, I forgot where to. Now there is another monk from Boronjava, he is learning that. I don't know if he will be able to do it too. But maybe he will. It's all in prayers. IS: It depends how he will turn out. One needs to have strength. HK: Of course. [Interviewer: I heard in a different village that a priest could see a witch on Easter.]</p>
[21-1:41]	<p>ГК пп ІС мѳже і бѳв такый ясновїдѳць ГК всѳо мѳже бѳти ІС є ясновїтци шчо лудїну вїдит шчо чїм він дыхае у нас тут нема таких но но є є ясновїтци ... ГК а тотѳ тотѳ тѳже тотѳ тѳже так бѳло шчо якѳсь могли могли тотѳ угадовати якѳсь ІС так мѳйже єсѳї євки дякѳвѳї отѳць не коли бѳрѳну якїсь від нѳго украв </p>	<p>HK: A priest? IS: Maybe there was such a priest. A clairvoyant. HK: Maybe. IS: There are clairvoyants that can see a person, what he breaths with. We don't have such people here, but there are clairvoyants. [Interviewer: Maybe there were such people who could divine who stole something and where the stolen thing was.] HK: Oh, that, that also, that also so... It was that somehow they could... they could divine that somehow. IS: And maybe the father of that Evka Diakova, no? when someone stole a harrow from him.</p>
[21-1:42]	ГК когѳ	HK: What?

Recording, minute	Text (22)	Translation
	<p>ІС бѣрѣну від ньѣго коли укра́в бы^ов </p> <p>ГК мо́же та́м є дѣдо коли каза́в за ми́хы шчо принесе принесут </p> <p>ІС а тай дѣдо прѣсто та́к каза́в </p> <p>ГК ай мо́же </p> <p> ... </p> <p>ГК ту́й єдин бы^ов чѣлѣвик та я́к каза́... та принесли му пак бѣрѣну </p> <p>ІС но так ви́н шчо́сь і зна́в і ка́же ви́н принесе са́мый са́мый принесе ту́ бѣрѣну но ви́н шчо́зь зна́в євкы дяко́вѣ оте́ць</p> <p>ГК та шчо́сь зна́ли зна́ли</p> <p>ІС но ви́н шчо́сь там помоли́в ся ци шчо́ і то́т на то́т приніс бѣрѣну і шче́ каза́ли шчо́ тѣм ѡстрыми зубка́ми на плѣчі са́бѣ по́кла́в і держа́в по́кі то́й не упо́вѣв шчо́ кладѣ і то́т держа́в на плѣчо́х но зна́ти зна́ли зна́ли то́то лю́де </p> <p>ГК но́ та да́вно зна́ли ви́диш я́к </p> <p>ІС то́т са́мый приніс ніхто за ни́м не йшо́в </p> <p>ГК і дѣдо наш є славу́ників славу́ник </p>	<p>IS: When someone stole a harrow from him.</p> <p>HK: Maybe there is an old man who told about the sacks that he will bring... they will bring...</p> <p>IS: No, the old man did not mean that.</p> <p>HK: But maybe...</p> <p>[Interviewer: What?]</p> <p>HK: There was one man here, and as he said, they later brought it to him.</p> <p>IS: Yes. He knew something. And he says: the guy will bring it himself, he will himself bring that harrow. He knew something, this father of Evka D'akova.</p> <p>HK: Yes, he really knew something.</p> <p>IS: Yes. He somehow... whether prayed or what, and that guy, he brought back the harrow, and people also said that he put it on his back these sharp nails down, and he was holding it untill the man told him to put it down, he was holding it on his shoulders. Yes. People used to know something.</p> <p>HK: Yes, long ago, they knew, see.</p> <p>IS: That guy brought it back by himself, no one went after him.</p> <p>HK: And our old man, Slavunik.</p>

Recording, minute	Text (22)	Translation
[21-1:43]	<p>колі на рѠпѹ ходѹли но тай йшли на рѠпѹ он туды гѣт за хѹст на рѠпѹ давнѠ з бочкѹми сѹкѹми ходѹли та </p> <p>IS у солѠтвѹно </p> <p>ГК ісь_ кѹньми а</p> <p>IS у солѠтвѹно</p> <p>ГК но та йшли вѹтты а будовѹли хѹжу лѹде но тай ішли тай рѹс кѠні стѹли і кѠні не пѹдѹт </p> <p>IS на мѹсьці сѹ тѠпчут </p> <p>ГК на мѹсьці сѹ тѠпчут і вѹшта вѹшта ай кѠні не пѹдѹт на мѹсьці сѹ тѠпчут а якѹсь там бѹв кѹже а нѹ кѹже ідѹ та принесѹ ми кѹже трѹску вѹтты з будѠвы но тай пѹк дѹдови тѠтѹ трѹску тот принѹс но тай дѹдо шчѠсь я не знѹю шчо там ужѣ робѹв і дѹдо вѹшта і кѠні пѹшли і дѹдо іде </p>	<p>When he went to get the brine, so they were riding there, beyond Khust. Long ago they went to get brine, they took such barrels.</p> <p>IS: To Solotvyno.</p> <p>HK: In horse driven carts.</p> <p>IS: To Solotvyno.</p> <p>HK: So they went from there, and people were building a house, and they were passing this house, and here, the horses stopped and wouldn't go.</p> <p>IS: They were stamping their feet, but not moving, stamping in place. And there was such a man there, and he says, go and bring me a sliver. From there, from the building site. And he brought the old man that sliver, and the old man did something, I don't know what he was doing there, and the old man said: gee! and the horses started. And the old man is riding,</p>
[21-1:44]	<p>тѹй гѹйкают із зѹду чекѹйте чекѹйте чекѹ... а дѹдо шчѹ май кѠні рѹшат Ѡбы кѠні ішли агѹ но та пѹк </p> <p>IS дѹвѹт ай чѠлѠвѹк бѹжѹт із зѹду </p> <p>ГК чѠлѠвѹк бѹжѹт бѹжѹт догѹнят нѠ тай дѹдо ужѣ мѹло хѠтѹв і пѠмуштровѹти тѠго тѹх тай дѹдо ужѣ стѹв а шчѠ є шчѠ дѹдо такѹй му шчѠ є шчѠ йѠй</p>	<p>and here someone is yelling from behind: wait, wait, wait! And the old man makes his horses ran faster, so that they ran. And then...</p> <p>IS: They look, and a man is running towards them from behind.</p> <p>HK: A man is running after them, and catches up with them. The old man already wanted to teach them. So the old man stopped his horses: what is it?</p>

Recording, minute	Text (22)	Translation
	<p>ка́же б́йте ся б́о[га] ка́же чо́лoвiк ка́же ци по́рубав ся ци уми́(i)рат шчо́сь тако́е ага́ но ка́же но iди́ iди́ ка́же ни́ч му ка́же не б́де ка́же но обы́ сьте ка́же б́льш ка́же тако́е не роб́или ка́же дiдо́ по́вiв тай дiдо́ шчо́зь_ зна́в i </p> <p>IC но але якiсь то́же зна́в ic тiх </p> <p>ГК i та́м зна́в i дiдо́ знав вiдверну́ти та́м зна́в то́т iсперти́ фу́ру </p>	<p>that's what the old man asks him: what? Oh, he says, what are you doing, don't you fear God, he says, a man there, whether he cut himself badly, whether he is dying, something like that. Aha. Well, the old man says, go now, nothing bad will happen to him, but you guys don't do that again, he says. That's what the old man said. The old man knew something.</p> <p>IS: Yes. But someone from these guys also knew something.</p> <p>HK: There, a guy knew something, and the old man knew how to undo it. The guy there knew how to stop the cart,</p>
[21-1:45]	<p>а дiдо́ зна́в то́же шчо́с но а хто́ йо́го зна́с шчо́ вiн но тай шчо́ вiн робiв на тí трíсьци́ де о́днí будова́ли </p> <p>... </p> <p>ГК будова́ли ха́ту</p> <p>IC посла́в там дру́гого шчо́ принíс вíтты то пи́шoв iт тí будoвi та принíс йoмy де́сь та́к ... но</p> <p>ГК вíтты но та не́дале́ко то́то будова́ли де́сь коло́ до́ро́гы шчо́ то́т iз... iспер́ i ко́ни </p> <p>IC та́м де любу́ трíску будé теса́ти а те́шуть то та́м</p>	<p>and the old man knew also something. And who knows what he... and what he did with this sliver from the building site.</p> <p>[Interviewer: I just didn't understand from where he got this sliver.]</p> <p>HK: They were building a house.</p> <p>IS: The old man sent another person to bring from there... That person went to this building site and brought him... Something like that.</p> <p>HK: From there. So they were building somewhere near the</p>

Recording, minute	Text (22)	Translation
	<p>кругом кругом тріскы кругом будін[ка]</p> <p>ГК а дідо загнав того вже сôпёрника {супутника} свого іді ми каже принесі тріску вітты тай він приніс тай він дідо шчôсь на ті трісьць шчôсь прôмôвив тай того чôлôвіка тай кôні ся рúшили тогды а чôлôвік упав шчо </p>	<p>road so that that guy could stop the old man's horses.</p> <p>IS: There, any old sliver, they hew wood, and all around there are slivers, around the house.</p> <p>HK: And the old man sent that person who was going with him, go, he says, bring me a sliver from there, and he did, and the old man said something on this sliver, and that guy... horses could move then, and the guy, either fell or what,</p>
<p>[21-1:46]</p>	<p>я не знаю ци пôрубав ся ци ци тáкôй при смёрті бы^ов</p> <p>ІС шчôсь му недôбре ся зробило </p> <p>ГК ай недôбре ся зробило та чôлôвік упав та но а </p> <p>ІС а тріска вы знаєте шчо шчо тесати</p> <p>ГК но і і тот пак доганяв діда ужé другый доганяв не тот а дідо шчé шчé цу цу кôні цу цу кобы кôні ішли мáло чогô они тáкôе рôблят</p> <p>ІС но тадь_ дідо каза́в тэсьць мій шчо дé то у вôлдсъянці ци дé яказь_ баба трахтôры спёрла кôлгôспні трахтôры </p> <p>ГК но тай</p> <p>ІС ішли дéсь через йéї вéзли возіли гній веснôв і дéсь пішли через йéї зéмлю шо не звідали ся дúмают колгôс тай колгôс і баба і трахтôры туй рáз начáли всôю на місьці і і спёрла</p>	<p>I don't know if he cut himself, or was dying.</p> <p>IS: Something bad happened to him. /[he fainted]</p> <p>HK: yes, something bad happened to him. /[he fainted], and he fell down, yes.</p> <p>IS: And do you know what a sliver is? When they hew wood.</p> <p>HK: yes, and... he who then ran after the old man, it was another guy, not that guy. And the old man still more ... gee gee horses, so that horses go a bit. Why would they do that.</p> <p>IS: And the old man said, my father-in-law, that somewhere in Volosianka, or somewhere, a woman stopped tractors, tractors from a collective farm.</p> <p>HK: Yes [unclear]</p> <p>IS: They were going through her... they were carrying manure in spring and somewhere went through her</p>

Recording, minute	Text (22)	Translation
	трахто́ры і да́льше ході́ли ту́ ба́бу просі́ти шчо́бы пусти́ла то́го трахто́ры но	land, and did not ask permission. They think, it is collective farm, after all. And the woman... And the tractors at once started ... in one place. So she stopped the tractors. And later they would go to that woman to ask her to let tractors go.
[21-1:47]	шчо́ то же́лізо іспе́рла но то ді́до роска́же то́ у во́лося́нці бы́ло то́ де льві́вська о́бласть у́же ГК не у во́лося́нці ай о́де то́та ІС в я́линоква́тім я́линоква́ті ГК бога́тьська ІС а бога́тьська но то трахто́ры спе́рти то ко́нні то́ йшче́ та́к но а трахто́ры то́ у́же же́лізо то́ і всьо́ і трахто́ры на місці́ сто́яли і ни йшли́ не мо́гли ру́шити ся і всьо́ ГК ай мно́го тако́го мно́го тако́го шчо́ шо́ є́ є́ люде́й шчо́ оні́ шчо́зь зна́ють зна́ють є́ ІС а шче́ мо́же роскажі́т як лі́с руба́ли давно́ як пушча́ли по́ різах дере́во то́же інтере́сно лісо́рубь ко́лі руба́ли ба́ба то́ зна́є май всьо́	It is iron, and she stopped them. That the old man can tell, it was in Volosianka, it is already the Lviv region. HK: Not in Volosianka but here, that... IS: In Ialynkovate HK: Bohatska. IS: Ah, Bohatska. Well. To stop tractors, it is something. To stop horses, it is not that difficult, but tractors are iron. And all the tractors were standing in one place and did not go, could not move, and that was it. HK: But there are many such things, many such things are. There are people who know something, there are. IS: And also maybe you will tell as they cut wood long ago and let it down by such troughs, wood, that is also interesting, when the woodcutters cut wood. Our old woman knows that.
[21-1:48]	... ГК с то́го бо́ку жо́лобы́ і с сьо́го бо́ку дере́во і с то́го	HK: There are troughs on that side, wood from that side, wood

Recording, minute	Text (22)	Translation
	<p>бóкy дéрево і тák я́к о о́нде з гé рубáли близне́ць но айбо не такóе та тó робíли тотó рíзы тák шчо ІС айбо тáм на сьпíд якíсь дошкы́ кláли ГК м ІС дошкы́ якíсь на спíт нéт ГК не дошкы́ ай тоты́ баланьчі тоты́ тóнкí май дéрева тоты́ гóрí но тай як як рубáли та гóрí і дóлі тým мáло так пушчáли ІС там якóсь котíли в рíзы ГК но та якóсь ужé у нíх тотó там бýло я́ шчóсь такóе пóмню бéровáли та ІС такóе рошшíрèня мóже бýло там ГК та лíш ІС і туды́ качáли дéрево íшло по рíзах тоты́х то далéко мóж бýло </p>	<p>from this side, and like this, as here. So they were cutting wood, on the Twin mountain, but not like this, and they were making such troughs, so that... IS: But they put some boards underneath. HK: What? IS: They put some boards underneath, no? HK: Not boards but such... small pieces of wood, these thin trunks. Up there. When they cut wood up in the mountains, they let it go down these troughs. IS: They put it somehow in these troughs. HK: Yes, they had this up there. I remember something like that. They were strong. IS: Maybe there was such wide place there. HK: Should be. IS: And they rolled the wood there, and it went down these troughs, it could go far.</p>
[21-1:49]	<p>ГК далéко далéко йдй та пráвда шчо там ІС куды́ хóтíли цапíнами ГК гóсподи тай я́ колі бýла у тóму о́нде у прíслóпі ІС айбо сідáйте блíже бо не бдé чу́ти ГК а вы́ пíшете у сiя́нці но</p>	<p>HK: Yes, very far, that's right. IS: They pushed it where they wanted with hooks. HK. Oh. And when I was there, in Prysliip... IS: Move closer, or you won't hear. HK: And you are writing? In the nursery where they grow</p>

Recording, minute	Text (22)	Translation
	<p>так тѣпѣрь та ссѣ ужѣ конѣць ІС шчо ГК та ішло дѣрево та і всѣо та і шчо там ІС но та кáжу як тотó там пушчáли я не знáю ГК пушчáли дѣрево і сходило тотó гѣ то аж на стакáду айно як пушчáли тáк із гóры а я бýла у дрúгим сѣлѣ у сiяньци смѣрiчкы сьме садiли тó ся трапит но та а люде далѣко далѣко </p>	<p>young spruces. Well, now it is the end already. IS: What? HK: The wood was going, and that's it. IS: Yes, and I say I don't know how they let it go down there. HK: They let the wood go down and it went down. The let it down from the mountain. And I was in a different village, in a nursery, we were planting spruces. That happens. And people far away</p>
[21-1:50]	<p>рубáли та пушчáли дерево тáм уу недáлеко коло сѣбе а еннá штúка ся вин_ нiх вбiрвала тó я свóйима очiма тотó вiдiла мнóго рас та далѣко тáк як он iз он тóго вѣрхá як гѣт он тáм тá штúка як iшла та вдáрiть_ ся у пнiя та д гóри а дáле тáк iдѣ iдѣ i тáк i тáк i тотó через зрúб далѣко iшло i дóти шчо прiйшлó мý еннi но скóрше мы пiшли та на дрúгий бiк iсьме перебiгли скóро та гóйкаме на дрúгих тiкáйте тiкáйте бо дѣрево iдѣ агá через зрúб мý вiдiли онi не вiдiли тотó дѣ там iшчѣ ся лишiло ай мý вiдiли зрúбом </p>	<p>were cutting wood and letting it go down. The wood. Not far from themselves. And one log got away from them. I saw it with my own eyes, many times. And it was far, like from that mountain over there. This log, as it went down, it hit against a stump and went up, and then went down like this, through the trough (?). And until it came... we... we went before that and went to the other side, run there real fast, and we are yelling to others: run, run, because a log is going down, across the trough(?). We saw it and they did not see it. It was still there, and we saw how it went down the trough.</p>
[21-1:51]	<p>i прiйшлó i пак удáрило было но шчо пак i звiтты принѣсли я пак забýла пак у бóлници бýла шчо </p>	<p>And then it hit, and then they brought her from there. I forgot how it was. She was in a hospital then, it did not kill her.</p>

Recording, minute	Text (22)	Translation
	<p>з^овсім на^см^ер^ть і не у^би^ло не́ то^то то^то ^е та^ко^е ш^чо де^ре^во і де^ре^во та^ко^е ^е ш^чо м^ус^ит по^па^сти на к^ог^ось ш^чо м^ус^ит у^би^ти та^к ка^за^ли ка^жут а б^ог з^на^є </p> <p> ... </p> <p>ГК ^е та^ко^е де^ре^во а^га ш^чо м^ус^ит по^па^сти о^бь у^би^ло в^сьо ^є на с^ві^ті б^ог с^ят^ьи^й з^на^є в^сьо ^є на с^ві^ті </p> <p> ... </p> <p>ГК ^як</p> <p> ... </p> <p>ГК та ка^ут ш^чо ^е </p>	<p>That happens that a tree, there is such a tree that must hit a person, that it must kill someone. That's what people say, God knows if it is right.</p> <p>[Interviewer: That there is such a tree?]</p> <p>HK: There is such a tree, yes, that must hit someone and kill. There is everything in the world. Holy God knows. There is everything in the world.</p> <p>[Interviewer: Does it happen that something makes a person gets lost in the forest?]</p> <p>HK: What?</p> <p>[Interviewer: Does it happen that something leads a person astray in the woods?]</p> <p>HK: People say it happens.</p>
<p>[21-1:52]</p>	<p>ка^жут ш^чо ^е ш^чо мо^же мо^же як ра^з і^ва^н уч^ора с^но^чи при^ка^зо^ва^в о^рі^хы то^вк ^я та у на^с е^ден т^уй^кы с^есь ш^чо я ка^за^ла с^есь ю^ри^к ми^ха^йло ю^рь^ио^вич ка^за^в ш^чо глу^хи^й на ^ухо вы ко^ло н^ьо^го б^ыли ко^ло то^го ш^чо глу^хи^й а^га но та ка^за^в ш^чо пі^шо^в на о^рі^хы в не^ді^лю дав^но ш^че і при ко^лг^озі а^га та^м на е^нно по^ле і ка^за^в ш^чо во^ди^ло го шо він не з^на^в ку^дь ви^йде ту^дь пі^шо^в а т^ри ра^з о^би^йш^ов нао^ко^ло та то^гд^ь ся оп^тя^ми^в ш^чо во^ди^ло го у ^я ка^за^ла</p>	<p>They say that there is something that... Yes, it happens. Ivan just told last night, when he was grinding walnuts. There is one guy here, the one I told you, this one, Yurik, Myhailo Iurievych told, the one who is deaf in one ear. You were to his place, the one who is deaf. Yes, so he said that he went to gather nuts once on a Sunday, long ago, at the time of collective farms. Yes. There he went to a field, and he said something made him lose his way, so that he did not know where he was going. He went there, and went three times around, and then he came to himself. Something led him</p>

Recording, minute	Text (22)	Translation
	шчо за тó шчо в нѣдїлю йшóв при слóужбі	astray. I said it was because he went on Sunday at the time of the church service.
[21-1:53]	та за ттó го водїло ´ ´ такóе ´ куды йдѣ людїна перехрестїти ся трѣба помолїти ся трѣба ішли три дївочки черес штрѣку ішóв пóист і онї як рáз прийшли прийшли і дóмають перескочиме і онї перескочили штрѣку та лїш перескочили тай тай пóист так а тó загнáв стáрший дїявол мѣншого дїявола обѣ їх убїв обѣ їх там машїна убїла тогдѣ приходит кáже а чóмý сь кáже не зробїв чóмý онї кáже перейшли	And because of that something led him astray. There is something like this. If a person goes somewhere, one needs to make a sign of the cross over oneself, and pray. Once three girls crossed a railway. A train was coming, and they came to the rails and thought: we'll jump it. And they jumped it and as soon as they were on the other side, the train came. And a chief devil sent a younger devil so that he should kill them, so that they get run over by the train. So the devil comes back and that one says: why didn't you do that, how come they could cross safely?
[21-1:54]	бо кáже еннá ся перехрестїла а дрóгу мáти перехрестїла а трѣта опят молила ся і кáже і не мїг я тотó кáже зробїти то всюды трѣба лїш пóмолїти ся перехрестїти ся идѣ в дóрбóгу перехрестїти ся áнгелика просїти прѣсьятý дїву на пóмóч тай бóг помáгат тогдѣ ... но та і тó кáжут шчо і тотó ´ такóе но тай шчó тó від усьóго лїш трѣба ся молїти	And this one answers: because one made a sign of the cross over herself, and the other, her mother crossed her, and the third one prayed. And, he says, I could not do that. Everywhere you go, you need to pray and make a sign of the cross, if you go somewhere, and ask an angel, and the Holy Virgin to help you. And then God helps you. [Interviewer: Does it happen that a person sees something at night?] HK: Yes, people say that also happened. And what, you just need to pray against everything,

Recording, minute	Text (22)	Translation
[21-1:55]	<p>від усьо́го [при]в́идить ся і ся бой́ит та мо́лити ся тай тай то́то яко́сь прохóдит бо́гочко хороні́т лю́дїну як ка́жут без бо́га й не до поро́га </p> <p> ... </p> <p>у лісі та я то́то то́же чу́ла но а я зна́ю ци то́ мо́же бы́ти шчо то́ айно у лісі чека́йте шчо́сь то шче́ хóтіла каза́ти </p>	<p>against everything. It can show itself to you and... one is afraid, and one needs to pray, and that thing somehow disappears. God protects a person. So they say, without God you cannot go even as far as a threshold.</p> <p>[Interviewer: And people say, something one can hear music in the woods?]</p> <p>HK: In the woods? I also heard that, but I don't know whether it can be... what that is... Yes, in the woods... Wait, what was it that I wanted to say?</p>
[21-1:56]	<p>е́ е́ тако́е е́ де лю́дїну убь́е убь́е ци ге́ так гі дере́во вать шчо́ і та́м го́йкат го́йкат і ссе́ ге́ шчо іва́н ка́же шчо шчо сьме́ пе́рше гово́рили сесе́ різы шчо́ сут та та́м уб'е́ чо́лво́віка не ра́з каза́ли лю́де шчо яко́сь ся не вітсту́пит і дере́во надле́тить і убь'е́ і всьо́ і пак там го́йкат ва́рды ва́рды го́йкат та́к як лю́де го́йкают та такы́м го́лосом го́йкат ва́рды ва́рды ва́рды вбы́ ся вітступа́в ва́рды ге то та́к у люде́й шчо робі́ли в лісу́ та такі сло́ва сло́ва бы́ли не ка́же шчо вітступі́ ся ай ва́рды ва́рды ва́рды </p>	<p>Yes, there are such things. Where a person gets killed, so as, for example, a tree kills a person, there something shouts. And that is, what Ivan said, that we just talked about, that there are these troughs, and there, people said many times that, if one does not move over and a tree goes down and kills him, then later it shouts there: <i>vardy</i> <i>vardy!</i> It shouts like people shout, it says <i>vardy vardy</i>, so that one gets out of the way. That is, people who worked in the woods, they had such words, they wouldn't say "get out of the way", but <i>vardy</i> <i>vardy</i>.</p>
[21-1:57]	<p> ... </p> <p>із вівця́ми </p> <p> ... </p>	<p>[Interviewer: And when people go herding sheep, do they see something there?]</p> <p>HK: Herding sheep?</p>

Recording, minute	Text (22)	Translation
	<p>я шч^ось не чу^{ла} обы вивчар^і тот^о каз^али ци мо^{же} так^ос бы^{ти} шч^ось не зна^ю </p> <p> ... </p> <p>як</p> <p> ... </p> <p>а^нгел </p> <p> ... </p>	<p>[Interviewer: When they stay there.]</p> <p>HK: I haven't heard shepherds say anything like that, whether such things happen. I don't know.</p> <p>[Interviewer: And does it happen that people see something in dreams?]</p> <p>HK: What?</p> <p>[Interviewer: Say, they see an angel...]</p> <p>HK: An angel?</p> <p>[Interviewer: Or something like this. Or a person who has died.]</p>
[21-1:58]	<p>а лю^дина ся с^ніт а так^ос ся с^ніт с^ніт лю^дина як шч^о умр^е но та шч^о с^ніт ся у на^с б^ыв ед^ен хл^оп^иць у два^ціть т^рі ро^кы утоп^ив ся у ла^твії а^рмію вы^служ^ив вс^об^о піш^ов на ро^бо^ту тай тай та^м ся втоп^ив і ві^тты го пак прив^езли сю^ды т^уй т^уй ис^ьме го хорон^или та м[е^нь]і ся т^оже пак с^ніло а пер^ет то^го иш^че як ма^в уж^е вы^йти д^омі ци ма^в ум^ер^ти ци шч^о та він ся сам^ий не втоп^ив ай др^уг^ий го втоп^ив бы^ов дв^ох лю^дей ед^ен лиш^ив ч^ол^ов^ік сем.... шест^еро діт^ей </p>	<p>HK: Yes, one can see a [dead] person in a dream. Such things come in a dream, people who have died do appear in a dream. We had one son, and when he was twenty-three, he drowned in Latvia. He finished his army service, started working there, and there he drowned. And they brought his body from there here. We buried him here. And I had a dream. Even before, when he had to come home, or had to die, or what. But he did not drown by himself, another person made him and another guy drown. That guy left seven... six children behind,</p>
[21-1:59]	<p>шч^о утоп^ив ся то^т пр^ігну^в {ск^оч^ив} як он^і сі^ли д^есь ма^ло то^то д^есь ув^езли ся на л^оцьці та он^і два сі^ли наш хл^оп^ець тай той то^т</p>	<p>the guy who got drowned. And this person jumped, after they sat... They went somewhere in a boat, and they two were sitting there, our son and that</p>

Recording, minute	Text (22)	Translation
	<p>чòлòвiк iс синичòла óнде тай вéзлы ся а тòт пригнув якòсь на лòтьку i лòтьку переверну́в i всьò та на́ш попáв у крути́ль тák сто́ячи го й найшли́ там не мiг вiтты вiн дúже знáв плáвати тай боронiти ся вiт тако́го попáв у крути́ль i не мiг но́гы вíтягнути сýк но́гы му бýли в пiску́ а тòт тòт ся утопiв тòже чòлòвiк шчо знáю казáти та перет тóго мнi ся снiло i снiли снý ми ся снiли </p>	<p>man from Synychiv, they were in the boat, and this guy jumped somehow in the boat and turned the boat over, and that was it. And our son got into a whirlpool like this, standing. Because they found him there, he could not get out from there. He had known how to swim, and how to protect himself from such things, but he got into a whirlpool and could not get his feet out of there, and his feet were in the sand. And that other guy also drowned. I don't know much about that. And before that, I saw a dream, I saw several dreams.</p>
[21-2:00]	<p>усé жонá у бiлим i дiдо у бiлим i о тák тák як о тák сiв i онi там сто́ят а я тýй тотò всьò бiлоє комнáты бiли усьò усьò бiлоє тако́е шчо но тáг_ як снiх но i жонá мéни за ённо писáла ба айбо кéдь нiгда не тямлю́ не на́шчо бдý казáти шчо ттò вадь ттò бо я не тя[млю́] а онá мéни всьò писáла шчòсь писáла i рáз мнi ся снит но чекáйте óпýт такýй такýй великýй дiм i о тák дéсь сýк сýкýй великýй калiдòр i сь сьòго бòку косiси i с тóго бòку </p>	<p>And it was always, a woman in white and an old man in white, and like this, and he were standing there, and I was here, and all that was white, and the rooms were white. Everything was white as snow. And that woman was always writing... But I don't remember, and I won't say what it was, because I don't remember. And she was always writing, writing something. And once I saw a dream. Wait, how was it. Again, there was such a large house, and such a large hallway. Flowers on that side and on this side,</p>
[21-2:01]	<p>тотò всьò у косiцях вiтьси захiд i я якòсь тотò iдý iдý тудý i i тáг_гi бы у дрýгi кòмнатi тай i о тák у кòмнатi а/йбо i тотò бiлоє а тáм о</p>	<p>everything was covered with flowers. From there, there was an entrance, and I was walking there something, into another room, and in that room</p>

Recording, minute	Text (22)	Translation
	<p>такі діточкы так яг_ бы іх пострих усьо у білім і межи німи дідо у білім дідо вышшый а діточкы оть_ сякі кругом усьо у білім у білі одежи і каже мні і каже дідо мні ишчѣ нам каже єдно... єдин хыбѣт о так мні ишчѣ живый бѣв уже умер та я не кажу ай ай каже шчѣ нам каже єден треба нам каже єдин хыбѣт но і ніч та тото сон я тот сон нігда не мѡгу забѣти </p>	<p>everything was also white, and there were sich kids there, all the same height, and all in white, and among them there was an old man in white. The old man was taller, and the children were like this, around him, all in white, in white clothes. And he says to me, the old man says: we are missing one more, one more. And so I saw it... he was still alive... or already died. I don't say anything. And he says, we need one more. And that's it, that was my dream. I cannot forget this dream.</p>
[21-2:02]	<p>і тод_ дідо передо мнѡв і тоты діточкы но того бѣло коло діда і я мѣні тото уже ніч но ай і туй рас утопѣв ся выхѡдит шчо уже звѡнят вѣтты шчо не кажут шчо утопѣв ся ай нешчасный слѡчай тай пак пѣшов туды уже чѡлѡвѣк уже го там не застѡв бо онѣ го вѣтпѡравили вѣтты бѣли машѣнѡв ѡй гѡсподи но тай тогды коли іх уже вѣзли та туй исьме ходѣли уже на по... то все но та шчо як шчо якбѣй слѡчай не хѡтѣли казѡти шчо втопѣв ся не хѡтѣли лиш слѡчай тай </p>	<p>And I see this old man in front of myself, and these children, around him. And that was it. And then my son got drowned. They send me... They called me from there and said... They did not say he drowned himself, they said it was an accident. And my husband went there, but he did not find him there because they already had sent the body from there in a truck. Oh my God. And then while they already sent here these two bodies, we went to ask diviners. And what was it, what kind of an accident, they did not want to tell me that he had drowned, did not tell, just said "an accident".</p>
[21-2:03]	<p>побѣли побѣв ся та ссѣ та тото от но й ніч і туй мні ся уже коли іх вѣзли дѡмі і чѡй мѣні ся снѣт уво льѡві </p>	<p>Whether he hurt himself, and this, and that. And I didn't say anything. And again, I hear in a dream, "they are in Lviv, in</p>

Recording, minute	Text (22)	Translation
	<p>та у дѣвѣвѣ сѹт і на дѣвѣдѣ_ гѳдин кѣже будѹт тѹйкы у новосѣлицѣ і вѣділа м якї тотѳ трѹны тѣм шчо шчї у львѳвѣ былі тѣм им вѣділа якї трѹны і я тѹйкы ужѣ у нѣ тѹй ужѣ сплѣт сестрѣ тай с прїслопа нѣвѣстка тѹйкы сѹт тай кѣжу уставѣйте гѣт та кѣжу ладїт дѣшчо їсти а шчѳ кѣжу на дѣвѣдѣ_ гѳдин кѣжу тѹй будѹт кѣжу люде везѹт кѣжу нѣ побитых кѣжу ай мертвѣх кѣжу двѳх кѣжу везѹт онї начѣли у двѣ на мѣне </p>	<p>Lviv, and they will be here at nine o'clock, here in Novoselytsia". And I saw the coffins, when they still were in Lviv. I saw them in a dream, what the coffins looked like. And here, I had a sister in my house and a relative from Pryslip, they were here, and I said, get up, and, I said, make something to eat, because, I say, at nine o'clock there will be people here, they are bringing not the injured people, but dead people, I say, two of them. They both started saying,</p>
[21-2:04]	<p>шчѳ ты такѳе шчѳ ты такѳе сѳн та сѳн шчѳ ты у сѳн вѣруеш тай шчѳ я кѣжу не вѣрую кѣжу но тѣк кѣжу будѣ кѣжу на дѣвѣть і тѳчно на дѣвѣть_ гѳдин былі тѹй у новосѣлицѣ тѹй ѳде га гатї но тай тай і шчѳ рѣс ся потопїли і потопїли тѹйкы шѳѳфер ужѣ тѳт шчѳ вѣвѣс тай кѣже їх кѣже утопїв кѣже онї ся кѣже самї не потопїли айбо та кѣже обы їх давѣв обы го давѣли на тотѳ тѣг_ гї в сѹд а мѣ пак ся порѣдїли кѣжу чѳлѳвїку та шчѳ нам кѣжу тотѳ дѣсѣць шчѳ йѳгѳ пѳсѹдѣд_ василѣ кѣжу не не было нїѣ тай не бдѣ кѣжу а нам шчѳ та обы алїмѣнты вбы нам платїв та шчѳ тот шчѳ їх утопїв </p>	<p>what are you talking about, it was a dream, do you really believe in a dream. I say, I don't believe, but it will be like that, at nine o'clock. And exactly at nine o'clock they were here in Novoselytsia, there on the bridge. And so what. They got drowned. Here, the driver who brought the bodies here, he said, that one made them drown, they had not drowned by themselves. And he said, that guy should be sued. And we talked about this, and I said to my husband: what use will it be to us that that guy will be in court? Vasyl is dead, and why we need the money that the one who made them drown should pay us.</p>

Recording, minute	Text (22)	Translation
[21-2:05]	<p>не трéба кáжу нам івáne ни алимéньтiв ни нiч бо василéя ние тай тай нáс кáжу туй мóже скóро не бдé тай сiмдéсятóго рóку сiмдéсятóго рóку лишé вжé кiлькó тотó зáраз тотó сóрдк рóкiв о гóсподи бóже мiй но тай тáк та бýли сьме дáшчо хóдь iли мáло</p>	<p>Ivan, I say, we don't need this money or anything, because Vasyl is dead, and we will probably be dead soon too. It was in 1970, in 1970. How long ago was it? Forty years ago. Oh my God. Well it was like that. Will you come and eat something?</p>
[22-00]	<p>..... (27)</p> <p>ГК iшóв пан так як грóв яг_ бы тéпéрь казáти ... </p> <p>рóзумiєте но шчо йогó всьó там тóня пшениця сесé всьó та йшóв тотó дивiти та вiз го кóчiш нó ужé на </p> <p>IC кóньох</p> <p>ГК на кóнях на тi як тотó ся кáже на брýцьци ага на такiм двi кóлеса великi i тотó такóе брýчка казáли i iдýт i стрiжáют цiганы цiганы iх но i ци онi стрiтили ци як ужé стрiтили цигáнiв тай тáм гóвóрят тогдý пан кáже а а як вы жiєте ic чóго вi жiєте пán звьiдат цiганiв мý з мaнтý </p>	<p>.....</p> <p>HK: A nobleman was riding, such as a count, how would we say now?</p> <p>[Interviewer: I understand.]</p> <p>HK: You understand? Well, so that everything was his, there was a large plot of land, wheat, all that. And he went to look at that all. And a coachman was driving him. Well, on...</p> <p>IS: Horses.</p> <p>HK: On horses, on... what do you call it... in a coach. Yes, on such... two large wheels, that was a coach, they called it. So they were going, and they met Roma. Or Roma met them. Or they met Roma, or however it was. And they were talking. The nobleman said: how do you live, how do you earn your living? that's what the noblemen asked the Roma. - We, we live from <i>manta</i>.</p>
[22-01]	<p>цигане кáжут мý з мaнтý жiємо та якá тотó у вáс ма... iз якóї мaнтý та мý бý вам кáже указáли айбо туй</p>	<p>The Roma say: we live from <i>manta</i>. -- What is that <i>manta</i> of yours, from what <i>manta</i> do you live? -- We could tell you, they</p>

Recording, minute	Text (22)	Translation
	<p>ниє бо лишіли сьме дѣзь_ закопáли в зѣмлю там туй ниє коло нас ай йти бы за ним за нѣв коби сьте нам дали кôня та пишóв бы óде еден циганин агá но тай на́те та кáже та йди́т та принесете пишóв тот чекáют чекáют ниє тогó ниє тогó з манти́в но тай ниє тай ниє ба шчо ниє го ййй кáже тотó я закопáв а вн не мо́же найти́ да́йте нам да́йте нам кôня́ та пиду́ й я тай при принесе́ манту́ но тай тотó вы́прягли кôня́ </p>	<p>say, but it is not here, because we left it somewhere, we buried it in the ground there. It is not here, we would need to go get it. If you could give us a horse, then one Roma could go fetch it. -- OK, here is a horse, the nobleman says, come and bring it. So one Roma went off. They were waiting and waiting, the Roma did not come back and did not bring the <i>manta</i>. He is not coming, so where is he? And [another Roma] says, oh, I buried it, and that guy cannot find it. Give us a horse so that I can also go, and I will bring it. Well, they unharnessed the horse.</p>
<p>[22-02]</p>	<p>кáже а ну́ на সিда́й то́т на кôня́ сів но́ кáже тѣпѣрь еден тягнит дру́гый пхайте кáже а то́т а то́т пишóв за манто́в наохте́ма та óба кôни взяв а тотá а коли́ тотá кôчія́ ся лишіла і пан ся лиши́в і кôчис_ ся лиші́в усьó</p> <p>ИС циган сів на кôня́ та кáе здôрôви́ бува́йте</p> <p>ГК айно айно здôрôви быва́йте</p> <p>ИС еднó тягнит а дру́ги пхайте </p> <p>ГК а дру́ги пхай обы́ еден обы́ тягну́в а дру́гый бы труча́в із за́ду </p> <p>ИС от то́би́ і манта́</p>	<p>The nobleman says, get on the horse. The Roma got on the horse and says: now one pull [the coach], and the other, push it. And off he went, and never came back, this way he went to fetch the <i>manta</i>. They took both horses. And the coach remained, and the nobleman remained, and his coachman remained.</p> <p>IS: The Roma got on the horse and says: fare you well...</p> <p>HK: Yes, yes, fare you well...</p> <p>IS: One person, pull it [the coach], the other, push it.</p> <p>HK: And the other, push it. So that one would pull it, and the other, push from behind.</p> <p>IS: That's the <i>manta</i>.</p>

Recording, minute	Text (22)	Translation
	<p>ГК но тай то́бі манта́ тай цигáne так із манты́ і жи́ют там обманя́т там обману́т тай цигáne так жи́ют із манты́ но шчэ́ м ся нагада́ла та д[у́маю] уже́ і сесе́ оби́ съте ма́ли</p>	<p>HK: Yes, that's the <i>manta</i>. And the Roma live from that <i>manta</i>. They deceive here and deceive there, and so they live from <i>manta</i>. Well, and also I remembered another story, and I think let it be here, so that you have it.</p>
[22-03]	<p>[сі]рôту не жа́луй а жд́ні правду́ не кажи́ а па́нови грó... ци па́ну ци ко́му</p> <p>IC а па́ну грóше́й не зы́ч</p> <p>ГК па́нови грóше́й не зы́ч оно́ так э́ бо бо бы́в уже́ чо́лôвiк но жона́ тай шчо́сь тотó гóвôря́т тай ка́же чо́лôвiк я́ ка́же там жи́да а вiн не зарíзав я́ ка́же зарíзав жи́да жи́да ка́же айбо́ обiсь ка́же нико́му ка́же не ка́зала́ обiсь не по́вила но тай ни́ч ра́зь_ вiн прихóдит ци вы́пившы́й ци шчо́ тай шчо́сь на жд́ну́ шчо́сь там нача́в </p> <p>IC е та бы? вы́ роска́зуйте</p> <p>ГК ге</p> <p>IC жи́да поча́ли гля́дати уже́ і по́ліция́ і всьо́ жи́д пропáв а вiн ся догoворiв iз жи́дом я́ тебе́ спря́чу де́сь та бу́ду ка́зати шчо́ я́ тебе́ уби́в но тай туй пи́шла шумíха по селу́ </p> <p>ГК бо я́ бо я́ уже́ і забува́ю </p>	<p>Don't pity an orphan, and don't tell truth to your wife, and money... don't lend money to a nobleman? or to who?</p> <p>IS: Don't lend money to a nobleman.</p> <p>HK: Don't lend money to a nobleman, that is right, because... There was a husband and a wife, and they speak, and the husband says: I, he says, I killed a Jew. But he didn't kill this Jew. He said: I killed the Jew, just don't tell anybody, don't tell. OK. So once he comes home, either drunk or what, and started saying something unpleasant to his wife.</p> <p>IS: [unclear] You tell.</p> <p>HK: What?</p> <p>IS: People started to look for the Jew, already the police started searching, the Jew had disappeared. And that man arranged it with the Jew, I will hide you somewhere, and I'll say that I have killed you. So there was unrest in the village.</p>

Recording, minute	Text (22)	Translation
		HK: Because I forget things sometimes.
[22-04]	<p>вшіткоче</p> <p>ІС но жіт пропа́в </p> <p>ГК но тай ніч а він прийшо́в до́мі тай шчо́сь на ... но на жону́ нача́в го́йкати</p> <p>ІС а жона́ ка́же я́ ніко́му не упо́вім бо ка́же жона́ шчо́ ты та́кий сумна́й хо́диш та ніч та ты́ ми по́ві[ч_] та я́ ніко́му не упо́вім та я́ тво́я жона́ бо йдо́му ка́зали шчо жо́ні пра́вду не ка́жи та ка́же зна́єш я́ жи́да уби́в шчо́бе́сь не по́... та де́ я ніко́му не упо́вім но тай да́льше у́же </p> <p>ГК но тай нача́в шчо́зь_ го́йкати а о́на </p> <p>ІС заві́в сканда́л та́кий із жо́но́в </p> <p>ГК айно́ чека́й ты́ ка́же жи́да уби́в ка́же та ты́ ка́же я́ ка́же тебе́ заго́лбшу ты́ жи́да уби́в </p> <p>ІС ви́бігла на у́лицю тай поча́ла го́йкати уби́в жи́да тай мене́ хо́че вби́ти </p> <p>ГК айно́ но </p> <p>ІС а ка́зала шчо́ ніко́му не упо́вісьць </p> <p>ГК но а жона́ </p>	<p>Everything.</p> <p>IS: Well, the Jew disappeared.</p> <p>HK: OK. And the man came home once, and somehow he started shouting at his wife.</p> <p>IS: And the wife says: I won't tell anybody. Because the wife had started asking: why are you so sad? -- Well, nothing. -- But do tell me, I won't tell anybody because I am your wife.</p> <p>Because someone told him not to tell the truth to his wife. -- You know, he says, I killed a Jew. Don't... -- No, no, I am not telling anybody. And then...</p> <p>HK: So he started shouting for some reason, and she...</p> <p>IS: He started an argument, with his wife.</p> <p>HK: Yes. Wait, you killed the Jew, she says. You, she says, I will denounce you, you killed the Jew.</p> <p>IS: She ran outside and started yelling: he killed the Jew and now he wants to kill me.</p> <p>HK: Yes, yes.</p> <p>IS: And she had told him that she wouldn't tell anybody.</p> <p>HK: And the wife...</p>
[22-05]	<p>но та за тто́ шчо́ ка́жут шчо́ жо́ні пра́вду не ка́жи шчо́ она́ на не́ї не ви́держит</p>	<p>And because of that... People say, don't tell the truth to your wife, because she won't be able</p>

Recording, minute	Text (22)	Translation
	<p>шчо она́ мусит вѣповідити бу́ть шчо́</p> <p> ... </p> <p>а сирѣту не жалуй бо сирѣта прійде тай </p> <p>ІС служив одін е то́же чѣловѣк жив сам одін і наняв собі слугу́ но слугу́ обычного слугу́ но айбо туй прійшло́ уже́ мо́же і три́ ро́кы уже́ чѣловѣк ка́е уже́ мѣні не треба тебе́ забира́й ся уже́ забира́й ся гѣт уже́ мні не тр... айбо сирѣт... слуга́ уже́ і не йде́ я́ ка́е я́ уже́ туй прожив туй ро́кы́ я́ уже́ туй маю́ маю́ свѣй у́гол я́ уже́ не йде́ всьо́ но тай туй уже́ чѣловѣк да́в то́го у су́д шчо́ то́т не хо́че не хо́че йти́ </p> <p>ГК выступати́</p>	<p>to hold it, she just needs to tell it, whatever the circumstances.</p> <p>[Interviewer: And why should you not pity an orphan?]</p> <p>HK: And don't pity the orphan because the orphan will come and...</p> <p>IS: He served... One man lived alone, and hired himself a servant. A servant, a regular servant. But it happened so, maybe three years later... That man says, I don't need you anymore, go, go, I don't need... But the orph... the servant won't go. He says: I have lived here for these years, I have my own place here, I... and he is not leaving. That man sued him, because the servant did not want to go.</p> <p>HK: To leave.</p>
[22-06]	<p>ІС выступати́ хѣжу {с хѣжи} тай подав у́ суд тай ни́ч тай су́д су́дит но чѣловѣк ка́же він три́ ро́кы чи жив чи не жив мо́же і не жив а то́т ка́же я́ жив я́ шче́ й ту́ ха́ту ка́же будова́в ка́же я́ там а давно́ не было́ гво́здѣв а о то́гы коли́ робили́ крѣши́ то́гы ла́ты там забива́ли чо́пами де́ревяны́ми чо́пами а він пішо́в на черда́к поличив усі́ чо́пы поличив всі́ чо́пы кі́лько та́м было́ ка́же на суді́ я́ ті́лько й ті́лько чо́пів натеса́в я́ сю хѣжу будова́в якшчо́ не ві́ртите піді́т</p>	<p>IS: To leave the house. So he sued him. OK, there is the court. The man says: he lived at my place for three years, whether he lived that long, whether he did not. And the servant says: I did live there, I actually built that house. Long ago there were no nails, and when people made roofs, they nailed these planks with wooden nails. And he went to the loft, and counted all the wooden nails. He counted the wooden nails, how many were there. And in court he says: I have made that many wooden nails, it was me who built that</p>

Recording, minute	Text (22)	Translation
	<p>порахуйте ты пішли порахували точно тільки чопів а звідають звідають уже хозяїна хозяїн не знає кілько чопів а він а він знає но тай шчо но тай тай присудили йому </p> <p>ГК хыжу ІС та не хыжу но </p>	<p>house, and if you don't believe me then come and count. They went, counted the wooden nails - exactly the number he had said. And when they asked the master, the master did not know how many wooden nails were there. So what? The court gave him...</p> <p>HK: The house. IS: Not the whole house,</p>
<p>[22-07]</p>	<p>якусь там частку уже одьдільну комнату ци як </p> <p>ГК обы жив обы там жив </p> <p>ІС но тай кажут шчо сироту не жалуй </p> <p>ГК айно сирота хоть шчо може зробити</p> <p>ІС а пану грошей не зыч якшчо ты позычиш пану грошей він тобі николи не віддасьць такый простый віддасьць а пан не віддасьць каж[е] пану грощі не зыч тай то так є </p> <p> </p> <p>ІС вѣтки самогонка пішла</p> <p>ГК бѣв чолѣвик та жонá дѣтѣй у них не было но тай чолѣвик пішов орáти </p> <p>ІС сам із волáми</p> <p>ГК тай га </p> <p>ІС сáм одін із волáми</p>	<p>some part of it, maybe a room or what.</p> <p>HK: So that he could live there.</p> <p>IS: Yes. And that is why people say, don't pity an orphan.</p> <p>HK: Yes, the orphan can do whatever.</p> <p>IS: And don't lend money to a nobleman. If you lend money to a nobleman, he will never pay you back. A common man will pay, but not a nobleman. So they say, don't lend money to a nobleman, and that is true.</p> <p>[Interviewer: I also heard a story once that people had to take their parents to the woods... Did you hear that?]</p> <p>.....</p> <p>[Interviewer: Please tell me that one!]</p> <p>IS: Where moonshine came from.</p> <p>HK: There was a man and his wife, they did not have children.</p>

Recording, minute	Text (22)	Translation
	ГК сáм із волáми пішóв орáти	So the husband once went to plough his field. IS: On his own, with his oxen. HK: On his own, with his oxen, he went to plough his field.
[22-08]	тай приходит ид ньóму хло́пчик кáже я́ бы вас кáже я́ бы вáм помагáв кáже быкы́ гонíти шчó но я́ бы вам помагáв та я́ кáже узьміт менé кáже служíти кáже я́ вам б́ду кáже помагáти а чòлòвiк кáже я́ кáже вáс не вòзьму не берú тя кáже ай порáдíme ся ж_ жòнòв кáже та тогды́ кáже но́ тай прійдеш зáвтра тай тáк тотó б́ло чòлòвiк уже тот дéнь робíв тай порад́или ся ж_ жòнòв ужé у вéчэри́ но та нáй будé тай дрúгый дéнь ðпýт приходит хлопчик но ай я́к IC на пóле ГК но тá будéш но тай ужé тáк i быкы́ хòдят i всьó тáк тотó йдé чòлòвiку шчó на насiяли на насад́или сiя... насiяли	And a boy comes to him, and says: I could help you drive the oxen or whatever, I could help you, and, he says, take me as your servant, I will help you. And the man says, I won't take you, I won't, but I need to consult with my wife, and then, [I'll decide,] he says. Well, come tomorrow, he says. And it was so that the man worked that day, and then he talked to his wife in the evening, and she was OK with it. So the next day again, the boy came... IS: To the field. HK: Yes. You will be my servant. And then... and the oxen were going well, and the man was lucky in everything. So they planted... sowed...
[22-09]	зёрна мно... ð того́ пшени́ци но тогды́ чòлòвiк кáже но та всьóго ё всьó кáже ё́ но шчó бдемé с тым робíти IC а тóт слúжить_ i слúжит ГК а тóт слúжит а тот хло́пчик кáже та нiч кáже	a lot of grain, that wheat. And then the man says, there is a lot of everything, what will we do with all that. IS: And the boy keeps serving. HK: And the boy keeps serving. And the boy says, it is OK,

Recording, minute	Text (22)	Translation
	<p>бде́ме мо́лоти та го́рївку варі́ти </p> <p>ІС іс пше́ніці в осе́ні</p> <p>ГК іс пше́ніці бо пше́ніці є до́ста ай я́к а́ буде́ме но та́й хло́пчик то́то намо́лоли причи́нив нава́рили но а те́пе́рь шчо́ но́ клі́чьте го́сьців наклі́кав чо́ллові́к го́сьців а́ бо не мі́г і[x] ізра́дити обы́ о́ні ся ва́дили </p> <p>ІС ізвѣ́сти не мі́х</p> <p>ГК у́же хло́пчик ду́мат та́к та́к то́то то́то обы́ </p> <p>ІС бо чо́ллові́к іж_ ждо́нів ду́же фа́йно жи́ли </p> <p>ГК ду́же фа́йно жи́ли айно́</p> <p>ІС ни́коли не сва́рили ся</p> <p>ГК а не мі... не мо́гли іх ізра́дити {ізро́бити} обы́ о́ні ся ва́дили </p>	<p>we'll grind it and make moonshine.</p> <p>IS: Out of the wheat, in the fall.</p> <p>HK: Out of the wheat, because there was a lot of wheat. OK, we'll do that. And the boy... So they ground the wheat, started fermenting it, made moonshine. And what now? -- Now, he says, call in guests. So the man called a lot of guests. Because that guy could not make them quarrel.</p> <p>IS: He could not make them quarrel.</p> <p>HK: That boy. He was thinking, how can I do it so that...</p> <p>IS: Because the husband and the wife lived very nicely together.</p> <p>HK: Very nicely, yes.</p> <p>IS: They never quarreled.</p> <p>HK: And he couldn't... they couldn't make them quarrel.</p>
[22-10]	<p>ни́як і ту́йки у́же і за́клічьте ка́же го́сьців но за́клікали айбо о́ні фа́йно не ва́дять_ ся ніч то́то та́к фа́йно і пью́т у́же го́сьці і го́сьця́ть_ ся і вь́пили є́дін стака́н дру́гый стака́н така́ во́тка до́бра </p> <p>ІС [ка́же] дивля́т на́ ся спершу́ та́к як лі́сы </p> <p>ГК ага́ вь́пили є́дін ніч ишче́ дру́гый вь́пили та у́же та́кі ве́сєлі та́к на́ ся дивля́т іва́н ка́же ги лі́сы </p>	<p>By no means. And then already, he says, call in guests. So they called the guests, but the guests are nice, they don't argue or fight. So they drink, the guests drink. They drank one glass, another glass, the vodka is so good.</p> <p>IS: People say, they look at each other so as foxes.</p> <p>HK: Yes. They drank one [glass] - nothing. They drank another glass, and they are already so happy, they look at</p>

Recording, minute	Text (22)	Translation
	<p>ІС уже як вѡвци дівлят одін на дрúгого</p> <p>ГК а трéтый вѣпили уже туй начáли єдін на дрúгого гѡйкати á ты мнѣ там переорáв ты мнѣ пока... перекосив ты тотó мнѣ уже зробив уже начáли єдін на дрúгого сусіди но й туй поналивáли погары і онá жонá щчѡсь принéсла </p>	<p>each other, as Ivan says, as foxes.</p> <p>IS: They already look like wolves at each other.</p> <p>HK: And when they drank the third glass, they started yelling at each other: you took my land and ploughed it, you mowed my hay, you did that to me... they started yelling at each other, the neighbors. And they poured vodka in their glasses again, and the wife brought something...</p>
[22-11]	<p>вѣльляла стакán тѡї гѡрѣвки </p> <p>ІС зачѣпіла якѡсь</p> <p>ГК а чѡлѡвѣк уже на ню но уже їх зьвѣв уже зьвѣв уже кѣть </p> <p>ІС áбо уже і удáрив жѡну і вдáрив і щчѡ ты...</p> <p>ГК та ты такѡе вѣльляла та тотó не мѡш тай...</p> <p>ІС тѡ бѣв такѣй рѣшкáтый лишѣ він не знáв як їх як їх обѣ ся ізвѣсти</p> <p>ГК як їх із... ізвѣ... обѣ онѣ ся вáдили но ай тáк_ їх і ізьвѣв шчо онѣ ся мýсили</p> <p>ІС черес самѡгѡнку</p> <p>ГК но та черес самѡгѡнку</p> <p>ІС дѡтѣ нѣхтѡ самѡгѡнку і не варѣв_ і не знáв як то </p> <p>ГК і туйкы начáли ся вáдити сѣе тотó і туй дѡтѣ ся</p>	<p>She turned over a glass of that vodka.</p> <p>IS: She offended him somehow.</p> <p>HK: And the husband already at her... he [the devil] already made them quarrel.</p> <p>IS: And he even hit his wife, he hit her, why did you...</p> <p>HK: Why did you turn that over, it is a bad thing to do...</p> <p>IS: That was he, the horned one, he just did not know how to ... how to make them quarrel...</p> <p>HK: How to make them quarrel, so that they would quarrel. And this way he made them quarrel, so that they had to...</p> <p>IS: Because of the moonshine.</p> <p>HK: Yes, because of the moonshine.</p>

Recording, minute	Text (22)	Translation
	<p> і вáдили шчо пак як отó єннѣ пішли гі лісы єннѣ гі вóвци а трéті перебáште тáк як свіні усюды ся </p>	<p>IS: Before that, no one made moonshine, and people did not know how. HK: And here they started to argue, about this and that, and argued until... some went as foxes, some as wolves, and some, forgive the rude word, as pigs. All over the place,</p>
[22-12]	<p>качáли пò бòлòтòви і ніч не тяміли через через вóтку но айбо ци тáк онó є гé но а нў ж а ці пьóт у тóму у амé[риці]</p>	<p>they were rolling in the mud and did not remember anything. Because of the vodka. Yes. Ain't it so? See. And tell me, do they drink in that, in America?</p>

NOTES

1 See an overview of works on discourse, performance, and culture, including folklore, in Scherer [1990: 4 ff.], and on linguistic ethnopoetics in Friedrich [2006: 214 ff.]

2 See Hymes [1975, 1981, and 2003, 370 ff.] for comparison of Alter's findings on Biblical Hebrew narrative and Hymes' own findings on the Chinook myth narrative, and 2003, 435-9 for the list of work on verse analysis for a number of cultures; [Sherzer 1987, 1990, 2001]; [Tedlock 1983], [Urban 1988, 1991], [Webster 2008, 2008a], [Rumsey and Niles 2011], etc.

3 See Lord's explanation of the relation between the performance and the (epic) song's text which emphasizes the role of performance as creation and performer as creator: "Each performance is the specific song, and at the same time it is the generic song. The song we are listening to is 'the song'; for each performance is more than a performance; it is a re-creation" [Lord 1960: 101]; "a song has no 'author' but a multiplicity of authors, each singing being a creation, each singing having its own single 'author'" [ibid., 102].

4 Only a few researchers of folklore given any attention to the textual features of the feedback provided to the story-teller by the audience or to the story-teller's response. Toelken describes listener's reaction to the performer as crucial to the style of performance: "the audience plays a central role in the narrative style" ([Toelken 1976: 155]; see also Toelken [2003: 135-136 and ff.]). For East European folklore that phenomenon has not been well documented. Dégh [1989: 114] notes that while recording Hungarian folklore in the village of Kakasd, she could record only one text that included both the story-teller's and

the listeners' contributions. She lists the types of listeners' comments (including: spontaneous exclamations, commentary, connecting of individual experience, praise for the narrator, impatience, etc. – [ibid., p. 119]), but does not indicate how the narrator reacts, except stating that he answers all questions and “sees encouragement in every commentary, even if it is derisive or expresses doubt” [ibid.] Dégh [1995 (1976)] described the context of an in-house session and the reaction of two performers, husband and wife, to each other's words while the wife was telling belief legends, and the husband, jokes. (The actual event took place in the US, but the performers were Hungarian immigrants.)

5 I am deeply thankful to Anna Ivanivna Zavadiak, teacher at the Novoselytsia high school, and her husband Ivan Iurievych Zavadiak, principal of the same school, who have been helping me since 1986 in so many ways, from introducing me to my informants to helping me afterwards with understand the language and culture behind certain places in the recording I could not understand myself. I am thankful to HK and IS for letting me be a part of the current story-telling session. I am thankful to all other inhabitants of Novoselytsia who spend their precious time with me, telling me their stories, allowing me an insight into their world.

6 In the text, the notation refers to the minutes in the transcript in Appendix. There are two consecutive recordings transcribed in the Appendix: recording #21, containing the first part of the session, and recording #22, containing the part that took place at the meal table. If the notation reads 21-1:35, the two digits before the dash indicate the recording number, the digits after the dash - the time in hours and minutes in the recording; e.g. 21-1:35 denotes the recording #21, minute 1:35 (i.e., 1 hr. 35 min.) In the text, recording numbers were mostly omitted and only numbers of minutes indicated; if the notation reads 1:15 or 18, the numbers denote minutes. The minutes from 1:04 to 2:05 belong to the recording #21, while the minutes from 00 to 22 belong to the recording #22. Thus, to find, e.g., 1:22 one should find in the Appendix the transcript of record #21 and in it, minute 1:22; to find 03 one should find the transcript of the record #22 and in it, minute 03.

7 See Hymes [1975: 68 ff.], where he distinguishes between the role of a narrator as “performer of a narrative” and as “collaborator in inquiry, to whom the narrative is also partly an object”.

8 I distinguish here, in terms of Hymes [1975: 14ff], between three dimensions of competence in a tradition: the ability to report (tell about), to interpret (explain), and to perform; see also endnote 7.

9 Story titles can play an important role in folklore; [cf. Hymes 1981: 263-272] on the myth and story titles. It seems not to be so for Rusyn story-telling, but more research will be needed to explore this hypothesis.

10 On the role of framing devices in folk poetry and myth see Webster [2008: 448 ff.]. Here the devices are not as sophisticated as the ones he studied, but they certainly play a role in the organization of narrative.

11 Hymes [2003: 380 and elsewhere] states that in Native American myths and oral prose narratives, “initial words and phrases, such as particles

translatable as ‘now,’ ‘then,’ ‘so,’ ‘well,’” are used to divide the speech into verses which are “‘measured,’ rather than metrical.” He researches the rules of composition and grouping of these verses into larger units he calls stanzas in different Native American traditions as well as in English language narrative [Hymes 2003: 102, 305]. Applying these methods to the prose text of the performance from Novoselytsia will be a promising topic for future research.

12 In epics, formulae in strict sense are units which are rhythmical, long, and carry lexical meaning; according to Parry’s definition, a formula is “a group of words regularly used under the same metrical conditions to express a given essential idea” [1971: 272]. Foley and Gejin [2012: 404] call formulae “‘large words,’ which may be a colon, a line, or multiple lines in length.” Regarding the content, formulae vary from noun-epithet phrases to descriptions of whole situations. Formulae are flexible (words inside a formula may vary if rhythmic requirements are satisfied). They are also stackable, e.g., a noun-epithet phrase can be put in a subject position in a formula several sentences long and denoting a standard action, as saddling one’s horse. The functions of formulae in the performance are different for the performer and the audience. The performer uses formulae since they allow him/her an opportunity to think, while rhythmically and meaningfully carrying on the performance. The audience enjoys the style and the suspense while the formula describes at length something that could have been just named. At the same time, formulae can organize the performance on the macro-level, e.g., forewarn listeners about specific turns in the plot, as in the case of a formula describing a character saddling his horse points to a coming battle. Formulae also can carry the function of organizing the discourse on the micro-level, e.g., introducing a character’s speech, which serves as a type of quotation marks, etc. In this case, they do not have to be lengthy or rich in content. In Homeric Greek, “[t]he small phrase ἀλλ’ ἄγε [lit. ‘but come, go’ - author’s note], which occurs 149 times in the Homeric poems, regularly serves two idiomatic purposes: (1) it divides one section of a speech from another, preparing the listener or reader for a change of focus; and (2) it leads to a command or prayer” [Foley, Gejin 2012: 412]. At least three of the functions mentioned above, i.e., providing the performer time to think, creating suspense for the audience, and organizing the performance on the micro-level, are seemingly common functions for both the formulae in oral poetry and the discourse particles, or clusters thereof, in the story-telling performance in Novoselytsia.

13 On the role of repetition, both “exact repetition” and “near repetition” in folkloric texts, see Webster [2008a: 443 ff.], where the history of the research on repetition is traced starting from Jakobson 1960. On the “near repetition,” or pleonasm in South Slavic epics, Foley [1996: 21] comments: “this rhetorical and tectonic figure involves partial or complete repetition of a phrase from the preceding line [...] None of these continuations is syntactically necessary; rather each one of them glosses what precedes with what amounts to an optional enrichment of the main thought.” We find a similar situation in this story-telling session, if we think in terms of phrases, not lines.

14 That would seem the most probable explanation. Formulaic beginnings and endings in a number of other traditions have been described as characteristic of those prose narratives that are perceived as distinctly fictional, not true; see Bascom [1965: 6] and Tedlock [1983: 164].

15 Tedlock [1983: 165] notices a similar device in explanatory myths of the Zuni and states that a conclusion drawn from a myth, if true, serves as an argument proving the truthfulness of the whole myth: “[e]xplanatory elements, [...] since they refer to real conditions, lend an air of reality to the stories that lead to them. This is paralogism, a literary device described by Aristotle: “Just because we know the truth of the consequent, we are in our own minds led on to the erroneous inference of the truth of the antecedent.” Faulty logic it may be, but Aristotle approved of it as a verisimilitudinal device.”

16 This is a well-described practice for legends; see Bennett [1989: 305 ff.].

17 See Tedlock [1983: 175].

18 The bulk of Western Ukrainian and Rusyn collection of folk tales and stories (Hnatiuk [1897, 1898, 1900], Chubinskii [1872-78], Rozdol’s’kyi [1899, 1900], etc.) were dictated and written down by hand, before the advent of recording technology, which totally precluded the recording of the communicative event as a whole, though some ethnographers were very attentive to linguistic features, namely Hnatiuk. The story collection in the appendix to Pan’kevych [1938] contains a number of transcripts of sound recordings, along with hand-written texts that constitute the majority of this collection, but the transcriptions represent distinct stories. Collections of tales and stories from the second half of the 20th c., mostly published as entertainment, also contain only single stories, retold in standard Rusyn [Hyriak 1965] or Ukrainian, sometimes with certain dialectal features, e.g., Khlanta [1989] and Lintur [1979, 1984], and not performance sessions. In the Ukrainian scholarship, such newest collections as Britsyna and Golovakha [2004] contain transcriptions, but not of whole performances, though the context of each story is well documented.

19 See similar conclusions about traditional Ukrainian folklore in Golovakha [2006], based on her fieldwork in Central Ukraine described in Britsyna and Golovakha [2004].

20 On 01.01.2015, 62,9% of Transcarpathian population lived in villages. In 2014, the natural increase in the rural part of Transcarpathia was the highest in Ukraine, +2401 persons (to compare, only in one other region, the Rivne region, there was a natural increase in rural area, 911 persons, and in all other regions of Ukraine, there was natural decline in the rural population); in urban areas, Transcarpathia had the second largest natural increase of population, (after the Rivne region.). [Data from: State statistics of Ukraine, http://database.ukrcensus.gov.ua/PXWEB2007/ukr/publ_new1/2015/zb_nas_14.pdf, accessed August 26, 2015]

21 On the history of editing practices of prose folklore in Ukraine see Britsyna [2006: 58 ff. and passim].

22 Notes on transcription: the text is in Rusyn; however, several issues are presented differently from the standard Rusyn orthography in order to preserve dialectal features: the difference between the open and closed *o* and *e* is marked (the letters *ô* and *ê* are used for the closed sounds); words such as *дѣнь* 'day' are spelled with a closed *ê* rather than with *u*, for example. In addition, stress marks are indicated, and there is no punctuation, except for the sign | which denotes a pause. The sign denotes a place in the recording I was unable to decipher.

23 The number in the first column, e.g., #21-1:04, consists of: the number of the recording (21), and the time in the recording (1 hr 04 min), see endnote 6.

24 In the translation, square brackets [] around a word or a part of a word indicate that this word as such is not present in transcription, but it is implied and in translation it needs to be added for adequate understanding of the text.

25 The sign [...] in transcription indicates the interviewer's words. They are not transcribed, but in the *Translation* column, their English translation is given in square brackets: [].

26 The notation {} presents corrections: if an informant apparently made a speech error, I give their exact words, and then the correct version in {}.

27 The sign indicates an interruption in the recording, where the recording was stopped and later resumed, so a chunk of conversation is missing from the recording.

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