

# PSEUDO-MELEŠKO

A Ukrainian Apocryphal  
Parliamentary Speech of 1615–1618

A study by Bohdan A. Struminsky

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Parliamentary Speech of 1615–1618

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## Preface

The so-called Meleško Speech (referred to hereafter as MS) is justifiably considered to be a remarkable Ukrainian or White-Ruthenian satire or parody of the late sixteenth or seventeenth century. Since, according to our study, all White-Ruthenian texts of the MS represent its later phase of development, the name *Ukrainian* only is used in the title and in most of the book.

This is a bibliographical, biographical, textological (with a large-scale use of the synoptic method), and linguistic study of the MS, partly also touching upon its literary characteristics.

Thus far five texts of the MS have been known to scholars (marked S, B, W<sub>1</sub>, K and KK in our work). But in 1929 A. Savyč observed that "there is no reason to assume that other copies do not exist that are still unknown to us."<sup>1</sup> Our research has more than doubled the number of those known copies by adding six more (D, Cz, St, O, P, W<sub>2</sub>). Consequently, many previously obscure places can be explained, the Ukrainian links of the MS have come to the fore, and the problems of genesis and history of the MS can be attacked with more hope for success.

In the terminology of this book the United Nations' term *Byelorussian* (or *Belorussian*) is replaced with *White-Ruthenian*, which is better inasmuch as it stresses a link with *Ruthenian* (Ukrainian—"Belorussian") rather than *Russian* (Muscovite). Names of localities and rivers are cited in transliteration from the language that is native in a given territory, with the exception of a few names traditional in English (like Warsaw, Cracow, St. Petersburg, Dnieper, Pripet) or related to objects in nationally mixed and disputed territories (Mozyr and Smolensk). The White-Ruthenian name *Mialeška* is used in its Ukrainian form *Meleško* in harmony with the language of the whole text (not to mention the fact that ultimately it is Ukrainian because the family of I. I. Meleško originated from Volhynia, see p. 12). For the White-Ruthenian language the traditional White-Ruthenian Latin script is used.

We wish to thank all those who helped us in giving this book its final shape: Professor Omeljan Pritsak, Director of the Harvard Ukrainian Research Institute, for his advice concerning the organization of the book; George Y. Shevelov, Professor-Emeritus of Columbia University, for his constructive criticism; Father Alexander Nadson, Librarian of the Francis Skaryna Belorussian Library in London, for providing us with some bibliog-

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## History of Research into the Meleško Speech

The Meleško Speech was first published by Julian Niemcewicz in 1822 in a Polish translation without mentioning that it was a translation,<sup>2</sup> a fact which has confused some people. For example in 1829 A. Gałuszowski, the editor of Kromer's chronicle (*De origine et rebus gestis Polonorum*, 1555) in a Polish translation, was misled into thinking that the MS was really written in Polish and represented merely a provincial (eastern) version of that language.<sup>3</sup> Even in recent times A. Siudut has cited the *kałakuckie kury* (turkeys) from Niemcewicz's translation of the MS as proof that the expression already existed in sixteenth-century Polish,<sup>4</sup> but this rather proves that he was not aware of 1) the Ukrainian origin of the MS, and 2) its seventeenth-century dating. The same error has been repeated in Sławski's etymological dictionary.<sup>5</sup>

It was not until 1851 that the MS was published in its original language in a work by Michał Wiszniewski as "an interesting sample of sixteenth-century White-Ruthenian oratory."<sup>6</sup> It was soon followed by two more Ruthenian publications: in *Vestnik Jugo-Zapadnoj i Zapadnoj Rossii* (1862)<sup>7</sup> and in M. Kostomarić's and P. Kulic's *Akty, otnosjaščiesja k istorii Južnoj i Zapadnoj Rossii* (1865).<sup>8</sup> Somewhat earlier (in 1862) Kulic produced a translation of the MS into modern Ukrainian with some commentary that took the MS at its face value as a real Diet (Sejm) speech of 1589 by the Smolensk Castellan Ivan Meleško.<sup>9</sup> The latter publications in Kyjiv (Kiev) and St. Petersburg marked a shift of the interest in the MS from the cultural establishment of Poland to that of the eastern Slavic countries.

The first critical studies of the MS were begun in the 1890's. In 1893 Josef Perwolf presented some documentary data about I. Meleško (derived from J. Wolff's *Senatorowie i dygnitarze W. Ks. Litewskiego 1386-1795*, 1885), pointing out that the MS could not have been delivered by Meleško in 1589 because he was the Smolensk Castellan from 1615 to 1623 (actually until 1622) and assuming instead that the MS had been created by "a Lithuanian-Ruthenian humorist in the early seventeenth century."<sup>10</sup>

His view about the non-authenticity of the MS was soon reinforced with additional arguments by Mykola Sumcov in 1894. In addition to providing a Russian translation of the MS, he voiced the opinion that it had been written "in White Ruthenia, perhaps in the Smolensk or Mozyr districts" soon after the 1589 session of the Diet, perhaps by a person who had attended it (Sumcov did not know Perwolf's point on chronology), and that

Meleško was nothing more than a pseudonym which meant “babbler” (cf. *moloty, melju* “to babble”). Besides, he compared the MS with similar conservative views of Ivan Vyšens’kyj, a Ukrainian Orthodox polemicist of the late sixteenth and early seventeenth century.<sup>11</sup>

The view that Meleško was only a pseudonym was opposed by M. Doūnar-Zapolski in 1899. He traced Ivan Meleško’s descent to the Połack region but did not produce any evidence for this.<sup>12</sup>

In 1907 Myxajlo Hrušev’skyj, contradicting Sumcov, expressed the view that the author of the MS was not against the new Polish mores but, quite the opposite, ridiculed conservatives of the Meleško type as *laudatores temporis acti*. He compared the MS with some conservative views voiced by Michael (Mykolas) the Lithuanian (mid-sixteenth century) and Mikołaj Rej (1567–68). Later, in 1927, he attempted a reconstruction of the original MS in middle Ukrainian but only on the basis of three texts known to him (S, W<sub>1</sub> and KK, see below). He also theorized that Meleško actually made a maiden speech at the Senate when he became the Castellan of Mścisłaŭ (i.e., ca. 1603 according to Hrušev’skyj, but actually ca. 1606, see p. 13—cf. the reference to his wife as “Madame Mścisłaŭ Castellan” in phrase 25) and that he amused his audience with his conservatism and became an anecdotal figure and a basis for a satire.<sup>13</sup>

P. Žukovič in 1912 called attention to many forgotten or unknown facts concerning Meleško’s founding of the Uniate monastery on his estate of Žyrovičy (Žurovičy) near Słonim. Žukovič can be credited, *inter alia*, with establishing the exact date of Meleško’s death.<sup>14</sup>

In 1921 J. Karski noted the simultaneous occurrence of Ukrainian and White-Ruthenian linguistic features in the MS and deduced that it had probably been created in the sixteenth century in a White-Ruthenian area bordering on the Ukraine.<sup>15</sup>

Vacłaŭ Łastoŭski found two other Ruthenian texts of the MS but published only one of them in 1926.<sup>16</sup> He also pointed out that a bold speech to the Diet by the Smolensk Castellan Meleško had been mentioned in a satirical letter written in Ruthenian purportedly by K. Komunjaka to the Smolensk Voivod (Palatine), Filip Kazimierz Obuchowicz in 1655. He suggested that the MS had been recorded either by Komunjaka himself or by someone “of the same literary school.” His view was supported by Ž. Daūhia in 1927, who provided more biographical data about I. Meleško.<sup>17</sup>

A. Brückner in 1930 dated the MS (as a satire) from about 1610 on the basis of the mention of Ursula (Meierin), stewardess of the royal household.<sup>18</sup> This was an unfounded conclusion because Ursula could have easily been mentioned in the MS at any time from about 1592 (when she was

brought to Poland by Queen Ann the Austrian) to 1622, when Meleško died (cf. fn. 179).

The period between the 1930's and 1950's was not very propitious for the study of the Ukrainian and White-Ruthenian past. The next, but even less convincing, contribution to the investigation of the MS was not made until 1955 when P. Krapivin published a study of the MS. Krapivin assumed that Meleško had actually delivered his speech at the 1609 Diet and had left behind some notes that had then been used by someone after his death (after 1622, but no later than 1632, the date of Sigismund III's death) to create the now extant text; in the process, the faded date 1609 had been read as 1589.<sup>19</sup>

In 1960 P. Jeremenko unconvincingly attempted to attribute the MS to H. Smotryc'kyj (d. 1594).<sup>20</sup>

In 1975 T. Wasilewski claimed that it was Ivan Illja Meleško's father, Ivan Daniłavič, Marshal of Słonim (i.e., chairman of the Słonim county dietine and commander of the nobility's levy en masse), who was "famous for a speech allegedly made at the Diet of 1589."<sup>21</sup> But in 1589 Ivan Daniłavič was long dead (see p. 12).

Authors of the history of the White-Ruthenian literature published in 1977 at Minsk have dated the MS at "the second third of the seventeenth century" without any explanation<sup>22</sup> (apparently placing it between the death of Sigismund III in 1632 and the first known copy of 1663).

The MS has also been discussed in a number of literary histories and other philological works but without anything really new coming to light.<sup>23</sup>

## Ivan Illja Meleško's Biography

A biography of Ivan Illja Meleško (Jan Eliasz Mieleszko in Polish) was written by T. Wasilewski as an entry in the Polish biographical dictionary.<sup>24</sup> Here we shall follow it critically, supplementing and correcting the story where necessary.

The Meleško family (coat of arms "Korčak") came to Black Ruthenia (westernmost part of White Ruthenia) from Volhynia in the fifteenth century. At that time it was known under the name *Meleškovič* (Mialeškovič). Hauryła is known from 1496. His son, Martyn, appears in records after a due interval of one generation, in 1520, as king's courtier and, in 1528, as constable (городничий) of Horadnia (Grodno). His son, Daniła, is mentioned in 1536 as king's courtier and, in 1537, as an heir to parts of the villages of Hluški and Dzieviatkavičy in the Słonim county (again, almost a generation passed from the first mention of the father to that of the son). In the same year 1537 Daniła appears under a new, abbreviated name *Meleško* and receives a privilege from the king to transform Dzieviatkavičy into a town.<sup>25</sup> His son, Ivan, was Marshal of Słonim (as mentioned above on p. 11). In the Słonim county this was a dignity for life.<sup>26</sup> Ivan was dead by January 1, 1558.<sup>27</sup> His widow, Nastasija Ivanaŭna, née Tyškievič, owned part of Dzieviatkavičy and Busiaž (in the same county).

Ivan Illja Meleško was born ca. 1552. On August 1, 1575, "Mr. Ivan Meleško's estate at Dzieviatkavičy" is mentioned,<sup>28</sup> which confirms that he was an adult by that time. By May 1577 he was *subcamerarius* (*подкамориј, podkomorzy*) of Mozyr, i.e., an official trying border disputes, and was asked by King Stephen Batory to act as his envoy to a dietine at Mozyr.<sup>29</sup> By November 26, 1578, he was also deputy starost (*подстампомиј, podstarošci, vice-capitaneus*) of Słonim, i.e., acting town governor, also charged with the function of public notary.<sup>30</sup> He owed his career to Chancellor of the Grand Duchy of Lithuania, Lew Sapieha, whom he served for years. On April 13, 1598, a resolution of the Diet appointed I. I. Meleško in his capacity of the Mozyr *subcamerarius* to a commission on the delimitation of the Mozyr county and the Kyjiv palatinate,<sup>31</sup> a problem which arose after 1569 when, under the Lublin union act (see fn. 107), the Kyjiv palatinate was detached from the Grand Duchy of Lithuania and annexed to the Crown Land (Poland) but without its Mozyr county. The same nomination of Meleško was repeated by the Diet in 1609 and 1611.<sup>32</sup> By 1598 he must have married Hanna Furs (probably much earlier) who was most likely a daughter of the *tribunus* (*войскій, wojski*, responsible for local security during a levy en masse) of Mozyr and land judge of Pyns'k,

Ivan Furs. The latter held by lease half of the village of Kozarovyči and perhaps Rotyči (both owned by the Hornostajs) on the right bank of the Dnieper north of Kyjiv from 1567 on.<sup>33</sup> Meleško's family connection with Ivan Furs is supported by the fact that on July 20, 1598, he claimed Kozarovyči and Rotyči from the Hornostajs and on June 15, 1600, made another such attempt with his wife. In spite of the court's verdict in favor of the Meleškos, the Hornostajs did not let them into the Kozarovyči-Rotyči estate and it remained in the hands of the Hornostajs and their descendants.<sup>34</sup> A judicial record of July 21, 1598, characterizes one of the actions of I. Meleško while Mozyr *subcamerarius*: he returned to the Kyjiv palatinate authorities a female serf who had fled from the village of Remezy in that palatinate adjacent to the Mozyr county.<sup>35</sup> He also served as the Słonim Marshal from February 2, 1602. By April 18, 1603, he was a lessee (*державца, dzierżawca*) of Ždžitava, a royal town in the county of Słonim.<sup>36</sup> On December 6, 1604, he was elected deputy from the Słonim county to the Diet, which was to meet on January 20, 1605. In July 1605 he had a feud with Łukasz Sapieha who invaded Meleško's village of Šaryn in the county of Mozyr (southwest of that town).

By August 16, 1606, Meleško was Castellan of Mścisłaŭ, i.e., palatine's deputy for levy en masse (which he was not yet on August 20, 1605).<sup>37</sup> Of the 37 "senior castellans" (*kasztelanowie wieksi*) who had the right to sit in the Senate, that of Mścisłaŭ was 30th by importance. On that same date, August 16, 1606, he took over half of the village of Žyrovičy near Słonim, including an Orthodox monastery and church, by paying off debts of the formal owner, Ivan Sołtan, to a Jewess Esther.<sup>38</sup> The change of owners was formally legalized on January 12, 1609.<sup>39</sup> Since a castellan was required to have some real estate in the respective palatinates,<sup>40</sup> it is possible that Meleško also had some possessions in the Mścisłaŭ area. On September 23, 1606, as a senator, he signed resolutions of a convention at Noūharadok condemning the Zebrzydowski rebellion against the king and assigning funds for the Lithuanian army in Livonia.

By July 25, 1609, the Žyrovičy church embraced Uniatism.<sup>41</sup> It is probable that Ivan Illja Meleško converted to Uniatism around the same time, having been convinced to do so by the famous Union propagator (later saint) Josafat Kuncevyc.<sup>42</sup> In 1610 Meletij Smotryčkyj deplored the Meleško family's conversion, numbering it among the "invaluable jewels, ( . . . ) famous, magnanimous, strong and old houses of the Ruthenian nation" who had abandoned the Orthodox Church for Uniatism.<sup>43</sup> Since I. I. Meleško was the most prominent among the Meleškos, this must be about him and his immediate family.

On June 10, 1610, Meleško left the post of the Mścisłaŭ Castellan to his

successor and received the appointment to the Berestja (Brest) Castellan on June 12.<sup>44</sup> This promoted him to the 28th place in the hierarchy of senior castellans. On February 19, 1613, he was included among the Residents (a body of four senators living with the king as his advisers for a year).<sup>45</sup> In that year, J. Kuncevych convinced Meleško to found a Uniate monastery on the site of the former Orthodox one at Žyrovičy. On October 29, 1613, I. Meleško gave his first donation charter to the Žyrovičy Uniate monastery of St. Basil, complying with the wishes of Kuncevych and the Uniate Metropolitan at Kyiv, Veljamyn Ruts'kyj.<sup>46</sup>

At the beginning of 1615 Meleško received the post of Smolensk Castellan<sup>47</sup> (eighteenth by importance among senior castellans). Meleško's appointment was probably accompanied by a grant of real estate in that palatinate after its recent recapture from Muscovy (1609-11).

In the last period of his life, the health of Meleško deteriorated to the point that he was unable to attend the Diets in 1616, 1618 and 1620. However, Krapivin's conclusion, from these facts, that Meleško could not have been present at any Diet session during his years as Smolensk Castellan<sup>48</sup> is incorrect; during Meleško's term in that capacity, other Diets were held in 1615, 1619 and 1621. The above-mentioned letter by K. Komunjaka to F. Obuchowicz of 1655 (see p. 10) clearly states:

I remember well that when Mr. Meleška was the Smolensk Castellan I, being at the Diet at that time, stood behind him with my dagger.<sup>49</sup> His speech was as follows: "Gentlemen, I tell you the truth: there is no use for very wise people in this world; in three minutes they would make gold of mud and mud of gold<sup>50</sup> [з болота чынъять золото, а зъ золота болото] with their imposturous speeches and talks to cheat us, simple people, and to make fools of us, but before he manages to do so he will become a simpleton himself. He has swollen in the Senate like a turkey cock and you don't ask him for truth, all is misleading talk. He sides with the crowd: yes, yes, yes, but if you say: this is not so, he does not even want to make a peep." He [Meleško] was not afraid of King Sigismund and all the senators and he could not more than read the Horologium and the Psalter.<sup>51</sup>

If Kyprijan Komunjaka really was the author of the letter to Obuchowicz (Komunjaka's name does not directly appear in the two texts known to us), he could have known I. Meleško from the Mozyr county because the Komunjaka/Komunjaka noble family originated from that area<sup>52</sup> and the letter to Obuchowicz contains several references to Mozyr.<sup>53</sup>

Although I. Meleško held a castellan office in the easternmost periphery of the Commonwealth, he rather liked to stay at the other end of the Grand Duchy, in his native Black Ruthenia, in the vicinity of Slonim and Horadnia. No wonder; there was not much to do for a castellan at

Smolensk. One can doubt that the levy en masse was ever mobilized there during the Commonwealth's second rule of Smolensk (1611-54). In 1621 and 1654 the Diet specifically exempted Smolensk from that duty because the province constantly bore burdens of military alert as a border area.<sup>54</sup> One can assume that things were not different between 1615 and 1621. Our assumption about Meleško as an absentee dignitary of Smolensk seems to be confirmed by the facts of his life from 1615 on. All of them point to Black Ruthenia.

Thus we find him on June 5, 1617, on his family estate at Dzieviatkavičy, dictating a letter in Polish to the Lithuanian Field Hetman, Prince Krzysztof Radziwiłł, his "gracious benefactor," asking him to help his son-in-law, Andrzej Przećławski (obviously a Pole) in his career. In this letter Meleško describes himself as "an old servant" of the Prince, ready to "serve eternally, with my children, Your Princely Highness" (see Appendix IV).

On December 17 of the same year Hetman Radziwiłł's brother, Janusz, who had lived in exile in Brandenburg since his participation in the unsuccessful Zebrzydowski rebellion against Sigismund III, mentioned Meleško in a rather unfavorable context in his letter to Krzysztof. Explaining why he preferred to live in exile, Janusz wrote:

Because who does not prefer to be foremost in any mean village than to be hindermost in the best town? Here I can always meet the Emperor, the kings and the leading princes and this is more honorable than to have to look at the back of the Kossobuckis and Mieleszkos and to see the wife of Antoni, the organist, rub shoulders with our spouses.<sup>55</sup>

Janusz Radziwiłł was obviously incensed by the fact that such an inferior person as Ivan Meleško was a senator. (As for Adam Kossobucki, Janusz had special reasons to dislike him because, as the head of the royal commission to the Prussian provincial Diet, Kossobucki had come out sharply against the Brandenburg Elector who was Janusz Radziwiłł's friend, host and father-in-law.)

In 1618 Meleško's wife died.<sup>56</sup> During the funeral a Žyrovičy monk asked Meleško to renew legally his former charter for the monastery in memory of his late wife. This he did by an act dated May 15, 1618, and announced to the Słonim city court.<sup>57</sup> On May 23, 1618, Meleško reported his action to Metropolitan Ruts'kyj in a letter dated from Busiaż. We learn from the letter that Meleško also had an estate at Sporava in the same county of Słonim.<sup>58</sup> At the same time he handed over all documents concerning the possession of the Žyrovičy church and monastery to J. Kuncevyč (later lost when Kuncevyč was killed by Orthodox rioters).<sup>59</sup>

On January 5, 1621, Meleško dictated a letter to Prince K. Radziwiłł in Polish from the town of Voūpa (Wołpa) in Horadnia county which was owned by Chancellor Sapieha. In it he expressed his condolences on the occasion of the death of K. Radziwiłł's brother, Janusz, who died on December 3, 1620. Meleško was ready to come to the funeral<sup>60</sup> "if Our Almighty Lord gives me health" and "because I have been for a long time and still am a servant to the whole house of Your Princely Highness" (see Appendix IV). In his signature Meleško slipped into half-Ruthenian *milostiwę* instead of *milosciwę* (= *milościwego* "gracious"). Both letters to K. Radziwiłł were signed by Meleško in a trembling hand and in the archaic orthography of an old man.

On October 21, 1621, Meleško bought from Lew Sapieha the latter's half of Žyrovičy.<sup>61</sup>

Ivan Illja Meleško died on May 13, 1622.

## Description of the Meleško Speech Texts

*The Dunin text* (D): “Mowa JWJP. Iwana Mieleszki, Kasztelana Smoleń, na Seymie w Warszawie za Króla Zygmunta miana 1589,” in manuscript no. 6608 of the National Library at Warsaw, containing copies of historical materials, mostly from 1547-1632, written in the first half of the eighteenth century for Aleksy Dunin, the titulary Head Cook (*kuchmistrz, praefectus culinae*) of the Grand Duchy of Lithuania, Count of Skrzynno and Starost (subprefect, *capitaneus*) of Chęciny, who died in 1750.<sup>62</sup> One of the ancestors of the Dunin family, Hieronim, hereditary owner of Gielnów and swordbearer (*miecznik, ensifer*) of Sandomierz, was the 1647 Diet’s commissioner “to pay the Smolensk infantry.”<sup>63</sup> Another Dunin, Marcin, held an estate at Jurkino in the Smolensk palatinat in 1654.<sup>64</sup> The copy of the MS (pp. 112-13) is in the Polish Latin alphabet (often using the archaic *ȝ* where more modern manuscripts of the eighteenth century have an *sz*). Some difficulties are created by the poor differentiation of *t* from *ł* in this copy. It was obviously copied from a text also in the Polish alphabet, as can be assumed from *duzniu* (phrase 28) and *sławku* or *stawku* (133) distorted from *durniu* and *staroho* (such distortions would be less explicable from the Cyrillic).

*The Czartoryski text* (Cz): “Mowa IWMC Pana Iwana Mieleszki Kasztelana Smoleń na Seymie w Warszawie za Krola Zygmunta miana 1589,” in manuscript no. 1662 of the Czartoryski Library at Cracow under the title *Pisma różne za panowania Zygmunta III i następnych do Jana III włącznie*, containing texts from the sixteenth to eighteenth centuries. The manuscript is marked with the Czartoryski coat of arms, which is also that of the Grand Duchy of Lithuania (“Pogoń”). One of the ancestors of that family, Mikołaj Janusz Czartoryski, took part in the Smolensk campaigns of 1609-11 and 1633. He died at Klevan’ in Volhynia in 1662.<sup>64a</sup> The MS (pp. 458-61) is written in the Polish alphabet. The distorted *Stawku*, which betrays the Polish alphabet as the basis of the copy, also appears here.

*The Sierakowski text* (S): “Ciekawa mowa JW. Iwana Mieleszki, kasztelana smoleńskiego, na sejmie w Warszawie za króla Zygmunta III miana r. 1589, z rękopisu Józefa hr. Sierakowskiego,” published by J. Ursyn Niemcewicz in his *Zbiór pamiętników o dawnej Polszcze*, II, Warsaw 1822, pp. 341-44. The ancestors of the Sierakowski family are known from the wars against Muscovy of the early seventeenth century: Marcin or Marcjan Sierakowski, plenipotentiary of the starost of Felin (in Livonia), received

money to pay soldiers at Smolensk in 1610.<sup>65</sup> Jan Sierakowski was cavalry officer (*commilito*) in Marchocki's detachment (*comitiva*) in the war against Muscovy in 1613 and another Sierakowski served in Młocki's detachment in 1613 in the same war.<sup>66</sup> The Sierakowski manuscript was later lost,<sup>67</sup> so one has to rely on Niemcewicz's version, which is a superficial translation into Polish. Fortunately, this version contains so many Ruthenianisms that the underlying Ruthenian text can frequently be seen through the Polish. Sierakowski's manuscript was obviously written in the Polish alphabet as can be seen from Niemcewicz's mistakes due to similarity of the Polish *t* and *ł*: *żubtem* (79), *rżał* (86), *kobiet* (87) from *zubłem*, *rżat* and *kobył*. *Podrwił* (10) and *Stany* (12) from \**podiwił* and *staryie* can also be explained from the Polish alphabet.

*The Strawiński text* (St): "Votum JWJP<sup>a</sup> Mieleszki Kasztelana Smoleńiana [sic] na Seymie w Warszawie za Króla Zygmunta Roku 1589," manuscript no. TNW 29/2-47 of the Warsaw University Library under the title *Ręką-pis, czyli zbiór rozmaitych pisem, jako to politycznych, krajowych, historycznych i ciekawych etc. pisem literackich, filozoficznych, moralnych, matematycznych, architektoniki, malarstwa, rysunków etc., pisem ekonomicznych, gospodarstwa domowego, polowego, leśnego, ogrodowego, praktyk różnych sposobów, sekretów etc., takож некоторых практик і прописів ( . . . ) lekarskich etc., poczęty ab anno 1768.* The latest dated text in the collection is from 1771. The materials of the manuscript were collected by the Strawiński family of Nakryški near Słonim. Two ancestors of that family were involved in the wars in and against Muscovy in the early seventeenth century: Hieronim Strawiński served with Dmitrij II the Impostor (ca. 1610) as a company (*chorągiew*) commander;<sup>68</sup> Balcer Strawiński was appointed one of the commissioners to advise Crown Prince Ladislas in his campaign against Moscow in 1617-18, a campaign whose base was Smolensk.<sup>69</sup> By 1620 he was starost of Mozyr and later, from 1631, palatine of Minsk.<sup>70</sup> Certain mistakes show that this text of the MS (pp. 971-73) was also copied from the Polish alphabet: (*t* and *ł* are confused) *tycho* (34), *Tałka* (53), *obasta* (54), *kazał* (127) instead of *tycho*, *Tutaka*, *obrosła*, *kazat*; (*Ł* and *Ż* confused) *Życzyty* (13) instead of *Łyczyty*; (*z* and *r* confused) *rubлом* (79) instead of *zubłom*. The underlying text was obviously entitled "Mowa," etc. (like other copies of the MS), and a trace of this feminine noun has remained in the participle *miana*.

*The Ossoliński text* (O): "Mowa JWJP. Iwana Mieleszka Kasztelana Smoleńskiego miana Seymie [sic] w Warszawie za Króla Zygmunta 1589 wypisana z Kronik Gwagnina," manuscript no. 249 of the Ossoliński National Institution (Ossolineum), written in several hands in the eighteenth century.

An ancestor of the Ossoliński family whose collections were a basis for Ossolineum, Jerzy Ossoliński, participated in the Moscow campaign of Crown Prince Ladislas in 1617-18 whose headquarters was at Smolensk. From 1643 on he was Crown Chancellor. He died at Warsaw in 1650.<sup>71</sup> The MS is item 37 of the manuscript (pp. 76-78). It was probably copied from a text written in an archaic Polish orthography, as shown by *Bohageśmo* (2) in contrast to *Bohairesmo* in other texts. *G* for the present *j* (which was widely introduced only in the early nineteenth century) was a medieval Polish spelling borrowed from the Czech but was replaced with an *i* or *y* by Cracow printing offices in the early sixteenth century. However, old habits still persisted in manuscripts for a long time.<sup>72</sup> Some typographers also continued the *g = j* in the second half of the sixteenth century (e.g., the Czech A. Aujezdecký in the 1550's). Ł. Górnicki proposed using this spelling as late as 1594.<sup>73</sup> Thus, we can assume that the writer of the text from which O was copied was a person who had learned this spelling as early as the sixteenth century. The erroneous *tulko* (53), *Aże* (80) and *setnyi* (105) instead of *tutka*, *Ałe* and *syłyti* further confirm that the underlying model of O was written in the Polish alphabet. The reference to A. Gwagnin's (and M. Paszkowski's) *Kronika Sarmacji europejskiej* (Cracow, 1611) is false.

*The Poniński text* (P): "Mowa JWJM Pana Iwana Mieleszki Kasztelana Smoleńskiego na Sejmie w Warszawie za Króla Zygmunta III. miana," in manuscript no. 966 of the Czartoryski Library containing miscellanea from the history of Poland, fourteenth to eighteenth centuries, written in the eighteenth century and entitled *Pisma różne za Stanisława Augusta*. The manuscript was inherited by its owner from Poniński. The MS is on pp. 457-58. It was written in the Polish alphabet with one modern innovation: the softness of final consonants is marked with an apostrophe (*myłos'*, phr. 3, etc.). It is probably an indication that the copy is from the very end of the eighteenth century. P was also copied from a text in the Polish alphabet, as shown by the mistaken *pobrykiwat* (48), *betyie* (98), *kazały* (127) and *radyt* (134) instead of *perebrykiwał* or *pobrykiwał*, *hetylie*, *kazaty* and *radył* (the common confusion of *t* and *t* as well as the confusion of *b* and *h* which is less common but possible in the Latin alphabet). It is obviously from that older copy that some archaic (Gothic) characters have penetrated to P (β, f). The change of one word (phr. 2) shows that the text was being edited while copied.

*The Bielski text* (B): "Roku 1663 mca july 20 dnia. Mowa kasztelana Smolenskiego Mieleszki miana roku 1589 na Sejmie w Warszawie. Pisalem Michał Bielski Strażnik Wojewodztwa Brzeskiego," from papers of the

Turiv-Pyns'k (Turaū-Pinsk) Uniate bishopric (with its center at Pyns'k until its liquidation by Russia in 1839), published by V. Łastoński, *Historyja bielaruskaj (kryūskaj) knihi*, Kaunas, 1926, pp. 446-49. An ancestor of the Bielski family, Stefan, was supposed to represent Jerzy Karol Hlebowicz, starost of Samogitia, in the defense of Smolensk against Muscovites in June 1654 but was sick at that time.<sup>74</sup> The MS was written in a Cyrillic alphabet of White-Ruthenian origin, as shown by the letter ё<sup>75</sup>, the frequent replacement of *n* with an *e* and the hypercorrect *дюбали* instead of \**ձյոբали*, which betrays the White-Ruthenian affrication of *d'* (*dziekannie*). But this Cyrillic text shows traces of an older copy in the old Polish alphabet, as proven by the mistaken *хваленъ дыфзовую* (63) from \**chwalendyżbowuiu* (with a Gothic *þ*) as well as by *сэнтэнтий* (8), *сенментии* (135) from \**sententii* (a Latin spelling) and our familiar *стаку* (133) from \**staroho* (cf. p. 17).

*The Wiszniewski printed text (W<sub>1</sub>):* Published in the Polish alphabet in the posthumous edition of M. Wiszniewski's (d. 1848) work *Historia literatury polskiej*, vol. 8, Cracow, 1851, pp. 480-84, "from manuscripts of Chancellor Chreptowicz at Šcorsy" (the Chancellor of the Grand Duchy of Lithuania, Joachim Litawor Chreptowicz, who founded a library on his estate of Šcorsy in the Noūharadok [Nowogródek] area and died in 1812). An ancestor of the Chreptowicz family, Jerzy Chreptowicz, participated in the Commonwealth's campaign against Muscovy in 1615 (when Smolensk was besieged by Muscovites and small Lithuanian-Polish forces fought them by hit-and-run tactics) and was Castellan of Smolensk from 1632 to 1643.<sup>76</sup> The system of the Polish orthography used in this text of the MS is more archaic than in other Ruthenian texts published by Wiszniewski in transliteration from Cyrillic (e.g., *y* and *i* as against *j* in transliterations); this shows that what Wiszniewski had from Šcorsy was already in the Polish alphabet (its old version). Some mistakes are also more possible in the Polish alphabet than in the Cyrillic: *wie* (32), *chwalen-dyfzowuiu* (63), *zarywali* (116) and *stawku* (133) instead of *wże*, *chwalendyżbowuiu* (cf. above) and *staroho* (cf. p. 17 and this page above). The Chreptowicz library collection was later taken from Šcorsy to what is now the State Public Library of the Academy of Sciences of the Ukrainian SSR at Kyjiv but it reportedly does not have the MS.<sup>77</sup>

*The Wiszniewski manuscript text (W<sub>2</sub>):* "Mowa Mieleszki Kasztelana Smoleńskiego miana na Seymie w Warszawie za Krola Zygmunta III r. 1589 wyjęta z rękopismów Kanclerza Chreptowicza w Sczorcach" preserved in the archives of Michał Wiszniewski in the Jagiellonian Library at Cracow (manuscript no. 949, fascicle 238, folios 12-13).<sup>78</sup> It is not the copy from

which Wiszniewski made his publication. Whereas it has the same mistaken *wie*, *zarywali* and *stawku* as W<sub>1</sub>, it uses *chwalendyszowuiu* in a correct and graphically modernized form (without any Gothic letters, although in some other words the Gothic f is preserved). If one assumed that the W<sub>1</sub> is a copy of W<sub>2</sub>, this difference would be inexplicable. Therefore, one is bound to accept the conclusion that Wiszniewski received two parallel copies from Ščorsy of which he printed one (W<sub>1</sub>), whereas the other (W<sub>2</sub>) remained in his scrap materials.

*The Kojalovič text* (K): “Рѣчь Ивана Мелешка, каштеляна смоленского, произнесенная на варшавскомъ сеймѣ 1589 года въ присутствіи короля Сигизмунда III (заимствована изъ фамильного архива графовъ Хрептовичей въ Щерсахъ),” published in *Vestnik Jugo-Zapadnoj i Zapadnoj Rossii*, 1, Kyjiv, August 1862, section 1, pp. 91-97. The MS was supplied to the editorial board by M. Kojalovič. It was “an exact transcript from a faithful copy he had found in the archives of a parish church of the [Orthodox] Minsk Eparchy,” (created by Russia in 1793), as the editors explained. They omitted “some expressions offending the sense of decency” and marked them with dots. But the dots were applied only to the rather innocent word *кобыль* (87), while really offensive words were left intact. Although the MS was published in the Cyrillic alphabet (confusing e and ю in a White-Ruthenian or Russian manner), its base (whether that found by Kojalovič or the base of that base) was obviously in the Polish alphabet, as shown by the mistaken *крутыль* (94) instead of \**крутыть*, due to the typical Polish confusion of l and t, as well as *тумага* (53) instead of \**тумака* (from *tutaka* where k could be easily misread as h) and *Дабы* (121) instead of \**Далей* (from *Daley* with le mistaken for a b).

*The Kostomariv-Kuliš text* (KK): “Рѣчь Ивана Мелешка, каштеляна смоленского, произнесенная имъ на варшавскомъ сеймѣ 1589 года въ присутствіи короля Сигисмунда III,” published in *Akty, otnosjaščiesja k istorii Južnoj i Zapadnoj Rossii*, vol. 2, St. Petersburg, 1865, no. 158, pp. 188-190, in the Cyrillic alphabet without any explanation of the provenance of the text. Here too, as in K, the erroneous *крутыль* and *Да бы* reveal an underlying text in the Polish alphabet. Praškovič attributes to Kostomariv the “introduction of a number of Ukrainianisms into the text.”<sup>79</sup> This is an unfounded “reproach” because all MS texts have Ukrainianisms. In another of his works Kostomariv quoted excerpts from the MS in a Russian translation, mentioning that he was taking those excerpts from “a manuscript.”<sup>80</sup>

*The Mirskij text* (M): Łastoŭski mentioned that he also had a text of the MS in the Latin alphabet of the eighteenth century from V. Svatopolk-

Mirskij but he did not publish it. He only said that “the two copies [B and M] are almost identical to the earlier printed texts [i.e., W<sub>1</sub>, K and KK], except for insignificant details.”<sup>81</sup> An ancestor of the Svatopolk-Mirskij family (Russianized in modern times but originally White-Ruthenian), Hryhory Mirski, participated in the Lithuanian-Polish war against Muscovy, which ended in 1618, then fought again against Muscovy near Smolensk in 1633 and near Bielaja in the Smolensk area in 1634. In 1640 he participated in the Smolensk dietine, which means that he was a permanent resident in the Smolensk area. In 1647 he was a member of the Diet’s commission for paying the Smolensk infantry (like Hieronim Dunin, see p. 17). In 1652 he received hereditary rights to his Kaspla leasehold in the Smolensk palatinate. On June 9, 1654, five of his men represented him in the last defense of Smolensk against Muscovy.<sup>82</sup> He died at Śluck in 1661.<sup>83</sup> Another Mirski, Hieronim, bought the estate of Ryšyna in the same Smolensk palatinate and was also represented in the 1654 defense by one man.<sup>84</sup> Because the Mirski family believed that they came from Prince Svatopolk of Turiv, son of Volodymyr the Great,<sup>85</sup> they later adopted Svatopolk as part of their surname.

For more details about the texts see the chapter “Interrelations of the Texts” (pp. 79-102).

## Synopsis of the MS Texts

In order to make the MS textology easier, the whole speech is divided into numbered phrases, which are juxtaposed below. An English translation is added at the end of each phrase. The S text is not taken into account in this translation. Textual variants are enclosed in ( ) in the translation, whereas additional information is in [ ]. The sequence of texts is the same as in the above description.

1.

D Nayiasnieyszÿ Miłostwy Korolu<sup>86</sup>, y na mene Łaskawyie, Panowie  
Bratia,<sup>87</sup>

Cz Nayiasnieyszÿ Miłostwy Korolu, y na mene Łaskawyie Panowie  
Bratia,

S NAYIASNIEY MIŁOŚCIWY KROLU, I NA MNIE ŁASKAWI  
PANOWIE BRACIA.

St Nayiasnieyszÿ Miłostwy Korolu i namene łaskawyj Panowe  
Bratia:

O Nayiasnieyszÿ miłostwy Korolu y wy namene Laskawyj Panowie  
Bratia,

P Nayiasneyszy Myłostwy Korolu y wy na mene Łaskawye Panowe  
Bratya y Dobrodeje.

B Ha(й)яснейши м(л)стивы королю. и на мене ласкавы(е) панове  
брата.

W<sub>1</sub> Nayiaśnieyszÿ Miłostwy Korolu i na mienia łaskawyie Panowie  
Bratia!

W<sub>2</sub> Nayiaśnieyszÿ Miłostwy Korolu i na mienia łaskawyie Panowie  
Bratcia!

K Найяснѣй милостивый король и на меня ласкавыя паны  
братія.

KK Найяснѣй(шій) милостивый король и на меня ласкавыя паны  
братія!

Most gracious Royal Majesty and you (P: my good), gentlemen  
brothers, kind to me!

2.

D wyiechawszy z domu Boha iesmasie pomoliw szczoby kwam zdorow  
pryiechau

24 *Pseudo-Meleško*

- Cz wyiechawszy, z domu Bohaiesmosia pomoliw,<sup>88</sup> szczoby kwam zedorow  
 pryiechau,
- S Wyiechawszy z domu, prosiłem Boga, abym ku wam zdrowo  
 przyiechał,
- St Wyichauszy z Domu Bohaiesmo pomołyku Szczoby kwam zedorow  
 pryichau
- O wyiechawszy z domu Bohageśmo pomołyły, szczoby gwam zedorow  
 pryichaw
- P Wyiechawszy<sup>89</sup> ia z domu Bohuse pomoływszy szczoby k wam zedorow  
 pryiechał
- B Выеха(в)ши з дому богу ся помоли(л) штоб к ва(м) здоров  
 приеха(л)
- W<sub>1</sub> Wyiechawszy z domu Bohum sia ia pomolił cztoby k wam zedorow  
 pryiechał,
- W<sub>2</sub> Wyiechawszy z domu Bohum sia ia pomolił cztoby k Wam zedorow  
 pryiechał,
- K Выѣхавши з дому Богумъ ся помолилъ чтобы к Вамъ здоровъ  
 приѣхаль,
- KK Выѣхавши зъ дому, Богу-мъ ся помолилъ, чтобы къ вамъ здоровъ  
 приѣхаль
- Having left home, I prayed to God I might come to you in health

3.

- 
- D da y waszu Miłost zedorowo ohladał, da y prywitał;
- Cz da y waszu Miłost zedorowo ohladał, da y prywitał;
- S i waſze miłośćci zdrowe oglądał, i przywitał.
- St day Waszuiu Miłost zedorowo ohlodał day prywitał
- O y Waszuiu miłość zedorowo ohledał y powitaw.
- P da i waszuiu myłost' zedorowych ohledał, da y prwytał.
- B да и вашу м(л)ость здоровы(x) огледа(л).
- W<sub>1</sub> da i waszu miłost' zedorowych ohladał da i prywitał.
- W<sub>2</sub> da i Waszu Miłost' zedorowych ohladał da i prywitał.
- K да Вашу милость здоровыхъ огледаль да и привиталь.
- KK да вашу милость здоровыхъ огледаль, и привиталь.  
 and I might see Your Majesty in health<sup>90</sup> and welcome you.

4.

- 
- D Pryszo mi zwami radity, a Ia na hetych ziezdach<sup>91</sup> nikoli nie bywał,
- Cz Pryszo mi z wami radity, a Ia na hetych ziezdach nikoli nie bywał,
- S Przychodzi mi z wami radzić, a ia na takich ziazdach nigdy nie bywał,

St Pryszoł mini zwami Radyty aia na hetakich ziezdach y zrodu niebywał  
 O Pryszoł mini z wami radyty, a Ia na hetych zizdach nykoły nebuwaw  
 P Przyszło mni z wamy radyty, a ia na hetych ziezdach nykoły nebuwał,  
 B Пришло мне з вами радити. а я на таки(х) зъезды(х) николи не  
     быва(л).

W<sub>1</sub> Pryszoł mni z wamy radyty, a ia na hetakich ziezdach nikoli nie bywał  
 W<sub>2</sub> Pryszoł meni<sup>92</sup> z Wamy radyty, a ia na hetakich ziezdach nikoli nie  
     bywał

K Прошло мене з Вами радыты, а я на гетакихъ зъѣздахъ няколи не  
     бывалъ

KK Пришло менъ зъ вами радыти, а я на гетакихъ зъѣздахъ няколи  
     не бывалъ

It's fallen to my lot to deliberate with you and I've never (St: in my life) been at these (St, B, W<sub>1</sub>, W<sub>2</sub>, K, KK: such) meetings

5.

---

D y z Korolami Iego Miłosty nikoli nie zasedał,

Cz y z korolami, Iego Miłosti nikoli nezasedał,

S i z Królami Jchmością nigdy nie zasiadał,

St y z Korolami Iehomiłosty nezasiadał

O y z Korolami Ieho miłosty nezasiedał,

P i z Korolami Ich myłosty nykoły nezasedał.

B и з короле(м) его м(и)лостю николи не засѣда(л).

W<sub>1</sub> i z korolom Jěho miłostiu nikoli nezasiedał,

W<sub>2</sub> i z Korolem Ieho miłostiu nikoli nie zasiedał;

K и з королемъ ѿего милостю николи не засѣдалъ

KK и зъ королемъ ѿего милостю николи не засѣдалъ;

and have never had sessions with Their Royal Majesties (B, W<sub>1</sub>, W<sub>2</sub>, K, KK: His Royal Majesty).

6.

---

D tolkom tu<sup>93</sup> za uspokoiennikow<sup>94</sup> Kniaziow naszych

Cz tolkōm tu za Uspokojennikow Kniaziow naszych,

S bo za nieboszczyków, Wielkich Xiążąt naszych Litewskich,

St tolko pomniu zauspokoienikow Kniaziow naszych

O tolki pomlu za pokoinykow Gniaziow naszych,

P Tolko kemlu<sup>95</sup> za uspokoiennykow kniaziów naszych,

B только за князе(и) наши(х)

W<sub>1</sub> tolko za pokoinikow Kniaziow naszych

W<sub>2</sub> tolko za pokoinikow Kniaziow naszych

**K** только за покойниковъ князевъ нашихъ,  
**KK** только за покойниковъ князевъ нашихъ,  
 I only remember that under our late princes<sup>96</sup>

- 
7. \_\_\_\_\_
- D Kotoryie Korolowali, szto Woiewodami bywali,  
 Cz ktotoryie korolowali, szto Wojewodami bywali,  
 S  
 St kotoryi Korolowały szczo Woiewodami buwały  
 O kotoryi Korolowały szczo Woiewodami buwały,  
 P kotorye Korolowały, szczo wojewodami buwały.  
 B котори(е) королевали и котори(е) воеводами быва(ли)  
 W<sub>1</sub> kotorye korolowali, czto woiewodami bywali.  
 W<sub>2</sub> kotoryie<sup>97</sup> korolowali, czto Woiewodami bywali -  
 K которые королевали, что воеводами бывали  
 KK которые королевали, что воеводами бывали,  
     who were kings only insofar as they were commanders (B: who were  
     kings and who were commanders)

- 
8. \_\_\_\_\_
- D sentencyi niebywało, po prostu prawym Sercem howoryli,  
 Cz Sentencyi nie bywało, po prostu prawym Sercem howoryli,  
 S sentencyi nie bywało, po prostu oni prawem sercem, howoryli,  
 St Sentencyi niebywało poprostu prawym sercom howorywały,  
 O Sentencyi nebuwało poprostuse prawom Sercom howoryły,  
 P Sentencyy nebywało peredtym, po prostu prawym sercom howorywały,  
 B сэнтэнци(й) ты(х) не быва(ло). правы(м) сер(д)це(м) просто гово-  
     ри(ли).  
 W<sub>1</sub> Sentencyi hetych nie bywało, po prostu prawym sercom howoryli.  
 W<sub>2</sub> Sentencyi hetych nie bywało; po prostu prawym Sercom howoryli -  
 K сентенциі гетакихъ небывало, по просту правымъ серцемъ го-  
     врояли,  
 KK сентенций гетакихъ не бывало, попросту правымъ сердцемъ гово-  
     рили;  
     there were no (B, W<sub>1</sub>, W<sub>2</sub>: such) speeches (P: before), people simply  
     spoke straight from their hearts,

- 
9. \_\_\_\_\_
- D polityki nie znawali, a w brod prawdoju iak sŁoŁoju<sup>98</sup> w oczy kidywali,  
 Cz polityki nieznawali, a w brod prawdoju jak Słotoju w oczy kidywali,

- S polityki nieznali, i w oczy złotą prawdę mowili;  
 St Polityki neznawały awrot prandoiu kak złotoju w oczy kidywały  
 O polityki neznawały a wprud prawdoiak stotoiu woczy kidały,  
 P a u brod prawdoiak, iak slotoiu w oczy kidywały.  
 B политыки не зна(ли). а у ротъ правдо(ю) як соле(ю) въ очи  
   кидыва(ли).  
 W<sub>1</sub> Polityki nie znali, a w rot prawdoiukak soleju w oczy kidowali.  
 W<sub>2</sub> Polityki nie znali, a wrót<sup>99</sup> prawdoiukak soleju w oczy kidowali -  
 K политики не знали, а правдою в ротъ якъ солю въ глаза  
   кидывали.  
 KK политики не знали, а правдою въ ротъ, яко солю въ глаза,  
   кидывали.  
 they knew no polished manners but threw the truth into faces  
 (D, Cz, P: by fording) like salt into eyes.<sup>99a</sup>

- 
10. \_\_\_\_\_
- D choc kto podywił, da pak niczoho nie uczyńił  
 Cz choc kto podywił, da pak niczoho nie uczyńił,  
 S choć kto podrwił, to z dobréy chęci.  
 St achoczay chto podywił da Pakiniczoho neuczynił<sup>100</sup>  
 O a choczay kto y podywyw-dabak nyczoho neuczynyw.  
 P Chocz chto podywył, da nyczoho neuczynił.  
 B  
 W<sub>1</sub>  
 W<sub>2</sub>  
 K  
 KK

Even if anybody marvelled at this he would do nothing, however.

- 
11. \_\_\_\_\_
- D Skoroz Korole bolsz Niemcow niz nas polubili  
 Cz szkorosz Korole bolsz Niemcow niz nas polubili,  
 S Ale skoro Króle, bardziény Niemców, niż nas polubili,  
 St Skoroz koroli bolsz Niemcow niż nas polubyły  
 O Skoroż Koroli Bulsz nimcow iak nas polubyły,  
 P Skoro Korole bolsz Nemców nyż nas polubyły,  
 B Скоро(ж) короли больш немце(в) як на(с) улюби(ли). почали на(ми)  
   шебу(н)ковати.  
 W<sub>1</sub> Skoroż koroli bolsze niemcow niż nas ulubili,  
 W<sub>2</sub> Skoroż koroli bolsze niemcow niż nas ulubili,

**K** Скорожъ короліи больше нѣмцевъ какъ нась улюбили,

**KK** Скоро жъ короли больше Нѣмцевъ якъ нась улюбили,

But as soon as the kings came to love Germans more than us<sup>101</sup> (B:  
they started to manipulate us)

12.

**D** Zaraz szto staryie zobrały, to wsio tot<sup>102</sup> Niemcom rozdały

**Cz** zaraz szto staryie zobrały, to wsio tot Niemcom rozdały

**S** zaraz, co Stany zebrały, to Niemcom rozdały,

**St** zaraz szczo Starye zebrały to wse toje Nemcom rozdały

**O** az zaraz szczo staryi zebrały, to wse Toie Nemcom rozdały,

**P** zaraz szczo starye batki naszyie zobrały, to wsio to Nemcom rozdały

**B** и што стары(е) наши князи собрали то все немцо(м) розда(ли).

**W<sub>1</sub>** zaraz szto staryie naszyie sobrali, to wsio niemcom rozdali.

**W<sub>2</sub>** zaraz szto staryie naszyie sobrali, to wsio niemcom rozdali -

**K** заразъ што наше старшие собрали, то все нѣмцомъ роздали.

**KK** заразъ што наше старшие собрали, то все Нѣмцомъ роздали

they immediately gave away to the Germans all that the (P, W<sub>1</sub>, W<sub>2</sub>, K,

KK: our) ancestors (P: fathers, B: princes) had accumulated.

13.

**D** Naſyie Hospodary,<sup>103</sup> Krom Augusta Zygmunta Korola toho nieczoho,  
y w Ludzie liczytÿ,

**Cz** Naszyie Hospodary krom Augusta Zygmunta Korola, teho nieczoho  
y w Ludzie Liczytÿ,

**S** nasze Hospodary, iak Zygmunt August,

**St** naszyi Hospodary krom Auhusta Korola tych neczoho y w Lude  
Życzyty

**O** naszyi hospodary,

**P** naszyie Hospodary. Krom Augusta Zygmunta Korola, toho niczoho  
iwludie łczyty,

**B** наше(е) господары. проч Жикмо(н)та короля. того нечего и въ  
люди личити.

**W<sub>1</sub>** Naszyie hospodary, procz Zygmunta Auhusta korola (toho nie czecho  
w ludy liczyty)

**W<sub>2</sub>** Naszyie hospodary, prócz Zygmunta Auhusta korola /: toho nieczeho  
w ludy liczyty:/

**K** Наше господары пручъ Зыгмунта короля (того нечего въ люди  
личитъ)<sup>103a</sup>

КК нашие господары. Пручъ Зыгмунта короля (того ничего въ люды  
личыть,

Those were our rulers except for King Sigismund Augustus:<sup>104</sup> there's  
no point even counting him (St: them) among human beings

14.

- 
- D botot Podlasze, y Wołyń wyniszczyw u Lachow mienuczy się, sam  
byt<sup>105</sup> Lachom,  
Cz bo tot Podlasze y Wołyń wyniszczyw, u Lachow mienuczy się,  
Sam był Lachom,  
S co sam będąc Lachem, Lachom Podlasie i Wołyń oddał :  
St boto y Podlasze y Wołyń wyiszczywał Lachom Minuczyce sam byt  
Lachom,  
O  
P bo toy Podlaszye y Wołyń u Lachów zostawył, menuczyse<sup>106</sup> sam byt  
Lachom  
B бо подляше и волынь наш вытр(а)ти(в) ляхо(м) менечися.  
W<sub>1</sub> bo toy Podlasie i Wołyń wyniszczyl, Lachom mieniuuczysia.  
W<sub>2</sub> bo toy Podlasie i Wołyń wyniszczyl, Lachom mieniuuczysia -  
К бо той Подлясь и Волынь вынишиль ляхомъ мянуючися );  
KK бо той Подлясье и Волынь вынищыль, Ляхомъ мянуючися ),  
because he let Podlachia and Volhynia be destroyed under the Poles  
(P: left Podlachia and Volhynia to the Poles, B: lost our Podlachia and  
Volhynia<sup>107</sup>), calling himself a Pole.

15.

- 
- D ale Zygmunta pierszoho Sołodkaja pamet, Ieho,  
Cz ale Zygmunta pierwszoho Sołodkaja pamiet Ieho,  
S przeciwnie słodka nam pamięć Zygmunta Igo.  
St ale Zygmunta perszeho Sołodkaia Pamiat, jem  
O tolki Zygmunta perszeho Sołodkaia pamiet,  
P Ale Zygmunta perszeho sołodkaia pamiat' ieho,  
B Але Жигимо(н)та пер(во)го соло(д)кая паме(ть) его.  
W<sub>1</sub> Ale Zygmunta pierwoho sołodkaja pamiat' Jeho!  
W<sub>2</sub> Ale Zygmunta pierwoho - sołodkaja pamieć Ieho!  
K але Зыгмунда первого, солодкую память иего,  
KK але Зыгмунда Первого, солодкая память иего,  
But the memory of Sigismund the First<sup>108</sup> is sweet

16.

- D toy Niemcow kak Sobak iakich nie chował,  
 Cz toy Niemcow kak Sabakach iakich nie hował,  
 S który Niemców, iak sobak iakich niechował.  
 St tot Nemcou kak Sobak iakich nechował  
 O Ion to nemcow iak Sobak iakich nechowaw,  
 P toy Nemcow ne chował,  
 B то(и) немце(в) як собак не люби(л).  
 W<sub>1</sub> bo toy niemcow kak sobak nelubił  
 W<sub>2</sub> bo boy niemcow Kak sobak nie lubił  
 K бо той Нѣмцевъ какъ собакъ нелюбилъ.  
 KK бо той Нѣмцевъ якъ собакъ не любиль,  
     because he did not breed (B, W<sub>1</sub>, W<sub>2</sub>, K, KK: he hated) Germans like  
     some kind of dogs

17.

- D y Lachow z ich chyrostiami wielmi nelubił,  
 Cz y Lachow z ich chyrosćiami wielmi nie Lubił,  
 S Lachów z ich chyrosćiami, wielmie nelubił,  
 St Lachow zich Chyrostiami welmi nelubył;  
 O lachow z ich chyrosćiami welmy nelubyw,  
 P i Lachów z ich chyrostiami welmÿ nelubył.  
 B и ляхо(в) з и(х) хитро(с)тю велми не люби(л).  
 W<sub>1</sub> i Lachow z ich chyrostiu wielmie nelubił.  
 W<sub>2</sub> i Lachow z ich chyrostju<sup>109</sup> wielmie nie lubił -  
 K Ляховъ з ихъ хитростыми вѣлмѣ нѣлюбилъ,  
 KK и Ляховъ эъ ихъ хитростыми велмѣ не любилъ,  
     and strongly hated the Poles with their cunning;

18.

- D ale Litwu y naſbu Rus Lubitelnie miłował,  
 Cz ale Litwu y naszu Rus Lubitelnie miłował,  
 S ale Litwę i naszę Ruś lubitelnie miłował,  
 St ale Lytwu y naszuiu Ruś Lubytelno miłował,  
 O ale lytwu y naszuiu Rus Lubytelne kochaw  
 P Ale Lytwu i naszuiu Rossyiу lubytelne myłował,  
 B а Ли(т)ву и Русь нашу любите(л)но милова(л).  
 W<sub>1</sub> Ale Litwu naszu i Ruś lubitelno miłował,  
 W<sub>2</sub> Ale Litwu naszu i Ruś lubitelno miłował,  
 K але Литву и нашу Русь любительно миловалъ,

**KK але Литву и нашу Русь любительно миловалъ,**  
**but he tenderly loved Lithuanians and our Ruthenians (P: Ruthenia,**  
**W<sub>1</sub>, W<sub>2</sub>: our Lithuanians and Ruthenians)**

19.

- D y horazd naszyie za ieho miewali się,  
 Cz y horazd naszyie za Ieho miewali się,  
 S i błohosmy się za niego miewali,  
 St y hrazd za jego naszyi miwałysia  
 O y harast naszyi za nieho się miewały,  
 P y harazd naszyie za Jeho mewalyse.  
 B и горя(з)до лепш наши(е) занего мевалися.  
 W<sub>1</sub> i horozdo łuczsze naszyie za Jeho miewalisia.  
 W<sub>2</sub> i horozda łuczsze naszyie<sup>110</sup> za Ieho miewalisia -  
 K и гораздо лучей за Iego мъвалися  
 KK и гораздо лучей за iego мъвалися,  
 and our people had it good (B, W<sub>1</sub>, W<sub>2</sub>, K, KK: much better) under  
 him

20.

- D chotiaj w tak dorohich Switoch nie chozywali,  
 Cz chotiaj w tak dorohich Switoch niechozywali,  
 S a przecie wtak bogatych szatach niechodziwali,  
 St Chotiaz w dorohich Switach niechozywały  
 O chociā w Choroszych swytach nechodyły,  
 P Chotiaz w tak dobrych swytach nechozywały,  
 B хоть въ такъ дороги(х) свита(х) не хажива(ли).  
 W<sub>1</sub> Chotia w tak drogich switach nie chodywali.  
 W<sub>2</sub> Chotia w tak dorogich świtach nie chodywali -  
 K хотя в такъ дорогихъ свитахъ не ходывали,  
 KK хотя въ такъ дорогихъ свитахъ не ходывали:  
 although they did not wear such expensive (O, P: good) coats;

21.

- D druhiie bez nahawic kak Bernardyn̄ hulały,  
 Cz druhiie bez nahawic Kak Bernardyny hulały,  
 S drugi bez nahaiec iak Bernardyn,  
 St druhije bez Nehawic kak Czerci hulały  
 O owszym druhyi bez nahawyc iak Bernardyny Hulały,  
 P druhyie bez nahawyc kak Bernardyny hulały

**В** други(е) безъ но(го)вицъ якъ бе(р)на(р)дыны гуля(ли).

**W<sub>1</sub>** Druhiie bez nahawic, iak Bernardyny hulali,

**W<sub>2</sub>** Druhiie bez Nohawic iak Bernardyny hulali,

**К** другие безъ нагавицъ, какъ Бернардыны гуляли,

**KK** другие безъ ногавицъ какъ Бернардыны гуляли,

(O: on the contrary) some walked around without trousers like  
Bernardines (St: devils)

## 22.

**D** A Soroczki azdo kostek, a szapki aż do Samoho pojasa nosili,

**Cz** a Soroczki az do kostek, a Szabki az do Sameho poiska nosili,

**S** a soroczki, aż do kostek, a czapki aż do pasa,

**St** a Soroczki az do Kostok a Szapki aż do samaho Poiska nosyły

**O** a soroczki az do kostok, Szapki az do Samoho poiska nosyły,

**P** a soroczki aż do kostok a szlapy aż do samoho poiska nosyły.

**B** a соро(ч)ки ажъ до ко(с)токъ а ша(п)ки ажъ до само(го) поеса  
наши(ва)ли.

**W<sub>1</sub>** a soroczki aż do kostok a szapki aż do samoho pojasa noszywali.

**W<sub>2</sub>** a soroczki az do Kostok a szapki aż do samoho poiesa noszywali -

**K** а сорочки ажъ до костокъ а шапки ажъ до самого пояса нашивали,

**KK** а сорочки ажъ до костокъ, а шапки ажъ до самого пояса нашивали.

and wore shirts to their ankles and caps (P: hats) down to their  
waist.<sup>111</sup>

## 23.

**D** day Boze y teper, takoy hodyn y stroju dozdaty,

**Cz** day Boże y teper takoy hodyn y stroju dozdaty,

**S** day Boże i dzisiay tak.

**St** Day Boże y teper takoy hodyn y stroiu dozdaty

**O** day Boże y teper takowoi hodyn ystroiu dozdaty,

**P** Day Boże i teper takoy hodyn i stroju dozdaty.

**B** Дай боже изно(в)ъ тако(й) годыны приждати и теперъ.

**W<sub>1</sub>** Day Boże i znow takoy hodyn doždaty i tiepier.

**W<sub>2</sub>** Day Boże i znow takoy hodyn dozdaly i teper -

**K** дай Ботъ и зновъ такой годыны прыждаты и теперъ.<sup>112</sup>

**KK** Дай Боже и зновъ такой годыны прыждаты и теперъ.

God grant that one should now (B, W<sub>1</sub>, W<sub>2</sub>, K, KK: again) see such  
times and dress!

24.

- D Ia sam koli po domowomu tak wdomu uberusię  
 Cz Ia sam koli po domowemu tak w domu uberuse,  
 S Ja sam gdy się tak w domu ubiorę,  
 St Ia sam kołyzem tak po dauniamu w Domu ubierausia  
 O Ia sam koły tak podawnomu doma uberusia  
 P Ia sam kołyse podawnomu w domu uberuse  
 B Я са(м) коли по домовому вбираюся  
 W<sub>1</sub> Ja sam koli po domowemu ubirajusia,  
 W<sub>2</sub> Ia sam koli po domowemu ubiraiusia,  
 K Я самъ коли по домовому убърус,  
 KK Я самъ коли по домовому уберусь,  
 When I myself might dress in such an old (D, Cz, B, W<sub>1</sub>, W<sub>2</sub>, K, KK: home) garb at home

25.

- D to JM Pani Mscisławskaja Małżąka moia,  
 Cz to IMC Pani Mscisławskaja Małżąka moja  
 S to Pani Mscisławska Małżonka moia,  
 St to Espani Mysławska Żona moja  
 O IPani Mysłowskaia Małżonka moia Wozlubennaia  
 P to Jeymost' Pany Mstysławskaia Małżonka moia  
 B то ee м(и)лс(ть) пани мстисла(в)ская малжо(н)ка моя  
 W<sub>1</sub> to Jeymost' Pani Mstisławskaia małżonka moia,  
 W<sub>2</sub> to Ieymost Pani Mstisławskaia małżonka moia  
 K то имосць пани Мстиславска малジョンка  
 KK то еи мосць пани Мстиславска малジョンка моя  
 Madame Mscisłaŭ Castellan, my (O: beloved) wife,

26.

- D nateszytyse, y nasmotrytyse namene nemozet,  
 Cz nateszyty się y nasmotrytse na mene ne może,  
 S nacieszyć się, i napatrzeć na mnie nie może:  
 St nahladyty się y nasmotryty się na mene niemohła  
 O natyszytsia y nasmotryty na mene nemożet,  
 P nateszytyse y nasmotrytyse na mene ne może'.  
 B натешитися и наглядется не мене не може(ть).  
 W<sub>1</sub> nateszytysia i nasmotrytysia na mene ne może.  
 W<sub>2</sub> nateszytysia i na Smotrytysia<sup>113</sup> na mene nemożet.  
 K натешытися и насматреть на меня нѣ можетъ.

**KK** натъшыться и насмотрѣть на меня не можетъ.

can't (St: couldn't) stop enjoying it and can't look enough at me.

27.

- D natoz<sup>114</sup> osmotrymasię na wsie toio<sup>115</sup> Miłostiwie Panowie Bratia,  
 Cz na toz osmotryma się na wsie toio Miłostiwie Panowie Bratia,  
 S A my na cóz patrzemy Miłościwi Panowie bracia moi,  
 St Natoż osmotrymisię Mostywyie Panowie PP. Bratia  
 O Osmotrymse Mostywy Panowie  
 P Osmotrymose na wsjo toie Myłostwyie Panowe Bratia  
 B Ha(д)то вже огледимося на все то(e) M(и)л(c)тивы(e) панове  
 W<sub>1</sub> Nadto iuż osmotrymsia nawsio toie Miłostwyie Panowie Bratia,  
 W<sub>2</sub> Nadto iuż osmotrymsia na wsio toie Miłostwyie Panowie Bratia,  
 K Надто уже насмотрүся на все гето милостывыя паны братія  
**KK** Надто уже насмотрүся на все гето, милостывыя паны братія,  
 Enough, let's look around at all this (K, KK: I've seen enough of all  
 this), dear gentlemen brothers!

28.

- D y na tuju duzniu Nemeckoju<sup>116</sup> sztuku, szto na broili,  
 Cz y na tuiu durniu Nemeckuju Sztuku, szto najbroili,  
 S na sztuki niemieckie, co oni broią,  
 St y natuiu Durnyciu Nemeckuiu sztuku szto nabroili  
 O y nahetuiu durnynu nemeckoi sztuki,  
 P y natuiu družnuiu Nemeckuiu sztuku szto zbroili.  
 B и на тую нуж(д)ну немецку(ю) штуку. што наброили.  
 W<sub>1</sub> i na tuiu nuždu niemieckuiu sztuku czto nabroili.  
 W<sub>2</sub> i na tuiu nuždu niemieckuiu sztuku czto na broili -  
 K и на тые нудные нѣмѣцкіе штуки, што на врады,  
**KK** и на тые нудные Нѣмецкіе штуки, што на врады;  
 And at this idiocy (B: miserable; W<sub>1</sub>, W<sub>2</sub>: misery; K, KK: boring),  
 the German trick which they have perpetrated (K, KK: in the office).

29.

- D akolizto unich bywało w Sukniach perestych chodiat,  
 Cz a kolisz to u nich bywało, w Sukniach perestych chodiat,  
 S w iakichto sukniach chodzą  
 St a kołyze to z nich buwało u Sukniach perystych Chodiat  
 O a kołysz to u nych buwało, w Sukniach perystych chodiat,  
 P A kołyż to u nas buwało, w sukniach perystych chodiat'

**B** а коли(ж) то у ихъ бывало. у сукня(х) пере(с)тых ходя(т)

**W<sub>1</sub>** A koliż to u nich bywało? W sukniach perestych chodiat,

**W<sub>2</sub>** A koliż to unich bywało? W sukniach perestych chodiat,

**K** а колижъ то у нихъ бывало, въ сукняхъ перестыхъ ходять,

**KK** а колижъ то у нихъ бывало: въ сукняхъ перѣстыхъ ходять,

When did they (P: we) ever have it like this? They wear variegated dresses

30.

**D** y hrosz̄y bez czysła majut,

**Cz** y hroszy bez czysła majut,

**S** wiele maią groszy,

**St** y Hroszy bez Czysła miwajut

**O** hroszy bez czesła maiut,

**P** y hroszy bez czysła maiut',

**B** а гроши без числа маю(т)

**W<sub>1</sub>** a dienich bezczysła maiut -

**W<sub>2</sub>** a dieniech bez czysła maiut -

**K**

**KK**

and have innumerable monies,

31.

**D** a szczo horodow, Imion Dzierżat, y to niechichi

**Cz** a szczo horodow, Imion dzierżat, y to nie chichi

**S** grodów, i dzierżaw,

**St** aszto Imion y Horodow derzat w Jnflantach y to nechyhy

**O** a szczo maietnosti Horodow derzat w Inflantach. y to nechichi

**P** a szczo horodów, Jmeń derżat' w Jnflantach. I to ne chy chy!

**B** а што городо(в) и мест держа(ть) то не хыхи.

**W<sub>1</sub>** a szto horodow i miest dierżat, to ne chyhi!

**W<sub>2</sub>** a szto horodow i miest dierżat, to ne chyhi;

**K** то ни гиги!

**KK** то нигиги!

and how many towns and estates they hold in Livonia!<sup>117</sup> It's no laughing matter!

32.

**D** daze<sup>118</sup> pak u nas, y smieszalisię

**Cz** duże, pak u nas y zmieszali się,

- S zmieszali się z nami,  
 St Dauze pak unas y zmiszalysia  
 O dauže z nami zmieszałysie  
 P Da wže pak u nas zmeszałyse  
 B Да онъ пакъ и замешалися з нами  
 W<sub>1</sub> da wie pak u nas i zmieszali sia  
 W<sub>2</sub> da wie pak u nas i zmieszalsia  
 K Да уже у насъ змѣшалися  
 KK Да уже у насъ змѣшалися,  
     They have already mingled with us

## 33.

- D y popolacku znami wsie horazd umiejut howoryt,  
 Cz y po polacku z nami wsie harast umiejut howoryt,  
 S rožnemi ięzykami gadaią,  
 St y poludzku z nami wse hrazd howoryty umieiut  
 O y Polacku z nami wse harast umieiut howoryty.  
 P I po polacku znamy wse harazd umiiut howoryty  
 B и гарядзо умею(т) все лихо(е) говорити.  
 W<sub>1</sub> i po polsku z nami wsie horazdo umieiut howoryty,  
 W<sub>2</sub> i po polsku z nami wsie harazdo umiejut howoryty  
 K и по польску такъ умѣютъ говорыты  
 KK и попольску такъ умѣютъ говорыты,  
     and all are able to speak good Polish (St: human language) with us (B:  
     to tell all evil well)

## 34.

- D a wsio lichoie Korolom, Panom, y Reczypospolitoy,  
 Cz a wsie Lichoie Korolom Panom y Reczypospolitoy  
 S a wsie licho, Królom Panom, i Rzeczypospolitey  
 St a wse tycho<sup>119</sup> Korolom Panom y Reczypospolitoy  
 O a wse tycho Korolom y Panom y Reczypospolitey  
 P a wse łychoie Korolom, Panom y Reczypospolitoy  
 B Короле(м) паномъ и речипо(с)политой  
 W<sub>1</sub> i wsio lichioe korolom Panom i Reczypospolitoy  
 W<sub>2</sub> i wsio lichioe korolom panom i Rzeczypospolity  
 K и всѣ лихое королідъ, пандомъ и рѣчипосполитой  
 KK и все лихое королюмъ паномъ Рѣчи Посполитой  
     and all evil to Kings, Lords<sup>120</sup> and the Commonwealth

35.

- D **kak tut bałamutiat**  
 Cz **kak tut było bałamutiat,**  
 S **radzą, i bałamuca.**  
 St **bałamutiat,**  
 O **bałamutiat,**  
 P **kak tut było bałamutiat'.**

B **якъ ту(ж) было баламутя(ть).**  
 W<sub>1</sub> **kak tut było bałamutiat.**  
 W<sub>2</sub> **kak tut było bałamutiat -**  
 K **какъ могутъ было баламутять,**  
 KK **какъ могутъ было баламутять.**

they babble, as was the case here (K, KK: as much as they could).

36.

- D **y koli sam Nemczyn idet, albo Zona ieho postupaiet,**  
 Cz **a koli sam Niemczyn idet,<sup>121</sup> albo Žona ieho postupaiet,**  
 S **A kiedy Niemiec idzie, albo żona iego postempuię,**  
 St **a koły sam Nemczyn Sobaczy syn ide abo Žona ieho iak wrazaia Mat**  
**postupiae**

O **koły sam nemczuha idet, to żona Ieho postupaiet**  
 P **A koły Nemczyn idet y żonka postupaiet ieho,**  
 B **А коли сам немчино иде(ть) любо жена его поступае(ть) -**  
 W<sub>1</sub> **A koli sam niemczyno idiet, ili żena ieho postupaiet,**  
 W<sub>2</sub> **A koli sam niemczyno iediet ili zena ieho postupaiet,**  
 K **а коли самъ нѣмчына иде, или жонка іего поступае,**  
 KK **А коли самъ Нѣмчина иде, или жонка его поступае,**

And when a German (St: son of a bitch) himself walks (W<sub>2</sub>: rides) or  
 (O: then; P: and) his wife (St: like the devil's mother) steps along

37.

- D **y czeres skuru, skrypit, y szelestyt, a dorohim pizmom waniaiet,**  
 Cz **y czeres skuru skrypit y szelestyt a dorohim pizmom waniaiet,**  
 S **iak przez skórę skrzypie, i szeleszcze, a piżmem wonieie,**  
 St **y Sapagami Skuranymi skrypit y szelestyt Sukniamiey a dorohim**  
**Piżmom woniae**
- O **a czerez skuru skrypyt y szelestyt, dorohym pyżmom Wanaiet.**  
 P **y czerez skury skrypyt', i szelestyt', i dorohym pyżmom woniaeit'.**  
 B **черезъ ску(р)ку скрипи(ть) шелести(ть) и дороги(м) пижмо(м)**  
**воняе(т).**

W<sub>1</sub> to czerez skurku skrypit, szelestyt i dorohim pižmom waniaiet.

W<sub>2</sub> to czerez skurku<sup>122</sup> skrypit, szelestyt i dorohim pižmom woniaiet -

K то черезъ скурку скрыпить, шелестить и дорогимъ пижмомъ  
воняеть.

KK то черезъ скурку скрыпить, шелестить и дорогимъ пижмомъ  
воняеть.

their leather (St: boot) creaks and they (St: their dresses) rustle and  
smell of expensive musk.

## 38.

D koliz do tebe Porucznik pryiedet czestuy ieho dostatkom

Cz koliz do tebe Porucznik pryiedet, czestuyze ieho dostatkom,

S a kiedy do ciebie Porucznik przyiedzie, czestuy ze iego dostatkiem,

St akoły do tebe pryide Poruczzyk czestuyze ieho dostatkom

O Kołyż do tebe pryide porucznyk Czastuy ze Ieho dostatkami,

P Kołyż do tebe Poruczzyk pryidet' czestuyze ieho dostatkamy,

B коли(ж) до тебе паничикъ приеде(ть) частуй же е(го) доста(т)ко(м)

W<sub>1</sub> Kołyż do tebe Paniczyk pryiediet, czastuyze ieho dostatkom,

W<sub>2</sub> Kołyż do tebe Paniczyk pryiediet, czastuyze ieho dostatkom

K Колыжъ до тебе паничыкъ приѣде, частуй же iего достаткомъ.

KK Коли жъ до тебе паничыкъ приѣде, частуй же iего достаткомъ.

And when a lieutenant (B, W<sub>1</sub>, W<sub>2</sub>, K, KK: young gentleman) comes to  
your home, treat him to abundant meals

## 39.

D da ieβcze y Zonu swoiu podle neho posadŷ,

Cz da ieszcze y żonu Swoju podle neho posadiy,

S a nawet żonę swoią posadź koło niego,

St day y żonu swoiu kołoneho<sup>123</sup> posady

O Żonu swoiu koło Neho posady,

P da ieszcze i żonu swoiu połe neho posady,

B да еще и жо(н)ку свою подле его посади.

W<sub>1</sub> da ieszcze i żonku swoiu podle nieho posady -

W<sub>2</sub> daieszcze i Zonku swoiu podle nieho posady -

K да и жонку свою подле iего посады,

KK да и жонку свою подлѣ iего посады:

and seat your wife beside him to boot.

40.

- D a on sedit kak bies naduwszysię mirgaiet mrugaiet  
 Cz a on sedit kak bies naduwszy się, mirgaiet, mrugaiet,  
 S a on nadąwszy się siedzi iak bis, mruga, mig  
 St a Ion sedyt kak bis naduuszysia mirhaiet mruhaiet Ruky w sztany  
     włożywszy  
 O a Ion Sedyt iak bis naduszywszysia morhaiet Mihaiet ruki w Sztany  
     włożywszy,  
 P a ion sedyt' kak bis naduwszyse, murgaiet',  
 B а онъ сѣди(ть) якъ бесь наду(в)шись морокуеть.  
 W<sub>1</sub> a on siedyt kak bies naduwszysia, markuiet,  
 W<sub>2</sub> a on siedyt kak bies naduwszysia, matkaiet,  
 K а онъ сыдит какъ бесь надувшися, махаетъ  
 KK а онъ сыдить какъ бесь надувшися, махаетъ  
     And he sits swell-headed like a devil, twinkling and winking (B: angry;  
     W<sub>2</sub>: cursing your mother; K, KK: waving; St, O: with hands in his  
     pockets<sup>124</sup>),

41.

- D Szapku, albo kapelu<sup>β</sup><sup>125</sup> perekrywlaiet, y z Zonoju poszeptywaiet,  
 Cz szapku albo Kapelusz perekrywlaiet, y z Żonoju poszeptywaiet,  
 S czapką, albo kapelusz przekrzywia,  
 St Szapku albo Kapielusz perekryulaiuczy a z Żonoju poszeptywaiet  
 O Szapku abo Kapelusz perekrywlaiuczy z Zenoiu poszeptywaiet,  
 P kapelusz albo szlapu perekrywlaiet' y z żonoiu poszeptywaiet',  
 B шапкою де(и) перекри(в)ляе(т) и з жо(н)кою нашептывае(ть)  
 W<sub>1</sub> szapkuiu ili kapeluszom perekrywlajet, i z żonkoiu naszeptywaiet  
 W<sub>2</sub> szapkuiu ili kapeluszom perekrywlaiet, i z żonkoiu naszeptywaiet  
 K шапкою или капелюшемъ и з жонкою нашептываетъ,  
 KK шапкою или капелюшемъ, и зъ жонкою нашептываетъ,  
     cocking his cap or hat (B: as they say), whispering with your wife,

42.

- D stiskaiet da y u dołon skrobet,  
 Cz styskaiet, da w dołon skrobiet,  
 S ćiska, skrobie po nodze,  
 St styskaiet day w dołoń skrobet,  
 O styskaiet, w dołon skrobet,  
 P styskaiet' da i w dołoń skrobet',  
 B дей и въ доло(н)ку сробеть.

W<sub>1</sub> da i w dołoń skrobiet.

W<sub>2</sub> dai w dołoń skrobiet -

K да и въ лодонъ<sup>125a</sup> скребеть.

KK да и въ лодонъ скребеть!

squeezing her and scratching her palm<sup>126</sup>.

## 43. \_\_\_\_\_

D a kolib takoho czorta pałycoju pochrypte<sup>127</sup>

Cz a kolib takoho Czorta policoju po chryptie

S a gdyby takiego czarta, po licu palnąć,

St a kołyb takoho Czortopołocha po chrebte

O kołyb takoho Czortopołocha pochrepti,

P a kołyb takoho Czortopołocha pałycoiu po chrepte tak zadaty,

B Да коли(ж) бы гетако(го) черта кулако(м) в морду или по лицо(м)  
по хри(б)те

W<sub>1</sub> Da koližby hetakoho czorta kułakom w mordu ili po licam  
po chryptie

W<sub>2</sub> Da koližby hetakoho Czorta kułakom w mordu - ili po licam  
po chryptie

K Да колижбы я гетого черта кулакомъ в морду или по лицамъ,  
по хрыптѣ,

KK Да коли жъ бы я гетого черта кулакомъ въ морду, или по  
лицамъ, по хрыптѣ,

What if one (K, KK: I) struck such a devil (St, O, P: pest) with a stick  
across his back (B, W<sub>1</sub>, W<sub>2</sub>, K, KK: with a fist in his mug or cheeks or  
across his back)

## 44. \_\_\_\_\_

D tak szczob y korol Jeho Miłosty niechýchał,

Cz tak szczob y Korol Ieho Miłosty nie chýchał,

S żeby Król Jmci poznął,

St tak szczoby iomu zuby powylitały, a Korol Ieho Miłosty nechýchał

O tak szczoby y Korol Ieho miłost nechachał,

P szczob i Korol Ieho myłost' ne chýchał,

B такъ што бы король его М(и)лость не слыха(л).

W<sub>1</sub> tak, koby korol Jeho Miłosty nie słychał,

W<sub>2</sub> tak, koby Korol Jeho miłosty nie słychał,

K такъ кобы король iego Milostъ не слыхалъ,

KK такъ кобы король iego milostъ не слыхалъ!

- so that (St: so that his teeth fall out and) also His Majesty, the King  
might not giggle (B, W<sub>1</sub>, W<sub>2</sub>, K, KK: hear) -

45.

D y za tobÿ nienadumałbÿ takoÿ Pohonÿ byty<sup>128</sup>

Cz y za toby nie nadumałby takoy Pohanoy buty,

S že co nam po takich poganach.

St Zatoieb nenadylmabysia takowy buty

O

P I za tohoby na nadumał takoy pohanoy buty

B неха(й) бы морды тако(й) погано(й) не надыма(л).

W<sub>1</sub> nechayby mordy takoy pohanoy nie nadymał.W<sub>2</sub> nechay by mordy takoy pohanoy ne nadymał -K нехайбы<sup>128a</sup> морды такой поганой не надымаль.

KK Нехай бы морды такой поганой не надымаль.

then he would not conceive such ugly arrogance (B, W<sub>1</sub>, W<sub>2</sub>, K, KK: his mug should not puff up in such an ugly way).

46.

D Kiemu ia Korola Henryka, Kotoriÿ zamorskoy Nemeckoÿ storony byw

Cz Kemlu ia Korola Henryka, kotory Zamorskoy Nemeckoy storony byw,

S Król Henryk, który z Niemieckié strony z zamorza tutay przyiechał,

St pomlu ia Korola Chenrycha kotóry Zamorskoy Nemeckoy storony był

O Pomlu ia Korola Henryka, kotory z Zamorskoi Nemec nemeckoi<sup>129</sup>  
storony buw tu,

P Kemlu ia Korola Henryka Kotoroy zzamorskoi Nemeckoi storony był,

B Помню я короля Гэ(н)рика котори(й) з замо(р)ско(й) немецко(й)  
стороны бы(л).W<sub>1</sub> Pomnniu Ja korola Henryka, kotory z zamorskoy niemieckoy storony  
był,W<sub>2</sub> Pomnniu Ja Korola Henryka, kotory z Zamorskoy Niemieckoy storony  
był,K Помню я короля Генрыка, которой з заморской стороны нѣмецкой  
быль,KK Помню я короля Генриха, которій зъ заморской стороны Нѣмец-  
кой быль,I remember King Henry who was (O: here) from a German country  
overseas<sup>130</sup>

47.

D da y zrozumiew szczosmy niedawali iemu Szabunkowati,

Cz da y zrozumiew, szczosmy niedawali iemu szybunkowati,<sup>131</sup>

S gdy spostrzegł ześmy mu nie dawali szabinkować,

- St y zrozumiel Sztoiesmo nedały iemu szabunkowaty  
 O zrozumiew tože, szczoieśmo Iemu nedały Szebunkowaty,  
 P da zrozumył szczomy ne dały iomu szabuńkowaty,  
 B da zrozume(л) что мы Ему немного давали шебунковати,  
 W<sub>1</sub> da zrozumiew czto my Jemu niemnoho dawali szebunkowaty,  
 W<sub>2</sub> da zrozumiew czto my Iomu niemnoho dawali szebunkowaty,  
 K да зрозумѣвъ что мы Iему нѣ много давали шыбиковаты,  
 KK да зрозумѣвъ, что мы іему не много давали шыбиковаты,  
     and understood (O: also) that we did not let him wangle (B, W<sub>1</sub>, W<sub>2</sub>,  
     K, KK: a great deal)

## 48. \_\_\_\_\_

- D a Nemec ieho newelmi perebrýkiwał  
 Cz a Nemec ieho ne welmi perebrykiwał  
 S i niemcom iego brykać,  
 St a Nemec ieho newelmi perebrykiwał  
 O a nemcy Ieho welmy perebrykowały,  
 P a Nemczyn ioho newelmy pobrykiwat,  
 B a He(м)ци его не велми перекриковали.  
 W<sub>1</sub> a Niemcy Jeho ne wielmi perekrykowali,  
 W<sub>2</sub> a niemcy Ieho ne wielmi perekrykowali,  
 K a Нѣмцы Іего нѣ вельми перекривали,  
 KK а Нѣмцы іего не вельми перекривали,  
     and his Germans did not gambol (O: gambolled; B, W<sub>1</sub>, W<sub>2</sub>: did not  
     shout) a great deal,<sup>132</sup>

## 49. \_\_\_\_\_

- D tak on poznawszy szto to ne szutki y sam nikomu nekazawszy się  
 Cz tak on poznawszy, szto to ne szutki, y Sam nikomu ne kazawszy się,  
 S nic nikomu nie mówiwszy,  
 St tak y jon poznawszy szto heto nesztuki y sam nikomu nekazauszysia  
 O tak Win poznawszy szczo heto ne kiepstwo, sam nyczoho nykomu  
   neskazawszyse  
 P tak on poznawszy szczo ne szutki y sam nykomu nekazawszyse  
 B такъ онъ позна(в)ши что то не штука да и самъ никому не  
   оказа(в)шился  
 W<sub>1</sub> tak i on poznawszy szto to ne sztuka da i sam ni komu ne okazawszysia  
 W<sub>2</sub> tak i on poznawszy, szto to ne sztuka da i sam nikomu ne okazawszysia  
 K такъ и онъ познавши, что то нѣ штутка да и самъ никому нѣ  
   оказавшися

KK такъ и онъ, познавши, што то не шутка, да и самъ, никому не  
оказавшися,  
so, seeing that it was no joke (O: buffoonery; St, B, W<sub>1</sub>, W<sub>2</sub>, K, KK: no  
trick) and telling nothing to anyone, alone

## 50.

- D procz poiechał, da y u swoju storonu, az zamore skiknuł,  
 Cz procz poiechał, da y w swoju storonu az za more skiknuł,<sup>133</sup>  
 S wyiechał, iuż za morze skiknął,  
 St proz poiechał day w swoiu staranu aż za More skiknuł  
 O procz poichaw y w swoiu storonu az za more skiknow,  
 P procz poiechał, da y wswoiu storonu az zamore skiknuł.  
 B про(ч) поеха(л). ажъ въ свою сторону. ажъ за море скикну(л).  
 W<sub>1</sub> procz poiechał aż w swoiu storonu, aż za more skiknuł.  
 W<sub>2</sub> procz poiechał az w swoiu storonu, aż za more skiknuł -  
 K прочно поѣхаль, ажъ у свою сторону, ажъ за море скикнуль.  
 KK прочно поѣхаль, ажъ у свою сторону, ажъ за море скикнуль.  
 he went away and jumped to (B, W<sub>1</sub>, W<sub>2</sub>, K, KK: as far as) his country,  
 all the way beyond the sea.

## 51.

- D kazuti Prawdu, ne tak winowat iak hetyie radnyie bałamuty  
 Cz kažuti prawdu ne tak winowat iak hetyie Radnyie bałamuty,  
 S a choć prawdę mówiąc nie tyle on winien, iak nasze rodne bałamuty,  
 St kazat praudu netak iun winowat iak tyie radniie Bałamuty  
 O skazaty prawdu, ne tak Win Winowat, Iak hetyi Radnyi Bałamuty  
 P Kažuczy prawdu netak wynowat' nemczyn, iak hetyie bałamuty radnyie  
 B Кажучи пра(в)ду не такъ винова(т) король якъ ты(е) радны(е)  
     баламуты  
 W<sub>1</sub> Kažuczy prawdu nie tak winowat korol, kak hetyie radnyie bałamuty  
 W<sub>2</sub> Kazuczy prawdu nie tak winowat Korol, kak hetyie radnyie bałamuty  
 K Кажучы правду не такъ виноватъ король, якъ гетые радные  
     баламуты,  
 KK Кажучы правду, не такъ виноватъ король, якъ гетые радные  
     баламуты,  
 To tell the truth, he (O: the German; B, W<sub>1</sub>, W<sub>2</sub>, K, KK: the King) was  
 not as guilty as these misleading councilors

52.

- D szto pry nich sediat da krutiat  
 Cz szto pry nich sediat, da krutiat  
 S co siedzą przy Królach, wiele kręca,  
 St szto y pry nich sediat ta krutiat  
 O szczo pry nych Sediat a mnoho krutiat,  
 P szczo pry korolu sediat', da i krutiat'  
 B что при ни(м) сидя(т) да крутя(ть).  
 W<sub>1</sub> szto pry nim sydiat da krutiat.  
 W<sub>2</sub> szto pry nim sydiat da krutiat  
 K что пры Нимъ сидять да крутятъ.  
 KK что пры нимъ сидять да крутятъ.

who would sit at his (P: King's) side and machinate (O: a great deal).

53.

- D mnoho, tutko iest szczo chot naβa kośc  
 Cz mnoho, tutka iest szczo choc nasza kosc,  
 S  
 St mnoho Tałyka<sup>134</sup> iest choć pak naszaia Kost  
 O tulko wnych naszaia kisć,  
 P mnoho, tu takaia iest' chot' naszaia kóst'  
 B много тутако таки(х) ес(т) что хо(ть) наша кос(т)ка  
 W<sub>1</sub> Mnoho tutaka takich iest czto chocz naszaia kostka,  
 W<sub>2</sub> mnoho tutaka takich iest czto chocz naszaia kostka  
 K Много тутага<sup>135</sup> такихъ ёсть, что хоть наша костка,  
 KK Много тута гетакихъ есть, что хоть наша костка,  
 There are many such people here who, although they have our bones  
 (O: only),

54.

- D da pak Sabaczym miasom wanaiet, y obrosła,  
 Cz da pak sabaczym miasom wanaiet y obrosła,  
 S  
 St da Pak sobaczym miasom wonaiet y obasta  
 O szczoz koły Sobaczym miasom wanaiut, y obrastaiut,  
 P da pak sobaczym miasom wonaiet', da y obrosła,  
 B одинак собачи(м) мясо(м) обросла и воняе(т).  
 W<sub>1</sub> odnak sobaczym miasem obrosła i wanaiet.  
 W<sub>2</sub> odnak sobaczym miasem obrosła i wanaiet -  
 K одинакъ собачымъ мясомъ обросла и воняетъ.

**KK** однако собачымъ мясомъ обросла и воняеть;  
 but (O: it's no good because) clothed with and smelling of dog's  
 flesh.<sup>136</sup>

55.

- D tyie szczo nas derut, y hubiat,  
 Cz tyie szczo nas derut y hubiat,  
 S drą,  
 St tyież to nas derut ta hublat  
 O tyi to nas derut y Hubiat,<sup>137</sup>  
 P Tyie to nas hublat' i derut',  
 B ты(е) што нас деру(ть) губя(ть) радны(е).  
 W<sub>1</sub> Tyie czto nas dzierut i hubiat,  
 W<sub>2</sub> Tyie czto nas dzierut i hubiat,  
 K Тые то нась дерутъ и губять,  
 KK тые-то нась дерутъ и  
     It is these (B: councilors) who rip us off and undo us,

56.

- D a za ich bałamutnioju y naszczyniec pożywitysię nie mozet,  
 Cz a za ich bałamutnioju y naszczyniec pożywity się nie może,  
 S  
 St a za ich bałamutneiu y Naszynieć pożywitsia nemoże  
 O za ich Bałamutnoiu Naszynec pożywytyse nemoże  
 P a za ich bałamutnioju<sup>138</sup> y naszynec pożywityse nemożet'.  
 B а за и(х) баламу(т)нями нашине(ц) выжы(ви)ти ся не може(ть).  
 W<sub>1</sub> a za ich bałamutniami naszyniec pożywitsia nemożet.  
 W<sub>2</sub> a za ich bałamutniami naszyniec pożywitsia ne może -  
 K а за ихъ баламутнями нашые нѣпожывятся,  
 KK за ихъ баламутнями нашые не пожывятся,  
     and it is because of their muddled advice that our countryman cannot  
     make a profit (B: make a living).

57.

- D Reczpospolitoju zhubiat,  
 Cz Reczpospolitoju zhubiat,  
 S Rzeczyplę gubią,  
 St Reczposlita zhublat  
 O Recz pospolitu tlublat<sup>139</sup>  
 P Recz pospołytu zhublat'

**B** речипо(с)политую губя(т).

**W<sub>1</sub>** Reczpospolitui hubiat

**W<sub>2</sub>** Reczpospolitui hubiat

**K** Рѣчупосполитую губять

**KK** Рѣчу Посполитую губять,

They will ruin (B, W<sub>1</sub>, W<sub>2</sub>, K, KK: They ruin) the Commonwealth

## 58.

**D** y Wołyń z Podlašem za ich czmutnioju propał,

**Cz** y Wołyń z Podlaszem za ich czmutnioju propał,

**S** przez nich to i Wołyń, i Podlasie przepadły.

**St** y Wołyń z Podlaszom zaich czmutneiu propał

**O** Wołyń z Podolem za Ich bałamutnioiu propaw,

**P** y Wołyń z Podlaszem za ich Czmutnioju propał.

**B** волынь з по(д)лясе(м) пропа(л) на(м).

**W<sub>1</sub>** i Wołyń z Podlasiom propał.

**W<sub>2</sub>** i Wołyń z podlasiom propał

**K** и Волынь съ Подлясемъ пропаль.

**KK** и Волынь съ Подлясемъ пропаль!

and Volhynia with Podlachia (O: Podolia) have been lost (B: to us)  
due to their mischief (O: muddled advice).<sup>140</sup>

## 59.

**D** znaju nam prystuilo szczo chodim kak podurelyie bose ich boimo,

**Cz** znaju nam prystuilo szczo chodym kak podurely ie, bo se ich boimoj

**S** chodzimy iak podurzeni, bo się ich boiemy,

**St** naznaiamo szczo nam prystupylo szczo chodymo kak podurylyie bo  
ich boiemo

**O** bose Ich boimo,

**P** Znaiu nam prystupylo szczo Chodymo kak podurylyie, bo se ich boimo,

**B** зна(ю). на(м) при(с)туило што ходи(м) какъ подъвареные бо ся  
и(х) боимо

**W<sub>1</sub>** Znaiu! nam prystuilo czto chodym kak podwarennye bo sia ich boimo,

**W<sub>2</sub>** znaiu! nam prystuilo czto chodym kak podwarennye bo sia ich boimo,

**K** Знаю, намъ приступило, што ходимъ какъ подваренные бо ся ихъ  
боимо,

**KK** Знаю, намъ приступило, што ходимъ какъ подваренные, бо ся ихъ  
боимо.

Something must have grabbed us (St: we don't know what has grabbed us)<sup>141</sup> and we go around like fools (B, W<sub>1</sub>, W<sub>2</sub>, K, KK: half-cooked) because we are afraid of them,

60.

- D prawdÿ nemowimo, ießcze z pochlebnymi iezykami potakiwoima,  
 Cz prawdy nie mowimo, ieszcze zpochlebnymi iezykami potakawaimo,  
 S prawdy niemowiem, i potakuiemy pochlebnymi ięzykami.  
 St Praudy Jm nehoworymo y ieszcze z podchlibnymi Iazykami potaki-  
   waiemo  
 O prawdy Im nehoworymo, y szczo raz pochlybnymi Iezykami  
   potakuiemo,  
 P prawdy im nekažemo, ieszcze zpochlebnyemi jazykami potakiwaiemo,  
 B пра(в)ды не мовимо. еще зъ по(д)хлѣбны(ми) языка(ми) потакаемо.  
 W<sub>1</sub> i prawdy niemowimo, ieszcze z podchlebnymi iazykami potakiwaiemo.  
 W<sub>2</sub> i prawdy niemowimo, ieszcze z podchlebnymi iazykami potakiwaiemo -  
 K  
 KK

we don't tell them the truth and, moreover (O: again and again), we  
 yes them with our flattering tongues.

61.

- D akolib takoho bisa kułakom u mordu, zabywbÿ druhÿ mutyty,  
 Cz a kolib takoho bisa kułakom w mordu, zabywby druhi mutyty;  
 S Ach! żeby można bisow takich kułakiem w mordę, zapomnieliby mącić.  
 St a kołyb takoho bisa kułakom umordu zabułby Druhy mutyty.  
 O kołyby y takoho bisa w mordu, zabuwby druhy mutyty.  
 P A kołyb takoho bisa kułakom u mordu zabuwby druhy mutyty.  
 B а коли(б) такого бѣса кулако(м) въ мо(р)ду. забыв бы другие  
   мутити.  
 W<sub>1</sub> A kalib hetakoho biesa kułakom w mordu, zabywby druhi mutyty.  
 W<sub>2</sub> A kalib hetakoho biesa kułakom w mordu, zabywby druhi mutyty -  
 K а колибъ гетакаго бѣса кулакомъ в морду, забывбы другие  
   мутиты.  
 KK А коли бѣса кулакомъ въ морду, забывъ бы другой  
   мутиты!

What if one punched (O: also) such a devil in the mug, some of them  
 would forget their trouble-making!

62.

- D y to Miłostwyie Panowie nie małaja Szkoda, słuhÿ chowaima Lachy  
 Cz y to Miłostwyie Panowie nie Małaja Szkoda; Słuhy chowaima Lachy,  
 S I to mili Panowie nie mała szkoda: chowamy slugi Lachy,  
 St Ito Mostwyie Panowia nemała ie szkoda sluchy Chowaiemo Lachy,

- O I to mylostwy Panowe nemaiaia Szkoda, słuhy chowaiemo lachy,  
 P I to mylostwyie Panowe ne małaia szkoda słuhy chowaiemo Lachy  
 B И то м(и)лстивы(e) панове не мала(я) шкода. слугы ховае(мо) ляхи.  
 W<sub>1</sub> I to miłostwyie Panowie na małaia szkoda: słuhy chowaiemo Lachy -  
 W<sub>2</sub> J to miłostwyie Panowie ne małaia szkodu: słyhy chowaiemo Lachy -  
 K И то милостивые панове немало шкода, слугы ховаемъ ляхи:  
 KK И то, милостивые панове, не мала шкода, слуги ховаемъ Ляхи:  
 And it is no small harm, dear gentlemen, that we keep Polish  
 servants.<sup>142</sup>

63.

- D daway ze iemu Sukniu chwalendyßowoju, kornij ieho słasno,  
 Cz dawaize iemu Sukniu chwalendyszowuju, karmiyż ieho słasno,  
 S dawayże im suknie z falendyszsu, karmiy ich tlusto,  
 St Dawayże iemu Sukniu Chwalendyszowuiu, karmyż ieho słuszno  
 O dawayże Iomu Sukniu falendyszowuiu, kormysz Ieho sławno,  
 P dawayże iomu sukniu Chwalendyszowuiu, kormyż ieho słasno,  
 B дава(й) же ему сукню хваленъ дыфзову(ю). корми(ж) его слас(т)но.  
 W<sub>1</sub> dawayże iemu sukniu chwalen-dyfzowuiu, karmiyż ieho słasno,  
 W<sub>2</sub> Dawayże iemu sukniu chwalendyszowuiu, karmiyż ieho słasno,  
 K давайже iему сукнию хвалендышовую, кормижъ иего тлусто,  
 KK давай же iему сукнию хвалендышовую, корми жъ iего тлусто;  
 Give him a dress from thin English [Dutch] cloth [feinlündisch]<sup>143</sup> and  
 feed him luxuriously (St: well enough; O: very well; K, KK: fatly),

64.

- D a z ich służbÿ niczoho nemaß,  
 Cz a zich Służby niczoho nie masz,  
 S a z ich służby nic niemaią,  
 St a z ich służby niczeho nema  
 O a z Ich służby nyczoho nyma,  
 P a z ioho służby nyczoho nymasz,  
 B a зь и(x) службы не пыта(й).  
 W<sub>1</sub> a z ich służby niczoho ne masz;  
 W<sub>2</sub> a z ich służby niczoho nemasz;  
 K а з нихъ службы нѣ пыта́й  
 KK а з нихъ службы не пыта́й, -  
 and (B, K, KK: don't ask them for service) you get (St, O: one gets)  
 nothing from their (P: his) service.

65.

- D tolko zodyn<sup>144</sup> ukrawszysię  
 Cz tolko z podyn ukrawszy się  
 S tylko wykrałszy się z gospody,  
 St tolko spudyn ubrauszysia  
 O tolki z hospody ubrawszysie  
 P odno spodyn ubrawszysie  
 B и только убра(в)ши се  
 W<sub>1</sub> i tolko ubrawszysia  
 W<sub>2</sub> totho ubrawszysia  
 K и только убравшися  
 KK и только убравшися,

Only, having dressed (D, Cz: stealed away), the gentleman (O: from the house)

66.

- D na wysokich podkowkach do Dewek dybe da chodit,  
 Cz na wysokich podkowkach do dewek dybe, da chodit  
 S do dziewek dybią, a chodzą,  
 St na wysokiie podkouki do Diwok dyble ta chodyt  
 O na wysokich podkiwkach do dywok dyblat  
 P na wysokych podkowkach do Diwok dyblet' da chodyt  
 B на высоки(x) подкова(x) до девокъ дыблे. и ходи(ть)  
 W<sub>1</sub> na wysokich podkowkach do dziewok dyble i chodyt,  
 W<sub>2</sub> na wysokich podkowkach do dziewok dyble i chodyt,  
 K на высокихъ подковкахъ до девокъ дыбле и ходыть,  
 KK на высокихъ подковкахъ до дѣвокъ дыбле и ходыть,  
 tiptoes to girls and walks on high heels

66a.

- D a z welikoho kufla trubit,  
 Cz a z wielikoho kufla trubit;  
 S a z wielkiego kufla trombią.  
 St a zwelikoho kufla trubyty  
 O z welykoho Kufla trublat,  
 P a z welykoho Kufla trubyty'.  
 B з великого куфля труби(ть).  
 W<sub>1</sub> z welikoho kufla trubit.  
 W<sub>2</sub> z welikoho kufla trubit -  
 K а з великого кубка трубить,

**КК** а зъ великого кубка трубить:  
and boozes from a large tankard.

67.

- D ty Panie za stoł, a Słuha sobi za stoł,  
 Cz ty Panie za Stoł, a Słuha Sobi za stoł,  
 S Ty Panie za stół, a sługa sobie za stół,  
 St Ty Pane za stul a Słuha sobi za stuł  
 O ty Pane za stuł słuba sobie za stoł,  
 P Ty pane za stoł a słuba sebi za stoł,  
 B ты пане за сто(л) а слуга ляхъ себе за сто(л).

W<sub>1</sub> Ty Panie za stoł, a słuba sobie za stoł -

W<sub>2</sub> Ty Panie za stoł, a słuba sobie za stoł -

K ты пане за столъ, а слуга собѣ за столъ,

**КК** ты пане за столъ, а слуга собѣ за столъ;

You, sir, sit down at the table and so does the (B: Polish) servant;<sup>145</sup>

68.

- D ty zaborszczyk a Słuha Lach za bohatuju sztuku miasa,  
 Cz ty za borszczyk a Słuha Lach za bohatuju sztuku miasa,  
 S ty za barszczyk, a sługa lach, za bogatą sztukę mięsa,  
 St ty Pane za Borszczyk a Słuha za Pakatuju sztuku miasa  
 O ty za Borszcz, słuba za Choroszuju sztuku Miasa,  
 P ty za borszczyk a słuba Lach za bukatuiu sztuku miasa,  
 B ты борщикъ. а слуга ляхъ на покутнику штуку мяса.  
 W<sub>1</sub> ty borszczyk, a słuba lach za pukutniku sztuku miasa -  
 W<sub>2</sub> ty borszczyk a sługa lach za pukutnuiu sztuku miasa -  
 K ты борщикъ, а слуга за пукатую штуку мяса,  
**КК** ты борщикъ, а слуга за пукатую штуку мяса;  
     you start in on the borsht and the Polish servant a rich (O: good; K,  
     KK: bulging) piece of meat;

69.

- D ty za flaſku a on za druhiui,  
 Cz ty za flaszku a on za druhiuju,  
 S ty za flaszkę, a oni za drugą,  
 St Ty za Flaszku a ion za druhiui  
 O ty za flaszu. ion za druhiui,  
 P ty zaflaszku, aon za druhiui,  
 B ты за фляшу. а онъ за другу(ю).

- W<sub>1</sub> ty za flaszu a on za druhuiu,  
 W<sub>2</sub> ty za flaszu a on za druhuiu,  
 K ты за фляшку, а онъ за другую,  
 KK ты за фляшку, а онъ за другую,  
 you take a bottle and he another

70.

- 
- D a koli b&laquo;aho derzy&beta;, tak on y zruk wyderet,  
 Cz a koli b&laquo;aho derzysz, to on y z ruk wyderet,  
 S a kiedy niedobrze trzymasz, to i z r&aa;ak ci wydrze,  
 St a koły b&laquo;aho derzysz to ion tebi wydere y tuiu,  
 O a koły b&laquo;aho derzysz on tobi y tuiu z ruk wyderet  
 P akoły ty b&laquo;aho derzysz tak on i zruk wydere,  
 B a kolii słabo de(p)жиш то онъ и зъ рука вырве(ть).  
 W<sub>1</sub> a koli słabo dzierzysz to on i z ruk wyrwiet -  
 W<sub>2</sub> a koli słabo dzierzysz to on i z ruk wyrwiet -  
 K a kolii słabo держышъ, то онъ и ту зъ рука вырветъ,  
 KK a kolii słabo держышъ, то онъ и ту зъ рука вырветъ!  
 and if you hold it infirmly (B, W<sub>1</sub>, W<sub>2</sub>, K, KK: weakly) he will even  
 snatch it (St, O, K, KK: this one) from your hands (St: from you).

71.

- 
- D tolko pilnuiet skoroby z dwora,  
 Cz tolko pilnuiet, skoroby zdwora  
 S i pilnuie tylko, iak ty z dworu,  
 St tulko pilnuiet skoroby z Dwora  
 O y pilnuiet, skoro ty z dwora,  
 P tolko pilnuiet' skorob ty zo dworu,  
 B только пильнуетъ скоро ты з дому  
 W<sub>1</sub> tolko pilnuiet skoro z domu ty,  
 W<sub>2</sub> tolko polnuiet skoro z domu ty,  
 K только пильнуетъ скоро з дому ты,  
 KK Только пильнуетъ: скоро зъ дому ты,  
 He only watches until you leave the homestead (B, W<sub>1</sub>, W<sub>2</sub>, K, KK:  
 home)

72.

- 
- D a on mowczkom prytesaietse tobie, y do zony  
 Cz a on mowczkom prytesaietsa tobie y do zony,  
 S to on zaraz milczkiem skrada się do żony.

52 *Pseudo-Meleško*

- St ajon tobi mołczkom pryłyszaietsia do Žony  
O ion mowczykom brybližaietse sobi y do Žony.  
P to on mowczkom prykaszetsia tebi jdo žony.  
B to onъ мо(л)чко(м) приласкае(т) ся до жо(н)ки.  
W<sub>1</sub> to on mołczkom pryłaskajetsia do żonki;  
W<sub>2</sub> to on mowzkom prykaszetsia do żonki,  
K to onъ моучкомъ прыласкаѣтсѧ до жонки,  
KK to onъ моучкомъ прыласкается до жонки.

and then he silently courts (B, W<sub>1</sub>, W<sub>2</sub>: would court; O: approaches; P: would accost) even your wife.

73. \_\_\_\_\_

- D Ia by mowił y toho Czortopołocha z Nemcami wyhnaty  
Cz Ia bych mowił y toho Czortopołocha z Nemcami wyhnaty  
S Jabym mówił, czas tych polasków, z Niemcami powycinać,  
St iaby kazał y toho Czortopołocha z Nemcami wyhnaty  
O Iaby kazaw y toho Czortopołocha z nimcami wyhnaty  
P Iabych radył i toho czortopołocha z Nemcami wyhnaty  
B И тако(го) чортоп(ол)оха з немцами выгнati  
W<sub>1</sub> i takoho czortopołocha z niemcami wyhnaty,  
W<sub>2</sub> i takoho Czortopołocha z niemcami wyhnaty,  
K и такого чортаполоха<sup>146</sup> з Нѣмцами выгнаты  
KK И такого чортаполоха зъ Нѣмцами выгнати,  
I would say (P: advise) that this (B, W<sub>1</sub>, W<sub>2</sub>, K, KK: such a) pest should also be expelled with Germans.

74. \_\_\_\_\_

- D a od Porucznikow y urady  
Cz a od Porucznikow y Urady,  
S od Porucznika do rady,  
St od Porucznykow rady  
O od Porucznikow urady,  
P a od Porucznykow wrady  
B  
W<sub>1</sub>  
W<sub>2</sub>  
K  
KK

And from lieutenants the offices

75.

- D szczo unich ulezli protiwko prawu naszemu poodymat  
 Cz szczo w nich ulezli protiwko prawu naszemu poodymat  
 S a co do nich wlazło przeciwko prawu naszemu odiąć  
 St szczo unich ulezło protiuko prawu naszomu poodimaty  
 O y szczoby do nich protywko prawu naszomu wlizło poodyimaty  
 P szczo u nych iest protywko prawu naßomu od nych poodbiraty,  
 B што до нась влезъли противъ праву нашо(му).  
 W<sub>1</sub> czto do nas wlezli protywku prawu naszomu.  
 W<sub>2</sub> czto do nas wlezli protywku prawu naszomu -  
 K што до нась влезли противъ праву нашему.  
 KK што до нась влѣзли противъ праву нашему.  
 into which they have crept (P: which they have; O: and whatever has got into their hands; B, W<sub>1</sub>, W<sub>2</sub>, K, KK: who have crept into our country) against our law should also be taken away.<sup>147</sup>

76.

- D od nich, Starþie Poklony Smolenskiie<sup>148</sup>  
 Cz od nich, Starszyie poklony Smolenskiie  
 S od nich. Starsze poklony Smoleñskie  
 St  
 O  
 P w staryie poklony Smolenskyie  
 B од и(х) м(и)лстей пано(в) ляхо(в) гину(ть) стари(е) наши поклоны смоле(н)ски(е).  
 W<sub>1</sub> Od Ich Starszyie naszyie poklony Smolenskiie.  
 W<sub>2</sub> Od Ich starszyie naszyie poklony Smolenskiie -  
 K  
 KK

\*Guard [distorted into: older] from them (W<sub>1</sub>, W<sub>2</sub>: our) Smolensk gratuities (B: our old Smolensk gratuities are perishing because of them, Messieurs Poles)!

77.

- D predyrayte oczy, Lepsz niz o Inflanty,  
 Cz predyrayte oczy lipsz niz o Inflanty,  
 S przedzierajcie oczy, lepię o nich radzić iak o Inflantach,  
 St  
 O  
 P prodyraiuczy oczy, lipsz nyz o Inflanty

**B** передира(й)те очи лепше о и(н)фля(н)ты.

**W<sub>1</sub>** Predierayte oczy lipsze niż o Inflanty,

**W<sub>2</sub>** Predierayte oczy lipsz niż o Inflanty -

**K**

**KK**

Rub your eyes better than over Livonia,<sup>149</sup>

78. \_\_\_\_\_

**D** botyie mistiuki, tutaka iak wlezut,

**Cz** bo tyie Mistiuki tutka iak ulazut,

**S** bo te mistuczki, iak w lezą,

**St** bo Tiji Mistuchi iak wlezut

**O** bo tyi mistuiki iak wlizut,

**P** bo tyie Mystiuky tuteka iakse uleżat',

**B** бо тые ме(ч)ники какъ влезу(ть)

**W<sub>1</sub>** bo tyie mieczniki kak wlezut,

**W<sub>2</sub>** bo tyie mieczniki kak wlozut,

**K**

**KK**

for if these tricksters (**B**, **W<sub>1</sub>**, **W<sub>2</sub>**: swordbearers) creep in (**P**: stabilize)  
here

79. \_\_\_\_\_

**D** to ich y zublom newykuryβ kak pszczoł od medu

**Cz** to ich y zublom nie wykursz kak pszczoł od medu;

**S** to ich i žubtem nie wykurzysz, iak pszczoł od miodu:

**St** to ich y rublom newykursz iak pszczoł od Medu

**O** to Ich y Zublom newykurysz iak Pszczoł od medu.

**P** to ych i zublom newykuryβ jak pszczoł od medu.

**B** то и(х) и зубле(м) не выкури(ш) якъ пщолы одъ меду.

**W<sub>1</sub>** to ich i zublom ne wykursz iak pszczoły od miedu.

**W<sub>2</sub>** to ich i zublom ne wykursz iak pszczoły od miedu -

**K**

**KK**

then you won't smoke them out like bees (**B**, **W<sub>1</sub>**, **W<sub>2</sub>**: a bee) from  
honey, not even with tinder (St: a hay-pole).

80. \_\_\_\_\_

**D** ale zradno<sup>150</sup> pohoworyłysmo oroznych utratach naszych,

**Cz** ale zradno pohoworyłyśmo o roznych utratach naszych,

**S** ale zdradno rozmawiać o różnych stratach naszych

- St ale Žradno pohoworyłysmo po rożnych intratach naszych  
 O Aże zradno pohoworyłyśmy o rożnych utratach naszych  
 P Ale zdradno pohoworyłysmose po rożnych utratach naszych.  
 B Ale здармо поговорили есмо о разны(х) наши(х) утраты(х).  
 W<sub>1</sub> Ale zradme pohoworylismy o raznych naszych interessach  
 W<sub>2</sub> Ale zradnie<sup>151</sup> prohovoryliśmy o raznych naszych interesach -  
 K Ale з зрадно поговорылисмы о разных нашихъ интересахъ,  
 KK Ale зарадно поговорылисмы о разных нашихъ интересахъ.

But we have had an extraordinary talk about (St, P: after) our various losses (St: revenues; W<sub>1</sub>, W<sub>2</sub>, K, KK: interests, affairs)!

81.

- D y heta ne małaia zdaietsię szkoda, koni nam dryhanty<sup>152</sup> chowaty na stayıni,  
 Cz y heta ne małaia zdaietse szkoda, koni nam dryhanty chowaty na Stayni,  
 S niemało dla nas szkodą, chować na stayni konie drabantom,  
 St y ta nemalaia zdaiet sia szkoda koni nam Dryhanty chowaty na stayni  
 O y heto ne małaia zdaietse szkoda Koni Dryhanty na Stayni Chowaty,  
 P Yheto ne małaia zdaietsa szkoda kony dryganty nam chowaty na Stayny  
 B и то не малая штука кони дрыганьты на ста(й)ни ховати.  
 W<sub>1</sub> i heta nemaia sztuka: koni dryhanty na stayni chowaty -  
 W<sub>2</sub> i hota ne małaia sztuka: koni Dryhanty na stayni Chowaty -  
 K и гетая немалая штука, кони дрыганты на стайни ховаты,  
 KK И гетая не малая штука - кони дрыганты на стайнин держати:  
 And it seems to be quite harmful (B, W<sub>1</sub>, W<sub>2</sub>, K, KK: a trick) for us to keep studs in a stable;

82.

- D dawayze iemu lito y zimu<sup>153</sup> owes, y seno,  
 Cz dawayze iemu u lito y Zimu owes y Seno,  
 S dawać im latem i zimą owies i siano,  
 St dawayże iemu zymou y letom owies y Seno  
 O dawayże Iemu Owes y Sino Zimoiu y Litom,  
 P dawayże iomu Lito y zymo owes y seno  
 B дава(й) же имъ въ лето и въ зиме овесь и сено.  
 W<sub>1</sub> dawayże im w leto i w zimie owies i sieno -  
 W<sub>2</sub> dawayże im w leto i w Zimie owies i sieno<sup>154</sup> -  
 K давай же имъ в лето и в зимѣ овесь и сѣно,  
 KK давай же имъ въ лѣто и въ зимѣ овесь и сѣно,

give him (B, W<sub>1</sub>, W<sub>2</sub>, K, KK: them) oats and hay in the summer and winter,

83.

- 
- D podstiłayne ieho szczo nocz,  
 Cz podstełayne ieho szczo nocz,  
 S podścierać ie co noc,  
 St podstyłayne ieho szczo Noczy  
 O podstyłay že Ieho szczo noczy,  
 P podstyłayne ty ieho szczonoczy,  
 B по(д)стила(ќ) же и(х) на но(ч).  
 W<sub>1</sub> podstełayne ich szto nocz -  
 W<sub>2</sub> podstełayne ich szto nocz -  
 K подстелай же што ночь,  
 KK подстелай же што ночь,  
 bed him (B, W<sub>1</sub>, W<sub>2</sub>: them) down every night (B: for the night),

84.

- 
- D chowayze dla neho Słuhu Lacha Koniuszoho, y Masztalera,  
 Cz chowayze dla neho<sup>155</sup> Słuhu Lacha Koniuszoho y Masztalera,  
 S chować dla nich sług lachów, koniuszego, masztalerza,  
 St chowayze dla nieho słuhu Lacha koniaszeho Masztalera  
 O chowayze dla Ieho słuhu Lacha Koniuszoho, Masztalyra,  
 P chowayze dla neho słuhu Lacha Koniuszoho y Maßtalera  
 B хова(ќ) же для и(х) слугу ляха. конюше(го) и машталера.  
 W<sub>1</sub> chowayze dla nich słuhu - lacha - koniuszoho i masztalera,  
 W<sub>2</sub> chowayze dla nich słuhu lacha - koniuszoho i masztalera  
 K ховай же для нихъ слугу Ляха, конюшню и маштелера,  
 KK ховай же для нихъ слугу Ляха, конюшню и машталъра;  
 keep for him (B, W<sub>1</sub>, W<sub>2</sub>, K, KK: them) a Polish servant, groom (K,  
 KK: stable) and stableman

85.

- 
- D a z nich Zadnoy służbý niepytaÿ,  
 Cz a z nich zadnoy Służby niepytay,  
 S a od nich, żadný służby nie pytay,  
 St a z nich żadnoi służby nepytay  
 O a z nych żadnoi neputay usłuhy,<sup>156</sup>  
 P a znych zadnoi służby nepytay,  
 B а з ни(х) жадно(е) службы не пыта(ќ).

W<sub>1</sub> a z nich żadnoj służby ne pytay,  
 W<sub>2</sub> a z nich żadnoj służby ne pytay,  
 K a z nichъ жадной службы нѣ пытай,  
 KK a зъ нихъ жадной службы не пытай.  
 but don't ask any service from them.

86.

D iesliß ießcze Lach kak zerebiec bude, rzat<sup>157</sup> koło Dewok,  
 Cz ieslisz ieszcze Lach kak Zerebiec budie rżac koło dziewczek  
 S ieżeli Lach rżał koło dziewczek,  
 St ieszczez Lach kak Zerebec budet rzat do Diwok  
 O lach iak żerebec budet rzaty do dywok  
 P odno ieszcze Lach kak zerebec budet rzat, koło dewok  
 B a коли(ж) еще ляхъ як жеребе(ц) рже коло девокъ  
 W<sub>1</sub> a koliż iescze lach iak zerebiec rżek koło dziewczek  
 W<sub>2</sub> a koliż iescze lach iak zerebiec rzek koło dziewczek  
 K a колижъ еще ляхъ какъ жеребецъ ржетъ коло девокъ,  
 KK A коли жъ еще Ляхъ какъ жеребецъ ржетъ коло дѣвокъ  
 And when (P: only), on top of this, the Pole like a stallion will neigh  
 (B, K, KK: neighs) around (St, O: to) girls

87.

D kak dryhant koło kobył,  
 Cz kak dryhant koło kobył,  
 S to drabant koło kobiet.  
 St kak Dryhant koło kobył  
 O iak dryhant koło kobył uwywaietse,  
 P kak Drugant.  
 B какъ дрыга(н)тъ коло кобыль  
 W<sub>1</sub> kak dryhant koło kobył;  
 W<sub>2</sub> kak drygant koło kobył  
 K какъ дрыгантъ коло . . . ,<sup>158</sup>  
 KK какъ дрыгантъ коло кобыль,  
 just like a stud (O: bustles) around mares,<sup>159</sup>

88.

D prijmiz dwuch Litwinow na Straz knemu,  
 Cz pryimiz dwuch Litwinow na Straż knemu,  
 S Przymóże dwóch Litwinów, na straż do nich,

- St pryimiž dwoch Litwinow na straż  
 O pryimysz knym dwoch Lytwynow na storożu,  
 P Pryymy do nich Litwinów na storożu  
 B при(и)ми ж къ нему двохъ литвино(в) на стражъ  
 W<sub>1</sub> prymiž k niemu dwoch litwinow na straż,  
 W<sub>2</sub> prymiž k niemu dwoch litwinow na straż  
 K прымижь к нему двохъ Литвиновъ на стражъ,  
 KK прыйми жъ къ нему двохъ Литвиновъ на стражъ;  
 hire two Lithuanians for guarding him (O, P: them)

89.

- 
- D bo ѿ sam ditko mowiut was neupilnuiet.  
 Cz bo y sam dytko mowiut was neupilnuiet.  
 S sam oyciec mówią oni, nie upilnuie was.  
 St bo y sam Ditko ich neustereżet  
 O ba y sam Dytko Ich neupylnuiet.  
 P da k nim kob i sam didko był mowył was neupilnuiet.  
 B бо и са(м) дидко не упи(л)нуе(ть).  
 W<sub>1</sub> bo i sam didko ne upilnuiet.  
 W<sub>2</sub> bo i sam didko ne upilnuiet -  
 K бо и самъ дѣдко нѣ упильнуѣтъ.  
 KK бо и самъ дѣдко не упильнуєтъ!  
 because even the devil himself, as the saying goes (P: even if the devil himself told them), could not keep anything safe from you (St, O: them).

90.

- 
- D I to na Swite durnina Hodynniki  
 Cz I to na Swite durnina hodynniki,  
 S I to  
 St y to na Switi Durnina Hodynniki  
 O Ichomostywyi Panowie, durnyna na Swity Hodynnyki chowaty,  
 P I to swiataia durnina hodynnyki  
 B И то на свете дурнина годин(н)ики.  
 W<sub>1</sub> I to na swietie durnina hodinniki:  
 W<sub>2</sub> I to na swietie durnina hodinniki  
 K И гето (я) на свѣте дурнина, - годынникъ  
 KK И гетая на свѣтѣ дурнина: годынникъ  
 And watches [clocks] (O: owned) are (P: holy) nonsense in the world  
 (O: dear gentlemen).

91.

- D mne prytrafiłosię na tandecie w Kijowie kupity,  
 Cz mne prytrapiło się na tendetie w Kiiowie kupiti,  
 S się mnie przytrafiło, żem na tandecie w Kiiowie kupił zegarek  
 St os mnie prytrafiło sie u Kijowi na tandem kupity  
 O prytrapiłosia miny raz u kiiowie na tandyty kuputy Hodynnyk,  
 P mene prytrapylo się na tandemty u Kiiowe kuputy,  
 B мне притрафило на тандете в Киевѣ купити.  
 W<sub>1</sub> mnie prytrafiło sia na tandemie w Kiiowie kupity;  
 W<sub>2</sub> mnie prytrafiło sia na tandemie w kijowie kupity -  
 K мнъ притрафилося на tandemetъ в Киевѣ купиты,  
 KK мнъ притрафилося на tandemetъ въ Киевѣ купиты;  
 (St: Look) I happened to buy one (O: watch [clock] once) on the  
 flea-market at Kyjiv.<sup>160</sup>

92.

- D dalismy za neho trę kopę hroßey,  
 Cz dalismy za neho<sup>161</sup> try kopy hroszy,  
 S za który dałem trzy kopy groszy,  
 St dałyiesmo za neho try kopy hroszy  
 O dałyiesmo za Ieho try Kopy hroszy,  
 P dałyśmo za neho try kopyie hroszey,  
 B дали есмо за е(го) три копы гроше(и).  
 W<sub>1</sub> dalismy za ieho try kopy hroszey,  
 W<sub>2</sub> dalismy za ieho try kopy hroszey  
 K далысьмы за іего трь<sup>161a</sup> копы гроши,  
 KK далысьмы за іего трь копы гроши,  
 I gave three times sixty groszy for it<sup>162</sup>

93.

- D iakosmę posław do Wilna poprawitę,  
 Cz iakosmy posław do Wilna poprawity,  
 S iakeśmy posłów wysyłali do Wilna,  
 St iakosmy posłały do Wylnia poprawyty  
 O iakze ieho posław do Wylna poprawyty,  
 P iakosmy do Wilna posłały poprawlaty  
 B а якъ есмо послал(и) до Вилни на направу  
 W<sub>1</sub> a iakeśmo posłali do Wilna na naprawu  
 W<sub>2</sub> a iakesmo posłali do Wilna na naprawu  
 K а якосьмы послали до Вильна, на направу,

**KK** а якосьмы послали до Вильна на направу,  
and when I sent it to Vilnius for repair

94.

- 
- D az na piatoju kopu kruty złodey zamorczyk  
 Cz az na piatuju kopu Krutit Złodziey Zamorczyk,  
 S cóż? nie długo kręcić zaczół złodzię zamorczyk:  
 St aż na piatuiu kopu kruty złodiy zamorczyk  
 O az dwi Kopy od naprawy złodiy Zamorczyk kruty,  
 P aż na pijatu kopu krut złodey zamoczok nakrutyw.  
 B ażno na пяту(ю) копу крути(ть) злод(еи) замо(р)щикъ.  
 W<sub>1</sub> až no na piatuiu kopu kruty złodziey zamorszczyk.  
 W<sub>2</sub> až no na piatuiu kopu krutyl złodziey zamorszczyk -  
 K ажъ онъ на пятую копу крутыль злодѣй заморщики.  
 KK ажъ онъ на пятую копу крутыль злодѣй заморщики!

(B, W<sub>1</sub>, W<sub>2</sub>, K, KK: then) the overseas thief<sup>163</sup> spiraled the price to as much as five times 60 groszy (O: two times 60 for the repair; P: wound up the lock to five times 60).

95.

- 
- D dobry to naſz hodynnik Petuch szczo nechibne opułnoczy<sup>164</sup> kukarekuiet,  
 Cz dobry to nasz hodynnik Petuch, szczo nechybne o pułnoczy kukarekuiet,  
 S dobry to nasz pietuch, co nie chybnie o pólnoce kurykaiet.  
 St dobry to nasz hodynniki Pietuch szczo neschybne o poynoczy kukurykaiet  
 O dobry to nasz hodynnyk Petuch szczo neochybne o Puwnoczy kukurykaiet.  
 P Dobry to naß hodynnyk Petuch szczo nechybno opównoczy zakakarykaiet.  
 В добри то на(ш) годи(н)никъ пету(х) што не хыбне о по(л)ночи кукаракуе(ть).  
 W<sub>1</sub> Dobry to nasz hodinnik pietuch! szto ne chybnie o poł noczy, kakarykaiet.  
 W<sub>2</sub> Dobry to nasz hodynnik pietuch! szto ne chybnie o pólnoczy, kakarykaiet -  
 К Добры то нашъ годынныкъ пѣтухъ, што нехыбне о полночи какарекуе.

**КК Добры-то нашъ годынныкъ нѣтухъ, што нехыбне о полночи  
какарѣкаеть.**

Our good clock is the rooster which infallibly crows at midnight.

96.

- D y to welmi stratnoja<sup>165</sup> Szkoda Gałakuckiie kury chowaty,  
 Cz y to welmi stratnaja szkoda Gałakuckiie kury chowaty  
 S Alboż to niezgorszenie, chować kałakuckie kury,  
 St y welmi szkoda kałakuckije kury chowaty  
 O I to welmy szkoda kałakuckii Kury chowaty  
 P Ito welmi stratnaia Szkoda Gałaguckyie kury Chowaty,  
 B и то велми стра(ш)ная шкода гологу(з)ды(е) кури ховати.  
 W<sub>1</sub> I to wielmi strasznaia szkoda hołohuznyie kury chowaty,  
 W<sub>2</sub> J to wielmi strasznaia szkoda hołohuznyie kury chowaty,  
 K И то вѣльми страшная шкода, гологумые куры ховать,  
 KK И то вельми страшная шкода - гологузые куры ховать:  
     Also a very ruinous (B, W<sub>1</sub>, W<sub>2</sub>, K, KK: terrible) damage is to keep  
     turkeys (B, W<sub>1</sub>, W<sub>2</sub>, K, KK: bare-rumped cocks),

97.

- D ich z dostatkem waryty, y Innyie Ptaszki Smażyty,  
 Cz ich zdostatkem waryty y Innyie ptaſki smažty,  
 S warzyć ie dostatkiem, smażyć różne ptaszki,  
 St y ich zdostatkem waryty y Jnnyie Ptaszki smažty  
 O y innyi Ptaszki Smažty,  
 P Ich z dostatkami waryty, y unnyie ptaszki Smazyty,  
 B ихъ доста(т)ко(м) варити и и(н)ны(е) пташки смажи(ти).  
 W<sub>1</sub> ich dostatkem waryty, i inneie ptaszki smažty.  
 W<sub>2</sub> ich doſtatkem waryty i inneie ptaszki smažty -  
 K ихъ достаткомъ варыгы,<sup>165a</sup>  
 KK ихъ достаткомъ варыты.  
     to cook them with rich food and to fry other poultry,

98.

- D Torty, hetyie, Rozynkami Migdałami Cymentem bohato cukrowaty,  
 Cz torty hetyie rozynkami, migdałami, cymentem bohato cukrowaty,  
 S owe torty, z rodzynkami, migdałami, cymentem, bogato cukrowane,  
 St Torty migdałami Rozynkami Cynamonom bohato cukrowaty  
 O Torty Mygdałamy rodzynkami Cynamonami bohato Cukrowaty,  
 P torty belyie rozynkamy mygdałami, Cynamontom bohato Cukrowaty,

**B** торты тые цинамоно(м) микгдала(ми) цукровати.

**W<sub>1</sub>** Torty hetyie cynamonom, migdałami cukrowaty -

**W<sub>2</sub>** Torty hetyie Cynamonom migdałami cukrowaty -

**K**

**KK**

to sugar those layer cakes richly with raisins, almonds and cinnamon.

**99.** \_\_\_\_\_

**D** za moiey pametë tych prysmakow nebywało,

**Cz** za moiey pamiety tych prysmakow nie bywało,

**S** Za moiéy pamięci, niebywało tych przysmaków.

**St** zamoeiy Pamiety ehe takich prysmakow nebuwało

**O** zamoeiy Pamiety Prysmakow nebuwało,

**P** aza moiei pamety tych prysmaków nebuwało.

**B** а за мое(й) памети при(с)маком(в) ты(х) небывало.

**W<sub>1</sub>** а за moiey pamiety prysmakow hetych nebywało.

**W<sub>2</sub>** а за moiey pamiety prysmakow hetych ne bywało -

**K** а за моей памъти присмаковъ гетыхъ нѣбывало,

**KK** А за моей памети прысмаковъ гетыхъ не бывало;

(P, B, W<sub>1</sub>, W<sub>2</sub>, K, KK: But) Within my memory these (St: such) dainties did not exist.

**100.** \_\_\_\_\_

**D** dobra była huska z hrybkami, kaczaczka z Perczykom,

**Cz** dobra była huska z hrybkami, kaczczka z pierczykom,

**S** dobra była huska z grybkami, kaczeczka s perczykom,

**St** dobroia buła Husoczka z Hrybkami Kaczeczka z Perczykom

**O** dobra buła husoczka z hrybkami, Kaczeczka zperczykom,

**P** Dobre buło husoczku zhrybkami, Kaczeczki zperczykom,

**B** добрая была гуска зъ грибъками. ка(ч)ка зъ пе(р)чико(м).

**W<sub>1</sub>** Dobraia była huska z hrybkami, kaczka z pierczykom,

**W<sub>2</sub>** Dobraia była Huska z Hrybkami, kaczka z pierczykom,

**K** добра было гуска съ грыбками, качка з перчыкомъ,

**KK** добра было: гуска съ грыбками, кашка зъ перчыкомъ,

Goose with mushrooms<sup>166</sup> was good [enough], duck (KK: gruel) with pepper,<sup>167</sup>

**101.** \_\_\_\_\_

**D** Peczonka z Cybuloju albo z czosnoczkom,

**Cz** Peczonka z cybulkoju albo z czosnoczkom,

- S pieczonka z cybulą, albo z czosnkiem,  
 St Peczunka z Cybulkaiu albo z Czosniczkom  
 O Peczonoczka z Cybuloiu albo Czosnyczkom,  
 P peczonku z cybulkomi albo zczosnykom,  
 B печо(н)ка з цыбуле(ю) или чо(с)ныко(м).  
 W<sub>1</sub> pieczonka z cybuloiu ili z czosnym,  
 W<sub>2</sub> Pieczonka z Cyboloju ili z Czosnym,  
 K пѣчонка з цыбулькою или зъ чосныкомъ,  
 KK печонка зъ цыбулькою или зъ чосныкомъ,  
 liver with onion or garlic

102.

- D a koli na perepyñy dostatok Ryzowaja kasza z szafranem,  
 Cz a koli na perepyszny dostatek Ryzowaja kaſza z Szafranem,  
 S a kiedy na przepyszny bankiet, to kasza ryżowa z szafranem.  
 St a kak na Perepyszneie dostatki Ryżowaia Kasza z Szafranom,  
 O a koły nayperepysznieszy bankiet ryżowaia Kasza z Szafranom,  
 P a koły na perepysznny dostatok ryżowaia kasza z Szafrantom.  
 B a коли на перепы(ш)ны(е) доста(т)ки каша рижовая зъ шафрано(м).  
 W<sub>1</sub> a koli na perepysznyie dostatki kasza ryżowaia z szafranem.  
 W<sub>2</sub> a koli na perepysznyie dostatki kasza ryżowaia z szafranom-  
 K а коли на перепышное достатки, каша рыжовая з шафраномъ.  
 KK а коли на перепышные достатки - каша рыжовая зъ шафраномъ.  
 and, if for a (O: most) delicious abundant meal (O: banquet), rice  
 pudding with saffron.

103.

- D wina węgierskoho ne zazywali peredtym,  
 Cz wina Węgierskoho nezazywali peretym  
 S Wina węgierskiego nie znano,  
 St wyną Wenherskoho peredtym neznawały  
 O wyną Węgierskoho perettym neznały,  
 P Wyną węgierskoho ne zazywały pered tym  
 B вина ве(н)г(е)рского не заживали передъ тымъ.  
 W<sub>1</sub> Wina węgierskoho nezażywali pieredtym.  
 W<sub>2</sub> Wina węgierskoho nezažywali pieredtym -  
 K Вина венгерского незаживали, передтымъ  
 KK Вина венгерского не заживали передъ тымъ, -  
 Hungarian wine was previously not used,

104.

- D y małmazoju skromnie pijali, medok y horyłoczku zobały,  
 Cz y Małmazuju skromnie piiali, medok y horeliczku zobały,  
 S a małmozyę skromnie piiano, miodek i gorzałeczkę spiiano,  
 St y małmazyu skromne pywały medok y horyłoczku łembały  
 O małmazyu skromne pywały, a medok, horyłoczku zobały  
 P i Małmazyi, zkoreenna medok pyiały i horełoczku zobały,  
 B Ma(l)mazi(ю) скромно пивали медокъ и горило(ч)ку дюбали,  
 W<sub>1</sub> Małmazuiu skromno piwali, miedok i horyłoczku dziubali -  
 W<sub>2</sub> Małmazuju skromno piwali, Miedok i horyłoczku dziubali -  
 K малмазью скромно пияли. Медокъ и горелочку дзюбали,  
 KK малмазью скромно пияли, медокъ и горѣлочку дзюбали.  
 rather malmsey was drunk modestly,<sup>168</sup> (O: and) mead and liquor were  
 nipped (St: lapped) -

105.

- D ale hroþej podostatkom mewali, mury silnyie horodj murowały,  
 Cz ale hroszy podostatkom miewały, mur, siłnyie horody murowały  
 S ale zato było groszy dostatek, murowano silne grody,  
 St ale inszy bezczysła miwały mury silnyie horody murowały  
 O ale bez česla hroszy mywały, mury Setnyi murowały,  
 P a hroszy podostatku mewały, mury Sylne horody murowały  
 B але гроши по(д)доста(т)ко(м) мевали. мури силны(е) муровали  
 W<sub>1</sub> ale hroszy podostatkom miewali, mury silnyie murowali  
 W<sub>2</sub> ale hroszy podostatkom miewali, mury silnyie murowali -  
 K а гроши по достаткомъ мѣвали, муры муровали  
 KK А гроши подостаткомъ мѣвали, муры муровали  
 but people (St: others) had money in abundance (St, O: innumerable  
 monies), strong (O: multiple) walls and fortifications were built

106.

- D y woynu sławno krepko Łutczey ießcze niz tepereczj do derzywali,  
 Cz y Woynu Sławno krepko, Łutczey ieszcze niż tepereczy doderzywali;  
 S w woynie bito się lepiéy iak dziś, lepiéy dodzierzywano pola.  
 St y woynu sławnui i łutszeie kak teper doderzywały.  
 O Woynu sławnui krypko, łutsze nyż teper derżały.  
 P y woynu Sławnui łuczsze nyz teper doderzywały.  
 B и во(й)ну славну(ю) крѣпко и лучше(й) де(р)жали какъ тепер.  
 W<sub>1</sub> i woynu sławnui krepko i łuczszej dzierżali kak tiepier.  
 W<sub>2</sub> i woynu sławnui krepko i łuczey dzierzali kak tiepier -

**K** и войну славную крепко и лучей дзѣржали, какъ теперь.

**KK** и войну славную крѣпко и лучей держали, какъ теперь.

and war (St, O, P, B, W<sub>1</sub>, W<sub>2</sub>, K, KK: glorious war) was excellently and toughly waged, even better than now.

107. \_\_\_\_\_

D y to ne do reczy duractwo

Cz Y to ne do reczy duractwo

S Albož i to nieduractwo,

St I to nedoreczы Duractwo

O I to nedoreczы duractwo,

P I heto ieszcze ne odreczy duractwo

B И то не до рѣчи.

W<sub>1</sub> I to nie do reczy.

W<sub>2</sub> I to nie do reczy -

K И то нѣ до речы

KK И то не доречы:

And this is (P: also) an absurd idiocy:

108. \_\_\_\_\_

D w Bohatych sukniach Panie chodiat, kak w pereswitach<sup>169</sup>

Cz w bohatych Sukniach Panie chodiat, kak w Pereswitach

S že Panie w tak bogatych sukniach chodzą,

St w bohatych sukniach Panie naszyi hodiat kak w wereswitach

O szczo w bohatych Sukniach Pani chodiat,

P u bohatych sukniach Panyie chodiat', kak wperc switach

B в богаты(х) сукня(х) пани ходя(ть).

W<sub>1</sub> W bohatych sukniach Panie chodiat;

W<sub>2</sub> W bohatych sukniach panie chodiat -

K въ богатыхъ сукняхъ нашые панѣ ходятъ,

KK въ богатыхъ сукняхъ нашые панѣ ходятъ;

(O: that; St, K, KK: our<sup>169a</sup>) ladies wear rich dresses like previously they did coats.

109. \_\_\_\_\_

D neznawały peredtym hetej portugały czy fortugały,<sup>170</sup>

Cz neznawały peretym hetyi portugały czy fortugały,

S nie znano przedtym téy tam portugały czy fortugały,

St neznawały peredtym hetakich Portugałow

O neznawały perettym hetyi fortugały czy portugały,

- P nezažywały peredtym, hetyie Portugały czy fortugały  
 B незнали передъ тымъ ты(х) Портукгали или Фортугали.  
 W<sub>1</sub> nieznali peredtym hetych Portuhali ili Fortuhali -  
 W<sub>2</sub> nie znali peredtym hetych Portuhali ili Fortuhali -  
 K не знали передтымъ португале или фартугале,  
 KK не знали передъ тымъ португале или фортугале,  
 Formerly they did not know (P: use) these farthingales or whatever you call it:

110.

- 
- D a podołek ruchaietsię a koło podołka czeplaietse,  
 Cz a podołek ruchaiet se, a koło podołka czeplaiet se,  
 S a czepienie iakoweś, rucha się około podołka,  
 St a podołok ruchaiat sia a koło podołka czeplaiet sia,  
 O podołok myszaietse koło podołka czeplaietse,  
 P a podołok ruchaietse akoło podołka czeplaietse  
 B a подоло(к) рухае(т) ся а коло подо(л)ка чепляет ся.  
 W<sub>1</sub> a podołok ruchaietsia a koło podołka czeplaietsia,  
 W<sub>2</sub> A podołow ruchaietsia a koło podołku czeplaietsia,  
 K а подолокъ рухается, а около подолка чепляется,  
 KK а подолокъ рухается, а около подолка чепляется;  
 the front moves (O: gets entangled) and it [the dress] catches around the front,

111.

- 
- D a Dworanin wnozku zahladaiet kak sokoł  
 Cz a dworanin w noszku zahladaiet kak Sokoł  
 S a dworzanin iak sokoł czubaty, pogląda  
 St a Dworanin w Nozku zahladaie kak Sokoł  
 O wnoszku zahliadet Iak Sokoł  
 P a Dworanyń u nozku zahladaiet' kak sokoł  
 B а дворанинъ въ ножку какъ соколь загледае(ть)  
 W<sub>1</sub> a dworanin w nożku kak sokoł zahladaiet  
 W<sub>2</sub> a dworanin w Nizku kak sokoł pahladaiet  
 K дворанинъ въ ножку какъ соколь загледаѣтъ  
 KK а дворанинъ въ ножку, какъ соколь, загледаетъ,  
 and the courtier looks up her leg like a falcon,

112.

- 
- D szczob szczubnuty, hde sołodkoie miaso,  
 Cz szczob szczubnuti, hde Sołodkojo miaso,

- S iakby uskubnąć.  
 St iakby szczupnuty de sołodkoie miaso  
 O szczoby szczupnuty hde sołodkoie miaso.  
 P szczob szczupnuty hde Sołodkeie miaso:  
 B что бы где шу(п)нути соло(д)кого мяса.  
 W<sub>1</sub> sztoby hdzie szczupnuty sołotkoho miasa.  
 W<sub>2</sub> sztoby hdzie Sczupnuty sołodkoho miasa -  
 K чтобы где щипнуты солодкого мяса.  
 KK чтобы гдѣ щипнуты солодкого мяса.  
 to pinch (St: for the way to pinch) where the sweet flesh is (B, W<sub>1</sub>, W<sub>2</sub>, K, KK: sweet flesh somewhere).

## 113.

- 
- D ia bŷ radŷł, niechbŷ białosŷiki naβyie  
 Cz iaby radił niechby białoszyiki naszyie  
 S Jabym radził, niechby białoszyiki nasze,  
 St Ia by rad nechayby było Żynki naszyie  
 O Iabym radyw nechayby Zynki naszyi  
 P Jabych radył nechayby białożenskaia naβaia  
 B я(ж) ради(л) бы неха(й) бы белоjo(н)ки наши(е)  
 W<sub>1</sub> Ja tež radziłby nechayby białožonki naszyie,  
 W<sub>2</sub> Ia tež radzilby nechayby białożonki naszyie,  
 K Я тоже радиль бы нехайбы бълоžонки нашые  
 KK Я тоже радиль бы, нехай бы бълоžонки нашые  
 I would (W<sub>1</sub>, W<sub>2</sub>, K, KK: also) advise (St: be glad) that our women should

## 114.

- 
- D wzapinanyie dawnye postroiły się kazakiny,  
 Cz w zapinanyie dawnye postroiły się kozakiny  
 S postroiły się wdawniesze zapinania,  
 St wzapinanyie podauniomu postroyły sia kasakiny  
 O wzapynanyi dawnyi postroiłysia kazakiny,  
 P wzapynanyie dawnye postroylyse kozakiny  
 B въ запинаны(е) да(в)ны(е) убирали се козакины.  
 W<sub>1</sub> w zapinanyie dawnye ubieralisia kozakiny,  
 W<sub>2</sub> w zapinanyie dawnye ubieralisia kozakiny  
 K в запинаные давные убѣралися козакинки,  
 KK въ запинаные давные убералися козакинки,  
 dress in old-time clasped robes (St: in an old-time fashion)

## 115.

- D a sznurowanie na zadu nosiły rozporki,  
 Cz osznurowanie na zadu nosiły rozporki,  
 S a w sznurowaniu na zadu nosiły rozporki,  
 St wsnuowany nazadı nosyły rosporki  
 O a nazadı Sznurowany nosyły rosporki,  
 P a sznurowanie na zadu nosyły rozporki,  
 B шнурованы(е) на заде носили розъпо(р)ки  
 W<sub>1</sub> sznurowanie na zadzie nosili rozporki,  
 W<sub>2</sub> sznurowanie na zadzie nosili rozporki,  
 K шнурованные на задѣ носили роспорки,  
 KK шнурованные назадѣ носили роспорки,  
 and wear laced slits on their backs

## 116.

- D a ktemu szczob z Nemecka pludryny uzywały  
 Cz a ktemu szczob z Nemecka pludryny uzywały  
 S a ktemu by z niemiecka pluder nie używać,  
 St a ktomu z Niemiecka pludryn uzywały  
 O ktomu nemeckyi pludry,  
 P albo szczob z Nemecka pludryny uzywały,  
 B а къ тому что бы знемецъка заривали плю(д)рики.  
 W<sub>1</sub> a ktomu cztoby zniemiecka zarywali pludryki,  
 W<sub>2</sub> a ktobymu cztoby z niemiecka zarywali pludryki -  
 K а ктому чтобы з нѣмѣцка заживали плюдрыки  
 KK а къ тому чтобы зъ нѣмецка заживали плюндыки:  
 and, in addition (P: or), use drawers in the German fashion (O: German drawers) —

## 117.

- D byłob warowney, yspokoyney,  
 Cz byŁob warowniey y Spokoyniey,  
 S byłoby warowniény, i spokoyniény,  
 St byłoby warowniey day spokoyniey  
 O byłoby warowniey yspokoyniey,  
 P bułob warowney i spokoyney,  
 B  
 W<sub>1</sub>  
 W<sub>2</sub>  
 K

KK

it would be more safe and calm,

118.

- D dobrochotniki miłosnyie, ne tak by chutko Lubitelniu skradywali bredniu  
 Cz dobrochotniki, miłosniie ne tak by chutko Lubitelniu skradywali bredniu,  
 S od dobrochotników miłosnych, nie tak by prędko skradywali lubietylnią brydnie,  
 St dobrochotniky myłostwyie takby chudko lubytelnuiu skradły brydniu,  
 O bo netak skoro dobrochotnyki myłosnuiu tuiu lubytelnuiu skradały brydniu,  
 P dobrochotnyki myłostnyie netakby chutko lubytelnuiu skradły bredniu,  
 B не такъ бы скоро любите(л)ну скрдывали бре(д)ню.  
 W<sub>1</sub> nie takby skoro lubitelnu skradywali bredniu.  
 W<sub>2</sub> nie takby skoro lubitelnu skradywali bredniu -  
 K нѣ такбы скоро любительну скрдывали бредню;  
 KK не такъ бы скоро любительну скрдывали бредню.  
 (O: because) the amorous volunteers would not so quickly steal love's madness.

119.

- D a tepereczy chot z rohatynoju na Warcie stoy  
 Cz a tepereczy choc z rohatynujo na Warcie Stoy,  
 S a dziś, choćbyś z rochotyną stał na warcie,  
 St ateper choc ty z Rohatynoiu styi  
 O a teperycz chodzby z rohatynoiu stoy,  
 P A tepereczy choc z rohatynoiu nawartę stoy,  
 B а теперъ хотя з рогатиною на варте сто(й)  
 W<sub>1</sub> A tiepier chotia z rohatynoiu na warti stoy  
 W<sub>2</sub> A tiepier chotia z rohatynoiu na Warti stoy  
 K а теперъ хотя з рогатиною на вартѣ стой,  
 KK А теперъ хотя зъ рогатиною на вартѣ стой,  
 But now, even stand guard with a halberd

120.

- D w zywyie oczy takoho Bisa neupilnuieß,  
 Cz w żywymie oczy takoho Bisa neupilnuesz,  
 S to bisa tego nieupilnuesz.  
 St uzywyie oczy koły takoho bisa neustorożesz  
 O choc uzywoy oczy koły takoho bysa neupylnuesz.  
 P żywyie oczy, takoho bisa n[. . .]pylnuesz.<sup>171</sup>  
 B въ живы(е) очи тако(го) бѣса не упи(л)нуешь.  
 W<sub>1</sub> wzywyie oczy, takoho biesa nie upilnuesz.  
 W<sub>2</sub> wzywyie oczy takoho biesa ne upilnuesz -  
 K въ живые очи такого бѣса нѣ упилнуешь.  
 KK въ живые очи такого бѣса не упильнуешь.  
 and eye him and (St, O: but) you would not keep it safe from such a devil.

121.

- D dalej oczym Radity, neznaju;  
 Cz daley o czym Radyty<sup>172</sup> ne znaju,  
 S O czem daléy radzić prawdziwie niewiem,  
 St daley oczymby radyty neznaiu  
 O Dałey mowyty o czym neznaiu,  
 P Dałeyby oczym radyty neznaiu,  
 B Дале(й) о чи(м) ради(ти) незнаю.  
 W<sub>1</sub> Daley o czym radyty naznaiu -  
 W<sub>2</sub> Daley o czym radyty neznaiu -  
 K Дабы о чомъ радыты незнаю,  
 KK Да бы о чомъ радыты, не знаю;  
 About what (P: possibly) to deliberate (O: talk) further I don't know.

122.

- D to szto Waſey Miłosty raczył,<sup>173</sup> y prypomneł,<sup>174</sup>  
 Cz to szto Waszey Miłosti raczył y prypomneł<sup>175</sup>  
 S lecz to waszmoście raczcie przypomnić  
 St Nadtoie Szto waszeyi Miłosty prypomniu  
 O okrom toho, szczo waszoy miłości skazaw,  
 P to szczo pametał, Waſey myłosty prypomnety raczył.  
 B то ваше(й) м(и)л(о)сти припоминаю

W<sub>1</sub> to waszey Miłosty prypominaiu,

W<sub>2</sub> to Waszey Miłosty prypominaiu,

K то только Вашей Милости припоминаю

KK то только вашей милости припоминаю,

What they have been so kind as to remind Your Majesty of is<sup>176</sup> (St: Beyond what I have reminded Your Majesty of; O: told Your Majesty; P: I have been pleased to remind Your Majesty of what I have remembered; B, K, KK: I am only reminding Your Majesty)

123.

---

D szczob zawzdÿ raczyli kolko Senatorow Panow Litowskich

Cz szczob zawzdy raczyli kolko Senatorow Panow Litowskich

S żeby zawzdy kilku Panów Senatorów Litewskich

St Pry tolko Senatorach Panach naszych

O aże tulko Senatorow, Panow naszych

P ychoczu szczob zawsze raczyły tolko Senatorów Panow Łytowskich

B что бы завсегда сколько сенаторо(в) и пано(в) Лито(в)ски(х)

W<sub>1</sub> cztoby zawsiehda skolko senatorow i panow Litewskich

W<sub>2</sub> cztoby zawsiehda skolko Senatorow i panow Litewskich

K чтобы завсегда сколько сенаторовъ и пановъ Литовскихъ

KK чтобы завсегда, сколько сенаторовъ и пановъ Литовскихъ

(P: and I want) that there should always be (St: in the presence of) a

few (St, O, P: so many) senators, Lithuanian lords (St, O: our lords;

B, W<sub>1</sub>, W<sub>2</sub>, K, KK: senators and Lithuanian lords) who would deign

124.

---

D pry korolu Ieho Miłosty bywatÿ,<sup>177</sup>

Cz pry korolu Ieho Miłosti bywaty,

S przy Królu Jegomości bywało,

St pry Korolu ieho Miłosty

O pry korolu Iehomosty buwało,

P prykorolu Jeho Myłosty buwaty,

B при королю его M(и)л(о)сти было.

W<sub>1</sub> pry korolu Jeho Miłosti było.

W<sub>2</sub> pry Korolu Ieho Miłosti było -

K при коронѣ iего Milosty было,

KK при коронѣ iего милосты было,

to be at the side of His Royal Majesty (K, KK: the crown of His Majesty).

125.

- D bywby y Ia tolko korolewszczyzn̄ nemaju,  
 Cz bywby y Ia tolko Korolewszczyzny nie maju,  
 S byłbym i Ja, ale królewsczyzny niemam,  
 St Bywałby y ia tylko Korolewczyn̄ neznaiu  
 O buwawby y Ia, ałe korolowszczyzny nymaiu,  
 P buwby yia tolko korolowszczyzny ne maiu,  
 B быль бы и я только короло(в)щины не маю.  
 W<sub>1</sub> Byłyby i ia tolko korolowsczyzny ne maiu,  
 W<sub>2</sub> Byłyby i ia tolko korolowsczyzny nemaiu  
 K быль бы и я только кролевщизны нѣ маю,  
 KK быль бы и я. Только кролевщизны не маю,  
 So would I be but I have (St: know) no royal leasehold

126.

- D bo pred druhim niezchoplu,  
 Cz bo pred druhim ne schoplu,  
 S bo iéy przed drugim niezłapię,  
 St bo pereddruhimy neschoplu  
 O bo pered druhymy neułaplu.  
 P bopered druhymy ne zhoplu.  
 B бо перед другими не схопи(л).  
 W<sub>1</sub> bo pered druhimi neschapił.  
 W<sub>2</sub> bo pered druhimi ne schapił -  
 K бо передъ другими нѣ схопыль,  
 KK бо передъ другими не схопыль.

because I can't grab it (B, W<sub>1</sub>, W<sub>2</sub>, K, KK: haven't grabbed it) before others.

127.

- D a wzo iesmo kazat prawdÿ<sup>178</sup> y staruju  
 Cz a wzoesmo kazat prawdy y Star;  
 S  
 St awzaiesmo kazał Prauda y star  
 O Prawdu mowluczy, chociasz Ia star,  
 P A uzesmo kazały prawdu, y Staruiu  
 B а што есмо казали все пра(в)да.  
 W<sub>1</sub> A sztoieśmo kazali wsio prawda.  
 W<sub>2</sub> A sztoiesmo kazali to wsio prawda -  
 K а штожесмо сказали, то всie правда

KK А штожъ есмо сказали, то всie правда.

Now, to tell the truth, I am old (O: although I am old; B, W<sub>1</sub>, W<sub>2</sub>, K,  
KK: And what I've said is all true)

128.

- D Urszulu Korolowu Jej Miłosty milenko wruczku pocałował,  
Cz a Urszulu Korolowu Iey Miłosti milenko w ruczku pocałował  
S ani panny Urszuli, u Królówéy Jmość w rączkę nie pocałuję,  
St z Urszul Korolowuiu miłost w Ruku pocylował  
O takisz odnakowo naszuiu Korolowuiu myłostywuiu pocylowanaw,  
P Hrezulu<sup>179</sup> korolowuiu Jey myłost mylusieńko wruczka[. . .]<sup>180</sup> pocałował,  
B а Уршулю короле(в)ну его М(и)л(о)сти миленко въ ру(ч)ку поцаловали,  
W<sub>1</sub> A Urszulu korolewnu Jeho Miłosty milenko w ruczku pocałowali,  
W<sub>2</sub> A Urszulu Korolewna Ieho Miłosty milenko w ruczku pocałowali,  
K и Аннулку королевну Iero Milosti milenko в ручку поциловали,  
KK И Аннульку, королевну еи милость, миленко въ ручку поциловали,  
but (O: all the same) I (B, W<sub>1</sub>, W<sub>2</sub>, K, KK: we) have nicely kissed the  
hand of Ursula (K, KK: Ann), Her Majesty the Queen (O: our  
gracious Queen; B, W<sub>1</sub>, W<sub>2</sub>, K, KK: King's daughter)

129.

- D jak druhiie młodbyie Senatorczyki  
Cz jak druhiie mołodszyie Senatorczyki,  
S iak inni młodsi Senatorczykowie,  
St  
O tak iak y mołodyi Senatorczyki,  
P jak ydruhye mołodszyie Senatorczyki,  
B как и други(е) моло(д)ши(е) сенато(р)чики.  
W<sub>1</sub> jak druhiie mołodszeie senatorczyki.  
W<sub>2</sub> jak druhiie mołodszeie Senatorczyki -  
K какъ другие младшые сенаторшыки.  
KK какъ другие младшые сенаторшыки.  
like other, younger (O: young) senators.

130.

- D ne Dywitesie Mostwy Panowie i Bratia  
Cz ne dywuytiesia Mostwy Panowie y Bratia  
S niedziwuycie się Mości Panowie i bracia.

St

O nedywuyte Panowie bratia

P nedywuytesia Mostywyie Panowe ibratia

B не дивуйте ся м(и)ло(ст)ивы(e) панове братъя.

W<sub>1</sub> Ne diwuytesia mostwy Panowie Bratia.W<sub>2</sub> Ne diwuytesia mostwy Panowie Bratia -

K

KK

Don't wonder (D: stare), gracious gentlemen and brothers!

131. \_\_\_\_\_

D Wik wicom

Cz Wik Wikom

S Wiek wiekiem,

St

O nazywaiut wik wicom,

P /: Wik, wicom

B вѣкъ вѣко(м)

W<sub>1</sub> Wiek wiekomW<sub>2</sub> Wiek wiekom

K

KK

Age is age (O: as they call it).

132. \_\_\_\_\_

D skazywaiet<sup>181</sup> Siwizna w borode, a czort w Ladwiach zapoiesom

Cz skazywaiet, Siwizna w borodie, a Czort w Ledwiach za poiesom

S to okazuie siwizna w brodzie, choć czart zapasem,

St

O sywyzna w borody, a czort w ladzwach zapoiasom,

P Skazywaiet' Sywyzna wborode a czort wLadwiech

B сказывае(ть). сивизна в бородѣ и чорътъ въ лидъвя(x) за поесо(м).

W<sub>1</sub> skazywaiet - a siwizna w borodzie i czort w lidwiach zapoiasom.W<sub>2</sub> skazywaiet i siwizna w borodzie i czort w lidwiach za poietom

K

KK

As they say: hoariness in the beard and the devil in the loins under the belt.<sup>182</sup>

133.

- D ne choroþoie widenie sławku<sup>183</sup> kusit.  
 Cz na choroszoie widenie Stawku kusit.  
 S kusi na piękne spoyrzenie.  
 St  
 O bo choroszoie wydenie y staroho pokusyt.  
 P na Choroþe wydenyie kusyt:/  
 B На хороше(е) видан(е) ста(в)ку пупи(л).  
 W<sub>1</sub> Na choroszyie widanie stawku kupił.  
 W<sub>2</sub> Na choroszyie widanie stawku kupił -  
 K  
 KK

He tempts the old man for a good view (O: Because a good view can tempt even an old man; B, W<sub>1</sub>, W<sub>2</sub>: He bought a stake for a good view).

134.

- D Nie tolko w Smolensku, ale y w Mozyru uwies Powet o tym radyw dawno,  
 Cz Nie tolko w Smolensku ale y w Mozyru uwies Powiat o tym radiw dawno,  
 S Nietylko w Smoleńsku, ale i w Mozyrsku, o tem radzono  
 St Ne tolko w Smolensku ale y w Mozyru uwies Powit o tym radił  
 O Netylko Smolynsk y mozyr, ale weś powit o tym radyw  
 P Ne tulko WSmoleńsku ale y w Mozyru uweś Powet otom radyt dawno  
 B Не толко въ смоле(н)ску але и въ мозыру увесь поветъ о то(м)  
     да(в)но ради(л)  
 W<sub>1</sub> Nie tolko w Smoleńsku ale i w Mozyru wies powiet, o tom dawno  
     radył  
 W<sub>2</sub> Nie tolko w Smoleńsku ale i w Mozyru wieś Powiet o tom dawno  
     radył,  
 K Давно о томъ радиль весь повѣтъ нѣ только въ Смоленску, але и  
     въ Мозыру,  
 KK Давно о томъ радиль весь повѣтъ не только въ Смоленску, але и  
     въ Мозыру,

Not only at Smolensk but also at Mozyr (O: and Mozyr but) the whole county has debated for a long time

135.

- D kohob mudroho do was natot ziazd y ktey Sentencyj wyprawity;  
 Cz kohob mudroho do was na tot ziazd y ktey Sentencyi wyprawiti,

S kogoby do powiedzenia téy Sentencyi wyprawić,  
 St kob nudroho na tot zizdwy prawity  
 O iakohoby mudroho na tey zIzd wyprawity,  
 P kohob mudroho do was natot zjezd zheteiu sentencyiu wyprawyty,  
 B кого бы мудърого на то(й) зъѣз(д) к то(й) сенте(н)ти(и) выправити.  
 W<sub>1</sub> kohob mudroho do was, na toy ziezd k toy sentencyi wyprawity.  
 W<sub>2</sub> kohob mudroho do Was, na toy zjezd i ktoy sentencyi wyprawity.  
 K когобъ мудрого до васъ на тотъ зъѣздъ выбраты и сентенции  
   выправити,  
 KK кого бъ мудрого до васъ на тотъ зъѣздъ выбраты и сентенции  
    выправити;  
 which wise person to send (K, KK: to elect) to this convention to you  
 for (P: with) this speech.

## 136.

D mene wiadomoho do waþych Miłostej posłał,  
 Cz mene wiadomoho do Waszych Miłosty posłał,  
 S mnie więc wiadomego do waszych miłości posłano.  
 St mene widomoho tych Praw do Waszey Miłosti posłały  
 O abez mene iak widomoho tych Spraw<sup>184</sup> do waszey miłosty posłały.  
 P mene widomoho tych spraw do Waþych Myłostey posłały  
 B менъ ве(л)домо(го) до ваше(й) М(и)л(о)сти послали.  
 W<sub>1</sub> Miene wiadomoho do Waszey Miłosti  
 W<sub>2</sub> Miene wiadomohu do Waszey Miłosty  
 K мене вядомого до вашей Милости,  
 KK мене вядомого до вашей милости,  
 It has (St, O, P, B: they have) sent me, (O: as) knowledgeable about these  
 matters (St: laws; D, Cz, B, W<sub>1</sub>, W<sub>2</sub>, K, KK: a well-known person), to  
 you, Messieurs (St, O, B, W<sub>1</sub>, W<sub>2</sub>, K, KK: Your Majesty),

## 137.

D y szto Hospod Boh Daw umetÿ  
 Cz y szto Hospod Boh daw umieti  
 S I co Pan Bóg natchnał,  
 St a szczo Hospod dał umięty  
 O Ia szczo hospod Boh daw mowyty  
 P ySzto szupył, da yumeł  
 B и чтобы богъ да(л) умети  
 W<sub>1</sub> i sztob Hospod Boh daw umiety  
 W<sub>2</sub> i sztob Hospod Boh daw umiety

**K** штобъ Господъ Богъ умѣты

**KK** штобъ Господъ Богъ . . . умѣты

and what the Lord, Our God, permitted me to know (O: speak; P: and what I understood and knew; B, W<sub>1</sub>, W<sub>2</sub>: and so that the Lord, Our God, might permit me to know)<sup>185</sup>

138.

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D pred korolom Jeho Miłosti y Waßey Mostiwÿ Panowie y Bratia,  
odkryliiesmo,

Cz pred Korolem Ieho Miłosti y Waszey Mſtiwy Panowie y Bratia  
odkryliiesmo,

S tośmy, przed Królem Jmość, i Waszmość Panami i bracią odkryli.

St pered Korolom Ieho Miłosti y wami Panowie Bratia odkryłyiesmo

O pered korolom Ieho mylosty y wamy Panowe Bratia odkryłyiesmosia.

P pered korolom Jeho Myłostiu y Waßye Mostywyie Panowe bratia  
odkryłyieśmo.

B передъ королемъ его М(и)л(о)сти(ю) и вами панове братя одкрыти  
наши(е) рады.

W<sub>1</sub> pered Korolom Jeho Miłosti i wami Panowie Bratia odkryty naszyie  
rady.

W<sub>2</sub> pered Korolom Ieho Miłosti i Wami panowie Bratia odkryty naszyie  
rady -

K передъ королемъ Іего Милостыю и Вами панове братія одкryты  
нашые врады.

KK передъ королемъ іего милостыю и вами, панове братіа, одкryты  
нашые врады.

I have revealed (B, W<sub>1</sub>, W<sub>2</sub>: my advice; K, KK: offices) to His Royal  
Majesty, and your excellencies, gracious gentlemen and brothers.

139.

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D skazetli kto zwas Łutczey tolko nie bałamutiaczy,<sup>186</sup>

Cz Skazetli<sup>187</sup> kto zwas Łutczey, tolkoby nie bałamutiaczy,

S Wy powiedzcie lepiéy, ale niebałamućcie.

St zkazyt wy zwas łudsze kotory tolko ne bełamutiaczy

O Ieżeły kto z was lipsze od mene tulko nebałamutnioiu skaże,

P Skazetli kto łucyczey, da kob ne bałamuteczy

B сказа(л) бы кто зъ ва(с) лучше(й), только не баламутячи

W<sub>1</sub> Zkazałyby kto z was łuczsze, tolko ne bałamutiaczy,

W<sub>2</sub> Zkazałyby kto z Was łuczsze, tolko ne bałamutiaczy,

K Сказалби кто з вась лутше, только не баламутячи,

KK Сказаль би кто зъ васъ лутше, только не баламутячи;

If any of you can say better (O: than I; St: some of you say), only without muddling it up,

140.

D y Ia na tom perestanu.

Cz y Ia na tom perestanu.

S I na tem kończę.

St ia y natom perestanu.

O Ia y natoie perestaw.

P Jana tom perestanu Duxi.

B то и я на то(м) перестану.

W<sub>1</sub> to ia na tom perestanu.

W<sub>2</sub> to ia na tom perestanu -

K то я на томъ перестану.

KK то я на томъ перестану.

then I will stop here (P: Duxi).

## Interrelation of Texts

All the texts available can be divided into two groups according to a single linguistic criterion (the same by which the languages and dialects of Yugoslavia are classified): the shape of the word "what." One group has the typical Ukrainian *ščo* (mixed with the old common Ruthenian *što*, still present in archaic Ukrainian dialects today), the other has only *što* (typical of White-Ruthenian and Russian) or its older variant *čto*:

Symbol of the text	Number of	
	<i>ščo</i> (derivatives with - <i>b</i> , - <i>by</i> included)	<i>što, čto</i>
D	13	7
Cz	13	7
St	9	6
O	16	—
P	16	2
B	—	18
W <sub>1</sub>	—	19
W <sub>2</sub>	—	19
K	—	17
KK	—	17

Thus we may call the two groups respectively "Ukrainian" and "White-Ruthenian" or "White-Ruthenian-Russian", UG and WRG in abbreviation (a slight simplification for the convenience of further analysis because *što* can be also Ukrainian, as mentioned above).

The ethnic division into UG and WRG can be supported by more comparisons: *buwaty*, so typical of Ukrainian (as against the archaic Slavic *bywaty*), appears only in the UG (phrases 4, 7, 8, 29, 99, 124) and so does the typical middle-Ukrainian *smy* and (*ie*)*smo* for the first person singular (phr. 2, 93, 127), while *sobrati*, typical of White-Ruthenian and Russian (as against Ukr. *zobraty*), occurs only in the WRG (phr. 12).

Judging by what Łastoński said about M (see p. 22), it also belonged to the WRG.

This division based on the *ščo* – *što* (*čto*) opposition coincides with a different division that relies on a detailed comparison of textual differences, i.e., shared and non-shared elements of MS texts (the translated S text being included in the UG for reasons that can be seen from the following list).

Obvious distortions differentiating the groups are indicated with an exclamation mark. Purely orthographical or alphabetical variants are ignored. Minor textual variants are marked by ( ). Text symbols are in ( ).

Number of phrase	<i>Ukrainian group</i>	<i>White-Ruthenian-Russian group</i>
5	korolami (D,Cz,St,O,P) królami (S)	korolem (B,W <sub>2</sub> ,K,KK) korolom (W <sub>1</sub> )
8	— (D,Cz,S,St,O,P)	тых (B) hetych (W <sub>1</sub> ,W <sub>2</sub> ) гетакихъ (K,KK)
9	znawali (D,Cz) znawały (St,O)	znali (B,W <sub>1</sub> ,W <sub>2</sub> ,K,KK)
9	! Słotoju (Cz,P) złotoju, złotą (St,S) stotoiu (D,O)	soleju (B,W <sub>1</sub> ,W <sub>2</sub> ) солію (K,KK)
10	choc kto podywił, da pak niczoho nie uczynił (D,Cz)  choć kto podrwił (S)  choczay chto podywił da Pakinoczoho neuczynił (St)  choczay kto y podywyw dabak nyczoho neuczynyw (O)  Chocz chto podywył, da nyczoho neuczynył (P)	— (B,W <sub>1</sub> ,W <sub>2</sub> ,K,KK)
11	polubili (D,Cz,S) polubyły (St,O,P)	ulubili (B,W <sub>1</sub> ,W <sub>2</sub> ,K,KK)
13	krom (D,Cz,St,P)	procz (B,W <sub>1</sub> ) прócz (W <sub>2</sub> ,K,KK)
14	u Lachow (D,Cz) u Lachów (P) Lachom (S,St)	— (B,W <sub>1</sub> ,W <sub>2</sub> ,K,KK)
14	sam byt (D,St,P) Sam był (Cz)	— (B,W <sub>1</sub> ,W <sub>2</sub> ,K,KK)

Number of phrase	<i>Ukrainian group</i>	<i>White-Ruthenian-Russian group</i>
16	iakich (D,Cz,S,St,O)	— (B,W <sub>1</sub> ,W <sub>2</sub> ,K,KK)
17	chytrostiami (D,St,P) chytrościami (S) chytrosciami (Cz,O)	chytrostiu (B,W <sub>1</sub> ,W <sub>2</sub> )
19	horazd (D,Cz) hrazd (St) harast (O) harazd (P)	горяздо лепш (B) horozdo łuczsze (W <sub>1</sub> ) horozda łuczsze (W <sub>2</sub> ) гораздо лучей (K,KK)
22	nosili (D,Cz) nosiły (St,O,P)	нашивали (B,K,KK) noszywali (W <sub>1</sub> ,W <sub>2</sub> )
23	— (D,Cz,St,O,P)	i znow (B,W <sub>1</sub> ,W <sub>2</sub> ,K,KK)
23	y stroju (D,Cz,St,O,P)	— (B,W <sub>1</sub> ,W <sub>2</sub> ,K,KK)
24	tak w domu (D,Cz) tak ( . . . ) w Domu (St) tak ( . . . ) doma (O) w domu (P)	— (B,W <sub>1</sub> ,W <sub>2</sub> ,K,KK)
28	duzniu (D) durniu (Cz) Durnyciu (St) durnynu (O) drużnuiu (P)	! нуждну (B) nużdu (W <sub>1</sub> ,W <sub>2</sub> ) нудные (K,KK)
31	Imion (D,Cz,St) maietynosti (O) Jmeń (P)	miest (B,W <sub>1</sub> ,W <sub>2</sub> )
33	popolacku (D,Cz,P) poludzku (St) Polacku (O)	po polsku (W <sub>1</sub> ,W <sub>2</sub> ,K,KK)
37	skuru (D,Cz,O) skórę (S) Skuranymi (St) skury (P)	skurku (B,W <sub>1</sub> ,W <sub>2</sub> ,K,KK)
38	Porucznik (D,Cz,S) porucznyk (O) Poruczczyk (St,P)	! paniczyk (B,W <sub>1</sub> ,W <sub>2</sub> ,K,KK)

Number of phrase	<i>Ukrainian group</i>	<i>White-Ruthenian-Russian group</i>
40	mrigaiet, mrugaiet (D,Cz) mruga, miga (S) mirhaiet mruhaiet (St) morhaiet Mihaiet (O) murgaiet' (P)	! морокуєть (B) markuiet (W <sub>1</sub> ) matkaiet (W <sub>2</sub> ) махает 〈ъ〉 (K,KK)
41	albo (D,Cz,S,St,P) abo (O)	ili (W <sub>1</sub> ,W <sub>2</sub> ,K,KK)
41	Żonoju (D,Cz,St,P) Zenoiu (O)	żonkoiu (B,W <sub>1</sub> ,W <sub>2</sub> ,K,KK)
42	stiskaiet (D) styskaiet (Cz,St,O) ściska (S) styskaiet' (P)	— (B,W <sub>1</sub> ,W <sub>2</sub> ,K,KK)
43	a kolib takoho (D,Cz) a gdyby takiego (S) a kołyb takoho (St,P) kołyb takoho (O)	Da koližby hetakoho 〈гетого〉 (B,W <sub>1</sub> ,W <sub>2</sub> ,K,KK)
43	pałycoju (D,P) policoju (Cz)	kułakom w mordu ili ! po licam 〈лицом〉 (B,W <sub>1</sub> ,W <sub>2</sub> ,K,KK)
44	y (D,Cz,O,P) a (St)	— (B,W <sub>1</sub> ,W <sub>2</sub> ,K,KK)
44	chychał (D,Cz,St,P) chachał (O)	słychał (B,W <sub>1</sub> ,W <sub>2</sub> ,K,KK)
45	y za toby nie nadumałby takoy Pohanoy buty (D,Cz)  Zatoieb nenadylmabysia takowy buty (St)  za tohoby ne nadumał takoy pohanoy buty (P)	nechayby mordy takoy pohanoy nie nadymał (B,W <sub>1</sub> ,W <sub>2</sub> ,K,KK)
47	y (D,Cz,St) toże (O)	— (B,W <sub>1</sub> ,W <sub>2</sub> ,K,KK)

Number of phrase	<i>Ukrainian group</i>	<i>White-Ruthenian-Russian group</i>
47	szczosmy (D,Cz) Sztoiesmo (St) szczoieśmo (O)	czto my (W <sub>1</sub> ,W <sub>2</sub> ,K) што мы (B,KK)
47	niedawali (D,Cz,S) nedały (St,O,P)	niemnoho dawali (B,W <sub>1</sub> ,W <sub>2</sub> ,K,KK)
48	perebrykiwał (D,Cz,St) brykać (S) perebrykowały (O) pobrykiwat (P)	! perekrykowali (B,W <sub>1</sub> ,W <sub>2</sub> ) перекрывали (K,KK)
49	— (D,Cz,St,O,P)	da (B,W <sub>1</sub> ,W <sub>2</sub> ,K,KK)
49	nekazawszy się (D,Cz) nekazauszysia (St) nekazawszyse (P) neskazawszy (O)	ne okazawszysia (B,W <sub>1</sub> ,W <sub>2</sub> ,K,KK)
50	da y (D,Cz,St,P) y (O)	aż (B,W <sub>1</sub> ,W <sub>2</sub> ,K,KK)
51	— (D,Cz) on (S) iun (St) Win (O) nemczyn (P)	korol (B,W <sub>1</sub> ,W <sub>2</sub> ,K,KK)
52	nich (D,Cz,St) nych (O) Królach (S) korolu (P)	nim (B,W <sub>1</sub> ,W <sub>2</sub> ,K,KK)
53	— (D,Cz,St,O,P)	takich (B,W <sub>1</sub> ,W <sub>2</sub> ,K) гетакихъ (KK)
53	kość (D,Cz) Kost (St) kisć (O) kóst' (P)	kostka (B,W <sub>1</sub> ,W <sub>2</sub> ,K,KK)
54	da pak (D,Cz,St,P) szczoz koły (O)	odnak (B,W <sub>1</sub> ,W <sub>2</sub> ,K) однако (KK)

Number of phrase	<i>Ukrainian group</i>	<i>White-Ruthenian-Russian group</i>
54	! waniaiet y obrosła (D,Cz) woniaiet y obasta (St) waniaiut, y obrastaiut (O) woniaet', da y obrosła (P)	obrosła i waniaiet 〈воняетъ〉 (B,W <sub>1</sub> ,W <sub>2</sub> ,K,KK)
56	bałamutnioju (D,Cz,P) bałamutneiu (St) Bałamutnoiu (O)	bałamutniami (B,W <sub>1</sub> ,W <sub>2</sub> ,K,KK)
58	za ich czmutnioju (D,Cz,P) zaich czmutneiu (St) za Ich bałamutnioiu (O)	— (B,W <sub>1</sub> ,W <sub>2</sub> ,K,KK)
59	podurelyie (D,Cz) podurzeni (S) podurylyie (St,P)	! podwaren(n)yie (B,W <sub>1</sub> ,W <sub>2</sub> ,K,KK)
65	zpodyn (D,Cz,P) spudyn (St) z gospody (S) z hospody (O)	— (B,W <sub>1</sub> ,W <sub>2</sub> ,K,KK)
66	da (D,Cz,P) ta (St)	i (B,W <sub>1</sub> ,W <sub>2</sub> ,K,KK)
70	błaho (D,St,O,P) błoho (Cz)	słabo (B,W <sub>1</sub> ,W <sub>2</sub> ,K,KK)
70	wyderet (D,Cz,O) wydrze (S) wydere (St,P)	wyrwiet (B,W <sub>1</sub> ,W <sub>2</sub> ,K,KK)
71	skoroby z dwora (D,Cz,St) iak ty z dworu (S) skoro ty z dwora (O) skorob ty zo dworu (P)	скоро ты з дому (B) skoro z domu ty (W <sub>1</sub> ,W <sub>2</sub> ,K,KK)
72	prytesaietse tobie y (D,Cz) prylyszaetsia (St) brybližaietse sobi y (O) prykaszetsia tebi j (P)	pryłaskajetsia (B,W <sub>1</sub> ,W <sub>2</sub> ,K,KK)
72	zony (D,Cz) Żony (S,St,O,P)	żonki (B,W <sub>1</sub> ,W <sub>2</sub> ,K,KK)

Number of phrase	<i>Ukrainian group</i>	<i>White-Ruthenian-Russian group</i>
73	Ia by<ch> mówił (D,Cz) Jabym mówił (S) iaby kazał (St) Iaby kazaw (O) Iabych radył (P)	— (B,W <sub>1</sub> ,W <sub>2</sub> ,K,KK)
74	a od Porucznikow y urady (D,Cz) od Porucznika do rady (S) od Porucznykow rady (St) od Porucznikow urady (O) a od Porucznykow wrady (P)	—(B,W <sub>1</sub> ,W <sub>2</sub> ,K,KK)
75	unich (D,St) u nych (P) w nich (Cz) do nich (S,O)	do nas (B,W <sub>1</sub> ,W <sub>2</sub> ,K,KK)
75	poodymat (D,Cz) poodimaty (St) poodyimaty (O) odiąć (S) poodbiraty (P)	— (B,W <sub>1</sub> ,W <sub>2</sub> ,K,KK)
76	— (D,Cz,S,St,O,P)	наши (B) naszyie (W <sub>1</sub> ,W <sub>2</sub> )
78	mistiuki (D,Cz) Mystiuky (P) Mistuchi (St) mistuiki (O) mistuczki (S)	! mieczniki (B,W <sub>1</sub> ,W <sub>2</sub> )
78	tut<a> ka (D,Cz) tuteka (P)	— (B,W <sub>1</sub> ,W <sub>2</sub> ,K,KK)
79	pszczoł (D,Cz,St,O) pszczół (S,P)	pszczoły (B,W <sub>1</sub> ,W <sub>2</sub> )
80	roznych (D,Cz) różnych (St,O,P)	raznych (B,W <sub>1</sub> ,W <sub>2</sub> ,K,KK)

<b>Number of phrase</b>	<b><i>Ukrainian group</i></b>	<b><i>White-Ruthenian-Russian group</i></b>
81	zdaietsię szkoda (D) zdaietse szkoda (Cz,O) zdaiet sia szkoda (St) zdaietsa szkoda (P) szkodą (S)	! sztuka (B,W <sub>1</sub> ,W <sub>2</sub> ,K,KK)
81	nam (D,Cz,St,P)	— (B,W <sub>1</sub> ,W <sub>2</sub> ,K,KK)
82	iemu (D,Cz,St,O) iomu (P)	im (B,W <sub>1</sub> ,W <sub>2</sub> ,K,KK)
82	zimu (D,Cz) zymo (P) zimą (S) zymoiu (St) Zimoiu (O)	w zimie (B,W <sub>1</sub> ,W <sub>2</sub> ,K,KK)
83	ieho (D,Cz,St,O,P)	ich (B,W <sub>1</sub> ,W <sub>2</sub> )
84	neho (D,Cz,P) nieho (St) Ieho (O)	их (B) nich (W <sub>1</sub> ,W <sub>2</sub> ,K,KK)
86	ieslisz (D,Cz) ieżeli (S) odno (P)	a koliż (B,W <sub>1</sub> ,W <sub>2</sub> ,K,KK)
86	bude, rząt (D) budie rżac (Cz) budet rząt (St,P) budet rzaty (O) rżał (S)	рже(ть) (B,K,KK) rżek (W <sub>1</sub> ,W <sub>2</sub> )
89	mowiuł was (D,Cz) mówią ( . . . ) was (S) mowył was (P)	— (B,W <sub>1</sub> ,W <sub>2</sub> ,K,KK)
93	poprawity (D,Cz) poprawyty (St,O) poprawlaty (P)	na naprawu (B,W <sub>1</sub> ,W <sub>2</sub> ,K,KK)
94	— (D,Cz,St,O,P)	no (B,W <sub>1</sub> ,W <sub>2</sub> ) онъ (K,KK)
96	stratnaja (D,Cz,P)	strasznaia (B,W <sub>1</sub> ,W <sub>2</sub> ,K,KK)

Number of phrase	<i>Ukrainian group</i>	<i>White-Ruthenian-Russian group</i>
96	Gałakuckie (D,Cz) Gałakuckyie (P) kałakuckie (S) kałakuckije (St) kałakuckii (O)	! гологуздые (B) hołohuznyie (W <sub>1</sub> , W <sub>2</sub> ) гологумые (K) гологузые (KK)
97	z (D,Cz,St,P)	— (B,W <sub>1</sub> ,W <sub>2</sub> ,K,KK)
98	Rozynkami (D,Cz,St) rodzynkami (S,O) rozynkamy (P)	— (B,W <sub>1</sub> ,W <sub>2</sub> ,K,KK)
98	bohato (D,Cz,St,O,P) bogato (S)	— (B,W <sub>1</sub> ,W <sub>2</sub> ,K,KK)
99	tych prysmakow (D,Cz) tych przysmaków (S) tych prysmaków (P) takich prysmakow (St)	присмакомв тых (B) prysmakow hetych (W <sub>1</sub> , W <sub>2</sub> ,K,KK)
100	kaczaczka (D) kaczeczka (Cz,S,St) Kaczoczka (O) Kaczeczki (P)	kaczka (B,W <sub>1</sub> ,W <sub>2</sub> ,K) кашка (KK)
101	albo (D,Cz,S,St,O,P)	ili (B,W <sub>1</sub> ,W <sub>2</sub> ,K,KK)
102	Ryzowaja kasza (D,Cz) Ryżowaia Kasza (St) ryżowaia Kasza (O,P)	kasza ryżowaia (B,W <sub>1</sub> ,W <sub>2</sub> ,K,KK)
104	y (D,Cz,St,P) a (S)	— (B,W <sub>1</sub> ,W <sub>2</sub> ,K,KK)
104	zobały (D,Cz,O,P) łebały (St)	дюбали (B) dziubali (W <sub>1</sub> , W <sub>2</sub> ,K,KK)
105	horody (D,Cz,St,P) grody (S)	— (B,W <sub>1</sub> ,W <sub>2</sub> ,K,KK)
107	duractwo (D,Cz,S,St,O,P)	— (B,W <sub>1</sub> ,W <sub>2</sub> ,K,KK)

Number of phrase	<i>Ukrainian group</i>	<i>White-Ruthenian-Russian group</i>
108	kak w pereswitach (D,Cz) kak w weresvitach (St) kak wperc switach (P)	— (B,W <sub>1</sub> ,W <sub>2</sub> ,K,KK)
109	znawały (D,Cz,O) znawałyż (St) zażywały (P)	znali (B,W <sub>1</sub> ,W <sub>2</sub> ,K,KK)
109	czy (D,Cz,S,O,P)	ili (B,W <sub>1</sub> ,W <sub>2</sub> ,K,KK)
111	zahladaiet kak sokoł (D,Cz) zahladaiet' kak sokoł (P) zahladaie kak Sokoł (St) zahliadet Iak Sokoł (O)	какъ соколь загледаетъ (B,K,KK) kak sokoł zahladaiet <pahladaiet> (W <sub>1</sub> ,W <sub>2</sub> )
112	szczubnuty, hde sołodkoie miaso (D) szczubnuti, hde Sołodkojo miaso (Cz) szczupnuty de sołodkoie miaso (St) szczupnuty hde sołodkoie miaso (O) szczupnuty hde Sołodkeie miaso (P)	hd<zj>e szczupnuty sołodkoho <sołotkoho> miasa (B,W <sub>1</sub> ,W <sub>2</sub> ) где щипнуты солодкого мяса (K,KK)
113	by radył <radił> (D,Cz) bym radził (S) by rad (St) bym radyw (O) bych radył (P)	радил бы (B,K,KK) radziłby (W <sub>1</sub> ,W <sub>2</sub> )
114	postroiłsię (D,Cz,S) postroyły sia (St,O) postroylyse (P)	уберали се (B) ubieralisia (W <sub>1</sub> ,W <sub>2</sub> ,K,KK)
115	a (D,S,O,P)	— (B,W <sub>1</sub> ,W <sub>2</sub> ,K,KK)
116	szczob (D,Cz,P)	что бы (B,K,KK) cztoby (W <sub>1</sub> ,W <sub>2</sub> )

Number of phrase	<i>Ukrainian group</i>	<i>White-Ruthenian-Russian group</i>
116	pludryny używały (D,Cz) pludryny używały (P) pluder (. . .) używać (S) Pludryn używały (St)	! zarywali pludryki (B,W <sub>1</sub> ,W <sub>2</sub> ) заживали плюдрыки (К) заживали плюндрыки (KK)
117-118	byłob warowney, yspokoyney, dobrochotniki miłosnyie (D)  byŁob warowniey y Spokoyniey, dobrochotniki, miłosniie (Cz)  byłoby warowniéy, i spokoyniéy, od dobrochotników miłosnych (S)  byłoby warowniey day spokoyniey dobrochotniky myłostwywie (St)  byłoby warowniey yspokoyniey, bo (. . .) dobrochotnyki myłosnuiu (O)  bułob warowney i spokoyney, dobrochotnyki myłostnyie (P)	— (B,W <sub>1</sub> ,W <sub>2</sub> ,K,KK)  — (B,W <sub>1</sub> ,W <sub>2</sub> ,K,KK)
119	chot (D) choc (Cz,St,P) chodzby (O)	chotia (B,W <sub>1</sub> ,W <sub>2</sub> ,K,KK)
122	szto (D,Cz,St) szczo (O,P)	— (B,W <sub>1</sub> ,W <sub>2</sub> ,K,KK)
123	raczyli (D,Cz) raczyły (P)	— (B,W <sub>1</sub> ,W <sub>2</sub> ,K,KK)
123	Senatorow Panow (D,Cz,O) Senatorów Panow (P) Panów Senatorów (S) Senatorach Panach (St)	! senatorow i panow (B,W <sub>1</sub> ,W <sub>2</sub> ,K,KK)
124	bywaty (D,Cz) bywało (S) buwało (O) buwaty (P)	było (B,W <sub>1</sub> ,W <sub>2</sub> ,K,KK)

<b>Number of phrase</b>	<i>Ukrainian group</i>	<i>White-Ruthenian-Russian group</i>
126	schoplu (D,Cz,St,P) złapię (S) ułaplu (O)	схопил (В) schapił (W <sub>1</sub> ,W <sub>2</sub> ) схопылъ (К,КК)
127	wzo (D,Cz) wza (St) uze (P)	szto (B,W <sub>1</sub> ,W <sub>2</sub> ,K,KK)
127	— (D,Cz,S,St,O,P)	все (В) wsio (W <sub>1</sub> ,W <sub>2</sub> ) всie (K,KK)
127	y staruju (D,P) y Star (Cz,St) Ia star (O)	— (B,W <sub>1</sub> ,W <sub>2</sub> ,K,KK)
128	Korolowu (D,Cz) Królówéy (S) Korolowuiu (St,O,P)	korolewnu (B,W <sub>1</sub> ,K,KK) Korolewna (W <sub>2</sub> )
128	pocałował (D,Cz,P) pocyłował (St) pocyłowaw (O)	poсаłowali (B,W <sub>1</sub> ,W <sub>2</sub> ) поциловали (K,KK)
133	kusit (D,Cz) kusi (S) pokusyt (O) kusyt (P)	! pupил (В) kupił (W <sub>1</sub> ,W <sub>2</sub> )
134	radyw dawno (D) radiw dawno (Cz) radyt dawno (P)	давно радил (В) dawno radył (W <sub>1</sub> ,W <sub>2</sub> ) Давно (. . .) радилъ (K,KK)
137	szto (D,Cz,P) co (S) szczzo (St,O)	! чтобы (В) sztob (W <sub>1</sub> ,W <sub>2</sub> ,K,KK)
138	odkryliiesmo (D,Cz) odkryli (S) odkryłyiesmo (St) odkryłyiesmosia (O) odkrylyieśmo (P)	! odkryty naszyie rady (B,W <sub>1</sub> ,W <sub>2</sub> ) одкрыты нашые врады (K,KK)

Number of phrase	<i>Ukrainian group</i>	<i>White-Ruthenian-Russian group</i>
139	skazetli (D,Cz,P) zkazyt wy (St) Ieżeły ( . . . ) skaże (O)	Zkazały (B,W <sub>1</sub> ,W <sub>2</sub> ,K,KK)
140	— (D,Cz,S,St,O,P)	to (B,W <sub>1</sub> ,W <sub>2</sub> ,K,KK)

To judge the features of both groups we can now compile the following comparative chart:

	UG	WRG
Number of distortions	2	13
Number of less significant gaps in relation to the other group	7	7
Number of significant gaps in relation to the other group	—	21
Number of more archaic, unique or rare elements <i>(lectiones difficiliores)</i> <sup>188</sup>	20	6
Number of Russianisms <sup>189</sup>	—	2
Number of places that may be repetitions of other places in the MS (if different from the other group) <sup>190</sup>	—	4

The conclusion is obvious: the UG is better, i.e., closer to the original.

The analysis of distortions leads one to rewarding conclusions. In the UG one distortion (in phr. 9) is based on a misreading of the hypothetical Cyrillic cursive photograph (see fn. 98), another one has arisen from a misplacement of two consecutive verbs (phr. 54). But distortions in the WRG are not only much more numerous but also of a deeper nature. They betray a person who poorly understood words of Czech-Polish origin (*Porucznyk* 38, *używały* 116), of Lithuanian origin (*mirhaiet* 40, from Lith. *mirguoti* "to twinkle"), of German-Czech-Polish origin (*Mystiuky* 78, from Old High German *mîster* with the Ukr. '-uk suffix, replaced by *mieczniki*, which makes no sense in the Commonwealth meaning "swordbearers" but may have a meaning in Russian as "henchmen"; *szkoda* 81, replaced by *sztuka*, also a Germanism but more widely known among eastern Slavs, including Russians), of German origin (*Gałackie kury* 96, from German *kalekutischer Hahn*) and even a number of Ukrainian words (*durniu* 28, *patycoju* 43, *perebrykiwał* 48, *podurytyie* 59, *kusyt* 133). Most of those words are well-known to White Ruthenians (*paručnik*, *używać*, *mirhać*, *škoda*, *palica*, *pierabrykać*, *padureć*), so it is strange that they were not understood. But

they are mostly alien to Russians, particularly central Russians (*brykat'* is marked as southern by *Dal'*, *škoda* as southern and "western," which in *Dal'* means White-Ruthenian). Cf. also the above comments on the replacements of *Mystiuky* and *škoda* and fns. 188–189. Thus the conclusion is that the WRG photograph was written by a person whose own language was Russian (Muscovite).

There are two possible explanations for the Russian linguistic background of the WRG photograph: 1) the WRG photograph was made in the eastern White Ruthenia, which came under the direct (Smolensk) or indirect (Starodub, part of the Cossack Ukraine) rule of Muscovy in 1654; 2) the WRG photograph was written in an easternmost White-Ruthenian part of the Commonwealth with a language close to Muscovite (Russian), e.g., in Smolensk or thereabouts. The latter assumption is more likely because 1) the period 1654–1663 (only 9 years) between the loss of Smolensk and Starodub by the Commonwealth to Muscovy and the appearance of the first copy of the WRG was too short to cause the Russification of the language of the WRG photograph scribe and editor; 2) it is more natural to assume that the WRG was created inside the Commonwealth rather than created abroad from a copy exported there after which this new version would have had to be reimported. The second assumption—that the WRG came from Smolensk while it was still within the Grand Duchy of Lithuania—automatically gives us a provisional *terminus ad quem* of the WRG, that is, 1654.<sup>191</sup>

The UG contains two very closely related texts—D and Cz—with only minor differences, mostly of an orthographic nature. The copy from which D and Cz came was probably written by a person from Black Ruthenia (along the Horadnia-Baranavičy-Stuck line), as is shown by *toio* (27) and *Solodkojo* (112) (see fn. 115) as well as the locative plural *Switoch* (20).<sup>192</sup>

The other UG texts display more differences and some common features, distinct from the D-Cz subdivision:

No. of phrase	D,Cz (and S, if comparable)	St,O,P
24	po domowomu (D) po domowemu (Cz)	po dauniamu (St) podawnomu (O,P)
31	— (D,Cz,S)	w Jnflantach (St,P) w Inflantach (O)
43	czorta (D,Cz) czarta (S)	Czortopołocha (St,O,P)

No. of phrase	D,Cz (and S, if comparable)	St,O,P
47	dawali (D,Cz,S)	dały (St,O,P)
55	tyie szczo (D,Cz)	tyież to (St) tyi to (O) Tyie to (P)
60	— (D,Cz,S)	Jm (St) Im (O,P)
65	ukrawszysię (D,Cz) wykradłszy się (S)	ubrauszysia (St) ubrawszysie (O) ubrawszysye (P)
83	szczo nocz (D,Cz) co noc (S)	szczo Noczy (St,O,P)
100	huska (D,Cz,S)	Husoczka (St,O) husoczku (P)
123	kolko (D,Cz) kilku (S)	tolko (St,P) tulko (O)
136	— (D,Cz,S)	tych Praw (St) tych Spraw (O,P)

Which of these variants are better, i.e., closer to the original ?

In phrase 24 the St-O-P subdivision is certainly better than the D-Cz: "Ia sam koły (tak) podawnomu w domu (doma) uberusia (ubierausia)" and not "po domowomu tak wdomu" where the *dom* root is unnecessarily repeated. Thus here the original has been best preserved in the St-O-P subdivision. The WRG also shares with D-Cz in making this mistake, apparently because the common primary text contained an unclearly written word that could be deciphered either way.

Three variants in the St-O-P subdivision are richer: in phrases 31, 60 and 136 they give us additional useful pieces of information. Perhaps they were part of an unknown original. They are absent from the WRG.

In phrase 123 the St-O-P subdivision has an obvious distortion.

As for other differences, we can turn to the WRG as a touchstone; if concordant with it, a variant should be considered more original:

#### *Elements concordant with the WRG*

In D,Cz,S	43, 47, 55, <sup>193</sup> 83, 100
In St,O,P	65

Thus, most variants of the St-O-P subdivision as listed in the chart on pp. 92-93 did not belong to the hypothetical protograph.

One variant (*Czortopołocha*, phrase 43) in that subdivision can be easily explained as a transplant from a different place in the speech (from phrase 73 by anticipation, which may be a proof of the popularity of MS, cf. footnotes 169a and 190).

But S does not always belong to the D-Cz subdivision:

No. of phrase	S	St,O	D,Cz
32	z nami	z nami (O)	u nas
39	kolo	kolo (St,O)	podle
40	miga	Mihaiet (O)	mrugaiet
51	on	iun (St) Win (O)	—
52	wiele	mnoho (O)	—
70	ci	tebi (St) tobi (O)	—
75	włazło	ulezło (St) wlizło (O)	ulezli
88	do nich	knym (O)	knemu
102	bankiet	bankiet (O)	dostatok
103	znano	znawały (St) znały (O)	zazywali
106	iak	kak (St)	niz
108	że	szczo (O)	—
112	iakby	iakby (St)	szczob
115	w sznurowaniu	wsnurowanyi (St)	sznurowanye

Thus, it seems that S was an intermediary text between D,Cz and St,O (particularly O).<sup>194</sup>

This comparison already shows that P, although a member of a common subdivision with St and O, is somewhat more removed. Indeed, this can be confirmed by the following chart, where comparisons are also made with the UG and WRG as well as with the whole MS (understood as a basic UG and WRG concordance):

No. of phrase	St	O	P
2	Bohaiesmo	Bohageśmo (UG)	Bohu (WRG)
3	zdrowo	zdrowo (UG)	zdrowych (WRG)
4	mini	mini	mni
5	—	—	nykoły (MS)
6	pomniu	pomlu	kemlu (UG)
10	choczay	choczay	Chocz (UG)
10	da Paki †	dabak (UG)	da
12	—	—	naszyie (WRG)
20	—	—	tak (MS)
27	—	—	na wsjo toie (MS)
35	—	—	kak tut buło (MS)
39	koło	koło	połe (MS)
40	Ruky w sztany włożywszy	ruki w Sztany włożywszy	— (MS)
41	perekryulaiuczy	perekrywlaiuczy	perekrywlaiet' (MS)
43	—	—	pałycoiu (UG)
46	pomlu	Pomlu	kemlu (UG)
47	Sztoiesmo	szczoeśmo	szczomys (WRG)
49	heto	heto	—
51	iun	Win	nemczyn
60	howorymo	howorymo	każemo
64	nema	nyma	nymasz (MS)
68	—	—	Lach (MS)
70	tebi	tobi	— (MS)
70	y tuiu	y tuiu	—
73	kazał	kazaw	radył
75	ulezło	wlizło	u nych iest
76-77	—	—	w staryie pokłony Smolenskyie prody- raiuczy oczy (MS)
96	—	—	stratnaia (UG)
98	—	—	betyie < *hetyie (MS)

No. of phrase	St	O	P
99	—	—	a (WRG)
101	Czosniczkom	Czosnyczkom	czosnykom (WRG)
103	znawały	znały	zazywały (MS)
105	bezczyśla	bez czesła	podostatku (MS)
116	—	—	szczob (MS)
119	—	—	nawartę (MS)
120	koły	koły	— (MS)
123	naszych	naszych	Łytowskich (MS)
125	bywałby	buwawby	buwbby (MS)
128	—	—	mylusieńko (MS)
134	—	—	dawno (MS)
135	—	—	zheteiu sentencyiu wyprawyty (MS)

The chart clearly shows that in the cases of disagreement:

P	follows the whole MS	22 times
St & O	follow the whole MS	0 times
P	follows the UG	5 times
St & O	follow the UG	3 times

The conclusion is that P is more reliable for a faithful preservation of the prototype, whereas St and O betray a common innovative working. But, on the other hand, in six instances P follows the WRG rather than its “native” UG. This can be explained by the assumption that the copyist of P, while generally adhering to the UG, also used the WRG version sometimes.

Among the innovations of St and O, the replacement of “Lithuanian lords” with “our lords” (phr. 123) attracts attention; it seems to show that the St-O rewritten version originated from a person who was not an inhabitant of the Grand Duchy of Lithuania. Some unique innovations in St characterize a temperamental copyist who liked strong words and phrases (thus he replaced “Bernardines” by “devils” in phr. 21, added “s.o.b.” and “like the devil’s mother” in phr. 36 and “so that his teeth fall out” in phr. 44). In phr. 9 the St text restored the logical *awrot* by good guessing, against the other texts in the UG group. On the linguistic side of St and O, *pomlu* (phr. 6 and 46) instead of *pomniu* is interesting as a feature of central and eastern Polissian Ukrainian dialects.<sup>195</sup>

Two texts of the St-O-P subdivision suggest a Russian influence:

## Phrase

22	szlapy (P)	Russian <i>šljapa</i> <sup>196</sup>
37	Sapagami (St)	Russian <i>sapog</i> <sup>197</sup>
38	Poruczzyk (St,P)	Middle Russian <i>porutčik</i> (as against Ukr. <i>poručnyk</i> , WR <i>paručnik</i> , Pol. <i>porucznik</i> ) <sup>198</sup>
41	szlapu (P)	
46	Chenrycha (St)	Middle Russian <i>Henrix</i> (Modern Ukr. <i>Henrix</i> is from Russian)
46	Kotoroy (nom.sing.masc.)(P)	Middle Russ. <i>kotoroj</i>
72	prykaszetsia (P)	Russ. <i>prikasaetsja</i>
74	Poruczzykow (St) Poruczzyków (P)	

The Russianisms of P and St are not of such a deep nature as those of the WRG. Only one of them is shared by both texts: *poruczzyk*; the others are individualisms. Rather than indicating persons who did not understand the Ukrainian language of the MS because of their Russian linguistic background (e.g., the replacement of *zapka* by an almost synonymous *szlapa* indicates, on the contrary, a good comprehension), they show a certain Russian-oriented mannerism of the P and St copyists. Therefore, the assumption analogous to the one made above (see p. 92) that they were local Smolensk people whose language was basically Russian is not necessary in this case. More likely the copyists were people from inside the Commonwealth who had been more familiar with Muscovite-Russian than Ukrainian due to their military experience during the Polish-Lithuanian intervention in Muscovy on behalf of Dmitrij I and II the Impostors and the Polish-Lithuanian war against Muscovy in 1609-18. By nationality or language those copyists could very well be Poles (which is supported by the Polish-Latin script that they probably used in copying).

In phrase 18 the P text replaced *Ruś* with *Rossiyu*, a scholarly Hellenism used by Ruthenians in the Commonwealth at least since the sixteenth century (e.g., in 1592 the Orthodox Metropolitan of Kyjiv, Myxajlo Rahoza, used the title *митрополит киевский и галицкий і всеа Россія*<sup>199</sup> "Metropolitan of Kyjiv, Halyč and all Rus'-Ruthenia"). In 1764-68 the Commonwealth officially recognized the title of Czarina Catherine II of Muscovy as

*Imperatorowa całę Rosyi*,<sup>200</sup> which started the change of the meaning of *Rosya* in the Commonwealth from “Rus”, Ruthenia” to “Muscovy, Russia.” At the end of the eighteenth century, when the final copy of P was made (cf. p. 19), this new meaning of *Rosya* was well-established. Therefore, the word *Rossiu* “Ruthenia” had to be present already in the earlier text from which P was copied. The archaic characters β and ſ (cf. p. 19) suggest that the earlier text of P (in the Polish script) was written in the seventeenth century.

The same text (P) uses *szupyl* “understood” (phr. 137), a word typical of Smolensk as well as the northeastern Ukraine.<sup>201</sup> In conjunction with what was said before (p. 97) it seems more practical to attribute the word *szupyl* to the Russian–White-Ruthenian dialects of the Smolensk area which the Polish copyist of P was exposed to.

The White-Ruthenian–Russian group of the MS records can be divided into two subdivisions: the texts from the Chreptowicz collection of Ščorsy (W<sub>1</sub>, W<sub>2</sub>, K, as was stated by the publishers or copyists themselves, see pp. 20–21, and also KK, since it differs from K only orthographically, with very few divergences); and the B text of 1663.

There are not only some textual differences between B and Ch (the Chreptowicz subdivision) but also some linguistic ones:

B	Ch
таких (4), тых (8,99,109), тые (51), такого (61), то (81) <sup>202</sup>	hetakich, hetych (гетакихъ), hetyie, hetakoho, heta (гетая)
горяздо, гаряздо (19,33)	гораздо, harazdo

The *het-* pronouns are typical of western and central White Ruthenia (including its southwestern Ukrainian fringes).<sup>203</sup> Today they are present also in the east of White Ruthenia but apparently are relatively new there. The elimination of almost all of these forms from B strongly suggests its provenance from a relatively eastern part of the Grand Duchy of Lithuania. Should we limit ourselves to the Berestja palatinate where the B copy was made and later preserved (probably Pyns'k), then we can locate B in the eastern corner of that palatinate roughly between Turiv and the Ubort' river.

The hypercorrect *r'* usually appears where both the *r'* and *r' > r* meet.<sup>204</sup> Today a mixture of *r* and *r'* occurs in the eastern and southern White Ruthenia, including its Ukrainian peripheries.<sup>205</sup> But, for the same reasons as those stated above, we should limit ourselves to the area west of the lower Ubort' river.

Other differences between B and Ch are as follows:

Phrase	B	Ch
1	мене	mienia
2	богу ся	Bohum sia
3	—	da i prywitał
6	—	pokoinikow
7	и которые	czto
8	правым сердцем просто говорили	po prostu prawym sercom howoryli
11	почали нами шебунковати	—
12	и	zaraz
12	князи	—
14	—	toy
14	наш	—
14	вытратив	wyniszczyl
16	—	bo
18	а	Ale
18	Литву и Русь нашу	Litwu naszu i Ruś (Литву и нашу Русь)
19	лепш	łuczsze (лучей)
19	занего	za Jeho
20	хоть	Chotia
20	хаживали	chodywali
26	наглядеться	nasmotrytysia (насмотретьъть)
27	огледимся	osmotrymsia (насмотрыся)
27	—	Bratia
28	нуждну	nuždu (нудные)
30	гроши	dienieh
32	он пакъ	wie pak (уже)
32	з нами	u nas
33	—	popolsku z nami wsie
33-34	гаряздо умеют все лихое говоритьи	harazdo umiejut howoryty i wsio lichoie
36	любо	ili
37	—	to

Phrase	B	Ch
40	морокуешь	markuiet (махаеть)
41	дэй	ili kapeluszom (или капелюшемъ)
42	дэй и	da i
42	долонку	dołoń (лодонъ)
44	што бы	koby
49	—	i
55	радные	—
56	выживити ся	pożywitsia (пожывятся)
58	—	i
58	нам	—
60	потакаемо	potakiwaiemo
64	не пытай	niczoho ne masz (не пытай)
66	подковах	podkowkach
68	на покутнику	za pukutniku (za pukutnuiu, за пукатую)
71	ты з дому	z domu ty
76	милстей панов ляхов гинуть	—
76	старие	starszyie
77	—	niż
80	здармо	zradnie (зрадно)
80	утратах	interessach
83	на оч	szto nocz
84	для их	dla nich
93	Вилни	Wilna
101	—	z
113	яж	Ja też (Я тоже)
129	и	—
132	—	a (i)
135	—	do was
136	послали	—
137	—	Hospod
140	и	—

Statistically, the results of the comparison can be summed up as follows:

	B	Ch
Number of important omissions in relation to the whole MS	8 (phrases 3, 6, 27, 33, 77, 135, 137)	1 (phrase 136)
Number of additions in relation to the whole MS	6 (phrases 11, 12, 14, 55, 58, 76)	—
Number of Russianisms (other than in the whole WRG)	—	2 (phr. 1: <i>mienia</i> , phr. 30: <i>dienieh</i> ) <sup>206</sup>

Thus the Ch version better preserves the original, but has an additional portion of Russianisms, perhaps of a similar origin as those in St and P (see p. 97). The lesser degree of faithfulness of B to the original stems from a freer approach of the B copyist who tried to make some places clearer by repeating logical or grammatical subjects (phr. 12, 55, cf. 6 and 51), by anticipating a later expression (phr. 11 and 64, cf. 47 and 85—a proof of a previous knowledge of the text, see fn. 169a and 190), or by elaborating an obscure expression (phr. 76).

The copyist of the photograph of W<sub>1</sub> and W<sub>2</sub> was probably not a Ruthenian but a “Lithuanian” in the political sense (most likely Polonized); therefore he changed “Lithuanians and our Ruthenians” into “our Lithuanians and Ruthenians” (phr. 18).

K and KK are much worse than W<sub>1</sub> and W<sub>2</sub>. They contain many omissions (in phr. 13, 19, 30, 39, 41, 68, 76, 77, 97, 98, 105, 130-133, 137), distortions (28, 35, 40, 48, 63, 66a), more Russianisms (9—*глаза*, 26—*меня*, 42—*лодонь*, 129—*сенаторицыки*) and an attempt to correct an apparent historical inaccuracy in phr. 128 where *Urszulu* is replaced by *Аннульку*, probably because the K-KK copyist and editor knew that there had been women called Ann in Sigismund III’s family (his sister Ann Vasa, 1568-1625, his first wife, Ann the Austrian, 1573-1598, and his daughters, Ann Mary, 1593-1600, and Ann Catherine Constance, 1619-1651). Since the K and KK most likely go back to the same copy, which Chancellor Chreptowicz (d. 1812) had at Ščorsy near Nauharadok and which is better represented by W<sub>1</sub> and W<sub>2</sub>, all these deteriorations in the K-KK text must be attributed either to its pre-Kojalovič (pre-1862) copyist and editor from the Minsk Eparchy (cf. p. 21) who apparently was a person of Russian culture

(e.g., a Russian or Russianized Orthodox priest brought to the Minsk Eparchy after the second partition of the Commonwealth in 1793<sup>207</sup>) or to Kojalovič himself, also a person of Russian culture (born in 1828), although of western White-Ruthenian origin. For example, the metathetic *лодонъ* “palm” could hardly exist in Smolensk as an inherited Russian word from before 1611 since it appeared first in 1641, in Siberia;<sup>208</sup> therefore it had to be brought in by a post-1793 copyist. It was most likely that same copyist of Russian culture who changed the script of the MS back to Cyrillic.

In one phrase the K-KK group suggests contamination by B (the same anticipatory change in phr. 64, cf. p. 101). Differences between K and KK are insignificant. In some places (phr. 1, 4, 8, 15, 96, 97, 116 [*заживали*]) KK is more correct, in three places K is better (phr. 95, 100, 116 [*плюdryки*]).

Some attention is due to the word *kak* “how, as” which appears, along with *iak*, in all MS texts, except O. Should Leonid Bulaxovs’kyj’s view that *какъ* was White-Ruthenian, not Ukrainian,<sup>209</sup> be accepted, then the whole MS would have to be considered White-Ruthenian. But in such a case we would expect *iak* in the Ukrainian group of texts and *kak* in the White-Ruthenian group. However, this kind of opposition does not occur at all. Therefore Bulaxovs’kyj’s view must simply be rejected as wrong.

## The Protograph and Its Author

The point that the MS was a literary work of the seventeenth century and not an authentic parliamentary speech was already convincingly made by Perwolf in 1893 (see p. 9). But a compromise view was later advanced by two students of the MS, Hruševs'kyj in 1927 and Krapivin in 1955 (see pp. 10 and 11). According to both of them Meleško actually made a similar speech at the Senate, which served as a base for another author. But Hruševs'kyj and Krapivin differed on the character of work of that other author. Whereas, in Hruševs'kyj's opinion, the MS author used a real speech by Meleško as inspiration only and the person of Meleško as a generalized type, in Krapivin's view the MS author used authentic notes of Meleško and recreated the speech after Meleško's death. Both scholars also differed on the date of the actual speech by Meleško: ca. 1603 and 1609, respectively.

In our opinion, the view about the totally apocryphal character of the MS should be maintained on two sets of grounds, stylistic and factual.

Stylistically, the MS goes far beyond what was acceptable in the Commonwealth's parliament, most especially in front of the King. To be sure, jokes were permissible in political speeches in the Commonwealth and some famous political speakers of the sixteenth and seventeenth century even won a reputation for humor in their speeches.<sup>210</sup> But those jokes were expected to be elegant, not rude as they are in the MS. Brückner (see fn. 18) was right in pointing out that "the fact alone that Mr. Castellan repeatedly punches one in the mug proves that this is a satire" only (cf. "What if one struck such a devil with a stick across his back," phr. 43, and "What if one punched such a devil in the mug," phr. 61). But what is worse still is a lack of reverence for the King and his predecessors. "Ivan Meleško" insults the memory of King Sigismund II Augustus (1548-72) by saying that "there's no point even counting him among human beings" (phr. 13) and he offends Sigismund III by calling his stewardess of the household, Ursula Meierin, "Her Majesty the Queen" (phr. 128) in allusion to gossip about the King's affair with Ursula (cf. fn. 179). The stylistic function of such rude and insulting places was obviously humorous but not "parliamentary" (especially in the Polish sense of this word, i.e., acceptable in a good society).

If we compare excerpts from a real Diet speech of Ivan Meleško, which he could have delivered in 1615, 1619 or 1621 and which is fragmentarily quoted by K. Komunjaka (see p. 14) we see that Meleško's words in

that speech were sharp and bold but not rude and insulting to the King. Precisely that reputation of a bold and sharp-tongued speaker at the Senate while he was Castellan of Smolensk, champion of Ruthenian veracity and simplicity, rooted in the traditions of the Eastern Church (cf. I. Vyšens'kyj's tirades), a reputation that continued long after his death (to 1655 when Komunjaka's satire was written), made I. Meleško a model for the anonymous author of the MS.

Although the author of the MS had a vivid theatrical imagination using stylistic devices to create the impression of a real event, including even the imaginary reaction of listeners (phr. 43-44: "What if one struck such a devil with a stick across his back so that also His Majesty the King might not giggle"), his imagination fails him sometimes. In phr. 78 ("for if these tricksters creep in here") he uses the little word "here," which makes sense in his own reality (in Smolensk, see below, p. 107) but not in the literary reality of the "Warsaw Senate." It is likely that in another sentence the same misplacement occurs: "and all evil to Kings, Lords, and the Commonwealth they ["Germans"] babble as was the case here" (phr. 34-35), i.e., "here" means in Smolensk rather than at the Senate (cf. p. 107).

The use of rhymes in some phrases, which was already noticed by Sumcov<sup>211</sup> (*ohładał – prywitał* phr. 3 D, *buwał – zasedał* 4-5 P, *Korolowały – buwały* 7 St, *podywyw – uczynyw* 10 O, *natesztyse – nasmotrytyse* 26 D, *skrypty – szelestyt* 37 O, *miwały – murowała* 105 St, *warowniey – spokoyniey* 117 St), also suggests a literary work rather than a political speech.

Then there are the many factual elements in the MS belying its authenticity: anachronisms, untruths, improbabilities, inconsistencies, etc. Almost all the extant texts say that this "speech" was made by Ivan Meleško, Castellan of Smolensk, at the Diet in Warsaw in 1589 but Ivan Meleško became Castellan of Smolensk no earlier than 1615. In contradiction to the claim in the title that this occurred at the Diet, the text calls it "convention" (*zizd*, phr. 4, 135), which normally applied to general meetings of Lithuanian senators and deputies prior to a Diet. The MS displays an obvious dislike of Poles (phr. 17, 62, 68, 84, 86) and of Ruthenian-Lithuanian renegades (phr. 53-54) but the real Meleško gave his daughter in marriage to a Pole. The MS calls Meleško's wife "Madame Mścisłaŭ Castellan" (phr. 25) but he became Castellan of Mścisłaŭ only as late as 1605-6, and two castellan titles were incompatible at the same time; once a person received a castellany in one place, he had to resign that post in another (e.g., Meleško had to leave the Mścisłaŭ castellany in 1610 to receive that of Berestja and in 1615 he gave up the latter post to assume the castellany of Smolensk). The MS urges the Senate to guard the Smolensk "gratuities" to officials against Poles or other

non-citizens of the Grand Duchy of Lithuania "for if these tricksters creep in here then you won't smoke them out like bees from honey" (phr. 78-79). This is anachronistic because Smolensk was not part of Lithuania in 1589. Also it would make little sense to turn with such an appeal to King Sigismund III (a Swede with strong German connections) and the Polish-dominated Senate, even when Smolensk was recaptured by the Commonwealth in 1611. The word "here" suggests that the author really addressed people of Smolensk rather than the Warsaw Senate, as has been pointed out before (see above, p. 104). Smolensk is mentioned later once more: "Not only at Smolensk but also at Mozyr the whole county has debated for a long time which wise person to send to this convention" (phr. 134-35). This, again, was impossible in 1589 when Smolensk was still under Muscovy. Also sending a deputy to the Diet by two counties far removed from each other is contrary to the normal practice in the Commonwealth. A little earlier in the text, Meleško speaks of himself as one of the senators: "What they have been so kind as to remind Your Majesty of is that there should always be a few senators, Lithuanian lords, who would deign to be at the side of His Royal Majesty. So would I be but I have no royal leasehold" (phr. 122-25); "I am old but I have nicely kissed the hand of Ursula, Her Majesty the Queen, like other, younger senators" (phr. 127-29). But, again, it does not correspond to the 1589 situation because Meleško became a senator in 1605-06. Meleško of the MS buys a watch or clock on the flea-market at Kyiv (phr. 91) which is rather an odd place for a senator to shop.

The authenticity of the MS can also be questioned on the basis of comparing the conservatism of the Meleško in this speech with the behavior of the real Meleško who became an eager supporter of the religious union of Berestja, which was anathema for the real conservatives among Ruthenians.

Finally, the medium of the MS—the Ukrainian language—does not reflect the linguistic reality of the Warsaw Senate and Diet. For example, the real Meleško speech (or perhaps only a *Zwischenruf*) at the Senate as quoted by Komunjaka was most likely in Polish (cf. fn. 50), a language that I. Meleško had a command of (cf. his letters, Appendix IV).

If the MS is a mere literary fiction the question arises what its purpose was. To satirize or protest the westernization of the Grand Duchy of Lithuania (cf. A. Brückner's opinion, pp. 10 and 103) or, vice versa, to satirize those who protested against that westernization? (The latter alternative is proposed by Hruševs'kyj.) To parody the parliamentary speeches? (This is Nud'ha's opinion, see fn. 23.) Some complaints of the MS author sound too real and serious for Hruševs'kyj's and Nud'ha's opinion to be accepted (e.g., the loss of Volhynia and Podlachia by Lithuania to Poland,

phr. 14 and 58; the privileges for Germans in Livonia to the detriment of Lithuanians and Poles, phr. 31; the occupation of offices in the Grand Duchy of Lithuania by foreigners against the Lithuanian Statute, phr. 74-75; a warning against the invasion of Smolensk by non-citizens of the Grand Duchy, phr. 76-79; an allusion to dangers to the Lithuanian rights in Livonia, phr. 77). True, these serious complaints are submerged in a mass of unserious and funny ones—against expensive and immodest dresses, expensive fragrances, stud stables, watches, foreign foods, etc. (Some of these complaints, however, are not as unserious as they seem to be, e.g., about wine, cf. fn. 168.) This technique of mixing the serious and unserious, political satire and buffoonery misled Hruševs'kyj and Nud'ha. It seems that the seventeenth-century author of the MS was more complicated than his twentieth-century analysts who were not prepared to face a multi-directional, “capricious,” wry work of art (in this sense a very modern one).

An additional obstacle in accepting Nud'ha's classification of the MS as parody is language. Parody, which is the imitation of form but with changed contents, would have had to be written in the Polish language spiced with Latin as was the custom at the Senate of the Commonwealth, rather than in Ukrainian. Since Polish was generally known among Ukrainians and White Ruthenians, there was no need to translate Polish words of literary personages into Ruthenian (e.g., Poles and even Germans and some Gypsies in Ukrainian comic interludes of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries speak Polish).

The genre and idea of the MS was almost described by the author himself: “but we have had an extraordinary talk about our various losses” (phr. 80). This suggests a protest against (or lamentation about) an adverse state of affairs rather than a kind of self-derision or parody. In other places the author calls his piece *sentencyja* (phr. 8 and 135), which in the fictitious (“parliamentary”) context of the MS seems to signify “speech,” but in the Polish usage of the sixteenth to eighteenth centuries rather meant “opinion, judgement,” *inter alia* (other meanings are less applicable here).<sup>212</sup> In contrast to the formal “opinions” expressed at Diets, this one was meant to be in the style of the old good times when people “spoke straight from their hearts,” “knew no polished manners but threw the truth into faces like salt into eyes” (phr. 8-9). In other words, this is a literature of harsh truth, a politico-ethical satire unmasking the evil without beating around the bush.

To characterize the author of the MS we can use textual and linguistic evidence.

The fact that the author chose a senator from the Grand Duchy of

Lithuania as his mouthpiece and that he argues strongly in defense of the interests of the Duchy suggests that he himself was its citizen. This is confirmed by the places where he calls the kings of the Commonwealth “our princes” (cf. fn. 96), where he praises Sigismund I for his love of “Lithuanians and our Ruthenians” (phr. 18), where he mentions “two Lithuanians” (i.e., local people) whom one has to hire in order to guard oneself from Polish servants (phr. 88), where he says that “Lithuanian senators” should always be around the King (phr. 123-24), and that he was sent to make this “speech” from the Smolensk and Mozyr counties (phr. 134), both in the Grand Duchy of Lithuania.

Speaking of the territorial losses of the Duchy to Poland, he does so from a southwestern perspective by mentioning only Volhynia and Podlachia (phr. 14, 58), which were turned over to Poland in 1569, but not the “Ukraine” in a narrower sense, that is, the Kyiv palatinate, the “Lithuanian Podolia” (i.e., the Braclav palatinate), which were lost in that same year.

And the fact that he chose a senator from Smolensk shows that he was also particularly concerned about Smolensk. Smolensk is mentioned not only in the title but also two times in the text (phr. 76 and 134). Moreover, in phr. 78 and possibly 35 the author betrayed that he actually wrote the MS at Smolensk (cf. p. 9—on Sumcov’s views—and p. 105). If the word “here” in phr. 35 about “Germans” babbling evil to “Kings, Lords [= Senate] and the Commonwealth” applies to Smolensk then the most appropriate frame of reference would be Sigismund III’s siege of Smolensk in 1611. He then listened to the advice of his Austrian second wife, Constance (and, possibly, indirectly her German advisors), rather than of all senators and wasted time at Smolensk instead of going to Moscow, which was ready to accept his son, Ladislas, as a czar.<sup>213</sup> The MS author might have been witness to those events and might have remained at Smolensk afterwards. His hopes to make a career at Smolensk were probably frustrated by Polish or Polonized Ruthenian-Lithuanian competitors. He put his complaints about this frustration into the mouth of his *porte-parole*, I. Meleško: “and it is because of their [renegade Ruthenians’ or Lithuanians’] muddled advice that our countrymen cannot make a profit” (phr. 56) and “I have no royal leasehold because I can’t grab it before others” (phr. 125-26). The real Meleško who belonged to the privileged and wealthy people (he received his first royal leasehold by 1603) would not have had reasons for such complaints. The author probably knew Meleško from the period when he was Castellan of Smolensk (1615-22). He also knew something

about Meleško's previous activities as *subcamerarius* of Mozyr (from before 1577 till after 1611, cf. phr. 134) and as a castellan of Mścisław (1605/6–1610, cf. phr. 25). He had some knowledge of the Lithuanian Statute (phr. 75), which was more typical of nobility than other strata. His complaints about Polish servants (phr. 62-72, 84-89) also betray a nobleman. And his worry that officials' gratuities may be lost in favor of non-Lithuanian citizens (phr. 76) suggests that he himself might have been an official, even if not a very important one. His concern with military affairs (the choice of the Smolensk commander of levy en masse — *pospolite ruszenie* — as his literary spokesman; the praises of old military ways, phr. 7 and 105-06; complaints about non-Lithuanian lieutenants, phr. 38-45 and 74-75) suggests that his office was in the military sphere (security officer – *wojski* ? standard bearer – *chorąży* ? marshal – *marszałek* ? all dealing with levy en masse). In any case he was not a leaseholder – *dzierżawca* – or deputy starost or starost, which were typical lucrative royal leaseholds, cf. phr. 125. He was hardly ever sent to the Diet if he could mix it up with the pre-diet convention of the Grand Duchy.

He was probably a married man with a relatively young wife and was concerned about her safety from the womanizing non-Lithuanian lieutenants (cf. phr. 39-42), Polish servants (cf. phr. 71-72), and courtiers (cf. phr. 111-112). In phr. 108 and 113-18 he worries about the dresses of "ladies" and suggests that "our women" should wear clasped and laced robes to be safer from "amorous volunteers." Such a concern would be more typical of an old man who has a young wife. Indeed, if all the references to old good times in the MS are not just part of literary fiction, then they may reflect the relatively old age of our author. Perhaps he really remembered the reign and escape of King Henry de Valois in 1574 (cf. phr. 46-50), in which case he should have been born at least in 1569 because five years seems to be the minimum age from which one remembers dramatic political events. In 1615-18 (see p. 112) he would have been 46-49 years old (which was an old age in those times) or older.

He had a good grasp of the Ukrainian language, not loaded with the excess of Polonisms so typical of his times. It was most likely his native tongue because he rather identified as a Ruthenian (cf. in phr. 18 his praise of Sigismund I who "tenderly loved Lithuanians and our Ruthenians," which can also be understood as "Lithuania and our Ruthenia"). And he probably used the Cyrillic alphabet for his political satire or lampoon, with the exception of the title (cf. fn. 94, 98, 102, 106, 114, 141, 169, 178, 181).

Since the MS was written in Ukrainian whose traces were not obliterated even in the WRG (cf. *didko*, *dytko*, *дідко*, etc., a peculiarly Ukrainian

word<sup>214</sup> in all copies, phr. 89; *horyłoczku*, *горылочку* in W<sub>1</sub>, W<sub>2</sub> and B, phr. 104; *lidwiach*, *людъях* in W<sub>1</sub>, W<sub>2</sub> and B, phr. 132), the author had to come from a southwestern part of the Grand Duchy of Lithuania (cf. p. 107), which was linguistically Ukrainian (most of the Berestja palatinate and the southwestern corner of the Minsk palatinate). In the search for the homeland of the MS author phonetical clues are not of great value because the original phonetic features could have been changed by consecutive copyists. But two phonetic features ought to be treated as exceptions: the ē > i, y and the stressed 'a > 'e, 'i. The fact that they have been preserved in some words even in the WRG proves that they were present in the protograph. The ē > i, y is typical of western Polissian (Polissian-Volhynian) Ukrainian dialects of the former Grand Duchy of Lithuania within its post-1569 borders. The eastern reach of this change is more or less to the Horyn' river.<sup>215</sup> The 'a > 'e, 'i under the stress is also typical of western Polissia but its present eastern border reaches only as far as the area between the Styr and Pripet rivers south of Pyns'k (Pinsk).<sup>216</sup> However, in the MS the latter change might be only a lexicalized isolated phenomenon; otherwise the stressed 'a remains unchanged: *korolami* (phr. 5), *popolacku* (33), *waniaiet* (37, 54), *szapku* (41), *perekrywlaiet* (41), *miasom* (54), *Lach* (68, 86), *miasa* (68), *piatuju* (94), *miaso* (112). Indeed, in most texts of the UG the stressed 'a is preserved even in the word *Ladwiach* (so in D; O has *ladzwach*, P – *Ladwiech*); only the Cz has the 'a > 'e change: *Ledwiach*.

Morphological characteristics are more resistant to changes by copyists. Among them the hard endings in soft-stem words attract attention. They are characteristic of north Ukrainian dialects approximately west of the Žytomyr-Korosten' line.<sup>217</sup> The statistics of 'o versus e forms in these endings in the MS are as follows (only nouns and adjectival forms are counted in phr. 5, 6, 8, 9, 11, 15, 16, 34, 43, 56, 58, 79, 84, 101, 133, 138):

Text	Number of cases with	
	'o	e
D	13	2
Cz	11	3
St	9	3
O	13	1
P	12	2
B	1	13
W <sub>1</sub>	11	1
W <sub>2</sub>	10	2
K	1	7
KK	1	7

Thus, the '*o* endings clearly prevail in the UG as well as in the W<sub>1</sub> and W<sub>2</sub> texts of the WRG (the best in that group). This means that they were part of the protograph.

Another morphological feature that we can use is that of the infinitives in *-ti/-ty* versus their shortened versions. The former are typical of western Polessian dialects (west of the Horyn' river and of the north-south diametric line dividing the Horyn'-Sluč triangular *mesopotamia*), the latter characterize the central Polessian dialects (as well as eastern Polessian and eastern ones in general).<sup>218</sup> In the MS these infinitives can be described in the following statistical chart:

Text	<i>-ti, -ty</i>	<i>-t, -mb, exceptionally -c</i> (the <i>-t</i> in the old Polish alphabet could also represent a <i>-t'</i> )
D	20	6
Cz	19	6
St	20	4
O	22	1
P	23	2
B	21	0
W <sub>1</sub>	19	1
W <sub>2</sub>	18	1
K	14	3
KK	14	3

Thus, the MS protograph was obviously written by a western Polessian. The prevalence of *-ti/-ty* could have been even stronger in the Cyrillic protograph because this ending was often abbreviated in the cursive script, with only the *t* letter clearly indicated. Therefore, some short forms could have been introduced in copying from Cyrillic into the Polish script.

Some lexical and lexicalized elements are also resistant to change. Among them the following are characteristic in the MS: *zubel* (phr. 79), *petuch* (phr. 95), *da (j)* and pronouns with *het-* (passim). The Polessian reach of *zubel'* is shown in our map. This is basically a central Polessian word (also extending to the neighboring southeastern White-Ruthenian dialects as far north as Rahačou<sup>219</sup>, but our map shows that it reaches also to the west of the Horyn' towards the Styr river). *Petuch* is a White-Ruthenian word (*pia-tuch*)<sup>220</sup> but also Polessian-Ukrainian. Its scope in Ukrainian dialects is shown in the map (Appendix II).<sup>221</sup> Like *zubel'*, it crosses the Horyn' to the west. The conjunction *da (j)* is almost exclusive in the MS (phr. 3, 10, 32,

39, 42, 47, 50, 52, 66; only the St text has the central and southwestern Ukrainian *ta* in phr. 52 and 66). *Da (j)* is typical, *inter alia*, of Ukrainian central Polissia,<sup>222</sup> but it also penetrates western Polissia (e.g., the Pyns'k area and the northern part of the Rivne province on both banks of the Horyn').<sup>223</sup> Finally, the *het-* pronouns, typical of western White Ruthenia (see p. 98), also enter the Ukrainian linguistic territory of western Polissia (northern part of the Rivne province, the Ukrainian Pyns'k area). The approximate western border of *het-* pronouns is shown in the map. This is also the furthest possible eastern perimeter within which the homeland of the MS author can be sought.

To sum up, the most likely place from which our author originated is the area between the Horyn' and the Styr rivers, between Pyns'k and Dubrovycja, part of the Pyns'k county of the Berestja palatinate within the Grand Duchy of Lithuania in the seventeenth century.

As for the possible time when our man from western Polissia wrote the MS at Smolensk, our most obvious time limit is from the beginning of 1615 when Meleško became a castellan of Smolensk to July 20, 1663, when a White-Ruthenian Cyrillic copy (from a Polish script text) was recopied in the eastern corner of the Berestja palatinate. But it is clear already from the previous discussions that the MS had had a long history before July 20, 1663. In view of the archaic use of *g* in one of the Polish script copies (O, see p. 19), we should not stretch the *terminus ad quem* too far from 1615. Because the MS was probably written at Smolensk or in its vicinity, 1654 is the latest possible year (the date of the loss of Smolensk to Muscovy) of composition. The mention of Kyjiv as if it were still a workable part of the Commonwealth allows us to reduce our time to before 1648. It is also likely that the MS was written before Sigismund III's death on April 30, 1632, because after that much of the rationale for writing a strongly anti-German (or anti-western-European) satire was gone. Sigismund's son, Ladislas IV, was Polonized and less unpopular with Ruthenians (here we can accept P. Krapivin's *terminus ad quem*, cf. p. 11). The Sigismund period may be confirmed by the price of the watch mentioned in the MS (cf. fn. 162). Furthermore, we can assume that the MS was written during the Commonwealth's war with Sweden over Livonia, which ended in 1622 (cf. fn. 149).

To squeeze our time slot (1615-22) even more we have to consider the remarkable fact that of the nine families who had the MS text (the Dunins, Czartoryskis, Sierakowskis, Strawińskis, Ossolińskis, Ponieńskis, Bielskis, Chreptowiczes and Mirskijs) eight had ancestors who were militarily involved at or around Smolensk between 1609-54 (see pp. 17-22). This additionally suggests that the MS author himself dealt with military affairs. If

we eliminate the last two wars for Smolensk (1633-34 and 1654) for reasons of chronology previously stated we are left only with the big war in the area of Smolensk, which lasted with intermissions from 1609 to 1618. Of those years only 1615-18 can interest us (because before 1615 the MS could not have been written). Of the eight clans mentioned above, ancestors of four participated in Smolensk campaigns in those years (Balcer Strawiński, Jerzy Ossoliński, Jerzy Chreptowicz and Hryhory Mirski) and ancestors of another one might have (Sierakowskis). So this is the likely period when the MS was written. If this assumption is correct then the word "now" in phr. 106 ("war was excellently and toughly waged, even better than now") refers to the war between the Commonwealth and Muscovy in 1615-18.

In those years the Smolensk palatinat was not yet finally organized. Therefore, the author could only anticipate what happened later: a Polish influx to lucrative offices (see fn. 148).

The fact that I. Meleško was still alive in 1615-18 was no particular obstacle to the author in using Meleško's name.<sup>224</sup> First of all, he was rarely (if ever) present in the palatinat where he nominally held the castellan's office (cf. pp. 14-15). Secondly, the MS could have circulated initially as a piece of low-brow literature in soldiers' camps only (for the humorous creativity and taste of that milieu cf. a Polish-Ukrainian parody of B. Xmel'-nyc'kyj's charters "fabricated among commoners or soldiers"<sup>225</sup>). It is significant that two men who could have gotten hold of copies of the MS, Hieronim Dunin and Hryhory Mirski, were, in 1647, commissioners to the Smolensk infantry (a typical common people's military branch, whereas cavalry was aristocratic). For security reasons perhaps, the author of the MS or one of his friends gave it a Polish title indicating that this was an old document of 1589 (a purely fantasied date).

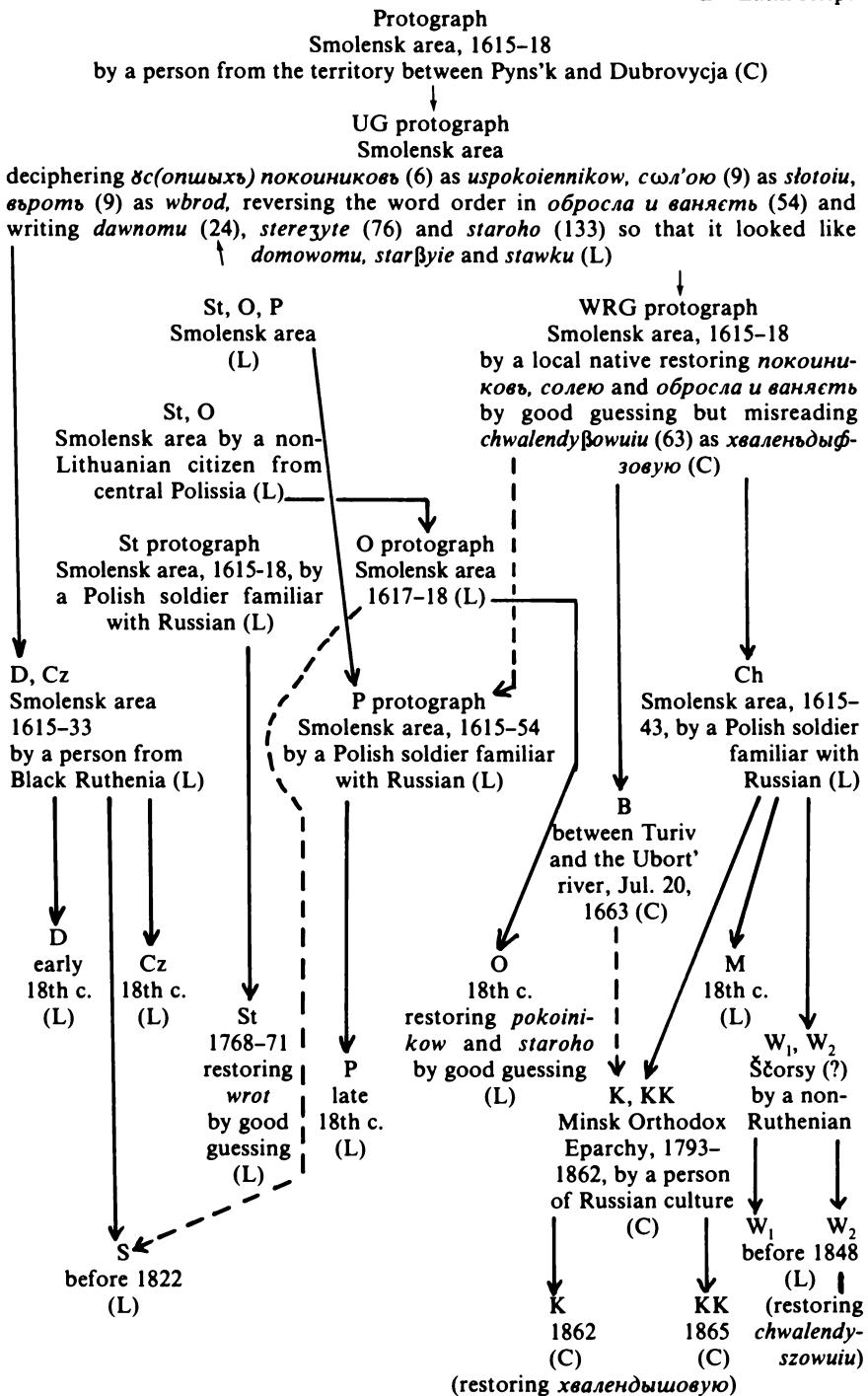
The MS copies obtained by Jerzy Chreptowicz and Hryhory Mirski could only have belonged to the WRG version, which suggests that this new, simplified and somewhat distorted redaction of the MS was also compiled by the end of 1618 (the Deulino peace of December 11).

In the copying of both the UG and the WRG local people from the Smolensk area took part (see pp. 92, 97, 98). Many copies had to be made in the Polish script because officers and soldiers in the Smolensk border area admittedly often did not know Cyrillic.<sup>226</sup> Later, particularly after the loss of Smolensk in 1654, derivative copies were made in various Ruthenian-populated areas of the Grand Duchy and the Crown Land (see the stemma of the texts, Appendix I).

# Appendix I

## Hypothetical Stemma of the MS

C—Cyrillic  
L—Latin script

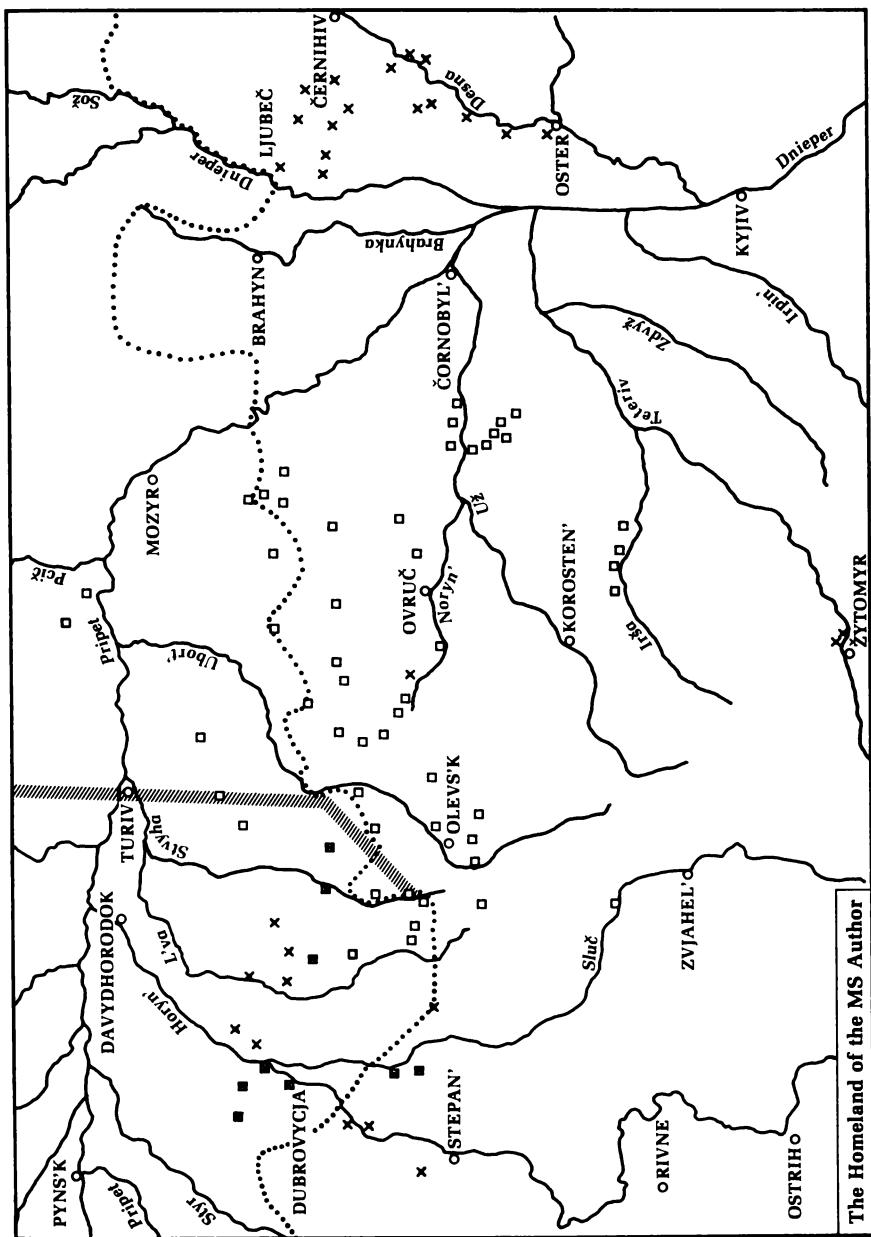


## Appendix II

### *The Homeland of the MS Author (Map)*

#### Legend

- ..... Border between the Grand Duchy of Lithuania and the Crown Land in the seventeenth century (A. Jabłonowski, *Atlas historyczny Rzeczypospolitej Polskiej. Epoka przełomu z wieku XVI na XVII. II. Ziemie ruskie*, Warsaw 1899–1904; *Atlas Ukrajiny j sumežnyx krajiv*, ed. by V. Kubijovyč, L'viv 1937, map 57).
  
- ||||| The eastern reach of *het*-pronouns (Buzuk, map 11; *Chrestomatyja pa bielaruskaj dyjalektałohii*, ed. by R. I. Avanесов, M. V. Biryła, Minsk 1962, p. 325; *Hovory ukrajins'koji movy (Zbirnyk tekstiv)*, pp. 56, 58, 59, 65, 68, 72; also cf. *Dyjalektałahičny atlas*, map 49).
  
- ✖ Localities where *petux* “rooster” is recorded (M. V. Nykončuk, *Materiały do leksyčnoho atlasu ukrajins'koji movy (Pravoberežne Polissja)*, Kyjiv 1979, p. 192).
  
- ▣ Localities where *zubel'* “tinder for smoking out bees” is recorded (Nykončuk, pp. 217-18).



The Homeland of the MS Author

## Appendix III

*An attempted reconstruction of the protograph\**  
(with a modern punctuation and division into words and paragraphs)

*Mowa JWJP. Iwana Mieleszki, Kasztelana Smoleń. na Seymie w  
Warszawie za Krola Zygmunta miana 1589*

Найяснѣйшы Милостивы Королю и на мене ласкавые Панове  
Братія!

Выѣхавши зъ домѣ, Бога єсмо ся помоливъ, щобы къ вамъ здоровъ  
приѣхавъ да й Вашѧ Милость здорово ѿглядалъ да й прывиталь.

Прышло ми зъ вами радиты, а я на гетыхъ зѣздахъ николи не  
бываль и зъ Королями Єго Милости николи не заседаль. Только  
кемлю, за 8с[опыхъ] поконниковъ, князіовъ нашыхъ, которые коро-  
ліовали, што воеводами бывали, сентенцій не бывало, — попростѣ  
правымъ серцемъ говорыли, политыки не зневали, а въ роть прав-  
дою, якъ сѡл'ю, въ очы кидывали. Хоть кто подывиль, да пакъ  
ничого не 8чиnilъ.

Скоро жъ Королѣ болшъ Нѣмцовъ нижъ нась полюбили, заразъ  
што старыє зобрали, то всю тое Нѣмцомъ роздалы.

Нашие Господары кромъ Августа Зыкгмунта Короля; того нѣчого и  
въ люде личыты, бо тотъ Подляше и Волынь вынищывъ 8 Ляховъ,  
менючыссе самъ бытъ Ляхомъ. Але Зыкгмунта Першаго солодкая па-  
меть Єго. Той Нѣмцовъ, якъ собакъ якихъ, не ховалъ и Ляховъ зъ ихъ  
хытростями велми не любиль, але Литвѣ и нашѣ Рѣсь любителне  
миловалъ, и гораздъ нашыє за єго мѣвалисе, хотяй въ такъ дорогихъ  
свитахъ не хожывали. Дрѹгіе безъ нагавицъ, какъ Бернардыны, гѹ-  
лялы, а сорочки ажъ до костокъ, а шапки ажъ до самого пояса носили.  
Дай Боже и теперъ такои годыны и строю дождаты! Я самъ коли  
подавніомъ такъ въ домѣ 8берյсе, то ЄМПани Мстиславская, мал-  
жонка моя, натешытысе и насмотритысе на мене не можетъ.

Нато жъ, ѿсмотримосе на все тое, Милостивы Панове Братія! И  
на тѣю дѣрню, Немецкю штукъ, што наброили. А коли жъ то 8 нихъ  
бывало: въ скіняхъ перѣстыхъ ходять и гроши безъ чысла мають. А  
што городовъ, иміонъ держать въ Инфлянтахъ, — и то не хихи! Да вже  
пакъ 8 нась и змѣшалисе, и по-ляцкѣ зъ нами всѣ гораздъ 8мѣютъ  
говорыть, а все лихое Короліомъ, Паномъ и Речыпосполитой, какъ  
тутъ было, баламѣтъ.

А коли самъ Немчынъ идеть албо жона его постѣпасть, и черезъ скрѣ скрыпить и шелестыть, а дорогимъ пижмомъ ваняеть.

Коли жъ до тебе порѣчникъ прыѣдеть, честѣй же его достаткомъ да еще и жонѣ свою подле него посады. А онъ седить, какъ бѣсь надѣвшысе, миргаеть, мрѹгаеть, шапкѣ албо капелюшь перекрывляеть и зъ жоною пошептываеть, стискаеть да й 8 долонь скробеть. А коли бѣ такого черта палыцою по хрыптѣ, такъ щобъ и Король Его Милости не хыхаль, и за то бы не надѣмаль бы такои поганои бѣты.

Кемлю я Короля Генрыка, которыи зъ заморской Немецкой стороны бывъ, да и зрозумѣвъ, что смы не давали ємъ шыбунковати, а Немецъ его не велми перебрыкивалъ, такъ онъ, познавши, что то не ѿткти, и самъ никомъ не казавши, прочь поѣхалъ да й 8 свою стороню, ажъ за море скикнѣль.

Казати правдѣ, не такъ виновать Король, якъ гетыс радныс баламѣты, што пры Нихъ седять да крѣтять. Много тѣтка есть, што хоть наша кость, да пакъ собачымъ мясомъ ѡбросла и ваняеть, тыс, што нась дерѣть и губять, а за ихъ баламѣтнію и нашынецъ пожывитисе не можетъ; Речпосполитою згубять, — и Волынь зъ Подляшемъ за ихъ чмѣтнію пропаль.

Знай намъ прыстѣпило, што ходимъ, какъ подѣрѣлыс, бо се ихъ боимо, правды имъ не мовимо, еще зъ похлѣбными єзыками потакиваємо. А коли бѣ такого бѣса кѣлакомъ 8 мордѣ, забывъ бы дрѹгї мѣтыты!

И то, Милостивыс Панове, немалая шкода: слѣгы ховасмо Ляхы. Давай же ємъ сѣкню хвалендышовью, корми жъ его сласно, а зъ ихъ слѣжбы ничего немашь. Толко сподынъ, ѡбравши, на высокихъ подковкахъ до девокъ дыбе да ходить а зъ великого кѣфля трѣбить. Ты, Пане, за столъ, а слѣга собѣ за столъ. Ты за борщику, а слѣга Ляхъ за богатую штѣкѣ мяса. Ты за фляшкѣ, а онъ за дрѹгѹю, а коли благо держышъ, такъ онъ и зъ рѣкъ выдереть. Толко пилинейть, скоро бы зъ двора, а онъ мовчкомъ прытесаєтисе тебѣ и до жоны.

Я бы мовиль и того чортополоха зъ Немцами выгнать.

А ѿдь порѣчниковъ и 8рады, што 8 нихъ 8лѣзли противко правѹ нашему, поодымать! ѿдь нихъ стережите поклоны Смоленскіе! Продырайте ѿчи лѣпшъ нижъ ѿ Инфлянты, бо тыс мистюки тѣтка якъ 8лѣзть, то ихъ и збліюмъ не выкѣрышь, какъ пшоль ѿдь медъ!

Але зрадно поговорылы смо ѿ розныхъ 8тратахъ нашихъ.

И гета немалая здаєтисе шкода — кони намъ дрыганты ховаты на стайні. Давай же ємъ лѣто и зиму ѿвесъ и сѣно, подстилай же его ѿночъ, ховай же для него слѣгъ Ляха, конюшаго и машталера, а зъ

нихъ жаднои слѣжбы не пытай. Єсли жъ єще Ляхъ, какъ жеребецъ, бѣде ржать коло девокъ, какъ дрыгантъ коло кобыль, прыйми жъ двѣхъ Литвиновъ на стражъ къ немѹ, бо и самъ дѣдько, мовютъ, васъ не 旣пилнѣть.

И то на свѣте дѣрнина: годынники. Мнѣ прытрапилосе на тандетѣ въ Кіовѣ 旣пити. Дали смы за него тры копы грошей. Яко смы пославъ до Вилна поправиты, ажъ на пятю копѣ крѣтить злодей заморчыкъ. Добрый то нашъ годынникъ петѣхъ, що нехібне ѿпѣлночи 旣карѣ-кѣсть.

И то велми стратная шкода Кгалакѣцкїe кѣры ховаты, ихъ зъ достаткомъ варыты и инныє пташки смажыты, торты гетыє розынками, микгдалами, цыментомъ богато цѣкроваты. За моеніи паметы тыхъ прысмаковъ не бывало. Добра была гѣска зъ грыбками, качечка зъ перчыкомъ, печонка зъ цыблкою албо зъ чосочкомъ, а коли на перепышны достатокъ — рыжовая каша зъ шафраномъ.

Вина Венкгерского не заживали передъ тымъ и малмазью скромне пїяли, медокъ и горылочки зобалы, але грошей подостаткомъ мевали, мѣры силныє, города мѣровалы и войнѣ славно, крѣпко, лѣтчѣй єще нижъ теперечы, додерживали.

И то не до речы дѣрацтво: въ богатыхъ сѣкняхъ панѣ ходять, какъ вперѣ свитахъ. Не знавалы передъ тымъ гетыи портѣкгалы чы фор-тѣкгалы: а подолокъ рѣхаетьсе, а коло подолка чепляетьсе, а дворанинь въ ножкѣ заглядаеть, какъ соколь, щобъ ѿбнѣти, где солодкое мясо. Я бы радиль, нехъ бы бѣлошыки нашии въ запинаные давныє построилисе козакины, а шнѣрованые на задѣ носилы розпорки, а къ томъ щобъ зъ Немецка плюдрыны 旣живалы, — было бъ варовнѣй и спокойнѣй, доброхотники милосные не такъ бы хѣтко любителю скрадывали бредню. А теперечы хоть зъ рогатыною на вартѣ стой, — въ живыє очы такого бѣса не 旣пилнѣшъ.

Далей ѿ чымъ радиты, не знаю.

То, што Вашей Милости рачылы прыпомнеть: щобъ завжды рачыли колко Сенаторовъ Пановъ Литовскихъ пры Королю Єго Милости бываты. Бывъ бы и я, только королевщызы не маю, бо предъ дрѣгимъ не схоплю.

А вжо єсмо, казать правду, и старъ, а 旣ршлю, Короліовъ Єи Милости миленько въ рѣчкѣ поцаловалъ, какъ дрѣгіе, молодшыє Сенаторчыки. Не дывйтесь, Мостины Панове и Братія: вѣкъ вѣкомъ, сказывають, сивизна въ бородѣ, а чортъ въ лѣдвяхъ за поесомъ, — на хорошое виденіе старого кѣситъ.

Не толко въ Смоленскѣ, але и въ Мозырѣ 8весь повѣтъ о тымъ ради въ давно, кого бъ мѣдрого до вась на тотъ зѣздъ и къ той сен-тенцыи выправити. Мене, вѣдомого тыхъ спавъ, до Вашыхъ Мило-стей послаль и, што Господь Богъ давъ 8мѣти, предъ Королюмъ Его Милости и Вами, Мостины Панове и Братія, открыли есмо.

Скажеть ли кто зъ вась лютчѣй, толко не баламѣтчи, и я на томъ перестанѣ.

\* The following rules of transliteration from the Polish script to Cyrillic need to be explained:

- y* at the end of closed syllables — ѹ;  
at the end of open syllables — ѿ;  
at the end of adjectival forms — ѿ;
- i* for an etymological ē — ѫ;  
at the end of closed syllables — ѹ;  
at the end of open syllables — є;  
at the end of adjectival forms — ѹ;  
before a phonetic *j* — ѵ;
- ie* for an etymological ē — ѫ;  
otherwise — є;
- ia* in Polonized forms, for an etymological ē — ѫ;
- io* tautosyllabic — ѿ;  
disyllabic — ѿ (cf. above);
- e* for a stressed etymological ē — ѫ;  
otherwise — є;
- u* — ѿ, but *y* in one case (see fn. 178);
- o* at the beginning of words — ѿ (and in *сѡл’ою*, see fn. 98);  
otherwise — ѿ;
- g* — кг;
- l* before consonants — л;
- lo* — ліо (except in *сѡл’ою*, cf. above);
- t* — тѣ where etymologically justified;
- se, sie, się* in reflexive verbs — се;

The ѿ is added to final nonpalatal consonants and, in one case, to a prefix before ѫ (зѣлѣзѣ).

In two cases the superscript *đ* letter is used (see fn. 114 and 169).

The transliteration is mainly based on texts D and Cz.

## Appendix IV

*Ivan Meleško's Letter to Krzysztof Radziwiłł of June 5, 1617*

(From the Main Archives of Old Records,  
Warsaw, the Radziwiłł Archives, Section V, Folder 201, No. 9622)

[The outside]

Oswieconemu Xiążciu na Birżach y Dubinkach Panu Panu Krzysztophowi Radziwiłowi, Hetmanowi Pollnē W<sup>o</sup> X<sup>a</sup> Litewskiè, seywenskiemu, zýzmorskiemu, y Býstrzyckiemu **vñ vñ** [= etc. etc.] staroście, Panu y dobrodziejowi memu Młsciwemu oddać

[A paraph and a stamp with a coat of arms  
and the inscription which can be conjecturally  
made out as:

IOANI MELESKO CASTEL SMOLIENSII]

[The inside]

Oswiecone Xiaze APanie

Panie Moý Miłosciwy **vñ** S przodkow W:X: Mczy, y zosoby samego W:X:M: mego Miłosciwego Pana, znając wielką łaskę W:X:Mczy przeciwko sobie, y wonej nic niewątpiąc, upodobałem sobie Osobę W:X:M: mego Młsciwego Pana, ze wsprawach moich poseałem do W:X:M: zięcia swego, A slugę W:X:M: Pana Przesławskiego, Ktoremum Vstnie zlecił Mczywej łaski W:X:Mczy mē Młsciwego Pana zazýwać, Ocokolwiek ýmieniem moym prosić W:X:M: będzie, Proszę abyś W:X:M: y względem prozbý mnie samego starego slugi Śwē W:X:M: y nasługę swego A zięcia mego Respectując, wtym wczym prozba przez zięcia mego do W:X:M: doniesiona będzie Młsciwym Panem y dobrodziejem stawić mi się raczej, A ia y Pana Boga zadobre zdrowie y szesliwe panowanie W:X:M: prosić, y służyć zdziatkami moymi wiecznie W:X:M: memu Młsciwemu panu chcę y iestem gotow, Oddaie zatem powolne słuzby moje Młsciwej łasce W:X:M: mē MPana iako napilniej, Dana zdziewiątkowicz Iuniy 5 d. Anno 1617

[A paraph]

[Now, after a neat handwriting by a scribe follows Meleško's own hand,  
trembling and hard to read]

W: m. mego msciwē pana

nanizþy sluga

Ioan mieließko kaßte[lan] [torn off paper]

smoliensky wlas[ną] [torn off]

rąką

*Ivan Meleško's Letter to Krzysztof Radziwiłł of January 5, 1621*  
 (From the same archive unit)

[The outside, by the hand of a different scribe]

Oswieconemu Xciu na Birzach IDubinkach, IēMPanu Krzysztophowi Radziwiłowi Hetmanowi Polnemu WXŁ Seywenskiemu Bystrzyckiemu y Zýzmorskiemu, memu Wielce Mczīwemu Panu,, oddać

[A paraph]

[The inside]

Oswiecone Mczīwe Xiąze

Przyznawszý to ze Nieladaiaki zal po zeysciu smiercią stego swiata Sławneý pamięci Xcta mcži Pana Brata w̄m,, uderzył wserce WX.M, Pana moiego Mczīwego „, całym go sercem dopomagam WX.M. załować „, Przekładam iednak wtey mierze przed oczý WX.M. wolą bozą „, Naktorą Gdÿ WX.M poyrzysz obaczyć raczysz, ze się tak stało, iako się naywyzszemu podobało „, Mnie iesli Pan wszechmogący zdrowia uzyczý, oswiadczaiąc powinnosc Chrześcianską, yto zem zdawných czasow být, y iesth całym domowi WX.M: sługą „, Naten determinowany czas ymiejscze pogrzebowi wbogu zmarłemu ciału stawić się chcę „, zycząc aby WX.M Pan bog zynszey stroný pomyslnie cieszyć, y wdobrym nadługie lata zdrowiu s Xięzną ieymčią moją WPanią, y zmiłym potomstwem WX.M: chować raczył „, Natenczas służby moie powolne do M. łaski W.X.M. zalecam pilno „, Dano zWołpý d. 5 Ianuaryi 1621.

[A paraph]

[Here follows Meleško's own hand]

W:m mego milostiwē pana

nanizþy sluga i powolny

Ioan mieließko

Caßt: Smoliensky

# Glossary

The glossary includes all words of the MS. Entries are given in the Polish Latin alphabet, in which most MS copies are written, in their basic grammatical forms (with an asterisk, if unrecorded). Numbers and initials cited are those of phrases and texts of the synopsis. Minor spelling and phonetic differences are disregarded. Important phonetic variants are treated jointly but with references made from less to more important ones. Obviously corrupted words are not included if they have their correct equivalents. Examples from S are not cited. The reconstructed entries are oriented towards the north Ukrainian dialects as mostly reflected in the MS (unstressed ē, ē > e; ky, hy > ki, hi; adjectival -yj, -ij > -y, -i; c' > c; r' > r, etc.).

- a** 1. "and" (4 D, 10 St, 22 D, 30 B, 31 D, 34 D, 36 Cz, 37 D, 40 D, 41 St, 43 D, 44 St, 48 D, 52 St, 56 D, 61 D, 64 D, 66a D, 67 D, 68 D, 69 D, 70 D, 72 D, 74 D, 102 D, 104 O, 115 D, 116 D, 127 D, 132 D, 137 St);  
2. "but" (9 D, 18 B, 85 D, 99 P, 105 P, 110 D, 111 D, 119 D, 128 Cz);  
3. emphatic particle *a kolisz to u nich bywało* "when did they ever have it like now?" (29 Cz, cf. 110 D).
- abo** "or" (36 St, 41 O).
- albo** "or" (36 D, 41 D, 101 D).
- ate** "but" (15 Cz, 18 O, 80 D, 105 D, 134 D).
- \***Annulka** "Ann" dimin. *Annulku* (128 KK) acc.
- \***Auhust, \*August** "Augustus" *Auhusta* (13 St), *Augusta* (13 D) gen.
- aż** 1. emphatic particle *az zaraz* "immediately" (12 O);  
2. "down (to)" *soroczki aż do kostok* "shirts down to the ankles" (22 P);  
3. "as far as" *aż w swoiu storonu* ( . . . ) *skiknul* "he jumped as far as to his country" (50 W<sub>1</sub>);  
4. "all the way" *aż za more skiknul* "he jumped ( . . . ) all the way beyond the sea" (50 W<sub>1</sub>);  
5. "as much as" *aż na piatuju kopu krutyl złodiy* "the thief spirals the price to as much as five times sixty groszy" (94 St);  
6. *aż no* (94 W<sub>1</sub>), *aż on* (94 K) "then."
- b** see by.
- \***bałamut** "misleading councilor" *bałamuty* (51 D) nom. pl.
- \***bałamutnia** "muddled advice" *bałamutneiu* (56 St), *bałamutnioju* (56 D, 58 O, 139 O) instr. s., *bałamutniami* (56 W<sub>1</sub>) instr. pl.
- \***bałamuty** "to muddle up, babble" imperf. *bałamutiat'* (35 P) 3rd pers. pl. pres., *bałamutiaczy* (139 D) pres. act. adverb. participle.
- bankiet** "banquet" (102 O).
- \***bat'ko** "father" *batki* (12 P) nom. pl.
- \***beloszyka** "woman" *białoszyki* (113 Cz) nom. pl.
- \***bekożonka** "woman" *białożonki* (113 W<sub>1</sub>) nom. pl.
- \***bernardyn** "Bernardine" *Bernardyny* (21 Cz) nom. pl.
- bez** "without" (21 D, 30 D, 105 O).

- bis** (40 St), **bies** (40 D) "devil" *bisa* (61 D, 120 St) gen.-acc. s.  
**błaho** "infirmly" (70 D).  
**bo** "because" (14 D, 16 W<sub>1</sub>, 59 D, 78 Cz, 89 D, 118 O, 126 D, 133 O).  
**Boh** "God" (137 D), *Bohu* (2 P) dat. s., *Boha* (2 D) acc. s., *Boże* (23 Cz) voc. s.  
**bohatoo** "richly" (98 D).  
**\*bohaty** "rich" *bohatuju sztuku miasa* (acc.) "a rich piece of meat" (68 D), *bohatych* (108 D) loc. pl.  
**\*boiatyse** "to be afraid" imperf. *se* ( . . . ) *boimo* (59 D) 1st pers. pl. pres.  
**bolsze** see *mnoho*.  
**\*boroda** "beard" *borody* (132 O) loc. s.  
**Borszcz** "borsht" (68 O).  
**borszczyk** "borsht" (68 Cz) dimin.  
**Bratia** "brothers" coll. (138 D), *Panowe Bratia* "gentlemen brothers" (1 St, 27 P, 130 B) voc. pl.  
**\*brednia, \*brydnia** "madness" *bredniu* (118 D), *brydniu* (118 St) acc. s.  
**Bulsz** see *mnoho*.  
**\*buta** "arrogance" *buty* (45 Cz) gen. s.  
**\*buty** see *byty*.  
**\*buwaty** see **\*bywaty**.  
**by, b** 1. conditional particle (45 Cz, 45 St, 61 D, 73 D, 113 Cz, 117 D, 118 D, 125 D, 139 W<sub>1</sub>), *kolizby* (43 W<sub>1</sub>), *kołyb* (43 St, 61 St), *kołyby* (61 O) "if";  
2. potential particle ("possibly") *o czymby radyty neznaiu* "about what to deliberate (possibly) I don't know" (121 St), *kohob mudroho* ( . . . ) *wyprawyty* "which wise person (possibly) to send" (135 P);  
3. emphatic particle *skoroby* (71 D), *skorob* (71 P) "until."  
**bych** conditional particle of the 1st person *Iabych radył* "I would advise" (73 P, 113 P).  
**byt** (14 D) 1. "to be" *iesmo* (127 D), *smo* (127 P) 1st pers. s. pres., *Ie* (62 St), *iest'* (53 P), *iest* (75 P) 3rd pers. s. pres., *byw* (46 D, 125 D), *buw* (46 O, 125 P) s. masc. past, *bulo* (35 P) s. neut. past, *była* (100 D), *bula* (100 St) s. fem. past, *było* (125 W<sub>1</sub>) s. neut. subjunct., *byłob* (117 D), *byłoby* (117 St), *butob* (117 P) s. neut. cond.;  
2. auxiliary verb of past tense *m* (2 W<sub>1</sub>), *iesma* (2 D), *iesmo* (2 Cz), *smy* (93 Cz) 1st pers. s., *smo* (47 D, 92 D, 93 St), *ieśmo* (47 O, 92 St, 138 P), *śmo* (92 P), *eśmo* (93 W<sub>1</sub>) 1st pers. pl.;  
3. auxiliary verb of conditional mood *kob i sam didko był mowył* "even if the devil himself told" (89 P), *Iabym radyw* "I would advise" (113 O);  
4. auxiliary verb of future tense *bude, rzat* (86 D), *budet rzaty* (86 O) "will neigh";  
5. *było* auxiliary verb changing the present tense into the past *kak mohut było* "as much as they could" (35 K).  
**bywaty** "to be" iterat. (124 Cz), *bywał* (4 D, 125 St), *buwaw* (4 O, 125 O) s. masc. past, *bywali* (7 D), *buwały* (7 St) pl. past, *bywało* (29 D), *buwalo* (29 St, 124 O) s. neut. past, *nebuwalo, nebywało* "there were no, did not exist" (8 O, 99 St, 99 D) (with gen.).  
**\*chachaty** "to giggle" imperf. *chachał* (44 O) s. masc. subjunct.  
**\*chitrost'** see **\*chytrrost'**.  
**Chocz** "although" (10 P, 53 W<sub>1</sub>).  
**choczay** "although" (10 St).  
**\*chodyty** "to go" iterat., "to wear" *w* ( . . . ) *swytach nechodyły* "they did not wear coats" (20 O), *chodiat'* (29 P, 108 P) 3rd pers. pl. pres., *chodym* (59 Cz), *chodymo* (59 St) 1st pers. pl. pres., *chodył* (66 St) 3rd pers. s. pres.

- \***chodywaty** “to wear” iterat. w ( . . . ) *switach nie chodywali* “they did not wear coats” (20 W<sub>1</sub>).
- chodzby** “even” (119 O).
- \***choroszy** “good; pretty” *Choroszych* (20 O) loc. pl., *Choroszuju* (68 O) acc. s. fem., *choroszoie* (133 Cz), *Choroſe* (133 P), *choroszeje* (133 B) nom.-acc. s. neut.
- chot’** 1. “although” (10 D, 20 B, 53 P);  
2. “even” (119 D).
- Chotia** 1. “although” (20 W<sub>1</sub>);  
2. “even” (119 W<sub>1</sub>).
- chotiaj** “although” (20 D).
- chotiaż** “although” (20 P, 127 O).
- \***chotity** “to want” imperf. *choczu* (123 P) 1st pers. s. pres.
- chowaty** “to breed, to keep” imperf. (81 D, 90 O, 96 D), *chowaw* (16 O) s. masc. past, *chowaiemo* (62 O), *chowajem* (62 K) 1st pers. pl. pres., *choway* (84 D) 2nd pers. s. imperat.
- \***chozywaty** “to wear” iterat. w ( . . . ) *swytach nechozywały* “they did not wear coats” (20 P).
- \***chrebet**, \***chrybet** “back” *chrebte* (43 St), *chri(b)te* (43 B) loc. s.
- \***chto** see \***kto**.
- chutko** “quickly” (118 D).
- \***chwaledyszowy** “made of feinländisch (thin English or Dutch cloth)” *Chwalen-dyszowuiu* (63 P), *salendyszowuiu* (63 O) acc. s. fem.
- \***chychaty** “to giggle” imperf. *chychał* (44 Cz) s. masc. subjunct.
- chchy, chichi, hihi** “laughing matter” *to nechchy* (31 St), *to nechichi* (31 O), *to ni hihi* (31 K) “it’s no laughing matter.”
- \***chytrost’, chitrost’** “cunning, slyness” *chytrostiami* (17 D), *chitrost’mi* (17 K) instr. pl., *chytrostiu* (17 W<sub>1</sub>) instr. s.
- cukrowaty** “to sugar” imperf. (98 D).
- \***cybula** “onion” *cybuleju* (101 B), *cybuloiu* (101 W<sub>1</sub>) instr. s.
- \***cybulka** “onion” dimin. *cybulkouj* (101 Cz) instr. s.
- \***cyment** “cinnamon” *cymentem* (98 Cz) instr. s.
- \***cynamon** “cinnamon” *Cynamonom* (98 St) instr. s., *cynamonami* (98 O) instr. pl.
- \***czastowaty** see \***czestowaty**.
- \***czeplatysia** “to catch, stick” imperf. *czeplaiet sią* (110 St) 3rd pers. s. pres.
- czerez** “through, with” (37 O).
- \***czestowaty, czastowaty** “to treat (to)” imperf. *czestuy ieho dostatkom* “treat him to abundant meals” (40 D), *Czastuy* (40 O).
- \***czmutnia** “mischief” *czmutneiu* (58 St), *czmutnioju* (58 D) instr. s.
- czort** “devil” (137 D), *czorta* (43 D) acc. s.
- \***czortopołoch** “pest” *czortopołocha* (43 St, 73 P) acc. s.
- \***czosnoczok** “garlic” dimin. *czosnoczkom* (101 D) instr. s.
- \***czosnyczok** “garlic” dimin. *Czosnyczkom* (101 O) instr. s.
- \***czosnyk** “garlic” *czosnykom* (101 W<sub>1</sub>) instr. s.
- czto** see **szczo**.
- cztoby** see **szczoby**.
- czy** “or” (109 D).
- \***czysło** “number” *bez czysła* “innumerable” (30 D, 105 St).
- da** 1. (3 K, 32 D, 42 Cz, 43 W<sub>1</sub>, 47 P, 52 D, 66D), *da y* (3 D, 42 D, 47 D, 49 W<sub>1</sub>, 50 D, 52 P, 117 St, 137 P) “and,” *da ieszcze* “and . . . to boot” (40 Cz);  
2. “but” (89 P), *da pak* (10 D, 54 D) “however”;  
3. “only” (139 O).
- \***daleko** “far” *Daley* “further” (121 O).

- \*daty** 1. “to give, to grant” perf. *day Boże* “God grant” (23 Cz), *dałyiesmo* (92 St), *datyśmo* (92 P), *dalismy* (92 D) 1st pers. pl. past;  
 2. “to let, to permit” *my ne daty iomu szabuńkowaty* “we did not let him wangle” (47 P), *szczzo Hospod dał umięty* “what the Lord permitted (me) to know” (137 St).
- \*dawaty** imperf. 1. “to give” *daway* (63 O, 82 D) 2nd pers. s. imperat.  
 2. “to let” *my Jemu niemnoho dawali szebunkowaty* “we did not let him wangle a great deal” (47 W<sub>1</sub>).
- dawno** “for a long time” (134 D).
- \*dawny** “old-time” *dawnyie* (114 D), *dawnyi* (114 O) acc. pl. fem. inanim.
- de** (112 St), **hde** (112 D) “where.”
- dej** “as they say” (41 B, 42 B).
- \*derty** “to rip off” imperf. *derut* (55 D) 3rd pers. pl. pres.
- derzaty** imperf. 1. “to hold” *derząt* (31 P) 3rd pers. pl. pres., *derżysz* (70 Cz) 2nd pers. s. pres.;  
 2. “to breed” (81 KK);  
 3. “to wage” *Woynu ( . . . ) derżały* “they waged war” (106 O).
- didko** “devil” (89 P).
- \*dieńhi** “money” pl. *dienieh* (30 W<sub>1</sub>) gen.
- \*diwka** “girl” *Diwok* (66 St, 86 St), *dewok* (66 B, 86 D), *dywok* (66 O, 86 O) gen.pl.
- dla** “for” (84 D).
- do** 1. “to” (66 D, 72 D, 86 St, 93 D, 135 D, 136 D), “into” *aż do kostok* “down to the ankles” (22 P), *do tebe* “to your home” (38 D), *do nich* “into their hands” (75 O), *do nas* “into our country” (75 W<sub>1</sub>), *ne do reczy* “absurd, not to the point” (107 D);  
 2. “for” *chowaję do Ieho stuhu* “keep for him a servant” (84 O).
- \*dobre** “well” *lipsz* (19 B, 77 Cz), *lipsze* (77 W<sub>1</sub>, 139 O), *tuczsze* (19 W<sub>1</sub>, 106 P, 139 W<sub>1</sub>), *tuczszej* (106 W<sub>1</sub>, 139 B), *tuczczej* (19 K, 106 K, 139 P) compar.
- \*dobrochotnyk** “volunteer” *dobrochotnyki* (118 O) nom. pl.
- \*dobrodej** “benefactor, Sir” *Dobrodeje* (1 P) voc. pl.
- dobry** “good” (95 D), *dobrych* (20 P) loc. pl., *dobra* (100 D), *dobraia* (100 W<sub>1</sub>) nom. s. fem.
- \*doderżywaty** “to wage” imperf. *Woynu ( . . . ) doderzywali* “they waged war” (106 Cz).
- dołoń** “palm” (42 St).
- \*dołońka** “palm” dimin. *dolo(n)ku* (42 B) acc. s.
- \*dom** “home, house” *z domu* “from home” (2 D, 71 W<sub>1</sub>), *w domu* “at home” (24 Cz).
- \*domowy** “home” adj. *po domowomu* “in a home garb” (24 D).
- \*dorohi** “expensive” *dorohich* (20 D) loc. pl., *dorohym* (37 D) instr. s. neut.
- dostatok** “abundant meal, rich food” (102 D), *dostatkom* (38 D, 97 D) instr. s., *dostatkamy* (38 P, 97 P) instr. pl., *dostatki* (102 St) acc. pl.
- dożdaty** “to live to see” perf. (23 W<sub>1</sub>).
- druhi** 1. “other” *druhuiu* (69 D) acc. s. fem., *druhim* (126 D) instr. s. masc., *druhy* (126 O) instr. pl., *druhye* (129 P) nom. pl.  
 2. “some” *druhyi bez nahawyc ( . . . ) Hulały* “some walked around without trousers” (21 O), *zabywby druhi mutyty* “some of them would forget their trouble-making” (61 Cz).
- dryhant** (87 D), **\*drygant** “stud” *dryhanty* (81 D), *dryganty* (81 P) acc. pl.
- duractwo** “idiocy” (107 D).
- \*durnia** “idiocy” *durniu* (28 Cz) acc. s.
- \*durnycia** “idiocy” *Durnyciu* (28 St) acc. s.

- durnyna** "idiocy, nonsense" (90 O), *durnynu* (28 O) acc. s.
- \***dwa** masc., *dwi* (94 O) fem. "two" *dwuch* (88 D), *dwoch* (88 St) acc. masc. anim.
- \***dwor** "homestead" *dwora* (71 D), *dworu* (71 P) gen. s.
- Dworanyn** "courtier" (111 P).
- \***dybaty** "to tiptoe" imperf. *dybe* (66 D), *dyble* (66 St), *dybleł'* (66 P) 3rd pers. s. pres., *dyblat* (66 O) 3rd pers. pl. pres.
- \***dywitysie** "to stare" *Ne Dywitesie* "don't stare!" (130 D) pl.
- \***dywotatysia** "to wonder" imperf. *nedywuytesia* "don't wonder!" (130 P) pl.
- \***dziubaty** "to nip" imperf. *dziubali* (104 W<sub>1</sub>) pl. past.
- Espani** "Mrs." (25 St).
- \***falandyszowy** see \***chwałendyszowy**.
- \***flasza** "bottle" *flasz* (69 O) acc. s.
- \***flaszka** "bottle" *flaszku* (69 Cz) acc. s.
- \***fortuhal**, \***fortugała** see \***portugał**, \***portugała**.
- \***gałakucki kur**, \***kałakucki kur** "turkey" *Gałakuckie kury* (96 D), *kałakuckii kury* (96 O) acc. pl.
- harazd** (19 P, 33 P), **horazd** (19 D, 33 D), **harazdo** (33 W<sub>1</sub>) "well" *horazd* ( . . . ) *miewali się* "they had it good" (19 D).
- hde** see **de**.
- \***Henryk**, \***Henrych** "Henry" *Henryka* (46 D), *Chenrycha* (46 St) acc.
- \***hetaki** "such" *hetakoho* (43 W<sub>1</sub>, 61 W<sub>1</sub>) acc. s. masc., *hetakich* (4 St, 8 K, 53 KK, 99 St, 109 St) gen.-loc. pl.
- \***hetę** "this" *heto* (27 K) acc. s. neut., *heta* (81 D), *hetaja* (81 K, 90 KK) nom. s. fem., *hetyi* (109 Cz) gen. s. fem., *hetoho* (43 K) acc. s. masc. anim., *hetuiu* (28 O) acc. s. fem., *heteiu* (135 P) instr. s. fem., *hetyi* (51 O) nom. pl., *hetyie* (98 D) acc. pl. inanim., *hetych* (4 D, 8 W<sub>1</sub>, 99 W<sub>1</sub>, 109 W<sub>1</sub>) gen.-loc. pl.; *heto* general demonstrative-predicative pronoun: *heto nesztuki* "it is not hard" (49 St).
- hihi** see **chchy**.
- \***hinutu** "to perish" imperf. *hinut'* (76 B) 3rd pers. pl. pres.
- \***hłaz** "eye" w *hłaza* "into eyes" (9 K).
- \***hodyna** "hour, time" *hodyn* (23 D) gen. s.
- hodynnyk** "watch, clock" (90 K, 95 O), *hodynnyki* (90 P) nom. pl.
- \***hołohuzny** "bare-rumped" *hołohuznyje kury* "bare-rumped cocks" (96 W<sub>1</sub>).
- horazd** see **harazd**.
- horazdo** (19 K) "by far" *horazdo tuczej* "much better" (19 K).
- \***horod** "(fortified) town, fortification" *horodow* (31 D) gen. pl., *horody* (106 Cz) acc. pl.
- \***horyłoczka** "liquor" dimin. *horyłoczku* (104 D) acc. s.
- Hospod** "Lord (God)" (137 D).
- \***hospoda** "house" *hosropy* (65 O) gen. s.
- \***hospodar** "ruler" *Hospodary* (12 D), *hospodari* (12 B) nom. pl.
- howirty, howoryt** "to speak, to tell" imperf. (33 St, 33 D), *howorymo* (60 O) 1st pers. pl. pres., *howoryli* (8 D) pl. past.
- \***howorywaty** "to speak" iterat. *howorywaty* (8 St) pl. past.
- \***hrosz** "grosz, piece of silver" *try kopy hroszey* (92 W<sub>1</sub>) "three times sixty groszy."
- \***hroszy** "money" pl. *hroszy* (30 Cz, 105 Cz), *hroszey* (105 D) gen.
- \***hrybok** "mushroom" dimin. *hrybkami* (100 D) instr. pl.
- \***hubaty** "to undo, to ruin" imperf. *hublat'* (55 P), *hubiat* (55 D, 57 W<sub>1</sub>) 3rd pers. pl. pres.
- \***hulaty** "to walk around" imperf. *hulaty* (21 D) pl. past.
- huska** "goose" (100 D).
- husoczka** "goose" dimin. (100 O).
- hyhy** see **chchy**.

- i** (13 P), **j** (72 P) 1. "and" (1 St, 5 P, 7 B, 12 B, 14 W<sub>1</sub>, 17 D, 18 D, 19 D, 23 D, 30 D, 31 St, 33 D, 34 D, 36 D, 37 P, 41 D, 45 D, 47 St, 49 D, 50 O, 54 W<sub>1</sub>, 55 P, 58 W<sub>1</sub>, 59 W<sub>1</sub>, 60 St, 62 D, 65 W<sub>1</sub>, 66 W<sub>1</sub>, 71 O, 72 O, 81 W<sub>1</sub>, 82 W<sub>1</sub>, 84 W<sub>1</sub>, 90 D, 96 O, 97 St, 106 W<sub>1</sub>, 107 St, 117 P, 123 P, 128 K, 132 W<sub>1</sub>, 135 D, 137 D, 138 D, 140 D), *i . . . i* . . . "both . . . and" *y Panom y Reczypospolitey* "both to Lords and to the Commonwealth" (34 O);  
 2. "also, too" (28 D, 39 D, 42 B, 44 D, 49 St, 52 St, 61 O, 73 D, 74 D, 125 D, 129 P, 134 W<sub>1</sub>), *y teper* "now too" (23 D);  
 3. "even" (70 D, 72 D, 79 P, 89 D, 133 O), *toho niczoho i wludie łczyty* "there's no point even counting him among human beings" (13 P);  
 4. emphatic particle (32 D, 49 St, 56 D), *y zrodu* "never in life" (4 St), *iesmo kazal Prauda y star* "to tell the truth, I am old" (127 St);  
 5. "rather, but" (104 P).
- iakby** "for the way to" *Dworanin w Nozku zahładaie* ( . . . ) *iakby szczupnuty* "the courtier looks up her leg for the way to pinch" (111-112 St).
- \***iehomostwy** "gracious" *Iehomostwyi Panowie* "dear gentlemen" (90 O).
- iesli** "when" (86 D).
- ieszcze** 1. "and, moreover" (60 Cz), *da ieszcze y* "and . . . to boot" (39 Cz), *ieszcze* (86 Cz), *ieszczez* (86 St) "on top of this";  
 2. *Lutczey ieszcze* "even better" (106 Cz);  
 3. "also" (107 P).
- leymost'** see **myłost'.**
- leżeli** "if" (139 O).
- ili** "or" (36 W<sub>1</sub>, 41 W<sub>1</sub>, 43 W<sub>1</sub>, 101 W<sub>1</sub>, 109 W<sub>1</sub>).
- \***imienie** "estate" *Imion* (31 St), *Jmeń* (31 P) gen. pl.
- imość** see **myłost'.**
- Inflanty** "Livonia" *w Inflantach* "in Livonia" (31 O), *o Inflanty* "over Livonia" (77 D).
- \***inny** "other" *innyi* (97 O) acc. pl. inanim.
- \***inszy** "other" *inszy* (105 St) nom. pl.
- \***interes** "interest, affair" *interessach* (80 W<sub>1</sub>) loc. pl.
- \***intrata** "revenue" *intratach* (80 St) loc. pl.
- \***ity** "to walk" imperf. *idet* (36 D), *ide* (36 St) 3rd pers. s. pres.
- iun** see on.
- iuż** "already" *Nadto iuż* "enough is enough" (27 W<sub>1</sub>).
- Ja** "I" (4 D, 24 D, 46 W<sub>1</sub>, 73 D, 113 P, 125 D, 127 O, 136 D, 140 D), *mene* (1 D, 26 Cz, 139 O), *mienia* (1 W<sub>1</sub>) gen.-acc., *meni* (4 W<sub>2</sub>), *menie* (4 KK, 91 P), *mini* (4 St, 91 O), *mni* (4 O, 91 St), *mi* (4 D) dat.
- jak** 1. "as, like" (9 Cz, 16 O, 21 O, 35 B, 36 St, 40 O, 79 P, 86 O, 87 O, 111 O, 129 O, 136 O), *ne tak . . . jak* "not as much . . . as," *ne tak Win winowat, Iak hetyi Radnyi Bałamuty* "he is not as guilty as these misleading councilors" (51 O), *mene iak widomoho tych Spraw* ( . . . ) *posłały* "they have sent me as a person knowing these matters" (136 O);  
 2. "than" (11 KK);  
 3. "if" (78 D);  
 4. "when" (93 O).
- \***jaki** 1. "what kind, which" *iakoho* (135 O) acc. s. masc. anim.;  
 2. "some (kind of)" *iakich* (16 D) gen. pl.
- jako** 1. "as, like" (9 KK);  
 2. "when" (93 D).
- \***jasny** "illustrious" *Nayiasnieyszy* (1 Cz) superl.
- \***jezyk** "tongue" *iezykami* (60 D), *jazykami* (60 P) instr. pl.
- jon** see on.

- k** 1. "to" (89 P) *k wam* "to you" (2 P) pl., *ktomu* "in addition, to boot" (116 D);  
 2. "for" (135 W<sub>1</sub>) *pryimysz knym dwoch Lytwynow na storożu* "hire for them two  
 Lithuanians as guards" (88 O).
- kaczeczka** "duck" dimin. (100 Cz).
- kaczka** "duck" (100 W<sub>1</sub>).
- kak** 1. "as, like" (9 St, 16 St, 21 D, 35 D, 40 D, 59 D, 79 D, 86 D, 87 D, 108 D,  
 111 D, 129 D), *nie tak* ( . . . ) *kak* "not as much . . . as" (51 W<sub>1</sub>);  
 2. "than" (11 K, 106 St);  
 3. "if" (78 W<sub>1</sub>, 102 St).
- \***kałakucki kur** see \***gałakucki kur**.
- Kapelusz** "hat" (41 Cz), *kapeluszom* (41 W<sub>1</sub>), *kapeluszem* (41 K) instr. s.
- kasza** "pudding, porridge" (102 D).
- kaszka** "gigel, porridge" dimin. (100 KK).
- kazat** "to tell, to say" imperf. *kazat prawdu* (51 St, 127 Cz), *każuczy prawdu* (51  
 W<sub>1</sub>) "to tell the truth," *prawdy im nekażemo* "we don't tell them the truth" (60 P),  
*Iaby kazaw* "I would say" (73 O), *kazali* (127 W<sub>1</sub>) pl. past.
- \***kazatyse** "to tell, to give account" imperf. *nykomu nekazawszyse* "having told  
 nothing to anyone" (49 P).
- \***kemyty** "to remember" imperf. *kemlu* (6 P, 46 Cz) 1st pers. s. pres.
- \***kidaty** "to throw" imperf. *kidaty* (9 O) pl. past.
- \***kidowaty** "to throw" iterat. *kidowali* (9 W<sub>1</sub>) pl. past.
- \***kidywaty** "to throw" iterat. *kidywaty* (9 St) pl. past.
- kiepstwo** "buffoonery" (49 O).
- \***Kijow** "Kyjiv, Kiev" *Kijowi* (91 St) loc.
- kisć** see **kość**.
- \***kniaż** "prince" *kniasi* (12 B) nom. pl., *kniazew* (6 K), *kniazej* (6 B), *Kniaziow* (6 D)  
 gen. pl.
- kob** 1. "so as" (139 P);  
 2. "if" *k nim kob i sam didko był mowył* "even if the devil himself told them"  
 (89 P).
- koby** "so that" (44 W<sub>1</sub>).
- \***kobyła** "mare" *kobył* (87 D) gen. pl.
- \***kochaty** "to love" imperf. *kochaw* (18 O) s. masc. past.
- koli** see **koły**.
- kolko** "a few" (123 D).
- koło** 1. "beside" (39 O);  
 2. "around" *rże koło dewok* "he neighs around girls" (86 B), *koło podołka cze-*  
*plaiei sia* "it catches around the front" (110 St).
- koły, koli** 1. "when" (24 O, 29 St, 36 St), *kołyż* "and when" (38 O), *a koliz* "and  
 when" (86 W<sub>1</sub>);  
 2. "if" (70 D, 102 O), *a kołyb* "and what if" (43 St, 61 St), *Da kolizby* "and what  
 if" (43 W<sub>1</sub>), *kołyby* "if" (61 O);  
 3. "but" *choc ty z Rohatyniou styi* ( . . . ) *koły takoho bisa neustorożesz* "even stand  
 with a halberd ( . . . ) but you would not keep it safe from such a devil" (119-120  
 St), *szczoz koły* "it's no good because" (54 O).
- \***koniuszy** "groom" *koniuszho* (84 W<sub>1</sub>) acc. s.
- \***koń** "horse" *koni* (81 D) acc. pl.
- \***kopa** "sixty" *kopu* (94 D) acc. s., *kopy* (92 Cz, 94 O) acc. pl.
- \***kormyty** "to feed" imperf. *kormyz* (63 P) 2nd pers. s. imperat.
- korol** "king" (1 K, 44 D, 51 W<sub>1</sub>), *korola* (13 D, 46 D) gen.-acc. s., *korolu* (1 D) voc.  
 s., *korolem* (5 KK, 138 B), *korolom* (5 W<sub>1</sub>, 138 St) instr. s., *korolu* (52 P, 124 D)  
 loc. s., *koroli* (11 St), *korole* (11 D) nom. pl., *korolom* (34 D) dat. pl., *korolami* (5  
 Cz) instr. pl.

- \***k(o)rolewszczyzna**, \***korolowszczy(z)na** “royal leasehold” *Korolewszczyzny* (125 D), *korolowszczyzny* (125 O), *Korolowszczyzny* (125 W<sub>1</sub>), *krolewszczyzny* (125 K) gen. s.
- \***korolowa** “queen” *Korołowu* (128 D), *korolowuiu* (128 P) acc. s.
- \***korolowy** “to reign, to be a king” imperf. *korolewali* (7 B), *korolowali* (7 Cz) pl. past.
- \***korona** “crown” *koronie* (124 K) loc. s.
- kostka** 1. “ankle” *kostok* (22 O) gen. pl.;  
2. “bone” (53 W<sub>1</sub>).
- kość** (53 D), **kóst’** (53 P), **kisć** (53 O) “bone.”
- Kotory** (46 D), **kotoroy** (46 P) 1. “who, which” *Kotoryie* (7 D), *kotoryi* (7 St) nom. pl.;  
2. “anyone” (139 St).
- \***kozakina** “robe” *kozakiny* (114 Cz) acc. pl.
- \***kozakinka** “robe” dimin. *kozakinki* (114 K) acc. pl.
- \***krolewszczyzna** see \***k(o)rolewszczyzna**.
- krom** “except (for)” (13 Cz).
- krut** interj. expressing winding up (94 P).
- \***krutyty** imperf. 1. “to machinate” *krutiat* (52 P) 3rd pers. pl. pres.;  
2. “to spiral (the price)” *krutyt* (94 D) 3rd pers. s. pres., *krutyl* (94 K) s. masc. past.
- krypko** “toughly” (106 O).
- kto** (10 D), **chto** (10 St) 1. “who” *koho* (135 D) acc.;  
2. “anyone” (139 D).
- \***kubok** “cup” *kubka* (66a K) gen. s.
- \***kufol** “tankard” *kufla* (66a D) gen. s.
- \***kukarekowaty** “to crow (of a rooster)” imperf. *kukarekuiet* (95 D) 3rd pers. s. pres.
- \***kukurykaty** “to crow (of a rooster)” imperf. *kukurykaiet* (95 St) 3rd pers. s. pres.
- \***kułak** “fist” *kulakom* (43 W<sub>1</sub>, 61 D) instr. s.
- kupyty** “to buy” perf. (91 O), *kupił* (W<sub>1</sub>) s. masc. past.
- \***kur** “cock, rooster” *kury* (96 W<sub>1</sub>) acc. pl.
- \***kusyty** “to tempt” imperf. *kusyt* (133 P) 3rd pers. s. pres.
- Lach** “a Pole” (67 B, 68 D, 86 D), *Lacha* (84 D) acc. s., *Lachom* (14 D) instr. s., *Lachy* (62 D) acc. pl., *Lachow* (14 D, 17 D, 76 B) gen. pl.
- \***ladwi**, \***ledwi**, \***lidwi** “loins” pl. *Ladwiach* (132 D), *Ladwiech* (132 O), *Ledwiach* (132 Cz), *lidwiach* (132 W<sub>1</sub>) loc.
- leto** see **lito**.
- li** “if” (139 D).
- \***lice** “cheek” *po licam* “in the cheeks” (43 W<sub>1</sub>).
- liczyty** (13 W<sub>1</sub>), **liczyt’** (13 K), **łeczyty** (13 P) “to count” imperf.
- \***lidwi** see \***ladwi**.
- lipsze** see **dobre**.
- lito** (82 D), **u lito** (82 Cz), **w leto** (82 W<sub>1</sub>), **Litom** (82 O) “in the summer.”
- lubo** “or” (36 B).
- Lubytelne** “lovingly, tenderly” (18 O).
- Lubytelno** “lovingly, tenderly” (18 St).
- \***lubytelny**, \***lubytelni** “love’s” *lubytelniu* (118 St), *Lubitelniiu* (118 D) acc. s. fem.
- \***lubyty** “to like” imperf. *nelubyw* “he hated” (16 W<sub>1</sub>, 17 O).
- ludy** (13 W<sub>1</sub>), **Lude** (13 St) “people.”
- \***Lytwyn** “a Lithuanian” *Lytwynow* (88 O) acc. pl.
- \***Łaskawy** “kind, gracious” *na mene Łaskawyie* “kind to me” (1 D) voc. pl., *taskawyi* (1 St), *łaskawyja* (1 K) voc. pl.

- \***łebaty** “to lap” imperf. *horyłoczku łebały* “liquor was lapped” (104 St).
- łodoń** “palm” (42 K). Cf. **dłoń**.
- łuczsze** see **dobre**.
- łycho** “evil” (34 O).
- \***łychy** “bad” *łychoie* (33 B, 34 P) acc. s. neut.
- łyczyty** see **liczyty**.
- \***Łytowski** “Lithuanian” adj. *Łytowskich* (123 P) gen. pl.
- \***Łytwa** “Lithuanians, Lithuania” *Łytwu* (18 P) acc.
- \***majetnost'** “estate” *maietnosti* (31 O) gen. pl.
- \***małmazya** “malmsey” *małmazu* (104 St) acc. s.
- małzonka** “wife” (25 W<sub>1</sub>).
- \***masztalyr, masztaler** “stableman” *Masztalyra* (84 O), *masztalera* (84 W<sub>1</sub>) acc. s.
- Mat** “mother” (36 St).
- \***maty** “to have” imperf. *maju* (125 D) 1st pers. s. pres., *maiut'* (30 P) 3rd pers. pl. pres., *ne masz* (64 W<sub>1</sub>), *nymasz* (64 P) “you have (get) nothing.”
- \***mecznik** “swordbearer” *meczniki* (78 B) nom. pl.
- \***med** “honey” *medu* (79 D) gen. s.
- medok** “mead” dimin. (104 D).
- \***menytyisia** “to call oneself” imperf. *meneczsia* (14 B) pres. act. adverb. participle.
- \***mewaty, miwatys** “to have” iterat. *miwajut* (30 St) 3rd pers. pl. pres., *mewaty* (105 P) pl. past.
- \***mewatyse, miwatysia** “to live, be doing” iterat. *harazd* ( . . . ) *mewalyse* “they had it good, were doing well” (19 P), *miwatsysia* (19 St).
- \***miaso** 1. “flesh” (112 D), *miasa* (112 W<sub>1</sub>) gen. s., *miasom* (54 D) instr. s.; 2. “meat” *miasa* (68 D) gen. s.
- \***mienowatyisia** “to call oneself” imperf. *Lachom mienuiuczysia* (14 W<sub>1</sub>) “calling himself a Pole.”
- \***miesto** “town” *miest* (31 W<sub>1</sub>) gen. pl.
- \***mihaty** see \***myhaty**.
- milenko** “nicely” (128 D).
- Miłostwy** see **Myłostwy**.
- \***mirhaty, mirgaty** “to twinkle” imperf. *mirhaiet* (40 St), *mirgaiet* (40 D) 3rd pers. s. pres.
- \***miwatys** see \***mewatyse**.
- \***miwatysia** see \***mewatyse**.
- mnoho** “much, a great deal” (52 O), “many” (53 D), *Bulsz* (11 O), *bolsze* (11 W<sub>1</sub>) compar. Cf. **niemnaho**.
- \***moczy** “to be able” imperf. *możet* (26 D), *możel'* (56 P), *może* (56 Cz) 3rd pers. s. pres., *mohla* (26 St) s. fem. past.
- \***moj** “my” *moja* (25 Cz) nom. s. fem., *moiety* (99 D) gen. s. fem.
- \***mołody** “young” *mołodi* (11 O) nom. pl., *molodszylie* (129 Cz), *molodszie* (129 W<sub>1</sub>) nom. pl. compar.
- \***morda** “mug (face)” *mordy* (45 W<sub>1</sub>) gen. s., *mordu* (43 W<sub>1</sub>, 61 D) acc. s.
- more** “sea” (50 Cz).
- \***morhaty, murgaty** “to twinkle” imperf. *morhaiet* (40 O), *murgaiet'* (40 P) 3rd pers. s. pres.
- most'** see **myłost'**.
- \***mostwy** see **Myłostwy**.
- mowczkom** “silently” (72 D).
- mowczykom** “silently” (72 O).
- mowyty** “to tell, say, talk, speak” (121 O, 137 O), *prawdy nemowimo* “we don’t tell the truth” (60 D), *Ia by mowił* “I would say” (72 D), *mowiut* “as the saying goes” (89 D), *k nim kob i sam didko był mowyl* “even if the devil himself told them” (89 P), *Prawdu mowluczy* “to tell the truth” (127 O).

- mozyr** "Mozyr" (134 O), *Mozyru* (134 D) loc.
- \***mruhaty, \*mrugaty** "to wink" imperf. *mruhaiet* (40 St), *mrugaiet* (40 Cz) 3rd pers. s. pres.
- \***mstyławski** "of Mścisłaŭ (in White Ruthenia)" *Pany Mstyławskaia* "Madame Mścisłaŭ Castellan" (25 P).
- \***mudry** "wise" *mudroho* (135 D) acc. s. masc.
- \***mur** "wall" *mury* (105 D) acc. pl.
- \***murgaty** see \***morhaty**.
- \***murowaty** "to build (with bricks or stones)" imperf. *murowały* (105 D) pl. past.
- mutyty** "to make trouble" imperf. (61 Cz).
- my** "we" (47 W<sub>1</sub>), *nas* (11 D, 29 P, 32 D, 55 D) gen.-acc., *nam* (58 B, 59 D) dat., *nami* (11 B) instr., *z nami* "with us" (32 O, 33 D), *do nas* "into our country" (75 W<sub>1</sub>).
- \***mygdał** "almond" *mygdałami* (98 P) instr. pl.
- \***myhaty** "to blink" imperf. *Mihaiet* (40 O) 3rd pers. s. pres.
- mylusieńko** "nicely" (128 P).
- \***myłosny, \*myłostny** "amorous" *dobrochotnyki myłośćnyie* "amorous volunteers" (118 P), *myłosnuiu* (118 O) acc. s. fem.
- myłość', most'** "majesty, excellency (in titles)" *Ważey mylosty* (122 P, 136 St) gen.-dat., *waszuiu mylost'* (3 P) acc. "Your Majesty," *Jeho mylost'* (44 P) nom., *Jeho mylosty* (5 O, 124 P, 128 W<sub>1</sub>, 138 D) gen.-instr.-loc., *Jeho milostiu* (5 KK, 138 P) instr. "His Majesty", *Jey mylost* (128 P), *Jej Milosty* (128 D) nom.-acc. "Her Majesty," *Ich mylost* (5 P) instr. pl. "Their Majesties," *ich mił(o)stej* (76 B) gen. pl. "Messieurs," *Ważych Myłosty* (136 P) gen. pl. "you, Messieurs," *jeje mił(o)st' pani* (25 B), *Jeymost' Pani* (25 W<sub>1</sub>), *imość pani* (25 K) "Madame."
- Myłostwy** (1 P), **Miłostwy** (1 D) "gracious" *myłostywuiu* (128 O) acc. s. fem., *myłostywye* (118 St) nom. pl., *Myłostywye Panowe* (27 P, 62 P, 130 B), *Mostywye Panowe* (27 St, 116 P), *Mostywy Panowie* (27 O, 130 D, 138 D) "dear gentlemen."
- \***myłowaty** "to love" imperf. *myłował* (18 P) s. masc. past.
- \***mystiuk** "trickster" *Mystiuky* (78 P) nom. pl.
- \***myszatyse** "to get entangled" imperf. *myszaietse* (110 O) 3rd pers. s. pres.
- na** 1. "on" (with loc.) *na wysokich podkowkach* "on high heels" (66 D), *na tandeti* "on the flea-market" (91 St), *na zadu* "on their backs" (115 D);  
 2. "at" (with loc.) *na hetych zizdach* "at these conventions" (4 O);  
 3. "at" (with acc.) (28 W<sub>1</sub>) *osmotrymsia na wsio toie* "let's look around at all this (let's consider all this)" (27 W<sub>1</sub>);  
 4. "in" (with loc.) (90 St) *na stayni* "in a stable" (81 St);  
 5. "to" (with acc.) *na tot zizz* "to this convention" (135 St), *na mene Łaskawye Panowe* "gentlemen kind to me" (1 P), *na piatuju kopu krutyl* "he spirals the price to five times sixty groszy" (94 St);  
 6. "for" (with acc.) (88 O, 93 W<sub>1</sub>, 102 D, 133 Cz), *na nocz* "for the night" (83 B);  
 7. part of idioms: *na warti stoy* "stand guard" (119 W<sub>1</sub>), *na tom* "here" (140 D).
- \***nabroity** "to perpetrate" perf. *sztuku szto nabroity* "the trick they have played" (28 St).
- nad** "beyond" (122 St).
- \***nadtoż, Natoż** (27 St) "enough."
- \***nadumaty** "to conceive" perf. *nadumałyby* (45 Cz) s. masc. cond.
- \***nadutysye** "to get swell-headed" perf. *sedyt' kak bis naduwszyse* "he sits swell-headed like a devil" (40 P).
- \***nadymaty** "to puff" imperf. *nechayby mordy takoy pohanoy nie nadymat* "his mug should not puff up in such an ugly way" (45 W<sub>1</sub>).
- \***nadymatysia** "to get swell-headed" imperf. *nadytmabysisia* (sic) (45 St) s. masc. cond.
- \***nahawycy, \*nohawycy** "trousers" *nahawic* (21 D), *Nohawic* (21 W<sub>1</sub>) gen.

- nahladyty się** "to look to one's heart content" perf. *nahladyty się* (.) *na mene niemoħla* "she couldn't look enough at me" (26 St).
- \***nakrutyty** "to wind up" perf. *nakrutyw* (94 P) s. masc. past.
- \***naprawa** "repair" *naprawy* (94 O) gen. s., *naprawu* (93 W<sub>1</sub>) acc. s.
- \***nasmotrytyse** (26 D), **nasmotrytse** (26 Cz) "to look to one's heart content" perf. *nasmotrytyse na mene ne może'* "can't look enough at me" (26 P), *nasmotryusia na wse heto* "I've seen enough of all this" (27 KK).
- nasz** "our" (14 B, 95 Cz), *naszemu* (75 Cz), *naszomu* (75 St) dat. s. neut., *nasza* (53 Cz), *naszaia* (53 St) nom. s. fem., *naszu* (18 Cz), *naszuiu* (18 St, 128 O) acc. s. fem., *naszyie* (12 P, 76 W<sub>1</sub>, 108 K, 113 Cz, 138 W<sub>1</sub>), *naszyi* (12 St, 108 St, 113 O), *naszy* (76 B) nom. pl., *naszych* (6 Cz, 80 D, 123 O) gen.-loc. pl., *naszyie* (19 D), *naszyi* (19 St) "our people."
- \***naszeptywaty** "to whisper" imperf. *naszeptywaiet* (41 W<sub>1</sub>) 3rd pers. s. pres.
- naszynec** "our countryman" (56 P).
- \***naszywaty** see **noszywaty**.
- nateszytyse** (26 D), **natyszytsia** (26 O) "to enjoy to one's heart content" perf. *nateszytyse* (.) *ne może'* "can't enjoy it enough" (26 P).
- Natoż** see \***nadtoż**.
- Nayiasniejszy** see \***jasny**.
- ne** (4 O, 5 St, 8 O, 9 St, 10 St, 16 St, 17 St, 20 O, 26 Cz, 31 St, 44 St, 45 St, 47 St, 48 D, 49 D, 56 St, 59 St, 60 D, 64 W<sub>1</sub>, 79 W<sub>1</sub>, 89 W<sub>1</sub>, 99 D, 103 D, 107 D, 109 D, 118 D, 120 D, 121 D, 125 D, 126 Cz, 130 D, 134 St, 139 W<sub>1</sub>), **ni** (31 K), **ny** (64 P) "not" *ne tak Win Winowat, Iak hetyi Radnyi Bałamuty* "he is not as guilty as these misleading councilors" (51 O).
- nechay** 1. "should" (an optative particle with *by*) *nechayby mordy takoy pohanoy nie nadymal* "his mug should not puff up in such an ugly way" (45 W<sub>1</sub>);  
2. "that" (a subjunctive conjunction with *by*) *Iabym radyw nechayby zynki naszyi wzapynanyi dawnyi postroitysia kazakiny* "I would advise that our women should dress themselves in old-time clasped robes" (113-114 O).
- nechybno** (95 P), **nechybne** (95 Cz) "infallibly."
- nema** (64 St), **nyma** (64 O) "there is no" *z ich służby niczego nema* "one gets nothing from their service" (64 St).
- \***nemały** "no small" *nemalaia* (62 O, 81 St) nom. s. fem.
- nemcuha** "a German" (36 O) pejorat.
- Nemczyn** (48 P, 51 P), **Niemczyn** (36 Cz) "a German".
- Nemec** "a German" (48 D), **Niemcy** (48 W<sub>1</sub>) nom. pl., **Niemcew** (11 K, 16 K), **Niemcow** (11 D, 16 D) gen. pl., **Niemcom** (12 D) dat. pl., **nimcami** (73 O) instr. pl.
- \***nemecki** "German" adj. *Nemeckuju* (28 Cz) acc. s. fem., *nemeckoi* (28 O, 46 O) gen. s. fem., *niemeckije* (28 KK), *nemeckyi* (116 O) acc. pl. inanim.
- nemnoho** "not a great deal" (47 B). Cf. **mnoho**.
- neochybne** "infallibly" (95 O).
- neschybne** "infallibly" (95 St).
- ni** see **ne**.
- niczoho** "there is no point" *toho niczoho i wludie tyczyty* "there is no point even counting him among human beings" (13 P). Cf. \***niszczco**.
- niech** "that" (in subjunctive with *by*) (113 Cz). Cf. **nechay**.
- Niemczyna** "a German" (36 KK) pejorat. Cf. **Nemczyn**.
- nikoli** (4 D, 5 D), **nykoty** (4 O, 5 P) "never."
- \***nikto** "nobody" *nikomu* (59 D), *nykomu* (49 P) dat.
- \***niszczco** "nothing" *nyczoho* (49 O, 64 O), *niczoho* (64 D), *niczego* (64 St) gen., *nyczoho neuczynyw* "he did nothing" (10 O).
- \***nizka** see \***nozka**.

**niz̄** (11 St, 77 W<sub>1</sub>, 106 D), **nyz̄** (11 P, 77 P, 106 O) "than."

**no** emphatic particle *aż no* "then" (94 W<sub>1</sub>).

**nocz̄** "night" (83 D).

\***nohawycy** see \***nahawycy**.

\***nosyty** "to wear" iterat. *nosyły* (22 St, 115 St) pl. past or subjunct.

\***noszywaty**, \***naszywaty** "to wear" iterat. *noszywali* (22 W<sub>1</sub>), *naszywali* (22 K) pl. past.

\***nožka**, \***nuszka**, \***nižka** "leg" dimin. *nožku* (111 W<sub>1</sub>), *nuszku* (111 O), *Nizku* (111 W<sub>2</sub>) acc. s.

**ny** see **ne**.

**nykoły** see **nikoli**.

\***nykto** see \***nikto**.

**nyma** see **nema**.

\***nyszczo** see \***niszczco**.

**nyz̄** see **niz̄**.

**o** 1. "over" (with acc.) (77 D);

2. "about" (with loc.) (80 Cz, 121 D, 134 P);

3. "at" (with loc.) *o Puwnoczy* "at midnight" (95 O).

\***obrastaty** "to become clothed (with something)" imperf. *miasom* ( . . . ) *obrastaiut* "they become clothed with flesh" (54 O).

\***obrosty** "to become clothed (with something)" perf. *miasom* ( . . . ) *obrosła* "is clothed with flesh" (54 D).

**od** 1. "from" (74 D, 75 P, 76 D, 79 D);

2. "because of" (76 B);

3. "for" (94 O);

4. "than" (139 O).

**odkryty** "to reveal" perf. (138 W<sub>1</sub>), *odkryłyiesmo* (138 St) 1st pers. pl. past.

**odnak** "but, however" (54 W<sub>1</sub>).

**odnako** "but, however" (54 KK).

**odnakowo** "all the same" (128 O).

**odno** "only" (65 P, 86 P).

\***ohledaty** "to see" imperf. *ohledal* (3 O) s. masc. subjunct.

\***ohleditisia** "to look around" perf. *ohledimosia na wse toje* "let's look around at all this" (27 B).

\***okazatysisia** "to tell, to give account" perf. *ni komu ne okazawszysia* "having told nothing to anyone" (49 W<sub>1</sub>).

\***oko** "eye" *oczy* (9 D, 77 D, 10 Cz) acc. pl.

**okrom** "beyond" (122 O).

**on** 1. "look, there" *Da on pak i zameszalisia z nami* "Look, they have mingled with us" (32 B);

2. emphatic particle *aż on* "then" (94 K).

**on** (40 D, 49 D, 69 D, 70 D, 72 D), **jon**, **ion** (16 O, 49 St, 69 St, 70 St, 72 St), **iun** (51 St), **Win** (49 O, 51 O), \***ona**, \***ono** 1. "he, she, it" *ioho* (49 P, 64 P), *ieho* (5 O, 15 D, 36 D, 38 D, 44 D, 48 D, 63 D, 83 D, 93 O, 124 D, 128 W<sub>1</sub>, 138 D) gen.-acc. s. masc., *do Ieho* "for him" (84 O), *dla neho* "for him" (84 D), *za ieho* (19 D), *za neho* (19 B) "under him," *za neho* (92 D), *za ieho* (92 W<sub>1</sub>) "for it," *koło Neho* (39 O), *podle ieho* (39 K), *podle neho* (39 D) "beside him," *iomu* (44 St, 47 P, 63 P, 82 P), *iemu* (47 D, 63 D, 82 D) dat. s. masc., *knemu* "for him" (88 D), *pry nim* "at his side" (52 W<sub>1</sub>), *jeje* (25 B), *Iey* (25 P, 128 Cz) gen. s. fem., *ich* (5 P, 17 D, 56 D, 58 D, 59 D, 76 B, 79 D, 83 W<sub>1</sub>, 89 St, 97 D) gen. pl., acc. pl. anim., *dla nich* (84 W<sub>1</sub>), *dla ich* (84 B) "for them," *do nich* "into their hands" (75 O), "for them" (88 P), *od nych* "from them" (75 P, 76 D), *u nych* (29 O), *u ich* (29 B) "with

them," *u nych iest* "they have" (75 P), *znych* "from them" (85 O), *wnych* "in them" (53 O), *pry nych* "at their side" (52 O), *im* (60 P, 82 W<sub>1</sub>) dat. pl., *knym* "for them" (88 O), *k nim* "to them" (89 P);

2. part of a relative pronoun *szczo w nich* "into which" (75 Cz).

**os** "look" (91 St).

\***osmotrytyse** "to look around" perf. *osmotrymasię* (27 D), *osmotrymisię* (27 St), *Osmotrymse* (27 O), *Osmotrymose* (27 P) "let's look around."

**owes** "oats" (82 D).

**owszym** "on the contrary" (21 O).

**pak** emphatic particle *da pak* "however" (10 D, 54 D), *wże pak* "already" (32 P), *choć pak* "although" (53 St).

**Paki** emphatic particle *da Paki* "however" (10 St).

\***pałyca** "stick" *pałycoju* (43 D) instr. s.

**pamet** "memory" (15 D), *pamety* (99 P) gen. s.

\***pan** "gentleman, lord" *Pane* (67 St) voc. s., *pany* (1 K, 27 K), *Panowe* (1 St, 27 P, 62 O, 130 P, 138 D), *Panowia* (62 St) voc. pl., *Panow* (76 B, 123 D) gen. pl., *Panom* (34 D) dat. pl.

**Pani** "Madame" (25 D), "lady" *Pani* (108 O), *Panyie* (108 P) "ladies."

**Paniczyk** "young gentleman" (38 W<sub>1</sub>).

**Peczonka** (101 D), *Peczunka* (101 St) "liver" *peczonku* (101 P) acc. s.

**Peczonoczka** "liver" dimin. (101 O).

\***perczyk** "pepper" dimin. *perczykom* (100 St) instr. s.

\***perebrykiwy** "to gambol" imperf. *perebrykiwał* (48 Cz) s. masc. past.

\***perebrykowaty** "to gambol" imperf. *perebrykowały* (48 O) pl. past.

**pered** (126 St, 137 St), **pred** (126 D, 137 D) "before."

**peredtym** "before, previously" (8 P, 103 D, 109 D).

\***peredyraty** "to rub through" imperf. *peredyrajte oczy* "rub your eyes" (77 B).

\***perekrykowaty** "to shout" imperf. *perekrykowali* (48 W<sub>1</sub>) pl. past.

\***perekrywlaty** "to cock (one's hat)" imperf. *perekrywlaiet'* (41 P) 3rd pers. s. pres., *perekrywlaiuczy* (41 O) pres. act. adverb. participle.

**perepyszny** "delicious" (102 Cz), *perepysznie* (102 W<sub>1</sub>) acc. pl. inanim., *nayperepyszneyszy* (102 O) superl.

\***perestaty** "to stop" perf. *perestanu* (140 D) 1st pers. s. fut., *perestaw* (140 O) s. masc. past.

\***perszy** "first" *perszoho* (15 O), *perszeho* (15 St) gen. s. masc.

\***perwy** "first" *perwoho* (15 K) gen. s. masc.

\***perysty** "variegated" *perystych* (29 St) loc. pl.

**Petuch** "rooster" (95 D).

\***piaty** "fifth" *piatuju* (94 Cz), *piatoju* (94 D), *pijatu* (94 P) acc. s. fem.

\***pilenowaty** see \***pylnowaty**.

**pludry** "drawers" (116 O).

**pludryki** "drawers" dimin. (116 W<sub>1</sub>).

\***pludryna** "drawers" *pludryny* (116 Cz) gen. s., *Pludryn* (116 St) gen. pl.

**po** 1. "in" *po licam* "in the cheeks" (43 W<sub>1</sub>);

2. "across" *pochrepti* "across the back" (43 O);

3. "after (in a temporal sense)" (80 D).

**pobrykiwat** "to gambol" (48 P) iterat.

\***pochlybny** "flattering" *pochlybnymi* (60 O) instr. pl.

\***pocylowaty** "to kiss" perf. *pocylowaw* (128 O) s. masc. past, *pocylowali* (128 K) pl. past.

\***poczaty** "to begin" perf. *poczali* (12 B) pl. past.

- podawnomu** (24 O), **po dauniamu** (24 St), **po dauniomu** (114 St) "in an old style, in an old-time fashion."
- \***podchlibny** "flattering" *podchlibnymi* (60 St) instr. pl. Cf. \***pochlybny**.
- poddostatkom** see **podostatkom**.
- \***podkowa** "tapped heel" *podkowa(ch)* (66 B) loc. pl.
- \***podkowka** "tapped heel" dimin. *podkouki* (66 St) acc. pl., *podkowkach* (66 D), *podkiwkach* (66 O) loc. pl.
- Podlaszye** (14 P), **Podlasie** (14 W<sub>1</sub>) "Podlachia" *Podlaszem* (58 Cz), *Podlasszom* (58 St), *Podlasiem* (58 K), *Podlasiom* (58 W<sub>1</sub>) instr.
- podle, połe** "beside" *podle neho* (39 D), *pole neho* (39 P) "beside him."
- \***Podole** "Podolia" *Podołem* (58 O) instr.
- podołok** "(skirt)front" (110 St), *podołka* (110 D) gen. s.
- po domowomu** "in a home style, in a home garb" (24 D).
- podostatkom** (105 D), **poddostatkom** (105 B) "in abundance."
- \***podstyłyty** "to bed down" *podstyłyay* (83 O), *podstęlay* (83 Cz) 2nd pers. s. imperat.
- \***poduryły** "fool" *poduryłyie* (59 St) nom. pl.
- \***podywyty** "to marvel" perf. *podywyw* (10 O) s. masc. past.
- \***pohany** "ugly" *pohanoy* (45 P) gen. s. fem.
- \***pohladaty** "to look up" imperf. *pahladaiet* (111 W<sub>2</sub>) 3rd pers. s. pres.
- \***pohoworyty** "to have a talk" perf. *pohoworyłysmo* (80 D), *pohoworyłyśmy* (80 O), *pohoworili jesmo* (80 B) 1st pers. pl. past.
- \***poichaty** "to go, to travel" perf. *poichaw* (50 O) s. masc. past.
- \***pojas, \*pojes** 1. "waist" *pojasa* (22 D) gen. s.;  
2. "belt" *poiasom* (132 O), *poiesom* (132 D) instr. s.
- \***poklon** "gratuity" *pokloný* (76 Cz) acc. pl.
- \***pokoynyk** "deceased, late" *pokoinskyow* (6 O) gen. pl.
- \***pokusyty** "to tempt" perf. *pokusyt* (133 O) 3rd pers. s. fut.
- Polacku** "in Polish" (33 O).
- \***polityka** "polished manners" *polityki* (9 D) gen. s.
- \***polubbyty** "to come to like" perf. *polubyły* (11 St) pl. past.
- połe** see **podle**.
- \***połnocz, \*puwnocz** "midnight" *o poł noczy* (95 W<sub>1</sub>), *o Puwnoczy* (95 O) "at midnight."
- \***pomnity** "to remember" imperf. *pomniu* (6 St, 46 W<sub>1</sub>), *pomlu* (6 O, 46 St) 1st pers. s. pres.
- \***pomołyty** "to pray" perf. *Bohaiesmo pomołyu* "I prayed to God" (2 St).
- \***pomołytyse** "to pray" perf. *Bohum sia ia pomolit* "I prayed to God" (2 W<sub>1</sub>), *se pomoływszy* "having prayed" (2 P).
- poobiraty** "to take away" perf. (75 P).
- poodyimaty** (75 O), **poodymat** (75 Cz) "to take away" perf.
- popolacku** "in Polish" (33 D).
- po polsku** "in Polish" (33 W<sub>1</sub>).
- poprawliaty** "to repair" imperf. (93 P).
- poprawyty** "to repair" perf. (93 St).
- poprostu** "simply, in plain terms" (8 St).
- \***portugał, \*portugal, \*portuhal, \*fortuhal** "farthingale" *Portugałów* (109 St), *Portugali* (109 B), *Portuhali*, *Fortuhali* (109 W<sub>1</sub>) gen. pl.
- \***portugała, \*fortugała** "farthingale" *portugały, fortugały* (109 D) gen. s.
- Poruczczyk** "lieutenant" (38 St), *Poruczczykow* (74 St) gen. pl.
- porucznyk** "lieutenant" (38 O), *Porucznikow* (74 D) gen. pl.
- \***posadyty** "to seat" perf. *posady* (39 St) 2nd pers. s. imperat.

- \***posłaty** “to send” perf. *posław* (93 D), *posłał* (136 D) s. masc. past, *posłały* (93 St, 136 St) pl. past.
- \***postroityse** “to dress oneself” perf. *postroyłyse* (114 P) pl. past.
- \***postupaty** “to step along” imperf. *postupaiet* (36 D), *postupiae* (36 St) 3rd pers. s. pres.
- \***poszeptywaty** “to whisper” iterat. *poszeptywaiet'* (41 P) 3rd pers. s. pres.
- \***potakaty** “to yes” iterat. *potakajemo* (60 B) 1st pers. pl. pres.
- \***potakiwaty** “to yes” iterat. *potakiwaiemo* (60 St) 1st pers. pl. pres.
- \***potakowaty** “to yes” iterat. *potakuiemo* (60 O) 1st pers. pl. pres.
- powit** “county” (134 O).
- \***powylitaty** “to fall out” perf. *powylitaly* (44 St) pl. past.
- \***powytaty** “to welcome” perf. *powitaw* (3 O) s. masc. subjunct.
- \***poznaty** “to learn, to see” perf. *poznawszy* (49 Cz) past. act. adverb. participle.
- pozywytyse** (56 O), **pozywitsia** (56 St) “to make a profit” perf. *pozywiatsia* (56 KK) 3rd pers. pl. fut.
- prawda** “truth” (127 W<sub>1</sub>) *prawdy* (60 Cz) gen. s., *praudu* (51 St, 127 O) acc. s., *prawdju* (9 D) instr. s.
- \* **prawo** “law” *prawu* (75 D) dat. s., *Praw* (136 St) gen. pl.
- \***prawy** “straight” *prawym Sercem* “straight from heart” (8 D).
- pred** see **pered**.
- procz** “away” (50 D).
- procz** (13 B), **prucz** (13 K) “except (for).”
- \***prodyraty** “to rub through” imperf. *prodyraiuczy oczy* “rubbing one’s eyes” (77 P).
- \***prohoworyty** “to pass time talking” perf. *prohoworylišmy* (80 W<sub>2</sub>) 1st pers. pl. past.
- \***propasty** “to be lost” perf. *propaw* (58 O) s. masc. past.
- protyw** “against” *protyw prawu* “against the law” (75 K).
- protywko** “against” *protywko prawu* “against the law” (75 O).
- prucz** see **procz**.
- pry** “beside, at the side of, in the presence of” (52 O, 123 St, 124 D).
- \***prybłyżatyse** “to approach” imperf. *brybližaietse* [sic] ( . . . ) *do Żony* “he approaches the wife” (72 O).
- \***pryichaty** “to come, to arrive” perf. *pryide* (38 St), *pryydet'* (38 P) 3rd pers. s. fut.-pres., *Szczoby kwam zdorow pryichau* “so that I might come to you in health” (2 St).
- \***pryjniaty** “to hire” perf. *Pryymy* (88 D) 2nd pers. s. imperat.
- \***pryjty** “to fall to somebody’s lot” perf. *pryszło mni z wami radyty* “it’s fallen to my lot to deliberate with you” (4 P).
- \***prykasatysia** “to accost” perf. *prykaszetsia* ( . . . ) *do żony* “he would accost the wife” (72 P).
- \***pryłaskatysia** “to court” perf. *pryłaskajetsia do żonki* “he would court the wife” (72 W<sub>1</sub>).
- \***pryłyszatysia** “to court” imperf. *pryłyszaietsia do Żony* “he courts the wife” (72 St).
- prypomnety** “to remind” perf. (122 P), *prypomniu* (122 St) 1st pers. s. fut.
- \***prypomynaty** “to remind” imperf. *prypominaiu* (122 W<sub>1</sub>) 1st pers. s. pres.
- \***prysmak** “dainty” *prysmakow* (99 D) gen. pl.
- \***prystupyty** “to grab, affect” perf. *nam prystupyło* “something has grabbed us” (59 St).
- \***pyrtesatysse** “to court” imperf. *pyrtesaietse* ( . . . ) *do zony* “he courts the wife” (72 D).

- \***prytrapytysie, \*prytrafytysie** “to happen” perf. *mene prytrapyło się* (91 P), *mne pritrafiło się* (91 B) “it happened to me.”
- \***prywytaty** “to welcome” perf. *prywytał* (3 P) s. masc. subjunct.
- pryzdaty** “to live to see” perf. (23 K).
- \***pszczola** “bee” *pszczoly* (79 W) gen. s., *pszczół* (79 P) gen. pl.
- \***ptaszok** (?), \***ptaszka** (?) “bird” *ptaszki* “poultry” (97 P) acc. pl.
- \***pukaty** “bulging” *pukatuju sztuku miasa* “a bulging piece of meat” (68 K) acc.
- \***puwnocz** see **połnocz**.
- \***pyjaty** “to drink” iterat. *pyiąty* (104 P) pl. past.
- \***pylnowaty** “to watch” imperf. *pilnuiet'* (71 P) 3rd pers. s. pres.
- \***pytaty** “to ask” imperf. *ż i(ch) stłużby ne pyta(j)* “don’t ask them for service” (64 B, cf. 85 St).
- \***pywaty** “to drink” iterat. *pywałы* (104 St) pl. past.
- \***pyżmo** “musk” *pyżmom* (37 O) instr. s.
- \***raczyty** “to be so kind as, to be pleased to, to deign” imperf. *raczył* (122 D) s. masc. past, *raczyły* (123 P) pl. past.
- rad** “glad” (113 St).
- \***rada** “advice” *rady* (138 W<sub>1</sub>) acc. pl.
- \***radny** “councilor” *Radnyi* (51 O), *radny(je)* (55 B) nom. pl.
- radaty** 1. “to deliberate, to debate” (4 O, 121 St), *radyt* (134 P) 3rd pers. s. pres., *radyw* (134 D) s. masc. past;
2. “to advise” *Iabych radył* “I would advise” (73 P).
- raz** “time” *szczo raz* “again and again” (60 O).
- \***razny** “various” *raznych* (80 W<sub>1</sub>) loc. pl.
- \***recz** “thing, point” *ne do reczy* “absurd, not to the point” (107 D).
- \***Reczpospolita** “Commonwealth” *Reczypospolitoy* (34 D) dat. s., *Recz pospołytu* (57 P), *Reczpospolitui* (57 W<sub>1</sub>), *Reczpospolitoju* (57 D) acc. s.
- \***rod** “birth” *zrodu* “never in life” (4 St).
- \***rodzynka** see \***rozynka**.
- \***rohatyna** “halberd” *rohatynoju* (119 D) instr. s.
- \***Rosyja** “Ruthenia” *Rossyiу* (18 P) acc.
- rot** “mouth” (9 St).
- \***rozdaty** “to give away” perf. *rozdały* (12 D) pl. past.
- \***rozny, \*rożny** “various” *roznych* (80 Cz), *rożnych* (80 St) loc. pl.
- \***rozporok** “slit (in robes)” *rozporki* (115 D) acc. pl.
- \***rozynka, \*rodzynka** “raisin” *rozynkamy* (98 P), *rodzynkami* (98 O) instr. pl.
- \***rubel** “hay-pole” *rublom* (79 St) instr. s.
- \***ruchatyse** “to move” imperf. *ruchaietse* (110 P) 3rd pers. s. pres.
- \***ruczka** “hand” dimin. *ruczku* (128 Cz) acc. s.
- \***ruka** “hand” *Ruku* (128 St) acc. s., *ruk* (70 Cz) gen. pl., *Ruky* (40 St) acc. pl.
- Ruś** “Ruthenians, Ruthenia” (18 St).
- \***ryżowy** “rice” adj. *ryżowaia* (102 O) nom. s. fem.
- rzaty** (86 O), **rzat** (86 St) “to neigh” imperf. *rże* (86 B), *rżet* (86 K) 3rd pers. s. pres.
- sam** 1. “himself” (14 D, 24 D, 36 D, 89 D);
2. “the very” *aż do samoho poiasa* “down to the very waist” (22 P);
3. “alone” (49 D).
- \***sapog** “boot” *Sapagami* (37 St) instr. pl.
- \***schopaty** “to grab” perf. *schoplu* (126 Cz) 1st pers. s. fut., *schopył* (126 K) s. masc. past.
- \***sebe** “-self” (general reflexive pronoun), *sobi* dat.;
1. *sobi* “also” *a Shua sobi za stul* “and the servant also sits down” (67 St);
2. *sobi* emphatic particle *bryblizaietse sobi y do Žony* “he approaches even the wife” (72 O).
- \***senator** “senator” *Senatorów* (123 P) gen. pl., *Senatorach* (123 St) loc. pl.

- \***senatorczyk** “senator” dimin. *senatorczyki* (129 W<sub>1</sub>) nom. pl.
- \***senatorszczyk** “senator” dimin. *senatorszczyki* (129 K) nom. pl.
- \***sentencyja** “speech” *sentencyi* (135 W<sub>1</sub>) dat. s., *sentencyiu* (135 P) instr. s., *sentencyi* (8 Cz) gen. pl.
- \***serce** “heart” *Sercem* (8 D), *sercom* (8 St) instr. s.
- \***setny** “multiple” *Setnyi* (105 O) acc. pl. inanim.
- \***sidity** see \*sydity.
- \***silny** see \*sylny.
- Sino** “hay” (82 O).
- skazaty** “to tell” perf. *skazet* (139 D), *skaze* (139 St) 3rd pers. s. fut., *skazaw* (122 O) s. masc. past, *skazali* (127 K) pl. past, *skazawszy* (49 O) past act. adverb. participle, *Zkazalby* (139 W<sub>1</sub>) s. masc. cond., *zkazyt* (139 St) 2nd pers. pl. imperat., *skazaty prawdu* “to tell the truth” (51 O).
- \***skazywaty** “to say” imperf. *Skazywaieł* (132 St) 3rd pers. s. pres. (by mistake instead of pl.).
- \***skiknuty** “to jump” perf. *skiknuł* (50 D) s. masc. past.
- skolko** “a few” (123 W<sub>1</sub>).
- skoro** “quickly” (118 W<sub>1</sub>).
- Skoro** 1. “as soon as” (11 W<sub>1</sub>);  
2. “until” (also *skoroby* 71 D, *skorob* 71 P) *pilnuiet*, *skoro ty z dwora* “he watches until you leave the homestead” (71 O).
- \***skradaty** “to steal” imperf. *skradaty* (\*by) (118 O) pl. cond.
- \***skradywaty** “to steal” iterat. by *skradywaty* (118 St) pl. cond.
- \***skrebty** “to scratch” imperf. *skrebet* (42 K) 3rd pers. s. pres.
- \***skrobaty** “to scratch” imperf. *skrobet'* (42 P) 3rd pers. s. pres.
- skromno** (104 W<sub>1</sub>), **skromne** (104 St) “modestly.”
- \***skrypity** “to squeak” imperf. *skrypyt'* (37 P) 3rd pers. s. pres.
- \***skura** “leather” *skuru* (37 D) acc. s., *skury* (37 P) acc. pl.
- \***skurany** “leather” adj. *Skuranymi* (37 St) instr. pl.
- \***skurka** “leather” dimin. *skurku* (37 W<sub>1</sub>) acc. s.
- stabo** “weakly” (70 W<sub>1</sub>).
- ślasno** “luxuriously” (63 D).
- sławno** “very well” (63 O), “excellently” (106 D).
- \***sławny** “glorious” *sławnuiu* (106 St) acc. s. fem.
- stuba** “servant” (67 O, 68 O), *shuhu* (84 St) acc. s., *shuhy* (62 St) acc. pl.
- stuszno** “well enough” (63 St).
- \***łużba** “service” *łużby* (64 St, 86 St) gen. s.
- \***słychaty** “to hear” imperf. *słychał* (44 W<sub>1</sub>) s. masc. subjunct.
- smażyty** “to fry” imperf. (97 St).
- \***smolenski** “of Smolensk” *Smolenskiie* (76 D) nom. pl.
- Smolynsk** “Smolensk” (134 O), w *Smolensku* (134 D) “at Smolensk.”
- Sobaczy** “dog’s” *sobaczym* (54 St) instr. s. neut., *Sobaczy syn* “son of a bitch” (36 St).
- \***sobaka** “dog” *sobak* (16 W<sub>1</sub>) gen. pl.
- \***sobraty** see \*zobratty.
- sokoł** “falcon” (111 D).
- \***sol** “salt” *soleju* (9 W<sub>1</sub>), *soliju* (9 K) instr. s.
- \***sołodki** “sweet” *sołodkaia* (15 P) nom. s. fem., *sołodkoie* (112 D), *Sołodkeie* (112 P) nom. s. neut., *sołodkoho* (112 K) gen. s. neut.
- \***soroczka** “shirt” *soroczki* (22 O) nom. pl.
- spodyn** “gentleman” (65 P).
- \***spokojno** “calmly” *spokojniew* (117 St) compar.

- \***sprawa** "matter" *spraw* (136 P) gen. pl.
- star** "old" (127 St), *staroho* (133 O) acc. s. masc. anim., *staryie* (76 B) nom. pl., *staryie* (12 D), *staryi* (12 O), *starszyie* (12 K) "ancestors."
- \***stawka** "stake (in game)" *stawku* (133 W<sub>1</sub>) acc. s.
- \***staynia** "stable" *stayni* (81 St), *Stayny* (81 P) loc. s.
- \***stereczy** "to guard" \**Sterezyte* (distorted into *Starbyie* 76 D) 2nd pers. pl. imperat.
- \***stojaty** "to stand" imperf. *styi* (119 St) 2nd pers. s. imperat.
- stoł** (67 D), *stuł* (67 O) "table."
- \***storona** "country" *storony* (46 D) gen. s., *storonu* (50 D) acc. s.
- \***storoża** "guard" *storożu* (88 O) acc. s.
- \***straszny** "terrible" *strasznaia* (96 W<sub>1</sub>) nom. s. fem.
- \***stratny** "ruinous" *stratnaja* (96 Cz) nom. s. fem.
- straż** "guard" (88 St).
- \***stroj** "dress" *stroju* (23 D) gen. s.
- stuł** see *stoł*.
- \***styskaty** "to squeeze" imperf. *styskaiet'* (42 P) 3rd pers. s. pres.
- \***suknia** "dress" *sukniu* (63 P) acc. s., *sukniach* (29 P, 108 D) loc. pl.
- \***swiaty** "holy" *swiataia* (90 P) nom. s. fem.
- swit** "world" *Switi* (90 St) loc. s.
- \***swoj** "one's own" *swoiu* (39 D, 50 D) acc. s. fem.
- \***swyta** "coat" *swytach* (20 O, 108 D), *Switoch* (20 D) loc. pl.
- \***sydity** "to sit" imperf. *sedyt'* (40 P), *siedit'* (40 B), *sydyt'* (40 KK) 3rd pers. s. pres., *sydiat* (52 W<sub>1</sub>), *sediat'* (52 P) 3rd pers. pl. pres.
- \***sylny** "strong" *silnyie* (105 D) acc. pl. inanim.
- syn** "son" (36 St).
- sywyzna** "hoariness" (132 O).
- szabunkowaty** see *szybunkowati*.
- \***szafran** "saffron" *Szafranom* (102 St) instr. s.
- \***szafrant** "saffron" *Szafrantom* (102 P) instr. s.
- \***szapka** "cap" *szapku* (41 Cz) acc. s., *szapkoju* (41 B) instr. s., *szapki* (22 D) acc. pl.
- szczo** (12 St, 59 D, 122 O, 137 St), **szto** (12 D, 59 B, 122 D, 127 W<sub>1</sub>, 137 D), **czto** (59 W<sub>1</sub>) 1. "what" *szczoz koły* "but it's no good because" (54 O), *o czym* "about what" (121 Cz);  
2. "which" (95 D) *sztuku szto zbroili* "the trick which they have played" (28 P), *Urady, szczo w nich ulezli* "the offices into which they have crept" (75 Cz);  
3. "who" (53 D, 55 D) *Balamuty szczo pry nych Sediat* "the misleading councilors who sit at their side" (51-52 O);  
4. "that" (49 D, 59 D) *zrozumył szczomy ne dały iomu szabuńkowaty* "he understood that we did not let him wangle" (47 P);  
5. "how many" *a szczo horodów ( . . . ) derżat'* "and how many towns they hold" (31 P);  
6. "insofar as" *Korolowały szczo Woiewodami buwały* "they were kings insofar as they were commanders" (7 St).
- szczob** (44 D, 112 D, 116 D, 123 D), **sztob** (2 B, 112 K, 137 W<sub>1</sub>), **szczoby** (2 D, 44 St, 112 O), **cztoby** (2 W<sub>1</sub>, 116 W<sub>1</sub>, 123 W<sub>1</sub>), **sztoby** (44 B, 112 W<sub>1</sub>, 116 B, 123 B, 137 B) "so that, to" subjunct. conjunction.
- szczo nocz** (83 D), **szto nocz** (83 W<sub>1</sub>) "every night."
- szczonoczy** "every night" (83 P).
- szczo raz** "again and again" (60 O).
- szczubnuty** (112 D), **szczupnuty** (112 St) "to pinch" perf.

**szczypnuty** "to pinch" (112 K) perf.

**szebunkowaty** see *szybunkowati*.

\***szelestity** "to rustle" imperf. *szelestyt'* (37 P) 3rd pers. s. pres.

**szkoda** "harm, damage" (62 St, 81 D, 96 Cz).

\***szlapa** "hat" *szlapu* (41 P) acc. s., *szlapy* (22 P) acc. pl.

\***snurowaty** "to lace" imperf. *snurowanie* (115 D), *Sznurowanyi* (115 O) acc. pl. inanim. of pass. participle.

**sztany** "pants" *Ruky w sztany włożyszy* "having put his hands into his pockets" (40 St).

\***szto** see \**szczo*.

**sztob** see *syczob*.

\***sztuka** 1. "trick" (49 W<sub>1</sub>, 81 W<sub>1</sub>), *sztuki* (28 O) gen. s., *sztuku* (28 D) acc. s., *sztuki* (28 K, 49 St) nom.-acc. pl.;

2. "piece" *sztuka miasa* "a piece of meat" (68 D) acc.

\***szupył** "to understand" imperf. *szupył* (137 P) s. masc. past.

**szutka** "joke" (49 K), *szutki* (49 D) nom. pl.

**szybunkowaty** (47 Cz), **szybinkowaty** (47 K), **szebunkowaty** (47 W<sub>1</sub>), **szabunkowaty** (47 St) "to wangle" imperf. *na(m) szebu(n)kowati* (11 B) "to manipulate us."

**ta** "and" (43 O, 52 St, 55 St, 66 St).

**tak** 1. "so" *a kolib takoho czorta patycoju pochrypte tak szczob y korol Jego Miłostý niechýchal* "what if one struck such a devil with a stick across his back so that His Majesty the King might not giggle" (43-44 D), *zrozumył szczomy ne daty iomu szabuńkowaty* ( . . . ) *tak on poznałszy szczo ne szutki* ( . . . ) *procz poiechat* "he understood that we did not let him wangle, so, seeing that it was no joke, he went away" (47-50 P), *ne takby chutko lubytelniui skradywaty bredniu* "they would not so quickly steal love's madness" (118 P);

2. "such" *w tak dorohich Switoch* "in such expensive coats" (20 D), *koły tak podawnomu doma uberasia* ( . . . ) *Małżonka moia* ( . . . ) *natyszytsia* ( . . . ) *nemożeć* "when I myself dress in such an old garb at home my wife can't stop enjoying it" (24-26 O);

3. "as" *ne tak Win Winowat, Iak hetyi Radnyi Balamuty* "he is not as guilty as these misleading councilors" (51 O);

4. "then" *koli błaho derzył, tak on ý zruk wyderet* "if you hold it infirmly then he will snatch it even from your hands" (70 D);

5. "just" *Korolowiu myłostywuiu pocylowan, tak iak y młodyi Senatorczyki* "kissed the gracious Queen just as the young senators did" (128-129 O).

**taki** "but, however" (128 O).

\***taki** "such" *takoho* (43 D, 61 D, 73 W<sub>1</sub>, 120 D) gen.-acc. s. masc. anim., *takoy* (23 D, 45 Cz) gen. s. fem., *takich* (4 B, 53 W<sub>1</sub>) gen.-loc. pl.

\***takowy** "such" *takowi* (23 O), *takowy* (45 St) gen. s. fem.

\***tandyta**, \***tandeta** "flea-market" *tandyty* (91 O), *tandeti* (91 St) loc. s.

**teper** "now" (23 D, 106 St, 119 St).

**tepereczy** "now" (106 Cz, 119 D).

**też** "also" (113 W<sub>1</sub>).

**tlusto** "fatly" (63 K).

**to** 1. general demonstrative-predicative pronoun (90 D, 95 D, 96 D, 107 D) *to ne małaja sztuka* "it is quite a trick" (81 B);

2. conjunction on which an objective clause depends (25 D, 36 O) *szczo staryie batki naszyje zobrały, to wsio to Nemcom rozdały* "what our fathers had accumulated they gave all that away to Germans" (12 P);

3. "then" (72 P, 79 D) *koły błaho derżysz to ion tebi wydere y tuiu* "if you hold it infirmly then he will even snatch this one from you" (70 St);

4. emphatic particle *Ion to* "he" (16 O), *kołyż to* "when" (29 P), *tyi to* "it is these who" (55 O).
- tolki** "only" (5 O, 15 O, 65 O).
- tolko, tulko** 1. "only" *tolko* (6 K, 65 D, 71 D, 122 K, 134 D, 139 D), *tulko* (53 O, 71 St, 134 P, 139 O);  
2. "but" *tolko* (125 D).
- tolko** (123 P), **tulko** (123 O) "so many."
- \***tort** "layer cake" *torty* (98 Cz) acc. pl.
- tot** 1. "this" (135 D);  
2. "he" (14 D, 16 St).
- toy** 1. "this" (135 W<sub>1</sub>) *ta* (81 St) nom. s. fem., *to* (12 P, 31 D, 49 D, 62 D, 122 W<sub>1</sub>, 127 K), *toje* (12 St, 27 P, 140 O), *toio* (27 D) nom.-acc. s. neut., *to szczo* "what" (122 P), *toho* (13 D, 73 D) gen.-acc. s. masc. anim., *toho, szczo* "what" (122 O), *tym* (134 D), *tom* (134 P, 140 D) loc. s. masc.-neut., *toy* (135 W<sub>1</sub>) dat. s. fem., *tuju* (28 D, 70 O, 118 O) acc. s. fem., *tyie* (28 K, 51 St, 55 D, 78 Cz, 98 B), *tyi* (55 O, 78 O), *Tiji* (78 St) nom. pl. and acc. pl. inanim., *tych* (8 B, 13 St, 99 D, 109 B, 136 St) gen. pl.;  
2. "he" (14 P, 16 D), *tomu* (116 D) dat. s. neut.
- toże** "also" (47 O, 113 K).
- \***trubyty** "to booze" imperf. *trubyti'* (66a P) 3rd pers. s. pres., *trublat* (66a O) 3rd pers. pl. pres.
- try** "three" (92 Cz).
- tu** "here" (46 O).
- tulko** see **tolko**.
- tut** "here" (35 D).
- tuta** "here" (53 KK).
- tutaka** "here" (53 W<sub>1</sub>, 78 D).
- tutka** "here" (53 Cz, 78 Cz).
- ty** 1. "you" s. (67 D, 68 D, 69 D, 71 O, 83 P, 119 St), *tebe* (38 D) gen.;  
2. dativus incommodi *tobi* ( . . . ) *z ruk wyderet* "he will snatch (it) from your hands" (70 O), *tebi* (70 St), *prykaszetsia tebi jdo żony* "he will accost even your wife" (72 P), *tobie* (72 D), *tobi* (72 St).
- tylko** 1. "only" (134 O);  
2. "but" (125 St).
- u, w** 1. "under (the rule of)" *u Lachow* "under the Poles" (14 D);  
2. "in" *u nas* "in our country" (29 B, 32 D);  
3. possessive *wnych naszaia kisć* "they have our bones" (53 O).
- u** see **w**.
- \***ubratyse** "to dress oneself" perf. *uberuse* (24 Cz), *uberus'* (24 KK) 1st pers. s. fut.-pres., *ubrawszysze* (65 P) past act. adverb. participle.
- \***ubyratyse** "to dress oneself" imperf. *ubirajusia* (24 W<sub>1</sub>), *wbirajusia* (24 B) 1st pers. s. pres., *ubierausia* (24 St) s. masc. past, *uberali se* (114 B) pl. past.
- \***uczynyty** "to do" perf. *uczynyw* (10 O) s. masc. past.
- \***ukrastyse** "to steal away" perf. *ukrawszysię* (65 D) past act. adverb. participle.
- ulizty** see \***wlizty**.
- \***ulubity** "to come to like" perf. *ulubili* (11 W<sub>1</sub>) pl. past.
- \***ułapyty** "to grab" perf. *ułapli* (126 O) 1st pers. s. fut.
- \***ułeżatyse** "to stabilize" perf. *se ułeżat'* (78 P) 3rd pers. pl. fut.
- umiety** "to be able, to know" imperf. (137 St), *po polacku* ( . . . ) *umiiut howoryty* "they can speak Polish" (33 P), *umiel* (137 P) s. masc. past.
- \***upyłnowaty** "to keep things safe (from someone)" perf. *upyłnuesz* (120 O) 2nd pers. s. fut., *y sam Dytko Ich neupyłnuiet* "even the devil himself could not keep anything safe from them" (89 O).

\*urad, \*wrad “office” *urady* (74 D), *wrady* (74 P, 138 K) acc. pl.

\*Urszula “Ursula” *Urszulu* (128 D) acc.

\*ustereczy “to keep things safe (from someone)” perf. *y sam Ditko ich neusterezet* “even the devil himself could not keep anything safe from them” (89 St).

\*utrata “loss” *utratach* (80 D) loc. pl.

uveś see weś.

\*uwywatysę “to bustle about” imperf. *uwywaietse* (87 O) 3rd pers. s. pres.

uze, wže “already, now” (27 B, 32 O), *wzo* (127 D), *nadto wže* “enough is enough” (27 B).

\*używaty “to use” imperf. *używały* (116 St) pl. subjunct.

w, u 1. “in” (with loc.) (31 O, 91 D, 132 D, 134 D);

2. “in” (with acc.) *kulałkom w mordu* “with a fist in the mug” (43 W<sub>1</sub>, 61 Cz), *w leto* (82 W<sub>1</sub>), *u lito* (82 Cz) “in the summer,” *wzapynanyi dawnyi postroithysia kazakiny* “they dress themselves in old-time clasped robes” (114 O), *w żywicie oczy ( . . . ) neupilniesz* “look straight in his eye and you would not keep anything safe from him” (120 Cz);

3. “into” (with acc.) (40 St, 75 Cz);

4. “to” (with acc.) *u swoju storonu* “to his country” (50 D);

5. “at” (with loc.) *w domu* “at home” (24 D);

6. “among” (with acc.) *w ludy liczyły* “to count among human beings” (13 W<sub>1</sub>);

7. direct object indicator (with acc.) *w dołon skrobet'* “he scratches the palm” (42 P), *Dworanyn u nozku zahladaier'* “the courtier looks up her leg” (111 P), *w Ruku pocylował* “kissed the hand” (128 St);

8. direct object indicator (with loc.) *w ( . . . ) swytach chodyły* “they wore coats” (20 O, cf. 2 D, 108 D).

w see u.

\*waniaty see \*woniaty.

\*warowno “safely” *warowniey* (117 D) compar.

\*warta “guard” *warte* (119 B) loc. s.

waryty “to cook” imperf. (97 D).

\*wasz “your” pl. *waszu* (3 D), *waszuiu* (3 P) acc. s. fem., *Waszey* (122 Cz, 136 St), *waszoy* (122 O) gen.-dat. s. fem., *waſych* (136 D) gen. pl.

\*wbiratisia see \*ubyratyse.

w brod (9 D), u brod (9 P), *wprud* (9 O) “by fording.”

\*weliki see \*wełyki.

welmy “very, a great deal” (17 O, 48 P, 96 O).

\*wełyki “large” *wełykoho* (66a O), *welikoho* (66a D) gen. s. masc.

\*wengerski, \*wenherski “Hungarian” adj. *Wenherskoho* (103 St), *węgerskoho* (103 P) gen. s.

weś (134 O), uweś (134 P) “all, whole” *wse* (12 St, 27 B, 33 B, 34 O, 127 B), *wsio* (1 D, 27 W<sub>1</sub>, 127 W<sub>1</sub>) nom.-acc. s. neut., *wsie* (33 D) nom. pl.

widanie “look” (133 W<sub>1</sub>).

\*widomy 1. “knowledgeable” *widomoho tych Spraw* “knowledgeable about these matters” (136 O) acc. s. masc. anim.;

2. “well-known” *wiadomoho* (121 D) acc. s. masc. anim.

wielmie “very” (17 W<sub>1</sub>).

Wik “age” *Wik wicom* “age is age” (131 D).

\*Wilnia see \*Wylnia.

Win see on.

winowat “guilty” (51 D).

\*wlizty, \*ulezty “to creep (into)” perf. *wlizut* (78 O) 3rd pers. pl. fut., *wlizło* (75 St) s. neut. past., *ulezli* (75 D) pl. past.

\***włożyćty** “to put” perf. *włożywszy* (40 St) past act. adverb. participle.

\***wojewoda** “commander” *Woiewodami* (7 D) instr. pl.

**Wołyń** “Volhynia” masc. (14 B, 58 P).

\***woniaty, waniaty** “to smell” imperf. *woniaie* (37 St), *woniaiet'* (37 P, 54 P), *waniaiet* (37 D, 54 D) 3rd pers. s. pres., *wanaiut* (54 O) 3rd pers. pl. pres.

\***woyna** “war” *woynu* (106 D) acc. s.

**w pere[d]** “previously” (108 D).

**wrad** see *urad*.

\***wraży** “devil’s” *wrazaia Mat* “devil’s mother” (36 St).

**wy** “you” pl. (1 O, 139 St), *was* (89 D, 139 O) gen.-acc., *do was* “to you” (135 D), *k wam* “to you” (2 P), *z wami* “with you” (4 Cz), *pered* (. . .) *wamy* “before you” (138 O).

**wybraty** “to elect” perf. (135 K).

**wydanie** “look” (133 O).

\***wyderty** “to snatch” perf. *wyderet* (70 D), *wydere* (70 St) 3rd pers. s. fut.-pres.

**wyhnytaty** “to expel” perf. (73 D).

\***wyiechaty** “to leave, to depart” perf. *Wyiechaw* (2 P) s. masc. past, *wyiechawszy z domu* “having left the home” (2 D).

\***wykuryty** “to smoke out” perf. *wykurysz* (79 Cz) 2nd pers. s. fut.

\***Wylnia** “Vilnius” *do Wilni* “to Vilnius” (93 B).

\***Wylno** “Vilnius” *do Wylna* “to Vilnius” (93 O).

\***wyno** “wine” *wyna* (103 St) gen. s.

\***wyniszczty** “to let be destroyed” perf. *Wołyń wyniszczyw u Lachow* “he let Volhynia be destroyed under Poles” (14 D).

**wyprawyty** “to send” perf. (135 P).

\***wyrwaty** “to snatch” perf. *wyrwiet* (70 W<sub>1</sub>) 3rd pers. s. fut.-pres.

\***wysoki** “high” *wysokie* (66 St) acc. pl., *wysokich* (66 D) loc. pl.

\***wytrataty** “to lose” perf. *wytratiw* (14 B) s. masc. past.

**wyżywitisia** “to make a living” perf. (56 B).

**wże** see *uze*.

**z, zo** 1. “from” (2 D, 46 O, 64 O, 66a D, 70 D, 71 D, 85 St);  
2. “with” (4 Cz, 5 D, 17 D, 32 O, 33 D, 41 D, 56 D, 60 D, 73 D, 97 D, 100 D, 101 D, 103 D, 119 D, 135 P);  
3. “of” *kto z was* “any of you” (139 O);  
4. “in” *zrodu* “never in life” (4 St).

**za** 1. “under (the rule of)” (19 D) *za* (. . .) *Knazior naszych* “under our princes” (6 Cz), *za poiesom* “under the belt” (132 Cz);  
2. “beyond” *za more* “beyond the sea” (50 O);  
3. “because of” (58 D) *za ich Bałamutneiu* “because of their muddled advice” (56 St);  
4. “at” *za stul* “(to sit down) at the table” (67 O);  
5. “on” or direct object indicator *ty za borszczyk* “you start in on the borsht” (68 Cz), *ty za flaszku* “you take a bottle” (69 Cz);  
6. “for” *dątiesmo za neho try kopy hroszy* “we gave three times sixty groszy for it” (92 St);  
7. “within” *za moiei pamety* “within my memory” (99 P).

\***zabuty, zabyty** “to forget” perf. *zabuwby* (61 O), *zabywby* (61 Cz) s. masc. cond.

\***zad** “back” *zadu* (115 D), *zadi* (115 St) loc. s.

**zadaty** “to strike” perf. (43 P).

\***zahledaty** “to look up” imperf. *dworanin w nožku* (. . .) *zahledaje(t')* “the courtier looks up her leg” (111 B), *zahladaie* (111 St) 3rd pers. s. pres.

**zamorczyk** “overseas foreigner” (94 D).

- \***zamorski** "overseas" adj. *Zamorskoi* (46 O) gen. s. fem.  
**zamorszczyk** "overseas foreigner" (94 W<sub>1</sub>).  
**\*zapynaty** "to clasp" imperf. *zapynanyi* (114 O), *zapynanyie* (114 P) acc. pl. of pass. participle.  
**zaraz** "immediately" (12 Cz).  
**\*zasedaty** "to sit, to have sessions" *zasedał* (5 D) s. masc. past.  
**za to** (45 D), *Zatoie* (45 St) "then however."  
**za toho** "then however" (45 P).  
**zawsiehdza** "always" (123 W<sub>1</sub>).  
**zawsze** "always" (123 P).  
**zawzdy** "always" (123 Cz).  
**\*zażywaty** "to use" imperf. *zażywały* (103 W<sub>1</sub>, 109 P, 116 KK) pl. past or subjunct.  
**\*zbroity** "to perpetrate" perf. *zbroili* (28 P) pl. past.  
**\*zdawatyse** "to seem" imperf. *zdaietse* (81 Cz) 3rd pers. s. pres.  
**zdrobow** "healthy" (2 D), *zdrobowych* (3 P) acc. pl. masc. anim.  
**zdrobowo** "in health, healthily" (3 D).  
**\*zhubyty** "to ruin" perf. *zhublat'* (57 P), *zhubiat* (57 D) 3rd pers. pl. fut.  
**zima** see *zyma*.  
**zidd** "convention" (135 St), *zizdach* (4 P) loc. pl.  
**złodøy** "thief" (94 D).  
**\*zmeszatyse** "to mingle" perf. *zmeszałyse* (32 P) pl. past.  
**\*znaj** "apparently" *Znaju nam prystupyło* "we must have lost our mind" (59 P).  
**\*znaty** "to know" imperf. *znaju* (121 D) 1st pers. s. pres., *znaiamo* (59 St) 1st pers. pl. pres., *znały* (9 W<sub>1</sub>, 103 O) pl. past.  
**\*znawaty** "to know" iterat. *znawały* (9 St, 103 St, 109 D) pl. past.  
**z Nemecka** "in the German fashion" (116 D).  
**znow** "again" (23 W<sub>1</sub>).  
**zo** see *z*.  
**\*zobaty** "to nip" imperf. *horyłoczkoo zobały* "liquor was nipped" (104 D).  
**\*zobraty, \*sobraty** "to accumulate" perf. *sobrali* (12 W<sub>1</sub>), *zobrały* (12 D) pl. past.  
**\*zostawyty** "to leave" imperf. *zostawił* (14 P) s. masc. past.  
**zradno** "extraordinarily" *zradno pohowryłysmo* "we have had a good talk" (80 D).  
**\*zrozumity** "to understand" perf. *zrozumyl* (47 P) s. masc. past.  
**\*zub** "tooth" *zuby* (44 St) nom. pl.  
**\*zubel** "tinder stick (to smoke out bees)" *zublom* (79 D) instr. s.  
**\*Zigmund, \*Zygmont, \*Zyhmont** see *\*Żygmunt*.  
**\*zyma** "winter" *zimu* (82 D), *zymiou* (82 St), *w zimie* (82 W<sub>1</sub>) "in the winter."  
**ż, że** 1. emphatic particle a) in conjunctions, pronouns and adverbs: *Skoroż* "as soon as" (11 O), *kołyż to* (29 P), *kołyze to* (29 St) "when," *koliżby* "if" (43 W<sub>1</sub>), *szczoz koły* "but it's no good because" (54 O), *szoż* "what" (127 K), *tyież to* "it is these who" (55 St), *takisz* "but" (128 O); b) in imperatives (82 P, 83 St, 84 St, 88 Cz): *kormyż ieho* "feed him" (63 P), *czestuyże ieho* "treat him" (38 St); c) in other verbal forms: *neznawałyż* "they did not know" (109 St);  
 2. "and" *ieslisz* "and when" (86 Cz), *a koliz* (86 W<sub>1</sub>), *Kołyż* (3 O) "and when," *ieszczeż* "and on top of this" (86 St), *iakze* "and when" (93 O), *jaż* "and I" (113 B).  
**\*żaden** "no, any" *z nich żadnoj służby ne pytay* "don't ask any service from them" (85 W<sub>1</sub>), *żadnoie* (85 O) gen. s. fem.  
**że** see *ż*.  
**żem** particle of 1st pers. s. masc. past *kołyzem* ( . . . ) *ubierausia* "when I dressed myself" (24 St).  
**żena** see *żona*.  
**żerebec** "stallion" (86 O).

- Żona** (25 St, 36 Cz), **żena** (36 W<sub>1</sub>) “wife” **żony** (72 P) gen. s., **żonu** (39 Cz) acc. s., **żonoiu** (41 P), **Zenoiu** (41 O) instr. s.  
**żonka** “wife” (36 P), **żonki** (72 W<sub>1</sub>) gen. s., **żonkoiu** (41 W<sub>1</sub>) instr. s., **Zynki** (113 O) nom. pl.  
**\*Żygmont**, **\*Żygmunt**, **\*Zygmund**, **\*Zygmont** “Sigismund” **Żygmonta** (13 B), **Żygimo(n)ta** (15 B), **Zyhmunta** (13 W<sub>1</sub>, 15 St), **Zygmunda** (15 K), **Zygmunta** (13 D, 15 D) gen.  
**\*żynka** see **żonka**.  
**\*żywy** “living” adj. **żywyie** (120 Cz) acc. pl. inanim.

#### KEY TO GRAMMATICAL ABBREVIATIONS

acc.	— accusative	inanim.	— inanimate
act.	— active	instr.	— instrumental
adj.	— adjective	iterat.	— iterative
adverb.	— adverbial	loc.	— locative
anim.	— animate	masc.	— masculine
coll.	— collective	neut.	— neuter
compar.	— comparative	pass.	— passive
cond.	— conditional	pejorat.	— pejorative
dat.	— dative	perf.	— perfective
dimin.	— diminutive	pers.	— person
fem.	— feminine	pl.	— plural
fut.	— future	pres.	— present
fut.-pres.	— future-present (timeless)	s.	— singular
gen.	— genitive	subjunct.	— subjunctive
imperat.	— imperative	superl.	— superlative
imperf.	— imperfective	voc.	— vocative

## Псевдо-Мелешко. Українська апокрифічна соймова промова з 1615-1618 рр. (*Резюме*)

У дотеперішніх історіях української і білоруської літератур «Промова Мелешка» (ПМ) фігурувала як дійсна соймова промова або, частіше, сатира чи пародія з 1589 р. або з XVII ст. Знані були три основні її тексти плюс два другорядні (один у польському перекладі з утраченого оригіналу, другий — тільки мінімально відмінний від одного з трьох основних текстів).

У нашій студії підсумовано стан досліджень над ПМ, подано до-кладний, досі найповніший життєпис Івана Мелешка, смоленського каштеляна, якому приписана ПМ, дріб'язково розглянено всі 5 дотепер доступних текстів і 6 новознайдених нами в польських архівах і передруковано їх синоптично з англійським перекладом і предметними та мовними поясненнями, досліджено співвідношення між усіма текстами, в висліді чого поділено їх на 2 групи — первісну, написану українцем, і вторинну, підреаговану людиною з впливами російської мови. Протягом аналізу риси мови ПМ лінгвогеографічно, встановлено походження автора з мовно української південної частини Пінського повіту Великого Князівства Литовського, а на підставі деяких натяків тексту (включно з його московітизмами) та історії родин, яким завдається збереження ПМ, зльокалізовано написання ПМ на Смоленщині в 1615-18 рр. в середовищі русько-польської шляхти, яка в 1611 р. відвоювала Смоленськ від Москви для Речі Посполитої. Підкріплено просторими аргументами дотеперішні сумніви щодо автентичності ПМ і визначено жанр її як політично-побутової сатири, а не тільки забавної пародії (всупереч деяким літературознавцям). Додано родовідне дерево текстів ПМ, картографічне зображення ключових мовних рис ПМ, реконструкцію первісного тексту ПМ, два знайдені в архівах листи І. Мелешка, словник усіх слів ПМ з англійським перекладом і зльокалізацією в ПМ та покажчик імен.

## Notes

- <sup>1</sup> A. Savyč, "Narysy z istoriji kul'turnyx ruxiv na Vkraini ta Bilarusi v XVI-XVIII vv.," *Zbirnyk Istoryčno-Filoložičnogo Viddilu VUAN*, no. 90, Kyjiv, 1929, p. 198.
- <sup>2</sup> Julian Ursyn Niemcewicz, *Zbiór pamiętników o dawnej Polszcze*, vol. 2, Warsaw, 1822, pp. 341-44. The date is wrongly given as "1819" by N. I. Praškovič, "«Pramova Mialeški» i «List da Abuchoviča» — novyj ètap v istorii belorusskoj literatury," *Trudy Otdela drevnerusskoj literatury "Puškinskij Dom"*, vol. 24, Moscow, 1969, p. 314. In 1839 the second edition of vol. 2 of Niemcewicz's book appeared in Leipzig in which the MS was republished on pp. 341-44 in a modernized spelling.
- <sup>3</sup> *Zbiór pisarzy polskich*, vol. 9, Warsaw, 1829, p. XXVII.
- <sup>4</sup> *Język Polski*, year 33, Cracow, 1953, pp. 335-36.
- <sup>5</sup> Franciszek Ślawski, *Słownik etymologiczny języka polskiego*, Cracow, 1952 ff., s.v. *kałakut*.
- <sup>6</sup> Michał Wiszniewski, *Historia literatury polskiej*, vol. 8, Cracow, 1851, pp. 480-84.
- <sup>7</sup> Vol. 1, Kyjiv, August, section 1, pp. 91-97.
- <sup>8</sup> Vol. 2, St. Petersburg, pp. 188-90.
- <sup>9</sup> Pantelejmon Kuliš, "Vzgljad južnorusskogo čeloveka XVI stoletija na nemecko-pol'skuju civilizaciju," *Osnova*, St. Petersburg, 1862, June, pp. 12-16.
- <sup>10</sup> I. Pervol'f, *Slavjane, ix vzaimnye otnošenija i svjazi*, vol. 3, pt. 3, Warsaw, 1893, p. 166.
- <sup>11</sup> Nikolaj Sumcov, "Reč Ivana Meleška, kak literaturnyj pamjatnik," *Kievskaja starina*, vol. 45, no. 5, Kyjiv, 1894, pp. 196-213.
- <sup>12</sup> M. Dovnar-Zapol'skij, "V. N. Tjapinskij, perevodčik evangelija na belorusskoe narečie," *Izvestija Otdelenija russkogo jazyka i slovesnosti Imperatorskoj akademii nauk*, vol. 4, St. Petersburg, 1899, p. 1064.
- <sup>13</sup> Myxajlo Hrušev's'kyj, *Istorija Ukrayiny-Rusy*, vol. 6, Kyjiv-L'viv, 1907, pp. 400-02; idem, *Istorija ukrajins'koji literatury*, vol. 5, Kyjiv, 1927, pp. 471-77.
- <sup>14</sup> P. Žukovič, "Neizdannoe skazanie o Žirovickoj ikone Bož'ej materi," *Izvestija Otdelenija . . .*, vol. 17, book 2, 1912, pp. 175-249. Cf. also F. Turuk, "Uniatskij mitropolit Rutskij," *Žurnal Ministerstva narodnogo prosveščenija*, St. Petersburg, 1916, March, p. 151.
- <sup>15</sup> Efimij F. Karskij, *Belorusy*, vol. 3, pt. 2, Petrograd, 1921, pp. 115-16 (cf. its review by V. Peretc in *Izvestija Otdelenija . . .*, vol. 27, 1922, Leningrad, 1924, p. 335, doubting that the MS is White-Ruthenian). An earlier, popular article by Karski (Karskij), "Pramova Ivana Mialeški na Varšauskim sojmie 1589 h.," *Bielaruš*, October 31, 1919, was not available to us.
- <sup>16</sup> Vaclaŭ Łastoŭski, *Historyja biełaruskaj (kryūskaj) knihi*, Kaunas, 1926, p. 446-49.
- <sup>17</sup> Žmicer I. Daūhiała, "Z biełaruskaha piśmienstva XVII stah. I. Tворы Cypryjana Komuniaki: 'List da Abuchoviča' i 'Pramova Mialeški,'" *Pracy Biełaruskaha Dzieržaŭnaha Universytetu u Miensku. 1. Pedahahičnyj fakultet*, no. 16, Minsk, 1927, pp. 167-211.
- <sup>18</sup> Aleksander Brückner, *Dzieje kultury polskiej*, vol. 2, 3rd ed., Warsaw, 1958, pp. 359-60. Cf. footnote 158.
- <sup>19</sup> P. Krapivin, "K voprosu o vremeni pojавlenija 'Reči Ivana Meleška' i ee avtorstve," *Izvestija Akademii Nauk BSSR*, Minsk, 1955, no. 5, pp. 65-76.

<sup>20</sup> P. K. Jeremenko, "Herasym Smotryc'kyj," *Radjans'ke literaturoznavstvo*, Kyiv, 1960, no. 5, p. 67.

<sup>21</sup> *Polski słownik biograficzny*, vol. 20, Wrocław, 1975, p. 769.

<sup>22</sup> *Istorija belorusskoj dooktyabr'skoj literatury*, Minsk, 1977, p. 269.

<sup>23</sup> For example: Vlast (V. Łastoński), *Karotkaja historyja Bielarusi*, Vilnius, 1910, pp. 59-62 (containing a rendition of the MS in modern White-Ruthenian phonetics and orthography); M. Harecki, *Historyja bielaruskaje literatury*, Vilnius, 1920, pp. 30-31 (an altered version in the 4th ed., Minsk 1926, pp. 85-87); Myxajlo Voznjak, *Istorija ukrajins'koj literatury*, vol. 2, pt. 1, L'viv, 1921, pp. 35-37; N. J. Jančuk, *Narysy pa historyi bielaruskaj literatury*, Minsk, 1932, pp. 83-89; Dmytro Čyževs'kyj, *Istorija ukrajins'koj literatury*, New York, 1956, pp. 241-43; V. Volski, *Narysy pa historyi bielaruskaj literatury epochi fiedalizma*, Minsk, 1958; L. M. Šakun, *Narysy historyi bielaruskaj literaturnaj movy*, Minsk, 1960, pp. 71-76 (cf. our review in *Slavia Orientalis*, Warsaw, 1962, p. 428) and a repetition in his *Historyja bielaruskaj literaturnaj movy*, Minsk, 1963, pp. 101-07; S. I. Vasilenok, *Fol'klor i literatura Belorussii epoxi feodalizma (XIV-XVIII vv.)*, Moscow, 1961, p. 273; Hryhorij Nud'ha, *Parodiya v ukrajins'kij literaturi*, Kyiv, 1961, pp. 78-81; idem, *Ukrajins'ki parodiji*, Kyiv, 1963, pp. 83-112; L. Maxnovec', *Satyra i humor ukrajins'koj prozy XVI-XVIII st.*, Kyiv, 1964, pp. 379-90; *Istorija ukrajins'koj literatury*, vol. 1, Kyiv, 1967, pp. 286-87; R. Achrymienka, M. R. Łarčanka, *Staražytnejā biełaruskaja literatura*, Minsk, 1968, pp. 119-21; *Historyja bielaruskaj dakastryčnickaj literatury u dvuch tomach*, vol. 1, Minsk, 1968, pp. 343-47 (chapter written by M. I. Praškovič); U. V. Aničenka, *Bielaruska-ukrainskija pišmova-moūnyja suviazi*, Minsk, 1969, p. 195; A. B. McMillin, *Die Literatur der Weißrussen: A History of Byelorussian Literature from its Origins to the Present Day*, Giessen, 1977, pp. 57-59. The above-mentioned items in fn. 1 and 2 (Praškovič) should also be ranked in this category.

<sup>24</sup> *Polski słownik biograficzny*, vol. 20, pp. 769-70.

<sup>25</sup> A. Boniecki, *Poczet rodów w Wielkim Księstwie Litewskim w XV i XVI wieku*, Warsaw, 1887, p. 178.

<sup>26</sup> [Idzi] Presiowski, *Krótki wiadomość o sejmach i sejmikach przedsejmowych w dawnej Polsce*, 2nd ed., Cracow, 1861, p. 21.

<sup>27</sup> *Akty, izdavaemye Vilenskoju arxeografičeskoju komissieju*, vol. 22, Vilnius, 1895, p. 62.

<sup>28</sup> Ibidem, vol. 18, 1891, p. 20.

<sup>29</sup> I. I. Lappo, *Velikoe Knjažestvo Litovskoe vo vtoroj polovine XVI stoletija*, Jur'ev (Tartu), 1911, Appendices, p. 72.

<sup>30</sup> *Akty, izdavaemye Vilenskoju . . . kommissieju*, vol. 14, 1887, p. 193. Wasilewski dates the start of these two offices of Meleško as late as April 23, 1591.

<sup>31</sup> *Prawa, konstytucje i przywileje Królestwa Polskiego i Wielkiego Księstwa Litewskiego*, vol. 2, Warsaw, 1733, p. 1463.

<sup>32</sup> Ibidem, vol. 2, p. 1685; vol. 3, 1735, pp. 17-18.

<sup>33</sup> *Słownik geograficzny Królestwa Polskiego*, vol. 4, Warsaw 1883, p. 538.

<sup>34</sup> Aleksander Jabłonowski, "Polska XVI wieku," vol. 10, "Ziemie ruskie," *Źródła dziejowe*, vol. 21, Warsaw 1894, pp. 28, 44; *Słownik geograficzny . . .*, vol. 4, pp. 538-39.

<sup>35</sup> Jabłonowski, p. 33.

<sup>36</sup> *Akty, izdavaemye Vilenskoju . . . kommissieju*, vol. 18, p. 190.

<sup>37</sup> Ibidem, vol. 28, 1901, p. 102; cf. p. 86 there. Jan Czubek, editor of an anonymous political satire, "Imago votorum totius regni Poloniae cum rege Sigismundo Tertio, libertates regni opprimente, 1606," written in June-July that year, in which various senators and other personages make tirades or express brief maxims, including the unnamed Mścisław Castellan who says: "Stultorum exsultatio ignominia est" (The exultation of fools is an ignominy), added the name *Ioannes Mieleszko* in parentheses (*Pisma polityczne z czasów rokoszu Zebrzydowskiego 1606–1608*, vol. 2, Cracow, 1918, p. 15). Even if Ivan Meleško already was Castellan of Mścisław in June-July 1606, we deal here with imaginary castellans, senators, etc.

<sup>38</sup> *Akty, izdavaemye Vilenskoju . . . kommissieju*, vol. 28, p. 102. Žukovič, p. 224, gives the wrong date: August 6, 1606.

<sup>39</sup> Žukovič, p. 227.

<sup>40</sup> Zygmunt Gloger, *Encyklopedia staropolska ilustrowana*, vol. 3, Warsaw, 1902, p. 24.

<sup>41</sup> Žukovič, p. 226.

<sup>42</sup> Ibidem, p. 232, and Jacobus Susza (Jakiv Suša), *Cursus vitae et certamen martyrii F. Josaphat Kuncevicii*, Rome, 1665, pp. 24–25. Žukovič thought that Meleško had become Uniate by 1603 (the alleged date of his first senatorial appointment, based on J. Wolff) because "Sigismund III did not offer senatorial titles either to Orthodox or Protestants." This statement is not correct. Although Sigismund III tried to convert people to Roman Catholicism, he neither persecuted nor discriminated against religious dissidents. "Under his rule religious dissidents had place at the Senate and held major offices" (Franciszek Siarczyński, *Obraz wieku panowania Zygmunta III*, vol. 2, Poznań, 1858, p. 367).

<sup>43</sup> Th. Ortholog, *Θρῆνος, to jest Lament jedynej, ś. powszechniej, apostolskiej, wschodniej cerkwie z objaśnieniem dogmat wiary*, Vilnius, 1610, pp. 15–15v.

<sup>44</sup> J. Wolff, *Senatorowie i dygnitarze Wielkiego Księstwa Litewskiego, 1386–1794*, Cracow, 1885, p. 115. The latter date is corrected after S. Ptaszycki's review of Wolff's work, *Ateneum*, Warsaw, 1885–86, p. 8.

<sup>45</sup> *Prawa, konstytucje . . .*, vol. 3, p. 165.

<sup>46</sup> The document was later lost (Žukovič, p. 233).

<sup>47</sup> Wolff, p. 131.

<sup>48</sup> Krapivin, op. cit.

<sup>49</sup> K. Komunjaka obviously served as I. Meleško's bodyguard because fights were not infrequent at the Diet. Cf. Starowolski's (d. 1656) statement: "we arrive at the Diet with such guards as we never have in camp against our Crown's enemy" (Szymon Starowolski, *Reformacja obyczajów polskich*, Cracow, 1859, p. 8).

<sup>50</sup> Cf. the Polish proverb *z błota nie zrobisz złota* "you can't make gold from mud" (*Nowa księga przysłów i wyrazów przysłowiowych polskich*, vol. 1, Warsaw, 1969, p. 118). This confirms what one can suppose anyway: that Meleško made this speech in Polish, because "Polish Diets were held in the language of the country (w krajowym języku), especially since the times of Sigismund Augustus" (1548–72) (Presiowski, p. 28). This was also recognized by Ruthenians. For example, the Orthodox Metropolitan of Kyiv, Petro Mohyla, wrote this in 1644: "it would be incorrect and improper if he [a Ruthenian] spoke before the monarch at the Senate or at the House of Deputies in Greek or Slavonic and if he always had to bring a translator with himself; he would be taken either for a foreigner or a fool after which he would be ordered out from the court or the assembly" (E. Pimin, *Αἴθος abo Kamień z procy prawdy cerkwie świętej prawosławnej ruskiej*, Kyiv, 1644, reprint in *Arxiv Jugo-Zapadnoj Rossii*, pt. 1,

vol. 9, Kyiv, 1893, pp. 375-76). When the Orthodox Bishop of Luc'k, Verbyc'kyj, wrote to the King an excuse about his absence at the Diet in Ruthenian in 1569, even that aroused a hostile reaction of Polish deputies (Hruševs'kyj, *Istorija Ukrayiny* . . . , vol. 4, 1907, p. 403).

<sup>51</sup> Quoted from the better version of the Komunjaka letter, published by Łastoński, p. 575. The other, worse version, was given by Daūhiala, p. 196. The third known copy which was at the National Museum of Cracow in 1926 does not seem to have ever been published. The Komunjaka letter is the only source other than the MS to indicate that I. Meleško really spoke at the Senate (if we disregard the imaginary *Imago votorum*, cf. fn. 37). No traces of his Senate or Diet statements can be found in Diet diaries from the period of his public activity (we checked the following in the Main Archives of Old Records [AGAD] at Warsaw: diary of December 29, 1588 – February 3, 1589, the Potockis' Public Archives, unit 31, vol. 1, pp. 243-308; prior to May 5 – May 22, 1593, ibidem, pp. 437-78; ca. September 9 – ca. September 26, 1593, ibidem, pp. 309-435; February 10-15, 1597, ibidem, pp. 532-67; January 20 – February 15, 1605, ibidem, pp. 713-29, 785-990; May 6 and on, 1607, ibidem, vol. 2, pp. 324 ff.; January 15-23, 1609, the Zamoyskis' Archives, no. 3081, pp. 85-86; prior to February 24 – April 2, 1613, the Radziwiłłs' Archives, pt. 6, no. II-48; February 12-17, 1615, ibidem, pt. 2, no. 625a (991)).

<sup>52</sup> Kasper Niesiecki, *Herbarz polski*, vol. 5, Leipzig, 1840, pp. 167-68 (for origin); *Polska encyklopedia szlachecka*, vol. 7, Warsaw, 1937, p. 25 (for the form of name and the date of first record).

<sup>53</sup> One, in particular, directly shows Komunjaka's Mozyr origins: "Your esteemed father while he was a Mozyr judge in my memory," etc. (Łastoński, p. 576).

<sup>54</sup> *Prawa, konstytucje* . . . , vol. 3, p. 416; A. K. Żeglicki, *Inwentarz nowy praw, statutów, konstytucji koronnych i Wielkiego Księstwa Litewskiego, znajdujących się w sześciu tomach Voluminis legum*, Warsaw 1754, p. 484 (substitute for vol. 4 of *Prawa, konstytucje* . . . [Volumina legum], unavailable to us).

<sup>55</sup> *Księcia Krzysztofa Radziwiłła, hetmana polnego Wielkiego Księstwa Litewskiego sprawy wojenne i polityczne, 1621-1632*, Paris 1859, p. 699.

<sup>56</sup> Žukovič, p. 233.

<sup>57</sup> Ibidem, p. 236. It was this act that Susza, pp. 24-25, referred to in 1665: "Ivan Meleško, the Smolensk Castellan, offered the Žyrovičy monastery."

<sup>58</sup> Its copy of about 1681 (with many Ukrainianisms) was published by Krapivin, op. cit.

<sup>59</sup> Žukovič, p. 237. In 1617-18 the Słonim county was the center of Kuncevyč's activity (*Polski słownik biograficzny*, vol. 16, Wrocław, 1971, p. 181).

<sup>60</sup> Janusz Radziwiłł died at Czarlin near Gdańsk and his body was transported to Dubinki near Vilnius and buried as late as February 16, 1621 (Edward Kotłubaj, *Galeria nieświeska portretów Radziwiłłowskich*, Vilnius 1859, p. 100).

<sup>61</sup> Žukovič, p. 242.

<sup>62</sup> *Polski słownik biograficzny*, vol. 5, Cracow, 1936-46, p. 475.

<sup>63</sup> Niesiecki, vol. 3, 1839, p. 440.

<sup>64</sup> "Spis obywateli województwa smoleńskiego znajdujących się z pocztami swoimi podczas oblężenia Smoleńska przez cara Aleksieja Michajłowicza przy wojewodzie smoleńskim Filipie Kazimierzu Obuchowiczu w 1654 r." *Zbiór dyplomatów rządowych i aktów prywatnych posługujących do rozjaśnienia dziejów Litwy i złączonych z nią krajów (od 1387 do 1710 r.)*, Vilnius, 1858, p. 92.

- <sup>64a</sup> *Polski słownik biograficzny*, vol. 4, Cracow, 1938, pp. 294-95.
- <sup>65</sup> *Materiały po istorii moskowskiego gosudarstwa v XVI i XVII st.*, ed. Teodor Wierzbowski, vol. 2, Warsaw, 1898, p. 65; Niesiecki, vol. 8, 1841, pp. 367-68.
- <sup>66</sup> *Materiały po istorii . . .*, pp. 54-55.
- <sup>67</sup> *Historyja biełaruskaj dakastryčnickaj litaratury*, vol. 1, p. 343.
- <sup>68</sup> *Materiały po istorii . . .*, p. 40; *Pamiętniki Samuela i Bogusława Kazimierza Maskiewiczów (Wiek XVII)*, Wrocław, 1961, p. 122.
- <sup>69</sup> Julian Ursyn Niemcewicz, *Dzieje panowania Zygmunta III*, vol. 3, Cracow, 1860, p. 56.
- <sup>70</sup> Niesiecki, vol. 8, p. 535.
- <sup>71</sup> *Polski słownik biograficzny*, vol. 24, Wrocław, 1979, pp. 403-09.
- <sup>72</sup> Aleksander Brückner, *Dzieje języka polskiego*, 4th ed., Wrocław-Cracow, 1960, pp. 109, 132-33.
- <sup>73</sup> Zenon Klemensiewicz, *Historia języka polskiego*, vol. 2, Warsaw, 1965, p. 176.
- <sup>74</sup> "Spis obywateli województwa smoleńskiego . . .," p. 97.
- <sup>75</sup> This letter appeared in White Ruthenia in the 15th c. (E. F. Karskij, *Belorusy: Jazyk belorusskogo naroda*, vol. 1, Moscow, 1955, p.69). It was recognized as a White-Ruthenian invention already by Juraj Krizanić in 1666 (*Gramatično izkazánie ob rúskom jaziku*, Moscow, 1859, p. 128). In Muscovy it was introduced in the first half of the 18th c. (L. V. Čerepnin, *Russkaja paleografiya*, Moscow, 1956, p. 483) but there was no phonological need for it in the Ukraine.
- <sup>76</sup> *Polski słownik biograficzny*, vol. 3, Cracow, 1937, p. 441.
- <sup>77</sup> Krapivin, p. 66.
- <sup>78</sup> Cf. Julian Dybiec, "Warsztat naukowy 'Historii literatury polskiej' Michała Wiszniewskiego," *Studia i Materiały z Dziejów Nauki Polskiej*, Series A, fasc. 12, Wrocław, 1968, p. 283.
- <sup>79</sup> Praškovič, pp. 314-15.
- <sup>80</sup> "Južnaja Rus' v konce XVI veka," in his *Istoričeskie monografii i issledovanija*, vol. 3, St. Petersburg, 1867, pp. 196-97, 238.
- <sup>81</sup> Łastoński, p. 446.
- <sup>82</sup> "Spis obywateli województwa Smoleńskiego . . .," p. 92.
- <sup>83</sup> *Polski słownik biograficzny*, vol. 21, Wrocław, 1976, pp. 346-48.
- <sup>84</sup> "Spis obywateli województwa Smoleńskiego . . .," p. 92.
- <sup>85</sup> Niesiecki, vol. 6, 1841, p. 421 (where Svatopolk is mistakenly called Prince of Tver').
- <sup>86</sup> This is how the king was really addressed in speeches, cf. "Najśniejszy miłośniwy królu" in the speech by W. Goślicki to King Stephen Batory in 1587 (*Wybór mów staropolskich świeckich, sejmowych i innych*, ed. by A. Małecki, Cracow, 1860, p. 107).
- <sup>87</sup> A customary form of address for noblemen in the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth (*Panowie bracia* in Polish), cf. Gloger, vol. 1, p. 204.
- <sup>88</sup> The form "Bohaiesmosia pomoliw" (also cf. 127 Cz: "iesmo . . . Star") represents the typical confusion of the first person singular and plural in Middle Ukrainian. In the early 15th c. a new form *есму* appeared instead of *есмъ* and was used through the 17th c. (G. Y. Shevelov, "Jesmi 'I am' and some verbal endings in Slavic," *Papers in Slavic Philology*, 1, Ann Arbor,

1977, pp. 250-51). Cf. “dalismy za neho tr̄ kopy hroþey, iakovs̄y posław do Wilna poprawity” in the MS (92-93 D). Because of the *u* / *u* confusion the Ukrainian *есми* could be easily confused with the plural *есмы* (which was also a 15th-c. innovation instead of *есмъ*). And this also led to the confusion with *есмо*, another form of the first person plural (of 13th-c. provenance).

<sup>89</sup> The last three letters are deleted.

<sup>90</sup> It was customary in speeches to the king to pray to or thank God for the king's good health. Cf. “Iż Pan Bóg wszechmogący waszą królewską zacność na stolicy (...) w tak dobrem, jako widzimy, zdrowiu posadzić raczył, Pana Boga za to chwalimy” (“That Our Almighty Lord has deigned to place Your Royal Goodness in the capital in such good health, as we can see, we praise our Lord for that”), from a speech by R. Leszczyński in 1562; “Panu Bogu (...), iż (...) zdrowego do nas (...) waszę król. mość przyprowadzić raczył, (...) chwały za to dajemy” (“We praise Our Lord that he has deigned to bring Your Royal Majesty to us in good health”), from a speech by W. Goślicki in 1587 (*Małecki's Wybór mów staropolskich* . . ., pp. 38, 107-108); “Będźże miłemu Panu Bogu wieczna chwała, że WKM Pana i Króla swego w tak dobrym widziemy zdrowiu” (“May eternal glory be to our dear God, the Lord, that we see Your Royal Majesty, our Lord and King, in such a good health”), from a speech by M. Sienicki in 1565 (*Wybór mów staropolskich*, ed. by Bronisław Nadolski, Wrocław-Cracow, 1961, p. 140).

<sup>91</sup> The term *зъездъ* (also cf. *na tot zizzd* 135 St) refers to the general convention (*conventus generalis*, Ukr.-WR *зъездъ головный*, Polish *zjazd główny*) of deputies from county dietines in the Grand Duchy of Lithuania, rather than to the Diet meeting. Such general conventions met shortly before the Diet meeting to coordinate instructions for Lithuanian senators and Diet deputies. Before 1588 they met either at Vilnius or at Vaŭkavysk, but the Lithuanian Statute of 1588 established Ślonim as their site. This practice ceased to be observed by the mid-17th c. because Lithuanian deputies started to have their general sessions during the Diet meeting at Warsaw (Tadeusz Czacki, *O litewskich i polskich prawach*, vol. 1-2, Cracow, 1861; Wincenty Skrzetuski, *Prawo polityczne narodu polskiego*, vol. 1, Warsaw, 1782, p. 239; I. I. Lappo, *Litovskij statut 1588 goda*, vol. 1, pt. 1, Kaunas, 1934, pp. 363-66; pt. 2, 1936, pp. 131-34). Perhaps the author of the MS called those Warsaw Lithuanian sessions by the traditional name *зъездъ*.

<sup>92</sup> The *e* is added above the line.

<sup>93</sup> In view of P, this is probably a haplological misreading of *tolko kemlu* (with the second *l* looking like a *t* and mistaken for a *t*, cf. p. 17).

<sup>94</sup> It seems that the original writer wanted to use Church Slavonic *usopszych* (or, more likely, in Cyrillic *ѹсопшыхъ*) “deceased” but changed his mind for the more comprehensible *pokonnykow* (*покойниковъ*). In the texts O, W<sub>1</sub>, W<sub>2</sub>, K and KK this redundancy was removed.

<sup>95</sup> This word (cf. phrase 46) is recorded only in J. Želexivskyj's and S. Nedil'skyj's *Malorusko-německyj slovar*, Lviv, 1886, as a variant form of *tjamty*. It is also known to this author from the village of Stil's'ko, former Žydačiv county in Galicia. It exists in White-Ruthenian as well but in the sense “understand.”

<sup>96</sup> For citizens of the Grand Duchy of Lithuania the Commonwealth's kings were grand princes (grand dukes).

<sup>97</sup> Actually *kotorycie* with a deleted *c*.

<sup>98</sup> Or: *stotoju*. The distortion originated perhaps from a cursive Cyrillic *сѡл'ою* where the *ѡ* could be read as a *ло* and the *и* as a *m* (for similarity of the *и* and *m* in the cursive see Bogdan Horodyski, *Podręcznik paleografii ruskiej*, Cracow, 1951, pp. 52-53).

<sup>99</sup> Actually *wwrot* with the first *w* deleted.

<sup>99a</sup> An expression “apparently of a proverbial nature” (N. F. Sumcov, *Opyt istoričeskogo izučenija malorusskix poslovic*, Xarkiv, 1896, p. 7), not known from any other source. The distortion leading from “mouth” to a nonsensical “by fording” must have originated from misreading the Cyrillic cursive *вропъ* in which *в* could be very close to *б* and *м* close to *ð* (Horodyski, pp. 52–53).

<sup>100</sup> *E* was altered from *i*.

<sup>101</sup> Attacks on Germans in the MS were probably directed against King Sigismund III and his two Austrian wives, Ann and Constance, because it was their court which promoted German habits and language and favored Germans in the Commonwealth (cf. Siarczyński, vol. 1, 1843, pp. 64–65). That this was particularly disliked in the Commonwealth’s more conservative Lithuanian part was attested to by Trakai (Troki) Palatine M. K. Radziwiłł in his speech to the Diet in September 1593. Relating “the opinion of people *passim* in Lithuania,” he said that “the young Queen [Ann] has made the Polish nation detest her” by her preference for Germans. “These news were so thoroughly described by some senators in Lithuania that some were publicly discussed at meetings” (Diary of the 1593 Diet, the Main Archives of Old Records, Warsaw, “Potocki Public Archives” collection, unit 31, vol. 1, pp. 377, 380).

<sup>102</sup> The required form *toje* (cf. St and O) was probably misread from a Cyrillic *moe* in which the final letter could be similar to *m* in the cursive script (Horodyski, pp. 52–53).

<sup>103</sup> *Господаръ* was the traditional title of the Grand Dukes of Lithuania (Samuel Bogumił Linde, *Słownik języka polskiego*, vol. 2, L’viv, 1855, s.v. *Hospodar*).

<sup>103a</sup> The word is repeated as *личить* in a footnote.

<sup>104</sup> Sigismund II Augustus was proclaimed Grand Duke of Lithuania in 1529 (while he was 9 years old) and elected King of Poland in 1530. But the real power in both lands was exercised by his father, Sigismund I, till his death in 1548. Linguistically and culturally Sigismund II Augustus and his entourage were Polish and the establishment of a grand-ducal court by him at Vilnius before the end of the first half of the 16th c. precipitated the linguistic Polonization of the Grand Duchy (Lech Beynar, *Zygmut August na ziemiach dawn. W.Ks.Litewskiego*, Vilnius [between 1934 and 1939], p. 12; Jerzy Ochmański, *Historia Litwy*, Wrocław, 1967, p. 114).

<sup>105</sup> Or: *был*.

<sup>106</sup> The expected north-Ukrainian participle from *menytsja* = Polish *mienić się* (the *i*-conjugation) should be \**meneczyse* or, with the frequent confusion with the *e*-conjugation, \**menucczyse*. The incorrect *menuczysze*, etc., can be explained as a misreading of the Cyrillic cursive *менючысе* (for the similarity of *ю* and *у* see Horodyski, p. 53). Regarding the confusion of the -*i*- and -*e*- conjugations cf. *mowiat* (D, Cz 89) instead of \**mowiat* // \**mowet*. Such a replacement of ‘-ur’ for ‘-at’ // ‘-et’ is known, e.g., in the Ukrainian dialects west of Pyns’k (*Dyjalekt-tatarski atlas biełaruskaj movy*, Minsk, 1963, map 157).

<sup>107</sup> This is a reference to the Polish-Lithuanian Union of Lublin (1569), which replaced the separate existence of two states under one monarch with one dualistic state. During the Lublin Diet most of Podlachia and the whole of Volhynia as well as the Bracław palatinate, also known as Lithuanian Podolia, were transmitted by Sigismund II Augustus from the Grand Duchy of Lithuania to the Crown Land (Poland) as a punishment of Lithuanian lords who opposed the union. Later, during the same Diet also the Kyiv Ukraine was annexed to Poland.

<sup>108</sup> Sigismund I (the Old), King of Poland and Grand Duke of Lithuania from 1506 to 1548. He opposed the plans for a tight union of Poland and Lithuania, which may explain the MS author’s affection for his memory.

<sup>109</sup> An apostrophe between *t* and *j* is deleted.

<sup>110</sup> *Łuczsze* is altered from *tuczei* and the following *na* is deleted.

<sup>111</sup> The author seems to refer to the high caps of Turkic origin (called *kovpak* in Ukrainian) with tops dripping down the back (see the picture). "The form of a *kolpak* with a rather high narrowing top was probably adopted in Poland under the influence of the earlier vogue of such caps in the eastern Slavic lands (na Rusi)" (Maria Gutkowska-Rychlewska, *Historia ubiorów*, Wrocław . . . , 1968, p. 388).



a



b

A *kovpak*//*kolpak* from the Polish tryptych of Pławno, early 16th c. (a) and a similar contemporary Hungarian *kalpak* (b) (Gutkowska, p. 389).

<sup>112</sup> But the same word is given as *meneps* in a footnote.

<sup>113</sup> The -y- suffix is inserted into *na Smotrytsia*.

<sup>114</sup> The original probably had: *наможъ* (cf. B and fn. 169).

<sup>115</sup> This form is known from White-Ruthenian dialects of the Horadnia-Baranavičy area (F. P. Filin, *Proisxoždenie russkogo, ukrainskogo i belorusskogo jazykov*, Leningrad, 1972, p. 199). Also cf. *Sołodkojo* in Cz, phr. 112.

<sup>116</sup> This is not the only time when D uses an -*oju* desinenence instead of -*uju*, cf. phrases 57, 63, 94 and 104. A. A. Šaxmatov (*Istoricheskaja morfologija russkogo jazyka*, Moscow, 1957, pp. 323-24) noted similar confused forms from various east Slavic literary records (from the 11th c. on) and dialects and I. M. Kernyc'kyj found them in the Lemkian region of the 16th-17th c. (*Doslidžennja i materialy z ukrajins'koji movy*, vol. 5, Kyjiv, 1960, p. 100). They can also be found in Middle Ukrainian texts published by V. M. Rusanivs'kyj (*Ukrajins'ki hramoty XV st.*, Kyjiv, 1965, pp. 20-28); and in the interlude by J. Gawatowic of 1619 (M. Pavlyk, "Jakub Gavatovič [Gavat], avtor peršyx rus'kyx intermediy z 1619 r." *Zapysky Naukovoho Tovarystva im. Ševčenka*, vols. 35-36, L'viv, 1900, pp. 16-17).

<sup>117</sup> The Germans holding towns and estates in Livonia are most likely the local German nobility, mostly Protestants, whose rights to land grants and leaseholds from the Polish-Lithuanian King were gradually increased: in 1589 they were allowed to be granted small estates and castles, with the larger ones reserved for Poles and Lithuanians; in 1598 they were grudgingly allowed the rights to any estate and castle benefits only with the approval of the Senate; in 1607 they were given equal rights to all those and other privileges with Poles and Lithuanians, which they could enjoy also in the Lithuanian and Polish territory; and in the later phases of his war with Sweden (1600-1622) Sigismund III was compelled to favor the local German nobility in Livonia above Poles and Lithuanians (*Polska a Inflanty*, Gdynia, 1939, pp. 30, 39, 41, 80-85).

<sup>118</sup> Or: duze.

<sup>119</sup> Or: łycho.

<sup>120</sup> This word could just as well be translated "Senators," because they were called in Polish *Panowie Rada* "Lord Councilors" (Gloßer, vol. 4, pp. 222 ff.).

<sup>121</sup> Altered from: idiet.

<sup>122</sup> Altered from: skuwku.

<sup>123</sup> Altered from: ieho.

<sup>124</sup> Holding one's hands in pockets was considered indecent (and still is in some conservative eastern European homes). For example, *Польтика сельцака* ("Good manners among people") which appeared at Počajiv in 1770 (republished by M. Voznjak in *Ukraina*, Kyjiv, 1914, book 3, pp. 35-55) warned in point 4: "If your hands are empty keep them calmly before you and not behind you or in your pocket."

<sup>125</sup> Altered from: kapa . . .

<sup>125a</sup> Repeated as *ладонь* in a footnote.

<sup>126</sup> A sign of a sexual proposition among eastern Europeans even today (also known to some Americans, perhaps from eastern-European immigrants). Niemcewicz apparently did not know it, therefore he substituted "leg" (nodze) for "palm," which he probably did not feel to be indecent enough.

<sup>127</sup> Cf. "nuż toiu paličiu Hárast ioho po chrepty" in J. Gawatowic's interlude of 1619 (Pavlyk, p. 19).

<sup>128</sup> *Pohonj* or *Pohanj*; *byty* is altered from *buty* or, perhaps, vice versa; in addition, the distinction between *t* and *č* is unclear in the latter case.

<sup>128a</sup> Repeated as *нехайбы* in a footnote.

<sup>129</sup> A partial repetition because of the turn of a page.

<sup>130</sup> The Frenchman Henry de Valois, elected King of Poland in 1573, arrived there on January 24, 1574, and secretly left on March 26, 1574, to assume the throne of France. His short rule in Poland was marked by a lack of understanding between a king accustomed to autocracy and the Polish-Lithuanian noblemen's democracy. The MS demonstrates that popular level of eastern-European ethnographical knowledge, which regards any Westerner not speaking "our" language as *nímc'* "German," reinterpreted by folk etymology as "mute" (*nímýj*). Cf. this understanding of the word in P. Bilec'kyj-Nosenko, *Slovnyk ukrajins'koj movy*, Kyiv, 1966 (compiled in 1846). Likewise, in the 16th-17th c. Muscovy any person who did not speak Muscovite was called *nemec* (I. Ohijenko, *Ukrajins'ka kul'tura*, Kyiv, 1918, p. 241; J. H. Billington, *The Icon and the Axe: An Interpretative History of Russian culture*, London, 1966, p. 98).

Also *zamorskaia storona* has a vague meaning of any western country here (since contacts with western Europe often occurred through Gdańsk, a Baltic port in the Vistula estuary). Cf. *zamorczyk* in phr. 94. In reality Henry neither arrived nor fled by a sea route.

<sup>131</sup> Altered from: *sze . . . Szybunkowati* is the best variant if the word comes from German *Schiebung* "wangling," as we assume. It is a δπαξ λεγόμενον recorded in J. Karłowicz, A. Kryński, W. Niedzwiedzki, *Słownik języka polskiego*, vol. VI, Warsaw, 1915, s.v. *szabinkować*, from Niemcewicz's translation of the MS only, with a question mark in place of an explanation.

<sup>132</sup> The *Pacta conventa* of 1573 between the Polish-Lithuanian Diet and envoys of Henry de Valois stipulated that he "will bring with him no foreign people to live here, except a few whose work is useful in the household and whom he will soon send back after paying their salaries by himself; and he will not concede them any possessions or dignities or offices but will do so only to indigenous Poles, according to the laws of the Kingdom" (*Prawa, konstytucje . . .*, vol. 2, p. 862).

<sup>133</sup> Altered from: . . . *nął*.

<sup>134</sup> Or: *Załęka*.

<sup>135</sup> But it is repeated as *mymago* in a footnote.

<sup>136</sup> This was a Middle Ukrainian saying, e.g., in B. Zimorowic's (born in L'viv) *Sielanki nowe ruskie* (L'viv, 1663), full of Ukrainianisms, a Xmel'nyc'kyj Cossack says to a nobleman, Ostap, from the vicinity of L'viv:

ty Rusin, kotiucho, niedoszły,  
Bo mięsem lackim ruskie kości twe obrośły,  
Przeto jeśli się dostać chcesz z nami do nieba,  
Obić ci mięso lackie z kości ruskich trzeba.  
(you, dog, are a would-be Ruthenian,  
Because your bones are clothed with Polish flesh;  
So if you want to go to heaven with us  
Your Polish flesh should be knocked off your Ruthenian bones).  
("Sielanka" 15, lines 397-400)

And this is what Ukrainian Cossacks said to Adam Kysil', the Kyiv Palatine, in 1651: "Scimus quidem te esse os nostrum; sed videmus ossi Rutenico jam supercrevisse carnem Polonicam" ("Indeed we know that you are of our bone, but we see the Polish flesh already grown over the Ruthenian bone") (S. Grondski, *Historia belli Cosacco-Polonici*, Pest, 1789, p. 203).

<sup>137</sup> Or: *tlublat*.

<sup>138</sup> Or: *batamutnioju*.

<sup>139</sup> Or: *hublat*.

<sup>140</sup> Part of the local nobility in Podlachia (many of them Polonized) and Volhynia favored the annexation of their provinces to Poland for economic reasons (Hrušev's'kyj, *Istorija Ukrayiny*, vol. 4, pp. 379-81).

<sup>141</sup> We read this place (which was already unclear to St, hence its reinterpretation there) as: "Znaj nam prystupyo." The Cyrillic final *ü* could look like a *ю* to copyists. The meaning of the phrase — "something must have grabbed us" — though unrecorded in Ukrainian (or White-Ruthenian) dictionaries, can be established on the basis of the 16th-17th c. Ukrainian proverb *lacno (latvo) durovaty, koly prystupaje* "it's easy to behave like a fool if it grabs you" (*Nowa księga przysłów*, vol. 1, p. 507, but with a faulty explanation), cf. "Да тымся, стары, що тобъ приступило?" "Get a hold of yourself, old man, what's grabbing you?" (drama about Alexis, the Man of God, 1673-74, O. I. Bilec'kyj, *Xrestomatija davn'oji ukrajins'koji literatury (do kincia XVIII st.)*, 3d suppl. ed., Kyiv, 1967, p. 298). Modern continuations are: Galician *lacno šality, koly prystupaje* "it's easy to have a good fit of madness if it grabs you" (I. Mohyl'nyc'kyj, *Hrammatyka jazyk'a slaveno-rouskohõ*, 1823, in *Ukrain's'ko-rus'kyj arxiv*, vol. 5, L'viv, 1910, p. 212); Volhynian *dobre šality, koly prystupaje* "you have a good fit of madness if it grabs you" (J. I. Kraszewski, *Interesa familijne*, Warsaw, 1950, vol. 2, p. 6); Polissian *čomu ne šality, koly prystupaje?* "how can't you have a fit of madness if it grabs you?" (M. Konopnicka, a story of 1892, *Pisma wybrane*, vol. 3, Warsaw, 1951, p. 146); *čy ne prystupyo tobi, xvorobnyj?* "hasn't it grabbed you, you sickie?" (= *čy ne skazivsja ty?* "haven't you gone mad?") (*Ukrain's'ki narodni prysliv'ja ta prykazky*, Kyiv, 1963, p. 388). Also in White-Ruthenian: *čamu ni dureć (Saleć), kali prystupaje?* "how can't you have a fit of foolishness (madness) if it grabs you?" (M. Federowski, *Lud bialoruski*, vol. 4, Cracow, 1935, Nos. 2191 and 7831).

<sup>142</sup> Lithuanian complaints about Polish servants in Lithuania were typical in the 16th and 17th c. Cf. a letter by Prince Mikołaj Krzysztof Radziwiłł Sierotka, the Lithuanian Court Marshal (Marszałek Nadworny Litewski) of April 2, 1579 (*Scriptores rerum Polonicarum*, vol. 8, Cracow, 1885, p. 16).

<sup>143</sup> According to A. Brückner (*Słownik etymologiczny języka polskiego*, Cracow, 1927, p. 303) "in the 17th c. *fałendysz* started to give way to new cloths." This can be corroborated with a quotation from W. Potocki's *Poczet herbów szlachty Korony Polskiej i Wielkiego Księstwa Litewskiego* (Cracow, 1696):

Już nam nie tylko zbroje, nie tylko pancerze,  
Lecz suknie ciężą, bośmy odpruli kołnierze,  
Porzuciwszy fałandysz i granat natkany,  
Wiotche wzięli sukienka, ledwieby na ściany.  
("Na orla polskiego")

(No longer only armors and cuirasses  
But also dresses lie heavy on us, because we've ripped off our collars,  
Having abandoned "feinländisch" and dark blue cloth,  
We've taken thin cloths, barely fit for wall-tapestry.)

But, as usually happens, things abandoned by the upper strata sank into the lower ones (cf. fn. 170). In particular, *feinländisch* became a typical material worn by servants. Already in 1598 Ivan Vyšens'kyj, in his *Knyžka* (chapter 5), blamed Uniate bishops for dressing their servants in *feinländisch*: "вырванцов ваших, вам предстоящих, фалундышами, утринами и каразиями одѣваете, а красноглядством тых слуговин око накормите" ("you dress your nobodies who are in your presence in *feinländisch*, *uterfin* [another kind of thin cloth] and

*carisea* [Italian cloth] to feast your eyes on their pretty appearance") (*Tvory*, Kyiv, 1959, p. 86). Even in the 18th c. *feinlündisch* was still used for servants' coats (Dm. Iv. Dovgjallo [= Žm. Iv. Daūhiata], "Očerki bytovoj žizni Smolenska v pol'skuju èopoxu," *Smolenskaja starina*, vol. 1, pt. 2, Smolensk, 1911, p. 141).

An early Ukrainian attestation of the word is found in a Žytomyr act of 1582; Mykolaj Mel'čyc'kyj complained about Hryhorij Macevyč that he had robbed him, *inter alia*, of "єрмак зеленый фалундышовыи з шнурами папужастыми, коштовал таляров дванадцат" ("a green *feinlündisch* coat with parrot color laces; it cost twelve thalers"); another coat mentioned in that act cost only eight thalers (*Aktova knyha Žytomys'koho mis'koho urjadu kincja XVI st. (1582-1588 rr.)*, Kyiv, 1965, p. 44). But by 1651-52 *feinlündisch* fell to a lower class of materials: a (*fein*)*lündisch* coat cost only 15 groszy in Smolensk at that time whereas a white coat cost 6 zlotys (Dovgjallo, p. 151).

<sup>144</sup> Prosopesis from *hosподын* "gentleman, lord," like *spodar* from *hosподар* with a similar meaning (also "host").

<sup>145</sup> A similar scene was mentioned in A. Guagnini's (*Gwagnin*) *Kronika Sarmacji europejskiej* (translated by M. Paszkowski from Latin), Cracow, 1611, book I, p. 270: "A skoro pan do stołu, i studzy zarazem siadają swym porządkiem," etc. ("And as soon as the master sits down at the table so do the servants too"). Perhaps this prompted the copyist of O to claim that the MS was extracted from Guagnini's Chronicle. A "writer of the last years of the 16th c." made the same point about servants: "Służba z panem równo do stołu [siada]" ("Servants sit down at the table on a par with the master") (Władysław Łoziński, *Życie polskie w dawnych wiekach*, Cracow, 1958, p. 92).

<sup>146</sup> But it is repeated as *чортополоха* in a footnote.

<sup>147</sup> Complaints about the army, which billeted and fed itself at the expense of the population, were frequent in the Commonwealth (cf. phr. 38-45). But a complaint about lieutenants usurping civilian offices (such was the normal meaning of Polish *urzędy*, Ruthenian *срэды*) is rather unusual. The case can be understood if one cites the Diet resolution of 1527, which established the function of "praefecti militum, hoc est poruczniki." They were allowed to keep part of their soldiers' pay for themselves in case they had to reimburse civilians for damages caused by their subordinates. This created a temptation to seek this function for profit rather than because of patriotism or taste for military life. But to be a *porucznik* in a palatinat one had to possess some estates there (*Leges, statuta, constitutiones, privilegia Regni Poloniae, Magni Ducatus Lithuaniae, omniumque provinciarum annexarum*, vol. 1, Warsaw, 1732, pp. 473-74). The author uses *poruczyky* in such contexts that one has the impression of their being non-Lithuanian citizens. If this impression is true, then the explanation is this: adventurous Polish or other extraneous officers (e.g., Livonian and Prussian Germans) tried to get royal leaseholds on some estates in the Grand Duchy which then allowed them to become lieutenants, i.e., organizers of territorial troops, and thus have an additional source of income. "Our laws" invoked by the author are probably provisions of the Lithuanian Statute of 1588. According to its chapter 3, article 12, "in this state, the Grand Duchy of Lithuania, and in the lands belonging to it we [the King] shall not give ecclesiastical or secular dignities, towns, homesteads, lands, starost positions, leases, land and court offices, estates either to hold and use or to own forever to any foreigners, people from abroad or neighbors of this state but (. . .) only to Lithuanians, Ruthenians and Samogitians, ancient nationals and aborigines of the Grand Duchy of Lithuania" (Lappo, pt. 2, pp. 109-10). According to Lappo "neighbors" meant citizens of the Crown Land, i.e., mostly Poles. In view of this, there is no need to cite the much older resolution of the Diet at Horodło in 1386 which prohibited Poles to take permanent residence in Lithuania; that resolution was referred to by the editors of *Vestnik Jugozapadnoj i Zapadnoj Rossii*, vol. 1, 1862, section 1, p. 95, to explain this place in the MS.

<sup>148</sup> This phrase makes no sense unless we assume a distortion somewhere. The predicate *predyrayte oczy* obviously belongs to the next phrase. Because of the exhortative context (*poodýmat! predyrayte oczy!*) one would expect an exhortative verb here as well. This might be

\**Sterezyte* “guard!” which could be easily distorted into *Starbyie* in the Polish script.

If our previous assumption about the so called *porucznyky* being Poles is correct (see fn. 147), then this is a warning against their usurping land offices and royal leaseholds also in the Smolensk palatinat (cf. the addition “Poles” in B). This would challenge the privileges of the people already holding such offices and tenures in the palatinat, including the traditional privilege of accepting “gratuities,” baksheesh (*poklony*) from local subjects, foreign merchants, etc. (for the meaning of this word in the Grand Duchy cf. *Arxiv Jugo-Zapadnoj Rossii*, pt. 7, vol. 1, Kyiv, 1886, pp. 85, 96, 112; Matvej Ljubavskij, *Litovsko-russkij sejm*, Moscow, 1900, pp. 505-06, 562; Józef Łukaszewicz, *Dzieje kościołów wyznania helweckiego w Litwie*, vol. 1, Poznań, 1842, p. 88; also cf. Linde, s.v.).

Such a danger appeared in 1613 when the Diet passed a resolution stating that the King would give royal leaseholds to “nobles of the Polish and Lithuanian nation as well as to people of the Muscovite nation who have well observed their loyalty [to the Polish-Lithuanian King] in this Muscovite expedition” (*Prawa, konstytucje . . .*, vol. 3, 1735, p. 197). This was a violation of the above-quoted provision of the Lithuanian Statute (see fn. 147). For the influx of Poles to Smolensk see P. Nikitin, *Istorija goroda Smolenska*, Moscow, 1848, pp. 170-71, Appendices, pp. LXI-LXII.

<sup>149</sup> Livonia was annexed to the Grand Duchy of Lithuania in 1559-61 but the Union of Lublin in 1569 made it a joint Polish-Lithuanian possession, a fact that opened the gates for the influx of Poles to Livonian leaseholds and offices. Lithuanian complaints about the loss of Livonia were no less frequent than about the loss of Ukrainian lands (in both cases — partly or totally to Poland). After 1611 history seemed to repeat itself: the Smolensk province was annexed to Lithuania (of which it had previously been part until 1514) but the King actually treated it as a joint Polish-Lithuanian possession (see fn. 148).

The immediate reason for concern about Livonia in the time when the MS was written might have been the war over Livonia against Sweden (1600-1622) in which the Commonwealth lost most of its Livonian (Latvian) possessions.

<sup>150</sup> We understand this as a northern Middle Ukrainian continuation of the Old Ukrainian *из(д)радьно* “extraordinarily” (from the 11th c. on, I. I. Sreznevskij, *Materialy dlia slovarja drevnerusskogo jazyka*, vol. 1, St. Petersburg, 1893, s.v.).

<sup>151</sup> Or: zradme.

<sup>152</sup> *Dryhanty* were the most expensive horses at that period: whereas a working horse cost 15-20 zlotys in 1604 in the area of Berdyčiv (Volhynia) and a riding horse cost 50 zlotys, a *dryhant* cost 70 zlotys (Aleksander Jabłonowski, “Polska XVI wieku,” vol. 11, “Ziemie ruskie,” *Źródła dziejowe*, vol. 22, Warsaw, 1897, p. 384).

<sup>153</sup> Altered from: zýmu.

<sup>154</sup> Altered from: siano.

<sup>155</sup> Altered from: ni . . .

<sup>156</sup> Something deleted illegibly.

<sup>157</sup> Or: rzäl.

<sup>158</sup> But the missing *кобыль* is given in a footnote.

<sup>159</sup> Sumcov, “Reč Ivana Meleška . . .,” indicated a good parallel in Linde’s dictionary from P. Wężyk-Widawski’s satire *Lekarstwo na uzdrowienie Rzeczypospolitej* (Cracow, 1649, first ed. in 1603): “Kazałbym takowe dryganty, co około cudzych żon rząją, powałaszyć” (“I would order such studs gelded who neigh around other men’s wives”). Apparently the expression “to neigh around (to) girls (wives, women) like a stud” was proverbial. Also cf. “ks’ondzy do bab ščob ne iržaly” (“lest Catholic priests neighed to women”) in Ivan Kotljarev’skyj’s *Aeneid*, pt. 3, 1798 (*Povne zibrannja tvoriv*, Kyiv, 1969, p. 97).

<sup>160</sup> In 1648 Kyiv came under the control of Hetman Bohdan Xmel'nyc'kyj and practically became part of the Cossack state rather than of the Commonwealth (although a formal renunciation of Kyiv by the Commonwealth occurred as late as 1686).

<sup>161</sup> Altered from: ni . . .

<sup>161a</sup> It is repeated as *mpu* in a footnote.

<sup>162</sup> This place seems to confirm that the MS was written in the period of Sigismund III because “under Sigismund III watches (*zegarki*) cost three times sixty groszy” (Łukasz Gołębiowski, *Ubiory w Polszcze od najdawniejszych czasów aż do chwil obecnych*, Warsaw, 1830, p. 306). But it cannot be excluded that Gołębiowski's information was based on the MS.

<sup>163</sup> I.e., a western European (artisans and merchants in the Commonwealth's towns were Germans, French, Italians, Englishmen, Dutchmen, Scots, etc., not to mention such Orientals as Jews and Armenians). Noblemen were forbidden to indulge in professional commerce. For the vagueness of the idea “overseas” see fn. 130.

<sup>164</sup> Or: opołnoczý.

<sup>165</sup> Or: stratnaja.

<sup>165a</sup> Repeated as *no достаткомъ варыты* in a footnote.

<sup>166</sup> That goose was a favorite Ruthenian dish is confirmed by this quotation from L. Baranovyc's *Żywoty świętych* (Kyiv, 1670, apostrophe to a Pole):

Napiszesz li co po rusku,  
Rusin przyjmie to za husku.  
(If you write anything in Ruthenian,  
The Ruthenian will accept it like a goose [i.e., like a tidbit].)

<sup>167</sup> H. Pichura offered the following commentary on this: “As early as the 17th century, the praises of one of the great Byelorussian contributions to international cookery, duck stewed with green peppers, were being sung by Ivan Mialeška, castellan of Smolensk, and was served two centuries later by Alhierd Abuchovič (1814–1898) to his friends in Paris” (*The Journal of Byelorussian Studies*, vol. 3, no. 1, London, 1973, p. 98).

<sup>168</sup> Hruševs'kyj (*Istorija ukrajins'koji literatury*, vol. 5, p. 476) noted that this opposition is just humorous because malmsey was an expensive wine. It depends when. Malmsey might not have been very expensive in the 15th–16th c. when it was imported to the Ruthenian lands of the Commonwealth by the shortest route: from Greece via Moldavia (cf. the first mention of *малмазыя* in a Ukrainian-Moldavian document of 1449, *Slovnyk staroukrajins'koji movy XIV–XV st.*, vol. 1, Kyiv, 1977, s.v.). But because of a deterioration of relations with Moldavia and Turkey from the end of the 16th c. the import of malmsey was rerouted via Gdańsk, which fact must have boosted its price.

On the other hand, from 1578 on, the Commonwealth waged a kind of trade war with Hungary over Hungarian wine; whereas Hungary wanted the citizens of the Commonwealth to come to Hungary for wine and to pay Hungarian tariffs, the Commonwealth banned that under the threat of confiscation and compelled Hungarians to sell their wine in the Commonwealth so that it could profit from tariffs. This had to force also the price of Hungarian wine up; e.g., the Diet of 1620 established the ceiling price of Hungarian wine at 7.5 groszy, i.e., even higher than the price of malmsey in 1611 — 7 groszy (Żeglicki, pp. 742–45).

<sup>169</sup> We read this as: *wpered u switach* (*енепрѣ & сеумахъ* in the hypothetical Cyrillic original; the ꙗ may have been lost at the end of a line in the process of copying). Cf. a similar omission of a supralinear ꙗ in phr. 27 (see fn. 114).

<sup>169a</sup> Anticipatory addition under the influence of phrase 113. Cf. fn. 190.

<sup>170</sup> According to Brückner (*Słownik etymologiczny . . .*, p. 126) “*fortygal, fortugal*, a hoop skirt, crinoline, in the years 1580–1620.” If this dating were exact it might serve as a chronolog-

ical framework of the MS. But the object and its name were still in use in 1625 when an anonymous author of *Poprawa niektórych obyczajów polskich* mentioned that even wives and daughters of craftsmen in towns were parading “w portugalach” (Siarczyński, vol. I, p. 79). On the other hand, by the time a dress came down to common people it had usually been abandoned by the upper strata for something more stylish (cf. fn. 143).

In France, the *verdugade* // *verdugal(l)e* // *vertugal(l)e* // *portugalle* went out of use ca. 1620 (J. Morawski, “Polono-romanica: Pol. *fortygal*, *fortugal*, *portugal*, *fordygat*,” *Prace Komisji Filologicznej Poznańskiego Towarzystwa Przyjaciół Nauk*, vol. 4, Poznań, 1929, p. 115). The Polish word was borrowed from French (like English *farthingale* and the like).

<sup>171</sup> A tear in the text.

<sup>172</sup> Altered from: Radzi . . .

<sup>173</sup> Or: raczyt.

<sup>174</sup> Or: prypomnet.

<sup>175</sup> Or: prypomnet.

<sup>176</sup> We read the best texts (D and Cz) here as: “to szto Waszey Miłosti raczyły prypomnet” (the latter word with the northern Ukrainian change of the unstressed ē into an e).

<sup>177</sup> Or: bywałý.

<sup>178</sup> The y instead of u is a typical error of copyists from Cyrillic where y = Latin u (although the most frequent type was the & ligature).

<sup>179</sup> Or: tlrežulu. The person in question is Ursula Meierin, stewardess of the household, brought to Poland by Queen Ann the Austrian in 1592. Because of her great influence on Sigismund III, which gave rise even to gossip of her love affair with him (*Polski słownik biograficzny*, vol. 20, Wrocław, 1975, pp. 385-87), she is ironically called Queen in the MS. The image of Ursula Meierin at the side of the King at the Senate with her hand kissed by senators is a pure fantasy of the author. The scene of hand-kissing is real only as far as the King was concerned; this was a required ceremony at a joint session of both houses presided over by the King (Presiowski, p. 30).

<sup>180</sup> Broken off at the end of a line.

<sup>181</sup> We read this as *skazywaiut*, cf. the -iur ending in O, phr. 131. The error may come from the similarity of e and ю in the cursive Cyrillic (Horodyski, pp. 52-53).

<sup>182</sup> A proverb that is known in this or a similar form in all eastern Slavic languages and in Polish: White-Ruthenian “sivizna ū baradu, a čort u laški” (I. Nosovič, *Slovar' belorusskogo narečija*, St. Petersburg, 1870), “. . . rabrynu” (*Bielaruska-ruski slovník*, Moscow, 1962), Ukrainian “syvyna v borodu, a čort u rebro” (*Ukrajins'ko-rosijs'kyj slovnyk*, vol. 5, Kyiv, 1962), Russian “sedina v borodu, a bes v rebro” (ibidem), Polish “w brodzie siwizna, a diabet w sercu” (*Nowa księga przystów . . .*, vol. 3, 1972).

<sup>183</sup> Or: stawku.

<sup>184</sup> The expression “mene iak widomoho tych Spraw” is based on an old tradition regarding Lithuanian senators, cf. “панове рады наши Великого Князства Литовского, яко ведомые всих справъ” (“our senators of the Grand Duchy of Lithuania as knowledgeable about all matters”) from a letter of King Stephen Batory of April 29, 1580, to the nobility of the Grand Duchy (Lappo, Appendices, p. 128).

<sup>185</sup> This modest admission of limits to one's knowledge was a traditional *topos* at the end of some Diet or dietine speeches in the Commonwealth, e.g., “Jam ci tak mówił, jakom pomniał a umiał” (“I have spoken as I have remembered and known how”) from the speech of Stanisław Orzechowski at a dietine in 1566 (*Wybór mów staropolskich*, ed. by Nadolski, p. 168).

<sup>186</sup> Or: bołamutiaczy.

<sup>187</sup> Altered from: Skazye.

<sup>188</sup> The following phrases are meant: 9, 10 (znawały – znali), 31 (Imion – miest), 33 (popołacku – po polsku), 41, 72 (Żonoju, Żony – żonkoi, żonki), 44 (chychał – słychał), 45 (buty, obviously incomprehensible to the copyist and editor of the WRG protograph – mordy), 47 (szczosmy – czo my), 49 (nekazauszsia – ne okazawszsia), 54 (da pak – odnak), 66 (da – i), 70 (błaho – słabo), 71 (z dwora – z domu), 72 (prytesaietse – pryłaskajetsia), 86 (ieslisz – a koliz), 96 (stratnaja – strasznaja), 104 (zobały – dziubali), 124 (bywaty – było), 139 (skazetli – Zkazały); and, on the other hand, 13 (krom – procz), 22 (nosili – нашивали), 41, 101 (albo – ili), 80 (roznych – raznych), 109 (czy – ili). But if we assume a Russian influence on the WRG, as we probably have to (see p. 92), then the WRG elements in phr. 41, 101, 80 and 109 should be considered more modern, banal and frequent (*lectiones faciliores*) and the number of *lectiones difficiliores* in the WRG will drop from 6 to merely 2.

<sup>189</sup> Phrase 19: *horazdo* and the like; and probably phr. 78: *mieczniki* (see p. 91).

<sup>190</sup> The following phrases are meant: 43 (kułakom w mordu, cf. 61), 51 (korol, cf. 46), 81 (sztuka, cf. 28) and 114 (ubieralisja, cf. 24). The repetition of an element by anticipation (as, possibly, in phr. 43) may suggest that the MS was heard or read many times and nearly memorized before being copied (and, by the same token, may be a testimony to its popularity). Cf. fn. 169a.

<sup>191</sup> Cf. B. Strumiński, review of L. M. Šakun's *Narysy historyi bielarskaj litaraturnaj movy* in *Slavia Orientalis*, Warsaw, 1962, p. 428, where 1654 (misprinted 1644) was assumed to be the *terminus ad quem* of the MS in general.

<sup>192</sup> E. Blinava, Je. Miacielskaja, *Bielarskaja dyjalektalohija*, Minsk, 1969, p. 75 (-och is said to be rare in feminine in the south-western White-Ruthenian dialects; examples *u chustkoch* “in kerchiefs” and *pa diaūkoch* “to girls” are given from the Stuck area).

<sup>193</sup> K and KK agree with St, O, P in this case, perhaps due to the ease with which *tyie*, *szto* (cf. B) and *tyież to* (cf. St) could be confused audially in unrelated texts; S omits the element in question.

<sup>194</sup> Paul Maas (*Textkritik*, 4th ed., Leipzig, 1960, pp. 8-9) says that contamination happens not so much because a copyist uses two underlying texts (which is burdensome) but rather because he uses a manuscript with variants from another one on margins or between the lines. In our case another explanation is possible: a copyist partly memorizes the very popular (cf. fn. 190) and rather brief MS from source X (no matter whether written or oral) and then copies it from source Y.

<sup>195</sup> P. S. Lysenko, *Slovnyk polis'kyx hovoriv*, Kyjiv, 1974, p. 12.

<sup>196</sup> The word has been known in Russian since the 15th or 16th century (M. Vasmer, *Russisches etymologisches Wörterbuch*, vol. 4, Heidelberg, 1958, s.v.). Now it is a substandard Russianism in eastern Ukrainian that was still unknown in 1737, as can be seen from Mytrofan Dovhalev's'kyj's interlude played in Kyjiv at that time. A Muscovite proposes: “Как жя, чупрун, не купиш ти етой шляпы?” (“So how about that, Bohunk, won't you buy this hat?”), to which a Ukrainian peasant replies: “I пѣды, пестелюго, не видали шкапы!” (“Go to hell, dog! Big deal: a jade!”) (*Ukrain's'ki intermediji XVII-XVIII st.*, Kyjiv, 1960, p. 133).

<sup>197</sup> This Old Bulgarian word was also known in Old Ukrainian literature but it seems to have gone out of use in Middle Ukrainian, e.g., Lavrentij Zyzanij in 1596 translated the Church Slavonic *canozъ* as an incomprehensible word with the Poionism *бомъ* (*Leksys Lavrentija Zyzanija: Synonima slavenorosskaja*, Kyjiv, 1964, p. 74).

<sup>198</sup> In Russia it was borrowed from Polish and distorted into *porutčik*, *poruččik*, *poručik* in the first half of the 17th c. (first recorded in 1647) (Vasmer, Russian ed. by O. P. Trubačev, vol. 3, Moscow, 1971, p. 336).

<sup>199</sup> *Peršodruk Ivan Fedorov ta joho poslidovnyky na Ukrajini (XVI – perša polovyna XVII st.): Zbirnyk dokumentiv*, Kyjiv, 1975, p. 106.

<sup>200</sup> *Prawa, konstytucje . . .*, vol. 7, 1732, p. 23 (quoted after Linde, s.v. *Rosya*).

<sup>201</sup> Vladimir Dal', *Tolkovyj slovar' živogo velikorusskogo jazyka*, vol. 4, St. Petersburg; V. N. Dobrovolskij, *Smolenskij oblastnoj slovar'*, Smolensk, 1914. The geography of the word in the Ukraine can be roughly established on the basis of Bilec'kyj-Nosenko; *Slovar' ukrajins'koji movy*, ed. by B. Hrinčenko, vol. 4, Kyjiv, 1909; *Ukrajins'ko-rosijs'kyj slovnyk*, vol. 6, 1963; P. S. Lysenko, *Slovnyk dialektinoji leksyky seredn'oho i sxiidnoho Polissja*, Kyjiv, 1961; idem, *Slovnyk polis'kyx hovoriv*; F. T. Žylko, *Narysy z dialektolohiji ukrajins'koji movy*, Kyjiv, 1966, p. 157. The word crosses the Dnieper in the western direction (towards Ovruch, etc.).

<sup>202</sup> B has only one *het*-pronoun: *zemakogo* (phr. 43).

<sup>203</sup> P. Buzuk, *Sproba linhvistichnaje heohrafií Bielarusi*, pt. 1, vol. 1, Minsk, 1928, map 11; *Dyjalektalahičny atlas . . .*, map 49.

<sup>204</sup> Karskij, *Belorusy: Jazyk . . .*, vol. 1, pp. 306–14.

<sup>205</sup> *Dyjalektalahičny atlas . . .*, map 42.

<sup>206</sup> *Денъга* was a 15th-c. borrowing from Tatar-Turkic into the language of the Grand Duchy of Lithuania (attested to in 1499–1500) but went into disuse during the 16th and 17th c. (Linde cites *dzięgi* only as Muscovite money from the early 17th c. on). The word started to reenter the eastern Ukrainian language in the early 18th c. under the Russian influence (*Istoryčnyj slovnyk ukrajins'koho jazyka*, ed. by E. Tymčenko, vol. 1, Xarkiv-Kyjiv, 1930, s.v.). In Ch it could constitute a mere Russian addition, not an old native Ukrainian-White-Ruthenian element.

<sup>207</sup> Immediately after the second partition Russia created the Orthodox Minsk eparchy with the purpose of converting the Uniates to Orthodoxy. Priests were brought mostly from the eastern Ukraine but some hierarchs also from Russia (I. Pokrovskij, *Russkie ēparxii v XVI-XIX vv.: Ix otkrytie, sostav i predely*, vol. 2, Kazan', 1913, p. 747). Of the places mentioned in the MS, Mozyr became part of that eparchy.

<sup>208</sup> *Slovar' russkogo jazyka XI-XVII vv.*, vol. 8, Moscow, 1981, s.v.

<sup>209</sup> L. A. Bulaxov's'kyj, *Pytannja poxodžennja ukrajins'koji movy*, Kyjiv, 1956, p. 163.

<sup>210</sup> Karol Mecherzyński, *Historia wymowy w Polsce*, vol. 1, Cracow, 1856, pp. 586–87.

<sup>211</sup> Sumcov, "Reč' Ivana Meleška . . ." p. 207.

<sup>212</sup> Linde, vol. 5, 1859, s.v.

<sup>213</sup> Niemcewicz, *Dzieje panowania Zygmunta III*, vol. 3, p. 4.

<sup>214</sup> Well-attested to in many Ukrainian dictionaries (including Tymčenko's) and dialectological sources as a Severian, Poltavian, central Ukrainian and Galician word. We lack its attestation from the northern part of the Rivne oblast where the MS author might have been born but, in any case, it is used in dialects of the southern part of that oblast. (We are indebted for this information to Mr. Yaroslav Harchun of Toronto, a native of the Dubno area.)

<sup>215</sup> *Dyjalektalahičny atlas . . .*, map 34; P. I. Prystupa, "Refleksy davn'oho nahološenoho č na terytoriji zaxidnyx hovoriv ukrajins'koji movy," *Doslidžennja i materialy z ukrajins'koji movy*, vol. 4, 1961, map between pp. 150 and 151.

<sup>216</sup> Žylko, map 20.

<sup>217</sup> Žylko, p. 147, map 4 (one of the examples in it — *s'ol'oju* — is identical with \**cwa'oo* in the MS, phr. 9).

<sup>218</sup> *Dyjalektalahičny atlas . . .*, map 173; F. T. Žylko, *Hovory ukrajins'koji movy*, Kyiv, 1958, map 4; Lysenko, *Slovyk polis'kyx hovoriv*, p. 14; N. J. Marčuk, "Dijeslivni formy ukrajins'-koji literaturnoji movy v jix zv"jazkax z narodnymy hovoram," *Ukrajins'ka literaturna mova v jiji vzajemodiji z terytorial'nymy dialektamy*, Kyiv, 1977, p. 147.

<sup>219</sup> For its White-Ruthenian scope not covered by our map see K. Moszyński, *Polesie wschodnie*, Warsaw, 1928, p. 37 (the area of Račycia); J. F. Markievič, "Leksika pčalarstva", *Z narodnaho slovnika*, Minsk, 1975, p. 209 (the area of Rahačoū). The word is also cited by Dal' in his Russian dictionary without any location. But he often included White-Ruthenian and Ukrainian border materials.

<sup>220</sup> To Pamvo Berynda in 1627 (*Leksykon slavenoros'kyj Pamvy Beryndy*, Kyiv, 1961, p. 104) *neməxb* was a "Lithuanian" word and Linde also quotes *pietuch* in a Lithuanian context (from *Kronika litewska* by M. Stryjkowski, 1582). Its present geography in White Ruthenia is shown by *Dyjalektalahičny atlas . . .*, map 294.

<sup>221</sup> For more information about *petux* in the Ukrainian western Polissia see Józef Tarnacki, *Studio porównawcze nad geografią wyrazów (Polesie–Mazowsze)*, Warsaw, 1939, map 172.

<sup>222</sup> P. S. Lysenko, "Fonetyčni i morfolohični osoblyvosti hovirok Dymers'koho rajonu na Kyjivščyni," *Poltav'sko-kyjiv'skyj dialekt — osnova ukrajins'koji nacional'noji movy*, Kyiv, 1954, p. 89; idem, *Slovyk polis'kyx hovoriv*, p. 14; T. V. Nazarova, "Dejaki fonetyčni hiperizmy v ukrajins'kyx hovirkax nyžn'oji Pryp"jati," *Dialektolohičnyj bjuletén*, vol. 8, Kyiv, 1961, p. 22; Žylko, *Narysy . . .*, p. 106.

<sup>223</sup> Nikolaj Durnovo, *Xrestomatija po malorusskoj dialektologii*, Moscow, 1913, pp. 23-28; *Hovory ukrajins'koji movy (Zbirnyk tekstiv)*, Kyiv, 1977, pp. 59, 62, 64-65, 67, 69, 72.

<sup>224</sup> Here we repudiate our own view that it was easier to attribute the MS to I. Meleško after his death (Strumiński, p. 428).

<sup>225</sup> Ivan Kryp"jakevyč, "Studiji nad deržavoju Bohdana Xmel'nyc'koho," *Zapysky Naukovoho Tovarystva im. Ševčenka*, vol. 147, 1927, pp. 75-76.

<sup>226</sup> In 1637 senators in Warsaw told Muscovite envoys: "the Polish and Lithuanian nations (. . .), especially palatines and starosts of border towns [in the Smolensk area], are not accustomed to the Ruthenian script because border towns are given to soldierlike men who, though familiar with and skilled in military affairs, have not studied the Ruthenian script" (*Akty, otnosjaščiesja k istorii Južnoj i Zapadnoj Rossii*, vol. 5, 1853, p. 28).

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