

УДК 81'27'276.1-112(477+438)

POLISH-UKRAINIAN LANGUAGE CONTACTS IN OLD ANTHROPNOMY OF THE CLASS SOCIETY - AN OVERVIEW

Irena Mytnik

*University of Warsaw
Krakowskie Przedmieście, 26/28, Warsaw, 00-927, Poland
inka_wer@o2.pl*

The article presents Polish-Ukrainian reciprocal influence mirrored in anthroponymy of ancient class society and their connection with political and cultural situation as well as Polish colonization of the Ukrainian territory which used to be a part of Rzeczpospolita. Interlingual interference phenomena are described on the basis of numerous sources.

Key words: class society, language coexistence, languages reciprocal influence, hybrid formations, anthroponomical system.

Centuries of geographic proximity and contacts between Poland and Ukraine have left their mark on the languages of the two nations, particularly in the form of mutual linguistic interference. Excellent examples of those processes can be found in studies of historical personal naming patterns of the Polish-Ukrainian borderland and other areas of the south-eastern outskirts of Poland, where representatives of the Ukrainian and Polish cultures coexisted for centuries.

Signs of Polish-Ukrainian language contacts reflected in anthroponymy can be traced back to the Middle Ages. Those earliest interferences can be investigated by analyzing the resources of Taszycki's the Dictionary of Old Polish Personal Names [16], a work of fundamental importance for students of past personal naming styles in western Ukraine as well as in Poland. The Dictionary of 14th & 15th Centuries Old Ukrainian Language [14] is another valuable source of anthroponymic data, while studies of later contacts draw on the on-going publication of successive volumes of the Dictionary of 16th–18th Centuries Ukrainian Language [15] and numerous old prints, documents issued by royal chancelleries, court books and inventories of estates and towns, all of which can mostly be found in archival collections.

Polish-Ukrainian contacts in anthroponymy have been the subject of onomastic research for a number of years. These studies rely on a wealth of interesting materials obtained from various parts of old Ukraine and the Polish-Ukrainian ethnocultural borderland. However, a comprehensive reference work on mutual linguistic influences in personal naming patterns has yet to be written. This ultimate review will necessarily follow the publication of monographs of still unexplored regions. The present paper is an attempt to familiarise the reader with the nature and extent of mutual contacts of the Polish and Ukrainian anthroponymic systems between the 15th and 18th centuries. It draws on research by the present author as well as studies by other Polish onomatologists who shaped the direction of the study of personal naming styles in old Ukraine and borderland areas. This represents a major contribution to our knowledge of Polish- Ukrainian language contacts.

Sources of data on 15th century personal names comprise monographs on the anthroponymy of the Przemyśl and Sanok regions (now in Poland) and the Halich and Lviv regions (now in Ukraine) by J. Rieger [8; 9], and W. Szulowska [10].

J. Rieger studied naming styles among peasantry, attempting to identify a linguistic border between Poland and Ukraine. He found a vivid presence of Polish language influences in the anthroponymy of this region, linking it among others things to Polish colonisation after 1340 and 1366, when the Halich Rus and part of Volodimir Rus were finally annexed to the Polish Crown. At the same time, J. Rieger claimed that the presence of Ukrainian elements in the anthroponymy of this part of the borderland stemmed from more diverse reasons than just the subsequent migration of Rus (Ukrainian) people to the West. In his view, the area had been ethnically heterogeneous even before the 14th century events. J. Rieger's studies classify the Przemyśl and Sanok regions as a linguocultural transitional zone, with a marked preponderance of Ukrainian elements in the eastern and central parts of this area and a dominance of Polish elements in the western part. The dominant morphological features of naming styles included the presence of the suffix *-ko* in Ukrainian personal names and of the suffix *-ek* in the Polish name stock. Mutual contacts and interference were attested by numerous hybrid forms at the phonetic/phonological, derivational and appellative (lexical) levels.

Ethnolinguistic relations were somewhat different in the Halich and Lviv regions at that time. In her analysis of data on anthroponymic formulae among nobility and peasantry, W. Szulowska demonstrated a predominance of Ukrainian forms in these areas with some distinct evidence of naming styles of Polish origin. Baptismal names among the nobility included both those typically associated with the Roman Catholic Church and those linked with the Orthodox tradition, with Rus elements prevailing by and large in the naming practices of peasants. As regards derivational components, the most common pattern was that using the suffix *-ko*, characteristic of Ukrainian anthroponymy. The suffix *-ek* was mostly found in names of apparent Polish origin, mainly in Latin-Polish baptismal names. Nicknames included many Polish influences alongside Ukrainian appellations. Hybrid names were also registered, occurring more abundantly in the western part of the Rus voivodeship.

A great deal of valuable information regarding mutual Polish-Ukrainian language contacts can be obtained from studies on naming practices in the then Volynia voivodeship [7]. Following the Union of Lublin of 1569, which unified the Kingdom of Poland and the Lithuanian Grand Duchy into one polity, Volynia, like most of the Ukrainian lands of that time, became part of the Republic of Both Nations. This had a significant influence on the ethnic make-up of these areas. Polish nobility joined by peasants and burghers gradually settled in Ukrainian lands, owning or administering landed estates there. These changes had a direct effect on naming practices in those areas.

Studies of personal names of the citizens of Kremenec, a major town in the old Volynia region, bear testimony to the co-existence of these two ethnic influences and the different language systems [4; 5]. 16th-century town inventories contain mostly Ukrainian-derived anthroponyms. Names of Polish origin occur quite numerously, being represented mostly by nicknames, such as *Gamrat*, *Rayca* or *Ligiedza*, or baptismal names, the most frequent of which were: *Andrzej*, *Bartosz*, *Jendrzey*, *Jakub*, *Jerzy*, *Maciej*, *Marcin*, *Paweł*, *Piotr*, *Tomek*, and *Woyciech*. Hybrid formations constituted an interesting group directly reflecting the interference processes. The effect of Ukrainian anthroponymy on Polish naming styles is shown by names derived from Polish etymons by addition of the Ukrainian word-formation morpheme *-ko* ex. *Gresko* and in naming formulae combining Polish baptismal names with Ukrainian identifiers derived from appellatives or other per-

sonal names, examples including *Marcin Czobotar*, *Piotr Dubeykowicz*, *Maciej Iwanycz*, *Maciej Hluboki*, or *Jakub Lichowid*. The reverse influence is illustrated by anthroponyms representing a combination of a baptismal name from the Russian Orthodox calendar and a surname form of Polish origin, usually derived from a common noun, for example *Nikon Grzebiennik*, *Ziemiec Kieździerzawy*, *Procyk Siedlarz*, or *Ignat Strzelnik*. Another illustration of the influence is the use of anthroponyms derived from Ukrainian bases ending with Polish word-formation morphemes like *-ek* or *-ic*, the latter representing a Polish phonetic variety of the East Slavonic suffix *-ycz*, e.g. *Dmitrek*, *Hrynczek*, *Kuziaczyc*, *Kuzniecycz*.

Polish-Ukrainian language interference in the Volynia area is also attested by personal names indicating occupations that are found in naming formulae used among burghers, more rarely among peasants. Those formations were important personal identifiers that played a significant role in the development of surnames. Documents from the 16th to 18th centuries contain almost 240 names referring to occupations. The high number of such names in the anthroponymic stock of the Volynia area, especially in the 17th century, was attributable to the geographic situation of these lands, located along main trade routes from Lviv to Moscow and from the Kiev and Braclav voivodeships to Poland, and to the growing urban development, since cities were the main centres of crafts and industry as well as trade. Most names of occupations used as surnames were derived from Polish words, cf. *Woiczech Papiernik*, *Trebcz*, *Adam Wołownik*, or *Woytko Wrotny*. This rather insignificant predominance, a token of the Polish presence in the area of old Volynia, was particularly evident in the 17th century and was related to the Polish colonisation of these areas. The material analysed in this study, although limited to one semantic area, provide a very good illustration of the bicultural character of old Volynia. One can see a co-existence of forms of Ukrainian and Polish origin, an interesting example of which is a series of synonyms found in surnames and derived from both languages, e. g. *barber* – *balwierz* – *cyrulik* – *doktor*; *beekeeper* – *bortnyk* – *pasiecznyk* – *bartnik* – *pasiecznik*; *shoemaker* – *czobotar* – *szweć* – *szewc*; *cartwright* – *kolisnyk* – *stelmach* – *koleśnik*, *boiler* – *smith* – *kotliar* – *kotelnyk* – *kotelny* – *kotlarz*; *stall* – *keeper* – *kramar* – *kramarz* – *kramnik* – *budnik*; *fisherman* – *rybak* – *rybalka* – *rybołow* – *rybitw*; *brewer* – *śłodownyk* – *pywowar* – *piwowarz*; *goldsmith* – *złotar* – *złotnyk* – *złotnik* – *złotarz*.

Another set of examples that illustrates the Polish-Ukrainian linguistic interaction is obtained by an analyzing the naming practices among nobility in the Volynia area, where the home estates of the most powerful Ukrainian ducal families were concentrated. The most common type of personal identifier in this social group was that derived from place names using the suffix *-ski*, accounting for ca. 67% of all surnames from the 16th to the 18th century. The earliest written accounts of place-derived identifiers in Rus anthroponymy were registered already in early Middle Ages, when their sole purpose was to identify the local elite. This usage became increasingly more popular within this social stratum in later centuries. One reason behind the growing popularity of place-derived identifiers was probably the influence of Polish, which was intensified particularly following the re-annexation of Red Rus by the Crown in the second half of the 14th century. This hypothesis was confirmed in studies of 15th century naming styles among nobility in the Halich and Lvov regions [10]. Another period of intensified Polish influence, in the second half of the 16th century, was the result of massive settlement in Ukraine of Polish nobility bearing surnames with the suffix *-ski*, derived from the names of their estates. However, a large proportion of the Ukrainian elite were polonised due to marriage to daughters of Polish magnates as well as through conversion to Catholicism, which aided the convert in making a political career in Poland in those times and became particularly popular following the

church union of 1596. Those Ukrainians greatly contributed to the shape the politics and to develop Polish culture. The linguistic offshoot of those processes was the practice of assuming names according to the Western calendar. Records of Polish-sounding names in this region became most frequent starting from the first half of the 17th century, primarily in the ducal families of the Wiśniowieckis and Czartoryskis, but also among the Woronieckis, Zbaraskis, Sanguszkos, Koreckis, Różyńskis and Chowańskis. Interestingly, some of those appellations were names given to dukes of Mazovia and Silesia: *Janusz, Jerzy, Adam, Jan, Karol, Krzysztof, Stanisław, Bonifacy, Franciszek, Jakub, Mateusz, Władysław, or Zygmunt*. In this way, Ukrainian society lost a large part of its elite and the Ukrainian anthroponymic system was partially deprived of a model to follow, an exemplar that could influence indigenous naming practices. The result was the increased popularity of naming patterns typically associated with peasantry, that is patronymics ending in *-uk* and *-enko*, and nicknames [13: 464].

Other Polish influences included the use of heraldic forms among Ukrainian nobility. There was no heraldic tradition in Ukraine until the second half of the 16th century, even though Rus dukes and boyars had been using their own family symbols from the earliest times. Increased interest in heraldics in Ukraine arose as a consequence of the influence of Polish culture and the settlement of Polish armigerous nobility, from whom Ukrainian nobility willingly borrowed coat-of-arms and often used them alongside their own. Heraldic appellations were rarely used as identifiers together with family names, and even less frequently as surnames. Still, they could be found in the personal identifier stock of Ukrainian nobility in Volynia as early as the beginning of the 15th century, examples including *Iwan Kierdej, or Andrej Chmara Miłowski z Miłowicz*.

More evidence of mutual Polish-Ukrainian linguistic influences comes from the analysis of naming practices among Polish nobility in Volynia, whose settlement in the region increased from the second half of the 16th century. The means and practices of personal identification in this group were actually closely tied to an all-Polish anthroponymic system, to the basic difference lying in the language resources available for use, and, most importantly, to the Ukrainian origin of some of the place-derived surnames that the Polish nobility used which was derived from the names of localities acquired in Ukraine or leased estates. Another group was formed by names and surnames representing Ukrainian loanwords in the Polish naming system, usually given to Polonised nobility in the Volynia area. Such loanwords were transferred and phonetically assimilated in the Polish system. They can also be found in the naming styles popular in other regions of old Ukraine [13]. Studies of naming practices in the Volynia area confirm the observation of the two authors that the already very evident model of Polish nobility surnames ending in *-ski* was additionally reinforced under the Ukrainian influence [13: 464].

The Chełm region (now part of Poland) of the 18th century may serve as another example of an area where elements of the Polish and Ukrainian language systems had rubbed shoulders and influenced each other for centuries [2: 153–159; 3: 433–454]. The resulting anthroponymic system was marked by a wealth of forms and linguistic diversity. Polish names, e.g. *Berbeć, Smoluch, Chudziak, Bednarczyk*, were used alongside the Ukrainian appellations. Most of the latter, about 70% of the appellations, were derivatives. The most frequently encountered were the typical Ukrainian patronymics ending in *-uk*, a suffix most productive west of the river Dnipro. Other patronymics utilised the suffixes *-ow/-in* and *-ek*. Ukrainian appellatives and proper nouns were also widely used to form surnames, e.g. *Bakun, Chwedczuk, Onyszkow, Kuzłuk, Hołowa, Dydiuch*. Thus, personal naming styles serve as yet another example of the coexistence of cultures, a phenomenon

typically associated with borderland areas. There is also evidence of language interference, as shown by the existence, alongside purely Ukrainian or Polish forms, of a number of hybrid personal identifiers with bilingual structural features and derivation patterns. In this case the most numerous group comprises anthroponyms consisting of Polish bases and Ukrainian anthroponymic morphemes, most notably -'uk, e. g. *Barczuk*, *Gresiuk*, *Iędrzejuk*, *Maciejczuk*, *Przędziuk*, *Rękasiuk*, or *Wojtaszuk*, and names of married women derived from their husbands' surnames with the popular borderland Ukrainian suffix -*icha*, e. g. *Dziąbrzycha*, *Mrozicha*, or *Wojtycha*. Another type of hybrid formations includes names consisting of Ukrainian bases and Polish morphemes, the latter mostly represented by the suffix -*ek*, such as *Hohubek* or *Iwanek*. The interpenetration of elements of the Polish and Ukrainian systems was also reflected in the structure of personal identifiers, including both word-formation and phonetic or phonological planes. The most notable aspect of morphological interference was the expansion of the Ukrainian morpheme -'uk, while phonetic interference was marked by a stronger influence of Polish elements, resulting in the polonisation of Ukrainian phonetic features.

As can be seen, patronymics ending in -'uk, which dominated in western Ukraine in the 18th century, had a marked influence on Polish naming patterns in the borderland area. On the other hand, Polish anthroponymic formulae at that time influenced Ukrainian naming practices in the western part of the Rus voivodeship, as shown by the study of E. Wolnicz-Pawłowska [11]. One result of these influences was the high productivity of the suffix -*ak*, which was used to form Ukrainian patronymics, particularly in western Ukraine as late as the 16th century [6: 86–87].

Mutual Polish-Ukrainian linguistic influences could also be seen in the south, i. e. in the Polish-Slovakian-Lemko borderland, where the Lemko people, of Ukrainian descent, migrated in the 14th century. In her study of naming practices in this region from the 16th to 19th century, E. Wolnicz-Pawłowska [12], determined the extent of the interaction of the three anthroponymic systems. She attributed the presence of -*icha*-suffixed names of married women to the influence of the Lemko (Ukrainian) culture. As I have mentioned, this influence can be seen all across the Polish-Ukrainian borderland. The Polish influence on Lemko anthroponyms was reflected in the occurrence of names and surnames borrowed from the Polish system and, among upper social classes, also in the finding of synthetic place-derived surnames which were so characteristic of Polish anthroponymy.

The historical ties between Poland and Ukraine, which were especially strong in the 17th and 18th centuries, naturally influenced personal naming patterns in old Ukraine as well as in the Polish-Ukrainian borderland, where members of the two nations had lived side by side for centuries. Inventories of personal names from various regions of old Ukraine, especially west of the Dnipro, include numerous examples of forms of Polish origin [1: 91–96], mainly first names, even those given to Ukrainian people. Some even entered the inventory of names regarded as indigenous, which explains their presence on lists of saints and in prayers for the souls of the dead [6: 340]. Ukrainians also bore a number of Polish surnames. Poles, in turn, borrowed first names and certain word-formation patterns, including the endings -'uk and -*icha*, so common all along the borderland. Linguistic interference was naturally an essential feature of naming practices in ethnically diversified, bilingual areas, both of old Ukraine and the borderland.

Further research is required to enable a more exhaustive treatment of Polish-Ukrainian linguistic contacts in anthroponymy. There is a need for more onomatological monographs about the Polish-Ukrainian borderland and other regions of old Ukraine.

Polish and Ukrainian archives house rich and yet unexplored collections waiting for onomatologists to study them.

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ПОЛЬСЬКО-УКРАЇНСЬКІ МОВНІ КОНТАКТИ В ДАВНІЙ АНТРОПОНІМІЇ СТАНОВОГО СУСПІЛЬСТВА – ОГЛЯД

Ірена Митнік

*Варшавський університет
Краківське Передмістя, 26/28, Варшава, 00-927, Польща
inka_wer@o2.pl*

У статті представлено польсько-українські міжмовні взаємовпливи, віддзеркалені в антропонимії давнього станового суспільства, та їхній зв'язок із політично-культурною ситуацією і польською колонізацією української території, яка входила до складу Речі Посполитої. Явища міжмовної інтерференції описано на багатій джерельній базі.

Ключові слова: станове суспільство, співіснування мов, міжмовні взаємовпливи, гібридні утворення, антропонімна система.

**ПОЛЬСКО-УКРАИНСКИЕ ЯЗЫКОВЫЕ КОНТАКТЫ В ДРЕВНЕЙ
АНТРОПОНИМИИ СОСЛОВНОГО ОБЩЕСТВА – ОБЗОР**

Ирена Мытник

*Варшавский университет
Краковское Предместье, 26/28, Варшава, 00-927, Польша
inka_wer@o2.pl*

В статье представлены польско-украинские межъязыковые взаимовлияния, отраженные в антропонимии давнего сословного общества, и их связь с политико-культурной ситуацией и польской колонизацией украинской территории, входившей в состав Речи Посполитой. Явления межъязыковой интерференции описаны на богатом исследовательском материале.

Ключевые слова: сословное общество, сосуществование языков, межъязыковые взаимовлияния, гибридные образования, антропонимная система.

Стаття надійшла до редколегії 17.06.2010

Прийнята до друку 17.09.2010