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Nearby Ukraine...

Choronyms related to Ukraine in Polish phraseology

Summary. The article discusses lexical combinations (phrasemes, proverbs) which contain a choronymic component associated with Ukraine, e.g.: *niedaleka Ukraina*, *Na Ukrainie niejedyn ginie, jak na Pobereżu*, *Na Podolu pszenica bez kąkolu*. The purpose of the discussion is to present a survey of forgotten and current phraseological units which function in the modern Polish language and which carry information about long-standing Polish-Ukrainian linguistic contact. The material that is presented in the text constitutes evidence that onomastic phraseology is a valuable source of knowledge about the history and the culture of our people.

Keywords: the early and modern Polish language, phraseology, onomastics, choronym, Polish-Ukrainian linguistic contact

Niedaleka Ukraina...

Choronimy związane z Ukrainą w polskiej frazeologii

Streszczenie. Przedmiotem opisu w artykule są związki wyrazowe (frazelogizmy, przysłowia) mieszczące w swoim składzie leksykalny komponent choronimiczny dotyczący Ukrainy, np.: *niedaleka Ukraina*, *Na Ukrainie niejedyn ginie, jak na Pobereżu*, *Na Podolu pszenica bez kąkolu*. Celem rozważań jest ogląd zapomnianych i występujących we współczesnej polszczyźnie jednostek frazeologicznych, w których zapisane zostały informacje o wielowiekowych polsko-ukraińskich kontaktach językowych. Prezentowany w tekście materiał stanowi dowód, że frazeologia onomastyczna stanowi cenne źródło wiedzy o kulturze i dziejach naszego narodu.

Słowa kluczowe: polszczyzna historyczna i współczesna, frazeologia, onomastyka, choronim, polsko-ukraińskie kontakty językowe

Relations of the nation and the positioning of its borders created historic proverbs; as these changed, they lost their value and strength. Let us, however, go back to the time when such a proverb, taken out of the cradle of thought, immediately made its bold first step in the nation's language [...] (Wójcicki 1842: 229).

This article, which forms a part of research on phraseology and onomastics, is dedicated to verbal structures, mostly forgotten, which contain the geographic proper name which presently pertains to Ukraine¹. The subject of this analysis is combinations with proprials nouns – choronyms², e.g., *Ukraina, Pobereże*, as well as their adjective derivatives, such as *ukraiński, pobereski* [Ukrainian, of Pobereże]. The main objective of this study will be to take a closer look at the word combinations rooted in the native phraseology, which are proof of many centuries of historical and cultural relations between Poland and Ukraine³. The issue seems interesting as the many centuries of contacts between Polish and Ukrainian languages are usually discussed mainly in the context of the inflow of single Ukrainisms into the native language, the Polish-Ukrainian bilingualism, or the characteristics of Polish of the former South-Eastern borderlands – the Polish linguistic literature on these subjects is extensive⁴. Nevertheless, these contacts have also resulted in many commonplace word structures. I want to add that in the works known to me, dedicated to proper names in the composition of phraseological units, connections with the choronymic lexical component, in which I am interested, are only mentioned when characterizing various linguistic issues (the few examples from the set analyzed by me include: Treder 1988: 131-159; Jędrzejko 2002: 61-78; Jaracz 2003b: 447-456; Wysoczański 2006: 67-95).

The phraseological and paremiologic material was excerpted from the most extensive collection of Polish proverbs and proverbial sayings, edited by Julian Krzyżanowski (NKPP), the 19th-century work of Kazimierz Władysław Wójcicki *Przystowia narodowe* [National Proverbs] (Wójcicki 1830), as well as the study of Jan Bystron *Przystowia polskie* [Polish Proverbs] (Bystron 1933). I also consulted the historical and contemporary general and specialized (etymological, phraseological) Polish language dictionaries.

Before I analyze the issues indicated in the title, I will briefly introduce the complex historical situation of the former area of Ukraine. Speaking most generally, the dispute between Poland, Hungary, and Lithuania over the land of

¹ In the article, I apply the wide definition of phraseology – as a set of stabilized word structures, including proverbs. All word associations are contained in ready linguistic structures, which we use to build expressions (Skorupka 1969; 1985). On phraseological-onomastic research, see Nowakowska 2010.

² Choronyms – names of countries, regions, historic and geographic lands (Szczerbowska-Kopacz 2011: 178).

³ In the literature on the subject, words *Ukraina, ukraiński* [Ukraine, Ukrainian] are used in their contemporary meaning, even if they refer to distant history; the same applies to the names *Polska, polski* [Poland, Polish] – these lexemes function with reference to prehistoric times (Rieger 2001: 576, annotation 1).

⁴ See, e.g., the bibliography in: Rieger, Siatkowski 2001: 552-553, Rieger 2001: 558-590 and more recent works, e.g.: Dziegiel 2003; Kurzowa 2007; Kleszczowa 2010; Pluskota 2019.

Ruthenia originated in Medieval times. As early as in the late 14th century, the last king of the Piast dynasty, Casimir the Great, had the Kingdom of Galicia-Volhynia attached to Poland (including the cities of Halicz, Lviv, Belz, and Volodymyr), which was of great economic significance, as it opened the trade routes in the Black Sea area. Polish merchants started to settle in Ruthenian cities, and nobles were offered land in the region (Michnik, Mosler 1961: 103-104; Wyrozumski 1989: 162-165). A significant part of contemporary Ukraine, that is, the land of Volhynia, Kyiv, and Bratslav, joined Poland in 1569 as a result of the Union of Lublin, which brought together the Kingdom of Poland and the Grand Duchy of Lithuania as a single state, from now on known as the Polish - Lithuanian Commonwealth. Both countries had the same ruler, a single parliament, and a joint foreign and military policy, and one of the intermediate aftermaths of the Union was the selection of Warsaw as the capital city of the Polish-Lithuanian Republic (Gierowski 1989: 108)⁵. The old proverb illustrates the new political system well: *If you live in Lithuania or Kyiv, Warsaw will take whatever money you are saving in your pouch* ('taxes go to the capital city') (NKPP, headword *Warsaw*). As a result of the unification of the Kingdom and Lithuania, Poland became a multinational state inhabited by various nations, including Poles, Lithuanians, and Ruthenians (Ukrainians and Belorussians) (Michnik, Mosler 1961: 220-222, 229; Gierowski 1989: 105-109). The coexistence of societies speaking different languages, practicing different religions and traditions, which lasted more than two hundred years - it was ended by the partition treaty of 1795 - left a mark on all spheres of life of citizens of the Commonwealth. Such long coexistence and cooperation of different ethnic groups within the borders of a single state have also been reflected in language, which is proven by the linguistic units described in the article.

The historic Polish language features many phrasemes and proverbs, which reproduce the former geographic as well as ethnic structure of the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth, which can become a source of information on the peoples that used to live together and the associated stereotypes (Jędrzejko 2002: 74-75; Jaracz 2003a: 113-123). The testimonial of language consists of constant structures, such as: *Litwa tutaj popasała*⁶ [Lithuanians have been here]; *Dobry człowiek, ale Litwin* [He's a good man but Lithuanian]; *upartny jak Litwin // Rusin // Żmudzin* [stubborn

⁵ The Union of Lublin finalized the long-term process unifying Poland and Lithuania. A close link between the two states was initiated by the wedding of Jagiełło and Jadwiga, the daughter of Louis the Great of Hungary, who ascended to the throne following the childless death of Casimir the Great. In 1385, the union between Poland and Lithuania signed in Krewo obligated Jagiełło to get baptized and to incorporate the entire state of Lithuania into the Crown. At the end of the 14th century, Lithuania encompassed a vast area, including Belarus, Ukraine with Kyiv and some of the Great Ruthenia (the region of Smolensk). Jagiełło's coronation as the king of Poland in 1386 sealed the pact between the two countries. However, in the late 15th and early 16th century, the bond between Poland and Lithuania grew weaker. It was strengthened again upon signing of the treaty in Lublin (Michnik, Mosler 1961: 128-129; Wyrozumski 1989: 192-195).

⁶ An echo of the former conflicts between inhabitants of the Crown and Lithuania (NKPP).

like a Lithuanian // Ruthenian // Samogitian]; *Lićwiaki – boćwiaki* [Lithuanians – simpletons]; *Bywszy w Rusi, do domu wracać* [Having been to Ruthenia, now going home]; *I na Rusi robić musi* [One has to work, even in Ruthenia]; *Rusina, kto szuka, będzie mądr* [Who can fool a Ruthenian will be wise]; *Ziemia i niebo przeminą, a Żemajtis (Żmudzin) zostanie* [The earth and heaven shall pass, but the Żemajtis (Samogitian) shall stay]; *Gdzie rzucisz, to Kozak* [Wherever you throw a stone, there is a Kossack] (Ukr. *Kudy kiń, to Kozak*); *Przepadł jak Kozak za górami* [Disappeared like the Kossack beyond the mountains]; *Bieda kozacka, ni chleba, ni placka* [Kossack poverty, no bread, no cakes]; *Potąga to nie koniec świata* [Palanga is not the end of the world]; *Kto w Wilnie nie bywał, ten cudów nie widział* [Who has not been to Vilnius has not seen true wonders]; *szczęśliwy jak kwestarz w Niehrymowie* [happy like a collector in Niehrymow]; *Chudy pachotek w Nieświeżu jak we śnie* [A poor servant in Nieśwież like in a dream]; *Jeszcze dzisiaj w Pińsku nie była* [She has not been to Pińsk today yet]; *Nadął się jak słucki dzbanek* [Bursting with pride like a jug from Slutsk]; *W Mińsku po świńsku, a w Słucku po ludzku* [In Minsk they live like pigs, in Slutsk they live like humans]; *Kamieniec do Polski klucz* [Kamieniec holds the key to Poland]; *Bitwa pod Żwańcem durnia z pohańcem* [The battle of Zhvanets between pagans and fools]; *Sławne to jak barskie mydło* [Famous like soap from Bar]; *bogaty jak berdyczowski bankier* [rich like a banker from Berdyczow]; *Jak w Europie monarchowie, tak książęta w Zawalowie* [The dukes in Zawalow live like kings of Europe] (NKPP)⁷.

1. I will begin my deliberation by presenting the phraseological heritage of the Polish-Ukrainian language contacts. It turns out that today's Polish language has few connections with the toponymic components, which I find interesting. Two of these are related to the cuisine – I am referring here to the expressions *barszcz ukraiński* [Ukrainian borsch], a thick, sour soup made of beets with finely chopped vegetables and *pierogi ruskie* [Ruthenian (Russian) dumplings] 'dumplings stuffed with cottage cheese, potatoes, and fried onion,' which, as a result of the war in Ukraine, started on the 24th of February 2022 by the Russian Federation, have been unjustly renamed to *pierogi ukraińskie* [Ukrainian dumplings]⁸. Ruthenian dumplings are a traditional Ukrainian dish – the adjective *Ruthenian* stems from Ruthenia, that is, the historic land in Eastern Europe, established in the 9th century as a result of the Union of the Eastern Slavic tribes around Kyiv (Kievan Rus), strictly speaking, a region in this land, known as Red Ruthenia, which was a former land in North-Western Ukraine and South-Eastern Poland, and not, as it is generally believed, from Russia (cf. adjective *rosyjski* [Russian]). The mistake is rooted in the fact that

⁷ On local geographical names in the pre-partitioning Poland see: Nowakowska, Tomczak 2005.

⁸ It should also be added here that the outbreak of the war in Ukraine has internationalized the official battle cry of the Ukrainian military forces, that is, *Slava Ukraini!* [Glory to Ukraine!] (Polish: *Chwała Ukrainie!*), also in the version with a reply: *Heroiam slava!* [Glory to the heroes!] (Polish: *Bohaterom chwała!*). President Volodymyr Zelenskyy has finished every one of his speeches every day since the start of the Russian aggression with these very words.

in colloquial language, *ruski* [Ruthenian] means 'about Russia', 'Russian language' and *Ruska*, *Rusek* are contemptuous and disdainful references to 'people of Russian nationality' (USJP)⁹.

The lexeme *ruski*, obviously referring to Red Ruthenia, is also quoted in contemporary dictionaries in a colloquial phraseologism *popamiętać ruski miesiąc* [to remember the Ruthenian month], that is, 'to remember a punishment for a long time, suffer severely from something' (USJP, WSJP PAN). The term *ruski miesiąc* [Ruthenian month], referring to 'very long', was undoubtedly introduced in the Polish language before the 17th century since it was recorded by Salomon Rysiński in the first collection of Polish proverbs, published in 1618 – at the time, however, it had a different form at the time, that is, *poleżysz ruski miesiąc* [you will lie for a Ruthenian month] (Rysiński 1618, see headwords starting with P). SL illustrates the use of this phraseme with the following quotations: "There is a proverb on the Ruthenian month, saying that if someone is threatened to be beaten or punished, they say: you will lie for a Ruthenian month (that is, 10 days later, as it starts, so it ends)" (Sax. Okul 39); "I will show him, he will remember the Ruthenian month" (Teat. 14, d, 6) (SL, headword *ruski*; cf. notation of the association in the further historic dictionaries: *ruski miesiąc* [Ruthenian month] 'a very long time' (SWil, headword *ruski*), 'very long' (SW, headword *ruski*), (*popamiętać* [remember (perf.)]) *ruski miesiąc* [the Ruthenian month] 'for a long time, remember very long' (SJPDor, headword *ruski*), *czekać ruski miesiąc* [wait a Ruthenian month] 'very long' (SF, headword *ruski*). The proverb stems from the Julian (formerly Byzantine) calendar used historically in Ruthenia, in which every month started later than in the Gregorian calendar (this time calculation system was introduced in Poland in the 16th century) and thus ended later as well. This led to the belief that the Ruthenian month lasted longer.

Worth noting here are also the colloquial phrasemes, not recorded in lexicons but used in everyday social life: *ruski rok* [Ruthenian year] 'very long', *popamiętać ruski rok* [remember the Ruthenian year] and *raz na ruski rok* [once in a Ruthenian year] 'very rarely', *zrobić coś raz na ruski rok* [do something once in a Ruthenian year], which are a transformation of the original association (*remember*) *the Ruthenian month* (replacing the component *month* with another noun related to keeping track of time, that is, *rok* [year]) (Malinowski 2015; Kłosińska 2016: 28).

⁹ WSJP PAN quotes the phraseme *Musi to na Rusi // Musi to na Rusi, a w Polsce jak kto chce* [In Ruthenia, people are obliged // In Ruthenia, people are obliged, and in Poland you do what you want, which refers to Russians. J. Bystron underlined that proverbs referring to Russia are few, because "[...] the same that was said on Ruthenia was also referred to Moscow, and the two can hardly be told apart" (Bystron 1933: 175). The ethnographer remarked that proverbs with the lexeme *Rusek* undoubtedly refer to "Wielkorusi" [Great Russians/ Ruthenians], cf. *Rusek do czytania, Chochlak do śpiewania, Polak do opowiadania* [A Ruthenian to read, a Chochlak to sing, a Pole to tell stories] – the word *Chochlak* referred to Ukrainians (see *Chochlak* 'Ruthenian, Ukrainian' in SW).

2. In this part, I will present the historic language material. The class of forgotten phrasemes containing the proprial component under analysis includes semantically diversified word associations.

2.1. The most prominent group consists of structures, which illustrate the complex situation in the lands, which were ethnographically Ruthenian (presently Ukrainian) incorporated into the Crown. In historical research, it is underlined that the Union of Poland and Lithuania led to the establishment of a state which had no equal in contemporary Europe in terms of the territory occupied (Gierowski 1989: 108). At the same time, it is indicated that "The center of gravity of the Polish politics shifted to the East and South-East, which led to conflicts with the Grand Duchy of Moscow and Turkey" (Michnik, Mosler 1961: 221).

The complicated history of the former Polish–Lithuanian Commonwealth lands is well illustrated by associations containing choronyms: *Ukraina, Pobereże, Podole* [Ukraine, Pobereze, Podolia]. The comparison recorded in the 18th century *jak na Ukrainie* [like in Ukraine] 'who is stronger is better' refers directly to the war experiences in the Eastern borderlands of former Poland (SL, headword *Ukraina*). Kazimierz Władysław Wójcicki explained the genesis of this association as follows in the collection *Przysłowia narodowe...*: "We use this proverb, according to G. Knapski, when we want to express, where the strength itself is the leader, where who is stronger is better. The proverb originated from Ukraine being exposed to frequent assaults of scoundrels, robbers, and other trouble-makers, who achieved their ends solely by using weapons" (Wójcicki 1830: 13).

In NKPP, Julian Krzyżanowski documents this connection in a pejorative description "There is lawlessness and anarchy". This negative meaning stems from a rather obvious association – a state of constant war always leads to chaos (Ukr. *bezhołowje*). Interestingly, the saying *jak na Ukrainie* [like in Ukraine] used to coexist with the equally old *jak na Pobereżu* [like in Pobereze], 'do something by force, using violence, following the principle: who is stronger is better' (NKPP, headwords *Ukraina, Pobereże* [Ukraine, Pobereze]; Bystroń 1933: 167)¹⁰. Linde defined *Pobereże* [Pobereze] in his dictionary as "a country in the Braclaw Voivodeship, by the shores of the Dniester river, stretching out towards the Tatar border" illustrating the description with a quotation: "There will always be a country like this one, as we commonly say, like in Pobereze, exposed to mischief-makers, plunderers and robbers" (Star. Pob. A 3 b) (SL refers the reader to the headword *Ukraina* [Ukraine]).

The fact that the historical Ukrainian lands were exposed to constant assaults is also documented by other proverbs with the proper name referred to in the title, such as *Na Ukrainie niejeden ginie* [many get killed in Ukraine]; *Posiej na Ukrainie jezuitę, a urodzi się hajdamaka* [plant a seed in Ukraine to raise a Jesuit and a ruffian will be born]; *Temu na Ukrainie służyć, kto chce szabelki użyć*; [Those who

¹⁰ The commonly known *pobereże* (Ukr. *pobereże*) referred to 'a shoreland, a place on the shore, a strip of land along the shore' (see the annotation in: SWil, SW, SJPDor).

love their swords enter the (military) service in Ukraine]; *Przecież to nie Ukraina* [but this is not Ukraine] – ‘not everything is allowed here, there are laws to be followed’ (NKPP, headword *Ukraina* [Ukraine]; Bystron 1933: 167). Armed conflicts were also frequent in Podolia – a land in Ukraine on the shores of Dniester and Southern Buh rivers. As I have mentioned, this area was incorporated into the Crown of the Kingdom of Poland after the Union of Lublin. In Podolia, the Poles fought, among others, the Tatar and Turkish military forces, which was reflected in the 16th-century proverb *Nie (po)trzeba po guzy jeździć na Podole* [To get bruises, you do not need to go to Podolia] (that is, to the borderland neighboring Tatar tribes), ‘it is enough to go to the tavern to get beaten, no need to fight Tatars’, ‘you can find trouble anywhere’ (SL, SWil, SW, headword *Podole* [Podolia], NKPP, headword *Podole, podolski* [Podolia, Podolian]), and the questionable prowess of the soldiers of Podolia has been memorized in the paremia *Rycerz na Podolu, a tchórz na Podgórze* [A knight in Podolia, a coward in Podgorze] ‘a soldier bragging about his heroic deeds, a boaster’ (NKPP, headword *Podole, podolski* [Podolia, Podolian]).

2.2. Some of the forgotten proverbs refer directly to the etymology of the name *Ukraine* – formerly understood as a geographic denomination¹¹. The choronym comes from the word *kraj* [country] (prov. **krajb* ‘shore, edge, end, border of something’ > ‘a strip of land at the end of something, on the border or within the boundaries of something, vicinity, land’), which is a derivate of the verb *kroić* (prov. **krojiti* [to cut]), which originally meant ‘something that has been cut off’ (SeBań, SeBr, SeBor, SeMań). The old Polish language confirms the noun *ukrainia* signifying ‘a strange land by the border’ (Sstp). More recent historical dictionaries of Polish document the common noun *ukraina* in its primary meaning of the ‘borderland, outpost, a country on the border,’ from which a metaphoric meaning developed: ‘a very distant place, far away land, end of the world, edge of the world’; so, in a sense based on its structure, that is, ‘at the edge, on the border’, cf. adjectives *ukrajny, ukrainny, ukraiński*, which emerge in the historical sense of ‘borderland’ (SL, SWil, SW, SJPDor)¹². The following paremias illustrate this phenomenon: *Poszedł jak za Ukrainę* [Went like for Ukraine] ‘disappeared without a trace’ (cf. also *Poszedł na Podole* [Went to Podolia]); *Pan Bóg i z Ukrainy słyszy* [God can hear everything even from Ukraine]; *Wszakże to nie na Ukrainę // niedaleka Ukraina* [not as far as Ukraine // not as distant as Ukraine] ‘on a nearby location’; *z dalekiej (cudzej) Ukrainy* [from the distant (strange) Ukraine] (NKPP, headword *Ukraina* [Ukraine]; Bystron 1933: 168). The last of the proverbs cited has

¹¹ In Polish, the lexeme *Ukraina* [Ukraine] as a proper name emerged in the late 16th century – it was mentioned in the title of the Parliament act of 1590 prepared by the *Porządek ze strony Niżowców i Ukrainy* (Konopczyński 1936: 192–193).

¹² The old sense of the word *kraj* [country] ‘end, edge, shore, brink’ has been maintained in phraseology, cf. phrases: *iść, uciec itp. na kraj świata* [go, escape etc. to the end of the world]; *ktoś poszedłby, pójdzie za kimś na kraj świata*; [to follow someone to the end of the world] *drugi, inny) kraj świata* [the other (different) edge of the world]; *Moja chata z kraja* [My hut on the edge] (USJP).

its source in a folk legend about a reed pipe, described by K.W. Wójcicki in work *Klechdy, starożytne podania i powieści ludu polskiego i Rusi*: "There were three sisters, all of them tall and beautiful, but the youngest was prettier than the other two. A young master came from distant Ukraine; he met the sisters in the meadows, gathering flowers and herbs to make a wreath" (Wójcicki 1837: 15). In the footnote, the author informs that the expression *z dalekiej Ukrainy* "[...] became a proverb to indicate the distance from a given location [...]. Now, a similar expression: *niedaleka Ukraina* [nearby Ukraine], is used in the opposite sense to refer to a place which is nearby: *To niedaleka Ukraina, Wszakże to nie na Ukrainę*" [It is nearby Ukraine, not-so-distant Ukraine] (Wójcicki 1837: 15–16).

2.3. One of the conditions of the Union of Lublin was the freedom of nobility to settle in the Commonwealth countries (Gierowski 1989: 107; Michnik, Mosler 1961: 221). The Ukrainian lands newly incorporated into the Kingdom of Poland were generously offered to magnates, leading to the establishment of enormous latifundia of the Polish notables, such as Koniecpolski and Potocki families, as well as those of Ukrainian origin, e.g., Ostrogski, Wiśniowiecki (Michnik, Mosler 1961: 221; Gierymski 1989: 108–109). The eastern lands attracted settlers, as they were famous for great natural resources – for the contemporaries, it was a "land of milk and honey" (Serczyk 2008a: 27). Historian and chronicler Szymon Starowolski¹³ mentioned that the borderlands had "[...] an unlimited resource of cereals, game, cattle, fish and honey" (*Szymon Starowolski: Polska...*, p. 76), and French cartographer Wilhelm Beauplan¹⁴ wrote in his 17th-century work entitled *Description of Ukraine* that the Ukrainian land "gave so much grain that frequently they know not what to do with it" (*Eryka Lassoty i Wilhelma Beauplana...*, p. 109). The intense colonization movement in the eastern lands of the Polish–Lithuanian Commonwealth resulted in the dynamic development of Ruthenian cities and the strengthening of trade and cultural relations. The language also reflected this phenomenon.

Historic phraseology, containing the choronyms analyzed, presents not only the image of battling Ukraine; some of its resources are structures that inform us of the high financial status of its inhabitants, e.g., *Na Ukrainie pasał świnię* [He herded pigs in Ukraine] 'implicit: and today he is a rich man, on a nouveau riche', *Ma wujaszka na Ukrainie* [He has an uncle in Ukraine] 'he may expect a big inheritance, he is rich', *bogaty jak wołyński obywatel* [rich like a Volhynian citizen] (NKPP, headword *Ukraina* [Ukraine]; Bystron 1933: 168). The same phenomenon is illustrated by links with the name *Podole* [Podolya], which refer to the great value of land in Podolia, such as: *Na Podolu jak w stodole* [In Podolia like in a barn] (alluding to the extraordinarily fertile soils of Podolia); *Na Podolu pszenica bez kąkolu* [In Podolia, wheat grows with no corncockles (weeds)]; *Jedź na Podole, tam wisi chleb na kole* [Go to Podolia, there is always plenty of bread there]; *Choćbyś*

¹³ See headword *Starowolski Szymon*, in: *Encyklopedia PWN*.

¹⁴ See headword *Beauplan Guillaume*, in: *Encyklopedia PWN*.

poszedł na Podole nie znajdziesz chleba na stole [Even if you go to Podolia, you will not find free bread there] (that is, 'there is no bread without work'), *tęgi jak wół podolski* [sturdy like an ox from Podolia], (NKPP, headword *Podole, podolski* [Podolia, Podolian]), and the component *Wołyń* [Volhynia]¹⁵ – the region was famous for its cattle, which is confirmed by associations: *bydło, jak zawsze, na Wołyń* [to get the cattle, as always, we go to Volhynia] (Bystron 1933: 167); *Po rozum na Litwę, po pieniądze do Korony, a po bydło (jak zawsze) na Wołyń* [We get wisdom from Lithuania, money from the Crown and to get the cattle, (as always), we go to Volhynia] NKPP, headwords *Litwa, Korona (Polska)* [Lithuania, (Polish) Crown].

2.4. Apart from the quoted associations, the materials collected include paremias, which are difficult to group, such as: *Ma nogę (nogi) jak u podolskiego (poleskiego) złodzieja* [He has got a foot (feet) like a thief from Podolia (Polesia)], that is, 'large' (cf. various realizations of the association: *Ma buty jak podolski złodziej* [He has shoes like a thief from Podolia] // *Ma ręce jak u podolskiego złodzieja* [He has got hands like a thief from Podolia], *łapy długie jak podolski złodziej* [his arms are long like a Podolian's thief], *długi jak mila wołyńska czy wino pobereckie* [long like the Volhynian mile or like wine from Pobereze] 'Volhynian wine transported via Pobereze' (NKPP, headwords *Podole, podolski; Wołyń*; [Podolia, Podolian, Volhyn]; SW, headword *poberecki* [of Pobereze]). Some sayings also emerged to reflect the talents and mentality of the Ukrainian people, such as: *Na Ukrainie co chłopiec, to muzykant* [In Ukraine, every boy is a musician], *Serce podolskie – poczciwe serce* [A Podolian heart is a kind heart], cf. also the commonplace combinations with ethnonyms: *Ukrainiec: co w sercu, to w głowie; co w myśli, to w słowie* [Ukrainian – what is in his heart, is in his mind; what is in his mind is in his words]; *Z Wołyniaka pies albo sobaka* [A Volhynian is neither a fish nor a fowl] (NKPP, headwords *Podole, podolski; Ukraina; Wołyń* [Podolia, Podolian, Ukraine, Volhynia])¹⁶. In the past, some sayings referred to the regional cuisine as well, such as: *babka podolska* [Podolian pound cake] 'a pound cake being a combination of a raised cake and a sponge cake' (SW, headword *podolski* [Podolian]), (cf. also *ciasto podolskie* // *placek podolski* [Podolian cake // Podolian tart] or *barszcz podolski* [Podolian beet soup] 'beet soup with beans, with the addition of chopped cabbage, pickled cucumber etc.' (SJPDor, headword *podolski* [Podolian]). Interestingly, one of the borderland towns – Maków, located near Kamieniec Podolski, was customarily referred to as *gościna podolska* [Podolian hospitality]: "[...] and Maków, always merry, always full of people, rightly famous for its Podolian hospitality" (Przeddziecki 1841: 6–7).

¹⁵ Volhynia – a region and a historic land in Ukraine, between the upper Bug river and the upper Pripyat and Sluch. In 1366, it was partially incorporated into Poland; in 1569, it was incorporated into the Crown (headword: *Wołyń* [Volhynia], in: *Encyklopedia PWN*; Serczyk 2008b: 7–30).

¹⁶ A. Weryha-Darowski in the work *Przystawia polskie odnoszące się do nazwisk szlacheckich i miejscowości* in the part entitled *Przypowieści prowincjonalne* provided a stereotypical image of inhabitants of former Polish regions: *Podolanie – silni, ale niedowcipni* [Podolians – strong but not witty]; *Wołyńianie – z rozumem nie z sercem* [Volhynians – having strong minds but lacking kind hearts] (Weryha-Darowski 1874: 207–219).

Conclusion

The primary aim of this article was to examine the phraseologisms and proverbs constituting the heritage of many centuries of Polish-Ukrainian language contacts. The presence in the resources of the historic phraseology of associations, which contain a choronym related to Ukraine, is justified by: history (the different social and political situation of Poland), geographical closeness, and colonization movements (Treder 1988: 140; Walczak 2004: 38). The materials analyzed revealed the abundance of forgotten word associations and the few word structures, which are still used in contemporary speech in Polish. We can quickly point to the reasons for the extinction of the language units analyzed – it is rooted in extralinguistic changes, which K.W. Wójcicki has expressed in the quotation cited in the introduction to this study.

The presented phraseological and paremiological exemplification is to prove that “[...] examination of onomastic components of idioms and proverbs is crucial for learning about the history of culture and social life of a given nation” (Ananjewa 2006: 745). Naturally, we can learn about the past not only from historical facts but also from the Polish language itself. Phraseology with a proprial component, including choronyms, is a valuable source of information about the world that existed in the past. After all, Małgorzata Jaracz has underlined that “Onomastic proverbs, even more so than appellative ones, show strong connections with the cultural context, in which they have emerged, and they can only be read in this context” (Jaracz 2003b: 454)¹⁷.

List of abbreviations

- NKPP – Krzyżanowski J. (ed.), 1969–1978, *Nowa księga przysłów i wyrażen przysłowiowych polskich*, vol. 1–4, Warsaw: Państwowy Instytut Wydawniczy.
- SeBań – Bańkowski A., 2000, *Etymologiczny słownik języka polskiego*, vol. 1–2, Warsaw: Wydawnictwo Naukowe PWN.
- SeBor – Boryś W., 2005, *Słownik etymologiczny języka polskiego*, Krakow: Wydawnictwo Literackie.
- SeBr – Brückner A., 1970, *Słownik etymologiczny języka polskiego*, Warsaw: Wiedza Powszechna.
- SeMań – Mańczak W., 2017, *Polski słownik etymologiczny*, Krakow: Polska Akademia Umiejętności.
- SF – Galle H., Krasnowolski A., 1928, *Słownik frazeologiczny. Poradnik dla piszących*, Warsaw: Wydawnictwo M. Arcta.
- SJPDor – Doroszewski W. (ed.), 1958–1969, *Słownik języka polskiego*, vol. 1–11, Warsaw: Państwowe Wydawnictwo Naukowe.

¹⁷ In the literature on the subject, it has been underlined that the proprial components of idioms have a great cultural significance (i.a.: Mrózek 1994; Zareba 1996; Gajda 2004; Ananjewa 2006; Szeszunowicz, Vidović Bolt 2014).

- SL – Linde S.B., 1994–1995, *Słownik języka polskiego*, facsimile edition based on the Lvov edition, vol. 1–6, Warsaw: Gutenberg Print.
- Sstp – Urbańczyk S. (ed.), 1953–2002, *Słownik staropolski*, vol. 1– 11, Wrocław–Warsaw–Kraków: IJP PAN.
- SW – Karłowicz J., Kryński A., Niedźwiedzki W. (ed.), 1900–1927, *Słownik języka polskiego*, vol. 1–8, Warsaw: financed by subscribers and the Mianowski Fund.
- SWil – Zdanowicz A. (ed.), 1861, *Słownik języka polskiego*, vol. 1–2, Vilnius: M. Orgelbrand.
- USJP – Dubisz S. (ed.), 2003, *Uniwersalny słownik języka polskiego*, vol. 1–4, Warsaw: Wydawnictwo Naukowe PWN.
- WSJP PAN – Żmigrodzki P. (ed.), 2018, *Wielki słownik języka polskiego PAN*, Kraków: Instytut Języka Polskiego PAN/LIBRON, <http://www.wsjp.pl> (access: 29.05.2022).

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