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POLISH-UKRAINIAN LANGUAGE CONTACTS IN THE CONTEXT OF DIALECTAL LEXICOGRAPHY IN THE LATE 19TH CENTURY: *SŁOWNICZEK PROWINCYONALIZMÓW PODOLSKICH* BY A. KREMER

Abstract: The article explores Polish-Ukrainian language contacts in the context of dialectal lexicography exemplified by *Słowniczek prowincyonalizmów Podolskich, ułozony w Kamieńcu Podolskim w roku 1863* (further in the article – Dictionary) by Aleksander Kremer, a Polish scholar who lived in Kamyanets-Podilsky, a city in the region of Podillia in Ukraine. In his Dictionary, Kremer documented the local dialect of the Polish language spoken by Polish-speaking residents in Kamyanets-Podilsky, which contained lexical items borrowed from Ukrainian. Accordingly, Kremer's Dictionary provides a rare insight into Polish-Ukrainian language contacts on the dialectal level. Furthermore, Kremer compared the dialectal lexical items collected and recorded by him in Kamyanets-Podilsky with the lexical material of *Słownik języka polskiego* compiled by S. Linde (1807-1814). However, Kremer's Dictionary has not been properly researched in the prior studies. In this light, the aim of this article is to identify and systematize the Polish-Ukrainian language contacts that are reflected in Dictionary. The results of the study have revealed multiple instances of the local dialect of Ukrainian in Kremer's Dictionary, which are further discussed in the article. The results of the study are relevant to historical linguists, dialectologists, and ethnographers in Ukraine as well as in Poland.

Keywords: *Słowniczek prowincyonalizmów Podolskich, ułozony w Kamieńcu Podolskim w roku 1863*, A. Kremer, dialect dictionary, Podolian dialect, Polish-Ukrainian language contacts

1. Introduction

Aleksander Kremer (1813-1880) was a Polish doctor, who lived and worked in Kamyanets-Podilsky, a city in the region of Podillia in Ukraine. In addition to his medical profession, Kremer was a scholar whose scientific interests involved the study of the local dialect of Polish spoken in Kamyanets-Podilsky. It should be explained that in the middle of the 19th century Kamyanets-Podilksy was a regional capital of Podillia, which was a part of the former Russian Empire. However, Kamyanets-Podilsky had also been under the Polish rule for several

centuries before it fell to the Russian Empire after the partitioning of Poland. Consequently, Kamyanets-Podilsky in the 19th century was characterized by a mosaic composition of its inhabitants, who spoke Ukrainian, Polish, Yiddish, and/or Russian. When Kremer resided in Kamyanets-Podilsky, he developed a genuine interest in Ukrainian and in the dialect of the Polish language spoken by its inhabitants.

Kremer's scholarly interest in the Polish and Ukrainian languages resulted in the compilation and subsequent publication of *Słowniczek prowincyonalizmów Podolskich, ułozony w Kamieńcu Podolskim w roku 1863*, which can be translated into English as "A Dictionary of the Provincial Words Used in Podillia Compiled in Kamyanets-Podolski in the Year 1863". Kremer's *Słowniczek prowincyonalizmów Podolskich, ułozony w Kamieńcu Podolskim w roku 1863* (further in the article – Dictionary) is a dialect dictionary of the Polish language spoken by the Polish gentry who lived in Kamyanets-Podilsky. Dictionary was first presented to the general public as a collection of research papers published by the Academic Society of Krakow (Poland). Dictionary consists of such parts as (i) Kremer's foreword, (ii) an alphabetically organized register of vocabulary articles, and (iii) the final part titled *Rossycyzmy albo moskwicyzmy upowszechnione na Podolu* (in English – "Russyisms or Moscovisms used in Podillia").

Notably, the unique position of Dictionary consists in singling out the Podolian dialect of the Ukrainian language from other dialectal varieties of Ukrainian spoken in the 60-70s of the 19th century. It should be remarked that the Podolian dialect of Ukrainian played an important role in the development of the Ukrainian standard variety in the late 19th century (Horofianiuk 2023). Moreover, a number of lexical items from the Podolian dialect found their way into the Standard Ukrainian as well as into the local dialect of the Polish language spoken in Kamyanets-Podilsky. Accordingly, Kremer's Dictionary is reflective of the Podolian lexical dialectisms, which were adopted by the Polish-speaking residents of Kamyanets-Podilsky and the surrounding areas.

Furthermore, Kremer juxtaposed all the Podolian lexical dialectisms recorded by him in Kamianets-Podilsky with the lexical items found in *Słownik języka polskiego* (in English – "The Dictionary of the Polish Language") compiled by S. Linde in 1807-1814. Presumably, the words recorded by Kremer, but not included as entries in the dictionary by Linde, can be qualified as the true Podolian lexical dialectisms. In this light, we argue that Dictionary could provide an invaluable insight into the Polish language spoken in Kamyanets-Podilsky, which was characterized by the influence of the Podolian dialect of Ukrainian. In other words, we contend that Dictionary provides a rare insight into the Polish-Ukrainian language contact on the dialectal level.

2. The present study

Aleksander Kremer's (1870) Dictionary is an example of the dialect dictionary that extends far beyond a sheer description of the lexical items, given that it provides reliable evidence pertaining to (i) phonetical, (ii) derivational and (iii) grammatical features of the dialect of the Polish language spoken in Kamyanets-Podilsky, the regional capital of Podillia in nowadays Ukraine. Despite its potential contribution to a number of dialectal and diachronic phenomena, Dictionary has not been properly researched in the Ukrainian and Polish studies, respectively.

However, we should mention that Dictionary received attention of Ukrainian scholars at the time of its publication in the second half of the 19th century. The heuristic value of Dictionary in the Russian Empire of those days is certified by the fact that it drew attention of a renowned Ukrainian ethnographer, assistant head of the South-Western Department of the Imperial Geographic Society of the Russian Empire P. Chubynsky, who as early as in 1872 published an excerpt of Dictionary in *The Works of the Ethnographic-Statistical Expedition to the West-Russian Land* (Chubynskyi 1872, 259ff.). Researching the mutual influences of the Polish and Ukrainian languages, Chubynskyi makes a reference to Kremer's Dictionary and cites 514 words borrowed from the Podolian dialect.

Nevertheless, up to this day Dictionary has not found its due evaluation in Ukrainian linguistic studies. Possibly, this can be accounted by the fact that Dictionary is relatively rare, given that it was originally printed in a small number of copies. Dictionary's bibliographic rarity was pointed out by B. Hrinchenko, an eminent Ukrainian linguist and lexicographer of the beginning of the 20th century (Hrinchenko 1907-1909). Half a century later, the statement about Dictionary's "great bibliographic rarity" was mentioned by P. Horetsky in *The History of Ukrainian Lexicography* (Horetskyi 1963, 127).

In this light, the aim of this article is to fill the current research gap that consists in the place of Podolian dialectisms in the Polish language spoken by the inhabitants of the 19th century Kamyanets-Podilsky. We assume in the study that Kremer's Dictionary involves a number of lexical units borrowed from the Podolian dialect of the Ukrainian language, which pertain to different thematic groups that, in turn, bear witness to the manifestation of spiritual and material culture of the speakers of the Podolian dialect of Ukrainian of the second half of the 19th century. Accordingly, the aim of this research article is to identify, classify and systematize Polish-Ukrainian language contacts in the middle of the 19th century that are reflected in Dictionary.

As far as the methodology of the study is concerned, we use (i) structural methods in order to systematize the lexicographic material, (ii) descriptive methods in order to characterize the dialectal, phonetic, derivational, and morphological features of the lexis presented in Dictionary, and (iii) comparative methods

in order to identify the interference between the Ukrainian and Polish languages. Additionally, we apply the quantitative analytical technique in order to validate the assumptions of the study.

3. Results and discussion

The results of the analysis reveal that there are several thematic groups in Kremer's Dictionary that involve the presence of Podolian lexical items. Among them, the thematic group of agriculture is plentifully represented in Dictionary. For instance, Dictionary contains a number of names of agricultural tools, such as

(1) *Klucz* – dyszel przy koleśni pługa, na końcu pionowo rozszczepiony, do którego czepia się uprząż. (Kremer 1870, 30)
[One of the plow parts, vertically split at the end, to which the harness is attached]
(2) *Istyk* – łopatka żelazna, osadzona na kiju (istyczysku) z rączką krzywą, do czyszczenia pługa z oblepiającéj się na niém ziemi w czasie orania. (Kremer 1870, 26)
[Shovel for removing soil from a plow]
(3) *Zawożno* – zwłaszcza się mówi o młynie, gdy natłok wielki do mielenia; mówi się też w ogóle, gdy wiele podwód w jedno się miejsce skupi; np. na jarmarku itp. (Kremer 1870, 75)
[A lot of grain is brought to the mill; also, it can also mean when many carriages gather in one place, e.g. at a fair, etc.]
(4) *Okłot* – snop słomy równéj, niezmierzwionéy. Okłotować młocić snop związany, żeby się słoma nie pomierzwiła. (Kremer 1870, 43)
(5) [Incompletely threshed sheaf of wheat. To thresh a sheaf tied up so that the straw does not become ruffled]
(6) *Rubel* – powąz, drąg do przysznurowania siana lub snopów na wozie. Rublić, rubel przyciągać powrozem. (Kremer 1870, 54)
[A stick for pressing down hay or sheaves used during transportation. To attract a ruble with a rope]
(7) *Swidny* – niedościgły, mówi się o zbożu niezupełnie dojrzałém; np. żyto jeszcze w świdzie, lub żyto świdne zżął. (Kremer 1870, 61)
[Not ripe, it is about grain that is not fully ripe; e.g. rye still in the twig, or rye that has just been harvested].

Furthermore, agricultural and horticultural lexica are represented by such items of the Podolian dialect of Ukrainian as

(8) *Arbuz* – kładzie się do bryczki kawalera, którego sobie panna nie życzy; ztąd: *arbuza,* albo częściéj: *harbuza dać,* odmówić ręki w zamęzcie. (Kremer 1870, 5)
[Pumpkin, a girl gives a guy a pumpkin if she refuses to marry him]

(9) *Barabóla* – ziemniak, lud nazywa *barabolą*, klasa wyższa *kartoflą*. (Kremer 1870, 7)
[Potato; the common people call it *barabola*, the upper class calls it *kartoflą*]
(10) *Kociorubka* – owoc potwornéj formy. (Kremer 1870, 31)
[An abnormally shaped vegetable]
(11) *Kosznica* – kosz wysoko z chrustu lub łoziny wypleciony, na toku lub obok chaty, szérszy u góry niż w dole, z podwiewem u spodu, przeznaczony do przechowywania kukurudzy w strąkach. (Kremer 1870, 32)
[A tall wicker basket for storing corn basket, on the side of or next to a cottage, wider at the top than at the bottom, with a vent at the bottom, intended for storing corn in pods]
(12) *Noworola* – ziemia pod jarzynę zorana, dopiéro na wiosnę przed samą siejbą, kiedy zwykle pod jarzynę orze się w jesieni. (Kremer 1870, 41)
[Land prepared for spring crops, the ground for vegetables is plowed only in the spring, just before sowing, when usually vegetables are plowed in the autumn].

Additionally, Kremer comments on the figurative use of some of the words that are associated with horticulture, particularly the name of a plant *Papaver rhoeas L.*:

(13) *Zirkaty mak*, samosiewny, czyli padałiczny, którego korona główki odstaje i dziurki zostawia otwarte, przez co za powiewem wiatru wysypuje się nasienie; najczęściej bywa robaczliwy. (Kremer 1870, 76)
[Common poppy, a carnivorous plant whose crown sticks out and leaves the holes open, allowing the seed to spill out with the breeze].

It should be noted that the folk name of the plant is also known to the modern Podolians (Horofianiuk 2020, 458). In addition to agriculture, Kremer's Dictionary containes the theme of trades (for example, weaving), which is manifested by the follwing words:

(14) *Jurek* – narzędzie drewniane, z kijka krótkiego, miernéj grubości, zakarbowanego na obu końcach do zwijania przędzy na kłębki używany. (Kremer 1870, 26)
[A stick with two funnels at both ends, through which a thread of yarn passes when winding it into a ball; a stick used by reapers to bind sheaves]
(15) *Talka* – narzędzie do 2ch łokci długości mające, służące do zwijania nici – motowidło. (Kremer 1870, 64)
[Coiled threads, a tool up to 2 feet long, used for winding threads – a reel].

Also, Kremer provides a number of synonyms related to agriculture and farming. In this way, he demonstrates such a phenomenon characteristic of regional lexicon. For example, he records eight names for oxen, such as *wół murga-murgaty* [being striped], ~ *bałan* [being light yellow], ~ *łasij* [whose spine is darker than the rest of the body], ~ *żuk* [black], ~ *kozij* [with horns turned back], ~ *guła* [with horns short

and thick, inclined to the ground], ~ *zora* [with a raised forehead and a cheerful look], ~ *ponyta* [the opposite of the previous one] (Kremer 1870, 68f.).

We can also discern the thematic group of food and drinks, which are already archaic in the Podolian dialect, e.g. *całuszka* [edge of bread] (Kremer 1870, 10); *drahle* [galantine] (Kremer 1870, 15); *hyżki* [galantine from beef or pork shanks] (Kremer 1870, 25); *knysz* [a special type of wheat bread] (Kremer 1870, 32); *kołotucha* [sour cream with kromal] (Kremer 1870, 31); *okrasa* [seasoning for food] (Kremer 1870, 42); *zakalec* [an underbaked part of the bread] (Kremer 1870, 73), etc. Interestingly, the names of bread products are given in conjunction with the description of rituals, in which the bread products are used, e.g. *bałabuszek* – in the evening for St. Andrew, the girls prepare *balabushka*; water was carried in the mouth to knead the dough. In the evening, baked *balabushkas* were placed on a low bench or a donkey in pairs, which symbolized the girl and her boyfriend; there were usually several such pairs. Then a dog was called, and whose *balabushka* he steals, that girl will get married sooner or the boy will get married (Kremer 1870, 6-7).

Moreover, Kremer provides the names of a person and his features used by the Podolians. Consider the following examples: *bajstruk* [a illegitimate child] (Kremer 1870, 6); *hajdamaka* [highwayman] (Kremer 1870, 21); *dzendzurzysty* [blustery] (Kremer 1870, 16); *legejda* [a slow, lazy person] (Kremer 1870, 36); *zirkaty* [a person with a shining look] (Kremer 1870, 76); *murmyło* [a clumsy person] (Kremer 1870, 39); *handryba* [a big clumsy person] (Kremer 1870, 22); *paczkowoz* [contrabandist] (Kremer 1870, 44); *pronoza* [weasel, wriggler] (Kremer 1870, 51), etc. Accordingly, Dictionary describes the customs, games, entertainment, and beliefs of the Podolians (cf. the types of traditional dances *czabaraszka*, *hajduk*, *hocak*, *kozak*, *pieczony rak*, *przysiudy*, and *tropak*). Furthermore, we find the following lexical items with expressive ethnocultural semantics in Kremer's Dictionary:

(16) *Potyrcze* – 1. poronieniec, dziécię przed czasem nie żywo urodzone, lub bez chrztu zmarłe; 2. mówi się o mężczyźnie lub o kobiécie małego wzrostu, wątłéj, suchéj budowy ciała, a potwornych przytém kształtów; o ludziach jedném słowem, o których powiadają, że się miał djabeł urodzić, ale kur zapiał i potyrcze się urodziło. (Kremer 1870, 51)
[1. A child not born alive, or one who died without rite of baptism. 2. It is said of a man or a woman of short stature, of a frail, dry build, and of monstrous shapes; of people, in a word, about whom it is said that the devil was born, but the rooster crowed and the skirmish was born]

(17) *Spiuch* – zając; gdy się mówi o nim w chacie, gdzie jest dziécię, nie można broń Boże wymówić zając, boby dziecko nie spało, ale się mówi: spiuch. (Kremer 1870, 59)
[Hare; when one talks about it in a cottage where there is a child, one cannot pronounce *hare*, because the child would not sleep, but one says *spiuch*].

An additional example of Podolian customs and trasitions in Kremer's Dictionary is manifested by *Ivaniec* (*Iwaniec*). This is a fair in Kaminets-Podolsky, which took place every year on the holiday of St. Ivan (*Jana*). A gift for children or domestic servants which is usually bought in this fair is also called *ivanets*, e.g.: *I bought you ivanets.* (Kremer 1870, 26).

Furthermore, our analysis reveals that Kremer's Dictionary contains 29 phraseological units that are no longer used in the Podolian dialect today. This finding strengthens the heuristic value of the analyzed lexicographic work (Horofianiuk 2019). These archaic phraseological units can be illustrated by the following examples: *boruch odprawiać* [to pray in Hebrew; talk nonsense] (Kremer 1870, 9); *cur tobie, pek tobie, ot se na!* [leave me alone] (Kremer 1870, 12); *cwirkać w oczy* [speak harshly] (Kremer 1870, 12); *poradna godzina* [happy time] (Kremer 1870, 49), etc.

However, the heuristic value of Dictionary is not limited to the phraseological units used in the speech of the Poles who lived in Kamyanets-Podilsky (Ukraine) in the 2nd half of the 19th century. We argue that Kremer's linguistic contribution is invaluable due to the record of a score of notions that denote various elements of Ukrainian life, customs and traditions (starting with the most famous and ending with local, narrowly spread rites). Sometimes, Kremer presents legends and stories about the emergence of phraseological units. Let us illustrate this finding by *Dobra woda* [good water] (Kremer 1870, 14). Kremer recounts the prohibition to call water good (see Vinohradova 1995):

> When talking about water, people will never say that it is good; if someone who does not know this belief asks: "Is this water good?" He will be answered: "Let the water be good for our enemies!" It is necessary to ask: "Is this water healthy, stale, invigorating or divine?", because the one who praises the water as good will drink so much of it that it will be too much for him, that is, he will drown (Kremer 1870, 14).

In addition, we should emphasize that Kremer's Dictionary is the first regional dictionary of the Podolian dialect. As already mentioned in the article, it is one of the ancient dialects of the Ukrainian language that is located in the central part of Ukraine. In the late 19th and early 20th centuries, the Podolian dialect played an important role in the development of the Ukrainian national standard language. The Podolian dialect contains ancient original dialectisms that are of great value for the history of the Ukrainian language as well as for the Ukrainian dialectology. A number of Podillia words entered the vocabulary of not only the neighbouring Ukrainian dialects but also Polish ones. In this light, Kremer's Dictionary registers the language features by which the Podolian dialect is identified on the dialectal map of Ukraine.

Further, we provide some of the examples of the Podolian dialect in Dictionary on the levels of (i) phonetics, (ii) lexis, and (iii) grammar. First, the phonetic

level involves the replacement of the vowel /o/ by /u/ in an unstressed position: *s**u**piłka* i.e. *s**o**piłka* [a reed pipe] (Kremer 1870, 60); metathesis in the word *kiernica* i.e. *krynica* [a well] (Kremer 1870, 33). Kremer notes another distinct feature of the Podolians' speech, which was borrowed by the Polish-speaking inhabitants of Kamyanets-Podilsky: it is a well-known also for modern Podolians phonetic phenomenon of lowered pronunciation of the unstressed /e/. Kremer emphasizes that the interposition of vowels /e/ → /y/ in the speech of the Polish nobility leads to confusion of the lexical or grammatical meanings of some words. Second, the lexical level of the Podolian dialect is illustrated by *chodaki* [shoes woven from tree bark] (Kremer 1870, 11). According to I. Matviias the Podolian dialect is contrasted with the Bukovyna dialect with this lexeme (Matviias 1990, 69). Third, the peculiarities of the grammatical level are manifested by the use of the preposition *za* in [about] (Kremer 1870, 72).

Kremer's "Podolian provincionalisms" registered in Kamyanets-Podilsky were juxtaposed with the lexical material of *Słownik języka polskiego* by Linde (1807-1814). In each of Dictionary's entries, Kremer provides special remarks mentioned in the introductory text. In both dictionaries the word and its lexical meaning coincide; the word is presented in both dictionaries, but with different meanings; the word registered by Kremer is not included in S. Linde's dictionary. Presumably, it is the latter category of words marked by Kremer as (?) in Dictionary's entries that represents Podolian lexical dialectisms. Let us consider the following examples: *ryskal* [a wooden shovel with an iron blade] (Kremer 1870, 55); *kałabania* [a mire] (Kremer 1870, 28); *kindiuch* [stomach] (Kremer 1870, 29); *telbuchy* [intestines, internal organs in general] (Kremer 1870, 64), etc. All these words are also presented in the modern dictionary of the Podolian dialect (Horofianiuk 2021).

Furthermore, Dictionary contains consistent material for the study of interlingual Polish-Ukrainian-Russian relations. In the chapter "Russisms or Moscovisms spoken in Podillia" (*Rossycyzmy albo moskwicyzmy upowszechnione na Podolu*) the author presents 125 words common in Podillia and spoken by the local Polish gentry that appeared within the period of rule of Russian emperor Nikolai I. Let us consider these examples: *bania* [sauna], *bolnitsa* [hospital], *chynovnik* [government official], *donos* [complaint], *hrazhdanskyi* [civilian], *kandaly* [shackles], *katorha* [hard work], *laher* [camp], *lavka* [shop], *prysmotr* [patrol], etc. (Kremer 1870, 76-82). Note that the aforementioned "Moscovisms" have entered the colloquial speech not only of the Polish nobility, but also of the Podolians, more broadly, of all Ukrainians.

In addition, Dictionary's entries contain valuable ethnographic data, given that it lists a number of regional lexical units belonging to different semantic groups (agricultural, weaving lexis, names of items of clothing, foodware and jewelry, lexical units identifying food and beverages, rites, games, entertainment and religion of Podolians), some of them representing, particularly, the Podolian

way of life, manifestations of the spiritual and material culture of Podolians of the second half of the 19th century. Hence, Kremer's Dictionary holds scientific novelty and theoretical significance to the Ukrainian academic community, in particular, historical linguists, dialectologists, lexicographers, ethnographers. Also, the scientific value of Kremer's Dictionary was acknowledged by a number of Polish scholars. They published Kremer's Dictionary anew in 1999 as part of a complex edition of *Język polskich dawnych Kresów Wschodnich* (Kremer 1999).

In our analysis, we have compared Kremer's Dictionary with J. Karłowicz's *Słownik gwar polskich* in 6 volumes (Karłowicz 1900-1911). Karłowicz is the author of the "Dictionary of Polish dialects" (*Słownik gwar polskich*) published in Poland in 1900-1911. His dictionary is based upon a substantial number of lexicological sources. Furthermore, Karłowicz provides the definition of each dictionary word as accurately as possible. The dictionary is considered the richest collection of data on Polish dialects, which are of great value to linguists, folklorists, dialectologists, and historians of the Polish language and general Slavists to nowadays. We should bear in mind that Kremer's Dictionary was published in 1870 in the Yearbook of the Polish Scientific Society and, presumably, it was available to J. Karłowicz. Particularly, we found that among 229 words with Kremer's remark (r.), i.e. "Rus" (we interpret them as borrowings from the Ukrainian language, because Kremer refers to borrowings from the Russian language "rossycyzmy albo moskwicyzmy" in a separate part (Kremer 1870, 77).

In the "Dictionary of Polish dialects" by Karłowicz we found the following: 1) There are 179 words with the same lexical meaning in Kremer's and Karłowicz's dictionaries: *zakryszka* [vegetables that are added to brine or borshch] **(**Kremer 1870, 73; Karłowicz 1901, 54**);** *gryź* [diarrhea, it is said: sick with diarrhea] (Kremer 1870, 20; Karłowicz 1901, 164); *moroka, zamoroka* [a confusion difficult to resolve, or difficult to work out] (Kremer 1870, 38; Karłowicz 1903, 184), etc. It turned out, 81,7% of the words have the same meaning in both Dictionaries. This is indisputable proof that Karłowicz used Kremer's Dictionary when compiling the "Dictionary of Polish Dialects".

There are 47 words that are present in Kremer's Dictionary, but in Polish dialects they have additional lexical meanings:

(18) *Płonka, płunka* 1. 'przyrębl w lodźie' (Kremer 1870, 47; Karłowicz 1906, 140); 2. 'drzewo nieszczepione'; 3. 'jabłoń'; 4. 'leśne dzikie jabłko'; 5. 'gatunck jabłok'. (Karłowicz 1906, 140)
[1. **'**a hole cut in the ice'; 2. 'not a grafted tree'; 3. 'apple-tree'; 4. 'wild forest apple'; 5. 'any apple'].

There are 2 words that are recorded in the Dictionaries of Kremer and Karłowicz, but they are interpreted differently: *czér* 'beech tin' (Kremer 1870, 12) [wheat flour

dish, liquid gravy] (Karłowicz 1900, 279); *jurek* [a wooden tool made of a short, narrow stick split at both ends, used for winding yarn] (Kremer 1870, 26) [diminutive form of the name] (Karłowicz 1901, 274).

There are 10 words in Kremer's Dictionary that are not given in the dictionary by Karłoiwcz:

(19) *Zaportek* – jaje zepsute w czasie wysiadywania (z zarodkiem). (Kremer 1870, 74)
[A spoiled egg – a bun (with an embryo)]
(20) *Dubyna* – mówi się o rosłym, silnie zbudowanym młodzieńcu, z czém niekiedy łączy się wyobrażenie tępości umysłowej. (Kremer 1870, 15)
[It refers to a tall, well-built young man, with whom his mental retardation is sometimes associated]
(21) *Majaczyć* – pokazywać się i znowu niknąć, łudzić siebie lub kogo, wyobrażać sobie niebywalice. (Kremer 1870, 38)
[To appear and disappear again, to deceive oneself or someone, to create an illusion]
(22) *Nyć* – położył się nyć, ty. twarzą do ziemi. (Kremer 1870, 41)
[Adverb, to lay prostrate, i.e. face to the ground]
(23) *Oddać się* – wprost przełożone, wydać się za mąż, czyli wyjść za mąż. (Kremer 1870, 43)
[To marry or to be married]
(24) *Szost* – żérdź długa, okuta w końcu żelazem, do popędzania statków na wodzie, gdzie szostem dna dostać można. (Kremer 1870, 63)
[A long pole with an iron tip for pushing ships through the water, where the bottom can be reached with a pole]
(25) *Popowicz* – syn popa, wzgardliwie nazywa się knyszem albo chapoknyszem. (Kremer 1870, 49)
[The son of a priest, contemptuously called *knysh* or *hapoknysh*]
(26) *Pobereże* – część kraju na południe Podola i Ukrainy, tak się nazywa, że jest po brzegu, (*bereh*) od granicy dawniéj tureckiéj. (Kremer 1870, 47)
[A part of the country south of Podillia and Ukraine, so named because it is located on the shore, (bereh) of the former Turkish border]
(27) *Hydota* – brzydota. (Kremer 1870, 24)
[Something ugly]
(28) *Hnat* – Ignacy [Ignatius]. (Kremer 1870, 23)

The introductory as well as the main part of Kremer's Dictionary contain a considerable number of words, which are currently either obsolete or confined to a limited area. They demonstrate the multidirectional language influences from Ukrainian to Russian and, thereafter, to Romanian. Sporadically, Kremer provides remarks about the origin of such words, for example Romanian *balan* [ox] (Kremer 1870, 7), *grutsa* [porridge from rye groats, for which semi-ripe grain is taken] (Kremer 1870, 20). In this regard, Kremer explains that

> […] neighboring Moldovans, Turks, and Tatars very often visited the lands of Podillia. Not living here, they left their traces on the land of Podillia, although these traces are not often found, limited mainly to the names of things, as well as items of trade and daily use (Kremer 1870, 3).

We, however, do not digress into researching the loanwords from Romanian and other languages in Kremer's Dictionary, since we contend that such an examination should deserve a separate study. We hope that our investigation could stimulate a future line of research that considers Kremer's Dictionary in light on the language contact between Polish and Romanian.

Conclusion

In the present study, we aimed at identifying and classifying Polish-Ukrainian language contacts reflected in Kremer's Dictionary. Our analysis revealed that the Polish language spoken by the Polish-speaking inhabitants of Kamyanets-Podilsky in the middle of the 19th century contained a substantial number of loanwords from Ukrainian, particularly from Podolian, the local dialect of the Ukrainian language spoken in Kamyanets-Podilsky. We established that Dictionary recorded the lexis from the local dialect of Ukrainian, which pertained to the following thematic fields: (i) agriculture, farming, and horticulture; (ii) trades (e.g., weaving); (iii) food; (iv) customs and culture; and (v) local people.

The findings in the study testified to the complexity of Polish-Ukrainian language contacts and a bulk of loanwords from Ukrainian, which found their way into the Polish language spoken by the inhabitants of Kamyanets-Podilsky of Polish origin. We also noted that Kremer's Dictionary could be interpreted from the vantage point of the local Polish dialectal forms and their correlates in the Standard Polish language.

Additionally, the present analysis indicated that Kremer's Dictionary could open new research directions that could involve Polish and Romanian interference and language contact on the territory of Podillia, a historically and linguistically rich region of Ukraine. Also, the results of the study could provide a common denominator for the future international cooperation between the scholars from Poland and Ukraine, who could analyze Kremer's Dictionary from different perspectives and approaches.

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