Homeland on Foreign Maps: Toponymy of Western Ukraine on Austrian, Interwar-Polish, and Soviet Topographic Maps with Special Focus on Toponymy of the Carpathian Mountains

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Abstract

The goal of this research was to examine the linguistic properties of Western Ukraine's toponymy as presented on Austrian, interwar-Polish, and Soviet topographic maps from the late 18th century to the 1980s. The research question was, "To what extent does this toponymy include languages other than Ukrainian?" As this article demonstrates, the changing toponymy corresponds with general language policies implemented in Western Ukraine by foreign states. The analysis in this work comprises 1,741 toponymic forms that refer to 207 geographical features on nine multi-sheet topographic maps. The toponyms examined are mainly oikonyms. The data collection was limited to the districts of eastern Galicia where Ukrainian speakers outnumbered Polish speakers by at least three to one. Given that linguistic context, it comes as no surprise that examples of non-vernacular "polonized" toponym forms were found to be especially prevalent in this examination. The general finding of this research is that the toponymies of Austrian and Polish maps comprise a mixture of Ukrainian and Polish/Polonized forms. The toponymic "polonization" was quite inconsistent and may reflect the diverse periods and forms of Polish policies.

Keywords: toponym, settlement names, map, cartography, name policy, Poland, Ukraine

Introduction

By renaming features or changing linguistic properties of vernacular toponyms, geographical names on maps are one of the most effective tools for executing real and symbolic violence. As Jordan (2009) explains, place names on maps provide information about a place's cultural history and language. In this way, toponyms are analogous to flags or coats of arms in their identity function. For this reason, place names are extremely important for minority identities (Jordan 2009). The role of cartography in this identity process is a key component of critical toponomastics. As Vuolteenaho and Berg (2009) observe, "mapping of toponyms has formed an ancillary form of knowledge-production [. . .] as part of the process of controlling its spaces" (4).[1]

The traditional linguistic approach to proper names has been rather sharply criticized by representatives of critical toponymies: "Given that naming a place is always a socially embedded act, one that involves power relations, the 'pure' linguistic standpoint remains inadequate for the critical study of toponymy" (Vuolteenaho and Berg 2009, 9). The critical opinion is repeated in Kearns and Berg (2009) who argue "that there has historically been a largely atheoretical approach to toponymic classification and that this approach has effectively neglected struggles over the politics of place that often underlie naming processes" (153–154).

However, what the authors quoted above may not have taken into account is the fact that onomastic research that uses a "purely" linguistic approach may simply focus on properties of names different from those researchers active in the field of critical toponymies are interested in. It is definitely unjustified to state that taking a linguistic approach to names research is "atheoretical". So-called "pure" linguistics investigations of names should always keep in mind a primary tenet of critical toponomastics: behind the linguistic properties of geographical names there may be powerful political, cultural, and/or ethnic issues at play. With this premise in mind, the current investigation analyzes the linguistic properties of Western Ukraine's toponymy as manifest on Austrian, interwar-Polish, and Soviet topographic maps produced from the late 18th century to the 1980s. As this research will show, the entangled and shifting power relations during this period are reflected in the varying languages used for the Ukrainian toponymy and cartography.

Area in focus

The geographical area examined for this study is displayed in figure 1. It is enclosed by the dotted line against the background of present-day international borders. Figure 1 also shows the former territories of Austria-Hungary (dissolved in 1918), interwar Poland (1921–1939), and the Kingdom of Galicia (a part of Austria-Hungary regained by Poland in 1918–1919).

The geographical range of focus for this investigation was determined by several factors. Firstly, in the 20th century, the western region of Ukraine was—and still is—characterized by a considerably higher percentage of Ukrainian-speakers than Russian-speakers. Secondly, due to the Russification policy of the tsarist regime in Central and Eastern Ukraine, the Hapsburg-ruled region of western Ukraine became the formation center for standard Ukrainian language in the 19th century (Moser 2015). Therefore, by examining Western Ukraine, it is

possible to determine whether name forms present on Soviet maps comply with vernacular Ukrainian forms or with Russian forms.

Figure 1: Geographical Focus of the Current Investigation

As shown in figure 1, the studied area comprises the western outskirts of the Kyivan Rus', parts of the Ruthenian Principalities of Volhynia and of Halych, as well as the southern half of the united Kingdom of Galicia–Volhynia. These medieval states and political entities are ancestors of the present-day Ukrainian nation. However, in the 14th century, the territories of the Kingdom of Galicia–Volhynia became an object of power struggle between Poland, Lithuania, and Hungary. Eventually, the geographical area was incorporated by the Crown of Poland in 1387 and remained part of this jurisdiction until 1772. It was then that the First Partition of Poland took place and the southern territories of the Polish–Lithuanian Commonwealth were annexed by Austria. This process resulted in a new Hapsburg imperial territory that bore the German name "Königreich Galizien und Lodomerien"[2] [Kingdom of Galicia and Lodomeria] hereafter "Galicia". After the fall and dissolution of Austro-Hungarian Empire, the territory was regained by the Second Polish Republic (interwar Poland, 1918–1939) after Poland's victory in the 1918–1919 Polish-Ukrainian War.[3] The area then belonged to Poland until 1939 when it was invaded by the Soviet Union and occupied according to the secret protocol of the Molotov-Rippentrop Pact. In June 1941, the Soviet Union was invaded by the Third Reich and the area in focus was taken over by the Germans who established the separate District of Galicia (later incorporated into the General Government). Afterward, in the course of WWII, the region was regained by the Soviet Union and annexed in 1945.[4]

The first modern large-scale topographic surveys of Ukrainian territories were, therefore, undertaken by foreign states (i.e. the Austria-Hungarian and Russian Empires) under which Ukrainians were politically and culturally oppressed or at least considerably disadvantaged. The same is true of the surveys conducted by the political powers of interwar Poland and the Soviet Union. In the case of Galicia, the Third Military Survey conducted in the second half of the 19th century was especially important in molding the toponymy that was subsequently repeated on most later maps. This point was made by Krukar (1992). In his seminal study of geographical names that appear on topographic maps of the eastern part of the Lemko region, he drew attention to the fact that the core set of toponymy present was not only comparatively antiquated and incomplete, it also consisted mainly of names that had been collected by Austrian surveyors. It is against this historical backdrop that the main research question of this investigation was formulated: do Austro-Hungarian, interwar-Polish, and Soviet topographic maps contain systematic transformations of West-Ukrainian toponymy to non-vernacular German, Polish or Russian language forms?

Methodology

Principles of Data Selection and Cartographic Sources

During the Hapsburg and interwar-Polish rule, Ukrainian speakers constituted the largest part of population for all regions of the geographical focus area (see figure 1) and considerably outnumbered Polish speakers. The Polish-speaking population was generally concentrated in urban areas, where they often made up the majority of town inhabitants. The research presented in this article is limited to locations within the focus area where there were at least three times as many Ukrainian speakers as Polish speakers.

The numerical size of the Ukrainian-speaking population in each Hapsburg district (*Bezirkshauptmannschaft*) was identified using the Austrian census of 1880.[5] These figures were compared with the corresponding census numbers of Polish speakers to calculate district ratios. The results of these calculations are displayed in figure 2.
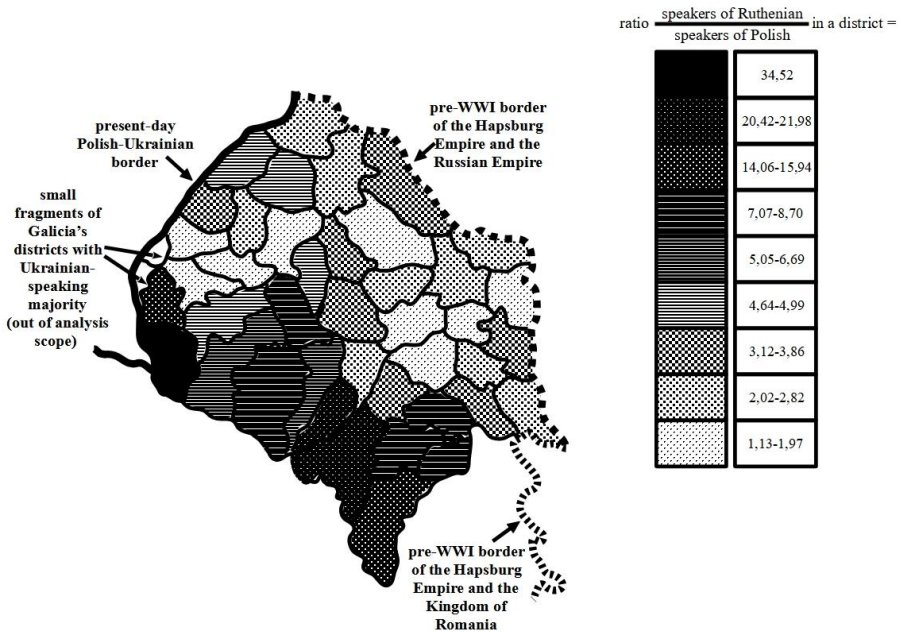

Figure 2: Ratio of speakers of Ukrainian (Ruthenian) to speakers of Polish in Galicia's districts according to the 1880 Austrian census (authors' own work)

In the southern diagonal belt of the area (Boyko and Hutsul Regions), there were between 5 and 34.5 times as many Ukrainian speakers than Polish speakers. This finding explains why this investigation places a special focus on the toponymy of the Carpathian Mountains. In these areas, the Polonization of place names on the Austro-Hungarian and interwar-Polish maps studied was particularly evident.

Each of the districts in the focal area investigated was assigned a number. The result of this numerical coding is shown in figure 3. For each of the 41 districts coded, the number of Ukrainian and Polish-speakers as reported by the 1880 Austrian Census was recorded and the ratio of Ukrainian to Polish speakers was calculated. This information is presented in table 1 below.

Figure 3: Numerical Codes of Galicia's Districts

Table 1: 1880 Austrian Census Statistics on the Official District Names; Numbers of Ukrainian Speakers and Polish Speakers; and the Ukrainian/Polish Speaker Ratios (UPSR) Calculated for Each District Code (DC)

DC	District Names	Number of Speakers		UPSR	DC	District Names	Number of Speakers		UPSR
		Ukranian	Polish				Ukranian	Polish	
1	Turka	50,053	1,450	34.52	22	Tłumacz	58,184	18,266	3.23
2	Bohorodczany	40,855	1,859	21.98	23	Hussiatyn	53,157	17,060	3.19
3	Nadwórna	49,410	2,420	20.42	24	Stanislau	56,519	20,057	3.12
4	Kossów	57,166	3,586	15.94	25	Zbaraż	41,746	15,960	2.82
5	Staremiasto	38,874	2,764	14.06	26	Borsczów [sic!]	70,368	27,005	2.62
6	Horodenka	62,454	7,179	8.70	27	Czortków	36,940	14,580	2.61
7	Dolina	59,619	6,946	8.58	28	Brzeżany	54,830	24,224	2.53
8	Kołomea	79,413	10,089	7.87	29	Kamionka strumiłowa	58,430	25,874	2.26
9	Żydaczów	48,013	6,598	7.28	30	Sokal	54,260	24,481	2.26
10	Sniatyn	53,814	7,612	7.07	31	Grodek	38,606	18,894	2.22
11	Kalusz	53,860	8,052	6.69	32	Tarnopol	63,637	31,542	2.04
12	Stryj	62,945	12,459	5.05	33	Złoczów	79,355	40,343	2.02
13	Drohobycz	76,514	15,310	5.00	34	Rudki	37,058	19,020	1.97
14	Zołkiew	54,288	11,219	4.84	35	Buczacz	61,584	31,675	1.95
15	Bóbrka	45,494	9,785	4.65	36	Podhajce	46,175	24,737	1.94
16	Rawa ruska	62,119	13,388	4.64	37	Trembowla	38,819	23,582	1.87
17	Rohatyn	63,856	1,6527	3.86	38	Skałat	44,220	28,321	1.65
18	Brody	81,777	2,3373	3.50	39	Mošciska	40,355	26,877	1.56
19	Jaworów	49,415	14,179	3.49	40	Sambor	45,601	31,421	1.50
20	Przemyślany	45,031	13,041	3.45	41	Lemberg	47,728	42,116	1.45
21	Zaleszczyki	49,005	15,150	3.23					

Note: The district names recorded in the 1880 Austrian Census contain several spelling mistakes in Polish. The full name for DC41 is "Lemberg (Umgebung)"

For every district where the Ukrainian/Polish ratio was three or higher the name of the seat of district authorities as well as some names of other localities and few of the prominent topographic features were selected for comparative analysis across the topographic maps. Selection was limited to those names with phonetic, phonological, and lexical structures that make them more prone to language adaptation (i.e., Polonization or Russification). In the set of names selected, oikonyms very clearly outnumbered the other toponymic categories.

Using this protocol, the names of 207 features on nine multi-sheet maps were compared, yielding a total of 1,741 name forms that were analyzed for this article. Despite that fact, it is important to stress that this investigation can only provide a spot-check of the maps' toponymy. The results of this analysis do not constitute a comprehensive quantitative analysis of the entire toponymy of the region across all of the maps examined. Such an investigation would require the analysis of tens of thousands of name forms and would necessitate more space than a single article could allow. Nevertheless, this work offers a good general overview and many important insights.[6]

Before the results of this investigation are given, a short note on the abbreviations used for the tables is necessary. For each name form presented, the district codes (see rable 1) and source maps are provided. The specific codes used for the map sources are presented in Table 2 below:

Table 2: Abbreviations, Names, Years and Access Location of the Surveys or Map Publication

Abbr.	Map Name	Years	Accessed at
I[7]	*Josephinian/First Military Survey of Galicia*	1779–1783	https://maps.arcanum.com/en/map/firstsurvey-galicia
L[8]	*Joseph Liesganig map* (2nd edition)	surveyed 1772–1774, 2nd edition published 1824	http://igrek.amzp.pl/mapindex.php?cat=KGL288
K[9]	*Administrativ-Karte von den Königreichen Galizien und Lodomerien by Carl Kummerer*	1855	http://igrek.amzp.pl/mapindex.php?cat=AKKGL115
II[10]	*Second Military Survey*	1861–1864	https://maps.arcanum.com/en/map/secondsurvey-galicia/
III[11]	*Third Military Survey* (1:25k)	1874–1877	https://maps.arcanum.com/en/map/thirdsurvey25000/
Sp	*Spezialkarte* (1:75k), multiple sheets	early 1870s–mid-1880s	https://maps.arcanum.com/en/map/thirdsurvey75000/ (single sheets also available at: http://igrek.amzp.pl/mapindex.php?cat=KUK075)
G	*Generalkarte von Mitteleuropa* (1:200k), several sheets	since the end of 1880s	http://lazarus.elte.hu/hun/digkonyv/topo/3felmeres.htm
W[12]	*Mapa Taktyczna Polski* (1:100k), multiple sheets	mid-1920s–1939 (most sheets from early 1930s)	http://igrek.amzp.pl/mapindex.php?cat=WIG100
R[13] or Rc	*Soviet military maps* (1:200k)	most sheets form 1970s and 1980s	https://www.geamap.com/es/sovietico/

Note: If a 200k sheet was not available, a 100k sheet was used instead, which is indicated with the symbol **Rc**.

In the case of the map available at https://www.geamap.com/es/sovietico/, for the area in focus by zooming in, the view of map sheet scans is at the following scales: 1:100k, 1:500k, 1:200k, and 1:100k

To explain how these codes work, an example is useful. For instance, *Porohÿ* (I,2) indicates that the toponym *Porohÿ* comes from the Josephinian/First Military Survey of Galicia which is coded "I" and names a feature located in the district of Bohorodczany which has the numerical code of "2".

Results

The results are presented according to the main linguistic properties of collected toponyms. In order to make the paper more reader friendly to a broad audience, the properties are not described with the highly specialized terminology used by historical linguists who research Slavic languages. Instead, the differences are explained from a synchronic perspective. For the same reason, rather than the Slavistic Phonetic Alphabet, the IPA system was also used here.

Orthography

For the Hapsburg government, the decision to use the Latin script for the toponyms of Galicia seems to have been a pragmatic one. Most languages in the multi-ethnic empire—including the politically privileged ones—used the Latin alphabet. It was also the script used by the Polish administration throughout the territories annexed by Austria in 1772. This fact may explain why Austria did not apply German orthography when cataloging the toponymy of Galicia.[14] Nevertheless, several examples of toponyms with German orthography were found in the First Survey. Comparing the Josephinian/First Military Survey of Galicia map to the Mapa Taktyczna Polski, (I:W), the following names and incidences were found: *Klimez* : *Klimiec* (12); ***S****olokez* : ***Z****ałokieć* (13); ***S****abloze* : ***Z****abłotce* (18); and *Ras****ei****lowec b.* [stream] : *Raf****aj****łowa* [locality] (3). Along with this group was the name of the birthplace of the famous Ukrainian poet Ivan Franko. The village of *Nahuievychi* was labeled as *Nahuijowi****tz****e* on the Josephinian/First Military Survey of Galicia mapas opposed to Nahujowice (W,13).

This was not the only important finding where the Polish orthography of the toponyms was concerned. All of the analyzed Hapsburg cartographic works from the 19th century were characterized by an increasing level of correctness of Polish orthography. This may be illustrated with the use of Polish diacritics (see table 3).

Table 3: Continuous Improvement of Polish Orthography on Austrian Maps (Diacritics)

d	f	I	L	K	II	III	Sp	G
8	O	*Zukocin*	*Zukoczyn*	*Żukoczyn*	*Żukoćin*	*Żukocin*	*Żukocin*	*Żukocin*
8	O	*Werbus wiznÿ*	*Wierzbiany Nizsze*	*Wierzbiaz niżny*	*Wierzbiąż nyżny*	*Werbiąż Niżny / Wierbiąż Niżny*	*Werbiąż niżny / Wierzbiąż niżny*	*Werbiąż nż.*
14	O	*Zoltance*	*Zoltance*	*Żółtańce*	*Źółtańce*	*Żółtańce*	*Żółtańce*	*Żółtańce*
15	O	*Molodyncze*	*Molodynce*	*Mołodyńce*	*Molodyncze*	*Mołodynce / Molodyńce*	*Mołodyńce*	*Mołodyńce*

In some cases, Polish orthography might have suggested Polish pronunciation of a placename. In other instances, it may have been used to ensure a more accurate Ukrainian pronunciation. For example, the introduction of the Polish character [ł] may have been used to better approximate the Ukrainian phoneme /ɫ/.

Ukrainian /i/ vs. Polish /u/ and Russian /o/

One of the most characteristic features that differentiates Ukrainian from Polish and Russian is the presence of /i/ in closed syllables where /u/ (spelled as ó) or /o/ occur in Polish and Russian, respectively. This feature is clearly visible in the name of the West-Ukrainian city of *Lviv*. In Ukrainian, this placename is Льв***ів*** ; in Polish, *Lw****ów***; and in Russian, Льв***ов***. Table 4 illustrates some cartographic tendencies concerning this regularity.[15] In this table, the abbreviation "d" stands for the district codes; "f" for the type of geographical feature; "O" for locality; "M" for mountain; and "F" for river.

Table 4: Replacement of Ukrainian /i/ with Polish /u/ and Russian /o/; Abbreviations:

d	f	I	L	K	II	III	Sp	G	W	R
1	O	*Jablonÿ*	*Iablo-now*	*Jabło-nów*	*Jabło-nów*	*Jabło-nów*	*Jabło-nów*	*Jabło-nów*	*Jabło-nów*	*Ябл-онов*
2	O	*Molot-kowa*	*Molod-kowa*	*Molol-ków*	*Molot-ków*	*Mołotków*	*Mołotków*	*Mołotków*	*Mołotków*	*Молод-ков*
2	O	*Pitkow*	*Bitkow*	*Bitków*	*Bitków*	*Bitków*	*Bitków*	*Bitków*	*Bitków*	*Бытков*
3	O	*Nad-worna*	*Nad-worna*	*Nadworna*	*Nadworna*	*Nad-wòrna*	*Nad-wórna*	*Nad-wórna*	*Nad-wórna*	*Над-ворная*
4	O	*Jasienow*	*Iasieno-wgorne*	*Jasienó-wgórny*	*Jasienó-wgorny*	*Jasienó-wGórny*	*Jasienó-wgórny*	*Jasienó-wgrn.*	*Jasienó-wGórny*	*Верх. Ясенов*
7	O	*Rosnia-tow*	*Rozniatow*	*Rŏzniatów*	*Roż-niatów*	*Roż-niatów*	*Roż-niatów*	*Roż-niatów*	*Roż-niatów*	*Рожн-ятов*
7	O	*Wiszkow / Wis-kow*	*Wysz-kow*	*Wysz-ków*	*Wysz-ków*	*Wyszkow*	*Wysz-ków*	*Wysz-ków*	*Wysz-ków*	*Вышков*
7	O	*Polechow*	*Bo-lechow*	*Bolechów*	*Bolechów*	*Bolechów*	*Bolechów*	*Bolechów*	*Bolechów*	*Болехов*
17	O	*Hre-horuw*	*Hre-horow*	*Hrehorów*	*Hrehorów*	*Hrehorów*	*Hrehorów*	*Hrehorów*	*Hrehorów*	*Григоров*
11		*Renkiw B. [M]*	*o*	*Hrynkiu [M]*	*Hrinkiu [L], Hri-nkowska [L], Hri-nkow Wrch [M]*	*Hryńk-ów [L], Hryńkw-ska [me-adow], Hryńk-ów [M]*	*Hryńki-wska [meadow], Hrynków [M]*	*Hrynków [M]*	*Hryń-ków [L]*	*Гринь-ков [L]*
3	M	*Rehor i(i)wka*	*o*	*Rehorowka*	*Hry-horiwka*	*Hrirori-uka*	*Hry-horiwka*	*o*	*Hry-horiwka (Pidberda)*	*г. Пид-Бирда [Rc]*
4	M	*Stĳ*	*o*	*Stóg*	*Stóg*	*Stóg*	*Stóg (Stoch)*	*Stóg*	*Stóg (Stoh)*	*г. Стог*
7	M	*Kotelec*	*o*	*o*	*Grofecki Koń*	*Grofecki kiń*	*Grofecki kiń*	*Grofecki Koń*	*Koń Gro-fecki*	*Конь-Гроф-ецкий [Rc]*
11	M	*Gorgan b.*	*o*	*Koniec gorganow*	*Koniec gorganow*	*Koniec Gorganów*	*Koniec Gorganów*	*Koniec Gorganów*	*Koniec Gorganu*	*г. Конец Горгану*
12	M	*o*	*o*	*Maków-ka*	*Mar-kowka B*	*Maków-ka*	*Maków-ka*	*o*	*Maków-ka*	*г. Маковка [Rc]*
12	M	*Jawo-rnik B*	*o*	*Jawo-rnik wielki*	*Jaworniki wielki*	*Jaworniki Vk.*	*Jaworniki vk.*	*Jaworniki w.*	*Jawornik Wielki*	*г. Яворник*
12	F	*Opir F*	*Opier Fl*	*Opor Fl. / Opór Fl*	*Opor Fluſs / Opór Fluſs*	*Opor / Opór*	*Opor Fl.*	*Opor*	*Opór*	*Опир*

Amongst the oikonyms, the Ukrainian /i/ was often absent in positions where it would normally have been expected. In its place, one finds either the Polish /u/; or, in the case of Soviet maps, /o/. It is important to note that the oldest Austrian maps contained spelling errors. For example, in the toponym *Hrehoruw* (I,17), the letter representing the sound /u/ is written with [u] instead of [ó]. However, on the Administrativ-Karte von den Königreichen Galizien und Lodomerien map which was based on a cadastral survey, the Polish orthography

is quite correctly used to fix Polonized forms of Ukrainian toponyms, for example, *Jabłonów, Bitków, Stóg, Opór* (see table 4, column K). Nevertheless, some traces of Ukrainian pronunciation and Ukrainian linguistic properties can still be found in the Latin script of some mountain names and a few oikonyms. Examples here include the mountain name forms *Renkiw* (I,11), *Hrynkiu* (K,11), *Rehori(i)wka* (I,3), *Hryhoriwka* (II&Sp,3), *Hriroriuka* (III,3), *Hryhoriwka (Pidberda)* (W,3), and the oikonym *Hrinkiu* (II,11) where the final character segments -*iw*, -*iu*, -*iwka*, -*iuka* in all probability stand for the Ukrainian /i/ (and not Polish /u/). Moreover, in these examples, the Ukrainian pronunciation of [u̯] is marked with the Latin letter "u" and not the letter "w" which corresponds to the Polish sound /v/. It is important to note that III and Sp retain the oronym form *Grofecki kiń* (7) as opposed to *Grofecki Koń* (II&G,7), *Koń Grofecki* (W,7), and *Конь-Грофецкий* (Rc,7). These examples illustrate a general tendency found in the data-set examined. Oikonyms were generally not presented with Ukrainian linguistic properties on the Austrian and Polish maps. This observation may be explained by the fact that the names of localities were officially codified and hence especially prone to Polonization both in Galicia and in the interwar Poland. There is one interesting exception. On all analyzed maps, the Ukrainian /i/ was replaced in the name of Mount Makivka or *Маківка*. During WWI, this mountain became highly symbolic for Ukrainian military resistance as it was here that Ukrainian troops (*Українські січові стрільці*) fought a historic battle against the Russian imperial army.

East-Slavic Pleophony

The absence and the presence of so-called "pleophony" is an important systematic difference between the West-Slavic language of Polish and the East-Slavic languages of Ukrainian and Russian. On the Austrian and interwar-Polish maps examined, the Polonization of toponymy was therefore manifested by the replacement of /ɔłɔ/ and /ɔrɔ/ with /wɔ/ and /rɔ/, respectively. In the Latin script used on the maps, these phonological clusters could be spelled as *oło* or *olo* as well as *oro* in the Ukrainian pleophonic variant. With pleophony removed, they could alternatively appear as *ło* or *lo,* and also as *ro*. In table 5, several examples of these patterns are displayed.

Table 5: The East-Slavic Pleophony (Ukrainian Clusters /ɔłɔ/ and /ɔrɔ/)

d	f	I	L	K	II	III	Sp	G	W	R
12	O	*Holow-iecko*	*Holow-iecko*	*Hołow-iecko*	*Holow-iecko*	*Holow-iecko*	*Hołow-iecko*	*Hołow-iecko*	*Hołow-iecko*	*Голо-вецк [Rc: Головецко]*
6	O	*Horo-denka*	*Horo-denka*	*Horo-denka*	*Horo-denka*	*Horo-denka*	*Horo-denka*	*Horo-denka*	*Horo-denka*	*Город-енка*
15	O	*Horod-yſzcze Cetnar-ske*	*Horod-yszcze Cettner-skie*	*Horod-yszcze cetnar-skie*	*Horodyszcze cetnar-skie*	*Horod-yszcze (cetnar-skie)*	*Horod-yszcze cetnar-skie*	*Horod-yszcze cetnar-skie*	*Horod-yszcze Cetnar-skie*	*Город-ищен-ское*
15	O	*Horod-yſzcze Krolew-ske*	*Horod-yszcze Krolew-skie*	*Horoil-yszcze Królew-skie*	*Horod-yszcze Królew-skie / Horod-iszcze-Krolewsky*	*Horod-yszcze królew-skie*	*Horod-yszcze królew-skie*	*Horod-yszcze królew-skie*	*Horod-yszcze Królew-skie*	*Город-ище*
22	O	*Korol-owka*	*Korol-owka*	*Korol-ówka*	*Korol-ówka*	*Korol-ówka*	*Korol-ówka*	*Korol-ówka*	*Korol-ówka*	*Корол-евка*
7	M	*Moloda b.*	*o*	*Mołoda [mead-ow]*	*Moloda Wrch*	*Werch Mołoda [ridge]*	*Mołoda [ridge]*	*Mszana*	*Mołoda*	*Молода*
7	F	*Moloda Fl.*	*Moloda R.*	*Mołoda B.*	*Moloda Bach / Moloda Fluſs*	*Mołoda Bach*	*P. Mołoda*	*Mołoda*	*Mołoda*	*Молода*
8	O	*Molodia-tÿn*	*Molodia-tyn*	*Mlodia-tyn*	*Młodia-tyn*	*Mołodia-tyn*	*Młodia-tyn*	*Młodia-tyn*	*Młodia-tyn*	*Молод-ятин*

Table 5 Continued: The East-Slavic Pleophony (Ukrainian Clusters /ɔɫɔ/ and /ɔrɔ/)

d	f	I	L	K	II	III	Sp	G	W	R
15	O	*Molod-yncze*	*Molod-ynce*	*Mołod-yńce*	*Mołod-yncze*	*Mołod-ynce / Mołod-yńce*	*Mołod-yńce*	*Mołod-yńce*	*Mołod-yńcze*	*Молод-инче*
2	O	*Porohÿ*	*Porohy*	*Porohy*	*Porohy*	*Porohy*	*Porohy*	*Porohy*	*Porohy*	*Пороги*
22	O	*Worona*	*Worona*	*Worona*	*Worona*	*Worona*	*Worona*	*Worona*	*Worona*	*Ворона*
10	O	*Zabla-tow*	*Zablo-tow*	*Zabło-tów*	*Zabło-tów*	*Zabło-tów*	*Zabło-tów*	*Zabło-tów*	*Zabło-tów*	*Забол-отов*
9	O	*Zablot-owce*	*Zablat-owce*	*Zabłot-owce*	*Zabłot-owce*	*Zabłot-owce*	*Zabłot-owce*	*Zabłot-owce*	*Zabłot-owce*	*Забол-отовцы*

In the data-set collected, there was a great level of consistency with regard to pleophony. If an oikonym appeared with Ukrainian pleophony on the oldest maps, it was usually retained on later cartographic works. The same was true in the reverse: if an oikonym appeared in a Polish form as it is the case with *Zablotow* (L,10) and *Zablotowce* (I,9), it retained its Polish (or Polonized) form in newer maps.

One interesting inconsistency was, however, discovered: *Molodiatyn* (L) > *Młodiatyn* (K,II) > *Mołodiatyn* (III) > *Młodiatyn* (Sp,G,W). What is unusual in this progression is that Polonization clearly occurs between the Third Survey and the subsequent *Spezialkarte* which was based on this survey. Nevertheless, the introduction of pleophony on Soviet maps—as is evident in the move from *Młodiatyn* (W) to *Молодятин* (R)—cannot be interpreted as restoring the Ukrainian toponymic form because pleophony is also a property of Russian.

Ukrainian /r/ vs. Polish /ʒ/ and [ʃ]

Another regular interlingual difference is the opposition of the Ukrainian /r/ and the Polish /ʒ/ which are spelled with the Polish orthographs "r" and "rz". The lexemes of Ukrainian and Polish demonstrate this difference in numerous morphophonological positions thanks to the differing phonetic evolution of the two closely related languages. However, in the onomastic examples listed in table 6, the Polish /ʒ/ is in fact pronounced as voiceless [ʃ] when it follows a voiceless consonant. This variance explains the correspondence *Kostrzyca* (W,3) > *Костшица* (R,3): the name on the Soviet map is simply a transcription of the Polish form.

Table 6: Ukrainian-Polish Opposition of /r/ and /ʒ/

d	f	I	L	K	II	III	Sp	G	W	R
2	F	*Bistric Fl / Bistrica Fluʃ / Bijstrica Fl*	*Bystrica Fl.*	*Bystrzyca Fl.*	*Bistrica Fluſs / Bistryca Fl.*	*Bystrzyca Sołotwińska / Goldene (Słota) Bystrzyca*	*Złota Bystrzyca / Goldene (Złota) Bystrzyca*	*Bystrzyca Sołotwińska*	*Bystrzyca Sołotwińska*	Быст-рица Солот-винская
3	F	*Bistric Fluʃ*	*Bystrica Fl.*	*Bystrzyca Fl.*	*Bistryca Fl.*	*Schwarze (Czarna) Bystrzyca*	*Schwarze (Czarna) Bystrzyca*	*Bystrzyca Nadwornianska / Bystrzyca Nadworniańska*	*Bystrzyca Nadwórniańska*	Быст-рица Над-ворнянская
13	O	*Biſtriza*	*Bystrzyca*	*Bystrzyca*	*Bystrzyca*	*Bystrzyca*	*Bystrzyca*	*Bystrzyca*	*Bystrzyca*	Быст-рица
4	o	*Bistriza [stre-am]*	*o*	*Bystrzec*	*Bystrzec*	*Bystrzec*	*Bystrzec*	*Bystrzec*	*Bystrzec*	Быст-рец
3	M	*o*	*o*	*Kostrycz*	*Kostrycza B.*	*Kostrycz*	*Kostrycz*	*Kostrycza*	*Kostrzyca*	Кост-шица [Rc] / г. Кострич [Rc] / г. Кострица [Rc]
2	O	*Kreczko*	*Krzyczka*	*Kryczka*	*Kryczka*	*Kryczka*	*Kryczka*	*Kryczka*	*Kryczka*	Кричка
1	O	*Krewa*	*Krzywe*	*Krywe*	*Krywe*	*Krywe*	*Krywe*	*Krywe*	*Krywe*	Кривое
4	O	*Kriwo-po-lie*	*o*	*Kriwec B. [stre-am]*	*Krywec*	*Kry-wepole*	*Kry-wopole*	*Kry-wopole*	*Kry-wopole*	Кривополье
23	O	*Krzij-wen-kie*	*Krzy-wenkie*	*Krzy-weńkie*	*Krzy-weńkie*	*Krzy-weńkie*	*Krzy-weńkie*	*Krzy-weńkie*	*Krzy-weńkie*	Кри-венькое
4	5	*Krzij-wor-owna*	*Krzy-wor-ownia*	*Krzy-wor-ównia*	*Krzy-wor-ównia*	*Krzy-wor-ównia*	*Krzy-wor-ównia*	*Krzy-wor-ównia*	*Krzy-wor-ównia*	Кри-воривня
15	O	*Streliszk / Stari Szt-reliszk*	*Strzeli-ska Nowa / Stara*	*Strzeli-ska nowa / stara*	*Strzeli-ska nowa / stara*	*Strzeli-ska Nowe / Stare*	*Strzeli-ska nowe / stare*	*Strzeli-ska Nowe / Stare*	*Strzeli-ska Nowe / Stare*	Новые / Ста-рые Стр-елища
5	O	*Strzylky*	*Strzylki*	*Strzyłki*	*Strzyłki*	*Strzyłki*	*Strzyłki*	*Strzyłki*	*Strzyłki*	Стр-елки
15	O	*Sztrelkij*	*Strzalki*	*Strzałki*	*Strzałki*	*Strzałki*	*Strzałki*	*Strzałki*	*Strzałki*	Стр-елки

Table 6 Continued: Ukrainian-Polish Opposition of /r/ and /ʒ/

d	f	I	L	K	II	III	Sp	G	W	R
15	O	*Verbice*	*Wierz-bica*	*Wierz-bica*	*Wierz-bica*	*Wierz-bica*	*Wiérz-zbica*	*Wierz-bica*	*Wierz-bica*	*Верб-ица*
17	O	*Verbotu-wce*	*Wierz-bielo-wce*	*Wierz-biłow-ce*	*Wierz-biłow-ce*	*Wierz-bołow-ce*	*Wiérz-biłow-ce*	*Wiérz-bołow-ce*	*Wierz-bołow-ce*	*Верб-иловцы*
19	O	*Werb-ian*	*Wierz-biany*	*Wierz-biany*	*Wierz-biany*	*Wierz-biany*	*Wiérrzb-iany*	*Wierz-biany*	*Wierz-biany*	*Верб-ляны*
6	O	*Wer-bowiec*	*Wierz-bowce*	*Wierz-bowce*	*Wierz-bowce*	*Wierz-bowce*	*Wiérz-bowiec*	*Wierz-bowiec*	*Wierz-bowce*	*Верб-овцы*
8	O	*Werb-us niznÿ*	*Wierz-biany Wyzsze*	*Wierz-biąz wyzny*	*Wierz-biąż wyżny*	*Werbiąż Wyżny / Wierbiąż Wyżny*	*Werbiąż wyżny / Wierz-biąż wyżny*	*Werbiąż wż.*	*Wierbiąż Wyżny*	*Верх. Вербиж*
8	O	*Werbus wiznÿ*	*Wierzb-iany Nizsze*	*Wierz-biaz nižž ̌ny*	*Wierz-biąż nyżny*	*Werbiąż Niżny / Wierbiąż Niżny*	*Werbiąż niżny / Wierz-biąż niżny*	*Wer-biąż nż.*	*Wierbiąż Niżny*	*Ниж. Вербиж*
4	O	*Werwobez*	*Wierz-bowce*	*Wierz-bowce*	*Wierz-bowiec*	*Wierz-bowiec*	*Wierz-bowce*	*Wierz-bowce*	*Wierz-bowiec*	*Верб-овец*
18	O	*Wierz-bowczÿk*	*Wierz-bowczyk*	*Wierz-bowczyk*	*Wierz-bowczyk*	*Wierz-bowczyk*	*Wiérz-bowczyk*	*Wiérz-bowczyk*	*Wierz-bowczyk*	*Верб-овчик*
11	O	*Wirchna*	*Wierzchn ia*	*Wierzchn ia*	*Wierz-china [nearby hill: Wiers-china]*	*Wierz-chnia*	*Wiér-zchnia*	*Wierz-chnia*	*Wierz-chnia*	*Верх-няя*
1	O	*Zabrzÿce*	*Zubr-zyca*	*Zubr-zyca*	*Zubr-zyca*	*Zubr-zyca*	*Zubr-zyca*	*Zubr-zyca*	*Zubr-zyca*	*Зуб-рица*

The linguistic authenticity of the First Survey is clearly indicated by the fact that it contains a large number of onomastic forms with the Ukrainian /r/. At the same time, a high degree of Polonization can be found on the Liesganig map (L). Generally speaking, the opposition *r:rz* would seem to indicate was a strong tendency to Polonize Ukrainian toponymy on the Austrian and Polish cartographic documents examined. However, this Polonization process was neither exhaustive nor systematic—an observation which may be exemplified with the forms displayed in rows 5–8 of table 6. For example, in the "Sp" column, the forms *Kostrycz*, *Kryczka*, *Krywe*, *Krywopole* appear. Also in the same column, the Ukrainian /r/ appears to have been reintroduced in the progression between *Wierzbiąż* (II,8) and *Werbiąż* (III, 8). The lack of a complete and total Polonization process may also be seen in the village name *Bystrzec* (K–G,4). The location is situated at the foot of the Mount *Kostrycz*(*a*) (K–G,3). Here we see a Polonized oikonym form and a Ukrainian non-Polonized oronym in close proximity to one another. The interwar-Polish cartography, however, came with the introduction of additional Polonization of Austrian toponymic data. In the change between *Kostrycz* (Sp) / *Kostrycza* (G) and *Kostrzyca* (W), the latter Polish form survived longer as the transcribed *Костшица* on Soviet maps.

Polish Nasal /ɔ̃/

Another regular phonological difference between the Polish and East-Slavic languages involves nasal vowels. This difference is manifest, for instance, in the Ukrainian /u/ and Polish nasal /ɔ̃/ (spelled as "ą"). Depending on its position, these phonemes correspond to the nasalized cluster [ɔm] or [ɔn] in standard Polish, and [um] in some non-standard Polish dialects.

Table 7: Ukrainian-Polish Opposition of /u/ and /ɔ̃/

d	f	I	L	K	II	III	Sp	G	W	R
6	O	*Dubki*	*Dubki*	*Dubki*	*Dąbki*	*Dąbki*	*Dąbki*	*Dąbki*	*Dąbki*	*Дубка*
11	O	*Dum-browa / Dom-browa*	*Dąbr-owa*	*Dąbr-owa*	*Dąbr-owa*	*Dąbr-owa*	*Dąbr-owa*	*Dąbr-owa*	*Dąbr-owa*	*Дуброва*
12		*o*	*o*	*o*	*Dabrowa [mead-ow]*	*Dąbrowa [mead-ow]*	*Dąbrowa [mead-ow], Nad Dąbrową [forest]*	*o*	*Dąbrowa [mead-ow]*	*o*
12	O	*o*	*o*	*o*	*Dębina W.H.*	*W.H. Dębina*	*Dębina W.H.*	*Dębina*	*Dębina*	*Дубина*
11		*o*	*o*	*o*	*Dąbrowa [hill]*	*Dębówka [forest]*	*Dąbówka [hill]*	*o*	*Dębówka [forest]*	*o*
11	O	*Dubowice*	*Dubowice*	*Dubowica*	*Dubowica*	*Dubowica*	*Dubowica*	*Dubowica*	*Dubowica*	*Дубо-виця*
9	O	*Du-brawka*	*Du-brawka*	*Dubrawka*	*Dubrawka*	*Du-brawka*	*Dubrawka*	*Du-brawka*	*Dubrawka*	*Дубр-авка*
5	O	*Gros-owa*	*Gron-zowa*	*Grąz-iowa*	*Grąz-iowa*	*Grąz-iowa*	*Grąz-iowa*	*Grąz-iowa*	*Grąz-iowa*	*Грозова [Rc]*

In the collected toponymic data, one clear example of /u/ > /ɔ̃/ Polonization was found: *Dubki* (K,6) > *Dąbki* (II,6). A correction in the Polish orthography is to be observed in *Dumbrowa/Dombrowa* (I,11) > *Dąbrowa* (L,11), while the spelling *Dumbrowa/Dombrowa* (I,11) retains Polish non-standard pronunciation [um] and [ɔm].

Adjectival Oikonyms

Adjectival oikonyms may be especially prone to linguistic adaptation because changes may be motivated by not only the phonetics of the target language, but also its vocabulary and morphology. Despite that fact, the analyzed maps contained Ukrainian adjectival forms of oikonyms that had not been translated into Polish. A good example is the name *Dolhe/Dołhe*, which in Ukrainian means 'long'. This name was used for as many as four different localities in the collected data and in no case was changed to Polish *Długie*.

Adjectival oikonyms often illustrate well the general mixed linguistic nature of the toponymy used on the maps investigated. For example, in every column, from I to W, a mix of both Ukrainian and Polish forms is found (see table 8). Of particular interest here are toponyms with adjectives of color. The dialectal Hutsul-Ukrainian *Czerleny* 'red' (I&II,4) was substituted with the Polish *Czerwony* (III, Sp,G,W,4). By contrast, where the adjective 'green' is involved, a different phenomenon was observed. In all of the Austrian and Polish maps examined (L–W,3&23), two different (and very distant) localities were consistently labeled with the Polish name *Zielona*. In the newer maps (III–W,4), however, a hamlet/locality established in the 19th century was always referred to as *Zeleny* or *Zełene*—the latter name displays the Polish spelling with "ł", an orthographic choice that brings the name even closer to the Ukrainian pronunciation. Finally, the onomastic forms *Krzyweńkie* (W,23), *Tłusteńkie* (W,23), and all their related names offer a brilliant example of Polish-Ukrainian hybrids. They utilize the Polish adjectives *krzywy* 'crooked' and *tłusty* 'fat; greasy' instead of the Ukrainian *кривий* and *товстий*. Furthermore, they employ the Ukrainian word-formation patterns. Consequently, the name *Tłusteńkie* (W,23) appears instead of *Tłuściutki*, the form the oikonym would have taken in standard Polish. Several examples of adjectival oikonyms are displayed in table 8 below.

Table 8: Adjectival Oikonyms

d	f	I	L	K	II	III	Sp	G	W	R
4	M	*Czer-leny b*	*o*	*o*	*Czer-leny*	*Czer-wony*	*Czer-wony*	*Czer-wony*	*Czer-wony*	*г. Черлены* [Rc]
12	O	*Dolhe*	*Dolhe*	*Dolhe*	*Dolhe*	*Dolhe*	*Dolhe*	*Dolhe*	*Dolhe*	*Долгое*
13	O	*Dolhe*	*Dolhe*	*Dolhe*	*Dolhe*	*Dolhe*	*Dolhe*	*Dolhe*	*Dolhe*	*Долгое*
11	O	*Dolhe*	*Dolhe*	*Dolhe*	*Dolhe*	*Dolhe Kaluskie*	*Dolhe Kaluskie*	*Dolhe*	*Dolhe Kaluskie*	*Долгое-Калушское*
13	O	*Dolhe*	*Dolhe*	*Dolhe*	*Dolhe / Dolhe*	*Dolhe Podbużans kie*	*Dolhe*	*Dolhe*	*Dolhe Pod-buskie*	*Долгое*
23	O	*Krzij-wenke*	*Krzy-wenke*	*Krzy-weńke*	*Krzy-weńke*	*Krzy-weńke*	*Krzy-weńke*	*Krzy-weńke*	*Krzy-weńke*	*Кри-венькое*
23	O	*Tlus-tenke*	*Tlus-tenke*	*Tlus-tenke*	*Tlus-tenke / Tlusteń-kie*	*Tlus-teńke*	*Tlus-teńke*	*Tlus-teńke*	*Tlus-teńke*	*Тол-стенькое*
4	O	*o*	*o*	*o*	*o*	*Zeleny*	*Zeleny*	*Zeleny*	*Zełene*	*Зеленая*
3	O	*Zelona*	*Zielona*	*Zielona*	*Zielona*	*Zielona*	*Zielona*	*Zielona*	*Zielona*	*Зеленая*
23	O	*Zielona*	*Zielona*	*Zielona*	*Zielona*	*Zielona*	*Zielona*	*Zielona*	*Zielona*	*Зеленая*

Adjectives may be present in pairs or groups of oikonyms as elements indicating spatial relationships like "upper", "middle", and "lower". Noticeably, the data collected contained very few examples of typical Polish adjectives such as *górny* 'upper' and *dolny* 'lower' (see the last row of table 9). The use of the Polish forms like *wyżny* 'upper' and *niżny* 'lower' appears to have been preferred over other Ukrainian adjectives that express spatial relationships. For example, *верхній* 'upper', *горішній* 'upper', and *долішній* 'lower', which when Polonized, might have appeared as *w(i)erchny, horiszny,* and *doliszny*.[16]

Table 9: Oikonyms Featuring the Adjectival Components "Upper" or "Lower"

d	f	I	L	K	II	III	Sp	G	W	R
1	O	*Wyjzne Wisockie*	*Wysockie Wyższe*	*Wysocko wyżne*	*Wysocko - wyżne*	*Wysocko wyżne*	*Wysocko wyżne*	*Wysocko wż.*	*Wysocko Wyżne*	*Верхнее Высоцкое*
1	O	*Nijzne Wijsockie*	*Wysockie Nizsze*	*Wysocko niżne*	*Wysocko niżne*	*Wysocko Niżne*	*Wysocko niżne*	*Wysocko nż.*	*Wysocko Niż.*	*Ниж. Высоц-кое*
1	O	*Boltoka nisna*	*Butelka Nizsza*	*Butelka niżna*	*Butelka niżna*	*Butelka Niżna*	*Butelka niżna*	*Butelka nż.*	*Butelka Niż.*	*Нижнее* [Rc]
1	O	*Boltoka visna*	*Butelka Wyższa*	*Butelka wyžˇ na*	*Butelka wyżna*	*Butelka Wyżna*	*Butelka wyżna*	*Butelka wż.*	*Butelka Wyż.*	*Верхнее* [Rc]
4	O	*Jasienow*	*Iasienowgo rne*	*Jasienów górny*	*Jasienów gorny*	*Jasienów Górny*	*Jasienów górny*	*Jasienów grn.*	*Jasienó w Górny*	*Верх. Ясенов*
8	O	*Werbus niznij*	*Wierzb-iany Wyższe*	*Wierzb-iąz wyzny*	*Wierzb-iąż wyżny*	*Werbiąż Wyżny / zu Wierbiąż Wyżny*	*Werbiąż wyżny / zu Wier-biąż wyżny*	*Werbiąż wż.*	*Wierbiąż Wyżny*	*Верх. Вербиж*

Table 9 Continued: Oikonyms Featuring the Adjectival Components "Upper" or "Lower"

d	f	I	L	K	II	III	Sp	G	W	R
8	O	*Werbus wiznÿ*	*Wierzbiany Nizsze*	*Wierz-biaz niżny*	*Wierz-biąż nyżny*	*Werbiąż Niżny / Wierbiąż Niżny*	*Werbiąż niżny / Wierz-biąż niżny*	*Werbiąż nż.*	*Wierbiąż Niżny*	*Ниж. Вербиж*
12	O	*Siniawez Wizna alias Sinoutz*	*Synowucko Wyzsze*	*Synowudz ko wyz˘ne*	*Synowudz ko-wyżne*	*Synowódz ko Wyżne*	*Synowuck o wyżne*	*Synowuck o -wż.*	*Synowód zko Wyżne*	*Верх. Синевидное*
12	O	*Siniawez Niszna*	*Synowucko Nizsze*	*Synowudz ko niżne*	*Synowudz ko niżne*	*Synowódz ko Niżne*	*Synow- ucko niżne*	*Synow- ucko-nż.*	*Synow- ódzko Niżne*	*Ниж. Синеви- дное*
17	O	*Sarnki Gorne / Srzednie / Dolne*	*Sarnki Gorne / Srzednie / Dolne*	*Sarnki górne / średnie / dolne*	*Sarnki gorne / średnie / dolne*	*Sarnki Górne / Średnie / Dolne*	*Sarnki górne / średnie / dolne*	*Sarnki grn. / śrd. / dl.*	*Sarnki Górne / Średnie / Dolne*	*Сарники / Диброва / Подолье*

There is a Great Difference Between Volodymyr and Vladimir

So far, patterns of toponymic Polonization have been the focus of this article. In this section, the attention will shift to the presence of Russification in the collected data. This examination is organized in accordance with the general description of the Soviet impact on Ukrainian toponymy outlined in a paper by the renowned Ukrainian linguist and onomastician Dmytro Buchko (Бучко 2000). According to him, the "demolishing" of the independent Ukrainian onymic system by Soviet authorities began as early as the late 1920s. However, the greatest wave of oikonymic changes came after 1946. The resulting imposed official alterations and modifications in toponymy were, of course, featured on Soviet military maps.

Бучко (2000) draws attention to the fact that the Soviets eliminated almost all Ukrainian oikonyms that contained ethnonymic elements. The one major exception was the ethnonym *російський* 'Russian'. In the data collected, several examples of these changes were found. For instance, a comparison of maps "W" and "R" yielded the following examples: *Czechy* > *Луговое* (18); *Lachowce* > *Подгорье* (2), *Laszki Górne/Dolne* > *Горишнее/Долишнее* (15); *Tatarsko* > *Песчаны* (12); and *Uhersko* > *Яблоновка* (12). In addition, the name *Tatarów* changed to *Кременцы* three times. The one exception in this case was a railway station which retained the name *Татаров* during the same period of time.

Toponymic replacement also involved names with a non-Ukrainian—mainly German—origin. In these cases, elements such as *-berg*, *-heim*, *-hof*, *-dorf*, *-thal*, *-feld* were frequently replaced (Бучко 2000). In the collected data, many instances in which oikonyms of German origin appear to have taken place in the late 1780s when new villages were established by German settlers coming to Galicia. This settlement period is referred to as "Josephine colonization". Examples of German toponyms in the data-set that subsequently underwent replacement include *Brigidau* (Sp) / *Brygidyn* (W) > *Лановка* (12); *Gelsendorf* > *Загорное* (12); *Mühlbach* > *Сенев* (15); *Neudorf (Nowa Wieś)* > *Новое Село* (13); and *Pöchersdorf (Kryweć)* > *Смоляной* (7).

According to Бучко (2000), during the Soviet rule, over 750 new oikonyms with the Russian suffix *-овка* were introduced to the oikonymic system of Ukraine. The Russian ending *-овка* corresponds with the Ukrainian *-iвка*. In the data investigated, a comparison of "W" and "R" yielded several examples: *Żołczów* > *Калиновка* (17); *Brygidyn* > *Лановка* (12); and *Uhersko* > *Яблоновка* (12). Along with this systematic pattern change, another form of onymic Russification involved the introduction of Russian endings of adjectival toponyms. Here again, the data collected contained many instances such as *Зеленая* (R,4); *Долгое-Калушское* (R,11), *г. Толстая* (R,13); *Толстенькое* (R,23); and *Кривенькое* (R,23).

A very interesting example Russification involved the renaming of a village called *Nahuievychi*. Its name was replaced by *Ивана Франко* (R,13). On the one hand, this new name honoured the great Ukrainian poet and writer Ivan Franko. On the other hand, the new oikonym features a genitive case of a given name and surname that is completely alien to the Ukrainian toponomasticon. This example leads to another type of place name alteration found in the data collected. As shown in table 10, oikonyms based on given names were usually modified by introducing corresponding Russian name forms.

Again, the results presented here are not based upon an exhaustive quantitative analysis of all of the toponymy across all of the maps produced for the geographical region. As a result, there are many patterns which may have been overlooked. This this work offers a good general overview and many important insights.

Table 10: Oikonyms Based on Given Names

d	f	I	L	K	II	III	Sp	G	W	R
9	O	*Miko-lajow*	*Miko-laiow*	*Miko-lajów*	*Miko-laiow*	*Miko-lajów*	*Miko-łajów*	*Miko-lajów*	*Miko-lajów*	*Нико-лаев*
9	O	*Wlodz-imirce*	*Wlodz-imirce*	*Wlodz-imirce*	*Wlodz-imirce*	*Włodz-imirce*	*Wlodz-imirce*	*Wlodz-imirce*	*Wlodz-imirce*	*Влад-имирцы*
15	O	*Mik-olajow*	*Mik-olaiow*	*Miko-łajów*	*Miko-lajów*	*Miko-lajów*	*Miko-lajów*	*Miko-lajów*	*Miko-lajów*	*Нико-лаев*
17	O	*Hre-horuw*	*Hre-horow*	*Hre-horów*	*Hre-horów*	*Hre-horów*	*Hre-horów*	*Hre-horów*	*Hre-horów*	*Гри-горов*

As can be seen above, for two localities, map "R" uses the oikonym *Николаев* (9,15) instead of the Ukrainian form *Миколаїв*. And the oikonym *Włodzimirce* which was based on the Polish given name *Włodzimierz* in all previous maps (I–W) was not replaced with a form based on the Ukrainian given name *Володимир* in R. Instead, it was replaced with a form based on *Владимир,* the Russian counterpart to *Włodzimierz*. This substitution is of great importance because the names *Volodymyr* and *Vladimir* belong to two separate languages, cultures, and nations.

Українською мовою, будь ласка (In Ukrainian, Please)

Despite the general tendency to Polonize names, all of the maps examined that were produced by Austria and interwar Poland (I–W) contained numerous examples of clear Ukrainian linguistic features. If the proportional number of such names among all toponyms decreases on subsequent cartographic works, it is not only due to replacing Ukrainian features with Polish ones, but also due to the general increase of the total number of toponyms placed on newer maps. Noticeably, the First Survey is clearly much more authentic than later maps in the sense that it retains many more Ukrainian features wherever their presence may be expected. In this regard, a point already stated in the Methodology should be underscored once more: in the data analyzed, oikonyms outnumbered other types of toponyms by far; and it was the oikonyms in the region investigated that were mostly prone to Polonization. If the data had contained more names for hills, mountains, forests, meadows, streams, and rivers on the maps examined (I–W), the proportion of clearly Ukrainian forms and properties would most likely have been much higher.

That having been said, on the Austrian and Polish maps examined for this study, it was found, for example, that the Ukrainian female adjective form and Ukrainian pronunciation of the oikonym *Hnyła* (K–W,1) was consistently followed. The Soviet authorities did, however, change the name to *Карпатское* (R,1). This change was probably made because the original name was based on the Ukrainian adjective *гнилий* 'rotten, putrid' and the new adjectival toponym 'Carpathian' may have seemed much better.

Evidence of Ukrainian pronunciation was indicated either with the Latin letter "y" instead of "i" or by the omission of "i" between a consonant and "e". Examples include *Ihrowec* (III&Sp,2); *Luhowec* (I,3); and *Werch Guretwyna* (III&Sp,7) as opposed to the Polonized *Wierch Koretwina* (W,7); *Melnikÿ* (I,14); and *Melniki* (III,14) which stand in contrast to *Mielniki* (Sp–W,14). The Ukrainian appellative *гірка* 'little mountain' was found in the hamlet name *Na hirkach* (K–G,16). This name was, however, replaced with *Górki* (W,16) on the Polish map and with *Горки* (Rc,16) on the Russian one. Most maps retain the oikonym *Bobroidy* (K–W,16) 'those who eat beavers' in the Ukrainian form, although the Polonized form would have been *Bobrojady*.

Discussion and Conclusion

As this investigation has shown, geographical names that appear on official regional maps provide important testimony of the effects of centuries of Polish-Ukrainian language contacts over the centuries. There is much to be gained by investigating the toponymy of maps within the much wider context of Austrian, Polish, and Soviet language policy. Moser (2015) points out that during the 16th century in the Ruthenian territories of Poland, the Polish language gained the status of *lingua franca* but remained on par with the Ukrainian language. In the 19th century, the strict Russification policy[17] of the tsarist empire pushed out the centers of the development of the modern standard Ukrainian language to the Hapsburg-ruled Galicia, where linguistic efforts of Ruthenians-Ukrainians to establish a standard language eventually came to fruition (Moser 2015). This development was at a time when the political domination of the Polish language surged. As Weisswasser (2015) points out, this rising level of status was thanks to the administrative policies introduced into Galicia starting in the mid 19th century. By 1869, Polish had been declared the official language of the crownland. Of course, there were no legal impediments to the usage and development of Ukrainian in Galicia. However, it is quite clear that the political position Polish gained as the official language was partially at the expense of Ukrainian.

After the 1918-1919 West Ukrainian war of independence had been lost to Poland, Ukrainians remained politically and culturally disadvantaged in the Second Polish Republic. According to Hibel (2014), in Poland at that time, the addresses on postal deliveries could be written in Ukrainian only if they were meant to be delivered within or to territories where the usage of Ukrainian for official purposes was allowed. However, this policy did not apply to registered mail. According to the official inventory of post offices, the name of post offices had to always be written in the Latin script.

The centuries of Polish-Ukrainian language contact in the region investigated for this paper have resulted in considerable linguistic heterogeneity in the toponymy. In her study of oikonymy in the former Chełm and Bełz Lands, Czopek-Kopciuch (1988) noted that there was tremendous competition between Ukrainian and Polish variants in the historical documents she examined. The variant chosen was strongly influenced by the language of not only the people who pronounced the names, but also those who wrote the names down. The resulting mix of language-specific properties in the historical records makes it almost impossible to conclusively determine whether the original form of an oikonym was Polish or Ukrainian. Another study which is relevant here is Pluskota's 1988 analysis of place names in the Ruthenian territories of the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth between the 16th and 18th centuries. The quantitative results of this study also revealed substantive linguistic heterogeneity in the toponymy of the former Halych Land.

The differing linguistic properties of toponymy were not only an issue of linguistic preference. They were also partially determined by the way surveyors conducted their toponomastic work. Since the Third Survey, for example, the principles of collecting, selecting, and recording toponymy were prescribed in survey manuals. According to the oldest Austrian manual, onomastic correctness was one of the benchmarks of map quality (IN1875). The importance of using names commonly known to the locals was stressed (IN1875, IN1903). In the case of linguistically mixed areas, survey maps were to select the name or name form used by the biggest part of population. Other competing name forms, however, had to be listed next to the most common label (IN1875). The newest manual added that other forms were to be recorded only if they sounded considerably different from the main name (IN1903).

At this point, a serious question arises about the maps that were produced on the basis of the Third Survey. if the name (variant) used by the local majority was to be listed as the main name, why were so many of the toponyms on these maps in Polish for areas where Ukrainian-speakers of outnumbered Poles by far? A potential answer to this question may come from the survey instructions (IN1887). To avoid the possible mistakes and misunderstandings which could, for instance, come from surveyors' poor command of a local language, surveyors were instructed to consult political authorities, foresters, land property managers, clergymen, physicians, etc. while processing toponymy of the surveyed area. These "consultants" may have been the few Poles among an almost exclusively Ukrainian local population.

One may argue that partial, unsystematic, and inconsistent Polonization of the analyzed toponymy—both on Austrian and interwar-Polish maps—was not so much a means of executing symbolic power to subordinate Ukrainians in Galicia but rather a reflection of very complex and highly diverse period of time in which the Polish language was dominant. Moreover, since annexation of Galicia, Polish dominance over Ukrainians could be seen as dominance of a dominated dominator. Global decisions concerning names on Austrian maps were made in Vienna. The Hapsburg approach to the issue of Galicia's toponymy seems to have been determined by factors that changed over time and depending on more general political developments. It may be argued that from the annexation of Galicia in 1772 to the mid 19th century, the tendency of Austrian authorities to use Polish/Polonized oikonymic forms was a question of practicality. There was an administrative need to gain orientation in the new territory where Polish used to be the official language. In the second half of the 19th century, however, Galicia was granted autonomy and many Poles enjoyed dominant political position. Under such conditions, Polonization of official oikonymy was a natural outgrowth of the increasing status of the Polish language in Galicia's administration.

The answer to the question of whether Ukrainian toponymy was Polonized on Austrian and Polish maps can then be answered with a definite "Yes". It may be assumed that (then and now) were Poles given a random fragment of the *Spezialkarte* or the interwar-Polish topographic map of the geographical area examined in this study, they would find on oikonyms so familiar in form that they would most likely assume that the mapped area in question was inhabited by people whose native language was Polish. The assessment of the toponymy on Soviet maps would probably yield quite different results, however. After 1945, the Russian language, culture, and power were definitely newcomers in the area examined in this study. In contrast to the centuries of Ukrainian-Polish contact, there was no such prolonged Ukrainian-Russian language contact that produced the Russification of official toponymy on Soviet maps. Instead, it was the application of a strict language policy that lay behind the influx of Russian toponymic forms.

Again, the results presented here are not based upon an exhaustive quantitative analysis of all of the toponymy across all of the maps produced for the geographical region. As a result, there are many patterns which may have been overlooked. Nevertheless, this research, provides an insightful look into the ways in which toponymic policies can reveal many important social, cultural, historical, and political insights.

Notes

[1] A comprehensive overview of maps as a tool of (mainly Western overseas) colonialism is provided by Berg and Kearns (2009) who stress that "topographic maps were—and continue to be—an important form of spatial construction" and that they "gain their rhetorical power from an hegemonic myth of mimesis" (26).

[2] The name of the newly established crownland *Galizien und Lodomerien* was based on the Latinized forms of names of capitals of the Principality of Volhynia (*Volodimiria*-Володимир/Volodymyr) and the Principality of Halych (*Galicia*—Галич/Halych). These names were chosen by the Viennese authorities in order to help legitimize the annexation.

[3] In the final days of Austria-Hungary, Ukrainians living in Galicia proclaimed the independence of the West Ukrainian People's Republic on November 1, 1918. The Republic took over territories claimed by Poland. The West Ukrainian People's Republic is not to be confused with the Ukrainian People's Republic which was another Ukrainian state established in 1917 on the territories of the Russian Empire as the result of the February Revolution and the October Revolution.

[4] In 1991, Poland was the first foreign state to recognize Ukrainian independence after the dissolution of the Soviet Union.

[5] The reason for choosing the 1880 census is that it provides statistical data from the time when the Third Survey was made. Moreover, the 1880 census data is organized according to district borders shown on the analyzed *Spezialkarte*. The 1880 census data may be found here:
https://alex.onb.ac.at/cgi-content/alex?aid=ors&datum=0001&page=346&size=45

[6] The full set of the collected toponymic research data is not presented here due to space limits but may be accessed at https://docs.google.com/spreadsheets/d/1NlXHdTePGtb3cp-t1_v4YV3TmBu-Ej_K/edit?usp=sharing&ouid=11498477938592494368&rtpof=true&sd=true

[7] The name "Josephinian or First Land Survey" is in fact an umbrella term for a set of mapping projects conducted separately in Hapsburg lands after Austria's defeat in the Seven Years' War (1756–1763). According to historical lore, the generals told Empress Maria Theresa that the defeat was due to the lack of detailed maps. The territory of Galicia and Lodomeria itself was mapped during the years 1779–1783 (Bukowski, Janeczek 2013). There are three sets of hand-drawn survey sheets. The first was drawn by surveyors in field. The second was a "clean" copy, and the third was additional spare copy drawn some time later. In this paper only the "clean" copy is analyzed.

[8] Before the Josephinian Survey of Galicia was launched, the Viennese court commissioned the Austrian Jesuit Joseph Liesganig to conduct a civilian survey of the whole territory of the land. This was done at the scale 1:72.000. This task was accomplished within a relatively short period of time between the summer of 1772 and the spring of 1774. The survey served as the basis for a 1:288.000 multi-sheet map published in 1790. The second improved edition of the map was published in 1824. It gained considerable popularity and served as the basis for many further cartographic publications (Faluszczak 2011). According to Wolski (2016), it is a paradox that such an imprecise map had such a great impact on cartography of Galicia in the first half of the 19th century.

[9] The 60-sheet administrative map was published in the years 1855–1863 by Carl Kummerer and was based on (generalized) cadastral survey executed in Galicia during the years 1824–1830 and 1844–1854. The Kummerer map served as the basis for numerous further cartographic works (Faluszczak 2011).

[10] In Galicia and Bukovina, the Second Military Survey was conducted during the years 1861–1864 (Timár et al. 2006). Wolski (2016) points out that the Second Survey made use of toponymic data collected during the cadastral survey which resulted in considerable improvement in the spelling of the Polish names.

[11] The Third Survey of Austria-Hungary was definitely the most important mapping action to take place in the history of the geographical area in focus. Its impact still remains visible in the cartography and in official toponymy of the region. According to data provided by Hofstätter (1989), the surveys in Galicia were conducted from 1874 to 1877. The Third Survey served as map source for the so-called "Special Map" (*Spezialkarte*) at the scale 1:75,000. It was prepared and published between the years 1873–1889 (Faluszczak 2011). It was subsequently generalized to the scale 1:200,000 and published in 1889 (Wolski 2016). The vast cartographic legacy of Austria-Hungary had a great impact on the official toponymy of the region itself and on the toponymy of later maps. Jordan (2014) points out that for the territory of former Galicia which was regained by Poland after the WWI, the Hapsburg state cartography required 389 survey sheets (at the scale 1:25 000), 107 Spezialkarte sheets (updated in field between the years 1888–1917), as well as 55 sheets of the *Generalkarte von Mitteleuropa* (at the scale 1:200 000).

[12] In the case of the former Galicia, the interwar-Polish military topographic maps at the scale 1:100.000 (the so-called *Tactical Map of Poland*, in Polish: *Mapa Taktyczna Polski*) published by the Military Geographical Institute in Warsaw (Wojskowy Instytut Geograficzny) were still based on the (partially updated) materials of the Austrian Third Survey (cf. Wolski 2016).

[13] Before, during, and shortly after the WWII, the Soviet cartography of the area in focus was limited to maps based on the Austro-Hungarian Third Survey and interwar-Polish maps (Wolski 2016). The Soviet large-scale topographic cartography analyzed hereafter was not used as a tool of symbolic violence simply because—as Postnikov (2002) points out—it was held secret and was unavailable to the public. Nevertheless, the Soviet military topographic maps serve as important documentation of the Soviet toponymic policy. They became available to the public (and to foreign states) relatively soon after the collapse of the Soviet Union.

[14] Many of the clerks sent by the Viennese court to the newly gained province were Czechs. It was much simpler for them to use Polish orthography than it was for Germans.

[15] The presence of [i] in specific closed syllables is connected with the general Ukrainian phonetic process of "ikavism". A detailed discussion of this phenomenon may be found in Carlton (1974) and Becker (1980).

[16] Yaroslav Redkva offers detailed discussion of such adjectival elements in oikonymy of Lviv and Halych regions of Western Ukraine in historical sources since the 2nd half of the 14th century has been made by in two papers (Редьква 2015, 2017).

[17] Symbolic of the anti-Ukrainian actions of the tsarist regime is the so-called "Valuyev Circular of 1863",. In this document, the Russian Minister of Internal Affairs refuted the existence of a separate "Little Russian" (i.e. Ruthenian/Ukrainian) language. The Minister also asserts that the language spoken in "Little Russia" (i.e. in Ukraine) is in fact Russian that has been corrupted by the influence of Polish. The statement about the alleged nonexistence of the "Little Russian" language did not, however, stop the Minister from declaring in a further paragraph that from that point onward, it was forbidden to publish educational books and reading primers in the "Little Russian" language that he claimed earlier never existed.

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