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## BULAESTIAN /ПОЧ'ЕСТНЕ/ AND SOME UKRAINIAN AND ROMANIAN ANALOGIES<sup>1</sup>

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### Rezumat

#### Tradiția /поч'естне/ la ucraienii din satul Bulăești și unele paralele în spațiul ucraienian și românesc

La ucraienii din satul Bulăești există o ceremonie de nuntă (și, în consecință, lexema care o denotă), /поч'естне/ „a face cadouri mirelui / miresei chiar la începutul nunții”. Obiectivul acestei cercetări este de a lua în considerare termenul /поч'естне/ și termeni – analogi ai săi în spațiul ucraienian și românesc. Rezultatele analizei demonstrează că în zona dialectelor carpato-ucraiene (în primul rând bucovinene și boikov) și a dialectelor ucraiene din regiunea Podolie, există o anumită interferență semantică a lexemelor [почесне] and *частувати*. Totodată, termenii analogi ai tradiției bulăeștene /поч'естне/ nu ne conduc la dialectele ucraiene bucovinene (care sunt cele mai apropiate rude ale dialectului bulăeștean) – ci la dialectele ucraiene din regiunea Podolie de Sud, apropiată teritorial de Nistru. Prezența unor paralele apropiate structural ale tradiției bulăeștene /поч'естне/ în spațiul românesc, care sunt denotate cu lexeme diferite, dar semantic (și în unele cazuri (anume – termenul românesc *cinste*) – și etimologic) apropiate, sugerează că și apariția tradiției /поч'естне/ la bulăeșteni, și schimbarea semantică în sensul acestui dialectism carpato-ucraienian însuși s-a produs tocmai sub influența românească.

**Cuvinte-cheie:** ucraieneni, Moldova, dialectologie, ritualuri de nuntă, influențe reciproce româno-ucraiene.

### Резюме

#### Булаештское /поч'естне/ и некоторые параллели в украинском и румынском ареалах

У булаештских украинцев фиксируется такой обряд (и, соответственно, – обозначающая его лексема), как /поч'естне/ ‘предварительное одаривание невесты/ жениха в самом начале свадьбы’. Во время обряда гости подходят к столику с вином и вареньем, поздравляют невесту/жениха, бросая мелкие деньги на поднос, и их угощают стаканом вина и вареньем. Задачей данного исследования является рассмотрение термина /поч'естне/ и его аналогов в украинском и румынском ареалах. Результаты проведенного анализа демонстрируют, что в пределах ареала карпато-украинских (прежде всего буковинских и бойковских) и подольских говоров наблюдается определенная семантическая интерференция лексем [почесне] и *частувати*. При этом аналогии булаештскому /поч'естне/ уводят нас не к ближайше-родственным ему надпрутско-буковинским украинским говорам, а к южноподольским, территориально близким к Днестру. Наличие же структурно близких к булаештскому /поч'естне/ обрядовых параллелей, при том обозначаемых семантически (а в некоторых случа-

ях, как румынское *cinste* – и этимологически) близкими, хоть и отличными лексемами именно в румынском ареале, позволяет предполагать, что появление как обряда /поч'естне/, так и семантический сдвиг в значении самого этого карпато-украинского диалектизма произошел именно под румынским влиянием.

**Ключевые слова:** украинцы, Молдова, диалектология, свадебная обрядность, румыно-украинские взаимовлияния.

### Summary

#### Bulaestian /поч'естне/ and some Ukrainian and Romanian analogies

The tradition (and, the lexeme also) of /поч'естне/ ‘the preliminary gifting to bride and groom in the early stage of wedding’ exists among the Bulaestian Ukrainians. During the /поч'естне/ guests entering the wedding hall come to the small table with wine and jam and/or sweets. They congratulate the bride / groom, throwing small money on the tray (which is denoted as /к'едате" на поч'естне/, ‘to throw on pochestne’), and then they are poured a glass of wine, offered jam or sweets for a snack. The task of the research is to analyze the term /поч'естне/ and its analogues in the Ukrainian and Romanian areas. The analysis has demonstrated that a kind of semantic interference between the words [почесне] and *частувати* exists in the Carpathian-Ukrainian region. The closest analogies to the Bulaestian /поч'естне/ addresses us to the South-Podolian Ukrainian dialects. The existence of ritual parallels that are structurally close to the Bulaestian *почестнэ*, and at the same time are denoted semantically (and, in some cases etymologically, like the Romanian *cinste*,) similar, albeit different, lexemes namely in the Romanian area, suggests that the appearance of the ceremony of *почестнэ*, as well as the semantic shift in the meaning of this word in the Carpathian-Ukrainian dialects occurred precisely under the Romanian influence.

**Key words:** Ukrainians, Moldova, dialectology, wedding ceremony, Romanian-Ukrainian mutual influences.

The issue of the tradition of /поч'естне/ (in Russian transliteration: *почестнэ*; hereinafter the cited words of Bulaestian dialect are given in the conventional for Ukrainian dialectology transcription or in Russian transliteration; the words of other Ukrainian dialects are given according to the etymological and dialectal dictionaries of the Ukrainian language), which exists among the Ukrainians of Bulaesti village (Orhei district, Republic of Moldova), was considered already

(Романчук 2021: 231, note 5; 2021a). The given article makes some new steps here.

Thus, we see the tradition (and, the lexeme also) of /поч'естне/ 'the preliminary gifting to bride and groom in the early stage of wedding' in Bulaesti village. During the /поч'естне/, the guests entering the wedding hall come to the small table with wine and jam and/or sweets. They congratulate the bride and groom and throw small money on the tray (which is denoted as /к'едаде" на поч'естне/, to throw on *pochestne*'), and then they are poured a glass of wine and offered jam or sweets for a snack.

According to the updated data (compared with the information in (Романчук 2021: 231, note 5; Романчук 2021a)), the extension of the rite to christening took place in Bulaesti tradition relatively recently, in the last half century. Initially, this ceremony was associated exclusively with weddings.

The informant says: // на хрестене" не робеле" поч'естне" |ран'ч'і // Лешен' на в'іс'іл'а // На в'іс'іл'а п'ісл'а страве у же дару'їале" // Страва – це то, що кладесе" на ск'їу на хрестенах, на в'іс'іл'ове" / на празне"кове" // В'ід студенцу до |соусу// На в'іс'іл'а на поч'естне" к'едале" рубл'і // Тепер ч'ук' |б'їлше" / а |ран'ч'і по рубл'ове" // Дару'їале" і ч'іч'к'е на поч'естне" // |Б'їлше" не"ч'о // А у же на масамар'і дару'їале" // Хто шо |маў // І курей / хто пешенецу / хто шо // Нанашко с'г'їу коло молодех / п'ідходе"ле" тай к'едале" // Нехто не ш'їтаў // Хто |к'їлко маў / так'е і |к'енуў // (Елена Лунгу/Elena Lungu (maiden name – Долгиерь/Dolghier'), according to Bulaestian anthroponymicon – Ильяна Удулова/Иуана Udulova, born in 1936).

Thus, the gifting during the weddings takes place in two stages. The first gifting, preliminary, is /поч'естне/, and it takes place at the beginning of the wedding ceremony. The second gifting, the main one, takes place already at the final stage of the wedding, at /масамар'і/ (this comes from the Romanian *masa mare*, word for word: "big table").

The closest structural analogies to this rite are registered in the Moldovan villages located near Bulaesti (in particular: Myrzach and Myrzesti). However, a similar rite is characteristic in general for the Moldovan and, more broadly, the Romanian area.

According to the classic of Romanian ethnography, S. Fl. Marian, "almost as soon as the bride sits down at the table", the villagers invited to the wedding (especially young people) come and bring gifts to the bride, such as "ritual bread (ko-

lachi), wheat flour, eggs, butter, feta cheese, milk, honey, chickens, nuts, pears..." and so on (Marian 1890: 309). Simultaneously, a similar ceremony takes place in the groom's house.

In the Ukrainian area, as I can see through the studies about the Ukrainian wedding rituals I have examined (about fifty articles, mainly representing materials from the Carpathian-Ukrainian and Podolie regions of Ukraine; I did not include all of them in the list of references), there are no direct analogies to the Bulaestian *pochestne*. However, it seems that some more distant parallels can still be found (see, for example: Борисенко 2016: 117, 145; АНТОНІВ 2014: 99).

It is not the task of the article, however, to consider the extent to which these analogies correspond to the rite under discussion of Bulaestian wedding. Especially if we take into account that, in general, the wedding ceremony of the Bulaestian Ukrainians, as far as I can see, demonstrates many differences from the common Ukrainian wedding traditions. In particular, it is worth to note that according to V. K. Borisenko, in the entire Ukrainian area the main part of the wedding ("prince's table") took place in the bride's house. This, in her opinion, significantly distinguishes the Ukrainian wedding from the Russian one (Борисенко 2016: 113). Meanwhile, in Bulaesti, on the contrary, the main part of the wedding, *масамару* (to some extent or another it seems to correspond to the term "prince's table" in the main Ukrainian area), took place in the groom's house

Therefore, based on our current capabilities, the task on which I would like to focus our attention in this study, and which is much more promising and productive, I think, is the analysis of the term itself and its analogues in the Ukrainian and Romanian areas.

Let's start from the Romanian data.

As S. Fl. Marian wrote concerning the described Romanian rite, which is similar to the Bulaestian tradition *pochestne*, "on the main part of Bukovina these gifts are named *Daruri* (i. e. – «Gifts») and *Cinste* (i. e. – «Honour»)" (Marian 1890: 309). Besides, it is worth mentioning that in the some districts (in Romanian: *judets*) of Romanian Moldova, such as Neamt, Roman (today it is a part of Nyeamts), and Bacau (all three mentioned districts are situated in the pre-mountainous part of Romanian Moldova, close to the Carpathian Mountains), this rite, according to S. Fl. Marian, is known as *Vedrele* (i. e. – "Buck-

ets”). The Muntenian name for the rite is *Poclonul* (Marian 1890: 315).

S. Fl. Marian especially pointed out the fact that this rite with different names (*Daruri*, *Cinste*, *Vedrele*, *Poclonul*) is known not only “among the Romanians from Bukovina and Moldova, but also among the Romanians from Muntenia”. Therefore, it has to be an ancient rite.

Yes, the conclusion is right. However, it is not less important that S. Fl. Marian did not mention here the Romanians of Transylvania.

Looking at the mentioned words more closely, let us start with the ascertaining that “*Daruri*” do not need special comments. Slavic *дары* ‘gifts’, from which this Romanian word comes, was not substantially changed in the Romanian language.

Concerning the lexeme *cinste*, which also has Slavic origin, I have analyzed in details (Романчук 2021). However, I have not considered this word as a Romanian wedding ritual term. Meanwhile, including it in the field of analysis, we can substantially enlarge our knowledge about the genesis of the Romanian verb *a cinsti*, which is similar to Bulaestian /ч’асту<sup>1</sup>wamu<sup>e</sup>/.

As I have noted earlier, Bulaestian /ч’асту<sup>1</sup>wamu<sup>e</sup>/ has the only meaning ‘to pour wine into glasses; to be a cupbearer’. This evidently differentiates the Bulaestian dialect from its closest relatives, the Ukrainian dialects of Bukovina, where such words as *чистувати*, *частовання* have the meaning ‘to make gifts to the bride/groom during the wedding (Словник... 2005: 674, 637).

I would like to emphasize here that the argumentation of this conclusion (as well as the following reference to the Ukrainian etymological and dialectal dictionaries) is based on the principle “these facts are mentioned in dictionaries” (and not on the principle “the dictionaries do not include these meanings”). It does not matter if the dictionary of Bukovinian Ukrainian dialects had represented all of the existing in the dialects meanings of the word *частувати*. It does matter that the dictionary evidently reflected the cited meaning.

Thus, as we can see, this meaning differs from the Bulaestian meaning of /ч’асту<sup>1</sup>wamu<sup>e</sup>/. And, the Bulaestian dialect uses the word /пoч’естнe/ in the same meaning as Bukovinian dialects use *частувати*.

Returning to the Romanian data, the term *Vedrele* also comes from a Slavic word *въдро* ‘bucket’. The Romanian *vadră* means “bucket; measure of the weight of liquids and bulk solids corresponding to a

bucket”. Besides, *Vedrele* had also the meaning ‘type of tax in kind (wine, vodka) or money collected in medieval Moldova from wine producers of the winery Odobesti’ (DEX: *vadră*).

Finally, the last mentioned by S. Fl. Marian term, *Poclonul*, also has a Slavic etymology, and it is also associated with the semantics of gifts and taxes. According to Romanian dictionaries, «**по-клон** s. n. v. **plocon**» comes from Slavic *поклон*, and in the Middle Ages also had the meaning of “a gift sent to the Turkish sultan in recognition of suzerainty” (DEX: *poclon*).

Besides the mentioned by S. FL. Marian, on the territory of the Republic of Moldova, according to the kind consultation of R. Osadchi (I would like to take this opportunity to express my sincere gratitude to her), two more terms are used. The first is known in the Lower Dniester Valley, and it sounds as *Întâmpinarea oaspeților* (word for word: “the meeting of guests”). Namely, this term is used in the neighboring to Bulaesti Moldavian villages, Myrzachi and Myrzeshti.

Another term is specific for the northern part of the Republic of Moldova. This is *Datu mâinii* (word for word: “giving of hand; handshake”).

Besides, according to the information offered by R. Osadchi, the Romanian rite, which is similar to Bulaestian *почестнэ*, is known only in part of Moldovan villages in the Republic of Moldova.

Coming to the Ukrainian area, let us start with the fact that the term *почестнэ* (in any variants) is not mentioned in the cited above book of V. K. Borisenko (as it follows by the contextual search). I have not found it either in any other publications that deal with the Ukrainian wedding rituals.

However, the term *почесне* is mentioned by etymological and some dialectal Ukrainian dictionaries, but not in the context of wedding rituals.

Thus, according to the etymological dictionary, Ukrainian dialectal [почесне] means ‘treat’, and comes from the Polish dialectal [poczęsne], with the same meaning (ЕСУМ 4: 546). The dialectal dictionary of Boikov’s dialect informs us that *почесне* means ‘part of the donation for the church, which went to priests, local intelligentsia and beggars’ (Онишкевич 1985: 129).

Finally, according to the kind consultation of I. V. Gorofyanyuk (I would like to take this opportunity to express my sincere gratitude to her), in the southern part of Podolie dialectal area (Yampol’, and Chechelnytski districts of Vinnitsa oblast’) the

rite of *почесне* has the same meaning “the gifting to bride and groom during the wedding” (to precise, I. V. Gorofyanyuk wrote: “обряд одаривания молодых гостями свадьбы, которые взамен получали кусочек каравая и стопку водки” (Горофянюк 2021: 80)).

Interesting, that in a village of Yampol’ district the rite of *почесне* is named as *рука* ‘hand’ (Горофянюк 2021: 81); see in this context the mentioned above *Datu mâinii* from the northern part of the Republic of Moldova.

Thus, as I have mentioned before, we see a kind of semantic interferences between the words [*почесне*] и *частувати* in the Carpathian-Ukrainian region. The closest analogies to the Bulaestian *почестнэ* address us to the South-Podolian Ukrainian dialects.

The existence of ritual parallels that are structurally close to the Bulaestian *почестнэ*, and at the same time are denoted semantically (and, in some cases etymologically, like in the Romanian *cinste*) similar, albeit different, lexemes in the Romanian area, suggests that the appearance of the ceremony of *почестнэ*, as well as the semantic shift in the meaning of this word in the Carpathian-Ukrainian dialects occurred precisely under the Romanian influence.

However, it is worth to mention that some closest analogies exist in the wedding terminology of Russian (northern Russian, especially) dialects also: *почестно*, *почесно*, *почестный брат*, *почестное*, and some other (СРНГ 1997: 5-6).

#### Note

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