

**НАЗВИ РУМУНСЬКОГО НАРОДНОГО КОСТЮМА
 (Сторожинецький район Чернівецької області)**

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**NAMES OF THE ROMANIAN FOLK COSTUME
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Діана Кібак. Назви румунського народного костюма (Сторожинецький район Чернівецької області). Польові дослідження в Сторожинецькому районі, до якого входять румунські села Буденець, Череш, Чудей, Красноільськ, Іжівці, Нижні та Верхні Петрівці, а також у Глибочьому районі, в селі Ропча, переконали нас, що скрізь проявляється особливий інтерес до збереження румунської мови, назв старовинного народного одягу та румунської культури загалом шляхом популяризації традицій та християнсько-православної віри, що є основними компонентами духовної самобутності, визначальними елементами румунської ідентичності не тільки у цій зоні, але й на інших прилеглих територіях.

Мета статті – проаналізувати термінологію, яка стосується народного одягу. **Новизна наукової розвідки** зумовлена тим, що лексика на позначення румунського народного костюма в долині річки Сірет досліджується вперше. **Актуальність дослідження** умотивована необхідністю поглибленого аналізу термінології традиційного румунського народного одягу з етнографічного, етнологічного та етнолінгвістичного поглядів, що підтверджує динаміку розвитку румунської мови в Україні.

Висновок. Отже, проаналізувавши специфічну термінологію зазначеного етнографічного регіону, ми прийшли до висновку, що мовні елементи латинського походження є найбільш продуктивними. Вони засвідчують, що досліджуваний шар лексики утворився дуже давно, а тому віддзеркалює менталітет, мовні і культурні особливості румунів Північної Буковини, є частиною їхньої етнографічної та етнолінгвістичної спадщини.

Ключові слова: румунська мова, традиційний одяг, етимологія, народний костюм.

Introduction. The field research we carried out in the District of Storozhynets, that includes the Romanian villages of Budineț, Cireș, Ciudei, Crasna, Igești, Pătrăuții de Jos and Pătrăuții de Sus, as well as in the District of Hlyboka, in the village of Ropcea, led us to the conclusion that there is a special interest in the conservation of the Romanian language, traditional costume and culture that is widespread all over this area, in other words a concern to keep and promote the traditions and the Orthodox Christian beliefs, two of the main components of spiritual identity that define, here and elsewhere, the Romanian way.

Besides the ethnographic aspect in the description of material and spiritual culture, and of the traditional costume and cohabitation with other ethnic groups, our thesis, entitled *The Terminology of Romanian Traditional Costumes in Valea Siretului (District of Storozhynets, Chernivtsi Region), Ukraine*, also presents the ethnolinguistic aspect, for language is a product of the society and a function of its culture. For that reason, this terminology is a part of spoken language that constitutes a living proof of the continuance of a certain material and spiritual culture that is connected to the life of the community, to its traditional costume and vocabulary, to its conservation and evolution in time, i.e. to its vitality. For

example, objects like *cămașa bătrânească, fota, ȳarii, ia, sumanul, căciula, cojocul*, etc., as garments that were inherited from the times of the Dacians, demonstrate the stability and the continuity of the Romanian element in the region. Besides, if we take into account the names of these garments, i.e. the specific terminology, we find new arguments that support the linguistic stability and the continuity in this territory, as these terms belong to the fundamental vocabulary of the language, the most stable and productive part of the lexis.

The purpose of the article is to analyze the terminology related to folk clothing. **The novelty** of scientific research is due to the fact that the vocabulary for the designation of the Romanian folk costume in the valley of the Siret River is being studied for the first time.

Analysis of the recent research and publications. The specifics and features of Romanian national clothing were analyzed by the following scientists: E. Pavel¹, Z. Mihail², V. Costinean and S. Costinean³,

Presentation of the primary material. *Terminology of the Romanian traditional costume of Valea Siretului (District of Storozhynets)*, represents a study on the word-stock that refers to the traditional costume and its manufacturing, from the viewpoint of the viability of the

¹ Pavel E. Portul popular din zona Iași [The popular clothes in the Iasi area], Editura Meridiane, București, 1975, 208p. [in Romanian].

² Mihail Z. Terminologia portului popular românesc în perspectivă etnolingvistică comparată sud-est europeană [Romanian folk clothes terminology in a comparative ethnolinguistic southeast European area], Editura Academiei Republicii Socialiste România, București, 1978, 253 p. [in Romanian].

³ Costinean V., Costinean S. Valea Siretului – repere etnografice din zona Storozhynets [Valea Siretului - ethnographic landmarks from the Storozhynets area], Editura Artpress, Timișoara, 2007, 147 p. [in Romanian].

terms. Each one of these terms is described according to its origin, pronunciation, first attestation, circulation, etc., while providing minimal information about the item it designates. In some cases we have also offered comparative information on the status those terms have in Romania in the province or provinces where they are attested similarly. We have explained descriptively and semantically the terms that are strictly dialectal, (almost) unknown to other regions, according to their local variants, while indicating the villages in which they are present.

We need to draw attention to the fact that the word-stock we analyze, proper not only to Valea Siretului, but also to the entire Bukovina and the historical province of Moldavia, has a features of conservatism and stability and is mainly of a Latin origin (including those terms that entered from French), even if it suffered, along the way, a series of Turkish, Hungarian, German, Greek and Slavic influences (especially Ukrainian). We deal with these influences in the last chapter, *Vitality of the terminology of the traditional costume*, which contains information on the phonetics, semantics and, most important, on the etymology of the terms, and also a study on the integration of the terminology of the traditional costume in phrases and idioms.

From an artistic viewpoint, the traditional costume of Valea Siretului – and from every part of the world where Romanians live – represents a unique material and aesthetic value, as it is an authentic work of art that belongs to our national patrimony, attested, as we have already pointed out, by incontestable historical evidence: monuments, documents and testimony of intellectuals from inside or from abroad, that were passed on along the way.

Nevertheless, in this context the most precious evidence is the Romanian language itself, for it has preserved for centuries the original name for each end every item of clothing – and we consider the etymological evidence that takes us back in time to Latin and Dacian, a language that had much in common with that of the Albanians, as shown by the presence of certain “autochthonous” terms such as: *brâu*, *buci*, *căciulă*, *curpen*, *strungă*, *traistă*, *zgardă*, etc. There are certain autochthonous terms that remained almost unchanged over time and we notice that the population of the region manifests the will to preserve its Romanian character both at a concrete, material level, and at the level of the terminology – thus, alongside the newer terms, the ancient ones are still in use, and alongside the literary terms, the regional ones are also present.

Anyway, most of the terms describing the traditional garments are a part of the main word-stock of the language – and this will not change as long as these people still wear, or at least preserve their traditional costume, which is actually worn with great pride by the young people and children on holidays, and that reminds everyone of their Romanian identity.

From this viewpoint, we see that the folkloric garments have a double meaning, since we are interested both in their artistic, aesthetic and symbolic values, and in their linguistic value that synthesizes the history of the object itself and of its name. Here, in Valea Siretului, we discover a number of terms of a Latin origin that are used all over Romania, such as *bată*, *cămașă*, *curea*, *ghem*, *ie*, *ițari*, *îmbrăcăminte*, *legătoare*, *măneacă*, *pieptar*, *pregitoare*, *ștergar*, *veșmânt*, etc. – which is proof to the continuity of Romanian dwelling in the region, since this vocabulary belongs to the main

word-stock of the Romanian language.

Some terms are formally close to their Latin etymon:

baț < Lat. **balteus**, “waistband”;

bată < Lat. **bitta**, “bond”;

canură < Lat. **cannula**;

cămașă < Lat. **camisia**;

cheotoare < Lat. **clautoria**, etc.,

while other have been submitted to derivation:

acoperământ < Lat. **acco(o)perire** + suff. *-ământ*;

arcește < Lat. **arcus** + suff. *-ește*;

brăcinar < Lat. **bracile** + suff. *-ar*;

camizălc < Lat. **camisia** + Slv. suff. *-elka*;

costișat < Lat. **costa** + suff. *-ișă* + suff. *-at*;

cruciuliță < Lat. **crux**, **-cis** + suff. *-uliță*;

îmbrăcăminte < Lat. ***imbracare** (< **braca**, “pants”) + suff. *-ăminte*;

împrejurătoare < Lat. **in** + **per** + **gyrus** + suff. *-toare*;

miniștergură < Lat. **manus** + **extergere** + suff. *-ură*, etc.

Generally speaking, we notice that the terms that were inherited from Latin are well preserved and productive, as they conserved their derivative possibilities.

On the other hand, as expected, besides the inherited terms, in this region there are several terms of a Slavic origin, mostly Ukrainian, such as: *bortă*, *cartuz*, *cațaveică*, *ciubotă*, *fald*, *gaci*, *paci*, *prisnă*, *spelcă*, *șlecuri*, etc. Some of these terms have an extremely low circulation.

We easily noticed the coexistence of neologisms, dialectalisms and archaisms, as well as the existence of numerous synonym series formed of terms that designate virtually the same item of clothing (see, for example, *căciulă* and *cușmă*, *legătoare*, *broboadă*, *batic*, *basma* and *tulpan*, *frânghie* and *baier*, *curea* and *chimir*, etc.). Sometimes these series contain a large number of terms: *cămașă*, *cămeșoi* or *cămeșoie*, *cămezălc*, *ie* (Latin words), *rufă*, *rufoi* (Slavic words). Certainly, at a closer look these synonyms are only partial most of the time. For instance:

cămașă represents the usual term that designates a garment worn both by men and women;

cămeșoi and *cămeșoie* designate a type of shirt with a straight cut, worn on weekdays by the elderly from Crasna, Pătrăuți, Ciudei and Cireș. The meaning of “simple”, “everyday” or “regular” shirt is also suggested by the augmentative suffixes *-oi* / *-oie*, that excludes any kind of pejorative nuance;

the term *camezălc*, used in Crasna and Cireș ad formed with a diminutive suffix, designates an item of underwear worn under the shirt. The diminutive suffix suggests the small size of such a sleeveless garment;

the Latin term *ie* designates a short women shirt, made of cotton or silk fabric and adorned with embroideries. We have noticed that the term *camieșă* tends to replace the word *ie*;

the Slavic terms *rufă* and *rufoi* are regional terms of Crasna, and their meaning is that of “simple everyday shirt” (see *cămeșoi*). In all the other villages they are used with a despective meaning, as they design a rag or cloth that is used for cleaning purposes.

The synonym series in the semantic field of jewelry contains the terms listed below:

colierele (< Fr. **collier**), necklaces of a modern style, worn by young women;

gherdanele (< Turk. **gerdanlık**), necklaces adorned with geometric motifs worn on special occasions;

hurmuzurile (< Turk. **hurmuz**), strings of artificial

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hurmuzurile (< Turk. **hurmuz**), strings of artificial pearls, worn by the young women of Ropcea;

mârgelele (sg.: *mârgea* or *mârgică* < Lat. **margella**), strings of semiprecious stones or glass, wooden, bone, plastic, etc. beads;

salbele (< Lat. **subalba**), metallic necklaces that used to be worn during Phanariot occupation. Nowadays, they are worn mostly by Roma women;

zgardele or *zgârđitele* (autochthonous word, cf. Alb. **shkardhë**), strings of “gems”.

Any linguistic area has its own particular features, so we analyzed the specific features of this region from several viewpoints, such as the phonetic, lexical, etymological, semantic, morphological and symbolic perspectives.

The German scientist Gustav Weigand, as well as the Romanian dialectologist Ion-Horia Bîrleanu⁴, noticed that at a phonetic level, in Valea Siretului and the entire Bukovina people speak a “mosaic” type of dialect that appear as a result of the combination between the dialectal varieties in Moldavia and Transylvania. There are two types of pronunciation:

palatalized (Moldavian type): *k'eptar*, *k'aptar*, *ok'inci*, *tălk'ici*, *k'içor*; and

africatized (Transylvanian type): *çaptar*, *talçiçi*, *oçinci*.

It is interesting to notice that in the villages of Ciudei, Crasna, Cireş and Pătrăuți the africatses [tʃ] and [dʒ] are replaced by the voiceless constrictive [tʃ], specific to the Moldavian varieties; thus, *ciupag* is pronounced the same as *şupag*, *ciupăgel* – *şupăgel*, *pregitoare* – *prişitoare* or *preşitoare*, etc. The phenomenon is not present in the village of Ropcea.

Another particularity of the specific pronunciation in Valea Siretului is the presence of close vowels, which another common feature with the Moldavian variety: *i* and *e* preceded by *d*, *t*, *ts*, *v*, *z* are pronounced [ɤ]: *no(r)jăfi*, *îgaie*, *zămî*, *şervât*, etc.

We have already seen that this lexical inventory is quite heterogeneous from an etymological perspective; most of the terms are of a Latin origin (29.1 %), and then there are a number of terms of a Slavic origin (26.7%). Approximately half of this inventory belongs to the main word-stock of the language, while the remaining terms are neologisms, dialectalisms and archaisms – this is proof, at the linguistic level, of the diachronic changes in the traditional clothing: with the evolution of the material culture of the peoples, certain neological terms have entered the rural areas, such as the French term *costume*, that suffered an extension of the meaning and designates, at present times, three types of clothes:

the traditional ethnic costume (the ancient one);

the “everyday” urban suit of clothes that does not contain traditional ornaments, also called “German suit”;

the “national” festive costume, worn at special occasions, also called, in Valea Siretului, the “national costume of Chernivtsi”.

On the other side, terms such as *caftan*, *berneveci*, *strâmşari*, *făstăc*, *obială*, *gaci*, etc. have become archaisms mostly because the garments they designate are out of fashion and have been replaced by the new trends. The traditional costume will always preserve its basic items and, subsequently, its terminology – in this case, a Romanian one, as a mark of the main word-stock which constitutes an evidence of stability, unity and continuity.

We need to observe, still, that even this heterogeneous vocabulary based on multi-ethnic elements (as each and every ethnic group lends or borrows cultural items to or from its neighbors), is evidence that supports the continuity of the objects, i.e. of the garments, and of the terminology within which the Latin element remains the most active, due to its capacity of permanent lexical renewal.

We find it interesting that the Slavic elements have the capacity to undergo derivation, not only with Slavic affixes, but also with Latin ones:

hainuţă, *hainişoară*, *hainică* < Sb. **háljina**, Bulg. **halina**;

cojocel, *cojocuţ*, *cojocică*, *cojocar*, *cojocărie* < Slv. **kožuhŭ**;

rufuşoară, *rufişoară*, *rufoi*, *rufărie* < Slv. **ruho**;

a îmbrobodi, *îmbrobodeală* < Bg. **podbradka**⁵.

Both from a morphological and a lexical and phonetic viewpoints, in the terminology of the traditional costume of Valea Siretului we can discover ancient, conservative lexical forms, that suscite the interest of the specialists, for a linguistic area, the more isolated and remote it is from the center, the more it preserves ancient lexemes – in our case we deal with ancient Romanian forms, very close to their Latin etymon and lost in all the other Romance varieties. It is the case of, for instance, the name *frânghie* (< Lat. **fimbria**), that circulate all over the Romanian linguistic space, but it was only the Romanian population of Valea Siretului who preserved the archaic forms *frâmbie* and *frânbie*, resulted from a metathesis as a phonetic accident.

As a semantic peculiarity: as we have already mentioned, the word *frânghie* designates, on the one side, a thick rope, and, on the other side, a “string that is used to sustain the pants”, but it also has a more “noble” meaning, such as that in *frâmbie cu stremţe* (“a string with fringes”), that designates an ornament for traditional towels or tablecloths, etc. Strings and waistbands are extremely ancient accessories, and they appear as so on the monument of Adamclisi. The color of strings and waistbands is different according to the age of the person that wears them: children wear them green or blue, young men and women – red (the color of love), and the elderly – dark colors.

A similar evolution, at the morphological level, affected the noun *împrejurătoare* (< Lat. **in** + **per** + **gyrus** + **-toare**), that means literally: “wrapping” of the lower part of the body. This term was formed in Romanian with two preffixes and a suffix (or it might have been inherited from Latin directly with this derived form) and it has the following phonetic variants:

împrejurătoare (Pătrăuți, Cireş, Crasna, Ciudei);

preşitoare (Cireş, Ciudei);

prişitoare (Crănişoara, Crasna).

As for the evolution of the lexical meaning of the

⁴ Bîrleanu Ion-Horia. *Graiurile din Valea Şomuzului Mare* [The dialects of Valea Şomuzului Mare], Vol. II. Fonetica, Editura Sedcom Libris, Iaşi, 2000, P. 75 [in Romanian]

⁵ Kibak D. *Terminologia portului popular românesc de pe Valea Siretului (Raionul Storojineţ, Ucraina)* [Terminology of the popular Romanian suit on Valea Siretului], *Meridian Critic*, The discourse of clothing (II). *Analele Ştefan cel Mare*, University, Suceava, philology, series, № 2/ 2015 (Volume 25), Editura universităţii Ştefan cel Mare, Suceava, 2015, P. 70 [in Romanian].

the terms concerning the traditional costume, as well as that of the phraseological units that contain them, we find cases of semantic tailoring by expansion or reduction, by positive or negative evolution. For example:

- zgardă, zgărdiță – a necklace or choker, but also a dog collar.
- cârpă – a scarf that is used by married women to cover their hair, but also a damp cloth, a rag.
- ciot, ciotușor – a tassel or knot, but also a stump that is left as part of a whole.

It is interesting to notice that this kind of meanings co-exist here, in Valea Siretului.

The ornaments of the folk costume are authentic works of art, whether they are about shapes and colors of the terrestrial or celestial landscapes, about geometric shapes that manage to impress with their formal distribution, symbolism and coloring that create the so-called curcubeie, râuri, vârste or vrâste, pui or puișori, or about the landscapes depicted on the carpets that reflect the human conception on life and death, as derived from the Christian Orthodox beliefs. Thus, the presence of certain motifs such as the Shepherd and the flock, the Tree of Knowledge, the Milky Way a.s.o. proves that the tapestries woven in Valea Siretului represent more than merely useful objects, as they are the expression of an artistic and linguistic way of living and thinking that define the Romanian ethnicity abroad, with its specific attributes, deeply rooted in its clothing and language that are common features among all Romanians.

The massive presence of idioms constructed with terms of the popular costume constitutes another evidence for the vitality of the Romanian language in Valea Siretului⁶. There are hundreds of idioms and phrases in this area⁷, which is more proof that the Romanian language is well established here, as long as this people master it not

only at the direct and concrete level of speech, but also at a figurative and expressive level, and this shows the existence of an expression chosen according to the stability and continuity of the Romanian language in this region. That is, the Romanians who live north from the border do not communicate for the sake of communication, but they always include, in these idioms, their own life experience and their healthiest cultural, religious and moral beliefs, in order to convey their culture and education to the next person. In conclusion, such phrases and idioms reveal the existence of a healthy moral code of human relations and the decision to perpetuate it to the next generation.

Conclusions. And so, the analysis of the specific terminology of the ethnographic region, our article proves that the linguistic elements of a Latin origin has a real vitality, while the human elements, as social entities, represent a promoter of the ethnographic and ethno-linguistic culture that they have been creating as they define with dignity, by means of their Romanian character, their historical, linguistic and cultural identity.

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⁶ Costinean V. Valea Siretului – repere etnografice din zona Storojineț [Valea Siretului – ethnographic landmarks from the Storojineț area], Editura Artpress, Timișoara, 2007, P. 69 [in Romanian].

⁷ As for the folk costume, experts agree that it is best preserved in the valley of the Siret River, the authenticity of which stems from its “cut, chromatics, embroidery, composition”.