THE FOOD CODE OF CULTURE IN THE LINGUISTIC PICTURE OF THE WORLD (BASED ON THE RUSSIAN AND CHUVASH LANGUAGES)

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Abstract

The article proposes a solution to the problem of identifying the ethnic specificity of the food code of culture and its representation in the linguistic picture of the world through a comparative analysis of the vocabulary of two genetically unrelated, typologically differently-structured languages - Russian and Chuvash. The work is based on an interdisciplinary approach, according to which a linguistic sign is considered in the context of other sign systems, and the results of observations of linguistic phenomena are compared with the information provided by other humanities. As a result of the study, it was revealed that the semantic space of a language is determined by the presence of conceptual structures that perform the function of an ethnocultural identifier in the mechanism of linguistic categorization of the world. Two terms have been proposed to denote them: “stereotypes of traditional folk consciousness” and “ethnocultural archetypal representations” (the first assumes the analysis of the phenomenon in synchronicity, and the second assumes a diachronic approach). They have a dual nature: they function as concepts, being components of the ethnic conceptual picture of the world, and are represented in the ethnic language, being components of the linguistic picture of the world. The stereotypes of traditional folk consciousness are represented in the linguistic picture of the world through the cultural connotation of linguistic signs, are realized through the development of polysemy, stable comparisons and metaphors, and ethnocultural archetypal representations are represented through traditional folk symbols, the repositories of which are folklore and mythology. The stereotypes of traditional folk consciousness and ethnocultural archetypal representations represented in the linguistic picture of the world reflect the external activity of a person and their inner world, as well as the person’s perception of the living and inanimate nature around them. In the presented work, based on new factual material, which had not previously become an object of close attention of linguists, the features of stereotypes of traditional folk consciousness and ethnocultural archetypal representations of Russians and Chuvashes are revealed.

Keywords: connotation, cultural code, mentality, food, representation, stereotypes of traditional folk consciousness, ethnocultural archetypal ideas, linguistic modeling of the world.

1 INTRODUCTION

This work, carried out in line with the anthropocentric paradigm of modern linguistics, is devoted to the study of the national-cultural specifics of the linguistic categorization of the world. It is included in the circle of studies based on the idea of W. von Humboldt that each language is a means for a specific interpretation of the world (Humboldt, 1984, p. 105). This work suggests a comprehensive comparative study of stereotypes of traditional folk consciousness and ethnocultural archetypal representations associated with the
representation of the food code of culture in the Russian and Chuvash linguistic pictures of the world. The interdisciplinary research was carried out on the basis of a comparative analysis of the semantics of lexical and phraseological units of the Russian and Chuvash languages with the involvement of dialectal material, works of folklore, as well as extra-linguistic material from the field of mythology, ethnology, ethnopsycho-
ing, cultural studies, history. The choice of languages is due to the desire to conduct a comparative study on the material of typologically different, genetically unrelated languages - Russian, which is part of the Slavic group
of the Indo-European language family (language of the inflectional type), and Chuvash, which belongs to the
Turkic group of the Altai family of languages (language of the agglutinative type). In the aspect of the
linguistic categorization of the world, the Chuvash language is still poorly studied. Several of our studies are
devoted to this problem, but on the whole it should be stated that there is an obvious insufficiency of the
development of this scientific problem. In modern linguistics, the direction developed in this study, in which
language is studied as the cultural code of a nation, is very relevant and promising. The theoretical
significance of this study is due to the development of a number of key problems of modern anthropocentric
linguistics associated with the analysis of the semiotic mechanism of interaction between language, ethnicity
and culture. The purpose of the work is to study the ethnic specifics of the linguistic categorization of the
world by identifying and analyzing comparatively and systemati-cally the archetypal ideas and stereotypes of
traditional folk consciousness, represented in the Russian and Chuvash linguistic pictures of the world,
associated with the food code of culture.

2 METHODOLOGY

The presented work uses an integrated approach to research, including the following methods: analysis of
vocabulary definitions, conceptual analysis, contextual analysis, analysis of the semantic field, cluster
analysis, the method of systemic oppositions, the method of analytical interpretations, as well as
comparative, descriptive, classification, statistical methods of research. The methodological basis of this
work is determined by the interdisciplinary nature of the research, which required to combine the actual
linguistic analysis with the techniques and methods of related disciplines, bringing the research to the
junction of several sciences and scientific disciplines - linguistics and cultural linguistics proper, cognitive
linguistics, and philosophy of language. The general orientation towards the integrativity of the research led
to a consistent comparison of the results of observations of linguistic phenomena with the information
provided by the non-linguistic sciences about man. A comparative analysis of the semantics of lexemes and
connected combinations is accompanied in this study by excursions into the field of material and spiritual
culture, ritual practices, customs, signs, that is, a linguistic sign is considered in the context of other sign
systems. The broad involvement and comparison of linguistic, mythological, folklore, ethnographic material
is based on the idea of the semantic unity of the entire culture of the people, while the analysis of the text
remains predominantly linguistic. Particular attention is paid to the study of the cultural connotation of
linguistic signs, the analysis of stable comparisons, metaphors, symbols. A significant place in the study is
occupied by the analysis of dialectal material, folklore texts and material reflecting customs, rituals, beliefs,
stereotypes of ritual and everyday behavior. The study of such a complex phenomenon as the linguistic
picture of the world can be successful only with an integrated approach.

3 RESULTS

One of the most revered food products in both Russian and Chuvash cultures is rye bread made from yeast
dough. In both analyzed languages there is a large number of paremias containing the lexeme bread. Examples: Bread is the head of everything; Bread on the table, and the table is a throne, but not a piece of
bread, and the table is a board (Dahl, 1984, p. 18); There is nothing more significant on Earth than bread; If
there is no bread, then gold is useless (Terentyeva, 2007, p. 41). Expressing condemnation and contempt to
a person, the Chuvash say: "You are not worth a crumb of bread." In the Russian language, the lexeme
bread is used in many phraseological units: daily bread, to beat bread, to eat bread for free, to eat
someone's bread. Bread is the most sacred food in Russian culture, a symbol of prosperity and material
well-being. In Russian culture, bread is interpreted as a gift from God, and requires a special respect for
itself. It was customary for the Russians to have bread constantly on the table in the red corner.

1 to take away someone’s opportunity to make money

2 to live aimlessly, without a purpose

3 to have someone pay for your living

4 Red is translated as красный into russian, which also has the obsolete meaning of beautiful, nice (красный). The red corner was used to keep icons and other things of sacral nature.
Russia was widely used as a talisman: they put it in the cradle of a newborn; put on the place where the deceased had been lying before, so that the bread would overcome death and the deceased would not take fertility with him; carried out into the street when a thunderstorm approached to protect crops.

In traditional Russian culture, bread is often combined with salt (bread and salt). **Bread and salt** in Russian culture is a symbol of hospitality and cordiality. Bread symbolizes wealth and prosperity, while salt protects against hostile forces. Salt is a universal talisman. "Salt in your eyes, fire in your teeth," - so they said after a person suspected of being able to jinx. Meeting guests (that is, strangers) with bread and salt had a double meaning: that of hospitality and that of a talisman. Bread and salt in Russian linguoculture is a symbol of food, treats. Compare Russian proverbs and sayings: Bread and salt do not leave the table; The conversations are big, but the bread and salt are small (Dahl, 1984, p. 28). Bread and salt is also a symbol of food and treats in the traditional Chuvash culture. Traditional Chuvash goodwill reads: Always be with bread and salt and do not neglect the advice of kind people. One of the Chuvash folk songs presents a parallel bread and salt / parents: There is nothing more significant on earth than bread and salt / And no one is better than parents (Yumart, 1978, p. 131).

Salt has traditionally been considered the lot of the rich. Compare the saying: We live, we chew bread, and we also add some salt (Dahl, 1984, p. 16). The phraseological unit salt of the earth borrowed from the biblical text in Russian has the following meanings: 1) the most outstanding representatives of the people, the flower of society; 2) something most important, the most valuable. Phraseologism having eaten without salt expresses the meaning of “not having achieved our goal, to no avail.” The lexeme salt acts as a metaphor in the proverb You recognize a person when you have eaten a pound of salt with him with a spoon (Dahl, 1984, p. 81). The expression to put salt has a figurative meaning “to make trouble, to harm someone.” Salt in the Chuvash linguistic picture of the world can symbolize suffering. Compare the following examples extracted from the works of Chuvash folklore: One's own child is bitter (literally: salty) (Terentyeva, 2007, p. 32); The work of a sailor is very salty - / This deprives me of my health (Yumart,1979, p. 64).

In the traditional cultures of both Russians and Chuvash, rye bread was more common. Compare: Buckwheat porridge is our mother, and rye loaf is our father (Dahl, 1984, p. 15). In everyday life, wheat was used little, mainly for holiday baking. Compare the Russian proverb: Mother rye feeds all fools completely, and wheat - selectively (Dahl, 1984, p. 34). Rye bread in Russian culture is contrasted with kalach - bread baked from wheat flour. A Russian proverb says: Kalach will become boring, but bread will never be (Dahl, 1984, p. 82). The opposition “bread” - “kalach” is also represented in the Chuvash oral folk art. Compare the Chuvash proverb: Rather than to eat someone else's kalach, it is better to gnaw your own (stale) bread (Terentyeva, 2007, p. 36).

Pastry products played an important role in both Russian and Chuvash folk cultures. In Russia, no meal was complete without baking. The traditional Russian wedding ceremony was accompanied by richly decorated tall round wheat bread made from butter dough (karavai). Compare the Russian proverb: Take cheese and karavai, but don't leave our newlyweds (Dahl, 1984, p. 38). The karavai is a symbol of fertility. Wedding karavai, richly decorated with ornaments, symbolized the birth of a new family. Like some other symbols of marriage, karavai was baked in a round shape, which can be associated with the symbolism of the sun. As a gift from God, people use karavai to bless the newlyweds, break it over their heads, greet the newlyweds with it after the wedding. At the wedding, karavai is placed on the table in front of the newlyweds. The central ritual action with karavai is its division - a symbolic division of the common good into parts and endowing each with his own share. God is invited to participate in the distribution of the loaf, and when distributing the loaf, the guests are expressed a desire to impart happiness. Round bread made from wheat flour (khapartu) in the traditional Chuvash culture also acted as an attribute of many rituals. It was exhibited on the table during the maternity ceremony, weddings and others. A Chuvash proverb says: Love is not khapartu wheat bread, you cannot eat it with milk (Terentyeva, 2007, p. 44).

One of the most ancient flour dishes is blini⁵. The lexeme blin⁶ is widespread in the parapodial fund of the Russian language. Compare: As a battered blin one climbs into your mouth; Where the blini are, there we are; where the blini are, it is fine there (Dahl, 1984, p. 22). The main symbolism of blini is memorial, associated with ideas about death and the afterlife. Blini are dedicated to the dead, they symbolically feed the souls of their ancestors. At funerals and commemorations Chuvash people were served blini made of liquid sour dough made from millet, spelt, barley, and pea flour, blini were also put on the festive table. The

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⁵ Blini are similar to pancakes, but they are thinner and bigger.

⁶ singular form of blini
Chuvash proverb says: To eat blini, there are acquaintances; in order to eat khuplu, there are in-laws (relatives by marriage) (Terentyeva, 2007, p. 35).

Pirog is a widely used flour dish. Russians say: “The hut is not beautiful because of its corners, but because of its pirog” (Dahl, 1984, p. 62). The paremiological fund of the Russian language recorded the opposition “pirog - bread”. Compare: Bread with water, but not a pie with a vengeance; It does not suit one to take pies, if they have no bread (Dahl, 1984, p. 74). The lexeme pirog, formed from the word “feast”, indicates that not a single solemn feast could do without pirog. For the festive table Chuvash baked ash kukli “pirogi with meat” and shyamarta kukli “pirogi with eggs”. The Chuvash proverb says: Without pirogi and dumplings, guests are not expected (Terentyeva, 2007, p. 38). It was customary for the Chuvash people to take pastries (most often pirogi) as a present when they visit someone. Compare the Chuvash proverb: It is better to go on a visit with a flatbread than empty-handed (Terentyeva, 2007, p. 27). The hosts, in turn, see off the guests, also presented them with pirogi, that is, according to tradition, the Chuvash went to visit and returned from guests with pastries, most often with pirogi. In autumn and winter, the Chuvash traditionally baked khuplu - a kind of closed round pie with a multilayer filling consisting of potatoes, millet or wheat groats, meat (or fish) (Skvortsov, 1982). Khuplu was cut in a solemn atmosphere, this was entrusted to a respected guest. Khuplu was an element of a number of ritual meals (wedding, childbirth, autumn-winter ritual feasts). The lexeme khuplu is widely represented in the Chuvash folklore. Examples: Khuplu is a Chuvash dish (Chuvash food); Treat your in-laws (relatives by marriage) to khuplu; If you are treated to shyurbe, prepare a khuplu for a reciprocal treat (Terentyeva, 2007, p. 84).

The Chuvash phraseological unit pizhmens pashalu (literally: unbaked flatbread) expresses the meaning of “zany” (Skvortsov, 1982, p. 114).

In the old days, gingerbread was a favorite delicacy in Russia. The lexeme gingerbread is widely used in Russian folklore. The following examples: Gingerbread nobles, rye peasants; Taras has a taste for gingerbread, and Filat would be happy with porridge (Dahl, 1984, p. 48); Oh you, my dear, / What a hassle: / From heels to head - / Like honey gingerbread! (Astafyeva, 1990, p. 37).

In the traditional Chuvash culture, a baked product from different varieties of flour without filling kolobok had ritual significance. It was baked on the hearth of a stove or in a frying pan, soaked in butter or honey. It was a festive and ceremonial dish that was baked on special occasions. Compare the Chuvash sayings: It’s so good, as if I have eaten a warm kolobok; Kolobok - to taste, bread - to get full (Terentyeva, 2007, p. 83).

Of the liquid cold dishes in traditional Russian cuisine okroshka, botvinya, and tyurya were widespread. Botvinya and tyurya are also mentioned in Russian paremias: Talk, Fetinya Savvishna, about botvinya now; What is Aksinya, such is botvinya; There were times when we ate porridge, and now tyurya is in honor (Dahl, 1984, p. 59). The lexeme tyurya also expresses the figurative meaning of “deadhead, scatterbrain, gaper”. Derivatives of this word also have figurative meanings: “to lie, to confuse”, “to drag someone into trouble”, “to get caught, to fall in love”. The figurative meaning “mixture, mixing of dissimilar objects, concepts” is expressed in Russian by the lexeme okroshka.

Shchi has been the main liquid hot dish on the Russian table for over a millennium. The unique aroma of shchi (shchi spirit) has always stood in the Russian hut. The lexeme shchi is used in many proverbs, sayings and phraseological units. Examples: Shchi is the head of everything; Shchi and porridge is our life; One’s own father will become boring, but shchi will not; A kind wife and fat shchi - don’t look for any other good (Dahl, 1984, p. 73). When analyzing the works of Russian folklore, an example was found in which the opposition "shchi - pottage" is presented: Mother is not my own - / The pottage is cold. / If only she was my own, / She would've poured me hot shchi (Astafyeva, 1990, p. 81).

Chuvash cuisine is characterized by the division of hot first courses into two groups: 1) soups (yashka), which were prepared in water, with or without the addition of butter and milk (but without meat and fish); 2) meat or fish hot first course (shyurbe). Shyurbe is a traditional ceremonial, festive and wedding, dish of

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7 a Chuvash pie
8 a Russian pie
9 plural form of pirog
10 The word pirog (nupoe in russian) is formed from the russian word nup (feast).
11 Chuvash national hot first dish
12 cabbage soup
which there were two types:

1) shyurbe made of meat (it could have been with the addition of cereals, potatoes and other vegetables)" (compare the saying: Shayurbe, of course, is for you, but meat from it is not for you (Terentyeva, 2007, p. 67));

2) shyurbe made of fish (compare the proverb: People's rumor is not ukha\textsuperscript{13} (Terentyeva, 2007, p. 67)).

Soup \textit{(yashka)} was an everyday meal of the day. A Chuvash proverb says: \textit{All the time you eat soup you get bored, sometimes you want to taste shyurbe} (Terentyeva, 2007, p. 45). Soup without butter in the Chuvash linguistic culture symbolizes a bitter, joyless life. As an example, we will cite the lines of a Chuvash folk song: \textit{A small pot is a beautiful pot, / Soup is cooked in it without butter (and without meat). / Those words that even a dog does not hear, / An orphan hears} [Yumart, 1978, p. 177].

In Russia, \textit{meat} was rarely used in everyday life, and even then not as an independent dish, but in hot first courses. Compare the proverbs: \textit{For shchi people seek wives, but for meat in the shchi they seek husbands; Salt-horse is salty, beef is expensive (that's why we don't cook)} (Dahl, 1984, p. 42). Meat or game dishes were considered festive and ceremonial. Meat dishes in the traditional Chuvash culture were also not an everyday meal; they were prepared for family feasts and some ceremonies in the autumn-winter period. Compare the Chuvash proverb: \textit{When a guest comes, meat is cooked; if the meat is not cooked, the face burns with shame} (Terentyeva, 2007, p. 82). Meat dishes were a must for ritual meals. Meat dishes such as \textit{sharttan, tultarmash, shyurme} are of ancient origin. \textit{Sharttan} is a meat dish traditionally prepared from mutton: a thoroughly washed stomach was stuffed with finely chopped and well-salted fatty meat without bones, sewn up and baked in a pan in the oven in several stages for 3-4 days (Svkortsov, 1982). A Chuvash proverb says: \textit{Chuvash gift is a fat sharttan} (Terentyeva, 2007, p. 77). Sharttan was considered the most preferred treat for guests of honor. Compare the lines from the Chuvash folk song: \textit{Let's go, matchmaker, to visit, / We will gladly taste the sharttan. / And if it is not there, / At least we will be full with talks} (Yumart, 1979, p. 12). When holding festive feasts, boiled, fried or baked poultry (a whole carcass, which was cut in a solemn atmosphere by the guest of honor), were mandatory. Baked goose is one of the obligatory wedding dishes. Compare the lines from the Chuvash wedding song: \textit{Black-black clouds are floating, / We will not leave until we have tasted the goose. / Blue-blue clouds are floating, / We will not leave until we have tasted the ducklings} (Yumart, 1979, p. 81).

\textbf{Milk} in traditional Russian culture is one of the main types of food (along with bread). For all Slavs, milk reveals a connection with the sky and atmospheric phenomena - rain and lightning (thunder) (Zhekulina, 1989, p. 23). According to the oldest Indo-European concept, rain is the milk of heavenly cows (clouds). In Russian fairy tales, \textit{rivers of milk} flow in the kingdom of the dead. In the beliefs of the Eastern Slavs, the Milky Way is the road to the "other world", that is, to the afterlife. Of dairy products in Russian cuisine, \textbf{cottage cheese} (in the old days it was called cheese), \textbf{sour cream}, \textbf{cream}, \textbf{butter} were widespread. The phraseologism \textit{like on butter} in Russian linguoculture expresses the meaning "easy, without any difficulty (to go): about business, events, life", and the phraseological unit \textit{to skim the cream} has the meaning "to take, appropriate the best for yourself without any reason". The lexeme \textit{cream} in Russian has a figurative meaning "the best, selected part of someone, something" (\textit{the cream of society}). \textbf{Butter} and \textbf{cheese} in Russian linguistic culture symbolize wealth. Compare the Russian phraseological unit \textit{to roll like cheese in butter}, which expresses the meaning "to live in complete contentment", and the saying \textit{a rich man has every hair in butter, but a poor man has none for porridge}.

Milk and dairy products occupy an honorable place in the Chuvash cuisine. \textit{Chuvash say: Bread with milk for the Chuvash is the most delicious food} (Terentyeva, 2007, p. 77). The lexeme \textit{sour cream; cream} is widely represented in the paremiological fund of the Chuvash language. A Chuvash proverb says: \textit{A brave man tasted sour cream (cream), but a timid one just watched him do it} (Terentyeva, 2007, p. 95). The concept “butter” in the Chuvash linguistic picture of the world is also characterized by extremely positive connotations. Compare the Chuvash proverbs: \textit{Even rotten bast shoes will be tasty if they are smeared with butter. The soul of a good person is like melted butter (that is, good, pleasant)} (Terentyeva, 2007, p. 23). One of the Chuvash folk songs presents a parallel \textit{butter / relative: There is nothing yellower than melted butter / There is nothing softer than melted butter / There is no one dearer than relatives} (Yumart, 1979, p. 181).

The concept “butter” in the Chuvash linguistic picture of the world also represents the following meanings: 1) dear, valuable gift or bribe (compare: \textit{Butter washes away the guilt}; (Terentyeva, 2007, p. 52)); 2) material

\textsuperscript{13} Russian fish soup
An egg, according to popular beliefs, is the beginning of all beginnings, the focus of vitality; a symbol of rebirth and fertility. The motive of overcoming death through the life enclosed in the egg is reflected in such riddles about the egg as: “The living will give birth to the dead, and the dead will give birth to the living” (Dahl, 1984, p. 12).

Eggs in both Russian and Chuvash traditional cultures were ceremonial, ritual food and were rarely used in everyday life. Omelet is one of the main dishes of the Chuvash funeral table. Scrambled eggs were certainly fried for the bride and groom during the wedding. The concept of “egg” in the Chuvash linguistic picture of the world is characterized by a positive connotation. Examples: The egg helps a person to win over other people, the egg gives life; The early riser tasted the egg, but the late riser did not even get the bread (Terentyeva, 2007, p. 93). The lexeme egg is used in Chuvash folklore as a positively connotated comparison. For example: From whatever side you look / At a snow-white egg, / There is no flaw. / And our aunt is like this: / From whatever side you look, / There is nothing to complain about (Yumart, 1978, p. 140).

Porridge in both Russian and Chuvash traditional folk cultures was ritual and festive food. Porridge was an obligatory part of the wedding ceremony, which is why there is the expression you can't cook porridge with somebody, which in modern Russian means “you can't come to an agreement with someone, you won't achieve anything”. The lexeme porridge contains many names of rituals in the traditional Chuvash culture: acha patti “baby porridge” (maternity ritual in which porridge with chicken is served), tertnesh patt “wedding porridge”, which was treated to the bride’s relatives in the groom’s house, shyul patti (treating with porridge as a sign of the end of a festive or ritual meal), saltak patti “soldier’s porridge” (rite of passage to the army) and others.

In Russian cuisine, porridge has long been divided into three types by consistency: gruel (liquid porridge), smear (viscous porridge), porridge proper (hard-boiled, crumbly). Most of all in Russia they loved crumbly porridge, in the old days they also eagerly ate gruel (especially with fish), which replaced soup; smear was not so favored: it was believed that it was neither this nor that, it was looked at like spoiled cereals. The lexeme smear in modern Russian is characterized by a disapproving connotation, expressing the following figurative meanings: "sluggish, indecisive person", "something vague, devoid of strength, expressiveness."

In Russian culture, buckwheat porridge enjoys special love (compare: Buckwheat porridge is our mother, and rye bread is our dear father (Dahl, 1984)), and in Chuvash the popular place was taken by millet (compare: Great food, from the point of view of the Chuvash people, is millet porridge (Terentyeva, 2007, p. 62)). Chuvash folklore reflects the parallel millet porridge / girl: I would like to eat millet porridge, / But I have no butter. / I would play with my peer, with whom I grew up together, / But the girl is not with us (Yumart, 1978, p. 68).

Kissel occupies an important place in traditional Russian cuisine. The Russians say: There is always a place for kissel and the Tsar; Blessed is the one, who has kissel and home brew. Kissel in both Russian and Chuvash traditional cultures is a ritual dish, mainly of a memorial and sacrificial nature. In Russian fairy tales, the connection of kissel with the world of the dead is reflected in the plots where the hero finds himself in the “other world” or in the distant kingdom and sees rivers of milk with kissel banks. In modern Russian, the phraseologism milk rivers and kissel banks is used to denote a good, free life. In the traditional Chuvash culture, kissel was a ritual dish for sacrifice to the home spirit yerekh, the water spirit vutash. The lexeme

14 a viscous fruit dish, used as a dessert or a drink
kissel in Russian linguoculture is also used to denote a sluggish, weak-willed person. Phraseology kissel soul in the Chuvash language expresses the meaning of “one, who slobbers” (Skvortsov, 1982, p. 257).

**Honey** is considered a memorial and sacrificial dish in traditional Russian culture; it symbolizes the “sweet life” in the “other world”. In the funeral and memorial rituals, ritual dishes kutyu(kolivo), sytu (honey diluted in water), kissel are prepared from honey and with honey; it is smeared on pancakes and ritual bread, added to beer and home brew. Honey in Russian linguistic culture is a symbol of health, well-being, “sweetness” of life, beauty, happiness. Compare the Russian proverb: *One hand in honey, the other is in sugar* (Dahl, 1984, p. 42). Honey was a favorite product, but expensive, available to the nobility, and it was served at large celebrations. Compare Russian proverbs and sayings: *Even a chisel can be swallowed with honey, If you’re a voivode - you cannot live without honey; Whoever has honey and butter, has a celebration* [Dahl, 1984, p. 45]. Honey in the Chuvash linguistic picture of the world can act as a symbol of material well-being, wealth. Compare the examples extracted from the works of Chuvash folklore: *The one who ate honey did not choke, but a splinter stuck in the tongue of the one who was licking the tub from under the honey* (Terentyeva, 2007, p. 74). Honey, especially when paired with butter, in the Chuvash linguistic culture is a symbol of well-being, “sweetness” of life, happiness. At the Chuvash wedding, the bride’s mother treated the guys from the groom’s relinue to bread, on which honey and butter were smeared. At the same time, a wish was expressed: *For the life of the young to be sweet as honey (= happy) and fat as butter (= rich)* (Terentyeva, 2007, p. 76). Flattering speech and adulation are associated with the taste of honey (sweet, cloying) in Russian linguistic culture (compare: *The friend is not the one who smears honey, but the one who tells the truth; Honey on the tongue, but ice on the heart* [Dahl, 1984, p. 47]), and in the Chuvash linguistic culture honey is associated with affectionate, polite speech, courtesy (compare: *May your tongue be not wormwood, but honey* (Terentyeva, 2007, p. 67)), sometimes flattering speech, adulation (compare: *There is a lot of bile in a honey word* (Terentyeva, 2007, p. 66)).

### 4 CONCLUSIONS

A comparative study of Russian and Chuvash stereotypes of traditional folk consciousness and ethnocultural archetypal ideas associated with the perception of food allows us to make the following generalizations:

1. One of the most revered food products in both Russian and Chuvash traditional cultures is rye bread made from yeast dough - a symbol of prosperity, material well-being, interpreted as a gift from God. Bread and salt in both Russian and Chuvash linguocultures is a symbol of hospitality, cordiality, where bread symbolizes prosperity, strength, health, and salt symbolizes wealth and acts as a talisman against evil forces. Salt in the Chuvash linguistic picture of the world can symbolize suffering.

2. Butter, cheese, cream in Russian linguistic culture symbolize wealth and privileged position. The concept “butter” in the Chuvash linguistic picture of the world also represents the following meanings: 1) expensive, valuable gift or bribe; 2) material goods; prosperous, wealthy life; 3) soft, affectionate, affable manner of communication. The conceptual pair honey (or milk) - butter in the Chuvash linguistic picture of the world serves to express luck, success, well-being, happiness.

3. The egg in both traditional folk cultures is perceived as a focus of vitality, a symbol of rebirth and fertility. The lexeme egg is used in Chuvash folklore as a positively connoted comparison.

4. Porridge in both traditional cultures was ceremonial and festive food. Buckwheat porridge was especially popular in Russian cuisine, and millet - in Chuvash. The lexeme smear in modern Russian is characterized by a disapproving connotation, expresses such figurative meanings as “a sluggish, indecisive person”, “something vague, devoid of strength, expressiveness.”

5. Kissel in both Russian and Chuvash cultures was considered both an everyday and ritual dish (mainly of a memorial and sacrificial nature). A weak-willed person is associated with kissel both in the Russian and Chuvash linguistic consciousness.

6. Honey is considered a memorial and sacrificial dish in traditional Russian culture; it symbolizes the “sweet life” in the “other world”. In both analyzed cultures honey is a symbol of health, well-being, happiness. In the Chuvash language picture of the world honey can act as a symbol of material well-being, wealth. Flattering speech and adulation are associated with the taste of honey (sweet, cloying) in Russian linguoculture. In the Chuvash linguoculture, honey is associated with affectionate, polite speech, courtesy, sometimes flattering speech, and adulation.

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7. Cookery in general and its individual parts can be considered as one of the most important modules through which the ethnos builds its own nationally specific image of the world. This allows us to talk about the importance of the culinary code in the culture of every nation.

8. The conducted research allows us to conclude that the study of the ethnic specifics of the linguistic categorization of the world should be based on a comprehensive comparative analysis of two or more languages. An interdisciplinary approach opens up significant prospects, according to which a linguistic sign is considered in the context of other sign systems, and the results of observations of linguistic phenomena are compared with information provided by other humanities.

The scientific approach proposed in this work can be used as the basis for similar studies based of other languages.

REFERENCE LIST