

DOI 10.24412/1829-0485-2026-1-170-185
УДК 82.93/791.43

Поступила: 22.11.2025г.
Сдана на рецензию: 28.11.2025г.
Подписана к печати: 15.01.2026г.

THE LINGUOCULTURAL CODE OF SOVIET FAIRY TALE AND ANIMATION: BETWEEN THE ARCHETYPES AND THE STEREOTYPES

A. Salakhova¹, A. Kashirova²

*Nanjing University¹, Kazan Federal University²
aygul.salahova@gmail.com, anastacia.kashirova@yandex.ru
ORCID¹: 0000-0003-0395-7759, ORCID²: 0009-0001-2124-8756*

ABSTRACT

This present paper examines fashion discourse to reconstruct stereotypes and attitudes from the Soviet era based on the E. Uspensky story about the village of Prostokvashino and its animated adaptation. The primary goal is to decode the vestimentary code, interpreting the linguistic and cultural data that establish connections beyond literal meaning. The research employed continuous sampling for data collection, alongside hermeneutic-phenomenological, semiotic and intersemiotic approaches to analyze data relating to meanings contained in sign systems or interactions arising from sign systems. The findings confirm that costume language reconstructs the distinct world of Soviet official and unofficial values in a sign-based form. The screen adaptation, as a transmedia text, clarifies and develops the source material by materializing its conceptual information. Stereotypes expressed through costume shape stable perceptions and are transmitted as cultural archetypes. The proposed methodology focuses not on specific linguistic units, but on the intracultural situations they encode. The results have theoretical significance and practical application for developing teaching methodologies, particularly for educating younger non-native speakers about cultural context through literature and Soviet Animation.

Keywords: vestimentary code, Soviet animation, cultural archetypes.

Introduction

As a means of visual communication, costumes in film serve as indicators of the character's alignment with the time and place where the narrative unfolds. Perceived quickly and instinctively, even before a specific character or the circumstances of their life are indicated, costumes effectively convey information about cultural codes, including their transformation. As opposed to linguistic signs, the sign of the vestimentary code is inherently arbitrary as it is not bound by time and is not the result of a prolonged evolutionary process or consensus formation. The structuralist concept of "fashion as description", presented in Roland Barthes "The

Fashion System”, attempts to find a verbal equivalent to transmit the meaning of fashion, revealing that the content of fashion exists more as unarticulated, hidden meaning. This hidden meaning aligns both language and fashion, on one hand, with the concept of the sacred – a form elusive of precise identification that determines the essence of the object and the foundation of religious sentiment [1]; and on the other hand, with the pragmatics of a linguistic cultural approach to interpreting the non-verbal content of signs, which simultaneously serves as a means of functioning and perceiving the object.

Visual discourse, which predominates in contemporary culture, undoubtedly incorporates fashion as a source of meanings: a specific garment acts as a signal within this sign system, organizing the perception of the extra-subjective aspects that protect the body from climatic influences, whilst also expressing both individual and collective settings. The verbalized and visualized units of costumes found in cultural texts can be viewed in terms of their linguistic cultural content as reflections of aesthetic, existential, and worldview experiences, as this data enriches the understanding of the semiotic semantic structure of a specific culture.

In this study, we focused on the features of the content of the vestimentary images in a well-known cycle of stories about the village of Prostokvashino. The recurring verbal and visual units, which are not directly tied to the plot and are typically perceived at an unconscious level were considered. They allow for the reconstruction of relationships formed through specific material experiences, unrelated to the content of children's discourse.

The object of this research is the vestimentary code in E. Uspensky's story “Uncle Fyodor, the Dog, and the Cat” (1974) and its animation adaptations; and the subject is the connotative content of verbalized and visualized units of the thematic field “clothes” in these texts.

The theoretical basis for this research is the conceptual model of fashion as a specific “language” proposed by R. Bart. More than half a century ago, the structuralist approach justified the possibility and potential of studying and describing such a non-academic phenomenon in terms of its own ideology. Fashion is a paradoxical phenomenon, and its rationality lies in the production and use of irrationality, accessed like a hierarchical system. An analysis of the reflection of a complex system of cultural values and stereotypes through a traditional system of meanings allows us to talk rather about the unbalanced nature of fashion regulations, the content of which is not in direct demonstration, but in concealment when fashion becomes a form of consumption myth. L. Seger's approach to film analysis has allowed us to discover the subtext through the decoding of subconscious associations generated in a specific visual way, whose spectrum we believe should be limited and motivated by this social context, specific ethical or ethnographic regulations.

The research material made it possible to describe cultural stereotypes and reconstruct specific components of the Soviet cultural values and stereotypes through a conventional system of signified.

The goal of this research is to decode the vestimentary discourse data in the context of visual and ideological stereotypes of the late Soviet era, which have a high reproducibility potential. This goal can be achieved by consistently solving the following tasks: description of the corpus; comparison of verbal data of the primary text (fantastical tale) and the secondary polycode text (animation); selection of repetitive visual patterns; interpretation of their cultural content; significance of the conclusions and their justification of for practical purposes of education and research.

Materials and methods

Our attention was caught to the enduring images embedded in popular consciousness from the fantastical tale of a city boy nicknamed Uncle Fyodor, the stray cat Matroskin, and the dog Sharik, who, for various reasons, decided to live in the village of Prostokvashino. Because of the recognition the image as a distinctive type of sign in semiotics and linguistics since the mid-20th century, we will use this term to denote the method of transforming and fixing representations of objects into concepts, as well as the units that capture such experiences.

E. Uspensky's story "Uncle Fyodor, the Dog, and the Cat" (1974) has been adapted for the screen twice: in 1975, three episodes were released ("Matroskin and Sharik", "Mitya and Murka", and "Mama and Papa") directed by Yu. Klepatsky, although the more well-known and popular version is the animated adaptation by V. Popov (1978–1984). It is important to clarify that the story itself originated from a visual format akin to an adaptation – a slide film created with the participation of E. Uspensky in 1972, and the final part of V. Popov's trilogy is not an adaptation in the strictest sense (the script for this episode was significantly novelized by E. Uspensky much later in 1997). Thus, it is clearly that the visualized and verbalized images of this story are in constant interaction, on one hand developing and complementing each other's content, and on the other hand maintaining a degree of sovereignty.

The corpus of verbalized units from the thematic field of "clothing" in E. Uspensky's tale «Uncle Fyodor, the Dog, and the Cat» was compiled using a method of continuous sampling and includes 38 distinct units (descriptions and mentions of semiotic nodes (elements) of clothing from six speech-enabled characters). The polymodal text of the screen adaptation (three sequels: «Three from Prostokvashino» (1978), «Vacation in Prostokvashino» (1980), «Winter in Prostokvashino» (1984)) is distinguished by the predominance of visual units, most typical for cinematic language (38 units – fully or partially displayed in the frame of wardrobe elements, including costumes of characters, decorative details, directly

displayed objects). Analogously to the language unit by visual unit we mean such an element of the vestimentary language system, which has the status of indestructibility within a certain level, and also semantically opposed to other units in the subsystem. Moreover, some units are presented synchronously in both sign systems (6 units), where the verbalized and visualized units serve as instances of emphasis and illustration.

In this study, we are interested not only in quantitative or qualitative transformations between primary text and secondary adaptation. For the interpretation of data, that, in essence, represents a secondary reflection of reality (the image), mediated by specific sign systems along with descriptive and statistical methods used for the initial analysis and systematization of data, the hermeneutic-phenomenological approach. This allowed for the qualitative connotation of the content of the vestimentary code, which conveys an urgent textual reference and semantic measurements outside the genre. The elements of discursive analysis and an intersemiotic perspective let us verified the data.

Behind the clothes

Most units of the vestimentary code in the novel serve as a means of portraying characters and elements of the plot, with their denotative and connotative meanings coinciding. However, certain units within the corpus deserve the status of the phenomenon that R. Barthes referred to as clothing-description, rich in the connotations of the verbalized units of the sign system situated “between things and words” [2]. Their content should undoubtedly be attributed to the subtext of both the literary and animated expressions. However, this subtext contains significant indications of the motivation behind specific data, regardless of the degree of their explicitness.

It should be noted that in cinematic discourse, the nature of the vestimentary code's units is more appropriately considered implicit, owing to the manner and speed of presenting visual signs, as well as the overall prioritization of the verbal code in cinema. If the filmmakers do not “bring to the forefront” the content-laden details of the costumes, for instance, through close-ups or long shots, and through the correlation of verbal and visual elements, then the units of the cultural vestimentary code pertain to the film's subtext. Film and screenwriting specialist Linda Seger defines subtext as “something you cannot point to” and simultaneously describes it as that which “makes us ask the question “Why?”. Despite the explicit presentation of units of the vestimentary code on screen – as sometimes occurs multiple times for the purpose of character recognition – their content is not always evident, which holds true for literary texts as well.

L. Seger, in discussing screenplay, contrasts text “the words and actions that we hear and see” [3] with subtext “not only the hidden meanings behind the words but also the associations” [Ibidem], thereby expanding the latter's meaning through

authorial statements and cultural associations, explicitly moving it beyond what she calls as a direct dialogue.

As a result of the conducted research, we have established the volume and content of the corpus of verbalized and visualized units of the vestimentary code in a specific cultural text; commented on instances of mismatches between their content and the precedent sphere (children's literature and animation); and identified the connotative content of units that simultaneously belong to multiple systems. It has been confirmed that adaptation, being a transmedia text, not only reconstructs the content of the artistic text but also clarifies, complements, and develops it through the materialization of the substantive-conceptual information of the text. The proposed methodology for working with the implicit content of expressions confirms the necessity and viability, and primarily, the meaningful work involved in understanding not specific linguistic units, but the intercultural situation encoded through their use.

Fashion and rituals

Fashion establishes a connection with the external world, whimsically reflecting its rituals, which in turn distinctly determines extra textual details that lose their logic outside of the lingua-cultural context (for instance, during translation or transformation within another art form). An illustrative example is the stereotypical belief in the vulnerability of the subject to low ambient temperatures that provoke illness; in the narrative, this belief is exaggerated through the choice of a diminutive form for naming a specific article of clothing:

“One-day Uncle Fyodor needed to go outside [...] He didn’t get dressed and just dashed out briefly in his underwear. But it was freezing outside, and there was snow. Uncle Fyodor caught a cold”

(«Однажды дяде Федору надо было на улицу выйти [...] Он одеваться не стал, а так в трусиках и выскочил ненадолго. А на дворе мороз, снег выпал. Дядя Федор и простудился») [4].

It is important to note that, in the immediate context, a full form has been used for the nomination of the same subject when conveying the correspondence between clothing and the ambient temperature.

“Uncle Fyodor always walked around the house in his underwear – he was sunbathing”

(«Дядя Федор дома все время в трусах ходил – загорал») [Ibidem].

Furthermore, the diminutive form does not indicate either age or size, as all other disregarded elements of the wardrobe that can provide protection against the cold are referred to in their full forms:

“But when he went outside, he had to get dressed. First, an undershirt, then a shirt, then pants, then a sweater, then a hat, a scarf, a coat, mittens, and valenki”

(«А если он на улицу выходил, ему одеваться надо было. Сначала майку, потом рубашку, потом штаны, потом свитер, потом шапку, шарф, пальто, варежки и валенки») [Ibidem].

The connotation relates a specific wardrobe element to the culturally established notion of “If you get cold, you’ll get sick”, transferring the semantic unit from the vestimentary structure to a cultural experience. Equally intriguing is the reception of this content in its cinematic adaptation, where the plot involving a child venturing out into the cold in undergarments is not reconstructed. The image of Uncle Fyodor’s clothing during the scene where his parents take him to the city replicates the same cultural stereotype – the child, having recently recovered from an illness, stands in winter attire against a backdrop of yellow-green foliage, while the ambient temperature allows his parents to remain in autumn clothing without headgear. The reconstruction of the mythologized representation of the necessity for excessive protection of children from hypothermia is achieved through the visual subsystem’s tools (forms, lines, colors, etc.). It is important to emphasize that what is repeated here is not the vestimentary image itself, but the content of fashion as a space of cultural myth.

As a form of ideology, according to R. Barthes, fashion does not exist outside language, transmitting various mental constructs, rationalizing human thought while simultaneously alienating individuals. A specific model of rationalization within the vestimentary discourse can be found in the detailed description of the fashion of the village of Prostokvashino:

“[...] our Prostokvashino national clothing is simple. It’s a padded jacket with a belt and felt boots with galoshes made from a gas mask”.

(«[...] наша простоквашинская национальная одежда простая. Это телогрейка на вате с поясом да валенки с калошами из противогаза») [5].

The imperative to wear certain wardrobe items, on one hand, is rationalized by the concept of chronotope: simple, unfashionable, homemade clothing designed primarily for warmth serves utilitarian functions. At the same time, this gender-neutral attire, which does not meet the criteria of fashion or seasonality, shapes the image of a rural lifestyle from the late Soviet era, seeming to lag behind time while simultaneously reconstructing it most fully. The comical yet ominous appearance of a villager in this attire resembles both a GULAG prisoner and a poor but resourceful peasant capable of crafting anything from anything.

The undeniable dissonance in the image created by the verbalized units is introduced by the aforementioned gas mask, which alludes to military discourse but has clearly lost direct functionality. The objective characteristic of the object (the waterproof nature of the gas mask) aligns with its repurposed function – as feet protection. This rationalization of a fashionable unit is rooted in the Soviet cultural norm of “upcycling” amid total scarcity and the militarization of industrial production in the USSR.

R. Barthes's well-founded idea that fashion is merely a form of consuming myth, with the costume being the result of the language of fashion, reveals a profound social conflict within the narrative space of children's literature. The "real" clothing (galoshes) absent from the production system is substituted in the ritual of everyday consumption by "used" clothing (galoshes made from a gas mask); however, both are severed from the "represented" clothing, the source of the Soviet myth of abundance. The authors of the adaptation opted to omit empty this "telling" detail, replacing it with a singular seasonal item – cotton pants, which Pechkin demonstrates in the episode "Zima v Prostokvashino" and which, along with the gas mask, relates to military gear.

As it loses its semantic value, fashion in the children's story and its adaptation undoubtedly serves as a source of alienation and conformity. Thus, the previously discussed description of Prostokvashino's dress code arises within the tale's context of a dispute over the pair of sneakers bought by Sharik, instead of valenki (felt boots). This scene is reconstructed in the animated film without significant changes. The lack of a suitable pair of shoes is equated with limited intellectual abilities and serves as a cause for the character's isolation:

"We have the means, – the cat replied. – But we lack the sense. I told him: "Buy yourself valenki". But he bought sneakers instead".

(«Средства у нас есть, – отвечает кот. – У нас ума не хватает. Говорил я ему: "Купи себе валенки". А он кеды купил») [6].

In the animated film, Matroskin's negative attitude towards Sharik due to the latter's purchase of the "wrong" pair of shoes is intensified:

"We have the means, – the cat replied. – But we lack the sense. I told that hunter: "Buy yourself valenki". But he bought sneakers instead".

(«Средства у нас есть, – отвечает кот. – У нас ума не хватает. Говорил я этому охотнику: "Купи себе валенки". А он что?...Пошел и кеды купил...») [7].

In the given context, the neutral designation of the addressee's action "to speak", expressed by the personal pronoun "he" (in the dative case), is replaced by the euphemism 'this hunter.' The evaluative function of the word 'this,' its potential for expressing negative assessment, has been previously noted by researchers [8] and recorded in dictionaries [9]; moreover, naming a person in their presence indirectly (by name, nickname, or patronymic) is an example of a gross violation of etiquette norms in Russian communication, exaggerating the character's sense of alienation due to the mismatch of their wardrobe with conventional norms.

The specific item of clothing (valenki) becomes a means of expressing identity, as well as a way to regulate behavior, to a significantly greater extent than the utilitarian need for it. Other elements of winter clothing (padded trousers, ushanka hat, knitted hat, and scarf) are present in the frame; however, no one insists on their presence as much as the 'out-of-season' cloak of the postman, which is not uniform

clothing, or the actual 'nakedness' of the animal character (Sharik's gesture of covering himself with a curtain is simultaneously a gesture of shame and cold). In the story, valenki consistently serve as a mandatory attribute of inclusion in the world of Prostokvashino, acting not only as an element of the costume that protects against the cold but also as an indication of initiation.

The analyzed story features a high frequency of the verbalized and visualized unit nominating a fancy women's suit (dress), which is determined, on the one hand, by the plot and, on the other, is supported by the content of a specific fashion statement. According to R. Barthes' concept, a fashion statement is formed by the meaning inherent in a specific fashion object and is not equal to its external form. The repeatedly mentioned fancy dresses by the mother in the story are characterized by the asymmetry of denotative and connotative plans: the clothing description at the denotative level is limited to various characteristics (evening, silk, concert, unworn), while at the connotative level, it allows us to see in a specific fashion object a meaning that is not equal to its external form and function. Thus, the internal implicit meaning forms the representation of Uncle Fyodor's mother as a woman who has regular access to scarce goods (the number of non-utilitarian items).

"I have four evening dresses made of silk"

(«У меня четыре платья есть вечерних шелковых») [10].

however, living in total limitation of leisure opportunities:

"[...] but there's nowhere to wear them!" («[...] а надеть их некуда!»);

"I do love nature, but not to the extent of traveling in a concert dress on trains" («Я, конечно, люблю природу, но не до такой степени, чтобы в концертном платье в электричках разъезжать»);

"What am I supposed to do in your Prostokvashino? Chop wood in an evening dress or charm bulls" («А что я там буду делать в этом вашем Простоквашине? В вечернем платье дрова рубить или быков очаровывать») [11];

confrontable to the lack of personal freedoms:

"I live with you like a serf peasant" («Я живу у вас, как крестьянка крепостная») [12].

The act of changing costume becomes a form of individual protest and personal choice within the context of Soviet everyday culture, which did not grant citizens the right to leisure that was independent of state control. In this way, the festive clothing, as well as the need for it, is absent from the wardrobes of other characters, indirectly reconstructing a conformist context.

An analysis of the images of dresses in the film adaptation, viewed through the lens of a semiotic system, supports Barthes' assertion regarding the conventionality of clothing-as-image compared to clothing-as-description. The dresses hanging in the wardrobe, lacking a fitted silhouette and fashionable colors, do not align with the trends of the late 1970s, which the main character appears to follow, as evidenced by her everyday outfits. The description of these dresses, provided by the mother:

“[...] I have four evening dresses made of silk, but there’s nowhere to wear them!”
 («[...] *четыре платья есть вечерних шелковых, а надеть их некуда!*») [13].

And it shapes perception, despite the fact that none of them will appear on the protagonist in the frame again. Thus, the description and visual imagery recreate a reality where the choice is not about a specific dress, but rather about a free and state-uncontrolled format of leisure, which is significant and is directly conveyed in the film text.

This assertion holds true for the final scene of the concluding episode of “Zima v Prostokvashino”, where a televised performance by the mother is aired during the New Year’s “Blue Light” show. The style of her dress establishes an allusion to soviet singer Sofia Rotaru’s performance on the same program in 1978. The visualization of the analyzed unit alternates with images of the protagonist’s mother in another leisure outfit—a sports (skiing) one. In this example of the visual realization of thematic group “clothing”, there is a clear contrast between leisure constrained by state control (the amateur performance in the New Year’s “Blue Light”) and leisure that is free from such control—countryside, familial, and informal—where the protagonist has the opportunity to choose a notably fashionable jacket that reflects not only her aesthetic taste and affluence but also a certain nonconformity. This model and even the color of the jacket in the cartoon about the parrot Kesha serve as markers of an anti-Soviet lifestyle of the new owner.

Clothes as a symbolic pattern

A particularly notable way in which the studied issue is addressed is through the character of Matroskin the cat, whose image is directly (visually) and indirectly (verbally) related to the vestimentary field of precedence. In the story and its adaptation, he is depicted as somewhat unclothed, despite owning several items. In the adaptation, only in the episode “Zima v Prostokvashino” does he appear wearing a hat, scarf, and felt boots, which mark the season and the characteristic temperature changes. The same applies to the dog Sharik, who only acquires separate elements of clothing in the episodes “Kanikuly v Prostokvashino” and “Zima v Prostokvashino”, which can be attributed to his social activity, the objective climatic changes, and the development of group identity (see above).

In our observation, the presence or absence of clothing elements on animal characters in Soviet animation from this period generally serves as a marker of their ability to speak and/or their inclusion in social activity, which implicitly references Soviet reality. This tradition, however, does not apply to characters from the adaptations of “Karlson na kry`she” (1968) or “Winnie-the-Pooh” (1969–1972), yet consistently operates for characters in the animated series “Nu pogodi!” (1969–1993) about Cheburashka (1971), Leopold the Cat (1975–1987), and this tradition is “inherited” in the adaptation of the story about Prostokvashino and the later series

featuring the parrot Kesha (1984–1988). Thus, in the animated portrayal of Matroskin the Cat, a precedent-based correlation is reconstructed with a conditionally “professional” sphere of origin, utilizing both verbal and visual codes:

“I want to have a surname. [...] A serious one. A maritime surname. After all, I’m from the sea cats”

(«Я хочу фамилию иметь. [...] Какую-нибудь серьезную. Морскую фамилию. Я же из морских котов») [14].

As well as a result of metaphorical transfer based on external similarity:

“The cats are striped, and so are the sailors. They wear those striped tops”

(«Коты полосатые и матросы тоже. У них тельняшки такие») [Ibidem].

This connotation initially establishes a connection between the character's appearance and a specific named unit within the vestimentary code. It is important to note the somewhat inconsistent nature of such etymologization. Russian surnames derived from stems with hard consonants typically include the suffix “-ov-“ [15]. Thus, based on the motivating stem “matros”, the cat’s surname should logically be “Matrosov”. Even a cursory analysis of the surname structure reveals an alternative word formation model that is motivated by the name of the vestimentary unit “matroska” which normatively employs the suffix ‘-in-‘ for surname formation (following the principle of nicknames derived from words for objects ending in ‘-a’ or “-ya” as well as from feminine names).

Finally, while the motivating stem is mentioned, the cat does not hold the surname “Telnnyashkin”, despite its resemblance to it. This is primarily because the name refers to a specific piece of naval clothing, which is characterized not by its color but by its cut, “with a large turned-down collar” [16]. It should be noted that although this lexeme verbalizes a type of uniform headgear “without a visor, with a ribbon around the edge” [Ibidem], the narrative distinctly differentiates these elements of the sailor's uniform both at the level of nomination and at the level of plot (as will be discussed below), remaining a part of the travesty.

The “correct” surname proposed by the authors clearly does not resonate well. We attempt to explain the reasons for this dissonance, which, in our profound conviction, stems from the stability of the image in culture and the relationships formed as a result of material experience, as well as the semantic content of this “inaccuracy”.

The identified convention of etymologizing the surname Matroskin leads us to a canonical and similarly fictional motivation behind the surname of Gogol’s character:

“The official's surname was Bashmachkin. From the name itself, it’s clear it originated from “bashmak”; but when, how, and in what manner it came from “bashmak” is unknown. His father, grandfather, even his brother-in-law – all Bashmachkins wore boots, changing the soles only about three times a year»

(«Фамилия чиновника была Башмачкин. Уже по самому имени видно, что она когда-то произошла от башмака; но, когда, в какое время и каким

образом произошла она от башмака, ничего этого не известно. И отец, и дед, и даже шурин, и все совершенно Башмачкины ходили в сапогах, переменив только раза три в год подметки») [17].

On the other hand, following the scene of the cat's nomination, professional attire will serve as a marker of an asserted social status. This is primarily achieved through the parallelism in the context of the mentioned details of the dog Sharik's costume. For example, in the shoPPing scene with Uncle Fyodor:

“He bought a sailor’s cap for the cat, and a collar with medals for Sharik”

(«Коту он матроску купил, а Шарику – ошейник с медалями») [18].

And the mother, who initiates the purchase of a «telnyashka» (striped vest) in addition to Matroskin's desire.

“...and I want to have a naval cap with ribbons, like sailors have.

– Alright, – says Mom. – [...] And I’ll get you a striped top as well”

(«...еще я хочу бескозырку иметь с ленточками. Как у моряков.

– Хорошо, – говорит мама. – [...] И еще я вам тельняшку достану») [19].

In similar situations, Sharik initiates the purchase of status-signifying, albeit fictional, wardrobe elements (a medal-adorned collar) or items related to his “professional” hobbies (a movie camera), which equally mark the owner's social standing. It is noteworthy that all mentioned costume items, “legitimizing” the cat's connection to a profession, are not part of his portrait characterization, returning to the initially established etymology of his surname (based on outward resemblance). Uspensky's story indirectly mentions Matroskin wearing a sailor's shirt in a scene emphasizing his altered state:

“His sailor's cap is worn in front like an apron, and he has a milk jug on his head like a helmet. And he's singing something awkward” («Матроска у него спереди как фартук надета, а подойник на голове как каска. И поет он что-то несуразное») [20].

Clearly, the cut of the sailor shirt, worn upside down and backward, is highlighted to create a comedic effect and portray Matroskin's loss of control (under the influence of «merry» milk), including the loss of symbolic status. This is reinforced by mirror comparisons where the professional clothing of the military (sailor shirt, helmet) is juxtaposed with household items (apron, milk pail).

The remaining two items of professional attire do not shape Matroskin's image in the text: information about the purchase and/or transfer of a peaked cap is absent, although this costume element is reconstructed in the film adaptation. The adaptation ignores the history of its acquisition while recoding it as a sign of Pechkin's initiation:

“There’s field mail, but we’ll have marine mail”

(«Бывает почта полевая, а у нас морская будет») [21].

According to the plot, the striped vest “passes” to Sharik, where the image of a sailor is fully carnivalized, becoming part of a farcical image (“A retired admiral scientist on his tractor is going to the city to visit his grandmother”) [22]) alongside

glasses, a hat, and gloves. Bakhtin's "merry relativity" here, as before, reveals, on the one hand, a striking mismatch between form and content, and on the other, oP-Poses "the one-sided and gloomy official seriousness generated by fear" [23]. It should be emphasized that Sharik dresses up "so as not to disturb the police" [24]. Thus, through subtext, the sartorial fashion consistently forms a statement that opposes the tragic, epic, and documentary elements, which, by its humorous nature, is not determined by "the conditions and conventions of the present and the anticipation of a possible different order of things, lurking behind the facade of objects, roles, behaviors, and language" [25].

The fact that the striped cat does not wear a sailor shirt in the story evidently does not evolve into a level of conflict, despite the obvious parody that carries a sense of debunking [Ibidem]. However, it is intriguing within the discussed issue of the intra-cultural content of sartorial expression, where the costume item is named, but its associated meanings are somewhat blurred and even seem deliberately "turned upside down".

Starting from the first visual representations (the slide film in 1972 and the adaptation in 1975), the visual image of Matroskin the cat closely matched the above verbal description. However, the series "Troie iz Prostokvashino" (1978) transforms the image of the cat; his stripes become even and contrasting, as if drawn with a ruler, and increasingly resemble clothing – a sailor's shirt – rather than the fur of an animal, differing from it in the symmetry of stripe width (all stripes are of equal width) and color (gray and white instead of blue and white).

The established convention can be explained partly by the persistent marking of this specific clothing element, primarily in the generalized perception of the image in Soviet culture: the sailor shirt as an element of professional attire forms a universal image of the military, heavily propagated through visual media (film, press, posters, etc.), based on the documented fact of "the use of sailors in land military operations during the Civil and Great Patriotic War" [26]. Additionally, this is contextualized within a global cultural framework, thoroughly analyzed in M. Pasturo's monograph "The Devilish Material: The History of Stripes and Striped Fabrics" [27]. The author examines the semiology of stripes in a social context, identifying, among other things, a marginal subtext of "devilish" connotations [Ibidem], inherited by contemporary culture in current practices (clothing of prisoners, criminals, and outcasts).

It is noteworthy that Late-Soviet counterculture also emphasized the socio-value aspect concerning the popularity of stripes (rock culture, the "mitki", etc.).

In the animation of the discussed period, the sailor shirt acts as a means of creating a marginalized character; for example, in the animated series "Nu pogodi!" and "The Cat Leopold". The characters wearing sailor shirts – the Wolf and the fat mouse – are negative figures, and any elements of their outfits serve to represent this fact. It is notable not only that the Wolf wears a sailor shirt, but also the characteristic gesture of tearing it open on his chest, revealing a tattoo, which is a direct

reference to prison culture. The mouse from the cartoon about Leopold dresses in a sailor shirt in a reconstructed pirate storyline. Thus, the recurring images form the perception of the visual identity of this specific clothing element within its social context, which the creators of the film adaptation of the story about Prostokvashino consciously or unconsciously sought to avoid.

However, the specific animated image of Matroskin the cat, undoubtedly supported by the acoustic means of character creation (voiced by famous actor Oleg Tabakov), has transcended the established stereotype of visualized sartorial codes in the public consciousness. To date, the image of the cat and his coloring has been reinterpreted and widely disseminated through the series of dairy products branded as “Prostokvashino”. The semantic connection between these dairy products and the cat (including Matroskin) is obvious and does not require separate commentary. However, it is important to note that the brand colors ultimately link the image of the homely character with the sailor shirt, which loses its previous cultural association with marginality. Instead, through the recurring representation of the cat on each package, a new universal image is formed, resonating on a subconscious level and appealing largely to the model of a large, friendly family that overcomes disagreements arising under the pressure of social norms or interpersonal attitudes.

This recoding within cinematic expression is also characteristic of another clothing element found in the animated series about Prostokvashino: flared trousers. Their style, alongside the sailor shirt, forms part of the image of marginalized characters in animation during that period (such as Leopold after “Ozverin” and the Wolf in the aforementioned series). However, throughout all adaptations of E. Uspensky's story, this style of trousers remains an unchanging attribute of Uncle Fyodor and his father, characters whose wardrobes exhibit consistent limitations, tautological colors and styles, and a persistent sense of secondariness. For example, the father's outer clothing matches the color, style, and trendiness of the mother's clothing when they act as a couple (see the series “Troie iz Prostokvashino”), while Uncle Fyodor's clothing does not change over time or across different spaces within the cartoon series (in the apartment, in Prostokvashino, in a newspaper advertisement) – it clearly mimics the father's clothing style, reflecting similarities to adult fashionable elements (flared trousers, Beatle collars) and sharply dissonating with the top layers of children's clothing, which reconstructs a scenario of lowered social status for children (notably, only Uncle Fyodor is dressed in winter clothes during the autumn – refer to previous discussion).

The discovered patterns present themselves as statements, as the wardrobes of male characters in the story are either ignored (the father's clothing is never mentioned) or are motivated by the plot (Uncle Fyodor, the postman Pechkin). Additionally, the adaptation includes clothing that, according to R. Barthes' classification, can be categorized as “represented” – these flashy, gaudy ties flash briefly in

the wardrobe when the mother showcases her collection of festive dresses. Alongside the – unused” dresses, these visual units of sartorial code bear a conditional character, as they evidently dissonate with the image of the father, who consistently wears Beatle collars, flared trousers, and other sharply fashionable and brightly provocative items within the Soviet discourse. The ties present in the closets, but never worn by any characters, “scream” not only of the lack of aesthetic taste among their creators but also signify the conditionality of the proposed fashionable Soviet dress code, presented as a sign of prosperity yet remains unutilized.

Thus, clothing, acting as an external form of presenting socially significant experience, sequentially characterizes its “wearer”: some elements of the virtual wardrobe become a declaration, an unarticulated form of expressing nonconformity in the regulated nature of Soviet reality.

Conclusion

Defining the prospects of this research while simultaneously drawing conclusions from the completed work, it can be stated that the boundaries of philological knowledge are inevitably expanding, particularly regarding the declared issue of intersemiotic translation from the language of literature to the language of cinema. The axiology of costume within the discursive space of children's literature and its adaptations allows for the establishment of the lingua-cultural content of both verbalized and visualized units, which serve as signs of specific lifestyles.

The language of costume in the literary and screen trilogy about a self-reliant boy and his family reconstructs a vibrant world of official and unofficial Soviet values. The stereotypes upheld through costume undoubtedly exist within the linguistic culture, shaping stable representations. The costumes of characters reconstruct and transmit these representations in both potential and real forms, provoking their universal perception (archetype).

In the present study, these various systems enable the identification of additional meanings in both the secondary statement (text → adaptation) and the primary one (text ← adaptation), clarifying the significance of both. An expansive understanding of the text as a phenomenon, whose content is not merely a sum of its constituent units, renders the analysis of diverse subsystems (in this case, sartorial codes) particularly promising. In the late Russia commodifying Prostokvashino to a brand transformed its emotional and cultural significance. Regular reception and reconstruction of data of the analyzed corpus of units confirm not only their reproducibility, but also consistent inclusion in the field of precedent of post-Soviet culture. The reproducibility and repeatability of individual data or whole unit ensures both stability and transformation of content depending on context and addressee.

The data derived from such commentary, seemingly of secondary content, holds not only specific theoretical significance but can also pragmatically inform the devel-

opment of methodologies for working with artistic texts and their adaptations in Russian language classes for non-native speakers. The latter, when confronted with texts of case law, may have difficulties in adequately understanding it. Furthermore, these insights could be useful for utilizing precedent phenomena in texts of mass communication and serve as an additional resource in the study of the discourse on childhood and fashion, drawing more data of the mass Soviet animation.

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**АРХЕТИПЫ СТИЛЯ И СТЕРЕОТИПЫ ВОСПРИЯТИЯ:
О НЕКОТОРЫХ ДЕТАЛЯХ ЛИНГВОКУЛЬТУРНОГО КОДА
В СОВЕТСКОЙ ДЕТСКОЙ ЛИТЕРАТУРЕ И АНИМАЦИИ**

А.Р. Салахова¹, А.И. Каширова²

Нанкинский университет¹, Казанский федеральный университет²

АННОТАЦИЯ

На материале истории Э. Успенского о самостоятельном мальчике и его семье был проведен анализ корпуса единиц вестиментарного кода, реконструирующих стереотипы, сложившиеся в результате предметного опыта. Цель исследования состоит в декодировании содержания вербализованных и визуализированных единиц вестиментарного кода, интерпретации лингвокультурных данных, вне границ денотативного значения, прямого художественного и анимационного высказывания. Методологию исследования составили метод сплошной выборки для сбора данных; описательный и статистический методы для первичного анализа и систематизации; а также герменевтико-феноменологический, семиотический и интерсемиотический подходы для интерпретации данных. В результате было установлено, что язык костюма в литературной и экранной трилогии о самостоятельном мальчике и его семье в знаковой форме реконструирует мир советских официальных и неофициальных ценностей. Советскими аниматорами создается относительно суверенный трансмедийный текст, способный прояснять, дополнять и развивать содержание источника за счет опредмечивания содержательно-концептуальной информации текста. Стереотипы, утверждаемые с помощью костюма и присутствующие в лингвокультуре, формируют универсальное восприятие (архетип) в культуре, легитимизируясь посредством дальнейшей внутрикультурной рецепции и реконструкции. Предложенная методика работы с имплицитным содержанием высказывания подтверждает возможность работы над пониманием не конкретных языковых или внеязыковых единиц, а внутрикультурной ситуации, закодированной с их помощью. Данные, полученные в результате подобного комментирования, имеют не только специфическое теоретическое значение, но и прагматически могут быть использованы для разработки технологии работы с художественным текстом и его экранизациями при обучении и культурной адаптации инофонов младшего возраста.

Ключевые слова: вестиментарный код, советская анимация, культурные архетипы.