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INTERFERENTIAL RESILIENSE OF SECONDARY SEMIOTIC SYSTEMS AND TEXTUAL CONNOTATIONS OF FOOD LEXIS

The author investigates secondary semiotic code interference arising from influence of ideology upon co-occurrence patterns found in narrative frames of food lexis in Socialist realist adventure texts in Ukrainian and some other languages. In analysing it in terms of socially positive vs. negative character privative opposition, he finds a distribution pattern shared by texts of this genre, in which the latter characters tend to co-occur with lexemes denoting specific foods that are plentiful, tasty, and refined, while with the former ones, the co-occurrence with food names is either altogether absent, or food lexis conveys the general sense of simple and restrained, and often unspecified nourishment (in a unique case, however, positive personages consume festive dishes whose choice and symbolic connotative associations reflect sociocultural values conveyed by the traditional Russian imperialist and chauvinist narrative). By means of this distribution, corresponding food names obtain clearcut textual social connotations. Also, the author differentiates between the intended propagandist illocutionary effect of this distribution, which, presumably, was to give names of quality food and its setting a negative social connotation by relating them to socially negative characters, and its actual perlocutive result, in which these names, while retaining their positive colouring, could impart some of it to negative personages. The author considers the latter effect a corollary of what he calls the communicative-functional resilience of adventure fiction's linguistic-cultural code as an immanent semiotic system with its own set of connotations, contradicting ideological and political presuppositions and prescriptions of Socialist realism and reflecting exigencies of mass culture, according to which the evil must be presented as interesting and attractive.

Keywords: semiotic system resilience, connotation, ideology, food lexis, opposition.

Although eating is considered central to human behaviour, the semantic representation of food, i.e., its linguistic conceptualization, largely depends upon cultural and social experience [Mazzuka, Majid : 1–19]. At the same time, culturally and semiotically, food is more than just food. Indeed, its significance is

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not just that of sustenance to fuel one's system [Omeye]. Its other properties, such as taste and flavour [Flavor], although of different, perceptive and psychological nature, are important as well¹. Besides, food can fulfil cultural and social functions [Reynolds], for instance, when it is prepared for a special feast or consumed as a part of communal rituals, or, say, when it is a romantic candlelight dinner (see, for instance, [Ayora-Diaz] as well as other papers in the same volume). Therefore, food is capable of operating as a meaningful symbol capable of conveying a whole gamut of various senses (for instance, see [Zahra, Imran, Kim Hua Tan] on emotive features in food metaphors), so it is part of various semiotic systems making up culture. Accordingly, associations evoked by food can be individual or collective, determined either by the individual's own experience or ethno-social cultural traditions and historical memory [Newman; Jones]. Collective stereotypes of food can differ in their particular character (such as emotional, logical, or perceptual). The same is true of lexemes denoting food: in their semantics, these associations are realized as connotations, or peripheral semantic features shared by them and their denotata (on connotations as *signifié*, see, e.g., [Cigana]; on food connotations, see [Jurafsky : 1066, 1095]). These connotations, too, are, or can be, either idiosyncratic and part of one's idiolect or more or less commonly shared. Thus, as P. Schmidt observed, «<...> when we think about food we are often thinking and writing about something else. Food always means something beyond the fact of what we put into our mouths, food <...> is a loving and living and dying» (cited by [Kiell : 175], see also [Kitzing]). In particular, the name of a dish or produce occurring in the literary text as a personage's favourite can be indicative of their tastes, social and cultural background, current financial situation, etc. (on food in literature, see [Kiell; Sceats; Boro, Bhowmik; Sicotte; Manolachi]), for instance, as *Bell's* does, a name of a budget-friendly yet flavour-consistent and generally trusty supermarket kind of blended scotch, as purchased or ordered by Charles Paris, the chief protagonist of theatrical thrillers published in 1975–2025 by Simon Brett, a flawed, often hard-drinking actor of limited means (see, for instance, «Cast in order of disappearance», «Deadly habit», etc.). On the contrary, Reverend Sidney Chambers of James Runcie's Cambridge (or Grantchester) Mysteries series (including «Sidney Chambers and the shadow of death», etc.) has a predilection for far more sophisticated and expensive single malt, which emphasizes, among other things, his class, refined taste, and individualistic, uncompromising cultural selectiveness. In one of his poems written in 1925, outstanding Ukrainian poet Maksym Rylskyi, addressing the «doomed» class of bourgeoisie and capitalists, tells them to finish doing, for the last time, several of their usual activities:

«Докурюйте *сигари*, допивайте *лікери й каву*. <...> Ключі од житниць кидайте на дно глухого, п'яного океану, востаннє гляньте, рицарі скупі, на золото у вогких сутерепах, уста фарбованих своїх коханок цілуйте наостанку» (Rylskyi : 107).

In this list, the activity that is mentioned first is smoking cigars and drinking coffee with liqueurs, something that the poet clearly regards as that social class's

¹ For instance, the recognition of the role of some meals as providers of stress relief and emotional comfort as well as nourishment is reflected in the fairly recent (first registered in 1958) term *comfort food* 'food prepared in a traditional style having a usually nostalgic or sentimental appeal' [Merriam-Webster].

typical, even symbolic, behaviour, which in its turn gives corresponding products and their names a distinctly social, more specifically, bourgeois flavour.

Thus, connotations both determine, and are signalled by, linguistic and situational contexts they their carriers appear in. Yet, in spite of their significance as features of collective rather than individual linguistic competence, shared connotative semantic features are seldom mentioned as such, let alone explicated at any length, in dictionaries (except the ones that are called *лінгвокраєзнавчі* in Ukrainian, i.e., those that register a wider cultural background of their entries). For instance, pizza, prepared anywhere outside Italy, is typically (or prototypically) considered an iconic Italian food, although the Italians themselves regard it as a regional, specifically Neapolitan, specialty (see [Pacheco]). And yet the entry *pizza* in, say, the Merriam-Webster dictionary doesn't mention any of these features, concentrating on its composition and preparation instead [MW]. On the contrary, «Словник української мови online» defines *піца* as, among other things, an Italian dish [SUM-20]. In this country as in many others, sparkling wine, while a staple of festive menu, say, of wedding parties, etc., is predominantly and even symbolically associated with New Year celebration as well as its image in popular culture, but this is in no way reflected in the definition of *шампанське* 'a sparkling wine' and in the illustrative citation in *Slovnyk ukrayins'koyi movy v II t.* It should be added, however, that difference between denotation and cultural connotation is (more) a matter of definition and convention, (rather) than linguistic ontology, and therefore the borderline between the two can only be drawn arbitrarily.

In this paper, I am going to demonstrate and discuss connotative associations of food names¹ as found in the language and diction of several Socialist realist adventure (thriller, sensational) novels². In the culture of the former Soviet Union and its satellites, this literary genre enjoyed an ambivalent status since, as I have already pointed out in my earlier publication [Yermolenko : 33–36], it, as a mass culture product (as different from «high culture works») was largely a compromise between what the general public in these countries should, from the viewpoint of Communist ideology, read, on one hand, and what they actually wanted to read, on the other. It is my contention that that the same applies, *mutatis mutandis*, to dietary preferences and prescriptions as reflected in the then state-controlled sensational fiction. In this respect, its authors wrote about what and how their readers were supposed to eat (to be sure, quite frugally as well as modestly), following exemplary positive characters. But at the same time they wrote about what common peoples would actually like to eat (if they could, that is), and it is the latter kind of food theme interpretation that, arguably, was attractive for the general readership. But surely, the combination of these two approaches could not be directly represented as such in Socialist realism literature. Somehow or other, this distinction had to be disguised in order to conform to ideological exigencies. To show how this ideological adjustment was realised is another of this paper's aim.

I will proceed on the assumption that social and ideological connotations of food lexis as manifested in Socialist realist adventure fiction texts, were, from the cultural-linguistic and linguo-semiotic viewpoint, part of semiotic conventions peculiar to this ideologically determined literary subgenre seen as a linguistic-cultural code, or a secondary semiotic system. In the discursive realisations of

² In identifying thrillers, adventure, and sensational literature as the same fiction genre, I follow the tradition of Ukrainian literary criticism, see [Ivaniuk].

this sign system, i.e., in texts belonging to this genre, these connotations were actualized in accordance with recurrent narrative frames, i.e., patterns of co-occurrence of food names and descriptions with ideologically and politically marked items.

In order to establish its typical associations and patterns of distribution, I will analyse text fragments connoting food lexis³ that are found in several Socialist realist thrillers, Ukrainian and some others. In my analysis, I will take into account the opposition of positive vs. negative characters (first of all, but not exclusively, principal ones) in its correlation with the theme of food in its general as well as its more specific manifestations. Since in Socialist realism, the opposition of «good vs. bad guys» is ideologically and politically interpreted as that of Soviet / Socialist / revolutionary / native («*наши*») vs. bourgeois / reactionary / counter-revolutionary / foreign («*не наши*»), it is my contention that food lexis is presumably capable, when appearing in these correlations, of obtaining and conveying corresponding semantic features, operating as carriers of connotations, or, in terms of Ferdinand de Saussure, as their *signifiants*, or *plan d'expression*⁴.

Also, after establishing patterns of this connotation, I will evaluate the overall effect this patterning had upon the resulting representation of food themes in adventure fiction. In this, an evaluation in terms of J.L.Austin's speech act theory (in particular, the use of the distinction between illocutionary purpose and perlocutionary effect, see [Austin : 109–119]) seemed to be an appropriate research procedure aligned with the aims of this paper.

Therefore, it seems best to begin by succinctly outlining the attitude towards food that was characteristic of Soviet Communist ideology. In addressing this issue, one cannot fail to notice that in Soviet official discourse (which, it should be borne in mind, included most art and literature of the period), the attitude towards food and eating was contradictory. First of all, it should be pointed out that its treatment of food was not unlike that of cultural varieties and products designed for mass consumption, such as cinema or «collective» novels. That is to say, initially, elaborate cuisine, individual cooking, and eating culture were not among topics of official Communist discourse: priorities in this field were allotted to communal food preparation and collective dining, while family private kitchens were considered part of retrograde household economy and places of women's domestic slavery [Russell]. But an important exception emerged in 1939⁵, which was «A book about tasty and healthy food» («Книга о вкусной и здоровой пище») [KVZP 1939; KVZP 1952; Mikoian, Ushumirskiy], later gone through numerous reprintings and re-editions. It was an omnipresent, hugely popular culinary bible commonly found in Soviet homes. As such, it was a novel type of reference work of prescriptive character for domestic use. Also, the book conveyed a powerful political and propagandist message: on one hand, its

³ In what follows, I will consider not only words denoting foods *sensu stricto* (including beverages), but also names of tobacco products, since the latter, too, operate as «comfort stuff» and are often consumed while eating.

⁴ On semiotic representations of this kind, see, for instance, [Cigana : 436–475]; on the heuristic value of social connotations in the analysis of artistic text semantic structure, see [Barthes : 89–8; Hawkes : 100–111; Culler : 3–64]).

⁵ That year also saw the opening of The Exhibition of Achievements of National Economy, a cultural artefact which was a semiotic parallel to this book: both were simulacra, creating an attractive but illusory virtual reality, which had little in common with the actual state of affairs.

authors developed an all-Soviet (and, to be sure, Russian-based) kind of fusion cuisine, and on the other, they created a myth of this cuisine and Soviet produce in general. In it, healthy and variegated nourishment (as a means of achieving high productivity of labour) was presented both a goal and an achievement of state economic policy through the fulfilment of Stalin's five-year plans. The foreword to the first edition began by mentioning the formation of powerful Soviet food industry, mastering the production of many varieties unknown in tsarist Russia and so answering constantly growing of Soviet consumers [KVZP 1939 : 9–16]. And yet, among the recipes and recommendations listed in this lavishly illustrated reference work, there were many items and ingredients which average Soviet citizens could ill-afford or even find in local stores, and these were not necessarily expensive and rare victuals: shortages were in almost everything⁶. Also, banquet tables with elegant dinner services and crystal glassware, full of sumptuous dishes and decorated with flowers that they could see in the book's illustrations, in their real life were something they could only dream of. Thus, the book's aim was to create a virtual, aesthetically attractive food reality, which should have dominate and even cover up realities of drab everyday life⁷, promising a better Communist tomorrow [Mikoyan, Ushumirskiy : 8–9] (translator's introduction); von Bremzen 2013; von Bremzen 2013a: 122–125].

Significantly, this virtual food abundance did not find its way into the text-internal world of Soviet adventure fiction, as far as its positive characters, exemplary Soviet people, were concerned. With them, a restrained, if not puritanically ascetic, attitude to food prevailed, in that authors either hardly specified what these characters are and drank, or they pictured their meal as modest, simple and frugal, if not downright meagre. In their enemies and adversaries' depiction, however, the opposite took place. It was in this way that specific food themes, items, and lexemes obtained in those texts their social and ideological connotations.

Thus, in the spy adventure novel «Expulsion of sovereign» («Изгнание владыки»), 1946) by G. Adamov, Soviet counterintelligence officer Khinskii follows his quarry to the restaurant car. While they both are hungry, their suppers significantly differ in volume:

«Незнакомец <...> принялся за ужин. Он был, очевидно, голоден, если судить по количеству заказанных блюд и по той поспешности, с которой он начал есть.

«Еще бы! С утра не ел...», – сочувственно подумал Хинский.

Хинский был тоже голоден и заказал себе *скромный ужин*» (Adamov : 106).

In the trilogy novel «Wings with stars» («Зоряні крила» 1937–1950) by Ukrainian author V. Sobko, activities of the main positive characters, both in their public and private life, were paralleled by imagery that was related to, and so

⁶ Besides, some seemingly appetizing recipes with obtainable ingredients were too vague or downright impossible to make (such as eggs fried with marinated herring).

⁷ Another hypocritical feature of this book was its sexist approach to the target audience. Regardless of the officially proclaimed women's liberation (among other things, their emancipation from domestic labour) and their participation in public life, this cookbook perpetuated sexist stereotypes, which was made abundantly clear already by the book cover and title page, in which the title was preceded by the dedication *Наркомпищепром СССР — домашней хозяйке* 'From The People's Commissary of Food Industry of the USSR — to housewives'. In the publisher's note on the following page, it was only female readers (*читательницы*), who were invited to voice and send their opinions.

reflected, nature's annual calendar and phenological rhythms, in particular, those of procreation, so that his portrayal of Soviet people, besides being politically and ideologically correct, had an additional natural human dimension⁸. And yet, this human angle did not quite extend to the depiction of food they consumed.

In the following episode, positive personages eat and drink while they relax in the warm and therefore cosy room after working in the open air amid snowstorm and icy wind. Still, alongside an unidentified colourless and presumably strong liquor (most probably vodka, which the author modestly refrains from referring to by its name), their only refreshment is tea, bread and a small fish (also nameless), set very informally:

«Вони промерзли до кісток, і тому теплінь кімнати здалася особливо приємною. — Ось що нам потрібно, і то негайно, — вигукнув Полоз, витягаючи з шафи пляшку з прозорою рідиною. Він пішов шукати хліба і закуски <...>. Полоз за мить повернувся з тарілкою, де виднілася якась рибка, поставив її на стіл, витяг виделки, і вони налили чарки <...> підняв чарку, глянув через неї на світло, а потім помалу, смакуючи, слідом за Котиком випив її до дна» (Sobko : 868). «<...> він окинув поглядом кімнату. Чайник кипів на вікні. Білий струмінь пари вихоплювався з тихим свистом з дірочки в кришці. Порізана рибка лежала на тарілці. Від гарячої батареї опалення здіймалося вгору повітря і тихо гойдало фіранку над вікном. Полоз з жалем зачинив двері» (ibid. : 881).

In another scene, supper takes place during the World War II somewhere in the Soviet territory occupied by Germans. Although modest, especially given the circumstances, it is not quite meager, being tasty-smelling as well:

«Давайте, Віро Михайлівно, подумаємо, чим нам повечеряти. Витяг з якогось закапелка картоплю, банку старого маргарину. Скоро кімната сповнилася смачним духом смаженини» (ibid. : 2164).

Elsewhere in the novel, both supper meals positive characters are having and setting thereof are just mentioned, and even if specified, then no more than as «modest» (except for liquor, which, although not explicitly named, could not be anything other than vodka):

«Він швидко вийняв з буфета приготовану вечерю. Розставив усе на столі, поклав серветки. Ганна підійшла до стола, критично глянула: все зроблено дуже вміло і продумано» (ibid. : 1251)⁹. «В сусідній кімнаті на столі стояла скромна вечеря. <...> — Чарку вип'єш? — <...> засміявся, наливаючи йому чималу чарчину, Сидір Ковпак» (ibid. : 2310).

At their lab parties, the drink is wine, sparkling or again unspecified, and food isn't even mentioned:

⁸ On the myth-poetical symbolism in this novel, see my 2019 paper «Mythopoetical symbolism in the inner form of Soviet Ukrainian sensational fiction texts» [Yermolenko 2019].

⁹ Significantly, during the first encounter of Yurii Krainiev, the principal protagonist, with Hanna, initially his colleague and later on his wife, she keeps snapping off little pieces from the chocolate bar, which introduces the feature of sweetness in their burgeoning relationship, as if promising more of it in the future: «Все це Ганна говорила, привітно усміхаючись і весь час одламуючи малесенькі шматочки від тоненької плитки шоколаду» (Sobko : 98).

«Молодь інституту стратосфери веселилася, як ніколи. Говорилися промови, і іскристе вино виривало корки з пляшок. <...> З'явився оператор кінохроніки і довго знімав це веселе комсомольське свято» (ibid. : 431); «Він підняв келиха з прозорим вином, і мовчання запанувало за столом» (ibid. : 1312); «Від вина, легкого і п'яного, туманилася голова. За столом вже говорили всі разом, мало прислухаючись до слів товариша» (ibid. : 1314).

In contrast to these warm scenes, the depiction of enemy's breakfast with its formal setting is, albeit succinct and only suggestive of sophistication rather than detailed and explicit, is nonetheless quite aesthetic, and at the same time permeated with cold ambience. This breakfast takes place at a secret research facility in Nazi Germany where the Soviet delegation of aviation specialists is being held captive and forced to collaborate:

«Накритий стіл стояв посередині великої кімнати. Складені серветки височіли, як маленькі білі піраміди. Краплі вологи осідали на стінках сифона з водою. Зелене листя салату було ніжним і пружним. Масло виглядало з-під нього, як прозорий буритин. <...> Волох накладав на тарілку сріблясті, немов металеві, шматочки оселедця. <...> Крайнів мазав дірчастий шматочок французької булки маслом. Тиша тепер порушувалася тільки брязкотом виделок і ножів» (ibid. : 317).

Etiquette formalities are occasionally indicated in the description of social gatherings of Soviet characters:

«Він пройшов до краю столу, де сиділа інженер-конструктор <...>, вклонився церемонно-жартівливо і запросив її до танцю» (ibid. : 1315).

But the adverb *церемонно-жартівливо* implies that this ritualistic old-fashioned behaviour is, from the viewpoint of the communicative interaction participants, to be taken *cum grano salis*, both at its face value and at the same time as a playful humorous imitation of obsolete courtesy, i.e., something that is occasionally admitted but not normally accepted and required.

Returning to the breakfast in captivity, it should be noted that in its description, the point of view is not associated with any of the Soviet characters mentioned here (Volkh, Yarynka, or protagonist Krainiev). Rather, this scene, as well the rest of the novel's text-internal world, is presented as seen by the auctorial narrator, who is evidently capable of aesthetic evaluation and knows about table etiquette and manners.

But in another Soviet Ukrainian bestselling novel of adventure, whose title can be rendered in English as «One-man army still an army» (literally «Even one in the field is an army») by Yuri Dold-Mykhajlyk («І один у полі воїн», 1956)¹⁰, food connotations are somewhat more complicated and even ambivalent due to a peculiar nature of its protagonist. The principal character is a Soviet military intelligence operative Hryhorii Honcharenko, acting among Wehrmacht troops as a former German spy and now Wehrmacht Lieutenant, later Captain Heinrich Freiherr von Goldring,¹¹ who, in order to escape from the U.S.S.R during the

¹⁰ This novel was followed by «With the Black nights» («У чорних лицарів», 1964) and «Clouds over the Spree» («Над Шпрее клубочаться хмари», 1965) with the same main personage.

¹¹ Throughout all the novel (except the final chapter, where he is back in the U.S.S.R.), the author only refers to him as Heinrich (*Генріх*). In this as well as some other

WWII, enlisted in the Red Army only to defect crossing the FEBA. Once with Germans, he is a staff officer in an army corps, with which he goes from the Eastern Front in Belarus to France.

The novel was an immediate and great success, and was followed by two more, set in the post war Europe. In these, former Heinrich discards his previous legend, and, although he has another assumed identity, the narrator now almost invariably calls him by his real name *Григорій*. The sequels, however, were far less popular, arguably, because they lack an aristocratic, elegant, and well-mannered figure that baron Heinrich von Goldring certainly was, especially as compared with much plainer Hryhorii.

An essential part of constructing his image belongs to food, but at the same time, this construction involves some contradictory features. Describing his first meeting with other staff servicemen at the canteen, the narrator finds it necessary to mention — with no negative attitude implied or stated explicitly — the traditional European dinner setting:

«Вони [other officers. — S.Y.] походжали по залу навколо довгого, вкритого білою скатертиною стола. Прибори на ньому вже стояли, і зараз дві офіціантки розставляли великі супові вази з ложками» (Dold-Mykhailuk : 405).

But when the dinner (which turned out to be a long and boring affair) starts, Heinrich amuses himself by watching the officers imitating their commanding general in the way they ladle the soup into their plates:

«Генерал налив собі супу. Взятися по черзі за розливні ложки й інші. Генріхові було дуже кумедно спостерігати, як усі присутні наслідували свого начальника. Обід тривав довго і нудно» (ibid. : 408).

Somewhat further into the novel, there is another episode featuring the same commanding general Ewers, in which Heinrich does not participate. In this episode, the general has an intimate evening talk with his guest, whom he receives in his villa, his old friend Field Marshal Denus, both of them members of anti-Hitler conspiracy within the Wehrmacht (allegedly *Operation Valkyrie*). Their talk takes place in a firelit room, their cozy armchairs close to the fire, them smoking fine cigars, and again the narrator seems to duly appreciate these details of creature comfort ambience, sharing this positive evaluatory connotation with the characters:

«Наказав присунути крісла поближче до каміна і відпустив служницю. Тепер гість і хазяїн лишилися сам на сам, ніщо їм більше не заважало. Навпаки, і полум'я каміна, і присмерк у кімнаті, і добрі сигари — все настроювало на інтимний лад».

The aroma of fine Cuban Havanas and real Mocha are jointly perceived and duly appreciated by the narrator and Heinrich in the residence of German officer Saugel, who has invited the latter for a coffee. But they both note an obviously

features, such as an aristocratic surname, this novel allegedly influenced another Soviet bestselling thriller series by Russian author Yulian Siemionov, whose protagonist, far less humane Max Otto von Stierlitz, was to become a proverbially ridiculed figure in informal Soviet and post-Soviet culture and lore.

dissonant smell of heavy perfume as well, and, from the viewpoint of the narrator, this latter scent, combined with the former, makes the stuffy, seldom aired apartment of Saugel resemble a *boudoir de cocotte*. The narrator emphasizes this resemblance by promptly adding other unmanly details of interior, such as soft carpets, lace curtains, and effeminate *bric-à-brac*, such as figurines, small vases and vials:

«У невеличкій трикімнатній квартирі Заугеля пахло парфумами, хорошими сигарами, справжнім мокко. Очевидно, кімнати рідко провітрювали, бо ці запахи так усталились, що створювали своєрідну задушливу атмосферу, яка буває в будуарах кокоток. Та й усе інше тут нагадувало швидше будуар, ніж кімнату офіцера, та ще у воєнний час: м'які килими, якими було завішано стіни і вкрито підлогу, мережані завіски на вікнах, безліч статуєток, вазочок, флакончиків» (ibid. : 1500).

The undoubtedly positive initial olfactory impression of Cuban tobacco and Arabian coffee, shared by the narrator and Heinrich, is then further counterbalanced and even outweighed by the latter's synaesthetic impression of decay, when he notices the *etagère* with books, specifically Hitler's «Mein Kampf» and works by Friedrich Nietzsche, a philosopher considered in the Soviet Union nothing more than an ideologue and precursor of Nazism:

«“Ну і звалище!” — подумав Генріх, і йому здалося, що від книжок тхне гнилятиною» (ibid. : 1502).

Once in France, Heinrich invites some of his fellow officers to supper at the hotel where he stays. The choice of meals he orders for this occasion is intended to present him to readers as a gourmet appreciating French cuisine, whose taste is shared by his guests:

«Господиня ресторану мадам Тарваль прислала до столу справді хороше вино. Та й страви були приготовані добре, і гауптман їв з великим апетитом. Коли подали жарену форель, Лютц вражено вигукнув <...>» (ibid. : 371); «Побачивши сервіровку, закуски і вино, Еверс схвально поплескав Генріха по плечу.

— Ви, бароне, справжній офіцер для особливих доручень: вмієте відгадувати навіть смаки свого шефа!

Мадам Тарваль справді сьогодні перевершила саму себе. Одна страва зміняла іншу, і до кожної подавалося спеціальне вино. Еверс, який завжди скаржився на печінку, виявилось, був хорошим гурманом і непоганим знавцем вин. Він високо оцінив кухню мадам Тарваль і добір вин» (ibid. : 577).

Yet what the author himself knew about French gastronomy only seems to be its name and fame (about which he would know from literature rather than personal experience), and not its specifics. It is something that Heinrich's order actually reveals, his choice of dishes lacking any specific, let alone *haute cuisine*, designations. But at the same time, it was presumably something that his readers could easily picture and enjoy themselves:

«— А що б ви хотіли замовити?

Форель, курку по-французькому з картопляним гарніром і салат. <...> А зараз я просив би вас прислати мені до кімнати пляшку бордо, коньяку, дві пляшки фруктового лікеру і пляшку шоколадного» (ibid. : 363).

Yet, Ukrainian *курка по-французькому* (*poule à la française* in French), as different from *coque à la française*, is in itself a generic description rather than a name of a specifically French dish or recipe (see [Plat historique]), and may be related to the democratic legend of the French king Henri IV's *poule au pot* as a symbol of rural well-being [Vitaux]), something that the author may actually have read or heard about. As to his somewhat strange alcohol preferences (in which spirits outweigh wine, with the one bottle of the latter and four of the former), *бордо*, too, is a generic designation: most wines of this region are red, yet there are excellent white Bordeaux as well [Bordeaux wine country guide]. (The author's yet another blunder of this kind is his mention of *пачка сигар* 'a pack of cigars', while in reality *Havanas* were only sold in wooden boxes and carried in cigar cases, since they were too large and fragile for any other packing). Taken Dold-Mykhailyk's modest social background, it should not come as a surprise. As to Heinrich as a food and drink connoisseur, gastronomic knowledge can surely be part of his aristocratic cover story, his real father a simple railway gatekeeper. But it can safely be assumed that whatever mistakes may have been made by the author in this respect, they were passed unnoticed by the unsophisticated Soviet reader, and so in no way could they do any harm to Heinrich von Goldring's image as an audacious Soviet intelligence spy and at the same time a refined European aristocrat and a dapper Wehrmacht officer (although on closer inspection, namely, if one takes into account the fact that he came to the U.S.S.R. while still a teenager, this refinement does seem strange).

Somehow or other, he strangely demonstrates a very limited knowledge of his native food and cooking, when, after volunteering to prepare Russian *икха* (*рибна юшка*), thinks to himself:

«І навіть знання кулінара. Ну, на якого диявола він сам згадав про російську юшку з риби? Тепер доведеться варити, хоч він не має жодного уявлення, як це робиться! Доведеться десь розшукати кухарську книгу і самому скласти якийсь рецепт, скомпонувавши його з кількох там поданих» (ibid : 2511).

Thus, the author seeks — as it seems, not too successfully and therefore maybe half-heartedly — to downplay a gourmet side of this character by coincidentally supplying him with downgrading attitudes towards food and eating and so attaching to the latter the ideologically required negative social connotation of prandial pleasures and etiquette.

The same narrative co-occurrence scheme, in which quality food lexis connotes the negative personage who consumes it, can be found elsewhere in Socialist realist adventure prose, but the specifics of characters filling the slot of such a consumer can vary. In the yet another military intelligence trilogy, L. Sheinin's «Military secret» («Военная тайна», 1944–1965), this character is a Moscow petty pickpocket Funtikov nicknamed *Хлястик*:

«— Попрошу пару раков и скумбрию горячего копчения...
— Здравствуйте, Жора, — пропела Люся, старательно выбирая своему поклоннику самые крупных раков и жирную золотистую скумбрию. — Вот самые свежие.
Фунтиков стал неторопливо есть, с аппетитом поглощая нежную, таявщую во рту скумбрию, а за ней горячих раков» (Sheinin : 2192).

With Фунтиков, his penchant for good fish is nothing more than an allusion of his antisocial priorities. In the following example, however, epicurean tastes and behaviour are shown, in addition to this, also as a means of corrupting influence and seduction. In the spy novel «When dolphins play» by B.Kraievskii and Y.Limanov («Когда играют дельфины», 1958), a Western spy, masked as a studio photographer stationed in a Soviet port city, meets his potential asset, a naive and ambitious young journalist at a restaurant¹², where the latter treats himself to a modest and alcohol-free Sunday lunch.

«По воскресеньям Юрочка позволял себе небольшую роскошь — *обедать в ресторане “Золотой берег”*. В этой еженовскресной процедуре все импониовало ему: и “*добрый день*” солидного швейцара, и приветливые улыбки официанток, и прохлада полупустого зала, и ослепительная белизна скатертей, салфеток, приборов, а главное — ощущение самоуважения и солидности, которое неизменно возникало у него, когда он становился центром бесшумной ресторанной суеты» (Kraievskii, Limanov : 205).

The spy promptly capitalizes on this seemingly small weakness: what he himself eats and drinks leaves his quarry duly impressed:

«С завидным для сердечника аппетитом Родлинский отрезал ломтик за ломтиком от сочного, чуть красноватого в середине бифштекса, обильно приправлял его горчицей, слегка посыпал красным перцем, рассматривал долю секунды и, блаженно щурясь, отправлял в рот. За мясом следовали стружки жаренного в масле картофеля и розоватый прозрачный лук. Каждый кусок бифштекса был как бы самостоятельным эпизодом в жизни Родлинского, и все эпизоды завершались добрым глотком коньяка.

Юрочка, только что окончивший есть бездарный шницель, несколько минут крепился, потом не выдержал и подозвал официантку.

— Лидочка, мне, пожалуйста, кофе с коньяком. Коньяк двойной. А компот не надо, — скороговоркой добавил он вполголоса <...>
А еще через полчаса непривыкший к коньяку сотрудник заводской многотиражки доверительно излагал Родлинскому свои взгляды <...>» (ibid. : 218).

In the spy novel of Rumanian author Haralamb Zinca «Atac la obiectiyul 112» (1955, Russian translation 1957), the enemy covert agent is a waiter in the canteen of a secret defence installation construction site, where he patiently learns culinary preferences of the personnel, something that permits him, as the author puts it, «to dig deeper into their souls»:

¹² It should be borne in mind that East Slavonic words such as Ukrainian *ресторан* don't fully correspond to English *restaurant*, since the former denotes an upscale establishment serving food as well as beverages, including wines and spirits, and sometimes providing live music for entertainment and dance: as such luxurious, even decadent venues, *restorany* had a strong connotation of something tolerated rather than accepted by moral and ethical standards, both official and unofficial (see [Eстетика poviedieniia : 182]); yet again, this connotation was never registered in dictionary entries, either within the definitions, or as expressed in illustrative citations, cf.: ресторан 'приміщення (звичайно з музикою, танцями), де подаються страви та напої'. Банкет відбувався в ресторані, що містився на стадіоні біля парку (Петро Панч, В дорозі, 1959, 206); — І ще б вам пасувало дуже сидіти в ресторані, піднімати маленькі скляночки золотого вина і слухати музику... (Микола Ю. Тарновський, День..., 1963, 19) [SUM 8: 515].

«Официант, с которым Манека проводил подземную операцию, работал в столовой строительства под именем Илие Дрэгой, а посетители называли его «Проворный». Эту кличку он оправдывал вполне: ловкий, быстрый, вьюном вертясь между столиками, он обслуживал посетителей моментально.

Старательного Илие ценили и уважали. Кроме того, *никто лучше его не знал вкусов клиентов. Дрэгой помнил, кто любит борщ, кто предпочитает котлеты с горчицей, а кому они больше нравятся с томатом. Терпеливо, настойчиво и осторожно влезал шпион в души людей.*

Но более других официант интересовался чертежником Тити Крэчуном — живым, веселым тридцатилетним человеком <...> явно не в меру болтливым служащим» (Zinke : 241).

As this fragment shows, the spy paranoia of totalitarian Communist society added its own overtones to the perception of food as something potentially harmful and dangerous, turning the knowledge of simple food tastes of Socialist engineers into classified info.

In the crime adventure fiction of Socialist realism, good food indulgence is also an attribute of criminals, social parasites, and other antisocial elements, and public venues where such food is consumed, i.e., *restorany*, are often unattractive places lacking an appealing ambience, as the following fragment from the crime story collection «Footprints on the pavement» by Vitalii Petliovanyi («Сліди на тротуарі», 1958) implies:

«В ресторані “Абхазія” як у бані. Душно і пахне віниками. Оркестр грає щось меланхолійно-ніжне, під таку мелодію не хочеться ні співати, ні танцювати. Тільки пляшки та бокали подзенькують на столиках, ніби висловлюють свій протест музикантам. Літній офіціант, поважний, мов іноземний дипломат¹³, шанобливо вклоняється Пилипові, як старому знайомому, і веде всіх трьох за ширму.

— Ось меню, прошу. Зараз я підійду.

— Ми й без меню обійдемося. Три салати м'ясні, три шашлики... Пляшку вірменського коньяку... Дві пляшки мінеральної, — упевнено замовляє Пилип Городинський.

— А цукерок? — кокетливо нагадує Люда.

— Так, цукерок. “Червона шапочка”. І цигарок. Та швидше, будь ласка. Наша дама зовсім залякла» (Petliovanyi : 169); «Одного разу Неля повела його в “Кукушук”, ресторан над Дніпром. Санько здивовано прислухався до її розмови з офіціантом: Неля замовляла *найдорожчий коньяк, ікру, залити грошей*. <...> Неля призналася, що любить розкіш... Їм потрібно багато грошей, тоді життя буде щасливим і веселим. Неля знає, як добувати гроші. Санько має слухатися її порад» (ibid. : 853–855).

In the spy novel «By the Tisza» by O. Avdieienko («Над Тисою» 1956), one of the negative characters is a work-shy youth spoiled by his mother, a black-

¹³ For Soviet readers, this simile, with a foreign diplomat as a comparison component, was axiologically ambivalent: while diplomats were proverbial standards of refined manners, such manners were a feature not quite Soviet in itself, and for that reason alone, somewhat suspicious, whereas the qualifying attribute *іноземний* (i.e., not *nash*) made it still worse. *Mutatis mutandis*, another element of this restaurant's *entourage*, music performed by its band, is not quite it seems neither: it is described as «tender and melancholic», but is not good enough for the author, who immediately adds that it is fit neither for dance nor singing, so that even glassware on the tables keeps clinging to it, as if in protest to the performers.

market dealer. When he returns home after six-month absence, she prepares a celebratory and absurdly lavish feast:

«<...> він <...> пішов у будинок, звідки долинав аромат смаженого м'яса і здобного тіста.

В найбільшій кімнаті, як і чекав Андрій, був накритий святковий стіл. Майже сорок тарілок, на кожній викладена особлива закуска: ковбаси всіх сортів, сир, ікра, тонко нарізана червона риба, холодна курка, пиріжки, солоні огірки, квашені яблука і сливи, перець фарширований, печиво, яблука, вино, горіхи, цукерки... Середину столу займав великий пухкий торт. На його коричнювому шоколадному фоні білів вершковий напис: "З приїздом, моє щастя!". "Моє щастя" досить байдуже, як і належало людині, яка знає собі ціну, оглянув стіл: нам, мовляв, невидовижу такий достаток, не чекайте подяки» (Avdieienko: 1568–1569).

Significantly, this lavishness of food is preceded by the description of their well-kept and thriving homestead, rich in aesthetic details as well as testifying to the owner's industriousness:

«В садочку біля будинку цвіли тюльпани, рожеві і сині незабудки. У великій дротяній клітці, високо піднятій на чотирьох стовпах, воркували білосніжні голуби. Під навісом веранди висіли золоті качани торішньої насінневої кукурдзи. На підвіконнях, притулившись до шибок, стояли червоні, білі, бузкові вазони в горщиках. В глибині двору крізь щілини плетеного з лози пташника чорніла постать Марії¹⁴, оточеної курми, качками і гусьми. На весняному сонці грілася кішка з котенятами» (ibid. : 1564–1565).

Thus, however orthodox the illocutionary intentions of their authors may have been, one of the perlocutive effects such descriptions and details produced in readers must have been disorientation. Indeed, the text-internal social connotations of food and their distribution as found in Soviet Socialist realist prose leave one with ambivalent impressions. On one hand, they do highlight and proselytize asceticism of Soviet ethics and public morality with their ideals of modesty, self-restraint, and the pursuit of the public good over private interests, in conformity with Lenin's dictum «Our morality is fully subordinated to the interests of the class struggle of the proletariat» [Grier : 108] (see also [Estetika poviedieniiia : 176–188]). On the other hand, in what concerns official party and state policy towards Soviet people nourishment, these social connotations are markedly different from the official values found in the beloved cookbook «The book about tasty and healthy food»¹⁵ and other sources and instruments of Communist propaganda creating prosperity image.

Judging from their literature works alone, it is anyone's guess, how adventure fiction authors themselves treated food in their real private lives as opposed to the virtual fictional reality they constructed, what their private likes and dislikes were on this point, and how these influenced or determined their illocutionary purposes. It should be borne in mind that for the Soviet people in general and Soviet writers

¹⁴ The author informs his readers that Marta, a former nun, now is not only an excellent household help, but also assists her mistress in illicit dealings.

¹⁵ After all, the 1961 Program of the CPSU, too, claimed that in the future Communist society, «all sources of public wealth will flow in a full stream» (i.e., abundantly), rephrasing the formulation given by Karl Marx in his «Kritik des Gothaer Programms: Randglossen zum Programm der deutschen Arbeiterpartei»: «<...> alle Springquellen des genossenschaftlichen Reichtums voller fließen <...>» [Marx].

in particular, hypocrisy and doublethink were an essential part of their survival strategies, leading to discrepancies between official rhetorics, public conformity and everyday private practices [Inkeles, Bauer Klukhohn : 138, 171, 215].

It is highly probable that Ukrainian author Petliovanyi, who described the above scene in the restaurant *Abkzaziia*, had a first-hand knowledge of that popular subterranean venue on Khreshchatyk street in the centre of Kyiv. Picturing antisocial and enemy characters as gluttons, gourmets, or restaurant patrons, adventure fiction authors themselves may well have been of more or less the same kind. In other words, their treatment of food symbolism as required by puritanical Communist ethics was a lip service to this doctrine. Arguably, their own tastes were shared by their readership. As a result, associating good food with bad guys in order to give it negative social connotation must have turned out counterproductive, in that the ostensive associative symbolic relationship got reversed: in readers' perception, it was tasty dishes that passed their positive overtones to their negative consumers, thus ameliorating them. In the same way, Socialist TV and cinema viewers came to admire elegant White Guard and Nazi uniforms as worn by their favourite actors playing «our» spies, with some of this affection being, by generalization, transposed to their original wearers.

As it has already been shown, Socialist realist authors seemed to anticipate the possibility of such a reversal and tried to suspend it by contextually ascribing more negative features to food names and their appetizing intentional (as understood by Roman Ingarden¹⁶) *denotata*. The following fragment is an example of such forcible pejorative connoting. In the spy adventure novel «The war of invisibles» («Война невидимок», 1943–1944) by N. Shpanov, a Soviet marine researcher on a visit to a fictitious neutral Baltic state, is invited to supper in a «бар»¹⁷ with the exotic name «The sun of Tahiti», famous for its seemingly endless variety of pies, exotic seafood, etc. The following rich portrayal must have been especially appealing in the lean years of the World War II:

«Огромную, обитую никелем стойку почти сплошь покрывали стеклянные колпаки. Яркой зеленью манили взор посетителя груды салата, заправленного белым, как сливки, провансалем. Огромные ломти нежного лосося, подобно диковинному розовому маслу, были способны раздражить аппетит самого сытого человека. Сверкали и переливались всеми цветами радуги, маня своими ароматами, десятки маринадов.

Добрую половину стойки занимали блюда с пирогами. Тут были толстые, как подушки, пироги с воздушным белым тестом, начиненным печенкой макрели, растертой на оливох¹⁸.

Были и плоские польские мазурки¹⁹ — плотные и пряные от светящихся в них изумрудин-цукатов. Едва ли <...> был кто-нибудь, кто успел пере-

¹⁶ Polish philosopher Roman Ingarden (1893–1970) maintained that the semantics of statements occurring in artistic discourse and literary text is intentional in that it makes impossible their assessment as logically true or false, see [Nyenhuis]. And yet, this way of interpreting what is said in literary fiction forms part of a sophisticated scholarly approach, whereas reading it naively, as average readers do, presumes that all of it is true, all the more so when the artistic content corresponds to readers' expectations and preferences.

¹⁷ According to my own linguistic experience, for average Soviet citizens this word's connotations were even worth than those of *ресторан*: when a venue of this kind opened in Kyiv in the late 1960s, an elderly teacher was shocked since she believed that, in her own words, *бар* — *це там, де рознуста* 'a bar is a place of debauchery'.

¹⁸ My research as to whether this recipe of pie filling is genuine yielded nothing.

¹⁹ On the 21st of October, 1939, V. Molotov called Poland «ugly offspring of the

пробовать все сорта пирожков, громоздившихся на специальном возвышении из огнеупорного стекла, под которым всегда пламенели угли жаровни. Слоеные, тесто которых таяло во рту подобно снежинкам; песочные, заварные; кислые, сладкие, соленые; с вареньем, грибами, рыбой, дичью, ливером и невесть еще с какой начинкой <...>. А над всем — над салатами, над маринадами, пирогами и сотней других лакомств, венчая их пурпуром своих панцирей, господствовали тела омаров, крабов, лангустов, и рядом с яркими, как мессинское солнце, лимонами чернели раковины устриц» (Shpanov : 346).

This mouth-watering picture is preceded as well as somewhat spoiled by the far less attractive portrait of the female bartender:

«Содержательница бара, мадам ван Поортен — пышущая жарким благодушием толстуха, втиснутая в яркий мешок шелкового капота, — по форме своей представляла нечто схожее с гигантской бутылкой пепермента [sic! — S.Y.]. Каждая следующая к вершине округлость ее корпуса был немного меньше предыдущей. Самый верхний шар мадам ван Поортен был украшен парой заплывших жиром, крошечных, но очень черных и очень блестящих глаз» (ibid. : 341).

The description of the bar proper, with its rows of spirits (underlying the author's ill-chosen comparison of them with pipes of the organ in a Protestant cathedral is probably the allusion to Marx's well-known dictum about the intoxicating influence of religion), is counterbalanced by the reference to the creativity of profit-seeking alcohol producers and their corrupted clientele²⁰:

«На дальнем конце стойки <...> краны, источавшие жидкости всех мыслимых цветов и оттенков. <...> на полках высокого буфета, похожего на орган протестантского собора, стояли ряды бутылок, бутылей и пузырьков. В них таинственно светились самые разнообразные напитки, — все, что создала ненасытная изобретательность пьяниц и их алчных потворщиков, готовых ради наживы спить весь мир» (ibid. : 347).

Finally, this Epicurean watering hole is presented as a tasteless and dangerous venue, fraught with crime and violence:

«Здесь, на белом мраморе столов, багрянец человеческой крови не раз спорил с рубиновыми пятнами христовой слезы²¹. Тогда в завывание огромной радиолы²² вонзались пронзительные свистки полиции» (ibid. : 350).

Versailles Treaty, jointly destroyed by Germany and USSR». After the German invasion of the Soviet Union, this attitude changed diametrically. Although the The

Soviet people were accustomed to abrupt shifts in state policy, and taking into consideration that the event in this episode took place before the start of the Second World War, the tasty Polish cake mentioned in such a controversial context must have looked politically suspicious.

²⁰ The bar is said to be a unique place having a genuine Cinzano. In fact, Cinzano, although internationally a less popular brand than Martini-Rossi, was also widely exported [Mazzotti : 472–486], so with its affordable price there hardly was a need for fakes.

²¹ *Христова слеза*, Latin *lacryma Christi*, is an Italian wine (which can be both white and red), widely mentioned in literature [OCW :136], but in this particular context, its choice by the author must have been due the religious connotation of its inner form emphasizing, by means of contrast, the unholiness of the venue.

²² The description of music from the radio set as «howling» is quite consonant with the other unsavoury details.

At the same time, it is conceivable that, in associating bad guys with good food, the authors of adventure fiction did so out of literary-semiotic necessity. Polish religious poet priest Jan Twardowski noticed that ordinarily, from the viewpoint of masses, the evil is expected to be more interesting and attractive than its opposite. Arguably, in the world picture behind the sign system of this mass culture genre, both within and without Socialist realist literature, the same applies to «bad guys»: whatever ideology and politics may demand, the immanent structure of this genre as a semiotic system with its own conventions and oppositions, prescriptions and presuppositions.

The following fragment is unique in its character. In it, a detailed festival meal description is embedded in the situation that only features positive characters. This excerpt is taken from yet another Soviet spy thriller, the novella «Secret weapon» by L.S. Ovalov («Секретное оружие», 1962), whose main protagonist, Soviet counterintelligence officer Major Pronin, also appears in other works by the same author published from 1939 through 1962. The Pronin series was pretty soon forgotten, and its main hero, like Stierlitz, only survived as an absurdly comic personage of popular jokes deriding KGB (in the 90s, signalling new attitudes, the reprint of the series was initiated by its new copyright holder, A. Zamostianov, a Russian author and avowed Stalinist). In the final chapter of the novella, Pronin is invited to celebrate the success of the case in which he and his hosts were involved. The feast was called *nup* 'a feast' in the publisher's afterword, but the list of refreshments is actually very short:

«Мы перешли в кухню, в ту самую кухню, с которой и начался наш рассказ. На столе стояли *и пирог, и маринованные грибы из подмосковных лесов, и бутылка шампанского, и запотевший графинчик с водкой.*
— Чем богаты, тем и рады, — сказала Мария Сергеевна» (Овалов : 901).

Significantly, Ovalov employs in its description a variety of polysyndeton in which the repeated conjunction *и* occurs for the first time before the first item of the list, so emphasizing the plenitude and even exhaustiveness of this rather limited menu, as if telling the reader that there is all that should be. But short as it may be, the implied symbolic meaning of the list is clear and unambiguous. Indeed, items listed are an implicit declaration of Soviet and Russian chauvinistic loyalty as well as modest traditional tastes (vodka, pies and wild mushrooms). *Шампанское*, generally affordable in the Soviet Union, testifies to the improved well-being, growing demands and more refined tastes of the Soviet people [KVZP 1952: 80]; besides, it conveys an association with the so called «great Russian literature», also part of the Russian imperial narrative, where it was mentioned by Pushkin, Tolstoi etc.)²³ But, as different from pre-revolutionary champagne, mostly imported from France, *Советское шампанское* was a quality sparkling wine produced in the Crimea and the Krasnodar Krai (the North Caucasus region), none of which originally historic Russian territories, so that the diachronic connotations of *Советское шампанское* and its designation included imperial and expansionist overtones as well.

The following example, the last in this paper, will provide a contrast to all the previous ones. It is drawn from the crime novel «The evil one» («Зły», 1955) by Polish author Leopold Tyrmand, *the* super bestseller of the 50s in Poland,

²³ Significantly, allusions to pre-revolutionary Russian culture, including citations from Pushkin, can be found in «The book about tasty and healthy food» as well.

also called an encyclopaedia of postwar Warsaw. Although written and published in the Stalinist period, it has nothing to do with Socialist realism; in fact, it is considered a literary reaction to Stalinism and its literature (Pasterska : 171–214). In it, food lexemes are regularly used as elements of the narrative *sensu stricto*, i.e., in connection with actions of the personages, scenes they participate in, or other means of their characterization. Once, however, they occur in the description of one of Warsaw's high-end groceries (*Delikatesy*) situated in Nowy Świat street. Though autonomous, this fragment is not one of the author's famous digressions on various Varsovian topics found in the novel, since it appears in a wider context where it is preceded by the inner speech of a leading figure, journalist Kolanko, and so it can be attributed to him. But this particular fragment lacks any explicit markings identifying Kolanko as the one who perceives and thinks, i.e., as a contemplative focalizer, and therefore the fragment can be linked to the auctorial narrator as well. Be it as it may, the attitude towards quality food it conveys is quite different, indeed opposed to social-ideological evaluations found in Socialist realist thrillers, for the fragment's content emphasizes good victuals as something that can bring sensuous joy and satisfaction to the everyday life of common people:

«Przechodził obok "Delikatesów", zdecydowanym ruchem wszedł do *pełnego luster, zapachów i kolorów wielkiego magazynu. Misterne obeliski słodczy, kosze owoców, baterie butelek, sterty biało-różowej szynki, kopce żółtych serów, zasieki słoików z dżemem i marynatami, zmieszana woń cytryn, kakao, wędlin, czekolady, egzotyczne etykiety puszek z oliwą, z sardynkami i ananasem – wszystko to radowało zmysły, przyrzekało jakiś codzienny, całkiem dostępny epikureizm, na którego glebie rosną mile i zabawne roślinki niedużych zadowoleń*» (Tyrmand : 1800–1801).

Also, for all the artless declarative straitforwardness of this fragment, there is a distinct aesthetic quality inhering in the picture it conveys, something which can be termed poetry of food, which is also given a positive social connotation. At the same time, *Delikatesy* as they appear in the novel, a wishful attractive image of food for contemplation rather than consumption, could only be but a *pium desiderium* on the part of the author-narrator, since food shortages were then rule rather than exception, so that this gastronomic plenitude can be compared with the one found in «The book of tasty and healthy food», although their underlying messages were quite different.

Returning to Socialist realist adventure prose for summing up my observations on food lexis and its social connotation in texts of this subgenre, the most salient feature is the generally contradictory character of these connotations in virtually all the instances. Viewed from the perspective of textual co-occurrence relationship between food lexemes, on one hand, and different social personages, on the other, the distribution of the positive vs. negative markings between these correlatives is found to be diametrically, or rather, asymmetrically opposite: ideologically positive social characters tend to be associated with the absence of positive food marking, and negative ones with lexemes denoting good food. In cultural-semiotic terms, this shared contradiction can be considered as resulting from the interference of two secondary semiotic systems, that of ideology and politics (whose set of values was itself, as I have shown, contradictory in this respect) on one hand, and that of literature, more specifically of adventure fiction, on the other.

Since this subgenre of Socialist realism was a literary variety completely dominated by ideology and politics, the interference in this case was different from

the one discussed in [Chernysh, Yermolenko 2023; Chernysh, Yermolenko 2022], where discursive-functional interaction between secondary sign systems involved linguistic self-defence as defined by A. Wierzbicka (see [Wierzbicka]) and whose effects were of essentially different character, as in that case, linguistic-cultural code interference manifested itself in borrowing of lexemes (or semantic variants thereof) and phrases from one code to another. In this case, it is connotations that one code gives another (or at least tries to do so). And yet, in this case, in Socialist realist thrillers, there, too, was conflict, in which this genre, close to actual human nature and therefore different in this respect from ideology, tried to defend itself against ideological exigencies and expectancies.

This points to two important theoretical issues. One of them is the problem of manifestation of discursive interaction of various secondary cultural semiotic systems as well as forms, types and, levels of manifestation of this interaction. The other is the problem of sign systems' immanent/inner resilience²⁴ and, eventually, self-defence as a factor influencing the operation and development of these systems²⁵.

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²⁴ To be distinguished from the notion of linguistic persistence (Ukrainian *мовна стійкість*) as employed by O. B. Tkachenko in his works.

²⁵ The idea of such inner resilience as a (linguo-)semiotic system's property was forwarded by B. M. Azhniuk during the discussion that followed my presentation «Linguistic-cultural code interaction as a form of linguistic self-defence» at the March session of the Scientific council of the O. O. Potebnia Institute of Linguistics.

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ІНТЕРФЕРЕНЦІЙНА РЕЗИСТЕНТНІСТЬ ВТОРИННИХ СЕМІОТИЧНИХ СИСТЕМ І ТЕКСТУАЛЬНІ КОНОТАЦІЇ ЛЕКSEM НА ПОЗНАЧЕННЯ ЇЖІ

Стаття присвячена аналізу інтерференції вторинних семіотичних систем (кодів) за умов впливу ідеології на наративно-фреймові моделі сумісної вживаності кулінарної лексики у пригодницькій прозі соціалістичного реалізму українською та деякими іншими мовами. Завдяки застосуванню в аналізі привативної опозиції «соціально позитивний / негативний персонаж» автором було встановлено спільну для текстів цього жанру модель дистрибуції, згідно з якою персонажі другого типу мають тенденцію виступати у спільному контексті з лексемами на позначення багатой, смачної та вишуканої їжі, натомість для персонажів першого типу сумісна вживаність із назвами їжі або взагалі відсутня, або ж відповідні лексеми передають лише загальне значення обмеженої в кількості та простоті за характером їжі (лише в одному з аналізованих випадків «позитивні» герої споживають святкові страви, добір яких, однак, зумовлений їхньою символічною конотативною семантикою, що відбиває соціокультурні цінності, традиційно притаманні російському імперському та шовіністичному наративові). Шляхом саме такої дистрибуції відповідні кулінарні лексеми отримують недвозначну соціальну конотацію. Крім того, автор проводить розрізнення між пропагандистською ілокутивною спрямованістю такої дистрибуції, унаслідок якої найменування якісної їжі та умов її споживання отримують негативну соціальну конотацію через їхнє конотативне асоціювання з соціально негативними персонажами, з одного боку, і, з іншого, її реальним перлокутивним результатом, при якому ці імена не лише зберігають свою позитивну споживчу культурну конотацію, а навіть і можуть передавати її негативним персонажам. З точки зору автора, цей останній випадок становить прояв того, що він називає комунікативно-функційною резистентністю, властивою мовно-культурному коду пригодницької прози як іманентній семіотичній системі зі своїм набором конотацій. Ці конотації суперечать ідеолого-пропагандистським вимогам та критеріям соціалістичного реалізму, відбиваючи натомість норми масової культури, згідно з якими негативне має бути зображене як цікаве і в чомусь привабливе.

Ключові слова: резистентність семіотичної системи, конотація, ідеологія, лексика на позначення їжі, опозиція.