

Names of national clothes as lexical ethnomarkers of the traditional culture of the Turkic and Finno-Ugric peoples of the Ural-Volga region

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Abstract: The article is devoted to the study of the names of national clothes of the Turkic and Finno-Ugric peoples of the Ural-Volga region, which act as lexical ethnomarkers of traditional culture. The study of the names for designating certain elements of traditional clothing allows us to identify the diversity and richness of both linguistic markers and cultural codes of peoples that make up a single linguogeographic community. The analysis of the material is based on two main methods of studying ethnographic vocabulary: ethnolinguistic, which consists in describing names in direct connection with the culture of the people, and linguogeographic, considering linguistic phenomena in connection with the territorial correlation of languages. The study of the national costume of the Turkic and Finno-Ugric peoples of the Ural-Volga ethnographic region – Mordvins, Udmurts, Mari, Chuvashes, Tatars, Bashkirs – made it possible to note the presence of a significant number of common features. Nevertheless, the costume of each of the above-mentioned peoples is unique. It reflects the centuries-old culture and customs of the Turkic and Finno-Ugric ethnic groups inhabiting the Ural-Volga region. The originality and uniqueness of clothing elements is especially evident in the variety of headdresses, shoes, jewelry and decorations created by each of these peoples in accordance with the natural and climatic conditions, economic structure, as well as the worldview and aesthetic taste of these peoples.

Keywords: Clothing lexics, Ural-Volga region languages.

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1. Introduction

The culture of an ethnic group represents the results and achievements of its practical and spiritual activities from ancient times to the present day; as well as the values acquired by it in the course of co-existence, communication and interaction with other cultural worlds and creatively used in its development in the spheres of social and personal life. The material component of ethnic culture has a ramified structure, including artifacts of various forms and types, such as objectified and materialized feelings, the soul and spirit of man and ethnic group. In modern conditions, material culture especially acts as vivid and visualized ethnomarkers, it plays a significant role in familiarizing with historical roots, traditional values, ethnoidentification in the face of the advancing globalization and unification of life.

The ethnocultural mosaic of the Ural-Volga region is represented by distinctive peoples with a unique historical and cultural heritage, spiritual achievements, material culture, one of the brightest manifestations of which is folk clothing. The study of names for designating certain elements of traditional clothing

allows us to identify the diversity and richness of both linguistic markers and cultural codes of the national and cultural identity of peoples that make up a single linguogeographic community.

Linguistically, the Turkic and Finno-Ugric peoples of the Ural-Volga region are divided into two groups: one of them consists of the Bashkirs, Tatars and Chuvash, whose languages belong to the Turkic group of the Altaic language family; the other is the Udmurts, Mari and Mordvins, who speak the languages of the Finnish branch of the Finno-Ugric group of the Uralic language family. These peoples have always lived in fairly close contact with each other and with the Russian population of these regions. Over the course of many thousands of years of history, the areas of modern settlement of these peoples, the foundations of their languages, material and spiritual culture, and mentality were formed in constant contacts. In the process of cohabitation, mutual influence and interpenetration of cultures occurred, however, even in the 21st century, the peoples of the Volga and Ural regions have retained their national identity and authenticity.

The issues of national clothing of the Turkic and Finno-Ugric peoples of the Ural-Volga region have been studied quite

thoroughly. Research is conducted on individual languages, mainly in the ethnographic and linguistic aspects. At the same time, the lexics of national clothing of the peoples of the Ural-Volga region has not been considered as a complex phenomenon of a single linguogeographic community, and this determines the urgency of the chosen topic.

2. Material, Methods, Review

At all times, the national costume as a unique ethnocultural and artistic-aesthetic phenomenon (especially in its female guise) was considered one of the colorful, national-individual artifacts in folk culture, history and destiny, capturing and passing on from generation to generation spiritual ideas, beliefs and customs, an organic connection with the natural environment, ideas on the measure and perfection of a person organizing his inner world, creating his own "I" and appearance according to the laws of beauty and harmony, which have been polished for centuries by national self-consciousness. Clothes performed practical functions, protected their owner from natural challenges (cold, wind, heat, etc.), skillfully masked the flaws of his appearance and ennobled the image, testified to the level of his aesthetic and artistic culture, acted as a visual marker of gender, age, family status, emphasized social status and, above all, ethnic identity. Moreover, many nations believed that their costume, its attributes and accessories had a protective function and anti-harmful power, being magical amulets against the influence of supernatural forces, also the machinations of evil spirits, human envy and the evil eye. That is why national clothes in places of openings, slits and cutouts, at collars, places of fasteners, on cuffs of sleeves, at hem, etc. were abundantly and purposefully decorated with symbolic embroidery and patterns that played the role of amulets, scaring away various evil spirits, especially for women, they were complemented with beads, braid, coins and jewelry elements made of silver, inlaid with anti-harmful stones and objects, etc. Clothes were functionally divided into festive, ritual, and everyday, according to the attributes and composition of complementary items, shape, cut, color scheme their objects were repeated, but the festive outfit, of course, was richer and more colorful than everyday clothes.

The topic of traditional national costume as one of the most striking artifacts of cultural heritage has always been in the center of attention of ethnographers, historians, art historians, philosophers, and folklorists. For this study, ethnographic and linguistic material was used. Information on the costumes of the Turkic and Finno-Ugric peoples of the Ural-Volga region was taken from ethnographic studies (Vladykin et al., 2008; Molotova, 1992; Nikolaev et al., 2002; Suslova, 2018; Shigurova, 2020; Shitova, 1995). Works devoted to the language contacts of the Turkic and Finno-Ugric peoples of the Ural-Volga region were used as a linguistic basis for the study (Kutsaeva, 2020; Normanskaya, 2023; Robbeets, 2020).

The purpose of this article is to describe the names associated with the national clothing of the Turkic and Finno-Ugric peoples of the Ural-Volga region, which act as lexical ethnomarkers of traditional culture. The analysis of the material is carried out using two main methods of studying ethnographic lexics: ethnolinguistic, which consists in describing names in direct connection with the culture of the people, and linguogeographic considering linguistic phenomena in connection with the territorial correlation of languages.

3. Results and Discussion

The material culture and, above all, the national costume of the Bashkirs, Tatars, Chuvashes, Mari, Mordvins and Udmurts, who were historically settled within a single territorial and socio-cultural space, have a common functional orientation, cultural and religious-spiritual meanings and in many ways overlap with each other, while their unique attributes emphasize originality of the ideological orientations, aesthetic taste and artistic preferences of the ethnic group.

3.1. National clothing of the Bashkirs

Bashkir culture (material and artistic) was formed against the background of complex processes of ethnogenesis of various tribal formations, experiencing, in turn, the influence of the culture of both the Finno-Ugric peoples (the culture of the forest Bashkirs) and the nomadic peoples of the Turkic world, in whose bosom the steppe Bashkirs were formed (Yanbukhtina, 2006, pp. 44–45).

The traditional costume of the Bashkirs in all its local variations is a surprisingly colorful and unique ensemble, conditioned by the way of life of the people, who led a predominantly semi-nomadic lifestyle, their worldview and “steppe philosophy” (Rakhmatullina, 2023, p. 194). Bashkir hunters used furs of fur-bearing animals (otter, beaver, marten, fox, squirrel, lynx, wolf), leather, skins, wool of domestic animals for sewing outerwear, hats, shoes, they were also familiar with the culture of making linen from wild hemp.

The men's costume was uniform for the entire Bashkir population and included a white tunic-like homespun shirt with a turn-down collar (*küldäk*), over which they wore a short sleeveless jacket (*kamzul*), and wide-crotch trousers (*yshtan*). The outerwear of the Bashkirs is represented by flared robes (*jelän*, *sapan*, *säkmän*) or a straight robe of dark colors; in cold weather they wore cloth robes, kazakins (*käzäkej*), beshmets (*bishmät*), sheepskin coats, short fur coats, sheepskin coats with a huge collar (*tolop*) that protected the back from the steppe wind and snowstorms; wealthy Bashkirs wore coats made of expensive fur, lamb skins (*büre tun*, *tölkö tun*, *bärän tun*). Festive coats were covered with velvet, plush, and imported silk.

The clothing of Bashkir womens was varied and served as a kind of demonstration of social and age differences. Everyday costume consisted of a dress (*küldäk*) and trousers (*yshtan*). A short, fitted sleeveless jacket was worn over the dress, trimmed along the edges of the sides and hems with coins (silver or metal), several rows of braid (*kamzul*), etc. Women's clothing had many ringing silver pendants (*täñkä*), which, according to Bashkirs, protect their owner from the evil eye, drive away evil spirits, and have cleansing powers. In the north of Bashkiria, they wore aprons decorated with embroidery or ornaments. Dark robes, slightly fitted at the waist and flared at the hems, were ubiquitous women's clothing (*jelän*). Braid, silver coins, openwork pendants, beads, and cowrie shells were sewn onto festive robes. Bashkir embroidery on clothing was a skillful combination of solar patterns, with preference given to horn-shaped patterns (*qusqar*), triangle amulets (*betew*), etc. Women's fur coats trimmed with otter fur (*qama tun*), and a fur coat made of fox paws (*basa tun*), which were included into the groom's wedding gifts to the bride's mother, were especially prized (Shitova, 1995, pp. 10–64).

Everyday men's headdresses were skullcaps (*tübätäj*), in cold weather they wore cloth and fur headdresses with a wide flap

covering the back (*jalagaj*, *kölöpärä*, *kolaqsyn*), high four-wedge hats with a border (*kapes*, *burek*) were widespread. Women's headdresses for all ages were headscarves (*yauliq*), various covers (*börkänsek*, *qushjaulyq*), shawls (*shäl*). Festive headdress (*qashmaw*), decorated and embroidered with corals and coins, was a real art of decorative and applied arts (Bashkirs ..., 2002, pp. 165–136).

Everyday footwear included homemade leather shoes (*qata*) and boots (*saryq*), boots on soft soles with cloth tops (*keyteh oyoq*, *tula oyoq*), young men and women wore black or colored boots with heels (*itek*), older people wore soft boots (*sitek*), deep leather galoshes (*kalush*) (Art of the Bashkirs ..., 2007, pp. 248–250). In the northern regions, they wore bast shoes (*sabata*) almost all year round.

Of particular research interest are women's decorations, which are currently experiencing a "second birth" in the republic, and its stylized versions are becoming a colorful part of modern costume – everyday, festive and even official (Rakhmatullina et al., 2022, pp. 320–330). Bashkir women wore different types of chest jewelry (*jaga*, *seltär*, *haqal*), back pieces (*inhälek*) embroidered with corals, beads, cowrie shells, silver coins, semi-precious stones, woven coral necklaces (*märjen*, *mujynsa*), occipital jewelry (*jelkälek*), braided pendants (*säsaw*, *sulpy*), bracelets, rings, earrings, usually made of silver (*beläthek*, *yöthök*, *alqa*). The selection of materials and stones used for jewelry was determined by the belief in their protective properties.

3.2. National clothes of the Tatars

The national clothing of the Tatars represents a wide range of national clothing of various subgroups of Tatars. The uniform modern look of the national costume was formed at the end of the 19th century under the influence of the clothing of the Volga Tatars. The traditions of the Eastern peoples and Islam also had a significant impact on the Tatar costume.

The basis of the male and female traditional costume of the Tatars is made up of loose and long tunic-shaped shirts (*kulmāk*) with wide sleeves, usually white, decorated with braid or multi-colored braid and embroidery, which, as a rule, were not belted. Women's tunic-shaped shirts (*kulmāk*) were long, decorated with flounces, multi-colored satin and silk ribbons and lace. Tatars, regardless of age and gender, wore outerwear with a solid fitted back, with wedges on the sides and a right-side wrap (*kamzul*), a half-caftan on hooks with a stand-up collar and gathers at the back (*käzäki*), winter clothing insulated with wadding or sheep wool (*bishmät*), work clothes made of homespun cloth (*chikmān*), a fur coat, often covered with fabric (*tun*, *chabuly*). Men always belted their outerwear. Women's outerwear was usually decorated with fur, embroidery, and artistic stitching. Women wore camisoles (*kamzul*) as everyday and evening wear.

Traditional headdresses for men were a small cap worn on the crown of the head (*tübätäj*, *täkyja*), over which they wore formal headdresses: hats made of fabric and fur (*bürek*), felt hats (*tula eshläpä*), and ritual headdresses (*chalma*). Women's headdresses varied: girls wore a hemispherical skullcap (*täkyja*) and a soft headdress worn directly on the head (*kalfak*), which was worn together with a special headband-decoration, and the conical end with a tassel was thrown back or to the side (Ethnography of the peoples ..., 2007, p. 233). Married women's headdresses covered not only the head, but also the neck, shoulders, and back: lower

headdresses (*chächkap*) gathered and covered the hair, main headdresses (*börkänchek*, *örpäk*, *tastar*, *kyekcha*) were of various shapes, and upper headdresses (*tügäräk jawlyk*, *tastymal*) were worn or tied over the veils, holding them firmly on the head (Ethnography of the peoples ..., 2007, pp. 233–234).

Work footwear included bast shoes (*chabata*), men wore black leather boots (*chitek*), women wore more elegant and short ones, the festive option was patterned boots (*kajuly chitek*), patterned shoes (*bashmak*) with a pointed and slightly raised toe, sometimes with heels, embroidered with gold or silver thread, beads, river pearls, etc. (Suslova, 2018, pp. 110–153).

The range of women's adornments was also wide: they varied in manufacturing techniques and materials, in shape, purpose, design and principles of wearing – earrings, neck and chest jewelry, shoulder-belts, bracelets, rings, etc. (*chulpy*, *alka*, *beläzek*, *yaka chylbyry*, *jözek*).

3.3. National clothing of the Chuvash

The Chuvash national costume has many similarities with the clothing of other peoples of the Ural-Volga region and, having passed through the centuries, has retained its own characteristics (Nikolaev et al., 2002, pp. 22–43).

The basis of everyday women's and men's clothing was a tunic-shaped shirt (*kēpe*), decorated with rich embroidery, and linen trousers (*jem*), which were white, sacred in Chuvash culture, among both the upper and lower Chuvash. "The collar, sleeves and hem of men's shirts, the collar, chest, sleeves, hem and side stripes along the seams of women's shirts were decorated with embroidery and braid" (Ethnography of the peoples ..., 2007, p. 201). Women wore embroidered aprons (*chērchiitti*) over their shirts. Dressing gowns (*pustav*), caftans (*sākhaman*) were used as demi-season clothing, and fitted fur coats (*kērēk*) were used for winter.

Women's headdresses were remarkable for their diversity. In everyday life, girls and women wore linen scarves, married women wore a long strip of white fabric with embroidered and braided ends (*surpan*), over which they wore a khushpa hat in the shape of a truncated cone, trimmed with coins, tin circles, beads, to the back of which a long tail was sewn, also decorated with beads, braid, coins, etc. Men's headdresses were not distinguished by their diversity: cloth hats with brims, fur hats (*chçēlēk*) were common (Ivanov et al., 2000, 59–61).

The usual footwear of the Chuvash were bast shoes with onuchs (*chāpata*), leather boots (*sāran atā*) and felt boots (*chām atā*).

The traditional image of a Chuvash woman was complemented by neck ornaments made of coins, necklaces, chest ornaments, sashes, which, like the Bashkir women, were worn over the shoulder, pendants for belts, and surban pendants (*us khysa*, *sara*, *jarkach*, *shülkeme*, *surpan sakki*) (Ethnography of the peoples ..., 2007, p. 201).

3.4. National clothing of the Mari

The national costume of the Finno-Ugric peoples is typologically similar to the clothing of neighboring peoples. The national Mari costume, both male and female, consists of a linen shirt of a tunic-like cut, trousers, a caftan, a belt with pendants, a headdress, shoes (made of leather or bast) with linen or woolen onuches (foot wraps) foot wraps, and jewelry was an invariable attribute of women's clothing.

The traditional color of the Mari costume is white, organically matching the embroidery with threads of various shades of red. The main part of ancient men's clothing is a linen tunic-shaped embroidered shirt (*tuvyr*). Trousers (*jolash*, *jalash*) were sewn from coarse, harsh linen. They were of the same cut as Chuvash and Tatar ones, and were held at the waist with ties. Belts (leather, wool, hemp, silk) are an important detail of Mari clothing (*yishtö*): men fastened sheaths, purses, tobacco pouches to it, and women – embroidered pendants of canvas. An important part of the women's costume was an apron with or without a breast (*onchallasakysh*). The outerwear was an open summer caftan made of white homespun canvas (*shovyr*). During the cold period of autumn and spring, the Mari wore warm outerwear made of home-made cloth (*myzher*) with sleeves tapering to the wrist, similar in cut to summer clothing.

A special place in women's attire was occupied by headdresses of various types: pointed (*shurka*, *shimaksh*), spade-shaped (*soroka*), soft towel scarves (*sharpan*), in winter women wore shawls, warm high hats with a red cloth top trimmed with fox or beaver fur (Ethnography of peoples ..., 2007, pp. 102–105).

The *shymaksh* was a rectangular piece of linen, the upper end of which was sewn together pointedly. Interestingly, the entire headdress was richly decorated with embroidery. The *soroka* is the second type of frame headdress. It consisted of a headband held on a hard base made of birch bark or leather, and ties or “wings” were sewn to the sides of the headband. The end of the headdress hung down onto the shoulders. The headdress was worn over a canvas cap (*volosnik*). The *soroka* is not an archaic female headdress of the Mari, being borrowed from the Russians during the period of Christianization. Having adopted the very shape of the headdress, the Mari transferred their ornamental motifs onto it.

Everyday footwear for men were bast shoes (*jyndal*, *jydal*), woven from seven bast threads with frills made of the same material, with the help of which the bast shoes were fixed on the foot. Mari bast shoes combined straight and oblique weaving. They had a double sole. They were worn in combination with onuchi (foot wraps), in summer – with canvas ones and in winter – with cloth ones. In rainy weather, soft leather boots (*bahily*) were worn under bast shoes. Of the leather shoes, men wore boots (*kem*), the eastern Mari wore kot-boots with cloth and felt shafts, which were adopted from the Bashkirs. Leather shoes were valued. Boots with gathers at the bottom of the shaft were considered the most fashionable. In winter, they wore felt boots (*portyshkem*, *mizhgem*). Factory-made patterned felt boots were popular among wealthy Mari (Molotova, 1992, pp. 14–69).

Women's costume was complemented by decorations, which were an integral part of the wedding dress and festive clothing. Women wore chest (*yaga*), neck (*kyl*), neck-ear (*korzh*), head (*nashmak*) decorations.

3.5. National clothing of the Mordvins

The basis of the national clothing of Mordvin men was a shirt (*panar*) and trousers (*ponkst*). In summer, a white open shirt (*mushkas*, *rutsya*) was worn over the shirts. In spring and autumn, they wore a fitted cloth coat of black or brown color (*suman*). Another demi-season clothing was a chapin made of cloth. In winter, men dressed in sheepskin coats with a cut-off waist and gathers (*or*) (Shigurova, 2020, pp. 20–54).

The Mordvin (Erzya and Moksha Mordvin) women's costume is in

many ways similar to the Mari: a collarless tunic shirt (*panar*), open outerwear also of a tunic-like cut, sewn from white linen (*rutsya*, *mushkas*). The women's shirt was worn with a belt with pendants attached to it (*pulai*). An obligatory attribute of women's attire was an apron with or without a breast (*rukavat*); Moksha women wore an apron with sleeves (*saponja*).

Traditional male headdresses are caps, felt hats of black and white colors (Ethnography of the peoples ..., 2007, pp. 143–145). Erzya women wore high headdresses, which were made on a hard base and had variations in the form of a cylinder, half-cylinder, cone, less often spade-shaped (*pango*, *soroka*, *sorka*, *gilygan*). Moksha women wore a kind of soft cap of a trapezoid shape, consisting of two or three parts (*panga*, *zlatnoj*).

Shoes woven of bast – bast shoes with low sides – were everyday footwear (*kar'kht*, *kar't*).

The set of chest decorations is characterized by an abundance of decorative materials – beads, beads-necklace, glass beads, chains, cowrie shells, tokens, coins, bells, and hand bells. The collar of the shirt was fastened with a clasp (*sjulgam*) in the form of an oval hoop with a movable needle among the Erzya and a ring on a trapezoid buckle among the Moksha. Balls of white fluff (*sjorgt*) were attached to the white underscarf at the temples. Drake feathers (*kudrjat*) were often used as temple decorations. Earrings (*pil'kst*, *pilekst*) were most often in the form of small rings made of brass or copper wire (silver ones were also found) with pendants made of coins or beads. Tassels made of silk, bead threads, buttons, and shells (*sjokonjat*, *tsjokot*, *tsjokt*) were widely used as braid decorations.

3.6. National clothing of the Udmurts

The national clothing of Udmurt women is also represented by a tunic-shaped shirt (*shortderem*), aprons (*ajshet*), belts, knitted patterned stockings, bast shoes (shoes and felt boots). In summer they wore light outerwear made of thin cloth or plush (*düs*), a sleeveless caftan (*saestem*), in cold weather – a fitted semi-woolen (*zybyn*) or cloth caftan (*dukes*), a fur coat (*pas*).

Men's clothing included a white or motley *kosovorotka* shirt with a slit on the right side of the chest, without ties or buttons, trousers (*erez*), leather belts, and a belt woven from multi-colored woolen threads (*kuskertton*). Men's outerwear included a fitted linen caftan with a turn-down, stand-up, or shawl collar (*shortderem*). In the cold season, they wore clothing made of semi-woolen homespun fabric (*sukman*), a cloth caftan (*dukes*), and a sheepskin coat (*pas*), which were straight cut or fitted with a cut-off back and gathers, and were belted with a wide sash or belt (Vladykin et al., 2008, pp. 73–77).

Traditional headdresses for men were a cloth cap, hats with a brim, and in winter they wore sheepskin hats with earflaps (*iz'y*) (Ethnography of the peoples ..., 2007, pp. 170–171). Women's headdresses were unique: tall birch bark hats trimmed with canvas and decorated with beads, cowrie shells, ribbons (*ajshon*), capes (*sjulyk*), kerchieves (*kyshet*), forehead bands (*ukotug*, *tjatjak*, *jyerkerttet*), canvas caps (*pel'kyshet*) decorated with coins (*tak'ja*).

Udmurt women wore stockings (*chugles*), sewn from thick white or colored linen, as well as knitted from wool and foot-cloth threads. Over the stockings, women wrapped their legs in foot wraps made of white canvas (*binjalton*), which did not reach the knees and left the entire upper part of the stocking open. The most

common footwear were bast shoes (*kut*). Men's foot wraps (*binjalton*) were longer and wider than women's, winter ones were made of semi-woolen homespun fabric. Boots were considered festive footwear, they were worn in the summer, felt boots – in the winter.

Ear pendants (*pel'ugy*) were widely used as decorations, and were a necessary addition to headdresses – aishon and tak'ya. Women wore metal bracelets (*poskes*) and wrists adornments (*suppos*) on their hands, and girls and married women wore earrings (*ugy*) in their ears, which most often consisted of small silver coins.

4. Conclusions

Thus, the analysis of the folk national costume of the peoples of the Ural-Volga ethnographic region – Mordvins, Udmurts, Mari, Chuvashes, Tatars, Bashkirs – allowed us to reveal a significant number of common features among them. Both men and women wore wide, long shirts similar to a tunic and trousers as the basis of their costume, which were usually made of relatively light fabrics. Over this, they wore long, open-front outerwear with a solid frame, without fasteners. One of the characteristic features of the traditional costumes of the Ural-Volga region is the wide use of various bright shades and embroidery. Each outfit is decorated with patterns symbolizing various bright aspects of life of the people, and also of nature of this region. This makes the costumes of the Ural-Volga region peoples very peculiar and colorful.

Nevertheless, the costume of each of the above-mentioned peoples is unique. It reflects the centuries-old culture and customs of the peoples inhabiting the Ural-Volga region. The originality and unique character of clothing elements is especially evident in the variety of headdresses, shoes, jewelry and decorations, which have been created by each of these peoples in accordance with natural and climatic conditions, household and economic structure, as well as their ancient worldview, features of creative thinking and fantasy. Some elements of costumes reflect the socio-economic and cultural relationships of peoples, which often acquired the character of borrowings.

Names that act as ethnomarkers are also characterized by their uniqueness; only in rare cases do some lexical units coincide among certain peoples.

The contradictory evolution of ethnic socioculture often destroyed many things, but the national clothing, having organically absorbed the artistic and aesthetic picture of the world, philosophy and mental characteristics of the people, its ethical virtues, diversity and fantasy of decorative and applied arts (patterned weaving, embroidery, beadwork, jewelry skill, etc.), the unique ethnic manner of wearing a costume and its accessories, has retained its age-old canons. It did not get lost in historical cataclysms and twists and turns of fashion, had preserved its unique features, if necessary it painlessly, not affecting its original philosophy and ideology, changed under pressure of the current time and invisibly connected the past, its aesthetics with the present, passing on to the future its ethnic group's ideas on convenience, beauty and harmony.

Today, the phenomenon of the "ethnic paradox of modernity" is becoming one of the bright ethnocultural processes, gaining more and more followers and devotees. The desire to keep one's ethnic "I" in the world of universalizing culture, to preserve native languages, to wear one's national costumes and jewelry, not allowing one to get lost in the world of unifying unisex fashion and

faceless beauty, etc. is becoming a relevant tradition in real life and a conscious trend in the ethnic self-awareness of peoples. Moreover, into the modern language lexics denoting traditional artifacts of ethnic material culture (names of means of transportation, national sports, kinds, folk cuisine, settlements, costumes, decorations, etc.) is actively returning, being actively used in communication, thus bringing peoples closer together.

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