PROFESSIONAL DISCOURSE & COMMUNICATION

Дискурс профессиональной коммуникации

Professional Discourse & Communication is an international, peer-reviewed quarterly journal dedicated to discussing various theoretical and applied problems of professional communication. Its articles provide researchers and practitioners with the most up-to-date, comprehensive and important research, paying specific attention to modern linguistic approaches to professional discourse as well as practical aspects of teaching methodology as related to the language of particular professional spheres.

PDC specifically addresses readers in any field of professional communication (business, legal, diplomatic, economic, political, academic, medical, art and any other professional sphere) who are interested in qualitative discourse analytical approaches, on the one hand, and scholars who are interested in issues of professional communication (discourse studies, functional linguistics, pragmatics, semiotics, rhetoric, linguosynergetics, sociolinguistics, cognitive linguistics, stylistics, cross-cultural communication, cultural studies, country studies, second language acquisition and teaching methodology, and related fields), on the other hand.

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Contents

Содержание

INTRODUCTION TO VOLUME 6 ISSUE 3

Dmitry S. Khramchenko, Editor-in-Chief

Dear Readers,

We are pleased to present Volume 6 Issue 3 of Professional *Discourse & Communication*. It features a range of articles that enhance our understanding of communication in various professional and academic spheres. These articles highlight emerging trends and challenges in the field of professional discourse.

As we review the contents of this issue, several key themes emerge, each with significant implications for professional communication. These themes include promoting inclusivity and cultural sensitivity in professional environments, the impact of digitalization on communication, developing cross-cultural competence, building relationships through structured yet flexible interactions, and evolving assessment and skill development in professional language use.

The opening article, *"Comparative Analysis of Inclusive Writing in University Discourse: Case Studies from France and Italy"* by Maria Miretina and Anna Zarubina, highlights the growing importance of gender-inclusive language in professional communicative situations. This research shows how institutional policies and cultural environments influence the adoption of inclusive writing practices, a trend that extends beyond academia to various professional areas. The findings emphasize the need for professionals to be aware of and adapt to evolving linguistic norms that promote inclusivity.

Similarly, *"Ethnic and National Identity in Russian Research: A Scoping Review"* by Natalia Ostroglazova and Natalia Starostina explores the complexity of identity constructs which are crucial for professional discourse. Their work underscores the importance of understanding multiple and fluid identities in professional interactions, particularly in multicultural international work environments.

The comparative analysis in *"Family Concept Representation in English and Chinese Media: A Cognitive Matrix Modelling Approach"* by Yulia Filyasova and Hairun Long demonstrates the need for cross-cultural understanding in professional discourse. Their findings on cognitive asymmetry in concept representation across cultures show the importance of cultural competence in global professional communication.

Opeyemi Emmanuel Olawe's exploration of interaction patterns in *"Analyzing Interaction Patterns on Dating Sites: A Generic Structure Potential Approach"* offers perspectives on strategies of structured communication. The identified stages of interaction (discourse initiation, introduction, question and response, etc.) have clear parallels in professional networking, client relations, and team communication. This article reveals the importance of strategic language use in building and maintaining professional relationships.

The article *"Integrating Hybrid Learning into the Higher Education System: Challenges and Opportunities"* by Angelika Mirzoeva et al. reflects a broader trend of digitalization in professional discourse. The challenges and opportunities identified in this study mirror those faced by professionals adapting to remote and hybrid work modes. The research

results suggest that effective communication in the digital age requires not only technical proficiency but also the ability to maintain engagement and motivation while working on the Internet.

Aida Rodomanchenko and Elena Sorokina's study on EFL Olympiads in *"A Road to Success in Language Olympiads: A Comprehensive Analysis of EFL Olympiads in Russia from Inception to 2023"* is connected with conspicuous trends in the assessment and development of language skills for both everyday language use and professional purposes. The shift towards integrated skills tasks and cultural knowledge in these competitions goes hand in hand with the increasing demand for professionals who can successfully operate in challenging culture-specific work-related situations.

Lastly, in the "Conference Report" section, Nikolay Simakov provides an overview of the main discussions presented at The International Max Planck Research School (IMPRS) biennial conference held in June 2024.

The implications of these trends are significant. As professionals adapt to new technologies and communication channels, they must also develop the skills and competencies needed to communicate effectively across cultural and digital divides. This requires a deep understanding of the functional-pragmatic properties of current discourse, as well as the ability to tailor communicative strategies to different situations and media. By staying informed about these emerging patterns and continuously refining their communication practices, professionals can ensure that professional discourse remains an effective tool for collaboration, innovation, and mutual understanding.

Moreover, the boundaries between different communication skills—whether writing, speaking, or cultural literacy—are becoming less distinct. Instead, we're seeing gravitation towards integrated competencies that allow professionals to adapt their communicative style to various situations. This evolution in the functional-linguistic aspects of international professional discourse necessitates continuous refinement of speech strategies and tactics.

These ideas demonstrate the transformative nature of professional discourse and emphasize the critical need for ongoing research and dialogue in this field. As scholars and practitioners, our challenge is to stay informed about these emerging patterns and constantly improve our communication practices. By doing so, we can ensure that professional discourse remains successful.

The editorial team would like to thank the authors who have contributed to this issue, as well as the reviewers who have generously given their time and expertise to help maintain the high standards of the journal. We hope that readers will find the selected articles thought-provoking, engaging, and informative. As always, we welcome your feedback and look forward to continuing this important dialogue in future issues.

ИНКЛЮЗИВНОЕ НАПИСАНИЕ В СОПОСТАВИТЕЛЬНОМ АСПЕКТЕ (НА ПРИМЕРЕ УНИВЕРСИТЕТСКОГО ДИСКУРСА ФРАНЦИИ И ИТАЛИИ)

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Аннотация: Статья посвящена изучению инклюзивного написания в университетском дискурсе Франции и Италии в сопоставительном аспекте. Целью исследования является изучение функционирования форм с гендерной спецификацией и гендерной нейтрализацией в высших учебных заведениях Франции (государственный университет Сорбонна и негосударственный Парижский католический институт) и Италии (частный университет долины Аоста, расположенный в регионе, где вторым официальным языком является французский) за период с 2020 по 2023 год. На основе анализа корпуса архивных текстов/документов, отобранных методом сплошной выборки из электронных версий сайта *archive.org,* авторы делают выводы о специфике и частотности использования в них инклюзивного написания. Авторы справедливо отмечают, что во Франции, идя вразрез с языковой политикой страны, старающейся запретить инклюзивное написание на официальном уровне, университетский дискурс государственных ВУЗов активно его применяет, в отличие от частных учебных заведений, где формы с гендерной спецификацией можно встретить только в разделе о вакансиях. Авторы делают вывод, что выбор формы с наличием/отсутствием гендерной спецификации остаётся как за самим человеком, так и за учреждением. Кроме того, авторы рассматривают наиболее частотные средства выражения гендерной спецификации (дублирование формы на женский и мужской род, написание окончаний/суффиксов женского рода в скобках или через дефис, пометка (М/Ж) после наименования должности/профессии в мужском роде), анализируя их потенциальные возможности. Исследуя университетский дискурс Италии, авторы акцентируют внимание на тесной связи культуры двух стран, что находит своё отражение и в языковом аспекте университетской деятельности. Однако по сравнению с рассмотренными французскими высшими учебными заведениями феномен инклюзивного написания в рамках университетского дискурса Италии

не обнаружен. Несмотря на активное развитие программ по гендерному равноправию на государственном уровне, в Италии по-прежнему наблюдается неравномерная тенденция к гендерной спецификации. В заключении обобщаются основные результаты исследования, делаются выводы о важной роли средств выражения гендерной спецификации в университетском дискурсе Франции и Италии, а также фиксируется полное отсутствие признаков гендерной нейтрализации и выхода за бинарную систему гендера в исследуемых ВУЗах двух стран.

Ключевые слова: гендерная лингвистика, инклюзивное написание, французский язык, итальянский язык, университетский дискурс.

1. ВВЕДЕНИЕ

Инклюзивное написание и гендерно-корректный язык как отдельный предмет лингвистического изучения является сравнительно молодым направлением, также как и гендерная лингвистика в целом. Активные социальные процессы, происходившие в западном обществе в 70-х годах прошлого столетия, послужили причиной появления такого понятия как «гендер», которое зачастую стало использоваться в качестве синонима к ранее существовавшему понятию «пол». Однако между этими двумя понятиями существует разница: «пол» чаще всего определяется как комплекс анатомо-физиологических особенностей людей, на основе которых человеческие существа определяются как мужчины или женщины (Словарь гендерных терминов, 2002), а гендер – как совокупность социальных и культурных норм, которые общество предписывает выполнять людям в зависимости от их биологического пола (Там же).

Не биологический пол, а социокультурные нормы определяют в конечном счёте психологические качества, модели поведения, виды деятельности, профессии женщин и мужчин. Гендер акцентирует социально-культурную, а не природную доминанту пола и отражает одновременно процесс и результат «встраивания» индивида в социально и культурно обусловленную модель, принятую в обществе (Кирилина, 2004). В данном исследовании гендер рассматривается согласно вышеуказанному определению.

В процессе развития гендерных исследований в языке можно выделить несколько этапов. Одним из первых направлений развития феминистской, а затем гендерной лингвистики является лингвистический сексизм, направленный на обнаружение и устранение андроцентризма в языке. Первоначально речь шла о том, что гендерно-нейтральный язык будет работать на инклюзию, включение для женщин, дав им равные с мужчинами возможности для лингвистического (само)выражения (Кирилина, 1999). В рамках этого понятия исследуются половые различия в языке – как результат отсутствия лингвистических форм, которые отражали бы фактическую роль женщины в обществе (например, названия профессий). Речь шла также о необходимости создания такой модели описания человека в языке, которая позволила бы охватить как метагендерный уровень, так и уровень маскулинности или феминности, а также исследовать их соотношение (Кирилина, Томская, 1999).

Ко второму этапу развития феминистской лингвистики можно отнести распространение гендерно-нейтральных языковых единиц. Цель такого типа гендерно-нейтрального языка состоит в том, чтобы избегать формулировок, которые могут быть истолкованы как необъективные, дискриминационные или унижающие достоинство, поскольку они основаны на имплицитном предположении, что мужчины и женщины предназначены для разных социальных ролей (Федотова, 2001).

На сегодняшний день изучение языковой репрезентации гендера является популярным направлением лингвистических исследований. Важный вклад в развитие данной темы в отечественной научной школе внесла А.В. Кирилина, опубликовав ряд фундаментальных работ, посвящённых языковым аспектам гендера (Кирилина, 1999, 2004, 2005). Во Франции и Италии тема гендера чаще всего рассматривается в рамках феминистской лингвистики. Среди современных представительниц данного направления стоит отметить работы Чечилии Робустелли (Robustelli, 2012, 2014) и Жозетт Рей-Дебов (Rey-Debove, 1999). Однако большая часть этих и подобных исследований основывается именно на различиях между мужским и женским, то есть бинарной полярности языка, но стремление к гендерной нейтральности в современном итальянском и французском языке переживает новый виток развития – небинарность. Феномен небинарной гендерной нейтральности находит своё отражение в самых разных сферах жизни общества, но с одной основной целью – отразить в языке наличие многообразия гендеров, выйти за рамки его бинарности.

Выбор именно университетского дискурса для анализа в данном исследовании неслучаен, ведь институт образования является неотъемлемой частью жизни современного общества и при этом совершенно уникальной формой дискурсивной практики. Университет призван ежедневно общаться с разными людьми: от студентов до преподавателей, от административного персонала до других компаний и внешних партнёров. Очевидно, что обмен информацией представляет собой фундаментальную составляющую образа, который университет предлагает как внутри, так и за пределами своей структуры. Однако стоит отметить, что среди существующих лингвистических исследований в данной области под университетским дискурсом чаще всего понимается дискурс академический. Вместе с тем можно утверждать, что это понятие гораздо шире и включает в себя разнообразные типы и модели устного и письменного общения как официального, так и неофициального порядка, что подтверждает актуальность данного исследования.

В настоящее время в лингвистике нет однозначного определения понятия «университетский дискурс» именно по причине его неоднородности. Согласно И.К. Кирилловой, в рамках лингвосемиотического подхода к исследованию, университетский дискурс – это конгломератный тип дискурса, который включает множество разновидностей: педагогический, научный, административный, ритуальный, спортивный, студенческий, бытовой (Кириллова, 2010). Ряд других отечественных исследователей дополняет данное определение, расширяя его границы в рамках институционального дискурса (Арутюнова, 1990). Л.А. Шкатова применяет прагматический подход и выделяет следующие ключевые характеристики: специфическая цель, обстоятельства общения, характеристики участников, тексты принадлежности к социальному институту и сложившиеся жанры (Шкатова, 2012). В.В. Максимов, Е.В. Найден и А.Н. Серебренникова рассматривают университетский дискурс с позиций лингвокультурологического подхода, делая вывод о том, что «университетский дискурс возникает на пересечении открытого множества первичных дискурсов –

научного, образовательного, административного, управленческого и пр.» (Максимов и др., 2010). Важной особенностью современного университетского дискурса является его интернет-составляющая, включающая в себя разные компоненты: сайт университета и его контентное наполнение, официальные аккаунты учебного заведения в различных социальных сетях, реклама.

Таким образом, в настоящем исследовании будет использовано следующее толкование этого термина, разработанное нами: университетский дискурс – это сложная лингвистическая модель особого типа, объединяющая различные формы общения в рамках университетской коммуникации (письменной, устной, вербальной и невербальной интернет-коммуникации) среди типовых участников (преподаватели, студенты, сотрудники университета и люди, косвенно связанные с ним), объединённых общим языком, национальной и корпоративной культурой.

Изменения, происходящие в обществе, не могли не отразиться в этом типе дискурса, ведь именно в рамках образовательной организации происходит активное взаимодействие двух отличных по своей сути и организации «миров» – официального (университета как социального института, предоставляющего образовательные услуги, которые определяют экономическое и социальное развитие региона, общества и страны в целом) и неофициального/неформального (различных участников коммуникации: студентов, абитуриентов, внешних партнёров и т.п.).

Для оценки гендерных характеристик языка в исследуемых источниках важно подчеркнуть различие в использованных нами понятиях гендерной спецификации и гендерной нейтрализации. В первом случае речь идёт о гендерных маркерах и других лингвистических приёмах, указывающих на мужской или женский род (дублирование форм на оба пола при обращении к группе лиц; феминизация названий профессий и должностей и др.), а во втором случае – на исключение гендера как такового для указания на небинарную гендерную нейтральность, выход за рамки бинарности (использование специальных небинарных маркеров и окончаний).

Таким образом, цель настоящего исследования заключается в анализе и сравнении процесса развития гендерной нейтрализации и гендерной спецификации во французском и итальянском университетском дискурсе в рамках его официальной части (на примере внутренней и внешней коммуникации университета посредством публикации официальных документов, а также частично новостной рубрики на сайте) за период с 2020 по 2023 год.

2. МАТЕРИАЛ И МЕТОДЫ

Эмпирическим материалом данной статьи послужили документы с франкоязычных и италоязычных сайтов университетов Франции и Италии в период с 2020 по 2023 гг., взятые методом сплошной выборки как из соответствующих разделов сайтов самих учебных заведений, так и из их архивных версий, хранящихся в электронной базе *https://archive.org/* (Internet archive, n.d.). Значимость данного исследования представляется очевидной не только с точки зрения сферы использования инклюзивного написания, но и с позиции выявления его особенностей во французском и итальянском языках, которым, по нашему мнению, уделяется в российской лингвистике довольно мало внимания. В ходе исследования, результаты которого представлены в данной статье, были использованы различные методы, в частности, метод лингвистического анализа текста и метод количественного анализа,

описательно-аналитический метод, сравнительно-сопоставительный метод. Были изучены тексты документов, послуживших материалом настоящей работы; выявлены использующиеся в них приёмы гендерной нейтрализации и гендерной спецификации, проанализированные с точки зрения частотности; рассмотрены наиболее часто встречающиеся из них; сделан вывод о роли, которую они выполняют для создания гендерно-нейтрального языка в университетском дискурсе Франции и Италии и о существующих между ними отличиях.

3. РЕЗУЛЬТАТЫ И ОБСУЖДЕНИЕ

Инклюзивное написание представляет собой равноправное отображение женщин и мужчин, а впоследствии также и небинарных гендерных идентичностей на письме путём изменения некоторых правил орфографии. В исследуемых нами французском и итальянском языках борьба за равноправное отображение женщин на языковом уровне началась в 70-е годы XX в. во Франции, а в Италии спустя десятилетие. В частности, речь шла о вмешательстве в лексическую асимметрию, особенно в грамматическое согласование и семантическую стереотипизацию, чтобы сделать написание эгалитарным (Yaguello, 2002). Считалось, что обращение к женщине в форме мужского рода – это своеобразное сокрытие её личности как таковой. Известный лингвист и первая женщина-лексикограф во Франции Жозетт Рей-Дебов говорила: «... dire d’une femme que c’est un directeur ou un architecte, c’est nier l’existence des femmes tout comme leur différence» (Rey-Debove, 1999) («… говорить о женщине, что она директор или архитектор, значит отрицать существование женщин, равно как и их различия») (здесь и далее перевод наш – М.С., А.А.). Сегодня для того, чтобы сделать равным присутствие слов мужского и женского рода во множественном числе при обозначении группы людей предполагается строить наименование профессии, должности, титула и знания по следующей формуле: форма мужского рода + интерпункт/срединная точка (специальный знак, расположенный посередине строки) + суффикс женского рода / окончание женского рода + интерпункт + окончание множественного числа. Например, инклюзивный вариант написания стандартной формы *les directeurs – les directeur·trice·s.* Подобное правило действует также для артиклей при использовании слов обоюдного рода: *un·e membre.*

Следует заметить, что с момента начала активных споров об уместности, надобности и оправданности инклюзивного написания и несмотря на категоричную позицию Французской Академии против подобных вмешательств в язык, произошёл ряд изменений в данной области: совершались попытки его внедрения в образовательную программу, вышел учебник с использованием новой системы написания для средней школы, был проведён общенациональный диктант с учётом новых гендерно-нейтральных правил согласования. Кроме того, по-прежнему происходит его активное использование и распространение в социальных сетях, особенно среди представителей французской молодёжи. Во Франции с 2015 года многие высшие учебные заведения решили включить инклюзивное написание в проведение занятий/лекций и во внутреннюю коммуникацию ВУЗов. Постепенно учащимся и преподавателям стали доступны учебные пособия и руководства по инклюзивному написанию (Ferrand, 2023).

Затем дискуссии на эту тему стали выходить за рамки бинарности гендера и начали касаться языковой репрезентации небинарных гендерных идентичностей. Таким образом, ввиду отсутствия гендерно-нейтральных местоимений во французском языке были созданы

неологизмы для отображения на языковом уровне небинарных людей. Хотя употребление инклюзивного написания и не утверждено официально во Франции, тем не менее в 2023 году в печатной версии словаря «Le Petit Robert» зафиксировано личное местоимение третьего лица «iel» и его производные. В печатной версии словаря «Le Petit Robert» 2024 года появляется глагол «mégenrer», означающий неверное обращение к человеку, имеющему иной гендер (например, обращение elle («она») к женщине, чей гендер не является женским, а иным) (Moinard, Blanchet, 2024).

Всё это вызвало волну возмущения не только со стороны лингвистов-сторонников языкового пуризма, но и со стороны государства, что привело к тому, что 30 октября 2023 года Сенат Франции принял в первом чтении законопроект, запрещающий инклюзивное письмо во всех случаях составления документов на французском языке (Assemblée nationale, Proposition de loi № 834, 2023).

В сфере образования такое написание было запрещено в 2021 году Жаном-Мишелем Бланкером, министром образования с 17 мая 2017 по 20 мая 2022 года. Президент Франции Эмманюэль Макрон, выступая на открытии Международного центра французского языка в замке Виллер-Котре 30 октября 2023, заявил: «Il faut … d'en garder (de la langue française, прим.авт.) aussi les fondements, les socles de sa grammaire, la force de sa syntaxe, et de ne pas céder aux airs du temps. Dans cette langue, le masculin fait le neutre. On n'a pas besoin d'y rajouter des points au milieu des mots ou des tirées ou des choses pour la rendre visible». («Надо сохранить базу, основы грамматики, силу синтаксиса (французского языка, прим. авт.), не уступать веянью времени. В этом языке мужской род является нейтральным. Нам не надо добавлять точки в середине слов, дефисы или ещё что-то, чтобы сделать их читаемыми» (Discours du Président de la République à l'occasion de l'inauguration de la cité internationale de la langue française, 2023).

Таким образом, мы видим, что дискуссия на тему инклюзивного написания во французском языке по-прежнему активна, что подтверждает влияние социальных изменений в обществе на язык вне зависимости от мнения регламентирующих его официальных институтов.

Чтобы рассмотреть функционирование форм с гендерной спецификацией и гендерной нейтрализацией для отображения в языковом плане людей с небинарной гендерной идентичностью в нашем исследовании было выбрано два высших учебных заведения Франции: университет Сорбонна (Sorbonne Université), государственный, светский, и Парижский католический институт (L'Institut catholique de Paris), частный, под протекторатом католической Церкви. Университет Сорбонна, основанный в 1257 году, является одним из старейших вузов в мире, его по праву можно назвать символом высшего образования во Франции. Парижский католический университет был выбран нами, поскольку является частным, негосударственным учреждением с религиозным уклоном и с основательной поддержкой католической Церкви и Святого Престола.

Для анализа было выбрано три раздела сайта. Первый раздел содержит нормативные акты университета, в данном случае правила внутреннего распорядка университета Сорбонны, адресованные всему университетскому сообществу. Второй раздел с приказами на объявление конкурса на замещение вакантной должности профессора или доцента, преподавателя-исследователя и административно-технического персонала, предназначен как сторонним соискателям, так и действующим работникам университета. Третий раздел прежде всего адресован абитуриентам, поскольку «Parcoursup» – это образовательная платформа, цель которой – собрать в единой базе заявки будущих студентов на дальнейшее обучение

в высших учебных заведениях Франции (Французский институт в Москве. Parcoursup, n.d.). Изучение таким образом указанных разделов сайта, адресованных разным участникам коммуникации в университетском сообществе, позволит нам охватить все грани университетского дискурса, подчеркнуть его особенности и разнообразие.

В ходе анализа были выявлены следующие тенденции развития исследуемого феномена за период с 2020 по 2023 гг.:

Таблица 1. Результаты анализа официальной документации по выбранным типам Университета Сорбонны

Тип документа	Кол-во	2020-2023 гг.	
		Формы с гендерной нейтрализацией	Используемые приёмы гендерной спецификации
Règlement intérieur de Sorbonne Université	1	отсутствуют	Des étudiantes, des étudiants et des usagères, des usagers; toutes les personnes fréquentant l'université; la présidente ou le président; les cheffes et les chefs de service; les enseignantes-chercheuses, les enseignants-chercheurs, les enseignantes et enseignants, les chercheuses et les chercheurs; les collaborateurs ou collaboratrices; la médiatrice ou le médiateur
Recrutements	103 (2020) 139 (2021) 121 (2022) 117 (2023) 480	отсутствуют	Les candidates et candidats, les personnes candidates, 6 postes de technicien-ne, Zootechnicien F/H, Électricien – Électricienne, Assistant, -e ingénieur, -e en gestion financière, Chercheur ou chercheuse postdoctoral(e), Technicien_ne en gestion administrative, Chargé, -e de gestion administrative.
Rapport public «Parcoursup+» pour la faculté des Lettres	4	отсутствуют	Les candidats, les élèves, les bacheliers, tous les candidats, les candidats ressortissants de l'U.E, boursiers du secondaire, les étudiants, les bachelières et bacheliers, il est conseillé aux candidat(e)s, l'étudiant(e), les candidates et candidats, des candidat(e)s, aux candidat(e)s

Из проанализированных источников можно сделать вывод, что за период с 2020 по 2023 год включительно в Университете Сорбонны наблюдались следующие тенденции:

1) Основным приёмом гендерной спецификации в Правилах внутреннего распорядка Сорбонны, принятых 3 июля 2018 года (Sorbonne Université. Règlement intérieur de Sorbonne Université, 2018), стало дублирование форм на женский и мужской род.

2) В разделе официального сайта Университета Сорбонны «Recrutements» («Трудоустройство») (Sorbonne Université. Concours et recrutements, n.d.), начиная уже с 2020 года, можно отметить активное использование различных приёмов гендерной спецификации в названиях профессий и должностей, но сложно выделить единое правило по гендерно-корректному написанию: *1 poste d'ingénieur-e, 6 postes de technicien-ne, responsable du pôle intégration et développement F/H , une post-doctorante ou d'un post-doctorant, enseignantes-chercheuses et enseignants-chercheurs, chargé-e de la gestion des Ressources Humaines, opérateur – opératrice logistique, électricien – électricienne, chauffeur / manutentionnaire F/H, zootechnicien F/H.* Здесь можно отметить и дублирование форм на женский и мужской род и наоборот, написание через дефис окончания/суффикса женского рода или просто указание Ж/М после формы мужского рода.

В 2021 и 2022 годах подобная тенденция сохраняется, но можно также отметить, что в описании вакансии чаще используется дублирование форм и окончаний (например: ingénieur, *-e de recherche, chef, -fe de projet ou expert, -e en ingénierie des systèmes d'information, technicien, ne en gestion financière, assistant, -e, ingénieur, -e en gestion financière*), а в общих списках всех вакантных должностей, размещённых в сводной таблице – только пометка F/H, поскольку данный приём экономит место в ограниченном текстовом пространстве. В 2022 году все проанализированные нами объявления, так или иначе, гендерно-специфицированы.

В 2023 году помимо уже перечисленных выше приёмов *(un doctorant ou une doctorante, gestionnaire financier et comptable F/H, des lectrices et lecteurs et maîtresses et maîtres de langue, chercheur ou chercheuse postdoctoral(e))* используется следующий вариант написания с нижним подчёркиванием или дефисом вместо интерпункта: *technicien_ne en gestion administrative, chargé, -e de gestion administrative.*

3) В правилах записи на первый курс и порядке сдачи вступительных экзаменов на филологический факультет через специальную платформу «Parcoursup+» (Французский институт в Москве. Parcoursup, n.d.), адресованных в первую очередь абитуриентам и студентам, в 2020 и 2021 годах используется одинаковая форма документа без гендерной спецификации и дублирования форм/окончаний/суффиксов: *les candidats, les élèves, les bacheliers, tous les candidats, les candidats ressortissants de l'U.E, boursiers du secondaire, les étudiants.*

В 2022 году в большинстве случаев используются те же правила, что и в 2020–2021 годах, но также встречаются неравномерно распределённые формы с гендерной спецификацией: *les bachelières et bacheliers, il est conseillé aux candidat(e)s, l'étudiant(e), les candidates et candidats.* При этом стоит отметить, что название должности президента, которую занимает женщина – не феминизируется: «Nathalie DRACH - TEMAM, Président de l'établissement Sorbonne Université».

В 2023 году приёмы гендерной спецификации дублируют использованные в 2022 году: *les étudiants, tous les candidats, des candidat(e)s, aux candidat(e)s, des candidates et candidats, les bachelières et bacheliers* и пр. Однако по тексту документа они распределены неравномерно, в соседних предложениях могут встречаться одновременно как гендерно-специфицированные формы, так и с использованием мужского рода множественного числа в качестве инклюзивного. В целом, можно отметить, что в документах, адресованных абитуриентам/студентам, по сравнению с разделом «Recrutements» («Трудоустройство»), приёмы гендерно-корректного написания встречаются реже, их формы проще и менее разнообразны. Признаки феномена гендерной нейтрализации и выхода за бинарную систему гендера полностью отсутствуют.

В силу ограниченности рамками статьи и невозможности представить все встретившиеся примеры, ниже мы приведём наиболее показательные случаи за 2020–2023 гг., зафиксированные в процессе анализа документов в выбранных разделах сайта и их архивных версий, хранящихся в электронной базе https://archive.org/ (Internet Archive, n.d.).

Таблица 2. Примеры форм с гендерной спецификацией с 2020 по 2023 гг.

Год	Лингвистический приём
	Раздел сайта «Recrutements»
2020	Les candidats, 1 poste d'ingénieur-e, ingénieur-e d'études, 6 postes de technicien-ne , responsable du pôle intégration et développement F/H , chargé-e de la gestion des Ressources Humaines, opérateur – opératrice logistique, électricien – électricienne, secrétaire administratif , Adjoint administratif, chauffeur / manutentionnaire F/H, zootechnicien F/H.

Год	Лингвистический приём
	Раздел сайта «Recrutements»
2021	Des enseignantes-chercheuses et enseignants-chercheurs, des professeures et professeurs, une post-doctorante ou un post-doctorant, médecin de médecine préventive universitaire F/H , assistant de direction F/H, chargé-e de la gestion financière.
2022	Responsable du Bureau d'Accueil des Doctorants F/H, jardinier F/H, ingénieur de recherche, chef, -fe de projet ou expert, -e en ingénierie des systèmes d'information, technicien, ne en gestion financière, assistant, -e ingénieur, -e en gestion financière, expert en calcul scientifique F/H, 2 postes d'enseignantes contractuelles ou d'enseignants contractuels.
2023	Gestionnaire financier et comptable F/H, technicien_ne en gestion administrative, chargé, -e de gestion administrative et d'aide au pilotage opérationnel, un doctorant ou une doctorante, des lectrices et lecteurs et maîtresses et maîtres de langue, chercheur ou chercheuse postdoctoral(e).
	Раздел сайта «Parcoursup+»
2022	Nathalie DRACH - TEMAM, Président de l'etablissement Sorbonne Université – Lettres, Arts, Langues, Sciences Humaines et Sociales, les bachelières et bacheliers, il est conseille aux candidat(e)s, les candidates et candidats.
2023	les étudiants, tous les candidats, des candidat(e)s, aux candidat(e)s, les candidates et candidats, les bachelières et bacheliers.

Второй рассматриваемый нами ВУЗ – Парижский католический институт. Для анализа было выбрано три раздела сайта, как и в случае с Сорбонной. Первый раздел содержит нормативные акты университета, в данном случае хартию Парижского католического института, адресованную всему университетскому сообществу (Institut Catholique de Paris. Charte de l'Institut Catholique de Paris, 2013). Второй раздел с приказами на объявление конкурса на замещение вакантной должности административно-технического персонала предназначен как сторонним соискателям, так и действующим работникам университета (L'Institut Catholique de Paris recruite, n.d.). Третий раздел адресован абитуриентам и студентам, поскольку содержит информацию о поступлении в ВУЗ и стипендиях (L'Institut Catholique de Paris. Bourses et financements, n.d.). Таким образом, изучение разных разделов сайта, предназначенных для основных участников коммуникации университетского сообщества, позволит нам охватить разные грани университетского дискурса, подчеркнуть его особенности и разнообразие, тем самым дополнив наше исследование данными ВУЗа из частного сектора.

В ходе анализа были выявлены следующие тенденции развития исследуемых феноменов за период с 2020 по 2023 гг.:

Таблица 3. Результаты анализа официальной документации
по выбранным типам Католического Университета

Тип документа	Кол-во	2020-2023 гг.	
		Формы с гендерной нейтрализацией	**Используемые приёмы гендерной нейтрализации**
Charte de l'Institut Catholique de Paris	1	Отсутствуют	les enseignants aident, les étudiants
Recrutements des postes administratif	20 (2020) 75 (2021) 50 (2022) 38 (2023) 183	Отсутствуют	Assistant(e) bibliothécaire (H/F), Conducteur(trice), Chargé(e) de développement, Assistant Pédagogique (H/F), Webmaster junior et assisant(e) marketing digital.
Modalités et Droits d'inscription à l'ICP / Bourses	8	Отсутствуют	Les étudiants, aux meilleurs étudiants, l'étudiant, la personne indiquée, travailleurs indépandants

Из проанализированных источников можно сделать вывод, что за период с 2020 по 2023 год включительно в Парижском католическом институте наблюдались следующие тенденции:

1) В Хартии Парижского католического института (Charte de l'Institut Catholique de Paris), утверждённой 29 января 2013 года Генеральной ассамблеей Епископов-основателей данного учебного заведения, не обнаружены феминизированные формы, а также мужской род считается инклюзивным (Institut Catholique de Paris. Charte de l'Institut Catholique de Paris, 2013).

2) В объявлениях о наборе на административные должности и в преподавательский штат в разделе сайта «L'ICP recrute» («Работа в Парижском католическом институте») (L'Institut Catholique de Paris recruite, n.d.) в 2020 году часто используется дублирование окончаний на мужской и женский род: *assistant(e) bibliothécaire (H/F), conducteur(trice), assistant(e) pédagogique (H/F),* а также гендерная спецификация *(H/F)* после названия должности (вместе с дублированным окончанием или без него). Однако в 2021 году дублирование встречается всего трижды, основным приёмом является указание названия должности/ профессии в мужском роде с добавлением спецификации в скобках: *responsable administratif et financier (H/F), maître de conférences en Droit Privé (H/F), stagiaire - chef de projet marketing (H/F).* Встречаются также названия во множественном числе без гендерной спецификации: enseignants vacataires. В 2022 и 2023 годах становится нормой публикация вакансий в мужском роде, но с обязательной гендерной спецификацией в скобках *(H/F)* после названия должности.

3) В разделах сайта «Modalités et Droits d'inscription à l'ICP/Bourses» («Порядок записи в Парижский католический институт и плата за обучение/Стипендии») (L'Institut Catholique de Paris. Bourses et financements, n.d.), которые адресованы в первую очередь абитуриентам и студентам, за весь период с 2020 по 2023 год отсутствует гендерная спецификация и любые связанные с ней приёмы, используется стандартное обращение ко всем учащимся в мужском роде множественного числа *les étudiants.*

Признаки феномена гендерной нейтрализации и выхода за бинарную систему гендера во всех трёх разделах полностью отсутствуют.

Ниже мы приведём наиболее показательные случаи за 2020–2023 гг., зафиксированные в процессе анализа документов в выбранных разделах сайта и их архивных версий, хранящихся в электронной базе https://archive.org/ (Internet Archive, n.d.).

Таблица 4. Примеры форм с гендерной спецификацией с 2020 по 2023 гг.

Раздел сайта «Recrutements»	
Год	**Лингвистический приём**
2020	assistant(e) bibliothécaire (H/F) , assistant(e) pédagogique-pôle enseignant (H/F), chargé(e) de communication web, maitre de Conférences en Histoire Contemporaine, référents fonctionnels, en CDI à temps plein, stagiaire (gestion de projet/communication) (H/F), technicien de maintenance (H/F), assistant(e) pédagogique (H/F), assistant(e) pédagogique - pôle enseignant (H/F), chargé de communication interne (H/F), conducteur(trice) de machine reprographie, directeur de Campus (H/F), technicien multimédia événementiel, chargé de clientèles étudiants individuels (H/F), responsable éditorial et Relation presse (H/F), assistant(e) pédagogique (H/F), assistant(e) pédagogique (H/F).
2021	enseignants vacataires, chargé(e) de développement de la formation professionnelle, chargé(e) de développement de la formation professionnelle, gestionnaire paie et contrôleur de gestion sociale, assistant(e) pédagogique (H/F), assistant(e) pédagogique (H/F), responsable administratif et financier (H/F), coordinateur audiovisuel évènementiel (H/F), assistant pédagogique - pôle Langue (H/F), ingénieur formation (H/F), responsable administratif et financier (H/F), Surveillants de bibliothèque (H/F).

Раздел сайта «Recrutements»	
Год	**Лингвистический приём**
2022	gestionnaire ADP (H/F), assistant ICP-HUB (H/F), stagiaire Animation et Valorisation de la vie du campus (H/F), chargé de mécénat (H/F), alternant technicien audiovisuel (H/F), chargé(e) de projet évènementiel (H/F), webmaster junior et assisant(e) marketing digital, assistant chargé de promotion (H/F), chargé(e) de projet évènementiel (H/F), administrateur de bases de données / intégrateur d'applications (H/F), chargé(e) de projet évènementiel (H/F), chef de projet Marketing (H/F), responsable du Pôle Scolarité (H/F), responsable d'études (H/F), chargé de communication (H/F).
2023	catalogueur – Fonds ancien en langue arabe (H/F), directeur de la Communication et du Marketing (H/F), adjoint de direction (H/F), assistant administratif en bibliothèque (H/F), chargé de mission aux initiatives étudiantes (H/F), chargé de communication (H/F), adjoint au responsable du Pôle Services et Logistique (H/F), assistant pédagogique (H/F), assistant pédagogique volant (H/F), responsable des relations donateurs (H/F), chargé de communication (H/F).
Раздел сайта «Parcoursup+»	
2020-2021	Самые распространённые формы: les étudiants, aux meilleurs étudiants, l'étudiant.
2022-2023	обращения не изменились, к читателям обращение через «Вы» во множественном числе: Vous y trouverez aussi le lien vers le portail de candidature en ligne /Contactez la personne indiquée, travailleurs indépendants.

Подводя итог по Парижскому католическому институту, следует отметить, что примеров гендерной спецификации не обнаружено, формы мужского рода считаются инклюзивными, а формы с гендерной спецификацией встретились только в разделе, адресованном административному персоналу ВУЗа и профессорско-преподавательскому составу. Возможно, данное явление можно объяснить религиозной подоплёкой и желанием соответствовать католическим ценностям института.

Теперь рассмотрим особенности итальянского университетского дискурса. В первую очередь стоит отметить, что языковая политика Италии в области гендерного регулирования заметно отличается от Франции, здесь имеет место некоторое «запоздание» реформирования данной сферы.

Условно можно выделить три основных «волны» развития гендерных изменений в итальянском языке:

1) Начальный этап, конец 1980-х годов: широкое распространение идей лингвиста Альмы Сабатини о наличии и необходимости устранения сексизма в итальянском языке (Sabatini, 1987); появление первых официальных рекомендаций по несексистскому использованию языка в основном в письменной речи. Чуть позже эта работа была отредактирована и включена в книгу «Сексизм в итальянском языке» («Il sessismo nella lingua italiana») (Sabatini, 1987), где содержались конкретные примеры и предложения для устранения гендерных стереотипов, приведены списки слов, которые следовало бы избегать и варианты их нейтральной замены. Несмотря на многочисленную критику, именно эта работа открыла дискуссию о необходимости обновления итальянского языка с точки зрения гендера.

2) Второй этап, конец 90-х начало 2000-х годов: активная феминизация языка после вступления Италии в 1998 году в европейскую ассоциацию «ATHENA», которая объединяла различные инициативы женщин в области высшего образования на тему "women's studies". Итальянская феминистская лингвистика продолжает своё развитие и на сегодняшний день. В течение последнего десятилетия ярким представителем этого направления является Чечилия Робустелли, которая разработала рекомендации по гендерному языку в административных текстах «Справочник по использованию рода в административном языке» («Linee guida

per l'uso del genere nel linguaggio amministrativo») (Robustelli, 2012) и «Женщины, грамматика и СМИ. Предложения по использованию итальянского языка» («Donne, grammatica e media. Suggerimenti per l'uso dell'italiano») (Robustelli, 2014), изданные совместно с Академией делла Круска и адресованные журналистам и административным служащим с целью популяризации использования феминитивов в итальянском языке.

3) Третий этап, начиная с 2020 года: развитие небинарной гендерной нейтрализации языка за пределами тематических сообществ. Самым распространённым инклюзивным окончанием становится символ «шва» - «ə», который при обращении к группе лиц заменяет стандартное множественное окончание мужского рода разных частей речи и артиклей. Автором данного лингвистического решения принято считать лингвиста Веру Гено, которая в своей работе «Женский род единственного числа – феминизм в словах» («Femminili singolari – il femminismo è nelle parole») (Gheno, 2020) говорит о потребности выхода за бинарную систему грамматического рода, ввиду социальных процессов и стремления к инклюзивности в языке, а также предлагает конкретные лингвистические решения данной проблемы.

Инициированные обществом изменения привели к тому, что в 2022 году впервые за многовековую историю итальянской лексикографии словарь "Il Vocabolario Treccani" (Dizionario dell'ItalianoTreccani. Parole da leggere, 2022) зафиксировал женские названия профессий, которые по андроцентристской традиции до сих пор не имели лексической самостоятельности: *notaia, chirurga, medica, soldata, architetta и другие.*

В настоящее время итальянские общественные организации ведут активную деятельность по продвижению и использованию инклюзивного языка в разных сферах жизни общества. Однако ни Министерство образования, ни Академия делла Круска ни разу официально не поддержали подобные инициативы. Несмотря на это, примеры использования небинарных языковых форм сегодня можно встретить в самых разных сферах: телевидение, издательская деятельность, журналистика, блогосфера, политика, и в том числе образовательная система и научное сообщество.

Стоит отметить, что итальянское законодательство в области образования, начиная с 2021 года, предусматривает обязательное наличие в каждом государственном университете Гендерного регламента («Piano di uguaglianza di genere» / GEP (Gender Equality Plan), что является частью стратегических целей программы Agenda 2030, принятой правительством Евросоюза, а также программы Horizon Europe (2021–2027). Данный регламент должен включать в себя различные виды конкретных целей, задач и мероприятий для устранения гендерного неравенства между мужчинами и женщинами внутри университетской структуры, в том числе и на языковом уровне. В некоторых университетах приняты отдельные рекомендации по инклюзивному использованию языка в рамках университетского дискурса, и только в единицах можно обнаружить отдельные упоминания небинарных форм.

Ввиду всех этих факторов и социокультурных различий между странами мы можем наблюдать определённый лингвистический контраст: Франция уже находится на том этапе, когда инклюзивное написание глубоко проникло в жизнь общества, а Италия, в свою очередь, ещё далека от официальной поддержки небинарных людей со стороны государства на языковом уровне. Поэтому для полноты проводимого нами исследования в качестве дополнительного высшего учебного заведения для анализа был выбран частный университет долины Аоста (Università della Valle d'Aosta, Université de la Vallée d'Aoste), расположенный в городе Валле-Д'Аоста в Италии.

Особенностью этого региона является как его географическое положение в пограничной итало-франко-швейцарской зоне, так и языковая политика со своей особой историей. На сегодняшний день это единственный регион Италии, где французский язык имеет официальный статус наравне с итальянским. Основным нормативным документом, регулирующим взаимодействие двух языков на территории данного региона, является специальный статут автономной области, принятый ещё в 1948 году. Статья 38 гласит: «В Валле-Д'Аоста французский язык приравнивается к итальянскому» (Statut spécial de la Vallée d'Aoste, n.d.), однако, согласно последующим пунктам, положение языков не является абсолютно паритетным. Например, весь судебный документооборот должен вестись только на итальянском. Что касается образовательной сферы, согласно нормам Статута, во всех типах школ региона количество еженедельных образовательных часов для изучения итальянского и французского языка должно быть равным, а преподавание других предметов на французском является факультативным. На практике такую билингвальную модель можно встретить только в рамках начальной и средней школы, поскольку вышеуказанный нормативный акт не устанавливает обязательные языковые нормы в рамках университетского образования. На всей территории Италии учебный процесс в высших школах ведётся на официальном языке страны, либо на английском.

Тем не менее культурологические особенности региона внесли свои коррективы в организацию работы Университета Валле-Д'Аоста, сделав его своего рода исключением из общего правила. Здесь билингвальная модель «итальянский-французский» применяется при подготовке педагогических кадров, что закреплено в регламенте (Università della Valle d'Aosta / Université de la Vallée d'Aoste. Statuto di Ateneo, 2006) самого университета. Кроме того, «с целью продвижения культурного и научного сотрудничества с франкоязычными странами» (Там же) преподавание дисциплин на французском языке ведётся приглашёнными специалистами-носителями, а сам университет является официальным партнёром Международной организации Франкофонии.

Ввиду того, что университетский дискурс представляет собой сложную многогранную модель, не ограниченную только академической его частью, но и включающую в себя различные интернет-источники (сайт учебного заведения, официальный аккаунт в социальных сетях и пр.), для анализа официальной части данного университетского дискурса было принято решение рассмотреть также контент-наполнение новостного раздела сайта «Gli eventi» (Università della Valle d'Aosta / Université de la Vallée d'Aoste. Eventi, n.d.) на французском языке с целью обнаружения признаков феномена небинарной гендерной нейтральности.

Для исследования были выбраны следующие типы деловых документов, актуальных для периода с 2020 по 2023 год:

1) Statuto di Ateneo – Кодекс Университета (Università della Valle d'Aosta / Université de la Vallée d'Aoste. Statuto di Ateneo, 2006).

2) Приказы на объявление конкурса на замещение вакантных должностей преподавателей – Avviso di istruttoria per il conferimento di contratti per attività didattiche (Università della Valle d'Aosta /

Université de la Vallée d'Aoste. Avviso di istruttoria per il conferimento di contratti per attività didattiche, n.d.).

3) Приказы о начале набора студентов на различные специальности и курсы дополнительного образования – Bando per l'ammissione degli studenti (Università della Valle d'Aosta / Université de la Vallée d'Aoste. Bando per l'ammissione degli studenti, n.d.).

Как было сказано ранее, начиная с 2021 года каждый итальянский государственный университет должен иметь Гендерный регламент, но эта норма не является обязательной для частных учебных заведений, что также подтверждается отсутствием в Университете Валле-Д'Аоста документа подобного типа. Отдельные рекомендации по гендерному написанию также не обнаружены.

В ходе анализа было выявлено следующее количество примеров использования гендерных маркеров в выбранных типах деловых документов с 2020 по 2023 год:

Таблица 5. Результаты анализа официальной документации
по выбранным типам Университета Валле-Д'Аоста

Тип документа	Кол-во	2020-2023 гг.	
		Формы с гендерной нейтрализацией	Примечание
Statuto di Ateneo	1	отсутствуют	Используется мужской род мн.ч. в качестве инклюзивного: i professori, gli studenti, i ricercatori, i collaboratori.
Avviso di istruttoria per il conferimento di contratti per attività didattiche	67	отсутствуют	Используется мужской род мн.ч. в качестве инклюзивного: i candidati, i soggetti, i professori, i docenti, i titolari
Bando per l'ammissione degli studenti	34	отсутствуют	Используется мужской род мн.ч. в качестве инклюзивного: i laureati, i candidati, gli studenti, i partecipanti, gli uditori
Annunci d'evento sul sito (объявления в новостной рубрике сайта)	210	отсутствуют	Вместе с мужским родом мн.ч. используются феминитивы и дублирование форм на муж/жен род: la Rettrice, la direttrice, la professoressa, il/la giovane vincitore/trice и др.

Из проанализированных источников можно сделать вывод, что за период с 2020 по 2023 год включительно в официальных документах Университета Валле-Д'Аоста наблюдались следующие тенденции:

1) В Кодексе университета отсутствуют какие-либо гендерные маркеры. Документ не редактировался с момента его первой публикации в 2018 году.

2) В приказах об открытии конкурсов на замещение вакантных преподавательских должностей в течение всего анализируемого нами периода используется стандартная форма документа, где по общему правилу итальянского языка используется мужской род множественного числа в качестве инклюзивного. В названиях профессий/должностей до июля 2021 года не используются феминизированные формы, затем впервые встречается слово «Dott.ssa» рядом с именем сотрудницы. Это единственный пример подобного рода, который повторяется на протяжении нескольких лет (2020 – 0, 2021 – 11, 2022 – 19, 2023 - 16). При этом наименование должности «direttore» всегда употребляется в мужском роде несмотря на то, что должностным лицом является женщина – «Il Direttore del Dipartimento di Scienze umane e sociali Elena Cattelino».

В приказах, адресованных соискателям, которые должны будут преподавать французский язык либо некоторые предметы на французском, никаких исключений в плане обращений не обнаружено.

3) В ежегодных приказах об открытии приёма на различные специальности университета и курсы дополнительного образования формы с гендерной нейтрализацией также не обнаружены. Феминитивы используются только в названии двух должностей: *Prof.ssa* и *Dott.ssa,* но они не многочисленны, их распределение неравномерно, системность в использовании какого-либо правила гендерного равновесия в используемом языке отсутствует.

Таблица 6. Количество использованных феминитивов
в текстах документов с 2020 по 2023 гг.

№	Год	Prof.ssa	Dott.ssa
1	2020	5	8
2	2021	3	7
3	2022	4	9
4	2023	5	10

Лингвистические изменения в форме обращений к студентам в данном типе документов наблюдаются только в Приказе от 09 ноября 2023 года (Università della Valle d'Aosta / Université de la Vallée d'Aoste, n.d.), где впервые используется дублирование форм на мужской и на женский род: *studenti/studentesse e uditori/uditrici; i candidati/le candidate; i candidati/e ammessi/e; dei/delle partecipanti; altri candidati/altre candidate.*

4) Новостная рубрика на официальном сайте университета представляет собой ряд объявлений о различных мероприятиях и событиях, связанных в основном с культурными аспектами образовательной деятельности. Именно в этом разделе можно встретить сообщения на французском языке без перевода на итальянский. В результате анализа архива новостной ленты за период с 2020 по 2023 год включительно можно отметить следующие гендерные аспекты в исследуемых текстах:

- 2020 год: по сравнению с проанализированными ранее официальными документами университета, в текстах объявлений феминизированные формы или дублирование на мужской и женский род встречаются гораздо чаще, наблюдается контраст. Например, должность ректора и директора тех же исполнительных лиц, что и в документах, указаны в женском роде: *la Rettrice, la Direttrice;* часто встречаются формы la delegata, la referente, Prof.ssa. Кроме того, при обращении к студентам также можно встретить дублирование форм: *il/la giovane vincitore/trice, i ragazzi e le ragazze* (Università della Valle d'Aosta / Université de la Vallée d'Aoste, n.d.), что в официальных документах впервые встречается только в конце 2023 года.

- 2021 год: по-прежнему преобладает использование общего мужского рода при обозначении групп лиц, но также встречаются феминитивы: *la Rettrice, la delegata, le ricercatrici, Prof.ssa, studiosa, fondatrice.* В объявлениях на французском языке были отмечены следующие формы: *Directrice, les intervenat(e)s, Déléguée.* Дублирование форм при обращении к студентам отсутствовало. Можно сделать вывод, что единого правила гендерно-корректного написания не применялось, формы распределены неравномерно.

- 2022 год: «professoressa» становится нормой и используется в каждом объявлении рядом с именем преподавателя-женщины; наблюдается более частотное использование феминитивов в названии должностей, кроме тех, что уже встречались раньше, можно отметить

новые формы: *autrice, laureata, sociologa, antropologa, critica.* Дублирование форм по отношению к студентам используется всего дважды: *ciascuno/a è invitato/a u studenti/studentesse.* В объявлениях на французском языке часто опускается название должности и указывается только имя человека.

- 2023 год: не отличается заметными изменениями в плане гендерного написания по сравнению с предыдущими годами. В список использованных феминизированных форм названий профессий добавились: *mediatrice, formatrice, funzionaria, saggista, attivista, esperta, collaboratrice, ecopsicologa, antropologa, dipendente socia.* Дублирование форм использовано единожды по отношению к студентам: *ciascuno/a è invitato/a.* В объявлениях на французском языке не отмечено способов гендерной нейтрализации или спецификации, как в первой части исследования на базе французских высших учебных заведений. Напротив, часто встречается следующий формат обращения к группе лиц: «Tous les étudiants, les professeurs, le public». Несмотря на то, что на протяжении нескольких лет превалирует обращение к женщинам в роли преподавателя и ректора *professoressa* и *rettrice*, в некоторых объявлениях по-прежнему встречается их мужской вариант, что говорит о субъективном решении сотрудника использовать такую форму при составлении или публикации новости на сайте и об отсутствии единого правила гендерно-корректного написания.

Тем не менее, 20 октября 2023 года в Университете Валле-Д'Аоста была проведена конференция на тему инклюзивного написания под названием «Dear all, Ch(è/e)r(e)s tou(te)s, Car*(@, ə) tutt*(@, ə) – Lingue, genere, inclusività» (Università della Valle d'Aosta / Université de la Vallée d'Aoste. «Dear all, Ch(è/e)r(e)s tou(te)s, Car*(@, ə) tutt*(@, ə) – Lingue, genere, inclusività», n.d.) при участии представителей таких учебных заведений, как Болонский университет, Университет Сорбонны, а также директора Академии делла Круска. В названии самой конференции используются различные варианты гендерно-нейтрального написания с дублированием окончаний на французском языке: *ch(è/e)r(e)s tou(te)s* и с заменой окончаний на символы, подчеркивающие небинарность гендера, в итальянском: *car*(@, ə) tutt*(@, ə,* тем самым акцентируя внимание на разнообразии возможных вариантов на письме. Проведение подобного мероприятия говорит об актуальности данной темы в научном сообществе.

Таким образом, из проведённого исследования университетского дискурса на примере Университета Валле-Д'Аоста можно сделать вывод о наличии заметной разницы в языковой гендерной политике по сравнению с такими французскими высшими учебными заведениями, как Университет Сорбонны и Парижский католический институт.

Основное отличие заключается в отсутствии единых норм по гендерно-корректному написанию, а также по-прежнему слабо развитой культуры употребления гендерной спецификации (феминитивы используются не всегда; дублирование форм встречается очень редко; в рассмотренных корпусах превалирует мужской род в качестве общего инклюзивного). Кроме того, признаки феномена гендерной нейтрализации и выхода за бинарную систему гендера полностью отсутствуют.

Однако стоит отметить некоторые различия внутри самого университетского дискурса, которые показались нам интересными. В рассмотренных официальных документах, по сравнению с новостной лентой сайта, примеры инклюзивного написания встречались гораздо реже, одно и то же название должности в разных источниках могло иметь разную форму (il direttore – в приказах, но la direttrice – на сайте), что подтверждает многогранность понятия университетского дискурса, а также вариативность используемого языка в зависимости от источника внутри одной университетской системы.

4. ЗАКЛЮЧЕНИЕ

В целом, анализ материала исследования позволяет сделать следующие выводы. Сравнив функционирование форм с гендерной спецификацией в нормативных актах, хартиях, интернет-страницах ВУЗов по различным разделам, охватывающих как персонал ВУЗа, так и поступающих/студентов и других внешних партнёров, можно сделать вывод, что выбор форм с гендерной спецификацией зависит от типа высшего учебного заведения (государственное/негосударственное). В изученных документах/текстах были выявлены различные виды средств выражения гендерной спецификации (дублирование окончаний на женский и мужской род, дублирование форм женского и мужского рода с использованием точки, круглых скобок, через косую черту, с указанием H/F или F/H после названия вакансии в форме мужского рода и прочее) и сформулированы основные выводы по каждому высшему учебному заведению. Важно отметить, что ни в одном разделе, ни по одному высшему учебному заведению не было обнаружено признаков феномена гендерной нейтрализации и выхода за бинарную систему гендера. Исходя из вышесказанного, в большинстве случаев в государственных ВУЗах Франции активно используют формы с гендерной спецификацией в университетском дискурсе, в отличие от частных, негосударственных, где данные формы встречаются только в разделе с приказами на объявление конкурса на замещение вакантной должности преподавателя-исследователя, доцента и профессора, а также административно-технического персонала. Таким образом, институциональная политика ВУЗов государственного сектора во Франции идёт вразрез с действиями государства в отношении инклюзивного написания во французском языке, точнее говоря, о его искоренении.

Анализ гендерно-лингвистической ситуации в Университете Валле д'Аоста показал, что здесь наблюдается тенденция к минимизации использования приёмов гендерной спецификации, отсутствует единое правило по гендерно-корректному написанию, а мужской род множественного числа применяется в большинстве случаев в качестве инклюзивного обращения к группе лиц. Несмотря на особенную лингвистическую ситуацию и географическое положение итальянского региона, где расположен Университет, все те активные изменения в области гендерной политики, происходящие во Франции, не внесли каких-либо изменений в местный университетский дискурс, в том числе и в ту его часть, которая публиковалась на французском языке.

Конфликт интересов
Авторы заявляют об отсутствии конфликта интересов.

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COMPARATIVE ANALYSIS OF INCLUSIVE WRITING IN UNIVERSITY DISCOURSE: CASE STUDIES FROM FRANCE AND ITALY

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Abstract: This article examines inclusive writing in the university discourse of France and Italy from a comparative perspective. The research aims to analyze the use of gender-specific and gender-neutral forms in higher education institutions in Paris (Sorbonne University and Paris Catholic Institute) and at the University of the Aosta Valley in Italy

(a private university located in a region where French is the second official language). The study is based on a corpus of archival texts and documents, selected through continuous sampling from electronic versions on *archive.org* between 2020 and 2023. The authors draw conclusions about the specificity and frequency of inclusive writing in these institutions. The findings indicate that, in France, despite the country's language policy efforts to ban inclusive spelling at the official level, public universities actively use it, in contrast to private institutions, where gender-specific forms are primarily found in job vacancy sections. The authors conclude that the choice of using gender-specific or gender-neutral forms is often left to the discretion of the individual or institution. The study also explores the most common methods of expressing gender specification, including the duplication of feminine and masculine forms, the use of feminine endings/suffixes in brackets or separated by a hyphen, and the marking of positions/professions with "(M/F)" after the masculine form. The potential implications of these practices are analyzed. In Italy, the study reveals a strong connection between French and Italian university cultures but finds no evidence of inclusive writing within the Italian university discourse. Despite the active development of gender equality programs at the state level, there remains an uneven tendency toward gender specification in Italy. The authors conclude that the methods of expressing gender specification play a significant role in shaping the university discourse in both France and Italy. They also note the complete absence of gender-neutral language or any moves beyond the gender binary in the universities studied.

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ETHNIC AND NATIONAL IDENTITY IN RUSSIAN RESEARCH: A SCOPING REVIEW

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Abstract: This scoping review aims to provide a comprehensive overview of the contemporary studies regarding ethnic and national identities written in the Russian language. The study reveals major contexts and patterns of the operationalization of the concepts. The scoping review is based on the framework outlined by Arksey and O'Malley, with qualitative content analysis as its primary method. Samples from 114 papers were analyzed to find existing approaches to identity studies and conceptualization. Explicit and implicit identity definitions and identity attributes were mapped and coded. The research found that scholars tend to provide original definitions and relate identity to consciousness. Implying the idea of a person's uniqueness, identity is often regarded as rooted in memory, hence the number of mentions of memory studies and memory politics in the reviewed articles. Another finding is that multiple and/or complex identities are widely investigated, and these identity types are given original names, mostly compound. With a great number of identity types, there is still a common understanding of identity as a constructed, dynamic phenomenon. The study concludes that identity is a common value-charged notion for Russian academic discourse, with national and ethnic identities being at the heart of the ongoing studies. The paper concentrates on identities of large groups, which is viewed as a politically sensitive issue, closely intertwined with the view of identity as a factor and resource of the development of society. Main topics are politics, history, representation, dynamics, plurality, communication, cultural factors, and territory. The analysis of the identity studies contributes to professional discourse by illuminating how concepts of ethnic and national identities are operationalized and communicated in the Russian-language academic community, thus enhancing cross-cultural understanding and facilitating more effective professional communication in related fields. Given the limitations, the findings identify the main patterns of concept usage, point to research gaps, and provide a basis for future research.

Keywords: identity studies, national identity, ethnic identity, scoping review, constructivism, conceptualization, identity types.

1. INTRODUCTION

Identity is not a novel concept; its first use dates back thousands of years, becoming popularized in the 1960s by Erik Erikson. Over the past decades, the concept has been widely explored and utilized across various disciplines (see Brubaker & Cooper, 1999 for an extensive citation of relevant literature), with some considering identity a vital term (Gleason, 1983, p. 910), demonstrating its interdisciplinary nature. Yet, contemporary research still struggles to fully capture the meaning of identity.

Coming up with a unified approach to the subject matter is another burning issue. If identity is a predicate that applies to a person or a group to perform their social categorization, it may take numerous forms, hence the diversity of identities with modifiers (such as "ethnic identity", "organizational identity", etc.). This trend has evolved over the years stemming from John Locke (or as well from the Greco-Roman conception of persona) and dramatically evolving in the 20th and 21st centuries. Moving towards an integrative view of the term "identity" means streamlining the existing literature against several dimensions, including constructivism/essentialism, individual/collective, fluid/stable (or identification/identity). Following such thinkers as Stuart Hall, Judith Butler, Michel Foucault, Cornel West, etc., we argue that identity's conceptualization in a certain discourse has implications on social dynamics, politics, etc. In the vein of a scoping review, this article is based on sources from various academic fields from history and philosophy to linguistics and political studies. Its relevance is determined by the contribution to a better interdisciplinary understanding of social and political actions connected with identity.

Today the concept of identity is value charged and relies on the researcher's cultural perspective. This study aims to review written in Russian and newly published literature on ethnic and national identity, to investigate how it is operationalized and referred to as applicable and appropriate. For this cause, we set out to outline an overview of the prevailing identity discourse in studies published in Russian and covered in the *elibrary.ru* database using the scoping review approach (Arksey & O'Malley, 2005). To analyze the results of the review we bring together different analytical lenses to clarify operational definitions of identity, presented in the reviewed studies implicitly or explicitly, to understand how identity/identities are conceptualized, thematized, and theorized. Since we work with studies written in Russian, one of the challenges is to translate the meaning and wording of the original articles in an adequate and unbiased manner. We establish and consolidate key working characteristics of the concept and look for gaps in identity studies performed by Russian-speaking authors.

Another line of the study is to consider broader contexts and themes where the identity concept is applicable and examine how the concept finds its realization. Critique, if any, is an integral part of the discourse and is highlighted in this study, be it overuse, misuse, ambiguity, vagueness of the term, or obvious gaps in research. We contribute to the conceptual map of identity in modern Russian literature and lay the ground for further research of global identity studies worldwide.

2. MATERIAL AND METHODS

Following the established methodology of conducting a scoping review (Arksey & O'Malley, 2005; Levac et al., 2010), we started by posing a broad research question: How are the concepts of national and ethnic identity represented in today's Russian academic discourse? To answer the question, we consider only the texts published in the Russian language. It should be noted that in Russian there is a number of similar terms of non-Latin origin that can serve to substitute the one used in the English language, ranging from *тождество, тождественность* and *самость, самоосознание* to *личность*, however, we only reviewed works that utilized the international term *идентичность*.

We searched the *elibrary.ru* database for the recent Russian language studies on national and ethnic identities to see how these terms are conceptualized and operationalized. The scope of the study was limited to the papers, in which this term was significant enough. Boolean search techniques were utilized. Inclusion criteria were as follows: the keyword in the title of the article (to ensure its weight in the publication), publication year (2020–2023), publication language (Russian) and mentions of "ethnic identity" and "national identity" in the keywords and/or abstracts of the articles. We extracted 455 articles that met the inclusion criteria and used computer software to randomly pick a quarter of the articles for full review. With no thematic restrictions to inclusion, articles in the final sample mostly came from journals on History, Philosophy, Sociology, and Political Science.

The study was conducted by using qualitative content analysis (Titscher et al., 2020). We started the analysis with a full-text reading of each of the articles by two of the researchers. The authors collaborated to organize the study profile of the reported papers and developed a matrix to collect all the relevant information from the extracted full-text articles. A codebook was designed and filled. To ensure intercoder reliability the authors charted the data independently. The key qualitative results were agreed upon through the process of peer review and discussion and included explicit and implicit definitions and keywords, themes, approaches, and descriptive codes. In the vein of thematic analysis (Braun & Clarke, 2006) empirical data were used to identify and review themes. Explicit and implicit definitions were subject to conceptual and semantic analysis.

The strength of this review is that it considers the identity concept as presented in today's research in the field of identity studies and beyond written in Russian where the term identity is explicitly used. This causes a wide variety of research topics and provides a clear vision of the authors' most common ideas of what identity is and how it relates to their field of studies.

3. RESULTS

The sample includes original (authors') explicit definitions of identity or type(s) of identity, ranging from group ("identity is citizenship and living mode" (Nechaeva, 2020, p.157)) to personal ("identity is sociopsychological foundation of a person" (Porshneva, 2020, p. 142)) type. Definitions vary in terms of their consistency with classic works on identity. Some conform to it ("identity is a sociocultural category indicating unity and continuity of goals, motives, and attitudes of a person aware of his/her agency" (Sharkov & Yakushina, 2020, p.401)), others are rather arbitrary ("identity means being able to succeed in sciences despite one's alien background"

(Salmin, 2020, p. 1339)). Being a major research subject in the sampled papers, the notion of identity is included in keywords as a separate term or as a part of a collocation, e.g.: subethnic (*субэтническая*), pan-ethnic (*общеэтническая*), ethnic-cultural (*этнокультурная*), transethnic (*трансэтническая*), transnational (*транснациональная*), superstate (*надгосударственная*), national-state (*национально-государственная*), civil-state (*гражданско-государственная*), state-civil (*государственно-гражданская*), civil-political (*гражданско-политическая*), etc. Almost half of the reviewed articles regard identity as a construct. Multiple (double, overlapping, etc.) identities are widely mentioned. Identity as consciousness and self-consciousness (*сознание* and *самосознание/самоосознание*) takes a major part in the current research (found in a third of the articles), with consciousness both listed as a keyword in the papers and/or being a part of identity definitions.

The most common types of identities named in the reviewed articles are national, including subnational and transnational, and ethnic, including transethnic and post-ethnic (mentioned in 40% and 29% of articles respectively). Apart from national and ethnic identities, the most frequently mentioned types of identity included regional and subregional (22%) and social (19%). It is also worth mentioning such types of identity as collective (17%) and group (13%), including community and microgroup, as well as civil (13%), political/macropolitical (11%) and local (8%). Similar results come from the analysis of keywords: the most frequent types of identity in keywords are ethnic, national, regional, political, city, and civil.

Russian identity (*российская*) can refer to either national or civil identity types. This terminological uncertainty is dealt with in one of the articles by Drobizheva (2020) and is touched upon by Batagova (2021) and Victorova et al. (2022) but the usage of the term is not consistent across the reviewed sample. Similar confusion is observed with various territorial identities, such as local, regional, city, northern, etc. Ten varying names for this group of identities were found across the sample. One more confusion comes from compound terms for identities, such as ethnocultural, civic-political, sociocultural, etc.

Another problematic issue detected is inconsistency in the use of the terms "identity" and "identification" (Sidorenkov et al., 2020). Both are used to imply either an incessant process of placing oneself in the societal framework or an interim result of such a process.

The thematic analysis has shown that reviewed papers on ethnic and national identity comprised a number of distinct themes and topics, including politics (state, nation, elites, memory politics, identity construction), history (experience, trauma), representation (image, narrative), dynamics (change, crisis, fluidity, stability, conservation, actualization), plurality (double, multiple, overlapping identities, identity levels, wholesomeness, and fragmentation), communication (international relations, contact, the Other, uniqueness), cultural factors (religion, language, cultural practices), and territories.

The semantic analysis of the papers presented numerous attributive collocations with the word "identity". Grouped in accordance with closeness in meanings and usage, they make the following major groups: the first group refers to types and subtypes of identity; the second describes particular identity bearers; the third gives attributes to the very notion of identity and includes miscellaneous – oftentimes novel and even counterintuitive – attributes such as (multi)layered, universal, symbolic, artificial, etc.

The spread between the most and least commonly mentioned types of identity points to the fact that more stable and conclusive social identities are the major objects of investigation. Meanwhile, identity crises, the actual transformation of identity, its transition to a new one, and the mechanisms and implications of ongoing change are often overlooked.

The collective type of identity includes both "group identities" and "microgroup identities". It is important to note that there is a visible asymmetry of the research focus: identity is only viewed as a group-level phenomenon (the micro group being the minimal level), and in the reviewed sample there are no mentions of group identities as perceived by its individual identity bearers.

4. DISCUSSION

We found that the articles in the sample can be divided into two categories: with or without an explicit definition of identity. Those without such a definition use the term intuitively and sometimes quite arbitrarily, relying on a conventional understanding of the word. At the same time, the works in the sample follow the generally accepted identity paradigm of viewing identity as a complex, double, and complementary phenomenon. The reviewed articles see identity as an indication of both distinction from the out-group and belonging to the in-group. This double meaning of identity was first outlined by Morin (1992, p. 201) and developed in further research, see, for example, Filippova (2018, p. 61-70). Identity was operationalized to serve the purposes of the authors.

The majority of articles that refrain from giving it an explicit definition treat identity as a concept that is "manifold, hard to define, and evades many ordinary methods of measurement" (Huntington, 2004, p. 21). Some authors mention various approaches to identity and admit its elusiveness (Petrova, 2021), while many utilize the term in its narrow meaning of self-perception: such reductionism affects the heuristic potential of the very concept of identity (Kuznetsov et al., 2021). However, the analysis of the texts reveals that choosing a simplified definition of identity is an instrumentalization of the term in its application to the study of a different concept or phenomenon, rather than a lack of consistent understanding of identity per se.

Given the vagueness of the identity definition in today's academic thought, it is of special interest to see what types and contexts make it possible to refer to the concept of identity and see what it commonly implies. Besides national, ethnic, political, and cultural identities, other identities which lacked explicit definitions include ethnocultural, state, Soviet, territorial, and historical, class (*сословие*), and social identities. We observe the usage of "particular" (*особая*) (Fedorov, 2020; Godovanyuk, 2020; Makhmutov & Litvak, 2020) or "own" (*собственная*) (Godovanyuk, 2020; Nechaeva, 2020; Shamionov, 2020) identity collocations presuming that there are identities other than "particular" or "own", which rather paradoxically contradicts the common understanding of the concept yet falls in line with seeing identity as complex, multifaceted, and diverse with its frontier both opening and closing (Morin, 1992, p. 201).

Notably, a number of papers introduce the concept of branding other than *product* or *brand identity* associated with marketing in business. In these cases, identity is viewed as a brand – an image of the entity constructed and manageable to its advantage (Foster et al., 2011), for group identities – to promote a certain vision of the entity within and outside the community. In the sample, branding is an identification strategy for highlighting, constructing, or concealing certain aspects of the reality or history of a place/territory to increase its attractiveness and make more viable the community built around it. Implementing branding strategies is characteristic of territory-bound identities, such as city or region, especially ethnic minorities that constitute the majority in their region.

Concealing and highlighting certain aspects of identity is an indication of using the notion of identity as a promising tool for promoting oneself rather than an objective self-image. The ultimate goal of promoting and emphasizing one's identity is to achieve its acknowledgement and acceptance so as to be able to tap into special rights and freedoms a unique entity would have. By accept-

ing and taking on a constructed image an individual or community, whatever big, gets a reference point of what they presumably *are* and s*hould b*e (prospective dimension of identity and collective memories (Szpunar & Szpunar, 2016). This positive image lies at the core of identity politics and the strategies of identity construction and self-identification.

It was found that incorporating a certain idea or image into one's consciousness is key to constructing an identity around it. Two major ways of identity construction in the reviewed articles are forming and instilling an idea of uniqueness – similar to L. S. Vygotsky's sociogenic construction of self (Vygotsky & Cole, 1978) – and/or an idea of one's unique history and past – following E. Erikson's understanding of identity construction comes from previous experiences (1979), as reflected in collective memories (Olick & Robbins, 1998). Memory studies, particularly those devoted to cultural, collective, and mediated memories coupled with the philosophy of history appear to be very close disciplines investigating the formation of identity (Reading, 2011). A third of the reviewed articles consider memory as part of identity and two-thirds of articles deal with historical aspects of identity formation.

Identity strategies are closely related to mythological thinking: mythological views are one of the top identity frames (Kurganskaya et al., 2022). Identity and myth are intended for internal use, even when initiated by elites, they mostly speak about "who we are", rather than "who we are not" or "who Others are", indicating self-centeredness. Identity myths are myths in cultural memory (Erll, 2011, p. 34). Making a narrative around powerful facts or personalities, incorporating a special vision of them into the image of the self and the worldview, makes identities flexible and propagable, which explains their fluid and dynamic nature. Identities and myths evolve over time to serve the identity bearer, give comfort, and perspective, and substantiate the need for independence. Narrative or narration is the major form of building a coherent, inherently consistent identity and presenting its image in a reproducible and adaptable form (Chernyavskaya, 2008). Whereas identity myths targeting out-groups are rare and imply stigmatizing, take, for example, the persecution of the Kalmyks that included allegations of cannibalism as part of their tradition (Guchinova, 2020).

Building on the memories of a traumatizing experience, such as loss or discrimination, however distant, is a way to enforce identity and consolidate the community or nation (Kazarinova, 2020). In the majority of cases, it is a violation of rights, privacy, and boundaries that change contact with the Other from an act of communication into a conflict. Identity bearers immediately respond to a threat: they tend to unite and fight the attack by actualizing their identity. Long-term implications may include the menace turning into one of the foundation stones to build and rebuild identity on.

Contact with the Other or reference to the Other is an indispensable part of identity-building (Neumann, 2004, p. 25-70). And it is not necessarily an aggressive opposition of We versus They. Most often this is the way to highlight the demarcation line between in- and out-groups. Those within the boundaries have a claim for sovereignty, freedom, and acknowledgement. Those outside the boundaries are the audience for projected identity and contact with them necessitates a claim for autonomy. Contact is a prerequisite for developing one's identity. It is only through meeting with the Other that one sees what really makes their identity stand out, what distinguishes them from the rest (Silantieva et al., 2020, p.107-108). The difference of potentials within and outside a community as a unifying category makes up tension that brings identity to life. The essence of such difference, the differentiation criterion provides the scaffolds for a powerful narrative, a seed for a viable myth.

Identity boundaries are symbolic and permeable (a person moving to another town might both retain the city identity of his hometown and acquire the city identity of the new dwelling). The fact that whether one can or cannot claim an identity may rest upon as little as one's self-image or stated wish, which leads to the idea that there is no obligatory minimum foundation for a "full-fledged" identity (there is some inconsistency in the reviewed works with identity sometimes viewed as "integral" (*целостная*) (Shindel' et al., 2022), "full" (*полная, полноценная*), "partial" (*частичная*), or "fragmentary" (*фрагментарная*) (Alexandrova et al., 2020)). It brings forth the importance of deliberate and targeted identity politics that treats identity as a project and mostly concentrates on the resources of asserting and promoting the identity rather than on its substantiation.

The constructivist approach to identity is clear in the context of national identity politics, with education (*образование* and *воспитание*) as an integrating strategy. Education is viewed as an invariable instrument of identity politics across times: equally aimed at consolidating or erasing ethnic identity, forming imperial or civil identity a century ago and today. Education in these capacities is widely acknowledged – it is studentship that forms national loyalty (Hoffman, 2016, p. 1–16).

National identity and identity politics as factors of nationalism are widely investigated. It is generally presumed that nationalism is a pinnacle of national identity (Sitnikov, 2023; Telin & Filimonov, 2020), especially when promoted by the media (Aleshkovski & Bocharova, 2020), most powerful when it takes an ethnic dimension and therefore can be seen within one country in the form of regional nationalisms (Nechaeva, 2020). A peculiar feature of the studies revealed within the framework of this review is the concept of "identitet" (*идентитет*) (Lunkin & Filatov, 2020), which is analogous to national identity as consciousness and feeling of belonging to one nation.

"Overlapping", "double", etc. identities exemplify the research paradigm where identity is regarded as inherently multiple. More than a third of the reviewed articles mentioned multiple identities. Identities of different types and levels may coexist, overlap, reinforce, actualize, and compete. Sometimes they can be seen as various roles one must take on and perform simultaneously or in succession, but rather multiple identities are associated with different domains of belonging and self-actualization, which might be attributed to situational identification (Ostroglazova, 2023). Some authors conclude that an integrating identity or macroidentity (Drobizheva, 2020) comes into play when multiple identities are considered and weighed against each other. However, this is not always the case with national and ethnic identities, as well as with national and regional identities: while it is hard to distinguish, for instance, between the national identity of Spanish regions and the national identity of Spain (Kozhanovsky, 2020), identity-bearers make a clear distinction. They opt for a priority identity (Khokholkova, 2020), appropriate it, and promote its name. Similar confusion occurs in authors' theorizing about identity: for example, T. V. Razina (Razina, 2022) argues that Russian (*российская*) identity belongs to a higher level than national and ethnic identities, whereas P. V. Fadeev considers them as competing identities (Fadeev, 2022).

Naming, or linguistic marking, is a key feature of many identities. Two aspects matter: 1) how identity bearers name themselves: ethnonyms are of particular interest since they appear with the formation of conscious group distinction (Kameneva et al., 2022); 2) what names say about identities – such as *urbanomia* when the name does not construct but represents an identitarian background (Razumov & Goryaev, 2020). The more complex and diverse the structure of the population is the more nuanced linguistic markers are needed to identify its parts (Atnagulov, 2021).

Conflicting identities, within one subject or identities of various bearers, breed crises and force the search for a new balance, which usually implies a re-evaluation of one's identity and possibilities of change. The growth of digital technologies has brought about new identities – digital,

virtual, net/web (*сетевая*), etc., which added to the wide variety of identities – and led to several notable consequences: a specific sociocultural space emerging in online communication leads to different representations of ethnic identities online and offline (Urusova & Chotchaev, 2023); the division of identities into real and virtual resulted in hybrids (Volkov, 2022); ethnic identities of migrants were reinforced (Melnikova et al., 2021). The mechanics and implications of identity actualization, or rapid growth of the weight of identity or its part(s), are key to modern research and are topical for almost a fifth of the reviewed articles.

Identity is a very receptive phenomenon that follows suit of global trends (Bauman, 2008) and becomes dynamic to the extent of fluidity. The article about virtual representations of African identity (Khokholkova, 2020) gives an example of today's identity challenges: the need for an umbrella identity to cover the many identities one might associate with. This integrating identity thus should be stable enough to eliminate frequent and/or perpetual identity crises and to serve as an easy showcase for the world to see and acknowledge it. Self-presentation is a key function of identity today. It is most obvious at the grassroots level – where people name themselves with certain names and consciously demonstrate certain qualities (Boichenko et al., 2020) to present themselves under a publicity name and be taken for who they think they are (see: declarational identity (Kozhanovsky, 2020)), receiving all the rights a stand-alone entity would have. The performative nature of identity (Molodychenko, 2020) implies expressing oneself with a set of specific resources, for example, linguistic ones, such as dialects. One gets a positive feedback loop: when the message is received and provokes feedback (acceptance or resistance) it reinforces the identity.

5. CONCLUSION

In this paper, we have conducted a qualitative analysis of 114 papers following the methodology for a scoping review to explore how identity is conceptualized and operationalized in academic literature written in the Russian language. The aim of the study was to get an insight into the way Russian researchers regard the phenomenon of ethnic and national identity and employ the respective terms. Results provide a unique perspective on identity studies and the functioning of the identity concept in the Russian-speaking community. The scope and thoroughness of the review make it a reliable source for further comparative research as well as for the study of the changes that took place in identity research over the years.

We conclude that identity is a widely used term in the Russian academic discourse. As a politically sensitive and debatable concept worldwide, identity is not less so in Russian academic research. There exists a wide array of approaches to the subject with no conclusive definition and usage. We observe that the authors of the sampled papers do not cleave to one definition or a clear set of types of identities, instead, they coin new terms (mostly compound) for types of identity, or at least come up with novel attributes to instrumentalize the term and suit the purposes of their work. This further increases the ambiguity and complexity of the concept.

We identified and described the main themes and types of identities covered in the reviewed papers. Our findings suggest that collective identities are mostly politicized. Identities of big groups that mostly inhabit the same areas, such as national, ethnic, or territorial, prevail in the research. One of the major findings of the review is that liberal, psychological, or politically sensitive identities (gender, minority) are left out and make up a research gap.

With all the main topics and notable ideas outlined, we may propose a general conceptual definition of identity. It is seen as a complex phenomenon of social life. In Russia, the mainstream approach to identity implies that identity is "a resource of societal development" (Semenenko, 2020).

To some extent, all the studies conceptualize identity as a construct, subject to internal and external regulation. It is dynamic, changeable, and easily forms new hybrid types or invariants. Identity mostly exists in groups of people, especially the ones sharing a territory, and thus is heavily politicized. At the same time identities that lie mostly in the personal dimension and refer to individual rights and interests are left out or tend to be ignored. This approach points to the fundamental dissimilarities in the understanding of identity between Western and non-Western scholars, since the former largely focus on individualistic self-concepts (Yin, 2018), though both perspectives view identity as a value-charged political asset. The findings yet again mark the contestability of the identity concept and a noteworthy gap between various worldviews and propose further research by identity specialists, philosophers, and political and cultural scientists.

Conflict of interest
The authors state that there is no conflict of interest.

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FAMILY CONCEPT REPRESENTATION IN ENGLISH AND CHINESE MEDIA: A COGNITIVE MATRIX MODELLING APPROACH

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Abstract: This article examines the representation of the FAMILY concept in English and Chinese newspapers. The research material was gathered from ten information sources and included 200 news articles, selected through continuous sampling using the keyword FAMILY / 家庭. The articles were analyzed to identify relevant issues and categorized based on their thematic content. In each article, key content elements—words and phrases that carry significant semantic meaning—were identified and used for cognitive matrix modeling. The findings reveal cognitive asymmetry in how the FAMILY concept is portrayed in English and Chinese media. In English-language media, the concept is centered on fundamental semantic components that form the cognitive core of the FAMILY concept, such as family members and their relationships. The representation also extends to areas like family activities, children, finances, employment, family pets, and legal issues. In contrast, Chinese media emphasizes the government's role in educating the younger generation on family behavior, fostering a new generation of families that adhere to the country's ethical norms, traditional cultural values, and moral standards. The central aspect of the FAMILY concept in Chinese media is the significant governmental support and societal focus on family needs and moral education, with family being viewed within the broader context of societal relations. The observed asymmetry is attributed to cultural, economic, social, and political differences. In capital-oriented social systems, the family is seen as an independent unit capable of self-sufficiency without substantial government intervention. This study is particularly relevant for understanding the role of professional discourse in shaping public perceptions of family across different cultures, highlighting how media narratives reflect and influence broader societal values and professional communication practices.

Keywords: cognitive study, categorization, conceptual area, cognitive context, multidimensionality of representation, cognitive matrix analysis, family.

1. INTRODUCTION

Concept is seen in cognitive linguistics as a mental framework for the systematization of knowledge units which, combined together, form a linguistic worldview as a result of cognitive human activity. The conceptual scope extends beyond dictionary definitions and individual interpretations. More complex cognitive structures are frames, scenarios, matrices, conceptual systems and worldviews (Boldyrev, 2020). Concept is based on a certain system of images, abstractions, notions, stereotypes, values, beliefs, and is generally considered as a phenomenological unit. According to R. Langacker and L. Talmy, conceptualization is a long historical process of perception and mental reflection on past events and forecasting the future (Filyasova, 2024). The cognitive approach allows linguists to investigate various emerging contexts and develop a dynamic picture of the surrounding world and its reflection in people's minds en masse (Kochetova, 2006), for example, the representation of the binary opposition HERO – ANTIHERO as cognitive matrices with the indication of isomorphic and allomorphic features (Samofalova, 2019).

Cognitive linguistics has a considerable explanatory force for understanding language functioning mechanisms (Kibrik, 2019) being incorporated into the psychological organization of the human mind, on the one hand, and the generalized public mind, on the other hand. Language as a major means of public organization and management contains a certain degree of ideological capacity and political influence through mass media and various communication channels (Riemer, 2019). Language possesses multiple techniques which produce a persuasive effect in mass media sources and contribute to developing concepts that provoke particular cognitive and emotional reactions in audiences (Khramchenko, 2023).

The conceptual analysis is closely related to the process of conceptualization itself and is aimed at uncovering an individual or mass conceptual system; in either case, the methods involve language analysis. Conceptualization presupposes the identification of discrete frames of reality representing certain cultural values and beliefs. Concept as a mental construct includes semantic and thematic fields, thus creating conceptual matrices and even larger mental structures, and requires extensive semantic investigation of multiple contextual representations and developing generalized abstractions.

2. MATERIAL AND METHODS

The aim of this article is to study the similarities and differences in the conceptual representation of FAMILY in the Chinese and English media. Being one of the fundamental social units, the concept of FAMILY was analyzed in the media environment as a phenomenon deeply integrated in the public mind, as a result of a generalized abstraction from specific contexts. For research purposes, the following Chinese media sources were searched: ***Xinhua News Agency*** (est. in 1931),

People's Daily (est. in 1948), ***The Beijing News*** (est. in 2003), ***Guangming Daily*** (est. in 1949), and ***China Daily*** (est. in 1981); whereas the English media sources were as follows: ***The Mirror*** (est. in 1903), ***The Independent*** (est. in 1986), ***The Guardian*** (est. in 1821), ***iWeekend*** (est. in 2017), and ***Daily Mail*** (est. in 1896). These newspapers are reliable information sources with the status of official national publications, yet they demonstrate a certain degree of variety for mapping a concept of FAMILY in a veracious and trustworthy manner, avoiding potential specifics of only one source[1].

Media newspaper articles in the Chinese and English languages served as the material for the research. The total number of media articles under analysis, selected by the continuous sampling method, was two hundred (a hundred articles in the Chinese language, and the same quantity in the English language), over the time period of 2022-2024. The material was collected by the keyword 'family' / '家庭'. The main criterion for the article search was the presence of the word FAMILY in the titles of the articles, which meant that they were definitely devoted to the topic "Family" because stylistically such texts follow the inverted pyramid structure, which means that the main information is presented first, at the beginning of the article. Further methods included key semantic nodes identification, their thematic categorization, keyword and word combination identification and cognitive matrix development.

Specifically, the Chinese and English texts were considered as two corpora based on one common feature: both of them were devoted to the topic FAMILY and belonged to the same journalistic text genre aimed to inform readers about events happening locally and globally. All of the articles in each corpus were analyzed, counted by topic, and then classified into thematic categories depending on the main topical issue addressed by the journalists. The percentage of the articles in Fig. 1 and 2 shows the quantity of articles dedicated to each topic. Furthermore, each article was examined to identify information-intensive keywords and keyword combinations that carried semantically the most relevant data and revealed the contents of the article. On average, about seven keywords and word combinations (2-9 words long) were identified in each article. The cognitive matrices were created on the basis of those keywords and word combinations. Ultimately, Tables 1 and 2 contain the most typical lexical representatives of the semantic contents of the articles.

The theoretical value of the cognitive matrix modelling in two languages lies in the fact that we can compare not only the topics covered in media newspaper articles from two different cultures, but also receive the understanding of similar and/or related issues, contrast approaches to finding solutions, and eventually, juxtapose different worldviews. This research seems to be relevant with the view of the current trends towards revisiting and revising the FAMILY concept under the influence of the changing social and technological conditions which induce academics to search for optimal models of social organization and structure. The comparison and juxtaposition of the same concept of FAMILY from historically and culturally different countries – Great Britain and China – might shed light on some conceptual aspects and provide insight into the national linguistic worldviews.

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[1] Because the material was collected continuously, there were no exceptions or exclusions for any topics discussed in relation to the family, such as government support or others. It must be pointed out that our research is apolitical, and the mentioning of the government's role in family support is determined by the principles of scientific research – objectivity and fairness towards material collection.

3. THE FAMILY CONCEPT OVERVIEW

The FAMILY concept is the fundamental unit of a society deeply integrated into the social structure. Its core information content includes methods of formation – consanguinity, adoption or affinity, and roles like spouses, children, parents, and siblings. Its interpretation field embraces household, social functions and responsibilities. The conceptual sensory image is described as emotional and psychological security, love and companionship. The social content is formed through behavioral rules, a code of conduct, moral values, social regulation, subordination and self-regulation as a necessary stipulation of successful social integration and adaptation. Family is also supposed to provide help for sick and disabled family members. FAMILY as a social concept represents its prototypical meaning since family balances social and individual interests. Eventually, family is viewed as a driving force for social development (Elsayed, 2024).

Linguistic research into the FAMILY concept in the Chinese language reveals such interpretations as harmony, house, wealth, health, and job, including the following oppositions: senior vs. junior, masculine vs. feminine (Wu, 2009). A more recent tautological experiment shows some dynamics in the modern concept: mental and physical comfort, spiritual relationships among relatives, happiness, love, passion, security, support, humanism, and responsibility (Zhao, 2022). According to the analysis of Chinese proverbs, idioms and sayings, the concept prioritizes family relations, marital harmony, procreation, brotherly friendship, and harmonious family relations (Sun & Chzhan, 2023).

Labour is represented as a basic family value in English fairy tales (Nurieva & Nikolaeva, 2020). The interpretation field of the concept in the media discourse on the radio involves furniture, gifts, toys, holidays, entertainment, leisure, sports, and automobiles (Sudina, 2021). In the English political discourse, the FAMILY concept is exploited in English public speeches, in which a country is compared to a family, a leading figure – to father, and citizens – to children (Jioeva & Strelnikova, 2016). American news headlines include such signs of the concept as the need for help and support, home, health, parenthood, violence, unity, pets, and consumption (Borisenko, 2021). A corpus analysis of the concept in the Chinese and English languages revealed a number of differences: while the Chinese concept is more collectivist, underlining the importance of celebrations and unity, the English concept is more individualistic and incorporates business and religious aspects of social life (Bingbing & Kamensky, 2023).

Research into public support that is provided to families in European countries shows that essential social aspects that FAMILY needs are as follows: education, child protection and welfare, community development, physical and mental health, work, and help for the disabled and addicted (Jiménez et al., 2024). Family is especially significant for children and adolescents who are in the active process of self-concept development (Yu et al., 2024).

4. RESULTS AND DISCUSSION

The findings help reveal a number of common features as well as a few discrepancies. The differences presumably lie in the approach to the media rhetoric which varies from country to country. Arguably, the convergence of journalistic communication and cultural framework results in a distinct mode of information delivery, accentuating some topics while ignoring others. The FAMILY concept in the English media revolves around the conceptual area of family members,

their relationships and family activities (Fig. 1). The traditional model of a nuclear family in the British culture is changing as fewer people tend to get married and there are more single-parent households. Economic pressure and the need to live on a stringent budget seem to be serious causes making people avoid family responsibilities and devote their complete time and energy to pursue their careers and earn enough income in order to cover their bills and provide their children with promising futures. The material constituents of the concept include such areas as household, family finance and job, which, taken together, make up 20% of the entire matrix. A specific area in the English media is devoted to violations of the law (10%), which brings negative connotations to the matrix. Social communications account for 6% of the collected articles. Basically, the FAMILY concept is represented in a self-sufficient manner which underlines the importance of the family as a social unit. Let us consider the conceptual areas in more detail (Table 1).

Fig. 1. The cognitive matrix of the English FAMILY concept
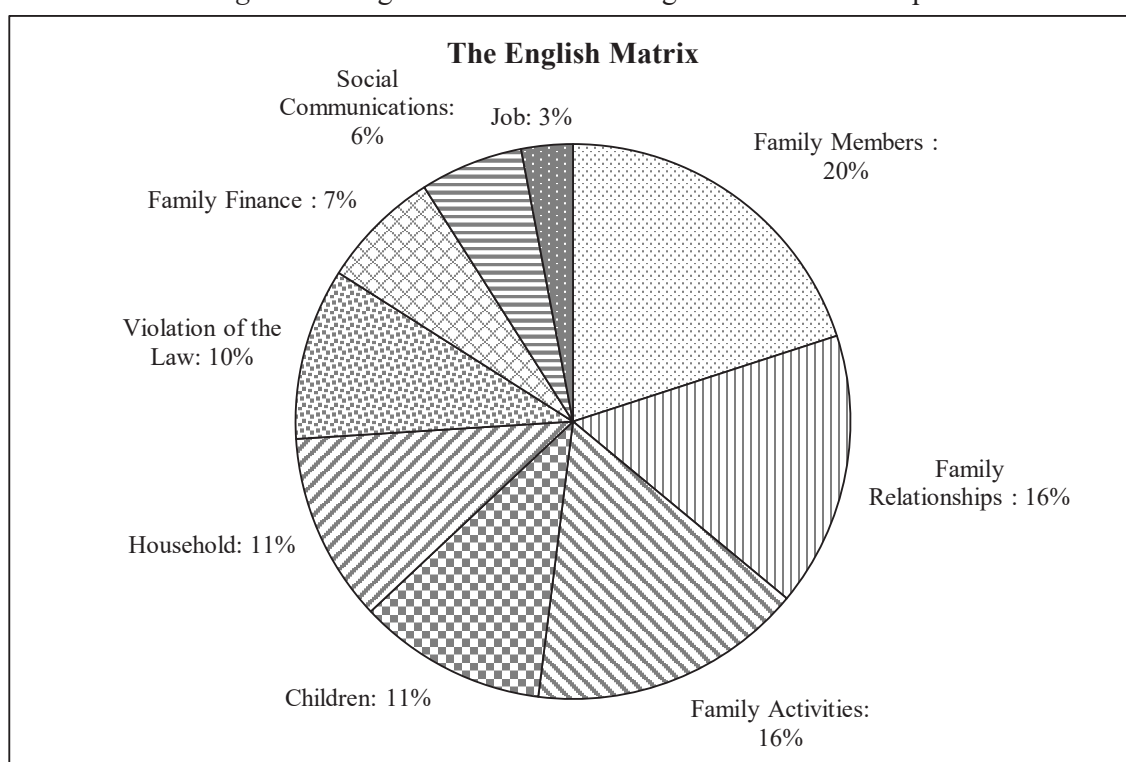
A closer analysis of the relations inside the family shows a rather unsupportive and, in certain cases, unhealthy environment, which can be proven by cognitive features which clearly carry negative evaluative properties: bitter feud, anger, outrage, complicated relationships, difficult conversations, intrigues, menaces, infidelity among others. For example:

* *Father sparks outrage for wanting to sell daughter's car to pay for other child's college tuition.*
* *Bride fuming after receiving family friend's 'disrespectful' RSVP for her wedding.*

The adverse intrafamilial attitudes are corroborated by some facts of outright blatant violence and violations of the law. The interpretational components of the conceptual area include such examples as fatal shootings, sword attacks, murder, victim, death lawsuit, and death penalty.

Table 1. The English FAMILY concept matrix components

Family members	Family relations	Jobs
• in-laws; • brother; • close relatives; • grandmother; • stepfather; • siblings; • foster carers.	• bitter feud; • anger; • reconciliation; • complicated relationship; • outrage; • difficult conversations; • intrigues.	• oil worker; • bank worker; • extensive work; • aid workers; • part-time work; • family business; • business dynasty.
Family finance	**Household**	**Violation of the law**
• financial responsibility; • life savings; • family's budget; • fundraising; • financial advice; • mortgage; • financial plight.	• rare books; • pet octopus; • most prized assets; • private family cemetery; • house renovation; • family garden; • old furniture.	• victim; • murder; • death penalty; • death lawsuit; • fatal shooting; • insufferable smuggery; • sword attack.
Children	**Social communications**	**Family activities**
• starving kids; • children's resentment; • unique name for daughter; • child development; • adult children; • imaginary pets and books; • subsidised childcare.	• human rights investigation; • charity donations; • a national day of mourning; • the care system; • socially accepted behavior; • family friends; • family driving rules.	• family day out; • family package holidays; • meticulously planned games; • family ferry trip; • gift giving; • endless home improvements; • cooking delicious homemade dishes.

In today's uncertain economic climate, more and more families are feeling the pressure of financial responsibility. For many, their life savings are no longer enough to cover unexpected expenses or even day-to-day living costs. This has put a significant strain on the family's budget, causing stress and anxiety for many households. In order to alleviate some of the financial burden, families have turned to fundraising as a way to supplement their income. One of the biggest financial hurdles for many families is the mortgage. With interest rates on the rise and housing costs continuing to climb, some families find themselves in a precarious financial plight. It is essential to carefully consider all options when it comes to housing and to seek out expert advice on how to manage mortgage payments effectively. Overall, financial responsibility is an ongoing challenge for many families, but with the right support and guidance, it is possible to weather the storm and come out on top. By taking proactive measures and seeking out financial advice, families can work towards a more secure financial future. For instance:

- *'I spend 8% of our family's money on our dog – the second highest bill after our mortgage'.*
- *I spent my life savings on an extravagant Christmas holiday to avoid family.*

Children present a serious matter of concern for families, especially in regions of unrest such as Gaza: *Brit killed trying to feed starving kids in Gaza 'forever a hero' says heartbroken family.* In a heartbreaking turn of events, a recent study has brought attention to the growing number of starving kids in the territory. Many children are going hungry due to a lack of access to nutritious food. This issue is not only a matter of physical health, but it also has significant implications for child development.

In a more positive light, one British family made headlines for giving their daughter a unique name that symbolizes strength and resilience: *'My family hates my daughter's name - they say it isolates my baby from them'*. The parents hope that this name will inspire their child to overcome any challenges she may face in life.

Another important issue highlighted in the conceptual area is the lack of subsidised childcare, which can make it difficult for parents to provide for their children. Many families are struggling to make ends meet, leading to increased stress and financial strain: *Why family-friendly policies don't boost birth rates.*

Many families opt for family package holidays, where they could enjoy a variety of activities and entertainment. Those who prefer to stay closer to home choose to have a meticulously planned day filled with games and activities right in their own backyard. Others embark on a family ferry trip, exploring new sights and enjoying the open sea air together: *How I packed for my family's 10-day holiday using only hand luggage by following 10 simple hacks.*

Gift-giving is also a common theme among families, with parents and children alike showing appreciation for one another through thoughtful presents: *Enough! I'm no longer buying unwanted Christmas gifts for my extended family members.* Some families use their weekends to tackle endless home improvements, working together to create a more comfortable and welcoming living space for everyone. And of course, no family day out would be complete without cooking delicious homemade dishes. Many families spend their weekends trying out new recipes and enjoying the fruits of their labor together around the dinner table. Overall, it is a weekend filled with love, laughter, and quality time spent with the family – a true reminder of the importance of cherishing these moments together.

In general, the cognitive matrix of the English FAMILY concept reflects the classical family model and its semantic components – family members, their problems and activities. Children are separated into an independent category based on a significant number of articles devoted to offspring. Family finance and violation of the law seem to be two major areas of family concern. The former is an indispensable constituent of the family budget; the latter – is the adverse consequence of interfamilial relations, destructive social behavior or military conflicts.

In the Chinese culture, according to Confucian tenets, the family institution is supposed to provide a sense of identity and substantial support. Currently, family is viewed as a key idea of social peace, civility, and national strength (The National People's Congress of the People's Republic of China, 2016). Social cohesion is achieved through active government involvement and preserving traditions related to many aspects of social life. The conceptual areas of FAMILY serve as a semantic background for the main postulates and unfold in compliance with the current understanding of the concept in China. As can be seen in Fig. 2, government support plays a pivotal role in the FAMILY concept solidification in the Chinese media and, conceivably, represents the foundation stone of the society.

Fig. 2. The cognitive matrix of the Chinese FAMILY concept

The Chinese Matrix
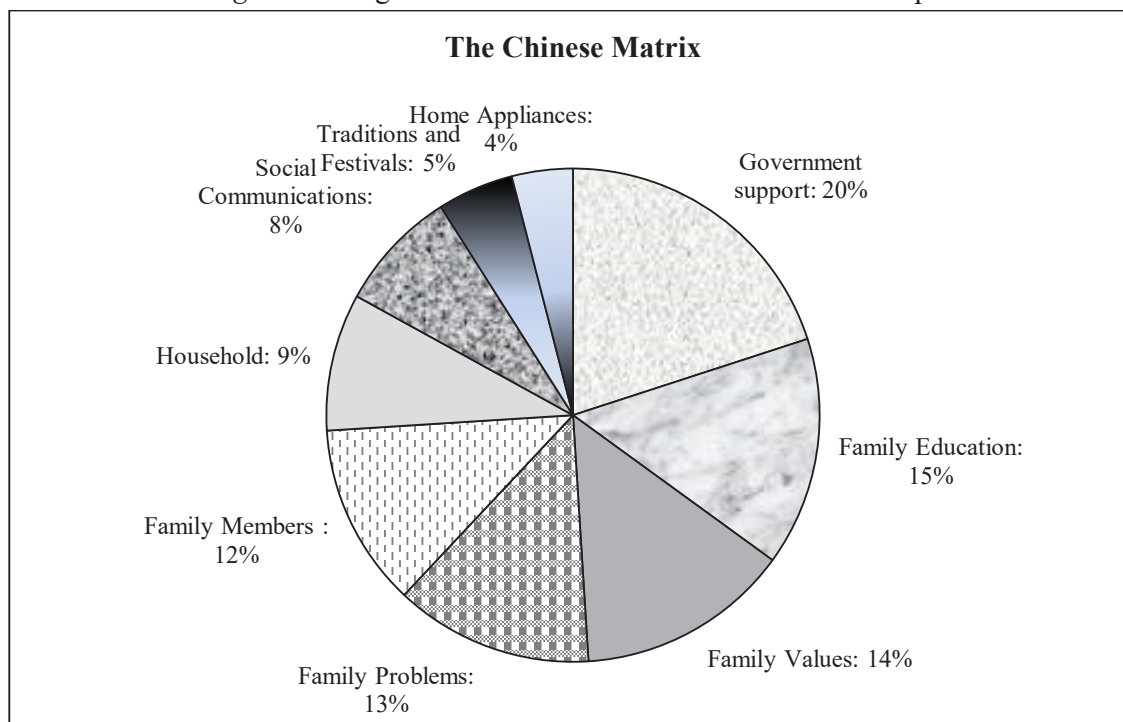
The next two conceptual areas, devoted to family education and values per se, serve as the extension to the governmental policy of support and guidance, aimed at fostering the idea of the modern family based on harmonious relations among family members, providing economic and emotional support for their children. The organization of family education centers contributes considerably to the promotion of family values at the national level, which disseminates useful practices of family peace and prosperity. The material aspects are represented by only 13% of the articles and include the topics of running households, family farms and introducing cutting-edge home appliances. The media articles examining external family communications make up just 8%. The obtained matrix indicates the importance of a certain type of cognition that places the emphasis on the internal family atmosphere, educational component, foundations and principles, most crucial for developing healthy family-oriented relations among young people, whereas the material side and external relations take only the fifth place. Therefore, the FAMILY concept in the Chinese media is evolving from traditional cultural norms, social values and positive emotional disposition. Let us consider the areas in Table 2 in more detail.

Table 2. The Chinese FAMILY concept matrix components

Government support	Traditions and festivals	Family values
• welfare training; • people's livelihood protection; • support the purchase of houses; • emergency response mechanism; • allocation of medical resources; • safeguard of the legitimate rights and interests of minors; • social and economic assistance for families.	• festivals of ethnic minorities; • First Strawberry Family Competition; • martial arts; • kung fu; • Chinese New Year family films; • Science and Technology Gala Festival; • Exquisite Pillow Making Competition.	• hard work, diligence and thrift; • moral code and happiness; • love, respect, and integrity; • warmth, communication and support; • growth and development; • stability and wealth; • harmony and integrity.

Family problems	Family members	Household
• fire safety; • ageing population; • domestic violence; • family disputes; • anxiety; • deviant behavior; • the change of customs.	• children; • parents; • the disabled; • relatives; • abducted children; • autistic teenagers; • separated siblings.	• hygiene; • free sports equipment; • cleaning supplies; • family farms; • collective ownership; • tobacco planting; • safe household equipment.
Social communications	**Family education**	**Home appliances**
• public family activities; • organization of civilized practical activities; • large-scale planting; • community labor; • volunteer service; • Women's Development Foundation; • discipline inspection.	• moral education; • the family guidance service system; • health skills teaching; • family health promotion; • online parent school course resources; • family education salons; • family construction projects.	• home entertainment technology; • AI robots; • smart homes; • cleaning robots; • lawn mowers; • swimming pool machines; • general-purpose humanoid robot for home.

The Chinese government implements national and regional programs to ensure the well-being of the residents and protect people's livelihoods, such as welfare training and emergency response mechanisms such as the timely allocation of medical resources. Furthermore, social and economic assistance for families in need is readily available. Thanks to these initiatives, these programs are known for their care and support for the residents while their well-being is a top priority. For example: 习近平总书记强调："不论时代发生多大变化，不论生活格局发生多大变化，我们都要重视家庭建设，注重家庭、注重家教、注重家风"。*[General Secretary Xi Jinping pointed out: "We must adhere to the core socialist values as our guide and establish a new era of family values"].*

Family problems include both acute and less noticeable issues which cannot be easily identified. For example in arid regions, the risk of spreading wildfire is quite high, and local citizens may face issues concerning fire safety. Reports of domestic violence and family disputes occur occasionally, leaving some members of the community feeling anxious and unsafe. Some blamed the change of customs and values for this deviant behavior, while others believed it is a new issue resulting from foreign, such as Japanese, media that need to be addressed. For example: 节目开始，张玉梅介绍了我国反家庭暴力法出台的背景，对家庭暴力的内涵和类型作了解释，并指出家庭暴力并不局限于夫妻、子女等家庭成员之间，还包括其他共同生活的人，如共同生活的恋人、儿媳、女婿、公婆、岳父母以及其他有监护、扶养、寄养等关系的人。*[At the beginning of the program, Zhang Yumei introduced the background of the introduction of my country's anti-domestic violence law, explained the connotation and types of domestic violence, and pointed out that domestic violence is not limited to couples, children and other family members, but also includes other people living together, such as lovers, daughters-in-law, sons-in-law, parents-in-law and other people who have custody, support, foster care, etc. who live together].*

The Chinese government introduces programs that focus on moral education and the development of health skills within families. These initiatives are known as the family guidance service system, and its mission is to provide parents with the tools and resources they need to raise happy and healthy children. Through a combination of online parent school course resources, family education salons, and family construction projects, they hoped to empower families to build stronger and more connected relationships. For example: 1月18日，一场以"做智慧家长，伴孩子成长"为主题的家庭文化研讨沙龙活动在甘肃省平凉市静宁县文化馆举行。*[On January 18, a*

family culture seminar salon event on the topic "Being a Smart Parent and Accompanying Your Children's Growth" was held at the Jingning County Cultural Center in Pingliang City, Gansu Province].

As for the household, there are projects aimed at collective ownership development in rural lands, contract relations stabilization, abandoned land reclamation, and transforming scattered development into large-scale operations. One of the priorities is the deployment of advanced technologies for agricultural mechanization for small and medium-sized farmers. Artificial intelligence is actively introduced into the agricultural sector and considerably reduces the burden on farmers.

Overall, the conceptual areas related to the FAMILY concept are united by the main idea of organizing educational courses, discipline maintenance, family values promotion, addressing family problems such as care for the disabled and senior members, providing medical assistance, prevention of deviant behavior, family disputes and violence.

The obtained results demonstrate a wider conceptual matrix scope in comparison with H. Bingbing and M.V. Kamensky's semiotic field of core collocations in the minimal context of the family-related vocabulary (Bingbing & Kamensky, 2023). The difference can be explained by wider contexts where FAMILY occurs in the media environment and the range of problems discussed by journalists is related to the family. Similarly, Wu Xinyu considers family relations in the narrow context of an extended family, which undoubtedly provides useful insight into lexical representation and cultural specifics in Chinese and Russian families. Nevertheless, her research is conducted in a specific area and does not deal with any broader social relations (Wu, 2009). According to Zhao Yuanze, family in the Chinese culture is a more emotional and personal phenomenon than public or social, compared to some European countries (Zhao, 2022). Our results, which revealed that the concept of FAMILY in the Chinese press is strongly intertwined with the Chinese government protection, can be attributed to the Chinese cultural specifics which directly indicate family as a highly-valued and appreciated unit. It was found that in the printed media, FAMILY is integrated into a larger-scale context and, therefore, is associated with multiple topics and issues, discussed by correspondents, and could fall within those themes which at first glance seem to be indirectly associated with family, such as household or home appliances.

5. CONCLUSION

The FAMILY concept has both similar and different semantic components in the English and Chinese media; however, it is largely characterized by the conceptual asymmetry explained by different cultural norms, social values, and political rhetoric. The axial area of the Chinese concept is government support, which is expressed through the dissemination and promotion of family values via family education courses, especially for families of young age; material and administrative support for the household organization and management; active implementation of robotized equipment and artificial intelligence technologies known for their labor-saving and cost-cutting advantages. Meanwhile, the English concept appears to be much closer to the generally accepted understanding of family, being focused on family members, relations and activities.

In the category 'family members' both English and Chinese conceptual areas include those who need primary care and whose livelihood completely depends on others: *orphaned babies, autistic children, separated families, abducted children, and disaster-stricken families* among others. The media attention is directed to such family members to an almost equal degree. The difference

between the cultures lies in the fact that the British media pay a considerable amount of regard to the Royal Family, whereas the Chinese journalists hardly ever mention the government in terms of their private families. For example:

- *Royal Family snub Prince Harry and Meghan Markle's son Archie on his 5th birthday.*
- *King Charles was 'supportive' of Meghan Markle as he tried to welcome her into the Royal Family.*
- *King Charles 'sends clear message to Harry and Meghan' as reconciliation thrown into doubt.*

The other nominatively coinciding conceptual area is household. As for the content, there are both similar and different themes for public coverage. The former include house furniture, household items, caring for relatives and their health. The latter are caused by the differences in social environment and social priorities. For Chinese families, the importance of household hygiene, farm work, and consumption improvement are accentuated. The Chinese government takes action to improve the financial well-being of its citizens. For English families, taking care of pet animals, books, family cemeteries, parents' houses, boats and other movable and immovable property is of a more significant value.

Government support, obviously being the central conceptual core in the Chinese FAMILY concept, acts as "a social safety net" that protects citizens from social and financial risks, in contrast with the British community, in which people have to struggle with financial problems at the level of every single family, hence, the conceptual field "family finance" and "job" as a primary income source become peripheral conceptual areas which still belong to the English FAMILY concept. Secondly, the Chinese government's involvement in the form of active family values dissemination and tight social control results in a safer environment, in comparison with the British cognitive matrix that includes the field "violation of the law" related to open family issues and conflicts.

As for the external family relations, or social communications, certain differences in the two cultures can be traced in the content representation. While the English conceptual area is filled with the discussion of social rules, e.g., traffic rules, etiquette, charity events, friendship, and human rights, the Chinese area involves public voluntary activities, discipline monitoring, and organizing family festivals, competitions, and sports events for families.

Overall, the results of the research demonstrate obvious discrepancies in the FAMILY concept representation in the English and Chinese media landscape. The conceptual asymmetry can be explained not only by different social and cultural environments but also by opposing axiological principles in the journalistic rhetoric and media practice. To be more specific, what is considered acceptable for the public mind in one media space might be totally rejected in the other media field. Eventually, news presentation depends on the general cultural norms, social values, journalist standards, and national goals.

Conflict of Interest
The authors state that there is no conflict of interest.

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ANALYZING INTERACTION PATTERNS ON DATING SITES: A GENERIC STRUCTURE POTENTIAL APPROACH

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Abstract: Online dating has become a popular stage to find a romantic partner. In such context, interlocutors must employ language carefully to reveal their intentions, attract attention and as well sustain intimacy with their potential partners. While previous studies have explored aspects such as self-disclosure and linguistic strategies in impression formation, there remains a gap in understanding the structured interactions that occur between potential partners on dating sites. This study, therefore, investigated the linguistic elements and interactional structures characterizing online dating discourse, focusing on two popular platforms, Tinder and Tagged. Adopting Halliday and Hasan's Generic Structure Potential framework, the study examined conversations of thirty participants (potential partners) whose relationship ranges between two weeks to three months. Findings revealed seven key stages: Discourse Initiation (DI), Introduction (INTR), Question and Response (QAR), Request (RQ), Admiration (AD), Declaration of Dating Intention (DDI), and Topic Formation for Conversation (TF). Each stage is marked by specific linguistic features and serves unique functions within the communication process. DI involves friendly greetings and endearments to initiate conversation and signal interest. INTR often includes declarative statements that provide personal information, establishing familiarity and a good first impression. QAR facilitates information exchange through questions and responses. RQ, predominantly by males, involves polite modal verb constructions to move the conversation to more personal platforms or obtain further information. AD includes compliments and positive affirmations to express appreciation and create a positive interaction tone. DDI features direct and indirect questions about relationship status to clarify the intent behind the interaction and define the nature of the potential relationship. Finally, TF sustains conversation with statements and questions about daily activities and interests. This study contributes to the broader understanding of professional discourse by analyzing the structured linguistic strategies and interactional patterns employed in online dating, demonstrating how individuals strategically use language to manage impressions, negotiate intentions, and build relationships – skills also crucial in professional communication.

Keywords: Generic Structure Potential, interaction patterns, online dating platforms, online dating discourse, genre, online communication.

1. INTRODUCTION

Language is very important in all human endeavour. Whether for transaction or interaction, language functions significantly in establishing and maintaining social relations and communicating personal attitudes (Brown & Yule, 1983). In human society, language not only enables people to think, inform, share and uncover information, but it is also one of the major tools for initiating and building social relations. Scholars (Okpeadua, 2016; Larson & Asbury, 2018; Zanden et al., 2019) assert that language can be used to contact a relationship, initiate or sustain a conflict.

In the past, conventional methods such as letter writing, intermediaries, and the exchange of flowers and gifts were commonly employed to convey expressions of affection (Thoen, 2006). However, with the advent of technology and the Internet, various contexts through which relationships, whether platonic or romantic, can be initiated have been expanded and one of them is social media. The domain of social media is vast and we can classify them into various typologies based on their functionalities, purposes, and modes of interaction (Kaplan & Haenlein, 2010). One of the typologies within social media encompasses online dating platforms, which serve as digital spaces for individuals to connect and form romantic relationships. These platforms, such as *Tinder, Match.com,* and *OkCupid,* provide users with tools and algorithms to search for potential partners based on various criteria, including interests, preferences, and geographical location. Users create profiles detailing personal information and photos and then engage in interactions such as swiping, messaging, and virtual dating. Online dating platforms offer a unique space for individuals to explore romantic connections in a digital environment, offering convenience and accessibility in the search for love and companionship (Finkel et al., 2012).

Online dating has become a well-known and popular strategy to find a romantic partner. Research shows that the fastest-growing way for potential partners to meet is by online dating. Moreover, 22% of the couples that met in 2015 met online (Rosenfeld & Thomas, 2017) and 74% of the singles in the US have signed up for a dating site (Tu et al., 2014). Reasons for the popularity of online dating are the technological changes that have made dating through the Internet available and efficient. The growing computer literacy has made internet dating more socially acceptable (Qaisar et al., 2020). Saleem (2014) observes that dating sites are fast replacing the traditional means of initiating a relationship. As a result of social networking sites that have infiltrated our everyday lives, meeting physically amongst youths in churches, parties, schools, and other areas has been replaced by meeting online. Love cards and messages have been replaced by text messages, pings, smiley symbols, and physical meetings have been replaced by video conferencing, skype and other streaming platforms available online. Dating sites are remodelling the world of love and romance by playing the role of matchmakers. This implies that dating sites will continue to be a medium for people to meet easily, socialize and become acquainted online.

One of the most important elements of a relationship especially in online dating is language. As posited by Lindh (2019) and Pie and Jurgens (2020), language serves a variety of functions in relationships. It can be an index of relationship status, an instrument of relationship maintenance

or change, or the embodiment of essential relationship characteristics such as autonomy and interdependence. Meijer (2014) asserts that language use can severely affect the disposition and impression of online potential partners towards each other. This is more so because online dating is language-based. In face-to-face communication, nonverbal cues such as vocal intonation or gestures account for more of a receiver's perception of a sender's effect than the actual verbal content does (Huang, 2016; Nabila, 2019). In online dating, as in computer-mediated communication in general, such nonverbal cues are absent. Here, linguistic traits of a message, with which a person approaches a target, can serve as signals of the sender's impression and attraction. Ireland, Slatcher, Eastwick, Scissors, Finkel, and Pennebaker (2011) noted that when people in relationships talk to one another, their conversations often serve as the basis of their attraction. Language use and various forms of interaction, according to Jacobson (2007), will help to build a growing intimacy and lessen the uncertainty between two individuals who do not yet know each other well. All these show that language is knitted into the fabric of an intimate relationship, especially in the digital space which is frequently language-based. No doubt, over the years, with the increasing acceptance, popularity and usage of various dating sites, there have been rich scholarly studies committed to the issue of language use on such platforms. Most studies examined the aspect of language error, linguistic behaviours and genuineness (Toma & Hancock, 2012; Meijer, 2014; Zanden, Schouten, Mos & Krahmer, 2019; Zanden, Schouten, Mos, Lee & Krahmer, 2019). Some of the works focused on interaction patterns in an intimate relationship which are different from online dating (Pei & Jurgens, 2020; Robinson et al., 2020; Stasiuk, 2021) while other studies examined the roles of linguistic cues and properties on impression formation, attraction and intimacy (Rosen et al., 2008; Ma et al., 2018; Lee et al., 2019; Nabila, 2019; Lin et al., 2012). Thus, the structure of online dating interaction has not been fully explored and cannot be effectively determined from these studies. Little attention has been devoted to the linguistic approaches that interlocutors employ to interact and negotiate formalities, differences, attachment and intimacy on dating sites. Therefore, this study attempts to fill this gap by cataloguing the patterns that characterize the interactional structure of potential partners on selected dating sites. Specifically, this study attempts to:

a) catalogue the patterns that characterize the interactional structure of potential partners in online dating discourse;

b) identify the linguistic elements that characterize the interactional structure of potential partners in online dating discourse.

To achieve the aim, the study provided answers to two key research questions: 1) What are the patterns of interaction among potential partners in online dating discourse? 2) What are the linguistic elements that characterize the interactional structure of potential partners in online dating discourse?

2. METHODOLOGY

The study adopted a linguistically focused approach to examining the structure of online dating interactions. Data were collected from two selected social media dating sites: *Tinder* and *Tagged*. These platforms were purposively chosen due to their popularity among Nigerian youths, which ensures a rich source of interaction data relevant to the study's demographic focus. The study involved thirty participants (potential partners), whose relationships on these platforms ranged from two weeks to three months. These included nineteen participants from Tinder and eleven

from Tagged with a mix of genders and ages ranging from 18 to 30 years old. The relatively small sample size was due to the challenge of obtaining consent from users to share their private conversations for research purposes.

Participants were recruited through personal approaches, leveraging existing social networks to identify individuals active on Tinder and Tagged. They were informed about the study's objectives, and consent was obtained to use their conversations for research purposes. Ethical considerations were paramount in this study. Informed consent was obtained from all participants, who were fully informed about the study's purpose and methods. Participation was voluntary and only those who consented and made their chats available were included in the study. Data confidentiality and anonymity were ensured by removing personal identifiers such as names and contact information from the transcriptions and assigning unique codes to each participant. Data were securely stored, with digital files encrypted and physical documents locked away. Access was restricted to the researcher only.

A total of 600 conversations were analyzed, with an average of 20 conversation lines per interaction. Conversations were captured via screenshots, transcribed verbatim, and anonymized to protect participant privacy. The interactions ranged from initial greetings to more detailed exchanges, providing a comprehensive view of the interactional patterns in online dating. The transcriptions were segmented into meaningful units of interaction based on turns and exchanges. Personal identifiers were removed, and each segment was coded according to its functional role in the interaction, such as initiating, responding, or requesting. The coded data were analyzed to identify recurring patterns and structures in the interactions using the Generic Structure Potential (GSP) framework developed by Halliday and Hasan (1985). GSP is a linguistic method used to identify the underlying structure and functional components of interactions in discourse. This approach was chosen because it allows for a detailed examination of the interaction patterns and the ways participants negotiate intentions in online dating contexts.

3. THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK

The theoretical framework for this study is provided by Halliday and Hasan's (1985) Generic Structure Potential. The Generic Structure Potential (GSP) theory, proposed by Halliday and Hasan (1985), is a framework used to analyze discourse structures across various genres and contexts. It suggests that within any given discourse, there exists a set of potential structures or patterns that speakers or writers can draw upon to organize their communication effectively. These potential structures are not fixed templates but rather flexible frameworks that speakers can adapt based on communicative goals, audience expectations, and contextual factors. The term Generic Structure (GS) is used by systemic linguists to describe functional structures of texts which re-occur often in society. The Generic Structure adds to the meaning of the text which is interpreted based on the stage it is at or what function it serves. Generic structures are socially shared, thus, readers are exposed to multiple instances of generic structure and learn to recognise their structures. The knowledge of the structure of a text makes reading easy as the reader already has an idea of the function of each section (Omoniyi & Akinseye, 2020). Thus, according to Sunday and Fagunleka (2017), generic structure refers to the staging of the genre, its attendant sequencing and formalization within the cultural experience. It is how the elements of a text are arranged to match its purpose.

Halliday and Hassan's genre theory comprises two key elements: the Contextual Configuration (CC) and the Generic Structure Potential. The Contextual Configuration is a systemic concept that interprets the contextual variables of a communicative event, providing essential attributes that define the structure of the text. It delineates the structure of the text by identifying the values of these variables, allowing for statements about its organization. The Generic Structure Potential, introduced by Halliday and Hassan in 1989, refers to the entire range of textual structures available within a particular genre. It addresses the limitations of the contextual configuration by acknowledging potential elements, whether optional, obligatory, or recursive, that may occur in discourse. The Generic Structure Potential encompasses all textual elements relevant to the development of a genre, aiding in the analysis and description of specific applications within a broader classification. Therefore, while the contextual configuration is vital for establishing the structural unity of texts and their relationship with context, the Generic Structure Potential elucidates the possibilities for genre-specific textual development.

The concept of Generic Structure Potential (GSP) outlines both obligatory and optional elements within a genre, as well as the sequence and recursion of these elements. It suggests that a text's generic type is determined by the presence of obligatory elements specific to that genre. Melefa, Amoniyan and Adike (2020), echoing Halliday and Hassan (1985), emphasize the significance of contextual configuration in determining the structural unity of texts and its correlation with the context. They highlight the predictive capabilities of contextual configuration in text structure, including identifying obligatory and optional elements, sequencing, and recursiveness. GSP uses symbols like ^, [ ], ( ), { }, and <> to denote sequence, restriction, optionality, iteration, and recursiveness. These symbols aid in analyzing and understanding text organization, representing how elements are arranged and their stability, flexibility, and repetition within discourse interactions. The GSP serves as a framework for comprehending the structural characteristics of texts and their contextual configurations, providing insights into their organizational patterns.

In the context of online dating discourse, it is important to establish the GSP of online dating interactions to understand the interactional structure of the discourse and to account for the obligatory, optional, and recursive elements, as well as the sequence of these elements. The GSP theory is applied to this study to understand the recurring patterns or structures that shape interactions between individuals on dating platforms. These interactions typically involve the exchange of information, the establishment of rapport, and the negotiation of romantic interest. By examining the generic structure potential of online dating discourse, this study identifies common patterns of communication and analyzes how users employ these structures to achieve their communicative objectives.

4. RESULTS AND FINDINGS

The interaction patterns of potential partners in online dating sites are drawn using Generic Structure Potential (GSP) analysis. Seven stages are identified in the discourse of online potential partners. They are discourse initiation, introduction, question and response, request, admiration, definition of relationship and topic formation. The generic structure of these elements is presented below:

[DI] ^ (INTR)^ [QAR^ RQ^ (AD) ^ DDI^ TF]

The above catalogue reveals that there are five obligatory elements and two optional elements in the discourse. The obligatory elements in the discourse of online potential partners are discourse initiation (DI), question and response (QAR), request (RQ), declaration of dating intention (DDI) and topic formation (TF) while the optional elements are introduction (INTR) and admiration (AD). The caret sign (^) shows the sequence of the elements. The elements DI, QAR, RQ, AD, DDI and TF are restrained in terms of positions of occurrence. This implies that DI can only occur at the initial stage of the discourse after which INTR may follow. However, the restraints on QAR, RQ, AD, DDI and TF as a whole signify that the elements can occur at any position but within the constraints. Finally, the arrow shows the iteration of the element.

The framework of the interaction structure is given below:

Figure 1. Patterns of Interaction by Potential Partners in Online Dating
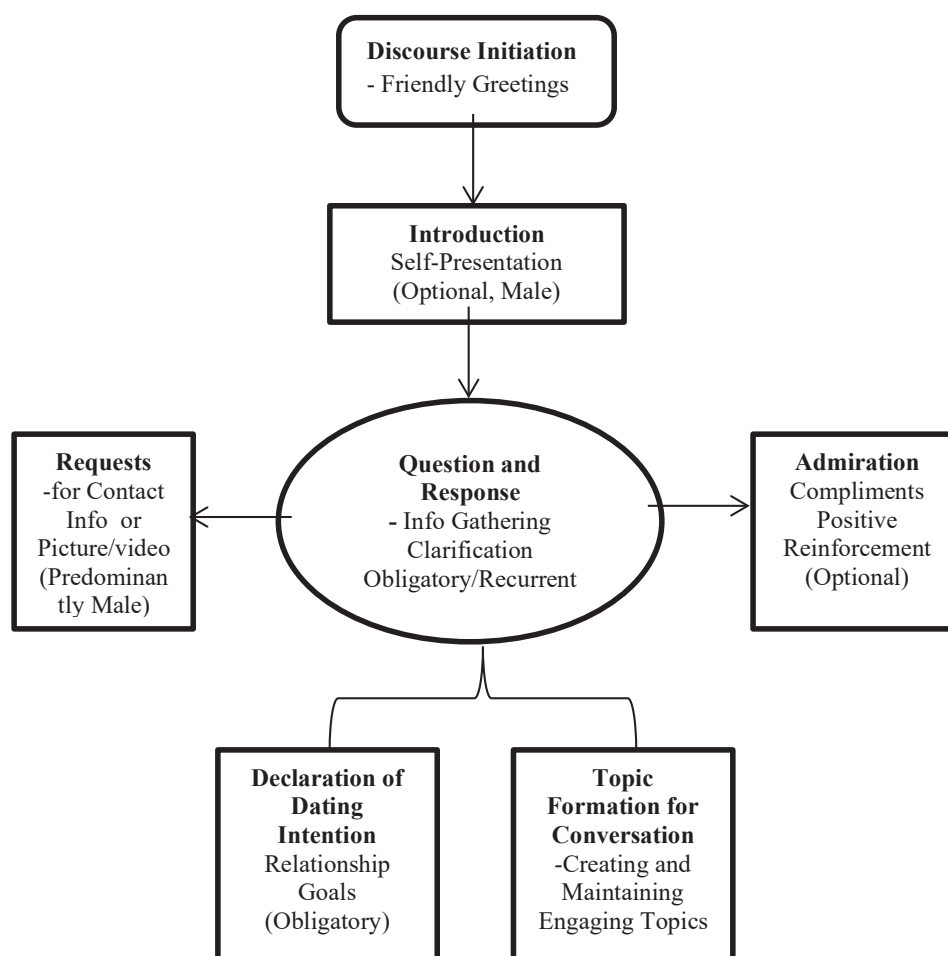
4.1. Discourse Initiation (DI)

Before any significant interaction can take place between two people who are initially strangers, there has to be an opening act which extends invitation to chat with the other interlocutor. Discourse initiation in online dating sites covers the opening stage of the discourse. This is characterized by a call for intention to interact with a potential partner. It mostly involves friendly, informal or casual greetings to attract attention of the other interlocutor.

It is important to note that greeting is a crucial aspect of human society. Through greeting, two strangers can start a conversation and simple greetings do give the feeling of being connected with others in some way. Greetings are a means for soon-to-be interlocutors to move from physical co-presence into social co- presence (Pillet-Shore, 2008). This shows greeting plays an essential role in initiating and sustaining a relationship. This initial stage sets the tone for the interaction by creating a welcoming and approachable atmosphere. Friendly greetings serve to break the ice and pave the way for more in-depth conversation, establishing the foundation for subsequent exchanges. The importance of this stage cannot be overstated, as it initiates the social bonding process and lays the groundwork for a potential relationship.

The data revealed that greetings are used by both male and female online potential partners to initiate discourse. 'Hi', 'Hello', 'Hey', 'Good evening. How are you doing?' are examples of friendly and informal greetings that are used to initiate conversation and signal interest. Also, some discourse initiators address the interlocutor directly by their names – 'Good evening, Tayo', 'Hi, Temi' – partly to strike a kind of connection.

Similarly, some greetings are accompanied by endearments such as 'baby', 'beauty', 'handsome', 'cutie', 'sweetie', 'pretty', 'honey', and 'dear', which reflect the discourse initiator's attempt to express romantic tinge and to declare attraction with the potential partner in order to receive a welcoming response. Though using endearments for a person one does not know well or has a close personal relationship with could be considered offensive by some people, yet, the data revealed that these endearments are signs of wanting to have a closer relationship with the soon-to-be interlocutor. As revealed in the study, the use of endearments is adopted by male as well as female potential partners.

Each time the two potential partners initiate a chat, even as a continuation of an ongoing conversation, there is often an attempt to greet the other interlocutor to signal interest in starting up a conversation. Once the other person acknowledges the greeting, this is a basic, welcoming sign. Thus, DI occurs at the initial stage of the discourse.

4.2. Introduction (INTR)

This is an optional element in online dating discourse and is peculiar to male interlocutors. It is considered optional because some interlocutors do not use this element in the discourse. The introduction is characterized by declarative statements providing personal information, such as names, occupations, and locations, to potential daters in order to strike familiarity and establish a positive impression. Male interlocutors in this category typically introduce themselves and share basic personal information as a way of creating familiarity and making a good impression. In the examples below, the original spelling and punctuation have been retained.

Example 1:
My name is Joshua
I am a student of UI
I am based in Lagos.

The speaker in the above example attempts to intimate the potential partner with information about himself as seen in 'My name is Joshua'. He introduces himself in a simple declarative form as a student as he may have perceived that the potential partner is also a student. Indexed by the

phrase 'I am based in Lagos', the introduction here signals a way of presenting oneself to the potential partner so that the other person can do the same.

Example 2:
Hello pretty. This is John from Port Harcourt. Went through ur profile and it really attracted me. You look so beautiful and wonderfully created, will love to know you better.

In example 2, the speaker introduces himself and states his intentions to the other interlocutor. Providing information that he already went through her profile communicates his interest to the hearer. The lexical items 'attract' and 'beautiful' are indexical of his interest in the potential partner. These words are to appeal to the emotion of the potential partner so as to give a response to the conversation he has initiated. This implies that an introduction is meant to give a potential partner a good impression about whatever the reason for initiating the chat and to familiarize potential partners with one another. Ellison, Heino, and Gibbs (2006) noted the importance of self-presentation in online dating. By providing personal information such as names, occupation, and location, interlocutors attempt to build a sense of trust and connection. This self-disclosure fosters a sense of authenticity and reliability, which are crucial for establishing a meaningful connection. The act of introducing oneself not only conveys basic information but also signals a willingness to be open and transparent, essential qualities for building trust in a digital context.

4.3. Question and Response (QAR)

The GSP catalogue reveals that the question and the response are an obligatory element in the discourse of online potential partners. This element does not have a fixed position as it can occur at any position and recur throughout the whole conversation. The interlocutors in online dating discourse make use of interrogative sentences in their conversations as potential partners have to ask questions about one another and clarify confusion. It is not surprising because at this stage there is more to be known about one another.

Question and Response is an obligatory element as most conversations between the interlocutors, especially at the early stage of the relationship, are in the form of questions and answers. Both male and female interlocutors make use of this element which not only opens up communication but also reveals interlocutors' personalities, interests, values and goals. This study identifies two types of questions, such as wh-questions and polar questions. Wh-questions are questions starting with the 'wh'-words, such as what, when, where, who, whom, whose, why and how, while polar questions are questions that require yes or no answers. We have both instances of wh-questions and polar questions in the online dating discourse. This facilitates information exchange, mutual understanding and uncovering personal details and preferences, thereby opening up communication channels. Below are the examples of the question and response elements from the conversations.

Example 3:
M: Where are you testing from?
F: Ibadan
M: Ohh cool. I stay in Ibadan too. Where in Ibadan are you testing from?
F: Bodija
M: I stay around Ringroad. What do you do?

F: I am a student and a fashion enthusiast/designer
M: Let me guess, do you school in UI?
F: Yes. What gives you the nudge? .....What about you? What do you do in Ibadan?

Through the question and response style, as seen in the above conversation, information about the location and occupation of the interlocutors has been revealed. The male interlocutor who assumed the lead role was able to make enquiries on the town the lady lives, the specific area as well as what she does. The lady, on the other hand, provides responses and also takes turns in the interrogative conversation. Exchanging roles of the interrogator in the conversation means both are interested in knowing each other. Wh-questions (what and where) are majorly used to elicit information. The responses to the questions give room for more questions which continue to open gaps for communication.

Example 4:
M: How are you doing?
F: Not bad. You?
M: Quite well… how has your day been?
F: Busy. Market is kinda busy
M: You make the market runs?
F: Yeah. For business
M: Neat.. What's your business?
F: Well, I flatter ladies figures
M: meaning?
F: I make ladies dress
M: Oh, lovely.

In example 4, interrogative functions of the sentences have assisted the interlocutors in familiarizing and negotiating meaning. The interrogative sentence led to the understanding of why the female potential partner had gone to the market and the nature of the business she went to conduct there. Asking questions and making follow-up questions to responses not only show interest but also assist in getting clarification of intentions as seen in understanding the figurative sentence 'flatter ladies figures'.

From the above examples, question and response is an obligatory part of any effective interaction process in dating sites. Without this segment, formality may never be broken and familiarity may not take place. This shows most sentences of interlocutors at the early stage are interrogative in use. It uncovers the demographic information of the interlocutors and allows them to understand each other in the way they want to be seen. This stage not only facilitates communication but also reveals personal interests, values, and goals, essential for determining compatibility (Hancock et al., 2007). Asking and answering questions allows individuals to explore each other's personalities, preferences, and compatibility more deeply. This exchange of information is pivotal in assessing whether both parties share common interests and values, which is critical for the potential success of the relationship.

4.4. Request (RQ)

This is also an obligatory element employed mostly by male potential partners. Here, the request according to the data gathered goes in two ways. First, the request could be for the phone number of the potential partner, and second, the request could be for photos and videos of the potential partner. Out of the thirty conversations examined, 28 requested the phone number with the intention of calling and moving the chat to a different application which could afford a real-time conversation. However, only 8 out of the data corpus requested for pictures and 3 for videos. It means that the request is an obligatory element in online dating discourse. This is characterized by the use of modal verbs to indicate a desire to move the conversation to a more personal platform or to obtain further information (e.g., phone numbers, and photos).

Example 5:
M: Can we mingle?
F: Lets see how it goes
M: Can I have ur contact?
F: 08163524413
M: Whatsapp?
F: Yes
M: Okay. I will chat u up.

In the example above, the male interlocutor constructs the request as the one of possibility in his use of modality. The modal verb 'can' helps him to construct the request as a permission in which the lady has the choice to accede or deny. Modality is used here not only to express the attitude of the interlocutor towards initiating a romantic relationship with the potential partner ('can we mingle') but to request her phone number after receiving an affirmation that both of them can mingle. The request for the phone number then is to enhance the relationship. Having personal contact with the potential partner will allow them to exchange calls and texts outside the dating sites.

Example 6:
M: Whatsapp?
F: What happened to Whatsapp?
M: Can we move text to whatsapp?
F: Why not?
M: 08160683431
F: 081…

Similarly, interlocutors exchanged contacts in example 6, not necessarily to call each other but to change the chatting context. The male interlocutor's intention of collecting the Whatsapp contact of the potential partner leads to the emergent end of exchanging phone numbers with the potential partner. This is also seen in the example below.

Example 7:
M: Pls, can we talk better on phone?
F: You are asking for my phone number?
M: Yes. So we can talk better
F: Sorry, not so comfortable with that
M: want to be ur good friend and having ur number will make it easier
F: Okay. 081.....
M: Is it ur whataspp?
F: Yes.
M: we talk better there.

In example 7, the female hesitated in giving the contact but she eventually gave it out on the basis that it will make being good friends easier. The major aim of the request for the phone number is to move or continue the chat on *WhatsApp.* This could be because most dating sites are guided by strict rules and violation could mean losing one's account on the site. Once a person loses their account, they lose access to the friends met on the site. In this case, based on the insecurity of holding on to friends for long on dating sites, potential daters often seek to change the context of chatting to *WhatsApp,* which is spontaneous, less formal and less regimented. Most interlocutors on dating sites prefer to move their conversations to platforms like *WhatsApp* which offer real-time chatting and the ability to easily transfer documents, photos, and videos. This transition often occurs because dating sites can have more restrictions and less immediacy in communication. As a result, dating sites serve as the initial point of contact for meeting potential partners, while *WhatsApp* becomes the platform where these relationships are further developed and maintained. This preference echoes the findings of McLaughlin and Vitak (2012), who emphasized the importance of multi-platform communication in maintaining online relationships. By transitioning to more dynamic communication platforms, users can engage in real-time conversations and share multimedia content, which enhances the interaction's richness and immediacy. This move also suggests a progression in the relationship, indicating a desire for more personal and direct communication.

Also, a request for pictures and video is an element used mostly by male interlocutors. Based on the fact that online potential partners could be distanced from each other and need enough evidence in the mental frame to paint a vivid picture, thus, online potential partners often request pictures. These pictures could be random pictures or a selfie in a specific posture and location.

Example 8:
Can you send me few pics. I want to gaze at the beauty even more.
(Received two pictures)
OMG!!! You are So BEAUTIFUL. Can I get more? I don't mind video.

Example 9:
I will love to see you every minute of the day. Would u send me picture of you every day?

There is an overt request for pictures in examples 8 and 9. In example 8, the interlocutor felt the need to see more of the "pretty lady" and requested her pictures. After receiving two photos, he admired them, offered compliments, and then requested more. In example 9, requesting pictures is a way for the interlocutor to get closer to the potential partner over time.

4.5. Admiration (AD)

This is an optional element in online dating discourse. It involves passing compliments and positive affirmations on the pictures or the little things interlocutors have heard about the other. According to the data gathered, this is characterized by the use of words and phrases with positive connotations to uplift the other interlocutor or to make the other person feel valued and to establish a positive interaction tone. Communicating compliments aims to show love, appreciation, and respect for the potential partner.

Example 10:
M: I must say you are really beautiful and kinda inclined to want to know you a little better
F: You have got the young lady blushing
M: Not my intention though but I am glad to put a smile on your face.

Example 11:
Wow! You look amazing! I really love the new outfit. It looks great on you!

Example 12:
I am so excited to chat with you. You're an inspiration!

Example 13:
Deyosola. Your name is so unique. Let me say it again. And I love the way it sounds. Sounds familiar but not actually familiar.

Whether these words are genuine or exaggerated, interlocutors attempt to express affectional compliments that could present them as someone who cares and pays attention to the details and who is attracted to the potential partner. In example 10, the interlocutor has passed a compliment on the physical appearance of the potential partner (observed in the profile picture) as beautiful. The interlocutor in example 11 commented on the outfit while the interlocutor in example 13 saw the name as unique. It appears as if each interlocutor seeks a particular thing to compliment the other. Not to sound like mere flattery, the interlocutors focus on a particular aspect which they have seen or observed to pass compliments and admiration. Compliments serve to make the potential partner feel valued and appreciated, fostering a positive interaction dynamic. Expressions of admiration can boost the recipient's self-esteem and create a sense of mutual appreciation, which is conducive to developing a romantic relationship (Derlega et al., 2008). The strategic use of compliments can therefore enhance the emotional connection between the interlocutors.

4.6. Declaration of Dating Intention (DDI)

Declaration of Dating Intention is an obligatory element in online dating discourse. The definition of relationship which is given at some point in the discourse can be described as the focus of the discourse. Many people on dating sites have a major singular intention for using dating apps – finding a potential partner with which one can start a relationship (whether ending to be romantic or platonic) (Zanden, 2021). For this to be achieved, it has to be mutually agreed on by both

interlocutors. Hence, there is always an obligation for both interlocutors to define the nature of the relationship when matched. Interlocutors, especially the male potential partner, want to define the relationship from the start.

Data corpus revealed that interlocutors define their intentions in direct and indirect ways. Direct and indirect questions about relationship status are asked to clarify the intent behind the interaction and define the nature of the potential relationship. This is often initiated by male interlocutors to understand the female's relationship status, intentions or the type of relationship they want to start on the dating site.

Example 14:
M: Are you in a relationship?
F: No
M: Can we mingle?
F: Lets see how it goes.

Example 15:
M: Would love to meet you
F: Really!. No Wahala
M: I hope you are single so I can shot my shot!?
F: Lol. Yes, I am single
M: Greatest thing I ever heard today.

Both examples 14 and 15 are indirect attempts of the interlocutors to express their relationship proposition to the potential partners. Indirectly inquiring about the relationship status in both examples signifies that they have dating intentions. In example 14, the male interlocutor initially made an enquiry on whether the potential partner was already in a relationship. With the negation, he saw that as an opportunity to declare his interest in starting a relationship with her. Understanding that the question 'Can we mingle?' is to ask if it was possible for them to start a relationship, the potential partner took a neutral stand. She was neither affirmative nor negative about it. She would rather wait and see the eventual turnout of things before she makes her final decision. Similarly, the interlocutors in example 15 towed the same part. The male was keen about knowing her status before he popped the question to her. Here, 'Yes, I am single' is taken as an affirmative response which means he stands a good chance to start a relationship with her.

Example 16:
M: Pls, can we be friends if you don't mind?
F: Friends we are
M: More than dis….
F: I hope so.

Rather than inquiring about the lady's relationship status, the male interlocutor in example 16 took the step of asking if they could be friends. The meaning of 'friend' is privatized in the male's case to mean a romantic relationship. The lady, who does not share the intended meaning of this concept, has to agree that they are already friends. Then, the male explicates that he wanted them to be more than friends. The meaning of 'more than friends' here seems to be mutually shared.

However, some interlocutors do not ask personal questions about the relationship status of the female. They first ask about the objectives of using the dating app. To them, figuring out the motive would indirectly help in nudging them towards the kind of relationship they would initiate with the person.

Example 17:
M: So what are you down for?
F: Friendship
M: You are not into hookups?
F: I don't do hookup.
M: Okay. Good night.

Example 18:
M: What are you looking for on the site?
F: Why do people ask this question tho. Why don't we start with what you are looking for?
M: Hook ups dey her so before going into deep conversation gats know pplz notion. Me am in for anything I meet I just don't hook up coz it's weird
F: Hmm. I see. A lot of guys that go 'I'm not into hookups ' are actually looking for free hookups. Disguise like they are looking for friendship
M: Its not like that. I just want to be sure.

In the above examples, the interlocutors attempt to negotiate the motive behind being on the dating app. This is to indirectly express their interest and intentions on the sort of relationship they want. In example 17, the male is frank about his real intentions, which are far from having platonic relationships. This, he showed by asking the lady what she was down for. Interest was not mutual. Here, 'goodnight' was a way for the male interlocutor to opt out of the conversation since the intentions were not mutually shared. The female in example 18 considered this style as offensive. She had obviously been asked that question a number of times by other male chatters. However, the asker explained that he was looking for a friend rather than a sexual partner.

All the above examples are consciously seeking to express dating intentions and set boundaries from the start. Whether for friendship, dating or hookups, the interest is negotiated from the beginning. Some whose intentions do not align quit chatting and those who find intentions mutual simply continue interacting till they move the conversation from the dating site to WhatsApp. The move does not mean coherence of intention between the two interlocutors is achieved, but it means they have already broken the ice and can continue interaction on WhatsApp without any formalities. This element reflects the goals of online dating users as noted by Whitty (2008), who found that clear communication of intentions is vital for successful online dating experiences. By explicitly stating their intentions, individuals can avoid misunderstanding and ensure that both parties are on the same page regarding the relationship's direction.

4.7. Topic Formation for Conversation (TF)

In order to keep the line of communication open, there are often conscious attempts to create the topic by both interlocutors. This is an obligatory element in a successful conversation. This element is used by both interlocutors who want to continue interaction. This is usually done implicitly through jokes, opening up on the day's occurrences and games. It contains statements and

questions about daily activities and interests to sustain the conversation by introducing new topics and keeping the interaction dynamic and engaging. This helps build rapport and deepen the connection between the interlocutors.

Example 19:
M: How was work today?
F: Good. Been training a new lady who'll be working with me so its been pretty busy at work. What about yours?
M: Work has been pretty packed for me too. I need to cool off with a movie
F: You love movies?
M: I do. That's how I cool my head off after hard day's work
F: What sort of movie do you like?
M: Action movies
F: What about it that cools you off?
M: Everything I guess! The shooting fighting, running.. you know these things are kinda refreshing for me
F: And I don't like them because of the fighting and killing!!
M: We should watch one together someday. Maybe find one that isn't highly rated.

Example 20:
M: How was your day?
F: Stressful. Tuesdays are not my fave this semester. 8hours class, 6 at a stretch, personal errands..
M: That's Nigerian education for you. If you could live anywhere else in the world, where would it be?
F: Hmmm… Nigeria
M: Nigeria? Ain't you tired of the country yet?
F: Perhaps. But this is the country I have even known where I can predict the traits of her people
M: Funny you. So you mean you can predict Nigerians' traits?
F: To a considerable extend
M: We are complex individuals, I hope you know. Can you predict my individualities?
F: Specifically what should I predict about u?
M: You are the predictor. You tell me….

Both interlocutors in examples 19 and 20 open up about their daily experiences in their conversations. Through the discussion on how they spent their day, the interlocutors create topics that eventually lead to the emergence of new knowledge. This implies that most times, the topic is formed from what is culled from the daily events discussed. This element enables potential partners to express their stances on various propositions in the discourse. They argue and agree on various viewpoints, which allows them to overcome formality, build trust and sustain the attention of each other. This element is essential for sustaining interaction and building a deeper connection, consistent with the findings of Sharabi and Caughlin (2017) on the importance of conversational engagement in online dating. Engaging in meaningful and stimulating conversations helps

maintain interest and keeps the interaction dynamic. This ongoing dialogue allows both parties to explore various aspects of each other's personalities and experiences, thereby deepening their connection and enhancing the potential for a lasting relationship.

5. DISCUSSION AND CONCLUSION

This study has investigated the interaction patterns of potential partners on online dating sites, utilizing Generic Structure Potential (GSP) analysis. The findings reveal seven key stages in the discourse: discourse initiation, introduction, question and response, request, admiration, declaration of dating intention, and topic formation. These stages exhibit both obligatory and optional elements, illustrating a structured yet flexible pattern of communication. Discourse initiation and question and response are crucial for breaking the ice and establishing mutual understanding, while requests often signify a desire to deepen the relationship by moving the conversation to more personal platforms like WhatsApp. Introduction and admiration serve as optional elements that enhance familiarity and express affection. Declaration of dating intention is pivotal in defining the nature of the relationship, whether for friendship or romance, while topic formation ensures the continuity of conversation by creating engaging and relatable discussion points.

Each stage is marked by specific linguistic features and serves unique functions within the communication process. Discourse Initiation (DI) involves friendly greetings and endearments to initiate conversation and signal interest. Introduction (INTR), though optional, often includes declarative statements that provide personal information, establishing familiarity and a good first impression. Question and Response (QAR) utilizes interrogative sentences to facilitate information exchange and mutual understanding, while Request (RQ) involves polite modal verb constructions to move the conversation to more personal platforms or obtain further information, predominantly used by male interlocutors. Admiration (AD), also optional, consists of compliments and positive affirmations to express appreciation and create a positive interaction tone. Declaration of Dating Intention (DDI) features direct and indirect questions about relationship status to clarify the intent behind the interaction and define the nature of the potential relationship. Finally, Topic Formation for Conversation (TF) involves statements and questions about daily activities and interests to sustain the conversation and build rapport. These linguistic elements are essential in constructing the interactional framework within online dating discourse. They provide the means through which potential partners navigate their conversations, express their intentions, and build relationships.

This study provides valuable insights into the linguistic elements and interactional structures characteristic of online dating discourse on platforms like Tinder and Tagged. The findings highlight how participants use greetings, introductions, questions, requests for contact information, admiration, declaration of dating intentions, and topic formation to negotiate and establish potential romantic relationships. The findings of this study align with existing research on online dating interactions. Pillet-Shore's (2008) work on greetings, Ellison, Heino, and Gibbs (2006), Zanden et al. (2019) on self-presentation, and Hancock, Toma, and Ellison (2007), and Larson and Asbury (2018) on information exchange all support the identified stages. Additionally, McLaughlin and Vitak's (2012) insights on multi-platform communication, Derlega et al.'s (2008) findings on admiration, and Sharabi and Caughlin's (2017) emphasis on conversational engagement further validate the structured yet flexible patterns observed in this study.

However, this study could neither cover all the dating sites, nor all the intimate conversations of potential partners. Due to the nature of the intimacy of the data samples, many participants were not interested in releasing their private chats. Those who released theirs did not give the

whole conversations for the periods used and intimate conversations in successful relationships with partners on the dating sites were rarely available. Thus, this study was only able to catalogue interaction patterns of incipient relationships. This implies that there are other research outlets that could still be explored. The relatively small sample size and the challenge of obtaining consent for private conversations may impact the generalizability of the findings.

Despite these limitations, the implications of these findings extend beyond the realm of online dating and offer valuable contributions to the study of professional discourse. Understanding the nuanced ways individuals initiate and sustain conversations can inform best practices in fields such as customer service, counselling, and online education. For instance, the strategies for building rapport and trust observed in online dating can be applied to professional settings where establishing a connection is crucial. Moreover, the emphasis on multi-platform communication reflects the growing importance of digital literacy in professional interactions. By recognizing these patterns, professionals can enhance their communication skills, which may lead to more effective and meaningful interactions in their respective fields. Further studies are needed to determine the pattern of interaction in successful relationships. Also, further studies could be carried out on other dating sites beyond the two popular dating sites in this study. In addition, further investigations could be made by comparing the interaction patterns and negotiation strategies of Nigerian participants and participants of other ethnic and cultural backgrounds on dating sites.

Conflict of Interest
The author states that there is no conflict of interest.

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ИНКОРПОРАЦИЯ ГИБРИДНОГО ОБУЧЕНИЯ В СИСТЕМУ ВЫСШЕГО ОБРАЗОВАНИЯ

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Аннотация: Технологии гибридного обучения активно входят в научный дискурс современного педагогического пространства, как вызывая опасения общественности за качественный уровень отечественного образования, так и получая положительные отклики, связанные с потенциалом цифровой среды обучения, реализуемой в гибридных аудиториях. Подобный формат обучения служит катализатором для улучшения качества преподавания и расширения доступности образовательных программ, однако существуют ограничения в виде мотивации онлайн-студентов и готовности преподавателей использовать современные педагогические технологии в цифровом пространстве. Цель данного исследования заключается в том, чтобы выявить достоинства и недостатки, возникающие при реализации педагогических практик в гибридном формате. Настоящее исследование строится на теоретических и эмпирических методах. В теоретической части исследования авторы провели анализ научной литературы по тематике научной работы. В эмпирической части исследования авторы провели опрос обще-

ственного мнения преподавателей и студентов высшего образования об обучении в гибридном формате. Результаты исследования показали, что у гибридного подхода есть определенные преимущества при организации панельных дискуссий; привлечении студентов, которые физически не могут присутствовать в аудитории; организации сетевых программ обучения, программ дополнительного профессионального образования и повышения профессиональной квалификации для организаций, часть сотрудников которых предпочитают подключаться онлайн. Выявлено, что большинство выделенных положительных аспектов более значимы для управленческого сектора, нежели для профессорско-преподавательского состава, большая часть которого выразила свои сомнения в эффективности внедрения гибридных технологий на постоянной основе. Среди явных недостатков гибридного обучения выделяется повышенная сопротивляемость профессорско-преподавательского состава внедрению новых технологий, ограниченное присутствие в свободном доступе научно-методической литературы, необходимость постоянного взаимодействия со службой технической поддержки. В особом фокусе внимания находится организация занятий по иностранным языкам, в частности, использование коммуникативной методики преподавания в гибридной аудитории – подсвечиваются проблемные аспекты, приводятся мнения информантов о существующих практиках и возникающих негативных тенденциях.

1. ВВЕДЕНИЕ

Oтечественная система высшего образования бережно относится к развитию личностного потенциала и аккумуляции совместного человеческого капитала. Цифровые реформы, которые выводят университеты на острие технологического прорыва, на современном этапе носят гуманистический характер – все больше исследователей настаивают на умеренном и оправданном использовании онлайн-технологий в обучении в контексте выполнения социализирующей функции вуза. Цифровая дидактика базируется на достижениях традиционной педагогики, и наибольшую эффективность показывают очные программы обучения, тем не менее, спроектированные с учетом новейших дистанционных технологий.

Риски полного перехода в онлайн-среду перевешивают потенциальную экономическую выгоду от упрощения модели функционирования высшего учебного заведения; анализируя учебные планы селективных университетов, занимающих достойное место во всевозможных рейтингах, возможно констатировать тенденцию вытеснения онлайн-курсов в пользу либо живого общения, либо использования смешанного цикла взаимодействия студентов и преподавателя. Редкие аудитории не оборудованы компьютерами и проекторами, на более высоком уровне оснащения частым явлением считается наличие интерактивных досок вместе с камерами, позволяющими организовать гибридное обучение, в рамках которого педагог одновременно взаимодействует с физически присутствующими студентами и подключившимися к занятию онлайн. В рамках нашего исследования предпринимается попытка выявления готовности высшего образования к полноценному внедрению гибридных

технологий на постоянной основе. Цель исследования преломляется в анализе недостатков и достоинств гибридного формата для эффективной реализации образовательных практик. Особое внимание мы обращаем на преподавание иностранных языков в контексте внедрения новейших цифровых технологий, так как методические подходы в современном дискурсе лингводидактики требуют осмысления проблемных зон и сложностей при реализации коммуникативной методики, вне зависимости от содержательного компонента учебного курса.

2. ОБЗОР ЛИТЕРАТУРЫ

После полного перехода на дистанционный формат обучения в период пандемии *COVID-19* стала очевидна значимость очного взаимодействия со студентами. Гибридное обучение является сегодня одним из ключевых направлений инновационного развития образования, несмотря на потенциальную критику, которой оно может подвергаться со стороны научно-педагогической общественности. На современном этапе интерес к изучению гибридного обучения проявляет широкий круг заинтересованных лиц, в числе которых исследователи, преподаватели, управленцы, представители высокотехнологичных компаний, разработчики программного обеспечения. Содержание данного понятия по-прежнему остается в какой-то мере дискуссионным (Качество образования в российских университетах, 2021; Баранников и др., 2023). При этом гибридный формат уступает очному обучению по ряду критериев: активность студентов, уровень вовлеченности и принадлежности, что может негативно сказываться на результатах обучения (Sweetman, 2021). Отмечается, что студенты, которые обучаются дистанционно, испытывают трудности в достижении образовательных целей, получают более низкие отметки, что в первую очередь связано со снижением вовлеченности при переходе в виртуальную образовательную среду (Curry, 2016; Глоба, 2022). Онлайн-обучение не только создает трудности для отдельных студентов, но и препятствует их вовлечению в групповые форматы работы. Показателями низкой вовлеченности студентов могут считаться выключенные камеры в ходе занятия или отказ от участия в общегрупповых дискуссиях. Цифровые технологии или инструменты имеют потенциал в поддержании дистанционного и гибридного обучения, однако важным является вопрос повышения вовлеченности студентов (García-Morales et al., 2021). Т. Чиу полагал, что при проведении дистанционных или гибридных занятий необходимо создавать пространство для социального взаимодействия студентов с целью повышения их лояльности и создания чувства принадлежности (Chiu, 2021). Другие ученые высказывали предположения о значимости юмора, интерактивных техник, а также элементов геймификации в проведении подобного рода занятий (Budhai & Skipwith, 2017; Erdoğdu & Çakıroğlu, 2021). Принимая во внимание тот факт, что при переходе к онлайн-обучению концентрация внимания у студентов ниже, чем у очных студентов, повысить эффективность гибридного обучения можно при помощи интервального обучения или интерливинга, предполагающего использование разнообразных учебных элементов, стратегического планирования хода занятия, интеграции систем виртуальной реальности, а также эмпирических методов обучения (Firth, 2020; Radianti et al., 2020; Koshti et al., 2022; Globa et al., 2022). Таким образом, для проведения гибридных занятий недостаточно выбрать подходящую платформу, надо четко структурировать учебный материал, прописывать сценарии занятия, на постоянной основе отслеживать уровень вовлеченности студентов, заранее продумывая варианты повышения их мотивации.

Исследователями не достигнут консенсус как в части определения приоритетных технологий реализации гибридного обучения, так и в вопросах его влияния на качество образования (Vo et al., 2017; Scaringella et al., 2022; Ulla, Perales, 2022). Еще в начале 2000-х в результате повсеместного распространения интернет-технологий стало активно обсуждаться смешанное обучение, которое на тот момент стали называть новой традиционной моделью (Ross & Gage, 2006). В последующих научных публикациях взаимозаменяемо стали использоваться два термина: гибридное обучение (*hybrid learning*) и смешанное обучение (*blended learning*) (Graham & Dziuban, 2008). На тот момент уровень развития цифровых технологий не позволял более четко дифференцировать данные понятия. В дальнейшем смешанное обучение стало в большей степени обозначать формат обучения, который подразумевал интеграцию разных образовательных техник: педагогических подходов, различных интернет-технологий, в частности, групповой работы, видеотрансляций, виртуальных аудиторий и др. (Driscoll, 2002). Таким образом, можно проследить, что в содержании понятия «смешанное обучение» выделяются два ключевых вектора: педагогический и технический (Alammary et al., 2014). Педагогический включает в себя вовлечение разных методов обучения: лекция, семинар, самостоятельная работа. Технический подразумевает взаимодействие с преподавателем при помощи современных технологий. В работах Р. Гаррисона и Х. Кануки (Garrison & Kanuka, 2004), Г. Смита и Х. Куртена (Smith & Kurthen, 2007) проводятся попытки дифференциации понятий смешанного и гибридного формата по соотношению долей онлайн- и офлайн-обучения. Другие ученые анализировали синхронность и асинхронность взаимодействия участников образовательного процесса как фактор дифференциации гибридного и смешанного обучения. Так как технологии тогда не могли еще в полной мере обеспечить синхронность дистанционного взаимодействия, то этот фактор не рассматривался (Garrison & Kanuka, 2004). В дальнейшем, напротив, с развитием технологий ряд ученых добавлял в название гибридного обучения характеристику «синхронное», тем самым, желая подчеркнуть значимость принципа синхронности (*synchronous hybrid learning*) (Khan, 2005; Margulieux et al., 2016; Raes et al., 2020). Гибридное обучение находится на стыке традиционного аудиторного обучения и онлайн-обучения, объединяя в себе черты обоих видов (Ананин, Стрикун, 2022). Использование термина «гибридный» в образовании подразумевает несколько свойств: синхронность участия и использование цифровых новшеств. Принципом смешанного обучения является использование как синхронных, так и асинхронных форматов на разных уровнях.

В данном контексте, значимым представляется осознание места гибридного образования в образовательной среде: в каких условиях целесообразно переходить на гибридный формат обучения, какие плюсы и минусы несут в себе данные интерактивные технологии – именно лакуны в данных вопросах и обусловили необходимость нашего исследования.

3. МАТЕРИАЛ И МЕТОДЫ

В рамках организации научно-исследовательской работы использовались как теоретические, так и эмпирические методы. Прежде всего, был проведен анализ научной литературы по теме, помимо этого применялись методы индукции, дедукции и категоризации. Эмпирическая база исследования основывалась на двух категориях информантов – одновременно были запущены онлайн-опрос студентов (511 человек) и полуструктурированные интервью

с преподавателями вузов (27 человек). Участниками выступили представители таких учреждений, как МГИМО, НИУ ВШЭ, МИРЭА, Балтийский федеральный университет имени Иммануила Канта, Российский экономический университет им. Г.В. Плеханова, РУДН, Российский Православный Университет, Unimi (Milan University), Сеченовский университет, Ростовский государственный медицинский университет. Среди этих университетов только у 19% не предусмотрен гибридный формат проведения занятий (таб. 1). Среди ограничений исследования назовем малую представленность зарубежных университетов, а также различную техническую оснащенность и материальную базу данных учреждений.

Таблица 1. Наличие гибридного формата обучения в вузах.
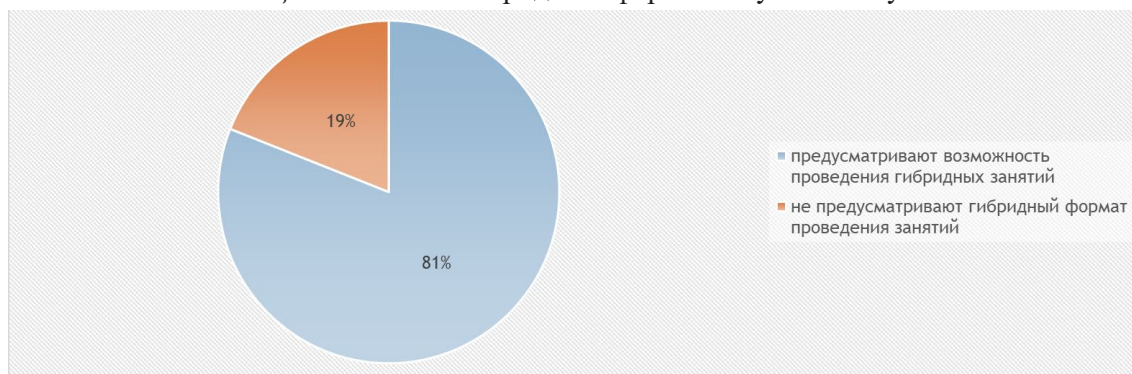
4. РЕЗУЛЬТАТЫ И ОБСУЖДЕНИЕ

В опросе студентов участвовали молодые люди, которые обучались на очной форме обучения, в возрасте от 18 до 23 лет. Большинство респондентов (87%) указали, что сталкивались с гибридными формами на непостоянной основе, однако, 67% от всей опрошенной аудитории указали на желание перенести часть занятий в такой формат, 18% высказались негативно, 15% - нейтрально (таб. 2).

Таблица 2. Каково ваше отношение к гибридному обучению (студенты)?

Структурировав указанные в свободной форме недостатки и плюсы организации гибридного обучения, опишем главные категории мнений на контрасте высказанных суждений. Абсолютное большинство опрошенных (86%) указывают на гибкость в организации занятий как на важнейший аргумент в пользу гибрида (таб. 3), подчеркивая возможность

совмещения с работой по причине сохранения времени, выделенного на дорогу до кампуса. Противники гибридного обучения (76%) считают, что расслабленность и отсутствие концентрации в образовательном процессе, которые часто характерны для обучения онлайн, подрывают устои качественного образования. Около трети опрошенных считают, что современные технологии позволят поднять качество обучения, при этом противники гибрида считают, что чрезмерная цифровизация и актуализация на методах преподавания, а не содержании образовательного курса могут причинить вред освоению программы (48%).

Таблица 3. Причины склонности к использованию гибридного формата обучения (студенты).

Почему вы бы хотели обучаться в гибридном формате сейчас?
920 ответов

Чтобы подключаться онлайн, когда болею	332	36.1%
Чтобы подключаться онлайн, когда не хочется выходить на улицу (погода, пробки и т.д.)	282	30.7%
Чтобы подключаться онлайн, когда я в командировке	184	20%
Чтобы в аудитории было меньше народу	72	7.8%
Другое	50	5.4%

Стоит сделать акцент на том, что около 54,5% опрошенных студентов предпочли бы присутствовать на занятиях онлайн. Таким образом, если внедрить свободный гибридный формат обучения, большинство студентов перейдет на дистанционное образование, что может негативно отразиться на образовании по причине огромного количества рисков. В связи с этим стоит уделить внимание составлению причин и правил перехода студента на дистанционное обучение при работе в гибридных аудиториях.

Таблица 4. Мнения студентов о переходе на дистанционный формат.

Если в вашем Вузе была бы предусмотрена возможность обучения в гибридном формате, вы бы предпочли присутствовать на занятии очно или дистанционно?
572 ответа

Онлайн	312	54.5%
Очно	260	45.5%

В целом, мнения студентов разделились, при этом никто из них не указал на желание полностью перейти в цифровую среду. На фоне различных интерпретаций одних и тех же факторов, нами была предпринята попытка интервьюировать преподавателей, которые имели прямое отношение к проведению данных гибридных занятий, с целью услышать в свободном диалоге возможные причины принятия или отторжения гибрида, равно как и оценить потенциал подобных технологий для массового образования.

Среди преподавателей 81% опрошенных отметили, что имели опыт работы в гибридном формате. Отмечая плюсы и минусы такого формата 13% опрошенных высказались "за" введение гибридной формы образования в своем вузе, из них половина не имела опыта

преподавания в гибриде. 31% опрошенных высказали негативное отношение к возможности преподавания в гибридном формате. Большинство же - 56% относятся к гибридной форме образования нейтрально (таб. 5).

Таблица 5. Отношение интервьюируемых к гибридной форме обучения (преподаватели).
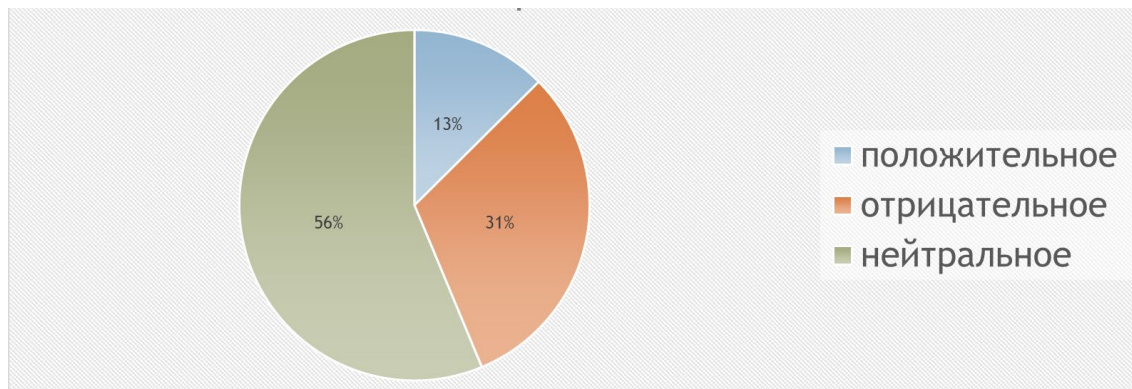
Среди минусов чаще всего указывались: низкая вовлеченность студентов, снижение качества образования, отсутствие контакта с преподавателем и преподавателя со всей аудиторией, отсутствие групповой динамики и возникновение "ощущения необязательности предмета". Здесь стоит отметить особенности направлений подготовки студентов, так, например, преподаватели медицинских ВУЗов отмечали невозможность в гибридном формате передачи части практических навыков.

В качестве плюсов внедрения гибридного формата респонденты проявили большое единодушие, отметив следующие: экономия времени и затрат на дорогу, непрерывность обучения (возможность присутствовать на занятиях в случаях болезни, командировки и т.д.) и гибкость расписания обучения.

При этом несколько опрошенных отметило, что вопрос использования гибридной формы обучения не является насущной проблемой образования. Интересно, что около 15% респондентов подчеркивают, что гибридная форма обучения подходит для проведения дополнительного профессионального образования, заочной формы образования, где уровень осознанности и вовлеченности обучающихся выше. В меньшей степени такая форма подходит для бакалавриата, так как не позволяет сформировать коммуникативные навыки обучающихся, которые в гуманитарных профессиях являются крайне важными.

Были выделены несомненные плюсы гибридного подхода, среди которых:

1. Организация панельных дискуссий, приглашение онлайн большего количества экспертов, которые могут сказать свое веское слово в обсуждении узконишевой проблемы;

2. Привлечение к программам студентов, которые физически временно не могут присутствовать в кампусе (пропуски по болезни, долгое получение визы иностранными студентами, командировки работающих студентов);

3. Возможности для предпринимательской активности университета путем трансляции собственных уникальных наработок, взаимодействия в программах двойных дипломов, сетевого сотрудничества, организации конференций, программ ДПО и т.д.

Отметим, что большинство выделенных положительных аспектов более значимы для управленческого сектора, нежели для профессорско-преподавательского состава, большая часть которых выразила свои сомнения в эффективности внедрения гибридных технологий на постоянной основе. Единогласно опрошенные согласились, что около 20-30% времени на таком занятии уходит на контроль работоспособности оборудования, уточнение процедуры выполнения задания при общении смешанных групп, решение технических проблем, которые возникают на стороне студентов.

Таблица 6. Возможные цифровые инструменты (анализ современных приложений)

Платформы для проведения ВКС в гибридной аудитории	MTC Link, Zoom, Teams, Яндекс.Телемост
Тесты и опросы	MyQuiz, Quizlet, Online Test Pad, Google Forms
Связь со студентами	BK, Telegram
Виртуальные доски	Miro, Ziteboard, Эсборд
Облачные сервисы	Яндекс.диск, Google Drive

Среди выявленных проблемных зон выделяются:

1. Глобальная повышенная сопротивляемость ППС внедрению новых технологий и нежелание менять свои цифровые привычки и устоявшиеся контуры педагогического дизайна;

2. Ограниченное присутствие на широком рынке или в свободном доступе научно-методической литературы, которая поможет эффективно проектировать сценарии занятий с учетом гибридного подхода;

3. Необходимость постоянного взаимодействия со службой технической поддержки, так как сетевое оборудование, равно как и настройки, могут сбиваться и требовать внимания специалистов;

4. Широкие возможности для нарушения академической этики;

5. Высокая стоимость создания качественной гибридной аудитории, которая предполагает наличие интерактивной доски, камеры, микрофона, отдельных гаджетов для студентов в кампусе при организации групповой работы со студентами;

6. Трудности при внедрении гибридного подхода для организации занятий по иностранным языкам и другими дисциплинам, где предполагается активное взаимодействие малых групп (коммуникативная методика);

7. Недавно возникшие санкционные ограничения, препятствующие использованию иностранных цифровых платформ, равно как и приобретению лицензий на готовые действующие продукты;

8. Невозможность использования гибридного обучения для всего университета, так как количество полноценных аудиторий, как правило, небольшое.

Таким образом, вышеуказанные проблемные зоны сдерживают активное распространение гибридных технологий. Крупные федеральные университеты могут своим волевым решением продвигать данный подход, инвестируя в материальную базу и обучение преподавателей, однако, менее значимые акторы не имеют условий для преодоления резистентной среды без поддержки академического сообщества.

5. ЗАНЯТИЯ ПО ИНОСТРАННЫМ ЯЗЫКАМ

Отметим, что одной из самых проблемных зон при организации гибридных занятий является поле иноязычного образования, несмотря на общую широкую разработанность темы. Во время пандемии преподавание языков онлайн показало ряд преимуществ по сравнению с традиционными методиками, так как динамично осваивались новые технологии. В последние годы достижения цифровой дидактики были активно перенесены в вузовскую аудиторию, так как в большинстве университетов есть компьютеры, проектор, стабильный Интернет. При организации гибридного занятия все преимущества коммуникативной методики могут нивелироваться за счет технических проблем, которые особенно ярко проявляются при командной работе. Прежде всего, всем участникам диалога в аудитории нужны отдельные гаджеты для связи со студентами онлайн, так как при разговоре нескольких групп одновременно становится некомфортно шумно, и теряется продуктивность дискуссии. Соответственно, для организации подобного формата работы необходимы дополнительные инвестиции в просторные аудитории и устройства для связи.

Таблица 7. Мнения информантов о гибридных занятиях по языкам

Информант 7	У нас не пошло. Возможно, все дело в отсутствии профессионального оборудования, но я уверена, что и с ним было бы неудачно. Прежде всего, сами студенты не хотели активно вовлекаться, находили отговорки. В аудитории я всегда могу контролировать процесс и управлять ходом занятия, а в гибриде повышенная зависимость от технических моментов.
Информант 11	Было очень сложно организовать дискуссию. Ребята из онлайна уверенно выступали, молодцы, камера выхватывала их лица, и мы даже понимали их артикуляцию. Но в обратном направлении процесс не шел – качество связи не позволяло передать речь студентов в аудитории, особенно тех, кто стеснялся говорить громко. В итоге класс просто разбивался на 2 части, и я как будто вел 2 занятия одновременно. Сложно. К этому можно привыкнуть, конечно, но я вот смотрю на свою кафедру и думаю – а захотят ли абсолютно все коллеги войти в этот эксперимент? Мне кажется, нет. Есть риск ухудшения качества занятий.
Информант 15	У нас есть несколько шикарных аудиторий, где одно удовольствие работать. Несколько камер, 2 интерактивных доски, подвешенные микрофоны. Но таких аудиторий мало, и при всем желании руководство вуза не сможет организовать занятия для всей кафедры. И тогда получится, что кто-то занимается в гибриде «на коленках» – слабые колонки, обычный Zoom на персональном компьютере, веб-камера, которая закреплена в одном положении. По мне, так лучше вообще без гибрида, чем вот с таким компромиссом.
Информант 21	Я провела всего одно занятие лично, хотя много слышала хороших отзывов от коллег, и даже посетила несколько лекций. Так вот, я собрала в этот день все возможные провалы – у меня завис компьютер, потом интерактивная доска перестала реагировать, в самом конце моей пары в нашем корпусе отключился интернет полностью! В общем, из 90 минут не меньше трети ушло на решение технических проблем, плюс я начала ужасно волноваться. Техники уверяли, что впервые такое видят, но мне кажется, они всегда так говорят. Как работать в таких условиях – мне трудно понять. Я готова, в принципе, попробовать и дальше, но только при постоянном присутствии технического специалиста рядом.
Информант 25	Я бы остался в гибриде, но на постоянной основе. Когда первая пара с мелом и тряпкой, а вторая – с букетом из самых последних технологий, я не понимаю, как мне готовиться к занятию, просто мозг кипит. Один и тот же материал я печатаю на принтере для одной группы, а для другой – создаю интерактивные тесты, прикрепляю картинки, вставляю видео. А студенты общаются между собой, и их недовольство тоже растет. Я и сам не рад – это абсолютно разные занятия, хотя учебник один и тот же.

6. ЗАКЛЮЧЕНИЕ

Отечественное образование не может находиться в стороне от мировых педагогических трендов, соответственно, гибридное обучение как феномен не должно игнорироваться в российской высшей школе. Становление независимой образовательной инфраструктуры, выдвижение России как мирового центра притяжения научных кадров предполагают активное использование цифровых технологий, в том числе соединение в одной аудитории студентов и лекторов, которые присутствуют физически вместе с подключающимися онлайн. Однако, возвращаясь к изначальной цели нашего исследования, мы вынуждены констатировать – гибрид как перманентное и единственное дидактическое и технологическое решение не может заменить собой все устоявшиеся формы обучения в вузе. Отметим, что опрошенные нами респонденты зарубежного университета указали на те же болевые точки и проблемные зоны, что и российские преподаватели, что подтверждает целостность образовательного информационного поля и единство векторов глобального развития системы высшего образования.

Таким образом, гибридное обучение выступает как точечный инструмент, как драйвер повышения качества преподавания и доступности уникальных образовательных программ, тем не менее, существуют ограничения – мотивированность студентов и готовность преподавателей взаимодействовать в цифровом формате. Для преподавателей иностранных языков гибридный формат является особенно сложным с технологической точки зрения, так как коммуникативная методика активно вовлекает участвующих в занятии в диалог по обе стороны экрана – данный фактор не только расширяет потенциал творческой активности, но и ставит вызовы перед всей командой организаторов такого курса.

Конфликт интересов

Авторы заявляют об отсутствии конфликта интересов.

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INTEGRATING HYBRID LEARNING INTO THE HIGHER EDUCATION SYSTEM: CHALLENGES AND OPPORTUNITIES

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Abstract: Hybrid learning technologies are increasingly being integrated into modern educational practices, eliciting both public concerns about the quality of education and positive feedback regarding the potential of digital learning environments in hybrid classrooms. This learning format acts as a catalyst for enhancing the quality of education

and broadening access to educational programs. However, challenges such as student motivation in online settings and teachers' readiness to use modern learning technologies persist. This research aims to analyze the advantages and disadvantages of hybrid learning. The study employs both theoretical and empirical methods. The theoretical component includes a comprehensive literature review on the topic. The empirical component involves (1) surveying higher education teachers and students about their perceptions of hybrid learning, (2) conducting classes in a hybrid format, and (3) comparing this format with traditional in-person and fully remote learning. The findings reveal that hybrid learning offers distinct advantages, particularly in organizing panel discussions, engaging students who cannot attend in person, and facilitating online programs, minor programs, and employee training. However, these benefits are more pronounced for administrative purposes than for teaching staff, many of whom express skepticism about the long-term effectiveness of hybrid technologies. Identified drawbacks include increased resistance from faculty during the adoption of new technologies, limited access to hybrid learning methodologies and resources, and the need for continuous technical support. Additionally, the study highlights specific challenges in using hybrid classrooms for foreign language instruction, which could be mitigated by increased investment in resolving technical issues.

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A ROAD TO SUCCESS IN LANGUAGE OLYMPIADS: A COMPREHENSIVE ANALYSIS OF EFL OLYMPIAD TASKS IN RUSSIA FROM INCEPTION TO 2023

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Abstract: Language Olympiads have been effectively used by Russian universities for enrollment purposes for years. Consequently, secondary and high school students are often coached to participate in these Olympiads to improve their chances of university admission. This research aims to trace the development and transformation of tasks used in EFL Olympiads over the past decade to identify the most common types, thereby providing school English language teachers with a clear framework to better prepare students for these competitions. Both quantitative and qualitative methods were used to analyze past Olympiad papers from 2015 to 2023. An in-depth analysis of the tasks in top language Olympiads revealed the predominance of tasks focusing on receptive skills, integrated skills, and cultural knowledge, in contrast to those assessing productive and creative skills. While tasks aimed at evaluating productive skills are largely absent in the elimination rounds, they account for more than 50% of the total score in the final rounds. Speaking tasks for secondary and high school students are minimally represented among the Olympiad tasks. Additionally, there is a noticeable trend toward assessing participants' knowledge of the history, literature, and culture of English-speaking countries, both directly and indirectly, while testing both receptive and productive skills. Moreover, tasks assessing integrated skills, which were previously the least common, are now gaining prominence. The findings suggest that preparation should focus more on skill development rather than on individual tasks. This shift would facilitate simultaneous preparation for multiple EFL Olympiads and improve students' performance in the short term. This study also contributes to the field of professional discourse and the teaching of English for Specific Purposes (ESP) by highlighting how the evolving nature of EFL Olympiad tasks can inform the development of targeted ESP curricula that better align with the communicative and cultural competencies required in academic and professional spheres.

Keywords: Language Olympiads, EFL teaching, task formats, exam preparation, skill acquisition, Bloom's taxonomy, alternative assessment.

1. INTRODUCTION

Russian education boasts its school Olympiads in a variety of subjects. There is no denying that those are excellent springboards for both secondary and high school students on their way to success. Not only do they prepare students for future challenges of University life, but they also guarantee the enrollees a place at the University of their choice in case of their exceptional performance in a specialised Olympiad (Federal'nyi zakon ot 29 dekabrya 2012 g. N 273-FZ "Ob obrazovanii v Rossiiskoi Federatsii", 2012).

Language Olympiads have always had a special place in the system of alternative non-traditional forms of assessment in Russia. They have been used as a method to recognise talent and outstanding abilities in young children for many decades (Kurasovskaya & Makhmuryan, 2018; Bolshakova, 2015). Now, more than ever before, due to the development of technology (and the impact of COVID-19 on the educational processes) and boost of distance and blended learning, participation in the language Olympiads has become accessible to children virtually in all regions, which allows the major universities in Russia to gain an insight into a broad cross-section of the young talents. As a result, universities can secure a diversity of applicants who show consistently high proficiency levels and engagement in educational programmes – a win-win situation for both sides.

The history of language Olympiads in Russia spans several decades, over which this alternative assessment of language proficiency has undergone significant transformation. Traditionally, initiated by language departments of established and well-esteemed universities, they served as a feat aimed at challenging potential enrollees in their programmes. Thus, the universities undertook the responsibilities of test development as they saw fit to meet the requirements of the curriculum. According to Gulov (2023, p.122), language Olympiads have turned into an alternative system of assessing the knowledge and abilities of schoolchildren which exists in parallel with the system of unified state exams.

Most language Olympiads vary in the task types, level of creativity, number of preliminary stages, and age groups of the test takers. This wide disparity might make the test challenging in terms of preparation and, thus, might deter both teachers and their students from embarking on the way to taking part in any Olympiad. One of the approaches to promote the accessibility of language contests might be to analyse the questions in past papers and demo versions of Olympiads available online. However, identifying a common denominator of those task types is an absolute imperative in developing a solid preparatory system for the potential Olympiad participants. This background work ensures that test takers can measure the amount of effort required to surmount each test type and thus alleviate the concerns of the parties involved.

Thus, the aim of this article is to shed light on the evolution of the task types used in EFL Olympiads, to explain the possible rationale behind the changes, and to highlight the most common tasks used to facilitate the work of a teacher.

Although students have ample information and access to resources to prepare for the competitions autonomously, they might lack external support and guidance through the abundance of information on offer.

One of the principles of exam preparation is the use of past papers and practice tests that might take up a significant proportion of the course time. When teachers aspire to prepare their students for a language Olympiad, they might review past papers and specific task types. However, it is not always possible to dwell on this for long due to the time constraints of the course. This idea generally concurs with other researchers' views (May, 1996; Umuerhi & Urheiwhu, 2023) that the overuse of practice tests contributes little to language development.

Another shortcoming of these papers as a primary ground for preparation is that they limit students' knowledge and language skills to a zone of proximal development (Vygotsky, 1978). That is, the context of a language contest might require them to tackle problems beyond the scope they handled in a preparation class (May, 1996; Kurasovskaya, 2013; Agakhanov & Marchukova, 2022), which means that it is not always possible to expand vocabulary resources through intensive exam practice alone or expose students to a vast variety of cultural aspects of the English-speaking countries. Bolshakova (2015) also maintains that Olympiads as an alternative type of language assessment require a significantly higher level of cognition and creativity than more traditional types of testing or examination.

On the other hand, students might expect to work on tasks that are similar to those covered in an Olympiad; otherwise, it might have low face validity if students do not think they will meet the same kind of tasks in the exam or in their academic studies (Harmer, 2007). Thus, it is suggested that students might need to obtain insights into the idiosyncratic nature of the language with its culturally conditioned constraints (Brown & Abeywickrama, 2010; Coombe & Hubley, 2009).

Therefore, the course aimed at preparing school students for the language Olympiad should consider the balanced development of skills as well as work on grammar and lexis rather than expect improvement from copious mock tests and past papers. Moreover, impossible as it may seem at first glance, it is feasible to use the same content to get ready for several language Olympiads simultaneously, as they use a very similar array of activities and tend to check a comparable set of skills and grammatical and lexical structures through homogeneous topics.

2. MATERIAL AND METHODS

To prove the point mentioned in the previous section, the authors have analysed the past papers of the top English language Olympiads from 2015 to 2023. The study used theoretical methods such as analysis of scientific and methodological literature on the topic including but not limited to documents on education and normative materials on education. Empirical methods include qualitative and quantitative methods. The former were used to analyse the topics of the tasks, lexical and grammatical structures tested, and the format of the tasks; the latter were employed to compare and contrast the number of specific tasks used in Olympiads as well as to pinpoint the most frequently used ones. The in-depth analysis of the types of tasks allowed us to identify the most common features the tasks display and to highlight the current precedence of receptive skills, integrated skills, and cultural knowledge checking questions over productive and creative skills.

2.1. Research Background

It is undeniable that Olympiads, as a type of competition, lay the groundwork for future success. The ability of adolescents to generate ingenious decisions and think outside the box might help them in the future to manage the unknown – the skill that is acquired over a span of time and with sufficient effort on their side. Being perhaps the first competition in their lives, it is hardly the last one.

Thus, it is the work of a teacher to help their students overcome the difficulties with the least effort applied, especially for high school students who feel pressure mounting in their last three school years (Smagulov & Smagulov, 2018) when they are supposed to prepare for their final examination. This challenge should encourage teachers to generate an ultimate solution that would develop fundamental skills rather than tackle a specific task type. Having developed the skills necessary to deal with a variety of tasks that fall into a particular category, students will be able to handle the types of tasks that they did not consider during the preparation stage.

We suggest that teachers should teach their students skills within the following categories:

- Reading: macro and micro reading skills;
- Listening skills;
- UoE (Use of English): grammar and vocabulary;
- Writing: process and product writing;
- Speaking: discourse management and language.

Moreover, teachers are also accountable for the cultural proficiency of their students and should highlight the importance of being well-versed in the past and present socio-cultural milieu of the country/countries where the language is official and widely spread. The initial introduction to the culture could be implemented through the exposure of the students to audio or written texts on a variety of topics that might constitute the scope of areas presented in a language Olympiad. Such texts could lay an excellent foundation for the language study where students could notice grammatical structures or the range of vocabulary which could be later deployed in either speaking or writing tasks on similar topics.

2.2. Top Language Olympiads

This section will discuss the major EFL Olympiads for Russian secondary and high school students. Over the last decade, more than a dozen universities around Russia have created and conducted Olympiads in the English language for secondary and high school students. They also applied to the Russian Council on Olympiads (RCO) at the Ministry of Science and Higher Education of the Russian Federation to get credited with one level. The higher the level of the Olympiad, the higher the number of universities throughout the country that will enrol those showing exceptional performance. The first statement issued by the RCO in 2013 (Prikaz Ministerstva obrazovaniya i nauki Rossiiskoi Federatsii (Minobrnauki Rossii) ot 30 dekabrya 2013 g. № 1421 Ob utverzhdenii Perechnya olimpiad shkol'nikov na 2013/14 uchebnyi god, 2013) had only 10 EFL Olympiads with no levels assigned. The last one, issued in August 2022 (Prikaz Ministerstva obrazovaniya i nauki Rossiiskoi Federatsii (Minobrnauki Rossii) ot 30 avgusta 2022 g. № 828 Ob utverzhdenii perechnya olimpiad shkol'nikov i ikh urovnei na 2022/23 uchebnyi god, 2022),

contains a list of 13 Olympiads, ranging from level 1, which allows its winners to matriculate without exams, to level 3, which might give some extra points to the winners' portfolios while entering Russian universities. All in all, there are 16 EFL Olympiads in the English Language registered from 2013 to 2023:

1. The Olympiad of the Lomonosov Moscow State University and Moscow Komsomolets Publishing House, hereinafter referred to as the Sparrow Hills Olympiad or **MSU**;
2. The Olympiad of Saint Petersburg University, hereinafter referred to as the SPBU Olympiad or **SPBU**;
3. The Olympiad of the Lomonosov Moscow State University, hereinafter referred to as the Lomonosov Olympiad or **Lomonosov**;
4. The Olympiad of the Higher School of Economics, hereinafter referred to as the HSE Olympiad or **HSE**;
5. The Olympiad of the Russian Presidential Academy of National Economy and Public Administration, hereinafter referred to as the RANEPA Olympiad or **RANEPA**;
6. The Olympiad of Moscow State Linguistic University, hereinafter referred to as the Eurasian Linguistic Olympiad or **ELO**;
7. The Olympiad of the Academy of Federal Security Service of RF and the Academy of Federal Protective Service, hereinafter referred to as **FSS**;
8. The Olympiad of Herzen State Pedagogical University of Russia, hereinafter referred to as **HSPU**;
9. The Olympiad of the Plekhanov Russian University of Economics, hereinafter referred to as REA Olympiad or **REA**;
10. The Olympiad of Chelyabinsk State University, hereinafter referred to as **CSU**;
11. The Olympiad of Moscow City University, hereinafter referred to as **MCU**;
12. The Olympiad of Kazan University, hereinafter referred to as **KU**;
13. The Olympiad of Peter the Great St.Petersburg Polytechnic University, the Northern Arctic Federal University and Russian Technological University, hereinafter referred to as **POLYTECH**;
14. The Olympiad of Russian State University for the Humanities, hereinafter referred to as **RSUH**;
15. The Olympiad of Moscow State Pedagogical University, hereinafter referred to as **MSPU**;
16. The Olympiad of North Caucasian Federal District, hereinafter referred to as **NCFD**.

Table 1. EFL Olympiads in Russia

Year / Olympiad	MSU	SPBU	Lomonosov	HSE	ELO	RANEPA	HSPU	MCU	RSUH	REA	FSS
2022/23	1	1	1	1	2	2	2	2	2	3	3
2021/22	1	1	1	1	2	2	3	3	2	2	3
2020/21	1	1	1	1	2	2	2	3	2	3	3
2019/20	1	1	1	1	2	1	2	-	-	2	2
2018/19	1	1	1	1	2	3	2	2	-	2	2
2017/18	1	1	1	1	2	2	2	2	-	2	2
2016/17	1	1	1	1	2	2	2	2	-	2	3
2015/16	1	1	1	1	2	3	1	3	-	3	2
2014/15	1	2	2	-	2	3	2	2	-	-	2
2013/14	Y	Y	Y	-	Y	Y	Y	Y	-	Y	Y

Numbers 1, 2, and 3 stand for the level of the Olympiad and correspond to the first (the highest), the second and the third (the lowest) ones; whereas "-" means that that year an Olympiad was not given any level; Y stands for the first time Olympiads were introduced.

There are four Olympiads (see Table 1) that have been holding the highest, first, level for more than eight years (MSU, SPBU, Lomonosov, and HSE). This study focuses on these four Olympiads in the English language together with the All-Russian Olympiad for High School students, hereinafter referred to as the All-Russian Olympiad or ARO, as the one beyond RCO levels whose winners and laureates are granted places at all Russian universities without exams.

3. STUDY AND RESULTS

The Olympiads included in the ranking and the All-Russian Olympiad were considered in terms of the seven categories of skills and knowledge attested, namely: Use of English, Reading, Listening, Writing, Speaking, Phonetics and Socio-Cultural Section. Although most Olympiads do not seem to place particular importance on the order of the tasks in which they are provided to the candidates, in the study conducted, the task types were considered and ranged in the order typical of the international language exams. Thus, it is clear which aspects were played down and which gained greater status through the years 2015/2016-2022/2023 (see Table 2).

Table 2. Skills tested in EFL Olympiads

Skills tested / Olympiad	ARO		MSU		SPBU		Lo monosov		HSE	
	E	F	E	F	E	F	E	F	E	F
UoE	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	¢
Reading	+	+	+	+	+	+		+	+	¢
Listening	+	+	¢	+			+	¢		+
Writing	+	+		+		+	+	+		+
Speaking	+	+								
Phonetics					¢	¢			+	
Culture Studies	+	+	¢	+	¢	+	¢	+	+	+
Integrated skills tasks		+		+		+	+	+		+
E	Elimination round									
F	Final round									
+	Explicitly present									
¢	Are either implicitly given or were taken out in recent years									

3.1. Receptive skills

What stands out from the data (Table 2) is that receptive skills come into play as a principal focus. The "Use of English" (hereinafter referred to as UoE) type of task is given particular prominence. The Use of English section of all the competitions was of major importance in both rounds. This section primarily focuses on the knowledge of lexis, idiomatic language (formulaic), word formation, and grammatical structures in the English language. The Olympiads of all ranks employed these task types in their tests for secondary and high school students of every age category.

3.1.1. Use of English and Phonetics

The analysis of the Use of English section of the Olympiads in question has shown that there are some areas that tend to receive more attention than others. So to speak, knowledge of verbs, syntactic constructions, and an array of assorted constructions, including emphatic ones, is part and parcel of every single year. Whereas, understanding the difference in meaning and general use of nouns, pronouns, adverbs, a variety of clauses, and cross-language interference is checked from time to time. The least assessed category is adjectives, probably due to the fact that it is difficult to come up with a row of four similar yet different adjectives to create a multiple-choice item with only one correct answer. To get a better understanding of what is tested in each subsection of the Use of English section, see Table 3.

Table 3. Use of English

Grammar / Olympiad		ARO	MSU	SPBU	Lomonosov	HSE
VERB	**Verb tenses and verb forms**	+	+	+	+	+
	Passive voice	+	+	+	+	+
	Narrative tenses (including Pr.P and Pt.P)	+	+	+	+	+
	Indicative and subjunctive mood	+		+	+	+
	Present Continuous (including for expressing annoyance)	+			+	+
	Future in the Past	+		+	+	
	Reported speech	+	+			+
	Conditionals (mostly unreal and mixed)	+		+	+	
	Imperative				+	
	Verb form coordination	+				
	used to, would to express habits	+				
	Modal verbs (mostly in past tenses and with different registers)	+	+	+		+
	Finite or non-finite forms *(infinitive, perfect infinitive, infinitive of purpose, gerund, participle)*	+		+	+	
	Infinitives (Perfect infinitive, infinitive of purpose *so as to, in order to*)	+		+	+	
	Finite or non-finite forms			+	+	
	Participle clauses	+				
	Verb patterns (Phrasal verbs)		+	+	+	+
NOUNS & PRONOUNS	**Nouns**	+	+	+	+	+
	countable/mass nouns	+				+
	Articles		+	+		+
	plural forms of nouns			+	+	
	compound nouns	+				
	comparative structures (*the more the better, few/less*)	+		+		+
	adjectives (*-ing/-ed*)					
	Pronouns (*some, none, any, nobody...*)			+	+	
CLAUSES	**Clauses**	+			+	+
	Relative clauses	+				
	concessive clauses (*in spite of, despite*)	+			+	
	were to do in subordinate clauses					+
	Reduced relative clauses	+				
	Complex object	+		+		

SYNTAX	**Syntax**	+	+	+	+	+
	Word order				+	+
	Tag questions			+		
	Wh-questions	+				
	Punctuation		+			
CONSTRUCTIONS	**An array of different constructions**	+	+	+	+	+
	I wish construction	+	+	+		+
	have smth done constructions	+			+	
	either...or, neither...nor			+		
	I'd rather	+				
	if only					+
	if I were to ...			+		
	be due to construction	+				
	get used + ing		+			
	Emphatic constructions	+				+
	inversion	+				+
	cleft sentences	+				+
MISCELLANEOUS	**Cross-language interference**	+	+			+
	Time adverbials	+	+	+		
	Adjectives	+				+

As for the tasks used in this section, a certain pattern emerges. Contestants need strong English skills to advance and excel in the Olympiads, whether in the preliminary or final stages. However, some tasks are more commonly used in the elimination round, such as:

- clozes in which students match words/expressions with gaps and there is more than one plausible distractor (Lomonosov, HSE);
- multiple choice clozes on the sentence and text levels when candidates are asked to fill in the gap with an expression or even a sentence instead of a single word (ARO, SPBU);
- sentence construction tasks or jumbled sentences (HSE);
- multiple matching checking formulaic language (MSU).

Even though some tasks are only employed in the final rounds, to check candidates' language ability, all Olympiads use gap-filling exercises as well as multiple choice cloze tests. The number and variety of tasks in the Use of English section soar in the final round of the Olympiads, as some students struggle to give correct answers without consulting dictionaries or other resources, which, together with the variety of idioms checked, rapidly increases the level of cognitive difficulty of the tasks. According to Bloom's Taxonomy (Anderson & Krathwohl, 2001; Koksal & Ulum, 2018) of Educational Objectives (Table 4), the most complicated tasks are the ones that require abilities to analyze and evaluate an existing piece of work as well as to produce something completely new.

Table 4. Tasks in EFL Olympiads and Bloom's Taxonomy

	Bloom's Level	**Explanation**	**Verbs**	**EFL Tasks**
6	**Create**	Put information together in an original way	write, formulate	Keywords transformation
5	**Evaluate**	Pass judgements on the basis of particular guidelines	select, support	Multiple Choice Cloze, Error Correction, Cloze (Gap Filling)
4	**Analyse**	Split a concept into parts and draw a connection between them	compare, contrast, organise	Matching sentence halves, sentence construction

	Bloom's Level	Explanation	Verbs	EFL Tasks
3	**Apply**	Use previously gained knowledge in a new way	use, interpret, demonstrate	Sentence completion, derivatives
2	**Understand**	Comprehend what you have studied	classify, select, translate	Short answer questions
1	**Remember**	Call to mind data stored in your long-term memory	define, list, state	Definitions

Thus, such tasks as multiple choice cloze and multiple matching, which require mostly the skills of analysis and interpretation, are backed up by an array of other high-level tasks: gap filling (all five Olympiads), error correction (MSU, SPBU, Lomonosov, HSE), and transformations (ARO, HSE).

Even though short answer questions where students are expected to produce their own answer, starting with filling the gap with one word (ARO, MSU, SPBU, Lomonosov) and finishing with paraphrasing idioms (SPBU) or rewriting sentences while keeping the original meaning (HSE), are present in all five Olympiads, they intend to check low-level cognitive skills and thus are given mostly in the final rounds to diversify the general range of tasks (i.e. crossword puzzles, partial translations, images labelling) and create a positive atmosphere during the contest rather than to check knowledge of English for real.

As for phonetics, there has been a marginal shift in the representation of the tasks testing the knowledge of phonetics. While the HSE Olympiad alongside the SPBU Olympiad (until 2022) had this section in the elimination round, by the final round it was made redundant.

The overview of the tests shows that all tasks are standardised and share features of the academic discourse, which implies that they are created to test a set of high-level micro-skills necessary in academic contexts (Coombe et al., 2007), including but not limited to recognising special terms related to the topics (HSE), identifying the aim and the scope of a lecture (ARO), detecting the attitude of the speaker (ARO, HSE).

3.1.2. Listening

Only half of the Olympiads included testing of listening skills in the elimination round, whereas almost all (4 out of 5 Olympiads) had included this section in the final round before 2020. However, this number further halved by 2023, with only 2 out of 5 Olympiads employing this type of task in their final round (ARO, HSE) (see Table 2. Skills tested in EFL Olympiads).

A noteworthy detail is that the tasks represent samples of academic listening (i.e. scripted texts read by professional readers) and lack authentic features and, thus, impromptu speech (e.g., pauses, hesitations, background noises, etc.). Moreover, such listening tasks check the bottom-up processing, where students need to reconstruct the meaning of units of the language that are decoded, which leads to text comprehension. The tasks generally vary from MCQs, or Multiple Choice Questions (ARO), T/F and T/F/NS (ARO, HSE) to note taking / sentence completion (HSE).

Over the last four years, there has been a noticeable trend towards simplification of the tasks in the municipal round of the All-Russian Olympiad for the students of the 7th-8th forms. Whereas in 2019/20 and 2020/21 there were two varying tasks, they were gradually reduced to one task in the municipal round: MCQ in 2021/22 and sentence completion in 2022/23. Thus, it might be presumed that the former might be used in the next Olympiad as this type of task rules out arbitrary

decision-making for the students. The tasks in all other stages have not seen any dynamics over the last five years (T/F, MCQ); moreover, the same tasks are used for students in all grades with the only difference from 2019/20 that students of the 7th-8th forms are allowed to partake in the regional and final rounds of the competition.

A further development is also observed in the final round of the HSE Olympiad for students in grades 7-8 and 9-10. Those changes also might be classified as a simplification process towards overall standardisation. Thus, a multiple matching task in the final round for the 9th-10th grade students used in 2019 was replaced with a conventional T/F/NS task in the subsequent years. Similarly, in the last three years of competitions, a conventional sentence completion task was replaced with sentences containing factual errors, which students are supposed to replace with the correct options from the audio recording. There might be a conflicting opinion regarding that upgrade: whether it serves as scaffolding and provides a useful tip on a possible alternative, or makes the task more convoluted and hard to complete. Nevertheless, it might be assumed that this task type is here to stay, considering no further changes in this section.

3.1.3. Reading

Following this category, tasks assessing the reading skills of students came in second in popularity. All the Olympiads check reading comprehension (Table 5) during the elimination rounds, and in most cases, they use standard tasks: Multiple Choice Questions, or MCQ (ARO, MSU, SPBU, HSE until 2020), Gapped text (ARO), Jigsaw reading both on a sentence level (Lomonosov, HSE until 2020) and text level (HSE since 2020), and two texts mixed together (MSU).

Table 5. Tasks used in Reading comprehension

Reading		ARO		MSU		SPBU		Lomonosov		HSE	
tasks/rounds		E	F	E	F	E	F	E	F	E	F
Standard tasks	T/F/NS	¢	+	+		+		+	¢	¢	
	Matching		+							+	+
	MCQ	+	+	+		+				¢	
	Gapped text	+									+
	Jigsaw reading (sequencing)			+	+				+	+	
Traditional in-class tasks	Write questions based on the text				+						
	Answer the questions based on the text								+		
Integrated tasks	Integrated R&L, R&R (T/F/NS)		+							+	
	Integrated R&W (Summarise the text, Comment on the text, Write the ending of the story)				+		+	+	+		
E	Elimination round										
F	Final round										
+	Explicitly present										
¢	Were taken out in the recent years										

However, in the final round, only the All-Russian Olympiad uses such traditional tasks as T/F/NS, multiple matching, and MCQ questions to check reading comprehension. Other Olympiads either do it through gapped text (HSE) or jigsaw reading text level (MSU), or through integrated reading & listening (ARO) or reading & writing (MSU, Lomonosov, SPBU). In the final round of the HSE Olympiads, reading tasks have been given since 2021 in the Culture Studies section, and they check both reading comprehension and knowledge of culture. In terms of tasks, Olympiads tend to use the same format for years: SPBU has been using it since the beginning for both rounds; HSE had one format for both rounds before 2020 and another one after; MSU introduced minor changes in 2021; and Lomonosov only in 2023. The All-Russian Olympiad employed the IELTS reading format at the beginning (2015/2016), then shifted to the Cambridge exams, and finally developed something of its own that leaned toward the integrated reading and listening tasks in the final rounds.

The texts for the tasks tend to be taken mostly from newspapers and magazines or encyclopedia entries and popular texts about historical events, prominent figures, and cultural traditions (ARO, HSE, SPBU). Occasionally they feature extracts from literary masterpieces (e.g., *Dandelion Wine* by Ray Bradbury, *Paddington* by Michael Bond) and very rarely poems (e.g., *I'm just a stranger here, heaven is my home* by Carole Clemmons) (MSU, Lomonosov).

Reading in the linguistic Olympiads challenges students to handle language input of a higher level (L+1). Thus, competitions check whether students are able to draw inferences using language forms and unfamiliar, advanced vocabulary in the input and output. As a result, the reading section tends to include tasks where authentic texts serve as prompts for vocabulary and grammar tasks (Lomonosov, SPBU, HSE).

Reading tasks alone are expected to check the overall comprehension or the understanding of specific details or language of the text in a reading section of the competition. At this point, learners might still be developing the ability to see the patterns of cross-references in the text. Without this underlying groundwork, any further language production might be constricted. This task type is essential in bridging the gap between receptive and productive skills by employing cognition. This might provide the rationale behind the growing trend of using reading texts as a springboard for writing (MSU, SPBU, Lomonosov).

3.2. Productive skills

3.2.1. Writing

In the All-Russian Olympiad, the writing task was abolished in the municipal stage of the competition for the students of the 7th-8th forms for the last four years, 2020-2023. Whereas before the competition boasted a variety of tasks at all levels and for students of different age categories, there is an obvious trend towards standardisation in the latest Olympiad, where writing tasks only vary in accordance with the stage of the competition. Thus, there was an opinion essay based on a quotation for all students at the municipal stage; a proposal – with detailed prompts and guidelines – at the regional stage; and a short story at the final stage with a prompt and reminder of the conventions provided as scaffolding for the contestants.

There is a reverse trend with the addition of the writing tasks in the Lomonosov Olympiad, with the introduction of the writing task at the final stage for students of the 5th-7th forms starting in 2020 (till the recent one). Moreover, the writing section for all age groups consists of two tasks

with similar tasks for the 5th-7th and 8th-9th form students (i.e., an opinion essay and a story based on a visual prompt). The tasks for the 10th-11th forms are more challenging – a short story and an imaginary interview – requiring more profound thinking skills.

There are only negligible transformations in the writing tasks of the HSE Olympiad. Last year's tasks, like those before that, contained creative writing tasks either based on visual prompts (7th-8th forms); comparative article with two quotes as writing prompts (9th-10th forms); and only the task for the 11th form students saw the changes in the format of the input provided for students (previously, it was a saying; last year, a reading input.)

There is little data to judge about the transformation of the MSU Olympiad, as the most recent update goes back to 2020/2021. However, it is worth mentioning that the writing section consists of two tasks for both groups (5th-9th and 10th-11th forms), where the first task is standard for both groups: essay based on a prompt and referring to the reading task before the section. The second task shows a transition from simpler articles based on true stories to more complicated tasks involving data analysis (the analysis of a table with survey results).

Although the analysis of the tasks in the SPBU Olympiad did not reveal any changes in the task types, the array of tasks in the writing section is a point to highlight. There are five different writing tasks (same for all forms) in this competition; in other words, they constitute the major testing focus: an opinion essay, a part of a story, a comment on a saying, a response to visual prompts, and a process description.

However amazing and efficient those tasks may be at checking students' ability to think critically and write texts of different genres, they are probably the ones to be changed soon due to the development of AI, and its ability to write answers to the most challenging tasks in a matter of seconds. Universities in charge of Olympiads will have to rethink the tasks used to assess writing skills or introduce speaking tasks, where examiners will see candidates face-to-face, which is currently shunned.

3.2.2. Speaking

The need for human examiners to score productive skills and some listening tasks highlights a logistical challenge. With such large participant numbers (over 110,000 in the elimination round and 5,000 in the final), the process becomes extremely time-consuming.

The tasks checking the speaking skills of the secondary and high school students have only a negligible presence in the range of the Olympiad tasks with only one Olympiad utilising it and only in the elimination round (the All-Russian Olympiad). This task has no representation in the subsequent round in any of the Olympiads considered. Whereas the tasks designed to check contestants' writing skills have increased in number by the final round with 5 out of 5 Olympiads providing this type of task. On top of that, these tasks give more than 50% of the total round).

3.2.3. Culture Studies

Another trend that is clearly visible in Table 2 given above is that all the Olympiads analysed tend to check partakers' knowledge of the history and culture of English-speaking countries to a certain extent. There is a section on Culture Studies in 5 out of 5 Olympiads in the Final Round and 2 out of 5 in the Elimination Round. Yet, even though such Olympiads as MSU, SPBU, and

Lomonosov do not have tasks testing awareness of socio-cultural data explicitly in the Elimination Round, they use authentic literature texts, including poems, and texts about the history and culture of English-speaking countries while checking both receptive and productive skills.

There is also a tendency to use culture-specific tasks as the basis for creative writing. Since 2020/2021, the HSE Olympiad has employed the strategy of immersive context assessment; all the tasks in the final round are devoted to one topic. For school graduates, it was connected with historical events; for the 9th-10th grades – literature; and for grades 7-8 – arts. The knowledge of the period was checked indirectly yet thoroughly when students were expected to write a story or give a description of a piece of art with a historical perspective in mind.

3.3. Integrated skills and transition from receptive to productive skills

The Olympiads were also analysed for the presence of integrated skills tasks, i.e., combining two types of inputs or requiring competitors to analyse an extended excerpt of written or spoken discourse and requesting from the participants to produce a piece of work based on that. The tasks aimed at assessing the integrated skills of the participants were by far the least common until 2018. Only two Olympiads employed them then: the All-Russian Olympiad used this task in Listening & Reading and the SPBU Olympiad in the Reading & Writing section. Yet, starting with 2019, there were some sporadic occurrences of different combinations of such tasks (Listening & Reading & Writing section in Lomonosov (2018-2020)) and steady growth has been visible since 2020 in all 5 Olympiads (e.g. Listening & Writing in HSE). The rise in the use of integrated skills tasks might be explained by the fact that such tasks encourage school students to use and hone the soft skills required in everyday and academic life, thus implicitly preparing students for real-life challenges.

Through the introduction of integrated tasks, Olympiad organisers may promote tasks where writing activity stems from reading or listening. Active skills, such as reading and listening, should not be separated from other skills, inter alia, writing – note-taking, summarising, and mentioning factual information in correspondence. Contestants take notes of what they heard or read and then present the information collected in some other form (Byrne, 1993). According to Byrne (1993, p.70), text – either read or spoken – provides a "natural context" for writing. Even reading comprehension tasks at a lower level might involve basic elements of writing – short answer questions or information transfer – which might further develop into a more complex integrated task completion or independent writing task. The All-Russian Olympiad, for instance, required the contestants to complete cross-text multiple matching based on a reading and listening task (final round). Both the All-Russian and HSE Olympiads included listening comprehension tasks but with different requirements. The All-Russian final round required cross-text multiple matching, while the HSE Olympiad asked contestants to summarize lectures.

4. DISCUSSION

The trends outlined above might be partially explained with the following assumptions. The major changes in the task formats employed might be influenced by the pervasiveness of online learning and, as a result, by the choice and limitations of online platforms used. Another cause might be an ever-growing number of participants, as the process of checking the tasks could be simplified if the knowledge and skills of the students were checked by means of discrete-point testing. This also increases the practicability of the test for the administrative staff; otherwise, the validity and reliability of such tests dwindle.

The use of standard task types in listening and reading might be attributed to the relatively scarce number of experienced item-writers and the considerable workload they are to shoulder apart from their responsibility to develop test materials, as the vast majority of them tend to be University EFL teachers. Thus, past papers from international exams are used to develop tasks for the Olympiads.

Another aspect worth mentioning is the increase in the proficiency level of the tasks. Whereas initially the tasks were mainly aimed at the students having a B2 level of proficiency, now successful candidates are expected to have mastered their language skills up to C2 level (CEFR). This considerable intellectual challenge might also be due to the intent of the administrative staff to narrow down the list of participants by the final round and eliminate weaker competitors at an earlier stage. Another plausible reason is the rise in the general level of language proficiency of the candidates.

That assumption leads us to the issues at the preparation stage. Where might the teachers who prepare their students for the linguistic Olympiads go wrong? One of the problems might be connected to their inability to see the evolution of the task. The teachers look at the format of the task rather than evaluate the increase in complexity of the task in question over the years. Another issue might be attributed to the fact that some teachers familiarise their students with the format of a particular task rather than hone a skill that could help them deal with a greater variety of tasks that, in essence, check similar skills or abilities.

4.1. Recommendations

Taking all the above factors into account, the authors of the article recommend that teachers draw their students' attention to the tasks in their current coursebooks that are similar to those in different competitions. This will help to boost the level of involvement and the reasons behind the choice of particular tasks.

Teachers might opt for past examination papers of international language examinations for different proficiency levels. Suffice it to say that many material developers use the tasks for B2 First, C1 Advanced, and Russian Unified Exam in English (Kurasovskaya, 2021) as a basis for the Olympiad tasks. Thus, work on the format and the items tested in those past papers might help students develop strategies that they might need to apply in a range of language competitions.

Creative tasks are an area that requires special attention from teachers. Even when their students display the ability to handle the task, they might be limited in terms of lexical resources required for the successful completion of the task. Forcing students to cram for the competition by covering an endless list of words and expressions addressing a particular topic has proven to be traumatic and ineffective (Lai, 2022; Brinthaupt & Shin, 2001), as students are rarely able to apply those appropriately or recall an item required in situ. The acquisition presupposes a much deeper understanding of a lexical item encountered. It is the continual process of highlighting the connotation, register, and genre applied to words (inter alia) that ensures better comprehension and more confident usage of the item in the future (Sun & Zhao, 2015).

The lexical approach, which has become increasingly popular over the last several years in Russia (Kozhukhova, 2020; Reztsova & Savina, 2021; Igolkina & Yazynina, 2022; Panina & Fursova, 2022) could be a means to an end in an attempt to mitigate the issue of expanding an advanced range of vocabulary within a relatively short term. With the help of the input and guidance provided by teachers, students might grasp the importance of focusing on priming – the process in which a word might acquire specific associations through repeated encounters (Thornbury, 2006;

Hyung, 2019). This process might facilitate the development of both receptive and productive skills (Dellar, 2016) as well as their native-like usage (El-Dakhs, 2017). However, some teachers attach greater importance to learning less frequent, and thus useless, language rather than drawing students' attention to collocations (Dellar, 2016).

Teachers might find it instrumental to devote more attention to integrated tasks, where students should first process written or audio discourse and then transform it into their own spoken or written text. This would streamline the process of noticing. At a later stage of this process, students might need to work on creative tasks from the Olympiads, where they might use reading or listening tasks as a valuable input source of language (i.e., lexical items and grammatical structures).

Considering the topics generally included in the creative parts of the Olympiads, several topics from a popular series of coursebooks with a focus on lexical approach ("Outcomes" for Upper-Intermediate and Advanced levels (National Geographic Learning, n.d.)) or even the school EFL curriculum coursebook might come in handy. Despite having topics that are particularly interesting for adults, they correlate with the topics of creative tasks in the linguistic competitions. Those are supported by a range of writing tasks that help students develop their writing competence. Thus, a carefully chosen set of topics for preparation might promote the learning process and help to achieve the result desired in several Olympiads while covering the school curriculum content. Alternatively, those topics might be used as an intermittent addition to the main course if the teacher has some extra hours. This will present a change to the routine and certain unassessed challenges that students always welcome. Having considered the scope of topics in some Olympiads over the recent years, we could identify their repetitive nature; thus, the ability to apply lateral skills to various tasks will surely improve the performance of the students in language Olympiads.

4.2. Limitations

Despite the fact that most Olympiads bear a range of similarities that define the scope of common tasks for preparation, there is an obvious impasse preventing us from compiling a set of guidelines for teachers who aspire to prepare their students for this type of alternative assessment, namely, a continuous upgrade of the materials and adjustment in the format of the competition. This can be clearly traced in the analysis of the task types in different Olympiads over the years in question. The changes might be attributed to the fact that universities, being conduits for the development and implementation of wider societal impacts (Deiaco et al., 2012), have been trying to identify the tasks that match the requirements that they apply to applicants and undergraduates in their first year. As competition for tuition-free government-funded university places intensifies, the complexity and challenge of the Olympiad tasks increase accordingly.

5. CONCLUSIONS

Having started as an alternative assessment of language proficiency, language Olympiads in Russia turned into another high-proficiency multi-round exam in English, which directly correlates with the portrait of a prospective university fresher. So to speak, as major universities long to see students who have more than passable analytical and critical thinking skills and are able to cope with future academic challenges, they incorporate into their Olympiads cross-text multiple matching tasks based on reading and listening and introduce writing tasks that stem from reading and listening tasks. In a nutshell, the tasks aimed at assessing integrated skills, which used to be the least common, are now gaining ground.

Trying to reach out into the farthest corners of our vast country in search of future Lomonosovs, Universities make good use of technology and conduct Olympiads online. This takes its toll on the variety of tasks employed as item-writers tend to be limited by the constraints of digital platforms while students have an array of resources at their fingertips, together with the AI, which seems to be developing at an interstellar speed, which may turn any task at any language level into a piece of cake. AI tackles some of the most challenging tasks in a matter of seconds, and this is something that should be considered by both the item writers and the administrative staff of the universities. They might either rethink the use of their most trusted productive tasks or heavily invest in proctoring and e-proctoring systems, involving, among others, the use of two or more devices to record the exam (Mohammed & Ali, 2022; Abbas & Hameed, 2022), or go back old-school. Whatever they do, we will have to face it, yet the Olympiads will hardly stay the same.

Conflict of interests
The authors declare that they have no conflict of interest.

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IMPRS 2024:
INTERDISCIPLINARY APPROACHES
TO THE FOUNDATIONS OF HUMAN SPEECH

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Abstract: The International Max Planck Research School (IMPRS) biennial conference on psycholinguistics focused on the psychological, social, and biological foundations of human speech. The conference took an interdisciplinary approach, drawing on data from cognitive research, neuroscience, computer science, medicine, genetics, anthropology, and evolutionary theory. This article provides an overview of the keynote speeches and the most significant posters, presenting the findings of scholars from around the world.

Keywords: IMPRS2024, neuroscience, cognitive research, language studies, speech.

The International Max Planck Research School (IMPRS) for Language Sciences located in Nijmegen is a joint initiative of the Max Planck Institute (MPI) for Psycholinguistics, the Donders Institute for Brain, Cognition and Behaviour, and the Centre for Language Studies. The IMPRS hosted its fourth conference series in a hybrid format from June 5-7, 2024.

For over four decades, the Max Planck Institute for Psycholinguistics has been advancing interdisciplinary research into the psychological, social, and biological foundations of language. Integrating perspectives from linguistics, psychology, brain sciences, genetics, anthropology, computer science, and medicine, the MPI investigates language comprehension, production, and acquisition, as well as the relationship between language, genetics, and cognition. Its mission is to illuminate the complex interplay of factors that underpin human language.

The biannual IMPRS conference series on Interdisciplinary Approaches to the Language Sciences aims to encourage language scientists to explore new avenues of inquiry and gain deeper insights into human language ability. The conference stands out due to the ample scope of research

in the field of language and communication conducted at multiple levels - from the human genome and the language readiness of the brain to the behaviour patterns of individuals of all ages and populations – and in diverse languages. The 2024 edition focused on four major themes:

1. The dynamic nature of language: Change through time and borders.
2. Language production in social interaction.
3. Language development.
4. Language of the body: From gestures to sign languages.

The first section addressed the issues of the sociolinguistic landscape of different regions, linguistic diversity and multilingualism. Dr. Margot van den Berg and Dr. Corentin Bourdeau traced back the lineage of some African languages. The former focused on retention, innovation, and adaptation in naming and the process of knowledge production to analyse the emergence and subsequent development of the Sranan language. Talking about the methodology and citing the case of the Wolof language, which is "an assemblage of at least five layers", Dr. Bourdeau stressed that "contact linguistics is of much more help than historical linguistics for understanding the formation of languages" as it avoids a distorted view of reality. Carlo Meloni delivered a speech on the biases concerning the evolution of clause linkage syntax, namely a neurocognitive bias towards hierarchy, or "dendrophilia", and a bias towards simplicity. His study of 59 languages from Indo-European, Sino-Tibetan, and Tupi-Guaraní families managed to prove that the former factor is less significant, "a moderate bias toward simplicity and substantial lineage-specific variation" being at play. The last speaker of the section was Enock Appiah Tieku, who dwelt on the co-evolving means of construing number and sortal classifiers in Austronesian, which he analysed using the Markov chain model of binary character evolution and the Bayesian phylogenetic comparative method. He concluded that all the types of number marking, including plural and singular, and sortal classifiers changed independently.

The *Language production in social interaction* section focused on the extent to which speaking in a dialogue context fundamentally differs from solo speaking. Relying on the assumption that production and comprehension processes are engaged in a temporally overlapping fashion, Dr. Chiara Gambi applies the control theory and compares monologue and dialogue to mechanical and biological processes to describe the challenges scientists face when applying models of language production and self-monitoring to conversation. They include "(1) the need to distinguish between self- and other-generated utterances; (2) the need to flexibly adjust the amount of advance planning to achieve timely turn-taking; (3) the need to track changing conversational goals," which, therefore, necessitate sophisticated control architectures. Dr. Anita Tobar Henríquez provided an overview of the studies revealing speakers' variation of their referential choices with due regard to the individual-, situation- and community-level factors. Caitlin Decuyper's speech elaborated on the research into the reduction of semantic interference due to conceptual processing rather than social context. Jule Nabrotzky presented her current research into the role of speech entrainment in reducing the silent interval duration between interlocutors' utterances in a conversation with the help of a Guess Who game.

The *Language development* section discussed the universal vs. language-specific language acquisition trajectory in childhood. Prof. Dr. Shanley Allen studies the case of Inuktitut, a polysynthetic language, to demonstrate the peculiarities of its acquisition as compared with more isolating or fusional "Standard Average European" languages. Dr. Michelle Jennifer White uses a comparative approach to assess vocabulary learning of bilingual toddlers in South Africa and Norway considering their socioeconomic status background and language socialization practices. Xiaotao

Liu's research points to Mandarin-speaking "children's ability to map appropriate verb forms onto unfolding events". The research of Eleni Zimianiti tries to predict the relationship between the item-level difficulty of verb forms, on the one hand, and form-frequency, phonological neighbourhood density and telicity, on the other hand, relying on a large and longitudinal dataset of nearly 40,000 young Dutch speakers, which has been gathered through an educational online platform.

Non-verbal ways of conveying information were covered by the speakers of the conference in the *Language of the body* section. Prof. Dr. Martha Alibali delivered a presentation on gestures as a specific form of bodily action and their involvement in mathematical thinking, learning, and teaching. She stated that gestures reflect and shape mathematical knowledge, as well as are integrated into communicative interactions during mathematics instruction, thereby affecting people's mathematics identity. Dr. Anna Puupponen presented an unusual perspective on the body language – the meaning-making strategy of constructed action (CA) in singers taking the role of a discourse referent and enacting feelings, thoughts, and utterances. Her research sought to shed light on CA-related socio-individual aspects on the basis of corpus data and the EEG data on the cognitive processing of CA. Dr. Dilay Z. Karadöller aims to investigate whether 8-year-old children's visual attention varies when planning descriptions of object locations in speech vs. speech-plus-gesture by eliciting descriptions of left-right relations and drew a conclusion that informative descriptions receive more visual attention to spatial relations amid the multimodal presentation of disambiguating information. Annika Schiefner proved the absence of the relationship between embodiment and iconicity in the signer's body as perceived by deaf and hearing participants in the UK and Germany, but stated that "iconicity appears to be linked to lexical similarity between sign languages".

The posters presented at the conference addressed a wide range of issues pertaining to the abovementioned fields - from crosscultural aspects of language acquisition to the role of the environment in language production. In their research project *Deciphering an unfamiliar language: The role of shared phonology and semantics* Anna Meliksetian, Agata Wolna and Zofia Wodniecka of the Jagellonian University (Poland) adopt an interdisciplinary approach to mutual intelligibility between closely related languages - Polish, Czech, Russian, and Spanish - to see if Polish natives with no prior exposure to the given foreign languages can decipher the potential message after examining stimuli pictures and voice recordings of correct words and distractors. The scholars point to the lack of full consistency between the similarity across the languages and mutual intelligibility but conclude that the phonological overlap is a driving force behind the latter on the condition that it is accompanied by semantic overlap. They also suggest that the two overlaps should concur to affect the degree of mutual intelligibility.

The *Non-native accents impede implicit, but not explicit, language learning* poster by Katelyn McClure and Phillip Hamrick from Kent State University discussed the impact of accented speech on language acquisition given that L2 learning tends to involve exposure to speech with an unfamiliar – often non-native – accent. Drawing a line between implicit and explicit language acquisition, the poster postulates that L1 learning is driven predominantly by implicit learning (i.e., unconscious) mechanisms while L2 learning is supported by conscious ones. The researchers hypothesized that alterations in language processing and a bigger cognitive load should significantly hamper implicit learning and are very likely to affect explicit learning. However, the findings reveal that a non-native accent impedes implicit, rather than explicit learning, possibly making L2 learning more explicit to ensure its effectiveness.

Dutch scientists Cecilia Husa, Antje Meyer and Linda Drijvers apply the Rapid Invisible Frequency Tagging (RIFT) method to measure how attention is distributed between the two demanding related processes of speech planning and speech comprehension and, on the whole, to evaluate its possible use for studying representations. The processes overlap, leading to short turns between speakers and dependency of speech planning on the content of comprehension. The experiment did not indicate any impact of relatedness on auditory attention to distractors or early visual attention to targets. However, the intermodulation peak may point to participants' avoidance of integration of the related target picture and distractor.

The overview of the conference would be incomplete without mentioning several poster reports on gestural mimicry, convergence and accommodation, which may in the long run affect the curricula in terms of skills trained. The *Inhibiting gestural mimicry induces higher cognitive load* report presented by Dr. Monika Chwalczuk from the Institute of Psychology of the Polish Academy of Sciences calls on the need to reconsider the recommendation to regard the use of gestural mimicry in dialogue interpretation as a sign of weak proficiency and to limit gestures. Copying the speaker's gestures and gestural interaction in interpreter-mediated communication are intensified under higher cognitive load but inhibiting them triggers higher self-reported indicators of cognitive load and longer reaction time. Restricted hand movements stand in the way of mental stimulations activated through gestures and make it impossible for the working memory to offload through embodied productions leading to slower renditions and stronger mental fatigue. According to Dr. Monika Chwalczuk, gesture mimicry should not be inhibited in dialogue interpreting since it functions as a cognitive aid strategy.

The *Conflicting talker information may hinder convergence in synchronous speech* poster compiled by Orhun Uluşahin et al. sheds light on the issue of convergence between speakers and listeners, that is the tendency of interlocutors to sound more like each other over time, and the impact of talker information on it. The research findings are as follows. Participants consistently converged across three synchronous speech experiments, with conflicting talker information leading to fewer convergers than congruent talker information, which suggests the involvement of shared representations across production and perception.

The issue of the correlation between people's individual traits and language production throughout communication deserves special attention. It was a matter of concern in *The role of gender, personality traits, and social biases in shaping linguistic accommodation: An experimental approach* poster submitted by a group of international experts from the University of Edinburgh, University of Ireland, and Max Planck Institute for Psycholinguistics. Ching-Yat Cheung, Simon Kirby, and Limor Raviv use a curious dyadic communication experiment to analyse whether participants' accommodation behaviours are influenced by their gender, the perceived gender of their interlocutors, their personality traits, or their gender attitudes and biases. The experiment involves learning a few expressions in an artificial language and playing a communication game with a computer-simulated male/female partner. The game is followed by a personality questionnaire (Big5) and implicit/explicit gender bias tests. The ongoing research has already produced some preliminary results: it points to the short-lived accommodating behaviour during interaction, which does not persist in the post-communication test. Besides, men are more likely to accommodate regardless of the partner's gender.

The conference was held in person and live-streamed via Mediasite, with the Discord application facilitating interaction with online participants. The hybrid format proved highly effective as the proceedings were readily accessible online and would remain available until the publication of the official proceedings. This accessibility promotes continued post-conference exchange and discussion among researchers.

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