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СОДЕРЖАНИЕ

І. ОБРАЗОВАНИЕ И ПЕДАГОГИЧЕСКИЕ НАУКИ6
О. Ю. Муллер
ИМИДЖ КАК ЭФФЕКТИВНОЕ СРЕДСТВО ФОРМИРОВАНИЯ ПЕДАГОГИЧЕСКОГО
МАСТЕРСТВА
11. ОБЩЕСТВЕННЫЕ НАУКИ
РАЦИОНАЛИЗАТОРСТВО В КООПЕРАТИВНОЙ ПРОМЫШЛЕННОСТИ ЧЕЛЯБИНСКОЙ
ОБЛАСТИ В 1950-е гг
ІІІ.ФИЛОЛОГИЧЕСКИЕ НАУКИ16
Е. В. Дмитриева
ВОЗРАСТНАЯ ОБУСЛОВЛЕННОСТЬ КОМПЬЮТЕРНОЙ ТЕРМИНОЛОГИИ В
ИНДИВИДУАЛЬНОМ ЛЕКСИКОНЕ (ЭКСПЕРИМЕНТАЛЬНОЕ ИССЛЕДОВАНИЕ)
VI. НАУЧНАЯ ЖИЗНЬ22
Т. Ю. Баклыкова
«ЧТО ТАКОЕ ЧЕЛОВЕК?»: МЕЖДУНАРОДНАЯ НАУЧНО-ПРАКТИЧЕСКАЯ КОНФЕРЕНЦИЯ «HUMAN PLUS»
Е. В. Суворова, Ю. Г. Романова
ИНФЕРЕНЦИЯ В ВИРТУАЛЬНОМ ДИСКУРСЕ
Н. Н. Зеркина
АНГЛИЙСКИЙ ИЛИ ГЛОБАЛЬНЫЙ АНГЛИЙСКИЙ: ДИЛЕММА ДЛЯ ПРЕПОДАВАТЕЛЯ В
РАЗВИТИИ ЯЗЫКОВЫХ НАВЫКОВ
И. Гадиоли
АССЕРТИВНАЯ КОММУНИКАЦИЯ: ГОВОРИ, ЧТО ДУМАЕШЬ, ДУМАЙ, ЧТО ГОВОРИШЬ 39
В. В. Михайлов
«МНОГОКОМПОНЕНТНЫЕ ТЕРМИНЫ В ПЕРЕВОДЧЕСКОЙ ДЕЯТЕЛЬНОСТИ
М.В. Мусийчук ИНТЕРНЕТ-ЮМОР ВО ВРЕМЯ ПАНДЕМИИ COVID-19 И САМОИЗОЛЯЦИИ — «ПИР ВО ВРЕМЯ
ЧУМЫ»?
М. В. Мусийчук, С. В. Мусийчук
«ЧЕРНЫЙ ЛЕБЕДЬ» Н. Н.ТАЛЕБА ЧЕРЕЗ ПРИЗМУ ОСТРОУМИЯ57
О. В. Дорфман
ТРЕНИНГИ В СИСТЕМЕ ЯЗЫКОВОГО ОБРАЗОВАНИЯ64
А. Ю. Лобова, Л. Д. Пономарева
ИНТЕГРИРОВАННЫЙ УРОК ЛИТЕРАТУРЫ И ИНОСТРАННОГО ЯЗЫКА КАК ФОРМА
ОРГАНИЗАЦИИ НЕСТАНДАРТНОГО УРОКА
П. А. Атева, Д. В. Ведерко
СТУДЕНЧЕСКИЕ И ШКОЛЬНЫЕ МЕДИА КАК ФОРМФАКТОР ОБУЧЕНИЯ РЕЧЕВЫМ КОМПЕТЕНЦИЯМ
О. В. Пустовойтова, Л. А. Яковлева, Н. А. Шепилова, А. С. Борисенко
ТАНЦЫ И ФИТНЕС КАК СРЕДСТВА РАЗВИТИЯ ГИБКОСТИ И ЛОВКОСТИ У ДЕТЕЙ СТАРШЕГО
ДОШКОЛЬНОГО ВОЗРАСТА
П. Олауссон
ИСТОРИЯ И СЕМЕЙНЫЕ ВОСПОМИНАНИЯ С ИСТОРИЧЕСКОЙ РОДИНЫ. ШВЕДСКИЕ
КУЗНЕЦЫ НА УРАЛЕ 1800-х гг
М. Н. Потемкина
ИСТОРИЧЕСКАЯ ПАМЯТЬ БЕЖЕНЦЕВ ВТОРОЙ МИРОВОЙ ВОЙНЫ: ПРЕОДОЛЕНИЕ
КУЛЬТУРНОЙ ТРАВМЫ
Т. Г. Пашковская
ПОСТСОВЕТСКАЯ ИСТОРИОГРАФИЯ УКРАИНЫ: НОВЫЙ КАНОН НАЦИОНАЛЬНОЙ ИСТОРИИ
Я. М. Федякина
ЭТНИЧЕСКАЯ ИДЕНТИЧНОСТЬ УКРАИНЦЕВ В ИСТОРИЧЕСКОЙ ПАМЯТИ В ПРОСТРАНСТВЕ
СОЦИАЛИСТИЧЕСКОГО ГОРОДА

CONTENTS

	SECTION I. EDUCATION AND PEDAGOGICAL SCIENCES6
	Muller O. Yu. Image as an Effective Method of Forming PedagogicaL Skills
	SECTION II. SOCIAL SCIENCES
	Pass A. A. Innovation in the Cooperative Industry of the South Urals in the 1950s
	SECTION III. PHILOLOGY16
	Dmitrieva E. V. Age Conditionality of Computer Terminology in Individual Lexicon (Experimental Research)16
	SECTION IV. SCIENTIFIC LIFE
	Baklykova T. Yu. «What is Human?»: International Scientific and Practical Conference «Human Plus»
	Inference in the Virtual Discourse
	English or Global English: Teaching Dilemmas in Language Skills Development34 <i>Gadioli1 I</i> .
	Assertive Communication: Mean What You Say, Say What You Mean
	Multicomponent Terms in Translation Activities
	Internet Humor During the Covid-19 Pandemic and Self-isolation – "Feast in Time of Plague"?50 Musiychuk M. V., Musiychuk S. V.
	«The Black Swan» by N. N. Taleb Through the Prism of Wit
	Trainings in the Language Education System
Lesso	Integrated Lesson of Literature and Foreign Language as a Form of Organizing a Non-standard on
2000	Ateyeva P. A., Vederko D. V. Student and School Media as a Form Factor of Teaching Speech Competencies
	Pustovoitova O. V., Yakovleva L. A., Shepilova N. A., Borisenko A. S. Dance and Fitness as a Means of DevelOping Flexibility and Agility in Senior Preschool Age77
	Olausson P. History and Family Memories in a LocaL Setting. Swedish Iron Smith's in the Urals of the 1800s91 Potemkina M. N.
	Historical Memory of World War II Refugees: Overcoming Cultural Trauma
	Post-Soviet Ukrainian Historiography: The New Canon of National History
	The Ethnic Identity of Ukrainians in Historical Memory in the Space of a Socialist City110

І. ОБРАЗОВАНИЕ И ПЕДАГОГИЧЕСКИЕ НАУКИ

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ИМИДЖ КАК ЭФФЕКТИВНОЕ СРЕДСТВО ФОРМИРОВАНИЯ ПЕДАГОГИЧЕСКОГО МАСТЕРСТВА

Анномация. Статья посвящена решению педагогической проблемы формирования имиджа педагогов, наличие которого определенным образом связано с их профессиональным мастерством. Цель статьи — выявить структуру имиджа и процесс его формирования у современного педагога. Автором проведено исследование, направленное на выявление представления студентов об идеальном имидже педагога. На основании эмпирических данных раскрывается взаимосвязь между имиджем и педагогическим мастерством. Акцентируется внимание на формировании позитивного имиджа педагога, включающего в себя профессиональные и личностные качества, а также ценностные ориентации. В процессе подготовки будущим педагогам необходимы знания этических норм профессионального поведения педагога, умения и навыки вербального и невербального общения, самопрезентация, знания об основах эстетики внешнего вида и этики педагогического взаимодействия. Методы исследования — литературный обзор, эмпирическое исследование, сравнительный анализ. Результаты исследования раскрывают взаимосвязь педагогического имиджа и педагогического мастерства, возникающую на основе сформированных имидж-характеристик.

Ключевые слова: имидж, педагог, студенты, формирование, профессиональная деятельность, педагогическое мастерство.

Введение

Модернизация системы образования вызывает необходимость обоснования новых требований к педагогу и его профессионально-личностным качествам, проявляющимся в ценностном отношении к профессии, коммуникации и в общественном признании. Данные качества свидетельствуют о позитивном имидже педагога, являющемся сегодня не только одним из инструментов общения, но и актуальным запросом общества и самой личности.

1. Содержание понятия «педагогический имидж»

Термин «имидж» привился и получил распространение во многих языковых культурах, поэтому данной проблемой занимаются ученые и практики разных стран таких сфер деятельности, как психология, педагогика, социология и др.

Дефиниция понятия «имидж», согласно одному их кратких словарных определений, означает «представление о человеке, которое складывается на основе его внешнего облика, привычек, манеры говорить, менталитета, поступков и т. п.»¹. В терминологическом словаре по педагогике досуга понятие имиджа определяется как «реальный или воображаемый облик, стиль делового человека, отношение к нему на основе популярности и успеха, доверия и симпатии людей, который обычно ассоциируется с понятием престижа, престижности и репутации»². В словаре профессионально-педагогических понятий понятие имидж определяется как «сложившийся в массовом сознании и имеющий характер стереотипа эмоционально окрашенный образ кого-либо или чего-либо»³. З. И. Тюмасева характеризует имидж как целенаправленно создаваемый «образ (какого-либо лица, явления, предмета), в котором выделяются ценностные характеристики и который призван оказывать эмоционально-психологическое воздействие на кого-либо с определенной целью» [6, с. 137]. Согласно некоторым исследованиям, более 43 % повседневных действий среднестатистического современного человека совершается по привычке или неосознанно [9]. На наш взгляд, имидж – это представление о человеке, которое сложилось о нем в сознании других людей.

Дефиниция понятия «педагогический имидж» указывает на эмоционально окрашенный стереотип восприятия образа в сознании воспитанников, коллег, социального окружения. При этом в

¹Краткий словарь современной педагогики / сост. Т. Б. Санжиева, Ю. Г. Резникова, Т. К. Солодухина и др.; под. ред. Л. Н. Юмсуновой. УланУдэ: Изд-во Бурятского госуниверситета, 2001. 100 с.

 $^{^{2}}$ Педагогика досуга: терминологический словарь / сост. О. Н. Хахлова. Уфа: Изд-во БГПУ, 2007. 50 с.

³Профессионально-педагогические понятия: словарь / сост. Г. М. Романцев, В. А. Федоров, И. В. Осипова, О. В. Тарасюк; под ред. Г. М. Романцева. Екатеринбург: Изд-во РГППУ, 2005. 455 с.

процессе формирования такого имиджа реальные качества педагога сочетаются с воображаемыми, создаваемыми в сознании наблюдающих⁴. Важно, что педагогический имидж является также экспрессивно окрашенным стереотипом педагога в представлении окружающих.

С психологической точки зрения основу имиджа составляют потенциальные возможности личности, т. е. реализация «Я-концепции» (теории Р. Бернса [1], А. Маслоу [3], К. Роджерса [5] и др.). Это означает, что имидж не является самоцелью и не может полноценно функционировать в пределах личности. На основании вышеприведенных определений следует признать, что педагогический имидж есть не что иное, как стереотип, сложившийся окружающих в представлениях о педагогах, и имеющий как положительную, так и отрицательную эмоциональную окраску.

Определение педагогического имиджа, предложенное Д. Л. Шашауровым, позволяет учитывать двойственную природу имиджа, его психологическую и социальную составляющие и имеет соответствующую структуру (см. рисунок 1) [7, с. 17].



Рисунок 1. Структура педагогического имиджа (по Д. Л. Шашаурову)

Внутреннее «Я» представлено в данной структуре профессиональной культурой мышления и набором личного отношения к своей работе и педагогической деятельности. Внешний вид связан с внутренним «Я», с такими личностными качествами, как толерантность, наблюдательность, эмпатийность и др. Внешний вид педагога зависит от его деловых качеств, сопровождается определенными жестами, интонацией, мимикой, действиями, на основе которых окружающие составляют представление о педагоге, его профессиональной компетентности, профессиональной культуре.

2. Имидж в отношении к профессиональным и личностным качествам педагога

Продуманный и правильно сформированный имидж человека, занимающегося обучением и воспитанием, с нашей точки зрения, способствует росту его педагогического мастерства. Для подтверждения данного тезиса нами проведено исследование, направленное на выявление представлений

 $^{^4}$ Словарь педагогического обихода / под ред. проф. Л. М. Лузиной. Псков : ПГПИ, 2003. С. 6

студентов об идеальном имидже педагога. Исследование проходило в Сургутском государственном университете среди студентов-магистрантов 1 курса (30 человек).

По данным опроса, доминантное положение занимают следующие качества педагога: отношение к своей профессии, знание своего предмета, культура поведения, тактичность, внешний вид, чувство юмора, справедливость, образованность и эрудиция, требовательность (см. рисунок 2).



Рисунок 2 – Результаты опроса об идеальном имидже педагога

Можно заметить, что, по мнению студентов Сургутского государственного университета, имидж педагога включает в себя профессиональные и личностные качества, а также ценностные ориентации.

Важность имиджа педагога для реализации его профессиональной деятельности доказана также исследованием Р. Бернса, определившим, что состав и характер «Я-концепции» педагога влияет на состояние и поведение обучающихся [1]. В частности, по мнению этого ученого, «Я-концепция» педагога положительно сказывается как на поведении и эффективности работы учителя, так и на заинтересованности и успеваемости обучающихся. Это объясняется присущим людям стремлением равняться на илеал.

Особенно привлекательными для восприятия оказываются такие качества, как уверенность в себе, достоинство и самоуважением. Они проявляются во внешнем виде человека. Имидж людей, наделенных данными личностными качествами, естественно получает в сознании окружающих положительную оценку, что является стимулирующим фактором к появлению у последних заинтересованности в совместной деятельности с такими людьми. При этом особенно важно, чтобы указанными качествами обладал учитель.

Д. Л. Шашауров среди компонентов, формирующих имидж современного учителя, особенно выделяет следующие:

- «Реальное Я» (адекватная самооценка);
- «Идеальное Я» (то, кем учитель желает быть);
- «Антиидеальное Я» (противоположность «идеального Я»);
- «Профессиональное Я» (оценка своих профессиональных качеств) [7, с.18].

В дополнение к вышеприведенным фактам назовем исследование С. Н. Захаровой [2], которое подтверждает, что эффективность процесса формирования педагогического имиджа у будущих педагогов зависит от следующих педагогических условий:

- развития жизненных ценностей и установок;
- развития личностных и профессиональных качеств, определяющих позитивный имидж преподавателя;
 - самопрезентации и позиционирования.
- развития «гибких» навыков, положительно сказывающихся на формировании личностных и профессиональных способностей.
 - Т. А. Яркова и И. И. Черкасова в своей работе приходят к выводу о важности формирования у

будущих педагогов так называемых гибких, или мягких, навыков (Soft skills) – неспециализированных, но важных для построения карьеры. Они позволяют человеку эффективно функционировать в обществе. К таким учительским навыкам Т. А. Яркова и И. И. Черкасова относят: умение принимать креативные решения, в том числе в отношении педагогических задач; умение презентовать свои идеи не только в профессиональной среде, но и в социуме; способность к различным видам коммуникации и др. [8].

Развитие «гибких» навыков значительно повышает уровень педагогического мастерства. В большой современной энциклопедии понятие «педагогическое мастерство» рассматривается как высший уровень профессиональных умений в определенной области, достигнутый на основе именно «гибких» навыков и творческого подхода 5 .

Для создания положительного имиджа как важного компонента профессиональной компетентности будущему педагогу, по мнению Е. А. Опфер, необходимы знания этических норм профессионального поведения педагога, знания основ эстетики внешнего вида и этики педагогического взаимодействия, кроме того, навыки вербального и невербального общения и способность к самопрезентации [4]. Профессиональный имидж будущего педагога, как показывает наш опыт, можно успешно формировать в вузе в ходе преподавания, например, магистрантам такой учебной дисциплины, как «Педагогическая деонтология».

Заключение

Таким образом, имидж педагога является эффективным средством формирования педагогического мастерства, в связи с чем имиджевый фактор приобретает важность, а соответствующие качества требуют своевременного становления, структурообразования на этапе профессиональной подготовки. Следовательно, имидж современного педагога — важное востребованное качество, которое свидетельствует о его профессиональной компетентности, профессиональной культуре и способствует росту педагогического мастерства.

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IMAGE AS AN EFFECTIVE METHOD OF FORMING PEDAGOGICAL SKILLS

Abstract. The article is devoted to an important pedagogical problem – the formation of the image of a teacher, the solution of which testifies to his professional skill. The relevance of the work lies in need for teachers to realize the importance of the result of positive changes in their personal image, in formation of positive and stable ideas or stereotypes of the image of a modern teacher. The purpose of the article is to analyze the features and identify the structure of

⁵ Педагогика: Большая современная энциклопедия / сост. Е. С. Рапацевич. Минск: Соврем. слово, 2005. С. 293.

formation of a positive image of a modern teacher. The author conducted a study among students, in which it was necessary to identify the students' idea of the ideal image of a teacher. Based on empirical data, the relationship between image and pedagogical skills is revealed, including professional and personal qualities, as well as value orientations. In the article, the author focuses on the professional training of future teachers for formation of a positive image, who need knowledge of the ethical norms of professional behavior of a teacher, the skills and abilities of verbal and non-verbal communication, self-presentation, knowledge of the basics of aesthetics of appearance and ethics of pedagogical interaction. The methodological basis of the research is literature review, empirical research, comparative analysis. The results of the study reveal the relationship between pedagogical image and pedagogical skill, formed through the formed image characteristics on the basis of «soft» skills.

Keywords: image, teacher, students, formation, professional activity, pedagogical skills.

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РАЦИОНАЛИЗАТОРСТВО В КООПЕРАТИВНОЙ ПРОМЫШЛЕННОСТИ ЧЕЛЯБИНСКОЙ ОБЛАСТИ В 1950-е гг.¹

Анномация. Анализируется деятельность по совершенствованию технологий в промысловых артелях Челябинской области. Нижняя хронологическая рамка исследования определяется окончанием послевоенного восстановительного периода, верхняя – национализацией негосударственного сектора экономики в 1960 г. Показано, что в случае, когда работники ощущали себя хозяевами предприятия, они оказывались заинтересованными в улучшении характера, условий и продуктивности своего труда, поскольку видели в этом избавление от чрезмерной самоэксплуатации, плоды которой в значительной степени присваивались вышестоящими структурами. Творческое отношение к делу выражалось в разнообразных инновациях. В указанное десятилетие увеличилось количество и улучшилось качество поданных и внедренных рацпредложений. Данное обстоятельство привело к существенному повышению как общей рентабельности производственных кооперативов, так и индивидуального дохода их членов. Характерной особенностью этого процесса явилась возможность широкого тиражирования передовых достижений через прессу, профильный журнал, специальные бюллетени, а также ведомственные совещания и конференции. Моральное и материальное поощрение усилий лучших коллективов привело к увлечению числа прогрессивных начинаний и массовому рационализаторству. Повышенным спросом пользовались пресс-релизы и сборники с описанием оригинальных инженерных разработок и приспособлений. Позитивные изменения в оснащенности промартелей и в образовательно-квалификационном уровне их персонала способствовали формированию особой «кооперативной» социальной идентичности. Это тревожило правящую коммунистическую номенклатуру, поскольку не соответствовало марксистской «ортодоксии». Проведенное исследование доказывает, что креативность и новые идеи являются действенным фактором развития малого бизнеса, независимо от его организационных форм и институциональных условий. При подготовке статьи использовались статистический метод, метод деконструкции и case-study как исследовательская стратегия, что позволило автору сделать оригинальный и актуальный для современной России вывод о неуклонном росте числа рационализаторов в системе промкооперации на протяжении 1950-х гг.

Ключевые слова: кооперативная промышленность, Челябинская область, 1950-е годы, рационализаторство, технологический уклад.

Введение

Современную социально-экономическую ситуацию в нашей стране продолжает во многом определять кризис самоидентификации. Попытки реформирования «реального» социализма, предпринятые в период горбачевской «перестройки», не смогли предотвратить развала Советского Союза. Последовавшие вслед за этим болезненные изменения всего жизненного уклада привели к смене общественного строя. Однако за 30 лет доминирования либеральных установок эффективные механизмы саморазвития тоже не были созданы. В настоящее время в России, если следовать классификации известного американского социолога И. Валлерстайна, сложился периферийный капитализм с отчетливо выраженной экспортно-сырьевой ориентацией [2, с. 89]. Попытки его «модернизировать» нивелируются периодическими финансовыми потрясениями, вызванными обострением глобальных проблем, что, в свою очередь, приводит к резким колебаниям мировых цен на энергоресурсы, являющиеся главным экспортным товаром и весомым источником бюджетных поступлений в РФ.

В обстановке нарастающей нестабильности политические элиты испытывают серьезные затруднения в реализации амбициозных долговременных планов экономического роста. Растущее неверие в сверхпроекты и их способность обеспечить приемлемый уровень благосостояния для большинства населения (ср. предложение премьер-министра РФ М. В. Мишустина «оптимизировать институты развития»²) требует тщательного научного анализа альтернативных хозяйственных форм, число которых, как показывает практика, не сокращается, а, напротив, все возрастает. Вновь актуализируется исторический опыт существования в России параллельных экономических структур в виде кооперативных предприятий и организаций. Более 40 лет (1917–1960 гг.) эти структуры успешно противостояли

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 $^{^{1}}$ Статья подготовлена при финансовой поддержке Российского фонда фундаментальных исследований и Челябинской области, проект № 20-49-74004.

² Ведомости. 2020, 23 ноября.

сокрушительному натиску этатистской автократии, а теперь (с 1987 г. – по настоящее время) достаточно уверенно чувствуют себя в «стихии рынка». Последнее обстоятельство в значительной степени обусловлено тем, что руководство РФ в сегодняшних непростых социальных, политических и экономических условиях делает «особый акцент на поддержку малого и среднего бизнеса» 3 .

Необходимо отметить, что предпринимательству, как социально-экономическому феномену, имманентно характерно стремление к минимизации издержек. Наиболее продуктивным способом достижения этой цели является применение разнообразных приспособлений и ноу-хау, снижающих расходы на изготовление единицы продукции. Одной из малоизученных страниц отечественной истории периода 1950-х гг., в течение которого происходил беспрецедентный рост национального хозяйства, является развертывание местной инициативы промысловых товариществ, занимавшихся удовлетворением повседневных нужд населения. Только в последние два десятилетия начали выходить исследования, фокусирующие внимание на заявленной проблеме. Речь идет о диссертациях Б. Д. Цирянова [7], Ю. Т. Никонова [3], И. Н. Балахоновой [1], Н. Я. Чуваева [8], выполненных на материалах областей и автономных республик. В указанных исследованиях присутствуют, в частности, сюжеты о мотивации труда, социальном положении и материально-бытовых условиях членов артелей, а также говорится о связи данных показателей с оснащенностью и общим уровнем развития кооперативного производства. Однако внутренние источники и причины укрепления позиций негосударственных предприятий в деле обеспечения населения товарами и услугами практически не раскрыты.

Уточним, что в изучаемое время в содержании понятий «промысловая артель» и «промысловое товарищество» не было различий, хотя в официальных документах обычно употреблялось первое словосочетание. В тексте данные термины используются как синонимы.

Цель настоящей статьи заключается в том, чтобы на конкретных примерах с привлечением статистических данных показать роль рационализаторства и изобретательства в развитии процесса кооперации в Челябинской области.

1. Материалы и методы

В рамках проводимого исследования значение инноваций, осуществляемых южноуральскими кооператорами в работе по поддержанию на приемлемом уровне социальной сферы послевоенного советского общества, представлено нами на основе фондов Объединенного государственного архива Челябинской области (Ф. Р-965 – Областной совет промысловой кооперации; Ф. Р-274 – Областной совет депутатов трудящихся).

При написании статьи мы актуализировано положение о том, что любые организационные или технические нововведения призваны повышать разумность, обоснованность и целесообразность человеческой деятельности⁴. В промысловой системе послевоенных лет такие нововведения получили мощный импульс, поскольку помогали работникам избегать чрезмерной самоэксплуатации, плоды которой опосредованно присваивались государством, и реализовывать свой творческий потенциал, увеличивать личное благосостояние.

Исследование строилось на следующих методологических основаниях: 1) методе деконструкции, позволившем добиться корректного понимания содержательно-стилевой специфики источников и определиться с объяснительными моделями и нарративно-риторическими приемами, необходимыми для интерпретации собранных данных; 2) методе сбора и анализа статистических данных по оценке функциональных возможностей оборудования и обслуживающего персонала; 3) методе «кейс-стади» (саѕе-study), выступившим в качестве апробированного алгоритма исследования отдельного, относительно ограниченного по масштабам объекта с учетом внутреннего и внешнего контекстов.

2. Анализ и результаты

В 1950-е гг. рационализаторство в кооперативной промышленности широко развернулось и стало представлять из себя массовое движение. Этому в значительной мере способствовало возобновление выхода ежемесячного журнала «Промысловая кооперация», редакция которого всячески поощряла и пропагандировала креативные решения производственных задач. Так, артельщикам рекомендовалось проводить производственно-технические конференции в трудовых коллективах 1 раз в квартал, в союзах и советах кооперативов — не реже 1 раза в полугодие и республиканские совещания — 1 раз в

 $^{^3}$ Выступления Президента В. В. Путина на инвестиционном форуме «Россия зовет!» 29 октября 2020 г. URL: http://kremlin.ru/events/president/transcripts/speeches/64296 (дата обращения: 17.11.2021).

⁴ Попов А. Понятия рационализаторство и изобретательство как феномен культуры. [Электронный ресурс] URL: https://cyberleninka.ru/article/n/ponyatiya-ratsionalizatorstvo-i-izobretatelstvo-kak-fenomen-kultury/viewer (дата обращения: 17.11.2021).

год. Кроме того, во всех подразделениях предполагалось ежегодно устраивать двухмесячники сбора и реализации рацпредложений, объявлять конкурсы на лучшие изобретения с выплатой премий 750—1500 руб. дополнительно к авторскому гонорару. В журнале были опубликованы интересные статистические данные, из которых следовало, что в каждом третьем товариществе имелся свой «Кулибин». В таблице 1 приведены сопоставительные данные за два года⁵. Это свидетельствовало в тот период о всесоюзном масштабе явления.

Таблица 1 Рационализаторство на предприятиях Российского промыслового совета в 1953-1954 гг.

Показатели	Год			
показатели	1953 г.	1954 г.		
Количество рационализаторов в промсистеме (тыс. чел.)	21	22		
Число поданных ими рацпредложений - из них внедрено в производство (тыс.)	27 16,8	30 19		
Чистая экономия (млн. руб.)	96,5	103,5		

В Челябинской области, где в интересующий нас период насчитывалось свыше 100 артелей, объединявших более 13 тыс. человек [4, с. 153], пристальный интерес к технологическим усовершенствованиям стали проявлять в 1955 г. В итоговых отчетах появился даже специальный раздел, где помещалась тематическая подборка «узких мест» производства и отмечались достижения артелей по их «расшивке». Товарищество «Инструментальщик» менее чем за 12 месяцев получило выгоду от использования различных изобретений в 120 тыс. руб. «Красный Октябрь» от внедрения четырех рацпредложений смог сэкономить 69 тыс. руб. В феврале следующего года челябинские кооператоры организовали издание печатного плаката «За передовой опыт», а с 1957 г. стартовал конкурс среди трудовых коллективов на лучшую постановку рационализаторской работы⁶.

Пример нетривиального подхода к порученному делу продемонстрировал технорук артели «Урал» из села Бианка Миньярского района Ф. Новиков. Опытным путем он создал рецепт заменителя дефицитной и дорогой темно-коричневой морилки для покрытия мебели: на 10 л воды засыпалось 6 кг коры лиственницы и 300 г каустической соды. Все ингредиенты изготовлялись на месте. Настой кипятился 4 часа, процеживался, охлаждался и использовался по назначению. Годовая сумма затрат кооператива «на химию» уменьшилась почти на 10 тыс. руб. Работник предприятия «Энергия» Бурименко сконструировал и применил приспособление для механизированной разгрузки тряпья с автомашин. Ранее такая работа производилась вручную. Эффект составил 8,7 тыс. руб. Работник другого производственного предприятия, «Луч», Никулин придумал и самостоятельно смонтировал универсальный станок для нарезки и заточки дисковых и рамных пил. Прежде нарезкой и заточкой занималось несколько человек. После внедрения рацпредложения, кроме того, отпала необходимость в приобретении рашпилей и напильников. Экономия выразилась суммой в 6 тыс. руб. 7 Примеры можно было бы продолжать, но гораздо большей наглядностью обладают сводные данные Челябинского облпромсовета за 1957—1960 гг. 8 (см. таблицу 2).

Таблица 2 Рационализаторство на предприятиях Челябинского областного промыслового совета во второй половине 1950-х гг.

Годы	Всего предло- жений	Внедрено в про- изводство	Экономия (тыс. руб.)	Количество рационализаторов
1957	115	87	305,0	103
1958	249	231	523,0	123
1959	253	193	625,6	157
I квартал 1960	169	70	230,4	82
Итого за 3 года и 3 месяца	786	583	1684	465

Новаторское движение увлекло артельщиков. Интерес к достижениям отечественной и

⁵ Промысловая кооперация. 1955. № 12. С. 42.

⁶ ОГАЧО. Ф. 965. Оп. 5. Д. 164. ЛЛ. 91,103; Д. 196. Л. 122.

⁷ Промысловая кооперация. 1959. № 6. С. 23; ОГАЧО. Ф.965. Оп. 5. Д. 180. ЛЛ. 162,168.

⁸ ОГАЧО. Ф. 965. Оп. 5. Д. 264. Л. 23.

зарубежной науки и техники возрос настолько, что Роспромсовет в июне 1960 г. организовал центральное бюро технической информации, которое начало ежемесячно выпускать и бесплатно распространять до 10 специализированных пресс-релизов с описанием оригинальных инженерных разработок. Но и они не удовлетворяли всех запросов с мест. Тогда было решено дополнительно издавать платные сборники по химической, швейной, трикотажной, художественной промышленности, кожевенно-обувному производству, изготовлению детских игрушек, а также приспособлений, облегчающих труд инвалидов. Внедрение перспективных разработок открывало возможность ощутимого подъема уровня жизни. Например, в товариществе «Победа», поставившем на поток художественную разрисовку тканей, рядовые члены в 1959 г. получали 3 тыс. руб. в месяц, а начальник цеха –13,5 тыс. руб. 9

Заключение

Исторический опыт убедительно свидетельствует о витальности небольших коллективных предприятий даже при неблагоприятном институциональном климате, который уготовила для них построенная на идеократии советская модель мобилизационной экономики. Это выразилось, прежде всего, в ориентации на конечный результат, для чего использовались разнообразные инновационные практики, позволяющие повышать эффективность вложенного труда и добиваться максимальной степени творческой самореализации на каждом рабочем месте. В рамках данной статьи упомянутые аспекты исследуемой проблемы в подробностях не раскрываются, поскольку они уже получили освещение в других публикациях [см. 4; 6].

Поток усовершенствований и отдача от их использования увеличивались прямо пропорционально улучшению оснащенности кооперативов и росту образовательно-квалификационного уровня персонала. И никакой нормировщик, не говоря уже о чиновнике из района, не успевал просчитывать и корректировать индивидуальные нормы выработки. Их просто повышали в директивном порядке и требовали выполнения. Однако артели аккумулировали в своих руках все больше средств, реинвестировали их в производство и обретали иное качественное состояние. На глазах уходила в прошлое кустарщина, вместо нее возникал компактный и технологичный промышленный уклад, открытый творческой и денежной мотивации. «Священные скрижали» марксизма-ленинизма такого поворота не предусматривали, что побудило правящую Коммунистическую партию, не допускавшую даже мысли об их несоответствии новым тенденциям и реалиям, передать в 1960 г. все кооперативные предприятия в государственную собственность.

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⁹ Подсчитано автором по: ОГАЧО. Ф.274. Оп. 3. Д. 152. Л. 116.

INNOVATION IN THE COOPERATIVE INDUSTRY OF THE SOUTH URALS IN THE 1950s.¹⁰

Abstract: The activity on improving technology in the producers' artels of the Chelyabinsk region is presented. The lower chronological frame of the study is determined by the end of the post-war recovery period, and the upper one is determined by the nationalization of the non-state sector of the economy in 1960. It is shown that in the case when workers felt they were the owners of the enterprise, they were interested in improving the character, conditions and productivity of their work, since they saw in this is getting rid of excessive self-exploitation, the fruits of which were largely appropriated by higher structures. A creative attitude to business was expressed in a variety of innovations. The use of deconstruction, statistical and case study methods made it possible to draw an original conclusion about the steady increase in the number of inventors and rationalizers in the industrial cooperation system throughout the 1950s. In the indicated decade, the number and quality of the submitted and implemented rationalization proposals has increased. This circumstance led to a significant increase in both the overall profitability of production cooperatives and the individual income of their members. A characteristic feature of this process was the possibility of wide dissemination of advanced achievements through the press, a specialized magazine, special bulletins, as well as departmental meetings and conferences. Moral and material encouragement of the best teams' efforts has led to the fact that the enthusiasm for progressive undertakings has become widespread. Press releases and collections describing original engineering designs and fixtures were in high demand. Positive changes in the equipment of the artels and in the educational and qualification level of their personnel contributed to the formation of a special "cooperative" social identity. This worried the ruling «communist nomenklatura», as it did not correspond to the Marxist «orthodoxy». In the Russian Federation, creativity and new ideas can be an effective factor in the development of small businesses.

Keywords: cooperative industry, Chelyabinsk region, 1950s, innovation and invention, technological structure.

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ВОЗРАСТНАЯ ОБУСЛОВЛЕННОСТЬ КОМПЬЮТЕРНОЙ ТЕРМИНОЛОГИИ В ИНДИВИДУАЛЬНОМ ЛЕКСИКОНЕ (ЭКСПЕРИМЕНТАЛЬНОЕ ИССЛЕДОВАНИЕ)

Аннотация. Автором предпринята попытка выявить некоторые особенности функционирования компьютерной терминологии (далее – КТ) в индивидуальном лексиконе представителями разных возрастных категорий. Было замечено присутствие большого количества вербальных элементов, условно названных ассоциативной компьютерной терминологией (далее - АКТ). Автором данной работы была выдвинута гипотеза о том, что в индивидуальном лексиконе представителей поколения «Ваby boom» превалирует традиционная компьютерная терминология, а в лексиконе представителей поколений «Х» и «Y» ассоциативная КТ. Материалом для исследования послужили лексемы, выявленные в результате проведения количественного анализа компьютерной терминологии в различных типах дискурса. К ним относятся лексемы: компьютерный, фотогалерея, технология, машинный, робот, нейросеть, алгоритм, данные, искусственный интеллект. Достижение цели исследования стало возможным благодаря проведению эксперимента с использованием метода личностных конструктов, разработанного американским психологом Джорджем Александром Келли, и применению техники репертуарных решеток. Участниками эксперимента выступили представители разных поколений, возраст которых варьируется от 27 до 69 лет. Количество участников эксперимента составило 50 человек. Сфера деятельности испытуемых была связана с промышленностью, атомной энергетикой, здравоохранением и образованием. Кроме того, в группу испытуемых вошла отдельная категория граждан, не имеющих официальной занятости. Экспериментальное исследование проходило с использованием бесплатного программного обеспечения Google Формы. Интерпретация результатов эксперимента позволила выявить наличие определенной возрастной обусловленности компьютерной терминологии в индивидуальном лексиконе. Выдвинуто предположение, что выявленные особенности компьютерной терминологии в словарном запасе представителей поколений «Х» и «Y» обусловлены условиями их жизни и деятельности, доминированием картины мира, которую условно можно назвать компьютерной.

Ключевые слова: метод личностных конструктов, эксперимент, техника репертуарных решеток, индивидуальный лексикон, ассоциативная терминология, ассоциативные компьютерные термины

Reedonue

Предлагаемая статья продолжает серию исследований, направленных на изучение компьютерной терминологии (далее – КТ) в языке и речи. В предыдущих работах мы высказывали предположение о распространении КТ в жизни социума в настоящее время, что способствовало ее использованию в разных типах дискурса [2]. Анализ существующих источников, посвященных изучению КТ, свидетельствует об постоянном внимании языковедов к рассматриваемому феномену [1; 3; 9 и др.].

В нашем исследовании КТ изучается в рамках психолингвистической парадигмы, что позволяет трактовать ее как «ментальную сущность, возникающую в процессе речемыслительной деятельности человека и отражающую взаимодействие человека с окружающим миром» [10, с. 73].

Теория проксиматики С. В. Лебедевой, послужившая теоретической базой нашего исследования, дает возможность интерпретировать изучаемый феномен через обращение к знаниям и представлениям человека об окружающем мире [4; 5; 6; 7; 8].

Наблюдение над современным языком и речью убеждает в том, что, помимо традиционного понимания КТ как средства описания программного и аппаратного обеспечения, появилось большое количество вербальных элементов, которые мы можем условно назвать ассоциативной компьютерной терминологией (далее — АКТ). Сущность вышеупомянутого феномена заключается в том, что часть терминологии, которая изначально не принадлежит узкоспециализированной (компьютерной) области, может рассматриваться в качестве АКТ только в том случает, когда присутствует определенный контекст. Ассоциативная терминология способствует появлению в индивидуальном сознании яркого образа предмета или явления.

Цель исследования — выявление особенностей функционирования КТ в индивидуальном лексиконе представителей разных возрастных категорий.

Гипотеза — предположение о том, что в индивидуальном лексиконе представителей поколений «Х» и «Y» превалирует ассоциативная компьютерная терминология, а в лексиконе представителей поколения «Ваby boom» традиционная КТ.

1. Методы исследования

В качестве основного метода исследования применялся метод личностных конструктов, разработанный американским психологом Джорджем Александром Келли [12]. Указанный метод предполагает наличие некой зависимости между когнитивными способностями индивида, оцениванием и анализом воспринимаемых индивидом объектов и событий действительности. Под термином «личностные конструкты» Дж. Келли понимает «складывающиеся на основе субъективного опыта устойчивые способы, схемы, классификации, которые человек использует, чтобы осознать или объяснить происходящее» [12, с. 75]. Следовательно, полагаем, что используемый метод уместен при проведении экспериментального исследования.

В процессе эксперимента мы использовали технику репертуарных решеток. Одним из преимуществ данной техники является то, что ее применение возможно не только в области психологии и социологии, но и в лингвистике.

2. Материал для исследования

В качестве материала для исследования были выбраны лексемы, выявленные в результате проведения количественного анализа компьютерной терминологии в различных типах дискурса и условно названные нами как ассоциативные компьютерные термины. В их числе лексемы: компьютерный, фотогалерея, технология, машинный, робот, нейросеть, алгоритм, данные, искусственный интеллект. Следует отметить, что для нашего эксперимента использовались АКТ на русском языке, что требовали цели и задачи исследования. Напомним, что в ходе эксперимента принимали участие испытуемые (далее – ИИ) различных возрастных категорий, не все из которых владели английским языком.

3. Процедура эксперимента

Эксперимент проходил в несколько этапов.

Первый этап эксперимента — это формирование бланка, в дальнейшем предложенного ИИ для заполнения. Метод личностных конструктов предполагает личный контакт испытуемого и диагноста, однако мы пришли к выводу, что проведение эксперимента с использованием дистанционных технологий будет наиболее подходящим вариантом как для испытуемого, так и для исследователя. При помощи автоматического сбора ответов испытуемых мы сможем наиболее четко и меньшими временными потерями провести интерпретацию результатов тестирования. Для построения бланка использовалось программное обеспечение (далее — ПО) Google Формы [11]. Мы сочли этот ресурс наиболее удобным и простым для нашей работы, ввиду того что в его ПО присутствует необходимый набор инструментов для анализа и интерпретации результатов.

С целью получения информации об испытуемых мы предложили ИИ заполнить бланк, состоящий из 2-х блоков: а) информация об участнике; б) ход исследования. Чтобы исключить непреднамеренный пропуск ответов и неточность результатов, мы произвели необходимые настройки в ПО и сделали обязательным ответ на каждый вопрос в бланке: испытуемый, пропустивший ответ на каждый вопрос формы, не сможет приступить к следующему этапу эксперимента. Блок «Информация о респонденте» представлен на рисунке 1.

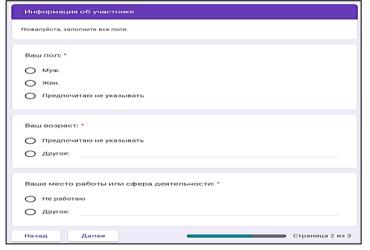


Рисунок 1. Блок «Информация об участнике»

В данном блоке ИИ необходимо ответить на вопросы о половой принадлежности, возрасте и месте работы или сфере деятельности. Так как тестирование полностью анонимное, мы не запрашивали у ИИ иных личных данных (ФИО). Вопросы «Ваш пол» и «Ваш возраст» присутствуют с оговоркой «Предпочитаю не указывать». Мы сочли необходимым вписать данный вариант, чтобы у ИИ присутствовало ощущение

свободы выбора, а какие-либо ограничения с нашей стороны не ощущались.

После того как ИИ заполнят первый блок, им необходимо приступить следующему этапу: заполнению блока № 2 «Ход исследования». В данном блоке мы поместили инструкцию и непосредственно элементы АКТ, представленные участникам эксперимента. Блок «Инструкция» продемонстрирован на рисунке 2.

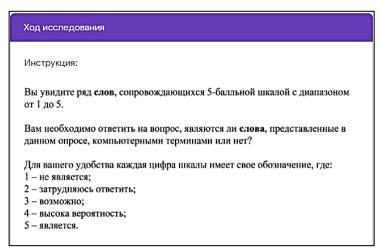


Рисунок 2. Блок «Инструкция», предъявляемая респондентам

Ввиду ограничения по количеству растровых изображений в публикации, а также наличия однотипной формулировки вопросов, мы не сочли технически возможным демонстрировать изображения всех вопросов, содержащихся в бланке, поэтому ограничимся только одним.

На рисунке 3 представлен пример вопроса, содержащий элемент-АКТ и 5-балльную шкалу. В ходе нашего эксперимента была использована упорядоченная номинальная шкала с эмерджентным и имплицитным полюсами. Выбор данного типа шкалы обоснован ее наглядностью и простотой восприятия числовых значений испытуемыми. Согласно инструкции, каждому числовому значению номинальной шкалы соответствует определенное обозначение, где для АКТ: 1 — не является (термином); 2 — затрудняюсь ответить; 3 — возможно; 4 — высока вероятность; 5 — является.

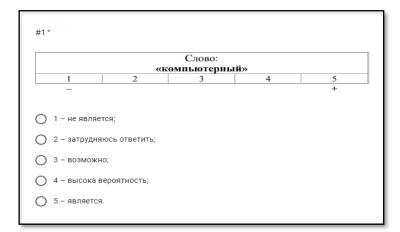


Рисунок 3. Пример вопроса в бланке

В эксперименте приняли участие 50 человек, сфера деятельности которых была связана с промышленностью, атомной энергетикой, здравоохранением и образованием. Также в группу ИИ вошла отдельная категория граждан, не имеющих официальной занятости (пенсионеры). Возраст участников эксперимента варьировался от 27 до 69 лет.

Все части бланка были заполнены: испытуемые указали свой возраст и пол.

В процессе интерпретации полученных результатов мы ставили цель выявить возрастную обусловленность знания или понимания предъявленных нами АКТ. При этом проводилась дифференциация материала по принципу: традиционная КТ и АКТ. Кроме того, ИИ были разделены на возрастные группы и категории, опираясь на теорию поколений У. Штрауса и Н. Хау [13]. Согласно данной теории, к представителям поколения «Ваby Воот» относятся люди, рожденные в период с 1944 по 1967 год (54-77 лет), а к поколениям «Х» и «Y» с 1968 по 1984 (37-54 года) и с 1985 по 2000 год (21-36 лет) соответственно.

Общие результаты эксперимента показали, что лексикон представителей поколений «Х» и «Ү» (первая группа испытуемых) в большей степени наполнен ассоциативной компьютерной терминологией, нежели чем у второй группы (представителей поколения «Ваby Boom»): 96 % респондентов 1-й группы отнесли лексемы компьютерный, искусственный интеллект, технология, нейросеть, алгоритм, робот к АКТ. Лексемы машинный, фотогалерея, данные, относящиеся по большей части к имплицитному полюсу, не были отнесены испытуемыми 1-й группы к АКТ. Вероятнее всего, ассоциации, возникавшие у респондентов во время эксперимента, не были связаны с компьютерной отраслью.

Ответы представителей «Baby boom» были разнообразны и кардинально отличались друг от

друга: часть ИИ соотносила предъявленные нами термины с максимальным баллом номинальной шкалы (5). Например, лексемы компьютерный и робот не вызвали затруднений у испытуемых. Но в случае, когда ИИ сталкивались с такими словами, как фотогалерея, данные, технология и машинный, они кардинально меняли полюс, и вышеназванные лексемы оказывались на грани имплицитного полюса номинальной шкалы. В иных случаях ИИ относили к АКТ не только термины компьютерный и робот, но также и искусственный интеллект, нейросеть, алгоритм. Вероятно, возникновение результатов такого характера свидетельствует о разной степени знакомства с феноменом цифровизации и научно-технической революции представителями поколения «Ваby boom».

Приведем наиболее показательные результаты. Чтобы указать на контраст и имеющуюся возрастную обусловленность КТ в индивидуальном лексиконе, построим репертуарную решетку, соответствующую ответам двух ИИ. В таблице 1 представлены результаты первого испытуемого. Информация о испытуемом № 1: мужчина в возрасте 27 лет, работающий в сфере промышленности, представитель поколения «Y», или миллениалов (граждане 1984—2000 гг. рождения).

Таблица 1

Конструкт Эмерджентный по- люс	«компьютерный»	«искусственный интеллект»	«фотогалерея»	«данные»	«технология»	«нейросеть»	«алгоритм»	«робот»	«машинный»	Конструкт Имплицитный по- люс
Является (5)	5	5	1	1	4	5	4	5	1	Не является (1)

При анализе полученных результатов мы видим, что в лексиконе данного испытуемого превалируют такие АКТ, как компьютерный, искусственный, технология, нейросеть, алгоритм, робот. Мы считаем, что причиной тому явилась постоянная вовлеченность испытуемого в непрерывный технический прогресс, а также наличие у него определенных знаний о роли указанных лексем. Примечательным является то, что такие лексемы, как данные, фотогалерея и машинный, не были отнесены к АКТ. Вероятнее всего, у ИИ возникали иные ассоциации, совершенно не связанные с областью компьютерной терминологии.

Представитель поколения, именованного Н. Хау и У. Штраусом как Baby boom, обладает следующими характеристиками: женщина в возрасте 69 лет, пенсионер, официально не работающая. Схема ответа данного участника эксперимента представлена в таблице 2.

Таблица 2

Конструкт	ıй»	й	<u>^</u>							Конструкт
Эмерджентный по- люс	«компьютерны	«искусственны интеллект»	«фотогалерея»	«данные»	«технология»	«нейросеть»	«алгоритм»	«робот»	«машинный»	Имплицитный по- люс
Является (5)	5	4	1	2	1	4	4	5	1	Не является (1)

Анализ результатов позволил установить, что испытуемая отнесла понятия «компьютерный», «искусственный интеллект», «нейросеть», «алгоритм» и «робот» к области АКТ. Однако такие лексемы, как фотогалерея, данные, технология, машинный, по мнению испытуемой, к АКТ не относятся. Мы можем предположить, что у представителя данной возрастной категории абсолютно не возникает никаких ассоциации с упомянутыми выше лексемами ввиду отсутствия как внешнего, так и внутреннего контекстов, связанных с употреблением данных слов, а также опыта в использовании цифровых технологий и применении их в различных сферах деятельности.

Заключение

Данное исследование позволило нам подтвердить выдвинутую ранее гипотезу и сделать вывод о том, что индивидуальном лексиконе представителей поколений «Х», «Y» преобладают АКТ в большей степени, нежели чем у представителей поколения «Ваby Воот». Полагаем, что это обусловлено условиями жизни разных поколений и особенностями их деятельности, а также доминированием у молодых

людей так называемой компьютерной картины мира.

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AGE CONDITIONALITY OF COMPUTER TERMINOLOGY IN INDIVIDUAL LEXICON (EXPERIMENTAL RESEARCH)

Abstract. Author has made an attempt to identify some features of the computer terminology's functioning within an individual lexicon among representatives of different age categories. There has been noticed a large number of verbal means which were provisionally called associative computer terminology. Also, the author has developed the following hypothesis: traditional computer terminology prevails in the elderly generation's use while the associative computer terminology dominates in young generation's individual vocabulary. The data for the experimental research was lexemes identified as a result of a quantitative analysis of computer terminology in various types of discourse. These include computer, photo gallery, technology, machine, robot, neural network, algorithm, data, artificial intelligence. Achieving the goal of the study became possible in response to the experiment using the method of personality constructs and the use of repertory grid technique. This method had been developed by the American psychologist George Alexander Kelly. The participants in the experiment are representatives of different generations, whose age ranges from 27 to 69. The number of participants was 50. Their occupation was connected with sector of industry, nuclear energy, healthcare and education. Also, the participants' group included a separate category of people without official employment. Google Forms application program was used in the experimental research. Interpretation of the experiment results made it possible to reveal the presence of age-dependent computer terminology in the individual lexicon. We assume that it depends on the living conditions and activities of the younger generation and the predominance of the world view, which can be called computer.

Keywords: method of personality constructs, experiment, repertoire grid technique, individual lexicon, associative terminology, associative computer terms.

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Дмитриева Е. В. Возрастная обусловленность компьютерной терминологии в индивидуальном лексиконе (экспериментальное исследование) // Гуманитарно-педагогические исследования. 2020. Т. 5. № 4. С. 16–21.

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ВСТУПИТЕЛЬНОЕ СЛОВО РЕДАКЦИИ ЖУРНАЛА

Раздел «Научная жизнь» настоящего выпуска журнала посвящен выборочной публикации тезисов и статей, написанных по материалам докладов на Международной междисциплинарной научнопрактической конференции «HUMAN+» (ЧЕЛОВЕК ПЛЮС), которая проходила на английском языке в ФГБОУ ВО «МГТУ им. Г. И. Носова» в 23 -24 ноября 2021 г.

Материалы конференции представлены не в полном объеме: публикуются только статьи, прошедшие двойное слепое рецензирование и сопровожденные письменным официальным согласием авторов на публикацию. Статьи сгруппированы в три раздела в соответствии с секциями конференции: 1. «Human + Word»; 2. «Human + Motion»; 3. «Human plus History».

Публикацию докладов предваряет обзор тематики, основных идей и результатов научного форума, подготовленный координатором конференции – кандидатом педагогических наук, доцентом кафедры лингвистики и перевода Т. Ю. Баклыковой.

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«ЧТО ТАКОЕ ЧЕЛОВЕК?»: МЕЖДУНАРОДНАЯ НАУЧНО-ПРАКТИЧЕСКАЯ КОНФЕРЕНЦИЯ «HUMAN PLUS»

Аннотация. Международная междисциплинарная научно-практическая конференция «HUMAN+» (23-25 ноября 2021 г., Магнитогорск) посвящена поиску ответов на самые главные вопросы гуманитаристики: что такое «человек», каковы его природа и положение в новом мире? В рамках пленарных и секционных заседаний впервые в истории института гуманитарного образования МГТУ им. Г. И. Носова участники на английском языке обсуждали вопросы природы человека через призму слова, истории и движения. «Чем достигается и поддерживается человеком постоянная открытость к изменениям?» «Как дается и чем добывается творческая и общая свобода человека?», «Какого рода науки должны изучать «человеческое»?», «Как возникает определенное понимание человеческой природы?», «Какими могут быть альтернативы биологическому взгляду на человека? – вот ключевые вопросы конференции. Кроме того, в рамках данного научного форума был освещен широкий круг вопросов по истории, филологии, педагогике и двигательной культуре (начиная с XVIII века до наших дней). Историческое знание фундаментально для человеческого самопонимания. Оно позволяет нам увидеть «человеческое» как процесс созидания человеком самого себя, идущий из прошлого через настоящее в будущее. Отдавая должное сложности и многообразию знаний о человеке, участники конференции неоднократно подчеркивали, что постижение человеке не сводится ни к данным биологии, ни к религиозным верованиям, ни выводам историков. Самосозидание человека становится возможным благодаря рефлексивному кругу мысли и действия. Материалы статьи содержат обзор интересных и разноплановых докладов, а также общих результатов конференции.

Ключевые слова: междисциплинарная научная конференция, человек, слово, двигательная культура, история, филология, педагогика, социология, этнография, психология.

Что такое «человек»? Ведущие лингвисты, историки, антропологи России и зарубежья не останавливаются в поиске ответов на главные вопросы человечества. В этом можно было убедиться 23–25 ноября 2021 г. в Магнитогорске, где на площадке Магнитогорского государственного технического университета им. Г. И. Носова прошла Международная междисциплинарная научно-практическая конференция «HUMAN+», организованная институтом гуманитарного образования.

Междисциплинарность данной научной конференции не следует трактовать как смелость или прихоть организаторов. Такой подход к изучению гуманитарных дисциплин назрел давно. Как отметили многие участники конференции, только мультидисциплинарность позволяет добиться синергетического эффекта в исследовании человека, поиске нового взгляда на человеческую природу и двигательную культуру, готовому бросить им вызов.

Конференция посвящена обсуждению самого важного для гуманитариев вопроса – «Что значит

быть Человеком в новом мире?». Ответ на него постоянно ускользает от нас, как только начинает казаться, что мы приблизились к пониманию человеческой природы, к пониманию сути человека. Всем известно определение биологического вида Homo sapiens — «Человек разумный». Конечно, нам хотелось бы думать, что мы разумны, но история войн, концлагерей, атомных бомбежек, экологических катастроф заставляют усомниться в этом, при том что животные иногда проявляют большую разумность в сравнении с человеком. Для Йохана Хейзинга homoludens — это «Человек, играющий». Нидерландский ученый убедительно показал, что игра старше культуры и что человеческая культура имеет игровой характер. Животные тоже играют. Есть еще Homodeus, т. е. Человек божественный. Согласно Ювеналь Харарри, организмы — это алгоритмы, и поэтому homo sapiens не могут доминировать во Вселенной, где большие данные становятся парадигмой.

Уникальная способность человечества придать смысл своим действиям и мыслям – вот что сде-



лало возможными его многочисленные достижения. Технологические разработки угрожают развитию способности людей придавать смысл своей жизни. Ю. Харари пророчествует замену человечества сверхчеловеком, или *homo deus*, наделенным сверхъестественными способностями, такими как вечная жизнь [4].

Рис. 1. Участники конференции «HUMAN+» 2021 г.

Конференция «HUMAN+» проводилась институтом гуманитарного образования МГТУ им. Г. И. Носова на площадке

научно-образовательного EXTEND-Центра. Она объединила аспирантов, преподавателей и научных сотрудников (всего около 40 участников), ведущих свои исследования в разных научных областях (лингвистике, переводоведении, гуманитаристике, краеведении, истории, педагогике, этнографии и др.), в разных странах (Россия, Великобритания, Франция, Польша, Латвия, Швеция, Бразилия), на разных континентах. Нельзя не отметить большое количество студентов и магистрантов, посетивших конференцию или выступивших с докладами на секциях.

Английский язык стал знаковой особенностью данной конференции. Все участники представили доклады на английском. Показательно, что от магнитогорского вуза в конференции приняли участие не только преподаватели кафедры лингвистики и перевода или кафедры иностранных языков по техническим направлениям, профессионально владеющие иностранными языками, но и преподаватели, студенты и магистранты других кафедр: кафедры психологии, дошкольного и специального образования, языкознания и литературоведения, всеобщей истории и др.

Объективной чертой пошедшей конференции стал смешанный формат выступлений участников, ставший традиционным в пандемийные времена: были организованы очные заседания, онлайн трансляция и онлайн доклады спикеров, которые не смогли приехать. Это потребовало слаженной технической и организационной работы и устроителей конференции, и ее участников.

Торжественное открытие конференции «HUMAN+» состоялось 23 ноября. С приветственным словом к участникам обратились проректор по международной деятельности Алексей Георгиевич Корчунов; председатель программного комитета, директор института гуманитарного образования Татьяна Евгеньевна Абрамзон и ведущий научный сотрудник Института истории естествознания и техники РАН, преподаватель Школы искусства и дизайна ГУ ВШЭ (Москва) Ирина Евгеньевна Сироткина.

На пленарных заседаниях с научными докладами выступили: в очном формате — почетный профессор Ланкастерского университета (Великобритания), почетный член Института философии РАН, автор фундаментальных трудов про историю психологии, гуманитарных наук и природу человека Роджер Смит; историк культуры, антрополог, ведущий научный сотрудник Института истории естествознания и техники РАН, преподаватель московской Школы искусства и дизайна ГУ ВШЭ, кандидат психологических наук, Ирина Евгеньевна Сироткина; доктор филологических наук, доктор философских наук, профессор МГТУ им. Г.И. Носова Светлана Андреевна Песина, директор института гуманитарного образования, доктор филологических наук, профессор МГТУ им. Г.И. Носова Татьяна

Евгеньевна Абрамзон; в дистанционном формате (цифровая платформа ZOOM) — историк, профессор Карлстадского университета (Швеция) Питер Олауссон (Peter Olausson) и профессор Федерального университета Серажипи (Бразилия) Игор Гадиоли (Igor Gadioli).

P. Смит в своем докладе «Sense of movement: "action-resistance" as the basis of human subjectivity» представлял междисциплинарное исследование сложного и комплексного чувства движения (кинестезии), которое еще называют «темным» (И. М. Сеченов), или «шестым», и связывают с интуицией. Основное внимание профессора Смита было сосредоточено на том факте, что чувство движения играет



центральную роль в работе всех органов чувств, в регуляции позы и движений. Кинестезия — фундаментальная часть опыта каждого человека: наше психофизическое состояние и благополучие зависит от того, как, сколько и с какими ощущениями мы двигаемся. Понимая, как устроено и работает чувство движения, мы познаем самих себя.

Рис. 2. Выступление Роджера Смита на пленарном заседании.

Междисциплинарность доклада Р. Смита проявилась, в частности, в представленном анализе языковых метафор, основанных на идеях движения и осязания: перводвигатель Вселенной, меня это не касается, земля ушла из-под ног, движимый чувством, ощутимый удар по самолюбию, хитрый ход, руки прочь, цепляться за воспоминания, он непоколебим, гладить против шерсти, радикальное политическое движение, трогательная речь, схватывающее я и т. д. Докладчик отметил, что частота обращения к идее движения в речи имеет глубокие причины, и «здравый смысл» подсказывает нам ответ: человек движется как индивидуальное физическое тело в физическом мире, а чувственный опыт этой фундаментальной связи является естественным источником фигур речи для обозначения многих не столь очевидных значений. Метафора строится на том, что нам знакомо. Знакомство с осязанием и движением задает тему истории. С самого зарождения жизни живое существо дотрагивается до объектов реального мира или ощущает на себе разнообразные прикосновения; движется и встречается с другим движением. Затем появляются жесты и речь, которые тоже движения. Наш язык осязания и движения имеет физическую, психологическую и социальную природу: при осознании себя как человека чувство движения пронизывает каждое из этих измерений. Контакт, движение и сопротивление лежат в основе осознания себя и других, субъекта и объекта. Сенсорные модальности осязания и движения находятся в центре лингвистической игры, отражающей наше пребывание в мире, и игра эта, как и мир, характеризуется богатством и многомерностью. Так человек становится частью мира. Сатарясь описать, что значит жить, мы в определенном смысле опираемся язык «контакта». Философ Мэтью Рэтклифф, последователь феноменологической традиции, заметил по этому поводу, что «ни одна часть тела никогда не пребывает в осязательной "пустоте"» (цит. по Смит Р. 2021 [3, с. 16]). Р. Смит опирался также на мысль Мориса Мерло-Понти, высказанную им еще в 1999 г., о том, что «феноменологический мир – это телесный мир, опыт – это ситуативное явление, а не отстраненное наблюдение» [3, с. 16]. Выступление Роджера Смита задало один из векторов общего обсуждения на конференции.

Доклад историка культуры, антрополога, ведущего научного сотрудника Института истории естествознания и техники РАН, преподавателя Школы искусства и дизайна ГУ ВШЭ (Москва) Ирины Евгеньевны Сироткиной на тему «Author's course in dance and motion culture – for everyone» побуждал слушателей к углубленному пониманию танца как вида искусства и составной части двигательной культуры человечества, элемента, служащего спутником ритуалов и празднеств. Представив сущностные характеристики и историю развития танца, И. Е.Сироткина указала на отличия танца от пляски; предложила задуматься над тем, является ли танец стихией или искусством; познакомила участников конференции с исследованиями связи танца с повседневной жизнью и попытками определить признаки идеального тела для танца [2].



Рисунок 2. Выступление Е. И. Сиротктной на пленарном заседании.

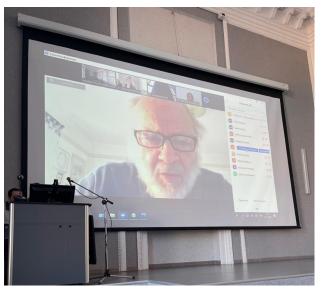
Глубокий анализ теории метафоры прозвучал в докладе «The words that help us understand the world» доктора филологических, философских наук, профессора МГТУ им. Г.И. Носова Светланы Андреевны Песиной. Интерес к метафоре способствовал взаимодействию различных, направлений научной мысли, их идейной консолидации, следствием которой стало формирование когнитивной науки, занятой исследованием разных сторон человеческого сознания. Развитие этой науки, по словам С. А. Песиной, основывается на предположении о том, что «человеческие когнитивные структуры (восприятие, язык, мышление, память, действие) неразрывно связаны между собой в рамках одной общей задачи — осуществления процессов усвоения, переработки и трансформации знания, которые, собственно, и определяют сущность человеческого разума». Проведенное профессором Песиной исследо-

вание подтверждает мысль Р. Хофмана: «Метафора, где бы она нам ни встретилась, всегда обогащает понимание человеческих действий, знаний и языка».

Тема метафоры в самых разных аспектах речевой и языковой культуры потом не раз будет подниматься на конференции, в частности, в докладе «Semantic component basic configuration in the word structure: metaphorical aspect» кандидата филологических наук, доцента МГТУ им. Г. И. Носова О. Л. Зимаревой и старшего преподавателя того же университета М. А. Величко.

Доктор филологических наук, профессор МГТУ им. Г. И. Hocoba Татьяна Евгеньевна Абрамзон посвятила свое выступление «Fridrikh the Great and Ekaterina the Great: dialogues of the realm of the dead in the world of the living» и яркую презентацию детальному анализу переписки великих монархов XVIII в. Фридриха II и Екатерины II. Тятьяна Евгеньевна обратила внимание на интересное обстоятельство: все письма написаны по-французски, хотя оба корреспондента — немцы по происхождению. Несмотря на дружеский тон писем (все выражения озабоченности и прямые политические угрозы даны намеками и обычно в постскриптумах), Фридриха II и Екатерины II видели друг в друге прежде всего монархов, причем, как мы сейчас понимаем, монархов великих.

Доклад историка, лектора Карлстадского университета Питера Олауссона «History and Family Memories in a Local Setting. Swedish iron smith's in the Urals of the 1800s» вызвал особый интерес у слушателей и участников конференции, поскольку касался истории Тирляна — места, хорошо знако-



мого магнитогорцам. Речь шла о миграции шведских металлургов в конце 1800-х годов на территорию юга Уральских гор, в частности в Тирлян. О повседневной жизнь шведской колонии свидетельствуют рассказы и артефакты, сохраненные потомками тех металлургов, фондами музеев России и Швеции. П. Олауссон анализировал и то, как эта «деталь» истории шведской эмиграции и модернизации российской черной металлургии представлена в современных исторических исследованиях. Ученым анализируется проблема презентации культурного наследия в современных научных публикациях и музейных экспозициях.

Рисунок 3. Выступление Питера Олауссона (Швеция) в формате видеоконференции (Zoom).

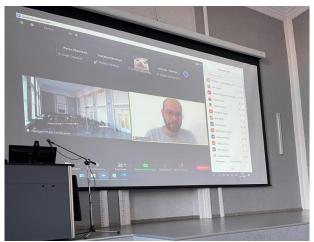


Рисунок 4. Обсуждение доклада П. Олауссона в дистанционном формате

Завершал пленарное заседание доклад в режиме видеоконференции бразильского профессора из Федерального университета Серажипи Игора Гадиоли на тему «Assertive Communication mean: what you say, say what you mean». В фокусе внимания докладчика была ассертивность — социальный навык, владение которым требует как подлинного выражения мыслей коммуниканта, так и сочувствия. Эти условия позволяют гарантировать, что сказанное соответствует чьим-то потребностям, и уважительно

относиться к чувствам другого человека. Профессор Гадиоли проанализировал некоторые эффективные техники и приемы ассертивного поведения человека, при котором собеседник удерживает себя от агрессивности и пассивности, передает сообщение таким образом, что результат коммуникации оказывается приемлемым для обеих сторон в разговоре.

В рамках пленарных и секционных заседаний участники обсудили природу человека через призму слова, культуры движения и истории.

В рамках направления «Человек + Движение» работала секция «Танец и двигательная культура в системе гуманитарного образования», где было представлено 7 докладов. Модератором выступила И. Е. Сироткина. Участники секции обсудили место исследований танца в изучении двигательной культуры в рамках гуманитарных дисциплин, а также значение теории танца как для профессиональной подготовки танцовщиков, так и студентов некоторых гуманитарных направлений. В этом ключе были представлены дистанционные (Zoom) доклады А. С. Поляковой, Н. В. Курюмовой, Л. А. Закса (Гуманитарный институт, Екатеринбург); очный доклад О. В. Пустовойтовой, Н. А. Шепиловой, Л. А. Яковлевой, А.С. Борисенко (МГТУ им. Г. И. Носова). Развитию хореографического искусства, вопросам совершенствования и модернизации хореографического образования, а также историческим аспектам изучения танца, танцевальной и двигательной культуры были посвящены дистанционные выступления И. В. Нарского (ЮУрГУ, Челябинск) и В. В. Устюговой (ПГНИУ, Пермь).

Интересная дискуссия развернулась по итогам доклада «Perception of dance: online and in 3D cinema» аспиранта Школы искусства и дизайна ГУ ВШЭ, куратора челябинской Недели моды, танцовщицы Елены Олещенко. Исследовательница анализировала восприятие 3D-танца.

Секция «Познание и коммуникация: языковые единицы в новой парадигме исследования» из раздела «Человек+Слово» была сфокусирована на проблемах когнитивной лингвистики и межкультурной коммуникации, рассматриваемых в широком междисциплинарном контексте. Отметим здесь доклады магнитогорских исследователей: И. Р. Пулехи, О. Л. Зимаревой М. А. Величко, О. М. Седляровой, Н. С. Соловьевой, Е. В. Тулиной, М. В. Артомоновой и Е. А. Губчевской. Актуальным вопросам подготовки специалистов по общему и отраслевому переводу в современном технологическом мире был посвящен доклад «Multicomponent Terms in Translation Activities» В. В. Михайлова (МГТУ им. Г. И. Носова). Концептуализация реалий меняющегося мира в языке Н. Гумилева представлена в докладе «N. Gumilev's lyrics: the concept of happiness» магнитогорских исследователей В. В. Цуркан, С. А. Предеиной.

Междисциплинарными, на стыке философии, когнитивной, социо-, этно- и психолингвистики были докдады профессора кафедры психологии МГТУ им. Г. И. Носова М. В. Мусийчук «Internet humor during the COVID-19 pandemic and self-isolation "feast in time of plague"?» и ее соавтора по докладу «"The Black Swan" by N. N. Taleb through the prism of wit» С. В. Мусийчука (ФГБОУ ВО «Сочинский государственный университет» в г. Анапе Краснодарского края).

Теоретические и методологические проблемы филологии в прикладном, педагогическом аспекте рассматривались в докладах магнитогорцев Н. Н. Зеркиной, П. А. Атеевой и Д. В. Ведерко, О. В. Дорфман, А. Ю. Лобовой и Л. Д. Пономаревой.

Всего на этой секции было представлено 14 докладов, в том числе стендовый доклад «Inference in the Virtual Discourse»), подготовленный московскими коллегами Е. В. Суворовой и Ю. Г. Романовой из ОЧУ ВО Института международного права и экономики им. А. С. Грибоедова (Москва).

Модератором секции была профессор С. А. Песина (МГТУ им. Г. И. Носова).

Секция третьего раздела «Человек+История» была посвящена проблемам исторической памяти, этнической идентичности, коммеморативным практикам и включила в себя 8 докладов. Выступающие подчеркивали, что на протяжении последних двух столетий историческая память используется для создания наций и поддержания этнической идентичности посредством различных коммеморативных практик. Публичные мероприятия с целью прославления прошлого или поминовения жертв стали одним из способов политической легитимации. Травмы прошлого и ностальгия служат опорой для создания национальных нарративов и основой для выбора врагов и героев. Противоречивые исторические личности «очищаются» во имя национального согласия. В этом ключе прозвучали очные доклады Е. В. Шестиалтыновой, Я. М. Федякиной (МГТУ им. Г. И. Носова) и доклады в формате видеоконференции – Н. В Нарской (Челябинск) и М. В. Потмекиной (МГТУ им. Г. И. Носова).

Докладчики отметили, что, к сожалению, доминирующими темами коммеморативных практик в XXI веке стали войны, геноцид, вынужденные миграции и эпидемии. Новейший европейский тренд — это уважение, включение и даже выдвижение на первый план темы «другого», особенно если «другой» представляет собой какое-либо меньшинство. Другая тенденция исторической науки — это смещение интереса с государства на индивидуальный опыт человека как в историографии, так и в описании культурной памяти народа. В этом ключе были представлены: доклад Е. М. Буряк (МГТУ им. Г. И. Носова) и дистанционные выступления Агаты Чайковски (Польша), Сотирии-Маркелы Каламвока (Франция), Т. Г. Пашковской (МГТУ им. Г. И. Носова).

Программа конференции включила в себя, кроме собственно докладов, мастер-классы и лекции приглашенных гостей — ученых с мировым именем. Так, в первый день в рамках секции «Человек + Движение» для участников прошел творческий мастер-класс по свободному танцу от историка культуры и антрополога И. Е. Сироткиной. Участники мастер-класса познакомились с искусством «свободного», «пластического» танца, или «танца-модерн» — направления, созданного Айседорой Дункан и ее современниками, изменившего не только наше представление о танце, но и отношении к телу, одежде, движению и стилю жизни. т. е. повлекшего перемены в двигательной культуре XX века [1]. В мастер-классе приняли участие студенты и преподаватели Института гуманитарного образования МГТУ им. Г. И. Носова, Магнитогорской государственной консерватории, а также хореографы и участники танцевальных коллективов г. Магнитогорска.

Третий день в рамках секции «Человек + История» начался с показа художественно-документального фильма «Невозможное» режиссера Игоря Гончарова. Фильм посвящен истории рождения легендарной Магнитки, становлению ее духа, мужества и отваги поколений, ковавших победу в Великой Отечественной войне. На взгляд режиссера фильма, именно в эти годы формировалась духовная матрица города, его ментальное ядро. Фильм снят по проекту с общим названием «Кто мы?», реализую-



щимся с использованием средств гранта Президента Российской Федерации на развитие гражданского общества, предоставленного Фондом президентских грантов в 2020 г.

Рисунок 5. Обсуждение фильма «Невозможное» с режиссером Игорем Гончаровым

Активную поддержку проекту оказал МГТУ им. Г.И. Носова. Экспертами фильма были представители двух кафедр – профессор кафедры металлургии и химических технологий В. А. Бигеев, заведующий кафедрой всеобщей истории профессор М. Н. Потёмкина и доценты Н. Н. Макарова и Н. В. Чернова. По общему мнению экспертов, фильм имеет историческую и культурную ценность. Он ва-

жен для формирования гражданской ответственности и патриотического воспитания молодых людей. По итогам обсуждения фильма между МГТУ им Г. И. Носова и АНО «Культурный центр «Век» г. Магнитогорска был заключен договор о создании субтитров на английском языке для фильма «Невозможное» с целью его участия в международных фестивалях документального кино и продвижения истории

Магнитки на площадках международного уровня.

Завершающим мероприятием конференции в рамках секции «Человек + Слово» для студентов Института гуманитарного образования Роджером Смитом была прочитана лекция на тему «Culture Shock: British vs Russian Characters, Manners and Stereotypes». Почетный ридер Ланкастерского университета в Великобритании раскрыл особенности британского менталитета в его отражении языком, коснулся вопросов национального самосознания, связи культуры с демографией, уделив внимание и роли языка в формировании национального характера. Р. Смит подвел слушателей к выводу о том, что «английский язык действительно будет играть решающую роль в формировании языкового порядка в новом мире, но основное его воздействие скажется на сознании новых поколений людей во всем мире, знающих два и более языка».

Для гостей конференции также был проведен ряд тематических культурно-просветительских мероприятий, включая экскурсии по городу и Магнитогорскому металлургическому комбинату, поездку на Горнолыжный центр Металлург-Магнитогорск (о. Банное), посещение концерта эстрадно-симфонического оркестра «Оркестр in Rock», выступавшего в рамках фестиваля в Магнитогорской государственной консерватории им. М. И. Глинки.

Конференция завершила работу подведением итогов и вручением сертификатов участников, однако дискуссии и обмен мнениями не закончился. Актуальность тематики и продуктивность конференции наводит на мысль, что в стенах гостеприимного института гуманитарного образования МГТУ им. Г. И. Носова междисциплинарные научные исследования если не нашли исчерпывающих ответов на поставленные вопросы человеческой природы в современном мире, то поставили новые проблемы в оппозициях «Человек – Слово», «Человек – Движение», «Человек и История».

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T. Yu. Baklykova (Magnitogorsk, Russia)

«WHAT IS HUMAN?»: INTERNATIONAL SCIENTIFIC AND PRACTICAL CONFERENCE «HUMAN PLUS»

Abstract. The international scientific-practical conference «HUMAN +» held on November, 23-25, 2021, was dedicated to finding answers to the most important questions of the humanities - what is «human», what is their nature and position in the new world. Within the framework of plenary and breakout sessions, for the first time in the history of the Institute of Humanitarian Education, NMSTU. participants met to discuss in English the issues of human nature through the prism of words, history and movement. How to achieve and maintain constant openness to change? How is creative and simple freedom given, and how is it obtained? Despite the fact that in search of answers to these questions, scientists increasingly turn to the body, its movements, internal or muscular feeling, knowledge about a human is not limited to biological data or religious beliefs and should be based on history. The conference considered the issues of how a certain understanding of human nature arises and what alternatives to the biological view of man can be, the analysis of a wide range of issues of history, philology and motor culture from the 18th century to the present day was highlighted, paying tribute to the complexity and diversity of knowledge about man. Historical knowledge is fundamental to human self-understanding. It allows us to see the «human» as a process of man's creation of themselves, going from the past and extended into the future. Self-creation of a person becomes possible thanks to the reflective circle of thought and action. The materials of the article contain an overview of interesting and diverse reports, as well as general results of the conference.

Keywords: interdisciplinary scientific conference, man, word, motion culture, history, philology, pedagogy, sociology, ethnography, psychology

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1. HUMAN PLUS WORD

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ИНФЕРЕНЦИЯ В ВИРТУАЛЬНОМ ДИСКУРСЕ

Аннотация. В век компьютерных технологий, когда часть общения перенесена в область социальных сетей и мессенджеров, проблема восприятия виртуального дискурса становится особенно актуальной. Это в первую очередь связано с необходимостью быть понятым и, как следствие, с процессами, скрытыми за интерпретацией сообщений. Виртуальная коммуникация отличается от живого общения по ряду причин, а именно: вопервых, любой виртуальный дискурс имеет гибридный характер, объединяя характеристики устного и письменного дискурса; во-вторых, в отличие от живого общения он характеризуется отсутствием визуального контакта, который может компенсироваться эмоджи-символами; в-третьих, он содержит множество сокращений и аббревиатур; и, наконец, виртуальный дискурс принадлежит одновременно к двум символьным системам (вербальной и невербальной). Все перечисленные специфические черты виртуального дискурса оказывают влияние на процесс инференции и могут вести к недопониманию. В статье рассматривается зависимость инференции от особенностей виртуального дискурса. В заключении раскрывается разница между процессами инференции в ходе живой коммуникации и социальным общение с помощью мессенджеров, определяются такие характерные черты виртуального общения, как субъективность, лакунарность, незначительная зависимость от контекста, и, как следствие, слабая целостность и связность СМС-сообщений между собой.

Ключевые слова: инференция, виртуальный дискурс, восприятие, интерпретация, креолизованный текст, виртуальное общение.

E. V. Suvorova (Moscow, Russia) Yu. G. Romanova (Moscow, Russia)

INFERENCE IN THE VIRTUAL DISCOURSE

Abstract. Nowadays, in the computer age, when the vast part of negotiations and usual talks are conducted in various social networks, the problem of virtual discourse comprehension becomes especially urgent, as we come across the necessity of being understood correctly. Virtual communication differs from live speech in a range of aspects, which are: firstly, any virtual discourse has a sub-language of hybrid character, combining elements of oral and written discourse with its own specific features; secondly, unlike live communication it is marked by the absence of visual contact which can be compensated by emoji characters; incomplete perception of the interlocutor's true intentions causes sometimes a dramatic lack of specificity in understanding; thirdly, it contains a lot of drastic abridgements and abbreviations; and, finally, it can belong to simultaneously two symbolic systems (verbal and non-verbal). All the listed specific features of the virtual discourse have an impact on the processes of inference and can cause misunderstanding. The paper focuses on the virtual discourse features and shows the way the inferential process depends on them. In conclusion, the paper reveals the difference between inference processes in real-time communication and in a social chat pointing out that the latter is more subjective, gap-filling, less context-dependent, less coherent and cohesive.

Keywords: inference, virtual discourse, comprehension, creolised text, real-time communication, gap-filling, social networks, virtual communication.

Introduction

In the age of modern computer technology, a significant part of our communication with other people takes place within social networks. To save time, many people prefer to send a short message and get a quick response instead of calling or writing a letter. This form of sms-communication through electronic devices is called virtual discourse. Virtual discourse is significantly different from narrative discourse or discourse arising from live communication. It is characterized by greater subjectivity, the need to fill in gaps while interpreting a massage, less contextual dependence, coherence and cohesion.

Discussion

The term «virtual discourse» may well be attributed to the category of neologisms (words or expressions that have recently appeared in the language¹), although it is based on a long and widely studied concept of

¹Ожегов С. И., Шведова Н. Ю. Толковый словарь русского языка: 72500 слов и 7500 фразеологических выражений

discourse. In this situation, it may seem that rooting of the term «virtual discourse» in language should occur without any difficulty. Nevertheless, in spite of the great number of scientific works devoted to the study of discourse and its types, linguistic community has not come to any common understanding of it, which in turn makes it difficult to define «virtual discourse», as a correlated term. The difficulty of specifying the term «virtual discourse» is also created by the polysemy of the word «virtual» which includes such meanings as: actual, real; virtual, possible; imaginary; effective and others [1]. This may be the reason why in scientific literature «virtual discourse» is often replaced by the term «computer-mediated discourse» or «computer-mediated communication».

In the «Linguistic Encyclopedic Dictionary» discourse is explained as «a coherent text in conjunction with extralinguistic factors: pragmatic, socio-cultural, psychological and others; a text taken in a communicative situation; speech which is considered to be a purposeful, social action; a component involved in the interaction of people and being a mechanism of cognitive processes. Therefore, virtual discourse can be called a virtual text in the frame of a communicative situation. However, this definition simplifies and distorts the meaning of this word, since it does not take into account such an important quality of discourse as processuality, which is based on incompleteness, dynamism, qualitative change under the influence of external factors. Considering discourse from the perspective of linguistics, V.I. Karasik defines it as a process of live verbalized communication characterized by many deviations from canonical written speech, which directly point to virtual discourse, the implementation of which takes place in a virtual environment, which imposes a number of features on this process and distinguish it from the common act of communication [2].

Firstly, virtual communication is of a hybrid nature. It combines the features of simultaneously two types of communication: oral and written. In this regard, virtual discourse has a number of antinomies: time pressure and prolongation (written speech is slower than oral, but in this situation it is carried out in a time pressure mode); spontaneity and correctness (when responding to a message in a chat, we often react spontaneously, but at the same time we can re-read the message and correct it); dependence on a situation and weak context-tying (the moment of writing a message and the moment of reading it can be significantly separated in time, therefore, the situation in which the message is written and which affects its content may change for the reader of this message, and, accordingly, the context of interpreting the message may change as well) [3].

Secondly, unlike oral communication, virtual discourse does not imply visual contact. In virtual discourse, visual contact is often compensated by emoji symbols. In this case, a double symbolic system is involved: verbal and non-verbal. Emoji symbols cannot completely replace intonation, gestures, facial expressions in live communication, however, their influence on speech interpretation is more obvious than facial expressions, for instance (we do not need to interpret our interlocutor's intonation or mimics, emoji symbols clearly show us what the addresser means).

Thirdly, unlike ordinary text, virtual discourse is often filled with abbreviations, and abridgements. There is even a separate symbolic coded language used in SMS messages (compare: 2DAY = today; 2MORO / 2MROW = tomorrow; 2NITE / 2NYT = tonight; 2U = to you; 4U = for you; 4E = forever; AFAIK= as far as I know; ASAP = as soon as possible; ATB = all the best) which makes them polymodal.

Fourthly, abridgements and abbreviations can result in inaccuracy of understanding of the text by an interlocutor and prevent them from understanding intentions of an addresser of the message. In some cases, it can also lead to a conflict situation (compare the message: «Good afternoon, did you make an enquiry yesterday?» and the complete conversation: Good afternoon! This is MMC company. Did you make an enquiry about the possibility to provide the internet connection yesterday? « As we can see, in the first case, misunderstanding takes place: who is sending the message, what enquiry it is, etc. The interlocutor is forced to speculate on the situation, compare the events, look for additional information (for example, who is the addresser). Similar misunderstanding may arise when messages from different addressers come within a very short interval and the addressee doesn't understand who they are from. The process of inference in this situation is more intense and subjective, that is, we have to rely more on our own subjective perception of the message than on its real meaning. The lack of accuracy in understanding and the necessity to reconstruct the lacunae force an addressee search for extra support. Considering that interpretation has a cognitive, affective and perceptual character, the lack of understanding is compensated by affective and perceptual components [4]. As a result, the emotionality and evaluativeness of interpretation increases as well as perceptual feelings (when an addressee does not understand something, but is forced to answer, they unwillingly interpret it more emotionally). It can be assumed that the interpretation of an inaccurate SMS message may be under the influence of various insignificant factors of perceptual nature (this hypothesis requires experimental verification).

[/] Российская АН, Ин-т рус. яз., Российский фонд культуры. 2-е изд., испр. и доп. М.: Азъ, 1994. 907 с

Studying the difference between the processes of inference when interpreting narrative discourse, live speech and SMS messages, we come to the following conclusion. When interpreting a text, the process of inference is based mainly on processing semantic content and prognostic strategies, as well as the knowledge about the participants of the discourse (their social roles, intentions, relations between them, etc.), time and place of the described events and so on [5].

At the same time, the interpretation of live communicative discourse is based on processing both the keywords and, to a large extent, extralinguistic information including nonverbal information (gestures, facial expressions), assessment of interlocutors' social roles, time and place of communication, as well as perceptual information about the surrounding environment. At the same time, virtual discourse is of hybrid nature. That is why, its interpretation is based mainly on the keywords of a message, but is under great influence of the communicative situation, intentions and social roles of interlocutors, on the one hand, and the surrounding environment, on the other hand. Both the communicative situation (that is inside the communication process) and the surrounding environment can not coincide causing some disbalance and misunderstanding. In our opinion, there is an inversely proportional relationship, that is, the longer the message, the more likely the interlocutor will rely on its semantic content when interpreting it, and the shorter the message, the more subjectivity there will be in its perception, i.e. the interpretation process will be significantly under the influence of extralinguistic information. However, this hypothesis requires experimental verification.

Conclusion

The interpretation of virtual discourse is often characterized by a number of distinctive features. They are: a hybrid nature of the discourse (combination of two types of communication, written and oral, the use of two symbolic systems, verbal and non-verbal, for example, emoji symbols); a lack of visual contact; abbreviated character of the communication (regarding personal communication, the incompleteness of a message is compensated by interlocutors' gestures and facial expressions, there is always a chance to get a quick feedback, at contrast, in case of exchanging short massages, there can be no opportunity to clarify the received information); uncertainty and the presence of coded symbols replacing words. All these features create the unique character of virtual discourse, including subjectivity of perception, lacunarity, less dependence on context, caused by a time gap between messages. The context of a new message may significantly change from message to message and, as a result, there is a lack of coherence and integrity between massages.

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АНГЛИЙСКИЙ ИЛИ ГЛОБАЛЬНЫЙ АНГЛИЙСКИЙ: ДИЛЕММА ДЛЯ ПРЕПОДАВАТЕЛЯ В РАЗВИТИИ ЯЗЫКОВЫХ НАВЫКОВ

Анномация. В статье рассматривается современное состояние английского языка в образовательном дискурсе. Исторические факты и история английского языка объясняют его разнообразие и сложность. Статья затрагивает вопросы переплетения и взаимодействие Интернета и английского языка. Автор выдвигает идею, что мы являемся свидетелями появления нового типа языка – глобального английского языка, поскольку распространение разновидностей английского языка (диалектов, вариантов) приведет к появлению новых языков, и в этом случае английской язык ожидает судьба латинского языка. Лингвистические и экстралингвистические преобразования английского языка, будучи глобальными, изменили основы его преподавания и изучения. При обучении необходимо учитывать переход разговорного языка к его письменной реализации через социальные сети и мессенджеры. В статье применяется качественная методология исследования: наблюдение и анализ описаний. Автор приходит к выводу, что важность и широта использования английского языка предопределена его историческими корнями, Подход к преподаванию языка как глобального помогает сохранить его международный статус, WWW изменяет язык на разных уровнях: лексическом; морфологическом; синтаксическом; фонетическом и т. д. Помимо лингвистической дилеммы учитель сталкивается с психологическими проблемами в развитии языковых навыков.

Ключевые слова: английский язык; глобальный английский язык; образовательный дискурс; социальные сети; история английского языка; коммуникация.

N. N. Zerkina (Magnitogorsk, Russia)

ENGLISH OR GLOBAL ENGLISH: TEACHING DILEMMAS IN LANGUAGE SKILLS DEVELOPMENT

Abstract. The article explains the current state of the English language in educational discourse. Historical facts and Ages of the English language explain the diversity of English. It shows interweaving and interaction of the Internet and the English language. The author puts forward the idea of witnessing the emergence of a new type of the Global English language, as the spread of varieties of the English language (dialects, variants) will lead to a division into incomprehensible new languages, and in this case, the fate of the Latin language awaits the English language. Linguistic and extra linguistic transformations of the English language as global ones, has changed the bases of how it is taught and learnt. The shift of the conversational language to its written realization through social nets and messengers must be taken into consideration while teaching. The qualitative research methodology: observation and description analysis are mainly used. The author concludes that the importance and coverage of the English language traces to its historical roots, Global-English-approach to language teaching helps to save its international status, the WWW changes the language on different levels: lexical; morphological; syntactical; phonetic etc. Besides the linguistic dilemma teacher must meet psychological challenges in language skills development.

Keywords: English; global English; educational discourse; social nets; history of English; communication.

Introduction

With increasing global demand for English proficiency, English has become a global industry. English proficiency in education, science, technology, engineering etc. as a part of the modernization agenda is a major part of authorities initiatives. English is a prestige language in many contexts. Its spread as a global language has resulted in the emergence of a number of related fields of research within applied linguistics and language teaching, including English as an International Language, English as a Foreign Language, English as a Lingua Franca, World Englishes, ESP etc. We follow the idea of researchers who "groups these fields under the one umbrella term of Global Englishes in its exploration of the impact of the global spread of English on English users and learners. Our use of the term Global Englishes is not a rebranding exercise, but, rather, a consolidation one. As independent research fields have been exploring the diverse use of English associated with its global spread, as well as its implications, a term is needed to unite the shared agendas, ideologies and calls for change to pedagogy" [11]

If we ask about the purposes of teaching English, the majority of teachers will identify communication as the primary one. The similar question about the purpose of learning English for students is also communication. Both teachers and students acknowledge the importance of English on a global level. Other reasons for teaching and learning English included developing literacy skills, and the usefulness of English for future survival and employment.[9, c.5]

The English language is an especially important one not only for a society that is multilingual and where students speak a colloquial variety of English outside the classroom, but it is especially important in education in which English

is the medium of teaching and learning for most subjects in mainstream education.

In many countries, in Russia particularly, students do not speak English as their predominant language and even as a second one thus it also lengthen the journey towards academic English that opens doors in the academic world.

International research [6; 7] suggests that it takes a minimum of 5 years for learners for whom English is a non-dominant language to develop competence in academic English.

The dilemma noted by teachers is:

- what type/variant/dialect/ of English should be chosen for mastering to achieve learners' personal educational goals;
 - how to provide learners with exposure to plenty of English vocabulary;
- how to ensure that learners notice the differences between scientific-specific language and everyday varieties of language;
- should we consider Global Englishes for Language Teaching as a ground-breaking attempt to unite discussions on the pedagogical implications of the global spread of English into a single text for researchers and practicing teachers.

Methodology

The qualitative research methodology is mainly used for the research. The subject of the research is natural and not predefined. It is viewed in the context of collective experience. The research focuses more on suggesting causes, effects, possible relationships etc. Observation and description are used to evaluate knowledge, case study, action research, disclosure analysis and are based on the quality of the phenomenon.

What is the English Language?

The English language is in transition, it is taking new forms. It has changed substantially for its Seven Ages (*I.-Pre-English period – c.AD 450; II.- Early Old English – c.450- c.850; III. Later Old English (c.850-1100); IV. Middle English (c.1100-1450); V. Early Moden English (c.1450-1750); VI. Modern English (c.1750-1950); VII. Late Modern English (c.1950-), reflecting patterns of contact with other languages and events. It is remarkable for its diversity, its propensity to change and be changed. English is no longer spoken only by its native speakers and by those who learn English in order to communicate with native speakers. The question is "Who are native speakers?" the British, the Americans, the Indian, the Canadian, the Australian.*

While interacting with the local dialects and dialects spoken by the inhabitants of the new British colonies, such variants of the modern English language such as American, Indian, Australian, Irish, Canadian, African, New Zealand appeared from British English.

Moreover, within the British Isles there is no homogeneity of the language: dialects and variants in pronunciation (BBC English, Royal English, Advanced English)

The main differences are in phonetics, in intonation, articulation and pronunciation. Phonetics is under the influence of varieties of English that has caused a number of linguists to question the use of Received Pronunciation pronunciation models in the teaching of English [8].

In recent years native speakers have become minority stakeholders of English. The use of the English language as a global lingua franca requires intelligibility and setting and maintenance of standards.

The Internet is the electronic "flagship" of Global English

And this is logical, both as a consequence of the status of the English language as the language of international communication, and as a consequence of the fact that the Internet was created in an English-speaking country. Thus, at the stage of its origin and development, the Internet «lived» exclusively in the English-speaking space, and, consequently, the English language forces users to reckon with it.

According to statistics, 75 % of the world's mail is written in English, about 80% of the information stored on electronic media is written in English. And although more than a thousand languages are currently used on the network, it is likely that the influence of English will increase, since it plays an important role in software.

As D. Crystal ironically noted, a significant obstacle to the global spread of the English language could have arisen in the previous generation if Chinese had been the native language of Bill Gates [5].

Perhaps we are currently witnessing the emergence of a new type of global English – the English language of the virtual space. Although the English language itself has changed over many centuries and under the influence of many factors (political, economic, social, cultural, etc.), but none of the factors can compete with digital technologies either in terms of speed or scale of making changes.

Nowadays many scientists and native speakers express fears that the English language will be transformed beyond recognition thanks to the Internet, and globalization will significantly accelerate this pace. Linguists find a number of differences between the English language of native English speakers, and the English language as a means of international communication – GlobalLanguage, which is massively studied, mainly using the same authentic textbooks in all parts of the world.

But Global English is a phenomenon that is not perceived unambiguously from the position of «language and culture are two sides of the same coin». Whose culture does Global English verbalize? The positive aspect of this process is that the universal command of the English language provides a natural desire of a person for mutual understanding on a "global scale".

Occupation of the "virtual space" by the English language once again proves its claims to play the role of lingua franca, the language of international communication, which is used in almost each sphere of human life and society. The current situation with English is unique in its own way. Never before any of the languages has received such wide distribution and coverage in such a short time.

T. MacArthur expresses his opinion that the spread of varieties of the English language (dialects, variants) will lead to a division into incomprehensible new languages, and in this case, the fate of the Latin language awaits the English language [10].

English is adapting to the technical capabilities of the virtual space and it is the main means of creating a new communicative environment, which reflects all the specifics of its use.

English is immerged into new conditions, into a new communication environment. It is also undergoing changes on a fairly large-scale and global ones:

- a shift in emphasis towards the written implementation of English, which leads to a simplification of the written form of English, although historically the spoken language has always been simpler than written;
- the infusion of other sign systems into language units as compensatory elements (numbers, pictograms, emoticons, etc.);
- changing the format of English under the influence of multimedia (the presence of links, hyperlinks, augmented reality, etc.);
 - English turns into content with a high degree of creolization and interactivity,
- English acquires a certain set of grammatical and lexical characteristics and practically loses phonetics, which is compensated by paralinguistic means (pictograms, emoticons);
- the interaction of English with other languages generates new forms of communication between representatives of different cultures, mixing leads to the formation of new stylistic forms that can later be borrowed by other cultures.

The reasons that transform the language and communication can be conditionally divided into external and internal.

The first group – external - can include the following reasons:

- the unhindered creation of the text and the absence of editing and censorship in the Internet space.
- the expansion of communication capabilities in time and space, the possibility of written comments in real time leads to increased dialogicity and interactivity.
- the ability to store and quickly transfer huge amounts of digital information, to use multimedia (audio, video, online communication)

The second group – internal-can include the following reasons:

- the growing number of abbreviations, occasional abbreviations; game elements, intentional distortion of spelling (erratives, merging of individual words), non-verbal signs (emoticons and emoticons), combinations of punctuation marks as word substitutes.
- the boundlessness and immensity of the text due to hyperlinks and the ability for users to create their own text by means of links.
 - semantic shifts in the meaning of words, mainly the expansion of meaning

Pedagogic Challenges

Certainly, the rise of English as a global language has changed the foundations of how the language is taught and learned. The pedagogical implications of the change in the usage of English by global speakers have led many scholars to call for a paradigm shift in English language teaching—the likes of which last occurred in the 1970s, when communicativeness was brought to the forefront of language education with the emergence of communicative language teaching.

And again teachers face dilemmas: modern students' communication is mainly carried out in virtual space through messengers and social nets where the language has written realization but communication is historically an oral activity.

Today, modern technology dominates our communication. We have a massive range of ways in which we can stay connected, thus teaching communication must be adopted to modern circumstances and virtual entertaining space should be transformed into virtual educational environment.

Defiantly social media affect students' communication skills:

- when it is used in excess or obsessively, it has some damaging effects on communication skills;
- -it affects the ways individuals react to emotions, social events;
- with social media, the vast majority of communicating happens via text and occasional still images. This form
 of communication is poor compared to the rich signals and complex messaging that occurs in a face-to-face conversation.

It must be noted that a modern teacher of English should prepare their students to communicate in both environments: virtual and real.

Thus, Crystal mentioned that "It is the rise of computer-mediated communication and the Internet, more than anything else, which has reshaped the uses of computers for language learning at the end of the 20th century. With the advent of the Internet, the computer-both in society and in the classroom – has been transformed from a tool for information processing and display to a tool for information processing and communication. For the first time, learners of a language can now communicate inexpensively and quickly with other learners or speakers of the target language all over

the world" [4 c. 266].

Scholars have argued that such a shift is necessary to reframe language teaching in order to match the new sociolinguistic landscape of the 21st century. Underpinning this paradigm shift is a change in views of ownership of English, the emancipation of non-native speakers from native speaker norms, a repositioning of culture within the English language, a shift in models of language and a repositioning of the target interlocutor.

Moreover English has become a social value that is why special attention is given to its mastering. Usually a teacher must always balance between grammar, lexis and phonetics and, moreover, learning English is a complex process of forming a new speech system in the cerebral cortex, which begins to coexist and constantly interact with the already-developed system of the native language.

Personal psychological barriers that arise in some learners: uncertainty that they will be able to speak English, shyness and fear of becoming a laughing stock because of mistakes in speech and fearing that the mistakes will lead to unwanted grades – are also the factors that restrain the process of English language mastering.

Conclusion

The importance and coverage of the English language traces to its historical roots and nowadays undergo some transformation in form and content. Global-English-approach to language teaching helps to save international status of the English language and fulfill restrictive function nevertheless it deprives the language from native British speakers.

The Internet and computer-mediated communication contribute to not only the ways of teaching the language but also to the language itself. As like any other phenomenon that is borrowed by the virtual space from the real one, English acquires additional characteristics and features. For example, unlike the real space, the speech of the virtual space has only a written implementation, which means that it excludes additional connotative shades that can be expressed by facial expressions, emotions, the speaker's behavior, etc., but it has compensatory capabilities in the form of emoticons and pictograms. The WWW changes morphology, syntactic and semantics of the English language.

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АССЕРТИВНАЯ КОММУНИКАЦИЯ: ГОВОРИ, ЧТО ДУМАЕШЬ, ДУМАЙ, ЧТО ГОВОРИШЬ

Анномация Статья посвящена исследованию проблемы ассертивности – ценному качеству в области навыков общения [2], что требует, как искреннего выражения чувств, так и сочувствия, чтобы гарантировать, что сказанное отражает потребности и чувства человека, а также уважительное отношение к поведению других людей. Как только кто-то начинает вести себя ассертивно, другие сдерживают себя от проявления агрессии и пассивности в своей речи и передают нужное им сообщение таким образом, который будет подходящим наиболее целесообразным для обеих сторон в данном разговоре. Навыки, необходимые в социальном взаимодействии для практики уверенного общения, требуют развитого умения контролировать агрессивное поведение в повседневных разговорах, поскольку в ситуации может быть несколько возмутителей спокойствия, которые бросают вызов нашим умениям вести искренний разговор без столкновений, оценочных суждений и подавления своих основных потребностей. Сама возможность общаться уверенно при потенциально насильственном взаимодействии может показаться немыслимой для тех, кто происходит из среды с нехваткой эмоциональной или социальной поддержки. Однако при правильном обучении и практике уверенность в себе немедленно становится ключевым ресурсом в условиях общества, когда приходится иметь дело с соотношением сил и конфликтом интересов, потенциально подвергая или подвергаясь насилию любого рода, от мелких повседневных разногласий и до гражданской войны. Социальные практики, связанные со стремлением утвердиться, будут процветать по мере того как отдельные люди и как общество в целом будут учитывать как собственные, так и чужие потребности, и справляться с ними соответствующим образом.

Ключевые слова: ассертивное поведение; ненасильственное общение; навыки общения, пассивное поведение, агрессивное поведение, коммуникация, эмпатия, социальные навыки.

Igor Gadioli (Seragipe, Brazil)

ASSERTIVE COMMUNICATION: MEAN WHAT YOU SAY, SAY WHAT YOU MEAN

Abstract Assertiveness is an asset within the realm of social skills [2] that requires both authentic expression and empathy so as to ensure what is said is representative of one's needs and feelings while also being respectful to other people's repertoire. Once one engages unassertive behavior, they keep themselves from aggressiveness and passiveness in their discourse and convey the message they need in way that proves appropriate to both parties in a given conversation. The awareness required in social interaction in order to practice assertive communication demands a move from passion to compassion in everyday talk, as there may be several triggers in a given situation that challenge our ability to hold an authentic conversation(mostly) free from clash, judgement and suppression of one's basic needs. The very possibility of assertive communication in potentially violent interactions may seem inconceivable to those who come from a background that lacked emotional or social support. However, if properly taught and practiced, assertiveness immediately becomes a key resource for social settings where individuals have to deal with power relations and conflict of interests while potentially exposing or being exposed to violence of any kind, ranging from small everyday disagreements to civil war. Social practices around assertiveness will flourish to the extent that we as individuals and as a society become aware of own needs and other people's and deal with them accordingly.

Keywords: assertiveness; non-violent communication; social skills, empathy, passive behavior, aggressive behavior, communication, compassion

Assertiveness is an asset within the realm of social skills [2], such as civility, empathy, group coordination and public speech; its practices include, but are not limited to: stating opinions, agreeing, disagreeing, asking for clarification, apologizing, dealing with criticism and so forth [5]. Assertive communication requires both authentic expression and empathy so as to ensure what is said is representative of one's needs and feelings while also being respectful to other people's repertoire. Once one engages in assertive behavior, they keep themselves from aggressiveness and passiveness in their discourse and convey the message they need in way that proves appropriate to both parties in a given conversation. According to Rosenberg (2019), in order to effectively engage in assertive communication (or rather, Non-Violent Communication, as he puts it) four steps must be covered, as shown below.

Firstly, there needs to be a cute observation of observation of a given scenario rather than judgment of others, be it their intent, speech or action; such observation should translate into language that describes conflict objectively rather than subjectively i.e., a depiction of a situation free from value judgement. Secondly, there should be identification of current unmet needs. Such needs are universal and range from physical needs

such as shelter and food to essentially emotional ones, such as love and privacy. Once a basic need is not met, it becomes the very root of negative feelings and emotions; these reactions must be appropriately named, as labeling feelings and emotions help understand the effect of such unmet needs. This will often be a challenge as many have not learned to listen to themselves to the point that they are able to appropriately identify and name what they are feeling. This step, however, would be the third in the process of communication-eventually, as a final step, there should be a request for whatever is necessary to meet one's needs which would ideally secure fluid interaction and better rapport among those involved. It is important to note that a request is not a demand: that means that it could be denied, which means this cycle of negotiation in assertive communication may take on much talk or eventually signal the end of an interaction because the needs of our party can just not be met by the other, for instance.

This structure goes both ways, given that one is also supposed to notice and address others' needs as they navigate through self-expression and negotiation in a non-violent conversation. In fact, whenever others notice that their best interest is a priority to those who they talk to, the conversation naturally open sup, as the interaction moves on from competing needs to cooperation in order to achieve a shared goal. Besides, the shapes and forms that such approach may take vary greatly and do not have to be covered in any particular format: there may be assertive communication in social interaction, for instance, through a single word, a simple gesture or silence alone, as long as contextual needs for observation, necessity, feelings and requests are met.

The awareness required in social interaction in order to practice assertive communication demands a move from passion to compassion in everyday talk, as there may be several triggers in a given situation that challenge our ability to hold an authentic conversation (mostly) free from clash, judgement and suppression of one's basic needs. The very possibility of assertive communication in potentially violent interactions may seem in conceivable to those who come from a back ground that lacked emotional or social support. However, if properly taught and practiced, assertiveness immediately becomes a key resource for social settings where individuals have to deal with power relations and conflict of interests while potentially exposing or being exposed to violence of any kind, ranging from small every day disagreements to civil war. Due to the lack of awareness and training in social skills, however, many people will usually resort to aggressiveness or passiveness when assertiveness would fit best; this in turn results in more overall violence, be it towards others or oneself.

Besides emotional issues, social, cultural and identity structures must be taken into account so as to assure that communication is actually perceived as assertive by both parties in an interaction. Given the fact that different repertoires make for different perceptions of beliefs, practices and linguistic patterns, successful assertive communication goes beyond saying what one means – it demands active listening in order to notice people's needs, feelings and repertories so as to increase the chances that our talk prevents confusion or discomfort, while also getting one's point across clearly and connecting those in the conversation in the healthiest way possible. As a result, what is achieved is more than just clarity in communication; there is mutual respect and therefore better rapport, building up the connection between those involved in that exchange.

Bearing in mind the notion of clarity, rapport and repertoire for successful assertive communication, it is important to note that being from the same country, party, religion or any other discursive circle does not assure that communication will turn out easier and assertiveness will not be an issue. As a matter off act, people will often find that their biggest challenges in trying to be assertive lie in circles closest to home. Whenever there is considerable social distance (say, strangers or acquaintances, for instance), people will tend to save their face, avoiding conflicts to some more extent by not showing strong opinions or giving up on an interaction rather than expressing strong disagreement or negotiating needs, for instance. In extreme settings, however (e.g. civil war) this may work the other way around, as the enemy is always seen as more than an outsider and a stranger: they are also perceived as an imminent threat to one's survival and highest goals, values, and needs; in more common settings, it is those who share routines, be it at the workplace or back home, who are seen as adversaries, resulting in domestic violence or moral harassment at work, for instance.

In order to allow for less friction and more collaboration in social interaction, be it at the threat of an imminent war or a mere misunderstanding with a partner, assertiveness works in favor of the needs of all people involved, establishing the grounds for clear expression of one's needs, fair negotiation and a goal oriented solution based on the assumption that conflict arises from the fact that our basic needs are somehow not being met. As a result, rather than perceiving conflict as something that must avoided at all costs, we may turn the tables and look at it as a desirable signal that further negotiation must be conducted, feelings must be expressed and/or basic needs must be met. Many of such needs may appear to be impossible to reach, as we are often used to some degree of oppression in communication such as: deceit, aggressiveness, neglect and so

forth. However, living in society it is inevitable to notice how basic needs are universal and also how not attending to one's requests in that regard will carry on as a repercussion to everyone else in that system.

From this collaborative and collective perspective, the issue of assertiveness communication can never be approached as an individual cause, despite the fact that the urge to understand, learn and use it will usually stem from an individual level: internal conflicts that could be broadly labeled as lack of authentic and empathic self-expression. So once one notices the need to articulate or somehow display their emotions and negotiate their needs in order to take care of their own interests, as they navigate through discourse and social practice, they will also notice that such personal needs can only be fully met in a social setting if the other party's requests are not also heard and attended to the extent that their basic needs are met. In the long run, if the attempt to communicate only results in free speech and benefits restricted to one's own needs, then that will be met as aggressive towards others rather than assertive, as it will promote dissatisfaction, frustration and hatred among those who are not given the opportunity to express and negotiate their own needs as well.

Another critical issue in the social sphere regarding assertive communication is that what it means to speak one's mind, be heard, or have their needs met will vary dramatically from one cultural setting to another, from one person to another and from one particular circumstance to another. As Canagarajah states [1], grammar is always emergent in interaction-we cannot define the rules for appropriate interaction ahead of any given conversation, as there will always be a very complex and varying web of influences that will simultaneously come into play during any conversation: therefore, for instance, what may seem very assertive in an intercultural conversation with a stranger may be met as harsh if directed to a neighbor and vice versa. The variables that influence what is means to be assertive go way beyond what could be described (belief systems, power relations, social status, etc., to name very few); given such complexity in social interaction, only the state of presence in the form of self-awareness, active listening and rapport may signal what one needs to say and how they can convey their message most appropriately at any given social interaction.

Given the overwhelming differences in economic power across societies, as well as other power a symmetry typically found between minorities and hegemonies of any kind, it is critical to also consider the issue of assertiveness in the light of how power relations in general play out.

Resistance to domination often takes the form of aggression, but because that is met with repression or punishment, people will often resort to passive aggressive behavior and talk, making use of deceit and resources alike in order to hold some degree of autonomy while also preventing worse case scenarios (losing their jobs, being arrested and so forth) [3]. Such resources are precarious alternatives to actual assertive interactions that would result in a more leveled playing field in all kinds of asymmetric power relations, ranging from a child and their mother all the way to a boss and their employees or even a thief and its victim.

In order to promote assertive communication in such scenarios, the psychological and linguistic aspect of assertiveness must be incremented by its social variants as well. One can only hope to express themselves authentically and listen compassionately to the extent that their mind can process such things. That, in turn, demands that they feel safe-if their own livelihood is somehow at risk, for instance, assertiveness may look like some fancy remote concept that is not applicable to their actual routine; despite the fact that extreme situations call for appropriate negotiation of needs, sometimes even so much as attempting to negotiate a basic need might be life threatening if not done appropriately.

As a result, social practices around assertiveness will flourish to the extent that we as individuals and as a society become aware of something beyond our own belief systems and discourse: because it is such a collaborative skill, we will only experience assertive communication to the extent that we care for those who we talk to and learn what it feels like to be at the other end of the conversation with needs that urge to be met, just like the ones we also have.

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«МНОГОКОМПОНЕНТНЫЕ ТЕРМИНЫ В ПЕРЕВОДЧЕСКОЙ ДЕЯТЕЛЬНОСТИ

Аннотация. В статье изложены общие и частные методологические вопросы, связанные с подготовкой и принятием переводческих решений, которые касаются межъязыковых трансформаций. Осуществлен поиск оптимальных путей представления в информационно-поисковых системах терминологической лексики. Исследование, проведенное автором, является развитием одной из наиболее актуальных проблем современности, связанной с разработкой основ создания методологии переводческих решений. Особую важность приобретает проблема передачи научно-технической информации, содержащейся в многокомпонентных терминах. Автором рассмотрены различные подходы к анализу многокомпонентных терминов и использованы различные приемы для моделирования терминологических лексико-семантических знаковых систем. Введен термин «изомеризм», определен алгоритм перевода многокомпонентных терминов. Основным в алгоритме перевода изомерных многокомпонентных терминов является этап переориентации компонентов как закономерной трансформации структуры английского многокомпонентного термина при переводе его на русский язык. Этапу переориентации компонентов должно предшествовать определение допустимости адъективации атрибутивных существительных, что указывает на возможность выбора лишь одного из изомерных многокомпонентных терминов. Многокомпонентные термины подразделяются на несколько групп в зависимости от роли опорного компонента относительно атрибутов, и это учитывается при построении алгоритмов перевода. Для практического применения автором предлагаются алгоритмы перевода, разработанные на основе когнитивного подхода к контрастивным исследованиям. В систематизированном виде представлен круг вопросов и проблем, возникающих при переводе многокомпонентных терминов. Статья представляет интерес для переводчиков, студентов, аспирантов, преподавателей вуза и других лиц, которых интересуют проблемы филологии и перевода.

Ключевые слова: многокомпонентные термины, перевод, тезаурус, деятельностный подход, трансформация.

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MULTICOMPONENT TERMS IN TRANSLATION ACTIVITIES

Abstract. The article presents general and particular methodological issues related to the preparation and adoption of translation decisions that relate to interlanguage transformations. The search for optimal ways of presenting terminological vocabulary in information search systems has been carried out. The research conducted by the author is the development of one of the most actual problems of our time, related to the development of the basics of creating a methodology for translation solutions. The problem of transmitting scientific and technical information contained in multicomponent terms is considered. The author considers various approaches to Multicomponent Terms analysis and uses various techniques for modeling terminological lexico-semantic sign systems. The term isomerism is introduced, the Multicomponent Terms translation algorithm is defined. The main stage in the isomeric Multicomponent Terms (MT) translation algorithm is the reorientation of components as a natural transformation of the structure of the English MT in the process of translation it into Russian. The stage of reorientation of components should be preceded by the determination of the admissibility of adjectivization of attributive nouns, which indicates the possibility of choosing only one of the isomeric Multicomponent Terms. Multicomponent Terms are divided into several groups depending on the role of the reference component relative to attributes, and this is taken into account when constructing translation algorithms. The author suggests a translation algorithm developed on the basis of a cognitive approach to contrastive research for practical application. The range of issues and problems arising in the translation of multicomponent terms is presented in a systematic form. The article is of interest to translators, students, postgraduates, university teachers and others who are interested in the problems of philology and translation.

Keywords: multicomponent terms, translation, thesaurus, activity approach, transformation.

Introduction

Modern scientific communication actualizes the global task of reflecting the scientific reality [6, p. 58]. In modern conditions of integration of society, special languages as a communication tool of professional activity are becoming particularly relevant [9, p. 36].

As a result of the rapid development of science and scientific knowledge, a «terminological explosion» occurred, which led to a sharp increase in the number of terms [3, p. 6]. New terms appear, as well as old ones become more complicated. As a result, the number of multicomponent terms (MT) that most fully describe modern realities is growing [10, p. 120].

Translation of scientific and technical terminology is especially relevant recently due to the rapid development of modern technologies. Modern information search has undergone many changes. Currently, access to all reference sources is implemented with the help of Internet and mobile phones [4, p. 39]. A distinctive feature of scientific and technical texts is the abundance of terms and various phrases, formulas, graphs, the translation of which can cause a number of difficulties. The main task of scientific and technical translation is a brief and accurate presentation of information. The purpose of translation is its equivalence, that is, the preservation of the purpose of translation [5, p. 34].

Due to the presence of many components in the units we are considering, it is almost impossible to single out a specific translation technique that would be used for a whole combination. The translation takes place at the level of the components themselves, first the semantic core of the term is determined, and then the other components are arranged in the desired sequence [2, p. 63].

The analysis of multicomponent terms with categorical and semantic properties that present certain difficulties in translation, in the creation and use of automatic dictionaries, is of increasing interest. Of particular importance is the fact of the presence or absence of isomorphism of structures of foreign-language MT and their Russian equivalents. Terms whose structure is transformed during translation must be entered into the automatic dictionary as separate configurations. Terms with isomorphic equivalent structures should not be included in the linguistic support of an automatic dictionary. The percentage ratio of terms with a different number of components convincingly shows the predominant majority of two-component terms, after which the numerical indicators of terms with a large number of components begin to decline quite sharply [8, p. 106].

1. Relational approach to MT analysis

The activity approach allows us to present a theory of spatial semantics in which language as such can be considered in a space with zero curvature (\mathbf{c}), and speech can be represented in a semantic space with a modified curvature, i.e. at c>0 or at c<0.

The procedure for creating an algorithm for detecting and translating MT consists in determining the structural multi-level characteristics that change the curvature of the semantic space, in which, when curved, there are correlations between the units that come into operation. This fact is particularly evident in the analysis of MT, which is the units of colligation and collocation, i.e. units of language and speech, i.e. the existing relationships between MT components are due to the curved spatial structure of each MT component. The difference in the factors causing the curvature of the semantic space causes the difference in translation models, i.e. the translation algorithm must be created taking into account the structural factors that change the curvature of the semantic space of MT. These factors determine the choice of a translation model that equates the curvature coefficients of two languages in a bilingual situation.

The grammar of MT translation is based on the connection with stereosemantic, or spatial linguistic curvature, and consists in the following: all the structural characteristics of MT correlate with the features of the semantic structure presented for clarity in a three-dimensional form, the planned factors that influence on the choice of the equivalent of MT translation are determined, i.e. the signs of English MT and their components indicating the translation model are revealed. To do this, it is necessary to develop formal signs of MT boundaries, a set of models of interlanguage correspondences, factors determining these correspondences and structural characteristics.

In the process of translating MT, for example from English to Russian, it is required to restore the preposition implicated in their structure (programming manual, not a program manual). This stems from the analyticity of English and the flexity of the Russian language. A. F. Shiryaev identifies three interrelated stages in the translation process: the process of orientation in the source text, the process of searching, as well as making translation decisions and the process of implementing translation actions.

Due to the fact that the MT we are considering are units of collocation and colligation, these three stages proposed by A.F.Shiryaev can be transferred from the consideration of the text to the consideration of MT and use this model in the development of MT translation algorithms.

We have developed formal ways of representing MT to create an algorithm, for example, generalization of the set of varieties of interlanguage correspondences of the structure of English and Russian equivalents of MT made it possible, based on the obtained homogeneous groupings, to identify ways of translating MT.

In the form of configurations, the computer program is laid down with topics that, having the same meaning, contain various attribute features in English and Russian. These signs refer to the motivated signs of a compound name.

The array is examined from the point of view of the connections between the elements.

A systematic approach to the study of the terminological lexico-semantic system of MT requires a model approach. When modeling terminological lexico-semantic sign systems, the following techniques are used:

- 1) formal recognition of the meaning of the text, operating with the concepts of «semantic space», the area of «semantic space», subdomain, dot, alphabet and the sign of «semantic space»;
- 2) a thesaurus-network technique that makes it possible to present semantic space in the form of a drawing (a tree-like thesaurus graph) and consistently, consistently explicate such linguistic concepts as «hyponymy», subordination, inclusion of meaning, mutual subordination, etc.
- 3) semantic and lexicographic methods of material selection, the essence of which consists in the fact that only those that serve for a systematic description of the corresponding sublanguage are selected from an infinite set of MT;
- 4) distributive semantic techniques that are aimed at the study of original English and Russian texts representing a sublanguage and including the vocabulary of periodicals.

2. Thesaurus representation of terminology

Modeling of the terminological lexico-semantic system of MT is carried out in three stages:

- 1) modeling of the terminological field of the terminological lexico-semantic MT system using the tree structure of a thesaurus graph;
 - 2) MT selection using semantic-lexicographic and distributive-static method;
- 3) construction of the MT terminosystem by memorizing the thesaurus graph and its correlation with the help of the text given by the specialists of the relevant field.

The development of rules for formal (algorithmic) MT analysis is one of the most difficult problems of automatic analysis, which is associated with a very significant heterogeneity and implication of these formations of the English language. The same complexity is represented by the creation of an MT conversion algorithm.

The dependency grammar apparatus is used to represent the MT structure. Dependency trees were built for all the MT considered.

We are interested in studying possible ways of subordination of components within MT in order to identify transformational capabilities of different types of MT when constructing an algorithm for the identified formal characteristics of these MT.

Since natural language texts are characterized by greater syntactic ambiguity, morphological and syntactic analysis has to use algorithms that would allow for multivariate analysis.

The algorithm of the type under consideration is compiled for complete MT in which there are the propositional relations, i.e. the relations between the preposition and the post-prepositional element are expressed explicitly. Both the preposition and the post-preposition component are presented. However, this type of algorithm cannot be used for compressive MT with implicit prepositional relations (or the preposition as a post-prepositional element is not repeated in one of the MT variants). The unsuitability of this algorithm is due to the fact that it cannot reveal the measure of semantic deficiency when decoding the value of the compression MT as a unit of nomination. The meaning of MT is the resulting meaning not only of a set of components, due to the semantic connectedness of a complex name, but also implicitly presented prepositions, various kinds of relationships.

The mention of an object or phenomenon in the text introduces implicitly into the situational and thesaurus context a certain subject area with its inherent real connections, which will simultaneously imply the existence of an inherent part of the signs and some other object or phenomenon of a higher ring, parts and signs of which they themselves are, i.e., nonlinear factors are superimposed on the inter-component relationships, for example, thesaurus context.

It is especially important to take into account non-linear; semantic factors in the positional mode of encoding syntactic communication, although taking into account these factors is also necessary in the morphological mode of encoding syntactic communication.

The heterogeneity of the medium and its influence on MT were taken into account when constructing algorithms. Changes in the semantic structure of MT under the influence of nonlinear factors are especially evident in the functioning of identically designed combined components of MT with the identity of the connection of prepositive components with the reference one.

When creating a practical system for machine translation, which is the object of linguistic research, the basic unit of translation should be defined as a constant value in accordance with the specific tasks solved by the corresponding system.

3. Translation units

When modeling the translation process, new units of formalization arise – translation units. The translation unit (minimum translation segment) in translation modeling is understood as a certain language element used in the translation of the original information.

The structural and statistical connections of the text are embedded in MT to a greater extent than in individual words, which is very important when working with related text and this is the advantage of optimizing the educational process.

In stable MT, lexical content is regulated by the communicative task and lexico-semantic compatibility at the level of subclasses of words. They do not lose their integrity out of context and are semantic-syntactic linguistic units located between syntactic levels.

Thus, two mutually exclusive points of view coexist: phrases are considered as belonging to the lexical level or to the syntactic level. In addition, it is recognized that phrases should be considered as being between these levels. In our opinion, the phrases belong to each of these levels. They can be considered as units of colligation and collocation, although each of the points of view can be quite justified, for example, dissertations have been written whose tasks include "proving that phrases belong to units of the syntactic level of the language".

In this paper, the attribution of MT to one or another level cannot be based only on purely theoretical speculations, because the purpose of this work is ultimately practical, namely: the construction of an MT translation algorithm for teaching students. Therefore, on the one hand, we must rely on the results of theoretical research based on the actual functioning of MT in the scientific and technical literature, and on the other hand, take into account the chosen strategy of MT translation, i.e. the «opinion» of the computer, because the machine treats MT in a completely different way than a person and the strategy of the student who uses it.

The comparison can be made at different language levels. The task of the work is to compare MT, which should be translated at the level of phrases, but MT, being units of collocation and colligation, combine the existence of several levels. As white light consists of red, green, etc., so MT combine several levels. Therefore, they should be analyzed for each of these levels in order to make an algorithm for their translation. V.A.Krupnov writes about this, considering the role of translation at the level of individual words and phrases for solving problems related to adequate translation and transmission of the general meaning of the text [5].

Research and development in the field of machine translation, where the object of processing or text of a narrow subject, have shown the presence of insurmountable difficulties in terms of syntactic analysis, as a result of which the need for a human translator remains.

When analyzing MT on syntactic grounds, difficulties arise, to overcome which we were forced to develop a number of semantic analysis tools.

The construction of algorithms in the analysis of MT of one specialty (narrow field) has the disadvantage that the linguistic description is constructed taking into account the features that relate to the attribution of semantic features to MT during construction. In the language of semantic-syntactic abstractions organized in the form of graphs for natural languages at the input (English) and at the output (Russian), the analysis is performed in a local way, i.e. limited only by the MT level.

The MT analysis procedure is completely separated from interlanguage comparisons, which makes it possible to consider this system multilingual, since the graph obtained as a result of such analysis can serve as a basis for interlanguage operations and synthesis procedures that provide translation of MT into various output languages.

The process of interlanguage operations involves and is carried out by viewing the tree of components built at the analysis stage in the top-down direction.

This process of bringing the MT of various languages into interaction with semantic-syntactic abstraction in the form of graphs is more efficient and more reliable than using alternative trees when creating teaching linguistic automata for students studying two or more languages.

4. MT translation algorithm

The experience of mass processing of texts has shown that the orientation of the automatic dictionary on the translation of all MT is too general, because the types allocated within the MT system with a special structure organization, for example, constrictions based on metonymy, are peculiar types of outdated stable combinations that require a clearer and more correct organization of the automatic dictionary with developed translation algorithms for each of the MT types.

A special organization is required for the translation of the MT used in the patent, which are characterized by a more complete expansion of the structure and the absence of abbreviated MT when they are repeated in the patent document.

Algorithmic translation of English terminological composites, whose components are interconnected only positionally without morphological design of syntactic dependencies into Russian, which does not contain similar structures, can be considered one of the neutral problems of machine translation.

When constructing a formal MT translation model, we proceed from the fact that the real language space is a curved space of variable curvature.

Based on the general theory of relativity, it can be concluded that the linguistic space should expand over time. Speech activity is characterized by a change in the metric of language space over time. The model of speech activity can be based on the hypothesis that speech activity is homogeneous, i.e. it is arranged in the same way in all its parts. Of course, we are also talking about speech activity in general. If we talk about relatively small scales, then, of course, even without special analysis, one can notice the heterogeneous nature of speech activity, which depends on the density of the set of characteristics that determine the curvature of the language space.

The idea of language, in contrast to speech activity, seems to be connected with the idea of a real language space with zero curvature. Considering a language as an abstract system of units in their paradigmatic connections and relations with zero curvature is one of the special cases of considering a language space of variable curvature.

The greater the curvature of the language space created by the density of the set of characteristics, the more difficult it is to formalize an algorithm for machine translation.

As a measure of curvature estimation, the definition of the coefficient taking into account the density of the set of characteristics leading to the curvature of the linguistic space is proposed.

MT as frequency methods of compressive expression of clumps of scientific and technical concepts, creating characteristics of the density of the text, themselves are subject to the action of curvature. The existing approaches to the algorithmization of MT translation do not give acceptable results, so the word-by-word translation of MT as a translation algorithm, in fact, represents each component of the term at zero curvature. The semantic approach to the translation of MT is the same in nature, consisting in the description of English-Russian correspondences at the level of semantic features. In the approach when the genitive construction is considered the main one as the most special case of MT translation, the real curvature of the language space is almost not always taken into account. The construction of the semantic-syntactic grammar of MT translation is somewhat closer to taking into account the curvature coefficient, although it does not allow taking into account, for example, MT isomerism in MT, i. e. the phenomenon of the existence of various formulas of the structure of inter-component relations.

The paper introduces the concept of isomerism for MT, which may have the same composition of components, but different relationships between these components. In this case, the component does not determine the nature of drilling, but the drilling machine itself, naturally, is not connected with the component. It is known that machines can be characterized by the nature of the operation and by structural qualities. As for drilling machines, they are characterized not by the type of drilling, but by structural qualities.

In order to distinguish isomeric MT, some additional parameters are taken into account in the task of constructing a formal translation model, such as, for example, the terminological coefficient and thesaurus affiliation. But, that the terms, not obeying the action of the probabilistic distribution scheme, create special characteristics of the text, the identification of which will help to determine the measure of deviation in the behavior of linguistic units of a terminological nature from the normal distribution. The more terms are used in the text, the higher its terminological coefficient, nevertheless, the distribution of terms in this text is subject to the action of a probabilistic scheme.

The coefficient of curvature of the linguistic space is associated with the coefficient of terminology, the definition of which can be based on statistical identification of the ratio of the number of terms in the text fragment under consideration to the total number of words. In the translation algorithm, the stage of reorientation of components as a natural transformation of the structure of English MT when translating it into Russian should be preceded by the definition of the thesaurus affiliation of MT, namely, in our case, taking into account the fact that in mechanical engineering machines are characterized not by the nature of operations, but by structural features, which implies the need for adjectivization of the noun «planing» when translating, a subsystem of interlanguage operations is introduced into the translation algorithm, including such a number of possible transformations on one part of speech into another, in order to take into account as many of these thesaurus characteristics.

Thus, summing up, it should be noted that the main stage in the isomeric MT translation algorithm is the reorientation of components as a natural transformation of the structure of the English MT when translating it into Russian. Thesaurus accessories of components imposes restrictions on the translation of isomeric MT. For example, it is necessary to take into account the fact that machines are characterized not by the nature of

the operation, in our case, not by the type of planing, but by structural features. The stage of reorientation of components should be preceded by the determination of the admissibility of adjectivization of attributive nouns» which indicates the possibility of choosing only one of the isomeric MT.

5. The limits of the deployment of the structure of multicomponent propositional terms in modern English

We divide MT into several groups depending on the role of the reference component relative to attributes, and take this into account when constructing translation algorithms.

The supporting component of the MT can play a different role in relation to its subordinate attributes, for example, in our material, MT were found in which the supporting component turns out to be only subordinate (its role is not disclosed at the MT level). There are also such MT in which relations of a prepositional type are superimposed on the general attributive relationship, which are actualized by the attribute predicate, i.e. the role of the reference is disclosed, at the MT level. Depending on the MT belonging to a particular group, we make different translation algorithms, for example, we consider English structured attributive phrases (SAP). As is well known, the semiotic specificity of these collocations consists in the fact that they reveal an internal semantic unity according to the type of proposition.

Unlike other attributive phrases, in which the defined word is only a subordinate element, and its role in relation to attributes remains undisclosed at the level of the phrase, in CAC the defined word is involved in the structure of semantic relations. As a result, propositional type relations are superimposed on the general attributive relationship in the phrase, which are actualized by the attribute – predicate word: *a government-spon-sored opinion poll* [1].

In other words, the predicate word SAP structures the entire chain of words, including the defined word, actualizing semantic relations between them not of an attributive, but of a prepositional nature. This is confirmed by the transformational correlation of SAP and sentences (with, however, the opposite direction of the deployment of semantic relations).

It can be seen from the transformations that the same semantic relations are traced between the elements of the SAP and between the members of the sentence: subjective, objective and circumstantial. In favor of this understanding of the internal organization of these phrases evidenced by the fact that the permutation or the omission of elements is unacceptable and leads to disruption of the relations between the messengers: one of the main problems is the problem of determination of MT, its position in the system of social relations, revealing for what and how to use MT, i.e. the disclosure of the process of development of the MT and regularities of its formation, the conditions and mechanisms of formation.

Guided by the established activity approach to the formation of the term as a member of the terminological system, we use the activity approach and analysis of MT.

The activity approach allows us to consider language as a cognitively interpreted system. The combination of formal and semantic rules of language and rules of pragmatic interpretation allows us to see the language in its entirety, i.e. as a pragmatically interpretable (or socially interactive) system.

Conclusion

In order to create linguistic support for an information search word-by-word translation of texts, a study of journal articles of strictly limited subjects was conducted.

When analyzing the selected MT in a monolingual situation, their regularity and irregularity were taken into account. The semantics of dependent and kernel words, as well as its influence on the structure of this phrase, were studied. The identification of the semantic structure of each of the components of nominal phrases and the establishment of the nature of the intercomponent semantic relations allows us to formulate rules for choosing the structure of translation.

In order to develop optimal algorithms for syntactic analysis and synthesis of named groups, the search is conducted for environments that allow or prohibit the translation of prepositive nouns by adjectives.

In a bilingual situation, the facts of isomorphism and non-isomorphism of MT structures in the input and output languages, including the phenomena of regular non-isomorphism, understood as a natural transformation of the structure of the English MT when translating it into Russian.

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ИНТЕРНЕТ-ЮМОР ВО ВРЕМЯ ПАНДЕМИИ COVID-19 И САМОИЗОЛЯЦИИ – «ПИР ВО ВРЕМЯ ЧУМЫ»?

Аннотация. Задача проведенного исследования заключалась в определении комических форм проявления человека, играющего в период пандемии, и рассмотрении этих форм как компенсаторно-защитных механизмов. Материалом исследования стали приемы остроумия в комиксах, обнаруженных в сети Интернет. В качестве исследовательского метода был выбран контент-анализ комиксов, размещенных в культурно-коммуникативной форме в Интернете в период пандемии covid-19 и самоизоляции. Анализ интернет-юмора рассматривается на примере таких форм, как мотивационные картинки, мемы, подделки, антистрессовые картины на основе сюжетов классических картин мировой художественной культуры. Научная новизна исследования заключается в определении направления анализа социальной диффузии компенсаторных защитных механизмов человека, играющего в период пандемии и самоизоляции, на основе когнитивных механизмов комического в культурно-коммуникативной форме. Комикс, представленный в Интернете в технике остроумия, раскрывает реакцию на новые социальные явления в период пандемии и самоизоляции. Юмор, как эффективная стратегия повышения сопротивляемости и преодоления самоизоляции во время пандемии, обусловлен снижением психоэмоционального напряжения, оптимизацией процесса самоорганизации поведения и регуляции эмоциональной сферы в ситуации риска и неопределенности. Он представлен в различных формах оригинального творчества, таких как мотивационные картинки; стихотворная форма (описание возникших проблем и путей их решения с юмором); мемы (литературная классика, фильмы, мультфильмы); антистрессовые картинки (фотографии постановки картин, созданных по мотивам произведений живописи на примере произведений из мировой художественной культуры). Автор приходит к выводу, что юмор в Интернете является эффективным средством снижения эмоционального напряжения и психической гигиены человека.

Ключевые слова: интернет-юмор в период пандемии, covid-19; приемы остроумия; копинг-стратгии; страх смерти; толерантность к неопределенности.

M. V. Musiychuk (Magnitogorsk, Russia)

INTERNET HUMOR DURING THE COVID-19 PANDEMIC AND SELF-ISOLATION – "FEAST IN TIME OF PLAGUE"?

Abstract. The problem to be solved in the study is what comic forms the compensatory-protective mechanisms of wit techniques for a person during the pandemic period are presented on the Internet. Research method is content analysis of the comic in cultural and communication form on the Internet during the covid-19 pandemic and self-isolation. The analysis of humor on the Internet is considered on the example of forms: motivational pictures; memes; fakes; antistress paintings based on the classics. The scientific novelty of the research lies in determining the direction of analysis of social diffusion of compensatory defense mechanisms of a person playing during a pandemic and self-isolation on the basis of the cognitive mechanisms of the comic in a cultural and communication form. The comic presented in the wit techniques on the Internet reveals the reaction to new social phenomena during a period of pandemic and self-isolation. Humor as an effective strategy for increasing resilience and coping with self-isolation during a pandemic, is due to a decrease in psycho-emotional stress, optimization of the process of self-organization of behavior and regulation of the emotional sphere in a situation of risk and uncertainty. Humor is presented in various forms of original creativity, such as: motivational pictures; poetic form (description of the problems that have arisen and ways to solve them with humor); memes (based on literary classics, films, cartoons); anti-stress pictures (photographs of staging pictures based on works of painting on the example of works from the world art culture. Humor on the Internet is an effective means of reducing emotional stress and mental hygiene of the individual.

Keywords: internet humor during the covid-19 pandemic; wit techniques; coping; the fear of death; tolerance for uncertainty

Introduction

«Hey, look, the blues are worse than cholera, one kills only the body, the other kills the soul ... Nonsense, my soul; not blues - cholera will pass one of these days, if we were alive, we will someday be merry».

A. S. Pushkir

The play «A Feast in Time of Plague» was written in 1930 in Boldino. In 1830, cholera raged in Russia. Pushkin could not come from Boldino to Moscow, surrounded by quarantines, to visit his bride. Pushkin

translated an excerpt from John Wilson's dramatic poem «City of Plague». This poem depicts a plague epidemic in London in 1666. Although the heroes of the play do not die, their death from the plague is almost inevitable.

The passion that Pushkin portrays in this play is the fear of death. In the face of imminent death from the plague, people behave differently. Some live as if death does not exist: they feast, love, enjoy life. But death reminds them of itself when a cart with the dead passes along the street. One of the heroes of the tragedy, Valsingham, does not accept death, but conquers the fear of death with the power of spirit. It turns out that the fear of death can be enjoyed, because the victory of the fear of death is the guarantee of immortality.

Relevance

During the coronavirus pandemic in Russia, the number of citizens with anxiety and depressive disorders has increased - in different regions of Russia from 10 % to 30 %. Russians complain about fear of getting sick, panic attacks, and suicidal thoughts associated with fear of complications.

The impact of the coronavirus on the world's population is reflected not only in the reports on the sick and recovered. Various kinds of acuteness associated with this problem have also entered into everyday life. Let's take a look at the example of two countries - Germany and England.

The German Language Society (GfdS) has recognized the Wellenbrecher (literally «breakwater») as the word 2021, which in German refers to all measures taken to combat the spread of coronavirus. "The word of 2021 is a breakwater. This word means all the measures that have been taken to stop the fourth wave of the coronavirus pandemic," the press release said.

In Germany, from August-September, the incidence continues to grow, which local experts consider the fourth wave of the pandemic for Germany. To «break» the wave, restrictive measures are introduced, which are called Wellenbrecher. Also, GfdS emphasizes, Wellenbrecher can be called a person who complies with such measures. «Become a breakwater!» This motivational appeal is cited by the German Language Society as an example of word usage.

British social media users have received a new object for malicious ridicule: the country's main Christmas tree, traditionally brought from Norway and installed in Trafalgar Square in London, this year turned out to be nondescript and lopsided.

The official account of the Christmas tree in Trafalgar Square, which is run by London's Westminster council, joked: «I just want to inform everyone that half of the branches are not missing, they are just keeping a social distance».

Formulations of the problem

However, not everyone has faced similar problems. «Development of the ability to understand and accept emotional capabilities and emotional states without elements of psychoeducation, especially in terms of providing about the "normality" of any emotions (including negative ones)…» [8].

Special attention, according to E.V. Fedosenko, you should pay attention to stressors during the stay and after the quarantine: the duration of the quarantine; fear of infection; frustration and boredom; insufficient provision (food, clothing, medical services, household services, etc.), inadequate information [10, p. 39]. Many Russian psychologists are now turning to the theory of resilience, urging people to calm down and endure the difficulties of self-isolation, the danger of being infected with a new virus.

The COVID-19 pandemic is an event that has involved the population of many countries around the world in which infected patients have been found. The situation of a pandemic itself is a special case of a situation of uncertainty, in connection with which such a situation can cause complex mental experiences in persons involved in this situation [14].

The coronavirus threat is perceived as a powerful stress factor affecting mental well-being and the mental state of people [1; 2; 8; 13; 15]. The fear of death as values and meanings in the new reality of COVID-19 is explored by E. V. Fedosenko [9]. Social isolation, loneliness and health in old age explore E. Curtin, M. Knapp [11].

The issues of quarantine psychological impact and how to reduce it were explored by S. K. Brooks, R. K. Webster, L. E. Smith, L. Woodland, S. Wessely, N. Greenberg et al. [10]. COVID-19 and the phenomenon of bereavement was analyzed in the article A. M. Verdery, E.Smith-Greenway [16]. Self-control moderates the association between perceived severity of the coronavirus disease 2019 and mental health problems among the Chinese public, write in their article J. B. Li, A. Yang, K. Dou, R-Y. M. Cheung [12].

In the article by E. V. Kuftyak, A. A. Bechter [3] the results of the selection of proactive coping strategies under the influence of external factors in the situation of the COVID-19 pandemic are presented. The

following methodological complex was used: "Perceived stress scale-10", "Proactive coping questionnaire", "Coping methods questionnaire".

The cognitive mechanisms of humor as a coping strategy on the internet during the covid-19 pandemic and self-isolation are studied by M. V. Musiychuk, S. V. Musiychuk [5; 6; 7].

Psychological problems of the individual and society in the context of an epidemiological threat through the prism of the metamorphosis of emotions during a pandemic: the content analysis of the mechanisms of humor on the Internet is investigated by M. V. Musiychuk [4].

The problem to be solved in the study

What comic forms the compensatory-protective mechanisms of wit techniques for a playing person during the pandemic period are presented on the Internet.

Research method

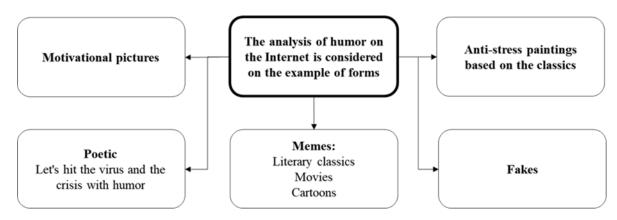
Content analysis was made on the comic in cultural and communication form on the Internet during the covid-19 pandemic and self-isolation.

The scientific novelty of the research lies in determining the direction of analysis of social diffusion of compensatory defense mechanisms of a person playing during a pandemic and self-isolation on the basis of the cognitive mechanisms of the comic in a cultural and communication form. The comic presented in the techniques of wit on the Internet reveals the reaction to new social phenomena during a period of pandemic and self-isolation.

The first (and hopefully the last) international cartoon competition dedicated to COVID-19 and the fight against it was held in Beijing. The event title is Anti-Coronavirus International Cartoon Competition (UYACC). Russian Sergei Belozerov took 3rd place, along with several other artists. The cartoon by Sergei Belozerov depicts a plot based on the Russian fairy tale «The Turnip». The plot was a bit altered a cheerful company (a grandfather, a grandmother, a granddaughter, a bug, a cat and a mouse) were pulling a virus from the land.

Results

The analysis of humor on the Internet is considered on the example of forms: motivational pictures; memes; fakes; anti-stress paintings based on the classics (Drawing 1.).



Drawing 1. Scheme for analyzing forms of humor on the Internet during the COVID-19 pandemic of self-isolation.

Consider a motivational picture which shows matches aligned along the top edge. On the right – burnt matches (with gray «heads», on the left – whole ones (with red «heads). In the middle, on the border of burnt and unburned matches, one unburned one is lowered down. This symbolizes the break in the contact of the transmission of the virus. A picture that Italians are spreading, urging people to quarantine and self-isolation. «The decision of one – can save everyone else». The technique of wit «metaphor» in the form of literalization of the metaphor.

Consider poetic examples. Channel: I write in a dream. Let's hit the virus and the crisis with humor

Part 1: the poetry pill

Part 2: saving rhyme

Part 3: healing verse

Part 4: therapeutic poetry

Part 5: rhyme with vitamins

Part 6: Poetic Diagnosis

Part 7: tetrametric inhalation

Part 8: everything about Oleg

Part 9: summoning an emergency laughing aid

Poems of Internet users are grouped with funny names. The humor of the poems in this collection is based on puns and play on words.

Let's look at examples with memes. We shall start with the classic literature.



← Drawing 2. Face to face, you can't see the face. We are in masks and let's step up for some distance. Sergey Yesenin

Drawing 3. Time to stay at home and time to sleep. Erich Maria Remarque \rightarrow

Let's analyze the meme on which the heroes of the film Sherlock Holmes and Doctor Watson are depicted against the background of swamps.

- Watson, let's go for a walk in the swamps ...
- No, Sir Henry, quarantine.
- And we say the dog ran away, looking for ...

The technique of wit «hint» in the form of a smile of augurs is a sign of the tacit understanding of initiates and mockery of the uninitiated.

The meme shows a shot from the film Heart of a Dog. Sharikov talks with Professor Preobrazhensky.

- Oh, if you were a dog, you would take a walk now.

This is the technique of wit "irony" in the form

of the verbalization of silence.

A scene from the movie "The Master and Margarita". Woland, poet Homeless and the chairman of the Moscow Literary Society talk at the Patriarch's Ponds.

Someone dreamed of returning the milestones of guest workers home.

Someone dreamed not to go to school.

Someone dreamed of working from home.

Someone dreamed that there would be no poor minibuses on the roads.

Someone dreamed of traveling in half-empty trolleybuses.

Someone dreamed that planes did not leave a carbon footprint.

Someone dreamed of seeing St. Mark's Square without tourists.

"Be careful with your desires – they have the properties to come true".

"The Master and Margarita" by M. A. Bulgakov.

This is the technique of wit «hint» in the form of an allusion (a hint at events known to everyone).

Let's analyze memes based on cartoons. Here is a frame from the cartoon «Hedgehog in the Fog». The picture shows a masked hedgehog.

The hedgehog came out of the fog

Took the mask out of his pocket

And stand all alone

Because of quarantine

The technique of wit «comparison» in the form of characteristics of one phenomenon from different points of view

This is a shot from the cartoon «Winnie the Pooh and all-all.» Winnie the Pooh leads Pig on a leash. – If you see a patrol, start barking.

This is the technique of wit "irony" in the form of derisive imitation (mimesis).

Anti-blues «flash mob»

Anti-blues pictures of the Russian-speaking part of the Internet - reproduction from scrap materials and family members in hard and harsh conditions of self-isolation of varying degrees of severity of the master-pieces of world art.

Let's consider examples of fakes. In March 2020, a fake spread on the Internet that, due to the general quarantine, the water in the canals of Venice cleared so much that the dolphins returned there. As it turned out later, there are still no dolphins in the city, and the water in the canals looks cleaner because it is not disturbed by boats.

The news about the «healing» of nature has become the basis for a huge number of memes about what or who else has «returned» to the streets of different cities of the world, while there are no people there.

Since the beginning of April, social media users have begun to post pictures of wild (and not entirely wild) animals, as well as unusual objects against the backdrop of recognizable cities. The technique of wit, a play of meanings or a pun.

Conclusions

Humor, as an effective strategy for increasing resilience and coping with self-isolation during a pandemic, is due to a decrease in psycho-emotional stress, optimization of the process of self-organization of behavior and regulation of the emotional sphere in a situation of risk and uncertainty. Humor is presented in various forms of original creativity, such as: motivational pictures; poetic (let's hit the virus and crisis with humor); memes (literary classics, movies, cartoons); fakes; anti-stress pictures based on the classics. Humor on the Internet is an effective means of reducing emotional stress and mental hygiene of the individual.

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«ЧЕРНЫЙ ЛЕБЕДЬ» Н. Н.ТАЛЕБА ЧЕРЕЗ ПРИЗМУ ОСТРОУМИЯ

Аннотация. В статье решается исследовательская задача, заключающаяся в выявлении приемов остроумия, доступных в когнитивно-аффективной аргументации точки зрения американского писателя и философа Нассима Николаса Талеба, реализованной им в монографии «Черный лебедь: влияние невероятного» (2007). Известна книга постановкой проблем невозможности расчета риска последовательности наступления редких событий и их прогнозирования. Такой тип событий имеет значительные последствия и получил в науке название «черный лебедь». Материалом исследования выступил текст указанной монографии Н. Н. Талеба, а методом – контент-анализ содержания текста. Научная новизна настоящей публикации состоит в выявлении приемов остроумия с целью аргументации постановки проблемы «черных лебедей» посредством дискуссии с традиционными трудами теоретиков и практиков в области неопределенности. Кроме того, новым является авторский подход к анализу аргументации в письменных (и устных) текстах на основе когнитивно-аффективного подхода в изучении приемов остроумия. Контент-анализ юмора в монографии Н. Н. Талеба «Черный лебедь: влияние невероятного» позволяет авторам статьи говорить о когнитивно-аффективном влиянии на читателей, основанном на технике остроумия. Приемы остроумия являются основой когнитивно-аффективной аргументации точки зрения Н. Н. Талеба в указанной монографии.

Ключевые слова: Нассим Николас Талеб, «черный лебедь», техники остроумия, абсурд, ирония, парадокс, аргументация.

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«THE BLACK SWAN» BY N. N. TALEB THROUGH THE PRISM OF WIT

Abstract. The problem to be solved in the study. What techniques of wit are available in the cognitive-affective argumentation of his point of view N. N. Taleb in his monograph «Black Swan», reflecting the formulation of the problem of Black Swans as the impossibility of calculating the risk of a sequence of rare events and predicting their occurrence? Research method and materials. Content analysis of the monograph by N. N. Taleb. The scientific novelty of the research lies in identifying the techniques of wit with the aim of arguing the formulation of the problem of «Black Swans» in a discussion with the traditional works of theorists and practitioners in the field of uncertainty. The novelty of the authors' approach lies in the approach to the analysis of argumentation in written texts (however, in oral ones too) on the basis of a cognitive-affective approach to the study of method of wit. The content analysis of humor in the monograph «The Black Swan: The Impact of the Highly Improbable» by Nassim Nicholas Taleb allows us to talk about the cognitive-affective influence on readers based on those The Black Swan: The Impact of the Highly Improbable wit techniques. The method of wit are the basis for the cognitive-affective argumentation of the point of view of N. N. Taleb in the monograph «Black Swan», reflecting the formulation of the problem of Black Swans as the impossibility of calculating the risk of a sequence of rare events and predicting their occurrence.

Keywords. Taleb Nassim Nicholas, Black Swan, witty techniques, absurdity, irony, paradox, argumentation

Introduction

The discernment of the mind is the conscience of wit. Jean Paul (Johann Paul Friedrich Richter) (1763–1825) He took the pseudonym from admiration for Jean-Jacques

Rousseau

Everybody wants to be informed honestly, impartially, truthfully — in total accordance with his views.

Gilbert Keith Chesterton (1874-1936)

Everybody wants to be informed honestly, impartially, truthfully - in total accordance with his views.

Gilbert Keith Chesterton (1874–1936)

The solution to the Black Swan problem is the inability to calculate the risk of a sequence of rare events and predict their occurrence.

«Antifragility» N. N. Taleb. 2012

The urgency of the problem of using wit to discuss issues involving the presence of different (often

directly opposite) points of view is high. Wit reinforces the transition from inference to reasoning; forms the ability to formulate clear decisions based on fuzzy, loose, incomplete and undefined knowledge. This can be seen in the argumentation of N.N. Taleb in the process of substantiating a new approach in science comprehending the problem of uncertainty (the influence of the incredible), expressed by the author as the metaphor «Black Swans» [12].

Let us turn to the understanding of the term «wit». So Aristotle says that «wit is insolence, educated.» Emphasizing the cognitive basis of the concept of «wit», Aristotle says that «wit is audacity that is educated».

Wit, according to Cicero, presupposes the ability to appropriately apply ridicule (sal, salis - salt), caused by the need to give a sharp, critical assessment (cum grano salis) of a person [9, p. 109]. These types of wit are used in two main functions. The first is to achieve the favor of the audience or listener in favor of the speaker and criticism of the opponent's arguments.

Kant in his work «Anthropology from a Pragmatic Point of View». So in § 54 «On talents and cognitive ability» it is emphasized that «talent is a productive wit». And further, «productive wit allows you to find similarities between heterogeneous things and provides the mind with material in order to make its concepts general». G. Hegel, in his Science of Logic, approached the analysis of wit as a form of thinking, emphasizing that wit grasps a contradiction, expresses it, brings things into relation to each other, makes "the concept shine through contradiction". F. Schlegel, highlighting the creative component of humor, writes that «sharpness is an explosion of bound consciousness», that is, rational thinking, ossified in one-sided, consistent concepts. In a humorous form, the concrete, the contradictory is not just put side by side; opposites are linked in sharp contradiction, and this connection contains a hint of a deeply hidden truth hidden in the synthesis of these opposites. There are a number of definitions of wit: «true wit» (K. Helvetius), «flat humor» (G. Hegel), «lowgrade humor» (K. Marx)», wit of ideas» (G. Heine) and others.

By «wit» is meant a sense of humor, which manifests itself not only in a subtle and adequate understanding of it, but also in the ability to generate humor on the basis of learned or deliberately designed methods (techniques of wit). Methods of wit in a systematized version were described by A.N. Luk [2; 3; 4]. M. V. Musiychuk made additions to the description of the structure of some techniques. There are twelve methods of wit in total – hence the name «A dozen of methods of wit» [5; 6]. Humor, in the form of wit, is reflected in a wide range of studies in various sciences. A review of a significant amount of popular science literature on humor was done in the work «Philosophical and pedagogical discourse of popular science literature on humor» [7, p. 35].

The collection of materials compiled by Lydia Mirchevskaya-Luk (2017). «Creation of sharpness, like any creative process, is associated with going beyond formal logic, with the liberation of thought from the tight framework of strict and consistent reasoning» [1, p. 317]. And we consider it necessary to cite one more quote that reinforces the placement of accents in solving the problem of reasoning based on wit. "But breaking the laws of logic is not yet wit. What is needed is a «leap», the transition of thought to a new semantic level, reflecting deeper patterns and relationships of phenomena. This is especially demonstratively manifested in such a technique as a paradox « [1, p. 315].

Let us also pay attention to the comprehensive and detailed analysis of the comic (humor, wit) done by T.V. Semenova (2014) in a theoretical and empirical study [8]. The author considers the comic as social cognition, competent communication, emotional regulation, personal self-development. Humor (wit) is considered as an effective means of forming intellectual capital, developing creativity [10, p. 11].

Main part

Formulation of the problem.

The task to be solved in the study. What methods of wit are used in the argumentation of N.N. Taleb in the monograph "Black Swan". The impossibility of calculating the risk of a sequence of rare events and predicting their occurrence is called by the author of the book "black swans".

Research method and materials

Content analysis of the monograph by N.N. Taleb [12].

The scientific novelty of the research lies in identifying the techniques of wit with the aim of arguing the formulation of the problem of «Black Swans» in a discussion with the traditional works of theorists and practitioners in the field of uncertainty.

Results

The absurdity is represented by the techniques of wit: exaggeration (hyperbole); reasoning that appears to be formally flawless (sophism); diminution (litota). Consider an example of an absurdity in the form of exaggeration.

«The writer Umberto Eco belongs to that small class of scholars who are encyclopedic, insightful, and nondull. He is the owner of a large personal library (containing thirty thousand books), and separates visitors into two categories: those who react with "Wow! Signore professore dottore Eco, what a library you have! How many of these books have you read?" and the others — a very small minority — who get the point that a private library is not an egoboosting appendage but a research tool. Read books are far less valuable than unread ones. The library should contain as much of what you do not know as your financial means, mortgage rates, and the currently tight real-estate market allow you to put there. You will accumulate more knowledge and more books as you grow older, and the growing number of unread books on the shelves will look at you menacingly. Indeed, the more you know, the larger the rows of unread books. Let us call this collection of unread books an antilibrary»¹.

The cognitive-affective basis of humor in this example is based on the statement that the broader your horizons, the more shelves of unread books you have. Taleb N.N. suggests calling this collection of unread books the anti-library.

Consider an example of an absurdity in the form of exaggeration (hyperbole).

«The situation can get a little more tragic—the world is more nonlinear than we think, and than scientists would like to think. ...

Take the relationship between pleasure and drinking water. If you are in a state of painful thirst, then a bottle of water increases your well-being significantly. More water means more pleasure. But what if I gave you a cistern of water? Clearly your well-being becomes rapidly insensitive to further quantities. As a matter of fact, if I gave you the choice between a bottle or a cistern you would prefer the bottle—so your enjoyment declines with additional quantities». The fact that the world is no longer linear than we used to think Taleb N.N. proves, also on the basis of method wit, absurdity in the form of exaggeration. Justifying, a bottle of water to quench your thirst is more satisfying than a cistern of water. Another technique of the absurd is reasoning that seems formally flawless (sophism). Consider the following example, which contains arguments about the author's career development.

«He didn't even have to be alive for them—death is often a good career move for an author».3

The comic of the situation is achieved by the assertion that the author does not have to be among the living for career growth. The reasoning is based on the reception of wit absurdity in the form of sophism.

The situation in the following example describes the size of the library of a Munich art historian.

«One evening I found myself at a cocktail party in Munich at the apartment of a former art historian who had more art books in its library than I thought existed».⁴

The argument for the enormous size of the art historian's library is achieved by the ingenuity of «absurd» in the form of a reduction. It is realized by comparing the number of books in a particular library and books in the aggregate around the world.

Consider the technique of wit nonsense. Among other issues, Taleb N.N. discusses why we manage to calmly drink coffee.

«I've had plenty of cups of coffee in my life (it's my principal addiction). I have never seen a cup jump two feet from my desk, nor has coffee spilled spontaneously on this manuscript without intervention (even in Russia). Indeed, it will take more than a mild coffee addiction to witness such an event; it would require more lifetimes than is perhaps conceivable—the odds are so small, one in so many zeroes, that it would be impossible for me to write them down in my free time».⁵

The argumentation of the rarity of the event that cups of coffee will bounce is presented by the author in the form of chances equal to one, after such a number of zeros that all the free time of N. N. Taleb is not enough to write them. The comic situation is based on the ingenuity of «nonsense» in the form of meaningless detailing.

An important part of the life of any author is correspondence with publishers.

Correspondence of authors of works with publishers is an important part in the life of any author. N. N. Taleb with humor comprehends this process on the example of the works of a lady (who received wide

¹ Taleb N.N. The Black Swan: The Impact of the Highly Improbable. New York: Random House, 2007. P. 35.

² Ibidem, p. 137.

³ Ibidem, pp. 67–68.

⁴ Ibidem, p. 186.

⁵ Ibidem, p. 308.

recognition in the distant future). The publishers' responses are highly sophisticated. Let us consider these examples through the prism of humor set forth by N. N. Taleb.

«She received enough attention to get the courtesy of rejection letters and occasional insulting comments instead of the far more insulting and demeaning silence. Publishers were confused by her manuscript. She could not even answer their first question: "Is this fiction or nonfiction?" Nor could she respond to the "Who is this book written for?" on the publishers' book proposal forms. She was told, "You need to understand who your audience is" and "amateurs write for themselves, professionals write for others." She was also told to conform to a precise genre because "bookstores do not like to be confused and need to know where to place a book on the shelves." One editor protectively added, "This, my dear friend, will only sell ten copies, including those bought by your ex-husbands and family members"»⁶.

The reasoning using humor in this example is based on the "false reinforcement" wit in the form of absolutizing false opposition.

Remembering Casanova as the author of a twelve-volume encyclopedia, N.N. Taleb gives a characterization of the French language.

«Casanova, while known for his seductions, viewed himself as some sort of a scholar. He aimed at literary fame with his twelve-volume History of My Life, written in bad (charmingly bad) French»⁷.

This example implements the «false amplification» wit trick in the form moving the semantic center to illogical clarification: «... bad (charmingly bad) French».

In an example that continues to argue for the discussion of the need to revise the beliefs, Taleb N.N. refers to the image of a turkey, fattened for Thanksgiving.

«The chapter has another exact presentation of what became later known as "Hume's problem"»⁸.

The comic effect is based on the ingenuity of «mixing styles or» combining plans «in the form of a contrast between the theme and the form of presentation. So the everyday «turkey problem» is combined with the philosophical «Hume problem».

N.N. Taleb writes about the inevitability of the process of revising beliefs in some situations. For example, in the story about the turkey.

«Consider a turkey that is fed every day. Every single feeding will firm up the bird's belief that it is the general rule of life to be fed every day by friendly members of the human race "looking out for its best interests," as a politician would say. On the afternoon of the Wednesday before Thanksgiving, something unexpected will happen to the turkey. It will incur a revision of belief»⁹.

This quote uses the method wit t in the form the smile of the augurs (a sign of the tacit understanding of the initiates and ridicule of the uninitiated). The smile of the augurs belongs to the friendly representatives of the human race, who understand the inevitability of Thanksgiving. Strengthening the cognitive-affective impact of the technique of wit is achieved by "taking care of its welfare," as a politician would say.

Consider an example about war and peace.

«The war was not continuous: there were periods of fighting interrupted by "permanent" solutions»¹⁰. Consider an example of the connection between a skeptic empiricist and a limousine.

«When people at cocktail parties asked me what I did for a living, I was tempted to answer, "I am a skeptical empiricist and a flâneur-reader, someone committed to getting very deep into an idea," but I made things simple by saying that I was a limousine driver»¹¹.

In this example, the method of wit is self-irony in the form of a pretty pretense.

The ironic argumentation of the position, "if you didn't see it, then it wasn't" is presented in the next fragment.

«Assume I told you that I had evidence that the football player O. J. Simpson (who was accused of killing his wife in the 1990s) was not a criminal. Look, the other day I had breakfast with him and he didn't kill anybody. I am serious, I did not see him kill a single person. Wouldn't that confirm his innocence? If I said such a thing you would certainly call a shrink, an ambulance, or perhaps even the police, since you might think that I spent too much time in trading rooms or in cafés thinking about this Black Swan topic, and that my logic may represent such an immediate danger to society that I myself need to be locked up immediately»¹².

⁶ Taleb N. N., 2007, pp. 60–61.

⁷ Ibidem, p. 165.

⁸ Ibidem, p. 85.

⁹ Ibidem, p. 80.

² Ibidem, p. 80

¹⁰ Ibidem, p. 45.

¹¹ Ibidem, p. 68.

¹² Taleb N. N., 2007, p. 93.

The technique of wit «irony» is realized in the form of the verbalization of the silence. The author (N. N. Taleb) first reveals his arguments with the words: «I had breakfast with him (football player OJ Simpson) and he did not kill anyone. This is followed by the verbalization of the silence: «If I had blabbed it, you would probably have called psychiatrists ...»

Cognitive-affective reasoning based on wit in this example is related to mathematicians.

«In his day, Poincaré was thought to be the king of mathematics and science, except of course by a few narrow-minded mathematicians like Charles Hermite who considered him too intuitive, too intellectual, or too "hand-waving." When mathematicians say "handwaving," disparagingly, about someone's work, it means that the person has: a) insight, b) realism, c) something to say, and it means that d) he is right because that's what critics say when they can't find anything more negative»¹³

The irony is realized in the form of a malicious mockery (diasirms). N.N. Taleb, highlighting the category of narrow-minded mathematicians on the example of Charles Hermite. The argumentation is realized by irony over the characterization of Poincaré as too intellectual and trusting intuition, too "gesticulating". «Yes, yes, because they talk about "gestures" when there are no more worthy arguments», - says N.N. Taleb

«Since I was questioning their entire business, it was understandable that I drew all manner of insults: "obsessive," "commercial," "philosophical," "essayist," "idle man of leisure," "repetitive," "practitioner" (this is an insult in academia), "academic" (this is an insult in business)»¹⁴. The method of wit «irony» in the form of pretty pretense is implemented in this example.

The method of wit "irony in the form of pretty pretense is used by N.N. Taleb often enough. Two more examples.

«If you ever took a (dull) statistics class in college, did not understand much of what the professor was excited about, and wondered what "standard deviation" meant, there is nothing to worry about. The notion of standard deviation is meaningless outside of Mediocristan. Clearly it would have been more beneficial, and certainly more entertaining, to have taken classes in the neurobiology of aesthetics or postcolonial African dance, and this is easy to see empirically»¹⁵.

Polemising about the concept of «average» (as a measured value) N. N. Taleb refers to the concept of «average person».

«Assuming there is something desirable in being an average man, he must have an unspecified specialty in which he would be more gifted than other people—he cannot be average in everything. A pianist would be better on average at playing the piano, but worse than the norm at, say, horseback riding. A draftsman would have better drafting skills, and so on. The notion of a man deemed average is different from that of a man who is average in everything he does. In fact, an exactly average human would have to be half male and half female. Quételet completely missed that points¹⁶.

Wit lies in the reception of wit «irony» in the form of a pretty pretense. The author concludes that an absolutely average person would be half male, half female.

The method of wit «irony» in the form of sarcasm was brilliantly realized by N.N. Taleb to explain the features of skeptical empiricism (neoplatonic project, as opposed to platonic). «Would ordinarily not wear suits (except to funerals). Wears dark suits, white shirts; speaks in a boring tone»¹⁷.

Let's consider examples of argumentation based on the «metaphor» wit technique.

*«I will separate the two cases as follows. The mild case: arrogance in the presence of (some) competence, and the severe case: arrogance mixed with incompetence (the empty suit)»*¹⁸.

N. N. Taleb writes about the impossibility predict in an environment where there are many Black Swans and makes arguments based on the "comparison" wit method.

«Our inability to predict in environments subjected to the Black Swan, coupled with a general lack of the awareness of this state of affairs, means that certain professionals, while believing they are experts, are in fact not. Based on their empirical record, they do not know more about their subject matter than the general population, but they are much better at narrating – or, worse, at smoking you with complicated mathematical models. They are also more likely to wear a tie»¹⁹.

The method of wit «comparison» is implemented in the form «assessment by implicit, accidental or

¹³Ibidem, p. 239.

¹⁴ Ibidem, p. 357.

¹⁵ Ibidem, p. 310.

¹⁶ Ibidem, p. 314.

¹⁷ Ibidem, p. 363.

¹⁸ Ibidem, p. 203.

¹⁹ Ibidem, p. 24.

insignificant attribute». The author writes that some professionals who consider themselves experts cloud their brains with mathematical models and in most cases wear a tie.

Analysis of examples based on the method of wit «comparison».

«Hume was radically skeptical in the philosophical cabinet, but abandoned such ideas when it came to daily life, since he could not handle them. I am doing here the exact opposite: I am skeptical in matters that have implications for daily life. In a way, all I care about is making a decision without being the turkey.

Many middlebrows have asked me over the past twenty years, "How do you, Taleb, cross the street given your extreme riskconsciousness?" or have stated the more foolish "You are asking us to take no risks." Of course I am not advocating total risk phobia (we will see that I favor an aggressive type of risk taking): all I will be showing you in this book is how to avoid crossing the street blindfolded». ²⁰

In this example, the assessment is made on an implicit, accidental or irrelevant basis.

In the following example, N.N. Taleb draws a comparison between the concepts of «watchmaker, neurosurgeon, chess player» and «uncertainty».

«To be able to focus is a great virtue if you are a watch repairman, a brain surgeon, or a chess player. But the last thing you need to do when you deal with uncertainty is to "focus" (you should tell uncertainty to focus, not us)».²¹

«Comparison» technique wit in the form of implicit comparison».

Convincing argumentation of the essence of events falling under the definition of «Gray Swans» and «Black Swans» was implemented by N. N. Taleb in the quoted fragment.

«A gray swan concerns modelable extreme events, a black swan is about unknown unknowns»²².

Based on the technique of wit «repetition» in the form repetition of a fragment of speech with a change in part of speech (antanoclasis).

The method of wit «pun», presented in the form of a play of meanings is presented in the following example.

«The entire statistical business confused absence of proof with proof of absence»²³.

The cognitive-affective argumentation of incompatibility is presented in the following fragment. *«It was as if one could be half dead»* 24 .

Wit method «paradox» done in the form of an antinomic replacement for a phraseological function.

Conclusion

The content analysis of humor in the monograph «The Black Swan: The Impact of the Highly Improbable» by Nassim Nicholas Taleb allows us to talk about the cognitive-affective influence on readers based on those The Black Swan: The Impact of the Highly Improbable techniques wit.

The method of wit are the basis for the cognitive-affective argumentation of the point of view of N. N. Taleb in the monograph «Black Swan», reflecting the formulation of the problem of Black Swans as the impossibility of calculating the risk of a sequence of rare events and predicting their occurrence.

Cognitive-affective argumentation in theoretical and practical discussions is enhanced by witty techniques such as absurd, nonsense, false amplification. spurious gain, mixing styles, or «overlapping plans», hint (allusion), irony, metaphor, comparison (simile), repetition (repeat), double interpretation, paradox (antinomy).

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²⁰ Taleb N. N., 2007, pp. 89-90.

²¹ Ibidem. p. 188.

²² Ibidem, p. 350.

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ТРЕНИНГИ В СИСТЕМЕ ЯЗЫКОВОГО ОБРАЗОВАНИЯ

Аннотация. Тренинг как метод активного обучения рассматривается в качестве средства формирования коммуникативной и речевой компетенций. Цель исследования – описать возможности использования данного метода и его результативность в процессе обучения русскому языку в школе и вузе. Предмет исследования эффективность технологии тренинга при обучении русскому языку. Для решения задач исследования были использованы системный и эмпирический подходы: системный подход был применён при теоретическом рассмотрении тренинга в системе общих принципов интерактивного обучения; эмпирический подход использован в изучении учебной деятельности методом опытной педагогической работы. Обучение строится на основе коммуникативно-деятельностного подхода, направленного на комплексное совершенствование языковой и коммуникативной компетенции, а также на воспитание «языкового чутья». Реализация данного комплексного подхода возможна посредством развития речевых навыков студентов на специально отобранном профессионально ориентированном дидактическом материале в специально смоделированной речевой ситуации, которая приближает студентов к прогнозируемым речевым ситуациям, потенциально возможным в будущей профессиональной деятельности. Результаты свидетельствуют о том, что освоение учебной программы и формирование коммуникативной и речевой компетенций оказывается более продуктивным с использованием тренинга как метода активизации познавательной деятельности, поскольку позволяет организовать учебный процесс, максимально приблизив его к реальной профессиональной деятельности обучающихся в аспекте, связанном с речевым взаимодействием. Практическая значимость статьи связана с использованием опытного материала педагогической работы по курсу учебной дисциплины «Русский язык» в школе, учебных дисциплин «Деловая коммуникация на русском языке», «Методика обучения русскому языку» со студентами вузов.

Ключевые слова: коммуникативная компетенция, тренинг, языковое образование, обучение русскому языку, школьное обучение, вузовское обучение, речевые умения, методы и приемы тренинга.

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TRAININGS IN THE LANGUAGE EDUCATION SYSTEM

Abstract. Training as a method of active learning is considered as a means of forming communicative and speech competencies. The purpose of the study is to describe the possibilities of using this method and its effectiveness in the process of teaching Russian at school and university. The subject of the study is the effectiveness of the training technology in teaching the Russian language. The systematic and empirical approaches were used to solve the research tasks. The systematic approach to the study was applied in the theoretical consideration of the training in the system of general principles of interactive learning. The empirical approach is used in the study of educational activities through the method of experimental pedagogical work. The training is based on a communicative-activity approach aimed at improving language and communicative competence, as well as the education of «language flair». The implementation of this integrated approach is possible through the development of students' speech skills on specially selected professionally oriented didactic material in a specially modeled speech situation that brings students closer to the speech situation potentially possible in their future professional activities. The results indicate that the development of the curriculum and the formation of communicative and speech competencies is more productive with the use of training as a method of activating cognitive activity, since it allows you to organize the learning process, bringing it as close as possible to the future professional activity of students in the aspect related to speech interaction. Practical significance of the article is connected with the use of experimental material of pedagogical work in the course of the academic discipline «Russian language» at school, academic disciplines «Business communication in Russian», «Methods of teaching the Russian language» with university students.

Keywords: communicative competence, training, language education, teaching the Russian language, school education, higher education, speech skills, methods and techniques of training.

Introduction

Language education plays an important role in the system of school and university learning. A modern graduate of any educational system should be equally proficient in all types of speech activities such as writing, reading, listening, and speaking. Quite often teaching the Russian language is reduced to forming relative literacy, which is necessary for written communication, at lessons (especially at the level of school education) the conditions for using methods that promote the development of speech skills are not created, despite the fact that oral communication is in demand in professional and everyday spheres of modern man. All of the

above testifies to the relevance of finding productive methods in the system of language education. One such method is speech training. Undoubtedly, trainings are quite common in teaching foreign languages, but they are practically not used in learning Russian. Trainings in the methodology of teaching foreign languages are studied by M. P. Milrud [4], A. V. Lazareva [3], in the methodology of Russian as a foreign language by O. P. Fesenko [6], in the methodology of Russian as a native language by M. A.Bondarenko [1], L. A. Shkatova [7]. Our goal is to identify the peculiarities of training in learning the Russian language and to characterize the conditions of its application at the levels of school and higher education.

1. Training in the system of teaching methods

Training has a long history, evolving from a method of personality research to a method of active learning. There are various types of training. In the system of language education one of the most common is communicative training. By communicative training, following O. P. Fesenko, we understand «creation of training situations aimed at the development of communicative and speech skills, control and correction of one's own speech behavior and an interlocutor's speech behavior under the condition of taking into account all conditions of communication» [6, p. 1]. Training sessions take place in the group form and are aimed at improving speech activity. It is the linguistic dominant that distinguishes educational training from psychological training, and the leading principle of interaction brings it closer together: the maxim "everyone has something to learn" highlights the merits of communicative behavior and supports the manifestation of the instinct of imitation" [7, p. 99].

The main goal of communicative training is mastering language means at the level of their independent productive selection and use taking into account the specific speech situation. When carrying out communicative training a number of principles should be taken into account:

- 1) its participants' activities,
- 2) regulation,
- 3) subject-subject communication,
- 4) trustworthy and open communication,
- 5) non-evaluation.

Only the observance of the named principles will contribute to the effectiveness of training, mastering the techniques and ways of optimal speech behavior in different conditions of communication. It will ensure the formation of students' language training.

The choice of specific training exercises and communicative techniques should be conditioned by the objectives of a particular training session, the characteristics of the group and the nature of the material to be worked out in the form of training.

Basic methods of training according to A. V. Lazareva [3, p. 282], are group discussion, role play, modification of social behavior, business game, storytelling, brainstorming, synectics, case solving (modeling of situational speech constructions).

Despite the fact that the methods of training can vary, when combined in different ways, during the training of communicative competence the following units should be implemented:

- 1) «The unit of ensuring the performance of the group, which involves the word of the presenter about the purpose, objectives, course and principles of the training.
- 2) The unit of forming participants' motivation the task of which is to introduce students into a state of research.
- 3) The information unit is aimed at acquiring specific knowledge by the group participants depending on the training program.
 - 4) The teaching unit is designed to form the necessary skills for effective communication.
- 5) The personal unit should help participants to become aware of personal characteristics, attitudes and value orientations in communication.
 - 6) The final unit is receiving feedback, exchange of opinions on the results of training» [2, p. 12–14].

2. Training as a method of learning the Russian language at school

As noted earlier, training in the Russian language lessons at school is practically not used, in fact, they are resorted to quite rarely, when studying stylistics. Thus, M.A. Bondarenko mentions « in particular the official business style of speech when students create the necessary documents for the school management: the charter, instructions, regulations, orders; conducting administrative investigations of any disciplinary or economic violations, accompanied by the creation of protocols, acts, powers of attorney, statements, memos, etc.; organizing an audit of personal files stored in the personnel service and writing an autobiography,

characteristics, statements, etc.» [1, p. 77].

However, declared in the program documents situational learning is also possible in the study of other sections of the school course of the Russian language.

- 1) When studying spelling and punctuation the trainings are possible:
- «Master of Words»: creating a work of fiction based on a language game when mistakes in a word or arrangement of punctuation marks give rise to ambiguity resulting in a comic effect;
- «Competitive selection»: an analysis of the resumes of applicants for the specified position, which will demonstrate to schoolchildren the importance of observing language norms when assessing professional qualities;
 - «Learning tools»: writing cacographic texts for subsequent student edits.
 - 2) To master the vocabulary of the Russian language it is advisable to use trainings:
 - «Linguistic personality»: creating a speech portrait of a particular area's resident;
- «Professionals»: simulating an industrial situation, during which the use of professionalisms is demonstrated;
- «The World of Words»: the use of historicisms, archaisms and neologisms in various communication situations;
- «Simply put»: students are invited to use phraseological units in various given speech situations, for example, overcoming conflict, pointing out mistakes, expressing objections.
 - 3) For in-depth study of the phonetic system and Russian graphics, training can be used:
 - «News anchor», focusing on the observance of pronunciation norms;
- «Programmer»: schoolchildren need to algorithmize the steps of the program for the design of word hyphenation and their pronunciation;
 - «Calligraphy for dummies»: teaching Russian graphics and calligraphy skills.
- 4) Grammar learning at school is always accompanied by difficulties, students do not understand why they need to study the system of parts of speech or syntactic categories, so situational learning should become an integral part of such lessons. It is advisable to apply trainings:
- «Translation difficulties»: comparative analysis of the grammar of Russian and one of the foreign languages within a grammatical category, for example, the category of tense or the categories of pronouns in Russian and English;
- «Exception»: identification of the significance of the use of words of a specific part of speech the construction of texts using words only of the specified part of speech and, conversely, without them;
- «Say otherwise»: determining the features of the functioning of syntactic units in texts of different types and constructing texts with specified syntactic units, for example, describing a room using sentences complicated by separate definitions and describing a room using named sentences.
- 5) When studying morphemics and the system of word formation, it is possible to use the following trainings:
 - «Find a «literate» «: assessment of compliance with word-formation norms in oral and written speech;
- «Dispute with a linguist»: preparation of arguments and counterarguments of the theory of representatives of one of the linguistic schools, for example, a dispute on the topic «Is there an ending in the infinitive».
- 6) The important for the formation of communicative competence section «Speech development» implies the variability of applied trainings:
- «Instructions for the TikTok author»: preparing recommendations for the speech design of TikTok video;
- «Public speaking»: students are suggested preparing a speech-congratulation, objection, request, criticism or to speak impromptu.

The above trainings are designed to orient the range of teaching methods used, to show that the study of the Russian language at school can be based not only on the performance of standard exercises and memorization of the theoretical part of the paragraphs of textbooks.

3. Training as an active method of teaching at a university

In higher education the expediency of using training is obvious: students not only master professional competencies that need to be applied in the future, but also develop communicative competence, which is a component of softskills.

Students in most fields of education study the language discipline «Business Communication in Russian», which involves mastering the skills of effective communication in a professional environment, developing the ability to correctly express thoughts in oral and written speech. This course can be built on a training

basis.

As the results of our study showed, in groups which used a set of developed training exercises in the study of normative aspect of business communication, standards of business style, preparation of personal documentation, mastering modern trends in business correspondence and business rhetoric, the results of passing the exam for the discipline were better than in the groups which studied without the use of training.

Such results are due to the fact that in the process of inclusion in the training participants form the necessary speech and communicative competence in an activity as close to real situations as possible, expand the range of their behavioral capabilities, develop an adequate self-esteem, therefore becoming more prepared to solve professional and life problems related to speech communication both in oral and written forms.

Trainings are also necessary for novice journalists who do not know how to cope with excitement, how to introduce themselves, draw attention to themselves and keep it. At the same time, a whole complex of specific speech problems can be distinguished: an expressionless and weak voice, inept intonation, dialect pronunciation, all of them affect the issues of speech culture, stress tolerance, acquiring a speech and professional image, the ability to compete, confident behavior, and others. A separate block of problems is persuasiveness, the ability to emotionally and argumentatively express one's point of view, purposefully influence a communication partner. After all, the work of a journalist is not an expressive reading of text blanks. This is a dialogue, live communication, even looking into the camera lens or reading into the microphone, a media worker addresses an invisible interlocutor, transmitting his emotions to him and capturing his mood.

Communicative competence and intonation-expressive characteristics of speech cannot be developed solely on theoretical material, these skills require interactive involvement of students who internalize knowledge in the process of training work, assign them to themselves at a deep personal level.

The language profile education is basic for future teachers of the Russian language and literature who must have both professional and subject competences. Training with the use of training facilitates immersion in different professional situations is designed to simulate a teacher's speech behavior in conflict situations, in the course of solving production tasks for the organization of teaching, conducting various stages of classes, evaluation of students' activities, i.e. will help to develop a style of pedagogical behavior.

Interactive training in a higher educational institution is put into practice in the following stages: at the initial stage of training as a motivational tool for cognitive activity of students; during training to form professional skills and abilities; at the final stage to consolidate training material in the form of a business game; after completion of the study to control mastery of the curriculum. Of course, university trainings differ from school trainings: they have a greater number of professional situations set by the training profile, a longer duration and the applied nature of the learning outcomes.

Conclusion

Modeling trainings and activities through Bloom's taxonomy levels is possible with the help of Allan Carrington's PADagogic wheel. It allows to describe the process of implementing the methodological technique «step by step», provides overcoming cognitive difficulties of students and the most effective achievement of the set learning goal.

Thus, the primary goal of using training within the framework of language courses is not so much the development of the learner's personality as the improvement of skills in using language, paralinguistic and extralinguistic means as a tool of communication (both oral and written).

R.P. Milrud compares organizational and pedagogical technologies with the «secrets of Yorkshire pudding» because in order to meet English standards, it is not enough to combine its traditional ingredients in the right proportion: if you break even one of the secrets, Yorkshire pudding will not work. For example, without smoke the pudding won't look like the kind that was baked in the olden days over a fire under a piece of beef, so that the burnt meat juice would drip onto the pudding. «Secrets of Yorkshire Pudding» is just a metaphor, but it shows that the importance of technology as a means of managing learning outcomes is quite great. Without them, the use of even the best-known and most reliable methodological techniques with a set of spectacular «ingredients» of a training session may be doomed to failure.

Therefore, it is necessary not only to use training skillfully, but also to take into account the educational needs of students. Only in this case the use of training in language education will be effective.

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ИНТЕГРИРОВАННЫЙ УРОК ЛИТЕРАТУРЫ И ИНОСТРАННОГО ЯЗЫКА КАК ФОРМА ОРГАНИЗАЦИИ НЕСТАНДАРТНОГО УРОКА

Аннотация: Материалы посвящены актуальной проблеме интеграции учебных предметов в системе школьного образования, в частности, литературы и иностранного языка. Изучение литературы и иностранного языка в их интегративных связях имеет важное значение для формирования мировоззрения, развития личностного самосознания, ценностных ориентаций учащихся Авторами доклада представлен нестандартный формат интегративного урока, позволяющий обучающимся выйти за узкие рамки одного предмета и углубить филологические знания благодаря межпредметным связям. Раскрывается вопрос о развитии языковой личности в образовательной среде и ее подготовке к диалогу культур. Формирование коммуникативных навыков занимает одну из ведущих ролей в процессе обучения гуманитарным дисциплинам, что влечет за собой интеграцию новых современных образовательных технологий, которые поспособствуют всесторонне развитой личности. Целью исследования, представленного в докладе, является проектирование интегрированного урока как нестандартной формы организации учебной работы по литературе, выявление возможностей использования интегративной технологии в процессе гуманитарного образования. Авторами публикации подробно показано, как выглядит интеграция литературы и иностранного языка на современном этапе и какие навыки учащиеся приобретают, обучаясь в нестандартном формате. Авторами рассмотрены основные функции интегрированного урока литературы и иностранного языка, среди которых возможность изучать художественный текст с опорой на знания иностранного языка; осваивать родной язык в сопоставлении с иностранным языком; получать лингвострановедческие знания о родной стране и стране изучаемого языка. Интегрированный урок как инновационная форма организации учебной работы по литературе обладает универсальностью, коммуникативностью, имеет речетворческую направленность. Доказывается необходимость и результативность использования интегративной технологии в процессе речевого развития обучающихся.

Ключевые слова: литература, иностранный язык, межпредметные связи, интегративная технология, языковая личность, система образования.

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INTEGRATED LESSON OF LITERATURE AND FOREIGN LANGUAGE AS A FORM OF ORGANIZING A NON-STANDARD LESSON

Abstract. The article is devoted to the current issue on the integration of academic subjects in the system of school education, in particular, literature and a foreign language. The study of literature and a foreign language in their integrative ties is important for the formation of a worldview, the development of personal self-awareness, value orientations of students. The author of the article presents a non-standard format of an integrative lesson that allows students to go beyond the narrow bounds of one subject and deepen philological knowledge through interdisciplinary connections. It also reveals the question of the development of a linguistic personality in the educational environment, and its preparation for a dialogue of cultures. The formation of communication skills takes one of the leading roles in the process of teaching humanitarian disciplines, which entails the integration of new modern educational technologies that will contribute to a comprehensively developed personality. The purpose of the research presented in the article is to design an integrated lesson as a non-standard form of organizing educational work in literature, to identify the possibilities of using integrative technology in the process of humanitarian education. The authors of the article show in detail what the integration of literature and a foreign language looks like at the present stage and what skills students acquire by studying in a non-standard format. The article discusses the main functions of an integrated lesson of literature and a foreign language, including the ability to study a literary text based on knowledge of a foreign language; to master the native language in comparison with the foreign language; to receive linguistic and cultural knowledge about the native country and the country of the target language. An integrated lesson as an innovative form of organizing educational work in literature is versatile, communicative, and has a speech-making orientation. The authors of the article have proved the necessity and effectiveness of the use of integrative technology in the process of speech development of students.

*Keywords: l*iterature, foreign language, interdisciplinary connections, integrative technique, linguistic person, educational system.

According to the Federal State Educational Standard, the school prepares students for cognitive activity, which allows them to ensure personal and intellectual development, enrich existing knowledge, and apply it in new situations. The current stage of development of a general education school is associated primarily with

the need to solve the problem of increasing the cognitive activity and creative potential of students [1;8]. Innovative pedagogical technologies contribute to solving the indicated problem. One of these technologies is integrative technology, which involves the development of an integrated lesson - a lesson of a new format that combines two or three disciplines that at first glance seem to be incompatible [5]. This lesson format allows students to be independent for 60-80% of the lesson and promotes full participation in the educational process. The main goal of integrated lessons is to form students' holistic worldview. Nowadays it can be remarked that the majority of students separate school disciplines from each other, excluding the possibility of their synthesis.

In the modern educational system, integration processes are inevitable primarily because integration in a teaching process is a promising model for generalizing the knowledge gained by students and the possibility of their combination. Moreover, the integration of school subjects knowledge allows for the coordinated study of different disciplines, contributes to the formation of a holistic view of the world among students. Therefore, it becomes necessary to increase the scientific level of education, to boost the mental, creative activity of students, to develop their cognitive interest, thus ensuring the holistic development of the personality. Interdisciplinary integration facilitates the intensification of education; it is aimed at deepening the coherence between school subjects [4]. That is why the development of integrated lessons becomes a paramount task, the solution of which helps to build a picture of the world as an interconnected single organism.

The modern integrated lesson differs significantly from the traditional one. An integrated lesson is a special type of lesson that combines teaching simultaneously in several disciplines while studying one concept, topic or phenomenon. Within this non-standard lesson, the leading discipline, acting as an integrator, and auxiliary disciplines, contributing to deepening, expanding, clarifying the material of the leading discipline, is always distinguished. The advantages of a multi-subject integrated lesson over a traditional mono-subject lesson are obvious. In such a lesson, you can create favorable conditions for the development of a variety of students' mental abilities, you can go to the formation of broader synergetic thinking, teach the application of theoretical knowledge in real life situations. Integrated lessons bring the learning process closer to life, naturalize it and fill it with meanings.

As an example, we've come up with an idea to use an integrative approach in a literature lesson with the introduction of a foreign language. The study of literature and a foreign language in their integrative connection is important for the formation of a worldview, the development of personal identity, value orientations of students [3].

Let us list the main goals of an integrated lesson of literature and a foreign language.

- 1) Look at literature from a new angle: study a literary work based on knowledge of a foreign language. We are talking about foreign literature and language peculiar to a work of fiction by a foreign author. Acquaintance with the best examples of foreign poetry does not lead to a simple accumulation of knowledge, but to the understanding of the spirit, culture, psychology, the way the folk think, and this is the important cultural significance of literary material. In general, the study of foreign poetry forms students' ability to participate in the dialogue of cultures [3]. In an integrated lesson, students are given the opportunity to see how the same action or description is presented in the original and translated into Russian texts. As you know, when translating a piece of literature into a foreign language, some inaccuracies in translation may occur due to certain stylistic possibilities of the language. By comparing the original and the translation, students obtain a completed picture of the entire story, which prompts them to new questions or answers.
- 2) All languages have their own stylistic devices: idioms, proverbs, sayings, etc. Such phrases may sound rather strange to everyone, except for those who have heard these phrases since childhood. Here are some examples of idioms in Russian and English. When it comes to something impossible, in Russia they will say "when a crayfish whistles", and in England and America "When pigs fly". Or, if everything is very simple, they say "simpler than a stewed turnip", and in England and America "A piece of cake". Thus, the same meaning is conveyed differently in two different languages, which gives students an idea of how a speaker of other language thinks and puzzles why there is a pig instead of crayfish and a piece of pie instead of turnips. In this case, the cognitive process of students is activated.
- 3) To acquaint students with culture-specific elements and the country of the target language through literary works. These elements are understood as objects that are characteristic of a certain nation, but which have no analogy in their language. Sometimes such elements need to be described detailed, sometimes it needs a few words, but they do not convey the main feature of this culture-specific element.

An integrated lesson of literature and a foreign language facilitates the student's linguistic personality. In the educational sector, various aspects are now clearly defined, one of which, of course, is the speech aspect [6], which allows the teacher to prepare students for a dialogue of cultures. Such preparation is possible in a

lesson of a new format - an integrated lesson of literature and a foreign language.

The main competence that students acquire in this lesson is the communicative competence of a linguistic personality, which is formed based on general cultural baggage, develops and corrects in the process of speech practice or purposeful learning. Having communicative competence is an indicator of the communicative culture of a linguistic personality, serves as one of the important indicators of the general culture of a person [5]. An integrated lesson is aimed at developing a linguistic personality: academic subjects are included in the humanitarian course and therefore have a high level of compatibility and interconnection. The level of interconnection must be considered when planning a lesson in this non-standard format. The higher the connection is, the easier it is to plan the educational process and set the goal of the lesson. If this factor is taken into account, then the effectiveness of the lesson increases.

Thus, the use of integration in the process of creating a non-standard lesson allows to form the artistic skills of students, to develop the ability to understand and determine the value of literature. The main goals of integrating a foreign language with humanitarian disciplines, including literature, are to improve communicative and cognitive skills aimed at systematizing and deepening knowledge and sharing this knowledge in a foreign language verbal communication [3]. Moreover, the introduction of integrative technology into the educational process facilitates the development of the linguistic personality of students, which is the main goal of the subjects of the humanitarian course.

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СТУДЕНЧЕСКИЕ И ШКОЛЬНЫЕ МЕДИА КАК ФОРМФАКТОР ОБУЧЕНИЯ РЕЧЕВЫМ КОМПЕТЕНЦИЯМ

Аннотация: Школьные и студенческие медиа могут и должны стать инструментом формирования речевых компетенций обучающихся. Во-первых, данный формат коммуникации, в силу специфики развития социальных сетей, является востребованным среди нашей целевой аудитории – престиж блогерства во всех его видах многократно подтвержден социологическими исследованиями. Во-вторых, организация речевой деятельности с привлечением возможностей электронных СМИ является доступной с технической точки зрения. В-третьих, формат школьных и студенческих интернет-медиа позволяет решать целый спектр метапредметных задач, недоступный при иных способах взаимодействия в рамках модели наставничества «учитель – ученик» и/или «ученик – ученик». Конечной целью деятельности любой медиастудии является производство контента. В том, что касается школьных и студенческих медиа, то здесь формат этого контента не скован редакционной политикой или редакционным заданием – репортажи, новостные выпуски, интервью, ток-шоу, «телемосты» в равной степени способствуют не только развитию речевых и коммуникативных компетенций, но и могут стать немаловажным фактором формирования предпрофессиональных и профессиональных компетенций. При этом, на взгляд авторов, полезной будет календарно-тематическая рокировка жанров – в одном из семестров студия может сконцентрироваться на работе в традиционных жанрах журналистики (репортаж, интервью), в другом – на создании более актуальных форм, например, лонгридов. Помимо педагогической и дидактической, проформентационной и воспитательной функций, успешно действующие медиастудии в школах и вузах могут решать и маркетинговые задачи, то есть вносить вклад в формирование положительного имиджа своих «работодателей», повышая тем самым рейтинг учебных заведений на муниципальном, областном и других уровнях.

Ключевые слова: речевое развитие, речевые компетенции, обучение, Интернет, медиастудия, журналистика, тенденции, социальные сети, наставничество.

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STUDENT AND SCHOOL MEDIA AS A FORM FACTOR OF TEACHING SPEECH COMPETENCIES

Introduction

The term «school and student media» in our article denotes any form of activity of the teaching staff and students, organized in the image and likeness of electronic media (radio, TV, editorial network media). Consequently, the product of such media activity is content posted or published both on specialized sites on the Internet and on specially created sites. Thus, we propose in our understanding of student and student media to start not only and not so much from the format of content presentation, but from the form of work organization within the team of teachers and students. From this point of view, there is no significant difference between a university website and a page on a social network created by the class or school team. We see the relevance of our article in the fact that, in our opinion, the potential that lies in organizing the work of student and student media as one of the key factors in the development of students' speech competencies has not yet been fully appreciated. We believe that motivated communication in social networks in an actual standardized language has a higher potential in the formation of the necessary communicative linguistic skills than working with adapted text from anthologies and school textbooks. We believe that the current trends in the development of social networks, namely the increase in the number of «conversational» networks operating according to the ClubHouse model, can play a decisive motivating function in organizing school and student editorial offices and implementing both mentoring models and pre-professional and initial professional training [5, p. 145].

1.1 The problem of motivation

Having passed the Rubicon of the new millennium, humanity has lost its voice. The society plunged into silence, broken only by the chatter of keyboards - with the greedy naivete of the aborigines, we allowed ourselves to be entangled in social networks. LiveJournal, Facebook, VK, Twitter, Telegram, Instagram, replacing each other, became trends in the first two decades of the XXI century. We have stopped speaking,

having delegated the role of the information carrier of speech to the written one. Realizing its inferiority, we tried to compensate for the emotional scarcity with new hieroglyphs, enriching the dictionary with the word "emoji". Mindful of the language games of the sound world that had gone into oblivion, we began to entertain ourselves with errativs: "write ischo", "hello, bear", "aftar zhzhot" – the language of Internet users has evolved with incredible speed. But then everything changed again [4, p. 36].

The «silent movie» of social networks was voiced. And if YouTube or Instagram at first was limited to the role of relayers, then the new generation of «social networks», such as ClubHouse, gave its users the opportunity not only to listen, but also to enter into a conversation: to argue, object, oppose, put forward counterarguments, etc. [1 p. 337].

In other words, it made it possible to use speech skills that were well known to the ancient Greek masters of eristics, but which we lost over two decades. Our newfound small talk, which is no longer just words and emoji, looks, or rather, sounds dull. Who would have thought that when conducting a conversation, the timbre of the voice and intonation, pauses and simply deliberate slowdown of the tempo of speech matter. Those who remember the past sound world will have to learn to speak again. For those who have never done this, that is, for modern schoolchildren and students, it will be much more difficult [11, p. 285].

On the other hand, teachers got a chance not to rack their brains over motivation – modern children want to speak again, want to be heard and recognized. The formation of speech competencies got rid of the "why" element, which allows us to focus on the "how". Moreover, the development of interactive media partly eliminates this problem – in our opinion, it is the use of the format of media studios in the learning process that allows us to solve the problem in a complex way.

1.2 School and student media

Unlike the ever-memorable wall newspapers, the audience of which numbered dozens of people, the Internet makes it possible to address audiences that are incomparable in terms of probabilistic coverage. School sites, student YouTube channels, longreads and one-page sites do not require significant material costs. At the same time, with the proper quality of content and qualifications of their creators, they may well compete for the attention of the audience with professional electronic media.

The ultimate goal of any media studio is content production. As far as school and student media are concerned, the format of this content is not constrained by editorial policy or editorial assignments - reports, news releases, interviews, talk shows and, relatively speaking, «teleconferences» equally contribute not only to the development of speech and communicative competencies, but can also become an important factor in the formation of pre-professional and professional competencies.

At the same time, in our opinion, the calendar-thematic castling of genres will be useful – in one of the semesters the studio can concentrate on working in traditional genres of journalism (reportage, interviews), in the other – on creating more relevant forms, for example, longreads [10].

In addition to pedagogical and didactic, career guidance and educational functions, successfully operating media studios in schools and universities can also solve marketing problems, that is, contribute to the formation of a positive image of their «employers», thereby increasing the rating of educational institutions at the municipal, regional and other levels.

1.3 Forms of work organization

School and student media have no analogues in terms of the flexibility of the structure of the organization of work. In this format, it is possible to simultaneously use both the traditional didactic models «teacher – student» and the currently relevant models of mentoring: «teacher – student», «student – student», «employer – student». At the same time, several unidirectional tasks are simultaneously solved, namely, increasing the level of communicative and, as a result, pre-professional and professional competencies of students and teachers, as well as increasing the content level of content produced by media studios [4, p. 27].

Nevertheless, at the first stage of forming a team of media studios at a school and a university, we would recommend adhering to the "teacher-student" and "employer-student" models as the main models. This will make it possible to form the core of the collective of media studios, to lay the normative foundation of communication skills. As our experience of working with such groups shows, the skills formed in the learning process as part of the classroom activities of secondary school are not enough when working on texts in a journalistic style. In particular, modern schoolchildren and students do not know specific vocabulary, are practically not familiar with abbreviations, and are unable to independently build the structure of a reportage or interview. But, most importantly, they have no idea about the pragmatics of speech utterance and, accordingly, the pragmatics of the text as a set of speech utterances. Therefore, the maximum effect is achieved by working

in tandem with a teacher / educator and a professional media representative: if the former are familiar with educational technologies and know the answer to the question «how?». Then the latter are able to answer the question «why?» [3, p. 106].

As practice shows, the most popular genres among schoolchildren and students are interviews and talk shows. On the one hand, they look less formal structures in comparison with the reportage, on the other hand, they allow one to realize the maximum of communication and speech skills acquired by the students during the preparation process. Or identify gaps and miscalculations, if any. For example, the formats of interviews and talk shows fully reveal the lack of skills in using formalized speech models – this fact is most clearly manifested in the wording of questions that are used by insufficiently trained students of both schools and universities. As a rule, novice interviewers use one formula throughout the entire work with the interlocutor (during group work, verbal synchronization is observed, within which all subsequent interviewers unconsciously begin to copy the model asked by the first question). Such, at first glance, insignificant details become most noticeable during the subsequent joint viewing of the finished material – such speech therapy turns out to be much more effective than talking about the importance of developing flexible speech skills [7, p. 83].

This model is no less effective in matters of stylistic design of speech, for example, getting rid of clericalisms, which abound in the speech of senior schoolchildren and students [9, p. 236].

Conclusion

Summarizing the above, we would like to note that in this article we have outlined only the general outlines of work within the framework of school and student media studios. Of course, each of the aspects of this activity is worthy of detailed methodological development that will turn a free creative process into a working model with predictable results [8 p. 82].

However, we consider it necessary to note this point, media studios are a tool with a wide functionality: in addition to teaching and marketing activities, the content produced can be monetized and become an additional source of extra-budgetary funding for educational institutions. At the same time, students involved in the process of work of media studios will receive real, rather than theoretical, ideas about doing business, which can also be considered as a certain stage of pre-professional and professional training.

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2. HUMAN PLUS MOTION

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ТАНЦЫ И ФИТНЕС КАК СРЕДСТВА РАЗВИТИЯ ГИБКОСТИ И ЛОВКОСТИ У ДЕТЕЙ СТАРШЕГО ДОШКОЛЬНОГО ВОЗРАСТА

Аннотация. С каждым годом физическая активность детей снижается, что обусловлено возросшим интересом к цифровому миру, который предполагает физическую пассивность. Малоподвижный образ жизни ребенка может привести к неразвитию таких качеств, как ловкость и гибкость, обеспечивающих хорошую физическую подготовку человека, а значит, и его здоровье. Авторы видят решение данной проблемы в использовании танцевальных и фитнес упражнений. В настоящее время фитнес и танцы являются одним из наиболее популярных направлений деятельности детей, в том числе и дошкольного возраста, и не вызывают отрицательных эмоций, как, например, занятия физической культурой. В данной статье представлены результаты эксперимента, проведенного на базе дошкольной образовательной организации «Центр развития ребенка – детский сад № 165» г. Магнитогорска. Целью исследования явилась проверка гипотезы, что танцы и занятия фитнес-аэробикой позволяют развить у детей такие физические качества, как гибкость и ловкость. Исследование осуществлялось с опорой на труды известных методологов в области физического развития детей дошкольного возраста, а инструментами исследования стали методики по определению ловкости В. И. Ляха, В. Г. Гришина, Е. Н. Вавиловой, а также по установлению уровня сформированности гибкости по методике Л. Б. Лагутина. Экспериментальная работа проводилась в полевых условиях, полученные данные носят первичный характер. В статье представлены результаты эксперимента, которые показали положительную динамику по развитию ловкости и гибкости у детей после проведения с ними танцевальных занятий и фитнес-аэробики. Поэтому разработанные и представленные в работе комплексы упражнений могут эффективно применяться при решении поставленной задачи.

Ключевые слова: физические качества, ловкость, гибкость, танцевальные упражнения, фитнес-аэробика, дети старшего дошкольного возраста, физическое развитие.

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DANCE AND FITNESS AS A MEANS OF DEVELOPING FLEXIBILITY AND AGILITY IN SENIOR PRESCHOOL AGE

Abstract. Every year the physical activity of children decreases, which is due to the increased interest in the digital world, which implies physical inactivity. A sedentary lifestyle of a child can lead to the underdevelopment of such qualities as agility and flexibility, which ensure good physical fitness of a person, and therefore their health. However, we see a solution to this problem in the use of dance and fitness exercises. Currently, fitness and dancing are some of the most popular activities for children, including those of preschool age, and, unlike physical education, do not cause negative emotions. This article presents the results of an experiment conducted on the basis of the preschool educational organization "Child Development Center - Kindergarten no.165" in the city of Magnitogorsk. The aim of the study was to test the hypothesis that dancing and fitness aerobics can develop in children such physical qualities as flexibility and agility. The study was carried out based on the works of well-known methodologists in the field of physical development of preschool children, and the research tools were methods to determine dexterity worked out by V. I. Lyakh, V. G. Grishin, E. N. Vavilova, as well as to establish the level of flexibility development according to the method of L. B. Lagutin. The experimental work was carried out in the field, and the obtained data are of a primary nature. The article also presents the results of the experiment which showed positive dynamics in the development of dexterity and flexibility in children after conducting dance classes and fitness aerobics with them. Therefore, the complexes of exercises developed and presented in the work can be effectively used in solving the task.

Keywords: physical qualities, dexterity, flexibility, dance exercises, fitness aerobics, senior preschool children, physical development

Introduction

In the modern world, special attention has been paid to the problems of preserving the health of senior

preschool children in the digital era. Excessive use of gadgets, immersion in virtual reality through simulators significantly reduces the physical activity of children, which, of course, is an alarm signal. The authors of the article «Comprehensive health care support for older preschool children» note that at present it is necessary to use educational technologies that will «contribute to the improvement of the younger generation of Russians, the purposeful development of the child, the formation of their needs, readiness to be prosperous" [23], which means to be healthy. In this regard, the state sets the most important task for preschool educational organizations (pre—school) — the preservation and development of the intellectual and physical qualities of the child, and the methods and means of work should meet modern trends in education. We have chosen dancing and fitness as methods of working with preschool children, the use of which allows us to develop such physical qualities as flexibility and dexterity.

Methodology

The methodological basis of the study are the works related to:

- the theoretical foundations of the problems to develop flexibility and dexterity in senior preschool children, which we find in the works of such researchers as V. I. Lyakh [9], E. V. Bondarenko [2], N. A. Bernstein [1], V. N. Shebeko [22], A. B. Lagutin [8] and others;
- studies of the influence of dance exercises on the development of flexibility and dexterity of older preschoolers. Researchers such as O. N. Rybkina,[18], E. G. Saikina [19], A. Nelson [13] and others were engaged in solving this problem;
- the peculiarities of the organization of pedagogical activity in preschool institutions. Research on this problem can be found in the works of O. N. Rybkina [18], E. A. Pokrovsky [15], N. N. Bumar [4], E. V. Sulim [21], Yu. V. Semenov [20] and others.

Researcher N. A. Bernstein writes about the need to develop dexterity [1]. He experimentally proves that it is dexterity that ensures coordination of movements and spatial accuracy. And dexterity, in turn, is inseparably connected with flexibility, the development of which is possible when you perform special physical exercises.

Researcher V. Ya. Rusakov [17] noted that exercises aimed at developing flexibility contribute to strengthening joints, increasing the strength and elasticity of muscles, ligaments and tendons, improving the coordination of the neuromuscular system, which largely prevents the occurrence of injuries of the musculo-skeletal system.

In the study, we hypothesized that dancing and fitness allow children to develop such physical qualities as flexibility and dexterity. Dance exercises consist of fitness aerobics, movements, steps and gymnastics accompanied by dance. One of the advantages of fitness aerobics is the fact that, unlike in professional sports and sports aerobics, there are no risky and traumatic elements here. [19].

Children's fitness aerobics combines various general strengthening exercises. Classes can consist of exercises strengthening the muscles of the back, as well as exercises with objects, choreography and other types of physical activity [8]. In such classes, children not only develop dexterity and flexibility, but also splash out the accumulated energy by playing with other children.

The use of elements of dance exercises in preschool (in physical education classes, as part of additional education) allows children to increase the amount of motor activity, the level of physical fitness, introduces the capabilities of the body, teaches them to get pleasure and confidence from movements and physical activity, increases interest in physical exercises and, as a result, improves their health [21].

During such classes, children train their cardiovascular and respiratory systems, develop general endurance, acquire motor skills and abilities that contribute to strengthening the health of preschoolers, and develop interest and need for physical education and sports. Simulator sessions start with simple exercises from the very beginning of the lesson.

Fitness aerobics can be started from early preschool age. During classes, the child's flexibility develops, the correct posture is formed and relaxation of all muscle groups of the musculoskeletal system is achieved. Purposeful development of flexibility should begin from the age of 6-7 since at this age, flexibility develops almost twice as effectively as at senior school age. This is due to the fact that children of this age have a great extensibility of the musculo-ligamentous apparatus.

It is advisable to first perform flexibility exercises with an incomplete swing, for example, do 2–3 half inclines, and then a full incline, 2-3 half squats, then deep squats. This is necessary in order to prepare the muscles and not get injured from the amplitude and sharp execution of the movement. Flexibility exercises also include exercises such as bridge, splits, fold etc. Play stretching exercises are interesting for children as

they have clear names for children (animals or imitation actions) and are performed in the course of role-play games that are based on a fairy-tale scenario. The lesson offers a fairy tale game where children turn into various animals, insects, and physical exercises are performed in this form.

With the imitation of the image, children get acquainted with the technique of sports and dance movements and games, with their help, children develop creative and motor activity, memory, orientation in space, reaction speed, attention. The effectiveness of imitative movements lies in the fact that through images it is possible to carry out frequent changes in motor activity from various starting positions and with a wide variety of types of movement, which gives a good physical load on all muscle groups [5].

Fitness aerobics for children, as well as any other physical education classes, consists of a preparatory, main and final part. During a 10-minute warm-up, it is best to focus on exercises aimed at general development and strengthening of the body. It is better to start classes for children with static exercises for flexibility and warming up of all muscle groups. After such exercises, you can move on to walking and running exercises [3].

Now fitness aerobics is a very popular trend, and it is divided into several types according to Figure 1.

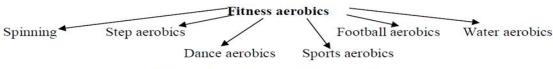


Figure 1 - Types of fitness aerobics

Step aerobics must be included in classes as it helps to develop joints and shape the arch of the foot, develops endurance, coordination and balance, trains the heart and the vestibular apparatus, and normalizes blood pressure. Also, this kind of fitness aerobics is quite effective for those muscle groups that are very difficult to use: buttocks, back of the thigh and the adductor muscles of the thighs [11].

Exercises with objects allow you to strengthen different muscle groups, develop dexterity, attention, increase flexibility, and most importantly, arouse interest in children. When you develop a fitness aerobics program for older preschool children, it is necessary to take into account the following theoretical conditions:

- physical exercises are selected taking into account the anatomical, physiological, psychological and pedagogical characteristics of schoolchildren;
- the child's actions related to movements and bodily sensations, being repeated many times, gradually move into the inner plane, forming into concepts;
- games develop motor improvisations, communication skills and the expressiveness of non-verbal means of communication: gestures, pantomime, facial expressions, intonation. The effectiveness of communication largely depends on its emotionally expressive side;
- music is of great importance when you work with older preschool children. Voice and motor self-expression to music can be considered as the most important means of developing the emotional-bodily experience of the child and their personality as a whole;
- game situations help children to build friendly relationships with others. Dancing games with changing partners remove artificial barriers and create equal communication conditions for everyone;
- the organization of the lesson should encourage the child to fill the entire space of the hall where the game, relay race etc. takes place. This is very important so that the child can navigate in it and not be afraid to make a variety of movements. Therefore, fitness aerobics is an unusual and interesting means of developing physical qualities in children, where exercises are performed by children with interest, and the emotional background of children improves.

The experimental basis for conducting research on the hypothesis was the Municipal preschool educational institution «Child Development Center – Kindergarten Number 165» of the city of Magnitogorsk. The study, which engaged 17 older preschool children, was conducted from September 2020 to June 2021.

The diagnostics of the level of developing dexterity and flexibility of older preschool children was carried out by a teacher, while a nurse monitored the condition of children, their reaction to the performance of this motor task. In order to find the initial level of the basic physical qualities of senior preschool children, testing was carried out as part of a class (directly educational activity) in physical culture. Before performing these exercises, there was a warm-up which contained walking, running, breathing and other preparatory

exercises.

It is advisable to divide the development indicators of the level of dexterity and flexibility by gender and age groups (boys and girls). To obtain objective data, the primary and repeated examinations were carried out under the same conditions. The test result is counted if the child coped with the task in accordance with the diagnostic method. Comments and error analysis are not allowed during the performance of test tasks (they must be considered in the learning process). The following safety measures were observed when children were tested for agility and flexibility:

- the tests corresponded to the age characteristics of the children and took into account their state of health and development;
- children who had no contraindications to the performance of control tests for health reasons were admitted to the examination;
 - special attention was paid to children with increased excitability and motor disinhibition;
 - the examination was performed no earlier than 30 minutes after eating;
 - before testing, the child's body was prepared for the upcoming muscle load;
- insurance of children was carried out when performing endurance tasks and motor tasks, especially running and jumping.

Results

The primary data were obtained in the field by the method of E.N. Vavilova [6]. The results are presented in Table 1.

Table 1
The results of testing the level of dexterity development in children of the experimental group according to the method of E. N. Vavilova

Number	Full name	Time (seconds)	Dexterity development level
1.	girl 1	13.0	Average level
2.	boy 1	12.6	Average level
3.	girl 2	13.6	Low level
4.	boy 2	11.5	High level
5.	girl 3	13.2	Average level
6.	boy 3	13.3	Low level
7.	girl 4	14.0	Low level
8.	boy 4	11.3	High level
9.	boy 5	12.4	Average level
10.	girl 6	13.0	Average level
11.	boy 6	13.5	Low level
12.	girl 7	14.1	Low level
13.	girl 8	14.0	Low level
14.	boy 7	12.6	Average level
15.	girl 9	12.0	High level
16.	girl 10	13.3	Average level
17.	girl 11	11.6	High level

Also, the research methodology of muscle dexterity in distance running in older preschool children by V. I. Lyakh was used as a research tool [10]. The obtained results are presented in Table 2.

Table 2
The results of testing the level of dexterity of children in the experimental group according to the method of
V. I. Lyakh [10]

Number	Full name	Time (seconds)	Dexterity development level
1.	girl1	5.0	High level
2.	boy 1	7.1	Low level
3.	girl 2	6.0	Average level
4.	boy 2	4.9	Average level
5.	girl 3	5.5	Average level
6.	boy 3	4.9	Average level

Number	Full name	Time (seconds)	Dexterity development level
7.	girl4	5.7	Average level
8.	boy 4	4.7	High level
9.	boy 5	7.4	Low level
10.	girl 6	7.8	Low level
11.	boy 6	5.0	Average level
12.	girl 7	6.1	Low level
13.	girl 8	6.2	Low level
14.	boy 7	5.5	Average level
15.	girl 9	6.0	Low level
16.	girl 10	5.1	High level
17.	girl11	5.7	Average level

The methodology by V. G. Grishin [7] for determining dexterity and coordination in older preschool children – throwing and catching a ball – gave us the following results presented in Table 3.

Table 3
The results of testing the level of dexterity of children in the experimental group according to the method of V. G. Grishin

Number	Full name	Attempt 1	Attempt 2	Level
1.	girl1	4	15	Average level
2.	boy 1	7	21	Average level
3.	girl2	12	26	Average level
4.	boy 2	11	29	Average level
5.	girl 3	7	14	Low level
6.	boy 3	25	19	Average level
7.	girl 4	29	30	High level
8.	boy 4	6	35	High level
9.	boy5	35	11	High level
10.	girl 6	5	18	Average level
11.	boy 6	13	14	Low level
12.	girl 7	4	20	Average level
13.	girl 8	6	22	Average level
14	boy 7	11	15	Low level
15	girl 9	6	16	Average level
16	girl 10	10	30	High level
17.	girl 11	7	4	Low level

Table 4 shows the level of dexterity development in children of the experimental group obtained on the basis of the results of methods 1, 2 and 3 at the beginning of the experiment.

Table 4 The level of dexterity development in children of the experimental group at the beginning of the experiment

Number	Full name	The result of method 1	The result of method 2	The result of method 3	The final level of dex- terity development
1.	girl 1	Average level	High level	Average level	Average level
2.	boy 1	Average level	Low level	Average level	Average level
3.	girl 2	Low level	Average level	Average level	Average level
4.	boy 2	High level	Average level	Average level	Average level
5.	girl 3	Average level	Average level	Low level	Average level
6.	boy 3	Low level	Average level	Average level	Average level
7.	girl 4	Low level	Average level	High level	High level

Number	Full name	The result of method 1	The result of method 2	The result of method 3	The final level of dex- terity development
8.	boy4	High level	High level	High level	High level
9.	boy 5	Average level	Low level	High level	High level
10.	girl 6	Average level	Low level	Average level	Average level
11.	boy 6	Low level	Average level	Low level	Low level
12.	girl 7	Low level	Low level	Average level	Average level
13.	girl 8	Low level	Low level	Average level	Average level
14.	boy 7	Average level	Average level	Low level	Low level
15.	girl 9	High level	Low level	Average level	Average level
16.	girl 10	Average level	High level	High level	High level
17.	girl 11	High level	Average level	Low level	Low level

Therefore, after analyzing the results obtained, we found out that at the beginning of the experiment, the children of the experimental group had an average level of dexterity development, and 18 % of the pupils had a low level of dexterity development. Further study was aimed at establishing the level of development of fexibility in children of the experimental group according to the methodology of the author L. B. Lagutin [8]. Table 5 shows the results of testing the flexibility of children in the experimental group.

Table 5
The results of testing the level of flexibility of children of the experimental group according to the method of
L.B. Lagutin

Number	Full name	Result (centimeters)	The level of flexibility development
1.	girl 1	5	Average level
2.	boy 1	3	Low level
3.	girl 2	8	High level
4.	boy 2	4	Average level
5.	girl 3	7	Average level
6.	boy 3	6	Average level
7.	girl 4	9	High level
8.	boy 4	8	High level
9.	boy 5	2	Low level
10.	girl 6	5	Average level
11.	boy 6	7	Average level
12.	girl 7	12	High level
13.	girl 8	8	High level
14.	boy 7	2	Low level
15.	girl 9	8	Average level
16.	girl 10	6	Average level
17.	girl 11	4	Average level

Thus, after analyzing the results presented in the tables, we found out that less than half of the children in this group had a high level of flexibility development. Therefore, we can say that the development level of flexibility at the beginning of the experiment in most children of the experimental group was normal or below normal. As a means to develop children's flexibility and dexterity to an average and high level, we have offered dance exercises, which are presented in a complex. Each complex is designed for one month. Complex number 1 was compiled using the exercises of A. Nelson [14].

1. Head tilts and turns. The starting position – basic stance, arms at sides.

To the beat 1 and 2 tilt your head to the right side.

To the beat 3 and 4 return to the starting position.

Do the same on the left side.

Repeat the exercise 3-4 times.

2. Exercise «Dunno» – raising and lowering the shoulders. The starting position – basic stance, arms at sides.

Raise and lower your shoulders to the beat.

Repeat the exercise 3-4 times.

3. Exercise «Swing» – lifting the shoulders in turn. The starting position – basic stance, arms at sides.

Lift your shoulders to the beat.

Repeat the exercise 3–4 times.

4. Circular shoulder movements. The starting position – basic stance, arms at sides.

Perform a circle movement with your shoulders to the beat 1, 2, 3, 4.

Perform a circle movement with your shoulders to the beat 1, 2.

Perform a circle movement with your shoulders to the beat 1.

Repeat the rotation in the opposite direction.

Repeat the exercise 3–4 times.

5. Exercise «Giraffe» – raising and lowering on tiptoe. The starting position – legs in dance position 6, knees together.

To the beat 1 and 2 stand on tiptoe, heels together;

To the beat 3 and 4 return to the starting position.

Repeat the exercise 4 times.

6. Exercise «Spring». The starting position – legs in dance position 6, arms at sides.

To the beat squat pressing the heels on the floor.

Repeat the exercise 3-4 times.

7. Exercise «Tumbler 1» – soft rolling on the floor from the tailbone to the neck and back. The starting position – lying on the floor, legs 90° wide, arms at sides. Musical timing 2/4:

To the beat 1 and 2 roll from the tailbone to the neck.

To the beat 3 and 4 roll with the pelvis pushing it back as much as possible.

8. Exercise «Tumbler 2» – pulling the body forward behind the arms, while the legs are on the floor in a 90° position. The starting position – lying on the floor, legs 90° wide, arms at sides. Musical timing 2/4:

To the beat 1 and 2 roll your body to the right leg.

To the beat 3 and 4 return to the starting position.

Do the same with the left leg.

Complex number 2 was compiled using the exercises of N. N. Bumar [4].

1. Exercise «Artists» is an exercise when you draw a circle with your head (chin). The starting position – basic stance, arms at sides.

To the beat 1 and 2 draw a circle with your head (chin) to the right side.

To the beat 3 and 4 draw a circle with your head (chin) to the left side.

Repeat the exercise 3-4 times.

2. Exercise «Dunno» is an exercise to draw a square with your shoulders in the air. The starting position – basic stance, arms at sides.

To the beat 1 and 2 draw a square with your shoulders forward.

To the beat 3 and 4 draw a square with your shoulders back.

Repeat the exercise 3-4 times.

3. Exercise «Medal» is an exercise when you move your chest back and forth. The starting position—basic stance, arms at sides.

To the beat 1 and 2 move your chest forward;

To the beat 3 and 4 move your chest back.

Repeat the exercise 6 times.

4. Exercise «Spring». The starting position – legs in dance position 6, arms at sides.

To the beat squat pressing the heels on the floor.

Repeat the exercise 3-4 times.

5. Exercise «Springboard» is jumping in the sixth position. The starting position – legs are in dance position 6, arms at hips.

Jump to the beat, stretch your knees in the air, land in a "spring".

At first the jumps should be long, then small and fast ones.

Repeat the exercise 6 times.

6. Exercise «Sunny» helps to stretch the lateral muscles of the trunk, preserves the flexibility of the spine, the mobility of the hip joints. The starting position is a wide stance, the right foot is turned outward,

arms at sides.

To the beat 1-4 tilt to the right. With your left arm at hip, try to reach the wall (the side) with your right hand.

To the beat 5–8 stand in the tilt.

To the beat 1–4 slowly straighten up.

Do the same to the opposite side.

Repeat the exercise 3 times to each side.

7. Exercise «Berry» is aimed at the development of muscles and ligaments under the knees. The starting position: sitting on the floor, legs stretched forward, back straight, we try to press the knees hard into the floor and crush the invisible berry, while the socks are on themselves.

To the beat 1 and 2 press your knees to the floor;

To the beat 3 and 4 rest.

Repeat the exercise 6 times.

Complex Number 3 was compiled using the exercises of L. V. Morozova [12].

1. Exercise «Artists» is an exercise for drawing a circle with your head (chin) on the floor plane, with your ears on the wall plane and with your nose in front of you. The starting position — basic stance, arms at sides.

To the beat 1 and 2 draw a circle with your head on the right.

To the beat 3 and 4 draw a circle with your head on the left.

Repeat the exercise 3-4 times.

2. Exercise «Dunno» is an exercise in which we draw a circle with one shoulder in the air and a square with the other. The starting position is the basic stance, arms at sides.

To the beat 1 and 2 draw a circle with one shoulder in front of you.

To the beat 3 and 4 draw a square with the other shoulder behind you.

Repeat the exercise 3-4 times.

3. Exercise «Medal» is an exercise in which the chest moves to the right and left. The starting position is the basic stance, arms at sides.

To the beat 1 and 2 move your chest to the right.

To the beat 3 and 4 move your chest to the left.

Repeat the exercise 3-4 times.

4. Exercise «Spring» is an exercise with steps squatting on the heels with pressure on the floor. The starting position: legs are in dance position 6, arms at sides.

To the beat walk squatting on the heels with pressure on the floor.

Repeat the exercise 3-4 times.

5. Exercise «Tucked in» is jumping in the sixth position. The starting position: legs are in dance position 6, arms at hips.

To the beat bend your leg at the knee, bringing your foot up under you until your heel is touching your bottom, land in a "spring".

At first, the jumps should be long, then small and fast.

Repeat the exercise 6 times.

6. Exercise «Mahi» is a stretch on the back of the thigh. The starting position: lying down, legs are in dance position 6, arms at sides.

To the beat, perform a sharp rise of the straight leg to the head.

Alternate the right and left legs.

Repeat the exercise 6 times for each leg.

7. Outdoor game «Sails»

The purpose is to restore breathing, reduce the excitement, develop the ability to feel part of a whole.

The music is calm, instrumental. The pace is slow.

This is an exercise for tension and relaxation. The group is built in the shape of a wedge, depicting a sailing ship.

Stage 1. At the teacher's command to "raise the sails", everyone raises their hands to the sides, slightly pulling them back, and freezes, standing on tiptoes.

Stage 2. At the command "to lower the sails", everyone lowers their arms, crouching down.

Stage 3. At the command "tailwind" the group moves forward, keeping the shape of the ship.

Stage 4. At the command "complete calm" everyone stops.

Repeat the exercise 3-4 times.

Below we offer complexes for the development of dexterity through fitness aerobics.

Complex Number 1 was compiled using exercises by E. A. Pokrovsky [15].

1. Exercise «Wave» is a side wave with the body. The starting position is the basic stand, arms at sides.

To the beat 1 and 2 wave your body to the right side;

To the beat 3 and 4 wave your body to the left.

Repeat the exercise 4 times in each direction.

2. Exercise «Sun» is based on stretching the body. The starting position is the basic stance, arms at hips.

To the beat 1-4 make a circular movement of the body to the right.

To the beat 5-8 make a circular movement of the body to the left.

Repeat the exercise 4 times.

3. Exercise «Horse» is aimed at developing mindfulness, dexterity.

The children line up and at first walk around the hall, then start running. The teacher sets the movement as a dance run, gallop, jumps, steps etc.

Repeat the exercise 2 times.

4. Outdoor game «Steam locomotive» is aimed at developing dexterity and ability to work in a team.

The children stand in a line, their hands on the shoulders of their neighbor. The first one sets the rhythm, the rest should adjust to it. Repeat the exercise 4 times.

5. Outdoor game «Houses»

The purpose is the development of dexterity and a sense of rhythm. The children stand in their places at the points, when the music is turned on, they start to run, when the music is turned off, the children should run to their places in a short period of time.

6. Outdoor game «Figure».

The purpose is the development of dexterity, the ability to build figures in space, the ability to work in a team. The children improvise to the music, when the music is turned off, the teacher names the figure, and the children should line up according to the named figure by standing in a circle or line and raising their hands up.

Complex Number 2 was compiled using the exercises of V. I. Lyakh [9].

- 1. Exercise «Lock» is aimed at stretching the muscles of the arms and shoulders. The starting position is the basic stance, the hands are behind the back in "a lock". To the beat 1 and 2 the children bend forward, trying to touch the floor with their hands. To the beat 3 and 4 the children return to the starting position. Repeat the exercise 6 times.
 - 2. Exercise «Waves» with hands forward and to the side. The starting position is the basic stance.

To the beat 1–4 make a wave with the right hand. To the beat 4–8 make a wave with the left hand. Repeat the exercise 6 times for each hand.

- 3. Exercise «Ostrich» is a stretch on the back of the thigh. The starting position is the basic stance, arms are up. To the beat 1 and 2 bend forward, touch the floor with your palms. To the beat 3 and 4 return to the starting position. Repeat the exercise 8 times.
 - 4. Outdoor game «The fastest dance»

The purpose is the development of dexterity, imagination, and attentiveness. The children improvise to music, the teacher sets the speed of movement from the slowest to the fastest. The children should react quickly and complete the task.

5. Outdoor game «Puppet»

The exercise is performed to music. The children are divided into pairs. One of the pair is a puppet, the second is a puppeteer. The child who plays the role of the puppeteer pulls the invisible strings that are attached to each part of the puppet's body. The child who plays the role of the puppet should understand which part of the body and in what direction they should move. Then the children swap the roles.

5. Outdoor game «Ladoshka (The palm)».

The purpose is the development of dexterity, imagination, the ability to work in a team.

One volunteer is selected. The rest form a tight circle around him. The children in the circle put their palms on different levels. The child who stands in the circle should quickly touch all the palms with different parts of the body, moving to the music. Afterwards the children change the level and direction of their palms. Then the child who dances in the center is changed.

Complex Number 3 was compiled using the exercises of O. N. Rybkina [18].

1. Outdoor game «The Sly Fox».

The purpose is the development of dexterity and jogging skills. The players stand in a circle at a distance of one step from each other. To the side, outside the circle, is the house of the "fox". At a signal from the

teacher, the children close their eyes, and the teacher walks around them and touches one of the players, who becomes "the sly fox". Then the children open their eyes and ask in chorus 3 times (with a small interval) (at first quietly, then louder): "Sly fox, where are you?" After the third time, «the sly fox» quickly runs out to the middle of the circle, raises their hands and says: *I'm here*! All the players run around, and "the sly fox" tries to catch them (touches their hands). After the "fox" catches 2-3 children and takes them to their house, the teacher says: «*In a circle*!». And the game resumes. If the «fox» cannot catch anyone, then a new «fox» is chosen.

2. Outdoor game «The deaf phone»

The purpose is to develop dexterity, attention, the ability to work in a team. The children stand in a line with their eyes closed, the first child sets the movement, shows his neighbor and closes his eyes, the neighbor shows the movement to the next person and so on until the end. At the end, everyone opens their eyes and looks at how accurately they managed to convey the movement. Then the game repeats.

At the end of the experiment, the levels of flexibility and dexterity development in older preschool children were determined. In total, 17 children were examined. To develop flexibility and dexterity, the sets of exercises which are described above were used throughout the year. At the end of the experiment, the same experimental group was retested using the techniques that had been used at the beginning of the experiment. The results of the development level of dexterity and flexibility in children of the experimental group at the end of the experiment are presented in Tables 6 and 7.

Table 6
The results of the study of the level of dexterity development in children of the experimental group at the end of the experiment

Number	Full name	The result of method 1	The result of method 2	The result of method 3	The final level of dex- terity development
1.	girl 1	High level	Average level	High level	High level
2.	boy 1	Average level	Average level	High level	Average level
3.	girl 2	Average level	High level	Average level	Average level
4.	boy 2	Average level	Average level	Average level	Average level
5.	girl 3	High level	Average level	Average level	Average level
6.	boy 3	Low level	Average level	Low level	Low level
7.	girl 4	Average level	High level	High level	High level
8.	boy 4	High level	High level	Average level	High level
9.	boy 5	High level	Average level	High level	High level
10.	girl 6	Average level	Average level	Low level	Average level
11.	boy 6	Average level	Average level	Low level	Average level
12.	girl 7	Average level	Average level	Average level	Average level
13.	girl 8	Low level	Average level	Average level	Average level
14.	boy 7	Average level	High level	Average level	Average level
15.	girl 9	Average level	Average level	Average level	Average level
16.	girl 10	High level	Average level	High level	High level
17.	girl 11	High level	Average level	Average level	Average level

Table 7
The results of the study of the level of flexibility development in children of the experimental group at the end of the experiment

Number	Full name	The result of method 4	The result of method 5	The final level of dexterity development
1.	girl 1	Average level	Average level	Average level
2.	boy 1	Average level	Average level	Average level
3.	girl 2	High level	Average level	High level
4.	boy 2	Average level	Average level	Average level
5.	girl 3	High level	Average level	High level
6.	boy 3	Low level	Average level	Low level
7.	girl 4	High level	High level	High level
8.	boy 4	High level	High level	High level

Number	Full name	The result of method 4	The result of method 5	The final level of dexterity development
9.	boy 5	Low level	Average level	Average level
10.	girl 6	Average level	Average level	Average level
11.	boy 6	High level	Average level	High level
12.	girl 7	High level	High level	High level
13.	girl 8	High level	High level	High level
14.	boy 7	Average level	Low level	Low level
15.	girl 9	Average level	High level	High level
16.	girl 10	Average level	High level	High level
17.	girl 11	Average level	Average level	Average level

Throughout the experiment, the children's interest in fitness aerobics classes was not lost. The classes were supplemented with game moments and musical accompaniment, which, in our opinion, allowed to preserve the interest of children. Special emphasis was placed on the correct performance of each exercise, in order to avoid injury to children. To this end, the teacher corrected the children both verbally and haptically.

The comparative results of the ascertaining and control stages of the experiment are presented in Tables 8 and 9 and in Figures 2 and 3.

Table 8
Comparing the results of the study of the level of flexibility development in children of the experimental group at the beginning and at the end of the experiment

Levels of		ascertaining stage	•	control stage
development	People	%	People	%
High level	4	24	5	29
Average level	9	52	11	65
Low level	4	24	1	6

Table 9
Comparing the results of the study of the level of dexterity development in children of the experimental group at the beginning and at the end of the experiment

Levels of	The a	scertaining stage	The control stage	
development	People	%	People	%
High level	4	24	9	52
Average level	7	41	6	35
Low level	6	35	2	13

After analyzing the obtained results, it can be concluded that the level of flexibility development in children at the beginning of the experiment was lower. At the control stage, a high level of flexibility development was observed in 5 people (29 %), an average level – in 11 people (65 %) and a low level in 1 child (6 %).

The level of dexterity development in children at the beginning of the experiment was significantly lower. At the control stage the high level of dexterity development was observed in 9 people (53 %), the average level in 6 people (35 %) and the low level in 2 people (12 %). The results are shown in Figures 2 and 3.

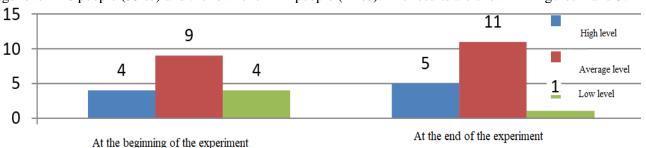


Figure 2 – The results of the study of the level of flexibility development in children of the experimental group at the beginning and end of the experiment

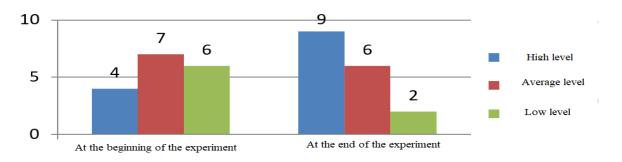


Figure 3 – The results of the study of the level of dexterity development in children of the experimental group at the beginning and end of the experiment

Conclusion

In conclusion, the use of dance exercises for the development of flexibility and dexterity gives significant progress in the physical development of senior preschool children. At the beginning of the experimental work most of the pupils' dexterity and flexibility were at an average or low level, whereas the inclusion of dance exercises in the physical activity of children made it possible to significantly increase the level of flexibility and dexterity, activate cognitive activity, and cultivate a love for sports. The organization of dance activity and fitness aerobics allows children to develop physical qualities (dexterity and flexibility), which is certainly important for a modern child. The prospect of the study is the further use of dance activity and fitness aerobics technologies in the organization of project activities with preschool children. You can get acquainted with the directions of project activity and the specifics of its implementation and organization with pupils in the collective monograph "Project activity in preschool education" [16] and, taking into account the developed technologies, build successful and effective work with children.

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ИСТОРИЯ И СЕМЕЙНЫЕ ВОСПОМИНАНИЯ С ИСТОРИЧЕСКОЙ РОДИНЫ. ШВЕДСКИЕ КУЗНЕЦЫ НА УРАЛЕ 1800-х гг.

Аннотация В статье рассматривается миграция шведских металлургов в конце 1800-х годов в Тирлян в южной части Уральских гор и повседневная жизнь шведской колонии. Процесс миграции изучается на материале рассказов и сохранившихся артефактов в России и Швеции. Этот эпизод шведской и российской истории представлен в статье с помощью современных исследований, касающихся проблем представления культурного наследия в музеях и исторической науке. Автор дает подробный ответ на вопрос, кем и по каким причинам обсуждается данный факт в истории шведской эмиграции и модернизации российского металлургического сектора; рассматривает практику использования шведского опыта в организации производства на Урале и оценивает ее влияние на историю промышленных предприятий России. В статье рассказывается о музеях, где хранится память и опыт шведских кузнецов; выявляются причины сохранения этих ценностей для будущих поколений. По мнению автора, знания о том, что произошло на самом деле, имеют и в дальнейшем будут иметь огромную ценность. Кроме того, в статье описывается и анализируется содержание двух архивных коллекций в Швеции, касающихся уральской миграции и жизни в обществах по производству железа в конце 1800-х и начале 1900-х годов. Эти коллекции были созданы членами шведской колонии, которые вернулись на родину с большим количеством документов, фотографий и других интересных предметов, накопившихся за время миграции. Коллекции можно рассматривать как часть непрерывного процесса рассказывания историй на личном и семейном уровне, даже тогда, когда воспоминания на местах – как в России, так и в Швеции – не сохраняются.

Ключевые слова миграция, местное культурное наследие, Швеция, Урал, семейные истории, металлургия, музеи наследия, архивы.

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HISTORY AND FAMILY MEMORIES IN A LOCAL SETTING. SWEDISH IRON SMITH'S IN THE URALS OF THE 1800s

Abstract. The article deals with the migration during the late part of the 1800s of Swedish iron workers to Tirlyan in the southern part of the Ural Mountains and the everyday life of the Swedish colony, this process seen in the light of the story telling and the preserved artefacts in Russia and Sweden. The way this "detail" in the history of Swedish emigration and the modernization of the Russian iron industry sector has been presented, by whom and for what reasons, is discussed in the article, by help of modern research concerning cultural heritage presentation challenges for museums and researchers in the world of today.

Keywords: Migration, local cultural heritage, Sweden, Ural, family histories, metallurgy, heritage museums, archives.

Introduction

In 1876, the Russian engineer Aleks Hasselblatt went to Sweden in order to recruit black smiths to the Pashkov iron industries in the Ural area. It was part of the developing plans for the Russian iron production system, in order to enhance both greater iron and steel quantities and better quality of the products. This was at a time when Russia saw the possibilities to prosper by large scale industrialization, with a vast upcoming market of their own but also with the global market in sight. New systems of communication made it easier to travel and for heavy products to be transported long distance over the borders. In the 1870s, many people in the industrial sector all over the world saw a bright future ahead of them while others suffered from a broader international competition. Russia was on it's way and so was not least the distant United States of America. In Sweden, the old structure with many smaller iron plants cracked when confronted with new ways of producing iron and steel – bringing up the need for the development of larger production units. When Hasselblatt arrived in the area of Bergslagen – the heartland of iron production in the middle of Sweden since medieval times –, he had many interested workers listening to his proposals to join the Ural projects. Two of the more

experienced blacksmiths joined him for Russia. In the following years, more than twenty other iron workers followed, some few of them together with their wifes or other family members. They all came to Tirlyan in the southern part of the Ural area and started their new life at the factories there.

The Swedish colony of Tirlyan

This was the starting point for the small but over time slowly growing Swedish settlement in the Urals. The smiths and their families formed part of a dynamic society in the mountain area. The often very young Swedish smiths and smelters got the reputation of being specialists in their field, since they had experienced production techniques back in Sweden that through them where introduced in this part of Russia. The iron workers were normally contracted for a period of three years. Many stayed on for a longer period and, in some cases, for life. Some of them married women from the neighborhood and, finally, also became Russian citizens. The probably last of the first contingent of Swedish immigrants to Tirlyan died there in 1943. His descendants – the Larssons – formed new generations at the place, as did the families of Adamson and Stremer. They all became Russians in language, faith and culture, but in many cases still remembered their Swedish origin.

The migration of the Swedes forms a foot note in the history of the growing Russian iron industrial sector; skilled labor was introduced from many countries during the expanding years and many Russians learned the new metallurgical specialities from them. In Swedish migration history, the emigration towards Russia and the Urals is also just a detail, seen in the light of the overwhelming amount of people who, in the last part of the 1800s, instead went over the Atlantic to USA. This said, the Swedes of Tirlyan still formed a colony with a flavor of it's own.

Historical memory in a national, local and personal setting

In this article, I will discuss the Swedish Tirlyan case in the light of historical memory. What have people in Tirlyan and in Sweden remembered about the migration and about the colony, over the years and in our time? What functions have the historical memory played at an official or communal level, compared with the traditions handed down in certain families that were involved in the history of the colony? I will say something about the situation in Tirlyan area based upon the ethnological field research by K.A. Novichkova and by my own impressions from a visit to the Urals in 2010. My focus will though be on the memories from the Russian experience that are preserved in the official archives of Sweden as well as within families at the local and personal level in the community of Degerfors.

History is an ongoing process of transforming the daily events of life into a narrative that is possible to tell – and to grasp for listeners and viewers in an audience. Every moment in people's lives can be useful bricks in the construction of immaterial "monuments" of collective memory. These experiences can form different stories about the same localities and time periods - stories change over time, in the process of communication between story tellers and listeners. The transformation of perspectives can be explained in the light of the situation when the stories are told. The functions of collective memory changes over time and some of the stories disappear over the generations, while other events have become more of interest for people to talk about, and therefore bring on the coming generations. In Swedish history, the rise of the welfare state from the 1930s and onwards is still a main theme and easy for many people to relate to – people live in houses built during this period and have their family stories related to reforms and inventions that have made life easier for many., The family car, the child benefit system, the prolonged vacation, the dish washer, the introduction of the TV set are all such daily life experiences that are part of the collective narrative of a changing, consumer focused life style. Many people still work in industries, but the stories about progress in production and the efforts of the rising working class that have made that possible are not in public demand in the way it once were. The same goes for the history of the Swedish mass emigration a long time ago, from the middle of the 1800s and until about 1930. In a time of immigration into Sweden with people from many countries in the Third world, the old history has lost it's preference. Stories are born from the life changing experiences for many people – but stories also die when other's, more relevant for a new age, take their place. History is a process of ongoing change of themes and perspectives.

The loss of contact between Sweden and the Ural

From the 1870s and up until the time of World War I and the following civil war in Russian, the Swedish families in Tirlyan kept in contact with their kin and their friends back in Sweden. From time to time, people also visited each other and therefore had first hand knowledge about every day life both in Tirlyan and in Degerfors. This contact got to an end with the war and with the new political situation in the evolving Soviet Union. When the Swedish pastor Wilhelm Sarwe wrote his three volume book about his long life as Lutheran

priest and missionary in Russia, it was like a summary over a world lost out of sight for most Swedes. In his book, Sarwe tells a lot about the Tirlyan colony, which he himself joined already in 1882, but he also writes about many other parts of Russia, in many cases with some connection to Swedes in the vast diaspora. In one of the photos in the book, members from the large Adamson family in Tirlyan are on display outside their house. The photo was taken during Sarwes visit in 1919 and can be interpreted as a form of good bye photo towards people back home in Sweden that they are never to see again. For a long time, Russia had been an important labor market for Swedes. From the 1920s, this period was over. Our two countries chose different paths towards the future.

Contacts renewed

In the new era of the 1990s, the story of the Swedes once again became of some public interest in Tirlyan. Photos of the old blacksmiths were found in people's cupboards and put up at the local museum beside memorabilia from the Great Patriotic War and other parts of the local and national history. Through local enthusiasts, such as the energetic teacher Boris Ogloblin, the story of the Swedish "experts" in the iron factories of the Ural area was once more being told publicly. In Sweden, it took until 1999 that the history of the colony was reintroduced to a larger audience, this time through a TV documentary made by Per Enerud, at the time working in Russia for the Swedish Broadcasting Corporation. From that time on, new personal contacts have, from time to time, been established between individuals and organizations in Tirlyan and in Degerfors. These contacts have also been broadened and brought up to the official communal level – thereby including the community of Beloretsk - and introduced to the academic sphere of historical research. From 2010, historians and others working at Karlstad University (in the region of Värmland, where Degerfors is situated) also have cooperated with colleagues at Nosov Magnitogorsk State Technical University; the major result has been the production of the book *Iron Links. Essays about Swedish Migrants to the Urals from the Beginning of the 1700s to the Late 1800s* (published in 2015).

History remembered in Tirlyan

In one of the articles in *Iron Links*, Associate Professor Olesya Starodubova relates the already mentioned ethnological documentation of the Swedish descendants in Tirlyan, made by K. A. Novichkova in 2012 [2]. Even if there were several examples of people who had kept or retaken their Swedish surnames in one form or another (Larsson, Adamsson, Stremer), there were nobody in Tirlyan of 2012 who still had any personal knowledge about the Swedish language. Some people could tell the stories of their own family some generations back in time, but they had their eventual information about the geography of Degerfors – the iron factory community where their ancestors in most cases emigrated from – from the renewed contact through Swedish visiting delegations up till 2010, and not through any remaining family traditions. In her article, Starodubova concludes that the Russification of the Swedes in the Urals was a natural process due to "simple environmental factors". The interviewed Swedish descendants had in most cases – 81 % - never left Tirlyan or the Beloretsk district during their lifetime and therefore stayed pretty isolated. They had not been in any contact with Swedish relatives for generations and they had in both work and marriages mixed with other Russian families.

My own impressions concerning the Ural local history memory culture comes from the visit to Tirlyan, Beloretsk and Magnitogorsk that I, together with a larger group of Swedish colleagues, made in 2010. It was a travel experience that brought us not only 3 000 kilometers eastwards into an for us so far unknown area but also, in some aspects, a long way back in time. We could recognize the main structures of nowadays Tirlyan from the photos in the Swedish archives a hundred years and more back in time. I recall not only the great hospitality and friendship that we were met with but also the great interest that people showed about their Swedish ancestry and concerning their Swedish links. Even so, most people we met lacked detailed knowledge about their own family history. Language barriers have always been one of the major obstacles in contacts, making it difficult to really connect on a personal level between people who are kin in Sweden and Russia.

History remembered in Degerfors

As I already have mentioned, the knowledge about the Tirlyan colony slowly evaporated in Sweden from the 1920s and onwards. The Sarwe books, published in 1927-1929, turned out as a major success, but they described only the past and did not lead up to any renewed contact between people in Degerfors and the Urals. After the return to Sweden, Wilhelm Sarwe and his family became distinguished members of the Degerfors community. His wife Emma died 1929 and Wilhelm in 1948. An elaborated stone monument was placed at the family grave with a text that recalled the work that the couple had done for the Christian mission

and for the Red Cross. For people with some knowledge about the family and of Wilhelm Sarwe as a person, the short text is linked with the decades of work in Russia. There is, though, nothing in the grave monument that distinctly mentions the Russian experience or the Degerfors link to the Ural emigration. There is really nothing else in the squares or streets of the community that points at the Ural migration process. This said, there is still one remarkable house left from the emigration process in itself, a house that nowadays serves as the headquarters for the Local Historical Society (Degerfors Hembygdsförening) in Degerfors. It is called Smältarbynningen (Smelter's House) and housed many of the emigrating young smelter's at the time when they left for Tirlyan in the 1870s. Today, the Local Historical Society collects photos, historical documents and traditions about the society in their archives. They have also arranged some exhibits concerning the Ural emigration over the years. People with this special interest in the history of the community are well aware of the Russian migration and can give an overview of what happened. There are also keen local genealogists that have been digging into the family stories of one and each of the emigrating black smiths. But if you speak with people out in the streets, you must have a day of luck to find anyone who have heard about this exotic part of the history of Degerfors.

The Sarwe archive

The Swedish commemoration of the Tirlyan-Degerfors story at an official level may be weak, but the knowledge about what really happened have grown through contacts during the last about twenty years. In Sweden, the documentation made by Wilhelm Sarwe and his family has been a main source for research. The story told in Sarwes own book about the scouting journey of engineer Hasselblatt and of the smiths and smelters that joined him has become canonical. Sarwe could work with an archive of his own which nowadays is available at the National Archive (Riksarkivet) in Stockholm. It is a gold mine to knowledge about the migration process and about everyday life within the Swedish colony of Tirlyan. You find a lot of photos of the neighborhood and of individuals but also quite a lot of documents about births, marriages and deaths, about associations that the Swedes organized (such as the one for temperance in the beginning of the 1880s) and about houses and industries in Tirlyan, and in Beloretsk. Sarwe had an interest also in other people that he met and he had quite a lot of contact with the at this time semi-nomadic Bashkir people in the Urals, not least during his time at the mission station at Taschbolatova. There are more than 30 volumes in the Sarwe archive in Stockholm. We made good use of some of the documentation for our mutual research project that resulted in the Iron Links volume, but there are so much more to dig in here.

August Larsson – a blacksmith and amateur painter

Some of the blacksmith's stayed on in Russia while others returned home after a shorter or longer period of time. They all lived in a world of migration and among the Swedish Tirlyan smiths, about one third made another long journey and settled at last in the US. One of the smith's that returned to his home in the rural parts south of Degerfors was August Larsson, who will be the head character in the concluding part of this text.

August Larsson was born in 1853 and was 25 years of age when he joined the group that settled for the Ural's. He was raised at a farm but learned the trade of metallurgy and after some years became supervisor within the Swedish group of smith's and smelters. His first wife died in Beloretsk Savod in 1891 and her grave was a focal point of rememberance for August, documented both in photos and in a painting of his hand. August Larsson had an interest in and talent for drawing and brought with him sketchbooks, photos and a lot of items from Russia when he returned with his family in the 1890s. August settled down as a farmer and died in 1928. The things from Russia was preserved in a wooden chest at the farm by the family. In 2021, his descendant Gunilla Svensson have handed all material over to the regional archive in the province of Värmland for future preservation.

Through the eyes of August Larsson, we get a good view into the life of the Tirlyan area in the late 1800s. He was no great painter, but he was an amateur with in interest in documenting people and places in the for him new Russian surroundings. He made most of his drawings at the spot, but he must have made his large scale paintings back in Sweden, after photos and what he recalled in his memory; they are simply so big that it must have been impossible to transport them safely back home over such a great distance. One of the best paintings show Tirlyan in a panorama view, with many details like the church, the main factory and a lot of houses, surrounded by the wild but romantic landscape. Another painting shows the interior of the family home in Tirlyan, a third one his wifes grave – "the Swedish grave" (Svenska graven).

August Larsson shows great interest in the mountainous landscape and have depicted parts of it in several of his sketches. There are some pictures showing the ferry at the Sakmara river and horses that swim over the rapid streams. Another one has the title "The Wild Strawberry Mountain" (Smultronberget).

There are also some pictures, both sketches and photos, from places away from Tirlyan – several of them from Beloretsk, one from a church at Samovka. August Larsson has also depicted visits at some Bashkir encampment and Bashkir people on a hunting tour. All together, there are a couple of hundred photos and pictures in this family collection. Some of them are family pictures from his time in Sweden, but the Russian years are well represented. August Larsson had many strong memories from his time as a young man in Tirlyan, memories that he also did what he could in order to pass the story over to his athelings. The historical memory has been very well kept that way. In 2008, Augusts descendant Gunilla Svensson had the opportunity to travel to Tirlyan and see for herself the place that she had heard so much about from people in the older generation.

Museums and story telling in a time of migration

History matters – but it plays different roles for different people. One of the reasons why we keep museums is to remind people of collective experiences, that in some way or another has contributed to the society of today. Museum collections can be built with specific agendas, in order to tell The Head Story of society as a contribution to preservation of the dominating structure. They can also, and instead, focus on the different perspectives and on the many conflicts that each society has lived through over the years - conflicts and traumas that still might be a living reality of today. Museums of the latter sort can develop into arenas for discussion about life today and tomorrow, based on the facts from history. These aspects are thoroughly looked into in the anthology Museums in a time of migration [3], that was published in 2017. The authors discuss different ways of presenting history for today's audiences. Migration play a major role in the world of today, not least in Sweden, where about one fifth of the population has their origin in another country. They are, of course, potential visitors to any museum dealing with history and cultural heritage. To get them interested, you need to meet them through their own experiences in life. In her article in the anthology, Bernadette Lynch says the following about the challenge and opportunity for a modern museum to reach out towards this large group of people: Museums are great bastions of the multicultural dream of social inclusion. But the faults of social inclusion lie not in those who are included, but in ourselves . in the misperceptions of an educated mobile, and generally well-off urban citizenry (must like the staff of most museums) [3].

When telling a story about the past, you always chose what to put forward and what to forget. There is a lot to think about when you work with our cultural heritage as historians, as museum curators, as authors, as local story tellers – or as parents and grandparents. What you say matters for people who listen, and who might be the ones that bring the stories along to the next generation of children. Great opportunies, great challenges!

Conclusion – and a story to be continued

There is no museum in Degerfors about the migration and the memories from the Ural emigration are kept not by the local society, but by some of the descendants from the smith's and smelter's that were there – and by the Local Historical Society. Also in Tirlyan, the memories are kept by local people with some personal link to this period, and to the group of people that were in focus. It is of great importance that the memory is linked to memorabilia, as photos and items that you actually can see and touch. That is the way that the August Larsson athelings have kept the history brightly living and that is the way that Boris Ogloblin and others in Tirlyan work in order to make people remember this detail in the Head Stories of migration and of the iron factoring process, that changed the Urals for ever. Maybe can the drawings and paintings from the hand of August Larsson also contribute to the view of the Ural's in the Russian society of today?

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ИСТОРИЧЕСКАЯ ПАМЯТЬ БЕЖЕНЦЕВ ВТОРОЙ МИРОВОЙ ВОЙНЫ: ПРЕОДОЛЕНИЕ КУЛЬТУРНОЙ ТРАВМЫ

Аннотация: При формировании коллективной исторической памяти о Второй мировой войне первостепенное внимание традиционно уделялось событиям на фронте, подвигам бойцов и партизан. Трагический и болезненный опыт узников гетто, концлагерей, беженцев долгое время оставался в табуированной темой. В связи с этим целый ряд важных исторических аспектов остается вне поля официальной памяти и возникает возможность фальсификаций. Цель данного исследования – представить беженцев войны как социальную группу с культурной травмой, показать необходимость и пути преодоления этой травмы. Источниковую основу исследования составили воспоминания людей, переживших эвакуацию. В качестве методологического подхода использована концепция «культурной травмы» и теории исторической памяти. Анализ интервью и воспоминаний беженцев позволил выделить эвакуированных в особую стигматизированную социальную группу, которую объединяли отсутствие жилья и имущества по прибытии в эвакуацию, общие источники снабжения, особый социальный статус, определявший отношения с властными структурами, а также с местными жителями. В материалах доклада выявлены факторы, которые способствовали формированию культурной травмы у людей в ходе эвакуации. На всем протяжении эвакуационного периода своей жизни эти люди часто подвергались осуждению в общественном мнении. В тыловых районах эвакуированных воспринимали как чужаков. Автор сделал вывод о том, что артикуляция культурной травмы стигматизированной социальной группой, ее пережившей, способствует сохранению объективной исторической памяти и меняет жизненные ценности социума. Формами такой артикуляции могут быть устные интервью, опубликованные воспоминания, документальные и художественные фильмы.

Ключевые слова: Вторая мировая война, эвакуация, культурная травма, беженцы, историческая память.

M. N. Potemkina (Magnitogorsk, Russia)

HISTORICAL MEMORY OF WORLD WAR II REFUGEES: OVERCOMING CULTURAL TRAUMA

Abstract: When forming the collective historical memory of the Second World War, traditionally, primary attention was paid to events at the front, the exploits of soldiers and partisans. The tragic and painful experience of prisoners of ghettos, concentration camps, refugees remained for a long time a taboo topic. At the same time, a number of important historical aspects remain outside the field of official memory and the possibility of falsifications arises. The purpose of this study is to present war refugees as a social group with cultural trauma, to show the necessity and ways of overcoming it. The source of the study was the memories of people who survived the evacuation. The concept of «cultural trauma» and the theory of historical memory were used as a methodological approach. Analysis of interviews and recollections of refugees made it possible to single out the evacuees into a special stigmatized social group, which was united by the lack of housing and property upon arrival in the evacuation, common sources of supply, and a special social status that determined relations with the authorities, as well as with local residents. The article identifies the factors that contributed to the formation of cultural trauma in people during evacuation. Throughout the evacuation period of their lives, these people were often condemned in public opinion. In the rear areas, the evacuees were perceived as outsiders. It is concluded that the articulation of cultural trauma by a stigmatized social group that survived it contributes to the preservation of objective historical memory and changes the life values of society. Forms of such articulation can be oral interviews, published memoirs, documentaries, and feature films.

Keywords: World War II, evacuation, cultural trauma, refugees, historical memory.

This report is about the problems of the historical memory of the refugees of the Second World War through the concept of «cultural trauma».

Modern trends in the formation of collective historical memory in the official public space are characterized by the dominance of the triumph discourse and the silencing of the trauma discourse. This makes the picture of the reconstruction of the events of the Second World War incomplete, a number of important historical aspects remain outside the field of official memory, it becomes possible to falsify historical events and

facts [1].

Therefore, a comprehensive study of the history of the war, including coverage of painful and «inconvenient» aspects of historical events, is necessary to preserve in the memory of future generations. An important way to objectively comprehend traumatic historical facts is the concept of cultural trauma.

The concept of «cultural trauma» was introduced into scientific circulation by the Polish scientist P. Shtompka [4]. He reveals the idea of cultural trauma as a «rupture of the cultural fabric», as a result of which the consequences of traumatic events affect a person for a long time, passing even through generations.

Trauma is understood not only as a one-time event that dramatically changed a person's life, but also as a process that continues to influence people's attitude to their past, present and future. Among others, P. Shtompka refers to migrations and wars as traumatic events.

The Second World War was of a long total and bloody nature. The rapid offensive of the Fascist troops in 1941 and the occupation of the western territories of the USSR led to the displacement of the traditional center of the country, which caused a large-scale evacuation of industrial equipment, cultural property and the population from the frontline areas to the east of the country.

Evacuation was not prepared, but the need for it became obvious already in the first days of the war and was dictated by the following reasons: the speed of the enemy's advance through the territory of the USSR, the occupation policy in the occupied territories aimed at mass physical destruction of the population.

The evacuation process combined elements of organization and spontaneity. The enemy occupied part of the territory of the USSR, where about 85 million people lived before the war, and about 12 million people managed to evacuate to the Soviet rear.

Evacuation processes were managed by the Evacuation Council, established on June 24, 1941 under the USSR Council of People's Commissars. Accounting and provision of social assistance to the evacuated population in the rear regions of the country were provided by specially created bodies: Departments for household management of evacuation.

Although all residents of the rear experienced psychological and material difficulties during the war, the study of documents makes it possible to single out the refugees in a special stigmatized social group. It was united by the lack of housing and property upon arrival in the evacuation, common sources of supply, a special social status that determined relations with government structures, as well as with local residents.

Of course, it should be remembered that the social group of the refugees itself was not homogeneous: the capital's creative intelligentsia and representatives of the nomenclature lived better.

Analysis of documentary sources and personal memories of refugees allows us to identify the following traumatic factors:

- as early as in the process of evacuation, conflict situations with representatives of government structures arose due to a lack or distortion of information, a ban on evacuation for certain categories of the population, refusal to help evacuate. Sometimes evacuation took the form of a stampede, provoking interpersonal conflicts.
- a strange city (village), unusual climatic conditions, lack of their own housing and property, household inconveniences; additional difficulties were experienced by metropolitan residents who were evacuated to the countryside and forced to adapt to the specific conditions of village life [3].
 - absence of relatives and close friends who could help;
- the need for employment in a new place. This problem did not concern the workers evacuated together with their company or institution, but they also needed to adapt to a new work collective.
- sometimes national hostility, differences in social status, educational and cultural level were added to these difficulties.

Throughout the evacuation period of their lives, these people were often overtly or covertly condemned in public opinion. During the evacuation, they were condemned for fleeing by those who believed that they should help defend their city or remain to suffer with it. In the rear areas, the evacuees were perceived as outsiders [5]. And when the evacuees returned to their former places of residence, to their small homeland, they were again met with caution and hostility because their fellow-townsmen believed that they had «sat it out in the rear».

At home, they faced numerous difficulties not only with getting their former housing back, but also with

restoring their social status: being evacuated quickly became a stigma, especially for Jews and men fit for military service.

In the post-war period, during forming the cultural memory of the Great Patriotic War, for many decades, primary attention was paid to the heroes among the front-line soldiers, partisans and underground workers. All commemorative practices were aimed at glorifying the feat of fighters and commanders who had performed feats, monuments were erected to them, films were made about them, stories and stories were written.

As for historical memory, in the post-war period, the experience of evacuees remained mostly part of family history, while in public discourse it was almost completely forgotten. This was largely due to the fact that the history of the evacuation is closely connected with the very negative events of 1941-1942 for the Soviet regime (defeats at the fronts, chaos and panic in the rear, the flight of officials from settlements and enterprises that were under threat of being captured by the Germans, thousands of families abandoned to the mercy of fate, etc.) and does not fit well into the victorious history of the Patriotic War.

The ideology of collectivism was essential to overcoming the traumatic military experience. The ideas of sacrifice, heroism, perseverance were designed to shift the attention to individual problems. As a result, there was no elaboration of the trauma, the «experience of pain» was pushed into silence [2].

Articulation of trauma had a therapeutic effect. The ideological pluralism of the 1990s contributed to the voicing of previously suppressed topics in the public space. Commemorative practices began to spread to the victims of the war, namely, civilians killed by the enemy in the occupied territory, in concentration camps.

In this sense, the collection of oral memories and the creation of archival collections of «oral history», which gained popularity in Russia in the 1990s-2000s, is important. Writers, artists, and film directors did not stay away from the formation of cultural memory about the evacuation. In 2005, the documentary 4-episode film «Evacuation» was shown (producer Yu. Khanyutin, the author of the idea S. M. Zelikin).

Cultural trauma has an indelible impact on society and has a great force of inertia, affecting several generations. Articulation of cultural trauma by a stigmatized social group that has experienced it contributes to rethinking the events of the past, forms a more objective historical memory and changes the life values of society.

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ПОСТСОВЕТСКАЯ ИСТОРИОГРАФИЯ УКРАИНЫ: НОВЫЙ КАНОН НАЦИОНАЛЬНОЙ ИСТОРИИ

Аннотация. Создание нового национального нарратива стало ключевым элементом построения нации после распада Советского Союза. Исследования постсоветской истории развивались под влиянием антитоталитарной политической повестки и потребностью молодой нации в новых символах, героях, победах и трагедиях. Новый нарратив, разрушивший советские мифы, был создан на основе рассекреченных советских архивов и данных устной истории, многие идеи заимствовались из исследований ученых украинской диаспоры в странах Северной Америки, а также из досоветских концепций, важнейшая из которых была разработана М. Грушевским. Статья основана на историографических и исторических трудах, опубликованных в постсоветский период (1991-2021 гг.). Целью исследования – выявить новые подходы, актуальные темы, современную аргументацию, которые отличают историографию Украины от советского и российского нарративов. Более подробному анализу подвергнуты концепции, которые использовались украинскими политиками и наполняли идеями новую «каноническую» версию украинской истории. Это история Киевской Руси как протоукраинского государства, восстание запорожских казаков под руководством Богдана Хмельницкого и Переяславский договор 1654 г. как первый украинский проект создания государства и голод 1932-1933 гг. как величайшая трагедия украинского народа. Сделан вывод о том, что современная постсоветская украинская историография занимается проектом национального строительства, в то время как международный контекст актуализирует новые подходы, в том числе те, которые выявляют и разрушают национальные мифы, стирают культурные границы. Статья может быть интересна специалистам, занимающимся украинской историей и проблемами коллективной памяти.

Ключевые слова: Украина, историография, национальный миф, национальный нарратив, национализм, история, история памяти, постсоветские исследования

T. G. Pashkovskaya (Magnitogorsk, Russia)

POST-SOVIET UKRAINIAN HISTORIOGRAPHY: THE NEW CANON OF NATIONAL HISTORY

Abstract. Creating a new national narrative was the key element of nation-building after the collapse of the Soviet Union. The post-Soviet history research was thematized by antitotalitarian attitudes and the political need for new symbols, new heroes, victories and tragedies to build the nation. The new narrative challenging Soviet myths was created on the basis of declassified Soviet archives, witness testimonies, studies issued from the Ukrainian diaspora of North America and pre-Soviet concepts. The article is based on the historiographical and historical works published during the post-Soviet period (1991-2021). The research aim is to identify new approaches, new pertinent subjects, new argumentation that distinguish the historiography of Ukraine from the Soviet and the Russian narratives. More detailed analyses are applied to the concepts that have been instrumentalized by Ukrainian politicians and filled the canon version of Ukrainian history with ideas. They are the history of Kiev Rus as a proto-Ukrainian state, the Cossack Upspring and The Treaty of Pereyaslav as the first Ukrainian nation-building project and the famine of 1932-1933 as the biggest tragedy of Ukrainian history. It is concluded that post-Soviet Ukrainian historiography is engaged in a nation-building project, while the international context actualizes new approaches, including those eliciting and deconstructing national myths and cultural frontiers. The article can be interesting to specialists interested in Ukrainian history and memory studies.

Keywords: Ukraine, historiography, national myth, national narrative, nationalism, history, memory studies, post-Soviet studies

Introduction

Does Ukraine have a history? According to German historian Mark von Hagen, this was a question that could be asked, and, in fact, many asked it after studying the geography of history teaching. Ukrainian historiography existed, but, as a rule, it was created by Ukrainian emigrants. That is why Ukrainian studies found little recognition and were mainly seen as a search for roots and national advocacy [28, p. 658]. In a sense, Ukraine, like many other Eastern European countries, was 'denied full historiographic legitimacy' until they gained independence. In the 19th century, when great powers were creating national narratives, many other peoples of Europe were part of empires and were 'late' in the creation of modern historiography.

Thirty years later after the collapse of the Soviet Union this question was removed from the agenda. Ukrainian studies are an accomplished fact. The Ukrainian 'presence' in the Western scientific area is by and large comparable to the Russian one. Both in North America and in Europe, there are university chairs and

institutes for Ukrainian studies. The most significant scholars are still of Ukrainian origin: Serghii Plokhy, Taras Kuzio, Andrei Portnov. However, in recent years, new European and American publications have appeared: Andrew Wilson (USA), Andreas Kappeler (Austria), Alexandra Goujon (France). Among Ukrainian historians, Mikhail Kasyanov, Yaroslav Gritsak and Petr Tolochko stand out.

The post-Soviet historiography in Ukraine has been discussed by many scholars. European and American scholars give a propound and overall analyses of the Ukrainian studies while Ukrainian and Russian works tend to focus on specific questions.

Andrei Portnov, Professor of European University Viadrina in Germany [22], and Yaroslav Gritsak, Professor of Ukrainian Catholic University [2] conclude that the nation-building narrative prevails in the Ukrainian scholars' works, while international history rests weakly presented. German historian Mark von Hagen analyzes the challenges that national historiography of the young independent country can face [28, p. 659]. Taras Kuzio, Professor of Toronto University studies the historiography of post-Soviet Ukraine [15]. The scholar focuses upon seven key areas of this new historiography – the medieval state of Kiev Rus, the 1654 Russian-Ukrainian Treaty of Pereyaslav, Ukraine under the Tsarist regime, Austrian rule, the Russian Revolution, Soviet rule and Ukrainian nationalism. In the early years of independent Ukraine, Taras Kuzio was the only historian who paid attention to the existence of regional historiographical traditions in Donbass and Crimea in the post-Soviet Ukraine. Serhii Plokhy, Professor of Harvard University, published a fundamental work on the representation of the past in Russia and Ukraine [21]. The historian contraposes Russian and Ukrainian myths that their contemporary historiographies develop. Andreas Kappeler, Professor of Zurich University, provides a deep study of Ukrainian, Russian and Polish historiography on the Cossacks [7]. Georgy Kasyanov, Professor at the Institute of Ukrainian History, analyses the nation-building historiography of Ukraine in the international postmodernist context. On the one hand, there is a public demand for a national history in the style the 19th century modernity, on the other hand, the era of postmodernism leads to globalization and relativization of all kinds of ideologies, including patriotism, conclude the scholar [10]. There are numerous Russian and Ukrainian historiographical works and discussions on narrow topics. Anna Kapustyan and Stanislav Kulchitsky analyze the historiography of the Ukrainian famine of 1932-1933 [8]. Yuri Latysh discusses the Ukrainian historiography of perestroika [16]. Igor Ilushin studies displacements and deportations of 1944-1947 on the Ukrainian-Polish borderland [4].

Historiography, created in the post-Soviet era, first and foremost, serves the interests of the young nation-state. The new Ukrainian narrative is characterized by new priorities in research subjects and sometimes methodological inaccuracies arising from the interlacement of historical as well as political discourses and the inability to choose and apply a new approach in the postmodernity situation of methodological diversity. This paper discusses the post-Soviet vision of Ukrainian history reflected in contemporary historiography. We focus on the most controversial historical issues and the range of arguments provided during the discussions.

From 'the Ukraine' to Ukraine: the birth Ukrainian historiography of independent

Russian and Soviet historiography, except the period of Ukrainization (*korenizatsia*) in the 1920s, were alike in their interpretation of the history of eastern Slavs. In the 1930s history was rewritten with a Russia-centered view. Ukraine was presented as a regional variant of the common Russian identity. This historiography of 'the Ukraine' [1] as a Russian borderland could not become a base to build a new independent state.

What challenges did Ukrainian historiography face in the late 1980s? Firstly, it is the integrating of the past and tracing the continuity of national history. Secondly, it is overcoming the Russia-centered imperial narrative. Thirdly, it is the integrating of two influential intellectual groups, namely, those who are assimilated into Russian or Soviet political culture (for the reasons of forced migrations, carrier growth, military service), and those who left Ukraine and live in Ukrainian diasporas of North America, Australia and Europe. Fourthly, the institutionalization of Ukrainian studies abroad, opening university chairs and research institutions for Ukrainian studies [28].

The roots of the new national narrative go back to the late 1980s, when Orest Subtelnei, a Canadian historian of Ukrainian origin, published his work *Ukraine: A History* [23], which turned into a true bestseller at that time. It represented a modernized version of Hrushevsky's conception, was written on secondary sources and addressed to English speaking readers, but the book had awesome success in the newly born independent state. It became a textbook for Ukrainian students of history who had to study in the first years of independence when Soviet approaches were already outdated, and new research had not yet appeared. Subtelny's book, published also in Ukrainian, filled the vacuum in the historiography of the first years of Ukraine's independence

and became a kind of symbol of the period of transition to the new historical research recalls Natalia Talalay, who was studying in Ukraine at that time [19].

This success demonstrates the outstanding role of the Ukrainian diaspora, especially the American one, in the development of post-Soviet Ukrainian studies. It served as a 'window to the West' and a kind of guide for new studies, remarks historian Portnov [22]. Kasyanov recalls this as a total 'subtelnizatsia' of Ukraine, and even Orest Subtelny himself was surprised to see such an obsession among Ukrainians with his book. Evidently, a new vision of Ukrainian history, different from what they had read in the Soviet textbooks looked fresh and appealing for an inexperienced, in terms of ideological diversity, post-Soviet reader. This book determined the vector of development of Ukrainian historiography and popularized Hrushevsky as 'the father of Ukrainian history' [6].

In 1990, the Ukrainian Party Committee initiated a program of 'nationalization of history' (the name combines Soviet and traditional discourses), which meant the publication of declassified primary sources and new textbooks. According to Kasyanov, this turned into a kind of 'canonization' of Hrushevsky in post-Soviet Ukrainian historiography, to the point that Hrushevsky's portrait replaced Lenin's one [10, p. 511]. In the 1990s, monuments to Hrushevsky were erected in the regions of western Ukraine. In 1998 the monument to Hrushevsky was unveiled in Kiev. The name of Hrushevsky appeared in the banknotes, postages stamps, streets, libraries and museums were named in his honor. As for Orest Subtelny, after his death in 2016 he was referred to as 'the founding father of modern Ukrainian history' [14].

Historiographical landmarks of independent Ukraine Kiev Rus

The territory of Kiev Rus covered most of modern-day western and central Ukraine, nearly all of modern Belarus and the western parts of what is now Russia. Linguistic imprecision and Russia-centered approach have too often led to the assumption that the 'Rus' were simply early medieval 'Russians'.

According to Russian and Soviet historiography, Kiev Rus was an eastern Slavic state, the forerunner of Russia. After a period of fragmentation Russian statehood was restored with its new centre in Moscow and then it pursued a successful policy of returning the lands of the Eastern Slavs to a single state. In Russia, this thesis has been always used to legitimize the territorial expansion to the west. It was within the Russian state, under the auspices of the Great Russian, that the emergence of independent peoples of the Ukrainians and Belarusians, so-called 'younger brothers', was prepared.

For the majority of Ukrainian historians, this view is unacceptable. They share Hrushevsky's point of view, which represent Kiev Rus as a proto-Ukrainian state. The arguments are as follows: the major lands of Kiev Rus were situated on Ukrainian territory in its post-Soviet borders; their capital Kiev was founded much earlier than Moscow, so that the Russian idea of being an 'older brother' of Ukraine has no sense, according to them. As for the history of the Vladimir-Suzdal principality in the period of fragmentation, it had the same relationship to Kiev as Rome to Gaul.

Modern historians support Ukrainian claims to Kiev Rus, but the ways to legitimize it are different. American historian of Ukrainian origin Frank Sysyn uses the ethnonym 'Ruthenians' to name eastern Slavs that were not under Moscow control by the 16th century. The Ruthenians included the Ukrainians and Belarusians, and they were viewed as one cultural-linguistic-religious community of the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth. The historian argues that by the sixteenth century there were already clear distinctions between the Ruthenians and the Muscovites. Had a Ruthenian polity existed, we might have two rather than three East Slavic nations today. Instead, the Union of Lublin of 1569, which removed most Ukrainian-speaking territory from the Grand Duchy of Lithuania, furthered the process of differentiating the Belarusian and Ukrainian peoples, who already lived under different geographic and economic conditions. The Cossacks who in the 17th century revolted against Poles acted in the name of Rus and the Orthodox church, they represented a Ruthenian political nation [24, p. 146-150].

There are historians who criticize the Ukrainization of ancient periods of history. Yaroslav Gritsak, a Lvov historian, argues that the history of Kievan Rus needs to be rewritten. There were no Ukrainians or Russians. There was no state with clear boundaries [5]. Even the term 'Kiev Rus' is a creation of the 19th century. Petro Tolochko, one of the leading researchers of the Institute of Archaeology of Ukraine and a foreign member of Russian Academy of Sciences, affirms that mixing of Russians, Ukrainians and Byelorussians with Ruthenians (*rusichi*) is unprofessional. Yaroslav the Wise was not Ukrainian as well as Yuri Dolgoruky was not a '*Moscal*'. However, he concludes that the people of ancient Rus can be viewed as a single ethnic community [26].

In mass and political discourses, Grushevsky's version of the story dominates. The Ukrainian Declaration of Independence on August 24, 1991 proclaims that the new state continues the millennial statehood of Ukraine. All national symbols created in the 1990s refer to Kiev Rus'. The national symbol (the trident or *tryzub*) and the national currency (hryvna) link Ukraine to Kiev Rus'. Monuments to Kiev Rus Princess Olga and Grand Prince Yaroslav the Wise were erected during 1996-1997 in Kiev. The Ukrainian Law Academy in Kharkov is named after Yaroslav the Wise, who introduced the Rus law code (*Russkaya Pravda*), reflecting the fact that Ukraine preserved the law code of Kiev Rus during the Lithuanian and Polish rule for centuries after the destruction of the Kiev Rus state in 1240 [15, p. 29]. All Ukrainian Presidents, from Leonid Kravchuk to Vladimir Zelensky, support Ukraine's sole right to Kiev Rus.

In this dispute of the Slavs, the point of view of American historian Andrew Wilson looks the most balanced. He resumes that while Russians are still brought up on the idea of a single ancient Russian nation and still have great difficulty accepting that independent Ukraine exists, Ukrainians often swing to the opposite extreme and claim the unity of Rus as their own state, they seek to deny the Russians their traditional theory of national origin. For them, Rus was a Kievan and therefore a Ukrainian state [29, p. 2].

Bogdan Khmelnitsky and Cossacks

In Moscow Khmelnitsky was seen as the one who had brought Russia and Ukraine together by the Pereyaslav Agreement. Ukrainians claim that Khmelnitsky had been confronted with three choices – to accept the Turkish, Polish or Russian yoke – and had chosen the Russian one [20, p. 489]. In the Soviet historiography, the Cossack upspringing was officially referred as the 'Ukrainian people's war of liberation'.

In 1992 one anachronistic but symbolic event took place. It was a Cossack Council in Pereyaslav, where they denounced the oath given by the Ukrainian Cossacks to the Russian Tsar and swore to be loyal to the Ukrainian people. In the text of the declaration adopted in 1992, the tsars of Muscovy were accused of betraying the naive and God-fearing Cossacks, conspiring with their enemies, taking over their lands, destroying their language and customs. In 1995 Ukrainian government sponsored official celebrations of the 400 anniversaries of Khmelnitsky's birth. The celebrations took place in Khmelnitsky's capital Chigirin.

The Bogdan Khmelnitsky revolt and the Pereyaslav Agreement are viewed today as important factors in the formation of a new paradigm of Ukrainian national history. Since the early 1990s has become a politically sensitive topic in discussions between Russian and Ukrainian historians. Ukrainian scholars abandon the term 'reunification'. Historian Serhii Plokhii explains that the term 'reunification' was borrowed from pro-Russian Ukrainian writer Panteleimon Kulish, who wrote about the 'reunification of Rus'. The Soviet historiography transformed it into 'reunification of Ukraine and Russia' that never existed. For Ukrainians, by keeping the term 'reunification' alive the Russian academy leaves the door open for new 'reunification' in future 20, p. 493]. Besides, they stop using the term 'Khmelnichchina', popular in the Soviet Ukrainian discourse, in order to break the continuity with the Soviet narrative. As remarks Yurii Mytsyk, the word 'Khmelnichchina' s term was associated with such terms as 'Petlurovshchina' and 'Banderovshchina' which were derived from the names of Ukrainian political leaders to discredit movement led by them. So, to rename the historical events connected with Khmelnitsky they adopted the neutral term 'the Khmelnitsky Revolt' or 'the Cossack Uprising'.

Some contemporary historians echo the Soviet historiography, which considered the adoption of the protectorate 'lesser evil' for Ukraine than the incorporation of the Cossacks to Poland or the Ottoman Empire. Most Ukrainian scholars, in the cases of Khmelnitsky revolt, borrowed the main ideas from the so-called, 'statist approach' developed by diaspora historiography. The main result of the Cossack Uprising and the Treaty of Pereyaslav is the formation of the Cossack Ukrainian state. Khmelnitsky's policy is regarded as a nation-building project and presented as a milestone in the history of Ukrainian statehood. Taras Kuzio remarks that for new historiography it is conventional to draw parallels between the Treaty of Pereyaslav and the 1707 Union of Scotland and England, where Scotland entered into the union as a free and unconquered subject with its right to be protected [15, p. 32].

Serghii Plokhy analyses the evolution of Ukrainian myth about Cossacks. He remarks that Ukrainian historians placed new emphasis on the role of Cossack detachments in the Russo-Turkish wars of the second half of the 18th century (for example, I. Storozhenko, V. Butkevich). Numerous publications pointed out that it was not so much the imperial forces as the Ukrainian Cossacks who had conquered and colonized territories of modern Ukraine during the Russo-Turkish wars. Another modification of Cossack mythology was connected with the rewriting of the history of Cossack-Tatar relations. The Cossacks were usually regarded as defenders of their homeland, Ukraine, from Ottoman and Tatar attacks, so Tatars were described as the worst

enemies. In contemporary historiography, Cossack-Tatar struggle against Russia and Turkey was thoroughly studied. It was also claimed that in the seventeenth century most of the Crimean population was not made up of Tatars but of Ukrainians captured by the Tatars during their attacks on Ukrainian territories. The historian concludes that these and other attempts to reexamine the history of Cossack-Tatar relations represented something of an effort to modify Cossack mythology so as to meet new demands for the creation of a Ukrainian-Tatar political union to oppose Russian claims to the peninsula. For this reason, they give up promoting the Cossack myth in the contest of ethnic exclusivity in order to help build a multinational civil society and preserve Ukraine's territorial integrity. Besides, in Ukraine, the Cossack legacy was also regarded as an important means of legitimizing Ukrainian claims to the Soviet Black Sea Fleet. As a result, the historiography of the Ukrainian Navy has been created. The narrative starts with the period of the Kiev Rus, when princes Askold, Dir, Oleh, and Igor attacked Constantinople by sea [21, p. 177-178]. They underline that Ukrainians sailed and controlled Crimea before the arrival of Russians in the 18th century.

Holodomor

The famine of 1932-1933 is the mainstream historiographical question of Soviet studies in contemporary Ukraine. Discussions on this subject have been politically biased since the beginning of independence. The famine has been referred to as Holodomor and focused genocide of Ukrainians since 1990. Taras Kuzio, who summarized the 1990s historiography, states that it was an artificial famine that claimed upwards of 7 million lives [15, p. 37].

Mass attention to the famine of 1932–1933 was drawn by Manyak, Ukrainian writer, and Kovalenko, Ukrainian journalist, who published a memory book in 1991. They gathered people's memories of the famine in order to prove the fact of the genocide of Ukrainians. The following year witnessed a release of the Ukrainian-language collection of documents 'The Collectivization and the Famine in Ukraine' [11]. In the introduction, the authors suggest distinguishing three periods: famishing (*golodanie*) in 1931, famine (*golod*) in 1932 and murder-famine (*holodomor*) in 1933. Among the arguments for qualifying this historical fact as genocide are the high demographical losses, the maximum extraction of agricultural produce from the rural population, the extinction of villages.

In 1988 the US Commission on the Ukraine Famine arrived at nineteen findings, that what happened to the Ukrainians in 1932-1933 constituted genocide. James Mace, a US scholar, had a significant impact on the representation of the famine as genocide. He claimed that Stalin's aim was not only the Ukrainian farmer but also intelligentsia. It was an undeclared war against them [17, p. 45–52]. It damaged the culture, the Ukrainian civilization. However, he does not agree with Ukrainians who speak of the Holodomor as the Ukrainian Holocaust. He states that it is a unique term that has arisen from the depths of a victimized nation itself [17, p. 51-52].

Since the Orange revolution in 2005, the discourse of Holodomor has become an important factor of the domestic policy: the tragedy is used to victimize the national history and build the nation. It has been turned into one of the fundamental symbols of national historical myth. In 2001 a thematic bibliography index devoted to the famine in 1932-1933 was published. It included 6,384 scientific works issued in 1932–2000 [80, p. 77]. The year 2005 saw another publication with an impressive title *Holodomors in Ukraine in 1921-1923, 1932-1933, 1946–1947* [3]. Kulchitsky's work *Why did he exterminate us?* [12] represents the canonic version of the myth.

One of the main debated questions of Holodomor is the demographical losses of Ukraine because of the famine. The figures that have been circulating since the end of the 1980s vary from 2 to 13 million people. Some historians consider not only the dead but also forcibly displaced to other regions during the period of industrialization as well as those who fled from Ukraine or were not born due to fertility crises. In 2003, the year of the 70th anniversary of Holodomor, Kulchitsky said that his estimates show the population losses were between 3 million and 4,5 million [12, p. 52–53]. President Yushchenko and his supporters insisted on 7-10 million deaths. According to the estimates by the French Institute for Demographic Studies, excess mortality in Ukraine in 1932–1933 was about 2,5 million people [27, p. 253], they also draw attention to the extremely low life expectancy, which fell to 10 years this year [18]. According to most scholars, the general number of deaths in 1931-1933 is about 3,5 million [9, p. 28].

The claim to consider the tragedy of Holodomor as unique, as incomparable to other peoples' tragedies makes turns the famine of 1932-1933 into the subject of worship and not of scientific studies. To understand and explain a historical fact a scholar needs to place it in the general context and compare it with similar facts. When historians say it was the most tragic event, an unprecedented tragedy, the worst crime in history then they can make a hit-parade of peoples' sufferings, but they cannot analyze the historical facts. A proper

historical analysis demands contextualization, relativization and comparison. When historians compare, they elicit similarities and differences. It can be used as a key to other historical facts. Historian Tzvetan Todorov writes 'Speaking of the evils of Nazism, several comparisons spring to mind, and they all allow us – although to varying degrees – to advance in understanding it. Some of their characteristics are found in the Armenian genocide, in the Soviet camps, still others in the reduction of Africans to slavery' [25, p. 36–37]. Meanwhile, Ukrainians are seeking recognition of the Holodomor as genocide.

Conclusion

The independence of Ukraine is followed by creating new national historiography. It is one of the priorities of the state, it is a nation-building project. The key factors that influenced the national narrative are the domination of the anti-Soviet agenda and the demand for the rethinking of the Soviet past as well as the necessity to create a nation-state with its symbols, heroes, victories and tragedies. The primary sources of new historiography: declassified Soviet archives and eyewitness memories; among the secondary sources, the most important are works of the diaspora and pre-Soviet concepts.

By the 30th anniversary of independence, Ukraine has formed a new national narrative and determined the milestones of its history. The new canonic narrative is composed of three dominants. They are the history of Kiev Rus as a proto-Ukrainian state, the Cossack Upspring and The Treaty of Pereyaslav as the first Ukrainian nation-building project and the famine of 1932-1933 as the biggest tragedy of Ukrainian history.

The history of Kiev Rus is treated in the line with pre-Soviet Hrushevsky's concept. The princes of Kiev Rus are referred to as Ukrainians, the diplomatic relationships of ancient Kiev pass off as the beginning of Ukrainian international activity. Although many historians express their disagreements with the identification of Kiev Rus as a Ukrainian state, the official concept continue reproducing it during all commemoration events, the history textbooks also repeat the old concept.

The Cossack Uprising and the Treaty of Pereyaslav are estimated as fundamental events for the Ukrainian state-building. They reject the Soviet concept of 'lesser evil' affirming that Bogdan Khmelnitsky had no choice. Neither the Ottoman empire nor Poland was a better choice for Orthodox Ukrainians. The entry of the Cossack as an autonomous hetman state into Russia in the 17th century is explained by the hope that an independent Ukrainian state can be created under the protection of the Russian tsar. The famine of 1932-1933 is called the Holodomor. It is claimed to be genocide of the Ukrainians. Holodomor is most carefully studied. It has become a symbol of suffering from the totalitarian regime and, in a certain sense, the resistance of Ukrainians. The research of Holodomor as well as its commemoration take the central place in the cultural policy.

To sum up, post-Soviet Ukrainian historiography is occupied with a nation-building project, while the international context actualizes new approaches, including those eliciting and deconstructing national myths and cultural frontiers.

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ЭТНИЧЕСКАЯ ИДЕНТИЧНОСТЬ УКРАИНЦЕВ В ИСТОРИЧЕСКОЙ ПАМЯТИ В ПРОСТРАНСТВЕ СОЦИАЛИСТИЧЕСКОГО ГОРОДА

Аннотация. В статье рассматривается формирование внутренней политики СССР по этническому вопросу, анализируется феномен «нового человека» («человек советский») и меры, которые предпринимались советским правительством для его воспитания. Важным пунктом в статье является разор понятия «социалистический город» и определение причин того, почему Магнитогорск стал в 1930-е гг. площадкой для реализации государственного курса. В силу сложившихся исторических обстоятельств и реализации планов правительства, в город Магнитогорск приезжало население, различное по национальному признаку, социальному происхождению, побуждаемое к приезду в город разными причинами. Автором статьи дается анализ того, как в таких условиях люди сохраняли этническую идентичность, в частности исследовались конкретные способы сохранения украинской идентичности. Автором статьи проанализирована имеющаяся историография по теме, а также различные группы источников (местная периодическая печать 1930-1940-х годов и документы личного происхождения). Основным источником стали сведения, полученные в ходе интервью, взятых у родственников мигрантовукраинцев. Мы рассматривали четыре категории: добровольно прибывший на строительство предприятия по коммунистической путевке, крестьяне, бежавшие от голода 1930-х гг., и спасавшиеся от политики раскулачивания, жители Украины, эвакуированные в начале Великой Отечественной войны. Полученные данные позволили автору сделать выводы о способах сохранения украинскими мигрантами в Магнитогорске связи с родиной. Центральный аспект статьи – вычленение и описание способов сохранения этнической идентичности, выражавшиеся посредством языка, кухни, культуры, традиций. Представленное исследование важно для развития украинистики, а также для изучения истории города Магнитогорск в первые годы его существования.

Ключевые слова. Магнитогорск, этническая идентичность, Украина, УССР, устная история.

Y. M. Fedyakina (Magnitogorsk, Russia)

THE ETHNIC IDENTITY OF UKRAINIANS IN HISTORICAL MEMORY IN THE SPACE OF A SOCIALIST CITY

Abstract. The study considered ways to preserve the Ukrainian identity. The analysis was carried out through the study of periodicals of the 1930s-1940s and personal documents. However, to a greater extent, the answer to the problem posed was given by the analysis of the collected interviews and descendants of Ukrainians. According to their stories, it was possible to find out whether the connection with the motherland was preserved in Magnitogorsk. The most important conclusion is the ways of preservation: language, cuisine, culture, traditions. The study is important for Ukrainian studies, as well as for studying the history of the city in the early years of its existence.

Keywords: Magnitogorsk, ethnic identity, Ukraine, USSR, oral history.

Introduction

The city of Magnitogorsk has repeatedly become an object of research by historians. The themes of the founding of the city during the period of industrialization, the participation of foreigners in its construction in the 1930s, the role of Magnitogorsk industry during the war years attract the attention of most researchers. This is due to the fact that these processes were of a national nature, and the construction of the socialist city of Magnitogorsk from scratch was of great political importance. The specificity of the city also explains the fact that many scientific works are devoted to the history of the city's metallurgical enterprise. Local experts conduct research into the everyday life of Magnitogorsk in the 1930s, as well as the processes that took place in the city during the war.

However, many issues of social history remain unsolved. One of them is the history of various ethnic groups, who voluntarily or involuntarily arrived at the construction site in the early 1930s. As for the problem of preserving the national identity of Ukrainians in Magnitogorsk under the conditions of the Stalinist regime and Soviet nationality policy, it is completely unexplored. Moreover, this problem was never considered or posed by researchers in this way, since the differences between Ukrainians and Russians were not given much importance, just as the differences between Muslim peoples in Magnitogorsk (Tatars and Bashkirs) were also never given special attention.

Historiography

Historiography concerned the research subject can be divided into two groups. The first group is represented by research by Russian historians. These are studies on the social history of the city (N. Makarova, M. Potemkina, V. Kucher) and studies focused on the adaptation problems of peoples who ended up in Magnitogorsk in the 1930–1940ss (S. Akhmetzyanov, M. Potemkina). The second group is foreign historiography. The main research in this group is the work of Stephen Kotkin, which, among other things, contains little information about the life of non-Russian ethnic groups in Magnitogorsk in the 1930s. Foreign researchers are also interested in issues of urban planning under socialism.

Modern Russian publications mainly lie in the field of social history. The research by N. Makarova is devoted to the concept of the formation of a Soviet person - a "new" person in a "new" city [5]. Besides, the demographic composition of the population from the moment of its foundation to the beginning of the evacuation is analysed. In the article "A city without churches: religiosity in Magnitogorsk in the 1930s," [4] the author examines not only anti-religious policy, but also the participation of the population in the city's party activities. On the basis of archival data, the gender, age, ethnic composition of the party was analysed, the level of education of party leaders in the city party organization was revealed [6].

The research by M. Potemkina is devoted to the evacuation of the population and enterprises to the southern Urals during the Second World War. The monograph "Conflict zones of evacuation in the USSR and ways to overcome them (1941-1945)" examines the issue of the stay of the evacuated population in Magnitogorsk. The paper considers the causes and objects of conflicts between the evacuees and the authorities, as well as with the indigenous inhabitants of the rear regions of the country. It was concluded that the main causes of conflicts were prohibitive measures for evacuation and re-evacuation, housing problems, income differences, social and national differences, stereotypes of mutual perception [7].

V. Kucher devoted his work to the first directors of the enterprise in the city of Magnitogorsk, many of whom were managers sent from Ukraine. When the construction of the metallurgical plant began, experienced managers were needed at the construction site. The Ukrainian Donbass was an old industrial area with experienced heavy industry specialists. For this reason, specialists from Donbass enterprises were in great demand and were sent by the state to build new industrial centres in the 1930s. The author points out that not only special settlers or volunteers from Ukraine came to the construction site, but also engineers forming a director corp. However, Kucher's research does not go beyond the issue of organizing production, there is no information about everyday life [3, p. 58]. These works contain information important for our research. We know about the population and what proportion was the Ukrainian population. There is information about conflicts among the local population. However, the history of Ukrainians in Magnitogorsk, as such, has never been the subject of special research.

The monograph "Special Settlers – the First Builders of Magnitogorsk" by S. Akhmetzyanov provides comprehensive information about the life of the Tatars in the socialist city of Magnitogorsk. The research is based on archival documents as well as oral history materials. The author analyses the number of special settlers, their way of life, living and working conditions, the importance of subsidiary plots in the economy. It is alleged that all the special settlers had their own gardens, many kept domestic animals (chickens, goats) [1, p. 62]. This was due to the fact that they were mainly peasants, p. from the countryside and knew how to do this. The monograph says that "in the barracks of the Northern settlement there was an inpatient hospital. The only paramedic is Luka Trofimych Prisyazhnyuk, who freely arrived from the Vinnitsa region of Ukraine. He lived with his family in barracks No. 13 of the Starosevernyi" [1, p. 100]. Despite the fact that this study is not devoted to Ukrainians, it is a good example of the study of the history of an ethnic group during the years of industrialization.

In foreign historiography, the fundamental work on the history of Magnitogorsk and the enterprise is the book by the American researcher Stephen Kotkin "Magnetic Mountain: Stalinism as a Civilization". In this major study, the scientist examines the numerous processes that took place in Magnitogorsk in the 1930s, including turning to social history.

S. Kotkin also mentioned Ukrainian immigrants. It is noted that the Central Committee of the Communist Party decided to send communists and skilled workers from Dneprostroy to Magnitogorsk. According to the recollections of a worker from Mariupol, he and his wife were very surprised, because the city and production were completely unsettled and the move to Magnitogorsk looked like an exile under the Tsarist regime" [8, p. 75]. The American historian analysed how the population of the city was formed, by what methods the builders were recruited for the enterprise. One of the ways to recruit builders to Magnitogorsk was recruitment [8, p. 78]. Recruiters went to villages and talked about the brilliant prospects of an industrial enterprise under construction. The newspapers urged people to voluntarily go to socialist construction sites.

The researcher gives an example of how Magnitogorsk was reported in the political training classes at the Artillery School Frunze in Odessa. The commissioner talked about a large modern city and asked who wants to go to the construction site. 10 people raised their hands, but they were all from the Urals. After voluntarily failing to recruit the required number of builders, they organized recruitment or (organized recruitment). Moreover, the constant need for workers has led to the fact that they began to recruit people from collective farms. In 1931, the People's Commissariat of Labour of the RSFSR recruited 12,500 people from the Central Black Earth regions, of which 7,205 were sent to Magnitogorsk; in 1932 – 22,520 people, 2,250 of them Magnitogorsk" [8, p. 77].

The author gives a table with information about the origin of the population who arrived in Magnitogorsk population in Magnitogorsk. Information is given on the reasons for arriving in Magnitogorsk, on the planned figures, the actual enrolment figures and the number of volunteers in Magnitogorsk. So, from the Western regions, according to the plan, they were supposed to recruit 16,000 workers, but in fact they recruited 7273 people, 582 people came voluntarily. The exact number of Ukrainians has not been specified.

However, S. Kotkin notes that there were 16,000 Ukrainians, Tatars and Bashkirs in total [8, p. 84]. Despite the fact that during 1931, 50 people arrived daily in Magnitogorsk, sometimes from 120 or more, many of them left the construction site due to lack of residence and generally poor living conditions [8, p. 468]. Thus, S. Kotkin indirectly touched upon the issue of the history of the Ukrainian people in Ukraine. The examples that the author cited in the monograph well illustrate the attitude of the Ukrainian population to working and living conditions in Magnitogorsk in the first years of its existence.

Thus, the available historiography does not allow us to answer questions related to the history of Ukrainian migrants in Magnitogorsk. In the published works, the issue of conflicts among the population is almost not raised, with the exception of emergency situations, for example, during the second world war.

Primary sources

The source base of the study is represented by five groups of sources: archival materials, press newspapers, memoirs, interviews and visual sources. The content of the sources allows us to study the number of inhabitants and the ethnic composition of Magnitogorsk, to identify migration waves of the arrival of special settlers in the city, identify categories of the population, explore the forms of leisure and the causes of ethnic, social, labour conflicts among the population.

Archived data contain information about the population, education, employment. Useful information can be found in the local periodicals. There were two main city newspapers, which were opened in the 1930s. They covered not only city events, but also all-Union and world events. Particular attention was paid to the news of metallurgical production and the construction of the plant. Attention was paid to the cultural life of the city, announcements of upcoming cultural and leisure events appeared periodically.

Some of the information we need is available thanks to the recollections of eyewitnesses. However, when working with them, the difficulty arises, which lies in the fact that they were written much later than the events themselves and were censored. The authors did not mention many events at all. This tendency may be due to the fact that the real situation spoiled the image of the authorities, enterprises, cities. The head of the Trest "Magnitostroy", V. Dymshits, wrote a book of memoirs called "Magnitka in a soldier's greatcoat". Most of the memoirs are directly devoted to his work. V. Dymshits was sent to Magnitogorsk in 1939, when the volume of construction and installation work performed fell. Prior to this appointment, he was the head of the construction of the Krivoy Rog metallurgical plant [2, p. 105]. He writes very little about the microclimate in the society. "Many nationalities came to the city, including Russians, Ukrainians, Latvians, Estonians, Lithuanians, Belarussians, Moldovans, Jews" [2, pp. 159–160].

A more extensive work on the history of Magnitogorsk in the 1930s is the book-memoirs of the American worker J. Scott. The author recalls the period when he came to the construction of the enterprise. He pays a lot of attention to communication with people and everyday difficulties. The Ukrainians are mentioned sporadically in the book. He tells of one incident in a barrack after a hard day's work, when the residents organized leisure activities. "The working day is over, dinner was already on the stove, so it's time to sing. The Tatar worker sang two of his national songs. The young Ukrainian danced" [9].

J. Scott also reports on several workers who were originally from Ukraine, but for various reasons ended up in the city. Among them were management staff, prisoners and workers. He notes that they tried to adapt to the new rules "Chief engineer Tishchenko, convicted of sabotage in the Ramzin case in 1929, was first sentenced to death, then the sentence was changed to a milder one, and now he was serving a ten-year sentence in Magnitogorsk. Before the revolution, he worked as a responsible engineer for a Belgian company in the Ukraine. Then he had his own house, he played tennis with the British Consul, sent his son to Paris to study

music. Now he was an old, completely gray-haired man" [9].

"Shevchenko is one of the biggest activists among the technical staff. His subordinates called him an engineer, but in fact he only graduated from the Institute of Red Directors, joined the party in 1923. He was a party worker and director of a large construction site in Donbass. He wrote in Russian with errors. Arriving in Magnitogorsk in 1931, he became deputy director of construction and headed the work of one of the sites. Shevchenko understood many years ago that it is more important to make it seem as if he is doing his job [9]. He was told that he was a careerist, and that he went over the head. Even during the civil war, he conducted counter-revolutionary activities, but later he tried with all his might to hide it. "And then a worker from some small Ukrainian town came to Magnitogorsk and began to tell stories about what Shevchenko did in 1920. Shevchenko gave this man money and gave him a good job, but nevertheless the whole story came out. Once Shevchenko was summoned to the regional party committee and there, they began to ask him various questions. The concealment of its counter-revolutionary activities from the party organs was a very serious crime in the Soviet Union, but, taking into account its good work, the district party committee hushed up this story" [9].

In 1937, political cleansing began in all structures in the city. "Shevchenko was arrested, a case of the "Shevchenko gang" was opened, in which about twenty people were involved, all of them were sentenced to long terms. For example, Nikolai Ivanovich Udkin, one of Shevchenko's colleagues, was the eldest son of a wealthy Ukrainian family. He was a staunch supporter of the view that Ukraine was conquered and suppressed, and now it is exploited by a group of Bolsheviks, consisting mainly of Russians and Jews, who are leading not only Ukraine, but the entire Soviet Union as a whole to destruction. Moreover, he believed that the capitalist system functions much better than the socialist one. He expressed this opinion to his closest friends. He was also sentenced to 10 years in prison." [9]. The published memoirs do not provide information about social and national conflicts, about the problems of adaptation of Ukrainian migrants in Magnitogorsk. The authors only indirectly mentioned the Ukrainians in their stories.

Unlike the flashbacks, the interview material largely answers our questions. Comparison and systematization of interviews makes it possible to identify some tendencies, patterns of life of Ukrainians in Magnitogorsk. In some cases, respondents talk about what they previously preferred to be silent about. Interviews also allow «to draw» the cultural boundaries of an ethnic group - the frontiers that people built in order to preserve their identity, and strategies for adapting to life in a new socio-cultural environment.

Ukrainianness: cultural boundaries, phenomenology of the ethnicity, adaptation in the cultural environment of a socialist city

Descendants of Ukrainian settlers who arrived in the Urals in the 1930s live in modern Magnitogorsk. When looking for respondents, we wanted to find unique stories that would be different from each other. It would be interesting to compare the stories of a voluntarily arrived communists and peasants who fled from dispossession and hunger, or Ukrainians evacuated during the war. The main issues that interest us are the nature of migration processes in the 1930–1940ss and the cultural identity of the descendants of Ukrainian immigrants.

They could not answer many questions for various reasons. First, there was a so-called "silence" in the family. In other words, the respondents answered that they did not talk in their families about their previous life in Ukraine or they did not like to talk about their life in Magnitogorsk in the 1930s. It can be assumed that this tendency is due to the fact that in Soviet times there were fears to say something, because of which later it was possible to have problems with the authorities. In addition, many noted that their ancestors loved their homeland, Ukraine, and would like to return there and lead their usual way of life, but this was impossible. In this regard, the memories of Ukraine were psychologically difficult for them. Secondly, another tendency can be traced, when the descendants themselves were not interested in the past of their family. During a conversation with them, you can repeatedly hear that they regret not asking about many moments when relatives were alive. However, even what we managed to learn allows us to draw some conclusions about certain trends in the life of Ukrainians in Magnitogorsk during the years of industrialization and war.

Five interviews were conducted for the research. One of the first questions was the question of the place of birth. We found out that our respondents were from the city of the town of Nikolaev (Nikolaev region)¹; from. the village of Ternovka (Ivano-Frankivsk region)²; the town of Lokhvitsa town (Poltava region)³; the

¹ Anatoly Begelman. Interview 04/27/2021.

² Tatiana Pashkovskaya. Interview 05/19/2021. Lyubov Pashkovskaya. Interview 05/19/2021.

³ Olga Zaslavets. Interview. 05/25/2021.

village of Mikhailovka (Kirovograd region)⁴. Thus, we see that we moved from Central, South, Western Ukraine. As you know, it was in these regions that dekulakization and famine of the 1930s were most affected.

When talking about the reasons for arriving in Magnitogorsk, respondents said that their ancestors were peasants without education, and all of them, with the exception of one case, fled from Ukraine in order to survive.

Only in one case did a person believe in the idea of communism and, following a communist ticket ("putevka"), purposefully headed to build an industrial enterprise: "My grandfather was a communist and called himself a Bolshevik. Arriving at the construction site in Sotsgorod, he fell in love with this place. He worked at the enterprise on a machine tool. He trained many workers. His wife upon arrival in Magnitogorsk worked as a stenographer, then stayed at home and ran the household", said A. Begelman⁵.

The Pashkovsky family came to Magnitogorsk in 1929, when the process of dekulakization began in Ukraine. Grandfather Pavel Timofeevich Pashkovsky worked in the OGPU (The Joint State Political Directorate), was directly involved in dekulakization of other peasants. "After one incident, my grandfather came home and said: "I can't do this anymore, I'm running away, otherwise they will shoot me as an enemy of the people". He ran away that night. His wife, Pashkovskaya Paraska (Praskovya in her passport) Danilovna quickly sold their house and domestic animals and followed to the Urals for him. They lived not far from Magnitogorsk, in the village of Mochagi. There my grandfather got a job at the railway. Grandmother was engaged in the household. They did not want to move to the city, it was inconvenient there. "They really wanted to return to their homeland. By the summer of 1941 they had already made up their minds, but the war broke out and it was not possible to return to Ukraine" 6.

"The family of Vasily Petrovich Shutya left for the Urals from Ukraine due to hunger, but the exact year of arrival is not known, it was around 1940. At first, they lived in a mud hut, then in a barrack, and after 1945 they were given an apartment. They worked on the railway and in the depot".

Another respondent is a descendent of the evacuees during the war. They were educated people. After arriving in the city in 1942, they worked either in their specialty or at the plant⁸.

The living conditions of the people who arrived in the city were quite similar. All of them first lived in a tent or mud hut, then for a while in a barrack, and only then they were given a separate home or an appartement (or most often a room in a communal appartement). However, there was a difference in the housing they were given. For example, the Begelman family was allocated land for the construction of a house with a subsidiary farm. "My grandfather knew a lot about gardening from Ukraine". Here are the other respondents' answers: "At first, they lived in a barrack, then they gave them a house. There were many people in the village, they helped each other in construction." In Ukraine, people were not rich, but there was a small plot. Upon arrival in Magnitogorsk, they lived in a mud hut and a barrack. Only after 1945 they moved in an apartment in a new building. The garden was given a plot for gardening in the 1950s" 11.

As for the maintenance of subsidiary farming, we cannot say that gardening was a distinctive feature only of Ukrainians, it is not so. Many had small plots of land that they received through their work. However, according to the stories of the descendants of Ukrainians, their relatives knew how to grow a garden and run a household, and this distinguished them from many in Magnitogorsk. On the one hand, this is due to the fact that all these people were peasants in Ukraine, where fertile soils and a mild climate, and they knew how to work on the land. All respondents confirmed that in their families it was not just routine work. They did it competently, and the neighbours even envied their skills. "My grandfather studied gardening from books, He called himself a "Michurinist" (derived from the surname of Michurin – a famous Russian practitioner of selection to produce new types of crop plants). My grandfather was one of the first to grow apple trees in the city. Many neighbours came to see, because they did not believe that such apple trees could be grown in the Urals. Later he grew currants, raspberries, vegetables. When he was still living in Ukraine, he saw how the inhabitants cultivated a garden and were engaged in farming" 12.

The Pashkovsky family, having arrived in the Urals, also began to restore their household. However,

⁴ Galina Shut. Interview 05/25/2021

⁵ Anatoly Begelman. Interview 04/27/2021.

⁶ Lyubov Pashkovskaya. Interview 05/19/2021.

⁷ Galina Shut. Interview 05/25/2021.

⁸ Olga Zaslavets. Interview. 05/25/2021.

⁹ Anatoly Begelman. Interview 04/27/2021.

¹⁰ Lyubov Pashkovskaya. Interview 05/19/2021.

¹¹ Galina Shut. Interview 05/25/2021.

¹² Anatoly Begelman. Interview 04/27/2021.

due to high taxes, they did not seek to keep a lot of animals. "They kept chickens, sheep, bulls, pigs, and later took up beekeeping. They planted a vegetable garden with a plough, harnessed it like there, in Ukraine, but instead of horses they harnessed a bull». Apart from potatoes, buraki (beetroot from Ukrainian) and tsibuli (onion from Ukrainian) were grown; this is how the family called beets and onions"¹³.

The daughter of the Zaslavets family recalls that «during the evacuation period, the workers of the enterprise were allocated a small plot of land, it was necessary in order to feed themselves in difficult years. "The family's garden they got only in the 1980s. and everything was grown there. "They especially wanted to grow a "shvanka" (cherry from Ukrainian), which I remembered for its taste from my childhood in Ukraine. We see the "perception of Ukraine as a garden" with a lot of trees: apple trees, apricots, cherries" "There was a garden, my grandfather was very fond of apple trees. His relatives often sent him seedlings for the garden from Ukraine. He knew how to work in the garden. He often helped neighbours on garden issues" 15.

Residents of Ukraine who arrived in Magnitogorsk, as a rule, came empty-handed, taking only essential things. For this reason, they did not bring national clothes and household items with them. The decoration of the house was no different from others. In addition, there was nothing to buy in the shops in the city. The Zaslavets family "still keeps grandmother's and great-grandmother's national costumes from Ukraine". In addition, the house has Ukrainian curtains and dishes. There is a dress specially sewn from fragments of great-grandmother's clothes. It is kept as a memory of family roots. It is customary in our family to keep things and the memory of the historical homeland. Some things were specially brought from Ukraine, but at a later time, around the 1980s"¹⁶, – recalls O. Zaslavets.

V. Shut shared her recollections: "In my grandparents' house there was a chest from and an etagere cabinet from Ukraine. There was a portrait of Stalin in one corner, and the portraits of Gogol and Shevchenko in another corner. "The authorities in our family were treated as it was supposed to at that time" ¹⁷.

The interior of the dwelling we could not restore. Moreover, if a Ukrainian flavour was created in the family in Magnitogorsk, it was at a later time. In the 1930–1940ss it was extremely difficult.

In this study, we ask ourselves the question of how to identify people who came from Ukraine. From the interviews, it becomes clear that this is mainly the cuisine, less often the language and folk traditions.

"Grandma cooked a lot. Holidays were celebrated by close relatives and closest friends. Dishes were prepared in different ways, mainly she loved to bake cakes. But she took all the recipes from books. For the winter, they preserved cucumbers, carrots, beets in barrels. This taste was indescribable. They did not forget about the Ukrainian origins, but due to new conditions they transformed food practices and changed the recipe to suit the situation. When we had holidays, we sang songs. These were folk songs, but mostly Russian," says Begelman. But in this family, they only celebrated communist holidays and birthdays. In Magnitogorsk, they did not have Ukrainian folk holidays. "Our mother made her own New Year's costumes, which were with elements of the national Ukrainian costume. This was due to a number of reasons, including the connection with relatives who remained in Ukraine" 18.

In the Shut family "many Ukrainian relatives visited them in Magnitogorsk. They always sang Ukrainian songs, spoke Ukrainian. When relatives came, that grandfather put on a shirt with embroidered national elements, which was sewn by his wife. In ordinary life, grandmother and grandfather did not speak Ukrainian. Their children did not speak Ukrainian at all, but they understood this language. The parents were called 'papka' and 'mamka', like in Ukraine". Very often they sent parcels from Ukraine from relatives, there were apples and other food. The grandfather had special cutlery that was sent from Ukraine. He only used them, they were 'dvuzubka' (two-tooth) and 'trekhzubka' (three-tooth). The family often cooked national dishes.

The usual menu of the family included "compotes (sent from Ukraine), 'kholodets' (pork jelly), traditional Ukrainian soup borsch, Ukrainian 'varenyky' (dumplings with raw potatoes and lard) or sweet 'varenyky' with cherries or cottage cheese". "There was lard on the table instead of bread," the granddaughter recalls. "My grandmother loved to cook 'kapustnyak' which consisted of meat broth (pork), cabbage and millet. They made a lot of vegetable and fruit preservations: salted cabbage, pickled apples, jam. It was very similar to what it was in Ukraine, because they used the same technologies in cooking. Often, they sent jerky goose meat from Ukraine; they hardly ate chicken. They made 'gorilka' (Ukranian vodka), but never used it

¹³ Lyubov Pashkovskaya. Interview 05/19/2021

¹⁴ Olga Zaslavets. Interview. 05/25/2021.

¹⁵ Galina Shut. Interview 05/25/2021.

¹⁶ Olga Zaslavets. Interview. 05/25/2021.

¹⁷ Galina Shut. Interview 05/25/2021.

¹⁸ Anatoly Begelman. Interview 04/27/2021.

themselves"19.

In the Pashkovsky family, the names of the children differed from those that were recorded in the passport: 'Petr – Petro', 'Maria – Mariyka', that is, at home, they called each other in Ukrainian. Children, unlike their parents, hardly spoke Ukrainian, but they understood it. "My first alphabet was in Ukrainian, my father brought it. It was the early 1980s. But no one emphasized that my alphabet was in Ukrainian, I thought I was learning the Russian letters," the granddaughter recalls. "There was 'лодка' for letter 'ч' as it is 'челнок' in Ukrainian, 'лук' for letter 'ц' as it is 'цыбуля' in Ukrainian." ²⁰.

They remember that my grandmother loved 'спевать' (singing) in Ukrainian. They knew Russian in the family even during their life in Ukraine, but this was a forced measure. This knowledge came in handy in the Urals, where they spoke Russian. "My grandmother spoke Russian with a strong Ukrainian accent, but my grandfather did not." The reason is that the grandmother did not work in the family, she kept the household and was engaged in household chores, and the grandfather worked in a team on the railway. Despite the parents' love for the Ukrainian language in the family, their children no longer spoke it. Moreover, "one of the sons indicated in the column 'nationality' in the passport that he was Russian. The family laughed that he was the only Russian in the family", a relative shared her memory. "The motivation for this act was that he believed it was easier to be Russian. This makes it easier to move up the career ladder." 21.

There is a lot of information about Ukrainian cuisine in families. Ukrainian dishes were always prepared in the house. "Borsch, cooked in Ukrainian, with cracklings and lard. The lard was cooked in all possible ways: they rubbed a crust of bread with lard instead of garlic, they salted lard in a barrel with spices, they made 'pelmeny' with meat and lard, they cooked vegetables using lard instead of oil. They loved sausages and made it themselves; that was sausages with chopped meat and blood as in Ukrainian." Were also made 'gorilka' (with wheat or potato). "Pickles from cabbage, cucumbers, and later tomatoes were made in barrels. They cooked 'piluski' that is marinated red cabbage (with beetroot) as in Ukraine."²².

"Religious holidays were not celebrated here, as it was dangerous. The family talked a little about Ukraine, but the grandmother often went there, she visited relatives every year and loved to celebrate traditional holidays there. She loved that communication and that way of life. The family loved traditional holidays. "We went to sing carols around the village. It was customary to 'praise Christmas', that is to come to the house, sang and receive gifts for it - cookies, sweets. In Ukraine, celebrations were on a large scale, but in the village of Mochagi they could not do it, the traditional holidays were not allowed."²³. It is for this reason that Paraska Danilovna often went to Ukraine. The other important tradition that was preserved in the family to this day is to address to mum in a respectful way 'вы', but not 'ты'. This was explained by the fact that a woman is considered together with children.

"Parents' attitudes to the Ukrainian traditions were different, but the family kept some of them, especially Ukrainian cuisine. They always made Ukrainian recipes, E. Zaslavets recalls, "the cooking of my mother-in-law was very special." She cooked stewed potatoes with chicken, steamed dumplings with cottage cheese or cherries, floating in the fat, jellied meat, borscht, jelly, etc. Pickles were also made like in Ukraine. "I remember a lot of cherry and apricot jam. They cooked pork stew"²⁴. In addition, they used chicken and dairy products in any form.

Everyone in the family knew Ukrainian. In the summer, the granddaughter was sent to Ukraine to her grandmother, who taught the children the language. Parents did not often speak Ukrainian at home, but they communicated with relatives in Ukrainian. The family took great care of the traditional Ukrainian celebrations. When someone was in Ukraine, he took part in traditional folk festivals. In Magnitogorsk, such holidays were a reason to get together with your family. In addition to Soviet holidays, the Intercession Day and Ivan Kupala were celebrated. At home in Lokhvitsa, the holidays were celebrated magnificently. In Magnitogorsk, they also celebrated, but without paraphernalia, and also gathered and remembered how it was in Ukraine²⁵.

Thus, the preservation of culture took place mainly through the culture of food, less often through the language and even less often through celebrations. In addition, life in the city and the countryside was very different. In the village, traditions are kept longer. This is due to the fact that in rural areas there is less population flow, life is more measured. The city is densely populated, the urban population has a very motley

¹⁹ Galina Shut. Interview 05/25/2021.

²⁰ Tatiana Pashkovskaya. Interview 05/19/2021.

²¹ Ibidem.

²² Ibidem.

²³ Ibidem.

²⁴ Olga Zaslavets. Interview. 05/25/2021.

²⁵ Ibidem.

national and social composition, the population mixes and over time the traditions of their ancestors are forgotten. Traditions were maintained if there was a strong connection with relatives living in Ukraine.

Another aspect of the study is the attitude of Ukrainians to the city's population. All of the interviewed said that there was no enmity, especially national hostility. Only rare everyday conflicts took place. Communication with other people in the city was mostly neutral. "There were friends of different nationalities, the most important thing is that they were all workers and communists; all were equal. Relatives from Ukraine came, but not often." Conflict situations more often occurred in 1941-1945 during the evacuation period. "The evacuees, it was a woman with children, were put into the grandfather's house. The conflicts were on domestic grounds because the grandmother loved the cleanliness, and the evacuees sometimes did not maintain their rooms in a proper state. To any conflict, the evacuees answered, "our husbands are at the front, and yours is here in the rear," to this rebuke my grandmother could not answer anything." 26.

"There were no bad relations in the village. Nobody looked for differences between Russians and Ukrainians." The process of Russification took place later, when the children moved from the countryside to the city to study, and the way of life there changed. In the village, they did not have to adapt to others, only their grandfather went to work. Therefore, there was simply no need to abandon the familiar language and way of life. The village predisposes to the preservation of traditions. It was impossible in the city." Strangers were treated with apprehension, distrust, but benevolently. Close communication was not with everyone, only close friends from the village. "They were Ukrainians, there were no such close ties with the Russians." They talked like neighbours, provided assistance, as is usually the case in villages. There were unpleasant incidents, conflicts, but this was connected with everyday issues "because of the earth or a well. They stole hay from each other." There was no hostility, everyone hid, if something unpleasant happened, they protected each other²⁷. In Magnitogorsk, the Ukrainians did not have ethnic conflicts. Ukrainian culture was not cultivated in the family. There was no emphasis on nationality. "During the evacuation, city residents helped their mother, did not look at the origin." 28.

"No emphasis was placed on Ukrainian origin." Not much was said about Ukraine. They treated everyone well, there were no conflicts, people were always greeted hospitably, and it does not matter who it was. Guests were always invited to the table" [13].

Conclusion

The main question in this study is how to find the main features that distinguish Ukrainians from the rest of the city's population. We think that we will be able to find concrete examples, ways of preserving identity, which were manifested through the preservation of language, traditions, and strong ties with relatives in Ukraine. We are looking for special cases that would be able to demonstrate this. The interviews show that there is a strong sense of belonging to an ethnicity and that it is a matter of culture (language, food, rituals). In families there are memories about the migration process and the "roots". The interviews show that there is a strong sense of belonging to an ethnicity and that it is a matter of culture (language, food, rituals). In families there are memories about the migration process and the "roots". Despite the specifics of the city, which, according to experts, was motley both nationally and socially, Ukrainian immigrants felt a connection with their homeland. This attachment was expressed in the above cases in different ways (especially through the kitchen, language).

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