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НЕПРЯМА ВЕРБАЛЬНА АГРЕСІЯ

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Анотація. Статтю присвячено непрямій формі вербальної агресії, у якій найбільш яскраво виявлено катартичну функцію цього мовного феномену. Проведено порівняння з прямою формою і виокремлено позитивні аспекти непрямої вербальної агресії для мовця, його психічного здоров'я та соціальних контактів. Досліджено статеві та соціальні аспекти вживання, розроблено типологію адресата цієї форми вербальної агресії та типологію ситуацій, у яких до неї вдаються. Виокремлено постать «слухач»/«слухачі», яка дотепер залишалася поза увагою прагма- та психолінгвістичних досліджень. Емпіричну основу творять усні й письмові опитування мешканців м. Відень (200 осіб), що їх зібрано за допомогою квалітативних методів опитування (письмово з використанням короткого й розгорнутого питальника та усно у формі інтенсивного частково стандартизованого інтерв'ю) та проаналізовано методами контекстуального, прагмалінгвістичного та конверсаційного аналізу.

Ключові слова: непряма вербальна агресія, агресивні мовленнєві акти, пейоративи, катартична функція.

Havryliv, Oksana. Indirect Verbal Aggression.

Abstract. The article deals with the indirect form of verbal aggression in which the cathartic function of this linguistic phenomenon is primarily implemented. The author compares indirect verbal aggression with its direct form while discussing some positive aspects of the former type for the speakers, their mental health, and social contacts. Moreover, gender and sociolinguistic aspects of the phenomenon along with the addressee and social setting typology have been established. The research employed contextual, pragma-linguistic, conversational tools of analysis, a short comprehensive written questionnaire, and an oral partially standardized interview with 200 participants from Vienna, Austria. This study has found that generally indirect verbal aggression often provides the only way to express negative emotions and thereby it is viewed as an effective means of the speaker's social tie maintaining and mental health support. Indirect verbal aggression also performs comforting, corporate, expressive, and fear-relieving functions. More intensive cathartic effect following the expressed indirect verbal aggression is explained by the absence of its immediate addressees and their verbal or nonverbal response.

Keywords: indirect verbal aggression, aggressive speech acts, pejorative, cathartic function.

Це як піти у плавні і викричатися. Ніхто не почує, а тобі полегшає. Галина Вдовиченко. «Найважливіше – наприкінці»

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1. Вступ

Вербальна агресія (ВА) – поширене явище в нашому щоденному житті. За даними Ф. Кінера (1983, с. 295) вона становить 93% загальної агресивної поведінки. Для пояснення феномену агресії існують три найважливіші теорії: оприлюднена 1939 року Єльською школою (Dollard, Doob, Miller, Mowrer, & Sears, 1939) теорія взаємозв'язку фрустрації та агресії, імпульс до виникнення якої дав Зигмунд Фройд. Згідно з цією теорією, агресія – завжди наслідок фрустрації, а фрустрація, відповідно, завжди випливає в певну форму агресії. Практика не підтверджує цю гіпотезу: так, ВА може відбуватися без попередньої фрустрації тільки тому, що мовець має бажання полаятися, продемонструвати свою мовну креативність, «близькість до народу» (це пояснює інтенційне публічне вживання лайливих слів політиками) чи «крутість» (характерно для молодіжної мови); або коли мовець фізично сильніший чи посідає соціально вищу позицію та йому приносить задоволення вербально принижувати слабших чи підлеглих і таким чином демонструвати свою владу. Дві інші теорії - теорія імпульсивності (Lorenz, 1965) та теорія соціального навчання (Bandura, 1977). Гіпотеза К. Лоренца – агресивність вроджена і, «як і багато інших інстинктів, спонтанно випливає з людини» (Lorenz, 1966, р. 78) – мала багато супротивників у галузі соціальних наук, які дотримуються думки, що агресивність не вроджена, а набувається в умовах сучасного суспільства, починаючи від виховання й ситуації в сім'ї (Bandura, 1977).

Поділяємо актуально помірковану позицію біопсихосоціальної єдності людини і вважаємо, що для вияву агресії важлива взаємодія фрустрації, індивідуального агресивного потенціалу та конкретної ситуації. Кожна людина має індивідуальний агресивний потенціал, який, на відміну від тварин, керований завдяки виховному та соціальному чиннику. Так, особа може мати сильний агресивний потенціал і перебувати в стані фрустрації, проте виховання чи/та знання про негативні наслідки її вербально-агресивної поведінки у певній конкретній ситуації (на роботі, в громадських місцях тощо), спонукають її вибирати інші моделі вияву агресії, серед яких важливу роль відіграє непряма ВА. У цих випадках можемо говорити про соціальний вплив на емоційні дії й перевагу когнітивності над емоційністю.

2. Методи дослідження

Із лінгвістичної перспективи, ВА дотепер залишається мало дослідженою темою, а її непрямій формі не присвячено жодної окремої праці. Виходячи з цього, актуальність цієї статті очевидна. Наша мета — представити феномен непрямої ВА з огляду на його психо- та прагмалінгвістичні характеристики. Для досягнення цієї мети ми поставили перед собою наступні завдання: провести порівняння з прямою формою ВА, беручи до уваги катартичні потенції обидвох форм, дослідити статеві й соціальні особливості

.

¹ Тут і далі переклад наш – О. Γ .

використання цієї форми ВА та підтвердити чи спростувати актуальні гіпотези, розробити типологію адресата непрямої ВА й типологію ситуацій, у яких до неї вдаються, дослідити роль слухача / слухачів. Емпіричну основу утворено усним і письмовим опитуванням мешканців м. Відень, що їх зібрано за допомогою квалітативних методів опитування (письмово з використанням короткого й розгорнутого питальника та усно у формі інтенсивного частково стандартизованого інтерв'ю) й проаналізовані методами контекстуального, прагмалінгвістичного та конверсаційного аналізу.

Загалом опитано 200 осіб різного віку, соціального статусу і в однаковій кількості представників обох статей. Соціальні групи ми виокрмили з урахуванням закінченої освіти: особи з незакінченою середньою освітою (група 1), особи зі середньою та незакінченою вищою освітою (група 2) та особи із вищою освітою (група 3).

3. Обговорення результатів

3.1. Загальна характеристика

До непрямої агресії ми уналежнюємо ВА, яка відбувається за відсутності адресата (монологічно або в присутності третьої особи — слухача/слухачів). Непряму агресію скеровано як до осіб, до яких спонтанно складно звернутися безпосередньо (політики, спортсмени, актори, журналісти), так і до тих, на чию адресу пряма ВА може мати негативні наслідки: клієнти, ділові партнери, керівництво, невідомі особи в громадських місцях, чиїх несподіваних реакцій, зокрема фізичної агресії, ми побоюємося. Перехідною формою між прямою та непрямою ε ВА, яка відбувається на відстані, коли адресати можуть її почути або не почути, що залишає простір для їхніх реакцій.

Результати проведених нами опитувань підтверджують інтуїтивно висловлювану, проте дотепер не перевірену, гіпотезу про домінування непрямої форми ВА над прямою. Відсотковий розподіл між формами ВА продемонстровано в табл. 1 на основі даних, добутих від 36 усно опитаних (по 12 осіб — 6 жінок і 6 чоловіків — в кожній із трьох соціальних груп), яких просили представити у відсотках дві форми ВА у їхньому особистому вжитку так, щоб у сумі виходило 100%:

Таблиця 1 *Форми ВА*

Форми ВА	Пряма форма	Непряма форма
Опитування 2006–2008	34 %	66 %
Опитування 2012–2017	32 %	68 %

У мовознавсті немає одностайності щодо того, чи вважати облаювання відсутнього адресата мовленнєвим актом «лайка» чи ні. Так, Д. Берінг дотримується думки, що «оскільки мовленнєвий акт лайка реалізовує задум мовця, образити адресата, до цього мовленнєвого акту обов'язково належить реакція облаюваного» (Bering, 1978, р. 149). Зорніг (Sornig, 1975, р. 152) також

не зараховує спочатку монологічну форму до мовленнєвого акту «лайка», проте змінює свою думку пізніше, визнаючи «ізольоване існування іллокутивного акту» (1975, р. 162). Шуман уважає лайку відсутньої особи «висловлюванням негативного змісту з ілокутивною функцією повідомлення чи констатації, але не облаюванням» (Schumann, 1990, р. 273). Таку позицію пояснює вузька дефініція ВА цієї авторки, як і багатьох інших авторів, виключно через інтенцію образи чи приниження адресата (Ermen, 1996; Graber, 1931; Kiener, 1983; Lötscher 1980; Opelt, 1965; Schumann, 1990; Ставицька, 2008) і нехтування її катартичної функції: «/.../лайка реалізовує намір мовця, спрямований на образу адресата» (Schumann, 1990, р. 260). Такий підхід приводить до облігаторного врахування перлокутивного аспекту (впливу мовленнєвого акту на адресата), тому в дефініціях згаданих авторів ВА не включає непрямої форми.

А слід тлумачити як комплексний феномен, підгрунтя якого утворено низкою інтенцій із домінуванням катартичної функції. Серед цих інтенцій – образа, що відіграє несуттєву роль. Як показують результати наших попередніх досліджень (Havryliv, 2009; 2017; Гаврилів, 2017), лайка не тільки може мати місце в непрямій формі, а й (із соціальних чи особистісних мотивів) часто є єдино можливою, щоб звільнитися від негативних емоцій.

Три найчастотніші функції ВА, наведені в табл. 2, одержано від 36 усно опитаних осіб, яких просили представити функції, що для них виконує ВА: Таблиця 2

Функції ВА

Функції ВА	Звільнення	Образа	Жарт
Опитування 2006–2008	64 %	11 %	25 %
Опитування 2012–2017	73 %	11 %	16 %

Із погляду юриспруденції наявність перлокутивних ефектів «образа, відчуття приниження», мають вирішальне значення. Однак для мовознавства важливим є іллокутивний аспект та інтенції мовця (пор. Бусман про те, що «головні елементи людської комунікації — не окремі слова та речення, а певні мовленнєві дії, які реалізовуються їхнім висловлюванням, тобто *іллокутивні акти або мовленнєві акти у вузькому значенні»* (1990, р. 497), виділено нами — О. Γ .).

Спираючись на це визначення, ми визнаємо існування мовленнєвого акту «лайка» зокрема, а інших агресивних мовленнєвих актів загалом, у двох формах — прямій і непрямій. За аналогією до «експресивних мовленнєвих актів» Серля (Searle, 1991, р. 221), які слугують для вираження ставлень та почуттів мовця, «агресивними мовленнєвими актами» називаємо ті мовленнєві акти, за допомогою яких мовець виражає свої негативні почуття. До найуживаніших агресивних мовленнєвих актів, реалізованих за допомогою мовно-специфічного матеріалу (лайливих слів, погроз, вульгаризмів) уключаємо, поряд із мовленнєвим актом «лайка», також «агресивні вигуки», «прокльони», «погрози» та «агресивні накази».

Катартичну функцію ВА підсилено в її непрямій формі, оскільки тоді вона не завдає шкоди іміджу мовця, представляючи його як неврівноважену, імпульсивну людину. Поряд із катартичною непряма ВА виконує й інші функції:

- завдання шкоди іміджу відсутнього адресата, який облаюється в присутності слухача/групи слухачів;
 - звільнення від страху;
- корпоративна функція, що полягає в засвідчуванні спільних поглядів, вартостей, оцінок, створенні відчуття спільноти (наприклад, коли в колі друзів лають політиків чи уряд, спортсменів (під час футбольного матчу));
- експресивна функція, проілюстровану на прикладі висловлюванням директорки бібліотеки, яка супроводжує свій наказ посортувати книги облаюванням особи, котра до того несумлінно виконала свою працю: «Який ідіот поскладав книжки не на їхнє місце? Тепер треба їх розсортувати!» 1. Непряма лайка має тут на меті продемонструвати співробітникам поряд із обуренням несумлінною особою також розуміння ситуації, через яку їм додалося праці;
- втішальна функція, яку спостерігаємо, наприклад, коли подруга лає в присутності іншої подруги її чоловіка, на якого остання їй щойно жалілася («Цей мудак не вартий Тебе!»), засвідчуючи цим своє розуміння ситуації і підтримку.

На відміну від лінгвістики, де ВА дотепер визначено через руйнівний компонент, у психології, психіатрії, психоаналізі та ґештальттерапії ВА потрактовано як продуктивний феномен (Bach, Goldberg, 1981; Bauer, 2006), який сприяє фізичному здоров'ю мовця та соціальних стосунків. Більше того, оскільки за часів Фройда головною причиною всіх емоційних проблем вважали пригнічену сексуальність, так актуальна гіпотеза вбачає причину у агресії. Концепція ненасильницької комунікації Розенберга витісненій передбачає (Rosenberg, 2005) також не ≪ковтання злості», ненасильницький вияв. Тривале витіснення негативних емоцій, про що свідчать і клінічні дослідження, чинить негативний вплив як на фізичне, так і психічне здоров'я людини. Штуц, у минулому священник, а сьогодні автор духовної літератури, у своїй книзі «Не покину тебе напризволяще. Спіритичні послання гніву, злості і люті» ділиться власним досвідом: «Роками я ковтав негативні почуття. Ігнорував однозначні сигнали мого тіла, які виявлялися в болях живота і постійній блювоті та ще більше тікав у працю. Лише після дворічного періоду «вигоряння», у 38-річному віці почалася моя подальша багаторічна дружба з негативними відчуттями» (Stutz, 2017, р. 9), «/.../ відколи я впустив агресію, злість і лють на свій духовний шлях, я став менш депресивним». Бах та Гольдберг (Bach, Goldberg, 1981, р. 85) також зазначають взаємозв'язок між витісненою агресією та психологічними порушеннями, які

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¹ Тут і далі всі приклади із опитувань жителів м. Відень; переклад наш - О. Γ .

виявлено передусім у тому, що нескерована назовні агресія обертається проти самої людини, виявляючись в депресії: «Депресивних людей зустрічаємо серед тих, хто не вміє виявляти своєї люті». Звідси автори (1981, р. 92) роблять висновок, що для збереження духовного і фізичного здоров'я важливо усвідомити власні агресивні почуття, прийняти їх і виявити в доречній формі. Тією соціально доречною формою, на нашу думку, і є непряма ВА.

У вербально-агресивних висловлюваннях, які відбуваються **подумки**, маємо цікаву модель спілкування у двох площинах: наприклад, між зубною лікаркою та пацієнткою, коли на тлі реальної ввічливої комунікації подумки лікарка облаює пацієнтку, яка довела свої зуби до катастрофічного стану: «Ой ти ж дурепо, що ти наробила зі своїми зубами?!»

Або між продавцем і покупцем:

Клієнт у м'ясарні: Відріжте мені, будь ласка, гарний шматок м'яса, бо моя дружина дуже вибаглива!

Продавець подумки: Якщо вона така вибаглива, то як могла вийти за такого придурка заміж?

Найпростіше таку двоплощинну комунікацію досліджувати на прикладі текстів художньої літератури. Недоліком такого підходу є те, що в цьому разі маємо справу із фіктивно створеними письменниками ситуаціями (так званою «фіктивною дійсністю»). Обравши шлях збору емпіричного матеріалу методом опитування, слід мати на увазі, що для такої негативно-конотованої в суспільстві теми, як ВА загалом, а її непрямої форми — особливо (адже вона уможливлює зазирнути у внутрішній світ опитуваних) — важливо поряд із застосування «м'якого інтерв'ю» (яке ведеться у формі невимушеної відкритої розмови) передусім викликати до себе довіру опитуваних.

Згідно з частотністю згадувань інформантами, наведемо типологію ситуацій, у яких найчастіше вдаються до непрямої ВА: ситуації на дорозі; у колі близьких людей (сім'я, друзі); на роботі (в колі колег); ВА наодинці; ВА подумки.

Важливо пояснити роль сім'ї/друзів/колег у контексті непрямої ВА, адже за даними наших опитувань, ВА після ситуацій на дорозі найчастіше відбувається в колі сім'ї. Проте члени родини/друзі/колеги не є адресатами вербально-агресивних висловлювань, а відіграють роль слухачів, перед якими мовець звільняється від негативних емоцій, облаюючи колег, шефа, клієнтів, ділових партнерів, інших членів родини. За такої моделі важливу роль у виникненні катартичного ефекту відіграють реакції слухачів (для яких необхідні ширші відомості про мовця та особливості його реакцій), які можуть бути виявлено як в облаюванні відсутнього адресата, так і в заспокійливих висловлюваннях на кшталт «Не переймайся», «Він/вона не вартує твоїх нервів» чи просто в мовчанні.

До адресатів непрямої агресії належать: учасники ситуацій на дорозі: водії, пішоходи, велосипедисти; колеги; шеф; клієнти, ділові партнери; політики та уряд; члени сім'ї (батьки, брати та сестри, інші родичі);

спортсмени, журналісти; вчителі, викладачі; люди в громадському транспорті; сусіди; іноземці.

3.2. Роль слухача/слухачів

Присутність слухачів (особливо якщо це діти, жінки, особи старшого віку) відіграє регуляторну роль і під час вибору лексем (наприклад, замість міцних лайливих слів — слабші пейоративи або евфемізми), і вибору форми ВА (спонукає мовця до непрямих вербальних виявів). Непряма форма ВА, яка відбувається за присутності слухача/слухачів, відкриває важливу роль цієї недослідженої в прагмалінгвістиці форми мовленнєвої комунікації. Ця роль може бути як факультативною, так і облігаторною. В останньому випадку спостерігаємо дві моделі:

- цілеспрямоване облаювання відсутньої особи, з метою завдання шкоди її іміджу в очах слухачів (наприклад, перед колегами чи учнівським класом).
- облаювання, яке відбувається без наміру завдати шкоди іміджу адресата в очах слухачів, чия присутність і реакції (заспокоювання, втішання чи просто мовчання) покликано підсилити відчуття звільнення в мовця.

В окремих випадках постать слухача може мати комплексніший характер. Так, вже згадувана лайка директорки бібліотеки на кшталт «Який ідіот поскладав книжки не на їхнє місце? Тепер треба їх розсортувати!» за її ж свідченням може відбуватися і в ситуації, коли вона здогадується, хто зі слухачів міг несумлінно посортувати книги. Обираючи непряму форму ВА, директорка в такий спосіб висловлює своє незадоволення і дає зрозуміти цій людині, що до праці слід ставитися серйозно. Комунікативна ситуація в цьому випадку така, що на поверхневому рівні маємо модель непрямої ВА в присутності слухача, а на глибинному рівні «слухач» постає в ролі адресата.

Присутність слухача/слухачів може спричиняти і виникнення негативних відчуттів у мовця, коли до первинного полегшення додається відчуття сорому через свою вербально-агресивну поведінку: «Навіть коли я непрямо лаю, наприклад, футболістів під час перегляду матчу з друзями, і помічаю, що я занадто втягнувся в процес облаювання, то мені це неприємно».

3.3. Статеві і соціальні аспекти непрямої вербальної агресії

Порівнюючи співвідношення прямої та непрямої ВА у кожній із трьох виокремлених нами соціальних груп, спостерігаємо, що роль непрямої ВА зростає разом із соціальним статусом (табл. 3).

Таблиця 3 Непряма ВА і соціальний статус

Група 1	Група 2	Група 3
56 %	67 %	76 %

Водночас результати опитування (табл. 4) підтверджують неодноразово інтуїтивно висловлювану гіпотезу про те, що жінки вдаються до непрямої ВА частіше, ніж чоловіки (Eibl-Eibesfeldt, 1995, р. 376; Kiener, 1983, р. 64; Merz,

1979, р. 156; Mitscherlich, 1987, р. 12; Ставицька, 2008, с. 58), проте різниця ϵ меншою, ніж можна було б очікувати.

Таблиця 4 Гендерні пріоритети у формах ВА

Форми ВА	Жінки	Чоловіки
пряма форма	23 %	37 %
непряма форма	77 %	63 %

Якщо ж ми розглянемо співвідношення форм ВА з урахуванням двох соціальних змінних — статі та соціального статусу — то виявиться, що про тенденцію до домінування непрямої ВА у жінок ми можемо говорити лише на рівні першої соціальної групи — особи без закінченої середньої освіти (див. Таблиця 5). У групі 2 (особи із закінченою середньою освітою) та групі 3 (особи із закінченою вищою освітою) різниця між жінками й чоловіками несуттєва (відповідно 2 % та 5 %).

Таблиця 5 Φ орми BA

(класифікація на основі комбінації змінних «стать» та «соціальний статус»)

Форми ВА в групі 1	Жінки	Чоловіки
пряма форма	20 %	55 %
непряма форма	80 %	45 %

Характерно, що в групі жінок спостерігаємо соціально гомогенну картину, тобто соціальний рівень в групі жінок не впливає на вибір форми ВА. Інакше виглядає ситуація в чоловічій групі: тут ми спостерігаємо великі відмінності між групою 1 та групам 2 і 3 (див. табл. 6).

Таблиця 6 *Непряма ВА*

(класифікація за статевою і соціальною ознакою)

Непряма ВА	Жінки	Чоловіки
група 1	80 %	45 %
група 2	78 %	76 %
група 3	74 %	69 %

Іще одна тенденція полягає в чітко вираженому зростанні непрямої ВА пропорційно до зростання соціального статусу (табл. 7).

Таблиця 7

Непряма ВА

(класифікація за соціальною ознакою)

група 1	56 %
група 2	67 %
група 3	76 %

Якщо ж ми поряд із соціальним статусом врахуємо і змінну «стать», тоді побачимо, що ця тенденція спостерігається лише завдяки значним гендерним відмінностям на рівні групи 1: частотність непрямої ВА зростає із соціальним статусом лише в групі чоловіків; у жінок простежуємо гомогенну картину із протилежною тенденцією до легкого спаду (табл. 6). Таку гомогенність у групі жінок бачимо не тільки стосовно ВА, а й інших мовних аспектів (вживання діалектних слів, слів-паразитів тощо). Пояснення цьому мовознавці вбачають у більшій задіяності жінок у вихованні дітей і, відповідно, у більшій увазі до свого мовлення, яке пристосовується до мови жінок із соціально вищих груп.

Підсумовуючи, можемо стверджувати: обидві тенденції — і тенденція до домінування непрямої ВА в жінок, і тенденція до соціально-зумовленого зростання частотності вживання непрямої ВА — релятивуються, якщо взяти до уваги додаткову змінну «стать» і пояснюються гендерними відмінностями на рівні групи 1.

Установлені в дослідженні на прикладі непрямої ВА різниці з урахуванням однієї і двох соціальних змінних наочно демонструють потребу комплексного підходу в дослідженні мовних феноменів, що передбачає врахування кількох змінних у їхній взаємодії.

3.4. Особливості катартичної функції непрямої вербальної агресії

За небагатьма винятками опитувані зазначають виразніше відчуття полегшення після непрямої ВА. Під час прямої ВА до першого відчуття полегшення (яке, за свідченнями деяких опитуваних, може бути сильнішим) одразу можуть додатися негативні відчуття, як-от докори сумління чи відчуття сорому через власну нестриманість. Щодо винятків, то йдеться насамперед про індивідуальні особливості й ситуативні обставини (або комбінацію цих двох чинників): наприклад, коли довго замовчувалися негативні емоції щодо конкретної людини, її способу поведінки і мовець нарешті наважився висловити їх: «Пряма форма звільняє краще якщо я довго замовчув і не казав людині все, що думаю про її поведінку і от у спалаху злості висказав все те — це дуже полегшує!» Нижче розглянемо аспекти, які впливають на катартичні відчуття після непрямої ВА.

3.5. Роль присутності адресата

Важливу роль у встановленні катартичного ефекту відіграє присутність (при прямій) чи відсутність (при непрямій формі ВА) реакцій адресата. Із опертям на вузьке трактування мовленнєвого акту «лайка», яке обов'язково включає перлокутивний аспект (вплив мовленнєвого акту на адресата), Жельвіс висловлює гіпотезу, що «відчуття звільнення залежить від того, чи адресат почувається ображеним» (1997, р. 31). Німецька письменниця Ільдіко фон Кюрті образно порівнює непряму ВА з «ударами в повітря, які не діють», а якщо вчасно не зупинитися, «вони розірвуть тебе» (2014, р. 318). Результати проведених нами опитувань показують, що відчуття звільнення після ВА за небагатьма винятками не залежить від того, чи адресат почувається ображеним, чи ні. Щодо винятків, то вони стосуються осіб, для яких ВА загалом, насамперед, виконує функцію образи, приниження адресата.

Ситуативні чинники також можуть сприяти тому, що образа адресата посилює відчуття звільнення в мовця: «Одного разу я вилаяла прибиральницю за те, що вона викинула мої важливі нотатки. Коли та від образи плакала, я відчула неймовірне полегшення».

Реакції адресата, які виявляються і вербально, і невербально (і, також чинять негативний вплив на появу катартичних відчуттів у мовця:

«При прямій додаються реакції адресата чи адресатки і вони перешкоджають виникненню відчуття звільнення»; «При непрямій звільнення настає швидше, бо немає адресата з його реакціями».

Один із негативних наслідків вербальних реакцій адресата – побоювання мовця загострення конфліктної ситуації:

«При прямій менше відчуття звільнення, бо тоді додаються реакції адресата, ситуація розгойдується і невідомо, в якому напрямку вона розвинеться»;

«При прямій ситуація може розгойдатися»;

«Непряма краще звільняє, у прямій ситуація (через реакції адресата) може загостритися».

Мовчазна присутність адресата також призводить до того, що після нетривалого полегшення мовець відчуває сором за свою нестриману вербально-агресивну поведінку, докори сумління, покуту. Відсутність же адресата усуває також страх перед наслідками вербально-агресивної поведінки (юридичними чи фізичними діями, як-от судовий позов чи фізична агресія з боку адресата), що також позитивно впливає на відчуття звільнення: «Після непрямої вербальної агресії почуваю сильніше полегшення, оскільки не мушу боятися наслідків».

Примітним є той факт, що, якщо в опитуваннях, проведених нами в 2006-2008 роках, опитувані пояснювали свою відмову від вербальної агресії в громадських місцях переважно вихованням, яке переводить прямі вербальні вияви в непрямі форми, то зараз цю відмову пов'язують із мобільністю сучасного світу, коли важко передбачити реакції невідомих осіб з інших культур як на пряму лайку, а й на зауваження, висловлені в нейтральній формі. На підтвердження цього слугує той факт, що особи з корінням в інших культурах, нерідко є агресивнішими і у вербальному, і у фізичному планах: «Оскільки вони (іноземці — О.Г.) агресивніші і я побоююся фізичної реації на мої вербальні висловлювання».

ВА – феномен, який можна трактувати і у вузькому значенні (вживання агресивних мовленнєвих актів), і в широкому – висловлювання обурення, критики за допомогою нейтральних мовних одинць, тематизація емоцій та ситуацій (Я зараз вибухну з люті! Це неможливо!!! та ін.), які не завдають шкоди «іміджу адресата». Тому особи, які тлумачать ВА в широкому значенні (як конструктивну критику, а не як образливі десемантизовані висловлювання, що вживаються в стані афекту і характеризують здебільшого мовця (як нестриману людину), аніж адресата), зазначають позитивну роль присутності адресата: «Пряма вербальна агресія звільняє більше; вона й продуктивніша,

оскільки адресат таким чином може дізнатися, за що його критикують і змінити свою поведінку». Відповідно й реакції адресата потрактовують позитивно: «При непрямій я швидше входжу в раж, при прямій бачу реакції адресата, ситуація може розвинутися в бік конструктивної комунікації, набрати продуктивного напрямку. При непрямій існує ризик втягнутися у вир власних негативних емоцій».

Відчуття більшого звільнення після акту непрямої ВА можна пояснити також і тим, що вона відбувається зазвичай у ситуаціях слабшої емоційної напруги, коли вже (напів)свідомий вибір непрямої форми ВА засвідчує перевагу когнітивного компоненту. У випадку прямої ВА когнітивний компонент переважно відходить на другий план, оскільки вона відбувається в стані афекту — сильного збудження, що не підлягає контролю й подібний до рефлексу. Відповідно й агресивний потенціал, і напруга можуть тривати довше: «Звільнення після непрямої вербальної агресії не настає швидко, оскільки я тоді більш сердита. У непрямій звільнення настає швидше, бо немає адресата з його реакціями і злість не була такою сильною, як зазвичай у прямій формі».

3.6. Роль лексичного матеріалу

Форма ВА впливає також на вибір лексем: низка опитаних диференціює між пейоративами, які вони вживають під час прямої (слабші) і непрямої ВА (вульгарні слова й вирази на кшталт Arsch, Arschloch, Hure, Hurensohn, Drecksau, Geh scheißen! Leck mich am Arsch!). Відповіді інформантів на запитання, чи сильніші слова здебільшого використовують для того, щоб викликати відчуття катарсису, поділилися порівну: між «без різниці» та ствердними. Як окремі зауваження учасники наводять: «на короткий момент так» або «лайка хорватською (рідною мовою — О.Г.) звільняє краще, ніж лайка німецькою».

Відповідно відчутнішу катартичну дію непрямої ВА частково можна пояснити можливістю вживання інтенсивніших пейоративів: «Після непрямої відчуваю сильніше звільнення, бо тоді я вживаю сильніші слова»; «Після непрямої більше звільнення, бо тоді можу лаятися, використовуючи «соковитіші» слова».

Відповідно, після прямої ВА можуть виникнути неприємні відчуття, коли вжито занадто «міцне» слово чи вираз, які мовець зазвичай використовує лише при непрямій лайці, наприклад: «Маю відчуття сорому, якщо прямо використаю сильне слово, яке загалом вживаю тільки непрямо».

Таким чином наш емпіричний матеріал тільки частково підтверджує гіпотезу про те, що чим вульгарніші слова, тим вираженіший катартичний ефект після їхнього вживання (Жельвіс, 1997, р. 38), і що чим потужніший стрес, тим міцніші слова (Там само, р. 37). Адже тут важливу роль відіграють індивідуальний і ситуативний чинники. Відповідно, окремими особами і в конкретних ситуаціях навіть нейтральні слова і вирази трактують як такі, що не поступаються своєю інтенсивністю найвульгарнішим пейоративам. Варто зазначити, що всі опитані, які використовують для звільнення нейтральні

слова та вирази, зазначають вирішальну для встановлення катартичних відчуттів роль просодичних явищ. Передусім це стосується гучності (характеристика, яку на письмі виявлено у використанні великих букв, подовжень, знаків оклику – див. приклади вище).

4. Висновки й перспективи

ВА включає, поряд з прямою, також непряму форму, яка із соціальних чи особистісних мотивів часто є єдино можливою, аби звільнитися від негативних емоцій. Тому її можна трактувати як продуктивну в контексті психічного та фізичного здоров'я мовців та їхніх соціальних контактів. До непрямої форми ВА вдаються вдвічі частіше, ніж до прямої. Найважливіша функція ВА загалом – катартична. Її найкраще виявлено у непрямій формі ВА. Підгрунтя для непрямої ВА переважно утворюють несвідомі інтенції звільнення від негативних емоцій. Рідше спостерігаємо свідомі інтенції, наприклад, завдання шкоди іміджу адресата в очах слухачів. Поряд із катартичною, непряма ВА виконує низку інших функцій: утішальну, корпоративну, експресивну, звільнення від страху. Гендерні особливості вживання непрямої форми ВА соціально зумовлені і простежуються на рівні соціальної групи 1 (особи з незакінченою середньою освітою). Непряма форма ВА впливає на вибір лексичного матеріалу. Яскравіший катартичний ефект після непрямої ВА пояснює відсутність адресата та його реакцій, які можуть загострити ситуацію. Непряма форма ВА відкриває важливу роль дотепер недослідженої в психолінгвістиці та лінгвопрагматиці особи слухача/слухачів.

Насамкінець, сформулюємо гіпотезу для подальших наукових досліджень: катартичні потенції ВА – чи у її прямій, чи у непрямій формі – обмежені, їх простежено передусім у ситуаціях зі слабкою чи середньою емоційною напругою. Лайка може дати відчуття звільнення в буденних ситуаціях, коли ми дратуємося через дрібниці. Водночас, у надміру стресових ситуаціях (втрата близької людини, раптова важка хвороба та ін.) люди рідко вдаються до лайки (першою реакцією на трагічну подію може бути і мовчання, і крик у формі десемантизованих первинних вигуків на кшталт *Grrrggh! Наааargggghhh!*), шукаючи і знаходячи в подальшому розраду і полегшення.

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КОГНИТИВНЫЕ И ПРАГМАТИЧЕСКИЕ ОСОБЕННОСТИ УКРАИНСКОГО ВОЕННОГО ЮМОРИСТИЧЕСКОГО ДИСКУРСА СОЦИАЛЬНЫХ СЕТЕЙ

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Анотація. Дослідження гумору й сміху здійснюють у багатьох галузях когнітивної лінгвістики та психології, психо- та соціолінгвістики. Гумор розглядають як позитивну емоцію, викликану когнітивними процесами оцінки комічних висловлень у різних соціальних ситуаціях (Martin, 2007). Мета дослідження полягає в установленні когнітивнопрагматичних характеристик українського військового гумористичного дискурсу в соціальних мережах. Для досягнення поставленої мети застосовано лінгвістичні методи дискурс-аналізу, контекстуального та інтуїтивно-логічного інтерпретативного аналізу, а також психолінгвістичний метод контент-аналізу. Вивчення ґрунтується на вибарному корпусі інтернет мемів та комічних коментарів, взятих із соціальних мереж і поділених на тематичні групи. Результати дослідження засвідчили, конструктивний гумор, що охоплює 47% всіх проаналізованих текстів, має тенденцію до частотнішого використання, порівняно з іншими психолінгвістичними типами. Його прагматична мета – здійснити позитивний уплив на процес формування групи через його здатність полегшувати міжособистісні стосунки між комунікантами на основі позитивних емоцій. Самопідтримувальний гумор, що зафіксовано в 33% випадків, демонструє вміння мовця зберігати жартівливий погляд на будь-які життєві події. «Чорний» і зневажливий гумор менш поширені у дискурсі українських військових, складаючи разом 20% усіх прикладів.

Ключові слова: гумор, український військовий гумористичний дискурс, соціальні мережі.

Khraban, Tetyana; Khraban, Ihor. Cognitive and Pragmatic Features of the Ukrainian Army Humorous Discourse in Social Media.

Abstract. Research on humor and laughter is carried out in many areas of cognitive linguistics and psychology, psycho- and sociolinguistics. Humor is viewed as a positive emotion evoked by the cognitive processes of evaluating comical utterances in various social settings (Martin, 2007). The aim of the paper is explore the cognitive and pragmatic aspects of the Ukrainian military humorous discourse in social media. To this end, linguistic methods of discourse analysis, contextual and intuitive logical interpretative analysis, and a psycholinguistic method of content analysis were applied. The study is based on the selected corpus of Internet memes and amusing comments taken from social media and further divided into thematic groups. The results of the study indicate that constructive humor comprising 47 per cent of the analyzed texts tend to be more popular than other psycholinguistic types. Its pragmatic purpose is to provide

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a positive impact on the process of group formation due to its capacity to facilitate interpersonal contacts between individuals by evoking positive emotions. Self-sustaining humor embracing 33 per cent of the analyzed texts manifests the speaker's ability to preserve a humorous viewpoint of any life events. "Black humor" and derogatory humor are less frequent in the Ukrainian Army discourse of social media covering only 20 per cent of all analyzed texts.

Keywords: humor, Ukrainian Army humorous discourse, social media.

1. Введение

Огромное количество работ посвящено изучению различных аспектов юмора, но появление таких организаций как «Американская ассоциация по изучению юмора» (American Humor Studies Association) и «Международное общество исследования юмора» (International Society for Humor Studies) свидетельствует о том, что эта тематика продолжает вызывать интерес ученых. Юмор охватывает многие стороны жизни человека, поэтому не случайно исследование его в современной научной парадигме становится всё более междисциплинарным. Так, в лингвистике и психолингвистике накоплен большой объём теоретических и эмпирических знаний, касающихся юмора, и сейчас на первый план выходит проблема соотнесения лингвистических результатов исследований с более общими достижениями в познании действительности. Такая задача согласуется с «когнитивной парадигмой, в рамках которой установлено, что аспекты языка регулируются или мотивируются когнитивными параметрами, основанными на человеческом опыте и "вложенными" в реальный контекст» (Кулинич, 2000). В свою очередь, благодаря когнитивному подходу, согласно взгляду Е. Широких (2015), исходящему из тезиса о параллелизме лингвальных и мыслительных процессов, языковые структуры способны отражать окружающего мира, а когнитивного существования человека. Этот подход «предлагает ещё более широкую перспективу интерпретации комического высказывания – на уровне дискурса в совокупности с его прагматическими, социокультурными и психологическими характеристиками» (Широких, 2015, c. 145).

Такой подход актуален для исследования параметров юмора украинских обусловленного социальным, политическим культурным контекстом. При этом особое значение приобретает психолингвистическое направление современного когнитивизма, использующее знания о внимании и памяти, распознавании образов, операциях мыслительной деятельности (сравнение, отождествление, умозаключение, формирование концептов), то есть лингвистические знания рассматриваются в единстве с психологическими (Евстафьева, 2006; Lopez & Vaid, 2017). В данном контексте О. Федорова говорит о начале нового этапа развития междисциплинарной интеграции между психологией и лингвистикой, «который характеризуется созданием новых кросс- и даже интердисциплинарных связей на новом уровне взаимодействия - между психолингвистикой и когнитивной лингвистикой» (Федорова, 2014, с. 18).

Выбор юмора украинских военных в качестве объекта исследования согласуется и с социолингвистическим подходом, акцентирующим внимание на общественной обусловленности возникновения, развития и функционирования языка, воздействии общества на язык и языка на общество, соотношении языка и социальной структуры, а также на социальном расслоение языка (Квеско, 2007, с. 61). Пребывание личности в воинском коллективе приводит к формированию своеобразного стиля юмористического поведения, качественными показателями которого выступают, к примеру, высказываний, предпочтения юмористических тематики содержащей юмор информации, способность к продуцированию юмора (Квасник, 2012, с. 84). С другой стороны, социолингвистический подход способствует выявлению социальной конструкции всех смыслов, а также изучению интерактивного взаимодействия языка и социальной среды как совокупности социально-языковых и социально-деятельностных коммуниобразовании определенной социальной корпоративной общества (Квеско, 2007, с. 66). Подытоживая вышесказанное, утверждать, что социолингвистический подход дает возможность описать корреляцию речевого поведения украинских военных с их социальным статусом и спецификой профессии. Таким образом, подход к юмору как к уникальной, сложной многомерной структуры, исследование которой требует синтеза различных подходов, составляет актуальность данной статьи.

Различные аспекты юмора довольно широко и глубоко исследованы в философии, лингвистике, культурологии, социологии и психологии. Так, в работе Skryl & Sharun (2019) изучено языковую смеющуюся личность (Homo Ridens) в британской литературе в рамках теории антропоцентризма. О. Гудзенко (2014) очерчивает концептуальные основы исследования смеховой культуры как модуса социокультурных трансформаций украинского (2012)рассматривает изучение А. Квасник общества. компонента юмора в качестве механизма юмористического переживания, в то время как С. Помирча, М. Яценко (2013) характеризуют юмор в романе А. Ильченко как национальную черту украинцев. Н. Поневчинська (2013) проанализировала возможности применения лингвокогнитивних теорий для объяснения механизма создания юмористического эффекта.

2. Методы исследования

Несмотря на значительное количество работ, посвященных исследованию комического, не было уделено должного внимания глубинным механизмам, происходящим в сознании личности в процессе продуцирования и восприятия юмора. Цель настоящего исследования заключается в установлении когнитивно-прагматических характеристик украинского военного юмористического дискурса в интернет-коммуникации.

Для достижения поставленной цели считаем оправданным использование таких лингвистических методов исследования: дискурс-анализ, контекстуального и интуитивно-логического интерпретационного анализа, психолингвисти-

ческий метод контент-анализа. Материалом исследования послужили интернет-мемы украинского сектора социальных сетей и комментарии к ним.

3. Обсуждение результатов

данной статьи актуальным является определение юмора, предложенное Martin (2007),В которого актуализируется рамках психологический аспект этого понятия: юмор - это, по сути, положительная эмоция, вызываемая в социальных контекстах когнитивным процессом оценки шутливого, несерьезного высказывания. В социальных взаимодействиях юмор приобретает много различных форм, включая «консервированные шутки», спонтанные шутки и непреднамеренные забавные высказывания и действия (Martin, 2007), а также дефиниция юмора, предложенная Chlopicki Brzozowska (2017), в котором юмор трактуется как конструкт, зависящий от собственную структуру социокультурного контекста и имеющий функциональные особенности. Рассматривая юмор как систему знаний, убеждений и привычек, с помощью которой малая группа определяет себя и позволяет своим членам чувствовать принадлежность к группе и сплоченность (Martin, 2007), и в которой юмор в форме дружеского поддразнивания, забавных прозвищ, понятных лишь членам группы шуток и собственного сленга, может вносить вклад в идеокультуру группы, представляя ее членам способ создания общей реальности и ощущение осмысленности, создавать общую идентичность и таким образом усиливать чувство сплоченности, можем говорить про существование смеховой культуры украинских военных. Созданию и распространению этой смеховой культуры в большой мере способствуют современные информационно-коммуникативные технологии. В рамках интернета уникальность юмора состоит в том, что подобная коммуникация устремляется увеличению числа участников К ограничивается только диалогом из двух субъектов (Гудзенко, 2014, с. 164). Это позволяет исследовать не отдельно взятый юмористический текст, а юмористический дискурс, который, по мнению Хёйзинга (1997), представляет собой игру как на когнитивном, так и на языковом уровне, целостную форму речи, характеризующуюся несерьезной тональностью общения, игровым переосмыслением актуальных концептов и стереотипов и преследующую развлекательную цель. В целом, назначение юмористического дискурса – игра средствами языка, нормами и стереотипами, предполагающая не только развлечение и смех, но и освобождение человека от природного и социального детерминизма.

- В данном исследовании для более продуктивного анализа юмористического дискурса украинских военных выборка интернет-мемов и комментариев до них, включающих в себя смеховой компонент, разделена на тематические группы (ТГ).
- 1. «Черный юмор», проявляющийся в экспликации темы насилия и составляющий 7 % от репрезентативной выборки. «Черный юмор» проявляет себя на уровне семантики, стилистики и прагматики особым образом, обретает

некие специфические черты, которые вызывают не только смех, но придают ему определенные идейно-эстетические функции (Кириченко, 2015, с. 102). Тема насилия, являясь доминантной в «черном юморе» украинского военного юмористического дискурса, определяет структуру вербального компонента интернет-мемов, объясняет выбор тем и позволяет наиболее очевидно реализовать идейную направленность. Прежде всего необходимо отметить, что мотив насилия появился в украинском военном юмористическом дискурсе как одна из форм реакции на специфику военно-политической ситуации, сложившейся в Украине. Жизнь в состоянии войны порождает углубление культурной дифференциации, поиска и защиты собственной идентичности, что особенно проявляется на языковом уровне в создании оппозиции «свой – враг»: На вулиці Левицького у Львові питають у діда: «Як краще попасти в російське консульство?». Він трохи подумав і відповідає: «Мабуть, з гранатомета»; «Йозефе, ти бачиш зосередження сил супротивника?» – «Так точно, обер-лейтенанте Валерій, спостерігаю, здається, вони намагаються грати в футбол поліном.» – «Йозефе, я вважаю, що треба подарувати цим наркоманам м'яча, або, хоча б, качан капусти, а то на це боляче дивитись.» – «При всій повазі, пане обер-лейтенанте Валерій, війна зробила Вас жалісливим. Ви б ще запропонували розмінувати їм поле, на якому вони грають». К лингвистическим средствам манифестации мотива насилия также относится выражение угрозы: Пуля очень многое меняет в голове, даже если попадает в задницу. На образно-символическом уровне мотив насилия помощи удачно выбранных образов реализован при противопехотной мины, снайперской винтовки. Объединение в интернет-меме визуальных компонентов с изображением оружия и вербальных компонентов позволяет полностью изменить значение фразеологизмов (в одно ухо влетело, в другое – вылетело; одна нога здесь, другая – там), наполнив их такими семантическими компонентами как «опасность», «смерть», «война».

2. Уничижительный юмор, составляющий 13 % от репрезентативной выборки. Уничижительный юмор в дискурсе украинских военных направлен на осмеяние стиля мышления, отличительного от мышления военных кадров. Во-первых, «военное мышление является специфичным видом военных кадров, так как оно осуществляется в условиях специфично опасной для жизни практики» (Сигида, 2006, с. 147), а во-вторых, стандарты военного мышления коллективистского типа отличается от стандартов мышления индивидуалистского общества. Сейчас, когда в обществе усиливается состояние усталости от войны, в частности в коллективно-психологическом измерении, военные, особенно те, кто принимал участие в боевых действиях, часто рассматривают гражданское население как группу индивидов, ставящие свои интересы выше государственных: Збори резервістів 2019 рік: «Да ми – кращі!»: «Я тоже лук хочу!», «Зачем мне лук? Я хочу АГС!», «А автик скоро дадут?», «Товариш майор, а молоток обов'язково?», «В мене койка коротка!», «Зачем учиться, что я там еще не знаю?», «Лично мне форма очень идет!»; И забыли самого главного супергероя Аватармена – синее существо, которое пустой бутылкой водки останавливает 7 танков, а от его перегара падает весь наряд патруля ВСП! Специфика уничижительного юмора в дискурсе украинских военных проявляется в его прагматической направленности: он не преследует цель унизить, вызвать обиду, раздражение или гнев, его задача — обратить внимание общества, что служба в армии — это тяжелый и недооцененный труд, достойный уважения и благодарности: Вам не подобаються Ваші житлові умови? Ви незадоволені високими тарифами на опалення та гарячу воду? Ви втомилися від суєти великого місця? Туристична компанія «ООС» пропонує Вам релакс-тур в живописні місця Луганщини та Донеччини; Порошенко посетил ООС и остался недовольный; «Почему на передовой до сих пор нет ни одного магазина «Рошен»?». Таким образом, прагматическая направленность такого вида юмора носит защитный характер.

К уничижительному юмору в дискурсе украинских военных следует также отнести насмешки над женщинами, который проходят военную службу или работают в этой сфере: «Света, ти розумієш, що нас зараз знімають?» — «Я в курсі, але ж нам казали, що ми тільки в броніках постоїмо. Тепер треба щось нажимати.» — «А де він вмикається?» — «Не знаю, але тут якісь цифри. Ти Морзе знаєш?» — «Кого?» — «Азбуку?» — «А, да.»;; сказочный снайпер (визуальный компонент интернет-мема — девушка, позирующая со снайперской винтовкой и закрывшая тот глаз, которым она должна прицеливаться).

Причину появления уничижительного юмора по отношению к женщинам в дискурсе украинских военных следует искать, по нашему мнению, в истории украинского казачества: согласно обычаю, запорожцы не допускали на Сечь женщин, а предоставление приюта женщинам, не исключая матери, сестры или дочери, возле Запорожской Сечи считалось у казаков уголовным преступлением и сурово наказывалось. Среди запорожцев существовало поверье: как нога женщины ступить на землю крепости, наступит конец жизни всего Запорожья, поэтому запрет на появление женщины в крепости так тщательно соблюдался (Пищанская, 2014). Несмотря на то, что в Украине вступил в силу закон о гендерном равенстве, закрепляющий принцип, согласно которому женщины проходят военную службу на равных началах с мужчинами, включая равный доступ к должностям и воинским званиям и равный объем ответственности при исполнении обязанностей военной службы, следует отметить сохранение исторически украинском обществе предубеждения против службы женщин в армии.

3. Самоподдерживающий юмор, составляющий 33 % от репрезентативной выборки, направлен на себя и его использование применительно к юмористическому дискурса украинских военных предполагает эмоциональную устойчивость, обладание навыками ориентации и адаптации в быстро меняющемся информационном пространстве. Самоподдерживающий юмор манифестирует умение сохранять юмористический взгляд на жизнь, даже когда другие не разделяют этот взгляд, придерживаться юмористической

точки зрения на любые события. Такой стиль юмора, как правило, используется, когда человек узнаёт о чём-то неприятном или попадает в такую ситуацию, которая выводит его из состояния равновесия (Буенок, 2012, с. 62). Поскольку армия – это социальный институт общества, в юмористическом дискурсе украинских военных, как в зеркале, отражаются все болезненные процессы и противоречия, существующие В армии: протекционизм, бюрократизм и формализм, социально-правовая незащищенность военнослужащих всех категорий, низкий уровень их материального обеспечения, падение престижа армии и военной дисциплины (Афонин, 2014, с. 57–58). Основное содержание текстов самоподдерживающего юмора – отношения начальствования и подчинения: «Пане сержант, а крокодили літають?» – «Солдат, ти що, «перегрівся»?» — «А командир нам казав, що літають.» — «Кхм... Значить так: літають, але дуже низько і лише у воєнний час. Зрозумів?»; «Вам було страшно в АТО?» – «Так.» – «Чого боялись найбільше?» — «Долбойобів.»; «Товариш капітан, фсьо!!!» — «Ну що, зробив?» военной Зламав!!!». Отражая специфику «Да!!! службы, поддерживающий юмор становится понятным только тем, кто находится внутри этой системы или когда-то соприкасался с ней. Например, интернетмем с вербальным компонентом: Де б ви не були, щоб ви не робили – завжди знайдеться той, хто прийде перевірити ваш план евакуації (визуальный компонент акцентирует внимание на схеме под названием «План евакуації», где присутствует схематическое изображение кругового движения с криками «А-а-а-а-а-а-а...» как символа паники) – отражает такую проблему в украинской армии, как несообразность оценки боеспособности воинских частей, которая определяется не по результатам ее реальной боеготовности и подготовки, а прежде всего по административным и хозяйственным показателям, по состоянию отчетности. Вербальный компонент интернет-мема – Если Вам не нравится место, где Вы находитесь, смените его, Вы же не дерево – акцентирует существующую в настоящее время сложную ситуацию, касающуюся увольнения из рядов армии. Отток кадров, порожденный отсутствием эффективной системы создания мотивации службы в армии, пытаются не допустить любой ценой. Форма и содержание таких трудовых отношений службы в армии являются непонятными для гражданских лиц.

Прагматическим направлением самоподдерживающего юмора в дискурсе украинских военных является стабилизирующая функция, которая связана с потребностью смягчить переживание фрустрации, сопряженной с обнаружением собственной несостоятельности, потребность в самопринятии, утверждении и сохранении (восстановлении) идентичности, преодолении внутреннего противоречивого отношения к себе и своим личностным качествам на основе постижения своего природного характера, здоровых основ «Я» (Копытин, 2014).

4. Конструктивный юмор, оставляющий 47 % от репрезентативной выборки. Прагматическим направлением конструктивного юмора становится его положительное влияние на процесс формирования группы благодаря его

способности облегчать межличностные контакты и вызывать положительные эмоции. Спонтанные шутки часто сопровождаются юмористическими образами, служащими развитию группы как живого, неформального коллектива людей, объединенных не внешними обязательствами, но общими интересами и значимой деятельностью (Копытин, 2014). Конструктивный юмор, в свою очередь, можно условно поделить на подгруппы:

а) юмор, содержащий эмоционально нейтральные раздражители (43 %). Такой юмор отражает типологию мышления (поведения) военнослужащего на базе имитационной модели жизнедеятельности индивида в конкретных условиях (типичных или экстремальных), которое зависит от внешних факторов, характеризующих армию как социальный институт: Вислів «розмір не має значення» придумали люди, котрі видають взуття; «А де видаються водійські права на керування танком?» – «Та керуйте так, хто Вас зупинить?»; Хозяюшке на заметку: куриные яйиа хранить/переносить в таре от ручных гранат РГД-5; «А що вам каже ваш тато?» – «Завжди стався до зброї як до зарядженої. Не спрямовуй туди, куди не хочеш стріляти. Ніколи не чіпай гачок доки не готовий стріляти. Перевіри, що перед мішенню і за нею»; «В армии три проблемы: 1) удержать лейтенанта на службе; 2) майора в семье; 3) отправить полковника на пенсию».

Следует отметить появление в юмористическом дискурсе украинских военных типичных комических образов, например, «Леха из пехоты»: «Леха, не молчи, скажи хоть что-нибудь!» (визуальный компонент — военный, находящийся полностью под водой, но держащий свое оружие над поверхностью так, что видно только кисти его рук); «Льоха, де ми? А давай у Славика спитаємо... Славик усю ніч на планшеті в танчики грав... Славик казав, що і так дорогу знає... правда, Славик?»; «Миколай, Ви не знаходити в цьому бульйоні нотки розмарину?» — «Льоха, мені казали, що ти — чудило, але ж не стільки!» (визуальный компонент — двое военных обедают, лежа на животах, прячась от дождя под танком).

Чувство юмора традиционно является ценным и востребованным у военнослужащих, может даже культивироваться в их субкультуре, и в какойто степени становится маркером их профессиональной самоидентификации, например, связистов (Главный девиз связистов: громче крикнул — дальше слышно!), разведчиков (... надо ховаться!!! Вон, даже нашу старуху в военную разведку забрали! (визуальный компонент изображает Сову — персонаж мультфильма «Винни Пух», а сова является символом военной разведки Украины), служащих военкоматов (Принять мужчину таким, как он есть, может только военкомат), артиллеристов (К черту таких друзей, которые вспоминают про тебя только тогда, когда им нужна твоя артиллерийская поддержка), снайперов (Человек с ружьем всегда найдет свою цель в жизни) и т.п.;

б) положительный, жизнеутверждающий юмор, содержащий эмоционально позитивные раздражители (4 %): *Не расстраивайся, если тебя*

никто не замечает! Из тебя может выйти отличный снайпер! Завжди май план Б (визуальный компонент — военный с рогаткой); Все, что не убивает меня, может не успеть удрать.

Жизнеутверждающий юмор вызывает ощущение того, что человек может справиться с любыми трудностями и в полной мере насладиться жизнью, поэтому не случайно, что именно такой вид юмор используется в рекламе армии Украины, которая распространяется в социальных сетях: B перспективну компанію потрібні оператори ΠK (здесь используется омонимия как механизм языковой игры — ΠK может означать пехотный пулемет и персональный компьютер); Eydb собою, крім випадків, коли ти можеш бути танкістом.

4. Выводы

Анализ юмористического дискурса военных в интернет-коммуникации доказал, что наиболее востребованным является конструктивный юмор, прагматическое направление которого формирования групповой идентичности. Прагматическим направлением самоподдерживающего юмора в дискурсе украинских военных является поддерживающая функция потребность смягчить переживание фрустрации. Прагматическая направленность уничижительного юмора носит защитный характер, его цель – обратить внимание общества, что служба в армии – это тяжелый и недооцененный труд, достойный уважения И благодарности. уничижительному юмору в дискурсе украинских военных следует также отнести насмешки над женщинами, проходящими военную службу или работающими в этой сфере. Причину появления уничижительного юмора по отношению к женщинам в армии следует искать в сохранении стереотипов, берущих свое начало в традициях Запорожской Сечи. Тема насилия, являясь доминантной в «черном юморе» украинского военного юмористического дискурса, позволяет наиболее очевидно реализовать направленность.

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THE PSYCHOLINGUISTIC FACTORS OF INDIRECT TRANSLATION IN UKRAINIAN LITERARY AND RELIGIOUS CONTEXTS

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Abstract. The study of indirect translations (IT) into Ukrainian, viewed from a psycholinguistic perspective, will contribute to a better understanding of Soviet national policies and the post-Soviet linguistic and cultural condition. The paper pioneers a discussion of the strategies and types of IT via Russian in the domains of literature and religion. In many cases the corresponding Russian translation, which serves as a source text for the Ukrainian one, cannot be established with confidence, and the "sticking-out ears" of Russian mediation may only be monitored at the level of sentence structure, when Russian wording underlies the Ukrainian text and distorts its natural fluency. The discussion substantiates the strategies and singles out the types of IT, in particular, (1) Soviet lower-quality retranslations of the recent, and mostly high-quality, translations of literary classics, which deliberately imitated lexical, grammatical, and stylistic patterns of the Russian language (became massive in scope in the mid1930s); (2) the translationfrom-crib type, or translations via the Russian interlinear version, which have been especially common in poetry after WWII, from the languages of the USSR nationalities and the socialist camp countries; (3) overt relayed translations, based on the published and intended for the audience Russian translations that can be clearly defined as the source texts for the IT into Ukrainian; this phenomenon may be best illustrated with Patriarch Filaret Version of the Holy Scripture, translated from the Russian Synodal Bible (the translation started in the early 1970s); and, finally, (4) later Soviet (from the mid1950s) and post-Soviet (during Independence period) hidden relayed translations of literary works, which have been declared as direct ones but in fact appeared in print shortly after the publication of the respective works in Russian translation and mirrored Russian lexical and stylistic patterns.

Keywords: psycholinguistic factors, strategies and types of translation, indirect translation, retranslation, translation-from-crib, relayed translation, intermediary language.

Коломієць Лада. Психолінгвістичні фактори опосередкованого перекладу в українському літературному та релігійному контекстах.

Анотація. Дослідження опосередкованих перекладів українською мовою з перспективи психолінгвістики допоможе глибше збагнути радянську національну політику та пострадянську мовно-культурну ситуацію. У статті вперше встановлюються й цілісно окреслюються стратегії та типи перекладів, опосередкованих російською мовою, в галузях літератури і релігії. У багатьох випадках неможливо однозначно вказати на відповідні російські переклади, які виступають джерелом для українських текстів, і лише на синтаксичному рівні вдається простежити як крізь українські слова прозирають російські тексти, які руйнують природний плин української мови. Авторка обґрунтовує стратегії та окреслює типи опосередкованого перекладу, зокрема 1) радянські повторні переклади

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нижчої якості, ніж нещодавно зроблені якісні переклади класичних творів, які зумисно імітують лексичні, граматичні та стилістичні зразки російської мови (цей тип набув масового характеру з середини 1930-х років); 2) переклад-зі-шпаргалки, тобто переклади через російські підрядники, які були особливо поширеними в жанрі поезії після другої світової війни; 3) відкриті естафетні переклади, які спираються на опубліковані для російської аудиторії російськомовні переклади, що їх можна легко ідентифікувати як джерельні тексти для опосередкованих українських перекладів; найкраще це явище вдалося проілюструвати перекладами Святого Письма, зробленими Патріархом Філаретом з російської синодальної Біблії (цю справу було розпочато ще на початку 1970-х років); нарешті, 4) пізньорадянські (з середини 1950-х років) та пострадянські (протягом періоду незалежності) приховані естафетні переклади художніх творів, про які видавці заявляють як про прямі переклади, але їхня фактична поява відразу після публікації відповідних творів російською мовою та лексико-стилістична схожіть на російські відповідники свідчить про їхню опосередкованість.

Ключові слова: психолінгвістичні фактори, стратегії та типи перекладу, опосередкований переклад, повторний переклад, переклад-зі-шпаргалки, естафетний переклад, мова-посередник.

1. Introduction

Even though translations via Russian became a mass phenomenon in the 20th century and they still permeate the polysystem of Ukrainian literary, mass media, and religious texts, Ukrainian scholars haven't paid due attention to this phenomenon, with few exceptions (see for instance a PhD dissertation of Bohdana Pliushch, 2016). Meanwhile, the study of indirect translations into Ukrainian, viewed from a psycholinguistic perspective, will contribute to a better understanding of Soviet national policies and the succeeding post-Soviet linguistic and cultural tendencies. In many cases the corresponding Russian translation, which serves as a source text for the Ukrainian one, cannot be established with confidence, and the "sticking-out ears" of Russian mediation may only be monitored at the level of sentence structure, when Russian wording underlies the Ukrainian text and distorts its natural fluency. The difficulties of establishing the corresponding textual basis for indirect translation are pinpointed by Czech scholar J. Špirk (2014, p. 143).

The basic psycholinguistic factors, put forward for consideration in this study, are the following: (1) human condition, (2) national situation, and (3) cultural agency. The study points to the need to consider the changing habitus of a translator throughout the 20th century, the socio-political environment of the act of translation, and the role of translator as cultural agent. The accommodation of the above psycholinguistic factors may help to build up the necessary links between the strategies, the status, and the agency of indirect translation into Ukrainian via Russian, and not only for the communist past but also for the rather inert in this respect post-communist present.

2. Methods

This paper pioneers a discussion of the strategies and types of indirect translation in the domains of literature and religion. It attempts to address a

multifaceted phenomenon of indirect translation in Ukrainian culture through the prism of psycholinguistic factors, which shape the character of this phenomenon.

The factor of human condition may be specified as the *habitus* of a translator, broadly understood as "the elaborate result of a personalized social and cultural history" (Simeoni, 1998, p. 32; cited in Jinyu Liu, 2012, p. 1169). According to Jinyu Liu, the habitus of a translator "as a producer may be defined as a durable, transposable disposition acquired by the socialized body, which invests in practice the organizing principles that are socially constructed in the course of a suited and dated experience" (Jinyu Liu, 2012, p. 1169). The habitus includes, but is not restricted to, the translator's age, gender, motivation, self-esteem, source and target language proficiency, translation experience, attitude to and aptitude for translation, as well as applied strategies of translation.

The factor of national situation deals with the socio-political environment of a translator, i.e., the issues of ideology and patronage, the authority and status of the source and target languages, the mass reader education and social profile. The dynamics of Ukrainian socio-political environment in the 20th century reveals a prescriptive, contradictory, and in many respects pernicious governmental policy towards translation in Soviet Ukraine, which promoted literalistic, "second-hand" translations of foreign authors from Russian as a relay language.

The factor of cultural agency brings forward the idea of the translator's mission, a conscious act of translating grounded in the feeling of interconnection between creativity and social change. As formulated in the Synopsis of the book *Cultural Agency in the Americas*, "Cultural agency' refers to a range of creative activities that contribute to society, including pedagogy, research, activism, and the arts" (Sommer, 2006). The study of indirect translation as a means of cultural agency and a resource of experiments with the normality/abnormality of certain target-language units in various time frames, contributes to a better understanding of cultural processes in the 20th-century Ukraine.

In line with H. Pieta & A. Rosa (2013) and M. Ringmar (2012), I will broadly use the term *indirect* translation in relation to any translation done from the intermediary language. Also, a different understanding of this term by E.-A. Gutt, built on the theory of relevance by D. Sperber & D. Wilson (*Relevance: Communication and Cognition*. Harvard University Press, 1986) turns out to be helpful if applied to censored translations published in Soviet Ukraine. Concerning the interpretation of the original, Gutt distinguishes between a *direct* translation, which is completely similar with the original, and an *indirect* translation, which only preserves an "adequate similarity" with it in relevant aspects (Gutt, 1990).

Xi Dong's reasoning for the correction of Gutt's understanding of the term "indirect translation" is noteworthy of attention in the Ukrainian context as well. Dong suggests considering the opposition of "direct" – "indirect" translation rather as the opposite strategies than the types of translation, depending on the translator's decision whether to explicate or not the original author's implications (Xi Dong, 2012, p. 43). Therefore, a strategically manipulative translation, or "oblique" in

Vinay & Darbelnet's model (cited in Munday, 2010, p. 57), is referred to as "indirect" in Gutt and Dong.

To certain type of indirect translations P. Flynn's term "crib translation" (2013) is pertinent. It refers to translation from a crib of a foreign text in the language familiar to the producer of the "next" translation. The intermediary-language crib is necessary in the case if the final target text producer lacks knowledge of the first source text language.

As regards the first target language translations (direct translations), which serve as relay texts for the next-language translations, Danish scholar C. Dollerup advances a typology that distinguishes between 1) translations done for internal use only and 2) those translations that were specifically designed for the first target language audience (Dollerup, 2014, p. 3). For Ukrainian translations based on the published and intended for the audience Russian translations that can be clearly defined as the source (relay) texts for the "next" (relayed) translation, it would be appropriate to adopt the term "relayed translation," suggested by Dollerup (in order to differentiate such a type from other types of indirect translation).

The phenomenon observed by Dollerup (2014) as a *relayed translation*, when the first translation is chosen as the source text, in fact, relates to the first translation as *the* original and, thus, does not necessarily involve minimum three languages.

3. The Study

In line with Gutt's interpretation of the term *indirect* translation as the one that does not seek a complete similarity with the original text and meets only the requirement of adequate similarity in pertinent aspects (Gutt, 1990), a number of the 20th-century literary translations, especially of Western authors, may be called "indirect." For instance, this is the case for certain works of Jack London that have been tailored into the Communist Party's ideological weapon (Burghardt, 1939, p. 97).

Built on Gutt's broad understanding of indirect translation as the one being adequately similar, or only enough similar, to the original, Xi Dong's (2012) suggestion to consider the term *indirect* rather as a strategy, than a type of translation, is suitable for the study of Ukrainian literary context as well. Dong argues that it is the translator's decision between accuracy and relevant adequacy that will determine the character of translation strategy, which in the latter case may be called *indirect*.

A large group of retranslations into Ukrainian, in which Russian as the third language is not overtly involved, but whose grammatical and stylistic patterns appear to be closely imitative of Russian, came to existence in the mid1930s, with a drive towards Russification of the Ukrainian language and culture and rewriting of the majority of previous translations, which were declared "nationalistic" because they demonstrated multiple differences between the Russian and Ukrainian languages.

This category of lower-quality retranslations hovers between the type of indirect translation, as it is understood by Pieta & Rosa, and Ringmar, i.e., via the

third language-mediator, and the type of *strategically manipulative* translation, which is also called "indirect" by Gutt and Dong.

Among the most telling examples, I cannot but mention *The Gadfly*, a novel by Ethel Lilian Voynich highly popular in the Soviet Union, which first was published in Ukrainian under the title "Gedz'" in 1929, and then retranslated and printed in 1935 under the Russified title "Ovid" (from Russian: "Ovod"). It is the later version of the novel—abridged and impoverished lexically and stylistically approximating the Russian language patterns—that was reprinted in 1936, 1938, 1955, 1985, and even in independent Ukraine in 2008.

After WWII the category of lower-quality retranslations would be supplemented by a massive phenomenon of translations from Russian-language cribs, if to make use of P. Flynn's term "crib translation" (2013), primarily from the languages of the USSR nationalities and especially in poetry. As applied to Ukrainian literary context, I would rather specify the term "crib translation" as translation-from-crib, when the source text for translation is an interlinear Russian version of a foreign-language original, which serves as a supportive script for the Ukrainian "translator," who lacks knowledge of the first source-text language.

Translations via Russian-language cribs from the national minority languages in Ukraine, especially from Yiddish as the largest after Russian national minority language, were plentiful in the 1920s. In the translation-from-crib, the interim Russian text was not designed for an audience. Anonymous and not for disclosure, it was made only to communicate the source-language message, and primarily to a poet-commissioner who would later versify it. Such was the publishers' editorial policy as well as the social consensus on this issue. This tendency was established as a big move in the second half of the 1930s in accordance with the Communist Party's nationalities policy and its hypocritically declared course at the "friendship of the peoples," when translations became considered an instrument of consolidation of the Soviet Union (Leighton, 1991, p. 18), and after 1945 an instrument of consolidation of the socialist camp.

In accord with C. Dollerup (2014, p. 3), I differentiate between the first target language translations done for internal use only (this category can be exemplified by the abovementioned interlinear Russian-language cribs for Ukrainian writers, who nevertheless were not supposed to give credit to the interim-version authors), and the first target language translations specifically designed for this language audience. In regard to Ukrainian translations based on the published Russian translations as clearly defined source texts, I prefer using the term "relayed translation," adopted from Dollerup.

Alongside translations-from-crib, which have been and still are abundant in social media, relayed translations were commonplace and by no means shameful in the Soviet Union. Nevertheless, Ukrainian literary critics haven't been overtly supportive of relayed translations. Moreover, some of them openly denounced such a strategy as early as the 1920s (Beletskii, 1929/2011, p. 386), but Russian-mediated translations, e.g., Mayne Reid's novel *Osceola, vatazhok seminoliv* [Osceola the

Seminole, or, The Red Fawn of the Flower Land] (1928), were mostly successful with the general public.

During the national revival period of the 1920s, French, Polish, English and German, along with the Russian language, could also occasionally serve as relay languages for the translators of Western authors (Kolomiyets, 2015).

Relayed translations took firm root in Ukrainian literary domain as a frequent but covert activity in the post-WWII period. Whole clusters of translations from foreign authors, such as Danish Communist writer Martin Andersen-Nexø, strangely coincided in time with the publication of (multivolume) editions of those authors in Russian. For example, several separate prints of the works by Andersen-Nexø appeared in Ukrainian as alleged translations from Danish the next year after the last volume of the Andersen-Nexø 10-volume *Collection of Works* saw the light of day in Russian translation (1951-1954). During the later Soviet and post-Soviet decades, the practice of hidden relayed translations, declared as direct ones, continued. In religious context, the facts of relayed translations from Russian have been overt and methodologically justified in the eyes of the Orthodox high clergy by stylistic propensities of (post-)Soviet Ukrainian society.

My suggestion, thus, is to differentiate between the *hidden* and *overt relayed translations*. The latter category will be further exemplified by the developments of translation in Ukrainian religious context.

The translation of liturgical books into the living Ukrainian language has been one of the features of Ukrainian national revival in the 1920s and throughout the 20th century. Outstanding church intellectuals were dedicated to the cause of producing as accurate translations as possible from Old Hebrew and Old Greek while creating the solemnity of high biblical style in Ukrainian, with a rhythmical, melodious, and fluent diction. After the liquidation of Ukrainian Autocephalous Orthodox Church in 1930 and mass repressions against its clergy, the published Ukrainian editions of liturgical books were subject to removal and destruction. Ukrainian texts of the Holy Scripture were also proscribed by the Russian Orthodox church, which did not recognize Ukrainian as a language of divine service and demanded that the Bible be read in churches in the Russian redaction of the Old Church Slavonic translation.

The phenomenon of overt relayed translation can be illustrated with Patriarch Filaret Version of the Holy Scripture. By the early 1970s, when Reverend Filaret started his translation of the New Testament from the Russian Synodal Bible (first printing 1876), together with the translation commission consisting of theologians and the Ukrainian language experts, which he had organized specifically for this purpose, the living Ukrainian language became substantially Russified and diluted with a colloquial mixture of Russian and Ukrainian, or the so-called *Surzhyk*. The general feeling of solemnity of the church language for Soviet Ukrainians began to be tightly bound to the Russian-language liturgical style. This connection was deliberately preserved by Patriarch Filaret in the 1988 New Testament edition and the 2004 entire Bible, both translated from Church Russian of the Synodal Bible (in which the translation of the Old Testament is based on the Jewish Masoretic Text and of the New Testament on the Greek printed editions of mid19th century).

After 2004, Filaret continues translating and publishing other liturgical books, into which he introduces quotations from the Holy Scripture in his own translation that relies on the Russian Synodal Bible but differs from both the Church Slavonic and the previous Ukrainian liturgical traditions. Filaret explains the success of his translation project by the usage of recognizable "ecclesiastic language" (Filaret, 2018, p. 56–57) in comparison with the strategy of Metropolitan Ilarion (Ivan Ohiienko), who translated the Bible "word-for-word" (doslivno) from Old Hebrew and Old Greek (Ilarion, 1962). Filaret's reasoning for his search of the Ukrainian ecclesiastic language seems rather controversial because he sees the alternative to Ohiienko's view of the biblical language, which for Ohiienko is a melodious and rhythmical language of prayer and soul (Ilarion, 1958, p. 17), ¹ in the language of the Russian Orthodox Church.

4. Results and Discussion

4.1. The changing habitus of a translator

At the turn from the 1920s to the 1930s, the habitus of Ukrainian translator changed. Consequently, the pre-WWII decade witnessed a gradual recession of translation activity while the number of translations from the third (Russian) language rose. Translations from (and via) Russian were turning into more and more literalistic. Such an adjustment implies that the strategies of translation substantially changed responding to certain changes in socio-political environment. As argued by Lawrence Venuti, "[s]trategies in producing translations inevitably emerge in response to domestic cultural situations," whereas the internal situation in culture is conditioned by several factors, and not only cultural, but also political and economic (Venuti, 2001, p. 240).

At the height of Ukrainization policy in the late 1920s, during its active governmental support (Pauly, 2014), relayed translations of the works of Western classics were not considered acceptable. In order to imagine the difference in attitudes to indirect translation of the classics between the late 1920s and the mid1950s, it would suffice to take a look at a critical review of the first complete Ukrainian translation of *The Decameron* by the 14th-century Italian author Giovanni Boccaccio (Kharkiv, 1929), published in the leading Soviet literary magazine *Chervonyi Shliakh* [Red Path] in 1930 and written by one of the most significant literary critics of that time Hryhorii Maifet (1930/2011, p. 344–356). In subsequent years, a total blackout regarding any criticism of relayed translation practice would last until Khrushchev's Thaw.

Printed in the amount of 5,000 copies, the 1929 two-volume Ukrainian translation of *The Decameron* was done from the complete French translation of the book, published by G. Charpentier in Paris in 1879. The two translators, talented

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¹ Ohiienko's methodology of translating the Holy Scripture and liturgical books had three basic purposes: (1) enrichment of national language (in particular, by means of rendering the variety of biblical synonyms); (2) inadmissibility of low colloquialisms; and (3) application of metrical verse. The lack of rhythmicity and melodiousness was considered by Ohiienko a substantial disadvantage of the previous high-quality translation of the Bible by Panteleimon Kulish (the 1903 edition). In Ohiienko's view, "the biblical language, the language of prayer, the language of soul, is a melodious language" (Ilarion, 1958, p. 17).

belletrists Leonid Pakharevskyi and Pavlo Maiorskyi (real mane Sabaldyr), also kept at hand a complete Russian translation of Boccaccio's collected novellas done by Alexander Veselovsky (1891, reprint in 1928). Canzone in the book were translated by one of the best Ukrainian poets Mykola Voronyi. Two literary editors (S. Rodzevych of the first volume, and P. Mokhor of the second one) checked the produced text against the Italian original. As a result, the Ukrainian translation turned out semantically more accurate at some places than Veselovsky's translation of the book; moreover, certain omissions in Veselovsky, resulting from the intrusion of censorship, were rectified in the Ukrainian version. Yet, despite some evident achievements of this edition, it received a harsh criticism from Maifet—just for being a non-direct translation. In particular, the critic argues that "to translate from a translation means to double if not to square all of the collateral semantic overtones" (Maifet, 1930/2011, p. 356). His verdict is that in principle any orientation at a foreign translation, rather than at the original, appears to be false because of its bordering on unacceptable amateurism (Ibid.).

At that time and all the way to the mid1930s, literary translations from a language-mediator could be tolerated by Ukrainian critics rather as the exception, than a daily routine. Exceptions were made for

- (1) popular Western authors and social activists whose works were originally written in little-known languages, e.g., a novel by Swedish geographer and travel writer Sven Hedin, translated from German and published by the Knyhospilka cooperative union in 1926 under the title "Zavoiovnyky Ameryky" [The conquerors of America] (Kolomiyets, 2015, p. 80);
- (2) proletarian literature and related works by contemporary authors from outside the USSR, particularly those written in little-known languages, e.g., a novel "The True Story of Ah Q" by Chinese writer Lu Xun (real name Zhou Zhangshou), translated into Ukrainian from French and published in 1927 (Kolomiyets, 2015, p. 56);
- (3) literary works written in the little-known and minority languages of the USSR nationalities, specifically those that were socialist in spirit or politically engaged with the CP(b)U directives.

It should be noted that translations of Western authors via Russian were rare in the late1920s. They can be exemplified by the following books: two separate editions of short stories by Norwegian author Hans Aanrud – "Rybalchyn syn" [Fisherman's son], published by Kyiv literary circle Chas in 1927, and "Ne takyi, yak usi liudy (opovidannia z zhyttia norvezkykh selian)" [Not like all people (stories from the life of Norwegian peasants)], published by Knyhospilka in Kharkiv in 1930 – both translations were most likely done from the 1919 Moscow (Russian) edition of Aanrud's short stories, entitled "Norvezhskie rasskazy" [Norwegian stories] (Kolomiyets, 2015, p. 259); or, again, two separate editions of the stories of classical Dutch writer Eduard Douwes Dekker (pen name Multatuli) – "Saïd ta Adinda (opovidannia z zhyttia tubiltsiv na ostrovi Yava" [Said and Adinda (A story about the life of indigenous people on the island of Java)], printed by State Publishers of Ukraine in 1927, and "Pid chuzhym yarmom" [Under someone else's

yoke], published by Knyhospilka in 1929; it is likely that both translations were done from Russian, or at least the latter one, authored by a noted translator from Russian Prokhor Voronyn (Kolomiyets 2015, p. 74).

A large part of the works representing the little-known and minority languages of the USSR have been initially written in Russian, for instance a collection of autobiographic stories "Mudreshkiv syn" [The son of Mudresh] by Kalmyk writer Anton Amur-Sanan and a book "In the Kazakh steppes" by Kazakh author and female activist A. Nukhrat, both editions printed in Ukrainian translation from Russian by the Literatura i Mystetstvo [Literature and Art] publishing house in 1932 (Kolomiyets, 2015, p. 55), or a novel "Zhuttia Imteurgina starshoho" [Life of Imteurgin the Elder] by the classic of Yukagir literature Teki Odulok (real name Nikolai Ivanovich Spiridonov), printed in Ukrainian translation from Russian by Children's Publishing House of the UkrSSR in 1935, the year following its first publication (Kolomiyets, 2015, p. 57).

All the above authors were compelled to use Russian for their works for similar linguistic reasons—because of the Communist reforms of native writing systems that have been crushing minor languages and impairing their natural development. Thus, the Old Kalmyk writing system was to be destroyed and an unsuitable Cyrillic script adopted in 1924. In the same year the Kazakh alphabet, based on Arabic script, underwent a reform bringing it closer to Kazakh phonetics, but in 1929 the Arabic graphics was replaced by Jalalif, or the Latin script-based "new alphabet," in accordance with the Soviet project of Latinization of the Turkic languages aiming to replace the traditional writing systems and create a unified alphabet for minor languages, such as Yukagir, throwing away their oral epic tradition (the Yukagir people, whose autonym is the Odul people, have never had their own writing system, instead their culture found itself deeply rooted in national epos — a unique oral tradition, which compensated for the lack of written texts).

A phenomenon of the USSR nationalities classics who wrote in Russian may be considered, thus, as a type of (self-)translation from the native into the foreign language, and in this respect Russian would covertly play the role of a relay language for the Ukrainian translators of that kind of works.

4.2. The socio-political environment of the act of translation

Stalin's political regime destroyed not only the old writing systems and oral traditions, but also the lives of the USSR nationalities writers. The arrest of Teki Odulok (whose pen name originates from Yukagir and means "a little Odul") in 1937 and execution by firing squad in 1938 can best illustrate the Communist Party's intolerance and violent extremism towards any USSR nationality leader, even though this person propagated their rule. By the late 1930s, translations via Russian as a relay language would become an unwritten code that the USSR nationalities translators were supposed to live by. Next to original authors, hundreds of translators would fall victim to the Soviet regime.

From the mid1930s to the mid1950s, relayed translations via Russian (both from published books and interlinear cribs) of the works of Soviet and foreign

authors were not targeted by the critics at all, having been unofficially justified as fully functional and, thus, granted the status of full value translations.

Lower-quality retranslations of the previous translations, which had been done by outstanding writers and public intellectuals of the 1920s, or the members of the old Ukrainian intelligentsia families, became a frequent occurrence, too. Shifting in the 1930s the just-established norm of translation, with its explicit focus on the original work as the only source for translation, towards an inclusion of Russian language-mediated (re)translations was motived by the necessity of formation of the mass soviet reader.

A reorientation from the original source text to the target mass audience resulted in numerous retranslations of the recent high-quality translations of Western classics. For instance, a famous novel The Life and Strange Surprizing Adventures of Robinson Crusoe (1719) by Daniel Defoe was twice printed by the Kharkiv branch of State Publishers of Ukraine (under the title Zhyttia i dyvni pryhody Robinzona Kruzo) - the first edition in 1927, translated by Halyna Orlivna and abridged by E. I. Zbarska; the second edition in 1929, revised and enlarged by E. I. Zbarska. In 1934 the book appeared in Kharkiv under a slightly modified title, Zhyttia i dyvovyzhni pryhody Robinzona Kruzo, printed by Children's Publishing House, though without any mention of the translator(s). In this form, it would be reprinted in 1936 and 1937. State Publishers of Literature, Derzhlitvyday, printed in Kyiv in 1938 an unabridged version of the novel under the title Zhyttia i chudni ta dyvovyzhni pryhody Robinzona Kruzo, moriaka z Yorka, napysani nym samym [The life and strange surprizing adventures of Robinson Crusoe: of York, mariner; Written by himself]. It was a relayed translation done from the Russian unabridged text, and the translator's name was not mentioned (Kolomiyets, 2015, p. 75).

In post-Soviet Ukraine, abridged versions of the novel have been printed many times, e.g., in 1993 under the title *Robinzon Kruzo*, without any division of the text into chapters (Kyiv publishing house Kotyhorosko). This version was digitized into an e-book in 2004 by the company Aerius. In 2017 the novel appeared under the title *Zhyttia i nezvychaini ta dyvovyzhni pryhody Robinzona Kruzo* (Kyiv publishing house Znannia; book series "Treasures: Youth series"), and it was reprinted in 2018 by the same publisher in another book series, "English library," etc. No one of the above editions has ever mentioned the name(s) of the translator(s).

Such examples reflect the fact that from the 1930s, translations from the third language became habitual for a long time, up to and including the present day. The Russian language has played an exclusive role of the only language-mediator, and for translations of political literature it has been a compulsory mediator in the USSR.

A shift in the translation norm towards wide inclusion of Russian-based relayed translations of Western classics, with a literalistic mirroring of Russian texts in new retranslations of the classics, has reshaped the translator's habitus to such as extent that, for instance, the complete translation of the most influential Spanish novel *Don Quixote* by Miguel de Cervantes, published in Kyiv in 1955, was overtly declared as *translation from Russian*, done by Vasyl Kozachenko and Yevhen

Krotevych (it should be duly noted, however, that all of the poems in this edition were directly translated from Spanish by Mykola Lukash) (Kolomiyets, 2015, p. 265).

It was Ukrainian genius translator Mykola Lukash who publicly denounced relayed translations in his speech "Prohresyvna zakhidnoievropeiska literatura v perekladakh na ukrainsku movu" [Progressive Western European Literature in Ukrainian Translations], delivered at the Republican Conference of Ukrainian Translators in Kyiv on 16 February 1956 (Lukash, 2009). However, the mass production of relayed literalistic translations from Russian endured even in the post-Soviet time, and on a more modest scale it continues to this day.

Influenced by the socio-political environment and its dynamics, the shifted norm of translation not only allowed for the existence of impoverished Russian-based literalistic versions of Western classics, but also dictated the importance of translating exclusively from ideologically checked Russian-language texts, bypassing the originals, in the area of social science. Among the most telling examples of a still surviving habit of translating the classics from Russian-language relay texts is the novel *The Adventures of Tom Sawyer* by Mark Twain.

There has been a plurality of translations of this famed novel in Soviet and post-Soviet Ukraine. As early as 1923 State Publishers of Ukraine printed the book in Odessa, with reprints in 1928 and 1930, but no mention of the translator was made. Children's Publishing House (Kharkiv-Odessa) printed the novel in Yurii Koretskyi's translation in 1935, with reprints in 1948 and 1955 (Kolomiyets, 2015, p. 85). In 1954 a new translation by Volodymyr Mytrofanov appeared, with numerous subsequent reprints, of which the most recent one was published in 2002. Translated by L. Krasavitska, the novel was printed in Kharkiv in 2001, with reprints in 2005, 2006 and 2007. Translated by S. H. Fesenko, it appeared in Donetsk in 2006. A retelling of the novel by V. Levytska saw the light of day in 2009. As argued by the researches, "in part the Ukrainian translations [of this novel] of the recent two decades have a purely commercial purpose and represent a slapdash job relying on various Russian versions" (Solodovnikova, 2017, p. 101).

A similar story happened to the prominent novel by Irish writer Jonathan Swift Gulliver's Travels. It has been printed lots of times, in various versions and volumes. Early abridged translations by Mykola Ivanov appeared in several publishing houses under slightly different titles. In 1928 State Publishers of Ukraine (Kyiv) printed Mandry Gulliverovi, Children's Publishing House (Kharkiv-Odessa) brought out Podorozhi Gullivera in 1935 (reprinted in 1938 in Kharkiv under the title Mandry Gullivera) and Gulliver u liliputiv in 1937. State Publishers of Literature (Kyiv-Kharkiv) printed Mandry do riznykh dalekykh krain svitu Lemiuelia Gullivera in 1935. Translated by G. Zaitsev, a chapter of the novel Podorozh Gullivera do krainy liliputiv was published by Knyhospilka cooperative union in 1929 (Kolomiyets 2015, p. 79).

After WWII there was a ban on the name of Mykola Ivanov, and partially on his translations, because he fled to Germany during WWII where his trace was lost. The researchers admit, anyway, that Ivanov died somewhere in Siberia, in the

concentration camp, after being caught by the NKVD agents and sent back to the USSR.

Still, the 1976 edition of Swift's novel under the full title *Mandry do riznykh dalekykh krain svitu Lemiuelia Gullivera, spochatku likaria, a potim kapitana kilkokh korabliv* [Travels into Several Remote Nations of the World of Lemuel Gulliver, First a Surgeon, and then a Captain of Several Ships] (Kyiv: Veselka) mentions only the name of Yurii Lisniak as the translator from English, although for the most part Lisniak was an editor of Ivanov's work. In 1983 the book appeared in the series "Tops of World Literature" (volume 47) under the title *Mandry Gulivera* [Gulliver's Travels] (Kyiv: Dnipro), with the name Yurii Lisniak as the translator from English.

Below I will survey only the print editions of the novel in Ukrainian, leaving aside its multiple digitized versions. Thus, Mykola Ivanov was mentioned again as translator in the 2004 edition of the novel by Kharkiv publishing house Folio, entitled *Mandry do riznykh dalekykh krain svitu Lemiuelia Gullivera*, spershu likaria, a potim kapitana kilkokh korabliv (reprint in 2013).

The following year, Children's Publisher A-BA-BA-HA-LA-MA-HA in Kyiv printed a beautifully illustrated edition of the book, *Mandry Gullivera*, admitting Mykola Ivanov as translator from English and Rostyslav Dotsenko as editor. The book has been reprinted 4 times (in the series "Books that transcended time").

That same year Kyiv publishing house Shkola printed the book *Mandry do riznykh dalekykh krain svitu Lemiuelia Gullivera, spochaktu likaria, a potim kapitana kilkokh korabliv,* with mention of Mykola Ivanov as translator from English and Yurii Lisliak as editor. This edition was reprinted under the cover page title *Mandry Lemiuelia Gullivera* in the series "Children's world best seller" in 2010 (Kyiv: National Book Project).

Mykola Ivanov is also recognized as translator from English in the 2016 edition of the novel (nonetheless, no editor is mentioned) by Kyiv publishing house Znannia, entitled *Mandry do riznykh viddalekykh krain svitu Lemiuelia Gullivera, spershu likaria, a potim kapitana kilkokh korabliv* (in the series "Treasures: Youth Series").

The 2009 edition under the title *Mandry Gullivera* by Kyiv publishing house Kraïna mrii (series "Favorite books," section "Vsevolod Nestaiko radyt pochytaty") was reprinted in 2010, 2011, and 2013. This edition gives a vague and suspicious reference to who and how did the translation – "per. [tr.] L. Borsuk." It turns out in later editions, though, that the text has been adapted (not translated!) – "perekaz. z angl. [retold from Engl. by] L. Borsuk." A slightly more correct categorization – "retold for children by O. A. Volosevych" – the reader would find in the book *Mandry Gulivera u Liliputiui ta krainu veletniv* [Gulliver's Travels to Lilliputia and the land of giants], printed by Lviv publishers Avers in 2001, which also specifies the category of readers: "for primary and lower-secondary school age." Still, the source text for "retelling" is not indicated in this edition. The next year's printing of the novel, *Mandry do riznykh dalekykh krain svitu Lemiuelia Gullivera, spershu likaria, a potim kapitana kilkokh korabliv*, by Lviv publishers Chervona Kalyna

should supposedly – judging from the title – contain the unabridged version. Nevertheless, the source text is not mentioned at all, nor the translator(s) or editor(s). Instead, the publishers inform their readers that the novel "is compiled" (?!) ("uporiad.") by L. Fedoriv.

Amidst the variety of unadmitted relayed translations and adaptations, the 2011 edition, *Mandry Gullivera*, by Kharkiv Book Club publishers "Family Leisure Club" (series "Adventure Library"), specified "for lower-secondary school age," stands out as a rare exception. This is the only Ukrainian edition of Swift's novel that overtly gives reference to the Russian-language translation as its relay source text, referring to the book *Puteshestviia Gullivera*, published in Belgorod in 2010. But there's more. In the book description section, the reader will find information on how the Russian source text has been handled. It turns out that one person has translated it ("per. [tr.] Halyna Fursa") and another person adapted ("adapt. [adapt. by] Andriia Klimova").

4.3. The role of translator as cultural agent

During the years of colonial dependence upon Russian ideological, cultural, and religious dictatorship, Ukrainian translation has been carrying out a double mission: one was liberating and nation-building, another Sovietizing and Russifying.

Many important Ukrainian intellectuals of the 20th century have treated and practiced translation as a conscious choice of the way to serve God, their nation, language, and culture. Translational action of Patriarch Filaret, who acted as an inspirator, coordinator, mentor, and translator himself, aimed at creating a new translation of the Holy Scripture into the living Ukrainian language as the most suitable for the present-day Ukrainian Christians, the most inclusive and efficient with the Ukrainian Church parishioners, stands out as a prominent example in that regard.

The methodology of relayed translation applied by Filaret (secular name Mykhailo Denysenko; born on 23 January 1929 into a Ukrainian-speaking family of Anton and Melania Denysenko), with the focus on the Russian Synodal Bible, was rooted both in the individual and national history, in Patriarch's provenance from the village of Blahodatne in the Donetsk Oblast (province) in Eastern Ukraine. The Ukrainian identity and the language choice were never questioned in the family of Denysenkos. It was simply *natural* for this family, as well as for other families from the village of Blahodatne, to be Ukrainians and to speak Ukrainian (Filaret 2018, pp. 66-67). Mykhailo's father worked at the local cement plant, as many of his covillagers did. When the Artificial Famine (the Holodomor) struck, he managed to save his family from hunger death thanks to a miraculously lucky employment in the nearby mine shafts, where normally only the non-local people (non-Ukrainians) were permitted to work. Those workers were imported mostly from the Russian Federation and from all over the USSR when Stalin declared the industrialization of the Donbass. As a memoirist, Filaret maintains that the mine workers, who were predominantly ethnic Russians, received a regular bread ration whereas the plant

workers from the surrounding Ukrainian villages were destined to die from starvation (ibid.)

Having been raised as Ukrainian-speaking individual, Mykhailo Denysenko obtained his theological education in the fold of Moscow Patriarchate: at the Odessa Seminary and the Moscow Theological Academy. As a consistent reformer of the Orthodox Church in Ukraine and its Ukrainizer in the later Soviet and post-Soviet decades, Filaret was seeking in the Ukrainian language of the Bible the variant of the language he was used to, with a habitual naturalness of the Central-Ukrainian dialect, which has formed the basis for the literary Ukrainian language in the UkrSSR. The living fluency and solemnity of high biblical style in Filaret's translation strategy is not distanced from Church Slavonic lexical patterns and their Russian equivalents, nor is it severed from the solemnity of high biblical style in the Russian language. Filaret set out his reasons for a new translation of the Bible based on the belief that the previous translation by Ivan Ohiienko¹ has not been read and acclaimed by Ukrainians (particularly in Ukraine) because its language doesn't feel as an ecclesiastic/church language. Having realized that fact, Filaret set the aim to retranslate the Bible so that the Ukrainians could feel an ecclesiastic solemnity of its language (Filaret, 2018, p. 56-57).²

From the political history perspective, the story of Filaret's translation of the New Testament has been tightly intertwined with the warming of political regime in the Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic. The translation was ready for publication as early as 1971, when Petro Shelest (1908-1996), the First Secretary of the Communist Party of the Ukrainian SSR and a member of the Politburo of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, made a protection for it. During his tenure, there was a brief resurgence of the Ukrainian national culture. Filaret created a commission of theologians and experts in the Ukrainian language, which translated the New Testament. It was submitted to the Council on Religions. In 1972 Shelest was transferred to the post of deputy chairman of the USSR Council of Ministers as a result of political "intrigues" of his successor, but also because Shelest "was Ukrainizing Ukraine," as Filaret admitted in his autobiographic interview. Consequently, the Ukrainian translation of the New Testament was ordered to be destroyed. However, as Filaret admits, a copy of it was fortunately saved (Filaret, 2018, p. 57).

The Filaret Version of the Bible has now been accepted by all Ukrainian churches and reprinted separately with Greek Catholics, Roman Catholics, and Protestants. This translation can be generally characterized as a "modernized" one (Dzera, 2014, p. 219).

¹ During WWII, there appeared a separate edition of the New Testament – *The New Testament of our Lord and Savior, Jesus Christ. Translated from Greek by Ivan Ohiienko* («Новий Заповіт» Господа й Спасителя нашого Ісуса Христа. З грецької переклав Іван Огієнко) – together with *The Book of Psalms. Translated from Old Hebrew by Ivan Ohiienko* (Книга Псалмів. З давньоєврейської переклав Іван Огієнко). The book was published in Stockholm in 1942. The entire Bible in Ohiienko's translation saw the light of day only in 1962.

² "[О]сь переклав Огієнко Біблію українською мовою – професор, знавець української мови, а Біблію його не читали, не хотіли. Я сам цікавився свого часу, чому Біблію українською мовою не беруть люди-українці? Потім я зрозумів, мова – не церковна. Не церковна мова. І тому я поставив завдання: перекласти знову Біблію українською мовою, але так, щоб мова була церковна" (Filaret, 2018, р. 56-57).

5. Conclusion

The discussion in this paper substantiates the strategies and psycholinguistic factors of various types of indirect translation, such as (1) Soviet lower-quality retranslations of the recent, and mostly high-quality, translations of literary classics, which deliberately imitated lexical, grammatical, and stylistic patterns of the Russian language (became massive in scope in the mid1930s); (2) the translationfrom-crib type, or translations via the Russian interlinear version, which have been especially common in poetry after WWII, from the languages of the USSR nationalities and the socialist camp countries; (3) overt relayed translations, based on the published and intended for the audience Russian translations that can be clearly defined as the source texts for the indirect translation into Ukrainian; this phenomenon may be best illustrated with Patriarch Filaret Version of the Holy Scripture, translated from the Russian Synodal Bible (the translation started in the early 1970s); and, finally, (4) later Soviet (from the mid1950s) and post-Soviet (during Independence period) hidden relayed translations of literary works, which have been declared as direct ones but in fact appeared in print shortly after the publication of the respective works in Russian translation and stylistically mirrored the Russian patterns.

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TURKISH, BULGARIAN AND GERMAN LANGUAGE MIXING AMONG BULGARIAN MUSLIM ROMA IN GERMANY

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Abstract. The paper discusses language mixing by Muslim Roma migrants from northeastern Bulgaria living in Berlin, Germany. They identify as Turks and in their everyday communication speak mainly Bulgarian and an old northwestern lect of Turkish, in the scientific literature known as Balkanized Turkish. They can speak relatively little German and have demonstrably low proficiency in the language. The paper examines their language mixing as well as the forms of code-switching between Turkish, Bulgarian and German. These linguistic and social phenomena within the Muslim Roma community are analyzed within the framework of several sociolinguistic theories regarding code-switching and bilingualism. The theory of J. Gumperz (1962) about communication matrix is employed as a dynamic frame and patterns of Turkish-Bulgarian, Turkish-German and Turkish-Bulgarian-German are presented and analyzed. The borrowed grammatical categories in the Turkish-Bulgarian-German language contacts involve nouns, verbs, adjectives, adverbs and negations. However, code-switching is used only in communication with other Bulgarians. In communication with Turks from Turkey the lexical borrowings are from German and they use another variety of Turkish. The Muslim Roma in Berlin observed in this study are diverse in their multilingualism. Among them there are speakers of Romani, Bulgarian and Turkish, and of Turkish and Bulgarian, while German, however learned, is their third or fourth language. Differing emergent patterns among second-generation migrants, born or raised from an early age in Berlin, suggest different patterns emerging and such research is a key desideratum.

Keywords: Muslim Roma, Bulgarian, code-switching, bilingualism.

Кючуков Хрісто. Проблема змішування турецької, болгарської та німецької мов у болгарських ромів-мусульман у Німеччині.

Анотація. У статті йдеться про явище мовного змішування в мусульманських ромівмігрантів із північно-східної Болгарії, що мешкають у Берліні (Німеччина). Досліджувані ідентифікують себе як турки, й у повсякденному спілкуванні розмовляють здебільшого болгарською мовою та давнім різновидом турецької, що в науковій літературі одержало назву балканізованої турецької. Рівень володіння німецькою мовою у досліджуваних мовців відносно низький. У статті описано феномен змішування мови, а також форми перемикання турецького, болгарського та німецького мовних кодів. Ці лінгвістичні та соціальні явища в мусульманській спільноті ромів аналізуються в межах декількох соціолінгвістичних теорій щодо перемикання коду та двомовності. В основу дослідження покладено теорію Дж. Гамперца (1962) щодо матриці спілкування. У статті представлено та досліджено приклади комбінування турецько-болгарської, турецько-німецької та турецькоболгарсько-німецької кодів. З'ясовано, що до граматичних категорій, які підпорядковуються феноменові перемикання коду в турецько-болгарсько-німецькому мовному

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варіанті, належать іменники, дієслова, прикметники, прислівники та заперечні конструкції. Однак, перемикання коду простежено тільки під час спілкування з іншими болгарами. Визначено, що у спілкуванні з турками з Туреччини перемикання коду наявне лише між турецькою та німецькою мовами, а також виявлено використання іншого варіанта турецької мови. Роми-мусульмани з Берліна демонструють багатомовність. Серед них – носії ромської, болгарської й турецької; турецької й болгарської. Водночас німецька, попри її знання, посідає третє чи четверте місце за частотністю послуговування. Вивчення мовних патернів мігрантів у другому поколінні, – народжених чи вихованих змалку в Берліні, у своєму розмаїтті видається перспективою подальшого дослідження.

Ключові слова: роми-мусульмани, болгарська мова, перемикання кодів, двомовність.

1. Introduction

1.1. Sociolinguistic features of the Bulgarian Muslim Roma community in Berlin

The Bulgarian Muslim Roma coming to Berlin usually speak a dialect of Turkish that is known as a *Balkanized Turkish* with features of Ottoman Turkish. In order to obtain employment from the local Turks in Berlin they seek to learn some additional colloquial Turkish from interaction with Turks in Berlin. This is not a standard Turkish, it is a dialect, but the Bulgarian Muslim Roma are not able to recognize and differentiate this from current modern Turkish. They mistakenly think that this is a form of "standard" Turkish as spoken in Turkey. So, the Turkish spoken by Bulgarian Muslim Roma is a hybrid mixture between the two lects – the Bulgarian variety and the Berlin variety these migrants encounter there, exhibiting forms of diglossia (Nikolskij, 1976). In dealings with the local Turkish immigrant population, they state they are Turks, but among themselves they self-identify as Muslim Roma and call themselves "millet" (Turkish, meaning 'nation'). Some, especially of a somewhat older demographic, also speak Romani among themselves.

The Bulgarian Roma also learn as migrants to speak some German. They use it in communication with Germans for whom they work, and their acquisition is haphazard, generally not done systematically through participation in German language courses. Their comprehension ability in German is better than their production abilities and speaking proficiency in German, and they tend to make many phonological and grammatical errors.

However, almost all such Roma families send their children to school, and to after-school activities, because most state that they plan to stay as migrants in Germany. They have their own properties in Bulgaria, they often travel back to Bulgaria, they help the family members who are in Bulgaria providing financial support, but they are planning to stay in Germany. Because of that their children are attending German schools and are highly motivated to be integrated into German society and to learn German fluently.

Their attitude towards the Bulgarian language is different. They use Bulgarian in their everyday communication between members of the community and family members. Bulgarian serves as a communicative tool or sometimes a secret language when they want to hide something from the local Turks.

Bulgarian Roma live in most of the larger German cities and it is known that the Roma from Pazardzhik are mainly settled in Cologne, the Roma from Shumen are in Düsseldorf, Roma from Plovdiv are in Dortmund, etc., a chaining phenomenon of in-migration where many migrants are attracted to settle where other migrants from their own city of origin have come and settled earlier.

Muslim Roma living in Berlin migrated from northeastern Bulgaria, principally the cities of Varna, Dobrich, Russe, Razgrad and Targovishte and nearby villages. The Berlin districts where Bulgarian Muslim Roma have settled in greater numbers are mainly Spandau, Wedding, Kreuzberg and Neukölln. These are the districts where the Turkish migrants from Turkey live as well, a key factor in attracting Turkish-speaking Bulgarian migrants to settle there. The Muslim Roma in Berlin evince a broad diversity in their multilingualism. Among them there are trilingual speakers of Romani, Bulgarian and Turkish, bilingual speakers of Turkish and Bulgarian, while German, however learned, is their third or fourth language. This also varies among the now emergent and growing second-generation Roma from a migrant background, born and raised in Germany.

The Turkish community in Berlin is not homogeneous. There are speakers of different dialects from across the territory of Turkey. Some have settled there now as third-generation from a migrant background. The Turkish spoken by Turks in Berlin is highly valued (H) and the Turkish spoken by Bulgarian Roma is less (L) valued, according to the terminology of Schiffman (1997). The Bulgarian Muslim Roma speak a variety of Turkish stemming from Ottoman Turkish and to some extent it has almost the same structure as the Gagauz language (i.e. a Bulgarian grammatical structure with Turkish lexicon). In the eyes of most Turks from Turkey, such a lect is deemed to be a very low and corrupted form of Turkish.

1.2. Theoretical background

Gumperz (1962) shows that each community has its set of roles in the society, depending on the reticulations of forms of relationship between individuals in the society. The common roles in a community are termed by Gumperz the *communication matrix* (CM).

The CM differs in communities and depends on the dominant specific social structures present. In some communities the CM is very complex and the communication behavior of the person is restricted. It depends on traditional and religious rituals, where the behavior and the speech of the person are stable. The differences between the language used for everyday communication and the language used performing certain roles in the society are sometimes very great. People who know the two forms of the same language, the colloquial lect and the official language, rarely use them in the same situation. Usually the role in the society and the forms of the language (the CM) are interconnected.

Nikolskij (1976, p. 48) defines the language community as a "stable group of people, which are united by a sign that in intergroup communication they use one form of the language and it does not depend on the situation and the topic of communication". Furthermore, Nikolskij identifies the following forms of diglossia among bilingual speakers (pp. 103–110):

- 1. Diglossia, where the speaker knows and uses two dialects or two sub-dialects.
- 2. Diglossia, which combines a dialect with other dialectical tools of communication, among speakers of different dialects, which do not understand each other in communication.
- 3. Diglossia, where the speaker knows the regional dialect and the official language.
- 4. Diglossia, where the speaker knows the conversational style and the official language.
- 5. Diglossia, where the speaker is acquainted with different styles of the same official language.

The Bulgarian of Muslim Roma born and raised in Bulgaria is nonetheless not a standard Bulgarian. They speak a vernacular, highly colloquial Bulgarian, and being in a new situation abroad there are numerous influences of Turkish and German on their Bulgarian. In earlier publications Kyuchukov (1995; 1996; 1997; 2007) and Freedman (2003) described the processes of code-switching among different Roma groups. Kocheva-Lefedzhieva (2004; 2017) investigated the mixed language of Bulgarians living in Vienna and found that on the phonological and grammatical level, the Bulgarian speakers have more stable peculiarities, while on the lexical level they exhibit more variant peculiarities. In the mixed language they use on phonological level, Bulgarian characteristics are dominant, while on a lexical level the German characteristics dominate.

Bugarski (2005) discusses the issues of language and ethno-cultural identity. The Muslim Roma have their cultural characteristics as Muslims who are Roma in family origin and basic identity, but in the new situation they identify as Bulgarians and speak vernacular Bulgarian, with differences from the norms of the Bulgarian grammar. The four languages — Bulgarian, Turkish, Romani and German — being in dynamic contact, all share the phenomenon of all languages in contact familiar as "code-switching" and "code-mixing" (Matras, 1990; 2004; 2009; Matras and Tufan, 2007).

2. Methodology

The data for this study was collected in two modes:

- 1. With a hidden tape recorder in public transport, shops and on the streets of Berlin. In the main, a spontaneous colloquial form of speech between Muslim Roma was clandestinely recorded. The speakers were usually in a communication situation with another Bulgarian Muslim Rom individual. Their consent to be recorded was not solicited.
- 2. The second type of data was collected with unstructured interviews with male and female respondents between the ages of 20 to 50 a total of five men and five women. The interviews were conducted in the houses of the respondents in an informal situation and conversation. All speech productions are examples of spontaneous speech. They knew they were being recorded and had consented to this.

All the respondents are from northeastern Bulgaria, from villages and towns around Varna, Dobrich, Targovishte and Russe. The topics of the conversations were stories, dreams, fairy tales, daily life and family problems, their work, etc.

The total number of recordings comprises 11 h. The recorded conversations were transcribed and the sentences with patterns of code-switching identified.

The primary research question here is: What kind of patterns of code-switching between Turkish and Bulgarian exist?

3. Results

In their everyday communication the Muslim Roma use the three languages and often they switch between these three languages. Some representative patterns of code-switching are discussed below.

3.1. Turkish-Bulgarian code-switching

Examples 1–3 show that the speakers use mainly Turkish but sometimes they borrow some words from Bulgarian, clear **lexical borrowings**. The lexical borrowings can be adapted to the second language, but often they are used as in the original one. The borrowings in the examples below are from Bulgarian and they are used without any changes. There is no clear idea why sometimes the Bulgarian nouns and verbs are borrowed when the respondents know the Turkish ones. The borrowed categories are: nouns, verbs and adjectives: *smyata* ('to count'), *proverka* ('checking, a check'), *seriozno* ('seriously').

A. Code-switching without changes

(1) o günden beri *смята* yaptı that day on count do-3sgPT

From that day on s/he counted.

(2) hiç *сериозно* durmadı

not a serious stay-3sgPT

He was not serious at all.

(3) kari *проверка* yaptı

woman checking make-3sgPT

The woman conducted a check.

B. Code-switching with adaptation to Turkish grammatical rules

(4) orda işlerdim işaat işinde строителство-da

there workPTense construction work-LOC.

There I worked in construction.

(5) arkadaşlarımlan her zaman *∂ucκοmeκa*-ya gideriz friend-with all time disco-to- DAT. go-1pl.PresT

With my friend we go all the time to a disco.

(6) panayira люлка-lar, o dölenme şeyleri geliyler

fair-to swing-pl the turning tings come-pl.

The swings and those things that turn around and around come to the fair.

The examples from 4–6 shows that the borrowings are mainly nouns and they are adapted to the grammatical rules of Turkish with case endings. In this way the words sound "Turkish". Looking at the syntax one can see that the respondents try to follow the standard Turkish word order in the sentences, where the verb is in the last position – SOV

3.2. Turkish-German code-switching

It is interesting that the borrowings from German are also mainly nouns. The Muslim Roma do not know the equivalent words in Bulgarian or in Turkish. Those are lexical items mainly names of institutions, streets which they learned after arriving to Berlin, but there are also cases where they would like to demonstrate that they speak some German, as is shown in Example 7, where the speaker does not use the Bulgarian word *vednaga* or Turkish word *hemen* but rather uses the German alterative adverbial *sofort*.

A. Code-switching without changes

(7) Ben *sofort* gittim

I immediately go-3sgPT

I went immediately.

(8) anmeldung üç sene olucak

registration three years will be

It will be three years from my registration.

(9) bizim *u-bahn* bozuk

our metro destroyed

Our metro is destroyed.

As it is shown in the examples 7–9 like the Bulgarian borrowings the German ones are also used without any adaptations to Turkish.

B. Code-switching with adaptation to Turkish grammatical rules

(10) Kiyat verdiler elime *arbeitsamt* 'an

paper give-3plPT hand employment agency from-ABL.

They gave me a paper from the employment agency.

(11) Ben sona gidecem jobcentar'a

I after that go -1sgFT jobcenter-to- DAT.

After that I will go to the job center.

In the examples above, the noun *Arbeitsamt* is used in Ablative case and the noun *Jobcenter* is used in the Dative from Turkish. So, the rules are the same as in the Bulgarian examples. It does not matter which language the borrowings come from, the rules are the same. The lexeme 'job center' seems to be a loan from English to German and then to in Turkish.

3.3. Turkish-German-Bulgarian code-switching

The most interesting part of the code-switching is when the three languages are used in the same conversation. The following examples show patterns of switching

between German-Turkish-Bulgarian (Example 12); Turkish-German-Bulgarian-German-Bulgarian (Example 13); Turkish-Bulgarian-Turkish-German (Example 14). All the switched German words are nouns and the Bulgarian switches are categories such as verbs, negations and adverbials.

(12) *Pankstrasse*'de karşilaşıcas *u после ши видим к'во ши* Pankstrasse-at-LOC meet-1plFT and later will see-1pl.FT what will *праим*. do-1plFT

We will meet at Pank Street and after that we'll see what we will do.

- (13) Lazım *termin* yapalim. *Без termin няма да стани*. needed appointment make-3plFT without appointment will not work. We have to make an appointment. Without an appointment it will not work.
- (14) Ama neyse, κακβοπο ще да e, yalnız da gidebilirim jobcentar'a but whatever, whatever want to be alone and go-can-1sgCOND. job center- to It doesn't matter, it's not important, I can go alone to the job center.

The examples above show that together with the borrowed lexical items from Turkish or Bulgarian in their everyday life, the respondents switch the languages. For a while the conversation can continue solely in Turkish or Bulgarian, without code-switching. These phenomena are very typical for bilingual/multilingual communities. In previous studies, Giray (2015) showed similar processes among Bulgarian Muslim Roma in Germany.

4. Discussion and Conclusions

Looking at the grammatical categories which are borrowed one can conclude that in Turkish-Bulgarian-German language contacts, within the specific CM (Gumperz, 1962) investigated in Berlin, there are borrowings of nouns, verbs, adjectives, adverbs and negations.

The new situation in which the Bulgarian Muslim Roma live and work provides them with new strategies for communication. Code-switching/borrowing is one of the ways in which they can express themselves in their everyday communication. However, code-switching is used only when they communicate with other Bulgarians. Communicating with Turks from Turkey they engage in code-mixing only between Turkish and German and use another variety of Turkish.

Fishman (1997) describes a situation which he terms a "perspectival quality of ethnicity". He notes: "Some of those who do not consider themselves X-ians now, may come to consider themselves X-ians in five or ten years from now, or in the next generation" (p. 329). Bulgarian Muslim Roma in Berlin, born and raised in Bulgaria, do not consider themselves Turks, but their children will likely consider themselves as such in years to come. In a conversation with some Bulgarian Muslim Roma children 10–12 years old, probably raised in Berlin if not born there, in effect second-generation, I heard them speaking perfect Turkish, and they absolutely think that they are Turks and do not speak any Bulgarian, some are bilingual in Turkish

and German. Research on this now emergent second migrant generation within a dynamic migrant CM is a key desideratum.

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PSYCHOSEMANTIC ANALYSIS OF THE CONCEPT OF MANAGER'S COMPETENCE

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Abstract. The article deals with the psychosemantic reconstruction of the concept of manager's competence. The study is based on free word association test (WAT) held with the managers of public administration (n=38) from Volyn Oblast (Ukraine) and master candidates of the public administration program (n=38) who studied at Eastern European National University in Lutsk (Ukraine). Nuclear zones, single frequency responses, and associative field structure of the investigated concept in the two samples were analyzed. The most frequent nuclear associations confirmed the lexicographic meaning of the concept "competence" and revealed that the leader's expertise is closely related to their professional knowledge and skills. Next, factor analysis of data obtained from the Semantic Differential (SD) test established common and distinctive features of the semantic field structure of the concept of manager's competence. The research results showed that the managers from the sample emphasized the importance of experience and effectiveness, the development of their professionally relevant job skills and ability to influence their subordinates. By contrast, master candidates, along with experience and job skills, indicated a set of characteristics that demonstrate the need for a general intellectual level of the managers, their moral and ethical personality traits, and their ability to maintain effective interpersonal interaction.

Keywords: psychosemantic analysis, manager's competence, concept, public administration, free word association test, semantic differential.

Малімон Людмила, Пашкіна Алла. Психосемантичний аналіз концепту «управлінська компетентність».

Анотація. Статтю присвячено психосемантичній реконструкції концепту «управлінська компетентність». Дослідження здійснено на основі методу вільного асоціативного експерименту, проведеного з 38 менеджерами державної служби Волинської області (Україна), а також 38 здобувачами ступеня магістра освітньо-професійної програми «державна служба». Проаналізовано ядерні зони, реакції з одиничною частотністю та структуру асоціативних полів досліджуваного концепту у двох вибірках. Виокремлено найчастотніші ядерні асоціації, які підтвердили лексикографічне значення слова «компетентний» і пов'язують компетентність керівника з його професійними знаннями й уміннями. Зіставлено результати факторного аналізу даних семантичного диференціалу. Підсумком є з'ясування спільних і відмінних ознак у структуруванні семантичних полів концепту «управлінська компетентність»: керівники державної служби підкреслюють важливість досвіду й результативності діяльності керівника, розвитку його професійно важливих управлінських якостей і здатності впливати на інших. Натомість, студентимагістри, поряд із досвідом та результативністю праці, виокремлюють групи характеристик, що засвідчують потребу загального інтелектуального рівня керівника, розвитку його

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морально-етичних особистісних рис та вміння налагоджувати ефективну міжособистісну взаємодію.

Ключові слова: психосемантичний аналіз, управлінська компетентність, концепт, державна служба, вільний асоціативний експеримент, семантичний диференціал.

1. Introduction

The reform of public administration institute in our country presupposes implementation of the EU standards, in particular, the competence-based approach, in the assessment of performance, system of education and advanced professional training of civil servants. Due to this in recent years considerable research has been devoted to the issues of raising the performance of civil service personnel management, the necessity of existing civil servants professional competence profiles development and improvement, their compatibility with the realia of professional activity; definition of clusters of competences necessary to fulfill professional duties of a certain position, including the ones essential for senior government officials of senior and middle management (Zhminka, 2013; Kukulia, 2012; Lyndiuk, 2015).

At the same time it is worth mentioning that recent years have seen considerable changes in public inquiry about the assessment of state institutions not only from the point of view of their performance in providing administrative service and meeting the demands of society to the maximum extent, but also referring to the attitude to civil servants as to individuals who present worldview and moral value orientations in the development of society and the country in general. That is why the competence-based approach focuses on formation and development of not only professional, but also the so-called key (social and personal) competences of a civil servant (Bolotina, 2017).

Well-formedness of the latter ones depends greatly on civil servants' reportable and unconscious attitudes to perceiving their own competence and understanding the necessity to develop those features and characteristics, which constitute its basis. Definition of such attitudes as well as definition of the essence and details of the concept of "management competence" require the reconstruction of the manager personal meaning system, through which they perceive themselves as competent or incompetent. It has been possible only due to application of the set of methods used in psycho-semantics, a modern branch of investigation which studies the genesis, structure and functioning of the personal meaning system (Drobot, 2014).

2. Methods

The purpose of our research is the psycho-semantic reconstruction of the concept of "manager's competence" semantic field, as well as contrasting and comparing its semantic scope in the Government Agencies' Executives (managers) and Master's students doing a degree in Public Administration.

The survey sample comprises managers of state institutions in Volyn Oblast (n=38, 47 % males and 53 % females, with 3–16 years of seniority in top management) and Eastern European National University master's students doing a

degree in Public Administration (n=38, 34 % males, 66 % females, with no work experience in the filed). The respondents were informed about the anonymous character of the survey and the possibility to resign on any stage.

The word association test (WAT) is an important tool of semantic research (Lat. associato – combination, experimentum – experience), which is widely used to study the peculiarities of comprehension and recognition of the concepts used by the speakers and it provides "live" data to build associative fields of certain concepts, to reconstruct fragments of linguistic and conceptual worldview. We have used the modified version of the "Sentence Completion" method which refers to projective diagnostics and is a variation of the Word Associations technique. It is considered that the associations received present both reportable and unconscious attitudes of a person to the perception of certain concepts or phenomena (Petrenko, 2005). The associative method represents cognitive structures behind linguistic meanings, individual peculiarities of the examined and their personal senses (Drobot, 2014; Lozova, 2007).

The method of semantic differential, which is treated as a combination of the method of controlled associations and scaling procedures, has become an experimental method of personal meaning system reconstruction and individual and group semantic spaces of the concept of "management competence" construction (Drobot, 2014; Petrenko, 2005; Lozova, 2007).

The professional concept offered to the examined in the free WAT was the concept of "manager's competence", namely, it was required to complete the sentence "A competent manager is a ... manager" with a set of associations (the number of associations was unlimited) within a specific time period. The WAT was carried out in written form and it complicated spontaneous response but contributed to the respondents' professional experience actualization. As a result, 350 words-associations have been received, which outlined the semantic field of responses on the word-stimulus. Processing of the results has been carried out using the method of ranking the words given by the examined according to the frequency of the representation: association responses given more than three times have been considered to be an association norm; primary (nuclear) and secondary (peripheral) associations have been analysed.

The next stage of the research is construction of the semantic differential method on the basis of the most frequent associations received in the word association test.

3. Results and Discussion

The lexicographic meaning of the word "competent" (Lat. competens (competentis) – appropriate, able) is given as "1) the one who has enough knowledge in any branch; the one who is knowledgeable about something; smart (a competent person) // based on knowledge; qualified (competent help, competent opinion); 2) the one who has certain powers; fully legitimate, sovereign (competent meeting)" (DUL, 1973, p. 250). The word "competent" has the following synonyms: (expert) knowledgeable, smart; (craftsman) qualified; (government official) fully

legitimate, plenipotent, sovereign (Karavansky, 2000, p. 170). The meanings of the word "competent" in English: "competent (adj.): having necessary ability, knowledge, or skills to do something successfully; (of a person) efficient and capable; acceptable and satisfactory, though not outstanding; (of a court or other body) accepted as having the legal authority to deal with a particular matter" (Stevenson, 2010, p. 355). So, in the lexicography the word "competent" is primarily connected to knowledge, skills and abilities of people, which make them knowledgeable, smart, qualified, capable in a certain field. We have compared the dictionary definition which mainly confirms the constant meaning of the word, with the associative ones, which have been received as the result of the free WAT and represent meanings, connected with this word in the consciousness of the respondents.

As in our research the term "competent" characterizes a competent manager and aims at defining personal-semantic correlates of the concept of "management competence", we have analysed associative fields of this concept received in two sample groups: managers of state institutions and Master's students. The managers' of state institutions associative field contains 166 responses, including 25 nuclear associations, 16 responses with unitary frequency. In the master's students' associative field we have defined much more responses (184), but fewer nuclear associations (21) and, comparing to managers, more peripheral responses (22), which represent individual attitude of the respondents. The analysis of the received associations has made it possible to combine them in groups and single out generalized blocks of the competent manager characteristics. We have compared the associative fields nuclear zones and structures in the two samples:

Table 1 Comparison of the associative fields nuclei of the "manager's competence" stimulus in the two samples

Generalized	The associative field	The associative field
blocks of the	nucleus of the "manager's	nucleus of the "manager
competent	competence" stimulus in	competence" stimulus in
manager	the group of managers	the group of master's
characteristics		students
Professional	qualified (14), literate (10),	qualified (15),
knowledge and	cognizant (8),	literate (12),
skills	professional (4),	innovative (12)
	knowledgeable (3)	
Experience and	experienced (12), high-	high-performance (12),
productivity	performance (7), effective	effective (7),
	(4), wise (3)	experienced (3)
Overall	intelligent (3), educated (3)	erudite (10),
intellectual level		intelligent (7)
Social and	mature (8), independent (3),	successful (12),
personal self-	realised (3), self-sufficient	independent (3),
realisation	(3)	

Ability to	strict (exacting) (9), tough	authoritative (11)
influence others	(9), influential (5), bossy (3),	strict (exacting) (4)
Professionally significant managerial qualities	responsible (7), a person of principle (7)	responsible (5)
Moral-ethical	tactful (7),	well-bred (9),
personal qualities	cultured (3)	intellectual(5),
		honest (5), sincere (4), friendly (3)
Performance of	sociable (8), empathic (4)	empathic (12), tolerant
interpersonal cooperation		(8), sociable (3)

So, the most frequent nuclear associations are as follows: in the group of managers – qualified (14), literate (10), cognizant (6), professional (6); in the group of master's students – qualified (19), literate (12), innovative (12). They define the major qualities which confirm the lexicographic meaning of the word "competent" and connect competence of a manager to their professional knowledge and skills. These qualities are revealed much brighter within the whole associative field taking into account all the answers, including exceptional ones. In addition, among the most numerous associations in the group of managers there are the responses that characterize a competent manager from the point of view of experience and performance of management activity, the ability to influence others and the professionally significant managerial qualities. In the group of master's students there are also more associations which refer to experience and productivity of the manager work, but the group of features has been singled out, which emphasize the importance of the overall intellectual level of a manager, in particular, erudition, their moral-ethical personal qualities development and the skill to establish effective interpersonal cooperation.

Unitary responses are also rather interesting as the sample groups have gone beyond the limits of the task given. They have used syntactical structures (word-combinations, sentences), but not only adjectives, as associations characterizing a competent manager in a descriptive manner. In particular, in the group of managers we have come across the following responses: manager-mentor; high-level professional; passionate about their work; put interests of the company above personal ones; is an example to follow; people put trust in them; is able to delegate. The peripheral responses in the group of managers are as follows: competitive, determined, fair, mature, practical, organized.

The master's students characterize a competent manager as the one who: believes in people; trusts people; manager-leader, motivator; treat themselves as members of the team, not bosses; team-player; provides an opportunity for self-realisation to their employees. The peripheral associations in this group are as

follows: humane, sympathetic, well-read, fair, understanding, kind, hard-working, fun, effective, positive, ethical.

So, unitary responses confirm the general tendency in the two sample groups – treating manager competence as the synergy of their knowledge and experience, and also reveal some differences in how the managers themselves understand manager competence (an ability to influence people, be mentors, examples to follow, be trusted) and how the Master's student understand it (treating it as depending on moral-ethical qualities of a manager (leader, motivator, a team member) and qualities which provide positive social-psychological atmosphere in the company).

The second method used in the research is the method of Semantic Differential to build subjective semantic spaces of the concept of "management competence" in the two sample groups. As the most frequent associations express the main semantic value and reflect the qualities which, on the whole, represent a certain concept in the consciousness of respondents, they have constituted the basis of constructing the procedure and have created 20 bipolar gradual scales the poles of which have been defined with verbal antonymic pairs of such associations as: qualified, experienced, wise, tactful, innovative, literate, intelligent, erudite, high-performance, tolerant, well-bred, mature, successful, tough, authoritative, strict (exacting), sociable, empathic, responsible, a person of principle.

The results processing has been conducted with the help of factor analysis using the Principle Component method. To define the number of factors we have used the Kaiser Criterion (the number of factors corresponds to the number of components with the value bigger than 1). The validity of Factor analysis method application to the sample groups has been also checked with the Kaiser-Meyer-Olkin criterion (the value of correlation between a factor and variables included in its structure, which is less than .6 has not been taken into account) and with the Bartlett spherical criterion ($p \le .001$). In such a way the dimension of semantic concepts has been decreased and the content of the concept of "manager's competence" has been specificated.

The semantic space factor structure of the concept of "manager's competence" in the sample of managers has been formed by eight factors with the factor loading from 9.48 % (factor one) to 8.28 % (factor eight), that describe 70.37 % of data array dispersion. Factor one, bipolar, is presented with the following scales with factor loading: qualified (.87), high-performance (.65), intelligent .61), a person of principle (.49). Factors two and three, unipolar, comprise the scales literate (.79), responsible (.74) and experienced (.67), wise (.61) respectively. Factor four is represented with the scales tough (.86) and successful (-.65); factor five – strict (exacting) (.71), mature (.70), authoritative (.55); factor six – erudite (-.80), well-bred (.67), innovative (.52); factor seven – tactful (.87), tolerant (.65); factor eight – sociable (.80), empathic (.67). So, according to the results of the factor analysis three scales with the opposite poles have been singled out (intelligent, successful, erudite), which define the qualities that are certain to be less important for the managers in their attitude to manager competence. Assigning the names to the factors due to their semantic elements with the most important value, in the

semantic space factor structure of the concept of "manager's competence" there may be singled out the sub-structures of *qualification*, *literacy*, *experience*, *toughness*, *strictness*, *tactfulness*, *sociability* and with an opposite mark – *erudition*, that reflect managers' opinion of manager competence.

In the student sample the semantic space factor structure of the concept of "manager's competence" is also presented by the eight factors which describe 70.21 % of data array dispersion, but with a little more differentiated factor loadings: from 11.20 % (factor one) to 6.55 % (factor eight). In particular, factor one is created with the semantics of the three scales: high-performance (.80), a person of principle (-.74), intelligent (.57); factor two is presented by the two scales: authoritative (.74), wise (.73), strict (exacting) (.55); factor three – erudite (0.74), tactful (-.66), mature (.59), tough (-.56); factor four - experienced (-.77), responsible (.76); factor five – tolerant (.84), well-bred (.71); factor six is created by one scale – innovative (.84); factor seven – empathic (.81), sociable (.66), successful (.50); factor eight – literate (.91), qualified (.65). In the factor structure of students' understanding of manager competence there have been singled the scales with opposite poles: a person of principle, tactful, tough, experienced, so, their value in the semantics of the concept under consideration may be considered a little less important. At the same time, the semantic space factor structure of the concept under consideration is presented by the sub-structures of performance, authority, erudition, experience (with the "-" mark), tolerance, innovativeness, empathy, literacy, that represents students' attitude to manager's competence.

Semantic field factor structures are illustrated in the coordinate plane with Y-axis and X-axis, that represent percipiency and measure of perception of the concept of "manager's competence" by the two samples (Figures 1–2).

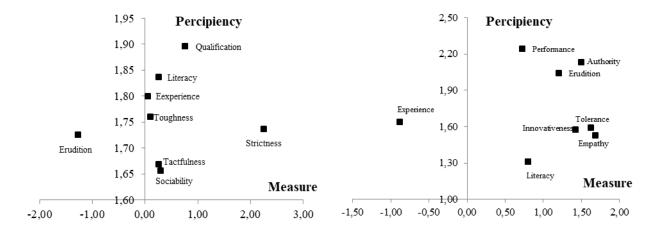


Figure 1. Semantic space of the concept of "manager's competence" perceived by managers

Figure 2. Semantic space of the concept of "manager's competence" perceived by students

It is obvious that absolute majority of the defined factors are located in the upper right quadrant of the coordinate plane, which is defined by the vectors of percipiency and measure, and it confirms that the respondents realise the importance

of these factors in management competence understanding. The exception is the factor of *erudition* in the group of managers, which is referred to the negative pole and it may confirm that management competence may be treated as the one which does not require any wide erudition, but much deeper (narrow, branch-related, subject-related) knowledge in a certain field. In the group of students such factor is *experience*, denial (or disregard) of which may be explained taking into account the age of respondents and their desire to see themselves (or their peers) as competent managers despite the lack of experience.

At the same time, according to the vector of percipiency, in the group of managers the highest values have been defined in the qualities of *qualification*, *literacy*, *experience*, *toughness*, and in the group of students – in the qualities of *performance*, *authority*, *erudition*. These categories are characterized with the highest level of psychic stimulation. It may confirm their high importance in the system of respondents' attitudes to management competence. Such qualities as *tactfulness* and *sociability* (a group of managers) and *literacy* (a group of students) have lower values according to the vector of percipiency.

The distribution of the results according to the vector of measure is also interesting: in the group of managers all the characteristics (but for *strictness*) are shifted to the middle of the scale, which indicates neutral unbiased attitude of the respondents to them; in the group of students such qualities as *authority*, *erudition*, *tolerance*, *innovativeness*, *empathy* are close to the pole of scale, which may confirm that they are more appealing, desirable and emotionally rich for the respondents in their understanding of management competence.

4. Conclusions

The analysis of the data received as the results of word association test and semantic differential of the concept of "manager's competence" reveals that the most important components of its semantic space structure in both sample groups are the sub-structures of professional knowledge, skills and performance of a manager. At the same time, some differences have been defined in understanding of importance of experience, professionally significant and personal (moral-ethical) qualities and those features of a manager, which influence effectiveness of professional and interpersonal cooperation in the company.

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ANAPHORIC PROCESSING OF THE NULL PRONOUN IN MONOLINGUAL SPEAKERS OF BRAZILIAN PORTUGUESE: AN ONLINE STUDY

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Abstract. The aim of this paper was to investigate anaphoric processing of the null pronoun in Brazilian Portuguese and determine whether the perception of morphological gender features has a disambiguating effect during the process of reading. This feature enables the anaphoric null pronoun to be interpreted as referring to either the subject or object. We assume the proposal put forth by Carminati (2005) regarding the resolution of the null subject pronoun, which is based on the investigation of the processing of full and null pronouns in Italian. The sample of the present study was composed of 32 speakers of university-level Brazilian Portuguese. The stimuli were temporal adverbial subordinate clauses with the manipulation of the gender feature in the participle as disambiguating information. The authors used the self-paced reading experimental paradigm with a control response. The results were in line with that predicted by the Feature Strength Hypothesis and Antecedent Position Hypothesis put forth by Carminati (2005).

Keywords: null pronoun, monolinguals, anaphoric processing, Brazilian Portuguese, gender.

Мело Ріта, Голанда Карла, Феррарі-Нето Жозе, Барбоса Матеус де Алмейда. Анафорична обробка нульової форми займенника монолінгвами-носіями бразильського варіанта португальської: онлайн дослідження.

Анотація. Мета статті – дослідити анафоричну обробку нульової форми займенника в бразильському варіанті португальської мови та визначити, чи сприйняття гендерних морфологічних ознак має ефект розбіжності під час читання. Ця особливість дає змогу інтерпретувати анафоричну нульову форму займенника як референцію на предмет або об'єкт. Автори покликаються на гіпотезу Carminati (2005) щодо змісту нульової форми займенника, яка грунтується на дослідженні когнітивного перероблення повної та нульової форм займенників в італійській мові. Вибірку склало 32 студенти університету – носії бразильського варіанта португальської. Стимулами слугували темпоральні адвербіальні

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підрядні речення, які змінювалися за ознакою роду дієприкметника, що знімало неоднозначність інформації. Автори використовували експериментальну платформу самоконтролю читання із контролем реакції. Результати дослідження узгоджуються з результатами, що передбачені гіпотезою прояву ознак (Feature Strength Hypothesis) та гіпотезою позиції антецедента (Antecedent Position Hypothesis) за термінами Carminati (2005).

Ключові слова: нульова форма займенника, монолінгви, анафорична обробка, бразильський варіант португальської, граматичний рід.

1. Introduction

This paper investigates anaphoric processing in monolingual speakers of Brazilian Portuguese. We seek to elucidate the anaphoric coreference that may be established through different linguistic resources, such as different types of pronouns (personal, demonstrative), the repetition of the same names for the antecedent and referent, or even by the omission of a previous term (Xavier, 2006).

Several theories approach how we comprehend and interpret anaphors considering the linguistic variety of the coreferential expressions. Besides overt pronouns, some languages also use null pronouns. These languages, however, do not always have such rich verbal inflection that provides enough information about the correct referent. Some other languages, on the other hand, have null expressions and object, despite lacking verbal morphology (Mandarin/Cantonese Chinese, for example). On this matter, linguistic findings have increased the body of research in psycholinguistics (Kaiser & Fedele, 2019)

It is in this context that we find the notions of experimental psycholinguistics and one of the phenomena studied by this field of knowledge: coreferential processing. This type of processing regards how the human mind establishes relations between certain elements in sentences, particularly the processing of words that allude to other words in the discourse. One of the points studied in a recurrent manner has been the referential ambiguity caused by a null pronoun (*pro*). This ambiguity implies processing costs in the establishment of the coreference. An example taken from Carminati (2005) is given below:

(1) Quando Maria chamou Mario, estava feliz. When Maria called Mario, pro was happy.

In this sentence, it is not possible to establish the antecedent of the null pronoun. In other words, it is not possible to state who was happy – Maria or Mario. Therefore, when the processing of a sentence like the one above reaches the null pronoun, a decision must be made regarding the establishment of the correct referent (Grosjean, 1996). When there are indications in the sentence that lead to the correct antecedent, these indications are taken into account, as occurs in the marking of gender in adjectives shown in the examples below, also extracted from Carminati (2005):

(2) *Quando Maria chamou Mário, estava cansada*. When Maria called Mario, *pro* was tired [female adjective].

- (3) *Quando Maria chamou Mário, estava cansado*. When Maria called Mario, *pro* was tired [male adjective].
- (4) *Quando Mário chamou Pedro, estava cansado*. When Mario called Pedro, *pro* was tired [male adjective].
- (5) Quando Maria chamou Joana, estava cansada. When Maria called Joana, pro was tired [female adjective].

In sentences (2) and (3), disambiguation is achieved with the morphological marking of gender in the adjective at the end of the sentence. However, the antecedent can either be the subject of the sentence, as in (2), or the object of the sentence, as in (3). Moreover, there are sentences in which the antecedent could be both the subject and object, as in (4) and (5). Hence, the position of the antecedent may be a factor that influences the processing of the null pronoun, which merits investigation in an experimental study.

In several online and offline studies with data from Italian, Carminati (Carminati, 2005) found that in the retrieval of the intra-sentence anaphora with *pro*, individuals preferred to interpret this pronoun as having a referent introduced in the previous linguistic context in the position of subject. For example, in a self-paced reading study, reading times of the main clause were measured in sentences such as the following:

- (6) Após Giovanni ter envergonhado Giorgio na frente de todos, pro se desculpou repetidamente. After Giovanni had embarrassed Giogio in front of everyone, pro apologised repeatedly.
- (7) Após Giovanni ter envergonhado Giorgio na frente de todos, pro se ofendeu tremendamente. After Giovanni had embarrassed Giogio in front of everyone, pro was tremendously offended.

The results showed that the reading times of sentences such as (6) were significantly shorter than those of sentences such as (7). Thus, when the *pro* was pragmatically disambiguated for the previous subject rather than the previous object, the reading time was significantly reduced.

This bias to the antecedent in the position of the subject is in line with the predictions of Accessibility Theory (Ariel, 1991), which correlates the use of certain anaphoric expressions to the accessibility of mental entities that these expressions represent in one's memory. According to this theory, reduced pronominal forms, such as the unstressed pronoun in English and the null pronoun in pro-drop languages, prefer to retrieve references that are highly accessible in one's memory (Carminatti, 2005).

Anaphoric coreference has unique characteristics with regards to its processing when studying the processing of a referent by means of a phonetically null pronoun. In generative linguistic theory (Lasnik & Lohndal, 2017), such pronouns have been characterised as one of the types of empty categories, denominated *pro*. Theoretical descriptions regarding this type of pronoun have very often been concerned with the

characterisation of its distribution in the sentence (Lucchesi, 2009; Lapertua, 2004; Veríssimo, 2017) rather than the way it is processed.

Therefore, the object of the present study is the processing of coreferential relations and how the retrieval of the antecedent occurs through the *pro* (null pronoun) bias, considering the gender feature as a facilitator in the establishment of the correct antecedent of a referent. We assume that the Feature Strength Hypothesis and Antecedent Position Hypothesis put forth by Carminati (2005) must interact with the pronoun resolution strategies employed by the individual.

To carry out the study, we conducted a self-paced reading experiment of ambiguous sentences formed by temporal adverbial subordinate clauses with the syntactic order formed by the subordinate clause followed by the main clause containing a subject represented by a null pronoun (*pro* empty category) (Presuss, Finger, 2018). The choice of this sentence structure was based on studies related to the Italian language conducted by Carminati (2002). We found that the position of the antecedent in the null pronoun in Brazilian Portuguese would give results similar to those reported by the author (Carminatti, 2005).

The main objective of the present study was to investigate how the processing of the null pronoun occurs and test the feature hypothesis in monolingual speakers of Brazilian Portuguese through online processing tasks. For such, our specific objectives were to determine: i) the reading time for the referent and the critical segments; ii) linguistic factors that lead to the disambiguation of sentences based on features; and iii) whether the referent of the antecedent in the subject position is in line with the predictions of the Antecedent Position Hypothesis and Feature Strength Hypothesis (Duarte, 2015). Our intention is to understand the processing of the null pronoun in Brazilian Portuguese through an online task and contribute to the construction of a theoretical model that takes into account the role of the gender feature during processing.

In the Feature Strength Hypothesis put forth by Carminati (Carminati, 2005), morphological features code conceptual features with different degrees of cognitive meaning, making clear predictions for the processing of sentences, particularly the feature processing of pronouns. Supposing a correlation between the cognitive meaning of a gender feature (in relation to the other gender) and its power of disambiguation, the more the relevant feature, the better it will be processed in the disambiguation (Gonçalves & Sousa, 2012).

According to Filiaci, Sorace, & Carreiras (2014) analyzed studies about the linguistic differences between Spanish and Italian in the anaphoric interpretation of null pronoun subjects and overt pronoun subjects. The authors found in the self-paced Reading tasks a pattern between the two languages in the resolution of anaphoric null subjects, as predicted in the Accessibility theory. The study showed, however, that, despite being closely typologically related and having morphosyntactic similarities, anaphors that seem to be equivalent in the surface of Italian and Spanish present different anaphoric preference aspects.

Gerlomini-Lezama & Almor (2011) investigated extrasentential anaphor contexts. The research showed that with subject antecedents, sentences with overt pronouns and repeated-names were read significantly slower than sentences w slowly. This analysis raises a concern since the sentences from their material with

null anaphors were systematically shorter than sentences with overt pronouns, and these were systematically shorter than sentences with names. The data also suggest some questions not raised by the authors, that, in the context, analyzed if the bias of the null subject is stronger than the bias of the subject, since reaction times seem to be higher in this condition.

However, Carminati (Carminati, 2002) based her work on accessibility theory, which retrieves the subject position for the referent, aligning with the predictions of the antecedent position (Ariel, 1990; 1994). This theory prefers to retrieve referents that are highly accessible to the memory (Carminati, 2005), in which there is a relation between the anaphoric expression and the accessibility of the antecedent.

In contrast, the Antecedent Position Hypothesis put forth by Carminati (Carminati, 2002) predicts structural relations of a syntactic basis considering the anaphoric expression and its antecedents. This theory predicts that the null pronoun in Italian occurs in intra-sentence conditions and highlights the role of the syntactic function of the antecedent, preferentially retrieving the *Spec IP*, which is the syntactic position occupied by the subject of the sentence.

2. Methodological basis

The present study consisted of an online experiment to investigate processing at the time that it occurs in the mind/brain (Leitão, 2015) and involved the use of the self-paced reading paradigm constructed and applied using the *Paradigm* program.

2.1 Description of experimental design

The purpose of the experiment described herein was to determine factors that may influence the identification of the antecedent of a referent expressed by a null pronoun. Among such factors, gender can be used to retrieve the antecedents in a sentence. Thus, the experiment described below manipulated the value of the gender feature of the antecedents (both that in the position of subject and that in the position of object).

As the structural position of the antecedent and referent are affected by their positional resemblance, the influence of this factor was also investigated. Thus, the experiment manipulated the parallelism between the antecedent and referent by controlling the gender feature in concordance between the participle and its possible antecedents. The dependent variable was the reading time of the critical segment, which corresponded to the segment in which the participle was found.

2.2. Participants

The sample was composed of 32 (thirty-two) monolingual speakers of Brazilian Portuguese, all of whom were students at the Federal University of Pernambuco. Age ranged from 18 (eighteen) to 51 (fifty-one) years (mean: 24.75 years). Twenty (62.5 %) of the participants were women and 12 (37.5 %) were men.

2.3. Stimuli

The experimental sentences were composed of temporal adverbial initial subordinate clauses. The distribution of the material was performed using the Latin square with a *within-subjects* design, which enables each participant to be exposed to all conditions and all types of structures with no repetition of the sentences.

Eight stimuli were used per condition. We had four conditions (male/female, female/male, male/male, female/female) crossed to parallel/non-parallel positioning, forming a total of ninety-six stimuli within the proposed activity: thirty-two experimental stimuli and sixty-four distracting stimuli. The organisation of the experimental conditions was as follows:

ith null pronouns, that is, when the antecedent is an object, null sentences are read more

MMP: Male – Male – Parallel

Quando\ Ivo\ saia com\ José\ pela praça\ do vilarejo,\ estava encantado\ com todo\ o intenso movimento\ dos festejos.

When\ Ivo\ went out with\ José\ to the square\ of the village,\ pro was enchanted [male adjective]\ with all\ the intense movement\ of the festivities.

FFP: Female – Female – Parallel

Quando\ Lara\ saia com\ Pilar\ pela praça\ do vilarejo,\ estava encantada\ com todo\ o intenso movimento\ dos festejos.

When\ Lara\ went out with\ Pilar\ to the square\ of the village,\ pro was enchanted [female adjective]\ with all\ the intense movement\ of the festivities.

MFP: Male - Female - Parallel

Quando\ José\ saia com\ Pilar\ pela praça\ do vilarejo,\estava encantado\ com todo\ o intenso movimento\ dos festejos.

When\ José\ went out with\ Pilar\ to the square\ of the village,\ pro was enchanted [male adjective]\ with all\ the intense movement\ of the festivities.

FMP: Female - Male - Parallel

Quando\ Pilar\ saia com\ José\ pela praça\ do vilarejo,\ estava encantada\ com todo\ o intenso movimento\ dos festejos.

When\ Pilar\ went out with\ José\ to the square\ of the village,\ pro was enchanted [female adjective]\ with all\ the intense movement\ of the festivities.

MFNP: Male - Female - Non-Parallel

Quando\ José\ saia com\ Pilar\ pela praça\ do vilarejo,\ estava encantada\ com todo\ o intenso movimento\ dos festejos.

When\ José\ went out with\ Pilar\ to the square\ of the village,\ pro was enchanted [female adjective]\ with all\ the intense movement\ of the festivities.

FMNP: Female – Male – Non-Parallel

Quando\ Pilar\ saía com\ José\ pela praça\ do vilarejo,\ estava encantado\ com todo\ o intenso movimento\ dos festejos.

When $\$ Pilar $\$ went out with $\$ José $\$ to the square of the village, $\$ pro was enchanted [male adjective] $\$ with all $\$ the intense movement $\$ of the festivities.

MMNP: Male – Male – Non-Parallel

Quando\ Ivo\ saia com\ José\ pela praça\ do vilarejo,\ estava encantada\ com todo\ o intenso movimento\ dos festejos.

When\ Ivo\ went out with\ José\ to the square\ of the village,\ pro was enchanted [female adjective]\ with all\ the intense movement\ of the festivities.

FFNP: Female - Female - Non-Parallel

Quando\ Lara\ saia com\ Pilar\ pela praça\ do vilarejo,\ estava encantado\ com todo\ o intenso movimento\ dos festejos.

When $\ \text{Lara}\$ went out with $\ \text{Pilar}\$ to the square of the village, $\$ pro was enchanted [male adjective] $\$ with all $\$ the intense movement of the festivities.

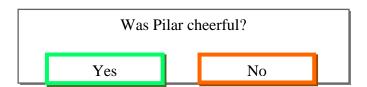
3. Procedure

The task was performed in study cubicles (public libraries) to avoid outside acoustic interference and enable greater concentration. The volunteers were randomly recruited from the confines of the university at which the experiment was conducted. The task was performed on a laptop computer (*Samsung Essential E22*, 14", 4 GB of memory, DDR3L 1600 MHz, *Intel Pentium N3540* processor with 2.16 GHz up to 2.66 GHz 2 MB L2 Cache). Before the onset of the experiment, all volunteers signed a statement of informed consent and were assured confidentiality and anonymity.

During the experimental phase, the researcher opened the *Paradigm Player* software and selected the test. The participant sat in a chair in front of the laptop and was assigned a number to serve subsequently for the purposes of identification. The numbers followed a cardinal, non-redundant order.

Once the activity was initiated, instructions were given on the computer screen, after which, the volunteer was instructed to press the "space" bar to give continuity to the task. The keys were marked for abbreviation and greater temporal specificity. Although the right arrow ">" had not been marked, its function was explained during the instruction phase on the initial screen, which consisted of enabling the presentation of a new word.

After the presentation of enough words to form a sentence, the participant was shown a question, for which two response options were offered. The direct answers were displayed in two rectangles: one outlined in green (on the right) and the other outline in orange (on the left) (Fig. 1).



Fonte: Elaboração Própria, 2019.

Figure 1. Direct response options presented to participants after sentence was fully visualised

The intention was to enable the participant to associate what was on the computer screen with the keyboard, using keys that were positioned equally in relation to the space bar.

During the training step, the participants were told that the researcher may intervene and what was performed during this step would be applied in the subsequent test step. The following is an example of a sentence used: "O político pediu voto aos eleitores e o juiz não gostou". "The politician asked for the vote of the electors and the judge did not like [it]."

The sentences during the training step had similar structures to those in the test step so that the subjects could become familiarised with the task to be performed. After the understanding of the instructions, the researcher withdrew from the room or cubicle and the volunteer initiated the task alone. In this phase, there was a random mixing of experimental sentences with distracting sentences.

1.	Quando\ Pilar\ saia com\ José\ pela praça\ do vilarejo,\ estava encantada\ com todo\ o intenso movimento\ dos festejos. When\ Pilar\ went out with\ José\ to the square\ of the village,\ pro was enchanted [female adjective]\ with all\ the intense movement\ of the festivities.
2.	Durante\ a tourada,\ o touro\ ficou com raiva\ do toureiro\ porque \este mostrou\ uma toalha vermelha\ àquele com bastante\ determinação. During\ the bullfight,\ the bull\ was angry\ at the bullfighter\ because\ he showed\ a red cloth\ to it with considerable\ determination.

Figure 2. Examples of sentences used in test step

4. Results and Discussion

The variable of interest in the present study was the reading time of the critical segment. As the data exhibited asymmetrical (non-normal) distribution, the Wilcoxon test was used for the pairwise comparisons of the experimental conditions to detect whether the differences were statistically significant. The *IBM Statistical Package for the Social Sciences (SPSS)* was used for the statistical analysis. The results are presented in the following tables and graphs.

Table 1
Descriptive measures of reading time of critical segment

Types	MMP	FFP	MFP	FMP	MFNP	FMNP	MMNP	FFNP
Min	227.17	201.53	221.03	288.31	373.53	237.61	290.92	166.84
Max	2365.03	2863.11	3022.29	2935.44	3225.63	3090.43	4245.43	3943.76
Mean	998.85	1193.21	1197.05	1108.71	1221.87	1168.70	1466.52	1406.44
SD	459.84	640.22	625.54	608.16	725.11	712.73	903.30	888.99
CV	46 %	54 %	52 %	55 %	59 %	61 %	62 %	63 %

¹ The normality of the data was tested using the Anderson-Darling normality test with the aid of the SPSS statistical package.

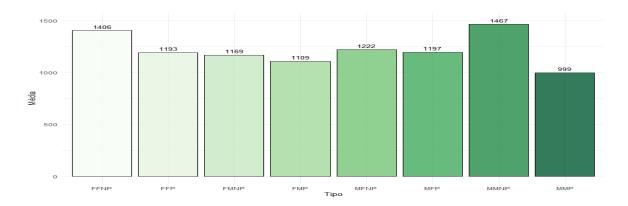


Figure 3. Distribution of mean reading time of critical segment.

Table 2
Results of the Wilcoxon test for distribution of reading time of critical segment of questions

Type	MMP	FFP	MFP	FMP	MFNP	FMNP	MMNP	FFNP
MMP	-	.041	.024	.393	.082	.31	0	.001
FFP	-	-	.848	.259	.912	.403	.072	.139
MFP	-	-	-	.196	.792	.32	.087	.203
FMP	-	-	-	-	.327	.767	.005	.018
MFNP	-	-	-	-	-	.419	.066	.134
FMNP	-	-	-	-	-	-	.019	.033
MMNP	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	.621
FFNP	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	

The analysis of the experiment followed two lines of observation. The first sought to test a possible effect of the gender feature of the antecedent in both the position of subject and the position of object. Thus, the MFP condition was compared to the FMP condition, which retrieved the subject antecedents, differing only in the gender feature, MFNP was compared to FMNP, which retrieved the object antecedent, again differing only in the gender feature, MMP was compared to FFP (both conditions ambiguous with regards to the antecedent), and MMNP was compared to FFNP.

The analysis revealed significant differences only in the comparison between MMP and FFP (p < .041). As shown in Table 1, the reaction times for male antecedents were shorter compared to those for female antecedents, suggesting that the male gender feature has a lower processing cost than the female feature. In this case, the degree of assertiveness stems from the Feature Strength Hypothesis (Carminati, 2005). No significant differences were found in the comparison of the other conditions.

The second analysis was performed to determine the influence of parallelism. For such, the following conditions were compared: MFP to MFNP, FMP to FMNP, which have male and female genders but differ only with regards to the referent

element (at times subject and at times object), MMP to MMNP and FFP to FFNP. The effect was only significant for the MMP-MMNP comparison. As there is a comparison between a grammatical (MMP) and ungrammatical (MMNP) condition in this case, the difference cannot be attributed to parallelism – the ungrammatical aspect appears to be the overriding factor.

Curiously, the same did not occur in the comparison between the FFP and FFNP conditions, which may be attributed to the difference in the male and female features with regards to the online processing cost. The Feature Strength Hypothesis put forth by Carminati (Carminati, 2005) shows that processing is abandoned and respectively disambiguated when the feature has greater relevance to the individual. In this case, significance seems to be greater on behalf of the female gender.

The other statistical differences regarded the comparison between the MMNP and FFNP conditions and the other conditions. In the comparison of the experimental conditions to the MMNP condition, significant differences emerged or tended to emerge, as they approached the level of significance. However, the same pattern was not found for the comparisons to the FFNP condition, which tended not to present significant differences. This seems to indicate a difference between male and female features: the ungrammaticality motivated by the male trait tended to be less costly than that of its female counterpart. This result may also be explained by the Feature Strength Hypothesis (Carminati, 2005). In other words, the male gender may be expressed in both the degree of significance and neutrality in a sentence, whether it is grammatical or not, making the processing faster, and may equally be made in relation to any antecedent gender.

5. Conclusions

The results of the present study point to the Feature Strength Hypothesis (Carminati, 2005), underscoring the importance of gender marking to the disambiguation of the reader's interpretation. The effect of disambiguation was clearer in cases of the marking of the female gender. This is because the referent was ambiguated in adjectives marked by the male gender and could refer to both the object and subject, as the adjective expressed neutrality.

In cases of adjectives marked by the female gender, the referents had extremely long reading times, demonstrating a greater processing cost and a clear perception on the part of the reader with regards to the ungrammaticality of the sentence. The same hypothesis (Carminati, 2005) was also a facilitating axis in the online experimental processing.

In summary, the gender feature is relevant information to the processing of null pronouns, especially with regards to interpretation, and is therefore a linguistic factor that leads to the disambiguation of sentences. This is in line with the prediction of the Feature Strength Hypothesis, which states that grammatical features, such as gender and number, can serve as relevant elements for anaphoric processing, especially in situations in which this processing occurs in sentences with some type of ambiguity generated by the coreferential element.

In contrast, the position of the antecedent was not found to be relevant to processing or the attribution of the interpretation, which is not in line with the Antecedent Position Hypothesis. Therefore, further data and analyses are required before this hypothesis can be evidenced with experimental data, such as those obtained herein.

In the present experiment, we investigated the response times to the control question, taken as an indication of the degree of difficulty imposed by null pronouns to their interpretation. We also counted the responses given to the same question, considering these responses as being suggestive of the interpretation of null pronouns on the part of the volunteers. However, these analyses have not yet been submitted to statistical treatment and were therefore not presented in this paper. We believe that these data will provide evidence in the direction of the initial data described and analysed herein, contributing further to the discussion on the Feature Strength and Antecedent Position hypotheses.

The present study was conducted to understand the processing of the null pronoun in Brazilian Portuguese through an online task and presented a set of data demonstrating the role of the gender featuring during processing. The continuation of the research outlined here will deepen the investigation in this field not only by extending the analysis to novel data, but by testing factors that may exert an influence on the processing of null pronouns, such as crosslinguistic differences and the effects of bilingualism.

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ПСИХОЛІНГВАЛЬНІ МАРКЕРИ РАННІХ ДИСФУНКЦІЙНИХ СХЕМ У ВЧИТЕЛІВ ІЗ ВИСОКИМ СТУПЕНЕМ ТРУДОГОЛІЗМУ

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Анотація. У статті відображено результати дослідження психолінгвальних маркерів ранніх дисфункційних схем у вчителів. Дослідження представлене у вигляді багатопланового дослідження із залученням регресійного аналізу, де ранні дисфункційні схеми, психологічне благополуччя, задоволення шлюбом слугують незалежними змінними, а трудоголізм – залежною змінною. Після отримання дозволу від Ради з етики наукових досліджень Східноєвропейського національного університету імені Лесі Українки 53 учителі загальноосвітніх шкіл Волинської області (Україна) взяли участь у дослідженні трудоголізму, серед них 50 жінок, 3 чоловіків, середній вік 46,47 (SD=10,17), стаж роботи 24,06 (SD=10,97). Опитувальник Янга YSQ - S3, шкала трудоголізму (Shkoler et al., 2018), шкала задоволеності шлюбом (Столін, Романова, Бутенко), шкала задоволення щоденною працею (Loi et al., 2009), шкала психологічного благополуччя (Ryff & Keyes, 1995) використовувалися для дослідження трудоголізму та його предикторів у вчителів. Результати засвідчили, що ранні дисфункційні схеми, психологічне благополуччя, задоволеність шлюбом сукупно слугують предикторами трудоголізму у вчителів. Водночас лише ранні дисфункційні схеми є незалежними значущими предикторами трудоголізму. Визначено психолінгвальні маркери ранніх дисфункційних схем, пов'язаних із трудоголізмом. Високорозвинений трудоголізм у вчителів пов'язаний із очікуванням на катастрофу, страхом покарання і негативізмом, уявленням про власну некомпетентність і невдачу, пошуком визнання й високих стандартів. Важливим прикладним висновком дослідження є можливість використання психолінгвістичних маркерів для визначення ранніх дисфункційних схем, пов'язаних із трудоголізмом у вчителів.

Ключові слова: трудоголізм вчителів, ранні дисфункційні схеми, психологічне благополуччя, задоволення щоденною працею, задоволення шлюбом, психолінгвальні маркери.

Onopchenko, Iryna; Orap, Maryna; Mudrak, Ihor. Psycholinguistic Markers of Early Maladaptive Schemas in Teachers with High Prevalence of Workaholism.

Abstract. This study examines psycholinguistic markers of early maladaptive schemas in teachers with high prevalence of workaholism. The study represents the cross-sectional, between

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subjects design utilizing the independent variables of early maladaptive schemas, psychological wellbeing, daily job satisfaction, satisfaction of marriage and dependent variable of workaholism in teachers. The approval letter to recruit the participants from secondary schools in Volyn Oblast, Ukraine in 2018-2019 academic year was obtained from the Research Ethics Committee at Lesya Ukrainka Eastern European National University. 53 teachers, females (n=50), males (n=3), mean age was 46.47 (SD=10.17), seniority was 24.06 (SD=10.97) were recruited. Young Schema Questionnaire, Version 3 (YSQ - S3), The Workaholism Facet-Based Scale (Shkoler et al., 2018), Satisfaction of Marriage Scale (Stolin et al., 1984), Daily Job Satisfaction Scale методика задоволення щоденною роботою (Loi et al., 2009), Ryff's Scale of Psychological Well-Being assess workoholism and its relations with well-being and satisfaction in teachers. The results indicate that early maladaptive schemas, psychological well-being, satisfaction of marriage taken together are predictors of workaholism. However, early maladaptive schemas are the only independent significant predictors of workaholism in teachers. The most frequent statements as psycholinguistic markers of developed early maladaptive schemas in teachers with high prevalence of workaholism are examined. The high prevalence of workaholism in teachers is associated with vulnerability to harm or illness; self-sacrifice; unrelenting standards and hypocriticalness; approval and recognition seeking; negativity and punitiveness. The principal implication of this study is that early maladaptive schemas might be examined through psycholinguistic markers represented by frequent verbal statements of teachers with high prevalence of workaholism.

Keywords: workaholism in teachers, early maladaptive schemas, psychological well-being, daily job satisfaction, satisfaction of marriage, psycholinguistic markers.

1. Вступ

Життя сучасної людини сповнене значною кількістю соціальних змагань, які регулюються механізмом соціального порівняння. До таких змагань належать академічні випробування, спортивні змагання, конкуренція у професійних відносинах на робочому місці і т.ін. За таких умов, на думку Braslow et al. (2012), участь у таких змаганнях часто породжує сумніви стосовно власної компетентності, знижує рівень домагань та погіршує уявлення про власні здібності у професійному середовищі. За результатами дослідження Mir & Kamal (2018), близько 70 % досліджуваних засвідчили наявність сумнівів стосовно власної компетентності під час виконання професійних завдань у різні періоди свого життя. Сумніви стосовно власної компетентності отримали в зарубіжній літературі назву імпостерних емоцій та імпостерного феномену. Clance & Imes (1978) ввели ці поняття у науковий обіг у 1978 році, дослідивши студенток коледжу, які не вірили у можливість власних досягнень і власні здібності. Відтоді імпостерні емоції тлумачаться як наявність сумнівів стосовно власної компетентності і можливості досягнень. Учені визначили кілька аспектів у цьому конструкті: відчуття (випадковості досягнень); інтелектуального шахрайства відчуття, досягнення – це результат наполегливої роботи, а не власних здібностей; брак упевненості повторити попередні досягнення; страх зазнати поразку в майбутньому, мати низькі досягнення, і бути негативно оціненими; втрата задоволення від досягнень; страх бути оціненим як некомпетентний (Braslow et al., 2012).

На думку Mir & Kamal (2018), проблемою в дослідженні імпостерних емоцій ϵ відсутність діагностичного інструментарію. На нашу думку,

дослідження імпостерних емоцій, що зіставляються із сумнівами щодо власної компетентності, може ґрунтуватися на підході Дж. Янга, який був названий схема-терапією (Young, 1999). Схема-терапія була розроблена як модифікація когнітивно-поведінкової терапії (КПТ) для клієнтів, з якими стандартна КПТ була недостатньо ефективною, та поєднує у собі елементи КПТ, гештальттерапії, елементи психоаналітичної та конструктивістської шкіл психології.

Основні теоретичні елементи в концепції схема-терапії – базові емоційні потреби; ранні дисфункційні схеми; дисфункційні копінг-стратегії; режими функціонування схем (дисфункційні режими).

Ранні дисфункційні схеми — це негативні життєві схеми (патерни) сприйняття, емоційного реагування та фізичних відчуттів, які формуються у дитинстві внаслідок дисфункційної взаємодії із важливими для особи людьми. Ці схеми, формуючись у дитинстві, продовжують розвиватися протягом життя, та відображаються на житті особи навіть у тих випадках, коли вони є неефективними.

Дж. Янг виділив 18 ранніх дисфункційних схем, диференційованих на 5 груп (табл. 1).

Таблиця 1 Ранні дисфункційні схеми

Група схем	Схема
1. Порушення зв'язку та	1.1. Відкинутість/Нестабільність
відкинення	1.2. Недовіра/ Очікування жорстокого поводження
	1.3. Емоційна депривованість
	1.4. Дефективність/Сором
	1.5. Соціальна відстороненість
2. Порушена автономія	2.1. Залежність/Некомпетентність
	2.2. Вразливість/Катастрофізація
	2.3. Залежність/Нерозвинена ідентичність
	2.4. Некомпетентність/Очікування на невдачу
3. Порушені межі	3.1. Привілейованість/Особливий статус
	3.2. Нестача самоконтролю
4. Спрямованість на	4.1. Покірність
інших	4.2. Самопожертва
	4.3. Пошук схвалення
5. Надмірна пильність та	5.1. Негативізм/Песимізм
заборони	5.2. Пригнічення емоцій
	5.3. Жорсткі стандарти
	5.4. Очікування на покарання

Як видно з таблиці, імпостерні емоції безпосередньо пов'язані зі сферами порушеної автономії, спрямованості на інших та надмірної пильності й заборони. Відповідно, важливими схемами в цьому контексті є схеми залежності і некомпетентності, пошуку визнання, жорсткі стандарти.

Дослідження цих схем викликають неабиякий інтерес у контексті трудоголізму. Уперше трудоголізм як клінічний феномен було описано американським психологом та релігійним проповідником В. Оутсом у 1971 році (Oates, 1971). Він не тільки ввів термін «трудоголізм» в обіг, а й описав ознаки цієї поведінкової залежності. На думку Oates (1971), трудоголіки — це особи, які відчувають психологічну залежність від роботи та компульсивну потребу працювати. У сучасній літературі визначено три компоненти трудоголізму. До них належать когнітивний компонент (когнітивні процеси, які обумовлюють залежність людини від роботи); афективний компонент (сукупність емоцій і почуттів, які супроводжують трудоголізм); поведінковий компонент (надлишкове включення в роботу, яке зумовлює руйнацію особистого і професійного життя). Згодом у літературі було визначено два аспекти трудоголізму: надлишкова робота та компульсивна робота (Braslow et al., 2012).

2. Методи дослідження

Метою дослідження ϵ дослідити на теоретичному і емпіричному рівнях взаємозв'язок ранніх дисфункційних схем та трудоголізм у вчителів, а також установити психолінгвальні маркери ранніх дисфункційних схем, пов'язаних із трудоголізмом.

Шкала трудоголізму в адаптації І. Онопченко, опитувальник YSQ — S3 в адаптації М. Падун, методика психологічного благополуччя К. Ріфф, а також шкала задоволеності шлюбом (В. Столін, Т. Романова, Г. Бутенко) і шкала щоденного задоволення працею (Loi et al., 2009) використовувалися у дослідженні.

Апробація опитувальника Шкала трудоголізму проводилася на базі Східноєвропейського національного університету імені Лесі Українки впродовж 2019 року із урахуванням основних психометричних вимог щодо стандартизації та апробації психологічних методик. Опитувальник «Шкала трудоголізму» володіє високим рівнем психометричних характеристик: коефіцієнт α-Кронбаха складає 0,712, що говорить про високий рівень узгодженості методики.

Шкала трудоголізму містить наступні субшкали:

- 1. а1b1 поєднання когнітивної модальності із ресурсом часу;
- 2. a1b2 поєднання когнітивної модальності із ресурсом зусиль;
- 3. а2b1 поєднання емоційної модальності із ресурсом часу;
- 4. a2b2 поєднання емоційної модальності із ресурсом зусиль;
- 5. а3b1 поєднання інструментальної модальності із ресурсом часу;
- 6. a3b2 поєднання інструментальної модальності із ресурсом зусиль.

Методика YSQ-S3 апробована у багатьох країнах на клінічних вибірках та має високий рівень психометричних характеристик. Субшкали опитувальника мають високу внутрішню консистентність та надійність. Значення коефіцієнта α-Кронбаха: від 0,68 до 0,96. Також було встановлено, що методика здатна оптимально диференціювати опитуваних за критерієм особистісної тривожності — особи, що мають яскраво виражені ознаки дисфункційних схем демонструють високий рівень тривожності. Методика

"YSQ-S3" складається із 90 запитань, респондентам пропонується оцінити, наскільки кожне із тверджень опитувальника відповідає їм за допомогою шестибальної шкали Лайкерта. Для інтерпретації результатів обраховується сума оцінок за кожною із 18 шкал методики.

Шкала щоденного задоволення працею (Loi et al., 2009) містить три твердження стосовно задоволення роботою, які оцінюються за шкалою від 1 до 6, де 1 – зовсім незадоволений, 6 – максимально задоволений. Максимальна кількість балів 18. Значення коефіцієнта α-Кронбаха 0,86.

Опитувальник задоволеності шлюбом (В. Столін, Т. Романова, Г. Бутенко) складається з 24 тверджень, які групуються у такі аспекти: порівняння свого шлюбу з іншими шлюбами; припущення про оцінку власного шлюбу з боку інших; вираження почуттів стосовно партнера; оцінка дружини; настанова на зміну характеру чоловіка; думка стосовно шлюбу загалом. Максимально благополучні відносини оцінюються в 48 балів.

Шкали психологічного благополуччя (ШПБ) — це адаптований україномовний варіант опитувальника "The scales of psychological well-being" (Ryff & Keyes, 1995) та адаптованого С. Карскановою.

Оригінальна методика пройшла стандартні психометричні процедури перевірки надійності і валідності, більше того окрім процедури ретестування, була досліджена внутрішня узгодженість для кожної шкали, при цьому значення коефіцієнта альфи коливалося від 0,83 до 0,91. Пропонується обрахування балів за конкретними шкалами (максимально 49 балів): позитивні відносини з іншими, автономія, управління середовищем, особистісне зростання, цілі у житті, самоприйняття, а також сумарний бал, що означає психологічне благополуччя загалом (максимально 294 балів).

У дослідженні було поставлено такі дослідницькі питання:

- 1. Чи існують кореляційні зв'язки між показниками трудоголізму та ранніх дисфункційних схем?
- 2. Чи можуть ранні дисфункційні схеми, психологічне благополуччя, задоволення шлюбом, задоволення щоденною працею бути незалежними предикторами трудоголізму у вчителів?
- 3. Чи існують психолінгвістичні маркери ранніх дисфункційних схем, пов'язаних із трудоголізмом?

Дослідження проводилося на базі Луцького ліцею №3, Луцької гімназії №18 та Луцької загальноосвітньої школи №23. В опитуванні взяло участь 53 вчителя віком від 26 до 64 років зі стажем роботи від 4 до 44 років. Середній вік опитуваних становить 45 років, а середній стаж роботи — 24 роки. В переважній більшості опитувані були заміжніми жінками (99 % жінки, 96 % — у шлюбі). Усі опитувані працювали повний робочий день та мали як мінімум 18 робочих годин на тиждень.

3. Обговорення результатів

Оскільки вибірка містить понад 30 осіб, відповідно до Центральної граничної теореми (n=53>30) і першого дослідницького питання, було використано кореляцію Пірсона. Результати кореляційного аналізу відображено в табл. 2.

Таблиця 2 Результати кореляційного аналізу показників трудоголізму та ранніх дисфункційних схем у вчителів

Змінні	Трудоголізм	самопожертви	Схема надвисоких стандартів	Схема пошуку визнання	Схема негативізму	Схема покарання	Очікування катастрофи
Трудоголізм	-	0,412**		0,305**	0,310**	0,432**	0,282*
Схема	0,412**	-	0,691**	0,546**	0,575**	0,481**	0,419**
самопожертви							
Схема	0,394**	0,691**	-	0,419**	0,529**	0,653**	0,546**
надвисоких стандартів							
Схема пошуку	0,305**	0,546**	0,419	_	0,567**	0,529**	0,462**
визнання							
Схема	0,310**	0,575**	0,529**	0,567**	-	0,828**	0,741**
негативізму							
Схема	0,432**	0,481**	0,653**	0,529**	0,828**		0,634**
покарання							
Схема	0,282*	0,419**	0,546**	0,462**	0,741**	0,634**	-
катастрофи	* <0.05. **						

Примітка. *p<0,05; **p<0,01

Як видно з таблиці, існують значущі кореляційні зв'язки між трудоголізмом та такими ранніми дисфункційними схемами, як схема вразливості до небезпеки і катастрофізація, схема самопожертви, схема пошуку визнання, та схема очікування на покарання. Отже, отримані результати підтверджують думку про те, що причиною трудоголізму ϵ імпостерні емоції як уявлення про власну некомпетентність і очікування невдачі.

Аби дослідити предиктори трудоголізму, було використано регресійний аналіз, в якому трудоголізм слугував залежною змінною, а ранні дисфункційні схеми, психологічне благополуччя та задоволення шлюбом слугували незалежними змінними.

Результати регресійного аналізу свідчать про те, що ранні дисфункційні схеми, психологічне благополуччя та задоволення шлюбом разом у сукупності слугують предикторами трудоголізму. Ці три змінні пояснюють $18.0 \, \%$, $R^2 = .180$, F(3.49) = 3.58, p = .020. Результати також свідчать про те, що тільки ранні дисфункційні схеми є незалежним значущим предиктором трудоголізму, b = .059, t(53) = 2.26, p = .028 (табл. 3).

Таблиця 3
Результати регресійного аналізу трудоголізму, ранніх дисфункційних схем, психологічного благополуччя та задоволення шлюбом

Змінні	В	SEB	β	t	p
Ранні дисфункційні схеми	0,059 (0,007, 0,112)	0,026	0,43	2,61	0,028
Психологічне благополуччя	0,075 (0,009, 0,054)	0,42	0,323	1,796	0,079
Задоволеність шлюбом	0,129 (-0,118, -0,464)	-0,129	-0,232	-1,590	0,118

Отже, результати регресійного аналізу свідчать про те, що ранні дисфункційні схеми ϵ значущим предиктором трудоголізму, зокрема схема некомпетентності, що наближує предиктори трудоголізму до імпостерних емоцій.

Психолінгвальні маркери ранніх дисфункційних схем, пов'язаних із трудоголізмом, відображено в табл. 4.

Таблиця 4 Психолінгвальні маркери ранніх дисфункційних схем, пов'язаних із трудоголізмом

Ранні дисфункційні схеми	Психолінгвістичні маркери				
Схема некомпетентності	Я нічого не роблю так добре, як				
	інші; я справді некомпетентний,				
	якщо оцінювати мої здібності у				
	житті; інші люди ϵ здібнішими за				
	мене				
Схема очікування на катастрофу	Маю відчуття, що трапиться щось				
	погане; на мене хтось нападе; я				
	можу все втратити; у мене може				
	розвинутися серйозна хвороба				
Схема очікування на покарання	Якщо я помилюся, мене покарають;				
	я несу велику відповідальність за				
	кожну свою помилку				
Схема пошуку визнання	Гроші і знайомства надають мені				
	важливості; досягнення мають сенс,				
	якщо їх помічають; я почуваюся				
	меншовартісним, якщо не отримую				
	належної уваги з боку інших				

4. Висновки

Результати дослідження дають змогу встановити тісний кореляційний зв'язок між ранніми дисфункційними схемами й трудоголізмом. Більш того, ранні дисфункційні схеми слугують незалежним значущим предиктором трудоголізму. Особливої значущості набувають схеми очікування на катастрофу, пошук визнання, схема некомпетентності та очікування на невдачу і вірогідність покарання. Установлення психолінгвальних маркерів ранніх дисфункційних схем можуть слугувати важливим діагностичним інструментом імпостерних емоцій та уявлень про власну некомпетентність у вчителів із розвиненим трудоголізмом.

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CONSCIOUS CONTROL IN SPEECH PATHOLOGY AND SPEECH REHABILITATION FOLLOWING STROKE

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Abstract. The article presents results of the research conducted in speech rehabilitation period of patients after stroke. The study aims to identify conscious control in speech rehabilitation period of the patients who were diagnosed to have Broca's aphasia. A sample of 22 patients with Broca's aphasia, or efferent motor aphasia (Luria, 2004) in the left hemisphere, who stayed at the Volyn Regional Clinical Hospital (Lutsk, Ukraine) during rehabilitation period, was approached through purposeful sampling method for this research. The non-laboratory measure of speech assessment was administered along with demographic data. Results showed that conscious control that usually remains in this group of people plays a crucial role in psychological intervention. The article also discusses the main neuropsycholinguistic principles that help to utilize the potential of conscious control in the process of speech rehabilitation of the patients after stroke.

Keywords: stroke, Broca's aphasia, conscious control, speech pathology, speech rehabilitation, neuropsycholinguistic principles.

Пастрик Тетяна, Котис Олена, Дячук Наталія, Мілінчук Володимир. Свідомий контроль у мовленнєвій патології та мовленнєвій реабілітації після інсульту.

Анотація. Статтю присвячено результатам мовленнєвої реабілітації пацієнтів після інсульту. Дослідження мало за мету встановити аспекти свідомого контролю під час мовленнєвої реабілітації осіб із афазією Брока, або моторної еферентної афазії (Лурія, 2004), лівої півкулі. Вибірку склали 22 пацієнти Волинської обласної клінічної лікарні в Луцьку (Україна) упродовж реабілітаційного періоду. Дослідження здійснено на основі методів цільового формування вибірки, а також застосування неапаратурного методу оцінки мовлення разом із демографічними даними. Результати засвідчили, що свідомий контроль у цієї групи осіб відіграє ключову роль під час психологічної інтервенції. Крім того, автори обговорюють головні нейропсихолінгвістичні принципи, що сприяють вико-

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ристанню потенціалу свідомого контролю в процесі мовленнєвої реабілітації пацієнтів після інсульту.

Ключові слова: інсульт, афазія Брока, свідомий контроль, мовленнєва патологія, мовленнєва реабілітація, нейропсихолінгвістичні принципи.

1. Introduction

In modern anthropogenic society with its rapid pace and stressful as well as ecologically harmful factors we can observe increase of cardiovascular diseases, stroke being the most widely spread. This medical condition is characterized by accidental disruption of blood supply to the brain with possibility of movement disorders, coordination and speech, causes communication disorders, social role change, resulting in a psychological trauma for an individual and their social context as well. When dealing with a stroke, its sudden nature and damage area (the brain) should be considered. Since the brain is the most complex body organ, damage of its parts causes various functional disorders.

Analysis of recent research on speech aphasia of patients after stroke (Hauk, Johnsrude, & Pulvermüller, 2004; Brown & Hagoort, 2003; Fawcus, 2000; Marshall, 2000a, 2000b; Northoff, 2003; Хомская, 2005; Шохор-Троцкая, 2001) shows that most part of research in the field is being conducted in laboratories and aims to investigate clear correspondence between speech features and localization of injury. However, laboratory testing methods are inferior to empirical ones when it comes to deep observation and examination of participants' behavior, holding conversations with them; it is the time when psycho-corrective work usually takes place. It involves activities for speech therapy and it considers psychological states and health condition of a patient.

The topic of this research is of great current interest, because one of the most serious stroke consequences is speech disorder or its total loss, and that is why stroke patients who get into this psycholinguistic "trap", face the situation when they are desperately trying to express themselves and say how they feel or what they need; this causes aggressive behavior, irritation and anxiety.

2. Methods

Speech impairment of patients after stroke is becoming common not just among the elderly patients, but also among middle-aged people as well as young ones. Notwithstanding the fact that the research on nature of speech disorders caused by a stroke and investigation of speech correction methods is being done, Ukrainian scholars haven't studied these phenomena to the full yet. It can partly be explained by the difficulties that researchers face when they start speech diagnostics of stroke patients. Also, the patients' behavior may challenge researchers and cause obstacles. At the same time, as experience shows, there is a need in applied research on speech peculiarities of stroke patients to help them restore their speech function during the rehabilitation period. This idea brings us to the main goal of this research

which is to determine the role of conscious control in speech function restoration of stroke patients with efferent motor aphasia.

A sample of 22 patients with Broca's aphasia, or efferent motor aphasia (Luria, 2004) in the left hemisphere, who stayed at the Volyn Regional Clinical Hospital in Lutsk, Ukraine during rehabilitation period, was approached through purposeful sampling method for this research. The non-laboratory measure of speech assessment was administered along with demographic data.

Efferent motor aphasia is considered to be one of the most severe speech pathologies resulting from lesions in the lower part of the left premotor area of the brain. The participants of our experiment (the subjects) are stroke patients who had stroke not later than one year ago. Such time criterion was chosen due to the common idea that spontaneous (without a psychologist being involved) speech recovery usually takes place during the time period of 12 months after the stroke had been diagnosed (Pulvermüller, 2002). All the remaining disorders can be considered as chronic, because they are very difficult to deal with during psychocorrective activities.

The empirical research was based on the experiment where the participants were asked to tell a story based on a thematic picture *On Holiday* using the non-laboratory measure of speech method, introduced by Luria (2004). Each criterion was estimated using scale grading from 1 to 3 in which 1 is the lowest (basic) level of speech comprehensiveness and 3 is the highest (advanced) level. To identify the abovementioned levels we involved three experts, doctors of Neurology Department working at the Volyn Regional Clinical Hospital and a speech therapist.

3. Results and Discussion

The peculiarities of manifestation of various speech criteria in correlation with the level of speech comprehensiveness, that were identified by the expert group, are presented in Table1 below.

Table 1 Expert estimation of stroke patients' speech (n = 22)

Speech	Speech comprehensiveness	Content criteria of expert
criteria	degree of stroke patients	estimation
	(1 to 3 points),	
	Mean (SD)	
Spontaneous	1.50	Basic level (1 point): from 1 to
speech	(.41)	5 sentences; intermediate
(expressive		level: 6–10 sentences (2
speech)		points); advanced level: 10
		sentences and more (3 points).
Automatic	1.78	Basic level: automatic
speech	(.38)	repetition of one of three
		tasks: numbers, days of the

Non- automatic speech	1.92 (.53)	week (1 point); intermediate level: automatic repetition of two of three tasks (2 points); advanced level: automatic repetition of three tasks (3 points). Basic level: non-automatic repetition of one of three tasks: numbers, days of the week (1 point); intermediate level: non-automatic repetition of two of three tasks (2 points); advanced level: non-automatic repetition of
Repetition	2.65 (.67)	three tasks (3 points). Basic level: repetition of one out of five series of language units: sounds, combinations of sounds, series of words, phrases (1 point); intermediate level: repetition of two out of five series of language units (2 points); advanced level: repetition of three or more out of five series of language units
Object naming	1.05 (.26)	(3 points). Basic level: fulfilling one of three tasks: naming objects using pictures, using instructions, naming series of objects (1 point); intermediate level: fulfilling two of three tasks (2 points); advanced level: fulfilling three tasks
Speech comprehensio n and understanding (impressive speech)	2.42 (.67)	(3 points). Basic level: fulfilling one of four tasks: understanding words using pictures, understanding meaning of words (body parts, without using visual aids), understanding low-frequency words, understanding simple instructions (1 point);

Spontaneous enlarged speech (expressive speech)	2.10 (.53)	intermediate level: fulfilling two of the abovementioned tasks (2 points); advanced level: fulfilling three tasks from the list (3 points). Basic level: speech is not always grammatically correct, telegraph style of speech, weak correlation between expressions (in text fragments of less than 5 sentences); intermediate level: grammatically correct structures and adequate use of language in a text fragment of up to 10 sentences (2 points); advanced level: grammatically correct structures and adequate use of language in text fragment of 10 and more simple and complex sentences (3 points).
		-

As Table1 shows, patients face most difficulties during speech generation process (i.e., naming objects) and also spontaneous speech without any visual aids or pictures. Furthermore, the basic difficulties can be traced during active interview conducted by a psychologist when they asked the subjects about disease etiology and passage. We can observe much better speech performance when patients were asked about neutral or positive topics as, for instance, holiday and rest, especially when there were visual aids on the topic available. The experiment has shown domination of non-automatic speech characteristics over the ones of automatic speech. Non-automatic speech is characterized by high level of conscious control. This result correlates with our hypothesis that conscious control plays crucial role in positive speech rehabilitation of stroke patients.

Our original complex speech recovery program of stroke patients is based on non-literal principle as a way to rebuild functional systems; this corresponds to the dominant role of conscious control in positive speech dynamics. The program that we created correlates with methodology of neuropsycholinguistic research that combines empiric, epistemic and ontological approaches (see Table2).

Table2
Content characteristics of psycho-corrective program according to the methodology of neuropsycholinguistic research

General scientific approaches	Content characteristics of the program
	Introduction of game activities in
Empirical approach	cooperation of a psychologist and a
	subject, fixation of features of speech
	activity on the stages of thought
	formation and speech performance
Epistemic approach	Reflection of subjects on their own
	speech, feedback on their own
	emotional and mental states
Ontological approach	Considering compensatory
	mechanisms of human brain and
	abilities of speech development as a
	mental process

All the above mentioned shows that the results of a complex neuropsycholinguistic experiment with all the methodological requirements considered, enable researchers to not just create and introduce the clinical picture of efferent motor aphasia, but also to utilize a comprehensive psycho-corrective speech recovery program that combines the idea of unity of brain and mind of an individual.

Data received using computer-aided methods of research, that were collected during the period of hospital treatment, helped to compare and map activization of certain brain areas and specificity of a certain mental operation: its modality, duration and function. An important issue to consider is avoidance of direct neurophysiological parallelism that is used to match certain brain area with a certain cognitive operation; this does not correlate with A. Luria's fundamental principle of systemic localization of higher mental functions (Luria, 2004).

Using some of already existing research on the topic (Pulvermüller, 2002; Pulvermüller & Berthier, 2008) we singled out the main directions of psychocorrective work: psycholinguistic correction using music, transcranial magnetic stimulation and pharmaceutical treatment.

Analysis of impressive speech retention degree has shown that aphasiacs tend to remember lexical units better if they have some visual aids at their disposal. We shall consider this fact when planning psycholinguistic correction work with these patients.

In order to effectively introduce psycho-corrective program and ensure positive dynamics of speech performance of the stroke patients we addressed the preserved functions of conscious behavior (i.e., conscious control function) when speaking. The importance and need to address this function are caused by the following: firstly, the results of our research involving people with efferent motor aphasia have

shown better comprehensiveness of non-automatic speech as compared to automatic. In the process of automatic speech generation, when naming numbers, weekdays and months, the subjects made a few mistakes. Secondly, occurrence of mistakes in automatic speech can be explained by it being rather fast and in this case speech reactions can be rather impulsive. However, the results of the experiment prove that in the process of fulfilling tasks to check automatic speech performance, stroke patients are fast enough to find solutions to problems under consideration using wrong speech acts when identifying and choosing concrete language units. If production of language units is executed in the opposite order, non-automatic speech being involved, the participants fulfill the tasks and make decisions more slowly thus making fewer mistakes when identifying language units.

Conscious control function that should be addressed when working with speech performance of efferent motor aphasia patients can be utilized in the process of doing various speech exercises and thus improving how they are done. For instance, in the process of intensive speech correction activities the subjects were encouraged to think about the task thoroughly, to examine the suggested picture very carefully in order to avoid impulsive speech reactions and find the correct answer.

When asking participants to speak on the given picture, they were encouraged to take time and examine all the picture details thoroughly as well as to be reflexive when delivering their ideas.

Conscious control function is built upon close interrelation of various cognitive processes. That is why if to speak about this function and its retention in the context of efferent motor aphasia, we cannot but mention sufficient memory capacity, maturity of thinking ability and intelligence as a whole. The subjects were noticed to have the functions of voluntary and involuntary attention, because they were able to concentrate on a difficult and laborious task. Functions of the stroke patients' memory were also well-preserved: during the experiment the subjects asked to repeat series of sounds or words very rarely, trying to reproduce them on the first try. Space and time orientation, structuring narratives and comprehension of narrations in pictures show that intellectual processes of stroke patients are preserved.

Results of empirical and experimental research of speech of stroke patients diagnosed with efferent motor aphasia in rehabilitation period show the crucial role that is played by the functions of their consciousness, i.e., adequate mental reflection, construction of individual picture of the world and activity production on this basis (Luria, 2004). It is worth mentioning that notwithstanding the fact that negative emotional states of patients existed, accompanied with negative emotional cycles (protection, avoidance and activity limitation), in general the individual consciousness could be defined as clear and active. Negative feelings usually caused refusal to cooperate with a psychologist and also had negative impact on individual speech performance.

In the process of diagnostic and psycho-corrective work with stroke patients who were diagnosed with Broca's aphasia, it is important to consider retention of

speech conscious control function that helps to develop and reinforce speech performance. In our opinion, the basic points to remember when working with patients after stroke should be the following:

- control and repression of impulsive and development of reflexive speech performance using various tasks of psycho-corrective work, since 'faster does not mean better':
- emphasis on retention of the mental processes that include memory, attention and thinking;
- stimulation of conscious control of speech performance as well as emotional states, preserving mental activity and dealing with protective and eluding behavior;
- concentration on non-automatic speech with slow transformation into automatic speech preserving reflexive speech performance, notwithstanding the fact that this task is easy.

It is reasonable to think that retention of conscious control of stroke patients with Broca's aphasia is a potential resource in positive speech performance dynamics during rehabilitation period.

4. Conclusions

Investigating speech of stroke patients who were diagnosed with efferent motor aphasia is one of few cases the results of which may profoundly influence the already existing inventory of neuropsychology and psycholinguistics. It is reasonable to talk about close connection between language and all the cognitive processes. However, speech, if compared to other mental processes, is the most exteriorized and it also bears intellectual abilities of a person as well as emotional states and motivation. Cohesiveness of language and thought in cognitive activity leads to the rise of term 'speech-and-thought activity'. Categorization of extralinguistic world is based on notions, ideas, conclusions that are somehow 'shaped' using natural language. On the other hand, efferent motor aphasia enables us to artificially separate speech from higher cognitive processes like thinking, memory, attention and to use the latter in order to help recover speech performance.

Following this, it is worth to consider not only compensatory abilities of human brain, but also compensatory abilities of the mind itself. Intellectual processes being retained, conscious control is used to generate speech.

Thus, the results of our research enable us to conclude that the principle of functional non-literality is not only of emotional, but also of cognitive nature. Its emotional nature helps to stimulate positive mental activity of a subject on the preparatory stage of intensive speech correction process. However, it is its cognitive nature that enables us to utilize conscious control and the retained cognitive processes to develop effective speech dynamics.

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PSYCHOSEMANTIC TOOLS OF SELF-ASSESSING INDIVIDUAL REFLECTIVITY

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Abstract. In this article, reflectivity is considered as an individual general ability to develop different attitudes to life events in order to reduce an external and internal uncertainty in situations. The objective of the research is to examine the self-assessment criteria for reflectivity with psychosemantic procedure. The author designs a modified version of the Ch. Osgood's (1957) Semantic Differential (SD) for examining the content and formal features of the self-assessment criteria of reflectivity. This study suggests two main processes of self-assessment of reflectivity, notably differentiation and integration. The results of factor analysis indicate that individuals with high reflectivity level are aligned with low differentiation of the semantic space and monolithic nature of self-assessment criteria. The coherence and consistency of self-assessment criteria reduce the individuals' level of inner uncertainty, transform external problems to familiar tasks and increase an efficient decision-making. A high level of differentiation is related to individual readiness to make a correct decision in the situation of multiple choice. High differentiation increases the individual adjustment and prevents from poor effects of high reflectivity. Consequently, a high level of reflectivity is associated with a low level of differentiation of self-assessment criteria.

Keywords: reflectivity, integration, differentiation, semantic space, psychosemantic tools.

Савченко Олена. Психосемантичні засоби дослідження рефлексивної активності.

Анотація. У статті рефлексивність розглядається як загальна здатність особистості ставати у різні позиції щодо подій власної життєдіяльності задля зниження ступеня зовнішньої та внутрішньої невизначеності. Мета дослідження — випрацювання оцінних критеріїв рефлективності на основі методів психосемантики. Автор розробила процедуру часткового семантичного диференціала, придатного для оцінки змісту і формальних рис рефлективності. Застосування факторного аналізу дало змогу виокремити лише дві узагальнені вторинні характеристики формальних ознак: рівень інтегрованості та диференціації. Виявлено, що високий рівень рефлексивності пов'язаний з низькою артикульованістю семантичного простору, з вираженою монолітністю оцінних критеріїв. Узгодженість та несуперечливість оцінних критеріїв допомагає суб'єктам знижувати рівень внутрішньої невизначеності, зводити зовнішні проблеми до типових задач. Висока артикульованість семантичного простору корелює з готовністю особи до перевірки висунутих припущень у ситуації множинного вибору, з домінуванням установки на правильність прийняття рішення. У результаті, встановлено, що високий рівень рефлексивності пов'язаний із низьким рівнем диференціації критеріїв оцінювання рефлексивності.

Ключові слова: рефлексивність, інтеграція, диференціація, семантичний простір, психосемантичні засоби.

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1. Introduction

The reflectivity is a form of individual mental activity, which arises in situations of external or internal uncertainty. Evidence consistently suggests that external uncertainty is aligned with such features of the modern world as complexity, unpredictability, and instability (Halpern, 2011). Therefore, SPOD-world (steady, predictable, ordinary, definite) has been replaced by VUCA-world (volatility, uncertainty, complexity, ambiguity). These changes predict a lot of challenges to individual, notably prompt adjustment to impermanent conditions, mobilization of necessary resources, maintenance of well-being and high performance, enhancing their activity at limited resource settings. These externally determined tasks stimulate the process of internal problem solving. Data from several studies suggest that that the person faces the following tasks, in particular chooses an efficient behavior strategy in a current situation, evaluates the importance and prioritizes own activity, predicts possible consequences, and adjusts personal attitude towards the situation (Gawronski & Bodenhausen, 2006).

In our previous research, the selection, decision-making and solution of reflective tasks were considered as a way to reduce internal and external uncertainty and to cope with it with designed meta-plan. The setting and solution of reflective tasks contribute to the solution of external problems more successfully (Savchenko, 2016 a).

Several lines of evidence suggest that individual is reluctant to use reflective resources in familiar situations and applies automatizes behavioral and cultural patterns instead (Halpern, 2011). However, the stereotyped scheme might not be effective in unfamiliar situations with a high level of uncertainty. Non-standard situations force an individual to apply new suitable scheme for interpretation and decision-making in the new conditions. Schütz as cited in Chepeleva (2009) argued that an individual applies reflectivity in new circumstances, which confront with the everyday knowledge. Leontyev (2010) systematized the main characteristics of uncertain situations, notably these situations are always difficult, critical, stressful, and extreme. Moreover, they are atypical for an individual, generate a certain disruption in life, and are perceived as a threat to person's integrity and well-being (Leontyev, 2010).

The internal resources reduce individual uncertainty in situations with high external ambiguity and stimulate the development of reflectivity as an individual general ability to mobilize their psychological resources and organize their self-analysis process for capturing the solution of an external problem. Recent evidence suggests that reflection is a derived meta-process aimed at interpretation of external world events. As Lieberman and colleagues (2002) point out one system (C-system) analyzes the work of another system (X-system). "The C-system is a serial system that uses symbolic logic to produce the conscious thoughts that we experience as "reflections on" the stream of consciousness" (Lieberman, Gaunt, Gilbert, & Trope, 2002, p. 219). Together, these studies indicate that reflectivity is an individual cognitive general ability to develop understanding and interpretation of different life events.

Evidence consistently suggests that differentiation, integration, abstractness, cognitive complexity are the main characteristics of cognitive structures (Chuprikova, 1997). According to Chuprikova, the level of the system organization is "determined by the number of heterogeneous elements in the system (the degree of variety), the number of different levels (the degree of hierarchy), the number and variety of relations between elements and levels" (Chuprikova, 1997, p. 18). Therefore, the increase of differentiation and hierarchical order has a strong positive impact on system development. It is in line with the recent findings, which indicate an association between the developed conceptual system and processes of differentiation and integration (Harvey, Hunt, & Schroeder, 1961; Pohilko & Fedotova, 1984; Petrenko, 2010). Furthermore, if reflectivity is a complex conceptual system, processes of differentiation and integration have a great impact on its development.

There is a strong correlation between personal growth and development of conceptual system (Harvey et al., 1961). It is linked with strengthening the relationships between the components of system; the expansion of mental space by manipulating different features and functions of objects; the modification of cognitive processes resulting in changes of understanding and interpretation of different events; 4) the development of openness and dynamics of the system.

The development of conceptual system is aligned with concrete-abstract thinking and the relevant cognitive style. Individuals with the concrete thinking, and therefore, less developed conceptual system, demonstrate a tendency for black-and-white thinking; dependence on status and authority; and intolerance of uncertainty. On the contrary, people with the developed conceptual system and abstract thinking are flexible, and change their behavior according to the requirements of situation. In addition, they often demonstrate creativity.

Our previous research suggests that level of individual reflectivity has a strong impact on students' academic performance (Savchenko, 2016b).

It is important to understand what mental mechanisms contribute to development of reflectivity and efficient decision-making in different situations. Despite the importance of reflectivity, there remains a paucity of evidence on self-assessment assessment criteria of reflectivity. Since reflectivity is aligned with cognitive and meta-cognitive processes, the present study applies methodology of psychosemantic. The aim of the research is to examine the self-assessment criteria for reflectivity with psychosemantic procedure.

2. Methods

The present study explores reflectivity as a conceptual system and the self-assessment criteria as its structure formed by experience. Researchers distinguish the content and formal characteristics of cognitive structure. Content characteristics are aligned with the typology of phenomena, whereas formal characteristics represent the structure of system and its particular components. In our previous study, the main content characteristics of the self-assessment criteria of reflectivity were defined, notably a goal for personal growth; readiness to solve problems; self-

regulation; monitoring; planning; applying knowledge and experience; a positive attitude to efficient problem solving (Savchenko, 2015). 7) positive-negative attitude to problem solving.

The study applies the measure of Semantic Differential (SD) to assess reflectivity. The research uses a modified SD in which scales are appropriate for self-assessment of individual reflectivity. After transcribed self-reports during problem solving were obtained, the most frequent nouns, adjectives, and verbs were analyzed. The technique also selects the relevant antonyms to all words. The procedure results in developing 45 scales to assess individual mental activity in the situations of uncertainty. The scales represent various aspects of mental activity, particularly cognitive, evaluative, emotional and behavioral. In addition, the study captures the basic operations of self-assessment, notably representation, comparison, and generalization. The scales of cognitive aspects of reflectivity assess accuratefast thinking; self-accused-supportive thinking; rational - emotional thinking. The evaluative aspect of reflectivity includes productive - non-productive thinking, successful – unsuccessful thinking, self-assessing – not self-assessing thinking. The emotional aspect of reflectivity is aligned to such scales as stressed - relaxed; excited – quiet; cheerful – bored. The behavioral aspect is linked to such scales as focusing on my own results - focusing on others' results, comparison of the results and expectations – non-comparison of the results and expectations. The participants gave the responses while they were solving a problem. They assessed different aspects of the process, notably me while solving a familiar task; me solving a task in the situation with deficit of time; me while resolving a conflict; ideal me while solving a task; my resources at the present moment with 7 items anchored from 1 = none of time to 7 = all of the time. The study applies the Measure for Determining the Level of Reflectivity (Karpov & Ponomareva, 2000) to assess the level of reflectivity in the participants. The study applies the principle component factor analysis with the rotation procedure Varymax, STATISTICA 10.0.

Participants. 450 individuals, 15–25 years old, were asked to assess the connotative meaning of the concepts with SD scales. The sample includes 77 high school students (17.1 %); 35 students of vocational schools (7.8 %); 228 university students (50.7 %); 76 working adults with higher education (16.9 %); 34 working adults with secondary education (7.6 %). The study applies method of representative modeling for recruiting participants.

3. Results and Discussion

Table 1 summarizes the total amount of variance that can be explained by a given principle component factor analysis. The participants have a variety of self-assessment criteria of reflectivity (M=4.43±.66). In addition, more than 0.44 % of participants have only two self-assessment criteria, the majority of participants (52.22 %) have five or more self-assessment criteria, 38.89 % of participants use four criteria for self-assessment, and 8.44 % of participants use three criteria. Therefore, the results consistently suggest that reflectivity as an individual conceptual system is highly differentiated.

Table 1
Descriptive statistics of self-assessment criteria of reflectivity

Indices	M min	M max	M	SD
Number of independent significant	2	5	4.43	0.66
components Percentage of variance explained by the				
first component	21.3	69.2	32.4	6.65
Percentage variance explained by the second component	14.1	36.7	23.8	3.48
Difference between the first and the second	.01	55.1	0 5 1	7.01
components	.01	33.1	8.54	7.91
Number of variables included in the first component	4	29	12.9	4.09
Bannister's coefficient of the first component	443	2813	1377.7	309.9
Bannister's coefficient of the last component	137	1005	463.8	149.8
Difference between Bannister's				
coefficient's of the first and the last	103	2473	913.9	385.9
components				
Bannister's total coefficient	1629	4500	4284.7	420.58

Table 1 illustrates that the first component explains almost a one-third of total dispersion (M=32.4 \pm 6.65), and the second component (M=23.8 \pm 3.48) explains significantly less variance (t=22.0; .999). The results indicate that there is a significant difference between dispersions of the first (D=44.28) and second (D=12.13) components (F=3.65; .999). Thus, evidence consistently suggests that only one significant component expresses individual self-assessment criteria of reflectivity in the participants. 5.56 % of participants have the first component combined with more than 20 self-assessment criteria, which is an indicator of reflectivity as a low differentiated system. The first component of most participants (66.89 %) combines from 11 to 20 of self-assessment criteria of reflectivity. 27.54 % of participants have high differentiated assessment criteria. In this case, the first component combines 10 self-assessment criteria.

There is a negative correlation between the number of components in principle component analysis and the level of reflectivity (r=-0.29; .99), the situational reflectivity (r=-0.29; $\alpha \ge 0.99$), retrospective reflectivity (r=-.29; .99), and prospective reflectivity (r=-.24; .95). There is a positive correlation between the level of reflectivity as a complex personal trait and variance explained by the first component (r=.21; .95), number of variables included in the first component (r=.26; .95), Bannister's coefficient of the first component (r=.31; .99) and Bannister's total coefficient (r=.33; .99).

One possible explanation of a negative correlation between the number of components in principle component analysis and the level of reflectivity is linked

with constructive and destructive effects of reflectivity. Applying a lot of self-assessment criteria have a poor impact on efficient decision-making, since individual focusing on personal thoughts and experiences may ignore the important external factors of the situations. It is in line with the results of the recent research indicating the negative behavioral outcomes of reactivity, notably depressive states, neuroticism, ruminations, and deficit of cognitive resources (Nolen-Hoeksema, 2008; Leontyev & Averina, 2011).

In order to prevent a negative outcome of reflectivity, it is necessary to control and regulate it. The control of mental activity is provided by metacognitive monitoring. According to Halpern's approach (2001), monitoring involves identifying priority tasks, assessing time and effort required to achieve a goal.

Table 2 illustrates the results of principle component factor analysis of self-assessment criteria of reflectivity.

Table 2
Summary of principle component factor analysis of self-assessment criteria of reflectivity

Indices	Factor loadings	
indices	Component 1	Component 2
Number of independent significant components	50	.67
Percentage variance explained by the first	.93	07
Component Porcentage verience explained by the second		
Percentage variance explained by the second component	22	79
Difference between the first and the second component variance	.88	.29
Number of variables included in the first		
component	.91	.1
Bannister's coefficient of the first component	.95	.04
Bannister's coefficient of the last component	42	.73
Difference between Bannister's coefficient's of the	.94	-0.25
first and the last components	.,,	
Bannister's total coefficient	.23	.37
Percentage variance explained by component	54.2	21.3

The results of the factor analysis confirm the assumption that there are at least two groups of indicators aligned with the self-assessment criteria of reflectivity, notably differentiation of mental activity and various aspects of activity, and integration of individual assessing criteria into more generalized factors. The first component expresses the tendency to integrate self-assessing criteria (54.2 % of the total variance). The tendency to integrate self-assessment criteria performs the important functions, notably decreasing the number of aspects applied for an efficient decision-making process; reducing uncertainty by the development of appropriate tools, skills, and problem solving algorithms.

Laktionov (2010) suggests that integrating of self-assessment criteria is based on the individual ability to transfer meaning from one concept to the other concepts. This process is closely linked to an intermediate level of language competence, and is mostly not observed at a low level, when the individual demonstrates poor understanding of the criteria, and at a high level, when the individual demonstrates a high differentiation of the self-assessment evaluative criteria. The tendency to integrate the self-assessment criteria allows the individual to make deep interpretations and understanding the objective reality. A dual nature of self-assessment increases an individual adjustment, and develops the individual flexibility (Laktionov, 2010).

The data from table 3 illustrates the correlation between the first component expressing integration and the level of individual reflectivity. The most significant correlation is between the the level of individual reflectivity and Bannister's coefficient's of the first and the last components. The results indicate that reduction of analyzed alternatives in the situations with deficit of time contributes to the efficient problem solving.

Table 3

Correlation between the level of reflectivity and self-assessment criteria

Indices	The level of reflectivity		
	situational reflection	retrospective reflection	perspective reflection
Number of variables included in the first component	.09	.21*	.24*
Bannister's coefficient of the first component	.22*	.25*	.26*
Difference between Bannister's coefficient's of the first and the last component	.26*	.28**	.24*

Note: * - the correlation coefficient is significant at the level of .95; ** - the correlation coefficient is significant at the level of .99.

4. Conclusions

This study has found the self-assessment criteria of reflectivity, presented by two mental processes, notably differentiation and integration. The component expressing integration is more significant, since it explains more than half of the individual differences and combines a greater number of self-assessment criteria. A general tendency towards low differentiation of the self-assessment criteria allows individuals to make efficient decisions in the situations of uncertainty. Taken together, high integration and low differentiation increase the individual adjustment and prevent from poor effects of high reflectivity. Consequently, a high level of reflectivity is associated with a low level of differentiation of self-assessment criteria.

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ANALYZING TOPIC DIFFERENCES, WRITING QUALITY, AND RHETORICAL CONTEXT IN COLLEGE STUDENTS' ESSAYS USING LINGUISTIC INQUIRY AND WORD COUNT (LIWC)

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Abstract. Machine methods for automatically analyzing text have been investigated for decades. Yet the availability and usability of these methods for classifying and scoring specialized essays in small samples—as is typical for ordinary coursework—remains unclear. In this paper we analyzed 156 essays submitted by students in a first-year college rhetoric course. Using cognitive and affective measures within Linguistic Inquiry and Word Count (LIWC), we tested whether machine analyses could i) distinguish among essay topics, ii) distinguish between high and low writing quality, and iii) identify differences due to changes in rhetorical context across writing assignments. The results showed positive results for all three tests. We consider ways that LIWC may benefit college instructors in assessing student compositions and in monitoring the effectiveness of the course curriculum. We also consider extensions of machine assessments for instructional applications.

Keywords: LIWC, assessment, machine analysis, essay compositions, rhetorical context.

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Тарабань Роман, Абусал Халейл. Аналіз відмінностей тем, якості письма та стилістичного контексту в есеях студентів коледжу на основі комп'ютерної програми Linguistic Inquiry and Word Count (LIWC).

Анотація. Машинні методи автоматичного аналізу тексту та їхнє застосування вивчалися впродовж десятиліть. Однак питання доступності та зручності використання цих методів для класифікації та оцінки спеціалізованих есеїв у невеликих зразках, як, наприклад, курсових роботах, залишається досі малодослідженим питанням. У статті проаналізовано 139 есеїв з курсу стилістики, написаних студентами першого курсу. На основі використання когнітивних та афективних категорій програми Linguistic Inquiry and Word Count (LIWC) було перевірено здатність машинного аналізу: а) розмежовувати теми есеїв, б) розрізняти високу та низьку якість письма та в) виявляти відмінності через зміни стилістичного контексту написаних завдань. Дослідження засвідчило позитивні результати для всіх трьох тестових перевірок. Увагу авторів зосереджено на тому, як LIWC може полегшити роботу університетських викладачів під час оцінки ними студеньских творів та моніторингу ефективності навчальної програми курсу. Крім того, у статті розглянуто питання перспектив машинного оцінювання викладацьких застосунків.

Ключові слова: LIWC, оцінка, машинний аналіз, твори-есеї, стилістичний контекст.

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1. Introduction

Machine analysis of text has a long history in computational and applied research. Methods of analysis among machine methods vary, with some systems constructing high-dimensional semantic matrices (Latent Semantic Analysis: Landauer, Foltz, & Laham, 1998; HAL: Lund & Burgess, 1996) of correlated words. These methods compare the similarity of target documents to pre-constructed semantic matrices. Other methods use generative statistical algorithms to identify common topics among target documents (Latent Dirichlet Analysis: Blei, Ng, & Jordan, 2003). Yet others use pre-constructed dictionaries to quantify cognitive and emotional characteristics in target documents (Pennebaker, Boyd, Jordan, & Blackburn, 2015). Or, as an alternative to using pre-constructed dictionaries, some methods apply naïve Bayesian methods to construct dictionaries from the target essays themselves (Taraban et al., 2019). Overall, machine tools have potential value in the classroom. Instructors may use machine-assisted assessments to guide instruction, for example, or might use these tools to assess whether students are incorporating elements of the course into their written work. Practically speaking, to the extent that machine tools aid course assessment and grading, there is the potential benefit of freeing instructors' time for attention to other course demands.

The present study uses predefined dictionaries (i.e., word lists) to analyze differences among college student essays. The motivation for this study comes from the work of Pennebaker and King (1999) who proposed that "the way people talk about things reveals important information about them" (p. 1297). According to this thinking, Pennebaker et al. reasoned that it should be possible to construct lists of words that identify specific "beliefs, fears, thinking patterns, social relationships, and personalities" (Pennebaker et al., 2015, p. 1) that characterize individuals based on the words that they use. In order to test this thesis, Pennebaker and colleagues (Pennebaker et al., 2015) developed Linguistic Inquiry and Word Count (LIWC)², which is a machine tool used to analyze the semantic content of documents, like essays, editorials, novels, and blog comments. LIWC is based on the analytic assumption that aspects of the semantic content of text can be reliably recovered through algorithmic methods. The influence of LIWC on text analysis has been broad, with applications in clinical (Lord, Sheng, Imel, Baer, & Atkins, 2015; Pennebaker, 2004), academic (Carroll, 2007; Pennebaker, Chung, Lavergne, & Beaver, 2014; Robinson, Navea, & Ickes, 2013), and financial (Robertson & Doig, 2010) domains, among others, and translations of LIWC into Catalan (Massó, Lambert, Penagos, & Saurí, 2013) and Dutch (Boot, Zijlstra, & Geenen, 2017; Van Wissen, & Boot, 2017), among other languages.

Highly selective lists that define categories are the core of the LIWC program. These lists were developed over the course of decades using extensive samples of

¹ <u>http://lsa.colorado.edu/</u>

² http://liwc.wpengine.com/

texts (Tausczik & Pennebaker, 2010). The lists are referred to as "dictionaries" (Pennebaker et al., 2015). LIWC works by searching for terms that appear in these dictionaries, which represent both broad categories—like *positive emotion, cognition*, and *biological processes*—and specific categories—like *anger, sad, family, and health*. The LIWC program reports the percentage of words that fall into each of 125 categories. LIWC includes nearly 6,400 words or word stems (Pennebaker et al., 2015) that define these categories. LIWC researchers have used subsets of these variables to create four standardized composite scores based on previously published work. The composite scores are Analytic Thinking, Clout, Authentic, and Tone, and are defined as follows in the LIWC Manual (Pennebaker et al., 2015):

Analytic Thinking - A high number reflects formal, logical, and hierarchical thinking; lower numbers reflect more informal, personal, here-and-now, and narrative thinking.

Clout – A high number suggests that the author is speaking from the perspective of high expertise and is confident; low Clout numbers suggest a more tentative, humble, even anxious style.

Authentic – A higher number is associated with a more honest, personal, and disclosing text; lower numbers suggest a more guarded, distanced form of discourse.

Tone – A high number is associated with a more positive, upbeat style; a low number reveals greater anxiety, sadness, or hostility. A number around 50 suggests either a lack of emotionality or different levels of ambivalence.

In summary, LIWC, as a machine application, can be understood within a text-mining model. The dictionaries are used to **extract data** from text. The dictionaries are engineered to identify cognitive, affective, and other categories, which supports **knowledge discovery**. LIWC computes percentages of words and categories, and also composite scores, providing **statistical analysis** of the presence of words and categories in the text samples.

The purpose of the present study was to examine applications of LIWC in an instructional context. The four composite scores, which were standardized by Pennebaker and colleagues using previous studies, were chosen for the present study based on their appropriateness for small samples. The composite scores are scaled as percentile scores. The target documents were written by college students and were chosen as a convenience sample of data. The results from this study have practical significance, given the ever-growing size of class enrollments and the prospect that applications of LIWC could enhance the quality of instructor performance. The specific research questions are as follows:

- 1. Do the topics in student essays reliably evoke different patterns of LIWC categories?
 - 2. Are LIWC categories positively associated with high-scoring student essays?
- 3. Can LIWC categories reliably detect shifts in rhetorical context across writing assignments? Rhetorical context includes the purpose that an author has in

writing and includes consideration of the audience and the message one wants to convey—i.e., the what, why, and for whom the author is writing (Lunsford, 2016).

Although LIWC has been applied in academic settings, to our knowledge, the composite scores have not been applied to college essays to examine the present questions. Therefore the present study has the potential to make a valuable contribution to the literature.

2. Methods – Overview

The present study consists of analyses of essays written by students at the middle (Case Study 1) and end (Case Study 2) of an "Essentials of College Rhetoric" first-year writing course at a public research university in the southwest United States. The writing assignments were part of the normal course curriculum. Students received credit according to the course syllabus. The course instructor graded the student essays as a normal part of the course using the rubric provided to students. The instructors' grades were subsequently used in the present study to address research question number 2. The instructor evaluated the papers without prior knowledge of the current research.

In order to conduct the analyses reported here, student essays were input into the LIWC2015¹ software using a comma-separated format (.csv) in an Excel file. The categories selected for analysis via LIWC were the four composite categories (Analytic Thinking; Clout; Authentic; Tone). The output from LIWC was exported in an Excel file to carry out the statistical analyses described below.

3. Methods – Case Study 1

In Case Study 1, students were assigned a paper concerning rhetorical analysis. Students self-selected one of five topics (Food Culture, MSG, Organic Farming, Sexual Harassment, and Vocational Education). The writing prompt for the essay was as follows:

Select a text from the options provided by your teacher and write a rhetorical analysis of this [text]. Using a variety of rhetorical terms and concepts, assess the effectiveness of the author's claims and overarching argument, as well as their various choices and strategies throughout the text.

4. Results and Discussion – Case Study 1

Eighty-three essays submitted by the full course enrollment were available for analysis. As only four essays addressed Vocational Education, these essays were eliminated from further analysis. The mean length of the remaining 79 essays was 1475 words (standard deviation = 321). In order to address the first research question about whether *topics in student essays reliably evoke different patterns of LIWC categories*, an analysis of mean percentile differences using the GLM

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¹ http://liwc.wpengine.com/

procedure in IBM SPSS Version 24 https://www.ibm.com was conducted with Topic (between-subjects) and LIWC categories (within-subjects) as independent variables and percentile scores as the dependent variable. The interaction between these Topic and LIWC categories was the crucial effect in this analysis, as it would indicate that the mean percentile scores for LIWC categories varied depending on the specific topic that students were targeting in their essays. The results showed significant differences for Topic [F(3,75) = 12.09, p < .001], for LIWC Categories [F(3,225) = 602.92, p < .001], and for the LIWC by Topic interaction [F(9,225) = 8.39, p < .001]. These effects are summarized in Figure 1.

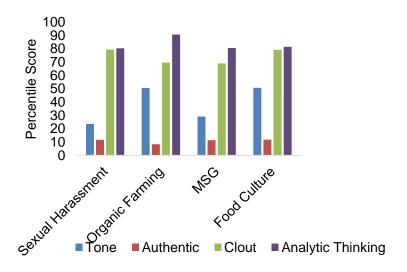


Figure 1. Case Study 1 mean percentile scores by topic and LIWC categories

The main effect for Topic in the statistical analyses shows that there are reliable differences in Topic scores across LIWC categories. The main effect for LIWC Categories shows that there are reliable differences in LIWC scores across essay topics. However, the significant interaction effect of Topic with LIWC Categories indicates that specific essay topics evoked different patterns of LIWC categories. In order to further examine these differences in LIWC patterns, simpleeffects tests were conducted using percentile scores separately for each LIWC category and with topic as the independent variable. As summarized in Table 1, Analytic Thinking was significantly stronger for Organic Farming compared to the other topics; Clout was significantly stronger for Food Culture and Sexual Harassment compared to MSG and Organic Farming. There were no significant differences for Authentic. Tone was significantly stronger for Food Culture and Organic Farming compared to MSG and Sexual Harassment. These patterns suggest that the topic of organic farming evoked significantly more analytic thinking from students compared to the other topics and that students were more confident discussing food culture and sexual harassment. The emotional tone was neutral

when discussing food culture and organic farming, but significantly negative when discussing MSG and sexual harassment.

Table 1 Case Study 1 Mean percentile score (standard deviations in parentheses) for LIWC categories, by essay topic (n = 79)

LIWC	Essay Topics					
Categories						
	Food Culture	MSG	Organic	Sexual		
	(n=31)	(n=19)	Farming	Harassment		
			(n=16)	(n=13)		
Analytic	81.51 ^b (11.74)	80.69 b (11.62)	90.78 a (5.52)	80.41 ^b (8.79)		
Clout	79.26 a (8.82)	69.10 ^b (8.65)	69.78 b (7.20)	79.57 a (6.90)		
Authentic	11.87 (8.89)	11.38 (5.71)	8.38 (4.05)	11.78 (7.76)		
Tone	50.70 a (16.78)	29.19 ^b (18.53)	50.65 a (16.63)	23.64 ^b (15.73)		
MEAN	55.84	47.59	54.90	48.85		

Note. Within each row, means with the same superscript do not differ from each other; means with different superscripts are significantly different at p < .05, based on post-hoc tests with Bonferroni correction.

The significant variation in LIWC categories depending on essay topic indicates that LIWC is able to capture cognitive and affective differences in student writing as a function of the specific topic that is being addressed. These differences could also be informative to an instructor, who could assess whether students were responding as intended to the course assignments, and to decide whether to retain or delete writing assignments depending on the analysis of student writing. In the present case, for instance, an instructor may want students to express strong analytic thinking regardless of topic, or to adopt a positive attitude in their discussion of all topics.

The second research question addressed whether *LIWC categories are* positively associated with high-scoring student essays, as graded by the course instructor. Because the assignment was explicitly about rhetorical analysis, we expected percentile scores for Analytic Thinking to be significantly correlated with instructor-assigned grades. It was also possible that other facets of the essay, like the confidence with which a student wrote, the level of disclosure, and the affective tone, could influence the instructor's grade. Nearly half (n=38) of the 79 essays received a grade of A. Therefore, to keep sample sizes similar, the grades were divided into two categories: A, which was the highest possible grade, and *Less-than-A*. Point-biserial correlations were separately conducted for each LIWC category and grade and are summarized in Table 2. The correlation between Analytic thinking and Grade was positive and significant; the remaining correlations were not significant.

Table 2 Case Study 1 Point-biserial correlations between LIWC categories and grade assigned by instructor to student essays (n = 79)

LIWC Variables	Point-Biserial	<i>p</i> -value
	Correlation	(two-tailed)
Analytic	.247	.028
Clout	036	.753
Authentic	094	.410
Tone	097	.393

The instructions to students regarding the composition of their essays emphasized an assessment of the author's claims, arguments, choices, and strategies. The significant correlation for Analytic Thinking indicates that the instructor was sensitive to the quality of the critical analysis that was evident in the essays. Additional composition instructions, like expressing an affective response to the author's position, could possibly show significant correlations with other LIWC categories, like Tone. A limitation of LIWC categories to correlate strongly with grades in the present analysis is that instructors typically take other factors into account in grading, like organization, complexity, coherence, employment of text analysis tools, and formatting. These factors are outside the scope of the LIWC categories.

5. Methods – Case Study 2

Participants in this case study were identical to those in Case Study 1. The assigned essay was the last writing assignment in the course. The prompt for the essay was as follows:

This essay is meant to make an argument that you've accomplished the goals of this course. Write a formal, academic argument essay in which you make clear claims about what you have achieved in this course in relation to the course goals. Support those claims with specific evidence from your work in the class and an explanation of that evidence.

Because this essay required students to reflect upon their own writing, it provided a promising contrast to the rhetorical analysis essay in Case Study 1 in which students were expected to be objective and largely detached from their topic of analysis.

6. Results and Discussion – Case Study 2

In order to address the third research question about whether *LIWC categories* reliably detect shifts in rhetorical context across writing assignments, it was necessary to match student essays across the two assignments. There were 77 cases in which students completed both essays. The mean length of rhetorical analysis papers was 1486 words (standard deviation = 337) and of self-assessment papers 1224 words (standard deviation = 312). The word count of the two essays correlated

at 0.40 (p < .001, two-tailed), indicating that students were relatively consistent in the length of the essays they wrote. Forty-four percent of students received an A on the rhetorical analysis essay and 66% received an A on the self-assessment essay. The correlation between grades was 0.30 (p = .007), indicating that students were somewhat consistent in the grades they received on the two essays.

In order to examine shifts in LIWC categories across the two essays, an analysis of mean differences using the GLM procedure in IBM SPSS Version 24 https://www.ibm.com was conducted with Essay and LIWC categories (withinsubjects) as independent variables and percentile scores as the dependent variable. The crucial effect again was the interaction of Essay and LIWC categories because a significant interaction effect would show that the percentile scores for LIWC categories shifted significantly with the shift in rhetorical context. The results showed significant differences for Essay [F(1,76) = 146.56, p < .001], for LIWC Categories [F(3,228) = 188.64, p < .001], and for the Essay by LIWC interaction [F(3,228) = 472.87, p < .001]. These effects are summarized in Figure 2.

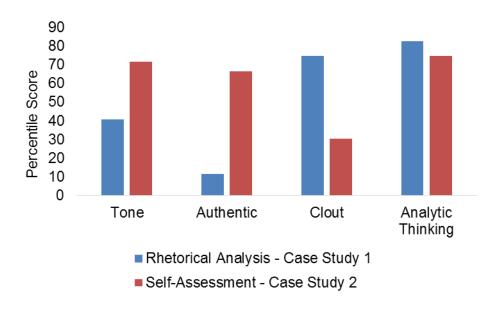


Figure 2. Case Study 2 mean percentile scores by essay and LIWC categories

The significant Essay by LIWC interaction indicated that percentile differences for the rhetorical analysis essay versus the self-assessment essay were not the same across the LIWC categories. In order to examine the percentile differences, paired *t*-tests were conducted for each LIWC category, as summarized in Table 3. The difference in mean percentile scores was significant for each LIWC category, as shown by the significant *p*-values in Table 3. The direction of the significant shifts also varied, as shown in the Mean-Percentile-Difference column in Table 3 and visually in Figure 2. Students were somewhat more analytic when writing the rhetorical analysis essay, but decidedly more honest, personal, and disclosing (Authentic), positive and upbeat (Tone), and tentative, humble, and anxious (Clout)-based on the definitions in the introduction-in composing their self-assessment essays.

Table 3
Paired T-Tests using Case Study 1 and 2 mean percentile differences (standard deviations in parentheses) (n = 77)

Paired Differences:	Mean Percentile	t – test	p-value
Case Study 1 – Case	Difference		(two-tailed)
Study 2			
Analytic	8.03 (11.43)	6.16	.001
Clout	44.15 (15.61)	24.82	.001
Authentic	-54.92 (16.80)	-28.68	.001
Tone	-30.76 (20.45)	-13.20	.001

Note. Degrees of freedom (df) for t-test = 76

Addressing the second research question about *whether LIWC categories are positively associated with high-scoring student essays*, correlation analyses for each LIWC variable with essay grade showed a significant correlation only for Analytic Thinking, as shown in Table 4, which replicated the correlation pattern for Case Study 1.

Table 4 Case Study 2 Point-biserial correlations between LIWC categories and grade assigned by instructor to student essays (n = 77)

LIWC Variables	Point-Biserial	<i>p</i> -value (two-tailed)
	Correlation	
Analytic	.232	.042
Clout	103	.372
Authentic	.043	.714
Tone	.176	.125

7. General Discussion

The results from the two case studies provided affirmative responses to the three primary research questions. Specifically, i) the topics in student essays reliably evoked different patterns of LIWC categories, ii) LIWC categories were positively associated with high-scoring student essays, and iii) LIWC categories reliably signaled shifts in rhetorical context across writing assignments. These results support the underlying premise in the work of Pennebaker and King (1999) that text and other communications convey more than the explicit message, and that important information can be gained from analyzing individuals' communications. The success of the present analyses provides sound encouragement to researchers and instructors to further the examination and development of machine tools that are applicable to classroom instruction and that could benefit student development of writing skills.

Thinking about how the LIWC program works may provide some insight into why some analyses may be more difficult than others for LIWC. Given that LIWC relies on an extensive repertoire of dictionaries, detecting cognitive and affective

patterns across papers that address different topics is rather straightforward. Different topics draw on distinct ideas and issues, which should match more closely to some dictionaries than to others. Using LIWC to assess writing quality, however, is a bit more tenuous. Instructors use a multitude of factors to score essays, such as organization, flow, and clarity, which are beyond the scope of LIWC dictionaries. Detecting shifts in rhetorical context is similar in difficulty to distinguishing between different topics inasmuch as rhetorical shifts often involve shifts in topics.

Of the three tests, the detection of shifts in rhetorical contexts provided the strongest support for LIWC and the most incisive analyses.

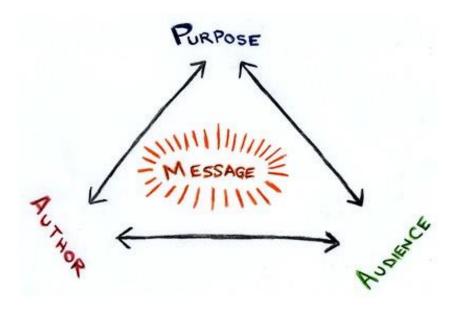


Figure 3. A Depiction of Rhetorical Context¹

As depicted by Ted Major in Figure 3, rhetorical context can be understood in terms of four elements (Lunsford, 2016). At the center is the text-the essay, paper, blog, or tweet-that conveys the message. To convey the message effectively, there is an author who has full control of what is composed. The author needs a clear purpose and to be cognizant of the audience. These factors are important in the comparison of the essays on rhetorical analysis (Case Study 1) and those on selfassessment of learning and achievements in an end-of-the-course essay (Case Study 2). Figure 2 and Table 3 highlight shifts in cognitive and affective processing in students' compositions for the two writing assignments. Analytical Thinking differed significantly between the two essays. The essay prompts provided by the instructor required students to be analytical in both essays-and the students followed those instructions, but applied Analytic Thinking more explicitly when composing a The shift in rhetorical context (rhetorical analysis vs selfcritical analysis. assessment) is strikingly clear in the shifts in the remaining LIWC categories. Regarding Clout, students were confident when conducting a critical analysis, but more humble and tentative when self-assessing. Regarding Authentic, students were

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¹ Image of Rhetorical Triangle. Authored by: Ted Major. Located at: https://flic.kr/p/jbqVvR. License: CC BY-SA: Attribution-ShareAlike

guarded and distant in rhetorical analysis, but notably self-disclosing and personal in self-assessment. Regarding Tone, students were emotionally neutral for rhetorical analysis but emotionally upbeat and positive in considering course learning and achievement. The correlations between LIWC categories and essay grades suggested a strong sensitivity of the instructor to analytic thinking when grading both essays and perhaps less cognizance or reflection on the significant shifts in other factors, like Clout and Tone.

The present study clearly demonstrates the ability of LIWC to find patterns within and across student essays, but also raises questions about the relevance and value of LIWC to classroom instruction. Answers to these questions cannot be addressed well from a distance, as in the present study. Rather, when LIWC is implemented in a specific course, the implications of the LIWC results need to be assessed by the instructors themselves-by those making the assignments and assessing the students. Nevertheless, examples do come to mind. For instance, a correlation suggesting that the instructor is evaluating students largely on the basis of their positive assessments (Tone) of the course could signal the instructor to grade more holistically. As another example, instructors may want to develop autobiographical writing in students, in which case they could use the LIWC Authentic category to assess self-disclosure in students' writing. As a third example, LIWC outputs analyses for each of the 125 variables, including the composite variables used here, for each essay. Therefore, instructors can rank order students on any one, or combination, of those variables, for student assessment, curriculum assessment, or other purposes.

A limitation of the LIWC approach is the reliance on pre-defined dictionaries and categories for classification. Specifically, the dictionaries are constructed to identify and quantify specific categories. Although the LIWC categories may have general utility, classroom assignments are idiosyncratic to the course and instructor. Applicable to the current study, the dictionaries are susceptible to missing relevant categorical information in a target set of essays because the categories of interest may not be well represented by the LIWC categories. One way to counter this shortcoming is to take advantage of the option within LIWC to upload and apply specialized dictionaries. An instructor could, for instance, upload key terms and concepts from the course into a LIWC dictionary and then analyze students' essays against the standard and specialized LIWC dictionaries. Further, machine methods provide alternatives to LIWC's fixed dictionaries. Naïve Bayes methods, for example, provide for the construction of dictionaries tailored to specific texts (Taraban et al., 2019), like the rhetorical analysis essays in the current study. These dictionaries can stand alone or they could be integrated with LIWC dictionaries in order to increase the classification capabilities of LIWC.

8. Conclusions

The present studies demonstrate the capacity of LIWC to distinguish among student essays according to cognitive and affective variables and writing quality. LIWC also affords instructors the ability to rank order students with respect to their performance on any of the 125 variables that are output by LIWC. These, and other

possible extensions of LIWC, provide instructors with the means to assess and reflect on their own performance and students' performance, and to use LIWC analyses to monitor and guide curriculum implementation and revision.

Machine tools currently provide new and exciting methods for instructors to more fully and effectively connect with students. These possibilities deserve researchers' and teachers' attention.

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PSYCHOLINGUISTIC MARKERS OF AUTOBIOGRAPHICAL AND TRAUMATIC MEMORY

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Abstract. This study examines psycholinguistic structure of autobiographical and traumatic narratives representing positive emotional and stressful traumatic life events. The research applied the cross sectional, between subjects design utilizing the independent variables of external agent they, space and time and dependent variable of word number in traumatic narratives for multiple regression analysis. The approval letter to recruit the participants through SONA system in 2015-2016 academic year was obtained from Institutional Review Board of Oklahoma State University (USA). 64 undergraduates of nonclinical setting, females (n=37), males (n=27), mean age was 19.43 (SD=1.37) were recruited. PTSD-8: A Short PTSD Inventory assesses PTSD, the Linguistic Inquiry and Word Count (LIWC) analyzes traumatic and autobiographical narratives in terms of linguistic units and psychological meaningful categories. The results indicate that there are significant differences between pronoun they as external agent of proposition and psychological categories of negative emotions and anxiety in traumatic and autobiographical narratives. The frequency of these categories is higher in traumatic narratives compared with autobiographical narratives. External agent they, category of time and space taken together significantly contribute to word number in traumatic narrative. There is a negative correlation between focus on the past and word count, and positive correlation between social category and word count in traumatic narrative in nonclinical sample. To sum up, propositional structure of traumatic memory of individuals without PTSD is represented by external agent and context (place and time) taken together. Considering time as a significant negative predictor of creating traumatic narrative, temporal processing without overestimation of time is an important factor of avoiding PTSD. The principal theoretical implication of this study is that traumatic memory might be examined through psycholinguistic markers represented by propositional structures and psychological meaningful categories of traumatic narratives in individuals from nonclinical and clinical settings.

Keywords: traumatic memory, autobiographical memory, PTSD, propositional structure, LIWC.

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Засєкіна Лариса, Кеннісон Шіліа, Засєкін Сергій, Хворост Христина. Психолінгвальні маркери автобіографічної й травматичної пам'яті.

Анотація. Мета дослідження полягала в теоретичному й емпіричному вивченні пропозиційної структури автобіографічної й травматичної пам'яті як сховища позитивних та травматичних життєвих подій. Дослідження використовує вивчення наративів незалежних вибірок із використанням регресійного аналізу, де категорії екстернального агента вони, часу і місця ϵ залежними змінними, а кількість слів травматичного наративу — незалежною змінною. Дослідження здійснювалося за згодою Комісії з етики проведення психологічних досліджень Державного університету Оклахоми впродовж 2015–2016 навчального року. У дослідженні взяло учать 64 студенти, дівчат (n=37), хлопців (n=27), середній вік 19,43 (SD=1,37). Для емпіричного дослідження використовувався експрес-опитувальник ПТСР (PTSD-8: A Short PTSD Inventory), а також комп'ютерна програма Linguistic Inquiry and Word Count (LIWC) для визначення лінгвальних і психологічних категорій у тексті. У результаті, встановлено значущі відмінності у показниках категорій екстернального агента вони та психологічних категорій негативних емоцій та тривожності у травматичному та автобіографічному наративах. Травматичні наративи мають вищу частотність цих категорій, так само як і більшу кількість слів наративу загалом. Результати регресійного аналізу показують, що категорії екстернального агента, часу і місця ϵ значущими предикторами кількості слів травматичного наративу, тому ми можемо вважати ці категорії як одиниці пропозиційної структури, і відповідно, психолінгвальні маркери травматичної пам'яті. Також встановлено негативний кореляційний зв'язок між кількістю слів у травматичному наративі і фокусом на минулому часові, та позитивний кореляційий зв'язок між соціальною категорією та кількістю слів у травматичному наративі. Отже, отримані результати можуть використовуватися для клінічних і неклінічних досліджень травматичної пам'яті на основі пропозиційних структур, представлених у травматичних наративах. Коректне темпоральне сприймання, уникання переоцінки минулого та переважання екстернальних над інтернальними агентами становлять пропозиційну структуру травматичної пам'яті індивіда, травматичний досвід якого не розвинувся у ПТСР.

Ключові слова: травматична пам'ять, автобіографічна пам'ять, ПТСР, пропозиційна структура, LIWC.

1. Introduction

The majority of the literature investigating traumatic memory pertains to Posttraumatic Stress Disorder (PTSD) (Berntsen & Rubin, 2002; Matos & Pinto-Gouveia, 2010) or even identifies traumatic memory with PTSD (Berntsen, Rubin, & Siegler, 2011).

According to epistemological studies of PTSD, association of traumatic memory with PTSD is not so obvious. Only about 11 % of the general population suffers from PTSD as a severe mental disorder following a traumatic event after at least one month (APA, 2013). Notwithstanding the fact that about 40–90 % of the general population experience one traumatic event during their life (Silva da et al., 2016). It means that at least about 29 % traumatized people cope with mental traumas successfully without experiencing PTSD. Together, these studies indicate that traumatic memory might constitute a risk factor for PTSD but does not determine it.

Another much debated question is whether stressful traumatic events and negative emotional life events could be identified (Berntsen et al., 2011; Lorenzzoni, Silva, Poletto, & Kristensen, 2014). There is a relatively small body of literature which concerns the difference between traumatic memories (stressful

traumatic events) and non-traumatic experience (positive emotional events, neutral events, and negative emotional events) (Sotgiu & Rusconi, 2014). Several lines of evidence suggest that exposure to traumatic events vs. non-traumatic events interferes with correct encoding and storage of traumatic information, causing flashbacks, isolated sensory modalities, and autonomous mental processes, aligned with implicit memory and PTSD symptoms (Van der Kolk & Fisler, 1995).

Drawing on an extensive range of sources, the authors found different ways in which positive, negative and traumatic events are encoded and recalled. Some findings show the difference in frequency with which participants share the three types of events with their family (Byrne, Hyman, & Scott, 2001). Positive events were discussed more frequently than negative ones, the latter were talked more frequently than traumatic events. The discrepancy of frequency might characterize the different storage and retrieval of information related to these events. While there have been extensive investigations of PTSD symptoms and treatment, little is known about how the autobiographical and traumatic memories are arranged and organized; and what are the mechanisms of transforming traumatic memory into PTSD (Lorenzzoni et al., 2014).

The aim of this article is to examine the psycholinguistic structure of autobiographical and traumatic narratives representing positive emotional and stressful traumatic life events, correspondently. In this study we are particularly interested in the distribution of the different propositional units and psychological meaningful categories in traumatic vs. autobiographical narratives, and capture the propositional representation of traumatic experience. Specifically, we are interested in investigating if the distribution of the propositional units amplifies the cognitive and emotional distortions of individuals with traumatic memory. At this point, it is important to admit that verbal expressions are not completely isomorphic to memory representation. Bauer (2015) argues that life story or life narrative shows not autobiographical memory per se, but rather its dynamics. Nevertheless, narrative organization takes autobiographical memory as its raw material and serves as an expression of autobiographical memory structure.

1.1. Mental representations of traumatic and nontraumatic life events in individual memory

Previous research of autobiographical and traumatic memories has established a few contrasting themes: trauma theory, trauma superiority theory; trauma equivalency theory (Berntsen, 2009; Sotgiu & Rusconi, 2014). Data from the first two theories suggest that traumatic memory has specific characteristics, notably vividness, sensory components and memory quality. Trauma memory theory implies that representation of the traumatic event is quite different from autobiographical memory. Traumatic events are encoded with intensive emotional arousal, therefore, they become easily accessible for involuntary recalls and very hard to access for controlled voluntary recalls.

Trauma equivalency theory is linked to general retrieval model (Norman & Bobrow, 1979) and refers to the storage and the recollection of stressful traumatic events in terms of general memory processes. Furthermore, the involuntary

memories are not considered anymore as an exclusively traumatic experience connected with PTSD, but can occur frequently in a daily life among healthy individuals and constitute a part of autobiographical memory (Hague & Conway, 2001; Rassmusen, Ramsgaard, & Berntsen, 2015).

While not all people experience a traumatic event or perceive it as traumatic, all of them are able to recollect the important events from their life and since early childhood develop their autobiographical memory. Autobiographical memory differs from episodic memory for its relevance for an individual's narrative life (Rubin, Dennis, & Beckham, 2011), and discrete, verbal and long-lasting character (Bauer, 2015). Traumatic memory differs, on the one hand, from autobiographical memory, by its fragmented, disorganized and incoherent character, and, on the other hand, from PTSD, by absence of specific symptoms accompanying this mental disorder.

Different theories exist in the literature regarding positive and negative emotional life events as main components of autobiographical memory (Nourkova, Bernstein, & Loftus, 2014). Positive emotional events satisfy the individual's needs and goals and refer to pleasant feelings (e.g. going to a party, receiving present, passing an exam). Negative emotional events ruin an individual's expectations and plans and determine unpleasant feelings (e.g. arguing with a friend, failing an exam) (Sotgiu & Rusconi, 2014). Some events have no distinct hedonic value and can be emotionally neutral (e.g. everyday actions: going to school, university) or having at the same time pleasant and unpleasant feelings. However, these events, firstly, occur very rarely (Scherer, Wranik, Sangsue, & Tran, 2014) and secondly, the autobiographical memory contains the events which are meaningful for the person's life, having positive and negative values for the individual (Rubin et al., 2011).

Evidence consistently suggests that there are no reliable criteria to differentiate negative emotional and traumatic stressful events. However, a number of studies have defined different kinds of mental trauma based on the type of traumatic event (natural disasters, technological disasters, automobile accident) and on the specific victim population (combat veterans, rape victims, victims of domestic violence, victims of child sexual abuse, crime victims) (Meichenbaum, 1994). It is now well established from a variety of studies that a traumatic event is a stressful situation which is characterized by a high risk for individual life and safety, or threat to others' lives (Sotgiu & Rusconi, 2014).

Kubany et al. (2000) investigated the organization of traumatic memory with the Traumatic Life Questionnaire (TLEQ). It includes 22 types of potentially traumatic events, particularly natural disasters, motor vehicle accident, other accidents, warfare or combat, sudden death of close friend or loved one, severe assault by an acquaintance or stranger, witness to severe assault, threat of death or serious bodily harm, robbery involving a weapon, child physical abuse and being stalked, physical abuse by an intimate partner, witness to family violence, life threatening illness for oneself or loved one, miscarriage, and abortion. While TLEQ could assess traumatic memory and stressful traumatic (not negative) life events, it is not an appropriate measure for testing PTSD, since healthy individuals also

possess traumatic memory if their life was threatened in traumatic situations but they have coped successfully with it (Cohen, Mannarino, & Deblinger, 2006).

As noted by Brewin (2007), only appropriate methodology could determine the difference between traumatic and non-traumatic memories among the clinical and nonclinical population. The current study uses the methodology of psycholinguistics to assess autobiographical and traumatic memory in the nonclinical population.

1.2. Autobiographical narrative: how it works

The autobiographical narratives are appropriate material for the assessment of autobiographical memory and traumatic memory. There is a consensus among psychologists that autobiographical narratives, firstly, are able to create the canonical cultural forms and chronological sequence of events describing all thoughts and feelings aligned with them, secondly, express essential attitudes of the person towards self, others and the world (Fivush, Habermas, Waters, & Zaman, 2011). For Miller (1995), narratives express universal human need to communicate with others and to make the world meaningful. Moreover, Miller infers that language can describe even more than people want to tell about themselves.

The majority of studies apply methods and measures used to obtain autobiographical data; particularly the life line interview method, diary studies, life stories, the word-cue method. Narratives express the discursive nature of remembering and have a great potential for deconstructing traumatic memory turning it into autobiographical memory (Bietti, 2014; Zasiekina, 2014). It is in line with the main idea of Vygotsky's sociocultural theory (1978) that cognitive processes are mediated by language; therefore, the "higher mental functions", might be examined through language.

Traumatic narrative is one of the main tools for PTSD treatment in trauma focused cognitive and behavioral therapy (Jensen et al., 2014). In a broader perspective, the traumatic memory may serve as a container for traumatic experience and should be integrated into autobiographical memory through creating traumatic narrative. However, creating event-based traumatic narrative is not enough for reconstructing traumatic memory and enhancing mental health, it is essential to express all thoughts and feelings aligned with the traumatic events and give them meaningful experience (Pennebaker, 1993). Furthermore, distress is not determined by the event per se, but by personal attitude and emotional response to this event. Studies of traumatic narratives emphasize on the importance of cognitive verbs (e.g. to think, to understand, to now) and causal words in reconstruction of traumatic memory and enhancing well-being, since these lexical units capture how deeply individuals reflect over the traumatic event (Pennebaker & Seagal, 1999).

1.3. Propositional structure of individual memory

Anderson & Bower (1974) argue that proposition is defined as an abstract memory representation based on a certain structure and a truth value. Proposition differs from the sentence by its abstract entity and concepts. The propositional model of long-term memory is based on the distinction, on the one hand, between propositions and sentences, and, on the other hand, between concepts and words. We assume that propositional models for autobiographical and traumatic memories

discover the representation of nontraumatic and traumatic events based on a strong imagery and semantic elaborations of propositions of the narratives.

The model of retrieval of propositional information presupposes two options, firstly, accessing memory from all key concepts, connected with propositions, secondly, the searching from one concept for all propositions, defining the target one (Anderson & Bower, 1974). We assume that former processes refer to retrieval of nontraumatic information in autobiographical narrative, whereas the latter processes are associated with reconstructing of traumatic events by individuals with PTSD. Hence PTSD is accompanied with cognitive distortions of traumatic situation, individual attention is focused on a certain element of the event, which triggers involuntary memories or intrusions. Therefore, the majority of propositions in the traumatic narrative can be concentrated around the concept denoting the most painful or vulnerable element of the traumatic event. This concept can be represented as the most frequent unit of propositional structure in traumatic narrative.

Each propositional tree is divided into two sub-trees: a context sub-tree and a fact sub-tree. Further, fact is divided into agent (they, he/she/it) and predicate. The context is represented by time and place. Considering a significant role of self and others in traumatic stressful events, we differentiate internal agents (I, we) and external agents (they, he/she/it). The structure of proposition is aligned with the structure of autobiographical memory proposed by Bauer (2015, p. 206) as a support system of formation, retention and later retrieval of specific events which are spatially and temporally localized and self-erred.

Figure 1 contains the classical example: *In the park, the hippy touched the debutante* for propositional model (Anderson & Bower, 1974).

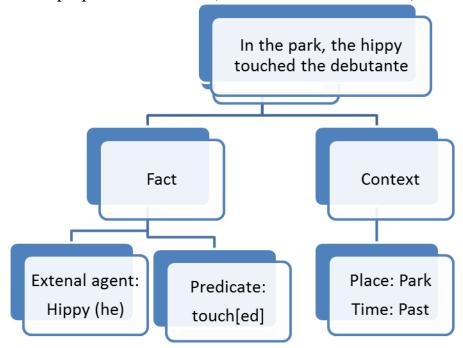


Figure 1. The example of propositional model

Anderson and Bower (1974) argue that past time is explicated by ending *ed* in the Past Indefinite Tense. Since the most autobiographical information is referring to the past because of its retrospective nature, we define time concepts as words aligned with category of time, *day*, *month*, *moment* amongst others.

In the regard of differences between autobiographical and traumatic memory and structure of propostions, the following research questions arise:

RQ1: Are there any significant differences between (propositional structures (linguistic categories of internal/external agents, predicate, place and time) and psychological meaningful categories (positive/negative emotions and anxiety) in traumatic and positive narratives in nonclinical sample?

RQ2: Do external agents, place and time contribute to the word number in traumatic narrative?

RQ3: Are there any associations between word number and linguistic and psychological meaningful categories in traumatic narratives in nonclinical sample?

2. Method

2.1. Participants

The approval letter to recruit the participants through SONA system in 2015–2016 academic year was obtained from Institutional Review Board of Oklahoma State University (USA). 64 undergraduates of nonclinical setting, females (n=34), males (n=27), mean age was 19.43 (SD=1.37) from the Department of Psychology were recruited.

2.2. Measures

PTSD-8: A Short PTSD Inventory assesses PTSD (Hansen et al., 2010). Based on diagnostic criteria from DSM-IV, PTSD-8 consists of four intrusion items, two avoidance items and two hyper-arousal items. The participants gave the responses about their behaviour and assessed 8 items anchored from 1 = not at all to 4 = most of time. Scoring key for PTSD-8 is assessing each subscale (intrusion, avoidance, and hyper-arousal) at least with one item of a score ≥ 3 . The PTSD-8 is shown to have good psychometric properties in three independent samples of whiplash patients (n=1710), rape victims (n=305), and disaster victims (n=516) with the internal consistencies measured by Cronbach's alpha ($\alpha = 0.83$; 0.84; 0.85 for three groups respectively) (Hansen et al., 2010).

The Linguistic Inquiry and Word Count (LIWC) analyzes traumatic and positive narratives (Tausczik & Pennebaker, 2010). Applicable to the present study, we assume that psychological meaningful categories and linguistic characteristics defined by LIWC might be psycholinguistic markers of propositional structures of traumatic and non-traumatic narratives in nonclinical population. More specifically, first-person pronouns *I*, we are associated with internal agents, third-person pronouns (she/he/it, they) are considered to be the external agents; verbs are defined as predicate, and category of time and place as relevant propositional units. The LIWC 2015 analyzes the words and administer them according with the pre-defined categories of positive and negative emotions, motivation, thinking styles and social relationships (Pennebaker, Boyd, Jordan, & Blackburn, 2015). The present study

examines the psychological meaningful categories of negative emotions and anxiety, since they are aligned with traumatic memory and PTSD (Zasiekina, 2014).

2.3. Procedure

The participants completed the study in a computer laboratory with computers providing access to the Internet. After the consent forms were obtained, all participants completed a Short PTSD Inventory to test PTSD and confirm that they belong to nonclinical settings. After this assessment 3 students with PTSD were excluded from the study. Considering the possibility of re-traumatization, all participants were provided with the list of accessible psychological services and counselling centers. Questions were presented and responses collected using a Professional License of Surveymonkey.com. Participants were randomly assigned to write about any traumatic or positive event that happened to them in the past and were instructed to write at least 20 sentences.

2.4. Design

The study applied the cross sectional, between subjects design utilizing the independent variables of external agent *they, space and time* and and dependent variable of *word number* in traumatic narratives for multiple regression analysis. The study also applies t-test to compare distribution of linguistic and psychological meaningful categories in autobiographical and traumatic narratives in nonclinical sample; and correlation analysis to examine any associations between word number and psychological meaningful categories, and linguistic units in traumatic narratives.

Out of the 61 narratives, 13 narratives, which are approximately account for 20 % of the data, were randomly chosen for testing inter-rater reliability. An independent assistant analyzed the structure of propositions to capture distribution of propositional units in the narratives. The independent assistant was blinded to the research questions. Cohen's kappa between the author and independent assistant for propositional units of internal/external agents, predicate, time and place was found between 0.61–0.80, which indicates a substantial agreement.

3. Results

The results of descriptive statistic of the sample is in Table 1.

Table 1 Descriptive information for participants creating positive narratives (n=32) and traumatic narratives (n=29)

	Positive	Positive narratives		Traumatic narratives	
	Frequency	Percentage	Frequency	Percentage	
Gender	20/12	62.5/37.5	14/15	48.3/51.7	
Female/male					
Marital status					
Single	31	96.9	27	31.4	
Married	1	3.1	29	54.3	
Divorced	-	-	-	_	

Ethnicity				
White	16	50.0	11	37.9
Black	-	-	6	20.7
Mixed	16	50.0	12	41.4
Occupational status				
Full-time worked	-	-	-	-
Part-time worked	24	82.8	17	58.6
Student	29	100	32	100
	Mean (SD)	Min-Max		
Age				
-	19.43 (1.4)	20.14 (2.8)		

Note. Data are means (SD) for age.

Regarding RQ1, differences in propositional structures (internal/external agents, predicate, time and space) between positive and traumatic narratives are presented in Table 2.

Table 2 Means, standard deviations and significant t-test differences for propositional units and psychological meaningful categories of all subjects with positive narratives (n = 32) and traumatic narratives (n = 29)

Variables	Total (n=61)				Traumatic		t	p
			narrative	es (n=32)	narrative	es (n=29)		
	Mean	Min-	Mean	Min-	Mean	Min-		
	(SD)	Max	(SD)	Max	(SD)	Max		
IA (I)	9.46	2.22	9.09	2.22	9.87	4.32	1.029	.308
	(2.94)	17.27	(2.84)	13.51	(3.04)	17.27		
IA (We)	1.25	.00	1.47	.00	2.00	.00	-	.260
	1.27	7.62	(1.96)	2.07	(.81)	3.49	1.138	
EA (he/	9.12	8.00	1.32	.00	2.02	.00	1.475	.146
she/it)	(7.03)	25.00	(1.86)	6.89	(0.34)	6.05		
EA (they)			.33	.00	.57	.00	1.898	.048
			(.45)	1.31	(.58)	2.1		
Pl	7.72	3.54	7.46	3.54	8.00	4.51	0.814	.419
	(2.58)	17.90	(2.41)	14.46	(2.76)	7.90		
T	7.91	.00	7.91	0.00	7.90	3.72	007	.995
	(2.65)	15.24	(2.98)	15.24	(2.27)	13.22		
P	17.51	11.86	16.88	12.59	18.21	11.86	1.599	0.115
	(3.29)	25.00	(3.14)	25.00	(3.36)	24.81		
PE	3.26	.00	2.03	0.00	4.37	.00	-	
	(2.29)	13.64	(1.15)	13.64	(2.31)	7.63	4.657	

NE		1.15 (0.94)			.001
Anx		.38 (.53)			.001
WN		309.5 (123.3)		110.0 645.0	.020

Note. \overline{EA} = external agent, IA = internal agent, P = predicate, T=time, Pl=place, PE=positive emotions, NE=negative emotions, Anx=anxiety, WN=word count

Regarding RQ2, the contribution of propositional units of external agent (they) and context, represented by space and time, is illustrated in Table 3. Multiple regression analysis has been used to predict the value of continuous variable *word number* based on other independent continuous variables, namely third-person pronoun *they* and *place*, and *time* in traumatic narratives. The assumptions of linear relationship, homoscedasticity, independence of residuals (Durbin Watson d=1.19), multicolleniarity (average Tolerance=1.11>0.2, and average VIF=1.11, thus 1<VIF>10) were met. Finally, assumptions regarding normal distribution of data are also met.

The results of the regression with a forced enter method show that three variables (pronoun *they, space and time*) explained 31.8 % of word number in traumatic narrative, $R^2 = .318$, F(3, 25) = 3.88, p = .021. The results also show that category of *time* significantly predicts word number, b = -26.47, t(25) = -2.43, p = .023. Pronoun *they*, b = 15.54, t(25) = .36, p = .72 and and category of *space*, b = -3.40, t(25) = -1.49, p = .15 do not significantly predict word number in traumatic narrative (see Table 3).

Table 3 Summary of multiple regression analysis for variables predicting word count for all subjects with traumatic narratives (n = 29)

Variables	В	SEB	β	t	p
They	15.54 (-73.96, 105.03)	43.45	0.63	.36	.724
Space	-13.40 (-31.93, 5.12) -26.47	8.99	26	-1.49	.150
Time	(-48.910 4.021)	10.89	42	2.43	.023

Considering normal distribution of data, Pearson product moment correlation assesses the associations between word number and psychological meaningful categories in traumatic narratives, which is aligned with RQ3 (Table 4).

Table 4 Correlations (2-tailed Pearson r) between word number and psychological meaningful categories in traumatic narratives (n = 29)

Variables	Word Count	Focus on Past	Social	Adjectives
Word Count		285	0.534**	377*
Focus on Past	285*	-	.100	.100
Social	.534**	.100	-	134
Adjectives	377*	216	134	-
Mean (SD)	349.1(140.8 <u>)</u>	9.91(2.79)	8.93(4.41)	4.41(2.66)

Note. *= p < .05, **= p < .01

4. Discussion

This study set out with the aim of exploring traumatic and autobiographical memory through traumatic and autobiographical narratives in nonclinical settings. The study was also aimed at finding psycholinguistic markers of traumatic memory, represented by propositional structures and psychological meaningful categories in traumatic narratives.

With respect to the first research question, there are significant differences between the pronoun *they* as an *external agen*t of proposition and psychological categories of *negative emotions and anxiety* in traumatic and positive narratives. The results indicate the higher frequency of these categories in traumatic narratives compared with positive narratives. The study also found the higher *word number* in traumatic narratives compared with autobiographical narratives. Surprisingly, no differences were found in category of *internal agents* and *category of time*, since these categories are aligned with traumatic memory. Tausczik & Pennebaker (2010) argue that the narrator uses more first-person pronoun and fewer third person pronouns when describing the event from the perspective of being victim. Furthermore, evidence consistently suggests that whilst negative narratives mostly focus on the past, positive narratives focus on the present and future events (Gunsch, Brownlow, Haynes, & Mabe, 2000). Contrary to expectations, this study did not find a significant difference between the first-person pronoun as an *internal agent* and category of *time* in traumatic and autobiographical narratives.

This result may be explained by the fact that although the participants have experienced a traumatic event, they have coped with it successfully and are not diagnosed with PTSD. Therefore, we can assume that the focus on the *external agent* instead of the *internal agent* is linked to a decrease in personal responsibility for the event, which is important to prevent PTSD. Furthermore, the ability to express *negative emotions* and *anxiety*, and create traumatic narratives with a high *word number* might be robust predictors of successful coping with a traumatic event and prevent it developing it into PTSD. This finding broadly supports the work of

other studies in this area relating prevention of PTSD to creating traumatic narratives with detailed experience, feelings and emotions aligned with the traumatic event instead of avoiding traumatic memories (Pennebaker, 1993).

The present study also aims to examine propositional structure and psychological meaningful categories represented in traumatic memory through traumatic narrative. Regarding the second research question, our findings suggest that the external agent *they*, and categories of *time* and *place* taken together, significantly contribute to *word number* in traumatic narrative. However, only the category of *time* is a significant negative independent predictor of *word number*. Therefore, getting stuck in time whilst describing a traumatic event has a poor impact on the length of traumatic narrative and spontaneous self-expression in terms of feelings and emotions. These results corroborate the findings of a great deal of the previous work in the strong relationship between PTSD and a poor temporal processing, notably time overestimation during stressful experience (Vicario & Felmingham, 2018).

Consistent with the literature, this research found that participants who reported a traumatic event, however, cope with it successfully without PTSD, are not stuck in time and do not overestimate it. Therefore, the most obvious finding to emerge from the analysis is that the propositional structure of traumatic memory of individuals without PTSD is represented by *external agent* and context (*place and time*) taken together. Considering *time* as a significant negative predictor of creating traumatic narrative, we can assume that appropriate temporal processing is an important factor of avoiding PTSD.

Another important finding is linked to the third research question and suggests a significant negative correlation of *word number* in traumatic narrative and focus on the past, which supports our previous findings and is consistent with the literature. Evidence consistently suggests that traumatic narratives of individuals with PTSD focus mostly on the past and have a poor perception of present and future time (Pennebaker, 1993; Zasiekina, Khvorost, & Zasiekina, 2018).

The study also found the positive correlation between social category and word number in traumatic narrative. This result is consistent with previous literature regarding the crucial importance of social support after a traumatic event and considering social support as a robust predictor of preventing PTSD after a traumatic event (Cohen, Mannarino, Deblinger, 2006). It is somewhat surprising that there is a negative correlation between *word count* and *adjectives* in traumatic narrative. A possible explanation for this might be that individuals without PTSD avoid evaluating the traumatic event, instead they focus on other propositional units, notably *external agents* and *place* of the traumatic event.

5. Conclusion

In sum, the study introduces a novel psycholinguistic approach for autobiographical and traumatic memory study and the connection of two types of memory with propositional structures. Previous research has focused on traumatic memory of individuals with PTSD and does not compare it with autobiographical

memory in the nonclinical population. Therefore, the mechanisms of transforming traumatic experience into PTSD were not examined. It was not clear before if the negative changes in traumatic memory, which related to PTSD, could be examined in the propositional structure of traumatic memory. The findings of our research suggest that external agent, place and time represent the propositional structure of traumatic memory, however time is a negative predictor of an individual's spontaneous self-expression in traumatic narrative. The traumatic memory of individuals who experienced a traumatic event and successfully coped with it without PTSD, focuses on the external agent instead of the internal agent, and shifts focus from the past, avoiding overestimation of time linked with the traumatic The principal theoretical implication of this study is that stressful event. autobiographical traumatic memory might examined and be psycholinguistic markers, represented by propositional structures and psychological meaningful categories in individual narratives.

Being limited to a nonclinical sample, this study lacks the assessment of propositional structures of traumatic memory in individuals with PTSD. Notwithstanding these limitations, the study suggests psycholinguistic methodology as an appropriate tool for examining traumatic memory in individuals with PTSD. This would be a fruitful area for further work.

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