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ЕТИЧНІ ПОЛОЖЕННЯ

Автори, які подають статтю до цього журналу, засвідчують, що стаття представляє стислий, точний звіт про проведене дослідження, а також об'єктивне обговорення його значення. Праця містить достатньо деталей та покликань на публічні джерела інформації. Фальсифікація даних, їхнє неповне висвітлення із метою введення в оману читачів, а також крадіжка даних або результатів досліджень у інших – це грубе порушення очікуваних етичних норм поведінки науковця. До подання статті в журнал автори повинні одержати дозвіл на використання будь-яких раніше опублікованих матеріалів від оригінального видавця. Плагіат представляє неетичну наукову поведінку і є категорично неприйнятним.

Усі співавтори статті мають однаковий ступінь відповідальності за неї. Одночасне подання одного й того самого рукопису до кількох журналів є неетичним і неприйнятним.

Визнаючи викладені вище факти, автори несуть персональну відповідальність за точність, вірогідність та автентичність результатів досліджень, викладених й описаних у своїх статтях.

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PREFACE
UNDERSTANDING WOMEN'S LIVES AND TRAUMA THROUGH NARRATIVE RESEARCH AND ANALYSIS

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Welcome to this special issue titled "Women's Life and Trauma in Individual and Collective Narratives" of the *East European Journal of Psycholinguistics*. Narratives, both oral and written, play an important role in helping the individual make sense of their lives and the world they live in. Narrative research is focused on the elicitation and interpretation of people's narrative accounts of their lived experiences. In recent decades, there has been an enormous growth in the use of narrative inquiry and narrative-based research with diverse theoretical orientations and methodologies grounded in various disciplines of the social sciences and humanities including anthropology, psychology, psycholinguistics, sociology, history and literary studies as well as in medicine and clinical research (Chase, 2005; 2011; Holstein & Gubrium, 2012; Kleinman, 1988; Charon, 2006). According to Chase (2005), most narrative researchers treat narrative as a distinctive form of discourse that shapes meaning through the concerted ordering of story material with speakers providing particular understandings of personal action and experiences by organizing events and objects into meaningful patterns, connecting subjects, actions, events, and their consequences over time.

As narrative research has become increasingly complex and rigorous, this special issue was planned to gain insight into the narrative research being conducted by international scholars with a focus on women and trauma, broadly defined. The call for papers attracted many high-quality submissions from authors representing various countries. The special issue contains a collection of ten papers, each providing a unique perspective and understanding of trauma in women's lives and its reflection in narrative inquiry. Just as women's voices are varied, so too are the narratives presented. Women are represented as narrators; as subjects of the narration and as characters in the narrative. The authors also present a broad spectrum of approaches to the empirical analysis of narrative material ranging from social media content, life stories, clinical and educational interventions, and literary works.

In the first paper of the special issue, Bifulco's article seeks to explore links between selected investigative child abuse interview accounts using narratives elicited through the Childhood Experience of Care and Abuse (CECA) clinical interview guide and analyzed using the Linguistic Inquiry and Word Count (LIWC) text analysis program (Francis & Pennebaker, 1992) which identifies characteristics of speech associated with trauma. Her paper examines the potential of combining these approaches to systematically analyze and interpret trauma narratives.

In the second article, the contextual backdrop for the narratives is the COVID-19 pandemic. In her article, Kostruba analyzes narratives collected online to gain an understanding of how specific social restrictions, stay-at-home orders particular to the pandemic affected all aspects of life including psychological well-being. Her study also used LIWC psycholinguistic analysis of these current pandemic narratives to identify markers of traumatic experience and identify possible gender differences in the ways women experienced (and continue to experience) the COVID-19 global pandemic.

The importance of social and cultural context is apparent in the next article which draws on literary texts as the source material. For Aguilar Lopez & Miguel Borge, the drama *The Golden Ribbon* by María Manuela Reina, written and situated in the 1980s, a decade that for Spain implied a more obvious abandonment of the most traditional conceptions of the role of women, serves as the unit of analysis. The authors describe the divergent worldview models of the older versus younger characters, reflecting both a generational and gender divide around topics such as success, infidelity, and matrimony. Aguilar Lopez & Miguel Borge aim to identify if, how and why the dramatist is able to reach out to the general public through her play to create social awareness and give voice to the women who rebelled against the traditional social and gender roles.

The next paper in this series focuses on the emerging field of post-traumatic growth (PTG) defined by Tedeschi & Calhoun (2004) as a "positive psychological change experienced as a result of the struggle with highly challenging circumstances." Drawing on therapeutic narratives from women participating in a psychotherapy workshop, Lushyn & Sukhenko utilize dialectical understanding and discourse analysis to identify and assess the women's descriptions and definitions associated with post-traumatic development and growth with a further attempt to provide practical implications for psychological practice.

A set of the articles (#5-7) in this special issue target traumas associated with transition, be it gender transition or women and girls transitioning to another life phase (adolescence; menopause) and the emotional, social and cultural experiences connected to these transitions.

Martynyuk's article combines methodological tools of conceptual metaphor theory and narrative psychology with theoretical assumptions of the intersubjective psycholinguistic approach to meaning making and exploring transgender transition narrative metaphors. Her dataset consists of 16 TED talks videos by transgender individuals discussing their experiences of transitioning which provide Martynyuk the opportunity to conduct a narrative and visual analysis of the metaphors that are

given coherence by the textual, social, cultural, and historical context of the narrative, as well as by the interactive situational context reflected in the video recordings.

The article by Nair & George puts the menopausal woman as the focus of the narrative inquiry. The authors interviewed a group of male spouses about their knowledge, attitudes and beliefs about perimenopause and their experiences associated with the physical, psychological, and social changes occurring in the lives of their wives. The menopausal transition can be a period of stress, even lead to trauma if left unnoticed or unsupported. Nair & George used qualitative data software to analyze the interview data and thematic analysis to arrive at themes which could inform programs which could raise awareness about the perimenopausal and menopausal life stages of women to help both partners understand and cope with the individual, family and societal changes which occur during this life period.

On the opposite end of the life spectrum, Shirazi et al, investigate whether narrative-based interventions in the school context can increase children's emotional intelligence (EI) and whether oral and written narrative elements have a different effect on students' EI. The underlying premise is that children share their emotional experiences through narratives and stories and high-quality narratives are beneficial for children's wellbeing and development. The research project was conducted with almost one hundred 12-year old Iranian girls who attend Yasuj city schools in southwestern Iran. Results highlighted the importance of oral and combined oral/written language modes and their merged narrative elements on the development of emotional intelligence, particularly for children who are in the language minority.

The final set of articles (#8-10) make use of nostalgia and intergenerational narratives of historical trauma.

Todorova & Padareva-Ilieva apply an interdisciplinary and multimodal approach to describe and classify written messages and images collected through social media in Bulgaria during the COVID-19 pandemic crisis. Findings revealed that much of the communications through social media during that period was largely nostalgic and that the main role of the Facebook social media platform is to unite people in times of isolation, to raise their spirit and save them from the traumatic experience they may encounter during a global health crisis.

Zaporozhets & Stodolinska analyze the concept of border through a content analysis of the Little House children's book series which are narrated from the lived experiences and perspective of the author Laura Ingalls Wilder based on her childhood in a settler and pioneer family in the United States in the late 1800s. The territorial and metaphorical borders depicted in Wilder's works are interwoven and influenced by her reminiscences of historical, biographical, gender, and psychological peculiarities.

This journal issue concludes with a cross-cultural analysis of narrative reflections associated with two 20th century genocides: the Holodomor in Ukraine (1932–1933), and the Holocaust (1939–1944). Zasiekina et al recruited second

("mothers") and third ("daughters") generations of Holodomor and Holocaust descendants in Ukraine and Israel to share their family narratives and experiences of the genocide. The study applied inductive thematic analyses that progressed from description to interpretation, and showed the centrality of five emerging themes in both mothers' and daughters' narratives. The findings of their research have important implications for future practice of creating narratives with survivors of massive trauma and their offspring and stress the importance of creating a traumatic narrative to aid the healing process resulting from the transmission of historical and collective trauma and provides direction for clinical providers in designing treatment plans for individuals with genocide in their life history.

In summary, the articles that make up this special journal issue reinforce the view that narrative research and inquiry provides researchers and clinicians multiple lenses and approaches through which to analyze and interpret narrative data. The subsequent results of each narrative analysis can give voice to a broad range of women and girls, while at the same time guide policy and inform educational interventions and therapeutic programs.

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ARTICLES

CHILDHOOD TRAUMA IN WOMEN AND FRAGMENTED INTERVIEW NARRATIVES – SOME INTERDISCIPLINARY METHODOLOGICAL AND CLINICAL IMPLICATIONS

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Abstract. Trauma experience is understood through its expression in language, with implications for psycholinguistic and clinical research and analysis. Clinical research approaches often approach childhood trauma through investigative, semi-structured, retrospective interviews (e.g. Childhood Experience of Care and Abuse, CECA). This facilitates the narration of abuse history for systematic analysis in relation to clinical disorder. Interview techniques assist such history-telling, for example by 'scaffolding' the account, aiding memory through chronological questioning, using a factual focus and using probing questions to collect detail and resolve inconsistencies. However, some personal narratives are fragmented, incomplete, contradictory or highly emotional/dissociated from emotion. This can be explained by trauma impacts such as being emotionally frozen (forgetting and avoidance) or overwhelmed (emotional over-remembering) and is termed 'unresolved trauma' with links to attachment vulnerability. These narratives can make investigative interview research more challenging but can offer opportunities for secondary psycholinguistic analysis. Illustrative interview quotes from CECA childhood physical and sexual abuse narratives of three women are provided with comment on style of reporting. The women had recurrent trauma experience and later life depression and anxiety. The interview responses are examined in terms of seven characteristics taken from available literature (e.g. incoherent, contradictory, lack recall, time lapses, emotionality, blame and vividness). The concept of unresolved loss is discussed and whether the linguistic characteristics are specific to a trauma or to an individual. Factual investigative interviews and psycholinguistic analysis of narrative may find ways of combining for greater depth of understanding of unresolved trauma, to extend available methods and aid therapy.

Keywords: CECA interviews, childhood abuse, attachment, unresolved trauma, methods, attachment style.

Біфулко Антонія. Дитяча травма у жінок і фрагментовані наративні інтерв'ю: прикладні міждисциплінарні методологічні та клінічні аспекти.

Анотація. Травматичний досвід може бути виражений засобами мови, що дає змогу його вивчати у психолінгвістичних і клінічних дослідженнях. У клінічних дослідженнях часто застосовують підхід, базований на дитячій травмі із використанням діагностичних, напівструктурованих, ретроспективних інтерв'ю (наприклад, CECA - Childhood Experience of

Care and Abuse). Підхід, базований на дитячій травмі, полегшує виклад історії скривдження, яка пов'язана з клінічним розладом. Техніки інтерв'ювання допомагають вербально виразити травматичний досвід, наприклад, шляхом «розмотування» ситуації, згадування за допомогою хронологічного опитування, використання фактичного фокусу та пробних запитань для збору даних та з'ясування суперечливих фактів. Однак деякі особисті розповіді фрагментовані, неповні, суперечливі, сильно емоційні, чи навпаки, беземоційні. Це можна пояснити наслідками травми, такими як емоційне оніміння (забуття та уникнення) або переповнення емоціями (емоційне надмірне запам'ятовування), що називається «непропрацьованою травмою» з елементами тривожно-амбівалентною прив'язаності. Ці наративи/розповіді можуть значно ускладнити аналіз дослідницьких інтерв'ю, але водночас здатні забезпечити можливість вторинного психолінгвістичного аналізу. Стаття містить ілюстративні цитати з розповідей трьох жінок про фізичні та сексуальні скривдження у дитинстві на основі методу CECA із коментарями щодо стилю наративу. Жінки пережили повторювану багаторазову травму, що згодом у дорослому житті спричинило депресію та тривогу. Відповіді під час інтерв'ю аналізуються з урахуванням семи критеріїв, узятих із наявної літератури (наприклад, незв'язність, суперечливість, нездатність до згадування, період часу, емоційність, звинувачення та яскравість спогадів). Обговорюється поняття непропрацьованих втрат і те, чи є мовні критерії специфічними для травми чи для окремої людини. Фактичні інтерв'ю та психолінгвістичний аналіз наративів можна поєднати для глибшого розуміння невирішеної травми, а також розширення арсеналу наявних методів та допоміжної терапії.

Ключові слова: *інтерв'ю CECA, скривдження дитини, прив'язаність, непропрацьована травма, методи, тип прив'язаності.*

Introduction

There is increasing awareness that childhood trauma is a major public health issue (Felitti, 2002). This is due both to its high prevalence (e.g.: 1 in 5 UK adults) (ONS, 2020) and its substantial relationship to later life clinical disorder (Infurna et al., 2016) and physical illness (Dong et al., 2004). There is a real need to understand a person's childhood experience in order to predict their future health risks. There are many ways to achieve this through standardised questionnaire and interview approaches. However recent studies indicate some unreliability due to biases in self-report measurement (Newbury et al., 2018) and poor memory and traumatic avoidance of recognising the experience (Reuben et al., 2016). Whilst interviews are deemed the most reliable tool (Baldwin, Reuben, Newbury, & Danese, 2019), these also require careful probing of childhood narrative to establish the sequence, severity and context of key experiences for reliable categorisation. Thus, the individual's ability to communicate their experience is critical for determining facts about what occurred. This is also important for optimising personal interpretations and resolution, such as occurs in narrative therapy (Neuner, Schauer, Klaschik, Karunakara, & Elbert, 2004).

Those studying and treating early life developmental disorders argue that when trauma is unresolved, narratives can become fragmentary, incomplete and either devoid of emotion or overwhelmed by it (van der Kolk, Pelcovitz, Roth, Mandel, & et al., 1996). This is in part because of the fear still present in revisiting the threatening experiences. This occurs in Post-Traumatic Stress Disorder (PTSD)

where avoidance of thinking of the experience with blocking out all references to it, can occur with 'presentification' of the trauma and 'over-remembering' as experienced in flashbacks and nightmares (APA, 2013). Van der Kolk's study of 76 people who were interviewed for either their trauma experience or other positive experience were asked about sensory details, vividness of imagery recall, and emotional response (van der Kolk, 2015). The two sets of accounts were found to be very different. The trauma accounts were found to be disorganised, some details remembered all too clearly, but others such as the sequence of events or some vital details not recalled. The trauma individuals reported experiencing flashbacks and felt overwhelmed by images, sounds, sensations and emotions about the trauma. All the participants with trauma had been unable to tell anyone at the time precisely what happened. Over time they had begun to make sense of the experience and know more about what happened by piecing together the details and sequence of events and were then able to tell others. In this study 85 % were able finally to tell a coherent story with only few missing details although five abused as children still retained the most fragmented memories (van der Kolk, 2015).

Psycholinguistic investigations of trauma narratives, from the seminal work of Pennebaker (1993), have linked characteristics such as verbal emotional expression, increasing use of insight, causal and associated cognitive words to be indicative of health (Pennebaker, 1993). This has been studied by means of the Linguistic Inquiry and Word Count (LIWC) text analysis programme (Francis & Pennebaker, 1992). This method has been used in a range of autobiographical narratives which include interviews, diary studies, life stories and word cue methods usually in non-clinical samples (Zasiekina, Kennison, Zasiekin, & Khvorost, 2019). For example, a comparison of trauma and positive experiences in the written narratives of 61 non-clinical respondents used LIWC to look at psycholinguistic markers for autobiographical memory (Zasiekina et al., 2019). The presence of negative emotions and anxiety and the use of the pronoun 'they' as an external agent of proposition were higher in trauma memories as were categories of time and space. Conversely, a lower word count and a focus on the present was more common in the trauma narratives. Given the participants were free from PTSD, the fact the narratives were not stuck in time or overestimating of the trauma, was taken as protective of PTSD (Zasiekina et al., 2019). The presence of social categories also pointed to an important positive impact of social support.

The approach attending to word count particularly has been applied more to non-clinical samples and to particular free written or speech tasks. Another approach has examined 'language injury' as apparent in the interviews of respondents with clinical disorder describing trauma experiences, for example in an interview study of 15 war-traumatised patients with PTSD (Auxéméry, 2020). The narratives showed lexical poverty and traumatic anomia (marked hesitation and inhibition of speech), linguistic repetition of signifiers of the event (together with verbal intrusions, repetition of filler words), and discursive disorganisation (verb tenses telescoped, reliving the event, lack of future reference, incomplete sentences) (Auxéméry, 2020). These discourse characteristics linked to trauma were termed

'language injury'. Similar effects have also been shown in a study of 28 young Africans who were refugees and unaccompanied minors aged 14–18 when compared to a case controlled high school group (Huemer et al., 2016). The 10-minute, uninterrupted speech task focused first on the respondent's most stressful event and second on any topic that came to mind. These were recorded and analysed by word count, linguistic narrative (temporal junctures/sequencing), narrative structure (avoidance of description, absence of emotion, lack of comprehensible form), referential activity (sensory and emotional expressivity) and content analysis (type of trauma event). In the traumatised youth the stressfulness of events (ie trauma exposure) were significantly higher, with significantly lower word count in the narratives and increased referential activity in both tasks. However, there was no difference in the number of temporal junctures, nor the number of stories related between the groups. The authors point to this approach as showing more subtle indicators of traumatisation than conventional checklist methods. The approach has also been tested in 67 children (aged 7–16 years) who experienced a physical trauma involving hospitalisation who were tested over 3 months (McKinnon, Brewer, Meiser-Stedman, & Nixon, 2017). The children were asked at interview to produce a narrative about the traumatic accident as well as completing questionnaires about trauma memory, acute stress PTSD symptoms with a focus on the sensory, fragmented and disorganised characteristics of trauma memory exhibited (McKinnon et al., 2017). Findings showed that trauma memory quality was implicated in the aetiology of symptoms (acute stress and PTSD) with trauma narrative memory implicated specifically in PTSD. Over time there was a reduction in the children's fragmentary narratives with high sensory experiences in line with their stress scores. The study indicates that perception of trauma memory are a driver of symptoms and that positive change can occur in both.

The method has also been used in older age groups to examine psycholinguistic markers of mental trauma and PTSD involving past collective trauma events. Thus, Zasiekina examined trauma narratives in survivors (aged 75+) of the Ukrainian Holodomor, a starvation genocide in Stalinist times of the 1930s. The study used LIWC analysis and categories of time, 'I' and cognitive processes in relation to word count for traumatic memory (Zasiekina, 2020). Findings showed poorer reappraisal of events and an overestimation of time as predictive of word count in multiple regression. Given the historical knowledge of the collective trauma experience the principle of 're-memory' or 'dis-memory' as a narrative strategy for individuals articulating trauma experience which is 'unspeakable' and impossible to narrate is invoked (Nikro, 2019). Reconstructing the distorted episodes of traumatic experience can thus occur in a historical context and aids to recall may be beneficial for mental health.

The concept of unresolved childhood trauma is most often applied to experiences of neglect or abuse and taken as an element in understanding disrupted attachment processes (Main & Hesse, 1990). Attachment frameworks provide a model of understanding the impact of childhood trauma on adult functioning through multiple mediational links including distorted cognitive templates (Collins

& Read, 1990), emotional dysregulation and mentalisation (Fonagy, Gergely, Jurist, & Target, 2002), and barriers to disclosure and relating ability (Bifulco & Thomas, 2012). Use of language is also implicated in attachment style problems in some approaches (Main & Hesse, 1990) compromising coherence of accounts and contravening Grice's maxims of conversational coherence (Grice, 1989; Hesse, 2008). The Grice maxims required for good communication involve the principles of quality (truthfulness and evidence); quantity (succinct and complete); relation (relevance) and manner (clear and orderly).

In the Adult Attachment Interview (AAI) (George, Kaplan, & Main, 1984) respondents are asked about childhood experience, and the qualities of the audio-recorded and carefully transcribed narration are scrutinised to establish narrative patterns believed to indicate adult attachment styles. Thus coherence indicates secure style, in contrast idealisation of attachment figures, insistence on lack of memory and derogating attachment experiences indicate dismissing or avoidant attachment whilst anger expressed or vagueness in discourse indicate preoccupied or anxious-ambivalent style) (Hesse, 2008). In addition to these 'organised' styles, disorganised or 'cannot classify' categories relate to unresolved loss or abuse with 'lapses of monitoring of reasoning or discourse' or 'prolonged silence or eulogistic speech' (p 571) (Hesse, 2008). These can be specific to description of loss or abuse when it occurs in the interview. The AAI explicitly aims to 'surprise the unconscious' through open questions and to elicit verbal errors to elucidate underlying affective-cognitive processing (Main, Kaplan, & Cassidy, 1985). While childhood events and relationships are typically scored, their factual accuracy have a lesser role in the measurement system.

This is in contrast to investigative interview methods designed to elicit an accurate account of childhood trauma events. Thus the Childhood Experience of Care and Abuse (Bifulco & Moran, 1998) is a factually orientated retrospective interview which uses a semi-structured format with probing questions to aid the respondent in recalling and ordering events. This is undertaken by explaining the scope of the interview, by taking a chronological approach to childhood events, by asking questions such as about a 'typical day' in childhood and for seeking greater detail of events reported. Thus, when abuse is recalled, the respondent is asked at what age it occurred, from whom, how often and over what period of time. The respondent is also encouraged to give a full description of the event. It is only through such an account that the severity of the experience can be gauged and scored. Many respondents can do this readily with minimal additional probing required. But for others it is difficult, and the interviewer may have to use skilful probing, or return to the topic later in the interview, or be satisfied with an incomplete rendition. Many such respondents find the factual and direct questions easier to respond to (e.g. 'How old were you at the time?' 'Who did it to you?' 'How often did it happen?') rather than indirect open questions (e.g. 'Did you have a difficult childhood?'). It is not necessary for the respondent to visit the emotion of the experience to provide sufficient information for CECA scoring.

This paper seeks to explore links between selected investigative child abuse interview accounts using the CECA and a psycholinguistic approach involving identified characteristics of speech associated with trauma, to see if there is future potential for combining approaches in a systematic way. Sections from three childhood interview transcripts of severe childhood abuse (physical or sexual) which constitute trauma experience are examined to illustrate seven characteristics of psycholinguistic properties or reporting styles. These include incoherence, contradictoriness, lack of recall, emotional response, time lapses, blame and vividness. The transcripts are taken from an existing data set, where the quantitative data has been previously published to show childhood abuse is a significant predictor of adult insecure attachment style and major depression (Bifulco, Brown, Lillie, & Jarvis, 1997; Bifulco & Thomas, 2012). However, the qualitative aspects of the interview narrative have not been analysed before and are newly described here. All relevant ethical permissions were given at the time of the original study from health services with informed signed consent by participants.

Method

Three childhood interviews were selected from a large data base of 303 with community women initially selected through screening questionnaires to London general practices (Bifulco, Bernazzani, Moran, & Ball, 2000). This did not constitute a clinical sample per se, although many had experienced adult clinical depression or anxiety disorder. The interview extracts transcribed were ones with unusual reporting characteristics and had served as illustrative case studies or training for interviewers (Bifulco & Moran, 1998; Bifulco & Thomas, 2012).

The Childhood Experience of Care and Abuse (CECA) interview is a standardised semi-structured interview to establish factual accounts of neglect and varied abuse before age 17 (Bifulco & Moran, 1998). It has high reliability and validity as determined by comparison of sister interviews (Bifulco et al., 1997). It focuses on the severity of abuse according to predetermined criteria as well as details of age, duration, relationship to perpetrator. Extracts from CECA interview transcripts are used here to illustrate some psycholinguistic characteristics of reporting trauma. These are shown below with 'Q' for interviewer questions and 'A' for respondent answers, and the dotted lines represent hesitations, pauses or incomplete sentences. Occasionally tone of voice is mentioned from the audio-recording but the main focus is on the transcribed verbal material.

In addition to the CECA, the life history interviews also covered adult attachment style using the Attachment Style Interview (ASI) (Bifulco & Thomas, 2012) to determine Secure, Anxious (Enmeshed or Fearful), Avoidant (Angry-dismissive or Withdrawn) or Disorganised (mixed insecure) styles at time of interview. Lifetime clinical depression or anxiety states were also measured using a clinical interview (Structured Clinical Interview for DSM-IV, SCID) (First, Gibbon, Spitzer, & Williams, 1996). Each of the three women selected had more than the one trauma in childhood, all had at least one adult trauma and all experienced

recurrent adult life depression/anxiety and had adult insecure attachment styles. The trauma reporting characteristics cannot therefore be used to suggest different clinical or vulnerability outcomes.

Categories utilised

A pragmatic approach was taken, linking features of the interview narratives to those identified in existing clinical studies of the psycholinguistics of trauma in terms of language injury or incoherence. The definitions of these are shown in table 1, as understood by the author, with reference to related sources.

Table 1
Characteristics of childhood trauma interview narratives

Characteristic assessed	Definition	Related source/study
Incoherence	Incomplete sentences; lack of logical sequence, at extreme very fragmented narrative with little content.	Traumatic anomia (Auxéméry, 2020); Narrative structure (Huemer et al., 2016); Trauma memory quality (McKinnon et al., 2017); Incoherence (Hesse, 2008).
Contradictory information or ambivalence	An illogical example such as 'my mother favoured me, that's why she hit me more' or 'I loved my mum but I hated her'.	Incoherence (Hesse, 2008).
Lack of recall	Repetition of comments like 'I can't remember' with gaps in the account.	Traumatic anomia (Auxéméry, 2020); Trauma memory quality (McKinnon et al., 2017); Avoidance (Hesse, 2008).
Time lapses/temporal processing	Transferring from past to present examples in answer to the question without full explanation (eg mother argued with me – like she did last week….).	Past referents (Zasiekina, 2020); Temporal junctures (Huemer et al., 2016); Incoherence (Hesse, 2008)
Emotionality	Distress, fear or anger indicated in the narrative. This can be through language used (thinking she was going to be killed) or angry language with cursing etc.	Referential activity (Huemer et al., 2016); Emotionality (van der Kolk, 2015).
Blame	Attributing the abuse to self or other often accompanied by report of guilt or anger.	External referents (Zasiekina, 2020); Derogating attachments (Hesse, 2008)
Vividness/ event & dialogue reconstruction	the account is graphic and seems 'in the moment'. Dialogue of the event reproduced instead of summarised.	Discursive disorganisation (Auxéméry, 2020; van der Kolk, 2015).

Results

Excerpts of trauma narrative from interviews are provided below with subsequent identification of key characteristics for each extract, these are then summarised together at the end of the section.

Amanda's physical abuse

Amanda was brought up by both parents and experienced neglect, emotional and physical abuse from her mother from earliest years. She explains it by her mother's mental illness and heavy drinking, which she says led to unprovoked violence. She is close to her mother now, was concerned that no blame should be attached to her mother and expressed no anger towards her. They are still in close contact.

She describes the worst incidence of physical abuse from her mother:

A   I was about 8, I think, I was sitting at the kitchen table and she'd asked me a question, and I remember answering it and she said to me 'You mumbled' and I said 'I never mumbled' and she said 'Don't answer me back' and she hit… was hitting me, literally and I was on the floor trying to hide under something and my dad happened to walk in and he had to hit her, to stop her hitting me,….but I remember begging my mum to stop but she just wouldn't, I just don't think she realised that she was hitting a child, I think she thought… I don't even know what she thought at the time, but I don't think that she knew that she was hitting a child. And my dad said, you know 'For God's sake, can't you hear that child, she's begging you to stop.' And after that it wasn't…. she would just hit the once after that, I think she realised….

Q   Do you think that was the worst one in terms of how badly you were hurt?

A   That was the worst one I can ever recall, you know, actually begging her to stop… I was hiding, I was trying to find….

Q   Was she hitting you with her hand?

A   Anything, anything she could get her hands on... and I remember her having this knife and I remember her throwing it at me at first and she caught me, and I thought 'Oh God, she's gonna kill me', you know, and I was trying to hide, but she was...

Q   Was that the same occasion, that she threw the knife?

A   No, she did it a couple of times, she would just throw it just to shut us up more than anything….

Q   Did you get badly hurt, did you have to go to the doctor or hospital?

A   No, no, it was just like a little prick and then it would fall out. I think it was just the shock more than, you know….' Oh God, my mum's stabbed me' sort of thing you know. But that was the worst one – it still plays on my mind that, you know, the fact that she…. wherever I tried to hide she just kept on…it was even as if she'd had a brainstorm or something, she just kept on hitting...

Amanda related this event vividly with considerable emotion as though reliving it. The narrative has incomplete sentences, and she repeated the issue of begging her mother to stop. She says it 'still plays on her mind'. She provides some context, such as her father intervening, but then goes on to merge the incident with another when her mother, in temper, threw a small kitchen knife at her, without clarifying this was another occasion. Amanda downplays the significance of that incident by

saying it was just shock not being hurt that was an issue, but implies the knife incident happened more than once. She later expressed some contradictions about her mother, for example saying that she knew she was her mother's favourite because she was hit her more often than her siblings. She attributes both responses to her 'cheekiness' (insolence). Thus the account indicates some incoherence, contradictory elements, emotionality and vividness. There was no evidence of lack of recall, time lapses or blame.

In contrast later in the interview Amanda describes a sexual abuse attempt when she was aged 10 and ill in hospital. This narrative has greater clarity and it is perhaps significant that she took control in the situation to reduce the trauma exposure:

> ... once I had an experience when I was in hospital. There was this man who was going round abusing the children and he came into my room and he told me he was a vicar, and he was talking to me and he kept asking me if he could tickle me, and I kept saying: 'no, you mustn't do that'. Because my dad had already explained that there were dirty old men and I said 'no, you mustn't do that', and I got a bit frightened. And then he left, for some reason, you know, he never ever touched me but apparently he had got frightened and he had left, because I'd rung the bell (*for the nurse*). Then when my dad and mum came that night to see me I explained to them what happened and my dad – well, if he'd got hold of the man I know he would have killed him. And apparently when the police came they said that out of all the children on the ward, I was the only one that he hadn't abused.

Her father contacted the police once she disclosed and the perpetrator was apprehended and Amanda was a witness in the court case. She explained that nine younger children had been sexually abused and she was the only one to raise the alarm. She attributes this to the advice her father had given her:

> Yeah, I remember my dad had said, you know, 'your body is your body, and nobody touches your body except you, and you know, your mum and dad if we bath you, but other than that your body is your body and you say "no" to anybody'.

In comparing the two extracts it should be noted that the physical abuse experience was much more severe. In reporting it there was more emotional content (this also conveyed by tone of voice, and breathless speech) and incomplete sentences with repetitions, vividness and a disjointed link to another incident of abuse by the mother. The second sexual abuse incident seems clearer in comparison and it was one where she was able to take control, to disclose to her father who took action and told the hospital authorities. Amanda was willing to make a statement against the abuser. It could be argued that the second abuse did not constitute trauma (this was averted) and this could account for the greater clarity of the account. This indicates that Amanda has capacity for providing clearer narration and the disturbed reporting was specific to the abuse from her mother.

In adult life Amanda experienced trauma from a partner who was physically and emotionally threatening, eroded her self-esteem and lied to her about his finances and work. She became clinically depressed and anxious after a difficult separation from him. She had also experienced both disorders after an earlier

separation from her first partner at a difficult time when she was pregnant. She had no symptoms at interview. In terms of vulnerability she had an anxious Enmeshed attachment style with no support and fear of separation and low self-reliance.

Carol's physical abuse

Carol is aged 36 and lived with both birth parents and her grandmother in childhood and experienced emotional and physical abuse from her mother from earliest years. Her mother was very critical of Carol and would also hit her frequently (around monthly) either with her hands or with an implement such as a belt or stick. Carol describes one such incident:

Q. Did you ever get badly beaten by her?
A. When she gave me a black eye, when 1 was about 15. I told her, I said to her when I was 15, 'you ever f***ing hit me again, I tell you, mother or no mother, I'll hit you back… .After that day she never ever hit me... until this day.
Q. How often would she hit you?
A. She'd hit you for anything, you know even…. I remember her one day coming in and somebody had…. a letter was opened. Now I did not ….and I mean I'm…. she still says to me to this day: 'you did open it'. But I didn't open her mail….. I wouldn't want to see what's in her stupid old mail! And she accused me of opening that letter and I said: 'I didn't touch your letter' – 'you did, you opened it. You opened my private business', 'I wouldn't touch your private business!' Anyway, she belted me. She didn't half give me a cuff and that's the day I told her: 'you ever hit me like that again I'll f***ing hit you back, and I don't care, mother or no mother!' She never ever hit me again.

She describes her mother in an angry emotional tone and as 'in the moment' of the event reproducing dialogue. There are repetitions and incomplete sentences. She also later in the interview interspersed her childhood narrative with ongoing descriptions of her mother switching time frames. When later describing her mother's neglect of the children in childhood she described how she spent her days in bed and she switches to a current description to illustrate it, and her account is blaming and angry. She says:

Nothing wrong with her! Still nothing wrong with her, she still goes to bed every afternoon. ...she moans about the housework she's got to do – she's only got her and my dad there. And she moans about the housework still. I mean she's got all day on her hands!

Later she adds: "I love my mum but she's just….she's just too selfish, she's all for her f***ng self!" Therefore, the account shows incoherence, emotionality, vividness, time lapses and blame of other. There is no sign of contradictoriness or lack of recall.

As an adult Carol married and had two children. Her adult trauma experience was when her 12-year old son died accidentally whilst playing on a building site. She experienced chronic grief, guilt and panic disorder, and when the school held a memorial service for him two years later, she became depressed. She had a disorganised attachment style (angry-dismissive and enmeshed). Her mistrust and

anger to the world was combined with a fear of people leaving her and anxiety over her remaining daughter.

Donna's sexual abuse

Donna is aged 28 at interview and had a neglectful and chaotic upbringing in relation to changes of household arrangements. Her mother had alcohol dependence, was separated from Donna's father, and had a succession of live-in partners. Donna lived with her siblings including her twin sister Jane. [Her sister was also interviewed in the study and gave a clearer corroborative account of the sexual abuse which she too experienced.]

The sexual abuse began when Donna was aged 8 and lasted over an 18-month period. It was from a male friend of her mother's, for whom she would babysit his children. It seems there were sometimes other adults present during the abuse which involved sexual intercourse. Donna had difficulty speaking about the topic despite being very expressive about other events in her childhood. It was only after describing being raped as an adult by her husband Dave that the interviewer was able to return to question the sexual abuse in childhood. Donna did then describe it, but haltingly, with incomplete sentences, claims of not remembering and with little clarity.

Q   Can I ask you about the sexual abuse when you were in Cornwall? Maybe that's the hardest thing for you to talk about....Why is it so hard? Is it because you were so vulnerable at that time?

A   ....Just wasn't nice, I don't feel....

Q   I mean, you're able to talk about Dave (*husband*) though?

A   Yeah...that's probably 'cos it's nearer, I mean it's probably because that one was a long – actually a long time ago....you tend to bury it. ....That's er........I don't know – I don't know what the difference is, I suppose with Dave it was because he was my husband and ….

Q   But was it a very similar kind of thing, I mean it was forcing sexual intercourse onto you?

A   Yeah… yeah… It's… I don't know, perhaps it's because I'd actually said to Dave: 'No, I don't want to sleep with you', therefore perhaps I'd deserved it – I know you don't deserve it, but there's that kind of bent logic to it somewhere, when you actually think back on it…

Q   No child of 8 deserves it.

A   …. No, but when you're young, you don't deserve it… I think probably that's probably why I find it more difficult… because with Dave I could've walked out...before I did walk out.... with this...there was no choice in it at all, that was it, it was there...

Q   Was it just something that you couldn't do anything about?

A   It was....er...it was difficult...

Q   How often did this happen?

A   Whenever I babysat for them.

Q   How often was that?

A   Which is – about once a week, once a fortnight.......er.... The trouble was with that, was the fact that if I didn't babysit for them, Jane would babysit for them, so....

Q   And you didn't know whether it was happening to her?

A   No, I think it was, it's just... neither of us ever said anything, but we were so close then I don't think we'd need to say anything...We used to know each other so well...

Q   But you thought was happening to her?

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A   I thought it was... so if I didn't go then she'd have to go, so... either way, one of us was going to get it, so it….it depends who was feeling stronger at the time, I think, would be the one that would go babysitting.

Q   And no-one else had any idea that it was happening?

A   No..no...

Q   And were you hurt at all?

A   Hurt?... I don't know, there's so much of it is blocked out now.... I suppose I must've been hurt...but I don't know how hurt, if that makes sense.... er… It must've hurt when it first happened, I mean, obviously, but I think probably then... It's like having a toothache, isn't it? After a while you get used to the pain, so the tooth doesn't ache so much… the tooth is still aching, but it doesn't actually feel like it's aching so much, so it doesn't matter so much, so you put off going to the dentist, you know........Yeah, it was, it was difficult...... It's difficult because you … I mean, I knew it was wrong, as well, I knew it was wrong…. but….knowing what to do about something that you knew was wrong was difficult...

Slightly later she said:

Er........It was difficult… I mean, a lot of it is a blur, I mean...I seem to remember once that he had some friends round with him......but I don't think they actually did anything, but I don't remember....It's just – I remember there being other people ---

Q   Do you think they might have just watched you?

Possibly......I don't remember. But that – that's probably being selective memory, I don't know..........different occasions, different things........I know it didn't mean a lot, at the end of the day it didn't mean anything..........But now, it still doesn't mean anything now, it's just -- it's gone, something that happened..... Makes you more – well, I don't know, I suppose, from a very young age I knew what men liked, let's put it that way! (*She laughs wryly*). Which probably made me very wary of men in general!

Donna can only provide a very hesitant and incomplete memory of her childhood sexual abuse. This seems to be accompanied by feelings of guilt and self-blame, first because she knew it was wrong, but also because she thinks her sister also suffered it and later she describes liking the affection involved. She is able to compare it to being raped as an adult but explains that as an adult she could take action and walk out, but was unable to do that as a child. She also says dismissively that it had 'no meaning' and was 'gone'.

Donna's account is the most hesitant of the narratives suggesting some 'blockage' of the memory, and shows incoherence, lack of recall and blame of self. There is none of the emotionality evident in the others (in fact rather there is a lack of feeling) nor vividness and she does not fall into time lapses. Yet in some ways it seems the least processed of the narratives.

Donna later was exposed to adult trauma through domestic violence form her husband Dave and suffered clinical depression at that time as well as at another time in her life. Her attachment style at interview was angry-dismissive (with mistrustful and overly self-reliant characteristics).

Summarising all the narrative categories scored (see table 2) it can be seen that each of the trauma narratives (apart from Amanda's sexual abuse) included 3–5 psycholinguista characteristics suggestive of lack of trauma resolution. They all had a level of incoherence in the narrative. The two physical abuse excerpts showed

both emotionality and vividness. In both cases the mother who perpetrated the abuse was still in regular contact with the respondent although only Carol was still angry with her mother and blamed her for the abuse. Her account had the highest number of linguistic characteristics associated with lack of resolution including time lapses. Amanda in contrast felt some conflict of loyalty in reporting her abuse since she felt close to her mother. Of the extracts Donna's account seems the least processed psychologically and was the most difficult to elicit at interview. The abuse was by a stranger and although by implication her mother had some responsibility though her neglect, Donna was not in contact with the perpetrator. There was a particular 'moral injury' here since if she did not make herself to the abuser, she knew that her twin sister would have to. She expressed self-blame but perhaps also felt guilt.

Table 2.
Summary of narrative categories

Respondent	Type of abuse	Incoherence	Contradictory information	Insists lack of recall	Emotionality	Vividness/ dialogue	Time lapses	Blame	Total
Amanda	Physical	YES	YES	NO	YES – fear	YES	NO	NO	4
Amanda	Sexual	NO	NO	NO	NO	NO	NO	NO	0
Carol	Physical	YES	NO	NO	YES – anger	YES	YES	YES – other	5
Donna	Sexual	YES	NO	YES	NO	NO	NO	YES self	3

Discussion

Examples provided in this exploratory secondary analysis of a child abuse interview data set suggests that there was clear variation in ways of expressing trauma memories of childhood indicative of affective-cognitive or memory disturbance as reflected in reporting language. These have been described utilising psycholinguistic characteristics taken from other trauma research analyses. These were selected first because all were relevant to clinical samples and the transcripts included were of women who had repeated clinical disorder and second because they were relevant/appropriate to the transcripts utilised. This is because the interviews were not undertaken as free speech tasks and so the use of word counts etc harder to apply. All instances (apart from Amanda's minor sexual abuse reporting) had at least three characteristics indicating lack of 'clarity or completeness' as required by Grice's maxim of coherent communication [for principles of quality (truthfulness and evidence); quantity (succinct and complete); relation (relevance) and manner (clear and orderly)] (Grice, 1989). These

characteristics may be taken to indicate unresolved trauma in the sense of incomplete psychological processing of the memories. However, in the context of a full life history interview this leads to certain questions. For example, whether the speech patterns indicate characteristics of a particular memory (the unresolved trauma event) or are common to other event reporting and a style of speech (disturbed affective-cognitive functioning) or chronic symptomatology (underlying or complex PTSD)? This analysis shows one example (Amanda) of a respondent having a different speech pattern for a different memory but does not make similar comparisons for the other two respondents. It is also unknown to what extent the investigative nature of the interview constrained the style of expression compared to the free speech approaches of other trauma studies described. For this reason a word count was not considered. It maybe that an investigative approach could help individuals to achieve greater clarity, perhaps through repeated interviews. This has yet to be tested.

The illustrative analysis provided has limitations. The selection of interview quotes were not through any systematic methodological process. Also, each respondent had experienced multiple traumas rather than just the one described which makes attribution of language patterns difficult. The quotes only represent a small part of a much longer interview and the categorisation of reporting was only conducted by an eyeballing of the narrative by the author and not through a formal scheme with reliability estimates.

The remaining question highlighted by this analysis is whether incoherence in the accounts indicates unresolved trauma for specific experiences/memories or is indicative of more general developmental damage. This latter is indicated through lasting affective-cognitive vulnerability as mediated for example in insecure attachment style. However, the analysis does suggest that linguistic patterns may provide additional markers of problems in psychological processing which could be accessed relatively quickly. It also raises the question of whether resolving the trauma can be shown through subsequent coherent narrative to indicate an improvement in memory, functioning and even symptoms. This can occur through 'healing relationships' or therapy (Herman, 1992) but maybe aided by repeated interviews of trauma experience to aid expression and remembering of the experience.

Conclusion

The exploratory aim of the paper was to take sections of trauma narrative from an existing interview data set to re-examine characteristics of the speech style. This was to see if categories used in psycholinguistic research on trauma can be applied to investigative interview material to indicate problem processing of childhood trauma experience. If this is considered viable then further re-analysis of such data sets could provide a new avenue for combining clinical and psycholinguistic approaches to create more refined and varied judgements about trauma resolution. This could lead to greater inter-disciplinary working on trauma for improved

markers of risk with repeated narrative scrutiny used to indicate improved processing and to aid narrative therapy approaches.

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SOCIAL RESTRICTIONS IN THE COVID-19 PANDEMIC AS A TRAUMATIC EXPERIENCE: PSYCHOLINGUISTIC MARKERS

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Abstract. The COVID-19 pandemic has affected all aspects of life including psychological well-being. Social restrictions, changes in habits, and permanent stay at home might have a negative impact on the psychological state of people. The purpose of our study is to conduct a psycholinguistic analysis of pandemic narratives to identify markers of traumatic experience and identify possible gender differences. The sample consisted of 167 respondents (72 % females). The mean age of participants was 21.09 years (SD = 4.52). The study was conducted in Ukraine online in 2020, during the second wave of lockdown. The audience was asked to write a narrative on "How my life changed during the Covid-19 pandemic. Personal experience." As a result, we have found psycholinguistic markers that confirm the traumatic experience, among them are markers of time, depersonalization, and affective processes. A clear distinction of experience before and after the pandemic was detected in the narratives. This is characteristic of traumatic experience. In samples, such a distinction is made using the words "was" and "became". The psychological marker of affective processes indicates immersion in a traumatic event. This discomposure is reflected in the manifestation of negative emotions through the words "bad", "problems", "critical", and "difficult". The main semantic markers in pandemic narratives are time and life. The life marker was meaningfully represented by stories about social limitations and physical health. Distinctions in pandemic descriptions of men and women have been revealed as psycholinguistic and semantic markers are different. Narratives of women are larger, they use more words (pronouns, adverbs and conjunctions, interrogatives and quantifiers) than men. Regarding content, men are more likely to talk about affective processes, while women − about social and biological ones. Our study is a maiden attempt to reflect on the pandemic as a traumatic event within the collective experience.

Keywords: COVID-19 pandemic narrative, mental health, traumatic experience, psycholinguistic marker, women, men.

Коструба Наталія. Соціальні обмеження в пандемію Covid-19 як травматичний досвід: психолінгвістичні маркери.

Анотація. Пандемія COVID-19 вплинула не лише на усі сфери життєдіяльності, а й на психологічне благополуччя людини. Соціальні обмеження, зміна звичок, постійне перебування вдома усе це може мати негативний вплив на психологічний стан. Мета нашого дослідження здійснити психолінгвістичний аналіз наративів про пандемію у пошуках маркерів травматичного досвіду. Іншим завданням дослідження було виявити відмінності у психолінгвістичних та змістовних маркерах опису пандемії у чоловіків та жінок. Вибірку дослідження склали 167 респондентів, середній вік 21,09 років (SD=4,52), з них 46 опитаних чоловічої та 121 жіночої статі. Дослідження проводилося онлайн у 2020 році, під час другої хвилі локдауну. Пропонувалось написати наратив на тему «Як змінилось Ваше життя під час

пандемії Covid-19. Будь ласка, опишіть свій досвід розгорнуто». Загалом опрацьовано 167 наративів, кількість слів варіюється від 1 до 125. Аналіз наративів про пандемію дав можливість виявити психолінгвістичні маркери, які підтверджують травматичність такого досвіду. Серед них, маркер часу, деперсоналізації та афективних процесів. У наративах існує чітке розмежування досвіду на до і після, що характерне для травматичного досвіду. У описах таке розрізнення здійснюється з використанням слів було та стало. Психологічний маркер афективних процесів відображується у прояві негативних емоцій через слова погано, проблеми, критично, складно, що свідчить про зануреність у травматичну подію. Змістовний аналіз наративів дав можливість виявити основними маркерами – час і життя. У межах маркеру життя респонденти розповідали про соціальні обмеження та фізичне здоров'я. Виявлено відмінності у психолінгвістичних та змістовних маркерах опису пандемії у чоловіків та жінок. Наративи у жінок є більші за об'ємом, вони використовують більше стильових слів (займенники, прислівники і сполучники, interrogatives and quantifiers), ніж чоловіки. Змістовно, чоловіки частіше говорять про афективні процеси, жінки – про соціальні і біологічні процеси. Наше дослідження є тільки першою спробою осмислення пандемії як травматичної події у межах колективного досвіду.

Ключові слова: пандемічний наратив COVID-19, психічне здоров'я, травматичний досвід, психолінгвістичний маркер, жінки, чоловіки.

Introduction

COVID-19 is a medical disease that scientists are studying from a medical point of view with the focus on physical health. A pandemic and related stressors can also have serious consequences for mental and psychological health. It is normal to experience distress as a result of chronic stress of this magnitude. People were forced to change their way of life during the pandemic. They have experienced many real (death of someone close without the possibility of a ritual funeral) and symbolic (graduation ceremonies) shortage and losses. For many, such events can be unpleasant and some suffer from unspeakable grief. Social restrictions can lead to depression for many and suicidal thoughts for others (Okruszek et al., 2020).

Many researchers agree that the COVID-19 pandemic negatively affects the psychological state of people, causing symptoms of depression and anxiety (Dagnino, Anguita, Escobar, & Cifuentes, 2020; Okruszek et al., 2020; Shuwiekh, Kira, & Sous, 2020). Extensive study of psychological well-being in the United Kingdom has identified future clinical and research areas, one of which involves the study of social isolation and loneliness, emotional regulation, and coping strategies (Armor et al., 2020). In other words, the investigation of the manifestations and psychological consequences of social distancing and isolation in the COVID-19 pandemic is a relevant topic of study around the world.

COVID-19 is global pandemic, and most of the population is directly involved in related social distancing measures (physically distancing themselves from others, staying at home, limiting travel, using no-contact greetings, avoiding crowded areas). Aimed at slowing the rate of virus transmission, they have led not only to mistrust in the community but also to greater subjective isolation and, hence, to psychological distress (Bierman & Schieman, 2020; Swader, 2019). Researchers claim that the pandemic has significantly affected the quality of social relations (Hussein, 2020). Longitudinal prospective studies demonstrate that social exclusion

grows into a feeling of social isolation that stimulates negative cognitive processes (Dahlberg, Andersson, & Lennartsson, 2018). Many scientists have argued that the comprehensive pandemic response should be introduced by governments in all countries (Griffin, 2020). Among the topical issues of the study is not only investigate the common traumatic reality of the COVID-19 pandemic but also the possibility of post-traumatic growth. (Bloomberg, 2021).

People differ in their genetics, neurodevelopment, general health, resilience, and protective factors and thus, may experience or understand the same pandemic differently. Determining who of them suffer from an injury requires identifying the appropriate consequences. For many, short-term trials will pass and never rise to the level of "trauma." For others, the effects will last a lifetime. In our study, we suggest to focus on the Straussner and Calnan's (2014) point of view. Scholars outline the concept of small- or micro-traumas as the more common traumas encountered by many of us. Such trauma often go unrecognized and unacknowledged. Yet these micro-traumas can cause severe mental pain and lifelong harm (Straussner & Calnan, 2014). We consider forced social isolation in the COVID-19 pandemic as minor or microtrauma.

Demertzis and Eyerman (2020) have studied the COVID-19 pandemic as a cultural trauma affecting collective memory. American scientists such as Boyraz et al. (2020) have examined it through the prism of traumatic stress. They have found that social isolation and disease-related concerns could be important variables in reducing the traumatic stress associated with an outbreak of a disease.

The coronavirus pandemic is considered a collective trauma by the American psychologist Silver (2020). Polish researchers such as Łukianow et al. (2020) have found that when describing the experience of social isolation during a pandemic, people often referred to various "collective memories" in their diaries and drew parallels between the coronavirus pandemic and other periods of history. References to collective attitudes about coronavirus are an example of post-memory, the concept of which was first developed by Hirsch (2012). Even if the diary has no personal memories of the past, people use the basics known from historical interpretations of such events to give meaning to the pandemic period.

There are studies of the impact of social isolation on different age and social categories. For example, on pregnant women. The results confirm the negative consequences for the emotional state not only of the mother but also of her child (Jevitt, 2020). The effects of self-isolation in the pandemic on the older generation in neuroscience have been studied by Muntsant and Giménez-Llort (2020). Loneliness and social isolation in the long run are associated with a decline in the quality of life among older people (Beridze et al., 2020). Additionally, studies show that children and adolescents are more likely to experience high levels of depression and anxiety during and after forced isolation (Loades et al., 2020). Adolescent girls in social isolation feel a significant deterioration or lack of privacy (Baird et al., 2020).

There are not many studies of gender differences in the psychological consequences of a pandemic. According to research by Krupina et al. (2020), chronic stress of social isolation is a significant predictor of cognitive pathology, the

scale of which may depend on gender. Straussner and Calnan's (2014) note that men and women experience trauma in very different ways and consequences. For instance, while men are much more likely to experience trauma, women are more likely to develop PTSD (Foa et al. 2009).

A theoretical review demonstrates that many researchers support the idea that social isolation in a pandemic is a traumatic experience. To study the psychological and linguistic features of experience, scientists often use the method of narratives (Rubin at al., 2019; Shaw at al., 2021). Davis et al. (2020) outline that expressive writing as one of the methods of overcoming emotional consequences or difficult circumstances arising from the COVID-19 pandemic (for example, loss of earnings, return to training and competition after a long break, etc.).

Our study aimed to identify psycholinguistic markers of the traumatic experience of the COVID-19 pandemic.

Research hypotheses:

• Narratives describing the experience of social constraints in a pandemic have psycholinguistic markers of the traumatic event.

• There are differences in psycholinguistic and semantic markers of pandemic description in men and women.

Methods

The study was conducted online in Ukraine in 2020, during the second wave of lockdown. The exact period of the survey was 22.10–22.12.2020. The sample was formed from students-volunteers of Lesya Ukrainka Volyn National University. Online survey was advertised by corporate mail of the university. As a result, 176 responses were received. After data cleaning, we took only 167 for further analysis. We did not take incomplete answers for consideration.

The sample consisted of 167 respondents. In general, 46 males and 121 females participated in the study. The mean age of participants was 21.09 years (SD = 4.52).

The online survey consisted of 100 questions related to psychological well-being and coping COVID-19. The first task of the online survey was to write a narrative on "How did your life change during the COVID-19 pandemic." The audience was asked to describe their experience in detail. The material for the study was further investigated.

To perform psycholinguistic analysis, we used computer software Statistica 12 and Linguistic Inquiry and Word Count (LIWC 2015) (Pennebaker, Boyd, Jordan, & Blackburn, 2015). The LIWC program is an effective method of studying the emotional, cognitive, and structural components present in verbal and written patterns of human speech. The program is actively used by scientists for applied research (Pennebaker et al., 2014). LIWC contains two blocks – software and dictionaries. English and German dictionaries are incorporated into the program simultaneously. The Ukrainian dictionary for the program was developed by Zasiekin (Zasiekin & Rosenhart, 2018).

So, to test Hypothesis 1, we used the LIWC 2015 program, the Pearson correlation coefficient (to identify the relationship between the number of words in the narrative and psycholinguistic categories) and singular value decomposition (SVD) word importance. To test Hypothesis 2, in addition to the methods already mentioned, we used t-test.

Results

A total of 167 narratives were processed. Statistically significant correlations between the number of words in the narrative and psycholinguistic categories are presented in Table 1.

Table 1.

Correlations Between the Number of Words in a Narrative and Psycholinguistic Categories

	Word count
Personal pronouns	.265**
I	.238**
Interrogatives	.309***
Social processes	.246**
Cognitive processes	-.216**
Affiliation	.251**
Past focus	-.198*
Present focus	.051
Future focus	.131
Time	.037
Religion	.308***

Note. *= p < .05, **= p < .01, ***= p < .001.

We obtained statistically significant correlations. The number of words in narratives is directly proportional to personal pronouns (r=.265; p < .01), I (r=.238; p < .01), interrogatives (r=.309; p < .001), social processes (r=.246; p < .01), affiliation (r=.251; p < .01), religion (r=.308; p < .001). The number of words in the narrative is inversely interrelated with the indicators of cognitive processes (r= - .216; p < .01) and past focus (r= - .198; p < .05). So, the greater the narrative, the more it is about communication and social connections, without reference to past experience. For example, "I stopped communicating with most people."; "It became more difficult to communicate with friends and acquaintances, most of them were afraid to touch each other so as not to accidentally become infected with the "deadly virus."; "Changed for the worse, many acquaintances are sick, interferes with learning and living together ...";

"Less contact with people. Because of this, communication with some stopped altogether. "

The identified psycholinguistic markers as well as statistically significant gender differences in the demonstration of pandemic experience (t-test) and the correlations of psycholinguistic categories with gender are shown in table 2.

Table 2.
The Results of Psycholinguistic Analysis of LIWC Experience of Social Constraints in a Pandemic, Gender Differences

Variables	Total (n=167)		Females (n=121)		Males (n=46)		t	p
	Mean	Standard Error	Mean	Standard Error	Mean	Standard Error		
Word count	15.08	1.36	16.79	1.50	10.57	2.87	1.96*	-.159*
Personal pronouns	1.97	.31	2.46	.39	.67	.40	3.24**	-.203*
Impersonal pronouns	4.64	1.23	5.08	1.63	3.50	1.31	.75	-.044
Common Adverbs	1.59	.35	2.15	.48	.11	.08	4.22***	-.200*
Conjunctions	3.01	.39	3.63	.50	1.39	.49	3.19**	-.198*
Interrogatives	.98	.19	1.25	.25	.26	.20	3.10**	-.179*
Quantifiers	.35	.10	.46	.14	.08	.08	2.41*	-.128
Affective processes	2.75	.75	1.67	.43	5.61	2.46	-1.58	.182*
Positive emotion	.79	.29	1.05	.40	.11	.10	2.28*	-.111
Negative emotion	1.13	.63	.45	.15	2.90	2.23	-1.09	.136
Anxiety	.07	.07	.09	.09	.00	.00	1.00	-.048
Social processes	.94	.18	1.14	.22	.41	.25	2.15*	-.142
Cognitive processes	18.35	2.02	18.46	2.30	18.06	4.19	.08	-.007
Biological processes	.45	.22	.62	.30	.00	.00	2.06*	-.098
Past focus	7.45	.92	7.75	1.11	6.65	1.63	.55	-.041
Present focus	1.90	.37	2.30	.47	.87	.48	2.13*	-.135
Future focus	.13	.06	.18	.08	.00	.00	2.30*	-.109
Relativity	73.83	1.74	74.22	1.89	72.80	3.93	.33	-.028
Motion	3.94	.76	4.07	.93	3.61	1.30	.28	-.021
Space	7.50	.93	6.27	.70	10.76	2.80	-1.56	.167*
Time	5.06	.55	5.58	.65	3.69	1.03	1.54	-.118
Work	.71	.32	.98	.45	.00	.00	2.20*	-.105

Note. *= p < .05, **= p < .01, ***= p < .001.

Using t-test, we found statistically significant differences in the psycholinguistic characteristics of the narratives of men and women. Among the

linguistic characteristics of the text revealed differences in indicators word count (t=1.96; p < .05), personal pronouns (t=3.24; p < .01), common adverbs (t=4.22; p < .001), conjunctions (t=3.19; p < .01), interrogatives (t=3.10; p < .01) and quantifiers (t=2.41; p < .05). Differences among psychological processes in narratives relate to positive emotion (t=2.28; p < .05), social processes (t=2.15; p < .05), biological processes (t=2.06; p < .05), present focus (t=2.13; p < .05), future focus (t=2.30; p < .05), work (t=2.20; p < .05). To refine the results, we also used a correlation analysis of all indicators with gender. Differences in the linguistic categories of narratives according to the results of t-test and correlation was coincided. We found correlations between gender and psychological categories such as affective processes (r=.182; p < .05) and space (r=.167; p < .05). Men more often than women in narratives turn to emotional expressions and discuss spatial constraints. For example, "There were certain difficulties of an emotional nature associated with relationships in the family"; "Life has become more complicated"; "The level of anxiety and tension a little increased".

To identify semantic narrative markers, we used singular value decomposition (SVD) word importance, which detects textual patterns in the data (Miner et al., 2012). SVD stand for the extent to which the individual words are represented or reproduced by singular values and, hence, how important the words are for defining the (latent semantic) space. We used SVD to detect semantic markers of pandemic description. The results of the analysis of meaningful markers of the pandemic experience as a traumatic event and the differences in these indicators by gender are shown in table 3.

Table 3.
Analysis of the Frequency of Use of Words and Their Weight (SVD Word Importance)

Stem / Phras	Total (n=167)		Females (n=121)		Males (n=46)	
	Words summary	SVD word importance	Words summary	SVD word importance	Words summary	SVD word importance
було / was	23	65.36	17	54.70	6	89.44
вдома / at home	23	46.64	21	52.14	2	28.28
дистанційно /remotely	17	42.22	13	40.84	4	48.99
друзі / friends	24	51.62	24	60.75	0	0.00
дуже / very	19	46.15	18	53.42	1	20.00
життя / life	52	81.42	39	81.01	13	82.46
здоров'я / health	13	36.65	11	40.27	2	28.28
карантин / quarantine	14	35.12	11	36.23	3	34.64
лікування / treatment	22	47.63	21	54.76	1	20.00
дальше / further	38	71.80	34	78.51	4	48.99

люди / people	11	38.64	10	44.79	1	20.00
менше / less	20	45.42	20	53.85	0	0.00
навчання / teaching	18	54.08	11	36.90	7	87.18
обмеження / limitation	10	27.85	6	24.00	4	40.00
пандемія / pandemic	15	36.20	12	37.59	3	34.64
початок / beginning	22	49.96	19	54.78	3	34.64
продовження / continuation	12	31.94	11	36.76	1	20.00
робота / work	10	28.09	7	28.34	3	34.64
стало / became	42	72.12	37	79.56	5	44.72
час /time	59	100.00	48	100.00	11	100.00

We found that the most important words in narratives about life changes during a pandemic for the entire sample were: "time"(SVD=100.00), "life"(SVD=81.42), "became"(SVD=72.12) and "further" (SVD=71.80). Respondents are concerned about the current situation and the possible continuation of quarantine restrictions and pandemics. We outlined differences in the importance of words in the narratives by gender. For men, words "was" (SVD=89.44) and "teaching" (SVD=87.18) more important. Men focused more on the past and on their studies (the sample was formed of students). For example, "Extremely sharp, because I was not ready for such a turn of events, but at the same time it was an interesting experience, such a thing has not been so long ago. There were times when I felt like a prisoner because there were restrictions on moving on the street, but it was not very difficult to survive". The results show that for women the words "became"(SVD=79.56), "less"(SVD=53.85), "further"(SVD=78.51), "friends"(SVD=60.75) are more important. Women talked more about current and future events, worried about the reduction of social contacts. For example, "My life has changed. Became less communication, less time with friends and godparents. You walk away from all people because everyone is potentially contagious".

Discussion

The study aimed to identify psycholinguistic markers of a traumatic event in the description of the pandemic experience. In addition, the target was to determine differences in psycholinguistic and meaningful markers of pandemic narratives in men and women.

We expected that narratives would have psycholinguistic markers of a traumatic event. Zasiekina et al. (2019) proposed psycholinguistic markers of traumatic memory, including the number of words in the narrative, the category of external agent, time, and place. In our study, we obtained relevant markers of pandemic narratives. Our results show that the number of words in narratives is negatively correlated with the focus on the past participle and cognitive processes. There is also a positive correlation between social category, religion, and the number of words in the narrative (see table 1). These results demonstrate that the

larger the description of the experience of a pandemic, the less conscious and thoughtful it is. Some studies emphasize the important role of religiosity and social support in combating mental health problems (Kostruba, 2020).

Respondents describe the pandemic experience using pronouns and adverbs (for example, this, everyone, not at all), which serve as markers of depersonalization. The processed texts have high indicators of cognitive complexity (Table 2), which also confirms the high percentage of use of prepositions and conjunctions. We suggest this peculiarity demonstrates the attempt to make sense of the pandemic and its meaning using the words "was", "became", "carefully", "necessary", and so on.

Narratives are filled with words that indicate high rates of affective processes (Table 2), including negative emotions ("bad", "problems", "critically difficult"). High levels of emotionality of texts may indicate immersion in a traumatic event (Pennebaker et al., 2014; Uvarova, 2016). However, the levels of anxiety presented by respondents are quite low, which may be due to the long duration of the pandemic and the ability to adapt to new living conditions. In their descriptions of the pandemic experience, respondents focus on the past; there are no thoughts about the future. Hence, they point to the COVID-19 virus as close in space and time.

Another task of the study was to identify meaningful markers of narratives about the pandemic. Here it was found that the respondents turned more to the description of affective and social processes as well as focused on the temporal characteristics of their experience and space. SVD analysis revealed the main words most often used by respondents and their weight (display of text patterns). In such a way, the word "time" is the most frequent in narratives about a pandemic; it has the greatest meaning (Table 3). In describing the pandemic experience, there is a clear distinction between before and after. Respondents use the words "past" and "present", which are also often repetitive and meaningful. The division of life experience into time periods before and after the event is a confirmation of the trauma for a person (Schock et al., 2016). Thus, the frequency of words use "was","became" is a semantic indicator of the traumatic experience of a pandemic. Additionally, the words such as "the beginning" and "further" have a rather large meaning and frequency of use. Respondents are concerned about the protracted time of the pandemic and the fact that it will not end. That is, the audience does not know how the situation will unfold in the future and discuss the continuation of current events and the pandemic.

In addition to the findings already mentioned, the use of the word "life" is of great importance, which demonstrates the scale of the impact of the pandemic that has led to significant changes in all spheres of life. Of course, respondents are concerned about their physical condition, which is manifested in the frequent use of the words "treatment", "health", "quarantine". The narratives raise the issue of reducing the ability to communicate offline. Most often individuals denote such an experience with the words "less", "friends", "at home", "remotely", "restrictions". Also important is the topic of changing opportunities to study and work.

The next task of our study was to identify differences in psycholinguistic and meaningful markers of the description of the pandemic in men and women. We found many statistical distinctions in psycholinguistic markers. Thus, in describing their experience, women are more verbose than men. For example, when describing the experience of a pandemic, women often use personal pronouns, adverbs, and conjunctions; interrogatives and quantifiers. For example, while "less" is frequently used in women's narratives, it is not recorded in men's ones at all.

However, men's narratives are more saturated with affective processes than women's (table 2). Namely, a positive correlation of the category of emotional processes with the male sex was revealed. They are more likely to use the words "bad", "problem", "security", and so on. Though, general comparison shows that the narratives written by women are more positively emotionally oriented.

Women to a greater extent than men in their narratives turned to social processes, namely, talking about friends and other people. While men are more concerned about the experience of studying and working in a pandemic.

In women's narratives, more attention is focused on biological processes. That is, they are more likely than men to discuss health and treatment because the cause of the pandemic is a reduction in the spread of the disease. In terms of time perspective, males in comparison to females hardly consider the present and the future, being focused on the past. Another confirmation of this thesis – the word "was" more often used by men.

Conclusions

Analysis of narratives on the pandemic made it possible to identify a set of psycholinguistic markers that confirm the trauma of such an experience. Among them are a marker of time, depersonalization, and affective processes. Narratives are aimed at discussing and assessing mainly past events; there is a clear distinction between the time span of life before and after, which is typical of traumatic experiences. Given that the pandemic continues, such a distinction in the descriptions is made using the words "was", "therefore", "continued", "further". The COVID-19 virus is defined as close in space and time. The psychological marker of affective processes is reflected in the manifestation of negative emotions through the words "bad", "problems", "critical", "difficult", which indicates immersion in a traumatic event. In general, the processed narratives have high indicators of cognitive complexity. However, the inverse relationship of this indicator with the number of words in the narrative was found. That is, not all respondents understood their life experience in a pandemic, which may indicate the trauma of such an experience.

A semantic analysis of narratives made it possible to identify the main markers – time and life. Respondents are focused on the duration of the pandemic, excited and waiting for it to end, as indicated by the frequent use of the words "beginning", "continuation", "further", and so on. A semantic marker of life indicates major

changes in daily life due to the pandemic. Within this marker, respondents spoke about social limitations and physical health.

The study also aimed to identify differences in psycholinguistic and semantic markers of pandemic description in men and women. In general, females' narratives are larger; they use more words (pronouns, adverbs, and conjunctions; interrogatives; and quantifiers) than males'. In terms of content, the latter are more likely to discuss affective processes, using "bad", "problem", "security", and so on. Women are also more likely to concentrate on social and biological processes, namely referring to friends their health. While men are more concerned about the experience of studying and working in a pandemic, and they are more focused on how it was before the pandemic.

The study is only our first step towards understanding the pandemic as a traumatic event within the collective experience. Prospects for further study can be seen in expanding the study sample. It will be appropriate to identify differences in the traumatic experience the pandemic had on both those who were diagnozed with COVID-19 and those who were not. In addition, the study of the perception of time in different age groups in a pandemic seems promising.

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FEMALE ROLES IN *LA CINTA DORADA* BY MARÍA MANUELA REINA AND MODELS OF THE WORLD

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Abstract. Our model of the world that we perceive within ourselves, our conscience, in short, our psychological balance is influenced by our surroundings. Part of the input to which we are exposed in this immediate environment is related to texts, self-managed discourse, which can also influence our internal model of the world; hence they are deserving of our attention. In the same way as the models of the world that we construct throughout our lives, reality is not static and also changes as time goes by. From a social point of view, we can see that the roles of women in modern-day society and the ways that those roles can be perceived today are a consequence of changes initiated in the past within different areas and in a prolonged process over time up until our day. With the aim of evaluating whether female drama has contributed to that change, we present an analysis in this paper of the play *La Cinta Dorada [The Golden Ribbon]* by María Manuela Reina, written and set in the 1980s, a decade that for Spain implied a more obvious abandonment of the most traditional conceptions of the role of women. In the analysis of the play, we see how the models of the world of the older people are counterposed with those of the younger people, a generational divide that is enriched with the gender difference, as we also analyze how the psychological structures of the female and male characters confront the clichés pertaining to another era in reference to such topics as success, infidelity, matrimony, and gender. The results of our analysis demonstrate how Reina responds to archaic conceptions, thereby inciting the audiences of the day to question their respective models of the world, especially, with regard to the role of the woman in society.

Keywords: psychology of language, inference, model of the world, Spanish dramaturgy, María Manuela Reina, female character, La Cinta Dorada.

Лопез Ана Марія Аґіляр, Борге Марта Міґель. Жіночі ролі у «Золотій стрічці» Марії Мануели Рейни та моделі світу.

Анотація. Навколишній світ чинить уплив на сприйману нами модель світу й на нашу психологічну рівновагу. Частина інформації, якій ми піддаємось у цьому безпосередньому

світі, пов'язана з текстами, самокерованим дискурсом, який також може впливати на нашу внутрішню модель світу. Саме тому всі вони заслуговують на нашу увагу. Подібно до моделей світу, які ми будуємо протягом усього життя, реальність не є статичною й зазнає змін із плином часу. Із соціального погляду, ми можемо побачити, що ролі жінок у сучасному суспільстві та способи сприйняття цих ролей сьогодні є наслідком змін, започаткованих у минулому в різних сферах, та наслідком тривалого процесу цих змін до наших днів. З метою оцінки того, чи мала ця зміна вплив на жіночу драму, автори представляють у цій праці аналіз вистави «Золота стрічка» Марії Мануели Рейни, написаної та поставленої на сцені у 1980-х роках. Це десятиліття відзначено для Іспанії очевидною відмовою від найбільш традиційних уявлень про роль жінки. Під час аналізу п'єси простежуємо, як моделі світу старших людей протиставляються моделям молодших людей, бачимо різницю поколінь, що збагачується різницею статей. Також аналізуємо, як психологічні структури жіночих і чоловічих персонажі стикаються з традиційними уявленнями, що стосуються іншої епохи, щодо таких тем, як успіх, зрада, подружжя та стать. Результати нашого аналізу демонструють те, як Марія Мануела Рейна відповідає на архаїчні уявлення, спонукаючи тим самим тогочасну аудиторію до сумнівів у своїх моделях світу, особливо щодо ролі жінки в суспільстві.

Ключові слова: психологія мови, умовивід, модель світу, іспанська драматургія, Марія Мануела Рейна, жіночий персонаж, Золота стрічка.

Introduction

Following the Vygotskian school of thought, the concept of the conscience consists of higher psychological processes that flow from our interactions with the environment in which we are immersed, Cantero & de Arriba (1997) considered that this conscience was equivalent to the representation that the individual has formed of reality. It is therefore partial and unlike that of other individuals, given that each of us form a representation of the world on the basis of the particular perceptions of what we see around us, of what we have experienced. This situation provokes the apparent paradox that, despite there being one reality, each person has a personal model of the world. For Cantero & de Arriba (ibid.) the model that each one of us has of reality or of the world, in short, our psychological structure, is determined by "the cultural framework in which we have grown up: the attitude, the traditions, the points of view that have been imposed on us (as individuals) and the skills that we have developed since childhood" (p. 91), from which we can infer that the cultural framework might explain if not all, at least some of the different conceptualizations of the world that individuals can generate.

However, what is the role of language, more specifically verbal language, in all this?

For the same authors (ibid.), the word that is the principal unit of linguistic analysis, is also, in turn "the principal element in the formation of the conscience, in the conception of reality, in the transfer of knowledge and in the regulation of behavior" (p.58), such that, in their opinion, it justifies that the word can also be turned into the unit of psychological analysis.

We can consider the word as a unit of psychological analysis, because language makes it possible to interact with others, with our surroundings, ruling our

thoughts, and shaping the subjective vision that we have of the world; in such a way that, thanks to language, the development of conscience is possible. It can be perceived as a sort of mediator between the model of the world that we shape and the reality that surrounds us. Our production of speech, the language that we pronounce, our discourse, also reflect a vision, the model of the world that we have configured within ourselves at any one time. Cantero & de Arriba (1997) pointed out that language is "the mediator between reality and our model of the world and between our model of the world and our discourses" (p. 103). As Acuña & Adames (2020) pointed out, the relation between knowledge of the world and language is such that, our knowledge of the world can be of influence, beyond lexical questions, in relation to the syntactic structure of what we say.

The models that each one of us devises of the world are dynamic. In other words, they vary over time, they are shaped throughout the process of life and not only are our experiences of what surrounds us woven into them, but so too are the confrontations with the models of the world that other people have constructed for themselves.

As if it were a reflection of reality, we can observe this process on a smaller scale, in literary texts. These are imbued with greater complexity than spontaneous oral communication, in which the reader must establish the cohesion and the coherence of each text. Employing knowledge of the world, the reader must undertake a series of inferences and thereby construct appropriate situational models (Cuetos, González, & de Vega, 2020).

For García Barrientos (2017). in the same way as in other sorts of discourse, in theatrical works the characters are not normally living "with their backs to the world of meaning. Directly or indirectly, they must keep some sort of relation with the theatrical work, as even the most frivolous or non-transcendent work contains an idea of reality, a model of the world." (p. 159). Based on these words, we can deduce that theatrical works give us intuitive insight into the model of the world that the dramatists are at least suggesting to us that they have, (which can be seen through the selection that they make of the situations that they wish to bring to the scene, the way in which the people act and express themselves, *etc*.). Although as receptors of the text, not only can we deduce the vision of the world that the author is proposing, through theatre, we can also contrast new models of the world with those that are acted out on stage and, from the confrontation, the comparison with that reality that is presented to us, we can modify our awareness, or what is the same, our perception of the world, our mental schemes of what reality is or could be. Hence the enormous power and responsibility of the dramatist.

Precisely because of our awareness of the importance that dramatists have in the creation of a social conscience that is capable of transforming the society in which we are living, this work is centred on the analysis of a very specific type of discourse: a theatrical work. Although it is true that this possibility of confronting our mental schemes about the world with those arising in texts is also consubstantial with other sorts of literary texts, the theatrical text has the particularity that discourse can always come to life and insert itself as yet another piece of reality in

the world. That is its final aim, so that it can directly reach an audience in an immediate manner, without the mediation of reading.

In addition, in this work, we seek to adhere to the current trend of bringing to the forefront and recognizing the contribution that, throughout time immemorial, women have made to different fields of knowledge. That is the reason why, in particular, we wish to know whether female dramaturgy, from the inherent responsibility of exercising its own profession, has sought to contribute and, if that is so, how, female dramaturgy has influenced changes to the roles that women play in modern-day society, as well as the perceptions of women that are prevalent today.

However, in view of the vast expanse of this field, some boundaries must be established, for which reason we will focus our attention on the play *La Cinta Dorada [The Golden Ribbon]* (1989) by the dramatist María Manuela Reina.

Justification of the choice: background context of the play

The time at which this play was penned coincided with a second wave of feminism in the international arena that called for a review of the role of women in such areas as the family, work, sexuality, and abortion.

In Spain, after a dictatorship of over 30 years (from 1939 to 1975), during which ideas of a conservative nature prevailed that quite clearly relegated women to a domestic role, a period of democratic transition followed that brought with it some decisive measures that were to change the role that women played within society. Thus, the Civil Code was reformed in 1981, in recognition of legal equality between men and women within marriage, which meant that a woman no longer had an obligation to obey her husband who was dispossessed of the authority over his wife that had earlier been accorded to him. Likewise, the Divorce Law was enacted in the same year that implied complete liberation for many couples.

In 1982, social change continued under the government of Felipe González, who governed from that year up until 1996. Some of these changes turned out to be decisive for many women, such as the legalization of abortion in circumstances involving rape, foetal malformation, and risks to the mother.

These legal changes in social matters were accompanied by others such as the access of women to posts of responsibility formerly reserved for men, the earlier age of marriage and the reduction in the number of offspring that women were accustomed to having.

La Cinta Dorada (1989) takes place in the socio-political context that we have outlined above when the dramaturgy of Spanish authors alive to those times were claiming a greater on-stage presence in the panorama of Spanish theatre, especially commercial theatre, as they perceived a clear tendency towards the theatrical production of classic Spanish or foreign texts, a circumstance which relied upon institutional support. It led them to the constitute an association in 1990, the Association of Theatre Authors [*Asociación de Autores de Teatro*] (AAT). They sought to make known the dramaturgical panorama that existed in Spain at that time, publishing their plays and encouraging their production on stage. At the same

time, they came together to call for more funding from the administration and greater support from institutions. Although their absence from commercial theatre was not only attributable to institutions, the playwright Lourdes Ortiz pointed to the theatre directors of the day, saying that "they don't dare or it doesn't occur to them to pick up a text that isn't mainstream and neither do the actors." (Cabal, 1982, p. 58).

The impossibility of having their plays presented on stage invalidated that previously mentioned option of creating social awareness and of doing so with the immediacy that formal theatre enjoys. Thus, we understand that the dramaturgy of Spanish authors living through those years (end of the 1980s – start of the 1990s) was very clear that its works were a commitment to their times, a reflection of what they saw around them, a critique and a vindication on the stage from and for their present-day reality, despite the obstacles to reaching the general public that they encountered. In the opinion of Sánchez Martínez (2005), the dramatists of the 1990s directed "their gaze towards the individual conflict, seeking the authenticity of values, of society, and they proposed a vision of the world in which the differences between ideals and the surrounding reality were recognized" (p.42).

The dramatists of that time were aware of the difficulty of producing their work and all the more so in commercial theatres. They also criticized the fact that if plays from living playwrights were welcomed in those theatres, they were invariably from the most celebrated authors. A situation that prompted reflections among the youngest dramatists of the day such as Ortiz de Gondra, who asked: "is the public conservative or is it what they're fed?" (Matteini, 1997, p. 13).

More experienced dramatists such as Paloma Pedrero went a step further when proposing the existence of another factor to take into account in the dramaturgical panorama of the day: the gender of the writer. They affirmed that: "The theatre world in Spain, and above all in commercial theatre, is of quite an old age, so the people appraising your work are too old and, in addition, they're men." (Ortiz, 1995, p. 12).

However, María Manuela Reina was not only awarded many prizes for her theatrical works, which contributed to their wider circulation, but in addition she herself produced a lot of her works in comparison with other contemporary dramatists, and in large theatres, through which she was able to gain wider access the general public, hence our reasons for having selected her drama.

With regard to the choice of this particular work, we have to say that, although María Manuela Reina included female characters in all of her works, in this play we found a constant dialogue between some mental schemes germinating in the masculine world and the feminine mental schemes that rebel against the former. In that dialogue, the younger people, regardless of their gender, have the opportunity of influencing and, therefore, of modifying the representations of the world of the older generations. In addition, we can see how a sorrowful situation experienced by the leading female character, Adi, has shaped her. In other words, how it has influenced her conscience, the construal of her psychological structure and the perception that she has of the role of women and men in society.

Method

As we have pointed out, our sample or unit of analysis is the drama *The Golden Ribbon* by María Manuela Reina. The principal objective of our analysis is to determine whether this dramatist, exploiting the opportunity that she had to reach out to the general public of her day with an immediate discourse and the inherent possibility in her profession of a dramatist creating social awareness, gave a voice in her play to the female world. And, by so doing, to the critique of women who rebelled against the social role that they were assigned in the more inflexible masculine, although also feminine world, and, that being so, to identify how the dramatist managed to do so, and what she said through the characters.

Having delimited the object of study, following Santander (2011), when approaching discourse analysis, we must be clear that not only the problem, but also the questions of the research hypothesis that we advance are of a discursive nature, as, on the contrary, the analysis of the text might be senseless.

We have set out questions that arise, as is logical, from the very objectives of the research and that can guide the analysis. These questions are: in the Golden Ribbon, how far does María Manuela Reina capture the feeling of women who cannot accept the social roles that they have traditionally been assigned? In the same play, what kinds of women's' voices does María Manuela bring to life? Do they embody some sort of stereotype? Are these stereotypes interrupted, and if so, at what point and how do they appear?

These questions will give us the chance to sketch out a path for the analysis of the text. However, that general plan might undergo modifications, given that we wish this study to have more of an open qualitative design, less directed than a quantitative one, in order to respond to those research questions.

We are thinking of a qualitative type of design, because, as Hernández, Fernández, & Baptista (2010) pointed out, it is through this type of design that we can learn about the points of view and the experiences of people. The associations with an interpretative and inductive research process, likewise, appear to us to be more in accordance with our objectives and research questions.

Having outlined the context in which the work is set -pertaining to and necessary for a qualitative study- we lend special attention to annotations of an interpretative and thematic type for its analysis, which have emerged during the readings. We do so as we seek to conduct an analysis of the spoken words of the characters that is oriented towards the meaning of the discourse and not of its grammar. For Gracía Barrientos (2017), the fact of relating the characters with the meaning of the play "implies examining the possible symbolic, ideological values, and in short the semantics that they may (or may not) support as an additional load, beyond their strictly representative role; which is, to inquire into what such and such a character means in addition to what that character might represent" (p. 159); according to this author, we must also be aware that there are more or less semanticized characters, or what amounts to the same thing, characters with greater levels of meaning, more neutral, on which basis it is more difficult to make a significative generalization.

Through character discourse analysis, we seek to identify concepts and variables that constitute the units of analysis to which we arrive after structuring the data. We do so because, as Hernández et al. (2010) mentioned, in qualitative studies, the "essential process of the analysis consists of our receiving non-structured data that we then structure" (p. 440). It is therefore our work to infer similitudes and differences between the data that constitute each unit of analysis, to describe the experiences of the characters of the play, to identify topics, to explain situations *etc*. We can therefore affirm that the design of our investigation was principally conceived with a descriptive and an exploratory end in sight.

In addition, our design has a temporary scope of a synchronic or sectional type, as it is based on the analysis of a single play of a dramatist through which we can approach the ideas that the dramatist held on the world at the time that she was writing; with regard to its amplitude, we can consider it a micro-sociological design, because the size of the sample that is analyzed converts it into a case study. Precisely because this play is the source of the data under investigation, we are undertaking an investigation with secondary data, which is to say, data that are used in rather than created for the investigation.

Results and Discussion

Analysis of the play

In *The Golden Ribbon*, a complete family reunion is brought to the stage. The pretext behind such an event is the birthday of the father, Edward, an occasion for which his four grown-up children (Ramon, Javier, Ernest, and Adela, shortened to Adi) are there to celebrate. Beneath this apparently cosy scene from daily life, there is another event, its roots sinking deep into the shared past of the three brothers, that goes back to the tenderest youthful age of Adi who became pregnant as a consequence of a relation with one of her brothers. She had little choice other than to terminate her pregnancy behind closed doors, exposing herself to the opprobrium and the reproachful looks of those who were unaware of the true story. The siblings entered into a pact, never to tell a soul, inventing a story between each other that might be convincing and that could account for and explain how the events had taken place. However, Edward, their father, never believed the tale that his children had woven and always suspected that one of them had fathered the baby of his daughter.

The play, divided into five scenes, all takes place over a weekend in March 1988, although in the beginning and at the end of the play there is a jump of twelve years into the future.

Two generations, two profiles of women

From the outset, Adela stands out as a young woman, authentic, of her day, willing to break with stereotypes, competent, beautiful, efficient and, apparently,

quite cold, although it all appears to be a consequence of the harm that has been done to her. She tells her mother: "I don't let people hurt me anymore", to which Emilia answers: "And is that enough, saying that to yourself? How lucky you are!", Adi explains to her mother how she does so: "There are rules that give results: don't trust anyone, get what you want and escape; renew everything each season, clothing, friends, lovers... and run away anywhere as soon as you suspect that you might want to return." (Reina, 1989, p. 75).

For her, men are a toy with whom to entertain herself all the time and she seeks no more than that. She tells her father: "You taught me to expect so much from men, that they didn't appear remotely like you or my brothers. I don't ask anything from them now. We exchange sensations." (Reina, 1989, p. 54) and despite not feeling saddened and recognizing that she does what she wants to do, she has no other alternative than to confess that deep within herself she feels alone. Through the character of Adi, we see a new generation: a woman who is unattached to the traditional canons, although not because she embodies change is she free from internal suffering, despite the strength that she shows she has.

However, this Adi is the consequence of the passage of time, continuous disappointment, and betrayal. At another time in the past, Adi appears as a naive, candid, defenceless girl in love when one of her brothers made her pregnant, but she was not understood. Her father, even without knowing the truth, laid the blame at her door, something she had not only not forgotten, but she still reproached her father for having done so.

She confessed to Ramon, her brother, talking about the abortion: "I've suffered enough humiliation! From childhood to maturity in twenty minutes, passing through an operating table where a very Catholic surgeon gave me a curettage without an anaesthetic so that it hurt and I wouldn't do it again!" (Reina, 1989, p. 64).

In this paragraph, María Manuela Reina is criticizing illegal abortions, the moral hypocrisy of those who condemned women who had abortions at the same time as profiting from it. Two-faced doctors with no scruples, who took advantage of the situation that women were going through, in this case represented as the victim because of her youthfulness, her lack of resources and experience of life. The question of the paternity of Adi's baby is unresolved in the play, with which María Manuela Reina turns the woman into the star of an unfolding plot. However, unlike what might happen among more traditional cohabitants, Reina never points to Adi as the lost sheep gone astray, but presents her as the victim. She is the visible target of reproach within society, as she was the one who had become pregnant with no known partner and being young, which went against the traditional canons and contributed to her stigmatization. This event marked the personality of Adela, leaving its sequels within her for life, among other reasons, because outside of the closed and arcane circle that her brothers offered her, she had never been able to tell the tale nor had she found relief, therefore, throughout all of her suffering, she was the one who had to live with the accusatorial verdicts of those living around her.

The idea that her beauty is the best card available to a woman for seduction stands out and is not only prominent in this play, but also in others by the dramatist,

at times essential for the woman to find a partner; as if men would only fix their eyes on appearances or women would only rely on their physique to attract men.

The role that Emilia plays, the mother of Adela, is much more discreet and in accordance with the women of her age. A relation of companionship and complicity is established between Emilia and Adi that has no equivalent between the male members of the family, which is to say, between the father and the sons, and that the shared experience of being a woman reinforces.

A priori Emilia fits the stereotype of a traditional mother and wife: understanding, in charge of everything in her house being in order, always ready to cover all the needs that her family might have. We find her on various occasions in the kitchen, a place from which she discretely watches and listens, traditionally a space associated within the patriarchal model with women. She is unconcerned about her appearance in front of her husband and children, something that for her is now far away in the past. However, it is curious to see how she lays her apron aside upon the arrival of her daughter and "nervously" arranges "her hair". This detail in the stage directions appears to suggest that women are the ones who concern themselves most with caring for their external appearance, playing the coquette and being as dazzling as possible alongside other women, as if it were a sort of code that only they can appreciate in a special way over the years.

The triumph of masculine and feminine energy

The title of the play comes from the conception that Edward has of life: "Life is a competition and you've got to try and break the finishing line ribbon, to triumph! It's the only prize before the decline." (Reina, 1989, p. 52) and the important thing for him is success: "The only thing that has been important for me in life is success." (Reina, 1989, p. 32). He sums up his stance on life when he says "if you start a race you have to reach the finish line, to get there first." (Reina, 1989, p. 29), a principle that he imposes and demands from his offspring, but with which his children are not all together in agreement. Javier, for example, insists: "That… that's not possible, Dad.", but his father replies: "It is, I have prepared you for that since you were born. And up until now, you haven't let me down." (Reina, 1989, p. 29). On another occasion, it is Ramon who rejects the idea saying, "The fact that there is someone faster than you, doesn't mean that you have no right to race.", to which Edward replies: "We're strong, we've no need for protection. It's what I always tried to drum into you: escape from collectivism and scorn mercy." (Reina, 1989, p. 52), because he thinks that "A life without quality should never be accepted!" (*ibid*.).

Edward hates weak people, due to this outlook on life, and demands that his children triumph and be strong, that they strive and give their all in everything that they undertake. He imposes it as their duty in life, because in a certain way it appears to him that his children represent it and, as if they were his "property", they have to live and think in accordance with his expectations. An attitude that is a

cause of frustration for Javier, one example of which is the dialogue that he maintains with his brother Ernest at a certain point in time:

> Ernest: "You were always weak."
> Javier: "And why do we have to be strong?"
> Ernest: "I'm sorry to tell you, you're intelligent but mediocre. You never had the mettle needed of a winner."
> Javier: "True, you all stuck out your chests and broke the finishing line ribbon except me, despite all of Dad's effort." (Reina, 1989, p. 82).

In the above dialogue, Ernest appears to share the ideas of his father when reaffirming them, the same Ernest who later rebukes his father: "You asked too much from us (…) We had to be handsome, intelligent, successful with women, reaching responsible jobs …" (Reina, 1989, p. 21).

Through these dialogues, we can see that María Manuela Reina is inviting us to reflect on the multiplicity of masculine characters and the need not to fall into stereotyping when setting out what it meant to be a man in the society of her time.

Although the stance of the family patriarch is the one that is reflected with respect to his children, it changes diametrically with respect to the expectations of his daughter. Edward has neither invested his hopes for success nor demanded that she triumph, as he has with his male offspring. In fact, it is a reason for reproaching their father, thus Ernest asks him: "But, what ambitions did you have for Adi?" to which Edward replies: "For Adi? She's a woman." and Ernest replies: "You wanted her to be honest, to marry a good man and give you a couple of grandchildren. That would be enough in itself." and Edward simply says: "Any father would subscribe to that for his daughter." (Reina, 1989, p. 21). Here, embodied in Edward, we see the stance of a segment of the population that is perhaps not always shared among the oldest. Its assumption is that success in life has different meanings according to whether people are male or female, in the former case with implications at a socio-laboural, physical and intellectual level. Whereas for women, it is reduced to their role of mother and faithful wife within the family, as if a woman could only find meaning in so far as she had a man at her side to support her.

The rivalry between father and daughter has continued for quite a long time, which in principle appears to be based on Adi's condition as a woman. Among all his children, she is precisely the one who best represents the triumphant profile that Edward only reserves for men, even since she was a young girl and despite the disdain of her father, which leads Adi to rebuke him: "Nobody heard a word of encouragement from you, Dad (...), but I was no Mozart, nor as astounding as Erni, nor as spiritual as Moncho, nor as intelligent as Javier... I was only a girl and I couldn't compete with men." (Reina, 1989, p. 53-54).

Had he acknowledged the worth of her daughter, it might have forced Edward to review his assumptions and to change them, but he is not a man of convictions, which represents a more traditional line of thought and in consequence a reluctance to change. Hence, we observe the following dialogue between Javier and his father:

Javier: "Adi was the best of your four children. Seriously, Dad, the best. The cleverest, the most dignified...", to which Edward responds: "She lacked resolution. She disappointed me. She was only a woman." (Reina, 1989, p. 31).

In the end, Edward knows that he is mistaken, but his pride stops him from recognizing as much, because Adela had not followed the paths that her father had mapped out for her, she was a woman and she was the only one of his four children who had achieved that success that he desired so much for his male offspring.

Female and male conjugal infidelity

Within that atmosphere of complicity that exists between mother and daughter, Emilia reveals to Adi, between women, that she was unfaithful to her husband, which might seem unconventional in the case of women of a certain age educated in more conservative ideas, which is the role that Emilia somehow embodies. Less conventional, if possible, is the reaction of Adi to that confession, all the more so if we take into account that her mother has been unfaithful to her father: "Mum, seriously, what a surprise, I'd never have thought so. That's fantastic! You've made me so happy! Let me give you a kiss!" An attitude that also surprises Emilia: "Adi, such emotion! It's not that important …" to which Adi replies: "I'd say! You've been alive, you've been daring (…)! I'm delighted to know that you did it!" (Reina, 1989, p. 73). Her conception of infidelity is really quite frivolous. In turn, Emilia acknowledges that it saved her matrimony, because she realized how much she loved her husband, whom she knew had also been unfaithful on numerous occasions. In the play, it is argued that female infidelity does not have to be seen as worse than masculine infidelity, but can be placed at the same level. It might appear that the dramatist is insisting on the view of masculine infidelity as something enviable among other men who do not chase after more women and as something consubstantial with the masculine gender, for which reason, Emilia even says at one point: "The problem of women who are obstinately faithful is that they unable to place themselves in the position of the husband, and that makes them intransigent and unbearable." (Reina, 1989, p. 74). These words conceal a veiled apology of infidelity, seen as a sort of escape valve that is valid and almost necessary within relations. It is almost as if people had to be unfaithful so as not to be intransigent and insufferable, although it is also Emilia herself who admits that adultery is not something of which she could be proud.

Edward, in turn, aware of his advanced age, confesses: "I don't care two hoots about everything now, because I am too close to death, so I can indulge in some sincerity." (Reina, 1989, p. 32), an attitude that led him to confess to Emilia that he had been unfaithful with other women, but Emilia already knew that and it was no surprise to her. The theme picked up here is of the quiet woman, knowledgeable of the adventures of her husband who puts up with and in a certain way accepts that infidelity, because she thinks that it is inherent to men, although the novelty on that point is that she had done the same and she also tries to say so to her husband: "And if I told you that on some occasion, I also met a man and had an adventure with

him?" to which Edward answers: "You? [Laughs] Get away, Emi, the things that you dream up! I wouldn't believe you." (Reina, 1989, p. 104). We discover, from this conversation that it is therefore not a question of making an open apology for infidelity *per se*, but of making the audience grasp the idea that is contrary to the themes, counterposing the same attitude both in men and in women to test their ideas and to provoke their revision, considering the arguments wielded by the women.

Matrimony and the traditional masculine and feminine roles

With the exception of the infidelities that are supposedly a secret between the spouses, the relation between Emilia and Edward is full of confidence. Edward is authoritarian, prickly, intolerant, and loves his wife. She knows all his faults, follows his drift and ironizes on both the behavior and the ideas of her husband to the limit, but without going any further, so that she manages not to make Edward angry. In the words of Jiménez (2018): "she speaks to her husband with irony, but without sarcasm. That irony is a necessary escape value, but with no greater consequences" (p. 98). It is a relation that could be likened to any of those in any Spanish home at that time between older aged people. However, the author in a display of transgression, is not content to bring a sort of matrimony to the stage that the audience can easily recognize in their surroundings, but she also seeks to modify certain aspects that concern the role of women, the view that society has of them and of what their behaviour has to be, so that it is accepted within the bounds of normality.

Thus, Emilia is gracious, ingenious and very realistic, speaks little and intervenes even less than Edward, but when she does so, she balances and soothes tense situations, because she knows at heart that her husband whom she knows how to lead is like "a dog whose bark is worse than his bite". She is less active and more serene than him and, although she apparently adopts the submissive role that society has set aside for married women, she takes control when asked to do so, without any need to have to vaunt it continuously in front of others. Looking at the upper circle, Edward is the one who always has to remain on top of her, as if everything that Emilia does has to depend on him, for which reason he takes decisions that affect them both without consulting her. Something that annoys Emilia and prompts explicit protests from her, because of the disregard in the behavior of her husband. Nevertheless, she finally accepts it, perhaps because she knows deep down that she is the one who decides and she is the one who knows how to treat her husband so that he does what she wants, without him being aware that is the way things are.

Edward is characterized as quite chauvinist and his family knows that is so. In an attempt to express what his father thinks, Ernest says: "women …, as you know: are unpredictable. You have to excuse them." (Reina, 1989, p.21) and Edward unleashes comments that speak for themselves, such as: "I mistrust women with prodigious buttocks. They bring problems, never fails." (Reina, 1989, p. 28).

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Sex for men and for women

Adela is aware of the chauvinism of her father, has lived with it and knows how to think, for which reason, she is capable of anticipating it. So, when her father asks her what she is doing, she answers:

> Always the same, dad, as you might suspect: the labours of my own sex, I mean, prostitution. But that said, at the top level. You can rest easy (…) But despite everything, I'm sure I don't screw as much as Erni, although I like it as much as him. I'm as immoral because I like it, but he is the one who triumphs and I'm only a whore. (Reina, 1989, p. 53).

Once again, María Manuela Reina brings themes before the audience that, when acted out on stage, provoke the audience to re-examine them and when doing so, by placing the ideas in the mouth of a woman who is the one explaining these ideas that are specific to more traditional masculine thought, it means they are even more shocking and illogical.

From the words of Adela, not only is an explicit criticism evident of that way of thinking, but in addition the idea that sex is also pleasurable for women, at the same time as it can be for men, is likewise asserted. Sex is something that can appeal to both genders to the same extent as it is, in the end, inherent to human beings, which neither makes a woman an impure being, nor less feminine, nor any worse with respect to men.

We find conversations in the play on sex between parents and children, between men and women, and between the same women from the family. Thus, in conversation with his sons, Edward openly speaks of sex; even with his son who is a bishop: "As a man, I suppose that you will continue waking up with stupendous erections, as happened to me up until a little while ago", to which Ramon responds: "Father!" and Edward insists: "Yes or no?". Javier who is also there interjects on the same point: "Curious theological question! Do bishops have erections?". Ernest, also present, adds some urgency to the response of his brother: "We're expectantly waiting. Five seconds to answer.", after which Ramon answers: "Yes." (Reina, 1989, p. 32).

At another time at which the father and sons together with Adela are discussing sex, she says: "I will leave you with your intelligent masculine conversation." (Reina, 1989, p. 50) as if she was rebuking them for speaking of sex in such a banal and futile way.

On another occasion, Adela herself says to her brothers: "I travel, I earn money, I meet interesting men, I often sleep with them.", the view of sex is not necessarily connected with love, at times it appears that greater importance is attached to sex than to love. Adi, at a certain point says to her brother Javier: "Learn from me: over the last 15 years, two marriages, three stable relationships and, in all, five separations." (Reina, 1989, p. 43). This apparent frivolity of Adi is justified in part by the situation, Javier appears dejected because his wife, not him, has decided

to separate and Adi tries to lessen the importance of the fact, making his brother see that it is something normal that is continuously happening in people's lives. In other words, it is assumed that stable relationships do not have to be the only possible ones. It is curious to observe how at this point it is also the woman, in this case the wife of Javier, who takes up the initiative. We are no longer facing the married women, resigned to living a relationship of no satisfaction to her because of a commitment. That somewhat unjust situation for the man is also covered here. When divorcing he has to give money to the woman, even though he may be insolvent, until she marries again. An unequal situation in which the wife of Javier is portrayed as provocative, full of self-interest, capable of doing anything to achieve what she wants.

A conversation on sex also emerges between Emilia and Adela that is parallel to the one that might have taken place between Edward and his sons. Emilia is in a way fascinated by the independence of her daughter (an independence that she could never enjoy, as it was another era) and the capability of Adi to remain openly in charge of a relationship; it appears fine to her that her daughter utilizes men, although she advises her daughter to act with serenity, not to lose her head over them. Here we find a discourse of the mother towards the younger generation that is comparable to the discourse on women that the father would tell his children, a point which also brings us back to the idea of equal treatment of both men and women, although at times it might appear from the play that it is more a question of treating the woman as if she were a man, extrapolating the chauvinist and mostly worn out discourse that has been perpetuated in the masculine world, so as to make it fit within the female world, by inverting the roles.

Conclusions

In effect, the work of Reina is one of an dramatist who did indeed manage to connect with the audiences of the day when she wrote her works, The results of the analysis have demonstrated that her work questions representations of traditional worlds in which the social role of the woman is relegated to one of the mother, a faithful, and submissive wife, dependent on her husband. But how does she do so?

Through the analysis we have presented, we can observe that the dramatist covers the situation that the women of her age endured, counterposing different profiles: one more traditional (Emilia's) and another more up to date (Adela's), linked by the vital condition of their status as women.

Reina not only gives a voice to these two types of women, but she breaks with conventional attitudes on the basis of their behaviours and the explanation of their ideas, which very often emerge as a response to others that are set within the male world. When doing so, certain stereotypes may be questioned and calling for the right of women to be valued and seen under equal conditions as men. María Manuela Reina contributed to that, in so far as she was able, so that the spectators at

that time could, in a sort of internal dialogue, compare the discourse of the characters with their respective models of the world and consider the possibility of restructuring their own ideas on the role that women can play in society.

Not only can we see women of different generations in the play break with the roles that were traditionally expected of them in society, but they also question (although not always) those conventionalisms from the younger masculine sector, in which in many cases they refuse to participate and to identify themselves with such a rigid template of the world.

Reina brings to the stage and thereby counterposes different visions of the world: some influenced by the temporal aspect embodied in people of different generations (fathers and sons) and others influenced by gender represented through male and female characters. But, when doing so, the author never resorts to presenting stagnant and singular models of the world in terms of age and gender, as she allows us to see that not all the people of older generations think and act in accordance with traditional canons, nor can one think that the male view of the world is one, any more so than the female view. In other words, Reina shows the change, the variety of voices on the reality of worlds that are *a priori* antagonistic (older-younger, male-female) that influence each other reciprocally through dialogue and that may be closer than one might think.

This analysis cannot nor should it be extended to all the plays of this dramatist nor to other contemporaries, although it serves to affirm that there were dramatists throughout those years in which the changing social roles played by women were gathering pace who supported it in their writings, thereby contributing through their responsibility and their commitment to the creation of social awareness that echoed new ideas.

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POST-TRAUMATIC STRESS DISORDER AND POST-TRAUMATIC GROWTH IN DIALECTICAL PERSPECTIVE: IMPLICATIONS FOR PRACTICE

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Abstract. This article provides the conceptualization of the post-traumatic development (PTD) in terms of a dialectical unity of the processes of post-traumatic stress disorder (PTSD) and post-traumatic growth (PTG); practical implications for eco-centered facilitation of post-traumatic growth and development. The results of the research indicate that the process of personality development is paradoxical, irreversible and scarcely predictable. In dialectical perspective the attractor of change is not about the content of transient forms (such as trauma, success, flow) but the stabilization of their change: thesis – antithesis – synthesis. As compared to PTG, PTD's outcome is the systemic transition to the novel (not better or positive) identity. PTSD as well as PTG constitute minor cycles within the major cycle of PTD. The core metaphor of change as personality development is the work of the immunity system (SPI) which has an ambivalent nature: on the one hand, it defends the personality from the influence of adversarial agents and on the other – proactively guards it from stagnation and lack of confrontation and discontinuity. Principals of PTD facilitation: (a) the situation of psychological help (PH) is a case of a transition to a social level of personality self-regulation; (b) an inquiry for PH contains a narrative with necessary and sufficient elements for post-traumatic growth and development; (c) these elements are objectified in paradoxes, contradictions, incongruences as the source of personality development; (d) the task of PTD facilitator is to support the explication of internal change programs by maintaining the position of ambiguity tolerance and sensitivity to accidental flow of events.

Keywords: *post-traumatic growth, post-traumatic development, social psycho-immunity, a transient form, eco-centered facilitation, metamodernism.*

Лушин Павло, Сухенко Яна. Посттравматичний стресовий розлад і посттравматичне зростання в діалектичній перспективі: практичні імплікації.

Анотація. У статті представлена концептуалізація посттравматичного розвитку (ПТР) з позиції діалектичної єдності процесів посттравматичного стресового розладу (ПТСР) та посттравматичного зростання (ПТЗ); практичні імплікації для екоцентрованої фасілітації посттравматичного зростання та розвитку. Основні його результати свідчать, що процес особистісного змінювання як розвитку є парадоксальним, незворотним та

малопередбачуваним. У діалектичній перспективі атрактор змін – не тільки про характер перехідних форм (таких, як травма, успіх, періоди щастя чи потоку), а й про стабільність їх змін: теза – антитеза – синтез. ПТСР і ПТЗ є фазами загального циклу ПТР. Основною метафорою змінювань як розвитку є робота імунної системи (СПІ), що має амбівалентну природу: з одного боку, вона захищає особистість від впливу шкідливих агентів, а з іншого – проактивно охороняє від застою, відсутності конфронтації та перервчастості. Принципи фасилітації ПТР: а) ситуація психологічної допомоги (ПП) – це свідчення, приклад переходу на соціальний рівень саморегуляції особистості; б) запит на ПП містить наратив із необхідними та достатніми елементами для посттравматичного зростання та розвитку; в) дані елементи об'єктивуються через парадокси, суперечності, невідповідності як джерела розвитку особистості; г) завдання фасилітатора ПТР полягає у сприянні експлікації програм внутрішніх змін через збереження позиції толерантності до невизначеності, чутливість до спонтанного розвитку подій. Важливою передумовою ПП, що сприяє ПТР, є антитезова позиція фасилітатора. Дані принципи узгоджуються з уявленнями про «індустрію невизначеності або ПТР» та позначають формування нових моделей самоорганізації на основі метамодерної моделі.

Ключові слова: посттравматичне зростання, посттравматичний розвиток, соціально-психологічний імунітет, перехідна форма, екоцентрована фасилітація, метамодернізм.

Introduction

One of the most significant findings over the recent twenty years of psychology development is that survivors of traumatic events (disasters, criminal violence, combat, motor vehicle accidents, and sexual assault) can experience not only post-traumatic stress disorder (PTSD) symptoms including intrusive memories, avoidance of reminders, negative alterations in cognitions and mood, and marked alterations in arousal and reactivity (American Psychiatric Association, 2013) but they will become more resilient and will express more appreciation for life, meaningfulness of relationships, personal strength, change of priorities, and increased spirituality. Tedeschi and Calhoun coined the term post-traumatic growth to describe a "positive psychological change experienced as a result of the struggle with highly challenging circumstances" (Tedeschi & Calhoun, 2004, p. 1).

Decades of research has provided evidence that the majority of psychologists and therapists have been mostly preoccupied with a study and a treatment of negative psychological consequences which result from exposure to traumatic events (PTSD) (Brown et al, 2019; Ertan et al, 2021; Stein et al, 2020). With growth of Positive Psychology (PP) there appeared a substantial increase in the number of studies that view the negative consequences of trauma with greater tolerance, as a natural constituent or an integral part of human condition (Cohena & Baib, 2019; Linley & Joseph, 2007). Very limited number of scholars conceptualize trauma research in dialectical terms of a source for an emerging identity, characterized by the whole system of various outcomes including negative and positive as well as a motivation for sustainable change (Lomas & Ivtzan, 2016; Wong, 2019). In this context PTG signifies development beyond the previous levels of functioning.

Despite a wide range of views on the interrelatedness between PTSD and PTG (Long et al, 2021; Shakespeare-Finch & Lurie-Beck, 2014; Tedeschi & Calhoun, 2004) we support the assertion that PTSD and PTG are not just separable and distinct or opposing stages of the recovery process but are systemically related to a

dialectical cohesion within the construct of PTD which is known to have a certain rhythmic structure of transient elements: "thesis – antithesis – synthesis" (Hegel, 1969; Overton, 1994).

It is logical to presume that a traumatic event triggers the thesis of post-traumatic stress, which is the precondition for the antithesis of PTG. The latter opens up a perspective for the synthesis of a novel potential of personality. The personality is defined as an open psycho-social system communicating with its surroundings for the sake of its self-renewal and self-development, while development in itself is a process of a constant, spontaneous realization of personality system's potential in the form of emergent properties (Bertalanffy, 1972; Wieland-Burston, 2015). It seems appropriate to highlight the idea of the logical, not probabilistic nature of PTG in the course of surviving trauma, and the transition from post-traumatic stress to the emergence of a new personality system's potential (PTD). Recognizing this distinction, we should emphasize that the considerable part of PTG research still reduces positive outcomes of trauma to its random factors.

Tsukanov suggests that this cycle of development has rhythmical nature and is measured temporarily. In his empirical study he found a special subjective time unit, it coincides with an individual rhythm of heartbeat, walking, breathing and saccades (spontaneous eye movements). There is also a major and a minor cycle of personality development. It is measured by time periods of a major cycle (7+2 years) and a minor cycle (about 2 years) (Cukhanov, 2000). This draws heavily on an individual's ability to change in a predictable and sustainable manner.

Available literature shows that as much as 90 % of survivors of various forms of traumatic events experience positive change over time (Affleck et al, 1987; Tedeschi & Calhoun, 2004). On the one hand, it implies that people are able to adapt to adversity, on the other – personality growth is not necessarily possible under the condition of leaving the comport zone. Positive psychology (PP) and psychological help (PH) can be a great source for hope and optimism. This we consider not trivial – if people not just believe but actually change – this phenomenon of PTG is then worthy of special studies.

Methods

The current paper aims to expand our concept of positive changes in the aftermath of trauma through a dialectical understanding with a further attempt to provide practical implications for psychological practice.

A few cases of PTD will be discussed further. One of them relates to a well-known narrative of the discovery of EMDR protocol. The other is the case from our own practice of PTD facilitation.

The study also included theoretical and empirical data analysis of psychological discourse in post-traumatic sphere of personality development, synthesis of definitions of post-traumatic development (PTD), PTSD, PTG, and mental health; ascending from the abstract to the concrete, theoretical modeling; reflective analysis of psychotherapeutic and counselling practices.

Results and Discussion

Reinterpretation of post-traumatic growth (PTG) and post-traumatic development (PTD): from the logic of probability to regularity

In case we represent personality development in the form of a sine wave the occurrence of positive or negative events, processes can be shown graphically in a figure set out below (Fig. 1).
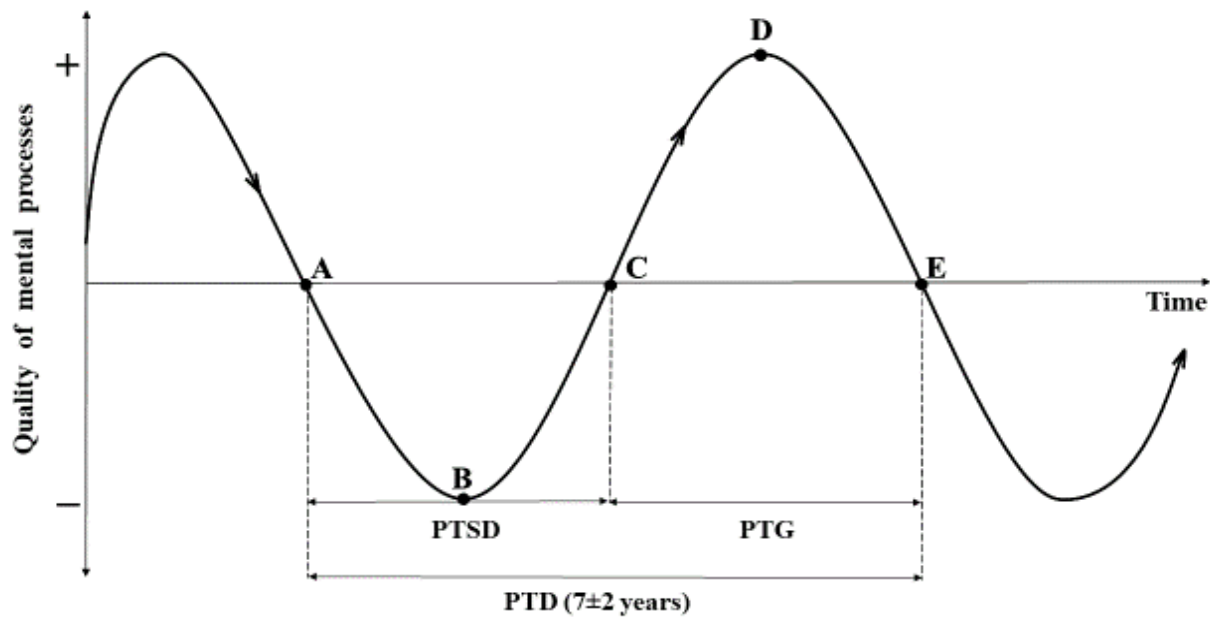
Figure 1.
Cycle of post-traumatic personality development

The full cycle of post-traumatic personality development can be divided into two sub-cycles marked by transient events and processes of a negative and positive character (A, B, C, D, E). PTSD process is located under the x-axis of this graph; consequently, PTG process is above it (X is the axis of time, Y is the axis of quality of mental processes). This suggests that A, C, E events are mostly transient that is including mixed qualities, while B и D are predominantly negative and positive. Although it is quite logical to assume that all of the events could be defined in terms of a transient potential – each of them holding an impulse for a progressive change or an intrinsic program for proximal development. The fact is recognized by Overton (1994), who claims the personality is propelled forward not by a total but a partial success.

In the context of psychological help it is important to emphasize that there is hardly a sense in helping an individual to mainly reduce PTSD symptoms or facilitate PTG. We argue that both tasks could be viewed constructive in the context of change, when the personality system is advanced to new levels of development.

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In other words, PTD facilitation means helping to sustain the rhythm of system's self-organization within the whole range of experiences (from A to E) and onwards.

Much of the research has been dedicated to the analysis of the models of PTG (Christopher, 2004; Janoff-Bulman, 2004; Joseph & Linley, 2004; Tedeschi & Calhoun, 2004; Tedeschi & Moore, 2020). The closest to dialectic understanding of PTG is the model of P. Wong (2019), the founder of the second wave of positive psychology. He supports the indissociable unity of negative and positive personality conditions (Wong, 2011; 2019). This position differs from the position of the proponents of the first wave of PP. Their major focus is on highlighting the difference between the positive and negative states in order to facilitate the latter which are happiness, optimism, resilience and, consequently, PTG (Csikszentmihalyi, 2012; Seligman, 2002). Dabrowski & Wong's claim that the source of development could be associated with such paradoxical phenomena as "positive disintegration" (Mendaglio, 2008) and "tragic optimism" (Wong & McDonald, 2002).

In this context we should emphasize that psychological help is not necessarily about creation of favorable conditions for positive outcomes in the aftermath of psychological trauma but ecological appreciation of the whole spectrum of human experience by sustaining the rhythm of personal development. Thus, we argue that an open personality system is a social ecosystem which in order to preserve itself resolves the contradictions between its various elements, including positive and negative with their unique role in promoting the system's wellbeing.

Social psycho-immunity (SPI): dialectical metaphor of personality development and psychological help

Describing psychological help (PH) we share the metaphor of "the work of immunity system" elaborated by proponents of "developmental contextualism" (Davis & Millon, 1994). We suggest that mental, social and physical organisms being closely interconnected constitute a self-regulated and self-organized ecosystem with a potential not only for fighting the deficiency of internal or external origin – as traditionally ascribed to an organism's immune system – but also for facilitating its growth and development, as well as thriving and stagnation. It is implied that the socio-psychological immunity is not only a defensive but proactive/creative entity. That means that the course of development is determined by the resolution of the basic contradiction between stability and change: as soon as the first starts to prevail (with certain signs of system's stagnation), the second tendency takes the lead in order to generate novel contexts to be appropriated (Kostyuk, 1989). An intent to present an open system as stable and absolutely predictable reduces its understanding to an inanimate, mechanic. In terms of SPI the only form of sustainability – as a major quality of full-functioning and health – is development, i.e. a constant change of emergents as novel forms of existence. In the context a condition of illness and a condition of health are normative, and are related to each other as "thesis – antithesis" in the course of generating a synthesis of new

emergents and capacities. Following this, PTSD as well as PTG are transient, and complementary.

Encountering the complex, problematic situations can cause adequate immunity response that facilitates not just a relief or an adjustment but also strengthening of the socio-psychological immunity in the form of new "antibodies" (gene – antigen – antibody or thesis-antithesis-synthesis). Metaphorically speaking, the experience of living through the situations may build a "bank of antibodies" or socially relevant culture of capacities and self-healing trajectories.

The role of a psychologist is to support the process of self-help or SPI work. This also reflects the paradoxical nature of PH which is distributed. The psychologist functions as an "antigene" to the "gene" of the client's position which creates a certain contradiction to be resolved by forming a "social antibody" or a collective subject (that initiates a working alliance or rapport). Then follow another cycle of development – the emergence of new "thesis – antithesis" interactions which result in the synthesis of new possibilities, both for the client and psychologist. Thus, PH is a form of expansion of boundaries of client's self-regulation. SPI can be interpreted as a multilayer structure not reduced to exclusively biological or psychological function: "antigens" as well as "antibodies" could be of cross-cultural, transcendent and temporal origin.

This meta-analysis provides certain principles for PTG and PTD facilitation (Fig. 2).

1. Mental health is not just a condition/a state but a process of constant renewal of the open self-regulatory personality ecosystem, which is personality development.
2. Development has a certain rhythmic structure: thesis – antithesis – synthesis or in terms of immunity metaphor: gene – antigene – antibody.
3. Every element in the developmental structure has transient nature and contains a program/impulse for transition to a new stage of development. The helping agent facilitates both explication and flow of the elements.
4. Immune system has a multilayer character: biological, psychological, social, transcendent, temporal, etc. All of the levels create an ecosystem of an unlimited resource for change.
5. SPI has a dual nature – it is both a defensive and a creative mechanism of self-preservation and growth.
6. The major task of psychological help is to facilitate growth and development by sustaining the rhythm/flow of transient forms.
7. These transient forms can present themselves unpredictably in paradoxes, accidental events or spontaneous metamorphoses.
8. There is no sense in defining SPI in terms of strength or weakness. It functions in accordance with a certain context. The major attribute of SPI is sustainability of change.
9. The principle of irreversibility. It is impossible for a personality ecosystem to transit to the previous level of development. Psychologist facilitates the advancement of the ecosystem to new levels of development.

Figure 2.
Principles of PTG and PTD facilitation

All of the above-mentioned principles of PH determine practical implications for dealing with the experience of the post-traumatic issues. In the next section we would analyze a few cases which, on the one hand reflect natural spontaneity of PTD, and, on the other – illustrate practical aspects of eco-centered facilitation ("ecofacilitation") in the aftermath of traumatic events (Lushyn, 2017).

Post-traumatic development and growth: implications for positive psychology practice

Further we will provide a few cases of PTD, one of them relates to a well-known narrative of the discovery of EMDR protocol (a psychotherapeutic technique for trauma processing) (Shapiro, 1995). The other is the case from our own practice of PTD facilitation.

Being a successful philologist, Shapiro was diagnosed with cancer. After the operation the perspectives of full recovery at that time were vague. She decided to take up the challenge by exploring self-healing practices which in some time brought her to psychotherapy as her future occupation. One day during a walk in the park she had an insight associated with the role of saccades (involuntary eye movements) in reducing intrusive ruminations. This provided the key element to the protocol for trauma processing (Eye Movement Desensitization and Reprocessing – EMDR) (Shapiro,1995).

Surprisingly, a Ukrainian psychologist Tsukanov had a similar experience: he experimented with a treatment of psychosomatic illnesses based on the assessment of client's subjective time unit (Tsukanov, 1989; Cukanov, 2000) and found the internal clock has a certain "pendulum" swinging at an individual pace which corresponded to the rhythm of saccades, normal heartbeat, walk or breathing. Irregular rhythm signified a certain probability of pathological processes. To eliminate them he came up with a defibrillation technique which consisted in client's following the rhythm of her normal pace of breathing or saccades set out with the help of a metronome. EMDR protocol and defibrillation technique seem similar with an only exception that the practitioners used different tools (metronome or a hand empirically adjusted to the client's rhythm of saccades).

In both therapeutic approaches the traumatic phase can be reinterpreted in terms of constructive psychosomatic transition within a temporal level of the SPI: regular rhythm (gene) of subjective clock generates the opposite time mode of fibrillation (antigene) to complete the process by a natural or socially induced additional impulse (synthesis).

Our long-standing psychotherapy practice proves that some highly motivated clients display a certain determination to follow their own individual trajectory of response following trauma. This reveals itself in well-structured time predictors of their effective growth and PTD. Often the client takes the initiative to administer the upcoming session as if having been informed of its content and even timing. This also relates to their acute estimation of the therapist's capacity to tolerate uncertainty and follow unpredictable turns of client's course of self-direction.

In particular, a middled aged woman, over 40, survived multiple traumatic events within a relatively small time period. One of the traumatic events related to her job loss, the other to her divorce, and the third was the case of a serious complication of alcoholism disorder on the part of a very close relative of hers. An important request she made before the beginning of her therapy session was the work in front of a group of people. During the session some other paradoxes emerged. The first one was she took a sit she could both turn to the audience and the therapist. Despite the periodic remarks to take a more direct position towards the psychologist, she resumed the preferred dual position. Then she seemed to be very sensitive to monitoring the time of the session: the client took most of the time for a very emotional narrative of her traumatic experiences – which could have been quite appropriate within an individual setting of the session but not quite adequate to the time restriction of the public event. The client produced an impression of overlooking the therapist's remarks as to the timing of her narration, although, once she directly rejected the remarks by "we can make it" response. Besides, the client even seemed to have correctly "diagnosed" the therapist's inclination to follow her individual trajectory which she fully used to her advantage. All of these paradoxes were resolved in a rather unexpected closure of the session.

In 15 minutes before the ending of the session the client addressed the psychologist with sincere apologies and an accurate explanation of her responses during the session. She admitted that her intention was to keep a good feedback not only from the psychotherapist but from the audience who, to her surprise, turned out to be very accepting. That explained her being persistent in taking a dual sitting position. She also expressed a few appreciative remarks as to the dynamic of the session and the therapist's tolerance which she had never experienced before. Finally, the woman presented a thorough analysis of her numerous insights during the session. It took her less than five minutes to dwell on her responsibility for the job loss: "Since my childhood I have been dreaming of becoming a professional artist... my dad used to tell me of my talent... at last I am very close to my dream come true". Emotional part of the narrative grew very positive. She spoke of her other insight – "recently without being aware of the practical task I resumed improving my artistic skills... now I am aware what it was all about!". By this she found that the traumatic event and its subsequent resolution had been unconsciously prepared beforehand. This and other awarenesses had a very reassuring realization in the life of the client. We learned from social media and our informal communications that her psychological issues disappeared; she started a successful career of a professional artist. This change brought about a considerable transformation of her lifestyle, and some relevant improvements in her social ecosystem of friends and her close relatives[1].

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[1] The description of the PTG cases and the principles of PTG facilitation are consistent with psycholinguistic research (Luno, Louwerse, & Beck, 2013, Mansfield, McLean, & Lilgendahl, 2010, Pereira, Sampson, & DiCola, 2019, Kleim, Horn, Kraehenmann, Mehl, & Ehlers, 2018, Busch & McNamara, 2020) providing the foundation for our building a special psycholinguistic study designed to validate of the proposed PTG model (fig.1).

This and other cases from our extended therapeutic practice suggests that a request for PH and the narrative of the traumatic experience incorporate not only the content of an individual healing trajectory but the unfolding of client's temporal perspective. The essential prerequisite on the part of the psychotherapist is ambiguity tolerance or following the process as it goes. This drives us to the conclusion that PH is (a) not so much the beginning of the transformative process but its closure, the realization of a pre-given personality potential, (b) it is a form of non-linear, often accidental advancements.

In this context we claim that the suggested dialectical approach to PTD facilitation has a certain relevance for the process of strengthening the SPI of a social ecosystem. In "industrial" terms of Joseph (Joseph, 2011) there are growing signs of a transition from a "PTSD industry" that leaves no space for natural recovery of the PTSD survivor to the alternative or antithetic "PTG industry", which targets at exclusively positive and spontaneous resolutions of traumatic issues. To our estimation the current world of unpredictability and ambiguity lays the foundation for the emerging "industry of ambiguity" (Lushyn, 2020; Lushyn, Sukhenko, & Davydova, 2020). The latter builds on the previous forms of social reconstruction presuming that ambiguity is no longer a "bug but a feature" of personal and social development. For example, the approach presupposes that "culture of illness" and mental disorder are not necessarily associated with a need for adaptation to certain deficits/restrictions or on the contrary – with antithetic resort to hedonistic wellbeing, optimism and happiness ("culture of health"). "Ambiguity or PTD industry" integrates the stability of change as a symbol of a new reality ("the culture of the emerging"). The current pandemic of COVID-19 closes the narrative of system restoration in favor of the narrative of a non-linear and irreversible self-organization. In SPI terms the medical and pharmaceutical responses are complemented with social "antibodies" on deferent levels of politics ("a COVID-19 certificate"), technology (zoom distant learning and teaching, online clubhouse culture), innovative psychotherapeutic modalities, and internet marketing, etc. "Industry of Ambiguity" reveals itself in newest mindsets and memes: "there is no turning back to old life", "emergence of unfamiliar virus strains is a new reality to be harnessed or used to advantage". PTSD treatment is no longer about resuming the old life-style or improving the wellbeing but about a sustainability of unpredictable change of perspectives.

The facilitator of change becomes a "social immunologist" who fulfills the metamodern design of a therapeutic modality (Gardner, 2016; Lushyn, 2017) which could be described as so: there is no former stability – constant change is a new normality; every element of a social ecosystem could be a resource and an agent of self-organization of the systemic change; universal regularities and rules are local and restricted by a certain context; development of the ecosystem unfolds as a communication with a confronting or antithetic surroundings; problem is a new possibility; no zeroing or underestimation of the past, its value is priceless.

Conclusions

The process of personality change as development is paradoxical, irreversible and scarcely predictable. In dialectical perspective the attractors of change are not the content of transient forms but the stabilization of their change. As compared to PTG, PTD's outcome is the systemic transition to an emerging (not better or positive) identity, when the personal surroundings grow, on the one hand, problematic, non-transparent, on the other – stimulating and encouraging further advancement.

PTSD as well as PTG minor cycles of personal development constitute a dialectical unity within its major cycle of PTD. Their flow has a rhythmic structure. In this context the cycle of PTG culminates in paradoxical signs of both the exhaustion of the previous personality potential and the explication of a new one. Then follows the cycle of unpredictability and an ambiguous change attracted to the emergence of paradoxical phenomena, such as "tragical optimism", "constructive pathology" and "PH as a social level of personal self-regulation".

The core metaphor of change as personality development is SPI or the work of the immunity system which also has an ambivalent nature (it defends the personality from adversarial agents and proactively guards it from stagnation). SPI is a multifaceted dynamic structure, which transcends the organismic level of functioning for social, psychological and temporal levels. The dialectical nature of SPI is determined by a capacity to communicate with antagonistic agents in order to synthesize social and psychological "antibodies"/resources.

Principals of PTD facilitation: PH is a situation of a personal transition to a social level of self-regulation. The inquiry for PH contains the narrative with elements for post-traumatic growth and development. These elements are pre-given as paradoxes, contradictions, incongruences as sources of development. The major task of the PTD is to support the explication of internal programs for change.

The important prerequisite of PH for PTD facilitation is the antithetic position of the facilitator. It could be characterized in terms of an emerging "Ambiguity or PTD industry" which consists in generating new patterns of self-organization on the basis of the newest metamodernist model. In terms of the provided PTD model it suggests (a) traumatic event could be a precondition for irreversible change for personality development; (b) the post-traumatic process is ambiguous and is revealed in the flow of relatively positive and negative transient forms; (c) one of them is an experience of a total impasse or a block of the facilitation process; (d) sensitivity to accidental events and the rhythm of their change.

The provided model of PH for PTD facilitation could be regarded as antithetic to the prevailing medical model. In its essence it is a metamodernistic synthesis to the conflict between modern and post-modern social and cultural orientations. The social demand and the dissemination of the approach could stimulate the generation of a novel potential in the sphere of psychological practices.

The perspectives of our future research we associate with empirical validation of the suggested dialectical model of PTG within a set of psycholinguistic experiments

directed at the study of predictors of PTG and psycholinguistic representation of its effective facilitation.

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TRANSITION TRAUMA METAPHOR
IN TRANSGENDER NARRATIVE

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Abstract. This study combines methodological tools of conceptual metaphor theory and narrative psychology with theoretical assumptions of the intersubjective psycholinguistic approach to meaning to explore instantiations of transition narrative metaphors in 16 TED talks given by transgender people and posted on the TED platform within the period between January 2013 and July 2020. The speakers are aged from 20 to 70; 8 males and 8 females; 2 black and 9 white Americans, 2 Filipinos, 1 black South-African, 1 Puerto Rican, and 1 white Australian. The study offers a new interpretation of narrative metaphor based on the intersubjective model of meaning. Within this model, narrative metaphor is conceived as extended conceptual metaphor instantiated in a number of multimodal metaphoric expressions made coherent by the textual, social, cultural, and historical context of the narrative, but primarily by its interactive situational context, which includes the audience into the narrative through empathy and gives them power to change the narrative. The research reveals that all the 16 analysed narratives rest on the TRANSITION IS CONTEST narrative metaphor that represents a conflict between positive self-evaluation of transition by a transgender individual and its negative evaluation / unacceptance by the society, which makes transition a traumatic experience. The density of words and phrases instantiating the CONTEST metaphor in the 16 narratives varies from 2.5 to 3 % which means that they are key linguistic expressions of the narratives. The CONTEST metaphor provides a deeper insight into transgender transition compared to the JOURNEY/TRAVEL metaphor found to represent transition experience in existing cognitive linguistic and transgender studies. The JOURNEY/TRAVEL metaphor fails to grasp the intersubjective and, consequently, traumatic nature of transition experience. The results of the research suggest that narrative as well as narrative metaphor can be given a more accurate interpretation if they are approached from the intersubjective perspective, which reflects their true nature as socially and culturally shaped interactive phenomena.

Keywords: intersubjective model of meaning, metaphor, narrative, transgender, trauma.

Мартинюк Алла. Метафора травматичного досвіду зміни гендеру у трансгендерному наративі.

Анотація. У статті на основі поєднання методологічних інструментів теорії концептуальної метафори та наративної психології, з опорою на методологічні засади інтерсуб'єктивного психолінгвістичного розуміння значення досліджуються наративні метафори, відображені у 16 виступах трансгендерних індивідів на TED-конференціях, опублікованих на платформі TED у період з січня 2013 по липень 2020. Наратори представляють вікові категорії від 20 до 70 років; серед них є 8 чоловіків і 8 жінок; 2 білих і 9 темношкірих американців, 2 філіппінців, 1 темношкірий південноафриканець,

1 пуерторіканець, і 1 біла австралійка. Спираючись на інтерсуб'єктивну модель смислотворення, автор пропонує нову інтерпретацію наративної метафори як розширеної концептуальної метафори, втіленої численними мультимодальними метафоричними засобами, які набувають узгодженості у текстовому, соціальному, культурному та історичному контексті наративу, і, що найголовніше, в інтерактивному ситуативному контексті, який через емпатію включає в наратив аудиторію і надає їй силу змінювати зміст наративу. Згідно з результатами розвідки, усі 16 аналізованих наративів втілюють наративну метафору ЗМІНА ГЕНДЕРНОЇ ІДЕНТИЧНОСТІ є ПРОТИСТОЯННЯ, яка репрезентує конфлікт між трансгендерним індивідом, який позитивно оцінює свій досвід зміни гендеру, і суспільством, яке оцінює його негативно / не приймає, що робить цей досвід травматичним. Щільність слів та словосполучень, які вербалізують метафору ПРОТИСТОЯННЯ в 16 аналізованих наративах, сягає 2,5–3 %, що свідчить про те, що вони є ключовими для всіх наративів. Метафора ПРОТИСТОЯННЯ надає більш точну інтерпретацію досвіду зміни гендерної ідентичності порівняно з метафорою ПОДОРОЖІ, яка розглядається в існуючих розвідках з когнітивної лінгвістики та трансгендерних студіях. Метафора ПОДОРОЖІ не відображає інтерсуб'єктивної і відтак травматичної природи досвіду зміни гендерної ідентичності. Результати дослідження доводять, що наратив, як і наративна метафора можуть бути осмисленими лише на основі інтерсуб'єктивної моделі значення, яка відображає їх природу як соціально і культурно сконструйованих інтерактивних феноменів.

Ключові слова*: інтерсуб'єктивна модель значення, метафора, наратив, травма, трансгендер.*

Introduction

Taken separately, transgenderism, metaphor, and narrative are most popular objects of scientific investigation. Especially extensive is a psycholinguistic research on transgenderism exploring how one's gender presentation is perceived in different modalities and environments (see, for example, Bodoin, Berd, & Adler, 2014; Booz, Dorman, & Walden, 2017; Hardy et al, 2020). Some attention has been given to transgender metaphor in philosophy, psychology, aesthetics, cultural, gender and transgender studies (Halberstam, 1998; Prosser, 1998; Riley, 2000; Heath, 2006; Hines, 2007; Salamon, 2010; Aizura, 2012; Koch-Rein, 2014). The scholars have focused on the importance of metaphor for grasping transgender experience in the context of a wider discussion of transgender history, psychophysical basis, sociocultural implications, politics, practices, and social attitudes. However, there are practically no papers in the frame of narrative psychology, which would reveal assumptions, feelings, and drives that are hidden behind metaphoric linguistic expressions employed by transgender individuals to talk about their transition experience, i.e. a change from male to female or from female to male.

In a cognitive linguistics paper, Lederer (2015), who investigated transgender individuals' posts from Internet forums and YouTube, discovered that the key metaphor of conceiving and expressing transgender transition is based on the JOURNEY cognitive model. Within this model, transition is understood as movement between the gender categories, male and female, represented as bounded regions in space (CONTAINERS). It is an expected conclusion being in full

harmony with the claim of the founders of the conceptual metaphor theory (Lakoff & Johnson, 1980) that people tend to conceptualise transitions between the stages of their lives, relationships and even arguments as JOURNEYS. See, for example, (Arenas & Essam, 2018) who discuss romantic relationship in terms of the TRAVEL/JOURNEY conceptual metaphor. Transgender scholars (Prosser, 1998; Halberstam, 1998) have also conceptualised transition experience in terms of TRAVEL, BORDERS and HOME.

However, it seems that mapping TRANSGENDER TRANSITION experience as JOURNEY/TRAVEL is not quite accurate for at least two reasons. Firstly, the JOURNEY/TRAVEL metaphor does not grasp the *traumatic nature* of transgender transition representing it as a routine, ordinary happening that is familiar to the average person. Secondly, this metaphor fails to grasp the *intersubjective nature* of transgender transition representing it as a purely subjective experience. Yet, if we go deeper into the context of transgender narrative, we will see that the inner subjective experience of transgender transition is shaped by the outer social world, the way other people react to a transgender person. Moreover, the unacceptance of a transgender individual by the outer social world makes their transition a traumatic experience.

We can get a deeper insight into transgender transition metaphor if we go beyond abstract cognitive modelling and turn to the framework of psycholinguistics as a part of the interdisciplinary field of advanced cognitive science that gives rise to an intersubjective model of meaning making (Trevarthen, 1998; Hardy, 1998; Gallagher, 2005; Zahavi, 2005; Thompson, 2007; Zlatev, Racine, Sinha, & Itkonen, 2008; Zalevskaya, 2014). Within this model, meaning making is conceived as a range of socially and culturally shaped psychophysiological processes, which are part of our interaction with the environment, and which are governed by our needs and goals and transcend rational thinking to include affect/emotion, intuition, and insight in combination with free will; see more in (Martynyuk, 2017).

The aim of this paper is to combine the assumptions of the intersubjective psycholinguistic approach to meaning with the tools of cognitive linguistics and narrative psychology to reveal the inner structures shaping metaphoric expression of transition experience in transgender narrative.

The innovative perspective of the paper is accounted for by a new interpretation of narrative metaphor as multimodal conceptual metaphor with agentive potential, which is instantiated in cohesive linguistic expressions and representations of other modes conceived as coherent within the situational as well as social, cultural and historical context of the narrative.

Theoretical prerequisites

If we turn to dictionaries, which are mostly helpful when we deal with such high complexity phenomena as **narrative**, we will discover the two constitutive features that underlie its countless definitions in psychology, philosophy of mind, literature theory, cognitive poetics, anthropology, history, theology, sociology,

gender studies, and other social sciences. A narrative presupposes: a) telling a story, i.e. giving a spoken or written account of a series of events; b) a particular way of representing events to reflect or conform to an overarching set of aims or values (Cambridge dictionary, s. a.; Oxford English dictionary, s. a.)

A typical narrative is addressed as a spoken or written *story*, which "provides a coherent causal account of an event that has occurred or that is expected to occur" (Murray, 2003, p. 98). The story is given its structure and coherence by a *plot*, which connects the beginning to the end and arranges the story into the stages of setup, peak, nadir, and resolution.

It is important to grasp from the start that narrative has two planes. One is the outer, material plane of the social action; it is something that we do or make, and also something that we can perceive – like a coming out speech or a painting. The other plane is inner, psychological; it involves mental structures and processes that motivate the social action and make it possible.

This **inner, psychological plane** of narrative is described as a specific natural way of thinking and making sense of the world as well as of one's own self. Bruner (1986) called it *the narrative mode* and opposed to *the logical scientific mode*. Contrary to the logical scientific mode, which searches for universal truth and works with empirical evidence employing methods of formal logic, the narrative mode creates a life-like representation of the world by making connections between events and their consequences over time through stories.

Bruner (ibid.) distinguished between two psychological "landscapes" of narrative: *the landscape of action* (mental representation of the actors, intentions or goals, means, and situation of the social action) and *the landscape of consciousness* (what the actors know, feel and think). The capacity of a human mind to see the connection between the past and present events and predict the perspectives of their development that underlies the narrative mode makes narrative the central means of human cognition. Human beings shape their identity and make sense of the surrounding world through narratives in social interaction. This assumption has become the core of narrative psychology (Bruner, 1986; 1990; Sabrin, 1986; Polkinghorne, 1988; Ricoeur, 1989; Murray, 2003). Moreover, narrative scholars state that psychologically life itself is a narrative achievement (Bruner, 1987; Ricoeur, 1989)

As for the **outer, material plane** of narrative, we should not think of it as a purely verbal phenomenon even though the social medium of natural language is defining. Taking into account the range of referents of the term "narrative" in contemporary scientific discourse, we can assume that the "story" is **multimodal** and **multimedial**. It embraces all the manifestations of the human inner world, which are translated through all existing media and which we can perceive through all our modalities.

Being individual and deeply personal, narratives are always **socially** and **culturally shaped**. Every culture has its range of plot lines that individuals can draw on to shape their experience. Moreover, no societal narrative can be value-neutral since every society rests on relations of power and "adoption of dominant

narratives becomes a means of social discipline" (Murray, 2003, p. 99). Naturally, individual experience does not always conform to the dominant stories since in many cases individual axiological systems radically differ from the mainstream society values. Consequently, individuals are forced to create new, alternative stories that challenge the dominant plot lines.

However, another important thing to grasp is that narrative is an **intersubjective** phenomenon: as social beings, organising our experience in a narrative form, we seek an *empathic response* from the others, we want to be paid attention to, understood, and appreciated, we want our experiences to be shared and approved. It also means that creating alternative narratives, individuals can never be free from the pressure of the society that judges them and either accepts or pushes away. Moreover, social unacceptance accounts for *traumatic nature* of individual experience that deviates from the dominant plot lines and tells on the nature of metaphors that embody this experience.

In the conceptual metaphor theory, **metaphor** is addressed as "understanding and experiencing one kind of thing in terms of another" (Lakoff, & Johnson, 1980, p. 5). More specifically, conceptual metaphor is described as a product of conceptual mapping, i.e. a partial and unidirectional projection of a more concrete conceptual structure (the source concept/domain) that we employ for the purposes of understanding onto a more abstract conceptual structure that we try to understand (the target domain) (Lakoff, 1993; Kövecses, 2002, 2018). Thus, in case of the TRANSITION IS JOURNEY/TRAVEL conceptual metaphor, TRANSITION is the target concept of high complexity that we try to explain with the help of a more familiar and better-structured source concept of JOURNEY/TRAVEL.

As to the **narrative metaphor**, though the term itself is widely used, the phenomenon behind it has not yet received a comprehensive definition. In this study, narrative metaphor is addressed as extended conceptual metaphor, which is distinguished by conceptual coherence based on cohesive links between its linguistic expressions in the textual context of a certain narrative. A typical conceptual metaphor is instantiated in a number of linguistic units used in different contexts and connected by abstract relations between concepts they activate in our mind. Contrary to that, a narrative metaphor is instantiated in linguistic expressions that activate concepts that are connected, i.e. made *coherent*, by the linguistic, social, cultural, and historical context of a narrative, and also by its immediate situational context. As any conceptual metaphor, any narrative metaphor can have *multimodal* representation.

Method

This research rests on 16 TED talks by transgender people posted on the TED platform within the period between January 2013 and July 2020 (TED, s. a.). TED (Technology, Entertainment, and Design) is an American media organisation that holds conferences under the slogan "ideas worth spreading", and posts conference talks on scientific, cultural, political, humanitarian and academic topics online for

free distribution. The analysed talks are presented by the speakers aged from 20 to 70; 8 males and 8 females; 2 black and 9 white Americans, 2 Filipinos, 1 black South-African, 1 Puerto Rican, and 1 white Australian. Out of the 16 analysed talks, 6 are completely devoted to the speakers' transition experience. The 6 talks include those by D-L. Steward, a black American scholar; Hari Nef, a white American actress, model, and writer; LB Hannahs, a white American educator; Lee Mokobe, a black South-African poet; Geena Rocero, a professional Filipino model; and Paula Stone Williams, a white American evangelist pastor (TED, s. a.). The rest 10 talks focus on other topics, connected with the problems faced by transgender people, but include transition narrative as their integral part. They are presented by Karissa Sanbonmatsu, a white American epigeneticist; Samy Nour Younes, a Puerto Rican transgender activist; France Villarta, a Filipino communications consultant; Jenna Veiner, a white American scholar; Kate Stone, a white Australian artist; Jackson Bird, a white American digital storyteller; Ivan Coyote, a white American writer, and performer; iO Tillett Wright, a white American child actor; Martine Rothblatt, a white American transhumanist; and Tiq Milan, a black American transgender activist (TED, s. a.).

Compared to a *narrative interview*, which is a common object of analysis in narrative psychology, a TED talk has some advantages. Narrative interviewers have to use special strategies with some interviewees to make them produce extensive stories, they need to be aware of their own role in shaping those stories through influencing the interviewees, and, on the other hand, control their questions and reactions not to discourage the interviewees. Finally, interviewers have to compile a story based on their interview. As a result, stories born in narrative interviews may represent the identity of the interviewee through the lens of the interviewer. Contrary to that, a TED talk is a well-shaped persuasive story of constructing one's identity that is aimed at sharing personal experience and getting a response.

Methodologically, narrative can be approached from three distinct perspectives: formal-structural, content, and hermeneutic (László, 2015, p. 3). Formal-structural analysis concentrates on the structural components of narratives. Content analysis tries to quantify the semantic content of narratives. Hermeneutic analysis "embraces the social, cultural and textual content of the narrative and interprets its meaning against this background. In psychology it mostly means interpretation of personal narratives with reference to identity" (ibid.). Formal-structural and content approaches are criticised for being blind to the contexts in which structural and semantic components of narratives occur, while hermeneutic analysis is blamed for being not amenable to the empirical testing.

In this research, narrative is investigated with the instruments of conceptual metaphor theory that are adapted to study narrative metaphor. However, the results of analytical cognitive analysis are interpreted within the assumptions of psycholinguistics supporting the intersubjective model of linguistic meaning. Such approach qualifies as qualitative hermeneutic analysis since it takes into consideration not only linguistic (textual), social, cultural and historical content of the narrative, but also its intersubjective situational context.

In addition, elements of formal-structural analysis are applied. To make sure that the TED talks chosen for the analysis are narratives I investigate whether they contain the three conceptual elements that are common to most narratives (after Plummer, 1995): a) suffering that gives tension to a story, b) a crisis or a turning point or epiphany, c) a transformation.

To define the structural components of the analysed narratives I employ Labov's (1972) linguistic representation of the narrative structure breaking it into six interconnected components (clauses): abstract (summarising), orientation (setting the scene), complicating action (giving central details), evaluation (expressing evaluation of the details), and coda (reflecting on the narrative as a whole). On top of that, I classify the analysed narratives based on Plummer's (1995) classification of modernist plots, which includes: a) taking a journey, b) engaging in a contest, c) enduring suffering, d) pursuing consummation, and e) establishing a home (ibid.). The plot categories themselves are addressed as narrative conceptual metaphors, representing TRANSITION in terms of the corresponding conceptual domains.

As a rule, the key narrative metaphor is first verbalised in an utterance found in the orientation clause and then instantiated in linguistic expressions scattered in all the other components of the narrative. Following this assumption, I first find the key utterance, summing up the content of the narrative in a metaphorical form and then look for other expressions connected with it by cohesive and coherent links.

The results of the analysis are reported in the form of a case study of a TED talk (Stewart, 2019) that represents a transition narrative of a Black transgender woman transitioning to man. This talk is chosen for the case study because the narrator belongs to the most vulnerable category of transgender people facing unacceptance from representatives of the most social categories, and his transition experience reflects all the traumatic issues that face a transgender person in concentrated form. The case study is complemented by the findings based on the analysis of the rest 15 narratives. To strengthen the results obtained the statistical formula of keyword density is employed *(Nkr/Tkr) * 100*, where *Nkr* is how many times a word/phrase is repeated in a text, and *Tkr* is the total number of words in a text (Taniar et al, 2010, p. 212). The words and phrases instantiating the TRANSITION metaphor in all the 16 narratives are retrieved and calculated manually. To interpret the calculated density I rely on the expert opinion that optimal keyword density should be 1 to 3 % (ibid.).

Results and Discussion

The chosen TED talk (Stewart, 2019) qualifies as a narrative since it contains all of its basic **structural components** defined by Labov (1972), though not all of them are arranged in a linear sequence: orientation precedes the abstract.

The talk starts with orientation: the narrator introduces himself as D-L. Stewart, a faculty member at Colorado State University, and declares that he identifies himself as both Black and transgender. Orientation turns into abstract

when the narrator states the topic of the talk: *how Black trans lives matter*. This utterance expresses determination to prove the importance of Black lives to others who might not be aware of this or might not want to see it. Moreover, as such it implies conflict. It is repeated 14 times in the talk to produce suggestive effect on the audience. On top of that, the narrator explains that he is going to share a few scenes from his own life and bring to light *how race and gender have historically and currently intersected to shape the lives of Black trans people*. Complicating action that occupies most of the talk is mixed with evaluation because the narrator's individual story is put into a broad social, cultural and historical context and therefore it is ideologically and axiologically charged. Coda is realized as an appeal to *work together to make Black trans lives matter*.

The analysed talk has the three constitutive **semantic features** of a narrative (after Plummer, 1995). Most of the talk is devoted to description and analysis of the suffering Black people in general and transgender Black people in particular have been going through due to their unacceptance by the society. The turning point is represented as realisation that the solution is in creating an alternative narrative that would set Black trans people free from social acceptability. Transformation is realized not as a fact but as a challenge, an appeal to the audience to *transform* their thinking about blackness and gender, and *confront false assumptions and other's fears and biases.*

The analysed narrative is conceived as an instantiation of the TRANSITION IS CONTEST narrative metaphor. *Contest*, which literary means "opposing (an action or theory) as mistaken or wrong" (Oxford English dictionary, s. a.) or "a struggle to win power and control" (Collins online dictionary, s. a.)**,** metaphorically represents a conflict between the individual's experience of their gender identity and its assessment by the society.

Actually, all the 16 transition narratives analysed in the study are instantiations of the CONTEST metaphor. All of them highlight OTHERS either as the source of trauma caused by the social unacceptance or as the source of cure supplied by those who accepted them. The density of words and phrases that instantiate the CONTEST metaphor in the 16 analysed narratives varies from 2,5 to 3 % which means that they are key linguistic expressions of the narratives.

In D-L. Stewart's talk the TRANSITION IS CONTEST narrative metaphor is expressed by the key utterance, *My body defies the restrictions of a society consumed by boxes and binaries and 'are you a boy or a girl?'* found in the orientation clause. Using the noun *body* as the subject of the sentence correlating with the doer of the action expressed by the verb *defies*, the speaker metonymically refers to himself as a member of the transgender category, a LIVING BEING, capable of defiance. At the same time, he metaphorically represents himself as a CONTAINER (human bodies are typically conceived as containers (Lakoff, & Johnson, 1980)) and a building block of the SOCIETY conceptualised as a SET OF CONTAINERS since *boxes* actually are containers and *binaries* suggest dividing into parts, or categorising. Moreover, using the verb-predicate *consumed* with the nouns *boxes and binaries* as its subjects, the speaker represents SOCIAL CATEGORIES as AGGRESSIVE

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CREATURES capable of eating and digesting society members so that nothing remains but a set of boxes-containers in which the society members are put.

In addition to the key utterance, the TRANSITION IS CONTEST narrative metaphor is instantiated in other cohesive linguistic expressions that can be found in all the structural parts of the narrative. All these expressions presuppose two counteragents: the transgender INDIVIDUAL or his social category *(I, Black trans people / lives / bodies, my body, my fellows*, and so on) and the SOCIETY or social categories of OTHERS (mostly implied by the passive construction, or given metonymically, e.g., *social acceptability, white imagination, social boundaries* rather than explicitly named, e.g., *society, my therapist*).

The transgender individual is conceptualised as the subject of actions aimed at destroying societal boundaries. These actions are denoted by such linguistic units as *resist* (8 – in brackets here and hereafter I give the number of times a linguistic unit is repeated in the narrative) / *resistance* (8), *transgress* (4) / *be transgressive* (4), *fight* (2), *claim sovereignty* (2), *push* (1), *set free* (1), *confront* (1).

On the other hand, the transgender individual is conceived as the object of the society's counteractions expressed by the passive construction with *make* (12), *deny* (7) / *denial* (1), *catch* (4), *contain* (3), *define* (3), *erase* (2), *mark* (2), *block* (1), *accuse* (1), *sissify* (1), *bulldagger* (1), *impose* (1), *murder* (1), *put in place* (1), *inoculate* (1), *accuse* (1).

As any other social categorisation, gender categorisation goes hand in hand with biased evaluation. The speaker conceives his body as a *sovereign country*, where *sovereign* is interpreted as *superlative in quality, of the most exalted kind, having generalized curative powers of an unqualified nature, unmitigated, paramount, possessed of supreme power, unlimited in extent, absolute, enjoying autonomy, independent, royal*, characterised by *magic*.

This positive self-evaluation stands in striking contrast with the negative evaluation by the society. Being a Black transgender woman who has found her true male identity, the speaker is subject to a biased negative evaluation from the members of too many categories of OTHERS. The categorical oppositions highlighted in the narrative include those of white people :: black people, white women :: black women, black men :: black women, straight black people :: :: transgender black people, white transgender people :: black transgender people. Within these oppositions Black people are conceived as CAPTIVES (*Black bodies and our genders have been caught in the white imagination*), FUGITIVES (*We have always been fugitives here*), SLAVES (*Body measurements taken, talents and abilities advertised, teeth and body cavities inspected, name and value assigned. This is a slave's bill of sale*). They are dehumanised and turned into KEPT ANIMALS (*and so we have been bred like horses, […] branded like cattle, milked like sows*) or even FOOD FOR KEPT ANIMALS (*fed like turtles to alligators*). They are reified and turned into OBJECTS (*Imagined as a thing, we were made to become that thing*), and GOODS (*Gender did not matter, so long as our body parts, our arms and legs and backs, our breasts and genitalia could be turned into profit*).

The narrator puts evaluation of a Black (trans) person's gender identity into the broad context of cultural African American archetypes and stereotypes that date back to the colonial history of the United States: *From mammy and Sapphire, to Mandingo and Sambo, Black bodies and our genders have been caught in the white imagination.* The Mammy archetype refers to a dominant female house slave: a woman completely dedicated to the family of her white enslavers (White, 1999). The Sapphire archetype describes a domineering female who consumes men and usurps their roles (ibid.). Its contemporary manifestation is the "angry black woman" stereotype, which was exploited by journalists in their narratives about Michelle Obama during the 2007–2008 presidential primaries. The Sambo stereotype was introduced into American culture by a character of the 1898 children's book "The story of little black Sambo" by Helen Bannerman. It represents black men as lazy, irresponsible, or carefree. Finally, the Mandingo is a stereotype of a sexually voracious black man with a huge penis (Davis & Cross, 1979). It implies uncontrolled passions, ambitions, and associates with black bestiality and primitivism. These associations explain why a black woman is often represented as *either beast or porn star, made a social threat that endangers civility.*

These metaphors highlight suffering of human beings caused by other humans, which gives these metaphors a great empathic power of agentive nature, i.e. they are aimed at transforming people's thinking and challenging them to social action to change the inhuman into human. This agentive power is enhanced by the awareness that the narrator who is standing here and now before the audience is part of this social injustice. This awareness triggered by the immediate situational context of the narrative transforms abstract notions into real events involving real people; it includes the audience into the narrative and gives them power to change it. Narrative intertwines with real life.

In all the analysed narratives, the power of words is multiplied by the power of visual representation of transgender speakers who make declarations of their transgender identity not only through the choice of words but also through the choice of their outfits. A good example is the narrative of a transgender epigeneticist (Sanbonmatsu, 2018) who has discovered and constructed her new female identity. A huge part of her narrative about what it means to be a woman on the DNA level is conveyed by the deep neckline of her otherwise reserved outfit, which slightly reveals the upper part of her beautiful breasts. In the context of the narrative, this image represents the healed trauma, and the conquered social denial. In other words, it constitutes the CONTEST metaphor in its final VICTORY phase, that of celebrating the newly found gender self.

Conclusion

The research findings lead to the following conclusions.

Firstly, within the intersubjective psycholinguistic approach to meaning making, narrative metaphor is seen as extended conceptual metaphor that is instantiated in

multimodal (primarily linguistic and visual) metaphoric expressions, which are given coherence by the textual, social, cultural, and historical context of the narrative, on the one hand, and by its interactive situational context, on the other hand. All separate verbal and visual conceptual metaphors, brought together into one narrative metaphor by coherent contextual links address the phenomenon of gender transition in a very powerful way, activating a web of rational inferences, emotional reactions, and intuitive associations that have a great agentive potential, i.e. the power to influence the recipients through empathy.

Secondly, all the 16 analysed narratives instantiate the TRANSITION IS CONTEST narrative metaphor that represents a conflict between a transgender individual and the society that does not accept them. This conflict results in the traumatic nature of transition experience.

Thirdly, narrative as well as narrative metaphor can be given a more consistent interpretation if they are approached from the intersubjective perspective, which reflects their true nature as socially and culturally shaped interactive phenomena.

The results achieved call for further investigation of narrative phenomena based on the psycholinguistic intersubjective methodology that helps reveal how historical, cultural, social as well as situational interactive contexts shape individual experiences.

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PERIMENOPAUSAL STRESS REACTIONS:
A QUALITATIVE STUDY ON THE AWARENESS OF SPOUSES

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Abstract. The menopausal transition can be a period of stress, even lead to trauma if left unnoticed or unsupported. Perimenopause is considered to be the period (3–8 years) before and after the final menstrual cycle. It is a phase in a woman's life that needs immense support and care from the spouse. But still, researchers are skeptical about the information men have regarding the period. Even though many studies highlight the physiological changes that happen during the perimenopausal or menopausal transition period, there is still a lack in the number of studies that emphasize the psychological difficulties women face in the perimenopausal period. Emotional support from the husband is of significance amid many such difficulties. The study intends to investigate the level of awareness men have about the perimenopausal period.The study also tries understand how the spouses perceive themselves to have supported their wives during the perimenopausal period. The study followed a qualitative approach in data collection and analysis. The data was collected using a semi-structured interview. 34 men (spouses of perimenopausal women) from Thiruvananthapuram, Ernakulam, and Thrissur districts of Kerala, India were selected using purposive sampling. The method of thematic analysis was used to analyze the data. For the analysis, the software NVivo was used. The final themes extracted were unawareness, attitude, regret, and techniques to be adopted. The results revealed the unawareness majority of the participants had about the phase and throw light on the need to create awareness among men to help women cope better with the phase. The major reasons, the participants noted as reasons for their unawareness, were lack of information from the family, lack of communication from their spouses, which led to major confusion in them.

Keywords: menopause, perimenopause, women, spouse, awareness, communication.

Наїр Амму Г, Джордж Соня. Стресові реакції жінок під час перименопаузи: якісний аналіз усвідомлення проблеми чоловіками.

Анотація. Початок періоду менопаузи у жінки може бути стресовим, навіть призвести до травми, якщо його ігнорувати або якщо жінці не надавати необхідної підтримки. Перименопаузою вважають період (3-8 років) до і після завершального менструального циклу. Перименопауза – це етап у житті жінки, упродовж якого вона потребує підтримки та турботи з боку чоловіка. Водночас, дослідники скептично ставляться до інформації, якою володіють чоловіки про цей період. Незважаючи на те, що багато досліджень висвітлюють

фізіологічні зміни, що відбуваються в перименопаузальний або менопаузальний перехідний період, все ще бракує досліджень, які акцентують увагу на психологічних труднощах, з якими стикаються жінки. Дослідження має на меті вивчити ступінь усвідомлення чоловіками проблеми перименопаузального періоду, а також з'ясувати, як чоловіки сприймають власну підтримку дружин у перименопаузальний період. У дослідженні взяло участь 34 чоловіка з районів Тіруванантапурам, Ернакулам та Тріссур штату Керала (Індія), у чиїх жінок був період перименопаузи. У дослідженні застосовувалися методи якісного аналізу даних, які були отриманні в результаті використання напівструктурованого інтерв'ю, зокрема метод тематичного аналізу із застосуванням програмного забезпечення NVivo. Було встановлено такі провідні теми у досліджуваних інтерв'ю: неусвідомленість проблеми, ставлення, жаль та можливі способи підтримки жінок. Результати дослідження засвідчили необізнаність більшості чоловіків щодо цього періоду життя жінок. Важливим прикладним аспектом дослідження є висновок про необхідність просвітницької роботи серед чоловіків, спрямованої на психологічну підтримку жінок, аби вони краще почувалися в цей період. Основними причинами низького усвідомлення проблеми, на думку чоловіків, є відсутність інформації у родинах, в яких вони виховувалися, а також небажання дружин обговорювати цю проблему.

Ключові слова: менопауза, перименопауза, жінки, чоловіки, усвідомленість, спілкування.

Introduction

Menopause or the climacteric is the stage in a woman's life when the monthly menstrual cycle ceases. The arduous phase that the individual endures before she reaches menopause is called perimenopause. Perimenopause is a period of physical and mental change. Support from the life partner is of great significance during any period in an individual's life. Though it is highly acclaimed when it comes to menstruation, it is skeptical about how important spouse support has been considered during menopause and the menopausal transition period. A phase of struggle and chaos for most, which, with constant support from the spouse could be made endurable, at the same time traumatize the victim if unsupported. Biological science and Psychology say about the change that can be brought in when women experience the luxury of having their spouses besides them, especially with emotional support (Bahri et al., 2016). It can be specifically said as a "luxury", as the number of women lacking effective assistance is high (Hassan et al., 2020). Especially in India, menopause is a topic that is very rarely talked about. Women living through it, most often, are seen bearing it alone, without appropriate knowledge or efficiency. The ignorance many times leads to a high level of stress and tension. The testimonials of many, reported by psychologists and other doctors reveals that they have all underwent the midlife trauma of perimenopause, which led them later towards a period of post-traumatic stress disorder. Many failed in doing any self-care nor did she get any help from their spouses. These led to a severe span of trauma. The relevance of care during the phase implies here and it, to a large extent relies upon the awareness of the individual and spouse too.

The study intended to explore the awareness, to what extend supported their wives and how concerned they were in offering scare to their wives. The large

number of studies done on the area, vividly show how beneficial the support is in alleviating the symptoms (Kalahroudi, 2013)

The number of studies that investigated the various aspects of the perimenopausal period from a deeper perspective is innumerable. The studies on spouses of perimenopausal women are yet to get their relevance in India, even though many western studies have already mentioned the importance of spouse awareness and support during the menopausal transition. The study by Mansfield (2003) revealed that one-third of the participants (husbands of perimenopausal women) reported being unsupportive. And it is something to be noted how most of them were not informed about the phase and knew very little information that they got from their wives. A study conducted on 450 men who lived with perimenopausal wives revealed the need of enhancing the awareness among men about the phase and how it would help women cope better with the situation (Parish et al., 2019). Providing adequate information and educating the husbands has been found to have a significant positive impact on the menopausal health of their partners (Yoshany et al., 2017).

The increasing life expectancy rate, duties, responsibilities, and changing lifestyles, are all making it a necessity to study the 'transition phase' in a deeper aspect and find effective ways with which it can be handled well. As per many studies, spousal support is found as one of the most important factors that help perimenopausal women in alleviating the symptoms (Bahri et al., 2016; Mansfield et al., 2003). But still, a lack of awareness is seen in many (Hidiroglu et al., 2014). Being aware and knowing about the phase is incredibly important in making effective management plans.

Hypothesis: There is significantly less awareness among spouse regarding the perimenopausal period.

Method

The study followed a qualitative method of research. The responses from the spouses were collected using a semi-structured interview method. Thematic analysis strategy using NVivo software was employed to analyze the responses to reach the results.

Sample

The sample consisted of 34 men, selected using the purposive sampling method from the districts of Kerala, India. The inclusion critieria was strictly filtered for men, whose wives were presently undergoing the perimenopausal period. The following questions were used to elicit response from participants as part of the semi-structured interview:

1. Are you familiar with the terms menopause and perimenopause?
2. What do you think are the problems women face during the perimenopausal period?

3. How all can husbands help women during the phase?
4. How much do you think you have helped your wife during the period
5. Do you think you could have helped her better?
6. If yes, how?

Results and Discussion

Major codes identified

The following are the major codes identified as a result of the thematic analysis
1. Unawareness
2. Regret
3. Attitude (positive, negative, mixed, and neutral)
4. Techniques
5. Confusion
6. Lack of support
7. Information from the family
8. Lack of communication
9. Priorities
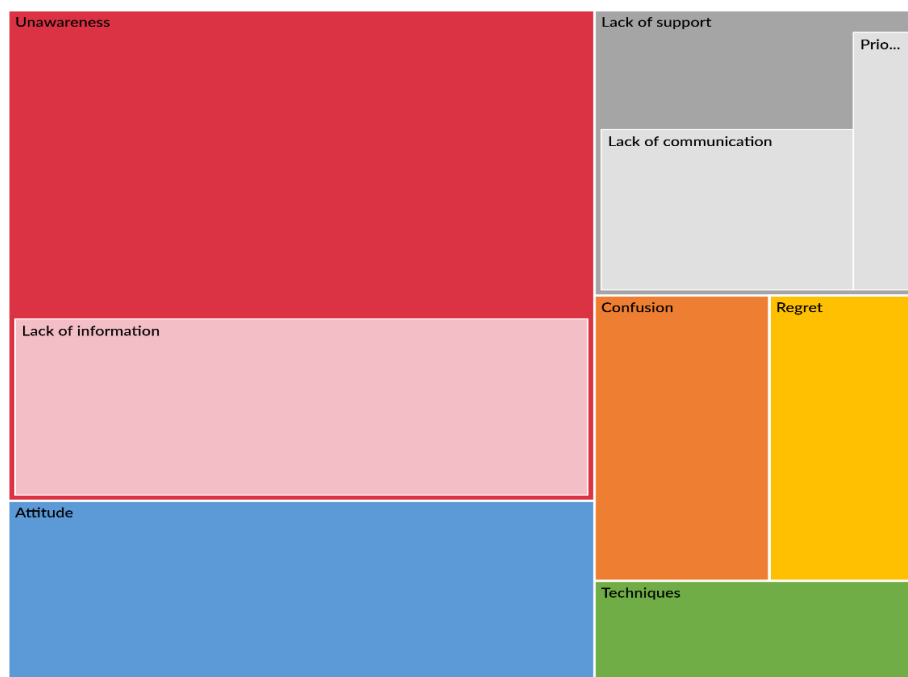
Figure 1. Depicting the hierarchy chart of the codes.

Some of the codes were merged as they showed similarity or overlapped. The six final codes extracted are mentioned below.
1. Unawareness
2. Attitudes
3. Techniques

4. Lack of communication

5. Regret

6. Confusion

Finally, the codes were categorized under four themes such as unawareness, attitude, regret, and techniques to be adopted.

Unawareness

It was found that most of the participants were not aware of the menopausal transition period or the perimenopausal period. The major reasons found were lack of information from the family, lack of communication, and confusions due to these two.
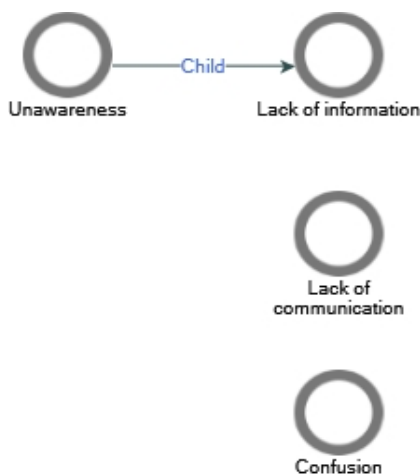
Figure 2. Depicting the theme unawareness and the child themes.

29 participants out of 34 reported that they are not aware of the perimenopausal period and the difficulties faced during the menopausal transition. 5 participants who said that they were aware of the period belonged to medical or allied professions, who were approached by patients with menopausal issues. But the irresoluteness about their role in managing wives' menopausal issues was dismaying. Here, the possession of information may be taken in as futile if not brought into use. The situation demands an investigation to examine the reasons for this high level of unawareness.

The result encapsulates unawareness as to the product of lack of information (from the family, from the society), lack of communication (with mother, sisters, friends, wife), and confusions regarding the phase. Confusions might also be comprehended as a product of the first two factors.

From literature, it can be understood that, till of late most of the boys were brought up with minimal exposure to the biological/developmental changes in girls. Studies showed curiosity in understanding how boys and men responded to researchers' queries about their knowledge about menstruation and menopause. The responses revealed how their information was limited solely to the curriculum,

which made them unaware of the difficulties encountered by their friends, sisters, or mother during that period. Boys believed in keeping themselves aloof from all these due to cultural demands, at the same time wanted to support their sisters and friends (Gundi & Subramanyam, 2020). Studies also report how they were doubtful about getting involved in such matters thinking about the consequences it might bring (Mason et al., 2017). Gender role stereotyping too might have held them away from such topics. Theorists also support the fact that during adolescence the gender intensification process happens (Santrock, 2019). The adolescents thrive to conform to their socially accepted and conventional gender roles. Hence, how the conventional gender roles find credence among boys and how they carry it forwards throughout their lives are clear. Culture and tradition play a crucial role here.

Studies also found that the boys were keen on gaining knowledge through many sources other than family. Here, the relevance of sharing information arises, where the credibility or authenticity of the source that they are relying on is at stake (Gundi & Subramanyam, 2020). Would not it be incredibly helpful if males receive the information from their mothers or sisters? Which would cater to reducing confusion and enhance the probability of them helping in need.

This insufficient information shows its effect in the middle age too and keeps men aloof from the toil borne alone by women. Hence, it is cleared up how the exposure to such matters develops into unawareness. And uncovers the importance of making them familiar with such matters right from an early stage.

One concern the participants put up was the unreadiness of their wives to communicate the problems. The divulgence made the infuriation in husbands clear to the researcher. Husbands' expectation of an objective expression of the concerns was never fulfilled. They reported indignant displeasure in their wives' expectation of understanding things that were not communicated to them.

Some of the few factors to this may be discussed here. One, the gender difference in the ability to observe and understand nonverbal signs of the other. Second, the proficiency or higher capability of women in taking care of fellow beings in need. And third, the upbringing in our culture.

The ineptitude of men in acknowledging the minute changes in their partners as opposed to women has been brought up in many studies (Jaušovec & Jaušovec, 2009). Women's higher proficiency in visual event learning, reacting, and categorizing than men, was primarily discussed in the study by Tannen (Tannen, 1990). The study also discussed the difference in the way both genders found and executed communication. The theory of rapport talk, and report talk differentiates the way both genders communicate. When females are more interested in rapport talking wherein, they establish relationships, men are more interested in engaging in report talk, which meets the exchange of information (Santrock, 2019). In the present study also, during the interviews, it was found that the participants showed eagerness if issues were conveyed objectively, which women failed to. This probably might have made women hesitant, out of the feeling that the messages conveyed did not create the intended impression on their husbands. But evidence reveals inefficient communication due to the above-mentioned reasons, along with

the lack of knowledge and difference in attitude. The studies on psycholinguists too denote gender difference as one of the major factors in communication and perceptions of certain concepts. The study by Wahyuningsih (2018) mentions the gender difference in understanding and comprehending language and even the way each gender uses language. When men use more directive language, women were more interested in using non-directive and expressive language (Wahyuningsih, 2018). This too might be considered as one of the major factors leading to the dearth of communication.

On to the third factor, the societal makeup and upbringing, which is not easy to be altered overnight. Our system, which considers it highly worthy of suppressing such matters all to oneself, might have made women dubious to divulge their menopausal problems even to their partners. Studies that throw light on the importance of spousal communication, postulates the lack in the same, leading to increased distress and difficulty in women (Taebi et al., 2018).

Considering these as the engendering factors to the theme 'unawareness', awareness should not be an adjunct in alleviating the menopausal issues, rather one of the most important factors which could help women cope with it effectively with spousal support.

Attitudes
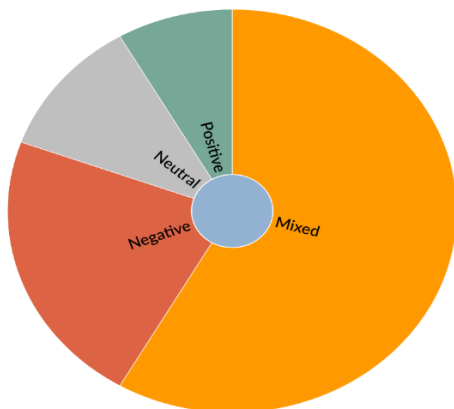
Figure 3. The hierarchy chart of the attitudes of the participants towards the perimenopausal period.

The chart shows the nominal number of responses with a positive attitude towards the menopausal transition phase. Most of them have responded with a mixed attitude, which communicated an uncertainty or confusion the participants had.

Attitude in psychology has been described as the "readiness of the psyche to act or react in a certain way" by Carl Jung (Main, 2004). As per Ajzen, attitudes are considered as a "complex and acquired state through experiences" (Perloff, 2020). Researchers who were interested in the attitude-behavior relationship have always

noted the importance of family and society. Every individual majorly develops their attitude towards a person, concept, event, or phenomenon depending on the inputs they receive from their family and the society that they live in. As it has been already noted above that the traditional backdrop shows how irrelevant it was to even converse about menopause and menarche in Indian households until a few years back, it should not surprise anyone if the men in mid-age do not bear a much positive attitude towards menopause. People cannot be expected to haul something with so much effort which was not revealed before them since years. The theory of Reasoned Action by Ajzen has put forward the attitude-behavior relationship (Ajzen & Fishbein, 1980). He says that human beings always tend to behave according to the attitudes they have gained from their experiences of so many years of life. The attitudes men have acquired from the family and society have pulled them from heading their way into having a positive outlook towards the perimenopausal phase. As per the affective-cognitive theory of attitude, attitudes are the byproducts of information too (Rosenberg, 1956). Attitude gains a positive note when a person is enriched with information on a topic, or event. And the opposite happens when the knowledge is less. Here, one of the major reasons for husbands having a negative attitude may be understood, as an effect of unawareness or lack of proper knowledge.

A few of the participants showed a mixed attitude too. Normally attitudes are considered as positive or negative. Here, a few held the view that perimenopause could bring in changes, at the same time they were doubtful about the manifestation of those changes. The analysis hence resulted in showing a mixed attitude. The reluctance to open up, minimal knowledge, readiness to learn more, slowly starting to understand the difficulty, the embarrassment of having mistaken the phase as easy, might be some of the few reasons. Many showed the readiness to know more, but presently they are blank. Responses like "Yes, I guess it might be difficult", "would that be so much difficult", "never knew, maybe" could be categorized under mixed attitudes. Many of the participants possessed negative attitudes only because they lacked proper information. Now that social media and the virtual world have become so wide that women are raising their voices with confidence.

Men today, are exposed to all the posts, videos, and write-ups. Attitude theories have said that, unlike personality, attitudes are subject to change by experience. More the exposure towards the menopausal transition the more can be the development of a favorable attitude. Zajonc (1968) proposed a concept called the "Mere-exposure effect" (repeated exposure effect), in which he said that people tend to develop a more and more positive attitude towards a particular phenomenon/event when he/she is continuously exposed to it than if they are not (Zajonc, 1968). In the case of the participants also the researcher could see the mere exposure effect when they were ready to incorporate more positivity to the negativity they showed in the beginning. But some continued to possess a negative attitude. They were very adamant in their views and strongly believed that women make up all these problems to just gain attention. They were quite unempathetic in their approach. The personality of such participants might be subjected to further research. As all studies

suggest a positive attitude and support from the husband, women find it easier to manage the problems (Mansfield et al., 2003; Zhang et al., 2020).

Regret-failed in offering support

    a. Lack of support

    b. Other priorities

The majority of the participants readily opened up and said they repent for not having supported their wives when needed. The major reasons put forward were unawareness and priorities. Most of them opinioned that they prioritized many other responsibilities above this and now repent that they did so. It should not be discounted that people go through so many duties and responsibilities in daily life. It cannot be expected from anyone to sit with their wife 24/7 leaving all other works. But practically it is possible to spend some quality time during which she experiences the warmth and support. Some even said that they are supporting their wives in the ways they know. Mainly giving them a day off from household duties, letting them take rest not asking them to clean. But such strategies were found to be ineffective according to the participants. The respondents were unhappy that their good intentions went unnoticed. Wives did not appreciate those. Here, the difference between received support and perceived support could be noticed. Uchino (2009) differentiated these two types of support systems. In the former one, people offer support, but unfortunately, the receiver does not feel supported. Whereas in the latter one, there is a subjective sense of support being felt, that someone is there to care and listen to them. If the person in need does not feel the warmth, then the strategy goes futile. The ineffective execution was found as one of the major issues here. Husbands were found to have failed in offering emotional support which is essential for the overall well-being and health (Burleson, 2003).

The majority (30 out of 34) of the participants revealed their priorities, which largely focused on work and children. They repented taking their wives for granted. The expectation that their wives kept up with health like past years, misled them and failed to notice the changes. This regret also might have led them not to accept the phase completely and give a mixed opinion. Only a very few showed the readiness to find ways to make the situation better. As the regret theory by Graham Loomes (1982) proposed, people tend to anticipate regret and try all possible ways to avoid that. They fail to acknowledge the regret and seek ways out of it (Loomes & Sugden, 1982).

Techniques to be adopted

10 participants out of 34 believed they need information about several techniques that can be adopted to understand and manage perimenopausal problems. All of them said that they wanted more information about the phase from experts, preferred to visit one much before the symptoms worsen to an unmanageable state.

These responses too may be explained on the grounds of the regret theory. It may be assumed that those participants might have anticipated the regret later in life

if they do not try effective ways to reduce their wives' disturbing perimenopausal symptoms. They would have preferred to avoid the confusions that might worsen the difficulty. For that, they showed the readiness to get help from a professional who can guide them through the phase, which indeed was an incredibly positive sign.

Conclusions

From all the responses, the themes identified could be clearly defined by many socio-cultural and personality factors. Lack of awareness, the differences in the ways things are communicated, cultural backdrop, all these lay the stone for the behavior men have towards perimenopausal women. A large part of women's life is spent in active participation in developing other's lives, unlike men. And women get worried if they fail in satisfying this role, which is not seen in men (Baker, 2012). This gender difference plays a particularly important role in the symptom experience, manifestation, and management of the perimenopausal symptom. Culture, as psychology defines, the behavior patterns, beliefs, and all other products of a group of people that are passed on from generation to generation, plays a major role. And most people tend to believe that our group and its beliefs are superior to that of others. The ingroup bias is a very strong constituent that contributes to the attitudes and finally to the behavior of humans. The cultural differences do play a very crucial role in the perception and behavior of both men and women in the present study context. The study is a pointer towards the ineffective information boys receive from their families regarding such delicate needs of women, which manifests as problems later in their lives. It is high time that this rearing pattern changes and boys/men understand the physical changes in women which leads to many mental disturbances. The responses and results disclose the major need of effective communication between the spouses that can resolve much of the problems. Awareness creation about the phase and awareness on effective communication can be thought of as two major techniques that could be adopted to enhance support and alleviate the symptoms.

Mental and other health professionals have a major role in the context wherein, reliable, and authentic information can be passed. In that way, a lot of women can be supported in recovering, overcoming, and managing a difficult phase that could be difficult or even traumatizing for several women. Psychologists and other health professionals need to understand their role in creating awareness among men about menopause and perimenopause. All the techniques adopted, together, will lead to a future with happy perimenopausal women whose journey through the period will be easy and relaxing.

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NARRATIVE-BASED INTERVENTION
AND EMOTIONAL INTELLIGENCE IN FEMALE CHILDREN

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Abstract. Children share their emotional experiences through narratives, and high-quality narratives are beneficial for their wellbeing and development. This research investigated whether narrative-based interventions in the school context can increase children's emotional intelligence (EI). It tested three intervention settings' effect in their oral and written narrative elements: 1) oral co-narration, 2) literary narrative, and 3) merging co-narrating and literary narrative. The sample consisted of 91 female Iranian students (age = 12±.21), who were selected randomly to these three intervention groups where they received a two-month training and one control conditions with

treatment as usual. The Emotional Quotient inventory, the youth version (EQ-i: yv) test, was used to measure the students' EI levels before and after the intervention. The results demonstrated that oral and written narrative have different effects on student's EI. The results revealed a significant increase in the EI score among children who participated in the oral co-narrating group and merged co-narrating and literary narrative intervention group. In contrast, the literary narrative intervention was not effective enough to increase children's EI. In conclusion, oral and written language modes and their merged narrative elements are crucial when tailoring effective school-based interventions to impact students' EI with language minority. Educators need to apply the oral and written narrative elements in their instructional design of the EI interventions considering the narrative style of students. In particular, oral language as the developmentally and socio-culturally appropriate tool can involve student's more with making sense of text and thereby support the learning process in EI interventions.

Keywords: emotional intelligence, oral language and literacy, perspective-taking, empathy, school-based intervention, Iranian female children.

Шіразі Ясаман Гафарян, Пунамекі Райя Лєена, Пелтонен Кірсі, Малекзадег Могаммад, Есмаелі Озра. Наративно-базовані інтервенції та емоційний інтелект у дівчаток.

Анотація. Діти передають свої емоційні переживання за допомогою наративів, при цьому якісно оповідані наративи здійснюють позитивний вплив на їхнє благополуччя та розвиток. Метою цього дослідження є вивчення того, чи можуть втручання на основі наративів у шкільному контексті підвищити емоційний інтелект (EI) дітей. У дослідженні здійснювалася перевірка ефективності трьох видів втручань, базованих на усних та письмових наративах: 1) усний спів-наратив, 2) письмовий наратив та 3) сполучення усного спів-нативу та письмового наративу. Вибірка містила 91 іранських дітей жіночої статі (вік=12±.21), яких випадковим чином відібрали до цих трьох груп, де упродовж двох місяців вони застосовували наративи. Для чистоти експерименту також була сформована контрольна група, у яких навчання відбувалося у звичний спосіб. Для вимірювання рівня EI учениць до та після втручання застосовано методику The Emotional Quotient, версію для юнаків (EQ-i: yv). Результати дослідження показали, що усний та письмовий нативи по-різному впливають на EI учениць. Зафіксовано значне збільшення рівня EI серед дітей, які брали участь у групі співнараторів, а також у групі, де спів-наратив використовувався разом із письмовим наративом. Водночас, інтервенція лише на основі письмового наративу виявилася недостатньо ефективною для підвищення рівня EI у дітей. Результати дослідження свідчать про те, що спільне використання усної та писемної форм наративів мають вирішальне значення при розробці ефективних інтервенцій у школі для впливу на EI учнів - представниць мовних меншин. Педагоги повинні застосовувати у комплексі усні та писемні наративи учнів для підвищення їхнього EI. Зокрема усне мовлення як інструмент для вікового та соціо-культурного розвитку дітей може більшою мірою залучати учнів до осмислення тексту і тим самим підтримувати процес навчання на основі інтервенцій, спрямованих на підвищення EI.

Ключові слова: емоційний інтелект, усне мовлення та грамотність, перспектива, емпатія, інтервенція у шкільних умовах, іранські дівчатка.

Introduction

Emotional intelligence (EI) has been praised as one of the underlying elements of twenty-first-century skills in schools. EI refers to the abilities to perceive, understanding and regulating one's own and others' emotions, which greatly facilitates effective thinking and adaptive behaviour (Mayer, Salovey, Caruso, &

Cherkasskiy, 2011). Ample evidence shows high EI have multiple beneficial impacts on children's wellbeing and development, including good academic performance (Hogan et al., 2010), mental and somatic health (Martins, Ramalho, & Morin, 2010), and social relationships (Lopes et al., 2004). Therefore, several school-based interventions have been developed to enhance children's EI through non-narrative elements such as games, art projects, drawing faces expressing different feelings, class discussion. These interventions have also applied narrative practices such as reading literary narrative and using co-narrative moves of naming and explaining emotions to scaffold students' conflict narrative. For examples, the promoting alternative thinking (PATH) and the RULER EI and Voices, Love, and Freedom (VLF) and the Reading, Writing, Respect, and Resolution (4Rs) have applied a combination of these narrative practices (Greenberg & Kusché, 2006; Nathanson, Rivers, Flynn & Brackett, 2016; McTigue, Douglass, Wright, Hodges & Franks, 2015; Lobron & Selman, 2007; Jones et al., 2010) to promote student's social and emotional understanding.

Emotions tend to be socially shared (Rimé, 2009). The narrative is a human being natural way of sharing one's experiences. Narratives refer to symbolic representation having a temporal format that simulates a sequential construction of reality that causally link together various aspects of experiences such as events, actions, people, subjective interpretations of events and emotions (Bruner, 1991). Although narrative practices are a common part of the EI-enhancing interventions, less is understood about what particular narrative elements may promote EI. This study examines the effectiveness of three kinds of narrative-based intervention settings that differ in oral or written modes.

Elements of narrative-based interventions

Co-narrating

Children learn their narrative skills initially in linguistically scaffolded interactions with their mothers and later other family members and peers (Fivush, Reese, & Haden, 2006; Fivush, 2007). Fivush and her colleagues' following the Vygotskian tradition (Vygotsky,1978) demonstrated that mothers who used elaboration as a specific narrative style have children who narrate, remember and understand emotions better than other children. Mothers with elaborative narrative style typically add new information, elements, emotions, and experiences to their narratives by using multiple questions and statements such as "what did we do at the park" and providing evaluative feedback to the children by confirming and praising, providing subjective perspective on a shared event (Fivush et al., 2006). In optimal co-narratives, parents calibrate their style and message according to children's age and developmental achievements.

Graneist and Habermas (2019) study indicated that mothers use age-sensitive strategies to scaffold adolescents' narrative to support their emotional understanding. For example, in the co-narration of peer conflict in school, mothers encourage her

child to narrate the events step by step. Then, support the child to verbally report and label emotions in a more differentiated way and explain the child's sadness or anger by providing the alternative motive for other's actions. Mothers' co-narrative moves of naming and explaining emotions are especially salient for adolescents' development since the representation of character as a mental agent with emotions and thoughts in children's narrative is still developing. By adolescence, children become able to represent a character's internal mental state in a more complex way and explain the character's actions with reference to their emotions and thoughts (Nicolopoulou & Richner, 2007; De Silveira & Habermas, 2011). In contrast, mothers who used repetitive reminiscing style asked few redundant questions and thus failed to enrich their children's narratives. As such, they probe the past event without providing new details, shared observations or novel ways of telling the narrative plots (Fivush et al., 2006; Fivush, 2007).

The current study adopts the concept of maternal elaborative narrative style ability to explore the effect of narrative co-construction of emotional experiences in the school context. Teachers and children construct classroom discourse forms; however, the teacher defines the privileged culture and discourse in the classroom. Thus, this study views the teachers' co-narrative scaffolding of emotional experience as an initial learning space for children to name and make sense of their emotions, followed by student's autonomous collaborative co-narration in peer groups.

Oral and written narrative language modes

Narratives are presented and shared orally through spoking and literally through written text. Oral and written narrative strategies are different in two ways (Gee, 2015). First, the speaker reveals their attitude toward the story's message and evaluates by dramatizing or implying the point through paralinguistic and non-verbal channels. For example, the story is said in some tone of voice, with some expression in the voice and face of the narrator . In contrast, the writer's evaluation or attitude toward the messages must be lexicalized. For example, writers can evaluate the story by careful choice of words, explicit statement, and complex syntax. Second, the oral narrative is highly contextualized because the speaker and co-narrators are co-present in time and space. For example, the speaker can say: "look at this". In contrast, in the typically written narrative genre, the immediate context is lost in the sense that the writer and reader and writer are typically separated in time and place (Gee, 2015).

Different cultures had different preferences for oral or written, literate based, mode of communication (Gee, 2015). Euro-American typically value the features of written language in their narrative style. As such they typically less emphasis on interpersonal involvement and more focus on information conveyed while African and Middle Eastern cultures cherish features of orality and more relative focus on interpersonal involvement especially performance, communication and speaker's reactions (Marzolph, 2020; Gardner-Neblett, Pungello & Iruka, 2012). Many studies on the differences between oral and literate strategies in discourse have explained

the failure of certain ethnic groups in schools (Lee,2007; Gee, 2015). The Iranian school children participating in this study are from Lur ethnic-cultural group with a unique culture, including distinctive lifestyle and traditional folklore songs. Historically, pastoral nomadic tribes formed the majority of the Lur population. Nowadays, they are divided into groups living in sedentary life and nomads (Bakhtiari). The Lur ethnic group speaks their distinct dialect close to Persian (Farsi), although children use the official written language, Farsi, in their school.

The present study examines whether narrative-based intervention can increase student's EI and whether oral and written narrative elements have a different effect on students' EI. The compared narrative-based interventions using written narrative differed in their instructional approach toward literacy. The literary narrative group designed based on explicit instruction on the psycholinguistic processes of literacy that views literacy as a socially isolated process by the reader and the writer. In contrast, the merged group was designed based on the social interactionist theories of literacy (Lawrence & Snow, 2010), which view literacy as a social process. As such, the construction of written narratives in a school context is influenced by the official discourse model of the school culture, i.e., school standard discourse, and the parallel unofficial discourse pattern of the other cultural contexts such as peer and home culture (Lee, 2007).

Literary narrative

This study's perspective on the effect of reading and writing literary narratives on student's EI is inspired by Oatley and his colleagues' communicative theory of emotion. According to their theory, in real life, individuals use the cognitive mechanism by which Oatley called a planning processor to develop plans to achieve goals. In reading fiction, individuals simulate the same planning processor to adopt one or more goals of the protagonist or other characters to identify and recognize external patterns of events and how they concern the story characters. In this sense, the failure and success of the protagonist's goals and plans elicit negative and positive emotions (Oatley & Johnson-Laird, 2014). Drawing inferences about the character's intention requires perspective-taking to enhance the reader's social understanding and empathy (Lobron & Selman, 2007). The study by Mar, Oatley & Peterson (2009) delineated that fiction readers have greater empathy than non-fiction readers. The current study examined the effectiveness of an intervention involving written composed narratives or reading and writing fictional stories on student's EI.

Method

Participants

The data was collected in schools of Yasuj city in Southwest of Iran. The participants have Lur ethnicity and speak the Lurish language (closely related to

Persian). The sample consisted of 91, 12 years old female students ($M = 12$, $SD = ±.21$). The Participants were selected using cluster sampling; all the city schools grouped into clusters according to their location area in the city from the list of public schools provided by the Ministry of Education. We randomly selected four areas in the city, four secondary schools, and four sixth-grade classrooms. The size of the groups was oral narrative ($n = 22$), written narrative ($n = 20$), mixed group ($n = 16$), and the control group ($n = 33$).

Procedure

This study received approval from the Ethical Committee of Yasuj University of Medical Sciences. After obtaining the necessary permissions from the Ministry of Education and Schoolteachers, the study's objectives were explained to students and their parents and their informed consent was obtained. The interventions were integrated as part of the literature and art curriculum of school classes. All intervention groups received eight weekly 60-minute training sessions. The control participants received no intervention. The study handbook guide was also provided and reviewed with them one session before the interventions started. Teachers accompanied by the researcher in each session and received 15-minute tutoring before them.

Interventions

Co-narrating

The training started with the teacher and the researcher performing and co-narrating the narrative of a conflicting emotional event. They perform the same narrative in two ways. First, they co-narrated the event while blaming the researcher without including his own and the researcher's perspective, i.e., emotions and needs. Second, they co-narrate the same conflicting event; however, this time, they add their own and the other perspectives using the following guided questions (see table 1).

The aim was to support students to perceive and define the conflict as a shared or mutual concern, taking into account both person's needs and wants. Students received pictures of facial expression of emotions accompanied by emotional words. Students encouraged to practice co-narrating in two steps: (a) recall an emotional event involving a conflict, recount the event. (b) co-narrate the identical event sequences from different perspectives. They practice co-narrating using three sources: following the teacher's narrative as a reference point, asking each other the guided questions, and using the co-narrative moves of naming and explaining emotions. Students tasks were to first, took turns and recalled memories of conflictual emotional incidents, then co-narrate with their friends in groups of four. They tried to draw the narrative of the conflict event on paper. Second, two of the students from each group volunteer to perform the co-narration of conflict narrative

for the teacher. Finally, they picked one of the recalled stories to perform as a drama in their group.

Table 1

Oral narrative structure and examples

Narrative Units	Narrative Example	Recounting Guided Questions
1. Observation	"Leila, when I saw you did not include me in the game"	"What did I and/or others observe?"
2. Feeling	"I felt angry, my body felt hot and tense. I want to yell at you."	"How did I and/or others feel?"
3. Need	"Because I have a need to be included."	"What did I and/or others need?"
4. Request	"Would you be willing to include me in the game?"	"What did I and/or the other can do to satisfy each other's need?"

Literary narratives

The literacy-based practices involved two steps. Step one, the teacher read out loud the stories, help students to take the hero's and character's perspective (need and feelings). The teacher highlights the strategies the story heroes applied to cope with their emotions. The stories involved themes about anger, fear, shyness, boredom, self-esteem, autonomy, and self-actualization that followed the quest narrative structure, e.g., hero's journey (Vogler, 2007). The story plot consists of a series of events to a high point that revolves around an emotional conflict that the hero confronts and resolves at the end. In step two, students received a notebook, story guide and pictures of facial expression of emotions accompanied by emotional words. Students are instructed to create stories their own stories modelling the teacher's stories (see table 2). Additionally, they asked to illustrate their narrative by painting the story plot. The teacher informs that the stories are not evaluated and do not affect the subject class final score. Students informed that there is no obligation to follow the teacher's stories' structure, and their task is to highlight the story conflict, the character's perspectives and how the protagonist resolves the conflict.

Table 2
Literary narrative story guide example

Procedure	Teacher's Modeled Story	Student's Story guide
Problem of Hero	Anger	Anger
Hero	Little Angry Turtle	Pick the hero character
Course of Journey	Dangerous sea	Create a theme and setting
Protecting power	Magical words	Create the hero's tools and assistants
The Problem Solving Formula	Going inside its shell	How will the hero overcome the problem?
Exercise the Formula	Hold on, take a deep breath and examine the problem	How does the hero solve the problem?
Victory	Passed the dangerous sea of whales	What does the hero do to overcome the obstacles?
Result	Learned how to regulate anger	Outcome: regulating difficult emotions

Merging co-narrating and literary narratives

Students received the training similar to the co-narrating group followed by composing fictional narratives; however, the only difference was that they compose the fictional narrative in collaboration with their peers through discussion. We designed the training in line with Lee's (2007) cultural modelling approach to build explicitly on students' socio-cultural and linguistic resources.

Measurement

Children's emotional intelligence was assessed with the Bar-On Emotional Quotient inventory youth version questionnaire (EQ-i: yv). The EQ-i: yv is a 60-item self-report measure of emotionally and socially intelligent behaviour developed for children and adolescents aged seven through eighteen (Bar-On & Parker, 2000). The test has five scales: Intrapersonal, Interpersonal, Adaptability, and Stress Management, which makes up the Total EI score. The fifth scale is General Mood which is not included in the Total EI score. The Total EI describes the overall emotional-social intelligence. The participants are asked to respond in a way that

best describes how they feel, think, or act in most situations using a four-point Likert scale that ranges between 1 "very seldom or not true of me" and 4 "very often or completely true of me". The validity and reliability of the EQ-i test have been shown by many studies (Wood, Parker & Keefer, 2009). The reliability studies showed an overall average internal consistency reliability of 0.76 and the test-retest reliability of 0.85 after four months (Bar-On, 1997). In this study, the student's raw scores are converted to standard scores with a mean of 100 and a standard deviation of 15.

Statistical Analysis

Data were collected at pre-test on the sample of 91 students. A one-way ANCOVA used to control for the baseline differences between the groups and pre-test scores on the outcome measure. The pre-test score was used as the covariate, the EI scores as the dependent variable and the intervention groups were used as the independent variables. Repeated measure ANOVA was not used to analyze the data because the data was not interpretable for the Mauchly test of sphericity. The attrition rate at pre-test was 5.49 % and ate the post-test was 8.79 %.

Results

Descriptive Statistics

Table 3 presents the education level of the participants. The groups did not differ by levels of parent's education, χ^2 (1, $n = 91$) = 0.43, $p = .28$.

Table 3
Demographic data on parent's education of the sample

Group	Co-narrating		Literary		Merged		Control	
	n	%	n	%	n	%	n	%
Mother's Education								
High school or below	16	72.7	17	85	13	81.3	28	84.8
Above high school	6	27.3	3	15	3	18.8	5	15.2
Father's Education								
High school or below	5	22.7	10	50	12	75	24	72.7
Above high school	17	77.3	10	50	4	25	9	27.3

Table 4 provides descriptive statistics and comparisons between the intervention and control groups at baseline. As you can see, the differences in EI scores between groups in the pre-test is not significant.

Table 4

Descriptive statistics and comparisons between groups at baseline

Groups	Pre-test			
	M	*SD*	*F(3,73)*	*p*
1. Co-narrating	75.02	8.1	.54	.65
2. Literary narrative	72.62	7.29		
3. Merged co-narrating and literary narrative	74.49	8.34		
4. Control	72.67	7.58		

Analysis of Covariance

ANCOVA test indicated a significant effect of Narrative-intervention on students' EI at the $p < .05$ level for the four conditions $F(73.3) = 17.57$, $p<.001$, $\eta_p^2 = .41$. Post hoc comparisons using the Bonferroni test showed the mean score for the co-narrating condition, and the merged condition was significantly different from the control condition at post-test. However, the reading and writing literary narrative condition did not significantly differ from the control conditions. Additionally, there was a significant difference in the mean score of the merged condition and the co-narrating condition and the literary narrative condition with the co-narrating conditions (see table 5).

Table 5

ANCOVA Comparisons of intervention Groups

Groups		Mean Difference (I- J)	95 % CI		SE	p
(I)	(J)		*LB*	*UB*	*SE*	*p*
Co-narrating	Control	3.90	1.62	6.19	.84	p<.001
Literary narrative	Control	1.31	-1.00	3.64	.86	ns
Merged	Control	6.00	3.59	8.52	.91	p<.001
Merged	Co-narrating	2.15	-.43	4.73	.95	ns
Co-narrating	Literary narrative	2.59	.136	5.05	.90	.03
Merged	Literary narrative	4.74	2.10	7.38	.97	p<.001

Discussion

This study explored the effect of narrative practices in three different conditions on student's EI. The study results suggested that narrative intervention do influence EI. Specifically, our results suggest that oral and written narrative had a different effect on EI.

The students who received the oral co-narration indicated an increase in EI score. We assume the teachers' co-narrative scaffolding of emotional experience followed by children's practice of autonomous collaborative co-narration in peer groups supported students to construct more evaluative narrative. For example, following the teacher's elaborative narrative as a reference point, Maryam recalled the emotional episode of conflict with her friend. She co-narrated the event using the guided questions. She added her own and her friend's perspectives (emotions and need) while explaining that "the reason you pushed me is that you were angry and had a need to be included in the game". In this narrative argument, Maryam understands that the cause of her friend's action is anger rooted in the universal human need of being socially included (Rosenberg & Chopra, 2015). The present findings seem to be consistent with the result from previous studies on the mother-child's narrative co-construction of emotional experiences indicated that mother's use of clear and elaborative discourse in the conversations facilitate children's understanding of emotions (Fivush et al., 2006; Fivush, 2007). Although these findings differ from Fivush, McDermott Sales & Bohanek (2008) found no relations between mothers' elaborative narrative and children's narrative meaning-making of negative events.

Consistent with the present results, EI interventions such as RULER emphasizes teaching emotion vocabulary and storytelling in its feeling word curriculum. RULER has used step-by-step guided questions, named the Blueprint anchor tool, to scaffold students' narrative of a conflict event using self-reflection and perspective-taking. The blueprint tool guide students to ask questions such as "How did I (and the other person) feel?" and "What caused me (and the other person) to feel this way?" followed by asking oneself questions to reflect on how one can regulate him/her emotions. Likewise (Nathanson, Rivers, Flynn, & Brackett, 2016). The other EI program, PATH, applied an autobiographical narrative. i.e., telling stories of one's personal experiences as the base of their practices. PATH program integrated emotion vocabularies into the everyday classroom and school routines using storytelling around feelings to promote students' skills in interpersonal problem solving and emotional understanding (Greenberg & Kusché, 2006).

The result showed that the merged narrative practices increased EI. Based on the social interactionist theories merging oral and written discourse might have provided a meaningful literacy context for students. Children might utilize developmentally appropriate strategies such as play and associative language to

enhance their writing when they work with peers (Gee, 2015). In line with Lee's (2007) Cultural modelling approach, we assume student might externalize the reading process through classroom dialogue with their peers to draw on their developmentally and socio-culturally appropriate oral language strategies such as playing, explaining, exploring, arguing with language for making sense of literary texts. Studies suggested that discussion with classmates lead students to acquire high-level literacy skills such as interpreting and exploring the perspective of characters and comparing them with their own, which is still developing for adolescent readers (Lawrence & Snow, 2010; Lee, 2011). A meta-analysis by Murphy, Wilkinson, Soter, Hennessey and Alexander (2009) reported an increase in student-teacher talk and more student engagement in literacy tasks when oral practices such as classroom talks, and literate language tasks are integrated. These results match those observed in the EI program, such as the Reading, Writing, Respect, and Resolution (4Rs) that integrated the oral co-narrative practices: applying interpersonal negotiation strategies and the literacy-based curriculum: story reading and discussion its curriculum (Jones et al., 2010). Many other programs such as PATH and RULER applied both the oral and literary narrative to increase the EI of students (Nathanson, Rivers, Flynn, & Brackett, 2016; Greenberg & Kusché, 2006; Jones et al., 2010).

Students in the literary narrative group showed no increase in EI. These students received a teacher's guide on reading and writing literary narrative; however, they practiced literacy as a task that is needed to be done individually. We assume that children might have more difficulty in literacy tasks when the oral language element is missing from the instruction. The point of the story and emotions in the oral practices are conveyed through paralinguistic and non-verbal messages in an immediate shared context with the frequent collaboration of the co-narrator. In contrast, writing language conveys meaning only through the verbal channel. It put additional cognitive demands on children to provide contextual information and emotional signals such as tone of voice and facial expressions through lexicalization (Gee, 2015). Additionally, we assume that due to their cultural background, students might have preferred the oral narrative tradition influenced by the speech styles of their community (Marzolph, 2020).

In composing narrative with teachers, children tend to talk, and act based on previous plans and avoid spontaneous talk to take the less intellectual risk. In the merged group, students wrote narrative with peers through classroom talk. Therefore, children might make sense of the stories in peer interaction using the narrative style of their community and interpret text with equally novice peers (Blum-Kulka & Snow, 2004). In contrast, in the literary narrative group, students wrote narrative with teachers who tend to use expert strategies. Thereby, children only have access to the privileged discourse model of the school culture. Even though teacher's discourse may support the structure or cognitive aspect of writing,

it may not have provided children with specific social and affective contexts like collaborative narratives to support their sense-making process (Lee, 2007).

Conclusion

This study extended previous studies investigating the oral and written narrative elements and their specific effects on students' EI. The majority of previous research on using narrative practices in increasing EI comes from the white western sample. Thus, this study contributes to the better implication of narrative in EI programs considering the narrative style of students with different cultural backgrounds. Oral language strategies as the developmentally and socio-culturally appropriate tool can be applied in literacy practices and instruction to involve student's more with making sense of text which may subsequently facilitate the learning process in EI interventions. In contrast, solitary literacy practices in EI education might mismatch between the students' primary discourse and meaning making processes, and the discourse valued at school.

Limitations and Future Directions

The results should be interpreted cautiously since the result might only reflect the short-time effect of the interventions. The study did not measure the long-term effect of the interventions through follow-up measurements of the outcome. Besides, the students' EI measured by self-report test; thus, the result may be affected by social desirability bias. Future studies could measure EI using performance-based measurements to examine the difference in the results. Also, the study included only one class per condition; thus, the difference in school, staff, teachers, or students in each condition may have acted as mediator and affected the study results. Finally, the study should be generalized with caution to other situations since the sample consisted of only female students, age: 12, with a Middle Eastern background. Futures studies recommended investigating the different effects of emotional expression in oral and written narrative modes. These differences may assist educators to customize the use of oral and written narrative in EI education, considering student's developmental status and socio-cultural differences to optimize its effects.

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NOSTALGIA AS A DEVICE FOR DEALING WITH TRAUMATIC EXPERIENCES DURING THE COVID-19 CRISIS

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Abstract. The paper is an investigation of nostalgia in its diverse manifestations in social media, mainly Facebook, during COVID-19 crisis in Bulgaria and is based on pre-observation which shows that communication through social media at that period was largely nostalgic. The study considers nostalgia as a strategy for dealing with the 2020 state of emergency during which the lack of physical contact and social experiences can create preconditions for anxiety, depression and fear leading to traumatic consequences. The research is based on empirical material actively collected using the method of the included observation in the period from the 15th of March 2020, when the state of emergency in connection with COVID-19 was declared in Bulgaria, until the 30th of June 2020. The purpose of the paper is to present the nostalgic modes in Facebook and to reveal the reasons for their success as communicative and social messages. Applying interdisciplinary and multimodal approach the study describes the nostalgic manifestations by classifying thematically the initiatives, communication strategies and topics, oriented towards the past, as well as revealing their meaning for the society. The results show that the main role of nostalgic Facebook modes is to unite people in times of isolation, to raise their spirit and thus save them from the traumas that the COVID-19 crisis can cause. The multimodal analysis of the Facebook images from the empirical data confirms that social media and modern technologies make it possible to create `new products` based on old stories or memories that acquire a new meaning in the specific COVID-19 situation, modelled by the culture and mentality of Bulgarians in isolation.

Keywords: nostalgia, COVID-19, Bulgarians, social media, trauma

Тодорова Біляна, Падарєва-Ілєва, Ґерґана. Ностальгія як засіб подолання травматичого досвіду під час пандемії COVID-19.

Анотація. Стаття має завданням дослідити ностальгію у розмаїтті її проявів у соціальних мережах, головним чином у Facebook, під час кризи COVID-19 у Болгарії. Дослідження ґрунтується на попередньому спостереженні, яке показує, що спілкування шляхом соціальних мереж в той період було здебільшого ностальгічним. Автори розглядають ностальгію як стратегію боротьби з надзвичайним станом 2020 року, під час якого відсутність фізичного

контакту та соціального досвіду могли створити передумови для тривоги, депресії та страху, що призводять до травматичних наслідків. Дослідження використовує емпіричний матеріал, дібраний із використанням методу включеного спостереження в період з 15 березня 2020 року, коли в Болгарії було оголошено надзвичайний стан у зв'язку з COVID-19, до 30 червня 2020 року. Мета статті – представити види ностальгічних переживань у Facebook та розкрити причини їхньої популярності/успішності як комунікативних та соціальних повідомлень. Застосовуючи міждисциплінарний та мультимодальний підхід, дослідження описує ностальгічні прояви, класифікуючи тематично ініціативи, комунікаційні стратегії та теми, зорієнтовані на минуле, а також виявляючи їхнє значення для суспільства. Результати засвідчують, що головна роль ностальгічних переживань у Facebook – об'єднувати людей у періоди ізоляції, піднімати їхній дух і тим самим рятувати їх від травм, які може спричинити криза COVID-19. Мультимодальний аналіз зображень Facebook на основі емпіричних даних переконує, що соціальні медіа та сучасні технології дають змогу створювати «нові продукти» на основі старих історій чи спогадів, що набувають нового значення в конкретній ситуації COVID-19, модельованій культурою і ментальністю болгар в ізоляції.

Ключові слова: *ностальгія, COVID-19, болгари, соціальні мережі, травма.*

Introduction

The concept of nostalgia has become very popular in the last decade, and the observations show that its influence at the time of crises increases. Although nostalgia is broadly used as a manipulative means by PR specialists, politicians, etc. (Padareva-Ilieva & Todorova, 2016), it has also been used as a means of overcoming the psychological consequences of the isolation, anxiety and trauma during the COVID-19 crisis since the beginning of March 2020 because of its potential to bond with others (Niemeyer & Wentz, 2014, p. 129), to increase optimism and to mobilise people for action (FioRito & Routledge, 2020).

The concept of nostalgia

As is known, "[t]he word "nostalgia" comes from two Greek roots: νόστος, *nóstos* ("return home") and ἄλγος, *álgos* ("longing")[...] In spite of its Greek roots, the word "nostalgia" did not originate in ancient Greece […]The word was coined by the ambitious Swiss student Johannes Hofer in his medical dissertation in 1688." (Boym, 2001)

It could be seen as a negative phenomenon (for example, Abramov, Chestiakova, 2012), as it "fuelled populism and nationalist identity politics" (Menke & Schwarzenegger, 2016, p. 2).

At the same time nostalgia may be seen "as a creative and progressive resource, a tool for commodification, or an agent for identity and community building to articulate cultural or generational belonging" (Menke & Schwarzenegger, 2016, p. 2). The positive consequences of nostalgia have been also investigated (Sedikides, 2015; Sedikides & Wildschut, 2016, etc.). Kalinina (2016, p. 11) makes an overview of the research of different investigators, who consider that nostalgia is a way for easier crossing through difficult times and concludes that

"[n]ostalgia, therefore, can be regarded as an essential tool that individuals use to adapt to unavoidable changes in life." Moreover, nostalgia may help people to connect with others (Batcho, 2007) and it may provoke inspiration, influence positively creativity and increase optimism (Sedikides & Wildschut, 2016). As we are all living in unprecedented times – the world lockdown with an obscure end has never happened before, all these features become important.

Nostalgia may be seen as an emotion as well. Havlena and Holak mention that the "bittersweet" quality of the emotion is a distinguishing characteristic of nostalgia. It refers back to an earlier period in the individual's life and draws on biased or selective recall of past experiences. According to authors, it may be described as "a painful yearning to return home" and it is broadly used in advertising, marketing and PR. As we may see, at the time of corona-crisis when the home was the permanent place of living, nostalgia changes its parametres and starts representing the longing for the previous life, the longing for *normality*. And this is not surprising. The person who is sent away desires to come home, the person at their home dreams about travelling. At the time of lockdown, the virtual memories which trigger nostalgic feelings became a path for the escape from the real immobility, from the spatial closure and by the help of nostalgia they re-construct the present, evoking memories to life.

As social life of people is very important for their mental and even physical health, the so-called social isolation (some people protested against the term and insisted on the terms physical distance and social solidarity) challenged everyone and nostalgia seems to be one of the strategies for overcoming the situation. According to FioRito & Routledge (2020) "[n]ostalgia involves reflecting on past experiences but it motivates affective states, behaviors, and goals that improve people's future lives". Sweeny (2020) states that "nostalgia is an emotional response to change". The author describes the two routes to nostalgia. "The first route to nostalgia we can identify is through a conscious longing for a different time or place. The route is connected to some memory or quasi memory that one has and it can be purposefully triggered, perhaps by being asked to consider some element of dissatisfaction with the present or simply the awareness of a substantial change in circumstances" (Sweeny, 2020). The other one "is through sensory data and it comes over one in a way that is immediate". (Ibid)

In the present situation, we could see both routes have been activated – the lockdown makes people dissatisfied with staying home and fearing; social media allows them to remember the past via some leisure activities: games, shares and others techniques which became very popular in the spring of 2020. Nostalgia gives people "the freedom to look back and find comfort in pre-pandemic times" (Gammon & Ramshaw, 2020, p. 1), as "[a] mixture of leisure and nostalgia during difficult times, for some, perhaps offers a palliative respite through social interaction, distraction, and escape as become a welcomed distraction across the generational spectrum." (Ibid, p. 4)

Research methodology

The aim of the study is to present nostalgia as a strategy for dealing with the state of emergency during COVID-19. In previous publications (Padareva-Ilieva & Todorova, 2016; Todorova & Padareva-Ilieva, 2018) nostalgia has been considered as a successful manipulative strategy applied in the Bulgarian media environment. During the state of emergency in 2020 nostalgic winds, memories of the past and literary reminiscences proved to be a successful strategy for dealing with physical isolation.

So, simultaneously with the calls *Stay home, it could save lives*, other calls appeared on social media – *To be healthy with poetry*, *We will cope together*, as well as campaigns such as *The Challenge Accepted*, *Memories in time of quarantin*e – all of them we consider as opportunities for dealing with the situation, having in mind that the state of emergency and physical isolation put the people in Bulgaria in front of a challenge that they had not faced so far. Man is a social being, and the lack of physical contact and social experiences can create preconditions for anxiety, depression, fear and this could lead to traumatic consequences. (Brooks et al., 2020, Ron, Cuéllar-Flores, 2020, Pandey et al., 2020, Odriozola-González et al., 2020, etc.). To save themselves and to preserve the spirit, to compensate for the lack of real human contact and normalcy in everyday life, people turned to memories. Communication through social media in the months of isolation was largely nostalgic.

The purpose of this paper is to 1) present the nostalgic modes in Facebook and classify thematically the initiatives, communication strategies and topics in the public space, oriented towards the past; 2) reveal the reasons for their success as communicative and social messages through their meaning in social media during an emergency situation.

Tools

In order to achieve the above goals, a set of methods and approaches was used in the analysis and classification, as well as in the explanation of the reasons for the nostalgic convertibility in the public space, especially intensified during COVID-19. Such a complicated phenomenon insists on using an interdisciplinary approach as so ethnolinguistic, linguocultural, linguopragmatic, psycholinguistic aspects of the investigated topic should be kept in mind. Moreover, the apparatuses of the discourse analysis, the descriptive method, and the content analysis also are appropriate (Todorova & Padareva-Ilieva, 2018). To investigate the cultural shaping of the nostalgic posts, to explain their social use in an emergency situation and to conceptualize the research data the multimodal analyses theories are also applied. A large scale of multimodal approaches have been applied so far and their value has been proved in different social, linguistic and other types of social media research as analysing and interpreting big social media data (Ch'ng et al., 2019), for example, looking into the Instagram's metonymy (Koowuttayakorn, 2018) on the basis of

multimodal semiotic approach (see Kress, 2009; Jewitt, Henriksen, 2016), doing content analysis of commercials (Serafini, Reid, 2019), investigating the role of images in social media analytics using multimodal digital humanities approach (O'Halloran et al., 2014), examining the multimodal dialogue on social media (Jovanovic & Van Leeuwen, 2018), or exploring internet memes as "Tactical" social action applying a multimodal critical discourse analysis approach (Ben Moussa et al., 2020), etc. The aims set in our study also require the use of inter-disciplinary and multimodal approach so as to explore the interdependence between the design and the use of nostalgic posts in social media, their role and meaning for the individual himself and for the community in the life-threatening situation in Bulgaria in 2020. The research is based on empirical material, which is carefully excerpted, analysed, systematised and classified aiming to not just describe and present the collected material, but to find the causal links between the *event* that gave rise to the specific communication, and nostalgia as a strategy for overcoming, experiencing the same *event*.

Procedure

As the communication at the time of physical isolation becomes mostly virtual, the empirical material from social media have been excerpted for the study. It includes posts (topics, personal opinions, initiatives) from Facebook personal profiles and groups. The material was actively collected using the method of the included observation in the period from 15.03.2020, when the state of emergency in connection with COVID-19 was declared in Bulgaria, until 13.05.2020, when it was terminated. During the following "emergency epidemiological situation" when the measures were weakened slowly almost the same trends were still observed. So we decided to add some material from 13.05.2020 to 13.06.2020.

The collected empirical data containing a nostalgic nuance has been classified and systematised into several thematic groups, concerning historical memories; personal childhood memories, literary reminiscences, nostalgic games. All of them will be presented consequently in the next part of the research.

Results and Discussion

The empirical material from each group was described and analysed according to the above-mentioned methods and approaches.

Historical memories

Kalinina (2016, p. 11), quoting their previous research (Kalinina & Menke, 2016) states that "[l]onging for an irrevocably lost moment of personal significance, people become curious and start to enquire about historical events". Are there other periods in time similar to the present, how do people survive, and even could such

time be a stimulus for achieving something important, creating or inventing? People`s curiosity has found examples which became very popular using the power of social media no matter whether they correspond to the historical truth or not – Newton described gravity in 1665 when Cambridge was closed due to a bubonic plague pandemic (Picture 3); the Russian poet Pushkin isolated in Boldino in 1830 (Pushkin's Boldino Autumn, known as the most fruitful in his life) due to an epidemic of cholera, created great works. This is the topic of the next post, and the comment below the picture of the Russian poet "quarantine also has a nice side, sometimes" (Picture 1) shows that the strategy has achieved its goal.
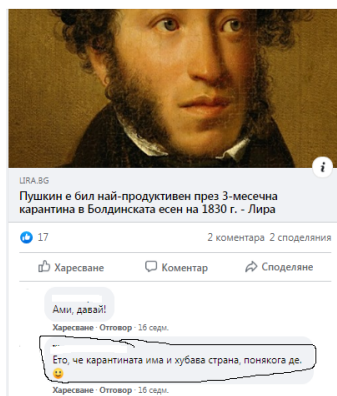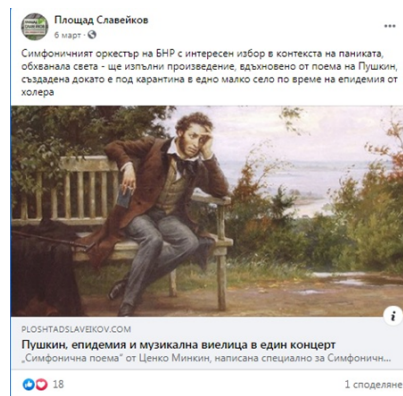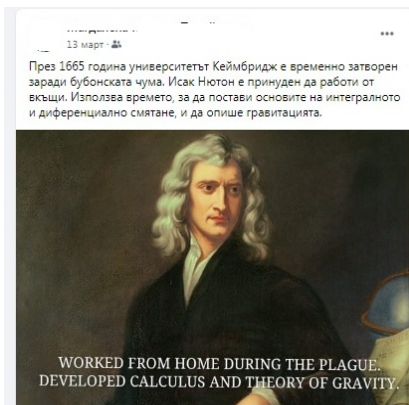
Picture 1.   Picture 2.   Picture 3.

The same fact about Pushkin`s Boldino period (Picture 1), is used for various purposes in the Internet. The post above Picture 2 says: "The Bulgarian National Radio Symphony Orchestra, with an interesting choice in the context of the panic that has gripped the world, will perform a work inspired by Pushkin, created while quarantined in a small village during a cholera epidemic".

It is an example for an interesting way to promote a new performance during pandemic situation using the photo of Pushkin and an appropriate text as a strategy for recalling an already popular fact. However, this choice is very indicative of what and how we choose to present, respectively to listen, watch and read, during isolation. We could say that the strategy of remembering the past also has the power to govern our present.

In this sense, the search for similar historical memories but from local history reminds about the plague of the late 18th and early 19th centuries in Bulgaria. A Facebook group "Are you from Bansko?" reminiscents about the plague in the town of Bansko titled "The lessons of the history" and explains how remembering past is a strategy for survival in the present time: "If we break away from the current troubles… if we look back at the past, we will notice the light that shines …, we will find grounds for optimism and support for our faith in good… There are many hardships that humanity has gone through in its development…. The epidemics have been an integral part of life for centuries. However, Bulgarians do not disappear, but survive."

The text is accompanied by a black and white picture of citizens from the past - evidence for the authenticity of the story (See Picture 4).

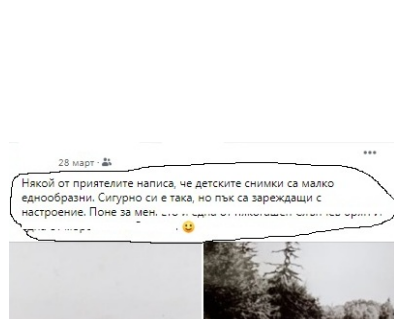Picture 4.   Picture 5.

Old newspaper copies (Picture 5) with news for the coronavirus Uhan from the year 1995 appeared also as posts in Facebook accompanied by comments or not (Picture 5) with the underlined title "*Uhan`95 flu virus steps on us*" so as to draw the users'attention to the news content which appears as a *deja-vu* in the current situation. The available comments below saying "*The corona is new, ha*?!?" or "*The same old new virus*" and the newspaper news itself aim to calm people down and reduce their fear of encountering something new and unfamiliar.

All the posts as the abovementioned compositions of an image, text and title, saved their popularity in Facebook for a long time in these first two months of the pandemic. Why do many users choose to re-publish these posts as a product to communicate with? We can assert with confidence that the reason is hiding in the social meaning they contain. We consider them as *semiotic resources* – meaningful *materials* that people use *for communicative purposes* (Jewitt & Henriksen, 2016), a recall from the past that is *actualised in a concrete* social context (Van Leeuwen, 2005, p. 285). Once these facts were just historical, scientific or media facts. Now they live 'a totally new life' as 'Facebook products' which have their role for the preservation of the individual and the community in times of fear, isolation, depression.

Personal memories

The memory of the personal past is also a manifestation of nostalgia in the time of COVID-19 crisis. Personal childhood memories 'arise' in Facebook with old black and white photos from tape cameras, photos from kindergarten, high school graduation or just memories without masks. Sharing pictures from the past, some of which provoked a lot of personal memories in the comments below, was a Facebook initiative that brought a strong emotional response. As Kalinina said "[o]pening

shoeboxes that contain various reminders of our individual pasts […] can unleash a flood of cherished memories that together constitute our personal and cultural identities." (Kalinina, 2016, p.6).
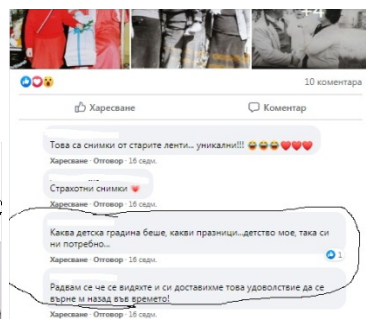
| Picture 6. | Picture 7. | Picture 8. |

The posts above or below photos are eloquent about about how important the personal memories are for the users: "*One of the friends wrote that the children's photos are a bit monotonous. Sure, but they're invigorating*", says the text in Picture 6 publishing two black-and-white photos from childhood. "*Wonderful memories during the quarantine. Let it be sunny and warm in our souls*" (Picture 8). Sometimes the published photos from kind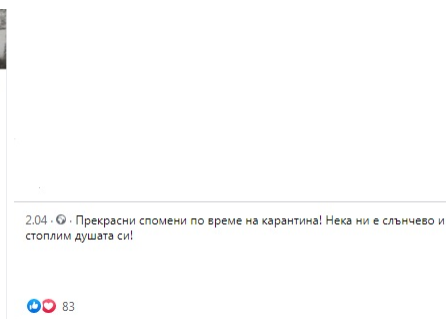ergarten or high school graduation cause a real furore of emotional posts from other users who have identified themselves in these photos (Picture 7). "*These are photos from the old tapes. Unique!", "Great pictures", "What a kindergarten it was!...", "I'm glad you saw each other and that we took the pleasure to go back in time*" (Picture 7). This is how personal memories are in fact shared memories, memories of people who have once shared a moment in their lives and this moment now through social media unites them again and saves them from isolation. Something more, these black-and-white photos are actually part of the cultural identity of an entire generation that has grown during or shortly after socialism. A generation that suffered consciously because of COVID-19 isolation and found salvation in communicating memories via Facebook. So instead of experiencing traumatic and negative emotions due to physical isolation (Saladino, Algeri, & Auriemma, 2020) people indulge in warm memories that direct their attention away from COVID-19 reality.

Literary reminiscences

The situation provokes people to share parts of books devoted to other epidemics (usually plague epidemic). Although these novels and stories recall past but difficult times, they as well give some aesthetic pleasure, provoke solidarity, reflective thoughts, and help to make parallels with the present situation. At the same time, the literary texts make the described historical events more vital and moving. Sometimes the panic now provokes interest to similar events in the past (Picture 9). The text under picture 9 states: "70 years later: Albert Camus' The

117

Plague – a bestseller because of the coronavirus", and the text over the picture of Camus and the book covers says: "The panic empties movies theatres, fiction for deadly diseases and epidemics is sought".
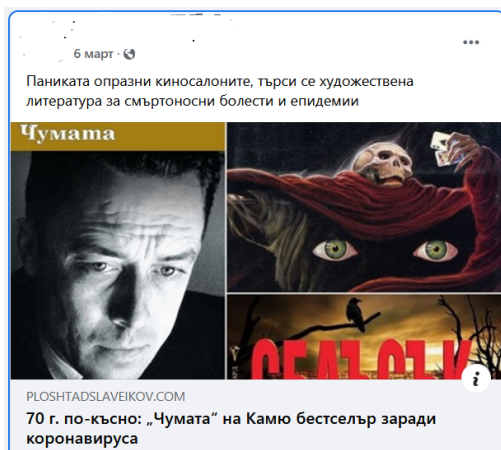
Picture 9.
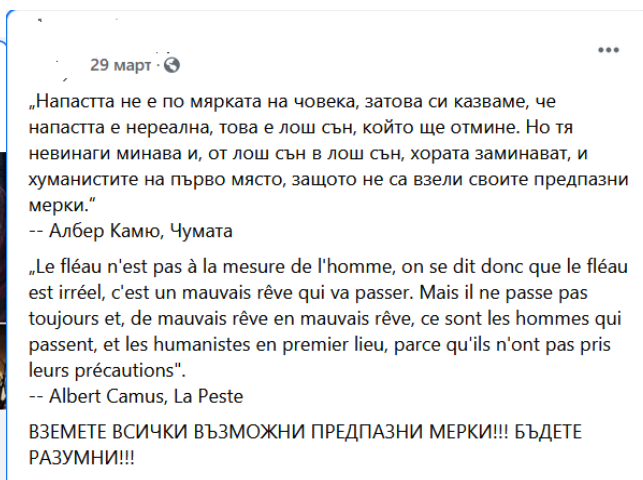
Picture 10.
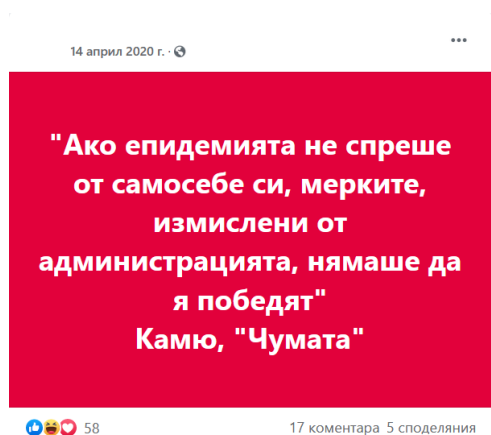
Picture 11.
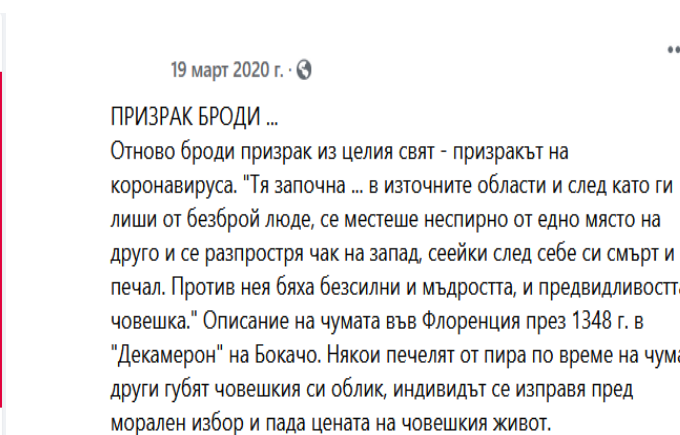
Picture12.

In picture 10 a part of Camus' novel is cited in Bulgarian and French: "A pestilence does not have human dimensions, so people tell themselves that it is unreal, that it is a bad dream which will end. But it does not always end and, from one bad dream to the next, it is people who end, humanists first of all because they have not prepared themselves." The text gives the reason for the author of the post to exclaim: "Take all possible precautions! Be reasonable!"

Picture 11 presents a post with the following citation from Camus' novel: "If the epidemic hadn't stopped by itself, measures, devised by the administration, would not have overcome it."

In Picture 12, the description of the plague in Florencia in 1348 in Boccaccio's "The Decameron" is presented. "…several years earlier had originated in the Orient, where it destroyed countless lives, scarcely resting in one place before it moved to

the next, and turning westward its strength grew monstrously. No human wisdom or foresight had any value:"[1] The post discusses some moral problems connected to such crises: "Some gain from the feast in time of plague[2], others lose their human face, the individual faces a moral dilemma and the cost of human life falls". As is seen, the literature evokes thoughts, emotions and gives hope as all these severe crises are behind us.

Bulgarian stories about epidemics from some of the most famous writers are also mentioned:

9 април 2020 г. · ⊕

Аз, таквозинака, малко класика да припомня в контекста на деня, туйнака...

НАПАСТ БОЖИЯ

Елин Пелин

14 март 2020 г. · ⊕

- Кой мре? Къде мрат? Какво ми дрънкате вие мене! Никаква чума няма, ви казвам аз. Ако мрат някои, мрат от страх. Така е - уплаши ли се човек, поиска ли да умре, ще умре.

UCHITELI.BG
🎭 През чумавото - Uchiteli.bg
Когато стигнаха под асмата и повдигнаха очи, там...
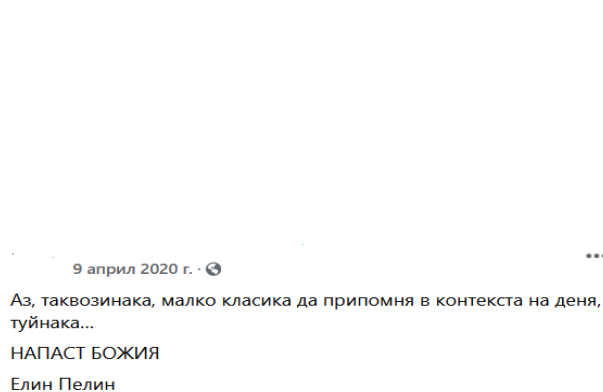
Picture 13.   Picture 14.

Picture 13 introduces Elin Pelin's story "The Plague of God" , written in 1901. The plot of the story contradicts scientific knowledge to traditional beliefs. The author of the post reminds us of the story starting with the words: "I'm recalling a bit of a classic in the context of the day…" The critical situations years and even centuries ago through the eyes of the writers are seen as lessons of the past which may teach us and give us hope as science has been much developed since then.

Picture 14 presents Yordan Yovkov's story "Through the plague" (1927) with the next part quoted: "Who dies? Where do they die? What do you tell me? There is no plague, I'm telling you. If some people die, they die because of fear. If the person is afraid, if they want to die, they will die." The picture presents the idyllic rural picture with sheep, a shepherd and a beautiful girl in close-up. As the main message of the whole Yovkov's text is that love may overcome fear and even the sacrifice of love is beautiful and blessed, the idea of the post is to give some hope.

To sum up, this group is mostly text-focused – images are few and only picture 14 functions as a multimodal item. The quoted literary texts are not always really positive ones. However, all of them present some similar epidemics in the past. The fact that these crises have been overcome gives some hope and provokes thoughts and memories. At the same time, it develops bonds with people, who like, share or

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[1] The English translation used here is made by Richard Hooker (1993)
https://sourcebooks.fordham.edu/source/decameronintro.asp
[2] *Feast in Time of Plague* is a title of a play by Aleksandr Pushkin

comment on the posts. We may conclude that these books, like television, function as "a complex time machine navigating in between an ephemeral present, an often unknown future and an intriguing past". (Niemeyer & Wentz, 2014, p. 130).

Nostalgic games

One of the most popular *nostalgic games* during quarantine was `travelling` with memories, i.e. photos with comments such as "*Good memories feed the soul during isolation*". *Travel with memories during quarantine* is a very productive initiative which provoked emotional response and at the same time was fun for the users. They publish their photo memories of experiences, travels, etc. before isolation. Travel constraints during COVID-19 pandemic affected tourist nostalgia (Jian, Lin, & Zhou, 2021) and for the people who are fond of travelling this was the only way to overcome those constraints.
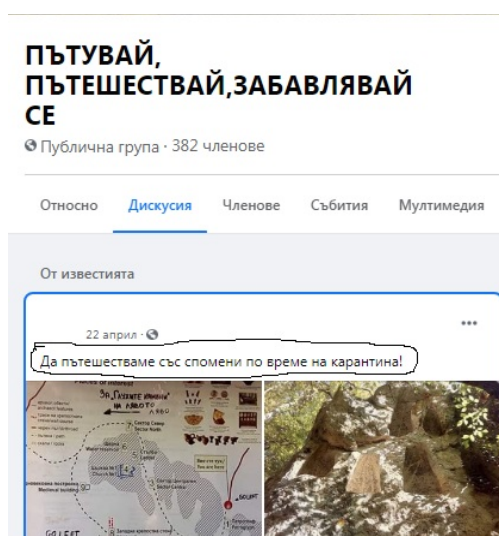
Pictire 15.

Picture 16.

There were public Facebook groups as "Travel and have fun" which invite there group members to `travel` with memories during quarantine (Picture 15). A map with places to visit is an appropriate picture to accompany such an invitation. And the responses with travel memories literally flooded Facebook. Pictire 17, for example, presents a post saying "*Apparently this spring we`ll spend in memories*" above a picture from a family journey abroad 7 years ago. Other inviting posts are much more impressive both in terms of text and in terms of the image (Picture 16). The text says: "*During quarantine, unemployment, hopelessness and inhospitable borders we can still travel. In our good memories, we are transported to the most magical places in seconds*" and the image contains a detail reminding of fridge magnets bought during travelling, from a landscape of Prague and from an old Bulgarian house with people dancing in folk costumes.

There were also websites in Facebook as the Bulgarian Motorcycle Media which published on 2nd April, 2020 the following post: "At this time of the year we have always opened another motorcycle season. Well, this year's openings did not happen, so today's tease for friends and readers is to put a photo with the opening of the motorcycle season from previous years. […]we may be in quarantine, but we have memories, right?" (Picture 18).

Returning, although virtually, to better times, to good memories and pleasant emotions is the meaning of the nostalgic games. On the other hand, they unite Facebook users to overcome physical distance and difficult times during COVID-19.
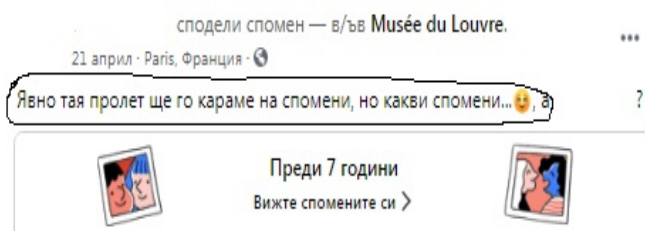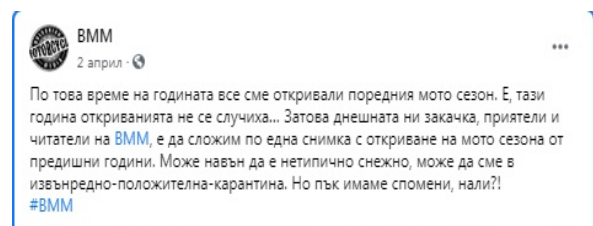
Picture 17.   Picture 18

As is seen, several groups of Facebook posts, which provoke nostalgia at the time of the state of emergency in Bulgaria (March-June 2020) have been found. They serve as a "glue" between the past and the present calling forth different times and places. The Bakhtin's *chronotope* is a complicated phenomenon and space and time are interrelated not only in the "real world" but in the "virtual" life as well. Kalinina (2016, p. 8) says that "[t]hrough creative practices such as interior design, packaging and branding, collecting souvenirs, and collective remembering in online communities engaged in the sharing of various media of the past, nostalgia constructs the past and reshapes the physical and virtual world we inhabit in our everyday lives. Hence, temporal nostalgia has never been separate from spatial nostalgia; rather, they have always been interconnected and entangled". The connection between time, space, personal and social history and nostalgia is expressed by Bartlett (2020), who adds: "Places are saturated with meanings, made across many different modes: visual, spatial and musical as well as oral and memorial. But a cultural system is more than nostalgia and it is as material as it is semiotic." (Bartlett, 2020, p. 17). That is why the posts are multimodal, they present personal or historical information which is both visual (pictures, sometimes videos, etc.) and textual (memories, quotes from books or the whole stories). All of them bond people, try to calm, to inspire, to ponder deeply. More investigations of other media – traditional or web-based, may show some similar or different observations concerning the role of nostalgia in coping with the traumatic situation linked with the COVID-19 crisis.

Conclusions

The study which investigates the publications with a nostalgic nuance in social media between March and June 2020 have shown the following groups of multimodal posts:

- Presenting historical memories – memories of great personalities who in past centuries, in time of isolation due to pandemics, made great discoveries, created literary texts (Newton, Pushkin); memories of similar periods in Bulgaria in past centuries (the plague in the late 18th and early 19th century);
- Presenting personal childhood memories – publishing old black-and-white photos from tape cameras, photos from kindergarten, high school graduation;
- Presenting literary reminiscences – the quotations from literary works are shared to remind us of past epidemics, to calm us that the situation is not unprecedented and to make us wiser and more patient.
- Presenting nostalgic games – users or Facebook groups initiatives as "Travel with memories during quarantine" which challenge the others to publish their photos of experiences, travels, etc. before isolation. Our observations show that this group because of the multiple responses of the nostalgic initiatives is the largest one and it needs more profound investigation.

As a result of this study, we could say that nostalgia through its diverse manifestation in social media manages to unite people in the presence of physical isolation, to take care of their mood, to remind them of long-forgotten wonderful experiences and thus save them from trauma which the COVID-19 constrictions and fears may cause. Social media and modern technologies make it possible to create 'new products' based on old, forgotten stories or memories that live 'a new meaningful life' in the specific COVID-19 situation, modelled by the culture and mentality of Bulgarians in isolation.

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BORDER CROSSINGS THROUGH THE EYES
OF A FEMALE NARRATOR: CONCEPT BORDER IN LAURA INGALLS
WILDER'S LITERARY DISCOURSE

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Abstract. Many recent studies have focused on the depiction of BORDER from the point of view of cognitive linguistics, gender studies, cultural studies. However, little research has been undertaken to study the books for children that address questions of borderlands, territorial and metaphorical borders in historical and modern fiction among which is Laura Ingalls Wilder's Little House Series. The objective of this article is to study the portrayal of cultural concept BORDER from the perspective of a female child narrator in Laura Ingalls Wilder's literary discourse, focusing on the depiction of territorial and metaphorical borders in order to establish the possible influences and interrelations. The multidisciplinary approach that combines the methods and former research findings of such disciplines as cognitive linguistics, psycholinguistics, border studies, discourse studies is implemented to determine the narrator model and the peculiarities of psychonarration in the book series; classify concept BORDER from the point of view of cognitive linguistics and restructure its components; provide an analysis of the figurative and associative layer of the cultural concept BORDER and examine the role of the verbalization of feelings and emotions in the portrayal of territorial and metaphorical border crossings in Wilder's books. Overall, it is assumed that the female child narrator has been chosen by the author based on the psychological peculiarities of the target audience of the books. The results indicate that the combination of the external and internal forms of psychonarration ensures a clearer portrayal of the female perception of border crossings in the analyzed discourse. The territorial and metaphorical borders depicted in Wilder's works are interwoven and influenced by historical, biographical, gender, and psychological peculiarities.
Keywords: *child-narrator, concept BORDER, female narrator, literary discourse, metaphorical borders, psychonarration, territorial borders.*

Запорожець Галина, Стодолінська Юлія. Перетини кордонів очима жінки-наратора: концепт КОРДОН у літературному дискурсі Лори Інглз Вайлдер.

Анотація. Останнім часом з'являється дедалі більше наукових розвідок у галузі когнітивної лінгвістики, гендерних та культурних студій, які присвячено дослідженню актуалізації кордонів. Однак дитячі книги, що висвітлюють питання прикордонних

територій, територіальних і метафоричних кордонів в історичній та сучасній художній літературі, серед яких серія книжок для дітей відомої американської письменниці Лори Інглз Вайлдер «Маленький будинок», ще мало досліджені. Метою статті є аналіз репрезентації культурного концепту КОРДОН з точки зору дитини-наратора (дівчинки) в американському літературному дискурсі Лори Інглз Вайлдер, зосереджуючись на відтворенні територіальних і метафоричних кордонів для встановлення можливих взаємовпливів. Міждисциплінарний підхід поєднує методи та попередні надбання вітчизняних та зарубіжних науковців галузей когнітивної лінгвістики, психолінгвістики, прикордонних студій, дискурсології для того, щоб визначити роль обраної моделі наратора та особливості психонаративу у досліджуваних творах американської письменниці, класифікувати концепт КОРДОН та реструктурувати його компоненти, проаналізувати образно-асоціативний шар культурного концепту КОРДОН та дослідити роль вербалізації почуттів та емоцій у розкритті особливостей зображення перетинів територіальних і метафоричних кордонів у творах Лори Інглз Вайлдер. Загалом, вважаємо, що дитину-наратора (дівчинку) обрано авторкою на основі психологічних особливостей цільової аудиторії книжок. Результати дослідження свідчать про те, що поєднання зовнішньої та внутрішньої форми психонаративу забезпечує чіткіше зображення жіночого сприйняття перетину кордонів у аналізованому літературному дискурсі. Територіальні та метафоричні кордони, репрезентовані у творах Лори Інглз Вайлдер тісно переплітаються та залежать від історичних, біографічних, гендерних та психологічних особливостей.

Ключові слова: дитина-наратор, жінка-наратор, концепт КОРДОН, літературний дискурс, метафоричні кордони, психонаратив, територіальні кордони.

Introduction

At all times of its existence the USA has been the country of borderlands, encompassing not only territorial borders between states, territories, neighboring countries but also cultural borders which are created or influenced by territorial borders and vice versa. The American literary discourse encompasses numerous works where the question of border crossings comes into play and children's literature is not an exception. Books for children address the questions of borderlands, territorial and metaphorical borders in historical and modern fiction. The attention of specialists in contemporary literary, cultural, and psycholinguistic studies in North America and beyond has turned to these books once again making an attempt to "reread" them as a number of rather controversial topics, such as gender and racial issues are triggered (Clasen & Hassel, 2019; Zanfabro, 2017).

Laura Ingalls Wilder's *Little House Series* books, written from a female perspective, have been famous among readers from the date of publication and continually draw the attention of experts in Gender and Literature studies. Researchers have mostly focused on the correlations of the author's and the main character's biographies. Thus, Ketcham (2015) tries to define the place of Wilder's works in historical context. Maher (1994) compares and contrasts the borderlands depicted in Laura Ingalls Wilder's and Caddie Woodlawn's books. Romines (1997) studies the content of the novels and the process of their creation from an interdisciplinary perspective, gender and cultural studies in particular. However, concept BORDER in Laura Ingalls Wilder's literary discourse has not yet been studied from a linguocultural, cognitive, and psycholinguistic perspective.

Methods

The aim of this article is to study the portrayal of the concept BORDER from the perspective of a female child narrator in Laura Ingalls Wilder's literary discourse, focusing on the depiction of territorial and metaphorical borders in order to establish the possible influences and interrelations between them. The subject of analysis is the *Little House* book series and the object is the specifications of territorial and metaphorical borders' portrayal in the works of the author depicted by the female narrator. The novels of the *Little House Series* are the material for research.

The first part of the article investigates the narrator model chosen by Laura Ingalls Wilder as one of the participants of the literary discourse and the peculiarities of psychonarration in the book series. The second part focuses on classifying the concept BORDER from the point of view of Cognitive Linguistics and restructuring its components. The third part provides a study of the figurative and associative layer of the cultural concept BORDER as well as the analysis of the role of the depiction of feelings and emotions in the portrayal of territorial and metaphorical border crossings in Wilder's books.

Methodology of the research, which is grounded on the aim, requires an integrative multidisciplinary approach that combines the methods and former research findings of such disciplines as cognitive linguistics (principles of interconnection of language and cognition (Bieliekhova et al, 2018; Kubriakova 2002), reconstruction of cultural concepts based on language data (Karasik et al, 2005)), psycholinguistics (the study of psycholinguistic processes in the broad context of thought and communication, necessity of simultaneous analysis of linguistic and psychological information (Ahrens, 2012; Bruner, 1975; Wertsch, 2009), gender aspects of concepts in discourses and narrations (Petiak, 2020; Stampino, 2014; Wall, 1994), the study of language as active and purposeful language activity (Bergen, 2012; Vygotskyi, 1996)), border studies (correlation of the notions of borders, borderlands, borderscapes (Brambilla, Laine, Scott, & Bocchi, 2017; Fellner, 2009; Schimanski, 2019; Wille, 2016)), discourse studies (theory of discourse as a cognitive and communicative phenomenon (Bondarenko, Martynyuk, Frolova, & Shevchenko, 2017; Gee & Handford, 2014; Prikhodko, 2013)).

As part of the psycholinguistic approach, in this research discourse is viewed as a complex communicative phenomenon which encompasses the social context, information about the discourse participants and the knowledge about the processes of text production and perception. Descriptive discourse analysis is applied to establish the psychological context and the components of the analyzed discourse, the author's intentions. Cognitive analysis was employed to classify the cultural concept BORDER in the literary discourse based on its structural-semantic, communicative-pragmatic, cognitive-semantic properties. Methods and procedures for conceptual and cognitive-semantic analysis were used to establish the components and linguocultural peculiarities of the analyzed concept. Peculiarities of

psychonarration in the analyzed book series are determined through the analysis of lingual and narrative means of the representation of different events from the life of the characters which actualize the emotional and psychological state of the characters and represent their attitudes and feelings about different types of borders.

Results and Discussion

The role of the female child-narrator in Laura Ingalls Wilder's literary discourse

Literary discourse is viewed as the discourse of fiction literature, which is characterized by the presence of anthropological and ideological factors influencing the formation of the reader's opinion (Perelomova, 2008, p. 81). An important feature of literary discourse is its pragmatic essence and the communication model *author – literary work – reader*. American literary discourse is a written type of discourse. It is considered to be an unaddressed discourse, aimed at a potential generalized addressee, not a specific person. The psychological and communicative contexts encompass such components of discourse as discourse participants, their communicative competence, aim, strategies, tactics, channel of communication (Karasik, 2007). Thus, the participants of the analyzed discourse are the author and the readers. The channels of communication are the books of the series. The author's main aim is to depict the life of pioneers in the 1870s-1880s as realistically as possible. She also strives to involve her readers in the process of analyzing the events and people's feelings described.

As children are the main target audience of the books, it is vital to understand psychological peculiarities of children's minds when choosing a narrator. In Psychology it is often claimed that men and women see the world differently: women tend to be more emotional and are attentive to detail (Baron-Cohen, 2004; Helgeson, 2020). Similarly, adults and children also see and percept the world differently – their worldviews are characterized by rather distinctive peculiarities (Lepskaya, 1997; Lust, 2011; Siegler, Eisenberg, Gershoff, Saffran, & Leaper, 2020). Psychological peculiarities of the communication models *adult-child* and *child-child* have been studied less than *adult-adult*. The communication model *adult-child* consists of four aspects: content, emotional, factual and linguodidactic (Lepskaya, 1997, p. 7). Since the child usually has insignificant communicative competence, the adult helps the child understand what is going on, how to behave and teaches the child to react appropriately in different situations. Wilder chooses a female child-narrator for her books. Her intention was to construct the model *child-child* in her books and to exclude the linguodidactic aspect so that the narrator and the reader are on the same level.

Among the different types of narrators, a peripheral and a third-person narrator should be distinguished. A third-person narrator is: "intrusive narrator who not only reports, but also comments on and evaluates the actions and motives of

the characters, and sometimes expresses personal views about human life in general" (Abrams & Harpham, 2015, p. 272). The peripheral narrator, on the other hand, just presents the facts, letting the readers make their own conclusions about the feelings and emotions of the protagonists (Abrams & Harpham, 2015, p. 275). The female child narrator and the main character in Wilder's books are supposedly different people, however, they are often perceived as a whole. Taking into consideration the proximity of the female narrator to the protagonist, the description and evaluation of the situations and feelings, it can be assumed that the author has chosen a third-person female narrator for the books, yet, leaving enough space for the audience to ponder over and judge the actions of the fictional characters.

In her works, Wilder draws on different means of psychological depiction of characters and events, which reinforces the psychologism of her works and leads us to the importance of elements of psychonarration in the Little House books. Psychonarration is the portrayal of psychological and emotional states of the character, thus, reflecting the author's assessment of reality (Izotova, 2015, p. 45). Cohn distinguishes consonant ("the narrator cannot be grasped as a separate entity within the text" (Cohn, 2011, p. 30)) and dissonant ("narrator even as he focuses intently on an individual psyche, remains emphatically distanced from the consciousness he narrates") psychonarration (Cohn, 2011, p. 26). Wilder uses consonant psychonarration because the thoughts and feeling of the main character are portrayed without being criticized or denied. The combination of external (verbal portrayal of external expressions of different emotional states of the characters, i.e. mimics, gestures, etc.) and internal (depiction of character's emotions and feelings through self-description, i.e. inner monologue, dreams, etc.) forms of psychonarration (Izotova, 2015, p. 46) in the Little House books ensures a clearer portrayal of the individual's inner experience and their attitude to different types of borders depicted in the book series.

Thus, the choice of the female child-narrator is supposedly dictated by the wish to make the books understandable and close to the child readers and attractive for the adults. The child's perception of the world (especially that of a girl) which is considered to be fresh, attentive to detail and very sincere is portrayed verbally through the elements of psychonarration in the analyzed discourse and encourages the readers to trust the female child-narrator.

The classification and structure of the concept BORDER

The problem of concept classification has been researched by different scholars, among whom are Karasik, Prikhodko, Vorkachov to name a few. Prikhodko differentiates monodiscursive and polydiscursive concepts based on the actualization of a concept in one or several discourses accordingly (Prikhodko, 2013). Cognitive and discourse analysis made it possible to determine that the polydiscursive cultural concept BORDER is one of the central concepts in the analyzed American literary discourse. It is not limited to one particular discourse and can be actualized in different discourses (political, business, literary, etc.).

Karasik suggests classifying concepts based on their structural and semantic, cognitive and semantic, communicative and pragmatic properties (Karasik, 2007). According to its structural and semantic properties concept BORDER is considered to be a parametric concept (can have quantitative or qualitative indicators and may have both an abstract and material objectification). In terms of cognitive semantics concept BORDER is a universal concept (supranational character and worldwide significance although some properties may be limited to a certain nation or culture). Taking into consideration the communicative and pragmatic properties of the analyzed concept and the fact that it is a mental construct, which is associated with certain guidance characteristics, norms of behavior concept BORDER is classified as a regulatory concept.

Concepts are coded through language, thus, in order to portray the mental model of the concept it is appropriate to analyze their linguistic representation. The structure of the analyzed concept consists of the logical and notional as well as the figurative and associative layers. The analysis of the definitions given in the dictionaries shows that concept BORDER is revealed in two main subcategories: BORDER as a line, edge between something and BORDER as an area or part near the separating line (COD; MWOD). The common semantic features of the concept which are traced both in lexicographic sources and the concept realization in the analyzed discourse construct the core of logical and notional layer. These are the lexemes which represent the land in between two territories. All other characteristics do not have a universal character and are part of the periphery. These are the lexemes which encompass the divisional feature.

The figurative and associative layer encompasses the knowledge, images, and associations relevant to the concept. Domains *Territory*, *Society*, *Culture* enable the comprehension of the cultural concept BORDER through the eyes of a female narrator. The slots of these domains are filled with nominative units which identify territorial and metaphorical borders. Such nominative and attributive characteristics as territorial peculiarities, age, gender, social roles, cultural norms which are expressed by different parts of speech, contribute to a more detailed presentation of borders.

Territorial and metaphorical borders in Laura Ingalls Wilder's literary discourse

Semantic analysis of the means of verbalization of each conceptual layer indicates that they are used to represent the variety of territorial and metaphorical borders depicted in the analyzed discourse. As the territorial and metaphorical borders are depicted from the point of view of a female child narrator it is also important to analyze the elements of psychonarration in the books which portray the verbal descriptions of feelings, emotions, inner monologues relevant to the perception of different borders.

Territorial borders

Territorial borders are portrayed from the female point of view in all of the books of the series and can be classified into state/territory, natural, and physical borders. These borders can be interchangeable and can substitute or supplement one another.

As the Ingalls family changes their place of living they travel for hundreds of miles and go from one state or territory to another. The borders between different states are often present only on the maps and official documents without any physical representation.

The natural borders are different in the books of the series and are presented through type of land (i.e. wood, prairie), geographic component (i.e. state, rural place, town). In each story the life of the family is described in a place which is the borderland itself, a certain periphery, or the place that is subject to certain natural borders (often the border between the world that is known to the family, already investigated by them, the so-called civilization and the world that is unknown and not yet explored, wild territory which needs to be settled).

As the story unveils, territorial borders become more obvious and much narrower. The vast and almost empty prairie land that was home to the Ingalls family is replaced with the buildings in the town that become the new home for the characters. During the life on the prairie Laura enjoys spending time outside where no borderline can be seen for miles ahead. She seems quite happy there which can be assumed from the verbal descriptions of the feelings of joy, happiness, and content (*she was smiling, Laura felt all excited at once* (Wilder, 2003d, p.12), *felt free and independent and comfortable together* (Wilder, 2003c, p.101)) caused by freedom and proximity to nature. A lot of the borders on the prairie are rather relative.

The life in the city has much more restricted space, both the town has its territorial limits and personal space is not so broad and unlimited as before. As the borders in the city become more evident, the verbal portrayals of happiness are substituted with the portrayals of fear and insecurity (*scared* (Wilder, 2003e, p.65), *she felt small and frightened … she could hardly breathe* (Wilder, 2003g, p.87), *… had never felt such a stillness. It was not the happy stillness of the prairie … felt it in the very pit of her stomach* (Wilder, 2003e, p.92)). Based on completely different descriptions of the feelings when living close to nature and when moving to town, it may be assumed that the territorial borders were extremely vivid for the characters and influenced their lives greatly.

Physical borders are portrayed as fences, walls, doors which set the dividing line between the properties of different people. Each time the family moves, Laura's father makes sure that they have their own house where thick walls are a border not only for natural phenomena but also for the visitors. The doors represent a revolving border – closed when visitors are unwanted and open when they are welcome. The glass windows become a transparent border – the glass protects from rain, snow, different insects, etc. but at the same time you can look straight through it and see

the endless prairie land that lies beyond. Overall, the natural and physical borders have a rather significant impact on the lives of the characters, their ways of life, feelings, and emotional state.

Metaphorical borders

The portrayal of borders in the novels is not limited to territorial borders. Certain metaphorical borders are depicted as well: the borders that arise in our cognition, the ones that often cannot be seen or explained but can be vividly felt. They are classified into personal and cultural.

The personal borders are based on age, gender, and social role differentiation. The opposition of the child and adult world where age is the border is vividly portrayed by the female child narrator in the presentation of Laura's life. When little Laura feels fantastic (*it felt so pleasant, and Laura felt so happy and good that no one would ever have thought she could be as naughty as she was that evening* (Wilder, 2003c, p. 44)) and wants her parents to run around and have fun with her, she is told that they are not supposed to do so because of the age (*they were too grown-up to show surprise. A grown-up person must never let feelings be shown by voice or manner* (Wilder, 2003c, p. 45)). It is hard for Laura to understand these limitations, to find the line that separates the two worlds at first. However, when she becomes an adult herself (*felt then that she was not a little girl any more, must behave like a grown-up* (Wilder, 2003f, p. 28)), she is the one who draws the border line between herself and her younger siblings (*Laura felt like crying, but of course she didn't. Only little babies cried* (Wilder, 2003f, p. 30)). She is the one who says that she is an adult and has to work and earn money instead of having fun with them (Wilder, 2003a, 2003f, 2003g). The age as a border limits actions, perceptions and feelings, implies certain responsibilities and restrictions for different age groups.

The gender principle influences personal borders in the story even stronger, it is the foundation of the division of roles and chores in the family. Wilder's books present Laura as the pioneer girl who attempts to break the traditional stereotypes, to move away from a strict division of activities based on the gender principle. Instead of spending time sewing and cooking, Laura prefers to spend time with her father and learn from him (Wilder, 2003d, p. 69). Laura is described as more reserved and afraid to show her feelings when she is around her mom (*she feels she must do it to please Ma, she would always be scared and she must never show it* (Wilder, 2003g, p. 56)). However, when Laura is around her father, she feels more confident, more at ease (*felt so happy running around the prairie barefoot while Pa was watching* (Wilder, 2003d, p. 34), *Pa understood how she felt* (Wilder, 2003g, p. 47)). The main character is strongly identified with Pa. She is stronger, more courageous than the other female characters, she is willing to take risks and overcome obstacles. Wilder shows how the women's roles are redefined and how personal gender borders begin to shift. As Maher claims, the female characters "cross personal borders into a redefined female space" (Maher, 1994, p.1 35).

American West is often defined as a cultural crossroads, a space defined by ever-shifting borders. The cultural borders are often directly connected to territorial borders and arise when the representatives of different cultures meet and live, especially on the borderlands. The little girl Laura faces the cultural differences when communicating with the Osage neighbors (some of whom were French), with the Scotts, Norwegians, Russians, etc. All the problems and challenges that the family comes across are portrayed through the eyes of a girl showing feelings of fear and insecurity at first which later on are replaced with confidence and trust. This is done to persuade the readers, both children and adults, that intercultural communication is rather important and to encourage them to learn new things as the children absorb new knowledge rather rapidly in their childhood. This approach promotes the acceptance of other cultures.

Interrelation of territorial and metaphorical borders

Romines emphasizes that the author of the *Little House* book series "began to propose some of the hardest and most persistent questions for an emigrant nation: questions of possible cultural interaction, cultural collision and a potentially multicultural life" (Romines, 1997, p.75). The most controversial episodes are portrayed in the book *Little House on the Prairie* when the family goes West into Kansas, which was considered to be the Indian Territory. In the novel, the comprehension of territorial borders by the main characters and their attitudes to them are impacted by the personal borders that evolve. Pa, who has the social role of the head of the family, at first, violates territorial borders of the Indian land. His attitude changes and, at a certain point, he acknowledges the Indian's right for the land and surrenders. Ma, according to the social norms, completely obeys her husband and the question of territorial borders is not an exception. Laura's difficult questions probe the viewpoints both of Ma and Pa. The female child narrator describes the diverse feelings and emotions of the characters in an attempt to depict how the age and gender borders prevent the characters from listening to each other and from exchanging the information.

No direct communication is seen in the episode with the Indians and the actions of the characters are often determined by certain personal assumptions, stereotypes, ideas, and beliefs. The Indians, on the one hand, according to their cultural norms and beliefs, try to preserve their territory. The Americans, on the other hand, are assured in their superiority and their right for the land which they consider to be unsettled. This is the vivid illustration of the violation of existing territorial borders combined with the existence of personal and cultural borders which resulted in misunderstandings and a significant culture clash.

Thus, the territorial borders as well as the metaphorical ones in the novels analyzed are constantly shifting as the Ingalls family moves West and gets acquainted with representatives of other cultures and nationalities. The verbal representation of different feelings shows the change of attitude to the representatives of different cultures and how the cultural borders may become more

or less significant depending on the character's individual experience and perception.

Conclusions

Overall, the analyzed literary discourse is a written discourse, the main participants of which are the author and the readers, the channel of communication – the books of the *Little House Series*. Wilder has chosen the female child-narrator based on the psychological peculiarities of the target audience of the books – children. Her intention was to depict the events realistically, involve readers in the process of event analysis, construct the model *child-child*, and to exclude the linguodidactic aspect so that the narrator and the reader are on the same level. The female narration strategy is seen in the combination of providing the factual description of the events taking place and letting the readers make their own judgements or offering elaborate portrayals of the actions and the feelings of the characters of the story. Wilder draws on different means of psychological depiction of characters and events, which reinforces the psychologism of her works and emphasizes the importance of elements of psychonarration in the Little House books. The female child-narrator's role is seen in depicting the interrelation of various borders, the so-called border crossings, by providing their detailed, accurate, and often emotional portrayal which is often original due to age and gender.

The integrative approach employed in the research has led to the conclusion that the concept BORDER is a parametric universal regulatory cultural concept. Its linguistic, cognitive, and semantic characteristics structure a new viewpoint on the female perception of border crossings in the literary discourse. The territorial and metaphorical borders depicted in Wilder's works are interwoven and influenced by historical, biographical, gender, and psychological peculiarities. The combination of the external and internal forms of psychonarration in the Little House books ensures a clearer portrayal of the female's inner experience and attitude to different types of borders depicted in the book series. Territorial borders cannot be studied separately because territorial border crossings raise a number of questions closely connected with personal and cultural borders. Only a complex analysis can reveal the interconnections of the borders and their mutual influence.

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FORGOTTEN STORIES OF WOMEN: INTERGENERATIONAL TRANSMISSION OF TRAUMA OF HOLODOMOR AND HOLOCAUST SURVIVORS' OFFSPRING

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Abstract. The aims of this study were to examine the intergenerational effects of two cultural contexts of massive genocide, the Holodomor 1932–1933 in Ukraine, and the Holocaust 1939–1944, on the second and third generations of women in Ukraine and Israel. Forty women participants were recruited for four focus groups, two in each country, comprised of 10 participants each, using a snowball method in both countries. The second-generation groups were termed "the mothers' group", and the third generation group (comprised of daughters of the mothers' groups) were called "the daughters' group". Inclusion criteria for sampling were (a) being female over 18 years old, and (b) having a family experience of the Famine 1932–1933 / Holocaust, 1939–1944. The groups were

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moderated by two experienced psychologists in each of the countries. The participants were presented with seven semi-structured questions and were asked to share their family narratives and experiences of the genocide. The study applied inductive thematic analyses that progressed from description to interpretation, for key themes that emerged during the group sessions. The results of the study showed the centrality of five emerging themes in both mothers' and daughters' narratives, including "emotions and feelings of experiencing genocide, "attitudes toward food and starvation", "sense of loss and death", "transgenerational transmission of trauma in family narratives", and "ethnic identity". The cross-cultural perspective of the current research shed light on the similarities and differences between the traumatic narratives constructed by the offspring of the second and the third generations in the two contexts of Ukraine and Israel. The Ukrainian women attributed greater importance of commemoration of Holodomor victims as part of an effective coping strategy with trauma, while the Israeli women put more emphasis on the adoption of asceticism that was inherited from the Holocaust survivors. The cross-cultural clinical and educational implications are discussed.

Keywords: female offspring of Holodomor/Holocaust survivors, mothers-daughters' narratives, psychotrauma of genocide, transgenerational transmission of trauma.

Засєкіна Лариса, Лешем Бекі, Гордовська Тетяна, Лешем Нета, Пат-Горенчик Рут. Забуті жіночі історії: трансгенераційна передача травми серед нащадків жертв Голодомору та Голокосту.

Анотація. Мета статті – вивчення трансгенераційного впливу двох геноцидів: Голодомору 1932–1933 та Голокосту 1939–1944 на друге і третє покоління жінок – нащадків цих геноцидів в Україні та Ізраїлі. Вибірку склали 40 осіб жінок, які брали участь у чотирьох фокус-групах, по дві фокус-групи (фокус-група матерів (друге покоління) та фокус-група дочок (третє покоління) у кожній країні, з кількістю 10 осіб у кожній групі. Основними критеріями для включення у фокус групу слугували а) приналежність до жіночої статі та вік понад 18 років; б) досвід Голодомору 1932–1933 / Голокосту 1939–1944 у родині. Модераторами групи були два досвідчених психолога у кожній країні. У дослідженні використовувався метод напівструктурованого інтерв'ю, упродовж якого досліджувані розповідали про досвід родини стосовно геноциду. Напівструктуроване інтерв'ю містило сім запитань: який досвід мала родина під час геноциду; як геноцид вплинув на їхню особистість; як вплинув геноцид на їхнє уявлення про себе, їхнє фізичне та психічне здоров'я; як вплинув геноцид на їхні стосунки зі значущими для них людьми; як вплинув геноцид на їхню професійну діяльність та їхнє професійне зростання; про які події, пов'язані із геноцидом, вони розмовляють зі своїми нащадками; що для них є найважливішим у їхніх спогадах. Результати використання методу індуктивного тематичного аналізу у сукупності описового та інтерпретаційного етапів свідчать про наявність п'яти спільних тем у фокус-групах дочок та матерів у двох різних культурних контекстах. До цих тем належать емоції та почуття стосовно Голодомору/Голокосту, ставлення до їжі та голод, сенс втрат та смерть, передача травми у сімейних наративах, етнічна ідентичність. Результати дослідження також дали змогу встановити відмінності у наративах жінок другого і третього покоління стосовно геноцидів у двох різних культурних контекстах. Українські жінки великого значення надають вшануванню пам'яті жертвам Голодомору як способу упередження геноциду у майбутньому. Жінки Ізраїлю акцентують увагу на аскетизмі та скромності, які успадковані від жертв Голокосту. Висвітлено крос-культурні клінічні та освітні аспекти проведеного дослідження.

Ключові слова: нащадки жертв Голодомору/Голокосту жіночої статі, наративи матерів та дочок, психічна травма геноциду, трансгенераційна передача травми.

Introduction

The twentieth century witnessed massive genocide that claimed the lives of 262 million victims, among them Jews and Ukrainians who suffered during both the Holocaust and Holodomor (Bemporad & Warren, 2018). A key aspect of genocide is that its effects last far longer than the physical annihilation of people, which may lead to transgenerational transmission of negative consequences. Evidence has suggested that psychotrauma in the context of genocide has been associated with various disorders in intergenerational communication within the survivors' families and with further disturbances of identity and wellbeing among the second generation (Brom, Kfir, & Dasberg, 2001). Studies focusing on different genocides have also shown the importance of transgenerational transmission of the narrative of collective trauma. Data from several studies suggest that there is increased anger, PTSD and experiences of continuous traumatic stress (CTS) in Holocaust survivors' offspring (Bar-On et al., 1998; Braga et al., 2012). Ethnic-related shame and guilt are defined as markers of moral injury in families affected by the Armenian genocide (Karenian et al., 2011). Increased suicides, helplessness and hopelessness are frequently encountered in the offspring of Canadian aborigines (Elias et al., 2012). Evidence consistently suggests that Chinese survivors avoid sharing family narratives about the Famine 1959–1961 in China with their offspring (Bianco, 2013; Weigelin-Schwiedrzik, 2006).

Less is known, however, on the impact of mass violence and political oppression specifically on women, and in particular, on mother-daughter relationships. Notably, Neimark (2001) argued that genocide is always misogynistic and directed predominantly at women, since they are "the cultural and biological repository of nation" (p. 83). Further, Bemporad & Warren (2018), capturing the key psychological effects of different genocides on women, and in particular, the lives of German-Jewish women in the Nazi-occupied East during the Holocaust and cases of cannibalism in the Holodomor, point out that traumatic memory is predominantly gendered; therefore, women's memory of genocide involves a deeper insight into political violence and oppression.

A women-centered perspective in genocide research was suggested by Jacobs (2004) to consider "gender-specific" traumas such as sexual assault, reproductive abuse, killing or abandoning children (p. 230). Regarding these "gender-specific" traumas, genocide represents experience, emotions and feelings for women, which may differ from those reported by men. Considering the fact that women often serve as the main translators of family narratives, the exploration of female transgenerational transmission of the personal and community narrative of genocide is of crucial importance. In addition, reconstruction of traumatic memory by women is a robust predictor of reconstituting post-trauma identity at both personal and collective levels (Rajiva & Takševa, 2020).

Exploring family narratives in females of the second and third generations could highlight the transgenerational mechanisms of transmission of psychotrauma in the context of genocide. It can shed light on the consequences of this

intergenerational transmission on both the distress level and the wellbeing of the subsequent generation, and clarify possible risks and protective factors (Bifulco, Spence, & Kagan, 2020). Individuals in the midlife phase often search for family history in order to pass it on to the younger generations (Freedman, 1999; Hammarström, 2005).

Yet, given the survivors tendency to avoid communicating about their traumatic experience (Fierke, 2004; Richman, 2006; van der Kolk, 2015), the third generation may have only a limited or basic idea of what happened to their parents during this traumatic period of time. Even when assuming relatively close relationships between mothers and daughters, sharing narratives among the generations may be complicated and may contribute to understanding the obstacles and the challenges in transgenerational transmission of psycho-trauma.

The aim of the proposed study is to extend the understanding of intergenerational transmission of genocide trauma, and specifically, to examine intergenerational effects of two cultural contexts of massive genocide; the Holodomor 1932–1933 in Ukraine, and the Holocaust Europe, 1939–1944, on the second and third generations of women in Ukraine and Israel.

Women's psychotrauma of the Holodomor

Bertselen (2018) argues that women have been target victims in any ethnic and political cleansing during genocide. With starvation as the main tool of genocide, the Holodomor is expressed not only in mental trauma but also with "moral injury" among women. Women had to break moral norms and rules in order to themselves survive and to save their families, sometimes committing crimes in a continuing search for food. Bertselen (2018) points to the existence of cannibalism, which led to defense mechanisms in order to cope with dehumanization, depersonalization, and lost-self-identification in women during the Holodomor 1932–1933. Having developed a new identity during the Holodomor, women rejected and resisted it at the same time because of its mismatch with their previous values and moral standards. However, this ambivalent identity allowed women partially to compensate distortions of moral norms, values and judgements, adjust to new patterns of immoral behaviour, and diminish moral emotions of disgust and anger. Kis (2020) points out that women's stories encompass about three quarters of all formal testimonies of the Holodomor, in which the idea of a mother's unconditional love and acceptance is partially destructed. Having described the concept of "besieged mother" as a set of mothers' behavioral patterns and practices aimed to save their starving children, the Ukrainian scholar defines the main adaptive strategies in mothers, in particular, committing themselves to children's survival, demonstrating self-sacrificing behaviour or rejecting their maternal duties and saving their own lives at any cost. Self-sacrificing behaviour was manifested in their open protests against the government, in protecting their subsistence and searching for food, and even by means of survival prostitution. However, there were cases

when mothers abandoned their children, making attempts to save adult family members or themselves in life-threatening situations.

Women's mental trauma of the Holocaust

Most often, the coping strategies of women in the ghetto have been described in a non- judgmental way acknowledging the survival needs in adapting to the abnormal circumstances and the harsh reality of the Holocaust (Chalmers, 2015).

One of the most pressing needs of mothers during the Holocaust was to provide food for their children and family. In this regard, it was necessary to be creative, and sometimes to break moral rules. There is evidence of how mothers spared their own food and passed it on to their children and how other women worked harder in order to obtain more food vouchers (Sinnreich, 2017; Waxman, 2017). Even in these extremely difficult circumstances, the traditional Jewish symbol of success, or what is termed "Eshet Chayil" (a woman of valour) was maintained and measured in food provision.

The literature on the Holocaust tends to disregards immoral behavior among women as a method of coping for survival (Person, 2015).

Men were commonly deported to labor camps and some died; thus, women had to cope with the responsibilities for their children alone. Some sought the protection of men for existential needs and paid the toll. There were cases of forcing women into relationships with men, leading to shame and guilt about using of sexuality for survival, although these narratives were silenced for many years (Person, 2015).

Together, these studies provide important insights into maternity as a core value in women during genocide and appeared as the most widespread topic in the Holodomor and Holocaust female testimonies. However, existing studies are based on personal narratives of women, and do not consider family narratives in mother-daughter relationships as a marker of transgenerational transmission of genocide trauma.

Therefore, the specific objective of the study is to explore women's understandings, opinions and views of the Holodomor and the Holocaust, and elicit transgenerational mechanisms of genocide trauma in mother-daughter interviews.

Methods

Ukraine

Snowball sampling was used to recruit two female nonclinical sampling groups, that is, a sample of the second generation, termed "the mothers group", and the third generation, referred to as the "the daughters group". Samples were selected through the Holodomor Research Institute in Ukraine in order to conduct focus groups. Each mother and daughter represented one family who had experienced the Holodomor. Inclusion criteria for sampling were: (a) being female and above 18

years old, and (b) having a family experience of the Famine 1932–1933. A total of 20 women (mothers and daughters) participated, 10 women in each focus group. Mothers ranged in age from 65 to 77 (M=79.00 years, SD=16.97) and daughters ranged from 37 to 49 (M=44.17 years, SD=12.58). Participants are from Khersonska, Poltavska, Luhanska, Donetska, Vinnytska, and Kyivska Oblasts.

Israel

The Israeli participants were recruited using a similar method of snowball sampling. Two groups of participants were created: "the mothers group" and "the daughters group". All mothers were the second-generation of the Holocaust (daughters of Holocaust survivors, either father or mother) and the group of daughters consisted of matched third-generation young women (each mother paired with one of her daughters or vice versa). Sampling inclusion criteria were similar: (a) women over the age of 18, and (b) Holocaust family history experience during 1939–1944. The full sample included 20 women – 10 mothers of the second generation, who participated in a focus group (age range = 50–70, M = 59.5, SD = 6.8) and the matched group of 10 daughters, the third generation, who participated in a separate and parallel focus group, age range = 22–38, M = 25.1, SD = 6.1.

Procedure

Two separate focus groups for mothers and daughters were conducted in each of the countries and contexts. At the beginning, the focus-group moderator outlined the objectives of the study, how data might be used and withdrawn, and because of traumatic memories, details of counselling services were provided. According to focus group method and the methodology suggested by Parker & Tritter (2006), the objectives of the project, the procedure of data transcription, analysis and dissemination were discussed. Moreover, confidentiality and anonymity were underlined, and participants were provided with an opportunity to select their own pseudonyms for the final research report.

The focus-group moderators, in both contexts, presented seven questions, requesting the participants to share their personal experiences vis-à-vis genocide in their families, and to elaborate on their emotional and cognitive responses in the group discussion. The group discussion included the following guiding questions: (1) What experiences have you had linked to the period of genocide (the Holodomor/ Holocaust)? (2) How does the Holodomor/Holocaust affect you personally in general? (3) Given that the Holodomor/Holocaust experience is greatly traumatic, what is the Holodomor/Holocaust impact on your sense of self and your physical and mental health and well-being? (4) How does the Holodomor/Holocaust affect your family, and relations with your family members and significant others? (5) How does the Holodomor/Holocaust affect your work and professional growth? (6) What events, people or themes associated with the Holodomor/Holocaust have

you discussed with your descendants? (7) Of everything we have talked about, what is most important to you?

Method of analysis

The study applied inductive thematic analyses that progressed from description to interpretation for each of the key themes, ranging from essentialist to constructionist paradigms (Braun & Clarke, 2006). The inductive thematic analyses were conducted in several stages. First the researchers from both countries agreed on a list of a priori codes that classified sentences/groups of sentences. Then, an independent research assistant in each of the context used this list of codes in each of the data sets.

Results

Our findings revealed six key themes in the Ukrainian sample: (1) Attitudes toward food and starvation; (2) Emotions and feelings, experienced during the Holodomor; (3) Sense of loss and death; (4) Transgenerational transmission of trauma in family narratives; (5) Coping strategies with trauma; (6) Ethnic identity. In Israeli samples six themes were revealed, in particular (1) Excessive worry about hunger and starvation (2) Transmission of emotions and feelings, (3) Childhood loss and loneliness, (4) Family values and family cohesion, (5) Increased Zionist identity, (6) Asceticism and ascetic lifestyle.

Common themes in the Ukrainian and Israeli samples

Emotions and feelings experienced during the Holodomor/Holocaust

Mothers' and daughters' concerns about their family's emotions and feelings were highlighted when they talked about how tragic the experience of the genocide was for their entire nation and for their family. A primary relevant concern was how emotions had been intensifying with the age of participants and their level of awareness of genocide. They described different types of emotions and their intensity, ranging from no emotion to terror.

A participant in the daughter sample shares how her experience was especially difficult, which resulted in feelings of outrage regarding the Holodomor.

> I accepted all these memories easily when I was a small girl and did not realize how it was possible to live without food. However, growing up, my easiness transformed into great anger towards the Soviet government, which made my family suffer and die. If I took a machine gun, I would kill the entire government which was responsible for Holodomor victims.

A common view among interviewees was that they remember how Holodomor survivors felt fear when they talked about it, related to the possibility of starving and dying again. This fear took a different form among mothers and daughters as direct descendants of Holodomor survivors, namely, the fear of uncertainty and lack of security in Ukraine. One concern relating to fear in daughters' interviews was their attempt to share this information with their children in a way which would diminish fearful feelings about this tragic experience.

> I spoke with my children about starvation during the Holodomor and focused on how careful we should use bread and how valuable bread is, instead of talking about tragic facts and deaths from starvation. I remember when my grandmother spoke about the Holodomor, our mother kissed and hugged me and my brother as if she wanted to protect us from all that.

Many participants in the Ukrainian samples noted that there was a lot of suffering and pain in their families.

> My mother often told us how much they suffered from starvation and she expected deep compassion from me and my children. It is very painful when significant others are suffering from their memories, experiencing them in vivo again and again, and your only wish is to assuage their suffering. It was complicated to support my grandmother when she was speaking about the Holodomor, since there is great pain, not in her body, but in her soul.

In summary, these results show that fear, anger, and outrage are the key emotions in mothers' and daughters' memories about their family's experience of the Holodomor. There is trepidation about recurrent starvation, fear that significant others could leave and not come back, chronic anxiety that something terrible might happen. The long-term fear of recurrence of genocide is also observed in the Israeli samples of mothers and daughters. Sometimes the only way to cope with anxiety and fear has been linked to mothers' overprotective behaviour.

> I was waiting for that day. I knew that one day the Holocaust was coming, so I got organized. There's nothing to worry about; I'm fine now. I mean, the Holocaust is here all the time – I'm waiting, getting ready. I'm not alive. Sometimes I feel like my mom is very anxious. Even when there is no reason. And it's like, yeah, I connect it as a way of coping. I think I'm a more frightened person. I run, jump every time I hear the door. I have obsession with the children. I wrap them up too much, I'm aware of that.

The experiences of the Holodomor and Holocaust have implications of moral injury, defined as psychological distress felt when individuals perpetrate, witness or fail to prevent actions which violate their core moral assumptions and beliefs (Litz et al., 2009). Considering the idea that the Holodomor violated core moral assumptions and beliefs (Zasiekina & Zasiekin, 2020), we assumed that there were moral emotions in transgenerational mechanisms of this historic trauma. Results show that Ukrainian daughters reported behavioural deviations of moral standards in their mothers. However, there were no emotions of guilt or shame, even when

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immoral patterns of behaviour occurred in their families. Instead, emotions of anger and outrage towards the Soviet government were expressed.

> My mother went with her parents to a rich family to sell clothes, and while there, stole bread and brought it home.

> My grandfather went to the field to search for any food and was accused and arrested for stealing wheat.

> The Soviet government organized this genocide. They wanted to annihilate the Ukrainian people, many people died, I hate the Soviet regime with all my heart. The Soviet time was a time of serfdom.

Quite different emotions are observed in offspring of Holocaust survivors, ranging from fear to emotional numbness. Sometimes emotional inability was related to mistrusting others. The Israeli mothers described the intergenerational transmission of the Holocaust as manifested in feelings and emotions that emanated from their parents and were an integral part of their upbringing. They described the messages they had received as: "Do not fall in love", "Do not connect", and they felt that they might have transmitted these life messages to their daughters. One of the mothers described her father's attitude towards dogs that showed his traumatic memories. The Israeli daughters also talked about the long-lasting Holocaust lessons, expressed by their mothers, and they outlined emotional consequences of the Holocaust in mother-daughter relations.

> I think we could not love. It was too much for us. I have such a feeling of missing out. There is also the relationship with my brother. Also my interpersonal relationships with others. I mean, I'm just a sociable person, but not too much. I mean, I'm protecting myself.

> Mom told me 'Do not believe anyone, Do not explain to anyone, Do not love and do not hate... I mean that 'Do not touch', 'Do not love too much', 'Do not believe in anyone', but also 'Do not be angry with anyone'; that means, 'Keep things to yourself'.

> It means that you don't break down, even if it's hard, don't break down. It means 'Right, it's hard; get over it'. 'It will not help now if you cry, or something like that'. And so, as a child, when I fell and got hit, I was forbidden to cry. It was regarded as shameful – You could cry watching a sad movie, but not in response to physical pain.

> He resisted very strongly to our adopting a dog, because a dog is something that you get attached to, and he really opposed it.

> She is a wonderful mother, but she has never complimented or encouraged. I felt I might be disappointing my mother. She has no patience in any situation.

Attitudes toward food and starvation

Many emotional consequences of the Holodomor and Holocaust are linked to the themes of starvation, body sensations, and attitudes to food. The theme of

starvation and its negative effect on body sensations recurred throughout mothers' and daughters' dataset in the Ukrainian and Israeli samples. This theme came up for discussion, for example, in their family experiences during the Holodomor and responses to lack of food, when the body would begin to swell: "She was thirteen and very weak; her body was swollen. Father said if she lives for at least a day, she could survive and live", "His legs swelled up and his mother used the last chestnuts to make flour."

All participants talked about the impact of the Holodomor on current family traditions related to food. There are four important concerns about food. One was a current family tradition to have much food for holidays and food as a symbol of family hospitality and well-being: "When we celebrate some holiday, my mother and my husband always overeat, ant they say that holidays should be accompanied by much food".

The second concern, relating to daughters' memories, includes episodes when their grandmothers and mothers gave them extra food to be sure that they were completely full. These episodes resulted in being overweight and daughters' attempts to stick to a diet.

> I remember that my grandmother and mother overfed themselves and overfed me, and I suffered from being overweight and stuck to a diet to avoid these problems. In addition, my mother always ate too much and had diabetes type II, and I was afraid that I might have it too.

> I remember that I was angry with my grandmother for eating high fat cream and a lot of butter, but when I made any remarks, my grandmother just smiled and commented that it was delicious.

> My mother told us that it was unacceptable to stick to a diet when there was a lot of food everywhere.

The third concern, expressed in mothers' and daughters' memories, related to a deep respect for bread: "I always heard that I should take a large amount of bread when I could get it", "I remember that my grandmother put a piece of bread under her pillow, when she was going to bed", "I see how my grandmother picks up all of the crumbs of bread from the table with her slim dry hands", "My grandmother said that we shouldn't throw away any piece of bread, instead, to eat, to share with somebody, or to feed pets or birds, but not to waste".

Finally, many mothers' and daughters' concerns pointed to the necessity to be thrifty and to have reserves at home, and in particular, porridge, beans, and flour, in order to feel safe and confident in the future.

The preoccupation with food is also observed in mothers' and daughters' focus-groups of the Israeli samples. They mention that "[w]e always had to finish the food on our plate. Especially with Grandma at home, there was no such thing as a plate remaining full. And in our home, Mom always checked that there was room left in her stomach for what was on the plate". However, the relationship with food

was explained rather by family traditions than by starvation per se: "We had a closet full of preserves and flour and sugar. And we had to eat at home to the last bite. To finish   everything on the plate… I passed that on to my kids too".

The Israeli mothers described their parents' hunger-related traumas as a significant part of their lives. They expressed hoarding, preparing for "*hard days*"; they described the difficulties of throwing away food, not finishing all the food on one's plate and hoarding food for the difficult days to come: "The full food storage cabinets, having to finish eating all the food on your plate… I passed that on to my children. That's how I am; I always have stacked food closets"; "Throwing away food was forbidden. It wasn't allowed to throw rotten fruit, stale bread… nothing was thrown away".

One mother in the Israeli sample noted that there were some rigid rituals related to food while eating.

> There was a ritual that repeated itself at every Saturday meal – there was a kind of rotation, because… kids don't finish their food. Then the plates were given to my father and he would finish the food. And he would only stop when I brought a dog and he knew that the food would be given to the dog and not thrown away. If my brother couldn't eat the peel of a peach my father would get very angry with him and force him to eat the peel.

Hunger has taken on a great significance in Holocaust survivors' lives. It has been a lifelong theme that has been hard to ignore and it has even triggered cases of rebellion.

> When my mother was making a scrambled egg she would scramble it in a cup and then pour it into the pan and keep scraping the cup for half an hour as if something had been left in the cup so nothing was wasted. When I scramble an egg, I pour half into the pan and throw away the other half and it's obvious that I'm doing that out of spite.

The Israeli daughters described their experiences with their grandmothers and mothers and emphasized that the hunger-related characteristics were also passed on to them.

> It's like… to make sure there is always enough food and to prepare 18 dishes even if there are only five people at the table. Like… to be angry when you haven't finished all the food on your plate, even if, just seconds ago you ate at a friend's home or something like that. These are the more standard habits that I think our mother inherited from our grandmother and… and I myself have an issue with food (hunger), I cannot bear to hear anyone tell me that he is hungry.

> The thing with food, preparing it and such. Now that I have lived with roommates, it was really like… my job, like cooking, setting the table and making sure that there would always be enough food for everyone, like for all my friends… that the foods that they like would always be in the fridge. I'm not sure if or how this was passed on to me but I feel like it's a habit that I got from my mother.

> It's like that, yeah… it's like… it's pretty personal, but it's also…Hunger is one of the most salient features of the traumatic consequences.

Sense of loss and death

The themes of loss and death recurred throughout the dataset, in mothers' and daughters' interviews in the Ukrainian and Israeli samples. The interviewees reported loss of such a great number of people who died of starvation during the Holodomor. A repeated theme centered around the inability to bury the dead. As a result, dead bodies were everywhere, strengthening the terror of those who were left alive: "My husband's mother survived physically during the Holodomor, but she is still injured mentally, so my husband also felt mentally distressed", "In our village there are individual graves for Holodomor victims with wooden crosses in every home yard or between them, because people were too weak to bury them in village cemetery". In some villages there was a special burial for Holodomor victims: "In 1990 we discovered the place in our village where many Holodomor victims were buried, so we collected money and put a memorial on the grave, but in other places – there was no special burial, and individual graves are in different places in the cemeteries"; "There is no special common grave in our village, but we know where they were buried in the village cemetery, and when we visited our relatives' graves we brought bread for burial of Holodomor victims".

Concerns were also expressed about family members who went to the cities to work in factories and plants in order to earn money and provide food for their families, but never came back. They died of starvation or were arrested on their way and then later, died.

In the Israeli sample, loss centered around the loss of childhood. The loss of childhood is also associated with complicated and serious life problems, problems which could not be solved during the genocide period.

> What I took with me is this responsibility to the end and maybe with too much seriousness, I mean now I'm dealing with a place in my life and trying to be a child again and asking myself what I really like to do, because I think I had some kind of fast growing up and I did not allow myself to be a child.

The Israeli mothers reported that they hadn't experienced a normal childhood, as their parents were anxious about their daughters' lives while being occupied by their own traumas. All mothers described abnormal childhoods with an environment of deprivation, unmet needs and restrictions: "They guided my life"; "I can't recall a single time that I came to consult with them; they were never the person you would turn to for consulting on anything"; "They had stopped us…I was very much stopped".

The loss of childhood had a poor impact on attachment and close relations between mothers and daughters.

I haven't brought anything up with them. Until today they don't know things about me… nothing bad or… painful… I was diagnosed with cancer five years ago and I hid it from my parents. They don't know I had cancer. I've been through cancer without their knowing. So they don't… It's just impossible to show… that something is wrong… that something could be threatening.

I moved out at a young age, like twenty-one or twenty-two... I chose to learn in Tel Aviv which is where I matured. It was where I learned to live, to stand alone on my feet, because… when I lived in... at home, mom was really… she was a real character… she was really caring but also judgmental, regarding everything, and… I had to spread my wings in order to grow up.

Among the Israeli daughters, the loss of childhood felt "gradual", affecting the older children more than the younger ones: "The oldest daughter, I think, has far greater (childhood) consequences than the third daughter. I think that with her they were a little more…".

Findings suggest that adult daughters put a lot of effort into balancing their parenting styles with their firstborn child, "easing off" on their younger children, unlike their mothers, who maintained their parenting style and passed on Holocaust experiences equally to all the children.

Transgenerational transmission of trauma in family narratives

Most participants emphasized the importance of transgenerational transmission of traumatic events in their family narratives. There are two opposite strategies of Holodomor trauma transmission. The first is to talk about Holodomor experiences and share the whole truth with the offspring of Holodomor witnesses. The second strategy is to avoid any conversations referring to the Holodomor as an attempt to cleanse their memory and protect their descendants: "Nobody knew that this place was a grave until an old woman pointed to it. She kept the secret because it was unsafe to talk about it earlier", "I did not know that my grandfather had died of starvation. Nobody told me about it, I just thought that I had never had a grandfather", "My grandmother never spoke to me about the Holodomor; The only person who talked to me about it was my mother".

Considering the increasing number of words, higher coherence, and the more detailing of episodes in the daughters' interviews, we assumed that each following generation would be able to speak more freely about these events. This finding is in line with other research, indicating that, rather than ruminating on the pain, the third generation focus attention on their ancestors' courage, resulting in the offspring's ability to avoid the pathological symptoms (Kahane-Nissenbaum, 2011).

One possible explanation is that the later the generation, the less traumatic it feels. This is in line with our finding of mothers' parenting styles being more severe with their first born child and "easing off" on their younger children. One interviewee argued that she could not understand why her mother had not disclosed the story about hiding food in their yard during the Holodomor, because this was

one of the key episodes in family Holodomor history. Evidence constantly suggests that even if there were no shared memories in the family, there were other ways of trauma transmission through the generations: "I remember my grandmother always keeping silent and weeping as if she concealed something from us".

Offspring of Holocaust survivors emphasized the family values in their family narratives. The readiness to talk about tragic events with offspring is expressed in interviews.

> We have a very large family, full of children and ... she always talks about the suffering that took place in the Holocaust, about how good it is now – about having such a big family, and what happiness it is to see so many kids and that… there is always joy and fun in the family now …

The Israeli mothers talked about their parents' traumatic experiences and their own, mixing them during the discussion, as if they themselves had experienced the Holocaust. "These are my dreams, there are Nazi figures in my dreams, and this tells me that something in my life right now is disorganized, I'm under some sort of stress…"; "I hear myself talking incoherently now… all sorts of things are jumping out of me (into the discussion), just like the story of the Holocaust in my life"; "The Holocaust is burned into my soul".

The Israeli daughters focus on their mothers' feelings rather than on their own, describing their mothers' traumatic experience. In addition, they noted that there is transgenerational transmission of post-traumatic stress and anxiety in their families: "I feel like I'm a daughter of a mother who is the daughter of a Holocaust survivor. It's not that she has any oddities, but simply – it's something that is present in my mother's life"; "The concern is something internal that doesn't come out as if it stays inside. It doesn't come out"; I think that "I have learned from my mother a feeling of anxiety…".

Together, these results provide important insights into in the mechanisms of trans-generational transmission of trauma, which are accompanied by non-verbal behaviours, expressing negative emotions of anxiety, fear and sadness. Therefore, narratives as a main tool of trauma transmission also involve non-verbal behaviour to express internal suffering and pain aligned with the genocide.

Ethnic identity

Comparing the two samples, it can be seen that ethnic identity is strengthened in both cultural contexts. The theme of ethnic identity highlighted the pressure of the Soviet government on Ukrainians and their strong national identity: "The Soviet government hated everything significant for Ukrainians and was directed towards the destruction of Ukrainian nationalism. Talking about the Holodomor now is

emphasizing that I am Ukrainian, and I will protect everything which is significant for Ukrainians", "Disclosing the truth of the Holodomor means a change of my worldview, the awareness that I was fed up with the lie about our history, and I need to know facts about the new history of Ukraine without Soviet propaganda", "Ukrainians had everything, and they transformed Ukraine into nothing; now it is high time to restore the truth and Ukrainian identity and strength".

The Israeli interviews highlighted ethnic identity in the form of Zionism, expressing the crucial importance of Israeli land, state and community for the Jewish people: "That the Land of Israel, or the State of Israel or whatever it's called, is a very important anchor for us as Jewish people"; It's very much like immigration to the country and the establishment of the state ... and they very much emphasize it, precisely in the stories, this part of ... a Jewish state, it's something they are very, very proud of it and they base their lives on it".

For the Israeli Holocaust survivors and offspring, the Holocaust affects their national identity, clearly reinforcing their Zionism, as both mothers and daughters emphasized the importance of the establishment of the Jewish state and the feeling of duty to the state. For them, Israel is the only place for Jews and there is no other option.

> My father played an important part in all the wars (in Israel). Every time we toured Israel, he would say 'I fought here' and 'I conquered here' and 'I did this here'. Later, seeing every child inducted into the army and seeing us all in (IDF) uniforms… I think that it was the most important thing for him. Everyone had to enlist (into the Israeli army) and everyone had to contribute to safeguarding the country, because that is the most important thing – we have to preserve what we have (the Jewish state).

> The Land of Israel, or the State of Israel, or whatever we call it, is a very important anchor for us as the Jewish people. This is something I grew up on. I applied and received Hungarian passports for myself and my children and I kept saying that my dad probably flipped over 10 times in his grave, when he heard that I have a Hungarian passport.

Different themes in the Ukrainian and Israeli interviews

Coping strategies with trauma in the Ukrainian interviews

This theme depicts a list of behavioural patterns and strategies to cope with trauma. The mothers pointed out how their family members had struggled for survival, particularly eating different plants, chestnuts, and corn to cope with the starvation; they went to the towns and cities if possible to search for jobs and to earn a living; starving themselves and giving everything they could get for children, in order to save them from death. The coping strategies of mothers' and daughters' include commemoration of Holodomor victims with candles in November, visiting burial sites of Holodomor victims and talking with their descendants about it. Most Ukrainians noted that it is important to commemorate the Holodomor at society and state levels, since it develops the strength of community and its future: "It is of

crucial importance to teach Holodomor history at schools, to share the truth about Holodomor events in the world, on one hand, to relieve the pain of Ukrainians, and on the other hand, to prevent such genocide in the future", "We have shared the truth of the Holodomor with the world, since it was hidden from people by the Soviet government".

Asceticism and an ascetic lifestyle in the Israeli interviews

The Israeli mothers inherited modesty and abstinence, characteristics of their Holocaust survivor parents. For the mothers, a roof over your head and enough food at your home are enough, and everything else is a bonus that one doesn't have to use. "I think it related to my education that I… I am very modest. I am not a miser, I travel abroad and everything but I really enjoy the small things just like my mom"; "I'm happy with what I have today. With the house, with the children, with my husband, with the surroundings. I'm happy with what I have, and I protect what I have".

The mothers lived ascetically, as their parents did, but these perceptions of asceticism had not been rooted in the insights they passed on to their daughters. In contrast, they even conveyed the "better live well" message. "You should always appreciate what you have, live well, live the present, all is well, be optimistic"; "Even in shopping for things, I buy what I see without overthinking. If I see a garment, I measure it, I try it on, unlike my mother. It takes her hours to decide to buy something".

Discussion

As mentioned in the literature review, prior studies have noted the importance of women's experience of genocide in the context of transgenerational transmission of psychotrauma through family narratives. The present study was designed to determine the effects of the Holodomor 1932–1933 in Ukraine and the Holocaust 1939–1944 in the second generation (midlife: born 1940–60) and third generation (born 1970–1985) women. The most interesting finding was that there are similar themes appearing in womens' narratives vis-à-vis their indirect experience of genocide, namely, emotions and feelings, experienced during the Holodomor/Holocaust, attitudes towards food, loss and death, transgenerational transmission of trauma in family narratives, and ethnic identity. Our data reveal the great pain and suffering in female family narratives, mostly expressed in the long-term emotions of fear, anxiety and anger. One unanticipated finding was that the Israeli mothers taught their daughters to avoid emotions and feelings as a coping strategy to prevent pain and suffering. This data is consistent with previous research on the activation of defense mechanisms, namely, emotional frozenness and avoidance in Holocaust survivors (Barak & Szor, 2000). However, we know little about transgenerational mechanisms of avoiding emotions in mother-daughter

relations. Therefore, our data raise questions for clinical psychologists about emotional inability and emotional numbness in female offspring of genocide victims.

Challenging the idea that emotions of shame and guilt could appear when individual behaviour deviates from moral standards (cases of thieving, cannibalism, prostitution) in order to survive, the study examined moral injury experienced by female offspring of Holodomor victims. Our findings suggest that, instead of shame and guilt, which are associated with moral injury, Holodomor offspring experience anger, and outrage towards perpetrators. Therefore, the circumstances of genocide and safety risks could impact moral emotions despite contrasting moral standards and judgments. Further research is needed to explore genocide and its additional consequences in terms of moral injury.

Consistent with previous literature, offspring of Holodomor survivors showed specific behavioural strategies related to food, namely, proper feeding, and substantial food storage. (Gorbunova & Klymchuk, 2020). Surprisingly, food storage and preoccupation with food was also found in offspring of Holocaust survivors. Our data reveal that the strict rituals related to food storage among Israeli families could be a tribute to victims of the Holocaust, while overeating and food storage in Ukrainian families is driven by fear of possible reoccurrence of genocide. Recent findings suggest that there is a possible association between restricted nutrition in early gestation during the Holodomor 1932–1933 and type 2 diabetes in offspring in later life. It can thus be suggested that behavioural strategies of overeating have a poor impact on offspring's health. In addition, there is little research on the association between Holocaust trauma and eating disorders in the Jewish population, notably in offspring of Holocaust survivors (Gorden, 2011). Therefore, this could be an important issue for future research.

Our data yielded many painful memories in Holodomor descendants about dead bodies that were not always buried in individual graves. Mothers and daughters in the Israeli samples mostly spoke about the loss of their childhood and its negative impact on attachments and on mother-daughter relations. In addition, insecure attachment weakens in the younger generations. Comparison of the findings with those of other studies of attachment and trauma, confirms that poor impact of insecure attachment and general adaptation weakens across generations (Sagi-Schwartz et al., 2003).

A natural progression of this article would be to analyze how death, loss, separation and attachment in family narratives affect mother-daughter relations and their well-being. In addition, our results are consistent with other studies suggesting that after producing traumatic family narratives, individuals may report positive and negative changes in their health (Mohatt, Thompson, Thai, & Tebes, 2014). Further research is needed to explore the cross-genocide evidence on the impact of the trauma on mothers' and daughters' family narratives, and on how the historical trauma has influenced offspring health and well-being as well as examining the predictors for both positive and negative consequences of the transgenerational narration of the family stories.

The relevance of ethnic identity is clearly supported by the current findings. Whereas Ukrainian participants tended to eliminate the importance of Ukrainian ethnicity and culture, the Israeli women focused on the symbolic meaning of Zionism for the Jewish people. The core finding of this study points to the centrality of the sense of identity in the family narratives between mothers and daughters. There is prime importance in the sense of who they are and where they come from, and this can provide empathy and understanding in their family history. Additionally, the importance of respect and the need to voice their family narrative may contribute to preventing history repeating itself.

This study has also identified specific themes in the Ukrainian and Israeli samples. In particular, the Ukrainian women reported the importance of remembering and commemorating Holodomor victims as a way of coping with family trauma. In their opinion, commemoration expresses gratitude and positive feeling towards their places of safety. This is in line with previous studies, pointing out that remembering the victims of genocide provides space for great respect for the survival of the older generation and strengthens faith and friendship in Holodomor survivor offspring (Bifulco et al., 2020). Several questions relating to the coping strategy of avoidance still remain to be answered, in particular, freer narrating styles in daughters' interviews in comparison with their mothers. A reasonable approach to tackle this issue could be, on the one hand, to consider the possibility of mothers' re-traumatization and the negative impact on their well-being, and, on the other hand, the importance of transgenerational transmission of family narratives for developing family identity and resilience.

The results of this study show that Israeli mothers have adopted the asceticism inherited from Holocaust survivors. Recent research connects Jewish women's asceticism with eating and body disorders derived from the ultra-orthodox Jewish religious environment (Gordon, 2011). However, our research has also shown that ascetic traditions are not transmitted in mother-daughter relations. This may be explained by the fact that asceticism is rather more related to Holocaust survivors limited access to food and then modeling preoccupation with food by the second generation than to a religious environment.

Conclusion

Our research indicates the intergenerational transmission of trauma and genocide narratives in mother-daughter relationships. Thematic analysis revealed the centrality of themes of "emotions and feelings, experienced during the Holodomor and Holocaust", "attitudes toward food and starvation", "sense of loss and death", "transgenerational transmission of trauma in family narratives", and "ethnic identity" in the traumatic narratives among the second and third generations of survivors of the Holodomor and the Holocaust. Further, the emerging evidence from this study show that the intergenerational transmission of genocide trauma involves multiple and intense emotions, including pain and suffering, anger, fear and disgust. The long-term consequences of these intense emotions are evident in

the various patterns of insecure attachment manifested by the second and third generations of survivors of the Holodomor and the Holocaust.

The findings of this research shed light on the similarities and differences between the traumatic narratives constructed by the offspring of the second and the third generations. The daughters express more preparedness for sharing traumatic experience, their narratives are longer and more detailed; and their relations with their own children were affected by more secure attachment styles. As a response to the collective trauma, mothers tended to distance themselves from intimacy with their daughters and avoided the detailing of the traumatic narratives.

These findings can contribute in several ways to our understanding of women's transgenerational family narratives and may provide support for the therapeutic use of family stories for strengthening the sense of family identity and enhance resilience. In particular, the women of the third generation are those who could benefit from strengthening the sense of identity and wellbeing among genocide survivors' offspring. The women of the third generation also show higher preparedness for creating comprehensive family narratives and have higher motivation to pass them on to the younger generations.

The study also shed light on the consequences of intergenerational transmission of psychotrauma on both aspects of distress and wellbeing of the subsequent generation and pointed to several relevant risk and protective factors. More specifically, the study focused on the impact of transgenerational family narratives on offspring's intensity of emotions and feelings, on their lifestyle, attitudes toward food, type of attachment, and sense of identity in mother-daughter relations. Thus, the findings of this research bear important implications for future practice that will implement the narrative co-creation of family narratives with survivors of massive trauma and their offspring. The benefits of this co-creation for the healing process from traumatic experiences require further study and evidenced based research. Lately, the focus on ways traumatic family narratives are integrated in mother-daughter relations can expand our theoretical formulations of the intergenerational patterns of transmission of trauma and can provide insights to understanding the mechanisms by which these messages are passed on and internalized.

Acknowledgements

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Appendix

Table 1
The Level of Interrater Reliability Between Two Analysts in Codes in Ukrainian focus-groups

Codes in the Ukrainian interviews	Kappa	Quality of agreement
Body sensations	.45	Moderate
Emotions	.65	Substantial
Biography	.74	Substantial
Relationship with God	1.00	Perfect
Crimes	.61	Substantial
Family narratives	.45	Moderate
Evaluation of situation	.78	Substantial
Decision making in insecurity	.50	Moderate
Food	.51	Moderate
Attitude towards self	.78	Substantial
Death	.86	Substantial
Losses	.41	Moderate
Ethnic identity	.66	Substantial
Attitude towards government	.54	Moderate
Time	.63	Substantial
Space	.81	Substantial
Quality of life	.54	Moderate
Awareness	.86	Perfect
Avoidance	.64	Substantial
Family traditions	.63	Substantial

Table 2
The Level of Interrater Reliability Between Two Analysts in Codes in Israeli focus-groups

Codes in the Israeli interviews	Kappa	Quality of agreement
Traumatic characteristics	.87	Almost perfect
Hunger	.87	Almost perfect
Positive life messages	.86	Almost perfect
Negative life messages (don't love, don't believe)	.74	Substantial
Childhood loss	.89	Almost perfect
Emotional reactions	.81	Almost perfect
Excessive responsibility	.82	Almost perfect
Refrain from love and attachments	.87	Almost perfect
Zionist patriotism	.79	Substantial
Economic life conception (modesty, asceticism)	.95	Perfect
Paternal guideless and direction when choosing a profession	.91	Perfect
Hiding the Holocaust experiences from the second generation and transferring them onto the third generation	.64	Substantial

CALENDAR

PSYCHOLINGUISTIC RESEARCH EVENTS

16th International Online Conference
Psycholinguistics in the Modern World
Host institution: Hryhoriy Skovoroda University in Pereiaslav
Deadline for submitting abstracts: October 1, 2021
Location: Pereiaslav, Ukraine
Start Date: 16–17th December, 2021
Contact: Nataliya Kharchenko
E-mail: psycholing.conf@gmail.com
URL: https://psycholing-conference.com

Psycholinguistic, neurolinguistic and clinical linguistic research - PNCLR
Host institution: University of Novi Sad
Deadline for submitting abstracts: August 31, 2021
Location: Novi Sad, Serbia
Start Date: 30th October, 2021
Contact: Sabina Halupka-Rešetar
E-mail: halupka.resetarff.uns.ac.rs
URL: http://www.ff.uns.ac.rs/sr/nauka/konferencije/konferencije-u-organizaciji-filozofskog-fakulteta/psycholinguistic-neurolinguistic-and-clinical-linguistic-research-pnclr

Future Challenges in Early Language Learning and Multilingual Education - ELLME2022

Host institution: University of Granada
Deadline for submitting abstracts: October 31, 2021
Location: Granada, Spain
Start Date: 22 – 24th June, 2022
Contact: Beatriz Cortina-Pérez
E-mail: bcortina@ugr.es
URL: https://congresos.ugr.es/ELLME2022

4th Białystok-Kyiv Conference on Theoretical and Applied Linguistic - TALC4

Host institution: University of Białystok
Deadline for submitting papers: August 1, 2021
Location: Online and Białystok (Poland), Poland
Start Date: 2-3th December, 2021
Contact: Tomasz Michta
E-mail: neofilologia.uwb@gmail.com
URL: https://talc.uwb.edu.pl/index.php/talc2021/

4th International Workshop on Syntactic Cartography & First International Forum on Language and Brain - 4th IWSC & 1st IFOLAB
Host institution: Beijing Language and Culture University, China
Deadline for submitting abstracts: August 8, 2021
Location: Beijing (Online), China
Start Date: 29 October – 3rd November, 2021
Contact: Fuzhen Si
E-mail: sifuzhen@blcu.edu.cn