

# Linguistic Analysis of Literary Narratives: A Different Approach to the Study of Women's Emigration from Ukraine

Olena Hlaskova

University of Alberta, Canada

Email: hlaskova@ualberta.ca

ORCID ID: <https://orcid.org/0000-0002-8114-385X>

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## ABSTRACT

*The present study aims to reveal how evaluative meanings shape the depiction of Ukrainian emigration and women emigrants in Ukrainian literature of the early 2000s by employing Appraisal Theory developed within the framework of Systemic Functional Linguistics and subjecting excerpts from the following five novels to an in-depth linguistic analysis: *Usi dorohy vedut' do Rymu* by Olesia Halych, *Shliub iz kukhlem Pil'zens'koho pyva* by Lesia Stepovychka, *Ia znaiu, shcho ty znaiesh, shcho ia znaiu* by Irena Rozdobud'ko, *Hastarbaiterky* by Natalka Doliak, and *Korotka istoriia traktoriv po-ukraïns'ky* by Marina Lewycka. The authors employ various grammatical and lexical items to communicate their assessments of the emigrant women characters and the phenomenon of emigration from Ukraine. Appraisal Theory allows us to identify such linguistic realisations of evaluations and interpret authors' attitudinal positions voiced or implied in text. This research is significant as the first study of its kind using Appraisal Theory to analyse literary texts written in Ukrainian thus expanding the theory's reach and relevance. Additionally, employing linguistic techniques when assessing the depiction of women's emigration and its agents enriches an analysis by providing a detailed and balanced perspective. The findings of this research contribute to the fields of literary studies, linguistics, and migration studies.*

**Keywords:** Labour migration, Zarobitchanstvo, Ukraine, Women emigrants, Emigration of women, Appraisal theory, Evaluation, assessment, Linguistic analysis, Attitudinal positioning, Ukrainian literature

## INTRODUCTION

Between 2000 and 2013, more than 20 literary works representing contemporary women's writing about Ukrainian women's emigration were published both in Ukraine and abroad. These women-authored and women-centred publications represent a new trend in Ukrainian literature that focuses on the topic of *zarobitchanstvo* (labour migration) and introduces a new woman character—Ukrainian woman emigrant. Considering that Ukraine's national media has already

contributed to negative prejudices and stereotypes about emigrants and emigration (Khymovych, 2008; Pribytkova, 2002; Tsymbal, 2012; Volod'ko, 2007), this research explores whether similar negative evaluations are common in works of fiction.

## METHODOLOGY

In order to keep my linguistic data coherent, logical, and comparable across multiple texts, the number of novels subjected to an in-depth linguistic analysis was limited to five, applying the following selection criteria to my corpus: a) Ukrainian language of writing, b) authors' gender as I focus on women-authored publications, c) first or third-person narration, and d) one publication per author to offer more variety.

The following five novels were selected for linguistic analysis:

*Usi dorohy vedut' do Rymu* (All roads lead to Rome) by Olesia Halych (2004) [*Usi dorohy*]

1. *Shliub iz kukhlem pil'zens'koho pyva* (Marriage to a mug of Pilsner beer) by Lesia Stepovychka (2007) [*Shliub*]
2. *Ia znaiu, shcho ty znaiesh, shcho ia znaiu* (I know that you know that I know) by Irena Rozdobud'ko (2011) [*Ia znaiu*]
3. *Hastarbaiterky* (Guest Workers<sub>female</sub>) by Natalka Doliak (2012) [*Hastarbaiterky*]
4. *Kоротка istoriia traktoriv po-ukraiins'ky* (A Short History of Tractors in Ukrainian) by Marina Lewycka (2013). [*Kоротка istoriia*]

From each of the five novels, I further select short introductory chapters (self-contained excerpts) of roughly five to 15 pages that focus on separate women emigrant characters, introducing them, describing their character and/or appearance, outlining their emigration path, stating their reasons to emigrate etc.

For the present research, I define evaluative utterances as linguistic units of various lengths (words, phrases, complete sentences) containing evaluative potential when describing or referring to Ukrainian women emigrants and the emigration of women. Such utterances are identified from the selected excerpts and not entire novels. However, the full texts of novels inform my interpretation of separate utterances. The evaluation may be realized linguistically on lexical, morphological, grammatical, syntactical, and rhetorical levels, and through the structure of the text itself. By exploring the selected excerpts and the linguistic data they yielded I examine how Ukrainian women emigrants are constructed in the opening pages of the novels or their chapters. I note and record identified linguistic tokens containing evaluative meanings under the three categories of affect, judgement, and appreciation, and use a bottom-up approach in

my analysis. I focus on specific linguistic realizations and thus reconstruct the general mood of the text from individual linguistic tokens up, which allows for a more systematic analysis.

### **Appraisal Theory: An Overview**

While appraisal itself embraces three interacting spheres: “attitude” (attitudinal positioning), “engagement” (dialogistic positioning), and “graduation” (intertextual positioning), the present research focuses on “attitude,” which is a “discourse semantic system” “concerned with our feelings, including emotional reactions, judgment of behaviour and evaluation of things” (Martin and White, 2005, p. 58, p. 35). Attitude embraces three levels, the emotional (“affect”), the ethical (“judgement”), and the aesthetic (“appreciation”). The three categories are construed via lexicogrammatical items. The narrator and/or character(s) who voice affect, judgement and/or appreciation are identified as the source of the attitude, or alternatively, the appraiser. The source of the attitude serves the purpose of identifying who is judging/appreciating whom and why. The object of the attitude, or the appraised, is also identified. In this study, the appraised is determined as Ukrainian women emigrants and emigration in general.

### **The Category of “Affect”**

“Affect” is defined as the linguistic realization of emotional reactions that are generally described either as negative or positive. These emotional reactions include but are not limited to joy, sadness, fear, anxiety, and anger. Affect utterances in literary texts about women’s emigration may be used when talking about or describing women emigrants’ and their families’ feelings.

### **The Category of “Judgement”**

An utterance is classified as “judgment” when it is concerned with a negative or positive evaluation of human behaviour based on social norms, everything we criticize, praise, or condemn. White, P. R. (2015a) notes: “the most obvious examples of judgement involve assessments by reference to systems of legality/illegality, morality/immorality or politeness/impoliteness” (Section 2 Attitude/Judgement). The authors further divide judgements into the following categories: a) those of esteem, judgements defining something either within or without the realm of normality, capacity, or tenacity; b) judgements of sanction, the ones defining something as either truthful or not (veracity), and appropriate or not (propriety) (Martin & White, 2005, p. 52).

In the present research, judgement utterances may focus on the political, social, and economic systems that seemingly drive women to emigrate, women’s choices to immigrate legally or illegally, the judgment of women emigrants themselves and judgements of their behaviour.

## The Category of “Appreciation”

The last category included in the linguistic analysis is “appreciation,” which involves the evaluation of things and occasionally people according to a perceived value. According to White, P. R. (2015b), “human participants may [...] be appreciated—in cases where the assessment does not directly focus on the correctness or incorrectness of their behaviour” (Section 3 Attitude/Appreciation). When Ukrainian women emigrants are appreciated, they are most often categorized in terms of their valuation. When analyzing instances of appreciation, special attention is paid to how and why women emigrants are valued. Are they appreciated for their femininity, their sexuality, their body, or other reasons? Moreover, how are the traits for which women emigrants are appreciated evaluated in these texts?

Adapted from Martin & White (2005), the evaluative utterances extracted from the selected excerpts are classified under the following (sub)categories: Affect: desire (+/-des), un/happiness (+/-hap), in/security (+/-sec), dis/satisfaction (+/-sat); Judgement: normality (+/-norm), capacity (+/-cap), tenacity (+/-ten), veracity (+/-ver), propriety (+/-prop); Appreciation: reaction (+/-reac), composition (+/-comp), valuation (+/-val). Texts are coded using the following components of linguistic analysis: Appraising items - Appraiser - Affect - Judgement - Appreciation - Appraised. A sample coding table is presented in Table 1 *Coding table for linguistic analysis*.

## Data Description

The five excerpts from the selected novels yielded a total of 341 evaluative tokens:

149 tokens of affect, 144 tokens of judgement, and only 51 tokens of appreciation. While I identified 341 evaluative tokens across the five excerpts, in the course of my analysis, I placed some tokens under more than one (sub)category, which resulted in 344 categorized tokens.

The categories of affect and judgement are the most numerous with 43% and 42% of all tokens respectively. This signifies that the selected five introductory excerpts mostly contain linguistic realizations of emotions and judgement utterances. However, the distribution varies for each individual excerpt reflecting each author’s individual style and the tone of the excerpt. For instance, in the excerpt from *Usi dorohy*, I identified 30 tokens of affect (39%), 37 tokens of judgement (49%), and only nine tokens of appreciation (12%). In the excerpt from *Shliub*, the categories of affect and judgement each contain 12 (43% each) evaluative tokens, whereas the category of appreciation lists only four tokens (14%). Evaluative tokens proved to be the most prolific in the excerpt from *Ia znaiu*, yielding 57 tokens of affect (49%), 54 tokens of judgement (46%), and six tokens of appreciation (5%). The excerpt from *Hastarbaiterky* employed more tokens of affect than the other two categories combined, listing 48 tokens of affect (62%), 16 tokens of judgement (21%), and 13 tokens of appreciation (17%). Conversely,

an excerpt from *Korotka istoriia* lists only four tokens of affect (9%), but 24 tokens of judgement (51%) and 19 tokens of appreciation (40%).

The above-presented trends demonstrate that the excerpts from novels *Usi dorohy*, *Shliub*, and *Ia znaiu* equally rely on linguistic realizations of emotion and judgement utterances when describing Ukrainian women emigrants and emigration. These excerpts demonstrate a similar trend of almost even distribution of evaluative tokens between affect and judgement categories. Interestingly, each of the three excerpts yielded fewer than 10 evaluative tokens of appreciation. The excerpt from *Ia znai* boasts the highest number of linguistic realizations of emotions (57 tokens) and judgement utterances (54 tokens). It is followed by the excerpt from *Hastarbaiterky* which contains 48 evaluative tokens of affect and the excerpt from *Usi dorohy* which contains 37 evaluative tokens of judgement. The excerpt from *Korotka istoriia* stands out among the five as it employs more evaluative tokens of appreciation than any other excerpt (19 tokens). It is worth noting that I did not observe any correlation between the length of any individual excerpt and the number of identified evaluative tokens.

### **Examples of Evaluative Tokens Identified in the Selected Excerpts**

The evaluation of affect in the excerpt from *Usi dorohy* (pp. 6-14 of the novel) collocates mainly with the category of un/happiness and in/security. The narrator, Liudmyla, personifies her heart and soul: “heart... was crying out loud,”<sup>1</sup> “soul is crying.”<sup>2</sup> “Anxiety” is mentioned four times in the excerpt and is described as “cold,” “cascading,” and “heavy.” Sadness is expressed by the past tense of the verb “to cry,” the noun “tears,” and an idiom translated as to “choke back tears.”<sup>3</sup> The negative mood is amplified by allusions to death in the following comparisons: in tokens “as if I agreed to lay in a casket alive and let them bury me,”<sup>4</sup> and “I want a sudden gunshot to end it all.”<sup>5</sup> These multiple mentions of anxiety and fear along with philosophical speculation about her self-worth as a teacher, mother, wife, and daughter, signal to the reader that the decision to emigrate is difficult for the main character of the novel.

Negative judgements in the same excerpt from Halych's novel concern both Ukrainian emigration and Ukrainian women emigrants. In one instance, a woman is referred to as “a guardian of the hearth”<sup>6</sup> who abandoned her home and three children. In this example, a typically positive, sacred title acquires a negative, sarcastic tone. Thus, the token listing the above reference is a negative judgement of normality as it is contrary to the very nature of a guardian to abandon their charges. A similarly negative evaluation applies to the narrator, Liudmyla. Her emigration results in a series of actions that characterize her as a bad mother, wife, and daughter. She has transgressed gender roles and is the object of derision: as exemplified in tokens “leave her little sons,”<sup>7</sup> “become a widow with a living husband,”<sup>8</sup> and “abandon... home, parents.”<sup>9</sup> The negative evaluation comes in the form of a rhetorical question to the narrator and appears

to be self-inflicted. It implies that emigration does not necessarily question gender roles; rather, it goes against a woman's very nature.

The linguistic realizations of evaluation in the excerpt from *Shliub* (pp. 7-21 of the novel) appear to be consistent with those identified in the previously discussed text *Usi dorohy*. Most linguistic tokens are representative of the main character's/narrator's, Mariana's, emotional state and represent the lexical level of evaluation: "happy in the morning," "a feeling of confidence," "joy is bubbling up,"<sup>10</sup> which may be translated as "joy thrilled [her heart]." The excerpt contains fewer examples of externally expressed emotions: "smile at the new day" and "life is beautiful."<sup>11</sup> However, the mood of this introductory excerpt contrasts sharply with the previous one. Most evaluations found in it are explicitly happy: "smiles to the new day," "happy in the morning," and "life is beautiful."

Mariana's legal, short-term, and professional emigration could explain its generally positive treatment in the excerpt. She is neither a sacrificing martyr nor a typical struggling mother or wife. On the contrary, Mariana seems satisfied with her profession in Ukraine and the opportunities that it presented her. As an emigrant, however, she cannot find the same professional fulfilment and refuses to play the part of a silent and suffering wife in a transnational marriage that would, for other emigrants, "save" them. Additionally, the few tokens of appreciation found in the text do not sexualize her but focus on her professionalism and integrity.

The lexical representations of emotions in the fragment from the novel *Ia znaiu* (pp. 59-76 represent a separate chapter of the novel) are defined by the narrator's, Oksana's, emotional states: most times she is "worried sick" (literally translated as "[her] soul was not in"<sup>12</sup>), rarer she is "calm feminine"<sup>13</sup> and often she acts "nervously."<sup>14</sup> The development of the excerpt's main heroine's emotional state occurs throughout the whole story and culminates with her self-description in the following token as nothing but "a bloody biomass of pain."<sup>15</sup> External expressions of emotions are frequent and refer to tears, screams, clenched teeth, and rare smiles. Interestingly, the text is silent on Oksana's appearance. This lack of detail may be an attempt to universalize Oksana's story and experiences. The syntactic level of evaluative expression contains multiple rhetorical questions: "and how does one live without a soul...?"<sup>16</sup> "how did she dare to leave?"<sup>17</sup> and "will she actually go through with this?"<sup>18</sup> It also contains parallelisms, for example, "yes, she's running away...yes, she's leaving [her] children...yes, she's a sleaze bag...yes, they will judge her."<sup>19</sup> Other markers of evaluation found in the syntax of the text are exclamatory sentences, ellipsis, sentences with modal framing, and phraseological units.

The excerpt from *Ia znaiu* focuses on Oksana's decision to emigrate, her emigrant life, and her tragic end. Oksana's tragedy, rather than being communal, is individual; her perspective is the only one offered. This absence of other voices, either positive or negative, commenting on

her decision to emigrate and its aftermath, raises questions regarding her story. In my opinion, this lack of detail and the detached almost impersonal description of her affair adds to negative judgements on her character. Oksana's catastrophic end is softened somewhat by the multiple references to her lost soul; her death, thus, becomes a foreseeable outcome, tragic only in how it happened, not in that it happened.

Overall, the evaluation of the selected excerpt from *Hastarbaiterky* (pp. 11-24 of the novel) develops from negative to positive security. The subcategory of negative security lists 28 evaluative tokens which are found throughout the excerpt. In the beginning, the mood reflects nervousness and tension, escalating to paralyzing fear. These emotions are understandable; the main characters Halyna and Maksym are older, have never been abroad, and most importantly are illegal labourers. Halyna and Maksym are introduced to readers as nervous wrecks. They have "taut smiles,"<sup>20</sup> "chattering teeth from anxiety and fear,"<sup>21</sup> and are presented as suffering from lassitude: "stand rooted to the ground," "shudder to a halt."<sup>22</sup> Their first encounter with a foreign culture only drives them into a new "corner of fresh phobias."<sup>23</sup> Halyna's fears stem from her illegal status in the country. Interestingly, the shyness that both characters demonstrate in the opening pages of the novel, can also be read positively as conscientiousness and politeness.

The excerpt from *Hastarbaiterky* contains few judgements in general. Those judgements stem from Halyna's insecurities and fall in the category of veracity. The following examples reflect on both men and women emigrants, comparing them to regular tourists: "[they] carefully pretend to be travellers,"<sup>24</sup> "guest workers... pretend that they are just walking around enjoying the wonderful scenery."<sup>25</sup> The following token is a proposition that contains untrue information. It comes from Halyna's interaction with a German policeman, whom she managed to convince that "everything was wonderful"<sup>26</sup> and that they were just tourists waiting for their tour guide.

Valentyna, the emigrant character of the novel *Korotka istoriia*, is explicitly sexualized through multiple references to her appearance in the selected excerpt (pp. 1-15 of the novel): "golden hair," "wonderful eyes," "voluptuous breasts," and "beautiful woman."<sup>27</sup> These and other descriptors voiced by Mykola, Valentyna's much older husband from the UK, are clearly positive and are valued as such. As an appraiser, Mykola evaluates exclusively through direct speech in dialogues. However, Nadiia, who is Mykola's daughter, is the primary narrator and gets to "repeat" her father's words. Even seemingly positive evaluations of Valentyna tend to be interpreted negatively when voiced by Nadiia. For instance, Mykola and Valentyna's age difference, as conveyed by Nadiia, is classified as a negative judgement of propriety. The same information coming from Mykola, however, is neutralized by the explicit "so what?" Mykola uses similar neutralizing devices to mitigate Nadiia's concerns about his marrying Valentyna. He appears to be aware of the true reasons for the marriage but shows little concern. His one-word unemotional responses are classified as judgement of "neutral -propriety" in the

following token where “neutral” refers to his lack of emotions, and negative propriety reflects the underlying evaluation: “Passport. Visa. Work Permit.”<sup>28</sup>

The overall negative appraisal of Valentyna is understandable given the circumstances in which she joins the family. Valentyna came to England on a tourist visa and is plotting to stay by arranging a fake marriage with a man 50 years her senior, which strongly implies that she would stop at nothing to “start a new life in the West for her and her son.”<sup>29</sup> She is viewed as a predatory illegal immigrant, willing to go to extremes to stay in the United Kingdom. Unlike other excerpts discussed earlier, no self-descriptors were found in the analyzed text. Valentyna is not given a voice in the narration until much later in the story. However, the negative introduction by the angry daughter and the mentally unstable Mykola paints an unflattering picture of Valentyna.

## RESULTS OF LINGUISTIC ANALYSIS

The five excerpts studied vary in structure, narration style, mood, and tone. The topic of emigration is addressed from several various positions. Different types and stages of Ukrainian emigration of women have been discussed: the initial decision to emigrate illegally and the painful hesitation of Liudmyla from *Usi dorohy*, Oksana from *Ia znaiu*, and Halyna from *Hastarbaiterky*; the legal short-term professional emigration of Mariana from *Shliub* that precedes her legal spousal emigration; the realities of illegal semi-skilled emigration of Oksana; and Valentyna’s from *Korotka istoriia* attempts to emigrate illegally through a fictitious marriage to a much older British citizen.

The use of Appraisal Theory to analyze these five excerpts allowed for a more in-depth overview of the evaluation of Ukrainian women emigrants and emigration in general. It also expanded the list of commonalities among the selected literary texts beyond women’s authorship and a focus on women’s emigrant characters. For instance, the linguistic analysis revealed that the evaluation of women emigrants and emigration, in general, varies based on the type of emigration, legal versus illegal, professional versus spousal. The stories of illegal emigration share the motifs of unhappiness, sadness, despair, anxiety and fear, largely expressed through the negative affect of happiness and security. At the same time, legal emigration is described via positive affects of happiness or irrealis (subjunctive) statements with modal framing.

Evaluation was found to depend largely on the appraiser. Illegal emigration is viewed differently by emigrants, partial or impartial observers in Ukraine, and citizens of the receiving countries. For some, emigration is a silent personal tragedy, for others, the tragedy is a national concern. Those emigrants who establish themselves abroad are proud of their jobs and their ability to provide for their families back in Ukraine. Conversely, those emigrants who struggle to make ends meet abroad receive little sympathy from foreigners and compatriots. The personal biases



of appraisers play an important role in the evaluation of characters and may add to or diminish the credibility of the narration. This affects the level of empathy the reader may experience for the appraised.

The analysis revealed that tokens of negative judgement concern social and gender norms, veracity, and less frequent references to capacity and tenacity. The negative judgements are associated with the stereotype of a “bad mother,” which applies to Liudmyla, Oksana, and Halyna (from *Usi dorohy*, *Ia znaiu*, and *Hastarbaiterky* respectively). The women characters either express deeply internalized guilt for leaving their children (Liudmyla and Oksana) or are understood to experience these feelings based on their current relationship with their children (Halyna). These sentiments are closely associated with the dominant emotions of unhappiness, sadness, despair, and fear, and are largely self-inflicted. At the same time, emigration is trying on mothers and its difficulty is emphasized in the texts multiple times. It is explained as a necessary sacrifice for the greater good of the family and attests to a woman’s inner strength and endurance.

In addition to the label “bad mother,” Oksana may be described as a “bad wife.” Readers could judge her negatively as she kept her decision to emigrate and her departure secret from her family. The lexis chosen to describe her departure raises questions regarding her true reasons. Readers are left wondering if she is running away from a loveless marriage or if she is leaving to provide for her family. Oksana’s decision to have an affair may further support the negative evaluation. Oksana’s story contains multiple inconsistencies that may offer an alternative reading and evaluation of her character. Admittedly, my reading of Oksana’s story may differ from others’ as different readers encounter texts with their own biases and a built-in set of norms and beliefs.

The linguistic analysis of the selected excerpts revealed that Ukrainian women emigrants are often depicted against the national patriarchal construct of Berehynia, the guardian of the hearth, which is deeply rooted in the very notion of motherhood. While an explicit yet sarcastic reference to a Ukrainian woman emigrant as berehynia was found in the excerpt from *Usi dorohy*, the employed stereotypes of “bad mothers” and “bad wives” in the excerpts from *Usi dorohy*, *Ia znaiu*, and *Hastarbaiterky* suggest that women emigrants cease to be true “guardians of the hearth” once they decide to emigrate. It could also explain why all three main characters from the above-listed excerpts, Liudmyla, Oksana, and Halyna, suffer tragic fates. If women are symbols (mothers) of the Ukrainian nation then, logically, women who abandon their families and nation are to be erased from the national memory.

The excerpt from *Korotka istoriia* conveys the stereotype of the “sexually promiscuous woman emigrant.” Readers are presented with negative external judgements of Valentyna; rarely do we hear her own thoughts about her behaviour and her situation. One may argue that these

negative evaluations are understandable given the nature of her emigration and the narrator's position vis-à-vis the character of Valentyna. Out of the five excerpts, only this one contained explicitly sexualized descriptions of a woman emigrant.

Based on the selected introductory pages, Mariana, the main character from *Shliub*, is described as a "professional emigrant." Her evaluation in the text's introduction concerns her occupation as a translator. It later evolves into the stereotype of a "patriot," whose self-realization is not possible married to a foreigner abroad. Mariana moves to Germany in search of love and family. Instead, she discovers that her identity is deeply rooted in her ethnicity.

Untruthful statements made by illegal emigrants often colour evaluations of illegal and legal emigration. Secrecy and explicit lies surround women's decision to emigrate as if emigration were a shameful act. Positive judgements, in their turn, often refer to emigrants' capacities, such as their hard-working nature and language skills. All of the women characters from the selected novels are said to be educated professionals who are not afraid of hard work. However, when it comes to language skills, women emigrants are fluent in German more frequently than in other European languages. Immigrants to Italy often do not know the language. This is a contributing factor to their low-paid, semi-skilled employment, lack of security, and overall negative experience. In addition, positive evaluations of Ukrainian women emigrants stem from their values and ethics. For example, Liudmyla's evaluation as a decent person is expressed through self-deprecating characterizations of her positive traits. This self-deprecation may reflect the conflict faced by women emigrants: living life by the principles of honesty and honour often means living in poverty. While positive judgements may not be as frequent as tokens of negative affect in the selected excerpts, their presence allows for a deeper analysis of the overall evaluation of Ukrainian women emigrants.

The least represented category of evaluation throughout the five excerpts was appreciation, with the exception being Lewycka's treatment of Valentyna's appearance in *Korotka istoriia*. A negative appreciation appears to be reflective of emigrants' declining self-esteem both before and after emigration. At first, they blame themselves for their inability to provide for their families. After emigration, many of them face extreme culture shock and must adjust to a new reality. A negative valuation is also expressed through self-deprecating name calling and reflects the guilt emigrants feel after abandoning their families.

## CONCLUSION

My analysis revealed that evaluative meanings shape the depiction of Ukrainian emigration and women emigrants in Ukrainian literature of migration in a non-binary (positive or negative), but rather nuanced way. Admittedly, most evaluative tokens identified from the five excerpts are negative. The emotions of fear, anxiety and sadness dominate most stories. Self-judgement

proved to be common in first-person narrations. Emigration was revealed to threaten the very national identity of Ukrainians, which is deeply rooted in the female imagery of the “guardian of the hearth.” One may argue that Ukrainian women emigrants defy patriarchal values by the very act of emigration, by assuming the roles of decision-makers and breadwinners for their families. However, the literary texts reflect their internalized guilt (as well as those same patriarchal values) and often offer a tragic solution to the conflict between the traditional gender values and emigration. The overall negative evaluation of emigration and utilizing the stereotypes “bad mother,” “bad wife,” and “promiscuous woman” when describing women emigrants appear to only reinforce the existing gendered narrative of Ukrainian national identity.

The findings of the linguistic analysis also revealed that professional emigration of single, childless women may be positively evaluated. The duration of one’s emigration affects how that character is evaluated; permanent emigration and subsequent assimilation are viewed negatively while short-term professional emigration is viewed more positively. Ukrainian women emigrants are also praised as capable, talented professionals, moral, honest, and ethical human beings whose virtues are tested by financial need. These evaluations, which are nevertheless present in all of the excerpts, are less explicit and are sometimes masked by self-deprecation. In my opinion, the voice(s) that capably explain and rationalize the emigration of women add credibility to those narratives and evoke sympathy... While the analyzed texts were reflective of patriarchal values still prevalent in Ukraine, they also highlight the tensions that exist between the gendered narrative and the society that they allegedly reflect.

This project’s linguistic analysis presented a more nuanced picture of women’s emigration from Ukraine and also confirmed the applicability of Appraisal Theory to both literary texts and texts written in Ukrainian, thus expanding its reach and relevance. The above-listed observations support my argument that more research is needed to uncover individualized women emigrant experiences and incorporate them into the field of migration studies, particularly concerning the Ukrainian context. These could be identified from sociological, ethnographic, literary, or folklore studies, shaping Ukrainian migration studies into a more comprehensive multidisciplinary exploration. Additionally, employing linguistic techniques when assessing the depiction of women’s emigration and its agents enriches an analysis by providing a detailed and balanced perspective.

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## Endnotes:

- <sup>1</sup> серце... плакало-ридало
- <sup>2</sup> плаче душа
- <sup>3</sup> ковтаю грудку за грудкою
- <sup>4</sup> ніби погодилася живою лягти в труну і дати загребти себе землею
- <sup>5</sup> хочеться, щоб раптовий постріл усе зупинив
- <sup>6</sup> Берегиня
- <sup>7</sup> покинути синочків
- <sup>8</sup> овдовіти при живому чоловікові
- <sup>9</sup> залишити... дім, батьків
- <sup>10</sup> щаслива уранці, почуття впевненості, радість нуртує
- <sup>11</sup> усміхається новому дню, життя прекрасне
- <sup>12</sup> душа була не на місці
- <sup>13</sup> спокійна
- <sup>14</sup> нервово
- <sup>15</sup> криваву біомасу болю
- <sup>16</sup> а як жити без душі?
- <sup>17</sup> як вона наважилась на від'їзд?

- <sup>18</sup> невже вона це зробить?  
<sup>19</sup> так, вона тікає... так, вона залишає дітей... так, вона - найостанніша тварюка...  
так, її осудять  
<sup>20</sup> напружених посмішок  
<sup>21</sup> дрібно цокотять зубами від хвилювання і страху  
<sup>22</sup> стоять, мов укопані  
<sup>23</sup> кут свіженьких фобій  
<sup>24</sup> старанно вдають із себе мандрівників  
<sup>25</sup> гастарбайтери... вдають, що просто прогулюються й милуються чудовими краєвидами  
<sup>26</sup> ... що все прекрасно  
<sup>27</sup> золоте волосся, чарівні очі, пишні перса, гарну жінку/красивою жінкою  
<sup>28</sup> Паспорт. Віза. Дозвіл на працю.  
<sup>29</sup> почати на Заході нове життя для себе і свого сина

**Table 1: Coding table for linguistic analysis**

| Appraising items | Appraiser | Affect | Judgement | Appreciation | Appraised |
|------------------|-----------|--------|-----------|--------------|-----------|
|------------------|-----------|--------|-----------|--------------|-----------|

**Note:** “Appraising items” refer to all utterances classified as affect, judgement, and appreciation. The “Appraiser” column lists the subject(s) of evaluation, for example, the narrator or a character. The categories of “Affect,” “Judgement,” and “Appreciation” will offer a further classification of evaluative tokens, for example “- happiness,” “+ capacity,” or “- valuation.” “Appraised” logically indicates the object of appraisal, for example, Ukrainian women emigrants as a group, a certain character, or emigration as a phenomenon.

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