

**MEMORIES AND IDENTITIES: THE SOCIOLINGUISTIC ANALYSIS OF NARRATIVES ABOUT
DEPORTATION IN THE NORTH CAUCASUS**

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Abstract. Historic past of the North Caucasus reflected in narratives in which minority and majority peoples encapsulate their visions of human experience during World War II has spawned myths where an outright lie interspersed with half truths; so fictional and literal accounts of the past are worthy of sustained theoretical and practical consideration.

My aim, as a linguist, is to produce the sociolinguistic analysis of narratives concerning the deportation of some North Caucasus peoples to Central Asia. The objectives are to investigate the contents, concepts, structure of events and actions, the language and discursive forms of narrative texts explaining causal sequences and connections of past events in the North Caucasus. The study is based on thorough exploration of written history accounts and aural narratives of people from the North Caucasus.

The verbalized picture of the North Caucasus realities forms a distorted ideological image which presents story-objects, actions, events, time and place in a perverted way. By governmental decrees of Stalin, entire communities of Karachays, Chechens, Ingush and Balkars were exiled to Central Asia. Mortality of the deportees amounted from 30% up to 50%. Biased narratives explain the reasons for deportation of entire populations of southern European part of the country: revenge, "punitive measure" for performances Highlanders had against authorities in different years, the collective punishment for the collaborations of some individuals with Germans, as well as securing and strengthening the southern borders of the State, etc.

The conclusion made postulates that history accounts are compelling language tools which connect past with present and future and lead to a better understanding of societal development.

1. Introduction. The research agenda, analytical tools, the empirical data and approaches to the narrative discourse analysis

The topic of deportation until recently was taboo in Russia. So fictional and literal accounts of the past events in the Soviet Union in the middle of the XX century are worthy of sustained theoretical and practical consideration.

The goal of the paper is to critically analyze autobiographical narratives about the deportation of the North Caucasus peoples to Middle Asia during the years of World War II from the perspective of historical-narrative, conceptual-cognitive and critical discourse analysis.

The paper has the following **aims**: 1) to determine the frame-cognitive structure of the narratives about the deportation, 2) to extract the major concepts pertaining to the topic, 3) to exemplify alternative ideological approaches to the deportation, 4) to discuss linguistic and extralinguistic means of constructions of the story.

The empirical basis of the paper contains a corpus of over 30 oral stories obtained by the researcher during the field trips in republics of Karachaevo-Cherkessia, Kabardino-Balkaria, Dagestan and Chechnya, stories and historical accounts published in the press or in the Internet during Perestroika and after the dissolution of the Soviet Union, transcripts of TV shows and interviews, documentary sources from books, official accounts, materials of the archives of the KGB, letters and documents from the family archives of deported fellow citizens the Internet data produced in the XXI century fifty or more years after tragic events of the XX century. The research material is diverse: it covers various components of the events related in stories: historical facts, personal experiences, memories, metareports, commentaries and assessments, etc. It pictures the tragic happenings in the mirrors of political, cultural and social dimensions.

The research project touches upon a vital problem related to identity issues, justice, truth representation through ordinary people reflections, and academic or party visions of the events happening in the North Caucasus in the forties of the XX century.

The main assumption of narrative analysis is that verbal conceptualization of the past events though the eyes of a layperson can give a portrayal of historical happenings, show social, cultural, physical and psychological losses of the population, demonstrate ideological loads of Stalinism, reveal individual and collective impact of the deportation on people, explain identity issues and as a whole confirm the existence of diverse conceptual visions/reflections of the past encapsulated in language.

The **stages of the narrative analysis** of stories about the deportation of the North Caucasus peoples. The algorithm of the study of the empirical material is the following:

1) study and critical assessment of the previous theoretical data in the fields of narrative theory, critical discourse analysis, cognitive-conceptual linguistics in order to create a conceptual methodological basis for the research and make a choice for conceptual tools for the work;

2) selection, collection and categorization of the relevant empirical research material pertaining to the goal of investigation (transcripts of oral stories recordings, written accounts from the Internet sources, excerpts from the press);

3) qualitative case studies of stories about the deportation on the basis of historical, social, cultural and other aspects of narrative discourse analysis;

4) interpretation of results, making conclusions and formulating outcomes.

To resolve the goals of the research a number of **analytical tools** will help. First of all, this is critical discourse analysis that implies the assessment of linguistic and extralinguistic factors constructing the meanings in wide social contexts. Second, it is narration theory that will advance the study of the texts. Third, this is conceptual semantics and cognitive frame theory that will offer insights in the content structures of the narrative. Fourth, this is lexical semantics and structural syntax that are appropriate for the textual analysis of the narratives.

2. The concept of the narrative. Preliminary definition

The eighties of the 20th century marked the beginning of a "narrative turn" in humanities, the main idea of which lay in the declaration that functioning of different forms of knowledge can be understood only through consideration of their narrative nature [Liotar 1998]. The narrative turn is related to the realization of the importance of storytelling in human life.

Definition of the Narrative. "A narrative is an account of a sequence of events in the order in which they occurred to make a point" [Labov & Waletzky 1967]. Narrative is an essential part of many types of discourse [De Fina & Georgakopoulou 2015]. Storytelling is considered to be a central human activity [Herman, 2007]. "From a hermeneutic point of view, human life is a process of narrative interpretation" [Guy Widdershoven 1993, 2]. Stories in oral or written language form anchor human experiences to memories and create the world of values. Narrative is a characteristic mode of cognition and a type of thought [Bruner 1986, Polkinghorne 1988, Schank & Abelson 1995]. Narratives constitute social, cultural, and political worlds [Bruner 1991; Gergen & Gergen 1993]. Narratives play an important role for self [MacIntyre 1981; McAdams 1993] and community [MacIntyre 1981; Carr 1986]. These discursive forms are basic means through which people construct identities [Ricoeur 1984; 1990; Marsh 2005]; they are "vehicles of ideology, and elements of collective action frames" [Polletta 2006].

W. Labov formulated the principles of the structural analysis of the narrative. In the classic work of Labov and Waletzky [1967] there is the following list of elements of the narrative: thesis (summary, resume of the narrative); orientation (time, place, situation, actors); sequence of events (including complicating actions that form the basis of the story); assessment (the significance and meaning of the action, the narrator's attitude to this action); resolution (what end has the narrator come to); code (in which the narrator returns to the present time). Early versions of narrative study was proposed by Vladimir Propp [1968] in application to fairy-tales.

Paul Ricoeur [1984] points to a strong relationship between the action and vocabularies of narrative while speaking about "the semantics of action".

One of the productive approaches to the study of narratives is conceptual frame methodology. Conceptual frames and their variations - scripts, scenarios, schemes or schemata, Idealized Cognitive Models (ICM), etc. foster understanding of the text, help save the speaker's and the recipient's efforts, guide tellers and direct listeners, assist memory procedures [Bateson 1972; Goffman, 1974; Fillmore 1982; Tannen 1986; Lakoff 1987]. They form expectations about the unfolding discourse, fix the sequence of actions of the temporal components and structure the causal relations between the elements, they have slots for the concepts, that are virtual prototypes for objects, actions, events and happenings of the world. As a whole they form the plane of content while language means form the plane of expression.

3. Data analysis: A case study of the narrative on deportation of the North Caucasus people in World War II

The theme of deportation lies at the intersection of personal and collective. The narratives tell the stories of laymen in their connection with the history of the entire community. They verbally reconstruct the political, social and cultural life of the peoples of the North Caucasus during the World War II.

The narratives about the deportation of the North Caucasus peoples are not bare enumerations of facts. The language used in the stories is not only the carrier of information and media of communication. The language is a type of social behavior that brings to the surface people's social, political, historical, ethnic, religious, psychological backgrounds. So the language employed is a tool for convincing and persuading, controlling and manipulating. In its traditional form, the narrative is the transformation of history into a text. It is a mechanism that transforms facts into account of something what really happened. Narrative discourse is featured by the presence of semantic dominants, acting as temporal and locality poles of reference around which discourse unfolds (discourse of deportation, discourse of justice, homophobic discourse, discourse of hate, discourse of a political event, etc.). These dominants have a generating power, produce the discourse of a certain ideological modality, and establish the direction of its deployment.

The *key features of the deportation narrative discourse* are the following:

- 1) the unity of topic; a multiplicity of subthemes;
- 2) the plurality of narrators;
- 3) the two-part plot (the referential prototype of the narrative and the narrative itself as a communicative event);
- 4) a range of layers of the contexts and situations: internal (textual) and external (the sociopolitical/cultural/historical context; the situational context); relations: intertextual and interdiscursive;
- 5) the variations of construals of the picture of the world as projections of a unity of meaning in reference to the imagery of deportation;
- 6) the cluster of fact-fixing and fact-evaluating information;
- 7) the plurality of modal attitudes and standpoints;
- 8) the combination of chronological reference structure with flashbacks;
- 9) intertextuality.

The protagonists of the narratives are the representatives of the deported peoples of the North Caucasus; the soldiers, official persons, the local people of the destination areas, the Germans; the time constituents fix the middle of the World War II, pre-war and post-war years; the place constituents are: local places in the North Caucasus, locations in Kirgizia, Kazakhstan, Siberia, etc.

The content analysis of the texts of narratives about the deportation and participation in the war of the North Caucasus peoples helps to discover that the stories told could be classed into three categories: 1) personal narratives, 2) ideological narratives, 3) event narratives, and 4) chronicles.

4. Extralinguistic analysis of the situation. Political, social and cultural elements of the discourse contexts

In order to analyze the personal story we have to stipulate its focal constituents: the general topic and its subtopical elements; orientation issues: time (when?) and locality (where?) of happenings, actors (who?, what?) and circumstantial elements (how?); acts, actions, events and happenings. After that we fix the complicated sequence of events that lead to the end of the story.

The aims of the narratives about the deportation of the North Caucasus peoples lie in transportation of memories to the next generation and creation of social networks as well as truth restoration or reevaluation of the past history.

Themes and sub-themes. In our research of narratives we distinguish two major themes, which have further subdivisions:

Central theme: Deportation of the North Caucasus peoples to Middle Asia and Siberia: forcible resettlement of the peoples

Sub-theme 1: The happenings of the deportation in chronological sequence. Political, social and cultural backgrounds. Temporal and space frames of the narratives events

Sub-theme 2: The outcomes of the deportation

Sub-theme 3: The justice/injustice of the forceful resettlement of peoples

Sub-theme 4: Identity issues

The most relevant questions about the deportation narratives evolve around the personal experiences in their connection with the political, social and cultural contexts. The focus of narrative research is on the analysis of the processes of interpretation of life experiences and the use of cultural resources, social perceptions, values and norms.

The chronicles produce relevant information of the situation in the USSR at the beginning period of the war. That was not an easy time, for there was a big amount of problems, not only of outer character (Germans enter a war against the Soviet Union), but also concerning inner country situations (instability, economic hardships, crime, rebellions, gangs with anti-soviet moods, etc.). The structural elements for the narrative below are the following: 1) fixation of the time (peak of deportations, beginning of the war with Germany, conditions of military environment); 2) depicting the situation inside of the country (aggravated socio-economic and criminal situation, manifestations of various groups of the population against the regime, banditry, rebel groups, gang groups); 3) reference to actions undertaken since 1941 (elimination of banditry, of opposition) and statistics of groups located in different territories of the USSR.

Ex.:The peak of deportations falls in the period after Germany entered the war against the USSR. It markedly aggravated the socio-economic situation in the country, deepened the criminal situation in the rear, created conditions for open manifestations of various groups of the population against the regime, which took measures to strengthen its position in the conditions military environment. According to the NKVD department of the USSR against banditry, 7,163 rebel groups uniting 54,130 people, among them 963 groups (17,563 people) in the North Caucasus were eliminated in the Soviet territory since June 1941. In the first half of 1944 alone, 1,727 gang groups (10,994 people) were eliminated, 145 of them in the North Caucasus (3,144). In the Caucasus during the same period, 1,549 groups were registered, in Central Asia - 1217, in the Central regions of the USSR - 527, in Siberia and the Far East - 1576 groups.

The site [Voennoe Obozrenie] presents the information of the operation that was carried out in winter time 1944 during the II World War in the North Caucasus. The **chronicle** goes like that. In the next passage the narrative presents the horizontal structure, where the events happen almost simultaneously and show the parallel but not chronological axis.

In the archives of the Supreme Council of the USSR the most important document, dated December 16, 1965 is preserved - "Reference on the number of persons of certain categories evicted to special settlements in the northern and eastern parts of the country from 1940 to 1953 without the right to return to the former places of residence". According to the data, about 640,000 citizens belonging to different nationalities were deported from the North Caucasus region during this period, 570,826 people from Ukraine, 228,599 from Lithuania, 52,541 from the Latvian SSR, 32,540 from the Estonian SSR, from Belarusian SSR - 60,869, from the Moldovan SSR

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– 46,474, from Armenia - about 16,000, from the Pskov region of the Russian Federation – 1,604, from the Crimea - about 230,000 people.

The histories of the Chechen and Ingush peoples was documented in chronicles. The account of Stalin apparatus goes like that. It names the performers of the actions and enumerates various steps to destroy the administrative unit and later evict peoples to Central Asia. Chronicles on deportation often operate with figures. They number the amounts of people impacted and weapons seized. The frame-semantic corpus deals with the concepts: operation, people, population, anti-Soviet elements, arms, territory, Caucasus, Central Asia, settlements, to arrest, to abolish, to kill, to transfer, to deport, to evict, to seize, rights.

February 23, 1944, operation “Lentils” began: the deportation of Chechens and Ingush “for *aiding the fascist occupiers*” from the territory of the Chechen-Ingush ASSR (CHIASSR) to Central Asia Kazakhstan. CHIASSR was abolished, four districts were transferred to Dagestan, one district was transferred to the North Ossetian ASSR, and Grozny region was established in the rest of the territory. [<https://topwar.ru/40198-mif-o-nespravedlivosti-vyseleniya-chechencev-i-ingushey-v-1944-godu.html>]

The operation (Operation “Lentils”) was led by the People's Commissar of the Home Office of the USSR Lavrentiy Beria. The eviction of the Chechen-Ingush population was carried out without any problems. During the operation 780 people were killed, 2016 "anti-Soviet elements" were arrested; more than 20,000 units of firearms were seized. 180 echelons with a total number of 493,269 people were sent to Central Asia. The operation was carried out very effectively and showed the high skill of the management apparatus of the Soviet Union.

The narrative expresses the minuses of deportation on the large scale. The components of the subframe “Harm from deportation” are: damage to the economy of the former inhabited areas of the resettled peoples, harm to culture, traditions, identity; deformation of the national consciousness; disruption of economic and cultural ties between neighboring peoples, undermining the authority of the state power, gross violations of the Constitution of the USSR, destructive impact on the state policy in the sphere of national relations, etc.

It should be emphasized that the deportation of the population inflicted harm to the country, first of all to the economies of the former inhabited areas of the resettled peoples, their culture and traditions. The established economic and cultural ties between the peoples-neighbors were interrupted, the national consciousness of the masses was deformed. The authority of the state power was significantly undermined.

In short, the gross violations of the Basic Law of the State - the Constitution of the USSR were committed, not only the rights of peoples, but also their statehood were violated, for autonomous republics and regions were liquidated. At the same time, the war highlighted the negatives of state policy in the sphere of national relations, it showed that things did not go smoothly in the society at all, as the official state propaganda seemed to declare for a long time. The wounds inflicted on the peoples could not be forgotten.

The fears that the Soviet government experienced in the connection with the goals that Germans set in the North Caucasus might serve as the explanation for the drastic measures undertaken during the war time. The subframe “The Germans’ goals, strategic focus and methods to get an upper hand in the Caucasus” consists of the following concepts: expansion and strengthening influence in the North Caucasus; techniques - bribery, intrigue, flirtation with Muslim clergy, involvement of the population in the fight against the Soviet government; the plan "Shamil"; capture of the oil-producing areas, to land troopers; to throw spies, saboteurs, to rely on anti-Soviet elements, to equip the local bandits with arms, capture Baku, establish an occupation regime in the Caucasus; destroy the mountaineers.

The German command aimed to expand and strengthen its influence in the North Caucasus, using such techniques as bribery, intrigue, flirtation with Muslim clergy, authoritative among the

population, with the aim of involving them in the fight against the Soviet government. Hitler's command was based on the plan "Shamil" developed by the military intelligence of Admiral F.V. Canaris in January 1942, according to which Grozny, Maikop and other oil-producing areas were to be captured by landing troopers. Thrown spies and saboteurs had to rely on anti-Soviet elements. "In the Caucasus, as elsewhere in Russia," said one of the German documents, "the adats and Muslim Sharia law still hold a strong majority of the mountain population. Highlanders by nature are very trusting. It is easier to work with them than with other nationalities... We need to equip the local bandits well, give them important objects before the arrival of the German troops, which they will keep for us. When Grozny, Malgobek and other areas are in our hands, we will be able to capture Baku and establish an occupation regime in the Caucasus, introduce the necessary garrisons into the mountains, and when the mountains are calm, destroy all the mountaineers" [21].

The subframe "Preventive measures taken by the Soviets" includes the focus on the following concepts: decomposition of existing terrorist groups from within; legalization of the members of terrorist groups, lone terrorists, deserters, hired accomplices, saboteurs, evaders from service in the Red Army; forcible eviction of the families of gang leaders and active bandits from the borders of their permanent residence.

In 1943, the situation in the Stavropol region and Karachay Autonomous Region remained tense. Measures were taken to decompose existing terrorist groups from within. In 1943, it was possible to legalize 870 members of these groups, 479 lone terrorists, 5,953 deserters, 18 hired accomplices, 17 saboteurs, 3,238 evaders from service in the Red Army. On April 15, 1943, the NKVD and the Prosecutor's Office of the USSR approved a directive on the basis of which the families of gang leaders and active bandits were forcibly evicted from the borders of Karachay Autonomous Region. A total of 110 families (472 people) were expelled.

The subframe "An explanation of the reasons for the eviction" includes the concept "Traacherous behavior of the local population".

The decree of the Presidency of the Supreme Council of the USSR of October 12, 1943 and the SNC's October 14, 1943 Resolution on the eviction of Karachays from Karachay Autonomous Region to the Kazakh SSR and Kyrgyz SSR incorporated all the provisions on which this action was carried out. The legal acts also provided an explanation of the reasons for the eviction, as they saw in Moscow, namely, "due to the fact that during the occupation many Karachays behaved treacherously." After all the checks and cleansing operations, 69,267 Karachay citizens were forcibly deported from Karachay Autonomous Region. Karachays who lived in neighboring autonomous republics, regions and regions were also identified. About 90 people in this category were sent as special settlers to the east. Of all the deported Karachays in the system of Narkomzem USSR 24,569 people (adults 11,509) were employed, in the system of other people's commissariats - 16,133.

A personal narrative performs a presentation function, plays an important role in creating the image of a narrator. In the form of an autobiographical discursive strategy it serves to describe one's position, hopes and beliefs, pains and happiness, feelings of insecurity, etc. It is a narrative of belonging [Duranti 2006] that presents life experience and the sequence of life events in connection with moral and emotional identification of a narrator with one's people. Narrative in the form of a biography (autobiography) is a well-established genre of discourse. Retrospective narrative is created at the end of a happening or event - it is a kind of summing up, understanding what place the person occupied in the life of other people. In the linguist's plan, the retrospective narrative is the core of the concept of a deportee as a case-based personality.

In the stories of personal experience of deportation there we trace *a frame sequence of the following events*:

- 1) the start of the war, mobilization of the grown-up males to the army, the life in local places; secret and hasty work of state security agencies to collect compromising materials and train military forces for the implementation of anti-people's action;
- 2) the dramatic change in the life of everybody - start of the mass deportation: the very day of the deportation, a long travel to nowhere, hardships on the road to Central Asia and Siberia, deaths;
- 3) life in the new places (work, aspirations, hopes, broken hearts and families, unauthorized returns of people to their homeland);
- 4) return home (repatriation) (no place to live, buying back their own houses, starting a life anew) and rehabilitation;
- 5) the revival of peoples of the North Caucasus.

Here is one of the many examples of the stories about the forcible resettlement of the Karachay people. The story is a personal narrative, in which the tragic history of a poor woman is told. In an impassive manner the reteller presents the biographical facts of life of a woman who had many children and with her entire people was forcibly resettled to Asian region where due to tough living conditions all her children died and she also passed away. The narrative depicts the route of one person which is prototypical of many. The totalitarian regime sacrifices man for the state. The preventive violence as a feature of totalitarian regime turned big amounts of people into a disenfranchised crowd whose silent voices are never heard. This is violence that destroys everything in its wake: families, homes, motherland, belief in justice, and life itself.

“The young woman was deported with small children. Nearby there were none of the relatives. Her husband was at the front. No food or shelter. There were seven children! Within a short time, like sick chickens, six died, and she remained with the smallest. But he didn't live long. The mother lost her mind with grief: she did not let the child be buried. She went with him to the cemetery and here, in the middle of the graves, the nameless bumps of her six children, died, and did not release from her numbed hands the breathless body of the baby ...”

The narrator performs as a narrating agent. The author of the story presents a heavily happenings-packed plot-driven narration that is fast-paced. He produces characteristics of a woman (young, numbed hands) and children (young, the breathless body of the baby) and portrays the settings (locality - at the front, the cemetery, in the middle of the graves; time - within a short time). Within the narrative, we can identify a plain presentation of facts and events (accompanied by no commentary, even at times when it would provide further insight), as well as occasional explanations or justifications for actions.

In the next example the narrator tells the story in chronological sequence, beginning with the moments of the start of the deportation. The author delivers the story his mother had told him. The key conceptual points are the following: actors – women, old people, men separated from the weaker part of the people, family members – father, mother, sister, the enemy of the people, local population, the Chechens, the Germans; actions, happenings – be separated with the nearest, die in the war, die of starvation, be imprisoned as the enemy of the people, help the best one can. Local constituents of the situation are: the native place of residence, Grozny, Kazakhstan, prison. The script is laconic: 1) separation of family members before the beginning of the deportation, 2) brothers' deaths in the war, 3) meeting with father in Kazakhstan, 4) the deaths of her mother and sister, 5) father's imprisonment and death, 6) help of the local population.

My mother said that all but women and children had been called to a meeting and locked in the House of Culture. It means they were afraid of resistance. Then there were already cars to the echelons. So relatives were already separated there. Mother said there were no Germans in Grozny. Who could they surrender if they had not seen them at all. My mother's two brothers died in the war. She and her mother and sister met her father in Kazakhstan. Less than a month later, her mother and sister died of starvation. And her father was imprisoned as an enemy of the people. He died in prison in Aktubinsk. Of the seven people of the family, she remained alone. She was 14 years old. She remembers everything well. The local population, as well as in Chechnya, were old people and children alone. They had nothing for themselves, but to tell the truth they

helped as they could. Eternal gratitude goes to them! You are a grown man, you will be held accountable for your words before the Lord. And in your speech there is a feeling of dissatisfaction with the fact that the Chechens have survived. Maybe, you are a provocateur?

Another story concerns the memories of people who have suffered in the days of war. The focal points of the narrative are: unexpectedness and unpredictability of the orders to leave the place in 15 minutes, shooting, setting on fire, lack of food on the way to the exile, death from hunger, cold, thirst on the road or on arrival, survival rate.

Neither food nor, of course, medicines was offered to people on the way. This is what my grandmother recollects: they were given only fifteen minutes to pack things for the journey. And what was it possible to collect from food and clothes in these 15 minutes. Out of more than 600,000 of Chechnya's population of that time after the deportation there survived only just over 200,000. The rest are all dead: either in Chechnya they were simply shot or collected in barns and stables, locked and set on fire. So they killed more than 12,000 people in just one day. These were those who refused to leave their homeland, and others died on the road or on arrival in Kazakhstan and Siberia from hunger, cold, thirst, because on the bare steppes of Kazakhstan, where they were dropped off, there was nothing to eat except the grass, which they ate and a few days later died of poisoning.

Autobiographical narratives under the discussion tend to linear presentation of the sequence of happenings in a chronological order with little flashbacks inserted into the line of narration. The focus is on the past events with the enclaves of the stream of consciousness reference, mapping past with the present. Sometimes the stories divide, and the narrator uses parallel conceptual structures – either coordinative or complex, that still relate to different story lines. With deviations some stories exhibit circular structural design when the speaker returns to the general theme in the end repeating the opening stage material.

Scenario templates are: the principle of collective guilt and responsibility; conditions of life home and in exile; discrimination and deterioration of the material, legal, political and spiritual situation of the peoples; sacrifices; “normalization” of life in exile; adaptation to new extreme conditions, increased aspirations to rehabilitate their status and improve their material and spiritual sovereignty; conflicts and friendship between newcomers and the local population; help and kindness of people; consequences of deportation (increase in morbidity, high mortality, disruption of the gene pool, moral and psychological stress, sharp deterioration of the financial situation of the people); glasnost and deportation; rapid consolidation of people's forces aimed at returning the good name of the vilified ethnic group to its historical homeland; the growth of the national consciousness of the people, their desire for an independent and full-blooded life in the brotherly family of the peoples of the Soviet Union; the process of the direct return of people to their ancestral lands; problems (conflicts between those who returned and the ones who settled in their places; autonomy of peoples was not restored, lands lost, inter-ethnic relations have been affected by the incomplete rehabilitation of repressed peoples, etc.).

Ideological narrative. For supporters of different world views, a narrative is, first of all, an idea or a set of ideas, a doctrine that underlies specific ideology. In other words, this type of narrative is a 'compelling narrative' of one's own. An example of ideological load of the narrative is the concept of betrayal of some representatives of the North Caucasus peoples. There is a view, supported by nationalists, that among, for instance, some highlanders there were traitors who sided with the Germans. It is worthy to mention that some other representatives of the North Caucasus peoples produced the narratives of their ethnic exclusivity pointing to the dividing line between those who were deported and those who avoided this experience, which they attest to special qualities and behavior of their nation in comparison to the deportees. Such doctrines as exclusivity, collective guilt, total betrayals, on the one hand, and injustice, bias toward nations without sufficient ground resonate with identity issues separating peoples into “we” and “they” assisting the safeguarding the feeling of unity and division from “others”. Among the ideological narratives included in the corpus of the precedent texts about deportation and participation of the people from the North Caucasus in the

World War II are stories that support the idea of deportation and give arguments in its favor. In post-war periods the returned peoples started a debate to return a good name to unlawfully condemned and punished peoples. These series of narratives arose as a result of the desire to dig out the truth and influence meaning-and-truth-seeking citizens. It is an on-going attempt to combine a traditional approach to the deportation (the principle of collective responsibility) and a focus on improving social networks and security.

Ideological narrative is often combined with the *event narrative* that serves as a justification for a certain course, certain actions, as an explanation of the current situation. A salient example of the event narrative is a coherent narrative that circulates in society, preparing the ground for these or those actions. An event narrative is often a construct of a situation or event. The exploitation of this narrative is a clash between two challenging sides. The parties accuse each other of lying and represent the narrative of the other side.

Narrative and predicate. The most important tool to help implement such a narrative strategy is the duality or even the multiplicity of the predicates. It is possible to point to the multiple predicates that most often accompany the historical narratives of the deportation of the North Caucasus peoples during the World War II and largely ensured the functioning of Soviet historical narratives. They are the following: (a) there were a lot of traitors among the North Caucasus population that sided with the Germans; b) the locals were not loyal the Soviet state and supported the insurgents; many of them participated in bandit groups organizations; c) all the deported peoples were saved from extinction by the act of deportation, etc. For all the aggressiveness, axiology and reductionism, the historical narrative of the Soviet era had another trait without which such a long functioning of political mythology would hardly have been possible. This trait with a certain degree of conventionality can be called the duality of the predicate.

The key questions raised in the narratives on the deportation of entire peoples were: "Why have all these wicked things become possible? What caused them, what were the goals of their initiators, the power holders?" These issues caused a great deal of heated disputes, in which proponents defended their positions in their narratives.

There were several myths that served for the justification of the courses of action of the people in power towards the peoples of the North Caucasus. One of the myths was about the non-reliability of peoples of the North Caucasus. The proponent accuses the Chechens of cowardice, telling stories about the men running away from the battle fields, escaping the service in the army, siding with the enemy, presenting Hitler with the white horse.

And about the fairy tales, that Chechens, supposedly, did not want to fight, that entire Chechen villages fled to the mountains, and other fairy tales, here's what I'll tell you: look in the declassified archives of the NKVD from 1991. They say that the Chechens and Ingush were the only two nations that had not surrendered voluntarily to the Germans, and those who were captured were taken seriously wounded. And I want to say about another myth, that Chechens allegedly gave a white horse to Hitler. So, this horse was presented not by the Chechens, but by the Kabardins, and not to Hitler, but to one of his German generals. I forgot what village it took place, but it was also in the declassified materials of the NKVD, I saw it myself.

The ideologically loaded narratives concern the *myth of the justice/injustice of deportation of Chechens and Ingush in 1944*. Another revealing case in point of the duality of the predicates in the historical narrative is the transformation of a historical myth into an ideological one.

The following story is related by a person who lived in Stavropol during the war. In his story he expressed surprise why were Chechens and Ingush deported. According to him, Chechens and Ingush were among those who first resisted the attacks of the Germans in Malgobek, in the North Caucasus.

"I can't understand why the Chechens and Ingush were expelled?" told me one former official who during World War II had lived in Stavropol. "We, the inhabitants of Stavropol and Krasnodar region and others were under the Germans. We worked for them, received a salary and were satisfied with the new government. But it was not the Chechens and Ingush - they never lived in the occupied territories. But as soon as the Germans moved to Grozny, they met the first

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resistance in the Caucasus - in Malgobek. It was not the military units that stopped their advance, but the people - Chechens and Ingush, residents of the CHIASSR [Chechen-Ingush Autonomous Soviet Republic]. Maybe it was not necessary to resist, to violate someone's plans (to surrender territories and republics) but immediately surrender?" - he continued... "It turns out: the guilty blamed the innocent, the traitors sent out those who were not the traitors. All the residents of CHIASSR were the heroes. And the city of Grozny is ten times more a hero than other hero city. [AA MILLER]

Below are the excerpts of narratives taken from blogosphere concerning the justification of the actions of power holders toward the Chechen people and the guilt of the people deported. The narrator accuses the Chechen people of desertion and transition to the side of the enemy, and makes biased observations about the national character of the Vainakhs.

"If the Vainakhs had brains instead of dried plums, their grandmothers' tales of being evicted to settle Chechnya by Jews would be an obvious absurdity, even for the simple reason that in wartime to be engaged in senseless resettlement of peoples is unaffordable luxury. And I do not think that Stalin would be engaged in such a thing, but mass desertion and transition to the side of the Germans is closer to the truth because the Chechens will not miss the opportunity to gain independence from anyone, even if they have to side/ become a brother with the Shaytan himself for this". Константин Петров

Another blogger adds information reporting the words of Shetipov, the Chechen, who rebelled against the Soviet Union during World War II:

"I know, and if we can't win, we run to the winner's side!" As Chechen Sheripov, who rebelled against the Soviet Union during World WW II, said: "My older brother - an officer of the tsarist army, as soon as he realized that tsarism had come to an end - immediately switched to the side of the Bolsheviks. Now I see that the Germans are winning and the end to Communists is coming, so I will fight on the side of the Nazis!" Хабур-Чабур 77

The counterattacks of the Chechen come in the next narrative remarks. The men of the opposite side are blamed for being cowards during the war.

My father volunteered for the front, and fought defending Russia when his people was expelled along with his loved ones... He told how your compatriots fought... When they went on the attack more than half ran back from the battlefield, after which the commanders gave commands to shoot all who decided to escape. ... And those under the fear of death had to go on the attack... [молчи, или говори благое!!!]

One of the assertions is that the exile of the people helped to save entire nation from extermination.

Dear! Read Fennimore Cooper's novel "The Last of the Mohicans" or watch the film. Where did 100 million Indians go? If it were not for the resettlement that saved the Great People, it might have been the scenario of the "last..." [M Strelok]

The excuse of Stalin's policy is a red line in some statements like the following. The policy undertaken is very lenient. According to the narrator, the peoples were removed to warm and abundant places not into poorly-fed and extremely cold regions.

Scum Khrushcheyev, changed everything but one word - evacuation to deportation. Crimean Tatars, Ingush and Chechens were evacuated from the area of the most intense fighting. If Stalin had evicted them, he they would have been evicted to Magadan camps, rather than to a free settlement in a well-fed Kazakhstan. So bitch Khrushchev denigrated Stalin, the father of the

peoples. And he kind of let the deportees come back. No one kept them there. [Vladimir Shapovalov]

The war “helped” the totalitarian regime: it gave it the opportunity to find excuses and motivation for the exile of Karachays, Balkars, Kalmyks, Chechens, Ingush, Crimean Tatars, Kurds, Germans, Meskhetian turks, Greeks, Koreans from their home places. They were accused of treason to the Motherland, and even those whose territory the enemy did not reach, and even those who fought against the enemy at the front. It was a way of governing society, of subjecting people who were not trusted.

The underlying issues that need special consideration are the following:

1) What was the purpose for the deportation for some peoples of the North Caucasus (revenge, preventive measures, salvation of peoples from complete extermination)?

2) What was the cause of the deportation (betrayal, fear of social instability and loyalty to Germans, local support of opposition groups, access to energy resources, need to free territories and move other population groups to free territories, etc.)?

3) Why were some peoples of the North Caucasus deported and others not? Why was it in the North Caucasus that peoples were subjected to deportation and not in other parts of the Soviet Union? Why were not deported the whole peoples of the Soviet Union whose representatives collaborated and sided with the captors? What is the argumentation for this selection?

4) Why were the whole populations massively moved but not only betrayers and deserters?

5) What was the critical need to direct substantial material and human resources and efforts of the country to the deportation during the war time?

6) Why did the deportation processes take place both before or after the Germans arrivals? Why were some peoples deported from the territories where there had not been German troops?

7) Was it true that most of Caucasians fought on the side of the enemy; that Caucasians massively left their parts, joined the ranks of armed gangs involved in robberies and murder; that Caucasians welcomed German troops with bread and salt; that only Caucasians fought in the Eastern legions of the Wehrmacht during World War II?

Therefore, there is no single vision for the problem of deportation representation. It involves a multifaceted expert and layman examination to shape the picture and evaluate it adequately. It is significant that if in the literary narrative the duality of the predicates was overcome without much difficulty, in the historical narratives it was not completely overcome until the last decade of the 20th century. Endless debates about the role of the Stalin policies or the need for the deportation of the people, just for their own sake, generated opposite narratives, creating an environment of competing mythological plots, which may have been the beginning of the end of the Soviet Union discourse.

5. Narratives as identity markers. Cultural, historical, psychological, social dimensions

Narrative as a type of activity can involve a variety of forms of participation, thus reflecting the power structure and structure of the participants' social relationships. The stories told by groups, communities, and nations created bonds of belonging and identity [MacIntyre 1981, Carr 1986]. Groups without coherent stories were vulnerable to fragmentation; those with them were capable of acting collectively [Carr 1986].

Self-identification and solidarity with one's nation imperatively need to be cultivated. The connection between narrative and identity is viewed from different angles: in the narrative identity is not only constructed, but also presented (self-affirmation, self-justification), and updated (reproduced). So the questions of identity are raised in two aspects. First, the story-tellers explicitly depict their status as identity-holders in historical retrospective, second, through the narrative they implicitly express their own identity in real time. Narratives told are in fact identity markers, for they demonstrate the affiliation of the speaker in this or that group. They offer Self and others' presentation. The narrator creates the dichotomy world which is divided into two groups of actors: we/they. Memories that narratives on deportation produce represent shared past of an ethnic group and mark common identity. Identity is activated through common activities, common language, common customs and traditions in human interactions. It is shaped, maintained, mobilized and

transmitted through stories told from generation to generation. Narratives themselves influence intergroup relations and help make the feeling of belonging stronger within the group. The qualitative analysis of the research material showed that narratives on deportation served as emotional and epistemic outlets for the exercise of the feeling of identity. Identity was negotiated in: 1) positioning the self in connection with other narrative characters and the audience in different modes and (2) linking the ethnic community and uniting ideologically common voices. He/she is always under pressure to be able to answer the questions of the type: "Who am I? Where do I belong to?" and "Who do I belong to?" In this case the unifying force is nation, religion, native land, occupation, organization, etc.

In the stories of the deportation many of informants declared that while in exile or in the train people experienced difficulties to make a sense of the world around and maintain the usual course of life and stick to their routine things in life. All these things seriously damaged personal and collective identities of people. They no longer felt safe and protected, although many of them tried to change and to adjust to the new conditions, etc.

Stories about identity are a substantial part of social and cultural discourse. They are carriers of a relational position of a narrator to the society in which an individual functions. They create the meaning of being and help to understand the life around and to express oneself.

Conclusion

This paper presented the coverage of advances of narrative discourse analysis of stories about the happenings with the peoples of the North Caucasus during World War II.

The narrative is certainly one of the fundamental components of social interaction and communication. As a type of activity narrative involves a variety of forms of participation, thus reflecting the power structure and structure of the participants' social relationships. At the same time, attention to "narrative" in history becomes a way of rethinking structural characteristics of such types of reality as historical, psychological, social, political, and cultural.

The stories about the deportation were produced by individual narrators, relating and evaluating events and happenings, as well as big groups expressing party views or state positions. The content of the stories highly depended on the situational local and global contexts. The narrators reproduced their knowledge, personal memories, opinions and feelings about the denotational situation, sharing social representation of historical facts.

In total, 61 nationalities were resettled during the war. It is possible that the conditions of the military (extreme) situation caused the need for certain preventive actions of the Soviet government in the rear and on the approaches to the front line. But there is no justification for the repressive violence imposed on many peoples. After all, not only the perpetrators, but also the peoples as a whole were severely punished. Such measures could not be found to be fair, so they received strong and well-deserved condemnation. This is one of the tragic little-known pages in the history of the Soviet state, which the government kept in deep secrecy. As a result of his misguided policy of mass resettlement of peoples and groups belonging to different nationalities, those who bravely defended the country, bravely fought on many fronts of the war were subjected to the deportations as well.

The conducted analysis of individual life episodes allowed to shift the focus from the plot plan to the plan of experience, focus on identity and avoid the convention of holistic life story. This direction has made it relevant to study the category of the event. The process of narration is perceived as a special practice by which identity is changed and articulated. It is directly related to the discursive approach and emphasizes the context of the narrative and the role it plays in the interaction structure, avoiding reducing the narrative to the content of history.

The analysis of narratives about the deportation exhibited a marked dichotomy of discourses loaded with heavy ideological orientation. The stories of both sides are clearly oriented to a certain group, a party of people as opposed to another group. The supporters of Stalin policy produced texts organically developed into an ideology of whitewashing the policies during the World War II in the North Caucasus that had changed the whole face of the social and cultural life of many peoples. These are texts that are a means of service to ideology that turns the story as the sequence of various events into a completed plot, creating myths with new pragmatics.

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