THESIS

Ilg Barbara

„Collective memory elaboration of the Trianon trauma in the contemporary and the post political system change political daily papers, by means of the scientific narrative psychological content analysis."

on Ph.D. dissertation

Supervisor:

Dr. Sipos Balázs, Ph.D,
Habilitált egyetemi docens

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**Budapesti Corvinus Egyetem, Társadalomtudományi Kar,
Kommunikáció és Szociológia Intézet**

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Tartalomjegyzék

I. Research history and the justification of the research topic

The Treaty of Trianon and its consequences are now considered to be one of our nation's greatest tragedy by also scientists of the subject and everyday people as well. (Romsics, [2010]) From the mid-2000s, the Trianon Peace Treaty appears as a historical trauma in public discourse and political newspapers regardless of political affiliation and cultural attitudes. In 2010, when the National Assembly declared 4th of June as the National Day of Unity, many historians and social scientists regarded the Peace Treaty as "a social trauma which is still working until our times." (Kovács, [2015] p.82) The identification of Trianon as a social and historical trauma not only spread among the general public, it also penetrated into historical discourses and publicity. As Éva Kovács ([2015] p.84) implies, a reasonably complex and controversial concept from psychology has been adapted by subject of historiography.

"Hungarian historians generally use the term trauma in the sense of classical social psychology: they consider it to be a social construction based on empirical experiences." (Kovács, [2015]p.94) Social psychology treats the concept as the struggle with threat of the outside world of the individual in the context of identity. At the same time, it has certain similarities with psychological trauma. (László, [2005] p.212)

The question now inevitably arises – how and why the concept of psychological trauma can be suitable for describing the Trianon Peace Treaty in a socio-scientific and historiographical sense.

On the one hand, the most important feature of psychological trauma is that its trigger is an unexpected occurrence from the outside or inside of the psyche that unexpectedly and fiercely affects the individual. This external intrusion can be psychological, but it can also cause somatic symptoms and leave an indelible mark on the individual's spiritual life. (Laplanche, Pontalis; [1994] p.86)

On the other hand, by nature, psychological trauma deems the world to be the dichotomy of good and evil, the duality of the victim and perpetrator or the traumatized and traumatizing. Therefore, in cases when trauma is not triggered by natural disaster and it is not "a punishment of divine providence", one of the most important questions is always that whose the trauma is, namely, who the victim and perpetrator that caused the event are.

Historical traumas or collective traumas are "social, not just in their consequences but also in their origin", (Erős, [2007]p.16) that is, a group can be identified both in the role of the victim and perpetrator. A collective trauma, knowing that its consequences induce new psycho-social traumas, can be considered as "a chain of consecutive events that traumatized the directly affected ones and their environment in different ways and depths, also individually and collectively." (Erős [2007] p.17)

In the case of a collective trauma, all members of the victim group are affected, insomuch that "the memories of the grievances and injustices might continue through generations in generational, family memories, historical narratives and various symbolic, cultural representations." (Erős [2007] p.20)

Broadly speaking, the unexpectedness of the event that triggers the trauma, the dialectics of the victim and the perpetrator, and the pursuit of recovering from it are also common features of individual and collective traumas.

Romsics [2010], for example, uses the metaphor of psychic trauma in his thesis of Trianon:

"A private tragedy - whether it is a family dispute or an accident - is difficult for anyone to go through. It is the same when it comes to national tragedies. On the one hand, it is complicated to accept the new situation, which is less favourable than the previous one, and on the other hand, it is not easy to avoid the traps of the explanations for devolving responsibilities. One of the greatest traumas of the Hungarian nation is the Treaty of Trianon signed in 1920. It is not because of the fact that Hungary lost about two-thirds of its territory and national wealth, but it is also so because more than three million Hungarian people lived in the disannexed areas. In addition, about a third of them were directly on the other side of the borders, within easy reach of Hungarians of the newly formed country, which made resignation difficult or even impossible for those who otherwise accepted the right of the nationality of a multiethnic country to establish a new Hungary. Because of the unexpected and enormous shock, the inconceivable explanations for devolving responsibilities spread for decades." *(Népszabadság, 06.05.2010)*

Accordingly, the traumatic experience primarily and directly affected more than three million Hungarians and their families in the disannexed areas, mainly because the majority of the population from these areas lived along the new borders in the neighbourhood of the motherland. Families and communities were separated from each other, and many of them fled to the mother country in their desperation. This was further affected by the fact that, in the midst of creating peace, The Triple Entente was guided by the principles of the right of self-determination of peoples and the separation of the same nationalities by state boundaries, but these principles were not fully enforced in Hungary. The fact that the minority rights of the Hungarians who remained in the disannexed territories were strongly restricted by the new nation states contributed to the individual tragedies, however, during the peace treaties, the opposite of that was signed. Thus, in addition to the human and material losses caused by the unlimited warfare, many were personally affected by the consequences of the peace treaty, so these individual tragedies turned into a collective experience and became part of a collective trauma. (Erős, [2007])

It seems that the members of the victim group, based on the dialectic of trauma, are the people stuck in the disannexed areas. It means that all members of this group experienced a similar trauma at the same time sharing in the same painful experience. Such a traumatic experience, in the case of Hungarian groups that became minorities of neighbouring states, appeared in the limitation of their rights and induced physical atrocities. The question, however, is how this trauma can be applied to the nation as a whole? As Eva Kovács points out, what we call Trianon-experience today comes from the

experience of a Mutilated Hungary, mainly including the experience of the middle class, and not the contemporary Hungarian citizens' participating in the First World War. (Kovács [2015]p.95)

The common traumatic experience could have been fuelled by the horrors of World War I and the loss of people stuck both in the disannexed parts of the country and those in the mother country. "So there was a traumatic experience that could affect the whole world but it was born in the universe of World War I." (Kovács [2015]p.95)

Nevertheless, we could talk more about the trauma of Trianon than the trauma of World War I. Trianon seems to have overridden everything as if the peace treaty were not the result of the outcome of World War I.

Another feature of psychological trauma is that most of the time an unexpected event triggers its symptoms, which later in the form of memories abruptly burst into the individual's psyche like a traumatic event.

Regarding The Trianon Peace Treaty as a traumatic event also involves unexpected and shocking effects. Indeed, signing the peace treaty was not unforeseen by the national group, as we know, a well-prepared peace delegation negotiated the terms of the treaty on the part of the Hungarians in January 1920, which delegation then resigned because of unacceptable conditions. The surprising nature of the trauma, however, induces one-off and unrepeatable feelings about Trianon, and contributes to examining Trianon independently of the World War I.

In the case of individual traumas, when the traumatic event is clearly a work of man, witnesses may be trapped in the conflict between the victim and the perpetrator. (Herman [2011]p.19) Nevertheless, it is very important that the victim is not an actor, but always a sufferer of the traumatic event, and cannot blamed for what has happened to them.

In the case of the Treaty of Trianon, the act of signing the treaty becomes the event triggered the trauma, when the paradoxical situation occurs that it is actually the Hungarian signatories that commit a crime against their nation. It is no coincidence that in 1920 there was a debate in the National Assembly whether the government should sign or had the right to sign the peace treaty at all or who should sacrifice his political career to sign it. Traumatizing Trianon begins in the mid-1920s when a revision movement unfolds, and in 1928 when Lord Rothermere took action, reaches its peak. So, thanks to the dialectics of trauma, the perpetrators would become victims.

The interpretation of the Treaty of Trianon as a trauma provides an opportunity for the Hungarian group to identify itself as a victim. The third important component, which is an element of the trauma theory, is the process of healing. Recovering from a psychological trauma is divided into stages in psychology. In the first stage, the most important thing is to create the survivor's physical and psychological safety which is followed by the recollection of the trauma with a therapist, the aim of which is to create a narrative with coherent emotions that fits into the victim's life story. By the end of the treatment, the patient must regain self-esteem, restore his human relationships, and have a ready-

made plan for the future. (Herman, [2011]p.254) Thus, the aim of psychotherapy is to integrate the trauma into the identity of the patient.

In history, the concept of trauma and traumatic experience are attempted to be interpreted in the context of remembrance and memory often harking back for Freud's essays. For Paul Ricoeur [2006], Dominick LaCapra [2001] and Jörn Rüsen [2004], the starting point was two of Freud's essays. One of them was *Revision, Remembrance and Reconstruction* published in 1914 and the other one was *Mourning and Melancholia* published in 1917. For example, Ricoeur sees coincidence between the psychic and pathological symptoms of psychic traumas and the social symptoms of traumas suffered by the group identity. In his view, not only the symptoms can be transposed into social phenomena, but the psychoanalytic therapy developed by Freud can also be used to cure social hysterias or traumas. (Gyáni[2010]p. 269)

When it comes to examining the trauma, scientific narrative psychology is based on the history of the group and it assumes that the history of the group can be used to identify group identities.

When analysing personal and group identity processes, his theoretical model takes into account the different forms of adaption and recovery from the trauma. It assumes that the symptoms caused by the trauma that affects a person or group endangers and breaks the continuity and stability of the identity. In the case of a group, when it comes to recovering from the trauma, it is essentially the process of restoring the identity of the group. Narrative psychology examines the history of groups, and in the case of nations, it examines the history of nations. These stories might not only be the canonical texts of history, but also the history of collective memory and personal memory. The theory, parallel to personal and collective identity, states that processing collective memory of a trauma or loss can be monitored in memory processes, and we are also able to investigate damages of group identity and the processes of restoring group identity. (László [2012]p.211)

The effects of collective traumas occur in intergroup situations when individuals identify themselves as group members. In this case, self-esteem may be compromised and during the judgment of situations and outside groups, intense emotional reactions may occur. (László [2012]p.215) According to the trauma theory of narrative psychology, the trauma of the group is the result of a group-conflict. Based on the dialectics of psychic trauma, László ([2012]p.213) gives two examples of a trauma affecting the whole group. One of them is the ethnic cleansing of the twentieth-century, the Holocaust, when "members of these groups were persecuted only because they belonged to them." (László [2012]pp.213) The other one refers to war losses or loss of territory and prestige that affect ethnic-national groups after a group conflict. László Volkan [1989] sees the difference in the processing of a trauma and speaks of a trauma when a group insists on heroic defeats without being able to process their losses.

The trauma passes on from one generation to the next through projection; the members of the older generation isolate the mental representations of the identity of the group, and their damaged self is passed on to the new generation. Thus, the task of the new generation will be to process the traumas of the ancestors. The task ahead also reinforces group identity as it ensures continuity between predecessors and descendants.

The trauma is not necessarily on the surface of the actual mental representations of the present group, it is called upon by certain historical circumstances (or political leaders), mostly in case of identity threats. (This identity threat can be real, but it can be constructed by a political leader or propaganda.) It then serves to strengthen the self-esteem of the members of the group and enhance revenge against the hostile group. The trauma can be the core feature of group identity in certain historical situations. (Volkan [1998]p.46)

According to my hypothesis, the Treaty of Trianon is a chosen trauma of the Hungarian national group, as it appears in the group's mental representations as an identity threat, and every time it emerges, it becomes suitable for being the core feature of the nation. The event itself, signing the treaty, symbolically applied to the whole nation, but its consequence became a real threat only to the identity of Hungarians stuck in the disannexed areas. Nevertheless, in contemporary media and social publicity, in a very short time, it was interpreted as a loss of identity of the entire national group, namely, a single traumatic presentation is created by the end of the 1920s, which is able to be passed on generation to generation and emerged when there is a threat to the group identity.

In my research, using the narrative psychological content analysis method, I examined newspaper articles in political daily newspapers that were written about the Treaty of Trianon a week before and after signing the treaty. I have created two text corpuses, one of which consists of articles published between 1920 and 1940, and an other one that contains texts available from 1990 to 2010. During the longitudinal examination of the textural corpus embracing eighty-five years, my initial hypothesis was that the dialectics of the trauma are well suited to make the Treaty of Trianon the main historical trauma of the Hungarian nation. Since political media was the most widespread forum for information and opinion formulation, I assume that in the context of the traumatic theory of narrative psychology (and method), we can take a much broader view, how the event of the Treaty of Trianon and its acceptance in Hungary became a "(chosen) national trauma."

II. Research Method

II.1. The Method of Narrative Psychological Content Analysis

The narrative categorical substance analysis, which I have used in my research, is a computer quantitative analytical methodology, which searches for linguistic traits, based on narrative compositions and narrative categories from a psychologically evaluable standpoint, in the text. The NarrCat substance analytical software package basically has different lexicons at its' disposal, which contain the words relevant to personal and group identities with those grammatical structures. In addition to the semantic meaning of the words, they carry information about the status of a person or group identity. (László [2012] p.132)

An example for these words are those function words, which can be related to the use of diagnosing depressive conditions. (Pennebaker és Lay [2002] Hargitai és mtsai [2005])

In the grammatical structures, even the tense can be categorically meaningful: the use of the past tense can mean the recovery from trauma, and the present tense can mean its' state being not processed. (Ehmann [2010])

In the Hungarian language, as it is a suffixing one, the self-related words in the texts do not only mean the singular, first person pronouns, because we also have to include the singular, first person conjugation of verbs as well, in fact, not just in the present tense, but in all tenses, and not only in their indefinite, but also in their definite conjugation form. (László [2011])

So, NarrCat's dictionaries make the combined use of morphology and grammar possible, with which are grammatically expanded, categorical lexicons with relevant psychological content.

II. 2. Descriptive data of the sample

I studied the trauma elaboration processes in articles published in political newspapers on the Trianon Peace Treaty by means of narrative psychological content analysis in my own research. I collected the texts which were published one week before and after the date of 4 June, the day when the peace treaty was signed and the central theme of which was the Trianon Peace Treaty between 1920-2010, broken down to periods of five or ten years.

I divided the text corpus into two major units: the first covers the period from 1920 to 1940, broken down to periods of five or ten years, and the second covers the period from 1990-2010 broken down to periods of five years. After 1940 and in the interval before the political system change, in about 50 years of media coverage, I did not find any texts concerning the Trianon Peace Treaty during one week before and after the anniversary. The first text corpus contains texts of seven different political daily papers from the following years:

Table 1

Corpuses of contemporary newspapers with word count 1920-1940

1920	1930	1935	1940	Overall words
Budapesti Hírlap 7369	*Budapesti Hírlap* 14 395	*Budapesti Hírlap* 490	Ceased	*Budapesti Hírlap* **22 254**
Az Est 13 842	*Az Est* 3862	No data	Ceased	*Az Est* **17 704**
Pesti Hírlap 17 634	*Pesti Hírlap* 10 991	*Pesti Hírlap* 1180	*Pesti Hírlap* 680	*Pesti Hírlap* **30 485**
Népszava 4349	*Népszava* 3305	*Népszava* 669	No data	*Népszava* **8323**
Új Nemzedék 11538	*Új nemzedék* 1323	No data	No data	*Új Nemzedék* **12861**
Világ 8108	ceased	Ceased	Ceased	*Világ* **8108**
	Magyarság 5778	*Magyarság* 995	No data	*Magyarság* **6773**
62840	**39654**	**3334**	**680**	Overall words

Source: own edition

Regarding the period between 1920 and 1940, it was possible to compile altogether 17 sub-corpora, out of which only the *Pesti Hírlap* is included in each year studied. The other newspapers either ceased to exist or no news articles relating to the peace treaty were published in them. The table clearly shows that the highest number of the texts were published in 1920, when the peace treaty was signed (overall words: 62840) and that the *Pesti Hírlap* wrote the most about Trianon.

Table 2

Post political system change text corpus according to overall words and sub-corpus

	1990	1995	2000	2005	2010	Overall words
Magyar Nemzet	5467	5328	12482	10442	14720	48439
Népszabadság	3902	4312	3216	2029	13292	26751
Népszava	14242	2539	1554	3526	2621	24482

Source :Author's own editing

There are a total of three political newspapers in the second text corpus: the *Népszabadság*, the *Magyar Nemzet* and the *Népszava.* I worked up a total of 15 sub-corpora here, since all three newspapers were running continuously in all the five years (1990, 1995, 2000, 2005 and 2010) and I found articles on the subject one week before and after the anniversary.

So, the texts of the two texts corpora cover two periods, the historic period lasting between 1920-40 and the historic period lasting between 1990 to 2010, altogether 32 sub-corpora. I will call the first text corpus as the contemporary text corpus, and the second as the post political change text corpus.

II.3. The process of narrative psychological content analysis in my own study
II.3.1. The examination of intergroup partiality / valence test

In my own study, I have run the NarrCat computer program evaluational modul[1] on the 32 text corpuses, which binds the keywords with their word classes and evaluational marks, then sorts them in separate dictionary. The modules of NarrCat run in the language technological system of Nooj, which allows the analysis of morphological and syntactical texts in different languages.

Table 3

The dictionaries of the NarrCat evaluation module

Word class		Positive	Pcs.	Negative	Pcs.
adjective verb		wise	317	undue	582
		to brave to cheer	122	to exploit to protest	317
noun	from an adjective	wisdom	317	injustice	582
	From a verb	cheering	122	protestation	317
adverb	from an adjective	wisely	317	unduly	582
	From a verb	cheering	122	protesting	317

Source: Bigazzi-László-Csertő [2006]

The evaluation keywords considering their word class can be adjectives, verbs and adverbs. The lexicons of verbs and adjectives were compiled by the narrative research group using the digital

lexicons of the MTA Institutes of Linguistic science by the frequency of their use. (Bigazzi, László, Csertő [2006]).

According to the valence test, positive and negative ratings are to be put in different dictionaries. As the ratings are realised in traits and activities, which are expressed by adjectives and verbs, the nouns and adverbs are created from the evaluating adjectives and nouns created from verbs and adverbs.

The evaluating module, at the moment, is capable of recognising the evaluating, conjugated keywords in texts, and identifying separable verbs and adverbs from verbs. For the identification of references of the valuations (who valuates who), and the classification of emotional-cognitive content, the use of software supported manual analysis is required.

In my own study, I have first run the evaluation module on the texts, grouped by their novelty and year specification, in the Nooj computer analysis program, which gives out its' findings with their close context (3-4 words before and after the word), and also assigns them their valence value. I have then looked up these words in the word documents as well. As it is hard to determine the references of the evaluations this way, because it is not certain that the subject of the predicate is in the highlighted context, or its object, I have determined the subject of the valuation based on the context of the found word. In my research I was also curious what kind of subgroups the subject of the valuation creates inside and outside of its own group. Because of this, I have conducted a simple frequency test searching words from the Hungarian and the outside group, too. After that I have looked into the environment of the words referencing these groups, whether I can find positive or negative valuations of the group.

During the coding of the evaluation, the Hungarian ones were put in the Hungarian category labelled as „the nation as a whole" including the Hungarian people living in the disannexed areas, the political organizations within the nation, associations, the political elite (government, the National Assembly or the House) and the political parties' groups, and the political characters. In the texts, the composition of internal groups varies based on the analysed period. Similar to this, the composition of external groups is made out of smaller groups, basically the nations, ethnicities and their representative political parties and figures, that were either allied with or were against Hungary in the first and second World Wards.

The nationalities are often present in their Hungarian name in the text corpuses; the most common of this is the use of „tót" for the Slovakians, and „oláh" for the Romanians. Also, in texts from 1920 the Entente is represented as part of the hostile group, as a bigger group of the outside groups, but in texts from 1930, they are found under „little Entente". In the study, as in the case of both internal and outside groups, the political groups and political figures change, as in the composition of

bigger groups, because next to the telling of the Treaty of Trianon by the daily papers, the current historical events are also displayed.

II.3.2. The course of the examination related to the content of the evaluator perspective and narrator evaluations

In the perspective based coding I have separated the narrative and personal perspectives, and examined the cognitive or emotional contents of narrative valuations. As the perspective module was not at my disposal, and the contents of the study have to be examined manually, I have looked these up myself from the text. I have only used the manual coding on the second text, on the days after the regime change. First of all, I have marked the words received by the valuation module in the text after the regime change as reference points and re-read the texts. Now the valuations were coded with all the organised indicators in the charts.

Table 4

Examples for the dimensions of the inter-group evaluation

narrator	evaluator	evaluated	who/what	evaluation	valence	emotional focus	perspective
journalist		(Hungarian)	irredenta	it was forced	negative	emotive	past
journalist		(Czech)	Benes	he cursed in sin	negative	emotive	past
	Benes (cseh)	(Hungarian)	Austria-Hungary	caused the war	negative	cognitive	past
	left-wing of Vecsés (Hungarian)	(right-wing)	Survival monument	it is not needed	negative	emotive	present
Martin József		(Hungarian)	Count Apponyi and the Hungarian delegation	did not really achive anything	negative	emotive	past

Source: Author's own editing

II.3.3. The narrative perspective of inner group according to political orientation

I differentiated the Hungarian group along political lines, so I ordered a political group, party or line for every political daily newspaper of its time, and I assumed that a certain political daily newspaper represents the evaluations of the group. These political orientations were then placed in the

right and left political categories. In the case of daily newsletters with different political orientations, the narrator and the group's interviews show bias on both the group's own and the outside groups along the political group membership.

I studied inter-group evaluations from the perspective of the political orientation in all the 32 sub-corpuses.

I subjected the inter-group evaluations from the perspective of political orientation to a longitudinal study, so I could draw a conclusion to the processes of recovering from trauma of leftist and rightist.

II.3.4. Examining the relative frequency of emotions

During the emotional examination of press texts, I examined the full frequency of emotions attributed to the own and external group and narrator in chronological order, as well as the emotions attributed to the own and external group and the narrator in the right and left newspapers.

Automated examination of the texts from the perspective of emotions was carried out by Éva Fülöp with the help NarrCat computer program and its emotion module. The emotion graph was developed in 2006 by Éva Fülöp and János László.

The words in the dictionary of emotion module were selected from the words of the Magyar Értelmező Kéziszótár, and altogether 700 words were added to the dictionary. Contextual clarity and recognition of the suffixed variants are provided by local grammars in the NooJ language technology system. The words of emotion dictionary are descriptive emotional markings that refer to emotional processes and states such as anger, joy, etc. (Fülöp [2011]) The emotion words in the module are organized into separate categories:

1. positive emotions according to the valence of emotion (e.g. joy, satisfaction, hope) and negative emotions (suffering, disappointment, restlessness)

2. depressive (sadness, satisfaction)

3. moral emotions: a) self-critical (shame, guilt) b) self-magnifying (pride, satisfaction) c) co-critic (hate, anger)

4. historical emotions (hope, fear, sadness, enthusiasm, frustration)

After encoding and categorizing emotions in texts, I examined the distribution between the groups and the narrator. People experiencing and receiving emotions were identified with the software Atlas.ti.

When presenting the results, I gave the relative frequency of emotions, which is the number of emotions found in each of the sub-corpuses, divided by the word number of the text and multiplied by 100.

II.3.5. Examining the relative frequency of extreme emotions

To investigate the frequency of extreme emotions, we developed an extreme emotion module with Éva Fülöp and János László [2012] in the Nooj language technology system. To create the module's dictionaries, the press reports of the Treaty of Trianon were used as a database. On the two text corpuses, we performed a word frequency test, that is, all the words used in the two text corpuses were counted and put it alphabetical order according to the frequency search function of the Nooj program. Then we picked out the words of the two text corpuses that we could relate to the trauma of Trianon. A total of 965 words were added to the dictionary.

II.3.6. Examining the relative frequency of negation

The study of the relative frequency of negation was done with the negation-graph of the Nooj language system. (Hargitai, Naszódi, Kis, Nagy, Bóna, László [2005]) A negation can be explicit or open. (such as nem, ne, nincs, sincs) and implicit or hidden. (such as–tlan –tlen privative suffixes) Language markers of negation in the text:

Table 5

Language markers of negation

Language markers	NEGATION	
	EXPLICIT	IMPLICIT
Verb denial forms	nincs, nincsenek, sincs, sincsenek	
Words expressing denial	nem, ne, sem, se, dehogy	
Pronouns	semmi, senki, sehány, semennyi, semmilyen, semelyik, semekkora	
Adverbs	sehol, sehova, soha, sose, sehogy, semmire, semminél, semmihez, semmiképp, stb.	
Suffixes	-talan	-tlan, -tlen, -atlen, -etlen, -telen, -tlanul, -tlenül, -talanul, -telenül, -atlanul, -etlenül -mentes
Postpositions		nélkül, kívül, helyett, dehogy

Source:Hargitai-Naszódi-Kis-Nagy-Bóna-László [2005]

In my own research I ran the extreme emotion graph and the negation graph, as well, on 32 sub-corpuses, then I gave the relative frequency of hits in the right-wing and left-wing newspapers.

III. Hypotheses

Hypotheses about the correlations between the narrative psychological indicators and the trauma elaboration:

1. The Trianon trauma is the result of an identity damage resulting from an intergroup conflict, accordingly, in examining the process of restoration, we distinguish the mental contents attributed to ingroup and the outgroup and their positive or negative values.

2. Ideally, the progression of time will be the most important factor for the elaboration.

3. In the period immediately following the traumatic event, both in the ingroup and outgroup, the traumatic event narrative has strong emotional saturation and little cognition. High emotional involvement entails the use of a high number of emotional terms: explicit emotions, emotional evaluation, and the use of strong emotional words against cognitive expressions.

4. Early narratives show a regressive mode of action: primitive countermeasures, such as denial and the projection of negative intentions and feelings.

5. I assume the following relationship between the relative frequency of primary forms and collective emotions, extreme emotions and the linguistic forms of denial and the trauma elaboration process: in the first stage of trauma elaboration, the number of these indicators will be high and then they will decrease simultaneously with the trauma elaboration process over time.

6. I examine the correlations of the intergroup evaluation and the trauma elaboration in three semantic dimensions and set up hypotheses for these:

   Intergroup bias: positive and negative valence: It refers to an unelaborated trauma when there is a sharp difference in the evaluation of the ingroup and the outgroup, and the ingroup assessment is characterized by positive while that of the outgroup is by negative overweight. In the case of the ingroup, this pattern implies shifting the responsibility to the outgroup and implies a narrative in which the ingroup insists upon restitution, since the responsibility for the negative event is borne by the negatively evaluated group. The progress of trauma elaboration is indicated by the fact if both the positive evaluation of the ingroup and the negative assessment of an outgroup also decrease. Thus the responsibility is divided, the role of the ingroup will be emphasized in the narrative of the negative event.

   The emphasis of the relevance to the present: evaluations by narrators and characters

   The evaluation of the ingroup and the outgroup is actually performed by the narrator and the characters representing the group. The narrator usually contemplates the events of the past from his present position, whereas, the evaluations by the characters belong to the past.

   Progressing in time, simultaneously with trauma elaboration, I assume that the proportion of the evaluations by narrators will decrease in the course of the elaboration, which also means a

decline in the consequences of the event on the present, and predicts that elaboration is approaching completion.

Emotional focus: emotional vs. cognitive evaluation

In the case of peaceful trauma elaboration, the proportion of emotional evaluations in the evaluations by narrators is gradually decreasing, thus the dominance of emotional focus is decreasing, while that of the rational consideration is growing.

7. At the same time, although narrators evaluate from the perspective of the present, they do not just evaluate the events of the present, but also that of the past. In the media texts, evaluating the events of the past involves high emotional content, that is, involvement. Therefore, it is also worth distinguishing evaluations by narrators from the aspect whether or not those refer to events of the past or the present, and what the emotional focus of those is. For the analysis of the evaluations by narrators, I introduced the concept of the *retrospective*, *experiencing*, and *re-experiencing* perspectives used in the analysis of the narratives on the self. Although the narrator of the narratives about the self is the one who experienced the life event, narrators in the post political system change text corpus are obviously not contemporaries, however, the narratives about the group still show a similar pattern.

In narratives about the self, the narrative perspective addresses two timelines, the timeline of the story of the narrative and the timeline of the event of telling the life event, namely the temporal position which is the present for the narrator, as well as the timeline of the events told in the life event, which took place in the past compared to the present position. (Pólya, [2007])

When using the *retrospective narrative perspective*, the narrator's point of view is related to the narrative position, while the narrative content to the narrative events in time. In the case of the *experiencing narrative perspective,* both the narrator's aspect and the narrative elements are also localized in the time of the narrated events. In the case of the *re-experiencing narrative perspective*, the narrator's aspect and the narrative elements are all related to the narrative situation. The dominance of the retrospective perspective in the story of the event refers to the arrangement of the given identity element, the elaboration of the trauma. The use of the *experiencing* and *re-experiencing narrative perspectives* implies emotional imbalance, and re-experiencing the trauma. The use of the *experiencing* and *re-experiencing narrative perspectives* when narrating the negative historical event of the group reflects the unelaborated state of the trauma suffered by the group. This is especially so, if the evocator did not even experience the event personally, but recalls the ancestors' grievance as a member of the group, as though he had also experienced it.

I, therefore, argue that the experiencing and re-experiencing evaluating perspectives of narrators appear in the texts published after the political system change, nonetheless, that the

evaluator, a member of the Hungarian group, did not personally experience the trauma. The use of these narrative psychological markers is the highlight of the trauma chosen in the texts.

8. Volkan [1998] the concept of trauma chosen and the model of the psychic trauma, as well as loss elaboration provide a pattern which is capable of describing the social representations of the Trianon Peace Treaty stored in collective memory. I, therefore, argue that the Trianon Peace Treaty is a chosen trauma of the Hungarian national group, since the past group experienced it as an identity threat, and from that point on it emerges as an identity threat in the group's mental representations, what is more, it may even become the basis for group identity in the current intergroup conflicts.

9. I claim that based on the codes of psychic trauma and thus the chosen trauma, the media representation of the Trianon Peace Treaty can be described in the contemporary (1920-1940) post political system change periodicals, in which an ideological flow, namely revision, plays an important role.

10. The codes of psychic trauma, which I have now extended to the chosen trauma as well, and their associated mental representations are actually the codes of a dramatic narrative which is familiar to everyone and can also be discerned in the media texts I have studied. To explore the structure of the trauma I use the narrative psychology method, in particular by introducing the language modules which can provide relevant information on the state of the trauma, in parallel with the emergence of traumatic symptoms and phases of the healing process. In this thesis, these are the intergroup evaluation module, denial, intergroup emotions, and the extreme emotion module, as well as the perspective module. Based on the longitudinal analysis of media texts on the Trianon Peace Treaty, the psychic trauma scenario develops as follows:

1.1920. Signature of the peace treaty: sudden shock **2.** 1930. ritual mourning, criterion of rage: denial, resistance, revenge, demanding reparation. The loss becomes a traumatic event upon the effect of the revisionist propaganda. **3.**1935. Demanding reparation. **4.** 1940. re-annexation: the legitimate expectation was fulfilled. **5.** 1947 Paris Peace Treaties: re-traumatisation. 1940-1990 no media representation: latency period (repression) **6.** 1990-2010. healing: trauma narratives.

IV. Results of narrative psychological research

IV.1. According to intergroup evaluation valence

Ingroup's evaluations 1920

According to the hypothesis of the valence of intergroup evaluation, I expected that narrative psychological features of violent shock would appear in 1920 texts after a traumatic event occurred, so the positive evaluations of the ingroup and the negative evaluations of the outgroup will predominate. In the 1920's text corpus the hole Hungarian nation represents the ingroup. The most common words concerning all of the Hungarians in the six dailies are: *Hungarian* (s) and *Hungary* (888), *nation* (387), *people* (102), *capital* and *Budapest* (143). The nation as a whole is divided into four further groups: representatives of the separeted parts of the country, political organizations, parties, and Hungarian politicians. During the intgroup evaluation, I consider these actors to be part of the Hungarian group. The relative frequency of positive and negative evaluations for the Hungarian group in the 1920's corpus and given in percentage form. (I divided the number of negative and positive evaluations of the ingroup by the total number of words in the newspaper and multiplied by a hundred.) The results are illustrated in Figure 1.

Figure 1
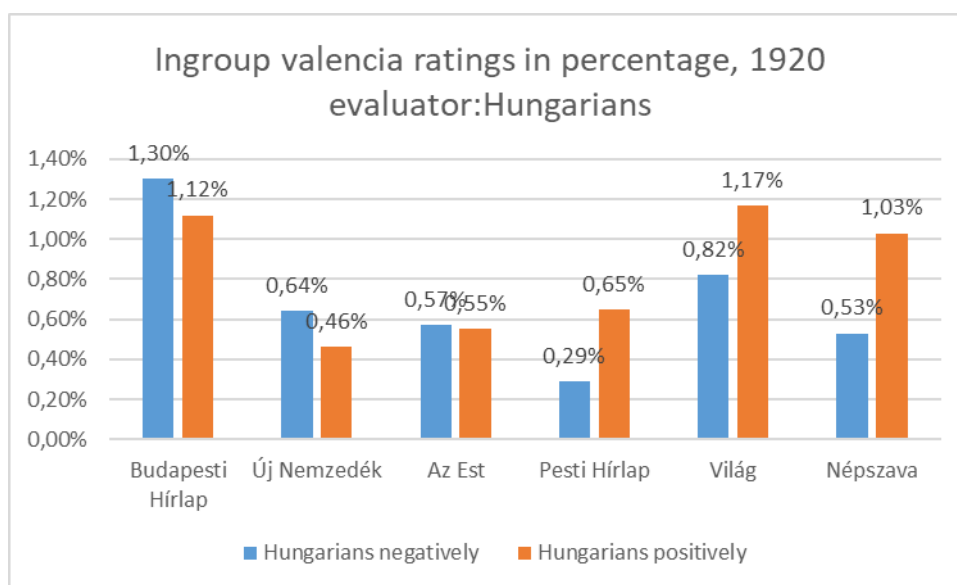
Source: Author's own edition

According to the distribution of ingroup evaluations, the proportion of negative evaluations for ingroup is clearly higher than the proportion of positive evaluations in two dailies in 1920, in the *Budapesti Hírlap* and in the *Új Nemzedék*. The reason for this is that the *Budapesti Hírlap* and the *Új Nemzedék* strikingly negatively evaluate the *government* and the *National Assembly*, which are also in the ingroup. As these evaluations were also included in the set with the evaluations for the Hungarian group, the number of negative evaluations for the whole group also increased in these two dailies. This result suggests that *government* and the *National Assembly* are hostile groups for members of their

ingroup represented in the two newspapers. This result is correct, since before the day of the signing of the Treaty of Trianon, there was indeed a conflict between the government and the parties that the government should not sign a peace treaty. The ratio of negative and positive evaluations to the number of words is almost the same in the newspaper *Az Est*, while in the other three dailies, *Pesti Hírlap, Világ* and *Népszava,* the ratio of positive evaluations far exceeds the negative evaluations. The *government* (105) and *Appony*i (50) are over-represented in the *Pesti Hírlap*, the *Social Democrats* (20) are over-represented in the *Népszava,* and the representatives of the separated parts of the country are over-represented in the daily titled *Világ.* The proportion of positive evaluations is increased by the evaluation of these agents.

Outgroup's evaluations 1920

The category of words for the external group includes the *Entente*, the *League of Nations* and *Europe*, as well as words specific to smaller groups, such as the ethnic names of European countries, words referring to nationalities living in Hungary, words referring to neighboring states, and foreign politicians. I classified these agents into the outgroup in the study.

The relative frequency of positive and negative evaluations for the outgroup in the 1920 text corpus was examined by newspaper and given as a percentage, in the same way as the evaluations for the ingroup. (I divided the number of negative and positive outgroup's evaluations by the total number of words in the newspaper and multiplied by a hundred.) Figure 2 illustrates the results.

Figure 2
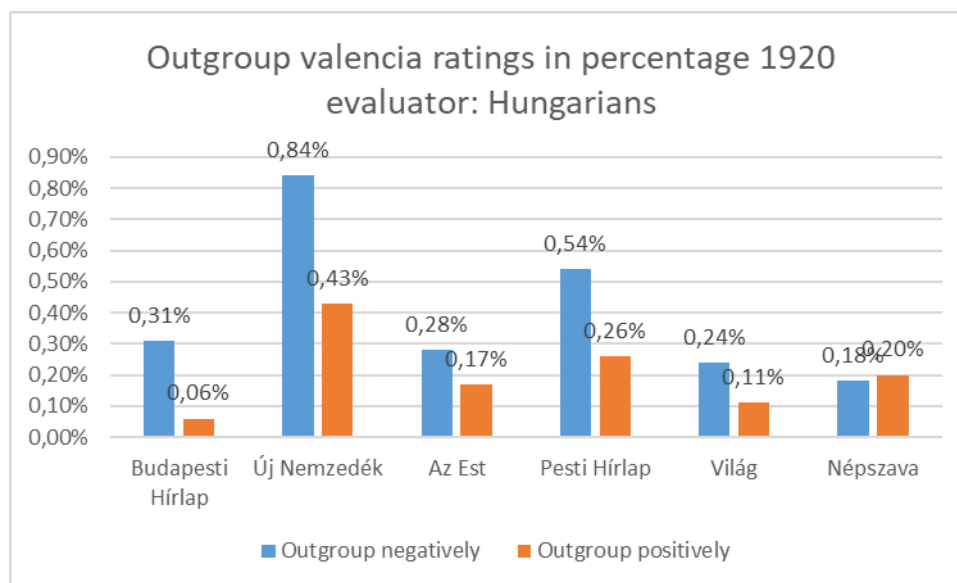
Source: Author's own editing

The result of intergroup evaluations in the 1920 corpus is that negative evaluations of outgroup are higher than positive evaluations in almost all dailies, but their ratio to word count is very low overall, not even one percent for the text corpus of any newspaper. However, the proportion of negative

evaluations of the outgroup in the *Új Nemzedék* and *Pest Hírlap* is still outstanding. In the *Új Nemzedék,* the Entente (36) and the Czechs (19) receive the most negative reviews, while in the *Pesti Hírlap*, the Romanians (27). The evaluation of these groups thus increases the proportion of negative evaluations of the whole outgroup.

According to the intergroup evaluation hypothesis, immediately after the occurrence of the traumatic event, the negative evaluations of the ingroup for the outgroup are high in the narratives, which indicates the shock effect on the ingroup. With respect to the 1920 texts, this hypothesis was fulfilled.

The results of the intergroup evaluation, 1930

In 1930, however, during the examination of the intergroup evaluations the Hungarian group receives a strikingly high positive evaluation in all of the six dailies, (*Budapesti Hírlap, Új Nemzedék, Az Est, Pesti Hírlap, Magyarság, Népszava*) which is explained by the fact that the 'Hungarians in the whole world' support the revision. The Hungarians in the whole world include the parties in Hungary, the Hungarians beyond the borders and the Hungarian friendship societies which were created in the great cities of the Western Great Powers upon the Revisionist League propaganda. At the same time the evaluations for the outgroup show a surprising result, namely, the positive evaluations for the outgroups are twice as high as the negative evaluations. In the text corpus of the six dailies examined in 1930, I plotted the ratio of negative and positive evaluations of one's ingroup to the number of words in Figure 3. (number of negative and positive evaluations / word count x hundred)
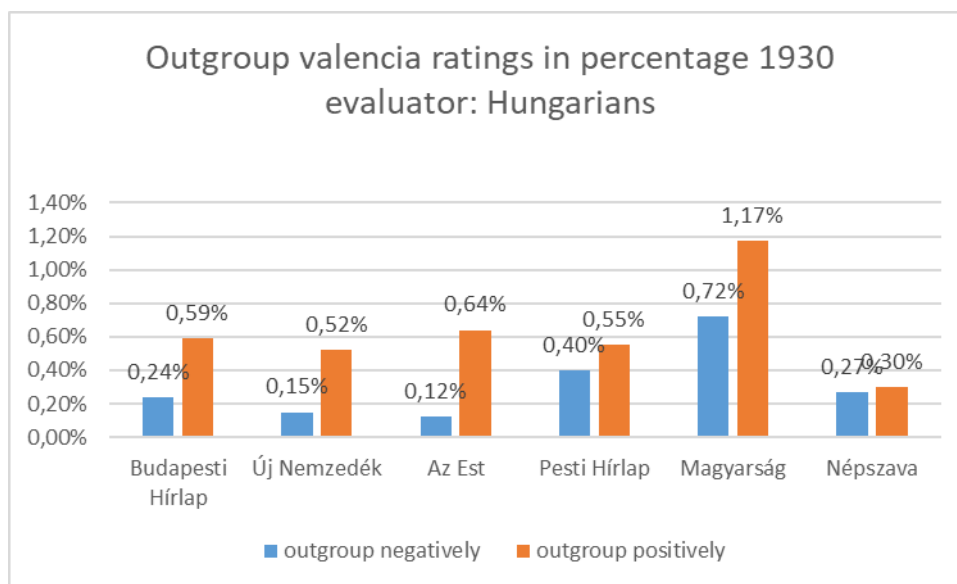
Figure 3
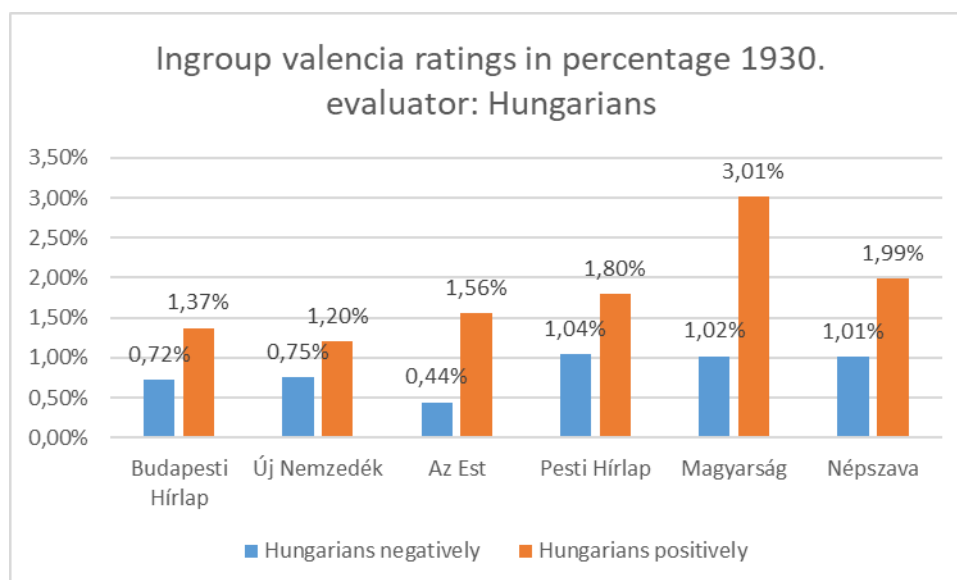
Source: Author's own editing

At the same time, evaluations of outgroup show a surprising result, as in the 1930s corpora, positive evaluations of external groups are twice as high as negative evaluations.

This result is possible because, in fact, only a single hostile outgroup appears in the texts, and these are the Czechs, all the other outgroups referred to in the texts are national groups supporting the Hungarian revision of the peace treaty. This refers to the editors' agenda specifying function and the effectiveness of revisionist propaganda. The relative frequency of negative and positive evaluations for the outgroup, expressed as a percentage, is illustrated in Figure 4.

Figure 4

Outgroup valencia ratings in percentage 1930
evaluator: Hungarians

	Budapesti Hírlap	Új Nemzedék	Az Est	Pesti Hírlap	Magyarság	Népszava
outgroup negatively	0,24%	0,15%	0,12%	0,40%	0,72%	0,27%
outgroup positively	0,59%	0,52%	0,64%	0,55%	1,17%	0,30%

Source: Author's own editing

Thus, the two indicators, whose values should decrease in parallel with the advance of time, do not decrease, but the positive evaluations for the ingroup exceedingly increases in comparison to 1920, and the positive evaluations of the outgroup also increases, while the negative ones decrease. This points to the fact that the self-estimation of the ingroup is positive, and the group has grown stronger.

In 1935 the positive evaluations for the Hungarian group are slightly lower than the negative ones, conversely, the negative evaluations of the outgroup are exceptionally high in the media texts. These evaluations are extreme evaluations, which do not point at the direction of elaboration, either.
In 1940 a single newspaper, the *Pesti Hírlap*, remained on the right wing, in which both the ingroup evaluations and the outgroup evaluations were also positive. The outgroups here are the allied German and Italian groups which have helped to reach the objective, that is the territorial revision.

In the post political system change corpus, the negative evaluations of the Hungarian group are well above the positive evaluations of the Hungarian group in each year. The negative evaluations of the ingroup point towards the emotional elaboration in terms of the trauma elaboration, if they are at the same level with the positive evaluations and the negative and positive evaluations of the outgroup are also at a low level. However, in my own survey, the number of the raw frequencies of negative

evaluations for the Hungarian group is much higher than the number of positive evaluations in all five years surveyed. Likewise, the number of negative evaluations for the outgroup is also high. A plausible explanation for the high number of negative evaluations for both groups from the trauma elaboration can be the fact that the ingroup attributes the same responsibility in the intergroup conflict to itself and the outgroup alike, so the trauma elaboration begins.

At the same time, the definition of the subject of the evaluation in my own research raises the problem that there are smaller groups within the Hungarian group which do not represent the same viewpoint as the speaker of the text, however, in the course of the evaluation these are also included in the Hungarian group, as the subject of the evaluation, thus these distort the results.

The other problem is that, in the course of classifying according to political sides, I do not claim that the right- and left-wing sub-corpora represent the same right- and left-wing views system from 1920 until 2010, so the evaluator/narrator/speaker of the intergroup evaluations is not the same in 1920 as in 1995, for example. As we can see it, political groups can specifically be assigned to some newspapers, such as the Social Democrats to the *Népszava* in the contemporary corpus, or Fidesz-MKPP to the *Magyar Nemzet* from the 2000s, however, in other cases the groups are only vaguely outlined in the media texts. In any case, in the text corpus of the 1930s, the revisionist idea is strongly manifested in the *Pesti Hírlap*, which is the only newspaper in the pattern which is published in each year of the contemporary corpus and the viewpoint of which is to appear in the *Magyar Nemzet* in 1995 and will remain dominant in this newspaper about Trianon in the future.

Another important result is that the events occurring in parallel with the Trianon anniversaries and their social representations in the media texts influence the narrative psychological characteristics in the text corpora. Therefore, in the course of examining the media texts, it would have been more worthwhile considering only the opinion genres in the intergroup evaluation. However, by introducing the news genres into the research, we could get a picture of the fact that the current political events, which threaten the group identity, call forth the chosen trauma of the group. Respectively, the traumatic event, the anniversary of Trianon evokes the current identity threat to collective memory.

It is also a significant achievement that, although we talk about intergroup evaluations and intergroup emotions, there are very few cases of explicit group evaluations in the media texts. Evaluators actually evaluate the event and not the groups involved, especially in the post political system change corpus. It is interesting, however, that in the media texts, when narrators talk about the Trianon trauma or tragedy, then the Hungarian group is the subject of the evaluation. But when the characters speak of the Trianon dictate, then the signatories of peace treaty are the objects of evaluation.

IV.2. Evaluator's perspective and narrator's feelings

Findings about the state of trauma elaboration are further shaded by the data analysed from the aspect of the evaluator's perspective and the content of the evaluations by narrators. In my own research, I have only examined the perspective of the characters and the narrator evaluators in one sub-text corpus, in the 1995 sub-corpus, as an experiment, based on the analysis method I conceived. Since there are many evaluating texts in the post political system change sub-text corpora discussing the causes and consequences of the traumatic event in the past, the evaluations by narrators also apply to events and characters in the past. I divided the evaluations by narrators into perspectives evaluating the events of the past and present, and I introduced the concept of the *retrospective*, *experiencing*, and *re-experiencing* perspectives used in the analysis of the narratives on the self. Moreover, I also qualified the narratives by characters as a retrospective perspective with cognitive content. According to my hypothesis, the fact if a high number of experiencing and re-experiencing narrator's perspectives appear in a narrative as against the retrospective perspective refers to the unelaborated state of the trauma.

Table 6

Time and content of narrator's perspective

	narrator's present	narrator's past	characters
emotional	experiencing perspective	re-experiencing perspective	
cognitive		retrospective	retrospective

Source: Author's own editing

Accordingly, in the 1995 sub-corpus, I studied the relative frequency of evaluations by narrators and characters and I assigned cognitive or emotional content to the results. Then I also examined whether or not the object of the evaluation, that is, the event or the character of the event, belonged to the past or the present.

Table 7

Experiencing, re-experiencing and retrospective perspective in 1995.

Magyar Nemzet 1995	narrator's present	narrator's past	characters
emotional	9	66	
cognitive	0	15	103
Népszabadság 1995			
emotional	12	41	
cognitive	11	26	43
Népszava 1995			
emotional	5	8	
cognitive	1	3	57

Source: Author's own editing

The results clearly show that the experiencing and re-experiencing perspectives are less commonly used in all three newspapers than the retrospective perspective. The frequency of the experiencing and re-experiencing perspectives is 77, that of the retrospective perspective is 118 in the *Magyar Nemzet;* 53 and 80 in the *Népszabadság* and 13 and 61 in the *Népszava,* respectively. I expected that the emotional saturation of the narrative perspective would diminish and the cognitive consideration would increase in the post political system change newspapers.

At the same time, I also expected that the number of emotionally saturated evaluations by narrators referring to the past would also decrease.

The result obtained in the single text corpus in 1995 corresponds to this hypothesis.

Unfortunately, due to the slowness of the manual codings, I did not make the analysis for all the text corpora, so I can only make assumptions of the additional results. Parallel with the trauma elaboration, progressing in time from the occurrence of the traumatic event, the experiencing and re-experiencing perspectives by narrators decreases.

V.3. Trauma elaboration and emotions

Based on Pennebaker [2001] I presumed that the trauma-induced shock initially implies an emotionally saturated narrative, then with the advance in time, emotions are replaced by cognitive expressions, which tendency can be observed in personal life event as well as in group events.

In the case of the Hungarian press texts on the Trianon anniversary, I examined the frequency of collective emotions in the left and right corpus of texts in each year examined. I gave the frequency of emotions as a percentage of the left and right text corpora. That is, for example, I divided the number of emotions occurring in the 1920 left text corpus by the total number of words in the left text corpus and multiplied by a hundred. The results, expressed as percentages, are illustrated in Figure 5.

Figure 5
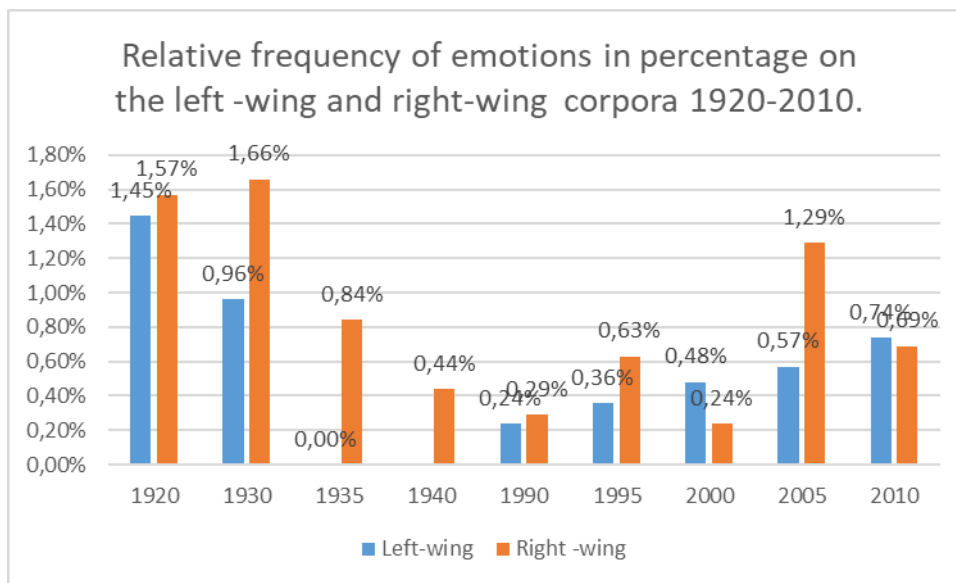
Source: Author's own editing

Diagram 5 clearly shows that the emotion frequencies measured in the years immediately following the traumatic event are relatively high in the text corpus of both political sides.

None of the emotion categories emerges: all positive and negative, self-critical and peer-critical, self-magnifying and historical-track emotions show equally high values. The proportion of emotions decreases until 1940 and then rises after the political system change.

The relative frequency of extreme emotions

In addition to examining collective emotions, we have prepared our own, so-called extreme emotion dictionary (Fülöp, László, Ilg [2012]) into which words with strong emotional saturation have been added. (Death, deadly, tear apart, truncation, etc.) The dictionary was created from the full press corpus material and I used this dictionary to study the texts. In the case of extreme emotions, I did not study the perspective of the internal and the outgroup or that of the narrator, as I was only interested in the occurrence of extreme emotions in the right- and left-wing newspapers. The proportion was set in

the same way as for the intergroup evaluation. (number of emotional frequencies per corpus/overall words x 100) The number of extremist emotions compared to the text shows a slight increase for both right- and left-wing newspapers until 1935. In 1935 this number is exceptionally high in the only left-wing text, in the editorial of *Népszava*,. From 1990 onwards, right-wing newspapers have higher proportion of extreme emotions than left-wing newspapers. The results are illustrated in Figure 6.

Figure 6
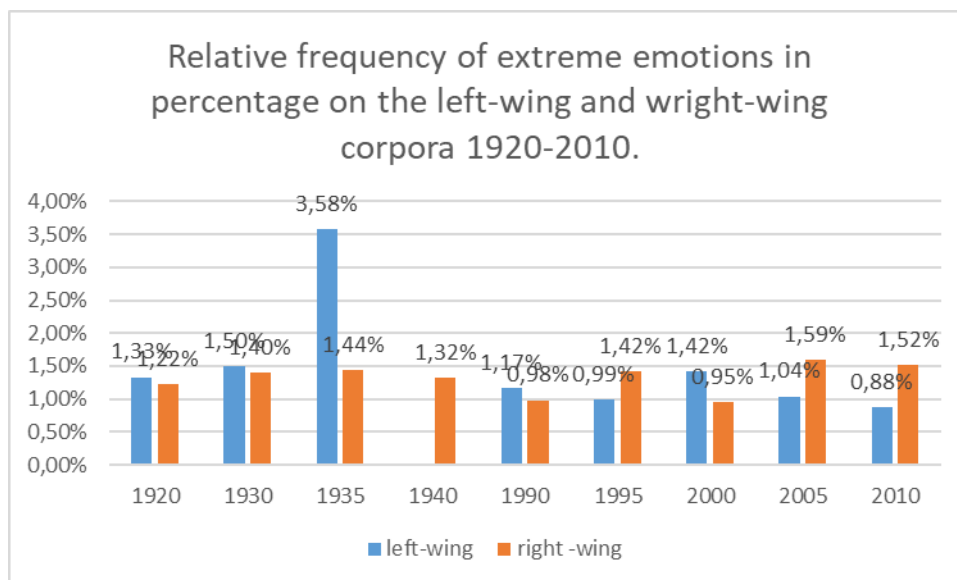
Source: Author's own editing

The relative frequency of denials

The common use of denials, the 'No, no, never' type tropes is discernable in the press corpus on Trianon. The first phase of the elaboration of individual traumas and losses, the process of mourning, is the denial of loss based on the chosen trauma model of Volkan [1998]. The algorithm was developed by the members of the narrative psychological research team to identify linguistic forms of denial. (Hargitai, Bóna, Kis, Nagy, Naszódi and László [2005])

I have examined the proportion of denials per year in the right and left-wing corpora, similarly to the examination of extreme emotions. (Number of denial findings/overall words x 100)

Diagram 7 clearly shows that the proportion of denials is the highest in the right-wing text corpus of 1920, but it decreases in 1930, however, then it rises on both political sides and is relatively high, between 2 and 3 percents.

Figure 7

Relative frequency of denails in percentage
On the right-wing and left-wing corpora
1920-2010.
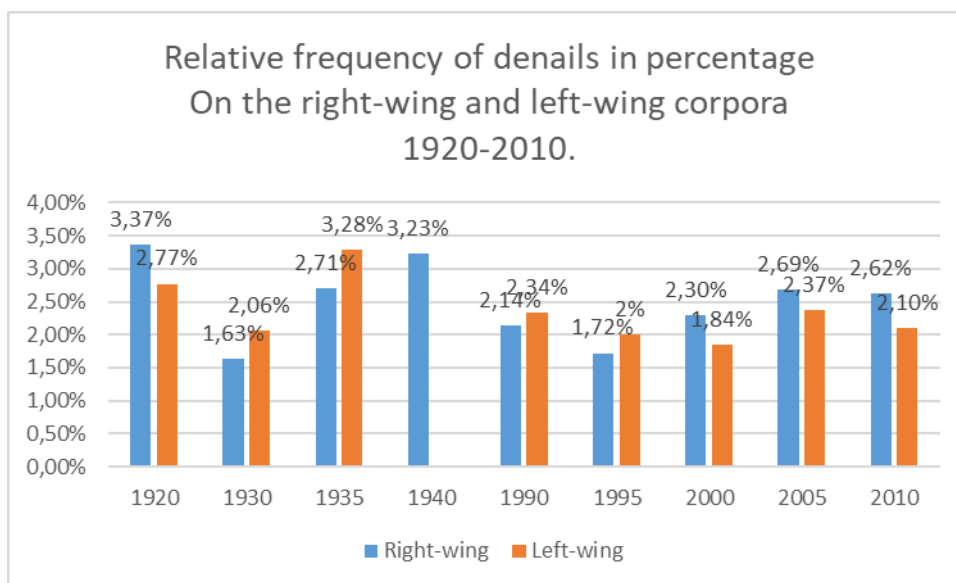
Source: Author's own editing

Examining collective emotions, I found that the relative frequency of emotions was high in press articles immediately after the traumatic event occurred, i.e., in 1920 and when the events were repeated in 1930. Likewise, the relative frequency of denials is high in these two years. This result corresponds to the hypothesis set up during the emotion test.

Summary

The results reveal that the nation wide traumatic nature of the Trianon Treaty appears in the media texts, too. In the period of the historical trauma, politicians, eyewitnesses, contemporaries, and those who experienced the loss, who are the characters of communicative memory, speak. In the media texts on the peace treaty, experiencing extreme emotions and denying the loss, as well as the high self-esteem of the ingroup and the devaluation of the outgroup are characteristic of Hungarians, which means an identity threat. In the thirties and forties, this trend does not decrease, either in the right- or left-wing media texts. A strong downward trend cannot be detected either in extreme emotions or denials. In fact, the downward trend is only discernable in the positive evaluation of the ingroup in the post political system change media texts. The continuous presence of extreme emotions and denial, as well as he negative emotions attributed to the outgroup in both the right- and left-wing texts indicate a lack of advance in the trauma elaboration.

V. Conclusion

The Trianon trauma, viewed from the occurrence of the traumatic event until 2010, based on Volkan's scenario of the chosen trauma, can now depicted as follows:

In the 1920s texts, the narrative psychological contents referring to anger and denial, as well as the memorial services, ritual commemorations are the signs of loss elaboration, that is, the process of

mourning begins. Consequently, these features are not the symptoms of trauma in 1920, but the signs of the first stage of the process of mourning. In 1930, these rituals are repeated on the anniversary (most newspaper articles render the account that life stops for five minutes, just as in 1920, and the associations representing the revision hold commemorations) that is, they do not enter the life of the group unexpectedly (naturally, this is also the mistake of sampling, since I have searched the texts in the period two weeks before and after the anniversary), however, the purpose of the repetition is to strengthen the identity of the group, which is based on common grievance and its key stone is the legitimate reparation, that is revision. Much of the texts of the 1930s speak about nothing but the commemorations of irredentist organizations, which almost encompass the whole world and send memoranda to the League of Nations giving voice to their claims. It is easy to see that revision, which is the same as irredentism in the public opinion, did not stimulate the national group in the direction of reconciliation with the lost object. Nevertheless, in the 1940 article, we can talk about triumph instead of mourning, as the *Pesti Hírlap* writes:

'By the twentieth anniversary of signing the Trianon Peace Treaty, some of the borders of Trianon have already collapsed, and two parts of the country have returned happily to the bosom of the mainland. We hope that the anniversary when the entire border will only be a memory and all the injustices and stupidity of the Trianon Treaty will vanish is not far away.' (Pesti Hírlap, 4th June 1940)

Historiography taught us that the triumph did not last long, the Paris Peace Treaty of 1947 essentially restored the Trianon borders. Since the Soviet leadership, together with the Allied powers, also played an important role in determining the conditions of the Paris Peace Treaty, the Hungarian politicians completely abandoned their revisionist aspirations after the Second World War. Trianon became righteous in Hungarian propaganda, in official historiography, in newspapers columns and in history books. The nationalities revolted against the 'prison of folks', that is, the Monarchy, so according to the official attitude, the aspirations of the Rumanians and the Czechs to become independent were merely justified and sanctioned by the peace treaty. This Trianon narrative dominated the years of socialism until the eighties, and the research of the topic was banned, and 'an even deeper silence surrounded the situation and fate of the Hungarians living in neighbouring countries.' (Ormos, [1990] *Magyar Nemzet)*

Among the newspapers I have examined, the *Magyarság*, the *Pesti Hírlap*, the *Népszava* and the *Új Nemzedék* existed until 1944, and out of these, Trianon was only commemorated in the *Pesti Hírlap* in 1940. In 1945, only the *Népszava* was resumed out of these newspapers on 2nd February, but I did not find any texts about Trianon around 4th June, either in the 1945 issue or later until 1990. The *Magyar Nemzet* was started in 1938 under the editorship of Sándor Pethő, who left the *Magyarság*, and was permitted to appear until 1944, but I did not survey it regarding this period. However, the newspaper was resumed on 1st May, 1945, and it is still published today, still, there are no articles around the Trianon anniversary during the period of socialism. The third newspaper examined after the change of

regime was the *Népszabadság*, whose predecessor was the *Szabad Nép* published in 1942. The *Népszabadág* was first published under this name on 2nd November, 1956, however, neither the *Szabad Nép* nor the *Népszabadság* writes about Trianon around the anniversary until 1990.

This means that the newspaper texts I have examined draw a drama whose outcome is actually not really tragic between 1920 and 1940. So, there is no material about the really tragic ending, the conclusion of the Second World War.

Despite the fact that the conclusion of the Second World War, the Paris Peace Treaty (1947), meant nearly the same loss of territory as that of the First World War, almost fifty years of silence followed the concept that the Trianon Peace Treaty sowed the seeds of a new war, and was the actual cause of the explosion of the Second World War. In contemporary texts, this prediction is constantly displayed, in a context in which the parties dictating the peace are the perpetrators, and the Hungarians are the victims. After the political system change, this explanation comes back and it is now very easy to draw a parallel between the two peace treaties, for the perpetrators are the same and the loss is also similar. Thus, it is not only the traumatic event that is repeated in the picture of the Paris Peace Treaty, but also the mental representations associated to that. We can say that this sacrificial narrative is in circulation even today, a good example of this is the debate about the memorial erected to the Victims of the German Occupation in 2014.

Obviously, in the period I call latency there were references to Trianon,[1] if not even around the anniversary, but to prove this statement requires more thorough research.

The texts of my own research therefore cover ninety years of the history of the Hungarian people, and we can mention three events that threatened with territorial loss in this historical period. These are the Trianon Peace Treaty (1920), the Paris Peace Treaty (1947) and the political system change (1989). The possibility of turning into a trauma is inherent in all three events alike, since there is a danger of the fragmentation of the country, symbolically or realistically, which could also mean the loss of identity of the national group. (I have mentioned it above how great importance the parliamentary parties attached to the formation of the declaration in which they considered the borders as closed in agreement with one another) during the change of the regime.)

It therefore seems that the event which again and again brings the early trauma to the mind of or recalls it from the Hungarian group is nothing else than the threat of breaking up the country, pulling apart and disintegrating the Hungarian group.

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[1] 'However, little by little, the Hungarian intellectuals found a way to start talking about Trianon by avoiding the word Trianon. They collected more and more materials and wrote more and more articles, essays and books that indirectly referred to Trianon. Then, at the beginning of the 80s even the word 'Trianon' also appeared.' (Ormos, 1990. *Magyar Nemzet*)

In aggregate, I used the narrative psychological content analysis in the thesis to support Volkan's chosen trauma concept when examining the contemporary and the post political system change newspapers. The hypotheses in relation to the trauma processing indicators of narrative psychology did not always come true in the longitudinal examination of the full text corpus, the Trianon trauma is not heading towards elaboration but rather acts as a trauma chosen upon the effect of the current political events and political forces.

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VII.   List of own publications related to this topic

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2. Ilg, B [2021]: A trianoni trauma, mint a magyar csoport választott traumájának kutatása az 1920-ban megjelent politikai napilapokban**.** *Jel-Kép. 2021/1*

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