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THE GENOCIDE OF ARMENIANS: A VIEW FROM INSIDE AND OUTSIDE

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This research aims to provide a fresh perspective on the Armenian Genocide by examining eyewitness accounts, missionary reports based on factual evidence, and reflections from official humanist organizations dating back to the 1890s. The research applies various universal approaches, including Gregory H. Stanton's 10 stages of genocide and the Post-Traumatic Stress Disorder (PTSD) approach focusing on identity transformation, analysis of the linguistic material through consideration of extra-linguistic factors. The paper argues that global education on genocide, particularly the Armenian Genocide, is crucial for individuals to confront the truth and foster cooperation without animosity. This multidisciplinary study emphasizes that the condemnation of genocide by global organizations is a necessary human response, that genocidal behavior should be recognized as an established illegal stage, and that the terminology and narrative of genocide should be taught at the university level to achieve prevention. The study of the historical reality and linguistic material through implementing the cognitive-linguistic, linguo-stylistic and cultural-linguistic methods presupposes a careful text selection and juxtaposition. The article demonstrates how examining the conflict between old and modern viewpoints can advance genocide education and prevention. This constitutes the novelty of the research.

Keywords: *Survivor accounts, missionary memoirs, identity, the Armenian Genocide, Stanton's Genocide Stages, PTSD, global education.*

Introduction

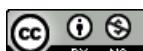
This paper argues that the Armenian Genocide is a broader historical event than just the 1915 massacres, often referred to as Mets Yeghern. By applying Gregory Stanton's stages of genocide theory to the linguistic material of our concern,

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including the period of the Hamidian massacres (viewed by us as a preliminary stage of the 1915 genocide) and travel memoirs from 1890-1916 by European and American missionaries, this study aims to establish a more comprehensive understanding of this sad historical reality.

The earlier period just before 1915 (Buxton & Buxton, 1914) has already been analyzed by us in our previous publications (Gasparyan, 2016; Gasparyan, 2017; Gasparyan, & Gasparyan, 2021). The travel memoir-accounts of the period of 1890-1916, authored by Europeans and Americans, are an interesting area for Genocide Studies in general, and for Armenian Genocide Studies in particular, since they offer valuable insights for establishing important facts and events which have often been overlooked or denied by the Turkish government and some modern Turkish historians. Furthermore, the paper explores the implications of Armenia's integration into Europe, where national and religious identities may become less significant, potentially transforming national identity under EU principles.

The research delves into various critical aspects: the definition and essence of genocide; the reasons for the UN and the International Criminal Court's failures in genocide prevention; the educational importance of genocide prevention; the analysis of extra-linguistic factors; the significance of eyewitness testimonies and missionary accounts; the application of G. Stanton's 8 stages of genocide to memoir accounts from 1896-1917 in Armenia; the precursors to the Armenian Genocide, including the Hamidian period as a preliminary stage; the rationale for commencing the study of the Armenian Genocide from the Hamidian era; the theories of genocide by Rummel and others; and the analysis of Armenian Genocide terminology in the global press of that period.

This paper proposes innovative genocide education approach moving beyond traditional lectures and casual reading. The method advocates for careful sampling of original textual passages from genocide narratives, specifically focusing on "perpetrator-victim-oriented narratives." This involves linguo-cultural and linguo-stylistic analyses, incorporating narratives, documents, eyewitness stories, and historical sources. Discussions should be guided by critical thinking and an evaluation of victim/perpetrator behavior. The aim is to foster mutual respect and understanding of diverse sorrows and national values, ultimately contributing to a safer community free from hate speech.

The Genocide and the failure of its prevention

Genocides, viewed as man-made disasters, are defined by the UN as "*acts committed with intent to destroy, in whole or in part, a national, ethnic, racial or*

religious group." Gregory Stanton's genocide theory and Watchdog investigation of historical models, highlight that genocides are not spontaneous events but require preconditions, perpetrator ideology and decisions, and bystander indifference. The Belgian MP of the Parliamentary Assembly of the Council of Europe (PACE) politician and researcher Alain Destexhe identifies the Armenian Genocide, the Holocaust, and the Rwandan genocide as the three major genocides of the 20th century fitting this definition. Destexhe cautions against the overuse of the term "genocide" which could dilute its meaning. He argues that the international community, including the UN and specific nations, failed to intervene during the Rwandan genocide despite its clear definition (Destexhe, 1994, pp. 4-5).

Alain Destexhe fears that the ubiquitous use of the word *genocide* to describe any massacre or repressive situation means the term has progressively lost its initial meaning and is becoming dangerously common place. He argues that because the Rwandan massacres fully fit the accepted definition of genocide, the United Nations and the countries that were in a position to intervene, notably Belgium, France and the United States, grossly violated international law. After standing on the sidelines whilst these atrocities proceeded, these countries then rushed to provide humanitarian aid for not only the victims but the perpetrators as well (Destexhe, 1995).

The XXI century internet offers a lot of scientific material which focuses on discussions and analyses of today's hateful and aggressive behavior, confirming a variety of attitudes. The Asian – Pacific Current Affairs magazine *The Diplomat* has published the article "*The Changing Face of Genocide: From Mass Death to Mass Trauma*"¹ where the author, Esther Brito, defines the nature of the genocidal behavior of this century as *changing* in the result of adopting a different methodology to carry out the intent. E. Brito writes that the aggressors, learning from a long history of global inaction are pursuing a new form of genocide, as seen in campaigns against the Rohingya, the Uyghurs, and others.

Perpetrators are shifting their focus to similarly damaging but less directly fatal tactics – including forced mass displacement, resource starvation, sexual violence, the denial of basic services, and forced absorption. These "alternative" forms of violence may not necessarily result in immediate death, but progressively impede and erode the continuity of the community until its dissolution or disappearance (Brito, 2022).

Anyhow, according to G. Stanton's (2021) genocide definition it includes more than just killing - other kinds of group destructions are also viewed as genocide:

- causing serious bodily or mental harm to members of the group;
- deliberately inflicting on the group conditions of life calculated to bring about its physical destruction in whole or in part;
- imposing measures to prevent births within the group;
- forcibly transferring children of the group to another group.

What cannot be neglected is that acts of genocide include conspiracy, incitement, attempt, and complicity which are difficult to see with a naked eye. G. Stanton, within the frames of the same document, tried to analyze the reasons why UN failed to prevent genocide. First of all,

- until 1993, there were no international courts to try perpetrators of genocide, war crimes, and crimes against humanity. The International Criminal Court still lacks jurisdiction over half of humanity.
- the definition of genocide has been ruined by lawyers and the euphemism “*ethnic cleansing*” has replaced it in reports by journalists. “*Ethnic cleansing*” is a euphemism invented by Slobodan Milošević for genocide denial. It has become the dominant term used by journalists and diplomats to avoid the use of the word “genocide”²;
- although in 1998, the Rome Statute of the International Criminal Court was adopted and in 2002 the ICC came into being, many state perpetrators of genocide refused to be states-parties to the ICC. G. Stanton mentions the US, Russia, China, India, Iraq, Israel, Iran, Myanmar, Sudan among them;
- the intent of the state to exterminate a group can be confirmed if only proven orders or a systematic pattern of actions with foreseeable consequences are detected, but perpetrators quickly get rid of them;
- absence of political will is established as the most important reason for the world's failure to prevent genocide.

G. Stanton summarizes that genocides can be prevented in future if only school and university take radical measures by making genocide studies part of their curricula (Stanton 2021, pp. 5-6)

We agree to Destexhe's standpoint on the Armenian Genocide (Destexhe, 1995), as being one of the three most important ones of the century. It is obvious that to proceed without failure the truth should be faced first.

According to T. Cushman's approach, genocide theories are implicitly and explicitly linked to the practice of prevention (Cushman, 2003). So, our discussion leads to the idea that genocides, being undeniable facts, anyhow, can be prevented

if a reflexive analysis of the field itself is emphasized to understand the meaning of the term genocide prevention, which can be perceived after the theoretical framework of genocide is thoroughly studied through the employment of certain strategies. This clearly shows that these atrocities could have been prevented, yet the intervention failed because early warnings were overlooked, even though genocides share recognizable common features. Therefore, in our interconnected world, studying and analyzing the Armenian Genocide is urgently needed from multiple perspectives, especially in the field of education. Educators must address this topic openly to cultivate multicultural awareness, thereby empowering learners and the global community to collaborate effectively and develop well-reasoned insights in a world striving for stability, independent thought, and sound judgment.

The significance of the extra-linguistic factors

The application of innovative methods and theories helps to reveal and emphasize the significant value of truthful and trustworthy eyewitness stories in various official newspapers from different states, non-official sources, and memoirs of foreign missionaries, travelers, and diplomats on the eve of the 1915 Armenian Genocide. These should be viewed as obvious prerequisites (Gasparyan, 2017) for further prevention of man-made disasters. Although the fact of the 1915 Armenian Genocide has been and is often rejected, nevertheless denial is perceived as the final step of any genocide (Stanton, 1996; Rummel, 1997). Today irrespective of the accumulated material, the records and the vast eyewitness *literature* and memoir-accounts, still, there are authors and researchers who view them as *manifestly false reports* (Alloul and Markey, 2016). The detailed accounts by eyewitnesses, newspapers included, present the prerequisites of the Armenian Genocide of 1915 (Kloian, 1985; 2005) Moreover, missionaries in their official memoir-accounts for their governments use the toponym ARMENIA when covering Armenian issues on Turkish and Russian Armenian territories. Along with presenting the accounts and reports to their governments, under the governments initiative and control, they tended to inform the progressive humanity about the impending danger by Turks and Kurds concerning Armenians and Turkish Armenia.

The study of the linguistic material within the historical period – eyewitness testimonies and the missionaries accounts since the 1890s include the prerequisites of the 1915 Turkish Genocide of Armenians, thus, providing the most significant merit of the travel memoirs of the period by missionaries and travelers who studied the life of national and Christian minorities in Ottoman Turkey and, particularly, Armenians in Turkish Armenia and Russian Armenia. It should also be mentioned

that the most important accounts of the Armenian tragedy in the Ottoman Empire by foreign missions were published outside the Ottoman Empire because of the strict control over them by the authorities. The mission representatives were simply prohibited to publish whatever they witnessed.

The value of eyewitness memories and travel memoir-accounts by missionaries

To give a relatively full analysis of the linguistic material, the extra-linguistics of the Hamidian Massacres of Armenians should be taken into account. We share this standpoint adopted by Selim Deringil, an Ottoman history professional. He considers “*Mass Conversions of Armenians*” during the Hamidian Massacres of 1895–1897 very essential from a historical point, and it should not be neglected. He expresses his surprise in his article “*The Armenian Question Is Finally Closed*”: *Mass Conversions of Armenians in Anatolia during the Hamidian Massacres of 1895–1897*” about the fact that nothing has been written based on Ottoman archives.

Although important research has been done on the mass conversions during the genocide of 1915, surprisingly little has been said concerning the massacres of 1894–1897. Even more surprising is the lack of research to date into the issue of mass conversions during the latter period, and nothing has been written based on Ottoman archives. (Deringil, 2009)

Although we agree that the period is of historical significance we do not share his standpoint about mass conversions, because as the analysis shows Armenians were not so much willing to adopt a new religion and new set of beliefs. Many genocide researchers refer to the term “mass conversions” as “forced mass conversions.” There was no doubt that Armenians who converted still feared their fate. Armenians who were compelled to accept Mohammedanism were watched with great vigilance to find out whether they kept the fast, attended the mosque, diligently learned the prayers Muslim preachers taught them (Mayersen, 2018):

They all have [...] crushed faces. The Turks often tell them, ‘We know that [you] have not accepted our religion from the heart, but as you once pronounced the formula [...] you are renegades, and we shall treat [you as] such.’ Death is the fate which awaits a renegade (Mayersen, 2019, p.711).³

The term “mass conversions” is the modern euphemism for “demographic engineering” (Şeker, 2013) and goes along the same line as genocide related terms (Gasparyan, 2016): “deportations,” “killings,” “massacres,” “genocide” and “democide,” etc., the latter introduced by R. J. Rummel (Rummel, 1994; Rummel, 1997).

In sum, among a variety of socio-economic, cultural, social diversity, geographic, and other indicators, the best way of accounting for and predicting democide is by the degree to which a regime is totalitarian. That is, the extent to which a regime controls absolutely all social, economic, and cultural groups and institutions, the degree to which its elite can rule arbitrarily, largely accounts for the magnitude and intensity of genocide and mass murder (Rummel, 1997).

The concept of democide by Rummel can be quite to the point to be applied to the sad events of Hamidian massacres since eyewitness sources of that period confirm whatever happened on the ancestral lands of the Armenians (in Turkish Armenia), happened with the direct control of Sultan Hamid II, it is even witnessed by the name of those massacres in history: “*Hamidian massacres of the Armenians in the Ottoman Empire in the mid 1890s.*” R.Rummel coined the term “democide” which includes genocide, politicide, ‘mass murder’ and he defines it as “... *the murder of any person or people by a government.*”

When discussing the concept of “democide,” he mentions that it is used as a civil definition of murder, compelled loss of life, as in incarcerating people in camps where they may soon die of malnutrition, of unattended disease and forced labour, deportations, to the places where rapid death is inevitable. R.Rummel clearly saw the relationship between political power and democide (Rummel, 1994).

The eye-witness accounts compiled and published by HARRIS& HARRIS have been the valuable sources in Deborah Mayersen’s article (Mayersen, 2018) “*The 1895-1896 Armenian Massacres in Harput*” where she writes:

Statistics gathered for Harput/Kharpert city and 73 surrounding villages (i.e. only part of the province), reported 2,300 incidents of rape and 166 forced marriages of Armenian girls and women to Turks. ... Given that such crimes are typically amongst the most likely to be underreported, these

figures highlight the widespread nature of sexual violence during the massacres. Everywhere, houses were burned, and the tales of plunder were prodigious. “What a prospect for the poor villagers for the winter,” wrote Harriet Seymour, “No homes, no food or bedding, and hardly [any] clothes.”
(Mayersen, 2018, pp. 50-51)

We learn from the same source whether such a situation could exist without the knowledge of the ruling Sultan. (Mayersen, 2018):

The active role of the government in the massacres in the Harput region, and of government soldiers and officials in their conduct, is a repeated theme within the records. A mission report from Harput station written just after the events remarks: “If anyone doubts with regard to the statements I have made as to the connivance, complicity and co-operation of the government in these horrible deeds, let them come [...] and examine the facts to which hundreds can testify.” (p.52) For some of the missionaries at least, there was also a strong feeling that they had been betrayed by their Turkish neighbours (p.16).

Anyhow, members of missions wrote a lot of eyewitness accounts for internal use.

Careful selection of appropriate sources is critical for research on the Hamidian massacres. There is widespread evidence of a “pattern of official misrepresentation” within official Turkish sources concerning them. Death tolls, and estimates of those wounded, for example, appear to vastly and systematically underrepresent true figures. Furthermore, (pp. 28-29) Turkish officials have “sanitized the archives so that researchers today will find almost no documentation incriminating Ottoman Turkish leaders in the ethnic cleansings between 1894 and 1924.” By contrast, European diplomatic and consular records are widely regarded as offering more impartial accounts (p. 30). Written for internal consumption, rather than publicity or propaganda purposes, their accounts also align with those of other witnesses to the massacres, including travelers, Western

journalists, and missionaries (p. 31). *Protestant missionaries left extensive records, written at the time for internal communication purposes, that provide an invaluable source of information regarding the massacres* (Mayersen, 2022).

So, it is not a secret that experts of various fields – lawyers, psychologists, sociologists, experts of Turkish, Armenian, Oriental studies, philologists, historians – have referred to the genocide issues taking efforts to elucidate the problem at different angles. It is well-known that anti-Armenian and pro-Turkish public and political figures worked hard to hamper the solution of the everlasting problem.

G. Stanton's eight stages of Genocide in memoir-accounts of 1896-1917.

The prerequisites of the Armenian Genocide

The memories of eyewitnesses and the written memoirs by missionaries, immediately and hastily published in the form of travel memoirs, are scrupulously written evidence and valuable sources to which the application of G. Stanton's 8 stages of the genocide reveals the real devastating hidden picture.

Our investigation shows that Hamidian massacres thoroughly depicted by F. Greene in his “Armenian Massacres: Or the Sword of Muhammed” *coincide with the description of 1-4 stages of Stanton's genocide theory*. The author, Frederic Greene, was a missionary himself born to a US Jews' family on mission in Turkish Armenia. He managed to witness and present a lot in his book. Significant facts about unbelievable horrific atrocities on ethnic and religious background are laid down by the author in a very specific adherence of language units worth analyzing and interpreting. The liguo-cultural and cognitive study of F. Greene's memoirs reveal the horrifying *details of the Armenian pogroms by the Hamidian regime* and devastating behavior, which helps to establish that the Hamidian massacres should not be qualified as just a pre-genocidal period but instead as the initial step of the 1915 Armenian Genocide. As already mentioned above, this period is delicately called by Turkish investigators a period of “*Mass Conversions of Armenians*” (Deringil, 2009).

Using G. Stanton's theory of Genocide stages to the mentioned work by F. Greene, it can be stated that the 4 preliminary stages of the Armenian Genocide have their undeniable reflection in the memoirs :

1. CLASSIFICATION – The Turks and Armenians are viewed as opposing antagonistic forces, Armenians even had to pay extra taxes, but they could never complain when they were put to prison so that Turkish Officials could get all their riches.

To complain, therefore, of the insecurity of life and property in Armenia, so long as the country is irresponsibly governed by the Sublime Porte, is as reasonable as it would be for a soldier to object to the great danger to life and limb from the enemy's bullets during a sanguinary engagement (Greene 1896, p.192).

In the Vilayet of Bitlis several hundred Armenians who possessed money, cattle or crops, were arbitrarily imprisoned, and set free on the payment of large bribes. Some of them, unable to produce the money at once, were kept in the noisome dungeons until they raised the sum demanded, or were released by death (Greene,1896, p.195).

2. SYMBOLIZATION – Christian Armenians are labeled by the Turks as “infidel”, “giaours”, “rayat/cattle.” So “infidels” “deserve” death (“*Death to Infidels*”).

3. DISCRIMINATION – Armenians in Armenia were deprived of any human rights at all while dominant Turks used law, custom, and political power to deny the rights of the “inferior.” So, the Ottoman Empire is viewed by Greene as a “politico-religious organization,” where *massacre is considered a legitimate, necessary and very useful method of administering the country* (Greene, 1896, p. 434).

An official prayer of Islam was used throughout Turkey in a linguistic form, It was a demand daily repeated simultaneously in the Cairo “Azhar” University by teachers and ten thousand Mohammedan students from all lands. It was actually a hate speech and presentation of extreme discrimination leading to violent extermination of the inferiors. Greene could have never imagined that in the civilized world “*The Koran*” could become a weapon in the hand of the Sultan, *the Saracen, to Sanction Massacre.*”

Seek refuge with Allah from Satan, the accursed. In the name of Allah the Compassionate, the Merciful! O Lord of all Creatures! O Allah! Destroy the infidels and polytheists, thine enemies, the enemies of the religion! O Allah! Make their children orphans, and defile their abodes! Cause their feet to slip; them and their families, their households and their women, their children and their relations by marriage, their brothers and their friends, their possessions and their race, their wealth and their lands, as booty to the Moslems, O Lord of all Creatures!" (Greene, 1896, p. 434)

4. DEHUMANIZATION – Labels “giaour and infidel” were humiliating for Armenians who were not only denied elementary life conditions but were abused, treated in beastly ways, were dishonored, raped, and killed:

Formerly the Turks disliked the Armenians, and the blood-bath of Sassoun offers a fair indication of the vehemence of their feeling. At present, after the wanton humiliation inflicted upon them by the European friends of their victims, they loathe the very name of Armenia, and deem no cruelties sufficient to satisfy their outraged self-love.... thin a stone's throw of the foreign consuls and missionaries, loyal Armenians were hung up by the heels, the hair of their heads and beards plucked out one by one, their bodies branded with red-hot irons and defiled in beastly ways that can neither be described nor hinted at in Christian countries, their wives dishonored in their presence, and their daughters raped before their eyes (Greene, 1896, pp.189-190).

Armenians were treated by the Turks as second-class citizens, and were later declared prisoners which was a synonym to enemies of the state ... Hatred, humiliation, torture and all kinds of physical abuse was part of Armenian everyday life;

An eminent foreign statesman who is commonly credited with Turcophile sentiments of uncompromising thoroughness, lately remarked to me in private conversation that Turkish rule in Armenia might be aptly described as organized brigandage, legalized murder, and meritorious immorality (Greene, 1896, pp. 191-192).

The eye-witnessed reality of the Hamidian period depicted by Greene corresponds to the 1-4 genocide stages defined in Gregory Stanton's genocide theory. Now we will pass on to the analyses and discussion of the eye-witnessed memoirs “*The Cradle of Mankind: Life in Eastern Kurdistan*” by Wigram brothers (1914), “*Travel And Politics in Armenia*”, accounts to the British Parliament by Buxton brothers (1914), “*Martyred Armenia*” by El-Ghusein (1917) actually corresponding to the 5-8 pre-genocide stages as defined by Gregory Stanton.

William Ainger, and Edgar Wigram T.A., Assyrians of British origin, highlight in their memoirs (1914) that discrimination and dehumanization could have been seen with a naked eye.

A Christian is a dog to a Moslem, and a Jew ranks many octaves lower; but there is no room on the chromatic scale to show the position of a Yezidi: he is the sort of human being that is less regarded than a beast" ... "It would be a good deed to kill the dog (Wigram & Wigram, 1914, p.38).

Still in another example the Turks themselves confess that "*they do not know how to make money*" *they perfectly "know how to take it."* Maybe they will never know even "*how to govern a country*" (Wigram & Wigram, 1914, p.94). The only occupation of a Turk is to make as much money as they can due to their "subjects." Thus, an Armenian is nothing more than a sheep to a Turk, the source of his income. The Turks call the Armenians "*rayat*" meaning "*cattle*" "*to be milked*" by the Kurds. The only fear of a Turk is that one day his subject nations (Greeks, Kurds, Armenians, etc.) "*will slip from his control and cherish independence.*" So, obviously, the Turks need to take precautions.

...For the Mussulman was, to do him justice, the first ruler that was really tolerant in religious matters. Armenians were very convenient underlings in all the work of governing. "We Turks do not know how to make money, we only know how to take it;" "and a Turk does not know to this day, and probably never will learn, how really to govern a country. His sole conception is to occupy the land, and take as much money from his subjects as his needs require. His instincts are really those of the nomad. The rayats are his sheep and cows – there to be milked. He does not want to kill them, for he is a kindly fellow. ... But if a sheep exhibits an unpleasant independence of disposition, and propagates the blasphemous doctrine that it was created for other things than the due provision of milk, wool, and mutton in due season for its lawful owner, the shepherd is apt to say it is a vicious beast, and to take measures accordingly" (Wigram & Wigram, 1914, p. 93).

The examples above highlight the humiliating and abusive Turkish attitude towards the national minorities in the Empire. The passage above makes it obvious that the Christians were referred to as “*dogs*,” – a zoonimous metaphor of a highly offensive nature repeated in the book almost on every page. Even Jews stand higher than a Yezidi which is lower than “*a beast*,” a rather humiliating attitude towards the nation. Real facts *about atrocities* are depicted with utmost accuracy. They are very eloquent:

The programme of massacre was identical in practically every district. First, the chief local leaders of the Armenians (Parliamentary Deputies and so forth) were quietly en-trapped and assassinated before their vague forebodings had ripened into serious alarm[...] The villages and towns were then sacked in detail, and the men almost all exterminated, though young and good-looking girls were reserved for the Mussulman harems (Wigram & Wigram, 1914, p. 151).

As a matter of fact, Wigram applied a zoonimous metaphor to precisely depict the Turkish attitude towards its subject nations and their fear to become the loser.

“You can give an old dog a new collar, but you cannot teach him new tricks” (Wigram & Wigram 1914, p.101).

It can be inferred from the proverb above that whatever the name of the country, the essence will never change. The Turkish dream was the creation of the Ottoman Empire, otherwise said “*the Ottomanization for all*” (Wigram 1914, p.100), while the Turks call it “*demographic engineering*” (Şeker, 2013). This, however, did not mean that their methods, the remnants of the European consciences some 500 years ago, were going to change. Moreover, they would become stricter and more irresistible for the European Government, however hard the latter tried to shut eyes to the Turkish injustice of occupying the lands of religious and antiquarian interest of the world, particularly by Europeans mentioned by the Buxton brothers with much concern:

They think it was his deliberate method of reducing Armenians mental and numerical weakness, and, even so, would not have been ventured upon unless the Powers had shown themselves important from the first (Buxton & Buxton, 1914, p.127).

The use of tropes, particularly metaphor and simile, make the utterance more picturesque and can be dealt with as style-forming features of travel-memoirs. Our investigation reveals that although metaphor appears to make speech more to the point and vivid, certain types that are found in Wigram's "*The Cradle of Mankind: Life in Eastern Kurdistan*" have a specific message since they can be explained and interpreted successfully only with the account of the extra-linguistic reality of that period. To hold the readers' attention on the topic, the author uses powerful means like metaphors:

genuine – "*to soften the heart of the most furious cows*" which defines an official in Mosul;

trite – "*floods of tears*", "*a ladder of fame*";

anthropomorphic – "*the face of a rock*";

idiomatic – "*under the rose*," meaning in secret;

conceptual/cognitive – "*Alkosh, at the foot of the steeps, is just an unmitigated sun trap*";

proverb-like – "*You can give an old dog a new collar, but you cannot teach him new tricks*", and so on.

Wigram's traditional similes more often emphasize horrifying ideas like in the sentences below. Talking about the Turkish hatred to Armenians, Wigram stresses:

The hatred of the Turks for the Armenians is due to the fact that the Armenians are the only one of their subject nations of whom the Turks are afraid. The Arabs and Kurds are their co-religionists, and have no national cohesion. The Nestorian and Jacobite Syrians are either too few to be dangerous, or too thoroughly tamed by long subjection to have any desire to rebel. But the Armenians are numerous and imbued with national aspirations; and though the majority of them are inoffensive cultivators, they include a considerable number of intelligent and capable men. A small percentage too are active political propagandists, who continue to work persistently to overthrow the present regime. Under equal political conditions the Armenians would secure dominance. The Turks would never cope with the Armenians in cleverness but they were always able to initiate physical force against unarmed Armenians and succeed (Wigram & Wigram, 1914, p. 19).

The Wigrams' observations confirm that the majority of the Armenians were "inoffensive cultivators," they included a considerable number of capable, intelligent men and only a small percentage were politically active, persistently working to overthrow the regime.

E.T. Lawrence, known as Lawrence of Arabia, writes (Lawrence, 1922) that Armenians were declared state prisoners, that is enemies of Turkey. Lawrence's keen observations establish that Armenians were murdered because they were Armenians and not because of their religion:

The Young Turks had killed the Armenians, not because they were Christians, but because they were Armenians; and for the same reason they herded Arab Moslims and Arab Christians into the same prison, and hanged them together on the same scaffold (Lawrence, 1922).

The abundance of the factual writing of the period witnesses that Armenians were to be abolished because of their ethnic identity, as stated by many, among them a Bedouin, high rank Turkish official Faiz El-Ghusein, who was first put to prison because he refrained from giving false information on Armenians revolting against the government. He was pursued, but later managed to flee to the USA and publish his eye-witness observations in Arabic and in English in 1916. He says that being in prison helped him a lot to study the Armenian cause and problems. Although Armenians were model citizens who "*always paid their dues of every kind*," which aroused much jealousy since they were witty, creative, intelligent, inventive, successful and easily adapted to any situation. El-Ghusein, being a model Muslim citizen, was just astonished to see how the Islamic government could act "*in opposition*" to the Islamic Law:

...In view of this, how can the Turkish Government be justified at the present time in killing off an entire people, who have always paid their dues of every kind to the Ottoman State, and have never rebelled against it? ... A Government which professes to be the protector of Islam, and claims to hold the Khilâfat, cannot act in opposition to Moslem law; and a Government which does so act is not an Islamic Government, and has no rightful pretension to be such (El-Ghusein, 1917, p. 55).

To make his speech realistic and to the point El-Ghusein uses similes:

These [women] had fallen into the hands of the Kurds, who recognize no divine law, and who live on lofty mountains and in dense forests like beasts of prey; their honour was outraged and they died by brutal violence, many of them killing themselves rather than sacrifice their virtue to these ravening wolves (El-Ghusein, 1917, p. 14).

The butcher told the Armenian to stretch out his neck; he did so, and was slaughtered like a sheep (El-Ghusein, 1917, p. 36).

El-Ghusein undoubtedly cultivated special feelings and love for courageous and learned Armenian intellectuals who wrote the laws for the Turks, thus making them feel envious towards them. Vartakis was even offered by a Hamidian official to make a choice – *“if he acknowledged that he had been in error, he should be pardoned and appointed to any post he might choose”* (El-Ghusein, 1917, p.18). He rejected as he was sure:

I will not sell my conscience for a post, or say that the Government of Abdul-Hamid is just, whilst I see its tyranny with my eyes and touch it with my hand (El-Ghusein, 1917, p. 19).

El-Ghusein states that

Zohrâb and Vartakis fell victims to their own courage and firmness of purpose; they were killed out of envy of their learning and their love for their own people, and for their tenacity in pursuing their own path. They were killed by that villain, Ahmed El-Serzi, one of the sworn men of the Unionists, he who murdered Zeki Bey; his story in the Ottoman upheaval is well known, and how the Unionists saved him from his fitting punishment and even from prison (El-Ghusein, 1917, p.18).

It was announced that they had been murdered by a band of brigands. They killed them in order that it might not be said that Armenians were more powerful, more learned, and more intelligent than Turks. Why should such bands murder none but Armenians? The falsity of the statement is obvious (El-Ghusein, 1917, p. 18).

...It is reported also that Dikrân Gilikiân, the well-known writer, who was an adherent of the Committee of Union and Progress, was killed in return for his learning capacity, and devotion to their cause. Such was the recompense of his services to the Unionists (El-Ghusein, 1917, p. 19).

As it is seen these courageous men were murdered because of their ethnicity, irrespective of their loyalty to the empire.

Thus, our analysis confirms that the 5-8 stages of Genocide are clearly depicted in the memoirs of the mentioned authors:

5. ORGANIZATION – like all other genocides, the Armenian Genocide of 1915 with all the pre-genocide massacres depicted in the memoirs of the period confirm that the situation was beyond human tolerance. The way the atrocities were conducted, lead to the belief that they were organized beforehand even the papers fixed the fact, that criminals were released from prisons to commit the murders of Armenians for which they were to be rewarded by the riches of the Armenians, the fact was fixed by the British press (Poghosyan, 2014). The Buxton brothers mention Armenians should be rescued from the Turks, since “*there are no massacres in Turkey except when ordered by the Government*” (Buxton & Buxton, 1914, p. 43).

6. POLARIZATION – hate groups, according to Stanton, broadcast propaganda that reinforces prejudice and hate, moderate leaders, those best able to prevent genocide, are often the first to be assassinated. Antagonism cannot be negotiated because of mass killings and massacres... The Wigrams, the Buxtons, and El-Ghusein discussed in their accounts all these characteristics of polarization they eye-witnessed. Not able to change anything, the Buxtons damned the Turks, something which is not peculiar to official writing.

7. PREPARATION – euphemisms like “*ethnic cleansing*” and “*deportation*” were used (Gasparyan, 2016; Gasparyan, 2017; Gasparyan & Gasparyan, 2021), addresses of Armenians were fixed by the authorities, lists of the victims were made beforehand, armies were built and weapons bought, Armenian men were called to their military service, war was the best option to explain what was happening. Massacres were seen by the Turkish government as the sole solution to the Armenian question (Davis 1989).

8. PERSECUTION – Armenian victims on ethnic, national, religious basis were segregated and confined to famine-struck regions where they either starved or were killed.

The 9th stage, according to Stanton's theory of genocide, is the denial of genocide which follows immediately. About the act of genocide can be learned not just by theory and eyewitness stories but also from press where the genocide terminology used in genocide discourse is more than obvious.

Modern Turkey succeeded the Ottoman Empire in 1923 and vehemently denies that a genocide took place. Moreover, on international arena the term deportation is mostly used by Turkish officials to openly misinterpret the events in Ottoman Turkey in 1915. In recent years, it has resisted the calls of scholars, countries, and international organizations to acknowledge the crime. According to the *New York Times*, February 1915 issue, Signor Filippo Media, MP of Italian Chamber of Deputies, while discussing some aspects of the Armenian situation wrote in an article that the Armenian question could have long been settled if it had not been for Disraeli and his assistant Salisbury (Kloian, 1980; 2005).

Genocide terms in American and British newspaper headlines (1915-1923)

Our analysis reveals that the Allied states were well aware of what was happening on the territory of the Ottoman Empire. Richard Kloian's documentary book contains American and British Newspaper Headlines (1915-1923) from American and British Archives of the period of 1915-1923 on the 1915 atrocities and slaughters in Western Armenia (Turkish Armenia). Even only the headlines of the newspaper articles suffice to understand that the events were organized on the state level. Let us analyze some headlines from American and British newspapers.

From American Archives:

1. Report of Allied warning to the Ottoman government to stop the massacres of Armenians. May 29, 1915.

2. Secretary of State Robert Lansing's response to news that Ottoman Turkey is pursuing a policy of genocide against the Armenians. July 16, 1915.

3. Report that Ottoman Turkey is seeking to exterminate the Armenian nation. July 16, 1915.

4. Report from a German missionary on the massacre of Armenians from Erzerum, July 31, 1915.

From British Archives:

1. Memorandum by the Committee of Union and Progress outlining the strategy for implementing the Armenian Genocide. 1914-1915.

2. Report on the massacre of Armenians in Cilicia under French administration. March, 1920.

3. First-hand account by a Turkish Army officer on the deportation of Armenians from Trebizon and Erzerum, December 26, 1916 (“The Armenian Genocide - News Accounts”, n.d.).

It is beyond doubt that newspaper headlines are rhematic that is *they are carriers of the communicative intent*. In other words, the rheme passes on the novel information with the help of the already known theme. Moreover, all the mentioned headlines contain language units which belong to the same thematic group – *mass killings, or genocide of Armenians*. Only in the last example where the term “*deportation*” is used, there is no direct or explicit hint on killings of Armenians. (Gasparyan, 2016, p.146). The text following the news headline informs:

In July an order came to deport to the interior all the Armenians in the Vilayet of Trabizond. Being a member of Court Martial I knew that deportations meant massacres (“The Armenian Genocide - News Accounts”, n.d.).

There is vast literature on the discussion of the genocide terms. Anyhow, the Turkish officer’s report published by a British newspaper leaves no room for doubt that “*deportations*” meant massacres.

Gregory Stanton argues that the 10-th stage of genocide **denial** is the continuation of the crime, a way for perpetrators to avoid accountability, besides, it is a precursor to future genocides. Denial involves tactics like denying facts, intent, minimizing numbers, blaming victims, questioning the definition, destroying evidence, and glorifying perpetrators. Scholars Taner Akçam and Vahakn Dadrian extensively researched the Armenian Genocide and directly confronted the ongoing denial by the Turkish government. T. Akçam, debunking denialist arguments, uses Ottoman documents to prove the intent and organized nature of the genocide. Dadrian establishes the legal and historical basis for the genocide, documenting the systematic atrocities and analyzing the perpetrators’ motivations.

Actually, the work by T. Akçam and V. Dadrian provides the historical evidence and scholarly analysis to affirm the reality of the Armenian Genocide and dismantle denialist narratives. Their research is crucial in combating this final and ongoing stage. In other words, the 10th Denial stage is a kind of a tool to evade the reality and the consequences of the disaster, to take no responsibility of the whole matter. This leads to the assumption that people need to learn not only the extra-linguistic reality but also, what is not of less importance, how to establish a certain attitude about these devastating facts. V. Dadryan mentions Major General Otto von Lossow in his book who was acting military attaché and head of the German Military Plenipotentiary in the Ottoman Empire. The latter spoke about the Ottoman intentions in a conference held in Batumi in 1918:

*[...] The aim of Turkish policy is, as I have reiterated, the taking of possession of Armenian districts and **the extermination of the Armenians**. Talaat's government wants to destroy all Armenians, not just in Turkey but also outside Turkey. On the basis of all the reports and news coming to me here in Tiflis there hardly can be any doubt that the Turks systematically **are aiming at the extermination** of the few hundred thousand Armenians whom they left alive until now (Dadryan, 1995, p. 349)*

Major General Otto von Lossow admitted that in the first year of his stay in Turkey “*an unbelievable tragedy*” happened there which was “*one of the most monstrous events in the world history*.” He meant “*the extermination of the Armenians*” (Wirsén, 1942).

The facts that are revealed by Major General Otto von Lossow, are terrifyingly eloquent.

Cruel torture was used; the Head of the Constantinople Police was confessed to the American Ambassador that the Turks had been studying the methods used by the Spanish Inquisition and modeled their activities from it. Even the Armenians who avoided deportation were subjected to mass killings. I learnt from various Consults that on several occasions policemen knocked on the doors of foreign officials and, without so much as a word, shot all the Armenian servants, after it honored and left. Those who were not murdered died of starvation which

was purposefully organized in the most outrageous circumstances. I saw with my own eyes a mound of earth near the Euphrates which, as they told me, contained the remains of several thousand Armenians who were murdered or dead. My Armenian driver could barely control himself in front of the Turkish general who accompanied me, and it was only due to the friendly personality and human qualities of the general that the Armenian was able to hold back his feelings (Wirsén, 1942).

It becomes obvious from the passage above that Major General Otto von Lossow's speech includes the collocation extermination of Armenians as a key to *define the aims of the Turks. What is more astounding is that Talaat's government* wants to destroy all Armenians, not just in Turkey. Dadryan sparingly shows that initiating killings of Armenians Turkish authorities aimed at confiscating all their property, including land, livestock, and homes. On September 13, 1915, the Ottoman parliament passed the Temporary Law of Expropriation and Confiscation since the application of the previously existing Abandoned Properties law, as Ahmed Riza Bey protested, would not be justified – for the Armenians, the proprietors, did not abandon their properties voluntarily; they were forcibly, compulsorily removed from their homes and exiled (Dadryan, 1995, pp. 223-224). Moreover, the example above, with the collocation *forcibly, compulsorily removed* overlaps with *deported* in its meaning.

So, there is no doubt that the greatest challenge is defining the indescribable by using the term **genocide**. We are also sure, that newspaper articles and headlines presented in Kloian's book can be successfully used in classrooms of stylistics, functional stylistics, media text interpretation, psychology of disaster, PTSD (Post-traumatic stress disorder), etc. (Danieli, 1998). And the most devastating challenge is that your identity can change unknowingly. The investigation establishes that PTSD in this context can have deep psychological impact on various areas (Hobfoll, 1989), demonstrating itself as:

- *Intergenerational Trauma:* This is particularly relevant in situations of prolonged historical violence against a specific group.
- *Collective Trauma and Historical Trauma:* While not always focused solely on repeated massacres, they address the cumulative effect of violence, discrimination, and loss over time within an ethnic group, which can manifest in PTSD-like symptoms and other mental health issues across generations.

- *Longitudinal Studies in Post-Conflict Zones:* While the focus might not be exclusively on *repeated* massacres within the same long period, these studies can reveal the long-term trajectory of PTSD and other trauma-related disorders within specific ethnic groups affected by conflict.
- *Cultural and Ethnic Identity in Trauma Response:* This can involve understanding coping mechanisms, social support systems, and cultural interpretations of trauma within the affected ethnic group (Bonanno, 2004).

Despite these challenges, the study shows that recovering includes coping, resilience, specific transformation of identity and stress free 60 months, but, anyhow, the long-term consequences often leave a significant imprint on individual and collective identity, behavior, and intergroup dynamics (Yehuda and McFarlane, 1995).

Studies on the Armenian Diaspora show that while the Armenian Genocide was a specific period of mass killings, the ongoing denial and the historical trauma have had a lasting impact on the Armenian diaspora. Some studies explore the intergenerational transmission of trauma and the psychological effects of historical loss and lack of recognition on Armenian identity and mental health. These investigations, while not focusing on repeated massacres in the same way, examine the long-term consequences of a major historical trauma on an ethnic group.

Conclusions

This multidisciplinary research illuminates several critical insights through the rigorous investigation, analysis, and interpretation of linguistic material related to mass atrocities.

Firstly, it reveals the temporal dynamism of perception and interpretation, demonstrating that the understanding of events following a disaster, regardless of its magnitude, can diverge significantly from the immediate experience due to various psychological, social, and political factors and the interpretation of disastrous events may not be the same as within the period of the disaster itself. Secondly, the study underscores the interconnectedness of seemingly disparate instances of mass violence. By identifying common features across different expressions of massacres, it can be inferred that these events should be understood as a continuum, where shared actions, underlying functions, and consistent motivations converge towards similar devastating outcomes and overarching goals. Thirdly, this research affirms the indispensable role of analysis, evaluation, reflection, and consistent condemnation by international organizations and official bodies as a fundamental aspect of the global human response to the reality of genocide. Such actions are not merely reactive but are crucial for establishing

accountability and fostering a normative stance against such crimes. Fourthly, the findings expose the enduring yet evolving nature of obstruction and concealment strategies. The employment of corruption, coercion, and force to suppress the truth and erase the traces of egregious behavior, particularly genocidal acts against nations and humanity, is presented not as a novel phenomenon but as a historically rooted problem-solving mechanism adapted with contemporary implications. This necessitates its recognition as an inherent and illicit stage within the broader trajectory of genocide. Finally, the research highlights the remarkable consistency in the linguistics and terminology associated with genocide across different contexts and historical periods. The recurrence of similar concepts and terms in the analysis and interpretation of this phenomenon underscores the existence of a recognizable discourse of genocide. Consequently, the study advocates for the systematic learning and study of this linguistic framework by university students as an integral component of proactive genocide prevention efforts and the cultivation of a more informed and ethically responsible global citizenry.

Notes

1. Esther Brito is a Spanish researcher working at the intersection of international security, peace operations, governance, and gender. She is currently a junior fellow at the Global Research Network, a research director at the Strategic Policy Group, and the editor in chief at IVolunteer International.
2. This and the rest of the numbers after citations are from the original texts indicating various witnesses and are preserved by the authors of articles. (HARRIS J. Rendel and HARRIS Helen, *Letters from the Scenes of the Recent Massacres in Armenia*, New York: Fleming H. Revell, 1897; ABCFM Papers: United Church of Christ Wider Church Ministries, Cleveland, Ohio. Reprinted, by permission, American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions Papers (ABCFM Papers). (All rights reserved. Used by permission) (Used by Mayersen D. 1918).
3. In our paper “*Analysis and Interpretation of Genocide related terms*” (Gasparian 2016) we clearly show that replacing one linguistic term by another does not change the essence of the phenomenon.

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ՀԱՅԵՐԻ ՑԵՂԱՍՊԱՆՈՒԹՅՈՒՆԸ
ՀԱՅԱՑՔ ՆԵՐՄԻՑ ԵՎ ԴՐՄԻՑ

Նաիրա Հ. Գասպարյան

Հետազոտությունը նպատակ ունի նոր լուսաբ տակ դիտարկել Հայոց ցեղասպանության խնդիրը ուսումնասիրելով ականատեսների վկայությունները, փաստական ապացույցների վրա հիմնված միսիոներական գեկույցները և 1890-ական թվականներից ի վեր պաշտոնական մարդասիրական կազմակերպությունների ճամփորդական նորթերը: Այն կիրառում է տարրեր համընդհանուր մոտեցումներ, այդ թվում՝ Գրեգորի Հ. Սթենթրնի ցեղասպանության 10 փուլերը և ինքնության վերափոխմանն ուղղված հետարավմատիկ սթրեսային խանգարման (ՀՏՄ) մոտեցումը՝ վերլուծելու լեզվական նյութը՝ արտալեզվական իրականության հաշվառմամբ: Հողվածում նշվում է, որ ցեղասպանության, մասնավորապես՝ Հայոց ցեղասպանության վերաբերյալ զլորալ կրթությունը կարևոր է անհատների համար՝ ձշմարտությանը դիմակայելու և թշնամանքից զերծ համագործակցություն խթանելու համար: Այս միջօդիտակարգային ուսումնասիրությունը շեշտում է, որ համաշխարհային կազմակերպությունների կողմից ցեղասպանության դատապարտումը անհրաժեշտ մարդկային արձագանք է, որ ցեղասպան վարքագիծը պետք է ճանաչվի որպես հաստատված անօրինական փուլ, և որ ցեղասպանության եզրութաբանությունն ու պատմությունը պետք է դասավանդվեն հա-

մալսարանական մակարդակով՝ հետագա կանխարգելման նպատակով: Լեզվածանաշողական, լեզվաոճական և լեզվամշակութային վերլուծության մեթոդների, համադրման և տեքստերի ուշադիր ընտրության միջոցով կայուն պատմական իրականությունն ու լեզվական նյութը վերլուծելով՝ հոդվածը ցույց է տալիս, թե ինչպես իրն և ժամանակակից տեսակետների միջև հակամարտության ուսումնասիրությունը կարող է նպաստել ցեղասպանության վերաբերյալ կրթությանը և կանխարգելմանը, ինչը կազմում է հետազոտության նորույթը:

Բանալի բառեր՝ վերապրողների պատմություններ, միսիոներական հուշագրություններ, ինքնություն, Հայոց ցեղասպանություն, Սթենքընի ցեղասպանության փուլերը, Հետորավմատիկ սթրեսային համախտանիշ, զլորալ կրթություն: