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UKRAINIAN CANADIANS: THE MANIFESTATION OF CULTURAL IDENTITY THROUGH FOLK BALLADS

by

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This thesis is dedicated to all those brave men and women who found the courage to leave their native land. Even though they had to face all the hardships of an immigrant life and work hard to become established in a new country, they contributed much of their time and effort towards the development of a distinctive Ukrainian Canadian culture for future generations.

ABSTRACT

Large scale immigration of Ukrainians to Canada could be divided into four major waves according to the date of arrival. Each immigration wave cultivated a unique set of cultural practices, including folklore narratives, music and dance. A profound adjustment of the world-view occurs based on the realities faced, including unfamiliar conditions and authentic folklore changes. The study of a folk ballad is particularly interesting in this respect, as it has been retained as the most popular folklore genre within the Ukrainian community in Canada. Based on the series of interviews, carried out by Robert B. Klymasz in Saskatchewan and Manitoba in 1964-1965, as well as the fieldwork, done in Ukraine in 2009, and in Edmonton, Alberta in 2011-2012, this study discusses how the singing repertoire of Ukrainian Canadians changed after their immigration, and how there repertoires differed depending on the period in which they immigrated.

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INTRODUCTION

When I was growing up in Ukraine, I spent every summer with my grandparents. The whole family used to gather at the dinner table every evening, and as soon as everyone finished eating, my grandmother started singing her favourite Ukrainian ballads, and everybody else soon joined. I was not paying too much attention to the ballads at the time, but after my grandmother passed away, every time I heard a Ukrainian ballad, it evoked happy memories from my childhood.

I eventually became more interested in Ukrainian ballads. It was one way to reconnect with my grandmother, whom I missed very much. Soon after I enrolled in the Foreign Languages department at the University in my hometown of Cherkasy, Ukraine, a professor in one of my classes told the students about the Ukrainian community in Canada. I was surprised to hear that Ukrainian Canadians continue to preserve their native customs and traditions, even though they live so far away from their homeland. As soon as I had an opportunity, I did not hesitate to come to Canada and see it for myself.

When I arrived in Canada, Professor Natalie Kononenko introduced me to the Ukrainian ballad tradition in Canada, and provided me with a collection of 21 discs of Ukrainian Canadian ballads that were recorded by Robert Bohdan Klymasz in 1964-65. I was surprised to hear that those ballads were different from the ones that I remember hearing back home. That sparked my curiosity, and I wanted to find out why these

differences existed, and whether those differences were consistent in other Ukrainian Canadian ballads.

This was how the idea behind my thesis came to be. As I was meeting more people in Edmonton, many of them mentioned they were at least partly of Ukrainian heritage, and celebrated their Ukrainian identity in various ways. They introduced me to the broader Ukrainian community in town, and this allowed me to pursue my research.

It became evident that Ukrainian culture represents a vibrant segment of Canada's multi-cultural society. Beginning in the late nineteenth century, Ukrainian immigrants began to develop the cultural framework that has evolved into one of the most recognizable subcultures in Canada. Each generation of settlers had much to contribute to the growth of Ukrainian Canadian culture in its own way, and together these contributions had a significant effect on the development of a distinct Ukrainian identity in Canada.

Even though immigration of Ukrainians to Canada can be traced back to over a century ago, it was not continuous. There were many factors that prevented any immigration or settlement for years at a time, including the First and the Second World Wars, as well as the Cold War era that saw the establishment of the Iron Curtain in Soviet-controlled territories. Therefore, the large scale immigration of Ukrainians to Canada could be divided into four major waves. The first wave of immigration took place between 1891 and 1914 and was interrupted by the First World War. After the end of the war, in 1922, Ukrainian immigration to Canada re-emerged in the second wave, which lasted until

the eve of the Second World War in 1939. The representatives of the third wave were settling in Canada in the post-war period from 1946 until 1961. The fourth wave of immigration began in 1991after the breakup of the Soviet Union, and continues to the present day.

It could be argued that the different experiences and conditions encountered by each wave of immigration before and after settling in Canada influenced the cultural practices of these immigrants as they relate to folklore narratives, music and dance. By delving into the immigrant singing tradition, one could see the difference between the four waves. Folk ballads continue to be performed among immigrants, and the interviews conducted during this study support the popularity of this genre within the Ukrainian community in Canada. The dominance of certain ballad topics that were identified during the participant interviews, reflected the likes and dislikes, concerns, attitudes, interests and experiences of the performers of each wave. As a result, every immigration wave developed a distinctive ballad tradition.

One might infer that before immigrating to Canada, these Ukrainians shared the tastes and preferences of their contemporaries in their homeland and liked the same ballad subject matter. The affinity to similar ballad plots was conditioned by fashion in music, as well as the historical, political and social events that took place in the lives of the people belonging to the same generation. A comparative overview shows that the plots of ballads that Ukrainian Canadians chose to perform were taken from the large fund of Ukrainian folklore, and were appropriate to the immigrant experience. The ones that were most popular in Canada were not the same as those most performed by their brethren in the

homeland at the time. From this, one could assume that Ukrainian folklore in Canada evolved autonomously in the new country, and developed according to numerous changes in the lives of its bearers.

Canadian branches of Ukrainian folklore reflected forces and events that differed from those experienced in Ukraine at the time. This resulted in the alteration of the immigrant singing tradition to fit the new milieu, and stimulated modifications in the functionality of Ukrainian Canadian balladry. This research is an attempt to touch upon the lives of each wave of Ukrainian immigrants in Canada by studying what topics were of primary importance in their oral folklore and how their repertoires differed depending on the period in which they immigrated.

Definition of Folklore

The definition of folklore has been attempted by many scholars over decades. Basically there are as many different definitions of the term, as there are those researchers attempting to define it. While none of the scholarly definitions are wrong, none could be interpreted as definitive (2005, 11).

In the book *Living Folklore*, Martha Sims and Martine Stephens acknowledge the difficulty of defining folklore and offer up a suggestion for a working definition: "Folklore is informally learned, unofficial knowledge about the world, ourselves, our beliefs, our cultures, our traditions, that is expressed creatively through words, music, customs, actions, behaviors, and materials. It is also the interactive, dynamic process of creating, communicating, and performing as we share that knowledge with other people" (2005, 12).

They go on to offer an example of what in their opinion is one of the more forward thinking definitions by folklore editor of the WPA Federal Writers' Project, Benjamin Botkin. In 1938, he defined folklore as "… a body of traditional belief, custom, and expression, handed down largely by word of mouth and circulating chiefly outside of commercial and academic means of communication and instruction. Every group bound together by common interests and purposes, whether educated or uneducated, rural or urban, possesses a body of traditions which may be called its folklore. Into these traditions enter many elements, individual, popular, and even literary, but all are absorbed and assimilated through repetition and variation into a pattern which has value and continuity for the group as a whole"(1994).

In my opinion, the definitions above strongly suggest that an ethnocentric approach to the gathering of data would not be in the best interests of the study, as the purpose of my dissertation is to study the relevance, evolution and contrasts of what is accepted by the interviewees as folklore. Rather than attempting to determine if the data being gathered could be defined as folklore, one could agree that the participants of the study accept their contributions as such. It is worth mentioning that the interviewees shared their views on which piece they considered to be folklore versus which songs they attributed to specific composers, playwrights or musicians.

In keeping with the practices of reciprocal ethnography, upon the completion of the initial drafts of my thesis, copies were distributed to the interviewees to fact check for obvious errors, as well as to ensure that the interpretations drawn were based on accurate information. The

assumptions and conclusions that came from the interpretation of the data gathered were made with the knowledge that these conclusions would be challenged over time as the nature of folklore study evolves. "Because of the fluid nature of the field, and the fact that it is built from so many influences, folklore continues to evolve and change. It's not just that the people change, but that our opportunities for expression change… that means that what folklorists say about performances and texts generated through these means will change as well. Part of what we do as folklorists is discuss these changes as they arise, and continually examine our assumptions about groups of people and how they share folklore" (2005, 28).

Definition of a Folk Ballad

The definition of the folk ballad as a separate genre presents some difficulty, as a process of its continual formation and transformation occurs in discourse context, together with other folklore and literary genres, for example with lyrical songs, historical and comical songs, patriotic songs, etc. In Ukraine, the study of folklore began in the early 19th century, and over time the folk ballad genre was established or agreed upon by scholarly consensus. However, to this day no single definition of a ballad exists. In my dissertation I do not aim to solve this problem, rather defer to the accepted standards of what noted scholars such as Dei, and Klymasz have defined as Ukrainian folk ballads. If we are to generalize the parameters of what could be interpreted as a ballad, it would include that it is a narrative song, or a story song that often has a tragic ending or offers up a tragic meaning.

As introduced above, when studying folk ballads it is important to understand and accept that ballads change over time no matter how they are defined, and can evolve into other types of songs; some with a happy ending and some even with a comical ending. I do not intend to fact check the evolution of every song, but, rather show a few examples of how ballads have changed from their early versions to the more contemporary forms they have taken on today.

Research Objectives

In my research I aim to describe Ukrainian immigrant folklore, specifically folk ballads relevant to the era of immigration. Since the format of this thesis reflects the structure of an immigrant sub-culture within the dominant culture, it also incorporates analysis of the basic aspects of the four waves of Ukrainian Canadian immigration. This includes the reasons for their resettlement and the realities faced in their new country of residency, as this new frontier affected their singing repertoire. In order to successfully accomplish the aims of this thesis, the following tasks needed to be carried out:

- to briefly characterize the four waves of immigration of Ukrainians to Canada, including the description of the major reasons for the immigration, and the realities faced in the new country of residency from the point of view of an insider;
- to target the ways in which cultural identity was expressed by different waves of Ukrainian immigration to Canada;

- to summarize the principal singing practices, genres and repertoires of each specific wave of immigration, that can be seen to constitute the traditional Ukrainian heritage in Canada;
- to learn what ballad plots were chosen from the whole scope of topics in Ukrainian ballad tradition to be a part of the Ukrainian-Canadians' singing repertoire and to discover the reasons for that;
- to study the particularities of the Ukrainian folk ballad in the folklore of Ukrainian Diaspora, the ways of its transformation and co-existence with the local cultural tradition;
- to detail the characteristic structural and stylistic features of the modification of the Ukrainian folk song in the realm of immigration, with regard to the change of the basic functions that the song serves in the community; and
- to offer insight into the development of contemporary Ukrainian singing tradition and to trace the history behind it, on the example of a number of folk ballads.

Methodology

Since 2008 I was studying and transcribing Ukrainian Canadian ballads of the first and second immigration waves from the interviews that were recorded by Klymasz during his fieldwork in Ukrainian settlements in Manitoba, Saskatchewan and Alberta (1964 - 1965). Twenty one CDs of Ukrainian Canadian songs that were recorded during this fieldwork were available in the Bohdan Medwidsky Ukrainian Folklore Archives at the University of Alberta.

To determine the biographical data of the first- and the second-wave informants, I mostly used Klymasz's notes. However in some cases a more unconventional means of obtaining data was required, since not everyone who was interviewed during his fieldwork was included in his published findings (1992). In order to ascertain which wave those participants could be assigned to, I began with studying such historical records as: *Passenger and Immigration Lists Index, 1500s-1900s* (Filby 1988), *1906 Canada Census of Manitoba, Saskatchewan, and Alberta* (2008), and *1916 Canada Census of Manitoba, Saskatchewan, and Alberta* (2010). It was from these documents that I compiled a short list of names or possible names of the interviewees. I then accessed archived phone lists from local areas that coincided with the locations of Klymasz's prior interviews. At this point I began contacting people who had the same last names as the Klymasz's interviewees, and resided in the coinciding town of the interview.

Although this method enabled me to confirm the arrival of just two informants, Annie Bodnar and Ivan Strotsyn (who were residing in Yorkton, Saskatchewan at the time of the interviews), I was able to indirectly find out pertinent information about some of the participants from their immediate family members. For example, Mary Mostoway, the daughter of Alexander and Elena Kohut who were interviewed by Klymasz in Calder, SK., on the 17. July, 1964, provided a valuable insight regarding the conditions that some first wave immigrants experienced, as she recalled stories of the immigrant life that her family endured upon their arrival in Canada (2009).

To compare the singing repertoires of the first and second wave immigrants with the folklore of Ukrainians who never left their home country, I chose to use the collections of ballads compiled by I'akiv Fedorovych Holovatsʻkyĭ (1878) and Oleksiĭ Ivanovych Deĭ (1987), (1988). While there are several researchers that could be considered for the comparative analysis, my decision to use Holovatsʻkyĭ and Deĭ was based upon my intentions to gain the clearest understanding or snapshot of what the singing tradition looked like in Ukraine prior to the onset of immigration.

A number of researches started collecting folk ballads in the territories of what is now modern Ukraine since the beginning of the 19th century. Mykola Kostomarov (1817-1885) could be considered a pioneer researcher of folk singing tradition, mythology, ancient beliefs and customs; however his scholarly contributions did not include a compilation of folksongs. In 1854 Ambrozii Metlynskyii (1814-1870) published "Narodni pivdennorosiis'ki pisni", which was at the time the largest collection available; although this work was extensive, I reasoned that it would not help me to meet the goals of my study since his fieldwork was conducted almost exclusively in the Southern part of the country. In 1856-1857 the research of Panteleĭmon Kulish (1819-1897) "Zapiski o i͡uzhnoĭ Rusi: v dvukh tomakh" was published in St. Petersburg, but this compilation did not include ballads.

Toward the latter part of the 19th and into the 20th century a number of scholars such as Volodymyr Antonovych (1834-1908), Oleksandr Potebnia (1835-1891), Mykhailo Drahomanov (1841-1895), Mykola Lysenko (1842-1912), Osyp Rozdolskyi (1842-1945), Volodymyr

Shuchevych (1849-1915), Dmytro Yavornytsky (1855-1940), Ivan Franko (1856-1916), Andrii Konoshenko (1857-1932), Borys Hrinchenko (1863-1910), Lesya Ukraiinka (1871-1913), Volodymyr Hnatuik (1871-1926), Filaret Kolessa (1871-1947) and Ivan Kolessa (1903-2006), Petro Lintur (1909-1969), Hryhorii Nud'ha (1913-1994), and other researchers contributed to the study and understanding of Ukrainian singing tradition. However, the works of the abovementioned scholars did not correlate with the basis of my research objectives for a number of reasons.

First, some of them never published a collection of folksongs, and were mostly dealing with theoretical analysis. For example, the contribution of Franko to the development of Ukrainian folklore study includes two scholarly articles (Zhinocha nevolia, v rus'kyh pisniah narodnyh), (Studii nad Ukraiins'kymy narodnymy pisniamy) in which he conducts a research on the genesis of ballad motives, their symbols and poetics.

Second, many folklorists limited their research to a specific district on the territory of modern Ukraine. For instance, Hnatiuk conducted his fieldwork in Transcarpathia, as well as in the settlements of so-called Ruthenians in Voievodyna, Bosnia and Herzegovina. With his five-volume publication (Etnografichni materiia͡ly z Uhors'koï Rusy 1985-1988) he laid a strong scientific basis for the ethnographic study of Ukrainians that were dispersed to the west of the Carpathians. Hnatuik collected *kolomyiky, koliadky, stchedrivky*, *haiivky, vesnianky* and other folk songs on the territories of Hutsulstchyna, Boikyvstchyna and Podillia. His massive fieldwork resulted in a number of compilations, (Ukraïns'ki narodni pisni v zapysakh Volodymyra Hnatiu͡ka 1971), (Rusky narodny

pysnï 1972), and other collections. However these materials would not provide enough foundation for the comparison in my dissertation, since I was primarily interested in ballads that were collected in the culturally dissimilar regions of Galicia and Bukovina, where most of the first- and second-wave interviewees resided prior to the immigration.

After considering the research of several ethnographers, my decision to use Holovats'kyĭ was based primarily on the fact that he conducted an extensive fieldwork on the territories of Galicia and Bukovina, and he was among the first Ukrainian researchers to single out ballads in his published four volume collection of folksongs while he was describing the singing tradition of some regions.

The decision to utilize the collected folksongs published by Deĭ was largely due to the fact that his published works provided the most extensive compilation of folksongs from many regions of contemporary Ukraine. His publications were the result of compiling the collected documents by anthropologists from the Institute of Ethnography, and by students and private collectors, as well as Deĭ's own fieldwork. The aggregate data compiled in his work provided me with a large cross-section of folksongs for further analysis. In order to meet the objectives of my thesis, I subdivided the ballads of the first- and second-wave interviewees, as well as the songs from Holovats'kyĭ's collection by separating them according to the main issues that they discuss. The manner in which I catalogued ballads is similar to the classification Ukrainian ballads that were compiled by Oleksiĭ Deĭ (1987), (1988). The works by folklorists Natalie Kononenko (2008), (2009) and Larysa Vakhnina (2003) provided the framework within which I chose to conduct

my analysis. Both scholars compared how a ballad plot was adapted to suit the new environment.

As my research continued, I felt it would be prudent to gather some information on the contemporary Ukrainian ballad tradition. In summer 2009 I conducted my own fieldwork in the villages of Stebliv, Zarichchia and Mykolaivka, Korsun-Shevchenkivskyi region, Cherkasy district, Central Ukraine. This fieldwork should not be misconstrued as a holistic view of the entire sampling of Ukrainian balladry, rather a snapshot that could be used gain a better understanding of the current singing tradition in Ukraine.

At the beginning of every interview I gave the participants a quick summary of what I was hoping to accomplish by conducting these interviews, which was to record folk ballads. While it was important to gather as much objective data as possible, I was faced with the dilemma of trying to gather as much relevant information to my study as possible without having a negative influence on the direction of the interviews.

To validate the method of my fieldwork, I requested a telephone interview with Robert Klymasz (2012) to discuss this potential problem. As mentioned in his interview, Klymasz was faced with similar circumstances. In his opinion, the idea of a directed interview can still be consistent with maintaining an objective sampling of the data relevant to the research topic while ensuring the integrity of the interview process. According to Klymasz, he carried out his interviews of Ukrainian Canadians living in western Canada in the 1964-1965 in a similar fashion (0:01:25 - 0:07:15).

Since one of the goals of my research was to study and compare the contemporary ballad tradition in Edmonton and Ukraine, while selecting the interviewees for the project, it was important for me that the demographics of the candidates were the same as their third wave counterparts now living in Canada. In 2012 I conducted interviews with seven members of the third immigration wave, who were influential in developing and maintaining Ukrainian singing tradition in Edmonton. In order to get a better understanding of this immigration wave, I also included questions that would shed some light on their lives before and after the immigration.

During those interviews my informants made it clear that their singing repertoire was influenced more so by the published collections of songs, that were compiled from ethnographic fieldwork, conducted throughout the country, than by the singing traditions that were prevalent in those towns and villages where they came from. While discussing their favourite Ukrainian songs, my third wave interviewees shared vinyl and digital recordings of songs that were released both in Canada and Ukraine before and after their immigration. My third wave interviewees considered these literary and audio collections of songs to be their personal repertoires, of which they would refer to during the interview process.

It could be interpreted that the means by which this information was collected is not consistent with the collection of earlier data provided by the interviewed first and the second wave immigrants. A telephone interview with Klymasz supports this decision to use the gathered songs. Klymasz discussed that during his fieldwork there were

instances where the interviewees referred to a literary collection of folksongs (2012, 0:08:14 - 0:12:15). He goes on further to mention that the interviewees considered these collections as their personal singing repertoire (2012, 0:08:50). I asked him for his thoughts about the validity of using these materials in his study, and this authoritative scholar had no reservations about my decision to include the personal collections of my third wave interviewees in this study (2012, 0:12:10).

In order to complete my research, I also conducted interviews with nine members of the fourth immigration wave, who are currently residing in Edmonton, Alberta. During the interviews I asked the respondents about their lifestyles in Ukraine, the reasons for their immigration to Canada, also their first experiences in a new country and their current life here. I was also asking how they celebrate their cultural identity, and if they participate in the life of the Ukrainian Canadian community in Edmonton. Along with the questions regarding their singing repertoires, it was important for me to find out what they feel for Ukrainian folk songs that they perform, where they learned them, and on which occasions they would usually sing them. As my research continued, I began to question why some songs were still practiced by Ukrainian Canadians, while others were forgotten. For the purpose of answering this question, I set out to determine what the most important functions Ukrainian ballads fulfilled within the Ukrainian Canadian immigrant community, and to further discover if those functions were the same as in Ukraine during the same time period.

If we can accept that the nature of folklore is that it is continually evolving, the challenge then becomes the consistent

interpretation of the data received. The fieldwork for this study was not completed in a sterile setting and therefore uncontrolled variables almost certainly could be expected. In an effort to work within a recognized method of both interpreting and gathering data, I utilized Bascom's functionalist framework for interpreting the data of the first and second waves of immigration. The idea being that it allows us to analyze what the folklore does versus what it means. This seemed an appropriate method for interpreting the fieldwork data of Klymasz, as the opportunity for personal interviews of the first and second waves is not possible. The songs were categorised depending on the major function(s) that they fulfil: entertainment, maintaining conformity, educating, and continuity of culture. According to William Russell Bascom (1954), any singular function, or combination of them could be fulfilled by any piece of folklore, and therefore this theory could be relevant while analysing folk ballads. Bascom also suggests that these functions could be further divided depending on various factors including but not limited to, the age of the performer, the time and place of the performance, the composition of the audience, time of year and seasonal changes. Accordingly, it is important to take some of these factors into consideration when comparing Ukrainian Canadian ballads with the ones that were popular in Ukraine.

The dynamic nature of folklore suggests that the nature of a culture's folklore would change over time. While preparing the data for the third and fourth waves of immigration, the opportunity was there for personal interviews and specific participation of members from these immigration waves. The decision to work within an altered framework

from Bascom's theories for interpreting the third and fourth wave immigrants was based upon the idea that Intersectionality would more accurately account for the varying experiences recorded during the interview processes. This style of analysis takes into consideration many dimensions that could influence the data being obtained. Intersectionality could be defined as the manner of gathering fieldwork that takes into consideration the varying factors that might influence individual perceptions of the information being disseminated. It also suggests that these factors are not experienced singularly, but, rather as a myriad of dimensions that intersects and influences each other simultaneously. Factors such as class, race, politics, ethnicity, gender, culture, religion, sexuality, ability/disability, and society could certainly influence our worldview and our expressive communication (living folklore, p.199).

To summarize, the chosen methods of data collection and interpretation were made in an attempt to remain as unobtrusive as possible and negate as much personal influence one might have on the data collected.

As I neared finalizing the information I had gathered from my own fieldwork and compiling the fieldwork of the aforementioned scholars, I used the methods of comprehensive and comparative analysis of the data obtained. For better understanding of the realities of immigrants' life, I used the information from literature published by Robert Klymasz (1992), William Czumer (1981), Mykhailo Marunchak (1982), Orest Martynowych (1985), Volodymyr Maruni͡ak (1985), Manoly Lupul (1988), Vic Satzewich (1993), and others, as well as the interviews,

conducted by Mariya Lesiv (2004), Nadia Foty (2005), as well as my interview with Mary Mostoway (2009).

Topicality of Research

The study of ballad repertoire regarding the wave of immigration of its performers is topical and important in several ways. First of all, it seeks to survey the Ukrainian immigrant culture from the insider's point of view, rather than describing the conditions faced by Ukrainians in Canada. The study of folk songs might also contribute to a better understanding of how they were used to fulfill the functions of relaxation and release of stress, provoking a feeling of patriotism, and instilling cultural values into young generations of Ukrainian Canadians.

The study of singing repertoires in general and ballad plots in particular, in combination with historical and ethnographic research, aims to trace the changing worldview of Ukrainians, who immigrated to Canada in different periods of time. In addition, this material is demonstrative of the progress of singing practice of Ukrainians in Canada, which can be displayed by the ballad repertoire of the first-generation of Ukrainian Canadians. Finally, the research enables us to take a cross-country perspective, as it includes the Ukrainian ballad tradition of the same period in both in Ukraine and Canada.

The study might be used in a Ukrainian Folk Song course, as well as in schools that have a Ukrainian/English bilingual program to raise awareness of a unique Ukrainian Canadian culture. Furthermore, the thesis contains a collection of folk ballads that could be used during the preparation of Ukrainian Canadian concerts and community

events. Moreover, the research incorporates a description of the religious, social, economic and political development of the Ukrainian ethnic group in Canada that can provide a better understanding of the realities faced by Ukrainian immigrants.

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Chapter 1: SINGING REPERTOIRE OF THE FIRST-WAVE UKRAINIAN IMMIGRANTS TO CANADA

On September 10, 1895, the Canadian government decided to attract immigrants from Eastern Europe to settle the prairies of Western Canada. This mandate would indirectly result in a vast immigration campaign in Western Ukraine. Originally, most advertising was targeted at the German-speaking peoples of Austria-Hungary, and the immigration campaign was promoted in German (Czumer 1981, 11-12). Bright Canadian advertisements promised 65 hectares (160 acres) of land with good soil for as low as $10.

Since Western Ukraine was at the time a part of the Austro-Hungarian Empire, educated Ukrainians who could speak German started hearing about immigration opportunities in Canada at schools, as well as from their German neighbours who had relatives in Canada. This prompted the first 2 Ukrainian pioneers in Canada, Ivan Pylypiw and Wasyl Elyniak, to spread the word about the cheap and abundant land available for settlement in Canada after they themselves spent some time living here (Marunchak 1982, 28).

This information eventually reached most parts of Western Ukraine, and was especially attractive to the poor peasants who worked on land owned by their Austro-Hungarian landlords. To them, owning large parcels of land, and being independent from subjugation, was a dream come true, and enticed many to make the journey to their new homeland.

Most Ukrainian peasants were poor since they worked on small parcels of land, which they did not even own, and were not able to harvest sufficient crops beyond providing for a very basic subsistence level; so, many Ukrainians left their Motherland, family and friends, and started a new chapter of their lives. Consequently, the first and largest wave of Ukrainian immigration to Canada - estimated to be at about 170,000 people between 1891 and 1914 (Satzewich 1993, 317) - was mostly agrarian.

Those rural settlers were pioneers in the sparsely populated western prairies, and had to get used to the remoteness from neighbours, which was very different from what they were used to in Ukraine. Village life in close-knit communities in Ukraine was transformed to grid-pattern homestead settlement in Canada, with at least 1 mile from the nearest neighbor (Lupul 1988, 5-6).

On the one hand, the Ukrainian settlers were separated from each other by the great distances between their homesteads, and on the other hand, they were separated from other Canadians because of their greater distance from the cities and railroads (Czumer 1981, 61). That is why it was hard to adjust to the realities of life in a new country for the Ukrainians who were used to living in densely populated villages where community interaction have always played a big part in people's lives.

In addition to dealing with physical and cultural isolation from their Ukrainian compatriots, the settlers could not fully integrate into mainstream Canadian culture. Many Ukrainian peasants did not work outside their farms, which prevented their interaction with other

Canadians. Ukrainians in Canada did not change their way of thinking about land, its value, and its integral part in providing a means to live. In fact, that was the whole reason they came here.

They mostly did not even think about other means of income, since they were so used to being farmers from generation to generation. An example can be seen in the interview of Mariya Lesiv with Stanley Marakowski (2004). Stanley's father came from Ukraine in 1902, got married to an Albertan girl of Ukrainian heritage and settled on a farmstead. He worked his entire life at his farm and his wife stayed home and ran the household (Marakowski 2004, 0:09:26). Regardless of how big the farm was, it was usually cultivated by only one family; there was an abundance of work to do for members of the family year round. The preoccupation with the land left no time for working elsewhere, and hence meeting new people. Thus the attachment to the land greatly deprived farmers from interaction with people outside their farm.

Those who wanted to work outside the farm did not have many options, since they had a language barrier to overcome. According to the interview with Bill Harasym, the child of first wave immigrants, it was hard to find a job outside the farm for a Ukrainian immigrant who did not speak English fluently (n.d.). Only a few of them could speak any English. Even fewer were fluent in it. Most of them were also illiterate, even in their own language (Czumer 1981, 61). According to Mary Mostoway, a second-generation Ukrainian Canadian, her parents began to learn English when schools were established and their children went to study (2009, 0:01:54).

Therefore, Ukrainian immigrants attached great importance to settling in rural areas as close as possible to speakers of their own and related languages that they could at least partially comprehend; they purposefully selected areas that were close to family members and to people that lived in nearby villages back in Ukraine. Settling close to culturally similar groups promoted the growth of local ethnic communities in the Prairie Provinces.

However, those ethnic Ukrainian communities were different from the ones back in Ukraine. These contrasts resulted from the different lifestyles experienced by the members of those communities. First of all, there was considerably less interaction with other members of the community, especially the elders, which limited the passage of traditional Ukrainian culture to the next generation (Lupul 1988, 6).

Furthermore, community events were noticeably less frequent because it was harder for community members to organize and get together (Klymasz 1992 a., 17), and the availability of priests and other significant figures in the community was limited. For example, several couples would have their weddings simultaneously, since the priest, even if there was one available, had to serve a geographically fragmented community separated by long distances, and spent considerable time travelling, limiting the amount of time he was able to perform his duties (Klymasz 1992 a., 38).

For the most part, Greek Catholic, Roman Catholic, and Orthodox priests, who represented the religions of Western Ukraine, were not even available in the prairies, and even less in the smaller

communities. This resulted in children not being baptized, or children being baptised by priests of the other 2 religions, or even by protestant ministers (Czumer 1981, 53). This led to the fusion and mixing of the various Christian religious traditions among the Ukrainian Canadian communities, and resulted in the survival of only the major rituals that were common or similar to all the Christian religions. This in turn influenced the folklore of the first wave immigrants in Canada.

Having analyzed the interviews conducted by Robert Bohdan Klymasz in his book "*SVIETO: Celebrating Ukrainian-Canadian Ritual in East Central Alberta Through the Generations*" (1992 a.), one could conclude that the Ukrainian Canadian community in the prairie provinces displayed a marginally different cultural life from that of Ukraine. This was partially a result of the physical and social isolation of members of the community, who lived in isolated homesteads. In Ukraine, with the presence of organized settlements and communities, rituals and holidays were strictly followed, because they were an integral part of the social fabric of the community.

In Canada, on the other hand, since there were less people who were willing and able to organize large community get-togethers, so each family picked and chose which holidays and rituals to celebrate, and when. According to the Klymasz's interviews with the immigrants of the first wave - Katherine Orlecki (1992 a., 33 - 42), Magdalena Melnyk (1992 a., 42-46), Mary Charuk (1992 a., 46-50), Maria Chilibeck (1992 a., 50-56) and Tillie Baranyk (1992 a., 56-60), newly arrived Ukrainians in Canada continued preserving only some of their life cycle and agrarian calendar rituals (1992 a.). For example, all the five immigrants who were

interviewed told about major holidays: Christmas, New Year's and Easter; however the celebration of St. George's Day and *Makovei* was mentioned only by Katherine Orlecki (1992 a., 38). In contrast, Katherine, who was the oldest one and possibly more conservative in preserving the traditions from the Old country, Maria Chilibeck found some of the old customs funny and meaningless (1992 a., 51).

While adjusting to their new environment, the native customs that were chosen to be preserved by Ukrainians in Canada were rescheduled due to latitude differences: longer days in the summer and shorter days in the winter (Klymasz 1992 a., 14). Climate also had a profound effect, with western Canadian scorching summers, which resulted in earlier crops; and longer and harsher winters, together with the absence of a distinct spring season, which led to calendar disorientation among the people, who could no longer depend on the church to keep track of time (Klymasz 1992 a., 13).

For example, *Stritennia* – the day when winter meets summer (Klymasz 1992 a., 38) – lost its significance in the Canadian climate and thus was mentioned only by Katherine Orlecki. Another example of rescheduling Ukrainian rites and rituals in western Canada, would be the custom of singing *haiivky*, which were originally performed in Ukraine as a part of a spring cycle. In Canada, the *haiivky* were either sung in winter, spring, or not at all: Tillie Baranyk identified *haiivky* as a part of Malanka ritual (1992 a., 57); Maria Chilibeck remembered that unmarried girls were singing *haiivky* in the cemetery during Easter Monday (1992 a., 47); and Magdalena Melnyk does not believe that singing *haiivky* took place in Canada (1992 a., 43).

Lower population density, physical isolation, the absence of churches and other community institutions, led to cultural deviations among Ukrainian Canadians (Klymasz 1992 a., 35). The tradition of *"Vidpust"*, a religious holiday for the forgiveness of sins (Kononenko 1998, 330), was not carried out by the first wave Ukrainian immigrants that were interviewed for the *SVIETO* project due to the lack of community institutions (Klymasz 1992 a., 37). The interviewees mentioned that the traditions of "*Toloka*" and "*Obzhinky*" (festivities where peasants got together to help each other harvest crops, while at the same socializing and celebrating) were not preserved in Canada (Klymasz 1992 a., 48), because there were such great distances between the farms, and they were practiced only by immediate family members.

The same factors that affected the lifestyles and cultural rites and rituals of Ukrainian Canadians following immigration also influenced the folk singing repertoires of the first wave immigrants. As a considerable amount of calendar events were no longer followed in the new country, this could result in the narrowing of the singing repertoires concerning calendar cycles. Katherine Orlecki and Tillie Baranyk said that there was a large participation of Christmas caroling in the prairies, but they were not involved in it. It was more commonly associated with older people, who went caroling and fund raising from house to house in support of the church (Klymasz 1992 a., 35, 57).

Magdalena Melnyk, on the other hand, said that caroling and mumming activities were carried out by young boys in her area, as Christmas carolers would go to the houses where young girls lived, serving a sort of match-making function (Klymasz 1992 a., 42 - 43). Mary

Charuk said that Christmas carols were sung at home, and the house-to-house caroling and sowing wheat on New Year's was impossible "*ne bulo iak*", because of the harsh weather and great distances between households (1992 a., 47). Maria Chilibeck recounted, that for the same reasons, most people stayed home during the holidays, and, unlike in Ukraine, where the family members were waiting for the carolers to come, they sang Christmas songs during Christmas Eve dinner at home; and it was customary for small children to sow wheat and sing jingles at home on New Year's Eve, for which they received presents (1992 a., 51).

Life-cycle rituals were also modified to fit the new realities of life in western Canada. According to the interviews with the representatives of the first immigration wave that were published in the *SVIETO* project, festive dinners seldom accompanied the Christening of a child, because people could not afford it (Klymasz 1992 a., 45). For the same reason, wedding parties were smaller, but they still hired musicians, danced, sang songs, and made the best of it (1992 a., 39, 58).

Since in some instanceswedding celebrations were smaller, and, as mentioned by the interviewees, and lasted only one day, as opposed to the customary three day celebration that was common in Ukraine, fewer rituals were practiced and repeated, consequently resulting in infrequent singing of wedding songs, which accompany each specific wedding ritual. Mary Charuk, for example, said that, in her opinion, weddings in the Old Country were more enjoyable, as people went there to have fun, not just to eat, like in Canada (Klymasz 1992 a., 48). While speaking about funerals, Katherine Orlecki mentioned about hiring a woman to lament during a funeral. This might be not so common in Ukraine, since in many

cases there were family members who lamented over the dead (1992 a., 40). These were just some of the changes that the new immigrants had to adapt to.

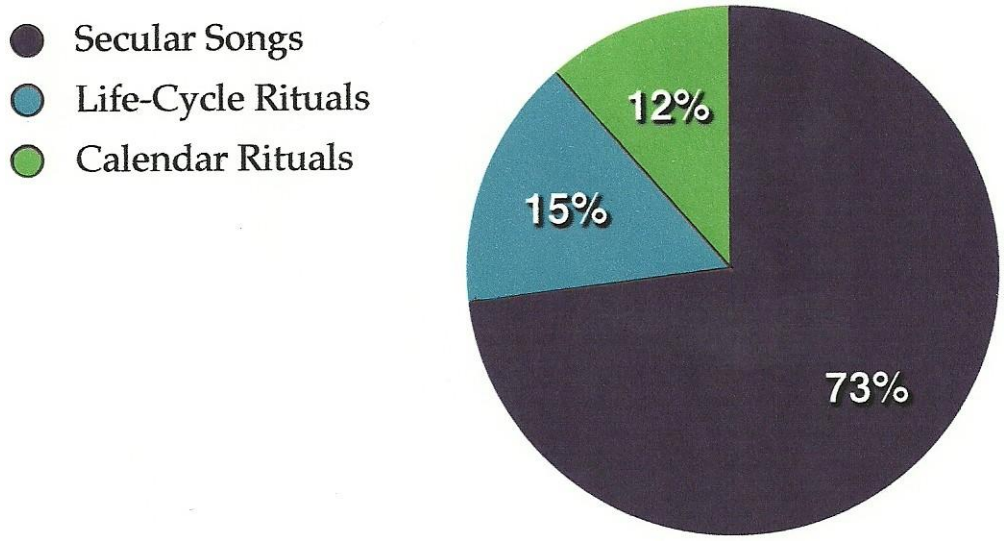
The work of Klymasz, which shed light on the cultural history of the Ukrainian Canadian community in the west, also led to his continued research into the singing traditions of the immigrants and their children, which were affected by their circumstances. Klymasz was one of the pioneer researchers who started recording the singing repertoires of Ukrainian Canadians in Manitoba, Saskatchewan and Alberta. This massive fieldwork resulted in 21 discs of Ukrainian Canadian songs (1964 - 1965), and numerous publications on the topic.

The two major publications of the folksongs, which were collected by Klymasz in 1964-65, are '*The Ukrainian Folk Ballad in Canada*' (1989) and '*Ukrainian Folksongs from the Prairies*' (1992 b.). At the end of each collection the scholar compiled a list of folk singers, whose songs were included in the publication. This compilation contained personal information of his interviewees, which was instrumental in separating the interviewees into groups according to their place of birth and the wave of immigration. However, this list did not include all the singers who were interviewed by the researcher. Hence, information from *Passenger and Immigration Lists Index, 1500s-1900s* (Filby 1988), *1906 Canada Census of Manitoba, Saskatchewan, and Alberta* (2008), and *1916 Canada Census of Manitoba, Saskatchewan, and Alberta* (2010) had to be used to complete the research process.

According to the data available in the passenger list (Filby 1988) and the Canadian censuses of 1906 (2008) and 1916 (2010), as well as in records made by Klymasz about his interviewees, the representatives of the first wave of immigration in the fieldwork are: Marta Boychyk, Annie Bodnar, Ivan Strotsyn, Vasylyna Kopchuk, Mrs. Owcharik, Mrs. Harry Rewakowsky, Mr. Shewchuk, Anna Zacharchuk and Nykolai Semeniuk.

The repertoires of the interviewed representatives of the first immigration wave contained 84 Ukrainian folksongs. They can be classified in the following three groups. First, there were 12 songs concerning life-cycle rituals: 1 lullaby, 10 wedding songs and 1 lament. The second group accompanied yearly calendar rituals: 7 Christmas carols, 1 song sung on New Year (*Malanka*), and 1spring song *haiivka*.

The remaining repertoire consisted of secular folksongs: 34 ballads, 13 humorous and comical songs, 2 lyrical songs about love, as well as 1 patriotic song. There are also songs which were composed to be a part of a dance - 5 *kolomyiky*; a march - 1 military song; and a game - 1 children's song. The following chart is based on the results of the quantitative analysis of folk songs that constitute the repertoire of the Klymasz's first-wave interviewees:



Those Ukrainian folk songs were easily recalled during the interview with Klymasz more than five decades after the first great wave of immigration ended. This fact could indicate that they were regularly used by the Ukrainians in Canada. As the matter of fact, the number of secular folk songs prevails - 57 songs (73%). The rest of the immigrant singing repertoire - 21 songs (27%) - served as a part of a larger tradition, which might have contributed to the functionality and preservation of a song after leaving the traditional environment.

According to Peter Krawchuk in "*The Ukrainian Canadian*" magazine, the Ukrainian Canadian community was preserving, though somewhat altered in character, the old country traditions in such communal rites and events as weddings, christenings, funerals and religious holidays (1980). As an example, the repertoire of Annie Bodnar was represented in the recordings by Klymasz by only two songs; a Christmas carol and a New Year's greeting; which might indicate that singing a song was important to her in celebrating the winter holidays.

Vasylyna Kopchuk did not merely sing six wedding songs, but also shared her knowledge on the ritual actions which those songs should accompany, thus demonstrating the importance of the proper use of a song within a ritual. Moreover, the interview with Mrs. Kopchuk might exemplify that some of the cultural practices and folklore customs did not stop developing after leaving the traditional environment. Vasylyna was the oldest from the group to immigrate to Canada (she left Ukraine at the age of 30 (Klymasz 1992 b., 158), whereas the others were no more than 21 years of age). Compared to the other interviewees from the first immigration wave, Mrs. Kopchuk might have participated in more weddings back home and thus sang the songs which belonged to an older tradition. During her interview, Vasylyna mentioned that the younger generation was singing different songs (EC 2237: Disc 9, Track 27). This might indicate that combining the songs and rituals of which they were a part of perpetuated their use and practice among the Ukrainian Canadian community.

Intermingled with these ritual songs are many Ukrainian Canadian secular songs reflecting Ukrainian Canadian community life with all its joys and sorrows, the hard work of the early years, nostalgia for the homeland, etc. (Krawchuk 1980). One could see the preservation of the songs of secular function being a consequence of their relation to everyday life.

Those songs were kept alive as they revealed personal preferences and the daily lives of the performers, as well as some of their personality traits. Mrs. Harry Rewakowsky performed the same prayer for Ukraine both in the first and the second interviews (EC 2243: Disk 12,

Track 16; EC 2246: Disk 13, Track 33), expressing Ukrainian identity and love for her homeland. Marta Boychyk knew most of the comical songs, in that way demonstrating her good sense of humor.

Ballads were the most widely performed by the Ukrainian Canadians in the recordings by Klymasz (40.4% of songs were ballads) and were a part of the singing repertoire of 6 out of 9 interviewees. From this one may infer that the folk ballad, as a form of musical expression, may contribute to a better understanding of the lifestyle, traditions and daily lives of Ukrainian settlers.

This phenomenal survivability of folk songs in general and ballads in particular can be explained by the extensive functionality of folklore. A well known American folklorist William Bascom argued that a piece of folklore continues to develop within a community as long as it is required to preserve the function that is necessary for its bearers. In a major work published in 1954, he also identified four main functions of folklore: to escape cultural constrains imposed by society; to validate cultural identity; to teach morals and values of the society; and as a means to impose social control on people's behavior (1954, 333 - 349).

The overall quantitative analysis of the discussed repertoires demonstrates that during the interviews with Klymasz the first wave respondents were singing ballads often than the songs of the other genres (34 ballads out of 84 folksongs). Since ballads form such a major component of folklore, one can interpolate the subdivision of the four functions of folklore as described by William Bascom in general (1954, 333 – 349), to those of ballads in particular.

The popularity of ballads in Klymasz's interviews with the first-wave Ukrainian immigrants might be a result of the ability of those songs to simultaneously perform multiple functions. As previously outlined, Bascom's functions of folklore could support the ideas that folk songs continue to live on in the repertoires of those who perform them for as long as it maintains its relevance with at least one of the aforementioned functions. Although not mandatory, a folksong might have more versatility if it is able to fulfill one or more of these functions simultaneously. The functionality of ballads that were represented in the repertoires of the first-wave Ukrainian immigrants could be subdivided into four major groups:

1. Entertainment. Through singing, people escaped from the harsh realities of everyday life and released their stress. First of all, the lack of schools, churches, and other community organizations, as well as the great distances between members of the community in those times, limited communication between Ukrainians in Canada, and prevented rapid information exchange about current events (Krysak 2005, 0:25:30 - 0:36:42).

There was no internet, television or radio in those early days. They did not even have access to forms of entertainment common to the era, like live theatre, taverns, gambling, printed media, etc., since they were far from urban areas. That is why they spent most of their time with their immediate family. Since not much was happening in their lives other than the hard manual labour that they endured all day, and since they did not have much access to current news and events, singing songs

would be something that they used to bring the members of a family together and keep everyone entertained.

2. Maintaining conformity. Ballads are highly effective in exercising social control, since they teach the rules of comportment by telling stories through song to teach people a lesson. Most of the time, they talk about people who somehow misbehave and terrible things happen to them as a result. According to Klymasz, transgression against the accepted norms of behavior marked a crucial thematic pivot for the poetic expression of alarm, shock and disdain (1973). This concept can be exemplified by ballads, in which the main character acts against standard behavior (one falls in love with a married person, does not obey one's parents' will, enters into sexual relationships before marriage, betrays a beloved girl and leaves her pregnant, interferes with someone else's life, etc.) and is punished for that afterwards, either by God or society.

3. Educating. A ballad is also a powerful pedagogic device and fulfills the function of educating members of society. It does not merely teach listeners how to behave, but more importantly, how not to behave in certain situations. For example, there is a ballad which talks about a girl who bore a child without being married. The man leaves her when she gives birth because he does not feel responsible for the child since he was conceived out of wedlock.

Two variants of this song were documented by Klymasz during his interviews with the representatives of the first immigration wave. Marta Boychuk performed Variant A (EC 2215: Disc 1, Track 14), and Ivan Strotsyn sang Variant B (EC 2216: Disc 1. Track 28). Both of the

interviewees lived in Yorkton, Saskatchewan, and were interviewed on the same day. Thus they might probably live not too far from one another and belong to the same Ukrainian community in Canada. According to the words of the performers, the variant of the song sung by Marta Boychyk was learned in Canada, and the variant presented by Ivan Strotsyn was learned in Ukraine.

The beginning of the ballad portrays a black saddled horse that belongs to a young man who is beloved by a young girl. He is just about to leave her, the horse(s) is/are ready to go:

Variant A	**Variant B**
Стоїть коник,	Там на горі коні,
Стоїть вороненький,	Коні восьодлані,
Хто на нім поїде (2 р.),	Хто ж ними поїде? (2 р.)
Як не мій миленький?	Мій милий-коханий.

The girl who is seduced by this man rocks her bastard child in his cradle and writes a letter to the father of the baby, hoping he will come back:

Variant A	**Variant B**
Поїде, поїде	Поїде, поїде,
Дрібний лист напиши.	Дрібний лист напиши.
Молода дівчина (2 р.),	Молода дівчина (2 р.),
Дитину колиши.	Дитину колише.

At the same time she realizes that he might never come back and take care of her and the baby. The first variant voices the sad song of the lonely girl, and in the second variant she reads a letter from the young man, in which he breaks up with her.

Variant A	**Variant B**
Колише, колише Дитину й співає. Колише, колише, Й жалібно співає: Зрадив мене милий, зрадив чорнобривий, Най го Бог скарає.	Колише, колише, Дрібний лист читає: Зрадив мене милий (2 р.), Най го Бог скарає.

On his departure the man does not even want to say goodbye to the girl (both variants), just waves to her from a distance (Variant B). Then the character changes his mind and tries to kiss his girlfriend, thus giving her hope for their happy future together.

Variant A	**Variant B**
Зрадив мене милий На самий Великдень Їхав попри мене (2 р.) Тай не сказав добрий день. Будь, мила, здорова, Бо я марширую. Приступи до коня (2 р.), Най ті поцілюю.	Зрадив мене милий На самий Великдень Їхав попри мене (2 р.) Не сказав добридень. Не сказав добридень, Ані доброго слова. Лиш махнув хусточком (2 р.): Будь, мила, здорова. Приступи до коня, Коня вороного. Най сі націлюю, най сі налюбуюю Личка рум'яного.

The girl wishes the young man good luck in the army (Variant A)/ at war (Variant B), and asks him to marry her when he comes back, but her proposal is brutally denied in both variants.

Variant A	**Variant B**
Їдь милий здоровий (3 р.) Господь Бог з тобой. Як сі звернеш з війська, Як сі з війська звернеш, Тай візьмеш шлюб зо мной.	Їдь, милий, в дорогу, Дорога щалива. Повернешся з войни (2) – Возьму шлюб с тобою.
Візьми, мила, камінь, Тай пусти його з водой, Тоді ж я і верну (2 р.) Тай возьму шлюб з тобой.	Візьми, мила, камінь, Тай кинь го на воду, Як поплине камінь (2 р.), Возьму шлюб з тобою.

The abandoned girlfriend cannot understand the reason for such an abrupt change in the behavior of her beloved man. Trying to remind him of the happy moments they had together, she asks why he was seeing her if he did not like her:

Variant A	**Variant B**
Де ж ти, милий, видів, Щоби камінь з водой плив? Які ж мене ніжив, Які ж мене любив, То до мене ходив.	Де ж ти, милий, видів, Щоби камінь з водой плив? Як сі ж мня не любив, Як сі ж мня не кохав, Чо ж до мене приходив?

The young man replies that he was just teaching her a lesson (in both variants), which was to warn all other girls in similar situations (Variant A):

Variant A	**Variant B**
Я до тебе ходив На пожертуваннє, Якби добре знала, Другому сказала, Що то значить коханнє.	Я до тебе ходив На пожертування, Щоби серце знало, щоби пам'ятало, Що то значить кохання.

The educational function was also of great importance for the Ukrainian immigrants who did not want to lose their cultural heritage. Song was one of the tools by which the settlers could tell their children about Ukraine and the old ways. Unobtrusively, ballads transmitted historical knowledge (the ballad about the tortures of Jesus Christ and the Turkish invasion), geographical places (river *Dunai, Volyn'* district, etc.), people (Cossacks), etc., thus provoking more questions from curious youngsters.

Moreover, a folk song was one of the powerful tools for teaching and preserving language. During the interview with Klymasz, Mrs. Owcharik recalled that is was important that the Ukrainians in Canada did not forget their native language (EC 2244: Disc 12, Track 25). Their family and friends from the home country were sending letters to Canada in which they wrote the lyrics of songs. These letters were duplicated, distributed and learned by heart among other Ukrainian immigrants and their children. A song did not merely stimulate immigrants to use their native language; it also promoted practice in reading and writing when they were reading and rewriting the songs in Ukrainian for themselves.

4. Continuity of culture. Ukrainian immigrants were feeling nostalgic about their mother country and tried to organize their life close to their traditional ways. As Alan Dundes puts it, 'folklore mirrors the familiar details of culture' (2007). As a child would feel after leaving his mother, the immigrants were missing their homes, families and familiar lives back home. The informants immigrated to Canada as young adults, and spent their twenties and thirties building their life in the new country. By the time they were established, their youth and vitality were gone and they were approaching middle age. Looking back on their life, most of the pleasant memories they could recount were connected with their younger years in Ukraine. Thereby it is quite understandable why most of them valued the songs brought from their homeland: by means of a song the settlers plunged into the world of their youth.

By 1964-65, the years of the fieldwork, the Ukrainian Canadians already had a strong community infrastructure, roads and cars, telephones and televisions, which to a great extent shortened distances between people, thus encouraging the communication of the first-wave immigrants with other Ukrainians who came to Canada in later years. Nevertheless, the informants from the first wave stayed conservative about their singing repertoires and recollected songs that were deep in their memories and close to their hearts.

Almost every song recounted by the first-wave immigrants during their interview with Klymasz was accompanied by a story about the times and circumstances, in which this particular song was learned and/or performed back home. A song, heard 'from his/her mother' or sung 'at work', relates to close relatives and friends, thus creating an

illusion of travel back to Ukraine. During their interviews with Klymasz, Annie Bodnar and Anna Zacharuk admitted that they were performing only those songs which they knew from back home.

Vasylyna Kopchuk admitted that her repertoire is very old, and that the young generation sings different songs (EC 2237: Disk 9, Track 27). There was just one ballad in the repertoire of Mrs. Owcharik which she learned in Canada (EC 2244: Disk 12, Track 40). Ivan Strotsyn performed one ballad and one lyrical song that he knew from Canada (EC 2216: Disk 1, Track 30; EC 2217: Disk 2, Track 6).

Marta Boychuk was more open to embrace new Ukrainian songs, as she was the youngest out of all the above mentioned interviewees. Marta immigrated to Canada at 17 (Klymasz 1992 b., 191) and spent most of her younger years here. Even so, her repertoire comprised mostly of the songs she learned in Ukraine (only five out of thirteen songs were learned in Canada). This supports the idea that nostalgia for the home country came to be an important factor which helped maintain oral traditions, resulting in the conservation of a considerable part of the immigrants' singing repertoire.

Ballads were not limited to one function or another. Most might possibly fulfill multiple functions, and therefore their plots were changed according to the needs of the society and community in which they were practiced to suit the needs and functions desired at the time. The ballads that were functional in the new environment were preserved, and the ones that did not satisfy important needs were not practiced and therefore forgotten.

The principal motives, picked up by the interviewees from the whole scope of Ukrainian balladry, revealed their primary concerns of the day. The ballads performed by the interviewees can be subdivided according to their major topics and discussed issues.

Family-Oriented Ballads (13 ballads). These include the sub-topics of:

•*Unhappy marriages (7 ballads):* A husband is a drunkard (EC 2223: Disc 9, Track 14), or treats his wife badly (EC 2215: Disc 1, Track 11). Occasionally a wife leaves her husband because of the alcoholism and bad treatment and escapes with young sailors (EC 2244: Disc 12, Track 28), or flies back as a cuckoo-bird in a year, where her brother shoots her, as he does not recognize his sister (EC 2217: Disc 2, Track 6). In other ballads, a wife is lazy, and that provokes irritation and conflicts between family members (EC 2246: Disc 13, Track 30).

Despite these challenging family dynamics, in many instances family remains a sacred institution, and bachelorhood is predominantly viewed as a non-desirable state for young people who come of age (EC 2244: Disc 12, Track 39). A mother regrets that her children stay single (EC 2244: Disc 12, Track 38).

•*Unfaithfulness (3 ballads):* A young bachelor is in love with a married woman, and he wants to kill her husband. She ultimately rejects her lover and he curses her (EC 2216: Disc 1, Track 25; EC 2233: Disc 21, Track 13). An unfaithful husband cheats on his wife with a close family

friend (*kuma*). The heart-broken wife asks Cossacks to help her solve the problem and they punish the betrayer (EC 2243: Disc 12, Track 7).

•*Brothers and sisters (3 ballads):* Brothers punish their sister's husband for abusive treatment of their sister and ultimately her suffering is magnified (EC 2237: Disc 9, Track 16). There are also plots about incestuous marriages (EC 2243: Disc 12, Track 21; EC 2243: Disc 12, Track 22).

Pre-Marital Relationships (11 ballads):

•*Separation, loss of lover (5 ballads):* Lovers separate because of rumors or family tension (EC 2216: Disc 1, Track 27; EC 22443: Disc 12, Track 18) or the lengthy travel of a young man (EC 2237: Disc 9, Track 13; EC 2243: Disc 12, Track 17), where in some cases he dies (EC 2243: Disc 12, Track 19). In most ballad plots of this type, the loss of a lover then leads to feelings of devastation and the suicide of the girl.

•*Seduction of a girl, bastardy (4 ballads):* A maiden is seduced by a man who does not want to marry her (EC 2215: Disc 1, Track 14; EC 2216; Disc 1, Track 28; EC 2244: Disc 12, Track 29); or he does bring her to his homestead, and the bride soon finds out the young man is in fact extremely poor and had no property but for a dry tree in his homestead (EC 2246: Disc 13, Track 32).

•*Unfaithfulness, betrayal (1 ballad):* Despite the fact that in ballads about pre-marital relations the negative roles are usually given to male characters, sometimes a girl can also deceive a bachelor who is in

love with her (EC 2242: Disc 11, Track 13). A maiden sends a Cossack to find her medicine (*troian-zillia*) to win time to marry another man. When the cheated character comes back and sees his beloved girl married to another man, he kills her.

•*Charming, poisoning (1 ballad):* To attract the love of a young man, a maiden can also make use of charming rituals (EC 2244: Disc 12, Track 34). Such practices mostly result in poisoning and death of the man and imprisonment of the charmer (EC 2246: Disc 13, Track 31).

Social Ballads (5 ballads):

•*Foreign land (4 ballads):* The ballad plots of a Canadian cycle tell about hard life and poverty of those who decided to leave their homeland for any reason (EC 2243: Disc 12, Track 25; EC 2244: Disc 12, Track 40). The ballad of a Turkish cycle tells about a poor young woman who was sold to a Turk by her brother (EC 2246: Disc 13, Track 27). After marrying the wealthy Turk who bought her, the woman forgets her native land and does not even recognize her own mother, who works as a babysitter in her house.

On the contrary, a princess of Volyn', Western Ukraine, kills a Turkish pasha when she finds out that he wishes to marry her; since she did not need to improve her already high standard of living, she chose not to marry the foreigner (EC 2230: Disc 19, Track 19). From this one could tell of the importance placed on wealth and standard of living in Ukrainian balladry.

•*Death of a young man (1 ballad):* A '*strilets'ka*' ballad the tragic death of a young rifleman in battle (EC 2215: Disc 1, Track 7). According to the words of the performer, this song was about World War I.

The ballad plots analyzed represent a small portion of Ukrainian folklore that made it across the Atlantic Ocean during the first wave of Ukrainian immigration to Canada. In order to trace the dynamics of ballad tradition, a comparison could be made of the ballad subject matters covered in the immigrants' balladry with those recorded in Ukraine. Different regions of Ukraine had their own singing traditions. Thus the songs transmitted to Canada depended on the area where the immigrants came from. Taking into consideration the fact that the interviewees immigrated to Canada as adults (the youngest - Marta Boychyk - was 17, and the oldest - Vasylyna Kopchuk - 30), one might conclude that most of their singing repertoires were formed by 19th century traditions of the Old Country.

The above mentioned informants came to Canada from Western Ukraine, namely Galicia the Pokuttia (a part of Galicia), andBukovyna districts. Mrs. Harry Rewakowsky, Vasylyna Kopchuk and Marta Boychyk were born in the neighboring villages in Ternopil' region in Galicia, which explains the similarities of their singing repertoires. Mykola Semeniuk and Anna Zacharuk both came from Pokuttia, Ivano-Frankivs'k region, Sniatyn povit.

The repertoire of Mrs. Owcharick is rich in *kolomyiky,* that may allow to relate her singing repertoire to the ethnic group of *Kolomyitsi* (Holovatsʹkyĭ 1878, 280), who live in Pokuttia, Ivano-

Frankivs'k region. Mr. Shevchuk represents Bukovyna, namely Chernivtsi region. The registration of Annie Bodnar as an Austrian in the 1916 Canada Census (2010) can be explained by the subordination of the territories of Galicia, Bukovina and Transcarpathia under the Austro-Hungarian Empire till 1918. One of the researchers who collected folklore of Galicia and Bukovyna was Iakiv Holovats'kyĭ. His research resulted in a four-volume collection "*Folk Songs of Galician and Hungarian Rus*" (1878). Holovats'kyĭ's research was holistic in its approach, as it incorporated various genres of folksongs without any focus on a specific one. For the purposes of this study all songs with ballad plots were singled out from the Holovats'kyĭ's study, and further subdivided into four major groups according to the main issues they discuss.

Family-Oriented Ballads (167 ballads):

• *Unhappy marriages (56 ballads):* A big part of the Ukrainian folk ballads speak of unhappy family life because of husbands typically being addicted to alcohol and spending all of their money to support this habit, causing the household to go bankrupt (Vol. 1: Song 47, p. 222; Vol. 2: Song 1, p. 524; Vol. 3.1: Song 91, p. 223-224; Song 92, p. 224; Song 93, p. 224; Song 102, p. 231; Song 120, p. 244). Loss of money automatically leads to the loss of respect to the whole family from members of the community (Vol. 1: Song 71, p. 277; Vol. 3.1: Song 37, p. 162; Song 61, p. 188-189; Song 34, p. 311-312; Song 38, p. 314).

Most conflicts in a family arise because there is no love between a husband and his wife (Vol. 1: Song 56, p. 269; Song 64, p. 273; Song 116, p. 299-300; Vol. 3.1: Song 54, p. 326-327). A wife wishes death for her husband, whom she does not love any more (Vol. 1: Song 17, p. 246-247). Nevertheless even if a couple dearly loves each other before getting married, it does not guarantee their happiness throughout the marriage (Vol. 3.1: Song 60, p. 186): a wife dies while delivering her baby (Vol. 1: Song 1, p. 181; Song 89, p. 286; Song 2, p. 182) or a beloved husband goes to war and dies in battle (Vol. 3.1: Song 12, p. 24-25).

A wife is lazy around the house and likes to party at the tavern (Vol. 3.1: Song 51, p. 178), but her husband still loves her despite the negative opinion that the community holds of them (Vol. 3.1: Song 88, p. 220-221); not being able to resolve family issues, a husband resorts to violence making things inevitably worse (Vol. 1: Song 51, p. 224; Song 101, p. 292; Vol. 3.1: Song 6, p. 138-139), or simply disappears (Vol. 1: Song 154, p. 322). There is also a story about a married couple, where a husband is murdered by the Polish invaders, and a wife prefers to be burned rather than become a wife of the killer of her husband (Vol. 3.1: Song 6, p. 66).

Forced or arranged marriages in folk ballads are always unhappy: the couple does not love each other (Vol. 1: Song 23, p. 200-201; Song 24, p. 201; Song 27, p. 203; Vol. 2: Song 17, p. 715; Song 19, p. 716-717; Song 20, p. 717), a hated husband beats his wife (Vol. 1: Song 22, p. 199-200; Vol. 2: Song 705, p. 393-394), causing her to become depressed (Vol. 1: Song 81, p. 282), and to contemplate suicide (Vol. 2: Song 5, p. 703). A young girl is unhappily married to an older man and prefers to drown herself then to live in a 'golden cage' (Vol. 3.1: Song 59, p. 184-186). She

might also find herself a young lover (Vol. 3.1: Song 96, p. 227), pray for the death of her old husband (Vol. 2: Song 706, p. 394), or even provoke it by knowingly sending him to his death down the river Dunai (Vol. 1; Song 28, p. 203; Song 43, p. 218; Song 63, p. 231-232; Vol. 2, Song 1, p. 571-574). However when he dies, she misses him (Vol. 1: Song 12, p. 199).

A drunkard husband beats his wife (Vol. 2: Song 3, p. 526-527; Vol. 3.1: Song 82, p. 348). A wife who kills her husband in self-defense (Vol. 1: Song 18, p. 59-60), out of jealousy (Vol. 3.1: Song 7, p. 19-20) or for no valid reason, is always executed for that afterwards (Vol. 1: Song 12, p. 51-54; Vol. 2: Song 39, p. 602-603; Song 15, p. 729-730); a husband who kills his wife goes to jail (Vol. 1: Song 16, p. 57) or is overwhelmed with sorrow and remorse (Vol. 1: Song 19, p.196-197).

• *Unfaithfulness (22 ballads):* A number of ballads portray an unfaithful wife who abandons her husband and little children (Vol. 3.1: Song 23, p. 35-36; Song 24, p. 36-37; Song 97, p. 227-228; Song 127, p. 249). Her husband either finds and kills her (Vol. 1: Song 34, p. 79; Vol. 2: Song 1, p. 512-513; Song 35, p. 80; Vol. 3.1: Song 25, p. 37-38; Song 26, p. 38-39); or prays for the death of his rival (Vol. 2: Song 5, p. 516-517). The man can also end up committing suicide (Vol. 2: Song 4, p. 515-516).

A married woman decides to send her husband for military service because her former lover has rekindled their relationship (Vol. 2: Song 10, p. 580-581). She either wishes the enemies would kill the hated husband (Vol. 1: Song 42, p. 130), or kills him herself and is executed for it afterwards (Vol. 1: Song 17, p. 58). However in some ballads she rejects

her lover, even though she does not love her husband (Vol. 1: Song 34, p. 124).

A young bachelor falls in love with a wealthy married woman, and her husband kills him (Vol. 1: Song 20, p. 62-64; Vol. 3.1: Song 1, p. 14). When a wealthy wife finds out, that her husband is cheating on her with their maid, she kills the maid (Vol. 1: Song 26, p. 70-72). A drunkard husband cheats on his wife (Vol. 2: Song 5, p. 538-539), and kills her because his lover tells him to do so (Vol. 1: Song 15, p. 56; Vol. 3.1: Song 8, p. 20-21; Song 113, p. 238-239).

•*Brothers and sisters (29 ballads):* A Cossack accidently kills his brother during battle (Vol. 1: Song 1, p. 92-93). A rich and avaricious brother tries to avoid communication with his poor sister (Vol. 1: Song 64, p. 232; Vol. 2: Song 2, p. 574-575; Song 3, p. 720); in some cases his wife kicks her husband's sister out of the house (Vol. 1: Song 48, p. 222). There are also ballads in which siblings do not recognize each other and get married, but eventually find out that they were a brother and a sister who were separated in early childhood (Vol. 1: Song 6, p. 45-46; Song 28, p. 73; Song 17, p. 166; Vol. 2: Song 6, p. 577-578; Song 35, p. 599; Song 3, p. 701; Vol. 3.1: Song 2, p. 15; Song 10, p. 22-23; Song 11, p. 23-24; Song 16, p. 27-28).

Brothers want to protect their sister from the abusive treatment of her husband (Vol. 1: Song 114, p. 298). As a consequence of this intervention the husband kills his wife (Vol. 2: Song 4, p. 720-721), or both of the siblings (Vol. 3.1: Song 3, p. 62-63).

Interfering in a sister's family always has a negative outcome. In some ballads a sibling murders his brother-in-law in order to punish him for the repeated incidents of domestic violence that his sister is exposed to. The widowed sister cries over her husband's dead body and blames her brothers for making her life miserable (Vol. 1: Song 45, p. 88-89; Vol. 3.1: Song 17, p. 28-29; Song 7, p. 48-49).

A brother sells his sister to a Turk. The unwilling bride commits suicide (Vol. 1: Song 2, p. 40-41; Song 3, p. 41-42), and the brother is shot by the Turk (Vol. 1: Song 1, p. 37-40). However marrying a foreigner is sometimes a sister's will and her brother would try by all means to prevent this marriage. On her way to a happy family life, a sister can poison her brother to prove her love and serious intentions (Vol. 1: Song 34, p. 208-209; Song 35, p. 209-210). Notwithstanding her high expectations, on seeing this cruel murder of a close family member the young man rejects the girl (Vol. 1: Song 32, p. 206-207; Vol. 2: Song 14, p. 582-583), and the community executes her (Vol. 1: Song 33, p. 208).

•*Parenthood (35 ballads):* Improper behavior against a mother is always strictly punished, because a mother is usually portrayed as a supportive force, defending her child (Vol. 3.1: Song 22, p. 34-35). In a ballad which tells about a son who leaves his home without his mother's blessing, the outcome is the death of the disobedient young man (Vol. 2: Song 18, p. 586; Song 15, p. 712-713). A son wants to show off in front of his wealthy friends and turns his old mother out of his house because she is poorly dressed. An ungrateful son realizes his mistake afterwards and

tries to get his mother back (Vol. 2: Song 5, p. 576-577; Vol. 3.1: Song 33, p. 158-159; Song 68, p. 196-198).

What is more, a mother can even be killed for setting her son on the right path (Vol. 1: Song 22, p. 171; Song 25, p. 174-126; Vol. 3.1: Song 7, p. 67). When a son forgets his mother's teachings, he might die (Vol. 1: Song 7, p. 135; Song 23, p. 173; Vol. 2: Song 9, p. 579-580; Vol. 3.1: Song 1, p. 85-86; Song 2, p. 87-88; Song 3, p. 88; Song 4, p. 89-90; Song 21, p. 100-101). However sometimes mothers can also make mistakes: the mother's teachings are inappropriate (Vol. 1: Song 18, p. 167; Song 36, p. 210-211), her son becomes a thief and is killed (Vol. 1: Song 20, p. 169) or imprisoned (Vol. 3.1: Song 5, p. 65). A mother-gull decides to follow a crane's advice and build her nest by the road. Being an unsafe place to live, it was just a matter of time before the gull and her chicks would be killed (Vol. 2: Song 6, p. 517-518).

Regardless of all the money promised, a widow does not accept the proposal of a young Cossack who wants to marry her daughter (Vol. 1: Song 47, p. 91). Contrary to this, a drunkard mother sells her young daughter for alcohol. Being forced to marry a hated man, the maiden commits suicide (Vol. 3.1: Song 3, p. 15).

If the parents force the maiden to marry the one she does not like, they are tortured with remorse when they see how miserable the married life of their daughter is (Vol. 1: Song 16, p. 193; Song 17, p. 194-195; Song 18, p. 195-196). An unhappily married woman always misses her parents' house (Vol. 3.1: Song 10, p. 141-142; Song 32, p. 310) and blames her mother for setting her up for an unsuccessful marriage (Vol. 1:

Song 10, p. 243; Song 28, p. 253; Song 49, p. 266; Song 68, p. 275; Song 104, p. 293). Contrary to this, when the marriage is successful, a young woman forgets all about her parents: after being in Turkish imprisonment for a while and having married a wealthy Turk, a daughter does not even recognize her mother (Vol. 1: Song 4, p. 42-44).

•*Relationships with the family of a husband (13 ballads):* This include ballads about the conflict based on the dissatisfaction of a mother–in-law with her son's choice (Vol. 1: Song 14, p. 192) and her abusive treatment of her daughter-in-law (Vol. 2: Song 622, p. 372-373). A mother-in-law tries to poison the hated daughter-in-law, but accidently poisons her son (Vol. 1: Song 37, p. 81; Vol. 2: Song 7, p. 578; Song 14, p. 711-712), which could potentially cause both of them to die (Vol. 1: Song 8, p. 186; Vol. 2: Song 17, p. 585).

A married man leaves his wife with his mother, who is treating her badly and the young woman dies (Vol. 1: Song 30, p. 74-75; Song 31, p. 75-77; Vol. 3.1: Song 45, p. 170-172). There are also ballads in which a mother tells her son to be more strict with his wife (Vol. 1: Song 32, p. 119), or sends a letter to his son, saying that his wife spent all their money. On hearing this, the Cossack comes home and kills his wife, but then finds out that the accusations were groundless (Vol. 1: Song 28, p. 115-116). A similar plot is the one about a poor orphan who gets married to a king and bears him a child. Out of jealousy her girlfriend drowns the newly born baby and tells the king that his wife bore him a goat. When the king learns the truth, he commands the execution of the liar (Vol. 1: Song 46, p. 89-90).

•*Widows and widowers (12 ballads):* A ballad warns young girls not to marry a widower, for he would never love them as much as his first wife (Vol. 2: Song 701, p. 391; Vol. 2: Song 702, p. 391; Vol. 3.1: Song 138, p. 256-257; Song 110, p. 377-378); what is more, no girl wants to take care of his children from his previous marriage (Vol. 3.1: Song 49, p. 175-176; Song 53, p. 179-180). Marrying a widow is also prohibited for a young man: his mother is afraid, that the widow can poison her new husband (Vol. 2: Song 8, p. 520-521; Song 16, p. 585), or will not love him as much as a maiden would do (Vol. 2: Song 4, p. 576). Nevertheless sometimes a mother advises her son to marry a widow, but he says that he would rather marry a maiden (Vol. 1: Song 53, p. 268).

Extramarital intercourse with a widow is quite common (Vol. 1: Song 60, p. 271). She has many children from a military commander *Voievoda*, but he does not want to marry her (Vol. 2: Song 19, p. 586-587).

Pre-Marital relationships (280 ballads):

•*Separation, loss of lover (121 ballads):* Two people in love cannot get married mainly because of the following problems: first, young man dies (Vol. 1: Song 4, p. 94-95; Song 56, p. 228; Song 57, p. 228-229; Song 129, p. 306; Song 6, p. 345-346; Vol. 2: Song 8, p. 705-706; Vol. 3.1: Song 1, p. 133; Song 70, p. 199-200); second, he may go into the army (Vol. 1: Song 36, p. 125; Song 41, p. 129-130; Song 13, p. 244; Vol. 2: Song 674, p. 378-379; Song 18, p. 545-546; Song 3, p. 563; Vol. 3.1: Song 6, p. 91; Song 9, p. 94;

Song 11, p. 95; Song 17, p. 98-99; Song 25, p. 152-153; Song 39, p. 315); and third – could meet an unnatural death (Vol. 2: Song 2, p. 514). His girlfriend remains faithful to him even after his death (Vol. 2: Song 3, p. 514-515; Song 13, p. 582), or dies of grief for the loss of her lover (Vol. 1: Song 17, p. 105; Song 18, p. 106; Song 35, p. 124-125; Vol. 3.1: Song 4, p. 135-136).

Sometimes a young Cossack does not go to war because his girlfriend does not wake him up in the morning (Vol. 1: Song 20, p. 108-109). Otherwise a girlfriend is willing to join her beloved during his travel (Vol. 1: Song 37, p. 126), and saves his life by alerting him of approaching enemies (Vol. 1: Song 38, p. 127; Song 39, p. 127-128).

Lovers can get separated by people's rumors (Vol. 2: Song 4, p. 538; Song 1, p. 718-719), enemies (Vol. 1: Song 35, p. 258-259; Song 54, p. 269; Song 75, p. 279; Song 103, p. 292-293; Song 119, p. 301-302; Song 144, p. 316-317; Song 147, p. 318; Song 152, p. 321; Song 163, p. 326; Song 3, p. 341-343; Song. 27, p. 364; Song 28, p. 365; Song 34, p. 369; Song 46, p. 380; Vol. 3.1: Song 10, p. 295-296), or family members (Vol. 1: Song 21, p. 249; Song 61, p. 272-273; Song 83, p. 282; Song 95, p. 289; Song 113, p. 298; Song 176, p. 335; Song 24, p. 361; Vol. 2: Song 1, p. 535-536; Song 12, p. 542-543; Vol. 3.1: Song 12, p. 142-144; Song 66, p. 193-194), which leads to the death of one (Vol. 3.1: Song 86, p. 352-354) or both of the young people in love (Vol. 2: Song 13, p. 710-711).

In many cases the strain of long distance relationships caused the lovers to become separated (Vol. 1: Song 140, p. 314; Vol. 2: Song 693, p. 387-388; Vol. 3.1: Song 109, p. 236; Song 55, p. 327-328), extended travel

may cause the waning of their relationships or love (Vol. 1: Song 14, p. 245; Song 19, p. 248; Song 20, p. 248-249; Song 36, p. 259-260; Song 159, p. 324; Song 17, p. 354-355; Song 39, p. 374; Song 40, p. 375; Song 44, p. 377-379; Vol. 3.1: Song 25, p. 104; Song 26, p. 153; Song 50, p. 176-177), as well as an engagement to another person (Vol. 1: Song 40, p. 262; Song 130, p. 307; Song 4, p. 343-344; Song 16, p. 353-354; Vol. 3.1: Song 7, p. 293; Song 13, p. 297; Song 59, p. 330-331). These things can all be obstacles for the two lovers.

Sometimes a ballad does not communicate the reasons of the separation, but merely reveals the feelings of a young person, who is missing her/his beloved (Vol. 1: Song 44, p. 264; Song 117, p. 300; Song 179, p. 336; Song 180, p. 337; Song 8, p. 347; Song 69, p. 276; Song 120, p. 302; Song 121, p. 302-103; Song 10, p. 348-349; Song 15, p. 352-353; Song 19, p. 356-357; Song 23, p. 360-361; Song 29, p. 365-366; Song 35, p. 370; Song 36, p. 371; Song 38, p. 372-373; Song 45, p. 379; Vol. 2: Song 685, p. 383-384; Song 688, p. 385; Song 3, p. 537; Song 22, p. 589; Vol. 3.1: Song 107, p. 234-235; Song 108, p. 235; Song 8, p. 293-294; Song 12, p. 296; Song 28, p. 308-309; Song 58, p. 329-330, Song 95, p. 362-363; Song 104, p. 372-373), or a man asks his girlfriend to come back (Vol. 2: Song 14, p. 544; Song 15, p. 544; Song 28, p. 550-551).

A girl regrets that she did not get married when her beloved proposed to her (Vol. 3.1: Song 5, p. 137-138). After she refuses him, he disappears (Vol. 2: Song 16, p. 545; Vol. 3.1: Song 48, p. 174-175; Song 40, p. 316), or just laughs at her because she is now older and nobody wants to marry her (Vol. 2: Song 9, p. 567-569).

•*Seduction of a girl, bastardy (61 ballads):* Unmarried girls are afraid of the consequences of losing their virginity before the wedding day (Vol. 1: Song 5, p. 184-185; Vol. 3.1: Song 42, p. 166-167; Song 123, p. 246-247; Song 124, p. 247). The opposing side to this ballad would be the girl losing her virginity and becoming an outcast, which is a biggest tragedy for an unmarried girl (Vol. 1: Song 7, p. 186; Song 85, p. 283-284; Vol. 3.1: Song 11, p. 23-24; Song 31, p. 157-158; Song 41, p. 165-166; Song 43, p. 167-169; Song 106, p. 234).

Ballads from the Turkish cycle tell about the maidens being raped by the invaders (Vol. 1: Song 5, p. 44-45). A girl prefers to kill herself than to get raped by a stranger (Vol. 3.1: Song 11, p. 52-53). However most of the time a maiden loses her virginity because of her thoughtlessness: she accepts the invitation to travel with a man overseas (Vol. 1: Song 32, p. 77-78; Song 44, p. 87-88; Song 162, p. 326; Vol. 2: Song 7, p. 721-722; Vol. 3.1: Song 13, p. 54-55; Song 14, p. 55; Song 24, p. 103; Song 24, p. 151-152), or believes his promise to marry her (Vol. 1: Song 33, p.123).

After seducing the unmarried girl the man leaves her (Vol. 1: Song 36, p. 81; Song 29, p. 116; Song 30, p. 117-118; Song 33, p. 120; Vol. 2: Song 7, p. 567; Song 14, p. 140), or brutally murders her(Vol. 1: Song 29, p. 204-205; Song 31, p. 205-206; Vol. 3.1: Song 21, p. 149). Another outcome to this ballad would be she bears a bastard child (Vol. 1: Song 33, p. 78-79; Song 27, p. 72; Song 30, p. 205; Song 31, p. 255; Song 177, p. 335-336; Vol. 2: Song 32, p. 595-596; Vol. 3.1: Song 4, p. 17; Song 5, p. 18-19; Song 8, p. 140; Song 133, p. 252-253) and commits suicide (Vol. 2: Song 12, p. 582-583); sometimes a young woman joins a the Cossack army (Vol. 1: Song 43, p. 87).

An outraged community disrespects her (Vol. 1: Song 135, p. 310), or resorts to unspeakable tortures as a punishment (Vol. 1: Song 13, p. 54-55; Vol. 3.1: Song 122, p. 245-246). There are also ballads, in which a married man asks a maiden to travel with him, but then takes her virginity and steals all her property (Vol. 1: Song 25, p. 70; Vol. 3.1: Song 46, p. 172-173). The brothers of the girl kill the seducer (Vol. 1: Song 41, p. 85; Song 42, p. 85-87; Vol. 3.1: Song 9, p. 21-22).

The mother of a bastard child kills her baby (Vol. 1: Song 9, p. 187-188; Vol. 3.1: Song 15, p. 26-27; Vol. 3.1: Song 95, p. 225-226). Sometimes when she informs the father of the existence of their illegitimate son, and the young man agrees to marry her (Vol. 2: Song 11, p. 707-708), takes his son to his house (Vol. 1: Song 19, p. 107-108), and even interrupts his military service to come and see his new family (Vol. 1: Song 16, p. 104-105; Vol. 3.1: Song 7, p. 91; Song 8, p. 92-93).

There are also ballads which teach a man not to seduce girls, otherwise the maidens might curse him and then he will never get married (Vol. 2: Song 26, p. 550). For example, trying to escape the responsibility for a seduced girl, a young man leaves his house, thus living through the hardships of a nomadic life (Vol. 3.1: Song 52, p. 178-179).

•*Unfaithfulness, betrayal (40 ballads):* A girl prefers to marry a more wealthy man, and her previous beloved is heartbroken (Vol. 1: Song 1, p. 340; Song 2, p. 341; Song 5, p. 344-345; Song 25, p. 362-363; Vol. 3.1: Song 47, p. 173-174). Sometimes she engages her suitors in a competition, promising to marry the one who gets a remedy for her (*troian-zhillia*). After being deceived, a Cossack returns with the healing herb in time to

see that she is getting married to another man. The unrequited Cossack's anger causes him to retaliate and rape the girl (Vol. 1: Song 25, p. 113) or murder (Vol. 1: Song 24, p. 112-113; Vol. 2: Song 30, p. 594; Vol. 3.1: Song 1, p. 43-44; Song 2, p. 44-45; Song 84, p. 216-218).

When a man stops loving a girl he abandons her (Vol. 1: Song 50, p. 223; Song 1, p. 237; Song 2, p. 237-238; Song 38, p. 261; Song 98, p. 290; Song 157, p. 323; Vol. 2: Song 15, p. 583-584; Vol. 3.1: Song 94, p. 360-362), and then finds himself a new one (Vol. 1: Song 16, p. 246; Song 21, p. 109; Song 23, p. 250; Song 41, p. 375-376; Vol. 3.1: Song 11, p. 296; Song 14, p. 298-299; Song 42, p. 317-318), or several girlfriends (Vol. 1: Song 27, p. 252; Song 39, p. 261; Vol. 3.1: Song 15, p. 299-300). He could even invite his previous beloved to his wedding (Vol. 1: Song 6, p. 240-241; Song 7, p. 241-242; Vol. 3.1: Song 9, p. 49-51; Song 10, p. 51-52). Not only does his previous love forgive him, she wishes her unfaithful lover happiness in his new life (Vol. 1: Song 8, p. 242; Song 42, p. 263; Song 67, p. 275; Song 80, p. 281), and hopes for a better boyfriend (Vol. 1: Song 92, p. 287; Song 9, p. 347-347; Vol. 3.1: Song 67, p. 336).

• *Charming, poisoning (16 ballads):* Poison, disguised as a love charm kills a beloved man (Vol. 1: Song 24, p. 68-69; Song 25, p. 201; Song 26, p. 202; Vol. 3.1: Song 35, p. 160-161; Song 36, p. 161; Song 38, p. 163-164). He turns into a demon after death and attempts to kill his murderer at night (Vol. 2: Song 12, p. 708-710).

Nevertheless sometimes a young man voluntary takes the poison (Vol. 1: Song 90, p. 286-287); a girl successfully charms her beloved and gets him to love her (Vol. 1: Song 53, p. 226; Vol. 3.1: Song 18, p. 29-30;

Song 62, p. 189-190; Song 63, p. 190-191; Song 118, p. 243; Song 119, p. 244), and keeps him away from military service by means of magic (Vol. 1: Song 52, p. 225). If a man does go to war, his girlfriend is waiting for him for 2 years and then uses magic to call him back home. The spirit of the dead soldier comes at night and kills his beloved (Vol. 1: Song 40, p. 82-83).

• *Unrequited love (24 ballads):* A maiden tells a young man that she does not love him (Vol. 1: Song 142, p. 315; Song 143, p. 316; Song 173, p. 333; Song 181, p. 337; Song 52, p. 385; Vol. 3.1: Song 116, p. 242), and will not marry him for any reason (Vol. 1: Song 26, p. 252; Song 33, p. 257; Song 122, p. 303; Vol. 2: Song 700, p. 390). The rejected lover beats her up (Vol. 2: Song 38, p. 556-557), kills her (Vol. 1: Song 21, p. 65; Song 22, p. 66-67; Song 23, p. 67-68; Song 32, p. 122; Vol. 2: Song 38, p. 601-602; Vol. 3.1: Song 19, p. 30-31; Song 20, p. 32-33; Song 21, p. 33-34), or wants to commit suicide (Vol. 1: Song 18, p. 247-248; Song 134, p. 310; Vol. 3.1: Song 64, p. 333-334). A girl prefers to drown herself rather than to marry the one she does not love (Vol. 1: Song 4, p. 184; Vol. 3.1: Song 3, p. 134).

• *Unconventional marriage, intermarriage (12 ballads):* As revealed in some ballads, it was the wealth of the family of the bride which played a crucial role in marriage choices. The beauty and skills of a potential bride played a secondary role (Vol. 2: Song 707, p. 395; Vol. 2: Song 708, p. 395). If the family of the bride was not able to provide a dowry, the girl had no better options than marrying an alcoholic or a man of lower class (Vol. 2: Song 703, p. 392).

A poor maiden after being intimate with a rich bachelor, rejects his further advances because he will not marry her (Vol. 1: Song 127, p. 305; Song 49, p. 382-383; Vol. 2: Song 709, p. 395), or since she fears he would remind her that she was poor prior to their married life (Vol. 3.1: Song 86, p. 352-353). The opposite of this occurs when the higher class man really loves his bride, and he will sacrifice all things including the amount of dowry he would receive (Vol. 1: Song 12, p. 224; Song 51, p. 385; Vol. 3.1: Song 64, p. 192-193; Song 106, p. 374; Song 107, p. 375-376).

• *Bachelorhood and marriage (4 ballads):* The young man is forced to get married by the members of his community, but he does not feel like he is ready for such a commitment (Vol. 2: Song 676, p. 380). Just a single ballad tells about the feelings of a bachelor who regrets that he is not married (Vol. 1: Song 155, p. 322). On the contrary, being single is always a tragedy for a girl (Vol. 1: Song 50, p. 266-267; Song 73, p. 278).

• *Rivalry (2 ballads):* Two young men are in love with one maiden (Vol. 1: Song 11, p.189). They fight for her in a duel, and one is killed. The killer is arrested, but his mother ransoms him out and he gets married to the girl. However he is not happy and is tortured with remorse (Vol. 1: Song 19, p. 60-62).

<u>Social ballads (76 ballads):</u>

• *Foreign land (17 ballads):* A big part of the ballads abut a foreign land belong to the travelers' repertoire – the so-called "*burlats'ki"* and "*chumats'ki"* songs (Vol. 3.1: Song 1, 2, 3, p. 69-74). Separation from

the native land and family is even more stressful if a person is not happy at his/her new location (Vol. 1: Song 65, p. 274; Song 79, p. 280-281; Vol. 3.1: Song 27, p. 153-155; Song 60, p. 187-188; Song 37, p. 313; Song 93, p. 359).

A young man is missing his beloved and asks her to pray for him to make it back (Vol. 1: Song 87, p. 284-285). The utmost fear was to die in a foreign country (Vol. 1: Song 91, p. 287; Song 18, p. 356-357) and not to be buried properly (Vol. 1: Song 2, p. 93; Song 5, p. 95-96; Song 13, p. 102; Song 8, p. 136). A Cossack travels to foreign lands for his love, but his dying wish is to be buried on native land by his Cossack brethren (Vol. 1: Song 3, p. 94).

•*Death of a young man (28 ballads):* A Cossack/young man dies on the battle field (Vol. 1: Song 38, p. 82; Song 39, p. 83; Song 6, p. 96-97; Song 58, p. 229), or drowns himself (Vol. 1: Song 29, p. 74), and asks his fellow soldiers to tell his mother that he is wealthy and happily married (Vol. 1: Song 7, p. 97-98; Song 8, p. 98-99; Song 9, p. 99-100; Song 10, p. 100-101; Vol. 2: Song 27, p. 592; Vol. 3.1: Song 33, p. 110) or got promoted and serves in a king's army (Vol. 3.1: Song 5, p. 90). He might also die at home trying to protect his property from thieves (Vol. 3.1: Song 8, p. 68).

A mother grieves for her murdered son (Vol. 1: Song 9, p. 137; Song 9, p. 137; Vol. 2: Song 31, p. 594-595; Song 37, p. 600-601; Vol. 3.1: Song 4, p. 45-46; Song 14, p. 96). A sister cries over his brother, who was killed at war (Vol. 2; Song 4, p. 563-564; Song 7, p. 704-705; Vol. 3.1: Song 9, p. 12), and a girlfriend laments over the body of her beloved (Vol. 1: Song 12, p. 102; Vol. 3.1: Song 5, p. 46-47; Song 6, p. 47; Song 8, p. 49; Song

34, p. 111). When a young man is severely wounded in battle, his girlfriend comes and cures him (Vol. 1: Song 15, p. 141).

- *Military service (26 ballads):* A young soldier reluctantly goes to war (Vol. 1: Song 4, p. 134; Song 7, p. 135; Song 10, p. 137; Song 12, p. 138; Song 18, p. 144; Song 21, p. 146; Song 27, p. 150; Vol. 3.1: Song 27, p. 105-106; Song 28, p. 106-107), and prays to come back (Vol. 1: Song 3, p. 133; Song 4, p. 134), or tries to escape the service (Vol. 1: Song 16, p. 142), but does not succeed (Vol. 1: Song 17, p. 142). His mother cries on his departure (Vol. 1: Song 2, p. 132; Song 6, p. 135; Song 7, p. 135; Song 11, p. 138; Song 13, p. 139; Vol. 3.1: Song 4, p. 45-46; Song 13, p. 96; Song 16, p. 98; Song 20, p. 100; Song 32, p. 109-110), and his girlfriend waits for him (Vol. 1: Song 41, p. 129-130; Song 1, p. 131-132; Song 5, p. 134).

- *Hired labor and slavery (5 ballads):* Here belong ballads which reveal the sufferings of hired laborers ('*naimyt*') (Vol. 1: Song 44, p. 219-220; Vol. 2: Song 671, p. 376-377) and peasants who were obliged to work for a landlord ('*panchshyna*') (Vol. 2: Song 669, p. 375-366). A widow who lost her husband just recently cannot take care of her newly-born child because she is forced to work on '*panchshyna*', and drowns her child in a lake (Vol. 2: Song 1, p. 699-700). When a young man is obligated to work for a landlord for a year, his girlfriend is forced to marry a hated husband, and she commits suicide (Vol. 1: Song 88, p. 285).

<u>Personal stories (25 ballads):</u>

- *Evil fate (20 ballads):* A person cries over his/her unhappy life and asks for good fortune (Vol. 3.1: Song 69, p. 198-199; Song 43, p. 318-320; Song 53, p. 325-326; song 90, p. 357-358) or death (Vol. 3.1: Song 117,

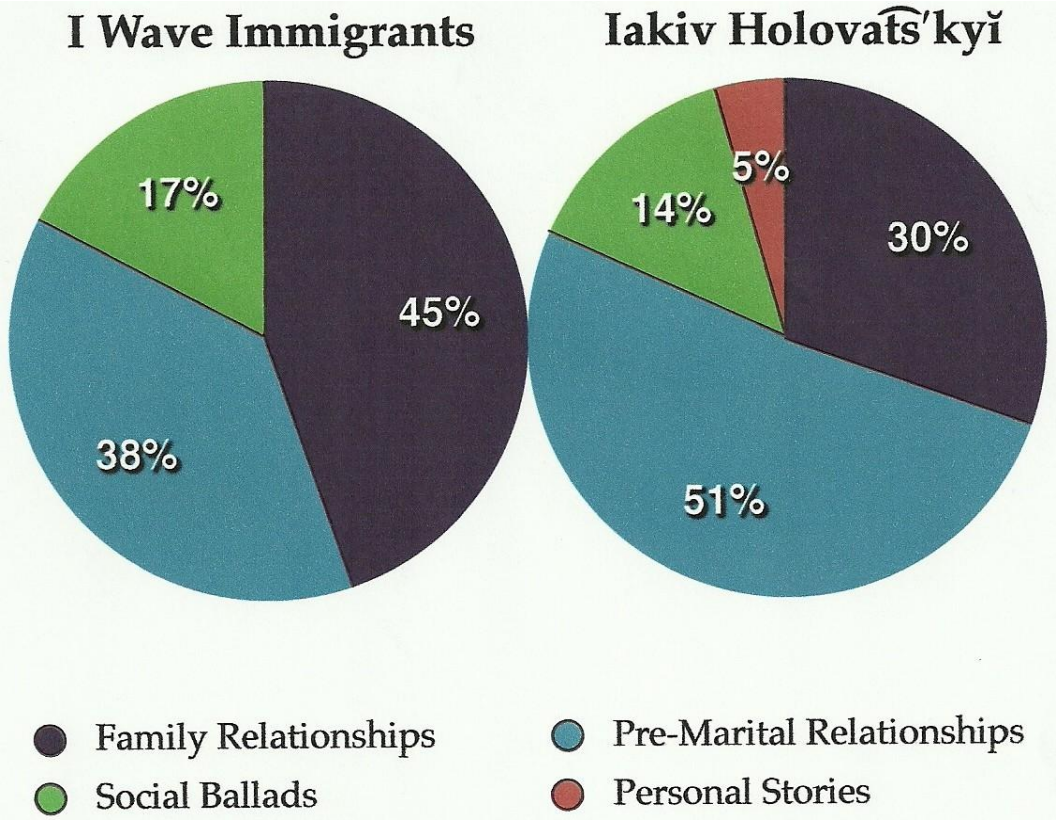
p. 243). Things get worse when a person does not have parents (Vol. 3.1: Song 63, p. 333; Song 72, p. 341).

The community mistreats these orphans: people do not value their work (Vol. 1: Song 4, p. 238-239; Song 42, p. 263; Vol. 3.1: Song 35, p. 312; Song 36, p. 313), they have nobody to care for their well-being (Vol. 1: Song 76, p. 279; Song 20, p. 357; Vol. 3.1: Song 15, p. 146; Song 17, p. 147; Song 6, p. 292; Song 73, p. 341); once more it is not easy for an orphan girl to get married (Vol. 1: Song 5, p. 239; Song 32, p. 256-257). However given the option a young man would rather marry the orphan than the widow (Vol. 1: Song 74, p. 278).

• *Missing young years (5 ballads):* A person tries to get his/her young years back in vain (Vol. 1: Song 48, p. 265; Vol. 2: Song 3, p. 575; Vol. 2: Song 10, p. 569-571). A woman is recollecting the bitter memories of her youth and regrets that she spent too much time at work and never got a chance to have fun. Now when she is trying to catch up with everything that she has missed, the woman is disappointed that her young years will never come back (Vol. 2: Song 703, p. 392; Vol. 3.1: Song 62, p. 332).

To facilitate a better understanding of the distinctiveness of immigrant balladry from the songs in the Ukrainian collection, as well as the quantitative assessment of collected data, the following pie charts

were created:

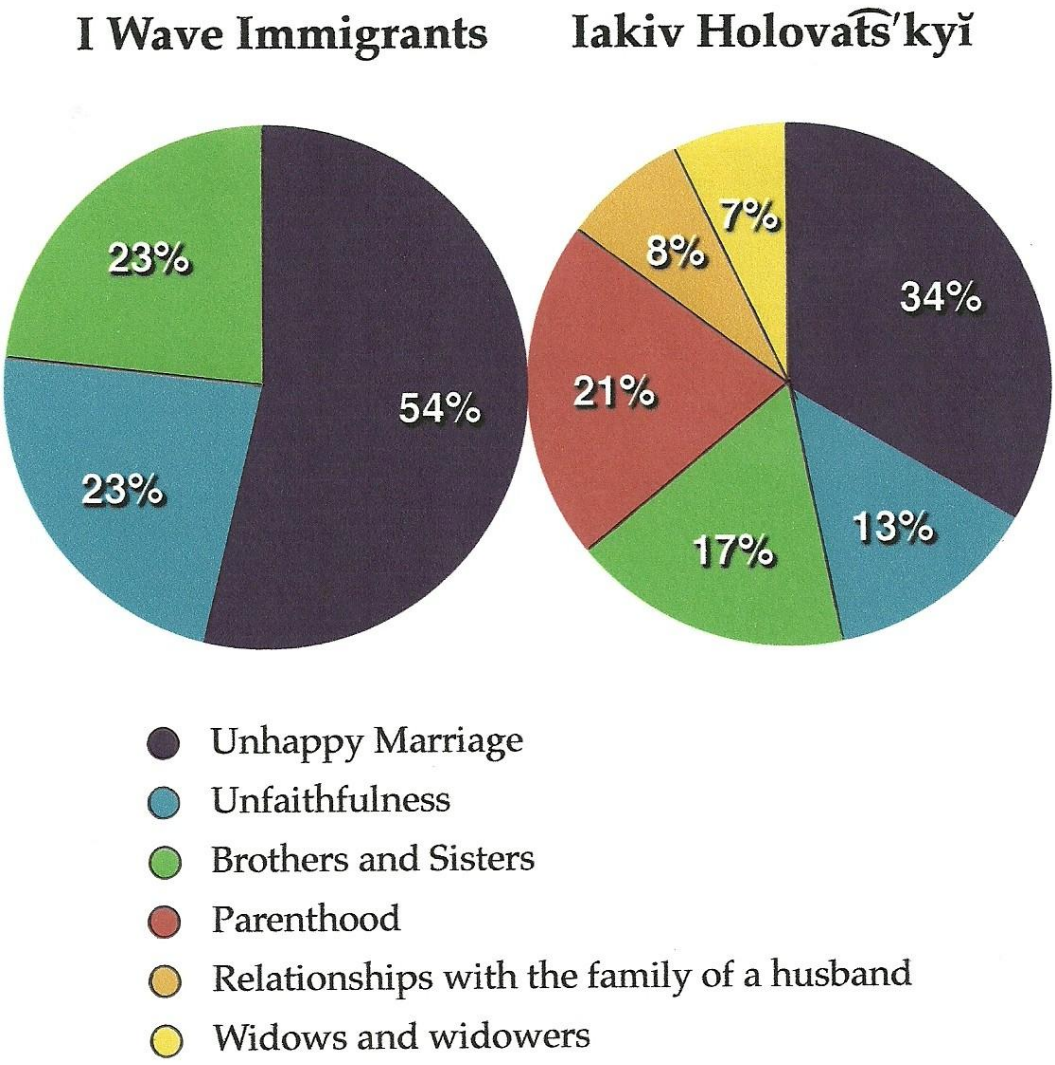


In the repertoires of the interviewed first wave immigrants 45% of ballads were telling about conflicts between family members, 38% were about pre-marital relationships, and 17% of ballads discussed social issues; while in the Ukrainian collection (Holovat͡s'kyĭ 1878) the ballads concerning pre-marital relations are the most frequently represented: they amount to 51%. Family ballads amount to 30%; the remaining songs discuss social (14%) and personal issues (5%).

One might infer that in the case of the interviews with the Ukrainian Canadians we observe the shift of topics from pre-marital relations to family issues, since 45% of ballads were devoted to relationships between family members. This may result from the fact that many Ukrainian pioneers in Canada immigrated when they already had

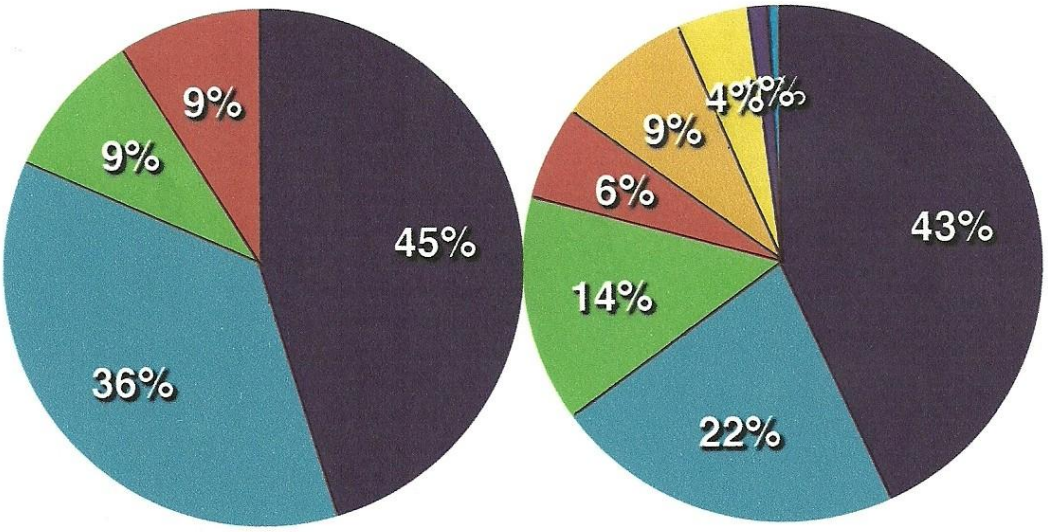
families of their own, and the topic of dating was not a primary concern. Moreover, it could mark the minimization of the pedagogical role of the ballad, which was targeted primarily at youth. The relative quantity of those separate groups of ballads could be represented in the pie charts below:

FAMILY-ORIENTED BALLADS

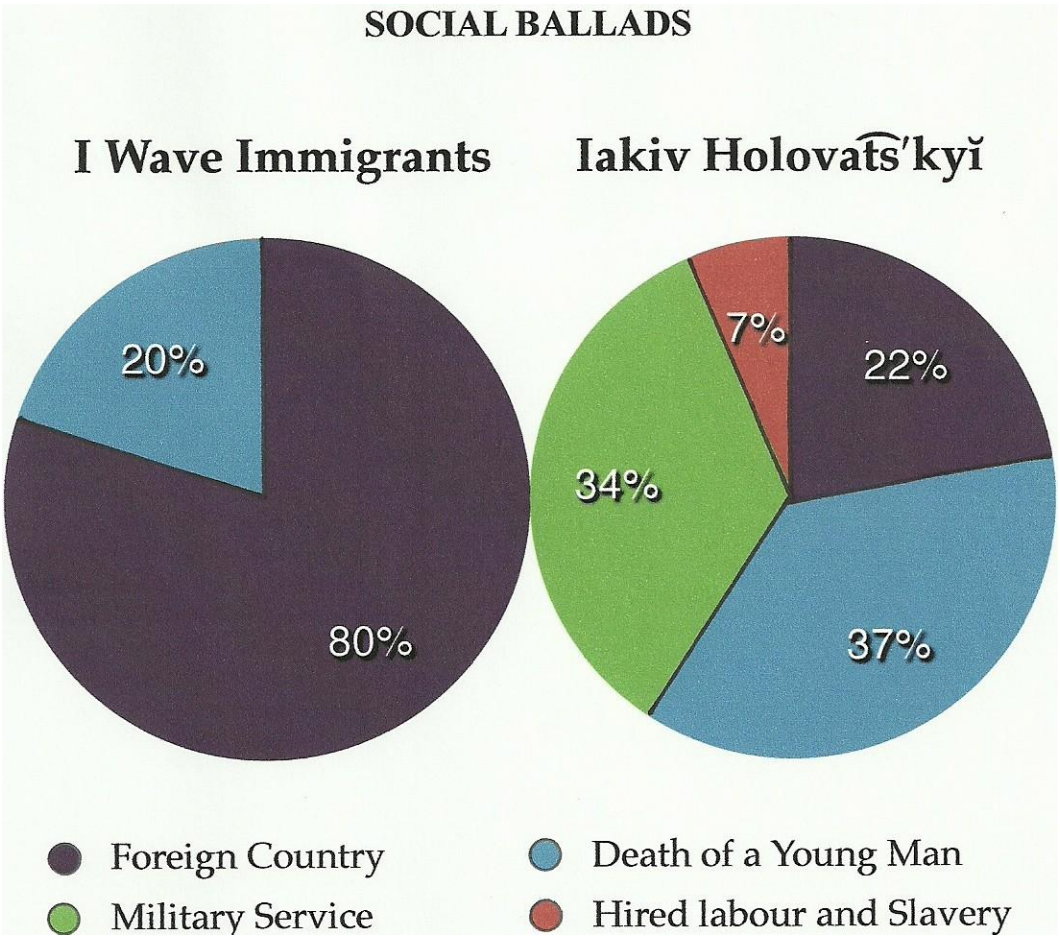


PRE-MARITAL RELATIONSHIPS

I Wave Immigrants **Iakiv Holovat͡s′kyĭ**



- Separation, loss of a lover
- Seduction of a girl, bastardy
- Unfaithfulness, betrayal
- Charming, poisoning
- Unshared love
- Unconventional marriage, intermarriage
- Bachelorhood
- Rivalry



Quantitative analysis of the topics of immigrant family balladry might demonstrate that the ballads that were performed by the first wave immigrants during their interviews with Klymasz more often deal with the topic of unhappy marriages (54%). One might infer that Ukrainian immigrants were likely to include ballads about unfortunate family relationships into their repertoires because of their relevance to life in the new land.

Contrary to the songs from Holovat͡s′kyĭ's collection, the singing repertoires of first wave immigrants do not discuss the topics of

unhappy marriages caused by the lack of love between a husband and his wife, but mostly concerned alcoholism and mistreatment of the wife by her husband. Also, there are no instances in the ballads about unhappy marriages where the husband goes to war and dies; unlike in Ukraine, where men had to go to war, in Canada there were no foreign invaders.

In the repertoires of the first wave immigrants, there were no ballads about marrying a foreigner. The Canadian versions of the ballads had more to do with unhappy marriages resulting from the husband and wife living in an isolated environment, where the only escape from reality was the consumption of alcohol.

In the Holovatsʹkyĭ collections there are several songs where the wife prays for the death of her husband and attempts to kill him. This might have not have been topical for the immigrants who valued their husbands as primary labourers on the large piece of land they possessed; the loss of the strongest family member might mean that the household would starve. Instead of murder, in the first wave ballads the wife leaves her husband to escape her unhappiness.

The issue of inter-class romance was not relevant in Canada because many Ukrainian immigrants were land owners and were similar socio-economically. This might be a reason why there are no ballads in the discussed interviews of first wave immigrants that dealt with this topic.

Probably because of the socio-economic similarity of the first wave immigrants, in the collection of ballads concerning relationships

between siblings, ballads about a rich brother and his poor sister were not found in their repertoires. Instead, they discussed situations where a brother kills his sister's abusive husband, thus eliminating the main bread maker of the household, resulting in his sister's suffering.

In both ballad collections the percentage of songs about bachelorhood is comparatively small (just 2 in the discussed Ukrainian Canadian ballads, and 4 songs in Holovats̄kyĭ's collection). The Ukrainian Canadian ballads speak of the anxiety that a girl is going through because she is still unmarried at an age when she is expected to be; and an aging mother who is worried that her children might not get married before she dies. None of the Ukrainian Canadian ballads touch the subject of bachelors being concerned about being unmarried.

In the fieldwork of Klymasz, this ballad was performed by Marta Boychuk (Variant A) (EC 2216: Disc 1, Track 25) and Anna Zacharuk (Variant B) (EC 2216: Disc 21, Track 13) in Canada, 1964-65. Both interviewees mentioned that they learned the song in Ukraine.

Variant A

Ой засвіти, місяченько,
Зайди за комору.
- Ой вийди, дівчина,
Вийди, чорнобрива,
Най си з тобой поговору
Ой рада я вийти,
С тобой говорити,
Ой лежить серденько
На правій рученьці
Жаль мені його збдити.
- Ой не треба його
....

Variant B

Ой засвіти, місяченько,
Та й ти, зоречко ясна,
Ой у полі в полі яра
пшениченька,
Там дівчина прекрасна.
Ой у полі вона, в полі,
Пшениченьку доглядає,
Ой там сивий сокіл, сивий
соколочок,
Йа з орлами літає.
Ой літає він, літає,
Йа в віконце заглядає,

Восідлай сі коня,
Виїжджай зо двору,
Ти не мій, я не твоя.
Ой сів же я на коника.
Гаю, коню, гаю,
Гаю, коню, гаю,
Гаю, вороненький,
До тихенького Дунаю.
Приїхав я до Дунаю,
Став си тай думаю:
Чи в Дунай втонути,
Чи в воду ринути,
Чи до любки се вернути?
Ой сів же я на коника,
Гаю, коню, гаю,
Гаю, коню, гаю,
Гаю, вороненький,
До миленької
двора.
Ой виїхав на гороньку,
Та й три рази гукнув.
Ой вийди, дівчина,
Вийди, чорнобрива,
Бо зі жалю розпукну.
Ой не гукай їде, дурню,
Не гукай, не гукай!
Давно ти казала,
Праву ручку дала.
Ти іншої собі шукай!
Бодай тобі, моя мила,
Так було ловко конати,
Так як мені тепер,
Хлопцю молодому,
За друго се шукати.

- Ой худко, худко, сивая голубко,
Подай, подай, мила, ручку!
- Рада би я ручку дати,
Рада була б і подати,
Пустила ме мати нелюба до хати,
Та й не можу ручку дати.
- Ой дівчина моя люба,
Ой відсунься від нелюба,
Я вистрілю з лука, та й уб"ю
нелюба,
Та й буде вам розлука.
- Та чи влучиш, чи не влучиш,
Вже на старе не розлучиш,
Ой всідлай коня, виїжджай зо
двору,
Вже ти не мій, я не твоя!
Козак коня усідлає,
Та й до него промовляє:
- Ступом, коню, ступом, ступом
підо мною
До того Дунаю, де я втонути маю.
І став я та думаю,
Що робити тепер маю?
Чи мені втопитись, чи додому
завернути?
Ой пішов я понад Дунай,
Тихий Дунай стоїть тихо,
Рад би я се утопити,
Душі моїй буде лихо.

There were five other variants of this ballad that were documented in Ukraine and were selected for further analysis .Taking into consideration that Marta came to Canada from Galicia, and Anna

immigrated from the Pokuttia, a part of Galicia, three ballad variants were taken from the fieldworks conducted in Western Ukrainian territories prior to immigration in the late 19th century. Variants C (1878, Vol. 1, p. 124) and D (1878, Vol. 2, p. 580) were recorded in Galicia by Holovat͡s̓kyĭ, an influential historian and ethnographer in the 1800's.

Variant C

Гей летіла зозуленька по Україні,
Гей ронила сиві пер"я по долині;
Ой як тяжко сивим пер"ям по долині,
Еще тяжче сиротинці на чужині.
Ходить голуб над водою гукаючи,
Своєй милой голубоньки шукаючи:
- Та ци спиш ти, серце моє, та ци чуєш?
Чом до мене, серце моє, не говориш?
- Як я маю, моє серце, говорити?
Лежить нелюб на рученьці,
Буде мене бити!
- Ой водсунься, серце моє, вод нелюба,
Застрілю нелюба з лука як голуба.
- Ой ци ти заб"єш, серце моє, ци не заб"єш,
Завше ти серцю мому жалю завдаєш.
- Покинь отця, покинь маму всю родину,
Ходи з нами, козаками, на Україну!
На Вкраїні суха риба із шафраном,

Variant D

Ой їхав козак, ой їхав молод,
З Подгорья в Подолье,
Повернув конем, повернув сивим,
К дівчині на Подвьр"є:
- Здорова була, дівчино люба,
Та й здоровенька спала,
Отпусти ж мені перші зальоти,
Будь на мене ласкава!
- Ой отпустила, ой отпустила,
Жалосно заплакала:
Ой гой же, гой же, мой милий Боже,
То мь тя вірно кохала!
Ой зойди, зойди, ясень місяць,
Як млинноє коло.
- Вийди, дівонько, вийди, серденько,
Промов до мене слово!
- Ой які кі тобі йти, ой які кі тобі йти,
С тобою говорити,
Коль лежить нелюб на правій руці,
Бою го ся збудити.
Дівчино люба, дівчино люба,
Вісунься воть нелюба,
Заб"ю нелюба із туга лука,
Як дикого голуба.
- За що го бити, за що го бити,

Будеш жити за козаком, як за паном.
А у Польщі суха риба із водою:
Будеш жити з вражим ляхом, як з бідою!

Здоров"я збавляти,
Коника давши, та й осідлавши,
Та най йде служити!

Variant E (1962, Vol. 30, p. 298) was documented by the Polish ethnographer, folklorist and composer Oskar Kolberg in 1880's in the Pokuttia, a part of Galicia.

Variant E

Не тепер стою, не тепер стою
Під твою коморою,
Вийди, миленька, вийди, любенька,
Най я зтобою поговорю.
Ой лежить нелюб на правій ручці,
Коби го збудити.
Відсунься, мила, відсунься, люба,
Далено від нелюба;
Я вб"ю нелюба з темного луга,
Як сивого голуба.
Нащо, миленький, нащо
Ой нелюбонька бити;
З тобою, миленький, на годиночку,
А з нелюбом би жити.
З тобою, миленький, на годиночку,
Ой ліпше розмовляти,
З нелюбом маю дрібненькі діти,
Треба їх годувати.
Ой не тра, миленький, не тра любенький,
нелюбонька бити,
Більше дівочок, як молодичок,
Можна ся оженити.
Сідлай, миленький, сідлай, любенький
Коника вороного,
Виїжджай, милий, виїжджай, милий,
З подвір'ячка мого.
-Ступай, конику, ступай, вороний,
Ой на розбиту груду,
Бувай здорова, моя миленька,
Я вже в тебе не буду.

Variant F published by a Ukrainian composer, conductor and folklorist Hryhorii Veriovka in 1974 (1974, 50-52), and Variant G recorded by a poet and a collector of folk songs Pavlo Tychyna in 1976 (1976, 48-49)

are used to reflect the dynamics of this ballad plot in Ukraine in the 20th century.

Variant F

Ой зійшов же місяченько
Та й посходили зорі,
Ой там дівчина з чорними очима
Та й пшениченьку поле.
Поле вона, поле, Та все вгору поглядає:
Ой чи високо сивий соколонько
Між орлами літає?
Ой літає він, літає,
Все до неї примовляє:
-Ой ку-ку, ку-ку,
Та й подай, серце, руку!
-Не можу я встати,
Тобі рученьку дати.
Ой сидить нелюб на правій рученьці, -
Ні звести, ні підняти.
Ой дівчино моя люба,
Відсунься ти від нелюба.
Заб'ю я дука із темного лука,
Буде з ним тобі розлука.
Ой чи заб'єш, чи не заб'єш,
Тільки моє життя збавиш.
Сідай на коня, з'їжджай з мого двору,
Ти не мій, я не твоя.
Козак коника сідлає,
До коника примовляє:
-Ой ступай, коню, правою ногою
Аж до тихого Дунаю.
Як поїхав до Дунаю,
Стій же, коню, подумаю:
Чи мені топиться,
Чи мені провалиться, Сам я

Variant G

Ой у полі озеречко,
Там плавало відеречко.
Сосновії клепки, а дубове денце,
Не цураймося, моє серце.
Там плавало відеречко
Троє суток із водою.
–Вийди, дівчино, вийди, рибчино,
Поговоримо з тобою.
-Ой рада б я виходити,
Та й з тобою говорити, -
Лежить нелюб на правій рученьці,
Я й боюся розбудити.
Ой дівчино моя люба,
Відсунься ти від нелюба.
Буду стріляти, буду влучати
З-під зеленого дуба.
- Ой чи вдариш, чи не вдариш,
Оно мені віка вмалиш.
Ой чи влучиш, чи не влучиш,
Мене з пароньки розлучиш.
Сідлай коня та виїжджай з двора,
Бо ти не мій, я не твоя.
Козак коника сідлає
Та й до коня промовляє:
-Риссю, мій коню, риссю, вороний,
Аж до тихого Дунаю.
А у тихого Дунаю
Стану, гляну, подумаю:
Чи мені втопиться, чи з коника вбиться,
Чи назад воротиться
Як назад повернуся,

молод, не вгадаю.
А ти, щука, бери тіло,
А ти, Боже, бери душу.
Через тую дівчину вражую
Утопитися мушу.
-Не топися, козаченько,
Бо ти душу загубиш.
Ходім до церкви та й
повінчаємось,
Коли так вірно любиш.
До кого я пригорнуся?
Батенька немає, матері немає,
А дівчина не приймає.

The prologue of the ballad B (EC 2216: Disc 21, Track 13) is very similar to that of ballad F (Veriovka 1974, 50-52). It draws attention to a picturesque view of a Ukrainian village: the bright moon, shiny stars and a beautiful girl (Variant B)/ with black eyes (Variant F), who is working in the field. In the second verse both variants personify a young man in the image of a gray falcon, who is looking for his beloved dove (Variant B):

Variant B

Ой засвіти, місяченько,
Та й ти, зоречко ясна,
Ой у полі в полі яра
пшениченька,
Там дівчина прекрасна.
Ой у полі вона, в полі,
Пшениченьку доглядає,
Ой там сивий сокіл, сивий
соколочок,
Йа з орлами літає.

Variant F

Ой зійшов же місяченько
Та й посходили зорі,
Ой там дівчина з чорними очима
Та й пшениченьку поле.
Поле вона, поле,
Та все вгору поглядає:
Ой чи високо сивий соколонько
Між орлами літає?

The prologue in the Variant A (EC 2216: Disc 1, Track 25) is simplified and connected with the rising action in one verse: the man asks the girl to come out and talk to him.

Variant A

Ой засвіти, місяченько, Зайди за комору.
- Ой вийди, дівчина, Вийди, чорнобрива,
Най си з тобой поговору.

Unlike the prologue in Variant C (Holovat͡s'kyĭ 1878, Vol. 1, p. 124) which touches on the topics of orphanhood and a foreign country, or in Variant D (Holovat͡s'kyĭ 1878, Vol. 2, p. 580) which expands on the reasons of separation of the lovers, ballads, sung by the interviewees do not contain any additional information about the main characters.

Variant C

Гей летіла зозуленька по Україні,
Гей ронила сиві пер"я по долині;
Ой як тяжко сивим пер"ям по долині,
Еще тяжче сиротинці на чужині.

Variant D

Ой їхав козак, ой їхав молод,
З Подгорья в Подолье,
Повернув конем, повернув сивим,
К дівчині на Подвьр"є:
- Здорова була, дівчино люба,
Та й здоровенька спала,
Отпусти ж мені перші зальоти,
Будь на мене ласкава!
- Ой отпустила, ой отпустила,
Жалосно заплакала:
Ой гой же, гой же, мой милий Боже,
То мь тя вірно кохала!

The bachelor calls the woman, but she tells him that she is married already and refuses to come out. Interestingly, in Variant A, the woman calls her husband 'sweetheart' ('*серденько*'), while in all other variants the husband is hated ('*нелюб*'):

Variant A - Ой рада я вийти, С тобой говорити,
Ой лежить серденько На правій рученьці

Жаль мені його збдити.

Variant B - Рада би я ручку дати, Рада була б і подати,
Пустила ме мати нелюба до хати,
Та й не можу ручку дати.

Variant C - Як я маю, моє серце, говорити?
Лежить нелюб на рученьці, Буде мене бити!

Variant D - Ой які кі тобі йти, ой які кі тобі йти, С тобою говорити,
Коль лежить нелюб на правій руці, Бою го ся збудити.

Variant E Ой лежить нелюб на правій ручці,
Коби го збудити.

Variant F -Не можу я встати, Тобі рученьку дати.
Ой сидить нелюб на правій рученьці, -
Ні звести, ні підняти.

Vaiant G -Ой рада б я виходити, Та й з тобою говорити, -
Лежить нелюб на правій рученьці, Я й боюся розбудити.

The lover wishes to kill the husband (Variants A, B, C, D, E, F, G), but the woman is not willing to lose her husband and asks the lover to leave her yard (Variant A, B). Again we can observe, that the ballad variants performed by the interviewed Ukrainian Canadians, are the least detailed: the explanations of the woman's decision are omitted:

Variant A - Ой дічино моя мила, Вічуйся від нього.
Най я єго заб"ю, Най його застрілю, Як голуба сивогого!
- Ой не треба його ....
Восідлай сі коня, Виїжджай зо двору, Ти не мій, я не твоя.

Variant B - Ой дівчина моя люба, Ой відсунься від нелюба,
Я вистрілю з лука, та й уб"ю нелюба,
Та й буде вам розлука.
- Та чи влучиш, чи не влучиш, Вже на старе не розлучиш,

Ой всідлай коня, виїжджай зо двору,
Вже ти не мій, я не твоя!

Variant C - Ой водсунься, серце моє, вод нелюба,
Застрілю нелюба з лука як голуба.
- Ой ци ти заб"єш, серце моє, ци не заб"єш,
Завше ти серцю мому жалю завдаєш.

Variant D Дівчино люба, дівчино люба, Вісунься воть нелюба,
Заб"ю нелюба із туга лука, Як дикого голуба.
- За що го бити, за що го бити, Здоров"я збавляти,
Коника давши, та й осідлавши, Та най йде служити!

Variant E Відсунься, мила, відсунься, люба, Далено від нелюба;
Я вб"ю нелюба з темного луга, Як сивого голуба.
Нащо, миленький, нащо Ой нелюбонька бити;
З тобою, миленький, на годиночку,
А з нелюбом би жити.
З тобою, миленький, на годиночку,
Ой ліпше розмовляти,
З нелюбом маю дрібненькі діти, Треба їх годувати.
Ой не тра, миленький, не тра любенький,
нелюбонька бити,
Більше дівочок, як молодичок, Можна ся оженити.
Сідлай, миленький, сідлай, любенький Коника вороного,
Виїжджай, милий, виїжджай, милий, З подвір'ячка мого.

Variant F Ой дівчино моя люба, Відсунься ти від нелюба.
Заб'ю я дука із темного лука, Буде з ним тобі розлука.
Ой чи заб'єш, чи не заб'єш, Тільки моє життя збавиш.
Сідай на коня, з'їжджай з мого двору,
Ти не мій, я не твоя.

Vaiant G Ой дівчино моя люба, Відсунься ти від нелюба.
Буду стріляти, буду влучати З-під зеленого дуба.
- Ой чи вдариш, чи не вдариш, Оно мені віка вмалиш.
Ой чи влучиш, чи не влучиш,
Мене з пароньки розлучиш.
Сідлай коня та виїжджай з двора, Бо ти не мій, я не твоя.

Hopeless, tired of trying to get his beloved woman and failing, the rejected lover decides to commit suicide: he goes to the Dunai river (Variant A, B, E, F, G) to drown himself. When he is just about to plunge into the deep, the young man thinks of the unforgivable sin and gets scared for his soul in the afterlife. The man changes his mind (Variant B), and comes back to the woman he loves (Variant A), where he hears refusal again (Variant A).

Variant A Ой сів же я на коника. Гаю, коню, гаю, Гаю, коню, гаю,
Гаю, вороненький, До тихенького Дунаю.
Приїхав я до Дунаю, Став си тай думаю:
Чи в Дунай втонути, Чи в воду ринути,
Чи до любки се вернути?
Ой сів же я на коника, Гаю, коню, гаю, Гаю, коню, гаю,
Гаю, вороненький, До миленької двора.
Ой виїхав на гороньку, Та й три рази гукнув.
Ой вийди, дівчина, Вийди, чорнобрива,
Бо зі жалю розпукну.
Ой не гукай їде, дурню, Не гукай, не гукай!
Давно ти казала, Праву ручку дала. Ти іншої собі шукай!

Variant B Козак коня усідлає, Та й до него промовляє:
- Ступом, коню, ступом, ступом підо мною
До того Дунаю, де я втонути маю.
І став я та думаю, Що робити тепер маю?
Чи мені втопитись, чи додому завернути?
Ой пішов я понад Дунай, Тихий Дунай стоїть тихо,
Рад би я се утопити, Душі моїй буде лихо.

Variant E -Ступай, конику, ступай, вороний,
Ой на розбиту груду, Бувай здорова, моя миленька,
Я вже в тебе не буду.

Variant F Козак коника сідлає, До коника примовляє:
-Ой ступай, коню, правою ногою Аж до тихого Дунаю.
Як поїхав до Дунаю, Стій же, коню, подумаю:

Чи мені топиться, Чи мені провалиться,
Сам я молод, не вгадаю.
А ти, щука, бери тіло, А ти, Боже, бери душу.
Через тую дівчину вражую Утопитися мушу.

Vaiant G Козак коника сідлає Та й до коня промовляє:
-Риссю, мій коню, риссю, вороний, Аж до тихого Дунаю.
А у тихого Дунаю Стану, гляну, подумаю:
Чи мені втопиться, чи з коника вбиться,
Чи назад воротиться.
Як назад повернуся, До кого я пригорнуся?
Батенька немає, матері немає, А дівчина не приймає.

In the resolution of the Variant A, the bachelor curses his beloved, which never happens in other ballad variants: in the ballad, published by Veriovka, the woman agrees to marry the young man (Variant F), in Holovat͡s'kyĭ's collection, the unfaithful wife suggests sending her husband to the army (Variant D). One might infer that in Klymasz's materials the ballads that were performed by the interviewed first wave Ukrainians in Canada support the institution of marriage, and encourage people to stay married in spite of the problems, whereas in Ukraine they may be more sympathetic to love (Variant F):

Variant A Бодай тобі, моя мила, Так було ловко конати,
Так як мені тепер, Хлопцю молодому, За друго се шукати.

Variant D - За що го бити, за що го бити, Здоров"я збавляти,
Коника давши, та й осідлавши, Та най йде служити!

Variant F -Не топися, козаченько, Бо ти душу загубиш.
Ходім до церкви та й повінчаємось,
Коли так вірно любиш.

Thus on the example of the nine interviews, we can observe that among all song genres, ballad was one of the best-represented in the singing repertoire of the first-wave Ukrainian immigrants. The viability of the ballad genre after transition through time and space might be explained by its ability to fulfill four major functions simultaneously: entertaining, social-regulative, educative functions, as well as the function of continuity of culture and nostalgia, which obtained its major characteristics in the condition of immigration and led to the conservation of the settlers' oral tradition. The plots of the ballads, recorded by Klymasz, are predominantly family-oriented, and support marriage as a sacred institution.

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Chapter 2: SINGING REPERTOIRE OF THE SECOND-WAVE UKRAINIAN IMMIGRANTS TO CANADA

The first wave of immigration of Ukrainians into Canada was interrupted by World War I. On the 4th of August, 1914, the government of Canada issued an order to Council which provided for the registration, and in certain cases, for the internment of aliens of "enemy nationalities". Since Ukrainian Canadians were also known at the time by such regional names such as "Galician", "Bukovynian" or "Ruthenians" (which were a part of the Austro-Hungarian Empire, an enemy of the allies), their ethnic identity was sometimes misunderstood. Over the next six years, various repressive measures would be directed against them (Luciuk 1988, 27).

It was not until 1921 that Ukrainians started coming to Canada again. Notwithstanding that the revitalization of Ukrainian immigration to Canada took place less than ten years after the decline of the first one, the second-wave immigrants differed greatly from their predecessors. Together with the farm labourers, a large group of domestics and political refugees, as well as the members of the Ukrainian army which had been fighting against Poland and the Russian Communists, came to Canada during the second wave (n.d.). In some cases the decision to leave the Motherland and move to Canada was triggered by the loss of the Ukrainian War of Independence against the Bolsheviks.

For example, Mike Fedec, who was interviewed by Robert Bohdan Klymasz for his *Svieto* project (1992, 75), moved to Canada alone in 1925 after fighting for Ukrainian Independence in the Petlura army for

10 months, followed by one year in the Polish army, an ally of Petlura. 'By spring of 1921 the Bolsheviks were in control of central Ukraine, the Poles controlled eastern Galicia and Volhynia, which they had obtained from Russia; the Romanians held northern Bukovyna, which they had obtained by the treaty of St. Germain in 1919; and Czeckoslovakia had obtained Subcarpathia' (Martynowych 1985, 39). Unlike the first wave, the second wave of immigration was comprised not only of farmers, but also of political and economic refugees.

The outcome of the War of Independence was disastrous for Ukrainian peasants in Galicia and Bukovyna: a number of farmsteads and houses had been destroyed during the war, and the majority of land resources still belonged to the landlords (Martynowych 1985, 39 - 44). As a result, many economic refugees chose to go to Canada. Almost all the second-wave immigrants in Klymasz's fieldwork (1964 - 1965), came to Canada from Galicia. Kateryna Obuch, Paranja Kuzyk and Marija Moysiuk were from Pokuttia, Ivano-Frankivs'k region; Philip Sydor and Nellie Kendzerski were born in Ternopil' region, Husiatyn district. Dokiia Rozmarynowych arrived from the bordering Borshchiv district in Ternopil' region. The representatives from L'viv region are Anastasia Washezko (Iaroslav district), and Mr. Strilchuk (Zydaciv district).

The only settler from Volyn' was Ivan Kovalchuk. He came from Volodymyr district. The birthplace of Mrs. George Kitz was uncertain. Mrs. Kitz had Polish features in her songs and speech, and she did not talk about where she came from.

The quest for better farming opportunities and living conditions spurred Ukrainians to participate in the second wave. The successful admittance of the first wave immigrants to Canada encouraged future Ukrainian immigrants. They were in search of the opportunities that their predecessors were enjoying. Consider the story of Mykhailo Stetsko, a poor villager who became the owner of "160 acres with enough forest to heat all of Galicia; that fifteen acres were under cultivation; ... two oxen, a cow, a wagon, plough, harrow and sleigh, a house and five children ..." (Czumer 1981, 33) - all that after residing in Canada for only five years. For those who led a rough life in Ukraine, it was a great inspiration. Thus many young people decided to follow their friends and relatives to Canada.

Reunification of families also reignited immigration of Ukrainians to Canada in 1921 - 1922. In the circumstances where the wives did not immigrate with their husbands during the first wave, the families were able to reunite at the end of the First World War (Ewanchuk 1988, 186). Klymasz in his study of Ukrainian Canadian rituals in East Central Alberta characterizes the second-wave immigrants as 'later comers' (1992, 63). Out of five respondents who were interviewed by the researcher for this project, four immigrants came to Canada because they had relatives who immigrated during the first wave: Antonia Basistiuk (1992, 63) and Anna Martyniak (1992, 78) followed their husbands, Barbara Babych (1992, 83) came to join her brother and Ewdokia Woytkiw (1991, 71) arrived in Canada because her aunt was living here.

The presence of family and friends in Canada was a comforting factor, which made the second-wave immigrants feel safe. In the words of

Michael H. Marynchak, "... First of all it (the second wave of immigration) took place in an atmosphere of organized life and had moral, and in many cases, material help" (1982, 371). A typical case is described by Mrs. Mylarowych - the 'latercomer', who followed her husband to Canada after the end of World War I. Mrs. Mylarowych communicates that she was greatly supported by the other Ukrainians who settled in Manitoba earlier: '... the neighbors... helped me get a start. One woman gave me a clucking hen, another one brought a large basket of eggs, still another one brought seeds and plants to start a vegetable garden. ... When I think of the goodness of our neighbors and relatives, I often cry' (Ewanchuk 1988, 187 - 188).

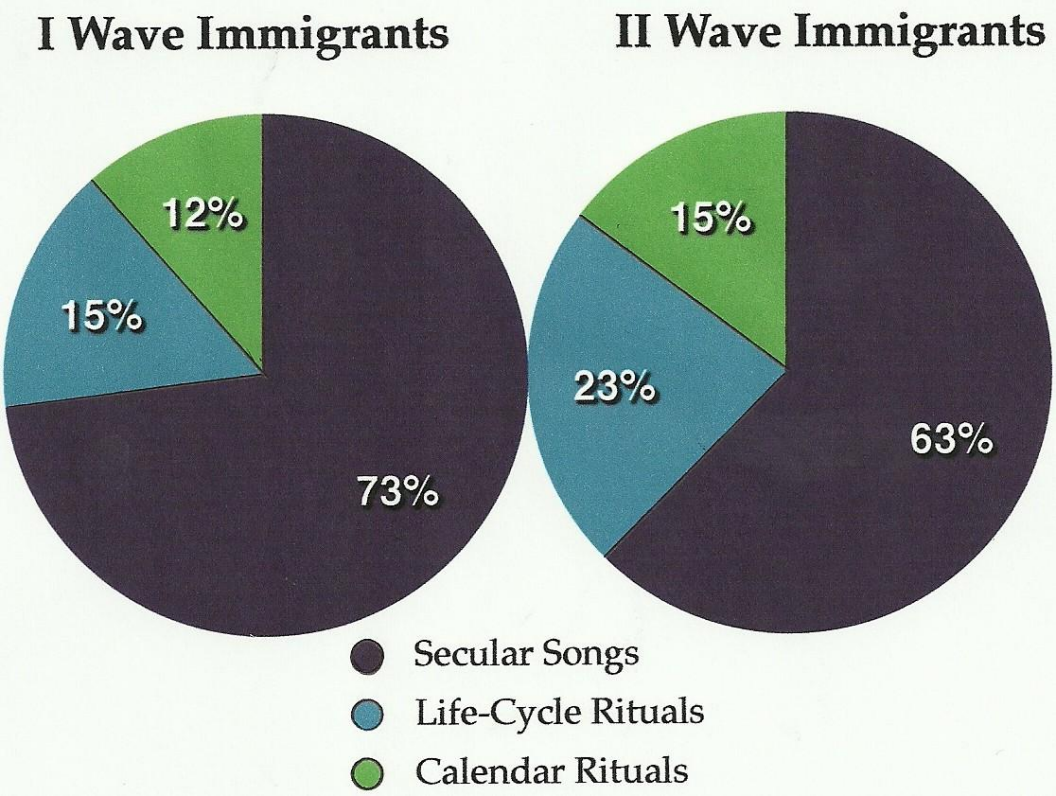
While analyzing the interviews of those Ukrainians who arrived in Canada during the second wave of immigration, Klymasz in his book '*Svieto: Celebrating Ukrainian-Canadian Ritual in East Central Alberta Through the Generations'* (1992) states, that '... the major difference between this group and the preceding group of informants was that the focus on hardships and poverty suffered by the early arrivals was almost totally absent in the account of these later arrivals' (1992, 91).

The representatives of the second wave of immigration, recorded by Klymasz in 1964-1965, also took up residence in the areas which were already settled by the first-wave immigrants. Anastasia Washezko and Nellie Kendzerski's were recorded in Rorketon, Sydor Phillip - in Winnipegosis, Dokiia Rozmarynowych lived in Fork River, Manitoba. Another three interviewees were from Saskatchewan: Kateryna Obuck, Mrs. Strilchuk, Mrs. George Kitz, resided in Yorkton. Paranja Kuzyk and Marta Mojsiuk, together with the immigrant of the first-wave,

Docja Thomas, were singing as a trio in Vegreville, Alberta. Ivan Kovalchuk was interviewed in Shandro.

The biographical data of the first and second wave interviewees suggests that the average age of first wave immigrants(~20 years old) compared to the average age of the second wave that was interviewed (~24 years old). This age difference may not be significant enough to explain the variations in folk ballad traditions from one wave to the next. However, the reasons for the Ukrainian immigration to Canada, as well as the historical events which took place in Ukraine during the years between the waves of immigration, seems much more likely to have resulted in the modifications of the immigrants' oral folk traditions: the singing repertoires of the first and the second-wave immigrants differed somewhat as a result.

First, the repertoire of the second-wave immigrants in Klymasz's (1964-1965) recordings is larger and more varied. The singers performed 136 songs, out of which there were 31 songs concerning life-cycle (23 wedding songs, 7 lullabies and 1 lament), 20 calendar ritual songs (15 Christmas carols, and 4 spring songs '*haiivka*s' and 1 song, which is sung on '*Malanka'* (Ukrainian New Year)), and the 85 songs dealing with everyday life of the performers (68 ballads, 4 lyrical songs, 9 dance/play songs, as well as 4 comical songs). Contrary to the representatives of the first-wave of immigration, the repertoire of not just some, but all the second wave performers contained ballads. The charts below illustrate the relative quantities of the folksongs associated to the repertoires of the first and second wave interviewees. These collections could be classified into secular songs, life-cycle and calendar ritual songs:

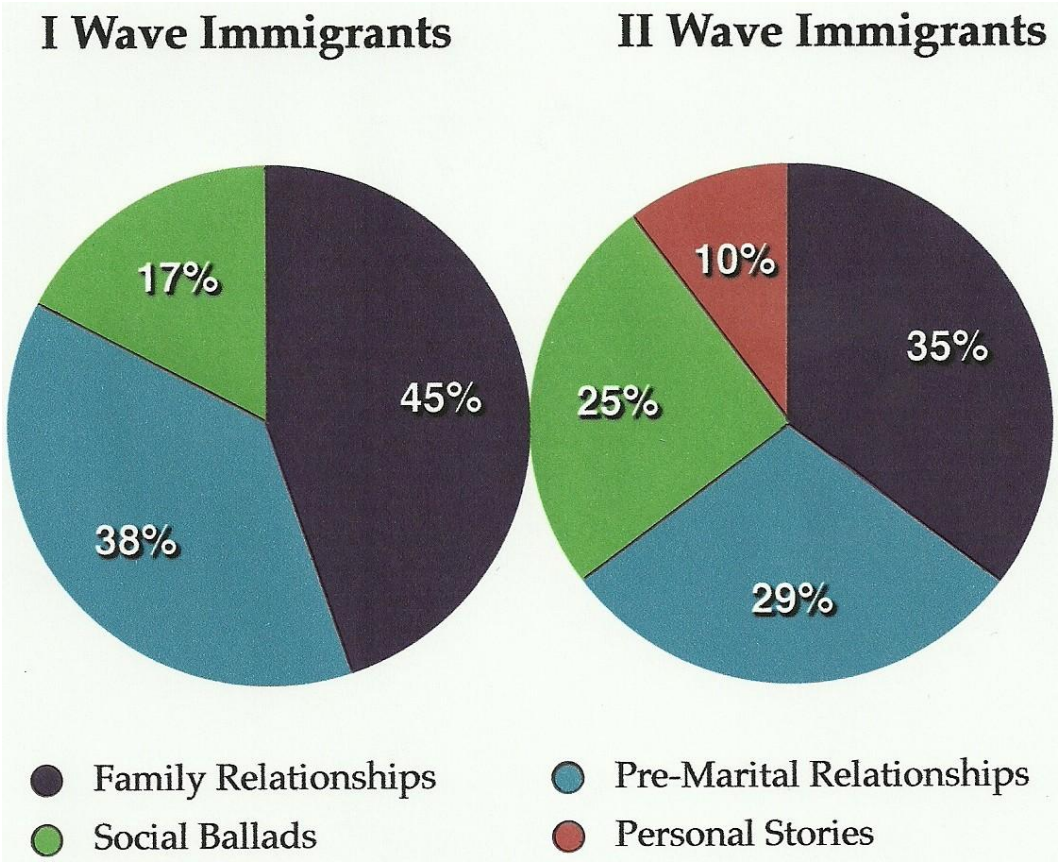


Second, one may observe that the subject matter of lyrical songs changed. Contrary to the first wave immigrants, who discussed the topics of love and pre-marital relationships in their lyrical tradition, there is just one song in the repertoire of Anastasia Washezko about the same issue (Disk 8, Track 12). While listening to the recordings of Kateryna Obuck, one comes across a lyrical song which reveals that there is no place like home; the parents' house, where one grew up as a child, is always going to be dear to one's heart no matter where he or she ends up (Disk 2, Track 16).

Another lyrical song from the repertoire of Katerina Obuck, praises the importance of the ideals of truth, honesty and beauty to which one should aspire to (Disk 2, Track 17), and is probably a song composed by a person with formal academic training, which later on became a part

of folk tradition. Nellie Kendzerski performs a lyrical nostalgic song about youth (Disk 6, Track 12). The latter is not a folksong either; the name of its author is Leonid Hlibov, the music was composed by Mykola Lysenko (1962, 235). Increasingly, with the development of infrastructure and mass communication on the territory of Ukraine, one may observe the integration of the songs composed by the intellectual elite of the time into the repertoire of the Ukrainian folk tradition.

Moreover, the plots of ballads performed by the second-wave immigrants were different from the plots of the first wave ballads. Schematically this could be depicted as following:



Some of them still covered the same topics however the ballads performed by the representatives of the second immigration wave are somewhat different from the ones of their first wave predecessors. Taking a closer look at the recorded ballad plots, one could see the difference:

Family-Oriented Ballads (27 ballads):

• *Unhappy marriages (8 ballads)*: Among all the above mentioned second-wave respondents, Kateryna Obuck was the only one to perform the ballad about a drunkard husband who beats his wife (EC 2218: Disk 2, Track 19). This single song was composed by Kateryna's grandmother, as mentioned by Kateryna herself, in response to her alcoholic husband, and transmitted just between members of that family. In this case, one may observe the function of a ballad in maintaining conformity: by composing the song and performing it, the woman was probably hoping to embarrass her husband so much that he would change his behaviour. However in the repertoire of other interviewed second-wave immigrants, one would not encounter this ballad plot.

There are ballads that disclose the initial desire of a woman to get married, even sometimes to propose marriage (EC 2245: Disk 15, Track 31), but then she is not happy because her husband does not love her (EC 2235: Disk 8, Track 20; EC 2245: Disk 13, Track 3), which leads to her disdain for him. Anastasia Washezko performs a ballad in which a girl equates her wedding dress to funeral attire (EC 2235: Disk 8, Track 11).

The second-wave immigrants who were interviewed developed family-oriented ballads dealing with issues of politics and faith. Now it is war that separates the spouses, causing the tragic death of the beloved husband (EC 2250: Disk 28, Track 15; EC 2230: Disk 19, Track 28). While the husband is in battle, his wife's longing for him causes him great distress and the desire to come back home, especially after a warning from a fortuneteller that his wife is about to die (EC 2241: Disk 11, Track 3).

- *Unfaithfulness (6 ballads):* A husband is unfaithful to his wife (EC 2251: Disk 16, Track 3), and the heartbroken woman poisons herself (EC 2229: Disk 5, Track 24). The ballads about adulterous spouses constitute the major theme of this category. They reveal the story of a husband who kills his wife hoping for the relationship with his new lover to blossom (EC 2218: Disk 2, Track 20; EC 2232: Dick 7, Track 3; EC 2233: Disk 21, Track 4). Sydor Phillip performs a ballad about the unfaithful wife, who bears a child from another man while her husband is away (EC 2229: Disk 5, Track 31).

- *Brothers and sisters (1 ballad):* In the repertoire of the interviewed second wave immigrants a single song tells a story about a rich man who disrespects his poor brother (EC 2230: Disk 6, Track 7).

- *Parenthood (3 ballads):* The issue of imprisonment arises in the plots about parents and their children. A soldier asks his mother to bail him out from captivity (EC 2232: Dick 7, Track 3). In some cases when the reason for imprisonment is not specified, the son blames his mother for not instilling proper values in him (EC 2228: Disk 5, Track 20; EC 2229: Disk 5).

- *Relationships with the family of a husband (2 ballads):* These two types of ballads reveal the contempt of a mother-in-law for her daughter-in-law. The mother-in-law misinforms her son who is at war, saying that his wife is drinking and neglecting their household. Eventually the husband comes home and kills his wife, before realizing that he was misinformed (EC 2241: Disk 11, Track 4). The second ballad discusses the ruthless poisoning of the newly-weds by the mother of the groom, which she later greatly regrets, because it takes her beloved son from her. The poisoning turned out that way after the mother tried to poison her daughter-in-law, who in turn unknowingly shared that poison with her husband (EC 2242: Disk 11, Track 31).

- *Loss of a loved one (1 ballad):* A self-composed ballad by Dokiia Rozmarynowych touches on the issue of missing her family after emigrating from Ukraine. Dokiia addresses her ballad to her sister whom she loves dearly and misses greatly (EC 2251: Disk 16, Track 13).

- *Unconventional marriage, intermarriage (3 ballads):* A young girl marries an old man because her mother convinced her to do so (EC 2242: Disk 13, Track 6) or because her beloved died (EC 2242: Disk 11, Track 32). The plot of one of the ballads discusses the issue of intermarriage - a ballad about a Calvinist (rich Ukrainian landlord, who followed a Calvinist approach to Christian life), who kills his wife as soon as he hears what kind of lullaby she sings to their child (EC 2218: Disk 2, Track 18).

Pre-Marital Relationships (20 ballads):

- *Separation, loss of lover (12 ballads):* In ballads performed by second-wave immigrants, lovers are separated not by public opinion, which is more common to first wave ballads, but by military service (EC 2230: Disk 6, Track 3; EC 2232: Dick 7, Track 19; EC 2234: Disk 8, Track 8; EC 2231: Disk 20, Track 12), or a long trip to Ukraine (EC 2229: Disk 5, Track 28; EC 2233: Disk 21, Track 11). This forced breakup is suffered by both lovers: the young soldier promises to marry his beloved when he completes his military service (EC 2232: Disk 7, Track 19), and even asks the captain to let him go home to get married (EC 2234: Disk 8, Track 8; EC 2251: Disk 16, Track 4). However in some cases the girl does not expect her beloved to come back so she marries another man. On meeting the soldier again she is willing to break up with her husband and live with her beloved, but the young man rejects her (EC 2241: Disk 11, Track 7; EC 2250: Disk 15, Track 32). The topic of poverty is also discussed in the ballad about a young man who does not want to marry his beloved because she is poor (EC 2241: Disk 11, Track 8).

- *Seduction of a girl, bastardy (2 ballads):* in an example of a first wave ballad, where a girl is seduced by a young man, the man does not want to marry her afterwards. In the second-wave ballads, the accent shifted from the issue of virginity and marriage to the topic of love. There is just one ballad in which a girl is left by her boyfriend and thus loses the respect of her community (EC 2235: Disk 8, Track 15). However, public opinion in the repertoires of the second-wave immigrants does not play as much of a major role, and its importance is diminished: while listening to the ballad, one feels sorry for the maiden who lost her beloved. Evidently,

in the ballad about the beautiful daughter of the priest, about whom various ugly rumors spread, public opinion is criticized, and the opinion of others is not considered the highest standard to follow (EC 22218: Disk 2, Track 15).

- *Unfaithfulness, betrayal (4 ballads):* For the most part the ballads with this plot tell about an unfaithful young man who is seeing another girl and does not want to marry his previous beloved (EC 2250: Disk 15, Track 27; EC 2250, Disk 15, Track 29; EC 2233: Disk 21, Track 3). Her unreciprocated love leads the rejected maiden to suicide (EC 2229: Disk 5, Track 24).

- *Charming, poisoning (2 ballads):* Unlike the two ballads of the first-wave immigrants, which expand on the reasons for charming and the process of making a poison by a young girl who is in love with a young man, the ballad performed by the second-wave immigrants discusses the tragedy of the death of a young man who dearly loved the woman who poisoned him (EC 2233: Disk 21, Track 6). In the plot about the young man who wants to marry a widow, his mother prohibits him from doing that because she is afraid that her son would be poisoned just like the widow's late husband (EC 2235: Disk 8, Track 19).

<u>Social Ballads (17 ballads):</u>

- *Foreign land (5 ballads):* The ballads of this category communicate the hardships faced by the one who leaves his Motherland

(EC 2241: Disk 11, Track 10; EC 2230: Disk 19, Track 31; EC 2230: Disk 6, Track 5; EC 2230: Disk 6, Track 4; EC 2230: Disk 6, Track 6).

- *Death of a young man (9 ballads):* Yearning for loved ones is a pivotal topic of the ballads discussing the death of a man - a representative of a specific social group - who is far away from his home: *chumak* (EC 2234: Disk 8, Track 3; EC 2231: Disk 20, Track 3), and soldier ballads (EC 2229: Disk 5, Track 26; EC 2229: Disk 5, Track 30; EC 2242, Disk 11, Track 34). Increasingly, not the death itself but the fact that the body will not be buried, honored and bewailed by the family, horrified everyone the most. The Kendzerski couple performed the ballad in which a Cossack regrets that he has given too much of his time to military service and thus was not able to get settled in his life and start a family (EC 2234: Disk 7, Track 39).

Sometimes a wife prevents the "*zhovnir"* (soldier) from going to war by not waking him up in time (EC 2233: Disk 21, Track 10). Hardships in life and lack of close relatives are also discussed in the orphans' ballads (EC 2230: Disk 6, Track 23; EC 2245: Disk 13, Track 5).

- *Hired labor and slavery (1 ballad):* The ballad performed by Anastasia Washezko touches on the topic of the unfair fate of a peasant who is obliged to work for a landlord (EC 2235: Dick 8, Track 16).

- *Patriotism (1 ballad):* The ballad repertoire of Kateryna Obuck contains a patriotic song about the glory of Cossacks (EC 2218: Disk 2, Track 13).

- *Historical (1 ballad):* The duet of Nellie and Steve Kendzerski performed a historical ballad about the murder of Elizabeth of Bavaria (EC 2232: Disk 7, Track 5).

Personal stories (7 ballads):

- *Evil fate (4 ballads):* since people probably did not feel themselves a part of a close-knit community as much as before, the plots about individual life appeared in the repertoire of the second-wave Ukrainian immigrants who were interviewed. In this kind of ballad one cannot find any reasons why the main character feels unhappy, it just describes the feeling he or she experiences (EC 2217: Disk 2, Track 9; EC 2218: Disk 2, Track 13; EC 2218: Disk 2, Track 21; EC 2234: Disk 7, Track 38).

- *Death of the main character (3 ballads):* This category includes the ballads revealing emotions of the main character who is about to die (EC 2235: Disk 8, Track 11; EC 2250: Disk 15, Track 25; EC 2250: Disk 15, Track 30).

The main conclusion to be drawn here is that the subject matter of the ballads performed by the representatives of the second wave of immigration are much more varied. Family-oriented ballads still discuss unhappy family life; however, contrary to the repertoire of the first-wave immigrants, the plots do not depict the husband as a ruthless oppressor, but as an equal partner who suffers the hated relationship just as much

as his wife. Overall the issue of love replaced the problem of tyrannical treatment, which was pivotal in the family-oriented ballads performed by the first-wave immigrants.

There are also two self-composed family-oriented ballads: Kateryna Obuch performed a ballad that was originally sung by her grandmother about her drunkard husband and reminded Kateryna of the close relative (Disk 2, Track 19). Dokiia Rozmarynowych sang a ballad which she created for her sister (Disk 16, Track 13). These two ballads acquired a new meaning: mourning for their relatives whom they left behind after immigrating to Canada. Thus one can observe the function of nostalgia as a theme in the oral tradition of the second-wave immigrants.

Ballads served an educational function by the plots where the antagonist is punished for his misdeeds. For instance, there is a ballad where a husband kills his wife and the mother of his children so he can be with another woman. But that woman tells him to leave her house when he tells her about the murder of his wife. The murderous man is left alone and miserable, having to take care of his children by himself.

Another ballad speaks of a mother who intends to poison her daughter-in-law, whom she dislikes, only to accidentally poison both her son and his wife when the young bride unknowingly shares that poison with him. The mother is therefore left with no son, no grandchildren, and a ruined life. Yet another ballad talks of a young girl who loses her virginity before marriage, and regrets it greatly because she loses the respect of her family and community and loses her appeal to potential husbands, who are looking for a virgin. She is therefore destined to be

alone for the rest of her life. These ballads educated the people about the acceptable standards of behavior, and therefore promoted conformity to social norms.

One might argue that historical ballads were also fulfilling the function of educating young generation of Ukrainian Canadians by passing on the knowledge of some historical facts. The ones that stood out were those that spoke of dramatic events in history. One example was where a Cossack died in battle and his woman missed him greatly. There was also a ballad about the assassination by an anarchist of Elizabeth, Empress of Austria and Queen of Hungary, whose empire ruled over Western Ukraine at the time.

The ballad function of maintaining conformity was one of the dominant functions in ballads of the first-wave immigrants, and was diminished in the second-wave ballads. It still, however, can be found in plots about unfaithfulness and betrayal in family life and in patriotic songs, which encouraged the struggle for Ukrainian sovereignty. However, while listening to the recordings, it seems that a part of the ballad in which an antagonist who acts against accepted norms of behavior, is punished for his deeds, has been lost or deemphasized in the second wave ballads.

One might infer that the value of social obedience is diminished. For example, in some first wave ballads, when a husband drinks and beats his wife, she escapes from her miserable life with him, to either go back to her family or make a fresh start on her own, and

punishes him by leaving him all alone in the world. In second wave versions, only the wife's despair is described.

Another distinction between first and second wave ballads had to do with the function of validating culture. Some first wave ballads were meant to demonstrate accepted norms of behaviour, whereas many second wave ballads dealt with personal experiences. This can be found in patriotic, immigrant, historical ballads, and even in ballads involving intimate relationships prior to marriage: when the young man is called to military duty, his girl waits faithfully for her beloved, writes him letters, and he eventually returns to marry her.

The repertoires of the representatives of the second wave of immigration mirror the social and historical changes which took place in Ukraine during the tumultuous half dozen years between the first and second waves. Those dramatic events included World War I, the Bolshevik Revolution in nearby Russia, various regional wars, and an unsuccessful war for independence, as well as famine. All those calamities had a profound effect on the lives of Ukrainians, and consequently on the singing repertoires of the second wave immigrants.

A number of songs speak of lost youth that one will never experience again. This might result from the uprooting of their lives and moving to a new country, and from the suffering of people during that era in Ukraine who spent their best years struggling through hunger and conflict. Kateryna Obuch even performed a song that expressed the pain and grief of a man born in those dark days, wishing to end his miserable life (1964 Disk 2, Track 9).

Ukrainians were demoralized as their dream of independence remained unfulfilled. They longed for Cossack gallantry, which has defended Ukraine for centuries. Unsurprisingly of all the military action that took place on the territories of modern Ukraine, a considerable part of the immigrant balladry discusses the issues of war, death in a foreign land, and the tragedy of not being surrounded by loved ones at death.

In the ballads about pre-marital relationships, it is war or mandatory travel from home, which parts the lovers and prevents them from starting a family. The importance of marriage also becomes vital for both genders, and they both desire it just as much. The issue of keeping one's virginity before marriage diminished in the second wave, thus exemplifying the shift of the function of exercising social control to a more personal approach in discussing the intimate emotions of the main characters.

There could be reason to infer that the change in focus and preferences made the singing repertoires of the second wave immigrants unique to this group of newcomers. Arguably, the songs of the second wave Ukrainian Canadians were distinct not only from the ones performed by the first wave settlers, but also from the songs that were popular in Ukraine at the time.

Examples of these differences can be found by referencing the collections of ballads that were published by the Ukrainian folklorist Oleksander (Oleksii) Ivanovych Deĭ. He compiled the aggregate data of the available fieldwork that included his own research as well as the folk oral tradition documented by ethnographers from the Institute of

Ethnography (present name M.T. Ryl's'kyi Institute of Folk Art, Folklore, and Ethnography), and also by students and private collectors from various regions of Ukraine (Deĭ 1988, 3).

The two collections of Ukrainian ballads that Deĭ had published were "*Ballads: Love and Courtship*" (1987), and "*Ballads: Family Relationships*" (1988). The researcher was also planning to release the third book of ballads regarding historical and social issues, but it never came out. Hence the ballad collections by Deĭ mostly deals with the topics of love and family relationships, unlike the publications of Ukrainian Canadian scholars who voiced their views and opinions on the past as well as other issues, freely. They did not have to worry about revising their fieldwork materials or filtering their songs just to satisfy the authorities.

In the repertoires of the second wave immigrants, social ballads constitute 28% of the total, are almost as numerous as the family-oriented ballads, as well as the ones about pre-marital relationships. This might indicate the significance of political and social issues to the second-wave immigrants, which may have even caused their immigration in the first place.

Social issues are also discussed in the ballads about courtship and family in Deĭ's collection, but they seem to be there just to provide context for the expression of the main message of the ballad. When a ballad is about the separation of loved ones, it usually has to do with travel out of the native village to earn income, or to go to battle. The ballads also mention different occupations, such as a "*chumack*" (a

Ukrainian salt merchant), a Cossack, or a military conscript, etc., but focus more on their private lives instead of their professional activities.

In the folk songs from both of Deĭ's collections, one can find mention of unequal social and economic status, like landlord and peasant, aristocrat and commoner, which defines the relationships between people. For example, in ballads about marital infidelity, when a wealthy married person has an affair with someone, the one who belongs to a lower class is murdered by the rich spouse without repercussions. Likewise, when siblings are involved, and one of them is doing better than the other, there is more focus on their interaction with each other, than on how they got to where they are. The first collection *"Ballads: Love and Courtship"* (Deĭ 1987) contains 474 ballads, that could be divided into five major categories:

- *Separation, loss of lover (192 ballads):* losing a true love because of death, murder or departure to a far away land (60 ballads); committing suicide or dying from despair after the separation from a loved one because of rumors or the disapproval of one's family (25 ballads); and meeting a lover after a long separation (16 ballads). To this category also belong the topics of rivalry and jealousy (29 ballads); ascertaining the feelings of the significant other (2 ballads); and choosing a life mate over others by testing his/her power and intelligence, that might cause death of the one being tested (7 ballads). Together with the topic of escaping an unwanted marriage by suicide (25 ballads), the ballads from Deĭ's collection discuss the situation when a bachelor or a maiden in love die or pretend to be dying in order to get a permission for marriage (15 ballads).

In Ukrainian ballad variants young people in love are sometimes more supportive of each-other than they are of close family members (13 ballads);

- *Seduction of a girl, bastardy (178 ballads):* losing virginity and giving birth to a child without being married (169 ballads); as well as being punished for seducing maidens (9 ballads);

- *Unfaithfulness, betrayal (34 ballads):* being punished for unfaithfulness in love or friendship (34 ballads);

- *Charming, poisoning (70 ballads):* charming and poisoning of a beloved (70 ballads).

The second volume *"Ballads: Family Relationships"* (Deĭ 1988) includes 515 ballads covering the topics of:

- *Unhappy marriages (62 ballads)*: lack of love between spouses, which makes a marriage unhappy (62 ballads);

- *Unfaithfulness (100 ballads):* marital infidelity (66 ballads); murder of a spouse instigated by a lover (28 ballads); as well as testing the loyalty of a spouse (6 ballads);

- *Brothers and sisters (52 ballads):* bad relations between siblings (28 ballads); and incest (24 ballads);

- *Parenthood (114 ballads):* some plots discuss the families in which grown-up children are disobedient to their parents (38 ballads); and

are ungrateful for the love and support that their mothers and fathers were giving them throughout all their lives (76 ballads).

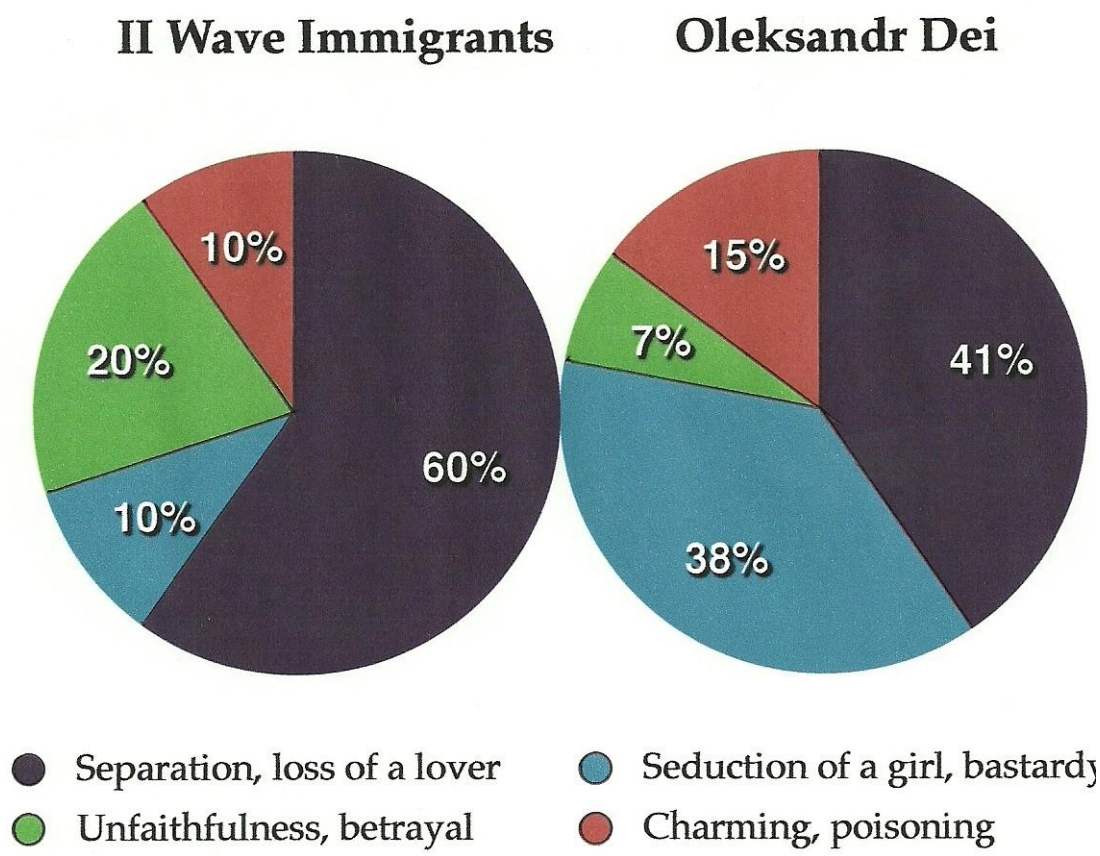
- *Relationships with the family of a husband (74 ballads):* involving the issue of wicked mothers-in-law (70 ballads) and rivalry between sisters-in-law (4 ballads);

- *Loss of a loved one (113 ballads):* unexpected death of a dear wife (35 ballads); loss of an adored husband (4 ballads); also the unfortunate fate of an orphan (32 ballads); as well as family catastrophes caused by crime (42 ballads).

This classification is not precise since the majority of ballads which were published by Deĭ could fall into different categories according to the interpretation of the reader. For example, the song about the husband murdering his wife to please his mistress, could be classified not only into the "murder of a spouse instigated by a lover" category, but also as "the lack of love between spouses", which leads to the affair, as well as "marital infidelity", since the infidelity was the main cause of the murder. In this case, the publisher's classification was followed.

To effectively compare the proportions of the different topics, the ballads that constitute Deĭ's collections were divided into categories that are similar to those of the second-wave immigrants' ballads. To illustrate the percentage of the data set, the following pie charts were created. First two charts illustrate the proportional relationships of ballad plots that discuss relationships between young people before marriage:

PRE-MARITAL RELATIONSHIPS

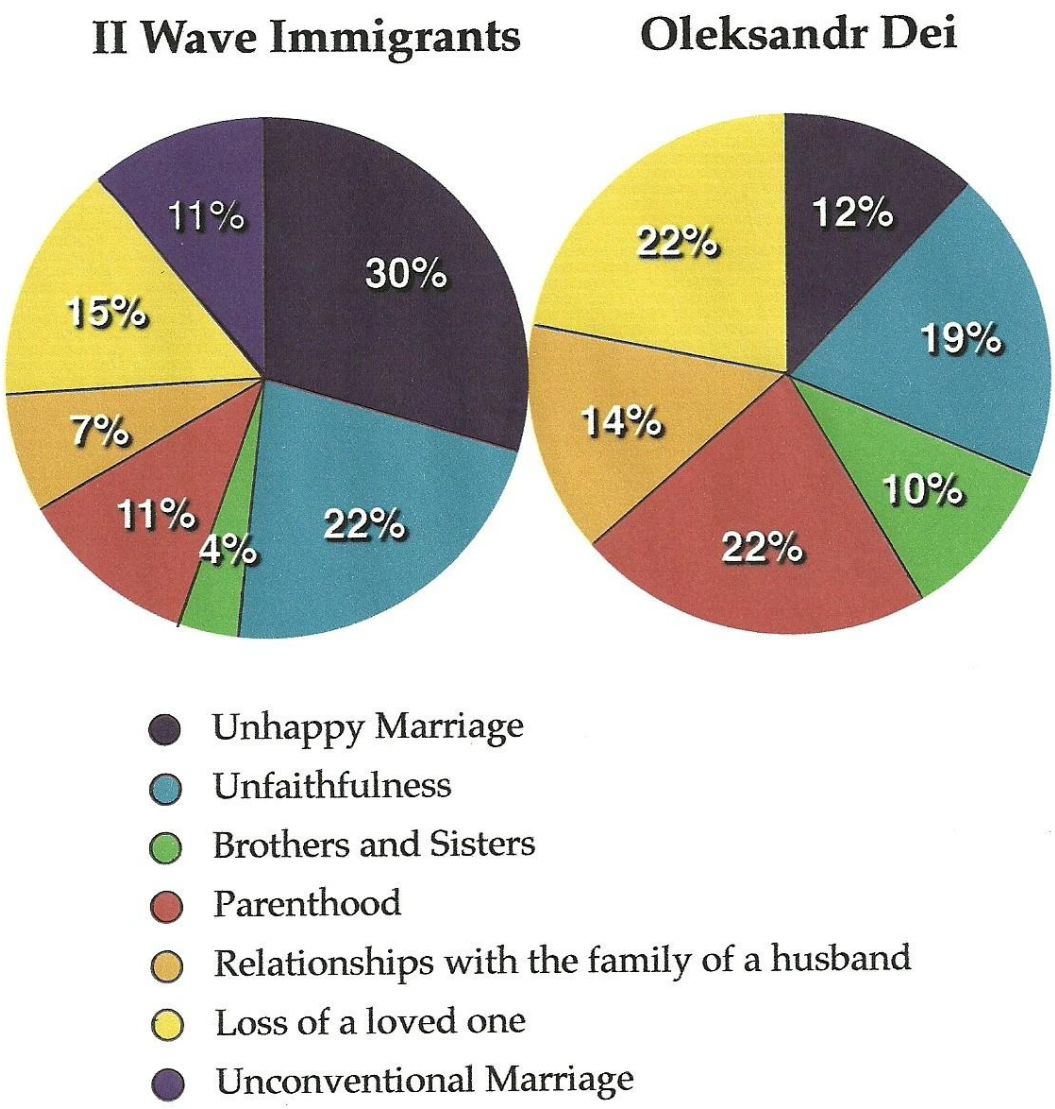


One might infer that the function of maintaining conformity remained dominant in Ukraine; the percentage of ballads that discuss seduction of a virgin prevails in Deĭ's collection (38%), whereas in the immigrant balladry the focus shifted to the topic of losing a loved one (60%). Perhaps in the conditions of immigration the value of the social conformity slightly diminished. The ballads became more personal, dealing with the topics of unhappy relationships and unfaithfulness (20%) that cause emotional distress.

The following two charts compare the proportion of family ballads that discuss the topics of unhappy marriages, conjugal infidelity,

loss of a spouse or poor relationships between the immediate family members in Klymasz's fieldwork and Deĭ's collection:

FAMILY-ORIENTED BALLADS



Many family ballads in both Ukrainian and Ukrainian Canadian folklore are concerned with the loss of a husband in a battle, or longing for a spouse who is traveling to a far-away land. The topic of unhappiness in marriage remains vital in the Ukrainian Canadian collection (30%), while Deĭ's ballads concentrate more on the issues of

parenthood (22%), loss of a loved spouse (22%) and marital infidelity (19%). A number of ballads from Deĭ's compilation also discuss unsuccessful relationships of mothers- and daughters-in-law, as well as the conflicts between sisters-in-law (14%). The Ukrainian song collection also addresses the lack of support between siblings who live next door to each other (10%), that seems not to be an issue for immigrants who left their families behind. The move to a different country might have caused changes in relationships with close family members.

In order to trace the dynamics of ballad text and texture, one has to consider the effect of immigration on the ballad lyrics, which resulted in their distinction from the versions as practiced back in Ukraine. It might be interesting to compare the variants of one of the most popular ballads among the representatives of the second wave of immigration; its plot talks about an unfaithful husband who kills his wife because his new lover tells him to do so. Klymasz recorded three variants of this ballad in 1964-1965. Variant A was documented in Yorkton, Saskatchewan, as a part of Kateryna's Obuck repertoire (EC 2218: Disk 2, Track 20). During the interview Kateryna mentioned that she learned this song in Ukraine where she heard it from her grandmother.

Variant A

Іде Василь до корчмоньки,
Як в сопілку свище.
Вийшла вдова молоденька -
До хати го кличе.
Іде Василь із корчмоньки,
Як в сопілку грає.
Вийшла вдова молоденька -
На него моргає.
Прийшов Василь та й до хати:
- Помай біг ти, серце.
А вна йому відповіла:
- Убий жінку перше.
Порадь мене як, вдовонько,
Як де жінку бити?
Шлюбна жінка - як зозулька,
Буде сі просити.
Заткай каглу й запри двері
Аби загоріла,
Завидь її в темний лісок,
Кажи, що вдуріла.

Прийшов Василь додомоньку,
Став стіжок вершити,
Вийшла жінка молоденька,
Стала його ганьбити:
- Ой Василю-Василугю,
Що ж маю робити?
Яка нині файна днина,
А ти пішов пити!
Ввійшов Іван та й до хати
І став жінку бити.
Шлюбна жінка, як зозулька,
Сталася просити.
Ой не вважай, Василуню,
Що я молоденька,
Але вважай, Василуню,
Дитина маленька.
Але Василь не вважає
На тоє, на тоє,
Забив косу я в лавоньку
Та й стяв головоньку.
Прийшов Василь до вдовоньки
І став ся витати.
Зробив усе я, вдовонько,
Гаразд коло хати.
Що ти таке се наробив,
Скажи ме, Василю!
Що сказала, те я зробив,
Стів мі жінці шию.
Ой не ходи, Василуню,
Попри мої двори,
Щоби люди не сказали
Що то з мої намови.
Пішов Василь до корчмоньки,
Став сі напивати,
А там пани молоденькі
Стали його питати:
А де ж твоя, Василуню,
Жінка молоденька,
Що в тебе так дуже плаче
Дитина маленька?
Моя жінка молоденька
Пішла в поле жати,
Та й забула мале дитя
З собою узяти.
Ой кувала зозуленька
У ваду на пруттю,
Ведуть уже Василуню
Я в желізнім путтю.
Вилетіла зозуленька,
Стала знов кувати,
Вийшла вдова молоденька,
Стала ся сміяти.
Ой не смійся я, вдовонько
Я з того - я з того,
Бо ти мене нарадила,
Ґазду молодого.
Як я тебе нарадила,
Було не слухати,
Було своїй шлюбній жінці
Голови не стинати.

Variant B was recorded in Rorketon, Manitoba, from Nellie and Steve Kendzerski, and they also brought it from the Old Country (EC 2232: Disk 7, Track 4):

Variant B

Ой ще вчора й ізвечора,
Ще кури не піли,
Ішов Іван до Марусі,
Люди не виділи.
- Надобраніч, Марусенько,
Як сі маєш, серце?
Марусина відповіла:
- Йди вбий жінку перше!
Порадь мене, Марусенько,
Як то жінку бити?
Шлюбна жінка - як зозулька,
Буде сі просити.
Ой не вважай, Івасеньку,
На її прозьбоньку,
Візьми косу гостру в руки,
Зітни головоньку.
Прийшов Іван додомоньку,
Та й став жінку бити,
Шлюбна жінка - як зозулька,
Взяля сі просити.
Не вважаєш, Івасеньку,
Що я молоденька,
Споглянь, споглнь до колиски:
Дитина маленька!
Ой не вважав Івасенько
На її прозьбоньку,
А взяв косу гостру в руки,
Та й стяв головоньку.
Та й заплакав Івасенько,
Що жінки не буде,
Заніс її в ліси темні,
Щоб не знали люди.
Сусіди сі посходити,
Та всі заплакали,
Молодому Івасеві
Рученьки скували.
Повідали до дитини:
- Вже не маєш мами.
Пішов Іван до Марусі,
Став си та й думає.
Маруся го питається:
- Чо сидиш думаєш?
Ой не треба, Івасенько,
Не треба думати,
Мав і жінку як зозульку,
Було б шанувати. Порадилась,
Марусенько,
Як то жінку бити,
Порадь мене, Марусенько,
Що тепер робити.
Ой не треба, Івасенько,
Не треба думати,
Мав і жінку як зозульку,
Було б шанувати!

The three performers, Paranja Kuzyk and Marija Moysiuk, the second-wave immigrants, as well as Docja Thomas who immigrated

during the first wave, performed Variant C (EC 2233: Disk 21, Track 4). According to the words of the interviewees, each of them learned the song in Ukraine; after arriving in Canada and making friends with each-other, the song included parts from all the three repertoires, thus making up a combined and extended version.

Variant C

Теї ночі опівночі, ще й кури не піли,
Ішов Василь до Марусі, люди не виділи.
Прийшов Василь до Марусі, запукав в віконце:
- Вставай, вставай, Марусенько, вже високо сонце!
Встала, встала Марусенька, стала говорити:
- Забий, Василь, слюбну жінку, будем сі любити!
Прийшов Василь додомоньку, та й сів конець стола:
- Дай, Докійко, вечеряти коли вже готово.
Дай, Докійко, вечеряти що сь ми наватила,
Бо вже мені вечеренька з тобою не мила.
- Чи, Василю, правду кажеш, чи лиш так жартуєш?
- Правду, правду, Одокійко, оце з мене чуєш.
Та й збирайся, Одокіє, за ... щільненька,
Та щоби нас не виділа сусіда близенька.
Привів Василь Одокію у поле до дуба:
- Отут будем дров рубати, Одокійко люба!
Привів Василь Одокію у поле до граба:
- Отут будем дров рубати, хоть ...
- Заведи мня, Василеньку, й а в густу калину,
Та й най знають, через кого марне з світа гину!
Завів Василь Одокію й а в густу калину,
Посік її та й порубав, ще й прикидав глиной.
Посік її та й порубав, притоптав ногами,
Пішов Василь до Марусі пораду просити:
Сам вернувся до Марусі тими облогами.
- Як я маю тепер в світі без дружини жити?
А як прийшов до Марусі – запукав у стінку:
- Та й на тобі, Василеньку, коня вороного,
- Вставай, вставай, Марусенько, я

вбив свою жінку!
- Тікай, тікай, Василеньку, з-під мої комори,
Скажуть *л*уди – правда буде, - що з мої намови.
Тікай, тікай, Василеньку, з-під мої хатчини,
Скажуть *л*юди – правда буде, – що з мої причини.
Прийшов Василь додомоньку, сидить та й думає:
Треба іти до Марусі, хай пораду дає.

Піди собі та й приведи приятеля свого.
Та й на тобі, Василеньку, золотую скриню,
Піди собі та й приведи ту першу газдиню!
- Та на що б мені, Марусенько, коня вороного?
Уже нема та й не буде приятеля мого.
Та на що ж мені, Марусенько, золотії скрині?
Уже нема та й не буде першої газдині.

To conduct a comparative analysis of the lyrics' dynamics, three other versions of the ballad were selected. They were recorded in Ukraine during the period, when the second wave immigrants were living there as adults. Variant D was a part of singing repertoire of Larysa Petrivna Kosach-Kvitka, born in 1871 and deceased in 1913. She was one of the most prominent Ukrainian poets and writers, better known under her literary pseudonym Lesia Ukraiinka. In collaboration with her husband Klyment Kvitka, a folklorist and a musicologist, Lesia Ukraiinka compiled a two volume publication of Ukrainian folk songs '*Melodies from the Voice of Lesia Ukraiinka*' (1917, 114-115).

Variant D

Ой учора ізвечора,
ще кури не піли,
Ішов Яким до
вдовойки – *люди* не
виділи.
Прийшов Яким до
вдовойки:
- Помагай-біг, серце!
Вона йому одказує:
Забий жінку перше!
-Не можу я, бідна
вдово, милої забити,
Моя мила молодейка
буде голосити.
-Закрий комин,
закрий двері, аби
загоріла,
Набий її в головочку,
- скажуть, що
вдуріла.
Прийшов Яким
додомойку та й став
жінку бити,
Його жінка
молодейка стала
голосити:
-Не жалуєш,
Якимойку, мене
молодої,
То пожалуй,
Якимойку, дитини
малої!
Сусідойки,
голубойки, дайте
неньці знати,
Нехай іде свою дочку
на смерть наряджати.
-Ой що ж бо ти, моя
доню, що ти
завинила,
Що ти свою білу
постіль так крівлею
змила?
-Як не знаю, моя
мамо, нащо мня
родила,
Так не знаю, моя
мамо, що я завинила.

Variant E was recorded in 1903 in the village of Shychovytsi, Liublin region, Ukraine. The copy of this ballad with its melody could be found in the archives of M.T. Ryl's'kyi Institute of Folk Art, Folklore, and Ethnography (1903 Fund 29-3, from Vol. 29-3: 31-32).

Variant E

Єще вчора та й звечора, ще й
кури не піли,
Пішов Яким до вдовоньки – *люде*
не виділи.
А прийшов він до вдовоньки: -
Добрий вечор, серце!
Вона йому одказала: - Забий
Його жінка, як *ластівка*, стала ся
просити:
жінку перше.
Я забила чоловіка, а ти забий
жінку,
- Вбидви-сь мо молодії підем на
мандрівку.
Прийшов Яким додомоньку,
почав жінку бити,
Розплакалася *дитина*, дитина
маленька,

-Не вважаєш, Якимуню, на мя молоденьку,
Хоч пожалуй, моє серце,
Ти дитя маненьке.
Прийшов Яким до вдовоньки:
-Ти вдовонько-серце,
Загубив я головоньку, Важко мні на серці.
Радила-сь ми, моя вдово, як жінку забити,
Порадь мені, навчи мене, де ж її подіти?
-Забий двері, заткай комин, скажи, що згоріла,
Завези ю в темні ліса, - скажи, що здуріла.

Аж посула єї голос сусіда близенька:
Ой Якиме, Якимуню, а де ж твоя мила,
Же тобі си розплакала малая дитина?
Пішла моя миленькая у світ, в дороженьку,
Вона мені зоставила дитину маленьку.
Закувала зозуленька на зеленій руті,
А вже ведуть Якимунця в залізному путі.
Прийшов Яким до корчмоньки:
- Дай, шинкар, горілки!
Через дурную вдовицю позбувся я жінки.

A. Konostchenko recorded Variant F in the village of Kalius, Novoushyns'kyi region, Podillia, in 1926-28. The song is available for reference in the archives of M.T. Ryl's'kyi Institute of Folk Art, Folklore, and Ethnography (1926-28 Fund 6-4, №48: 28-29).

Variant F

Ой а вчора йа звечора, ще й кури не піли,
Прийшов Яків до вдовиці – люди не виділи.
Прийшов Яків до вдовиці: - Вечер добрий, серце! Вона йому повідає:
-Убий жінку перше!
Да пішов Яків до коршмочки, горілки напився,
Да прийшов Яків до домочку, до

- Порадь мені, удовице, ой як жінку вбити,
Буду тебе, удовице, да й тебе любити.
Да йди, Яків, до коршмочки, горілки напийся,
Прийди, Яків, до домочку й до жінки вчепися!
Чи чули ви, люди добрі, таку небилицю,
Що вбив Яків сеї ночі свою

жінки вчепився.
-Да за що бєш, Яковино, за яку причину?

Подивися в колисочку на малу дитину!
Да Яків на то, да Яків на то, на то не вважає,
А забиває косу в лаву та й бє у голову.
Да й убив Яків свою жінку, лишив серед хати,
А сам пішов до вдовиці поради питати:
-Да порадила-сь, удовице, ой як жінку вбити,
Тепер порадь, удовице, що з нею робити.
- Забий двері, заткай каглу, скажуть: учаділа!
Звези її в крутий берег, - скажуть, що здуріла.
Завіз Яків свою жінку, затягнув під плиту,
Ішли люди із ярмарку й найшли жінку вбиту.

молодицю?
Чи чули ви, люди добрі, таку поведінку,

Що вбив Яків сеї ночі свою рідну жінку?
Отамани з козаками дали батьку знати:
-Ходи батьку й рідна мати, дочку поховати.
Прийшов батько й рідна мати, стали край віконця:
Лежить дочка як вермінка, - личеньком до сонця.
-Йа що ж тобі, Яковино, дочка провинила,
Йа що її кров червона землю сполонила?
-Ніц не винна, ніц не винна, лиш Богові душу,
А я, Яків молоденький, пропадати мушу.

The introduction in Variant A is distinct from all other variants: the main character, Vasyl', goes to the bar '*korchma*', and the young widow calls him to her house, but he ignores her invitation. However after having a couple of drinks in the bar, he passes by and goes to the widow's house on his way back home:

Variant A

Іде Василь до корчмоньки,
Як в сопілку свище.
Вийшла вдова молоденька -
До хати го кличе.

Іде Василь із корчмоньки,
Як в сопілку грає.
Вийшла вдова молоденька -
На него моргає.

In Variants B, C, D, E, and F the main character Ivan/Vasyl/Iakym goes out of his way and to the widow's house under the cover of darkness:

Variant B Ой ще вчора й ізвечора, Ще кури не піли,
Ішов Іван до Марусі, *Л*юди не виділи.

Variant C Теї ночі опівночі, Ще кури не піли,
Ішов Василь до Марусі, *Л*юди не виділи.

Variant D Ой учора ізвечора, ще кури не піли,
Ішов Яким до вдовойки – *л*юди не виділи.

Variant E Єще вчора та й звечора, ще й кури не піли,
Пішов Яким до вдовоньки – *л*юде не виділи

Variant F Ой а вчора йа звечора, ще й кури не піли,
Прийшов Яків до вдовиці – *л*юди не виділи.

In the climax of the story, the widow tells the man to kill his wife, and then they would be together (Variant A, B, C, D, F):

Variant A Прийшов Василь та й до хати: Помай біг ти, серце!
А вна йому відповіла: Убий жінку перше.

Variant B -Надобраніч, Марусенько, Як сі маєш, серце?
Марусина відповіла: - Йди вбий жінку перше!

Variant C Встала, встала Марусенька, Стала говорити:
- Забий, Василь, слюбну жінку, Будем сі *л*юбити.

Variant D Прийшов Яким до вдовойки: - Помагай-біг, серце!
Вона йому одказує: Забий жінку перше!

Variant F Прийшов Яків до вдовиці: -Вечер добрий, серце!
Вона йому повідає: -Убий жінку перше!

In Variant E the widow admits that she killed her husband herself, and persuades Iakym to kill his wife so they can run away together:

Variant E

Я забила чоловіка, А ти забий жінку,
- Вбидви-сь мо молодії Підем на мандрівку.

In Variant C, the young man does not even think twice - he goes home and mercilessly kills his wife; in all other cases the unfaithful husband hesitates and asks the widow to advise him how to commit the act (Variant A, B, D, F), and he then follows her instructions.

Variant A	**Variant B**	**Variant D**	**Variant F**
Порадь мене як, вдовонько, Як де жінку бити? Шлюбна жінка - як зозулька, Буде сі просити.	Порадь мене, Марусенько, Як то жінку бити? Шлюбна жінка - як зозулька, Буде сі просити.	-Не можу я, бідна вдово, милої забити, Моя мила молодейка буде голосити.	Порадь мені, удовице, ой як жінку вбити, - Буду тебе, удовице, да й тебе любити.

The crisis of the ballad reveals that the wife asks the husband not to kill her, that their baby is still too young to manage without its mother (all variants), but the man does not care:

Variant A Ой не вважай, Василуню, Що я молодень-ка,
Але вважай, Василуню, Дитина маленька

Variant B Не вважаєш, Івасеньку, Що я молодень-ка,
Споглянь, споглнь до колиски: Дитина маленька!

Variant C Заведи, мня, Василень-ку, Й а в густу калину,
Та й най знають через кого Марне з світа гину

Variant D -Не жалуєш, Якимойку, мене молодої,
То пожалуй, Якимойку, дитини малої

Variant E -Не вважаєш, Якимуню, на мя молодень-ку,
Хоч пожалуй, моє серце, Ти дитя маненьке.

Variant F -Да за що бєш, Яковино, за яку причину? Подивися в колисочку на малу дитину!

He kills his wife and comes back to the widow's house (Variants A, C, E):

Variant A	**Variant C**	**Variant E**
Прийшов Василь до вдовоньки І став ся витати. Зробив усе я, вдовонь-ко, Гараздь коло хати.	А як прийошов до Марусі, Запукав у стінку, Вставай, вставай, Марусенько, Я вбив свою жінку.	Прийшов Яким до вдовоньки: -Ти вдовонько-серце, Загубив я головоньку, Важко мні на серці.

In Variant B Ivas' is remorseful for what he did right away: he cries over the dead body of his wife and buries her in the woods so nobody could find her:

Variant B

Та й заплакав Івасенько, Що жінки не буде,
Заніс її в ліси темні, Щоб не знали люди.

In variants A and C, the man goes back to the widow and tells her that he did what she was asking for, but unpredictably the young woman forbids the main character to see her again for fear of a rumor that might spread as a result:

Variant A

Ой не ходи, Василуню,
Попри мої двори,
Щоби люди не сказали
Що то з мої намови

Variant C

Тікай, тікай, Василеньку,
З-під мої хатчини,
Скажуть люди, правдв буде,
Що з мої причини.

The murderer gets arrested, and his seducer laughs at him, saying that everyone should think twice before making such an important choice:

Variant A

Вилетіла зозуленька,
Стала знов кувати,
Вийшла вдова молоденька,
Стала ся сміяти.

Ой не смійся я, вдовонько
Я з того - я з того,
Бо ти мене нарадила,
Ґазду молодого.

In Variant B, she breaks up with Ivan after he confesses the murder to her, even though she was the one who convinced him to do kill his wife. She says that she cannot be with a man capable of such an act, and he should have treated his wife better:

Variant B

Ой не треба, Івасенько, Не треба думати,
Мав і жінку як зозульку, Було б шанувати.

The young temptress did not want to have a relationship with a suspected criminal and all that is associated with that. She also did not want to be suspected as a co-conspirator in the murder.

In a ballad variant performed by the three ladies, allegory is used to denote the sorrow that the husband feels for the wife that he murdered. His mistress, the one who convinced him to commit the murder, tells him that she will give him her horse and other possessions, as long as he brings his dead wife back, knowing that it is impossible to do so. But he, in agony, tells her that he does not need anything anymore, and that no wealth in the world would bring his faithful life mate back. Only in Variant A is the killer punished by society; all other variants depict the murderer as just being remorseful and lonely, but not punished by law.

One might conclude that the Ukrainian Canadian variants of this ballad differ from the ones documented in Ukraine. First, they are longer and incorporate more details than the Ukrainian variants. This could illustrate the efforts of Ukrainian Canadians to preserve their cultural heritage by conservation of their oral tradition in the conditions of immigration. Being physically remote from Ukraine, second wave immigrants might be preserving these ballads as a means to maintaining a connection to the memories, language and culture from their homeland. Therefore they placed a significant importance on remembering even the smallest detail of the songs that they brought from back home.

Second, one can observe the emergence of new elements in the plot: in the ballad that Kateryna Obuck performed, the wife blames her

husband for going to the bar on such a nice day. This might point to the improved equality of women's civil rights after the war.

Finally, in all the Ukrainian Canadian variants, it is not the imprisonment or social contempt, but the loneliness and regret for killing his wife that is the punishment for the murderer. This might indicate the absence of law enforcement in the vicinity of their isolated farmsteads in Canada.

The texture of the ballads, performed by Kateryna Obuch, are slightly different to the way the other interviewed second-wave immigrants were singing. The informant sounded like a professional singer, and one could get the feeling that the melody of this ballad was created by a skilled composer.

According to her interview, all the songs Kateryna sung were brought from the Old country. This might indicate that the melody was modified to fit the stage, so it could be performed in front of the community. This phenomenon could represent the incorporation of Ukrainian folk songs into staged performances. One might infer that some ballads performed by the second wave interviewees changed from fulfilling the function of maintaining social conformity into dealing with personal issues and emotions.

Out of all secular folksongs, the ballad genre prevails in the singing repertoires of the second-wave immigrants that were interviewed. Compared to the ballads performed by the first-wave immigrants, the sub-topics are more varied in the second wave repertoires. The functionality was modified by the emergence of the emotional aspects of

the ballads, while the other ballad functions remained. The melody of ballads performed by Kateryna Obuck shifted to stage-like singing, as demonstrated in one of the interviews.

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Chapter 3: SINGING REPERTOIRE OF THE THIRD WAVE OF IMMIGRATION

Immigration of Ukrainians to Canada restarted in 1946 after the end of World War II. The third immigration wave mostly consisted of labour conscripts, war prisoners, concentration camp prisoners, refugees, and other Ukrainians who were displaced to Germany during the war, and did not want to be repatriated back to Stalin-controlled Ukraine at the end of the war.

People would not return to their homeland for several reasons. The major cause could be the political situation in Soviet-ruled Ukraine. The Soviet doctrine involved a fierce anti-nationalist campaign, and anti-religious propaganda. As a result, many Ukrainians fled the country in fear of retribution for their cultural values. Another portion of the population was forcibly removed from the country during the Second World War. Most of them ended up in Displaced Persons camp (DP camps) after the war ended, where some engaged in activities that were not consistent with the strict Soviet policies.

They were further motivated by the fact that Ukraine was virtually ruined by World War II military acts and suffered twice from the scorched-earth policy conducted by both the Soviets and Nazis (Gregorovich 1995, 1). The devastation of human and natural resources forced Ukrainians to seek for refuge worldwide. Many countries including Argentina, Australia, Canada, Belgium, Brazil, England, Holland, Venezuela and the USA became their new home.

The estimated number of Ukrainians who made up the third wave of Ukrainian immigration to Canada during the period 1947-55 was 37,500. To gain a greater understanding of this group of immigrants, their cultural life and singing repertoire, as well as the reasons for immigrating to Canada and the conditions that many of the third-wave immigrants experienced, the following seven interviews with members of this immigration wave were conducted.

The first interviewee, Stefania Broda, was born on September 7th, 1923 in Galicia. She spent her childhood and adolescence in the village of Mala Bilyna (Novyi Sambir region, L'viv province) (2012, 0:03:20). During the war, in which the German army overran the city of L'viv and the near-by territories, Stefania, along with many young people from her native village, was forcibly conscripted to work in Nazi Germany (2012, 0:04:00).

German farmsteads welcomed the additional help that these labourers provided as many able-bodied Germans were away supporting their war efforts. Stefania was one of many who ended up working as agricultural labourers. While the treatment of conscripted labourers varied from farm to farm, Stefania recounted that the family of 'bavors' (a Ukrainian name for wealthy land owners) where she was placed, accepted her as if she were their adopted child. At the end of World War II, she found herself in a DP camp. She met her future husband Alexander there, and celebrated her wedding.

Stefania immigrated to Canada together with her spouse in 1948 (2012, 0:04:10). In their first three months in the new country, they resided

on a small farm in Northern Alberta (2012, 0:06:10) after which they moved to Edmonton to find jobs for themselves (2012, 0:10:20). They have been there since. Through hard work and determination they were able to build a successful family life for themselves and their two children, Ihor and Daria. Further, both Alexander and Stefania believed in the value of establishing a connection with their fellow countrymen, and were actively involved in many activities within the Ukrainian community in Canada.

Stefania Broda continues to play an active role in promoting Ukrainian culture. Those who know Stefania call her an inexhaustible treasury of Ukrainian folksongs. Her favourite songs are those related to ritual folklore, specifically marriage ceremony rites (2012, 0:28:10). When she was younger, Stefania was gifted with a clear powerful voice and loved to sing traditional songs at Ukrainian weddings. She often organized and participated in wedding rituals such as "*Divych Vechir*" (bachelorette party) and "*Vinkopletenya*" (wreath making) that took place both in Edmonton and the nearby villages (2012, 0:25:30).

The second interviewee, Lidia Sorobei, was born in Galicia in 1923. She left Ukraine in her early twenties as well. Lidia sought refuge together with her closest relatives – her parents and younger sister (2012, 0:06:12). The Sorobei family moved out of their house in the village of Bila, Chortkiv region, Ternopil' province in March, 1944 (2012, 0:02:30), and found themselves in the small town of Vilsbiburg that was situated in the centre of Lower Bavaria, Germany. They appealed to the local magistrate for help in finding a residence. With this help, the family found shared occupancy in a house located near the local train station. An older man that owned the house lived in the lower dwelling. To show

their gratitude to the man for accepting them into his household the Sorobei family would tend to his needs, thus forming a pleasant and supportive cohabitation.

The Sorobei's ended their stay at the house upon the conclusion of the war. They felt a strong urge to reunite with their fellow countrymen. They seized the opportunity to move as soon as they learned of the newly established DP camps. The family stayed there for four years before moving to Canada (2012, 0:00:50). In 1948, they settled in the small town of Mundare, Alberta. After three years, they moved to Edmonton (2012, 0:06:20).

Although Lidia never became a professional singer or musician herself, she found another way to promote Ukrainian music as a symbol of national pride. Soon after arriving in Edmonton, she started her career in broadcasting and hosted a weekly radio program called 'Touring Ukraine'. Every show featured Ukrainian history and culture. Each program was dedicated to a single Ukrainian region that Lidia discussed. She also aired contemporary Ukrainian songs that originated from that specific region (2012, 0:22:26).

Kateryna Gowda was born in 1924 and she left her homeland at the age of 20. Kateryna fled from her native town of Kozova, Ternopil' region, in 1944 (2012, 0:01:05). Kateryna escaped to Germany and spent a year in a Polish DP camp (2012, 0:02:32 – 0:03:01), then settled in Belgium for another four years (2012, 0:05:50). In 1949 Kateryna immigrated to Edmonton (2012, 0:08:26).

Kateryna Gowda was passionate about Ukrainian musical folklore. She could not sing herself because throat surgery had ruined her voice (2012, 0:19:10). Nevertheless, she passed along her love of songs to future generations. For many years her son Orest and his wife sang in a Ukrainian choir in Edmonton (2012, 0:16:10). Their older son, Markian, became an accomplished singer and has devoted that talent towards showcasing Ukrainian arts and culture to a wider audience. Currently, he is an active member of the Axios Men's Choral Society, as well as the Ukrainian Bandurist Chorus and the Ukrainian Dnipro Ensemble (2012, 0:16:14). The younger grandson, Stefko, is developing his talent both as a singer and a musician. Stefko performs at Ukrainian weddings and other community events (2012, 0:16:55).

My fourth interviewee Natalia Talanchuk was born in East-Central Ukraine, in the city of Dnipropetrovs'k, in 1925 (2012, 0:01:50). In 1943, she was taken to German forced labour camps (2012, 0:03:10). When World War II ended, Natalia resided in a DP camp, then relocated to Belgium, where she spent nearly four years (2012, 0:37:50).

Natalia and her family arrived in Canada on June 7th, 1949 (2012, 0:37:50). They settled in Edmonton two months later and never left (2012, 0:40:40). Together with other Ukrainian Canadians, they helped establish a number of institutions, aiming to pass on traditional and cultural knowledge to future generations.

Natalia attached deep importance to supporting the development of Ukrainian nationalist organizations in Edmonton (2012, 0:59:12), and was important to the Ukrainian singing community in

Edmonton. She was an enthusiastic and dedicated member of the Verkhovyna Ensemble starting from the date of its inception (2012, 0:55:00). For a more complete analysis of the singing repertoire of this Ukrainian choir, Natalia kindly provided a Verkhovyna song book, which contained a record of 172 Ukrainian songs of different genres.

The next three participants represent the so-called 'younger generation' of the third immigration wave. The fifth interviewee is Maria Dytyniak (maiden name Roslak) who was born in 1932 in the Roslak family. She left her home city Chortkiv, Ternopil' province, in 1944 (2012, 0:00:32). Maria was only 12 then, and she was travelling together with her parents, her older brother Yaroslav and the younger sister Roksolana (2012, 0:02:30). Fleeing west they settled in the city of Krakow, Poland, then moved Czechoslovakia[1] (namely to the Czech Republic), from there – to a DP camp in the Austrian city of Landeck, Tyrol. In 1948 they immigrated to Canada (2012, 0:01:30 – 0:02:20).

Even though Maria was physically removed from Ukraine, she found ways of promoting the cultural heritage of her native country internationally. For more than thirty-five years she conducted the Dnipro Ensemble – the world-famous Ukrainian choir that performed around the globe (2012, 0:22:22). Maria also established the Merezhi Ukrainian Vocal Ensemble, a nine-voice women's group that was active from 1968 into the late 1980s (2012, 0:22:14).

[1] In 1993 Czechoslovakia peacefully dissolved into the Czech Republic and the Slovak Republic.

The sixth interviewee Nadia Cyncar (maiden name Tatchyn) left her native land at the age of 10. Born in the village of Ivanivtsi, Zhydachiv region, L'viv province in 1933 (2012, 0:00:04), Nadia left her motherland when the heavy bombardment of L'viv was at its peak (2012, 0:01:17). Together with her parents and two siblings, Nadia fled to Bavaria, Germany (2012, 0:04:13), where she resided until the end of the war. In 1945 the Tatchyn family moved to a DP camp Aufbau in Pfarrkirchen (2012, 0:05:25), and stayed there until 1948. Subsequently, Nadia and her family arrived in Edmonton, and started actively participating in the Ukrainian Canadian community.

Nadia has always occupied leading positions in the Edmonton branch of Plast Ukrainian Youth Association. Mindful that music is an integral part of this scouting organization, Nadia Cyncar compiled a songbook of eighty-eight children's verses for internal use in the Edmonton branch. During the interview Nadia told about a considerable number of songs, as Ukrainian singing folklore has always been an important part of her everyday life. In addition to participating in the Verkhovyna Women's Choir, she sang during every holiday, celebration and family get-together. Since music has been an essential part of her entire life, Nadia was able to contribute a rich and varied repertoire of Ukrainian songs to the project.

The youngest interviewee Ol'ha Lohvynenko (maiden name Fedun) was born in 1934, in the village of Klekotiv, Brodivskyi region, eastern Galicia (2012, 0:01:14). Unfortunately, Ol'ha spent only the first 10 years of her life in Ukraine. In 1943 Ol'ha's father decided to move to Bratislava, the capital city of Slovakia. Ol'ha, her parents, her younger

sister Nusia and the little baby brother Hryts' and lived there for about a year (2012, 0:05:30). In 1944 they relocated again, and settled in a small town of Dinkelsbuhl in Bavaria, Germany (2012, 0:06:35).

After the end of World War II, Ol'ha and her parents left for Karlsfeld, a bigger city in the same German state. In Karlsfeld the Fedun family resided in a DP camp, and stayed there for three years (2012, 0:07:38). In 1948 the family moved to a small town in Alberta (2012, 0:18:03), and in 1950 they settled in Edmonton permanently (2012, 0:20:05).

Even though Ol'ha had to combine her studies and employment with substantial household responsibilities, she dedicated a lot of her time towards the development of the Plast Ukrainian Youth Association (2012, 0:28:01). She also was a singer in a number of Ukrainian choirs in Edmonton, such as the Ukrainian Dnipro Ensemble of Edmonton, the Verkhovyna women's choir and the church choir in the Ukrainian Catholic Parish of St. George. Furthermore, she was a co-founder of the Merezhi Ukrainian Vocal Ensemble, and chose the name for this singing group (2012, 0:26:17).

Ol'ha passed along her devotion to Ukrainian traditions and music to future generations. Together with the songs that constitute her favourite repertoire, Ol'ha shared a compact disc of the Plast youth group 'Charivnyky', in which her children sang.

The most significant common feature that was revealed by the seven interviewees was that their decision to immigrate was a desperate attempt to survive, but not a quest for a better living. The third wave of immigration was compelled primarily by the ethnic, political and religious

persecution of Ukrainians in their native country. According to the experiences of the interviewees, there were three major reasons for their resettlement.

First, Ukrainians were conscripted as so-called Eastern Workers, 'Ostarbeiters'. In 1942 Germany experienced considerable labor shortages. To alleviate this deficiency, German political leaders launched a vast campaign to recruit workers from Ukraine. Advertising posters, pamphlet covers, newspaper and magazine ads mislead the population by promising good wages, free housing and medical care, as well as gaining professional skills that would later ensure them better employment back home (Berkhoff 2004, 253-254). But for the most part those who volunteered for the jobs suffered unbearable living conditions, abuse and humiliation (Berkhoff 2004, 256).

When news of the disinformation spread and there were no more volunteers the Nazis started organizing forcible removal operations. It became commonplace for German police to raid large public gatherings, randomly seizing and shipping able-bodied Ukrainians to Germany. Moreover, starting in the summer of 1942, all Ukrainians between the ages of eighteen to twenty were subject to a mandatory two-year forced labour service in Germany. Consequently, of the almost 2.8 million Ostarbeiters taken off to Germany, 2.3 million were from Ukraine (Krawchenko 1986, 29).

Natalia Talanchuk recalled, that in 1943 Germans arrested her and all other young people in the area, forced them into boxcars and transported them for work in Nazi Germany (2012, 0:03:10). Stefania

Broda mentioned that youth were horrified by the possibility of being caught and expatriated to Germany, but only some of the people she knew were lucky enough to escape. Stefania was transported to Germany against her will as well, and she spent three years as a forced farm laborer there (2012, 0:04:16).

Second, a number of Ukrainian citizens left their homes trying to escape the deadly battles that ravaged Ukraine. Civilian casualties were a reality of the war. Great human losses were inflicted upon the Ukrainian population. Ukrainians died not only as soldiers, but also as civilians in the occupied territories. Many civilians were left with no viable option, and entire families began to seek refuge in places which were no longer battle zones. Nadia Cyncar left her home country with her family in 1944 when L'viv was bombarded (2012, 0:02:34).

Third, a large majority of immigrants chose to seek refuge from their home country trying to escape the Soviet regime. Although Ukrainians suffered many losses, and there was a very real probability that staying in Ukraine could mean becoming entangled in the crossfire of the advancing armies, most of the interviewees recollect the desire to flee Stalin's advancing armies, and ultimately Soviet rule. By 1944, the tide of the war had turned and it became evident that Stalin's Soviet armies would eventually occupy Ukraine. Many Ukrainian citizens chose to leave rather than submit themselves to conditions similar to these experienced during the Soviet occupation in 1939.

Almost every family in Western Ukraine knew somebody who was killed by the NKVD, the Soviet secret police. Those deemed 'enemies

of the people', were arrested and deported to the gulags of Kazakhstan and Siberia. The brutality of these camps and the slave labor imposed upon the workers, meant death more often than not. Without warning, without trial, even without formal accusation, entire families were shipped out on cattle cars at night, never to be seen again (Subtelny 1986, 10). Within a period of approximately twenty months, over 200,000 Ukrainians were rounded up and deported to camps in Russia. Initially, the persecution targeted the representatives of the Ukrainian movement for national liberation, as well as the clergy, the intelligentsia and wealthy landowners.

The so-called Kulak Operation in 1937-1938 took repressive measures against the richer farmers who were considered class enemies. Many wealthier peasants called 'Kulaks', and their families were forced off their lands in an effort to redistribute the land and collectivize the agricultural economy. In a policy known as "dekulakization" (Maksudov 1989), these landowners had their land and property officially expropriated by the state.

In 1943 Ol'ha's father made up his mind to seek refuge, fearing for the new wave of persecution against 'Kulaks' and their close relatives. He believed that this would inevitably start with the reoccupation of Galicia by the Soviet Union. After the Soviet annexation of Western Ukraine in 1939, both of Olha's uncles had been arrested, then murdered and piled into unmarked mass graves.

One of them was a wealthy landowner in Ukraine. He earned money in Edmonton, Alberta, during the second immigration wave, and

then used his savings to resettle back in Ukraine to start his own farming business. He was imprisoned for his unwillingness to join the collectivization process; and his younger brother who was a student in L'viv University at the time was arrested as well for being a close family member of a 'Kulak'. During the retreat of the Red Army in the summer of 1941, NKVD troops committed mass executions of prisoners, and the two brothers were killed (Logvynenko 2012, 0:01:29 – 0:04:00). The third brother – Ol'ha's father – was next in line to be taken out and murdered; therefore the Fedun family hastened to flee before the Red Army regained possession of the city of Brody and area (2012, 0:04:40).

While repression and persecution were a reality of Soviet controlled Ukraine, it was not directed solely against Kulaks. Religious freedom was quickly and severely limited.

Natalia Talanchuk and her family were subjected to this form of persecution. She was born into the family of an ordained priest, who was very influential in spreading the word of the church throughout a region still very against the communism of the ruling class. Natalia's father, Hrebins'kyi Arsenii Iukhymovych was first arrested in 1929, and exiled to the Solovky prison camp (2012, 1:16:50). After five years of imprisonment he returned home determined to leave the clergy behind. Nevertheless Arsenii Iukhymovych kept teaching Natalia prayers and carried out her communion in the hopes of instilling his faith in his daughter (2012, 1:17:00). For this reason he was arrested again in 1937, since it was prohibited to speak about religion freely even in the house (2012, 1:18:40).

Records of individuals were often altered, and in the case of Natalia's father, the NKVD archives stated that Arsenii Iukhymovych was a poorly educated peasant who belonged to a church fascist organization. As a result of these false accusations he was sentenced to death in 1938 (2012, 1:19:00). News of his death did not reach his family; Natalia's mother did not lose hope to see her husband again until the end of her life. Natalia did not learn of her father's fate for almost seventy years. She found it out very recently when the NKVD records were disclosed (2012, 1:20:15).

The brutalities faced by the Ukrainian intelligentsia were very similar to that of the clergy. They were believed to be the leaders forging a strong nationalistic uprising amongst the Ukrainian people. Many of the older generation remembered very vividly the conditions of previous Soviet occupations and saw the Russians as their greatest enemy. They used the vacuum created by the retreating Nazi army and the oncoming Soviet advance to develop a stronger Ukrainian identity among the remaining population (Subtelny 1986, 13).

The father of Maria Dytyniak, Mykhailo Roslak, was a prominent lawyer in Ukraine. He travelled throughout the country delivering lectures with Ukrainian cultural significance, and actively participated in various community organizations. He invested much of his time into developing various infrastructure projects and initiated the building of a Ukrainian gymnasium "Ridna Shkola" in the city of Chortkiv, Ternopil' region, Western Ukraine (Dytyniak 2012, 0:03:30). Mykhailo Roslak was also involved in defending the rights and freedoms of many of his countrymen from the Germans during the Second World

War. His actions were considered an act of treason by the Communists (2012, 0:03:50 – 0:0:31). His influence as a prominent member of the intelligentsia posed significant security risks to the Soviets, therefore when the Red Army was about to reoccupy Ternopil' and near-by territories including the city of Chortkiv, he began looking for ways to flee the country with his family (2012, 0:04:43).

As a result of the events that took place in Ukraine before and during the Second World War, many Ukrainian families suffered the loss of loved ones as both Hitler's and Stalin's armies ravaged Ukraine. According to research by Andrew Gregorovich, the total demographic loss for Ukraine was ten million, which equaled half of the total losses of the USSR and twenty per cent of the entire World War II total of fifty million dead (1995, 1-2).

In light of the persistent repression of the population by the Soviet authorities before and during the war, many Ukrainians could no longer feel safe staying in their own country, even more so after the Soviet Union, and the allies won the Second World War, and Ukraine remained a part of the Soviet Union. As a result, thousands upon thousands of Ukrainian families attempted to escape to other countries around the world. Many found themselves in German and Austrian displaced persons camps.

At the end of the war some 120,000 Ukrainians registered themselves as displaced persons (DPs) (Gregorovich 1995, 1). Over the course of spring and summer 1945, the DP population quickly declined, as a wave of repatriations moved millions of displaced persons homeward.

While citizens of many European nations were relieved to have the opportunity to return home to rebuild, Ukrainian nationals, who were now considered Soviet citizens were repatriated forcibly (Kochavi 2010, 510). Under the terms of the Yalta agreement all DPs, who were identified as Soviet citizens by the military authorities, were to be sent home regardless of their personal wishes (14 September, 1944).

However, soon it became clear that many DPs could not or would not return home (Holian 2011, 37-38). Several thousand USSR citizens preferred to kill themselves rather than go back (Wyman 1998, 100-101). Natalia Talanchuk is still emotional about her girlfriend who committed suicide by jumping out of a high-rise window when she was about to be forcibly repatriated back to Ukraine. She knew that she would never reach her native village anyways (Talanchuk 2012, 0:33:34). Those who got onto the trains leading back to Ukraine were either killed or exiled to Siberia (Dytyniak 2012, 0:13:21). This policy was the result of the survivors of the German forced labour camps, farm labourers, factory workers, captured soldiers and concentration camp inmates being labelled as traitors, enemies of the people that were unwanted in the 'Unbreakable Union of freeborn Republics... The dream of a people their fortress secure... Home of the... people united and free' (Mikhalkov and El-Registane 1944).

As expressed by the interviewees, the methods by which Ukrainians were repatriated included forcible operations by Soviet troops. Women, children and the elderly were not spared. British and American soldiers were under special directives preventing them from forcibly removing people registered in DP camps and followed procedures that

required Russian soldiers to prove the citizenship of the person in question before they could be handed over to Russian authorities (14 September, 1944). Nadia Cyncar and her family lived and worked on a farm in Germany after fleeing Ukraine during the war. She recalls Russian soldiers canvassing the area, requesting the return home of all Soviet citizens. They immediately packed their belongings and made their way to the security they hoped to find in the American governed DP camps (2012, 0:05:25).

Scores of people actively sought refuge in these camps as they recognized these allied occupied zones as safe havens from the Soviet armies. As a result, the number of Ukrainians in German and Austrian camps increased to 137,422 by 1948 (Maruniāk 1985, 115).

As of December 1948, an estimated 56,611 Ukrainians were living in DP camps in the American zone, 24,923 in the British region, and 5,174 resided in French controlled camps (Maruniāk 1985, 115). No statistics could be found on the population of the Soviet controlled zone. One could infer that the total would be less than other regions as the refugees fled as far from Russian controlled regions as possible. Only one of the interviewees, Kateryna Gowda survived the years following the war in the Soviet occupation zone (2012, 0:03:44). The majority of interviewees lived in the American zone. Natalia Talanchuk, Ol'ha Lohvynenko, Nadia Cyncar and Stefania Broda spent their post war years in US governed DP camps.

Generally speaking, the most favourable conditions for the refugees existed in the British occupied zone. Conversely, the most

unfavourable conditions were located in the French controlled region (Holian 2011, 47). The conditions in the American governed areas cannot be generalized in the same fashion. Despite the similarities, the interviewees described a variety of experiences about their life in DP camps. More likely, the conditions for the DPs varied from camp to camp, even within one occupation zone. For a better understanding of the realities faced by Ukrainian DP's, it is pertinent to include discussion and analysis of other key factors that were mentioned during the interviews, including socio-economic aspects of their life in the camps, as well as how these conditions may have impacted their education and culture.

Gainful employment was part of Ukrainian identity. Even prior to the war, the large working-class population, or peasants, found a sense of duty and pride in their ability to provide for their families and sustain a living. It is possible that this intrinsic work-ethic transferred over into the labour camps. It is noteworthy that generally, they 'worked much harder than either Western European or Balkan foreign workers. In their native Ukraine women generally worked harder than men. And in Germany they kept house and indeed worked harder then all captive males there, whichever countries those came from' (Berkhoff 2004, 256).

As the refugees transitioned from their wartime work places to DP camps, there was no shortage of heavy labour jobs in Germany as it needed significant rebuilding after the war. Nevertheless, Ukrainians would not bring themselves to rebuilding a German nation that had caused so much suffering. As a result, the unemployment rate in the DP camps ranged between eighty-six and eighty-eight percent (Boshyk, Waschuk and Wynnyckyj 1986, 230). Although such an attitude against

helping Germany in reconstruction might be understandable, it had disastrous effects.

The years they spent in forced labour were filled with long working hours and a routine that did not give them a chance to reflect on how unfortunate their lives were. At most, they could think about a good nights' sleep and where they could find their next meal. With their refusal to work, came unprecedented free time. Necessities such as food and shelter were no longer as pressing a need for them, and they began longing for a return to an independent homeland. Unfortunately, conditions back home had begun to deteriorate. Members of their close families, friends and even children were killed. Alarming news of tragedy from back home was making its way to the camps.

In this sense, the free time afforded to the DP's allowed them to focus on establishing an educational system and developing professional skills. In order to maintain their sanity, they replaced the time that had normally been assigned for work, with studying at German educational establishments. Occupation authorities required German schools and universities to reserve a percentage of their enrolment for DPs (Wyman 1998, 122).

Yury Boshyk regarded the educational and training opportunities in DP camps as discouraging and extremely limited. According to his study, only 5% of children, youth and adults had their educational and training needs properly fulfilled. Among the problems were the differences of the German educational system and the language

barrier that most of Ukrainian-speaking DPs were likely to experience (Boshyk et al. 1986, 230-231).

As a rule, children and youth were quicker to adapt to changes and learn the language. For example, when the Allied authorities formed special child-search teams in January, 1946 to locate the missing children that had been lost and kidnapped during the war they found out, that twenty seven languages were spoken amongst six different nationalities of children. Moreover, it was sometimes even hard to determine the nationality of the children, whose pure German language convinced the officers, that they were indeed German (Wyman 1998, 92-93). Accordingly, almost all interviewees mentioned that they were fluent in German, as well as in a number of other languages, including Polish and Russian, French (or Flemish) and English (Broda, 0:11:20; Lohvynenko, 0:07:00; Sorobei, 0:08:34; Dytyniak, 0:44:50; Cyncar, 0:07:43; Talanchuk, 0:06:20; Gowda, 0:04:20).

Those, who were either unable or unwilling to attend German schools, had an opportunity to enrol in a growing number of camp schools that were based on traditional courses for each nationality. As mentioned, the Soviet regime of Josef Stalin targeted the destruction of the Ukrainian national elites. As with much of the Ukrainian population, scholars and other members of academe were forced to seek refuge and ended up in German and Austrian DP camps. Ukrainian intellectuals occupied themselves with establishing schools, developing education and training programs, and providing trades training. Consequently, different forms of education began to take root. For the intelligentsia and professionals amongst the population, it was important to build, develop

and organize formal learning institutions. During the period from 1946 to 1947 there were approximately sixty-four kindergartens, ninety Ukrainian schools, thirty-three gymnasiums and thirty-eight establishments for professional learning in the DP camps (Maruniāk 1985, 112).

After the end of World War II, Nadia Cyncar and her family were housed at a DP camp in Pfarrkirchen (2012, 0:05:25), a municipality in Lower Bavaria. It was considered to be one of the more progressive regions of post war Germany. Although there were only 500 Ukrainians there (Maruniāk 1985, 105), the camp schools gave a unique opportunity for Ukrainian DPs to earn degrees in engineering or law (Wyman 1998, 119). There was also a kindergarten, Ukrainian school and a gymnasium, as well as four professional schools and six academies there. Nadia achieved three years of gymnasium during her DP years (Cyncar 2012, 0:06:10).

Ol'ha Lohvynenko was able to travel around Germany in search of better schooling opportunities. First, she enrolled in a gymnasium in the Karlsfeld DP camp[2] (2012, 0:07:38). A year later she went to Dinkelsbuhl to attain her second year of study there (2012, 0:1:46), then joined her Godfather in Dillingen, Bavaria, to finish her third and fourth grades (2012, 0:17:14). Studying in schools across Germany was a excellent educational experience for Ol'ha that laid a solid foundation for her future schooling (2012, 0:10:02). According to Maria Dytyniak, the camp school she attended was wonderful, since the classes were taught by

[2] In German educational system Gymnasium was the name for a secondary school with a strong emphasis on academic learning. To be admitted one was required to complete at least four years of primary school.

prominent representatives of the Ukrainian intelligentsia, famous poets and writers (2012, 0:44:50).

It is also worth mentioning, that the DP camp schools brought different social classes together in a democratic conglomeration. In the same classroom there were people of Catholic, Orthodox, even Protestant faiths, of peasant, middle class and upper class; although some of the students of peasant background would not have attended school if it had not been for the DP camps (Wyman 1998, 100-101). Despite the shortages of textbooks and other school supplies, children and young adults enjoyed an equal opportunity to obtain knowledge from the best lecturers and scientists.

The resurgence of Ukrainian scholarly life during the DP period was evident. Beginning as early as 1945 and over the following two years, there were 5 Institutions of Higher learning established in Munich and other cities around Germany. These included the Husbandry Institute (Ukrainian Technical College), Ukrainian Higher School of Economics, Ukrainian Free University, Ukrainian Catholic Theological Seminary and Ukrainian Orthodox Theological Academy (Wynar 1992, 328).

The Ukrainian intelligentsia gradually assumed a leading role in the cultural life of the DP camps. This period saw the renaissance of Ukrainian scholarship such as the establishment of libraries and research centres (Wynar 1992, 315), art and literary organizations. The initiatives of Ukrainian intellectuals resulted in a number of articles, journals, magazines and almanacs (Struk 1992, 223-224). Although often short-lived, those periodicals helped reform a fragile Ukrainian identity.

In many instances the Ukrainian DP was given an extraordinary opportunity to immerse him or herself in the arts and sciences, and enjoy the cultural education that only the wealthiest could have previously experienced. It might also have influenced the ways in which those immigrants preserved their singing folklore. This was accomplished both by the more traditional means of oral transmission, as well as producing and introducing written compilations of songbooks, vinyl discs, radio programming, and other emerging technologies that were available at the time. The written and audio recordings of many folksongs were of the upmost importance to many of the third wave interviewees. During the interviews, many of these collections of songs were presented as the interviewees singing repertoire.

The Ukrainian DP were often poorly sheltered, improperly nourished, and dressed shabbily, yet he or she was given an extraordinary opportunity to immerse him or herself in the arts and sciences, and enjoy the cultural education that only the wealthiest could have previously experienced. In an effort to enhance the overall experience of their lives in the camps, many attended and participated in concerts and theatrical performances, aimed at restoring a sense of Ukrainian national pride in the DP population.

Cultural life in the camps thrived. Public events from 1946 to 1947 included some 1859 plays, 1501 concerts, and 2339 lectures. There were 60 choirs, 21 orchestras, 51 drama groups, 2 puppet theatres, 5 ballets out of which 2 were children's dancing groups, and 4 professional theatres (Maruniāk 1985, 112). Each camp had two or three events staged every week (Subtelny 2003). The cultural awakening taking place in these

camps was broad in its reach. The average Ukrainian would not normally have had the opportunity to attend these types of events back home, as performances and events made their way to the smaller towns and villages in Ukraine infrequently. Artistic life in DP camps was so abundant and varied, that all other issues were likely to become minor and unnoticed. For instance when Lidia Sorobei was describing her DP experiences, all she could recall was brilliant schooling opportunities and numerous concerts that she attended (2012, 0:04:45).

The DP camps became the epicentre of a cultural renewal. The freedom with which the population was allowed to express themselves was in stark contrast to the censorship that they had faced from the Soviet oppressors. One might infer that the experience of the Ukrainian immigrants during their DP years to a great extent influenced their singing repertoire in their future years.

First, the repertoire of the members of the third wave seems to be more abundant and varied. This might be a result of the fact that these staged performances, extolling Ukrainian oral folklore, were presented to a much wider audience. Moreover, it may have arisen as a consequence of preparing and staging public concerts by the DP population, as a wide assortment of songs might have also been learned during the rehearsals. The production of these concerts required the involvement of many people. The DPs had the opportunity to learn a variety of new songs while volunteering in these cultural events. As a result, many of the songs learned during this period were added to their own repertoires.

Songs that had become popularized during this time can be attributed to known composers or authors of the upper echelons of Ukrainian society. Some of these songs gradually began to take root as

part of Ukrainian folklore. For example consider the ballad "*A Young Rifleman Goes to War*" ("*Їхав стрілець на війноньку*"). The song was created by the members of press service of Ukrainian Sich Riflemen: Roman Kupchyns'kyi, Levko Lepkyi, Ivan Ivanets', Teofil Moiseiovych and Les' Novina-Rozluts'kyi in December, 1915, in the village of Hudnaky, Berezhans'kyi region, Ternopil district. The music for the song was written by Mykhailo Orest Hayvorons'ky, a known composer, musician and conductor, the author of over 30 famous rifleman's songs; subsequently the ballad "*Їхав стрілець на війноньку*" became a part of his "*Riflemen Overture*" ("*Стрілецька увертюра*") (Kuz'menko 2005, 542).

One might infer that this song was very popular among the third wave Ukrainian Canadians as four out of seven interviewees - Stefania Broda, Kateryna Gowda, Natalia Talanchuk and Lidia Sorobei – recalled this song as being one of their favourites during their interviews. Notwithstanding the popularity of the ballad, none of the interviewees could recall the name of its author, and they all recognized it as being a part of folklore.

According to the research of Oksana Kuz'menko, the ballad "*Їхав стрілець на війноньку*" has more than 40 variants in Ukraine (2005, 543). This ballad is also subject to variations in Ukrainian Canadian folklore. All four interviewees performed it differently. Stefania Broda (2012) sang the first verse of this song together with her son Ihor (Variant A). They mentioned that this song connected them to the memories they had while they were members of the Ukrainian Youth Association (SUM). After the interview Ihor Broda provided a full version of the song as he remembered it:

Variant A:

Їхав срілець на війноньку,
Прощав свою родиноньку,
Прощай миленька-
чорнобровенька,
Я йду в чужую сторононьку.

Подай дівчино хустину,
Може я в бою загину,
Темної ночі накриють очі,
Лекше в могилі спочину.
Лихії люди на силу,
Взяли нещасну дівчину,
А серед поля - гнеться тополя,
Тай над стрілецьку могилу.

A different variant could be found in the collection of songs "*Ідуть стрільці з Бережан*" (Podufalii 1996, 44) that was provided by Kateryna Gowda. According to Kateryna (2012), the song "*Їхав стрілець на війноньку*" should be performed as follows:

Variant B:

Їхав стрілець на війноньку,
Прощав свою дівчиноньку.
Прощай, миленька,
чорнобривенька,
Я йду в чужую сторононьку.

Подай, дівчино, хустину,
Бо як у бою загину:
Накриють очі темної ночі –
Легше в могилі спочину.

Лихії люди насилу
Взяли нещасну дівчину,
Там серед поля гнеться тополя
Та й на стрілецьку могилу.

А на тій могилі калина,
А під тов калинов дівчина,
А під тов калинов молода дівчина
Дрібнії сльози пролила.

Lidia Sorobei (2012) remembered singing this ballad back in Ukraine. She recalled hearing it from her friends during youth get-togethers:

Variant C:

Їхав стрілець на війноньку,
Прощав свою дівчиноньку.
Прощай, миленька,
чорнобривенька,
Я йду в чужую сторононьку.

Дала дівчина хустину,
Стрілець у полі загинув.
Лихії люди насилу,
Взяли нещасну дівчину,
А серед поля гнеться тополя
Тай на стрілецьку могилу.

The ballad "*Їхав козак на війноньку*" that was provided by Natalia Talanchuk. It has been a part of the stage repertoire of Verkhovyna Ukrainian Women's choir (2012, 1:05:21). The main character of this variant of the song is substituted from being a Ukrainian Sich rifleman to a Cossack warrior:

Variant D:

Їхав козак на війноньку,
Прошав свою дівчиноньку,
Прощай миленька,
чорнобривенька,
Я йду в чужую сторононьку.

Подай дівчино хустину,
Бо як у бою загину,
Накриють очі темної ночі,
Легше в могилі спочину.

Дала дівчина хустину,
Козак пішов тай загинув –
Темної ночі накрили очі,
Ще й висипали могилу.

Лихії люди насилу,
Взяли нещасну дівчину,
А серед поля гнеться тополя
Тай на козацьку могилу.

The lyrics of the original ballad were published in the Union for the Liberation of Ukraine's (SVU, *Союз визволення України*) herald in 1916 (831). The musical score of the song was issued a year later in L'viv (Holubets' 1917, 36). The information on the unaltered version of this

song was gathered from the research of Oksana Kuz'menko in her book "*Riflemen Songs*" ("*Стрілецькі пісні*") (2005, 189).

Variant E:

Їхав стрілець на війноньку,
Прощав свою дівчиноньку:
- Прощай, дівчино,
прощай, єдина,
Я йду в чужу сторононьку.

Подай хустину, дівчино,
Бо, може, в полі загину,
Прикриють очі темної ночі,
Як ляжу сам у могилу.

А злії люде насилу
Взяли нешасну дівчину,
А в чистім полі гнеться тополя
Та на стрілецьку могилу.

The original version of this song quickly gained popularity among Ukrainians, and became the subject of numerous modifications. Variant F demonstrates how this ballad was transformed into an inspiring military march. This variant was recorded in 1999 by Oksana Kuz'menko, Ph.D., Professor of M. T. Rylsky Institute of Art, Folklore Studies and Ethnology Institute. Her fieldwork included research in the village of Velyka Vil'shanytsia, Zolochivs'kyi region, L'viv district. The song was performed by Boruch Volodymyr who was born in 1936. During this interview Volodymyr recalls that in his village, the ballad "*Їхав козак на війноньку*"was sung by men and women of all ages. He went on further to mention that this song was regularly performed during many wedding receptions (1999). The variant of the song is provided below:

Variant F:

Їхав стрілець на війноньку,
Пращав свою дівчиноньку.
Пращай, миленька,
чорнобривенька,
Я йду в чужую сторононьку.
Пращай, пращай, пращай,
пращай,
Ми йдемо в бій за рідний край,
Ми йдемо в бій, кривавий бій,
За рідний край, за нарід свій.

Ідуть січові стрільці, за ними
вітер віє,
Сміється сонце з-роза хмар –
Україна радіє,
І б'ється серце у грудях, і пісня
ген лунає,
Хто любить родимий край, хай з
нами поспішає.

Variant G is a modern version of the ballad "*Їхав козак на війноньку*" that was performed by the Kuban Cossack choir. The song was released in 2008 as a part of the four-CD compilation of Ukrainian folk and authors' songs *Musical Offering to Ukraine* (*Музыкальное приношение Украине*) (Kuban Cossack Choir 2008). The song differs from all variants mentioned above since it has a more expanded form and contained new details. This ballad variant might be another example of how "*Їхав козак на війноньку*" has been altered and changed by its performers, thus gradually becoming a part of folk oral tradition.

The artistic director and conductor of the Kuban Cossack Choir, Victor Zakharchenko identified this ballad strictly as Ukrainian folklore. The set of released CDs was a double album of songs that were written and composed by prominent writers and musicians. Two other discs were devoted to folk music. Notwithstanding that "*Їхав козак на війноньку*" was a remake of the earlier ballad written by the group of Ukrainian Sich Riflemen, that was included in the first CD called *Folk Songs of the Black Sea Kuban Cossack Villages* (*Народные черноморские песни*

кубанских станиц) (2008, Track 8). Arguably, broad sales of those CDs might influence the future variations of the song. The ballad sang:

Variant G:

Їхав козак на війноньку,
Прощав свою родиноньку.
«Прошай, миленька-
чорнобривонька,
Я йду в чужую сторононьку».

Їдь же, козаче, не майся,
Швидче до дому вертайся,
Та й не забувайся про чорнії
брови,
Що ти у їх улюблявся.
Дай же, дівчино, хустину,
Може в бою я загину.

Темної ночи скриються очі,Та й
понесуть на могилу.

Дала дівчина хустину,
В бою козаченько загинув,
Темної ночі скрилися очі,
Та й у козацькій могилі.

Ніхто не чує, не баче,
Де лежить тіло козаче.
Тільки чорний вороне не спить на
могилі,
Сидить та й сумненько кряче.

The first verse of the ballad was similar in all variants: a young man is just about to leave to the war. He says goodbye to the woman he loves. In most versions that was a farewell date with his girlfriend. The only exception was a Ukrainian Canadian ballad performed by Stefania Broda: the rifleman was parting with his family, and the woman was his wife (2012, 0:59:10):

Variant A

Їхав срілець на війноньку,
Прощав свою родиноньку,

Прощай миленька-
чорнобровенька,
Я йду в чужую сторононьку.

Variant F provided further explanation on the battle that the young man leaves for in the second verse. He is going to courageously defend his motherland and Ukrainian people:

Variant F

Пращай, пращай, пращай, пращай,
Ми йдемо в бій за рідний край,
Ми йдемо в бій, кривавий бій,
За рідний край, за нарід свій.

The young woman says goodbye to her beloved and wishes him to return home quickly. She also asks him not to forget her while he is away from his home (Kuban Cossack Choir 2008, Track 8):

Variant G

Їдь же, козаче, не майся,
Швидче до дому вертайся,
Та й не забувайся про чорнії брови,
Що ти у їх улюблявся.

In most variants the warrior asks his woman to give him a kerchief. In case he dies on the battlefield this kerchief would cover his eyes before they put him in his grave (Variants A, B, D, E, G):

Variant A Подай дівчино хустину, Може я в бою загину,
Темної ночі накриють очі, Лекше в могилі спочину.

Variant B Подай, дівчино, хустину, Бо як у бою загину:
Накриють очі темної ночі – Легше в могилі спочину.

Variant D Подай дівчино хустину, Бо як у бою загину,
Накриють очі темної ночі, Легше в могилі спочину.

Variant E Подай хустину, дівчино, Бо, може, в полі загину,
Прикриють очі темної ночі, Як ляжу сам у могилу.

Variant G Дай же, дівчино, хустину, Може в бою я загину.
Темної ночи скриються очі, Та й понесуть на могилу.

Then the story varies. While Variant F describes a cheerful departure of Ukrainian Sich Riflemen and encourages all young man to join them in the battle, Variants C, D and F state that the soldier is deceased (Variants C, D, F, G):

Variant C	**Variant D**	**Variant F**	**Variant G**
Дала дівчина хустину, Стрілець у полі загинув.	Дала дівчина хустину, Козак пішов тай загинув – Темної ночі накрили очі, Ще й висипали могилу.	Ідуть січовії стрільці, за ними вітер віє, Сміється сонце з-роза хмар – Україна радіє, І б'ється серце у грудях, і пісня ген лунає, Хто любить родимий край, хай з нами поспішає.	Дала дівчина хустину, В бою стрілець загинув, Темної ночі скрилися очі, Та й у стрілецькій могилі.

After the death of the young man, his girlfriend of wife is captured by the invaders (Variants A, B, C, D, E):

Variants A, B, C, E	**Variant D**
Лихії люди на силу, Взяли нещасну дівчину, А серед поля - гнеться тополя, Тай над стрілецьку могилу.	Лихії люди насилу, Взяли нещасну дівчину, А серед поля гнеться тополя Тай на козацьку могилу.

Variant G (Kuban Cossack Choir 2008, Track 8) discusses the unfortunate death of the warrior in a foreign land. His family and his girlfriend are not there to honor his memory (Variant G). By contrast, Kateryna Gowda's variant of this ballad reveals that the girl finds cries on the grave of her beloved (Variant B):

Variant B	**Variant G**
А на тій могилі калина, А під тов калинов дівчина, А під тов калинов молода дівчина Дрібнії сльози пролила.	Ніхто не чує, не баче, Де лежить тіло козаче. Тільки чорний вороне не спить на могилі, Сидить та й сумненько кряче.

In the variant D (Talanchuk 2012), as well as in the variant G (Kuban Cossack Choir 2008, Track 8), the main character was substituted from being a rifleman to a Cossack. One might suppose that this alteration was made under the influence of Soviet authorities, after Ukrainian Sich Riflemen failed in their attempts to gain the independence and Ukraine became a part of Soviet Union.

However this assumption might be controversial; the ballad "*Їхав козак на війноньку*" could have existed before the Ukrainian War of Independence was over. By means of example consider the interview that was recorded by Oksana Kuz'menko with Hul'man Ievdokia (year of birth 1915) in the village of Ocheretnia, Vinnytsia district. Ms. Hul'man told that that the ballad "*Їхав козак на війноньку*" was very old; she remembers hearing and singing this song in her early years (1999). Possibly, for Ukrainians the term Cossack encompassed any warrior who

fought for the cause of independence, and therefore "*стрілець*" (Ukrainian Sich Riffleman) was a synonymous concept.

Nevertheless this substitution might have contributed to the popularity of the ballad in Soviet Ukraine. A number of folk choirs could openly perform it during their concerts. Increasingly, the song "*Їхав козак на війноньку*" that was sometimes recognized as folklore, started gaining popularity as a part of stage repertoire in Ukraine. This could also influence Ukrainian Canadian oral tradition. Natalia Talanchuk provided her variant of this ballad in book of songs that constituted the repertoire of the Verkhovyna Ukrainian Women's Choir.

While the lyrics of a song increases its popularity and its different variants start to emerge, the name of its composer could be forgotten. This was true for the song "*В моєму саду айстри білі*" that was performed by Lidia Sorobei during the interview (2012, 0:35:08). Lidia recalled the day when she heard it for the first time in her life. It was during her journey to Canada; while on a train she listened to a group of girls singing a romance about white asters.

Lidia liked the song very much, but she remembered just parts of it. She was so charmed by the song that she never even thought about interrupting them and asking who wrote it or what is was called. Then Lidia got off the train, and never saw those performers again in her life. It took her a while before she came across someone who knew the song and could give her the lyrics (Sorobei, 0:26:12), but the authorship of this beautiful romance remains unknown to this day. In a number of songbooks this song is labelled as folklore.

After analyzing the singing repertoire of the seven interviewees with regard to the authorship of the songs, it can be seen that

the lyrics for many of them could be attributed to separate artists. The poems of some prominent Ukrainian writers such as Mykola Ustianovych, Taras Shevchenko, Oleksandr Konynskyi, Pavlo Chubynsky, Myhailo Starytskyi, Ivan Franko, Volodymyr Samiilenko, Osyp Makovei, Lesia Ukraiinka, Mikola Vronyi, Bohdan Lepkyi, Spyrydon Cherkasenko, Vasyl Pachovskyi, Oleksanrd Oles, Serhiy Pylypenko, Maksym Rylskyi, and other lyricists were later put to music by composers, and these songs were performed by the third-wave immigrants at the time of the interviews.

The songs written by the composers who were contemporaries to the third wave immigrants also gained popularity, and were widely practiced by the interviewees during their DP years and after their immigration to Canada. One might infer that some of those writers, for example Hryhorii Truch, Roman Kupchynskyi, Myhailo Kurah, Myron Fedoriv, Yar Slavutych, Hanna Cheryn, Leonid Poltava, and others, had an opportunity to popularize their songs among the DP population since they lived in DP camps at some point of their lives.

A number of those who ended up in DP camps were able to continue creating new poems and lyrics for songs. The revival of national hope and pride was a prominent theme of patriotic songs composed. These songs were instrumental in building up a sense of hope and promise to the demoralized population. For example, Roman Kupchynskyi – a former commander of the Legion of *Ukrainian* Sich Riflemen (Ukrainski sichovi striltsi, *USS*), and an author of numerous Ukrainian patriotic songs – moved to Germany at the end of the WWII, then immigrated to the USA. During his DP years this Ukrainian poet continued his creative activity, and popularizing his songs among the refugee population by means of concerts. His lyrics were so close to the

experiences of the DPs, that they were eagerly listened to and easily remembered. To this day a number of his songs remain in the list of 'favourites' in Kateryna Gowda's repertoire.

The concerts that were performed for the DPs in the post-war years played an important role in the revival and popularization of Ukrainian cultural heritage within the refugee population. One might infer that these celebratory events inspired the youth population, which, in turn began to develop some noteworthy artisans. For instance, Hanna Cheryn, who is at present a well-known writer, poet, literary critic and an author of more than 40 books, left her homeland at the age of 25 and spent four years in German DP camps before she immigrated to the USA. Her patriotic song 'Swallows' (Lastivky) is one of Natalia Talanchuk's favorites.

These new era songs quickly became popular, solidifying their place in Ukrainian culture; although there were still instances that were most suited to the more accustomed representations of the oral lore. However, the traditional oral lore of folk songs was still performed to accompany wedding ceremonies.

Although some marriages did take place, for most, the attempt to find a potential mate was not a priority while performing forced labour. Day to day struggles far outweighed any thoughts of romantic involvement. Labourers once liberated to the relative freedom the DP camps provided, a returned to a semblance of traditional courting rites. Of the seven interviewees, four women were of the marrying age when they arrived at the DP camps. During their short stay, two were eventually married while living in the camps, one woman met her future

husband while encamped in Germany, and one abstained from marriage after losing her love during the war.

In a displaced persons camp Stefania Broda met her future husband Alexander, and they were married in February, 1947 (2012, 0:05:00). Notwithstanding the fact that the young people were physically detached from their homeland, they put a lot of effort into organizing a traditional Ukrainian wedding. First, the couple invited absolutely everybody from the DP camp to their wedding, just as the whole village would be invited to join the celebration if it had happened back home (2012, 0:19:50). Second, the newlyweds enlisted the services of a cook to prepare Ukrainian dishes for the festive dinner. Third, the wedding ceremony and the celebration were accompanied by certain ritual songs at each stage; the songs were also based on the type of food served at the table (2012, 0:20:35). Although theirs was an ideal DP camp marriage, not all courtships were afforded the customary rites of passage.

Upon her arrival to the DP camp, Natalia became acquainted with Konstant, a young man from Galicia. He found work as a cook after being released from the Buchenwald concentration camp. The young couple were married on May 8, 1945 (Talanchuk 2012, 0:07:08), as part of a large multi-wedding ceremony that involved five other couples. Natalia recalls her wedding day was very low key, without the customary rituals performed in a more traditional wedding. The ceremony was hurried, with little in the way of a reception or celebration following the marriage vows.

Notwithstanding the fact that the populations of the DP camps encompassed diverse ethnic and cultural backgrounds, for the most part Ukrainian DPs preferred to marry somebody of their same ethnicity, and

to maintain friendly relationships mostly with their countrymen. For instance, Natalia Talanchuk recalls that the population of DPs in her camp included Ukrainians, Russians and Polish people, but the interaction between these nationalities was superficial (2012, 0:04:10).

As a rule, people were drawn to their compatriots for solace and understanding, knowing that they could feel free to share their experiences and ideas with one another without fear of influence from competing values, attitudes and beliefs. In light of the remarkable revitalization of Ukrainian education and culture that took place in Germany and Austria in those days, nationalism began to take root among the Ukrainian population, and the reestablishment of Ukrainian patriotic organizations began.

Nationalist organizations began to recruit within DP camps and newly redeveloped affiliations had a long lasting and widespread influence, as these organizations were transplanted into their new homelands as well. Natalia Talanchuk recognized the opportunity to rejoin the OUN while residing there. She became an influential leader of the organization during these years.

The intent of DP camps was to act as a temporary hospice for persons displaced during the war. For a large portion of these populations, returning to their homeland was not a possibility. There was the opportunity for some, to immigrate to Canada.

Stefania and Alexander Broda came to Canada in 1948 (2012 0:04:10). Alexander had an older brother, Petro, who settled in Alberta during the second wave in search of better economic opportunities. When Stefania and Alexander arrived, Petro was already married, had four children, and was operating his own farm (2012, 0:06:40).

The two brothers found each-other through the Ukrainian Canadian Committee (present name: Ukrainian Canadian Congress), which put an ad in the *Canadian Farmer* (*Kanadyskyy Farmar*). This newspaper helped connect Ukrainian DPs with their relatives in Canada, and to provide contact information of both parties. Soon after, Petro became aware that his brother was looking for him, and he completed the necessary paperwork to sponsor Alexander and Stefania to immigrate (2012, 0:05:50). For three months, the family lived on Petro's farm (2012, 0:06:10), then moved to Edmonton to find jobs for themselves, (2012, 0:10:20) and stayed there until the present.

Lidia Sorobei (2012, 0:01:57 – 0:02:20) and Nadia Cyncar (2012, 0:07:00) found their relatives that were residing in Canada through the Ukrainian Canadian Committee periodical as well, and they arrived in Canada in 1948. Nevertheless, Ukrainian immigrants were not only sponsored by landed relatives. Distant friends, acquaintances, and even in some instances, complete strangers, were known to sponsor their immigration. In the latter case, it was not uncommon for the newly arrived, to have agreed to some sort of contractual work obligation for up to two years after arriving in Canada.

During their stay in a DP camp the father of Ol'ha Lohvynenko established contact with a farmer from Alberta, Canada, who was willing to sponsor the whole family in exchange for two years of work on his farm. Since repatriation to the Soviet-ruled Ukraine was out of question, immigration to Canada was the most desirable option. Consequently, the Fedun family arrived in Alberta in 1948 (2012, 0:18:03). While Ol'ha's father and mother were staying lived on the farm to fulfill the agreement, Ol'ha went to the town of Morinville to finish her ninth grade (2012,

0:09:10). There she resided with the family of the farmer's daughter who helped Ol'ha with English language and other subjects (2012, 0:17:14).

Maria Dytyniak and her family were sponsored by Ukrainian Canadians that they had never met. One could suppose that the sponsors simply recognized their last name on a list of potential applicants, and decided to sponsor the entire family (2012, 0:10:25). She also recounts methods other than signed sponsorship, as a means of immigrating to North America. Many Ukrainian church and community organizations that had been established by the first and second wave immigrants were also actively involved in providing an alternative means of gaining status of a resident. They successfully recruited many skilled labourers and found positions for them in factories and farms (2012, 0:10:40). There were also opportunities for young women to gain residency by working as nannies, cooks and cleaning personnel for some of the more established families in the US and Canada (2012, 0:11:42).

The rest of the interviewees, Kateryna Gowda and Natalia Talanchuk were not successful in their attempts to find any acquaintances or relatives to sponsor them to North America during their DP years. Therefore they were forced to try other alternatives to immigrate. These opportunities were provided by way of the DP camps. As domestic labour shortages began to stall the economies of countries around the world, individual national interests began looking for solutions to the problem. Early on, these DP camps were identified by many nations as a significant resource from which to supplement a weak labour force. Some of the countries included Austria, Italy, Belgium and France (Weber-Newth and Steiner 2006, 13).

Countries began offering resettlement programmes, which were in essence, contractual agreements whereby nations were able to serve their critical short-term labour issues (Kay 1995, 155). Only young, healthy, preferably unmarried men were eligible to apply. Married couples were also given preference, considering that men would work in mines while their wives could stay at home and take care of the household.

In the camp, Kateryna heard of an opportunity to move to Belgium as a contracted labourer. The fact that Kateryna was single at the time considerably decreased her chances to be contracted for work and to move to Belgium. Since marrying someone for the purpose of emigration was not a favourable choice for her, Kateryna decided to try her luck and submit an application to the Belgian employment office on her own (2012, 0:03:44). By lucky coincidence, the officer responsible for directing DPs to Belgium turned out to be Ukrainian. On hearing that Kateryna was from the town of Kozova, he immediately switched from Polish to Ukrainian, and the interviewing process turned into a friendly conversation. As a result, Kateryna was granted permission to resettle, overlooking her marital status (2012, 0:05:10).

In Belgium there were many Ukrainian priests and missionaries at the time. Kateryna was introduced to Maxim Hermaniuk Archbishop from Winnipeg, Manitoba, who was at the time studying post-graduate theology at University of Louvain (2012, 0:05:17). Archibishop Hermaniuk helped her to find employment as a nanny, maid and domestic helper at the house of a University professor (2012, 0:05:50). Kateryna spent four years in Louvain; although she was far from her homeland, she recalls only happy memories about her life in Belgium.

Her employer and his family were very hospitable to her. They were exceptionally tolerant of the fact that she could not comprehend the language they were speaking; what is more, they put an effort into teaching her the Flemish language as soon as possible (2012, 0:06:30). Moreover, there was an opportunity for Kateryna to manifest her Ukrainian identity and to celebrate customs and traditions of her homeland. Louvain was bursting with student life. Its high number of international students made it a place where numerous cultures met and experiences were shared.

Soon after her arrival Kateryna became a member of the Ukrainian student club and made many friends among her countrymen there. She also joined a Ukrainian student choir and a dance ensemble which performed at a great number of concerts in Louvain, and also toured around the country (2012, 0:06:50). Overall, living and working in Belgium had been a great experience for Kateryna, and to this day she recounts only pleasant memories of the four years she spent there.

While Kateryna enjoyed a positive experience during her years in Belgium, not all were as fortunate. The influx of labourers was regarded by some Belgians as a means to an end, and many immigrants faced resentment and prejudice. Belgium offered two-year contracts to work in the mines or other industries with the caveat that the workers could return any worker within three months if the recruits were deemed unsatisfactory (Kay 1995, 155).

Natalia Talanchuk and her husband chose to immigrate to Belgium as Natalia had studied some French in school back home (2012, 0:06:20). In the new country, Natalia gained employment as an

elementary teacher in a Ukrainian school (2012, 0:21:25), while her husband worked as a carpenter at a glass factory (2012, 0:22:45).

According to Natalia there were several reasons that influenced their decision to leave Belgium and start afresh in a new country. First and foremost, the living conditions for the Talanchuk family in Belgium were deplorable. Upon their arrival Natalia and Konstant were lodged in barracks together with other factory workers. However, when their first child Zorian was born, finding a suitable dwelling became problematic, since fellow workers did not want to share a house with a screaming child.

Natalia brought this issue to the factory director, and he settled them in a tiny room on the territory of the manufacturer, which they previously used as a temporary accommodation for workers who just arrived. This wretched dwelling was probably the best that the family could ever hope for as no other opportunities to secure a private house or apartment were imminent. Getting established and providing suitable living conditions for their child was a priority for Natalia and her husband. Since it was very difficult to do that in Belgium, they had to consider moving elsewhere (2012, 0:24:00 – 0:25:09).

Second, the language barrier made it challenging for Konstant to assimilate into the workforce and to blend into mainstream Belgian society. The former DPs were not provided with language training in any of the languages that were official in Belgium at the time. The busy work schedule and a low level of income did not allow Konstant to take private language classes. The language gap hindered his ability to get better employment and to improve the quality of living for him and his family.

Therefore the Talanchuk family were willing to move to a country where they could communicate more effectively.

Last but not least, it was the devastation of Europe after the Second World War that motivated people to settle beyond its borders. Years of bombing and shelling reduced urban areas to rubble and ruined much of European agricultural lands. In spite of the fact that Brussels was one of the few European cities that remained largely undamaged by war, much of Belgium had suffered terrible destruction. Hence, Natalia and Konstant as well as many Ukrainian refugees preferred to immigrate to one of the countries where the military operations of the Second World War never took place: to Argentina, Brazil, Australia or Canada (2012, 0:35:30).

In light of the aforementioned factors, Natalia and her husband attached great importance to living close to people of the same ethnic and cultural background. They believed that it might help them to minimize the traumatic effects of their geographical displacement. Unfortunately the Ukrainian community in Belgium was meagre. Therefore the young couple dreamed of immigrating to Canada since they were aware that there was an emerging Ukrainian community in this country. To fulfill their desire they had to have an affidavit of support from a close relative living in Canada. Natalia and Konstant had no family members there; neither did they have any acquaintances who would agree to sign the affidavit. In time, they would realize their opportunity to realize their dream.

During their stay in Belgium, Natalia and her husband developed friendly relationships with other Ukrainians who were contracted to work at the same factory. The closest friends of the family

were two brothers, Oleksa and Hryhorii Zynych (2012, 0:32:40). Natalia would organize get-togethers and cook dinner for them on a weekly basis. The Zynych brothers were so grateful for the hospitality, that soon after they left for Canada and settled in a farm on Alberta, they started searching for ways to bring the Talanchuk family to Canada as well (2012, 0:35:20). In the village of Boyle where the Zynych brothers were resided, there was a tradition for all farmers to organize picnics every once a while. During one of those picnics Oleksa and Hryhorii met a farmer who agreed to sign the affidavit for Natalia, her husband and little Zorian (2012, 0:32:40 – 0:36:40). The Talanchuk family arrived in Canada on June 7th, 1949 (2012, 0:37:50) and settled in Edmonton within two months (2012, 0:40:40).

The representatives of the third immigration wave saw themselves as the preservers of a culture that was threatened in Ukraine, and felt a responsibility to live at least part of their lives as Ukrainians within the Canadian milieu. The new immigrants were fortunate to enter a country that already had an emerging Ukrainian culture, and they readily integrated into the life of the existing Ukrainian Canadian community. The newcomers were extremely grateful to the first and second immigration waves for helping them move to Canada from the DP camps. Some of them resided on the farms of their sponsors, providing work for room and board. Their common interaction and mutual support contributed to understanding and friendship between the three immigration waves.

Lidia Sorobei recounted her life in Mundare, where she stayed with her aunts for nearly three years after she arrived in Canada (2012, 0:06:20). This small town in central Alberta has always been considered

the heart of early Ukrainian Canadian settlement. Ukrainian language and traditions flourished there, which allowed the new immigrants to bridge the cultural gap. Therefore Lidia easily adjusted to her new landscape and joined the mainstream of community life. Moreover, soon after her arrival in Mundare Lidia started actively involving in the life of Ukrainian community in this area, and organized an exhibition of ethnic embroidered textiles – Ukrainian rushnyky (2012, 0:07:00).

As soon as the third wave immigrants familiarized themselves with the ways in which their predecessors celebrated their cultural identity, they started adding their own ideas and views to the life of the Ukrainian community in Canada. One might infer that the third immigration wave brought a sense of unity into a number of fragmented cultural establishments, and encouraged the growth of a harmonized Ukrainian subculture.

During the interview Nadia Cyncar brought up the issue of the long existing rivalry between Ukrainians that belonged to the two traditional Ukrainian churches, Catholic and Orthodox. Moreover, there were divided loyalties among the eparchies and even churches of one and the same faith. Constant conflicts between the members of those two Christian religions in many ways hampered a successful development of a number of Ukrainian cultural and artistic establishments in Canada. For instance, there were a number of amateur dance groups and choirs affiliated with different religious institutions, and many concerts were held in Edmonton on a regular basis. Nevertheless many performances except those that were not associated with religious institutions, failed to reach a larger audience, as members of one church would not attend the cultural performances of the other church (Cyncar 2012, 0:12:20).

However, there was nothing that could stop the young newcomers from socializing, and becoming friends with their countrymen with no regard to their religious backgrounds (Cyncar 2012, 0:12:45). If you were Ukrainian, you were readily accepted into the community. This contributed to the unification of the Ukrainian community in Canada.

Furthermore, the newcomers expanded Ukrainian Canadian culture from its humble beginnings in villages and farms, into the major urban centers of Canada. The majority of the interviewees mentioned that although they had an opportunity to stay on farms, they chose to settle in larger cities throughout Canada in search of job opportunities that were not available in the rural setting. For instance, Natalia and Konstant Talanchuk did not see themselves residing in a small farming town of Boyle. They knew their stay in their sponsor's house would be temporary, and therefore left their luggage under a cathedral in Edmonton. They came back to pick it up two months later, and stayed in this city for life (Talanchuk 2012, 0:40:40).

Residing in urban centres afforded the immigrants of the third wave more opportunities to experience the cultural aspects of their Ukrainian heritage. When her family chose to move to Edmonton, chances for Lidia to express her cultural identity in an artistic manner increased greatly. She became involved with dance, and took part in a variety of Ukrainian performances and multicultural festivals in Edmonton and the area (2012, 0:09:50). Moreover, Lidia acted as a script writer and a master of ceremonies at a number of concerts and celebrations (2012, 0:10:16). In addition, she compiled and presented lectures at many community gatherings that were regularly held to

commemorate Ukrainian cultural and political figures, historical events and milestones of Ukrainian life in Canada (2012, 0:12:30).

The settlement of third wave immigrants in the larger cities of Canada helped increase membership in some of the existing Ukrainian organizations in these centres. This influx of new affiliates helped these community centres flourish. All the representatives of the third immigration wave who were interviewed for the project were active members of one or more Ukrainian Canadian organization. For example, Kateryna Gowda was simultaneously involved in three non-profit organizations: the Children of Ukraine, League of Ukrainian Canadian Women, and St. Mary's Ladies League UCWLC (the Ukrainian Catholic Women's League of Canada) (2012, 0:18:45).

Stefania and Alexander Broda invested much of their personal time in the development of Ukrainian community organizations in Edmonton as well. They spend many weekends working at the Ukrainian Youth Complex 'Dim Ukrayins'koyi Molodi' (2012, 0:25:15). Often they volunteered at church sponsored Bingos with other members where women prepared and served refreshments and the men sold cards and collected money (2012, 0:25:50). These fundraising efforts helped finance Ukrainian Canadian non-profit organizations (2012, 0:26:50). There were many ways one could support the establishment of new community centres. Lydia Sorobei donated money to help support National Homes ('Narodni Domy') on regular basis (2012, 0:19:40).

Most of the institutions were founded to provide future generations of Ukrainian Canadians with the opportunity to learn about their Ukrainian heritage. The intent was to instil into the future generations of Ukrainian Canadians a sense of patriotism and pride in

their culture. Together with other Ukrainian Canadians, Natalia and Konstant Talanchuk helped to establish a number of institutions, whose goal was to pass on traditional and cultural knowledge to future generations. Natalia devoted more than 25 years working full time at the Ukrainian bookstore (Ukraiins'ka Knyharnia), which was the first establishment of its kind in Canada (2012, 0:19:57).

Natalia was also involved in the founding of 'Ridna Shkola', a Saturday educational facility for children, offering courses in Ukrainian language and history (2012, 1:03:45). She also taught Ukrainian history and Ukrainian studies for youngsters at the Ukrainian Youth Association in Edmonton (CYM) (2012, 1:03:50).

Nadia Cyncar continually held leading positions in the Edmonton branch of the Plast Ukrainian Youth Association. Within her first year in Canada she established 'Novatstvo' – the youngest level in Plast, which involves children from age six to eleven. Furthermore, Nadia was responsible for the Plast archive and library.

Along with providing educational opportunities for young Ukrainians, a number of community organizations were involved in providing entertainment in the form of staging plays and showcasing dance performances. Many immigrants of the third wave participated in choirs and delivered lectures to the Ukrainian population in Canada. Maria Dytyniak shared her expertise in music with other Ukrainian Canadians while being involved in a number of organizations, such as the Ukrainian National Federation (UNO, Ukraiins'ke Natsional'ne Obiednannia), the Ukrainian Youth Association (CYM, Spilka Ukraiins'koii Molodi) and the Plast Ukrainian Youth Association (2012, 1:16:42 – 1:21:40).

The members of these organizations felt a responsibility to ensure that the aims of the club were met. For example, Natalia Talanchuk joined the choir because the institute needed to be supported by new singers (2012, 0:59:12). On the other hand, some joined simply out of their love for singing. Ol'ha Lohvynenko mentioned that she became a member of Plast because of the enjoyment she got from performing Ukrainian songs (2012, 0:15:07).

The concerts, dances and performances were seen as a favorable setting to socialize with fellow Ukrainians. People made friends, and many found romantic partners at these events. According to Lidia Sorobei, these events provided a needed venue to meet and make acquaintances (2012, 0:29:55). It could be inferred that the popularity of these concerts and events significantly influenced and complemented the singing repertoires of the third wave immigrants.

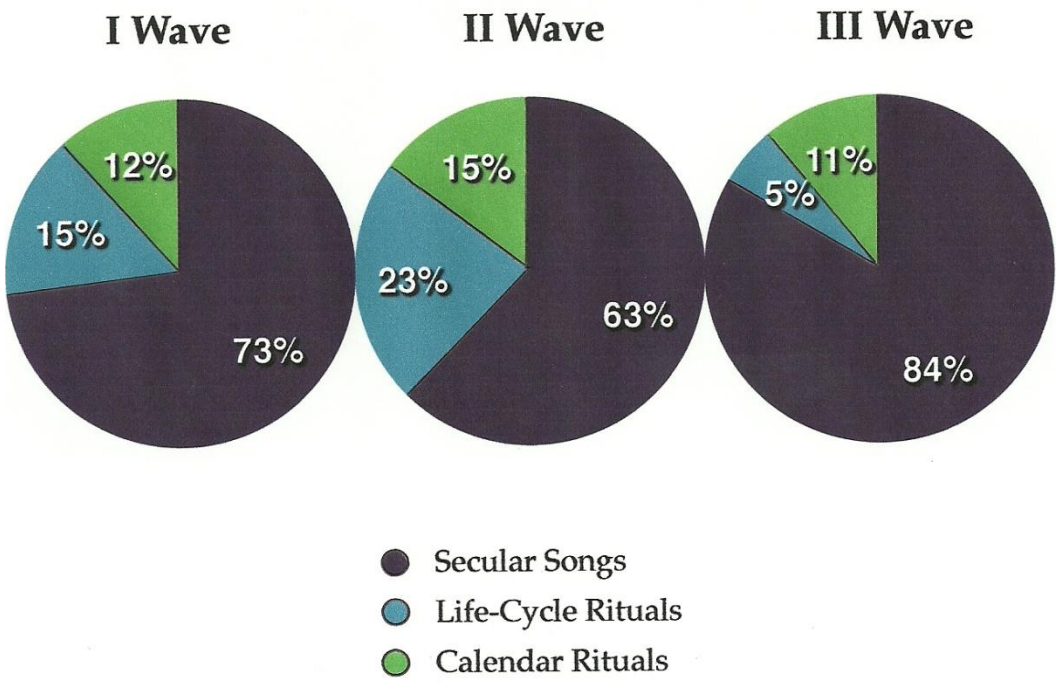
The new settlers did not attend these concerts and performances to simply enhance their singing repertoire. For the most part, these events fostered social interaction with other Ukrainian Canadians in their area. The immigrants were also exposed to a plethora of artistic genres, including Ukrainian music and songs. What is more, some of the songs resonated with the audiences' beliefs and emotions as they were relevant to the topical issues of the time. Therefore, Ukrainian Canadians adopted the songs that were most closely associated with what they were interested in, and incorporated them into their own singing repertoires.

However, concerts and community events were not solely responsible for influencing the repertoires of the third wave immigrants. Printed media and mass communication also contributed to the consistency with which these songs were available to the public. In this

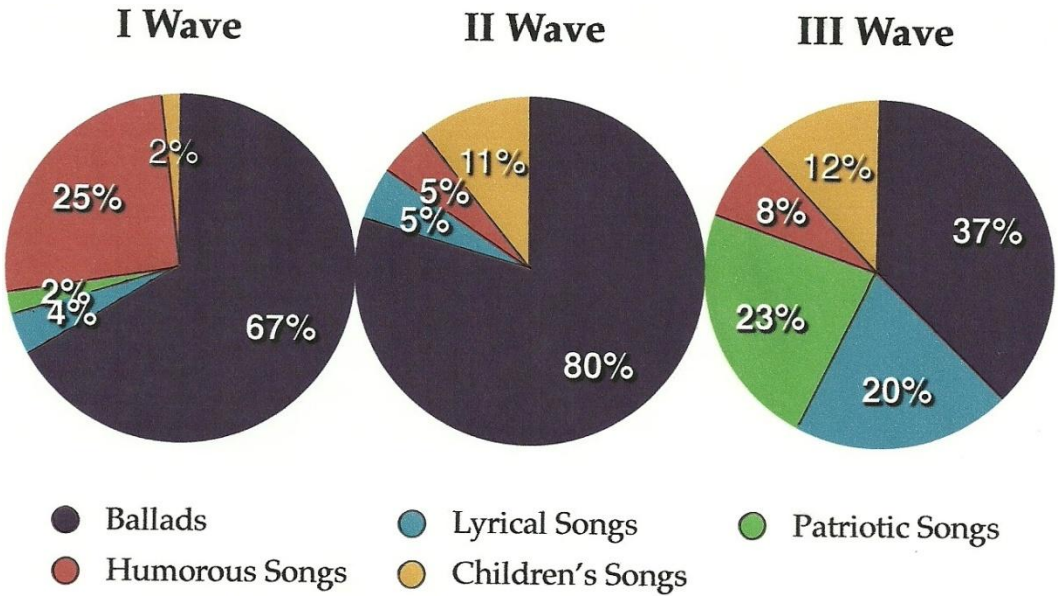
manner, the popularization of songs composed by the intelligentsia and cultural elite became more extensive. The songs created by known authors were adopted by the third wave immigrants as a part of their own singing repertoire. The experiences that shaped the repertoires of the third wave immigrants resulted in a rich and varied compilation of songs.

Notwithstanding the fact that the songs written by the Ukrainian intelligentsia grew in popularity and were often performed during Ukrainian concerts in Canada, folk songs still constituted a large portion of the immigrant repertoire. 52 ritual songs that were shared by the third wave immigrants during their interviews were connected with important life-cycle rituals (13 songs), and calendar rituals (26 songs).

Life-cycle ritual songs represent 5% of the folk singing repertoire of the interviewed third wave immigrants, and include 2 lullabies, 9 wedding songs, and 2 laments. The majority of calendar ritual folksongs, which constitutes 11% of the overall singing tradition that was recorded from the representatives of the third wave, consisted of 15 Christmas carols, 4 spring songs (*vesnianky* and *haiilky*), and 2 folksongs that were performed exclusively on Ivan Kupalo celebrations. The other five ritual songs accompany round dances (zhuchok, podolianochka, zaplitannia shuma and kryvyi tanets'), that could be performed as part of both spring and summer rites. The quantitative estimates of immigrant folksongs that were analyzed for this study can be illustrated in the charts below:



These charts illustrate that the relative quantity of secular singing folklore represents the largest percentage of the repertoires of each successive wave of interviewed immigrants. These commonalties serve to strengthen further conclusions about the secular collections of each immigration wave interviewed. If one can agree that the ratio of secular versus life-cycle and calendar ritual folksongs remains consistent throughout each wave, then the analysis of the specific genres within the secular folklore of each wave could be more accurate. The following charts serve to illustrate the subdivisions contained within secular folklore of the interviewed immigrants, and the relative quantity that each genre represents:



Secular singing folklore of the third wave interviewees was represented by 45 patriotic and 41 lyrical songs, as well as 15 humorous and 24 children's verses. Just like in the repertoires of the previous immigration, the ballad genre remained the most widely performed (74 ballads), although its percentage is smaller than in the first and the second waves. The quantitative estimates of immigrant secular folksongs might conclude that the repertoire of interviewed Ukrainian settlers that came to Canada after the Second World War seems more varied.

It is important that the graph above be interpreted in a manner that suggests the diversity of genres, as opposed to the quality of contributions that were made by each wave. The main genres were more common in the secular folklore of the third wave. Furthermore, the quantity of songs of each genre was greater than in the prior waves. For example, there were 74 ballads which comprised approximately 37% of the collected third wave folklore. Conversely, the second wave

contributed 67 ballads that represented over 80% of the entire second waves' interviews.

There could be numerous reasons for the greater diversity in third wave secular folklore. Ukrainians have always identified music as one of the most essential elements of any culture. The third wave immigrants were particularly determined in their attempts to revitalize this aspect of life in the Ukrainian Canadian population. For example, they enriched existing singing repertoires with humorous songs in order to raise the entertainment value of concerts and performances.

There was also a significant effort devoted to promoting children's folklore, with the emphasis being on integrating these songs into children's singing classes. Natalia Talanchuk recalls that, "We needed to bring up our children in a purposeful manner that would instill feelings of pride in their cultural heritage" (2012, 1:03:30). Lydia Sorobei was also a supporter of instilling knowledge, attitudes and beliefs in young Ukrainian Canadians. "It was important to show that we are a nation that does not die, and it is our duty to ensure that we pass it along to the next generation" (2012, 0:42:00).

In order to captivate young audiences, the third wave immigrants presented songs that were specifically composed for children. For example, a skilled and dedicated pedagogue, Maria Dytyniak incorporated Ukrainian children's songs into her career as a music teacher which spanned more than 50 years (2012, 0:49:20).

The previous table also illustrates the difference between the contributions of patriotic songs from the three waves of immigrants. In fact, 45 out of the 46 folk songs included in this genre can be attributed to the third wave. One might infer that there were several motives that

could explain this patriotic resurgence. First and foremost, the third wave Ukrainian Canadians sang nationalist songs because they missed their homeland (Broda 2012, 1:15:47), and they had strong nationalist feelings. According to Stefania Broda, it was not easy for the settlers to adjust to the new realities faced after immigration. With the help of a Ukrainian patriotic song they lived through the memories of their younger years back home, recollecting the tiniest details of their happy times there, the family and friends that they left behind, and the beauty of Ukrainian nature (Чом, чом, чом, земле моя, Так люба ти мені? (2012, 1:16:00)).

The second reason may be the expression of songs as a protest against the oppression of national identity faced by many Ukrainians in their homeland. For example, Natalia Talanchuk manifested her protest against Soviet ideology by singing a Ukrainian song when she decided to disassociate herself from the Young Pioneers Organization of the Soviet Union and to became a nationalist sympathizer (2012, 0:29:44).

In the autumn of 1941, Natalia Talanchuk and her classmates joined the Organization of Ukrainian Nationalists (OUN). Together, they agreed to ceremoniously burn their Communist Union of Youth (Komsomol) cards. During this card burning ceremony, Natalia and her friends felt that they needed to sing a Ukrainian song, however nobody could recall any songs befitting the situation. In the Russified city of Dnipropetrovs'k, Ukrainian singing classes were not a part of curriculum, even in Ukrainian schools. All contemporary concerts, printed media, radio and television programs were in Russian; people started speaking Russian at home (2012, 1:16:00).

Therefore, the young protesters sang the Russian proletarian anthem '*Internationale*' in Ukrainian. In this way, they expressed their

Ukrainian identity and protested against the politics of the ruling Soviets (2012, 1:14:27 – 1:15:01). As soon as Natalia learned Ukrainian patriotic songs, they became and remained her favourites for the rest of her life.

The second reason for the popularity of patriotic folklore could be because it was restricted. This was voiced by Kateryna Gowda during her interview in June, 2010. According to Kateryna, young people in Western Ukraine were fond of mostly Ukrainian patriotic music (2012, 0:20:30).

Although most of the interviewees that participated in this study were able to perform their singing repertoires(which were recorded during the interview), Katernya Gowda was kind enough to provide a written collection of her singing repertoire, as she was not able to perform them on her own. Nonetheless, the compilation of patriotic songs that she would normally sing during friendly get-togethers was valuable to this study. Ms. Gowda stated that this collection was popular largely because it was banned by the ruling authorities of the time (2012, 0:20:45). Polish police arrested anyone who would dare to sing a Ukrainian patriotic song aloud. Young nationalists were imprisoned, but they continued to sing their beloved songs even more as soon as they got out of jail (2012, 0:21:48). It might be worth mentioning that this use of Ukrainian patriotic music was shared by many Ukrainians, which contributed to the popularity of nationalist folksongs during their years in the diaspora.

Folk ballad retained their popularity in the repertoires of the third wave immigrants, and remained the most performed genre. However the topics communicated by the ballads of the third wave were altered to fit the contemporary tastes and needs of Ukrainian Canadians. Further analysis of ballad plots aims to discuss those differences:

Family-Oriented Ballads (8 ballads), discussing the issues of:

- *Unhappy marriages (3 ballads)*: One might observe that the interest in the topic of unhappy marriages declined considerably in the third wave interviews. For example, the problem of alcoholism in the family that had been one of the most developed in the repertoires of the previous immigration was discussed in a single song (Broda, Червона ружа трояка).

There are a number of occasions during which ballads can be performed. For example, ballads could accompany wedding ceremonies. As Stephania Broda mentioned during her interview, some ballads also found representation during Ukrainian Canadian weddings. She sang a ballad that could also be performed by a bride on her wedding day. Those songs reveal her feelings and emotions on this happy, but often intimidating moment of her life. The girl is never sure what her future with her husband will be like, and by means of a song she expresses regret for losing her freedom and leaving her parent's home (Talanchuk, Ой сивая зозуленька; Broda, Нащо Ви мя віддаєте, Моя рідна мамо?).

- *Parenthood (4 ballads)*: The sorrow of bereaved parents is the most intense pain known, but this outcome was unfortunately very common at the time. Hundreds of mothers mourn their sons who died struggling for a happier future for subsequent generations of Ukrainians (Broda, Повіяв вітер степовий, Трава ся похилила). Sometimes war took away all children in the family, and inconsolable parents arrive at the funeral of their three sons (Gowda, Ой на горі три дубочки, Всі три зелененькі). This sacrifice is not to be forgotten: to *pay tribute* to the

soldiers that lost their lives during the war, people visit their graves on regular basis, and teach their children to do so as well (Gowda, Вже Зелені свята знов до нас вертають).

Another ballad communicates the distress of a soldier who fails to protect his own family. He succeeds in surviving in the war, and comes home hoping to put his life back together, but there is nobody to welcome him in his parents' house. His father has been brutally murdered; his arm and leg hacked off. His brother was crucified in their garden, and his mother lies dead on top of his body. The whole village is annihilated; everywhere he goes he sees only blood and corpses (Gowda, Заходить сонце за Карпати).

•*Relationships with the family of a husband (1 ballad):* Arguably, ballads about conflicts between family members did not constitute a large part of the third wave immigrant folklore. A single ballad that discusses this issue was learned by Nadia Cyncar upon her arrival to Canada. The song is about a young bride and her mother-in-law who mistreats her and constantly accuses her of being lazy. After days and nights of spinning, the girl is defamed by false claims about her working ability. The only person who tries to support the young woman in this situation is her loving husband (Cyncar, Ой пряду пряду, спатоньки хочу).

<u>Pre-Marital Relationships (25 ballads):</u>

• *Separation, loss of a lover (8 ballads):* In the repertoire of the third wave respondents, a number of ballads deal with dramatic events that might result in the separation of loved ones. Just like in previous immigration waves, some ballads discuss the issues of family disapproval

or gossip that hinders the development of relationships between lovers (Lohvynenko, Ой хмелю ж мій хмелю; Чом ти не прийшов; Talanchuk, Била мене мати; Та вже третій вечір як дівчину бачив).

The lack of communication with a significant other due to a prolonged travel or long distances between two people in love inevitably leads to moral outrage (Talanchuk, Повій вітре, ой вітерочок; Взяв би я бандуру), that sometimes might even result in the loss of love and separation of young people in love (Talanchuk, Ой по горі). In order to prevent such unfortunate outcomes, a girlfriend does not let her beloved go by himself and asks his permission to accompany him on his journey. The man describes all possible pitfalls of this decision; he might not be able to provide a decent standard of living, food and shelter to his beloved. On hearing this, the girl voices her desire to stay close to him regardless of those concerns, to find a job herself and to help him in any possible way (Lohvynenko, Козак відїжджає, дівчина плаче).

- *Seduction of a girl, bastardy (3 ballads):* According to Stefania Broda, the songs about losing virginity before marriage became less popular in Ukraine in the period between the World Wars, and accordingly they decreased in their significance in the repertoires of the third wave of immigration (Broda, 0:51:01; 0:55:00). Indeed, there were only a few ballads that mention pre-marital intimacy in the repertoires of the respondents.

The plot of seduction and murder of a girl who agreed to travel with Cossacks (Talanchuk, Їхали козаки із Дону додому), found its representation in a newer ballad about the Ukrainian Sich Riflemen who

invite a maiden to go with them to Ukraine. The next song in this classification tells the story of two young people in love who enter into an intimate relationship before their wedding day; after that the girl asks her boyfriend if he would let her join him on his trip to Ukraine (Talanchuk, Ой там поза яром). The latter two songs neither describe the act of seduction, nor do they reveal any negative effects of such behaviour. This might lead to a conclusion that the ballad genre might sometimes overlap with lyrical songs in more recent repertoires.

During the interview Natalia Talanchuk performed a ballad in which a man approached the girl that he is attracted to in a very scheming manner. Instead of simply giving her a present he promised to buy her new shoes and asked her to give some water for his horse in return. Frustrated with his attempts to seduce her, the girl put an end to this conversation herself. She replied that the man should never dare to talk to her again, unless he was willing to officially propose to her right away (Talanchuk, Дівчино моя!).

•*Unfaithfulness, betrayal (6 ballads):* A single song from the repertoire of Maria Dytyniak dealt with the situation in which three young men propose to a girl; she sends two of them away to find a remedy for her in order to buy time and to get married to the third fellow (Dytyniak, Ой у полі світлиця стояла). On the contrary, if a young bachelor sees two or three girls at the same time, there is an increasing probability that he does not intend to commit to any of them. For example, the moral of the ballad 'Oh there are three wells in the field' is that not every happy relationship ends in marriage. Notwithstanding that the man loves the young brunette with all his heart, he flirts with the

blonde and maintains an affair with the unattractive red head (Talanchuk, Ой у полі три криниченьки).

The remaining ballads about premarital infidelity involve a situation when a man is totally happy in his relationship with his girlfriend and wants to marry her, but at the same time he wishes to keep his options open. This makes his girl increasingly uncertain as to where she stands (Talanchuk, Ой вербиченька; Ходила я по садочку; Lohvynenko, Розпрягайте, хлопці, коней; Цвіте терен).

•*Charming, poisoning (1 ballad):* Promiscuous behaviour of a bachelor is sometimes severely punished by a cheated girl. The inconsiderate young man might be killed by poison as a punishment for his unfaithfulness (Broda, Cyncar, Ой не ходи Грицю).

- *Unrequited love (5 ballads):* In the repertoires of the third wave immigrants that were interviewed for this project there are a number of ballads that communicate the loss of love and interest for a girl, in which case a young man refuses to get married and stops seeing the girl (Talanchuk, У зеленій полонині дві жури журили; Дівка в сінях стояла; Ой по горі; Зацвіли волошки сині; Sorobei, В моєму саду айстри білі схилили голову в журбі).
- *Bachelorhood and marriage (1 ballad):* A mother tells her grown-up son to go find a wife for himself. She believes that as soon as he creates his own family, he will become more mature and will stop partying as much as before (Talanchuk, Сказала мені мати).
- *Unconventional marriage, intermarriage (2 ballads):* The issue of intercultural marriage found its representation in a ballad that became a part of both Natalia Talanchuk's and Ol'ha Lohvynenko's repertoires.

Since the preservation of national identity and passing it along to the future generations was a priority to the majority of the third wave immigrants, Ukrainian parents want their children to marry somebody of the same cultural background.

However, immigrants were more flexible with regards to marrying outside of their ethnicity. Being raised in a multicultural society afforded the opportunity to start dating people of other ethnicities as well. The above mentioned ballad communicates the parental disapproval of their daughter's relationship with a young man of another nationality. True love is able to overcome all obstacles, and the couple gets married within a year (Talanchuk, Lohvynenko, Тече вода каламутна).

Socially-oriented ballads (40 ballads):

- *Foreign land (9 ballads):* The balladry of the third immigration wave still contains songs created to immortalize earlier dramatic events of Ukrainian history. These include the remembrance of thousands of Cossacks who were held as prisoners of war in Turkey (Broda, Закувала та сива зозуля Вранці-рано на зорі), killed during the battle in Moscow (Cyncar, Стоїть явір над водою), or merely discloses realities of a lonesome Cossack life, away from his family and friends (Broda, Ой у полі під хвійкою).

Still, for the most part, the main theme of the ballads in this group is the departure of a courageous Ukrainian Sich Rifleman to protect his motherland from foreign invaders (Talanchuk, Розпрощався

стрілець), and his unfortunate death on the battle field (Gowda, Серед вічних снігів, де в просторі степів Тільки вітер холодний гуляє; Прощай, дівчино, прощай, єдина, Бо вже я їду на війну).

It might be worth mentioning that the music from homeland is often recognized as one of the most powerful ways to express ones love and support, and to ease pain (Talanchuk, Ой ходила дівчина) as well as to recount the best moments one had in life (Talanchuk, Заграй ми, цигане). For instance, when a soldier is mortally wounded on the battle field in a foreign land and is about to pass away, he asks his comrade to play on his pipe, and let him remember his family and his beloved girl, the views of his native village and the happy years that he spent there (Gowda, По бою було. Крик затих, І стріли притихали).

- *Death of a young man (2 ballads):* A single song from the repertoire of Natalia Talanchuk tells about an unfortunate death of a beloved young man who holds a dangerous job (Talanchuk, Вітре буйний), while the majority of the third wave ballads in this selection are connected with the issues of war and patriotism. The topic of parental mourning is important in many third wave ballads. A young warrior dies on the battle field while fulfilling his *duty* of *defending the* motherland from foreign invaders. His last wish is to have his love and closest family members bury his body (Broda, Подай, дівчино, руку на прощання).

- *Military service (12 ballads):* Lovers part when a man needs to defend his motherland from foreign invaders (Cyncar, Там на горі сніг біленький; Talanchuk, Засвіт встали козаченьки). While his girlfriend does not even care if her beloved marries her after the end of the war

(Lohvynenko, Їхав козак за Дунай), she prays for his safe return home (Gowda, Пасла дівка лебеді; Talanchuk, Я пам'ятаю ті слова), and remains faithful to her love even if he dies on the battle field (Gowda, Під горою вітер віє, Чорнозем чорніє; Dytyniak, Да що на горі Імбер). Unlike some of the earlier ballads, the young woman seldom falls ill or commits suicide after her boyfriend leaves, she needs to stay healthy and strong, capable of supporting and curing her man in case he is severely wounded in battle (Gowda, Гей там під лісом на траві зеленій).

Alas, in many cases the young man never makes it home (Talanchuk, Зацвів милий рожонькою, мила калиною; Sorobei, Їхав козак на війноньку; Gowda, Прощай, дівчино, прощай, єдина). In this event the maiden remains unprotected, and can be even captured by the enemies who killed her boyfriend (Talanchuk, Їхав козак на війноньку; Broda, Їхав стрілець на війноньку).

- *Social Inequality (4 ballads):* Some ballads refer to the issues of unequal social and economic status that might hinder the fulfillment of personal aims and desires in life. For example, an orphan hireling might feel like an alien in his own country, having no family and friends because of his underprivileged rank in the community (Lohvynenko, Дивлюсь я на небо).

Not being able to afford his own place, a fellow could be rejected by the girl that he loves. The maiden is not willing to stay in his parent's house, and declines his marriage proposal even though she loves the man dearly (Talanchuk, Ой дівчино, шумить гай; Чорні ока, як терен; Lohvynenko, По садочку ходжу).

•*Patriotism (8 ballad):* The patriotic ballads of the third wave Ukrainian Canadians entail the description of the picturesque views of Ukraine (Talanchuk, Волошки), and represents the connection with the place of their birth (Lohvynenko, Я бачила пташку, що впала з гніздечка). The patriots of Ukraine do not hesitate to give up their lives for the sacred idea of independence (Gowda, Ну що, як прийдеться вмерти, Жертвуватися для краю), and ask their parents and loved ones not to cry if they never come back because they died for the right reasons (Gowda, Прощався стрілець зі своєюріднею; Talanchuk, Не хились, калинонько!).

A patriot equates his home country to his wife or mother (Talanchuk, Гей ти, тату). When faith and freedom are assailed, a real man hopes for better times to come (Talanchuk, Моя пісне; Gowda, Ой заросли всі дороги та травами), and tries to cheer everybody around by means of a song.

• *Historical (5 ballads):* A part of the folk ballad tradition was designed to pass on historical knowledge, and also to promote and reinforce national consciousness in the young generation of Ukrainians through awareness of past events. Two songs in this group tell about the battle between the *Ukrainian* Sich Riflemen and the Russian army on 2–4 September 1916, that took place on the hill Lysonia not far from Berezhany, Western Ukraine (Gowda, Ой там під Бережанами Є гора Лисоня; Ой, гори Карпати, зійдіть на долину, Стрільці січовії, прийдіть на годину). Another ballad recounts the arrest of three hundred former members of the Ukrainian Insurgent Army by the NKVD

during a single night. Those patriots were never to be seen again (Talanchuk, Старенька ненька плаче-тужить, Дівчина плаче молода).

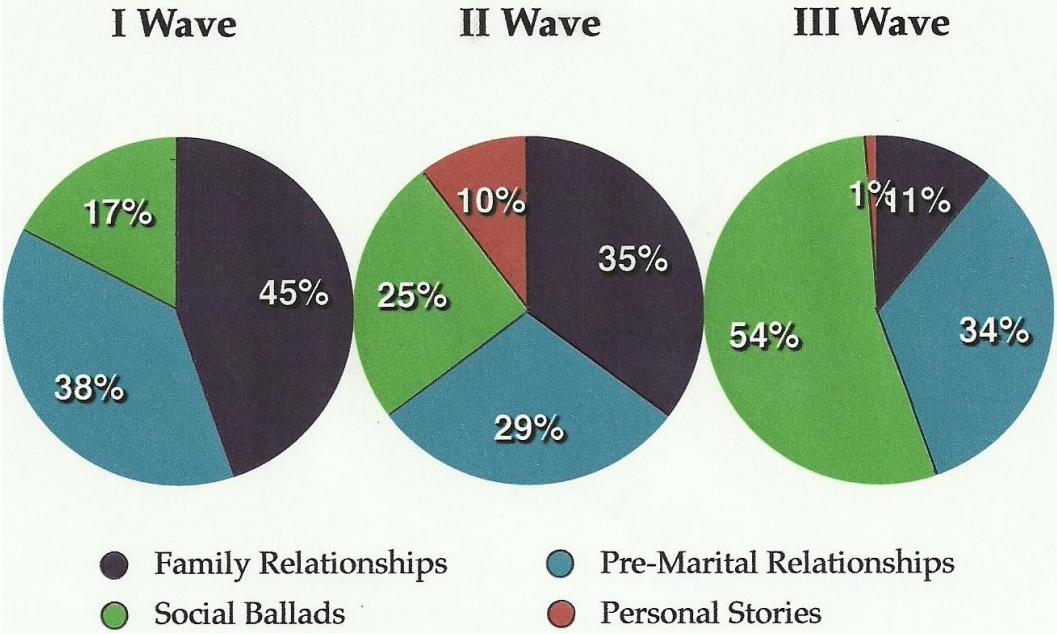
Kateryna Gowda shared a song about the murder of a young Ukrainian Sich Rifleman, Volodymyr Zahorulskyi in the village of Byshky. The courageous soldier was buried in the centre of the village to remind everybody that he gave his life for the sake of his country (Gowda, А в Бишках окопи копали українські січові стрільці). One more historical ballad about the leader of the Koliivshchyna rebellion Maksym Zalizniak tells a story of this brave Zaporizhian Cossack who courageously fought both Russians and Poles without any substantial military weapons (Talanchuk, Максим Залізняк).

Personal Stories (1 ballad):

- *Missing young years (1 ballad):* Nature renews itself annually, but a human being does not have the same ability in life. The happy years of youth and adolescence will never return and beauty will inevitably fade with age. Some natural body changes associated with aging may increase a person's risk of experiencing depression and bring a sense of nostalgia for the moments in life that are now gone forever (Talanchuk, Стоїть гора високая).

Taking a closer look at the topics of the above mentioned ballads, as well as the number of songs devoted to each particular area of discussion one might conclude that the third wave oral tradition has been altered considerably to fit the times, the realities of life, also the interests and views of Ukrainian Canadian society. The three pie charts below

were created to demonstrate what topics were the most thoroughly represented by the repertoires of the three waves:



One might conclude that family ballads that were the most widely performed by the earlier immigration (45% of the first-wave ballads, and 35% of the second wave), decreased in its popularity. Only 11% of ballads were family-oriented. According to Lidia Sorobei, the ballads about the poor relationships between close family members have never been of interest for her; even if she got to hear any song like that she would never perform it in the future (2012, 0:53:00). Most conflicts between family members were largely viewed as humorous stories in the repertoires of the interviewees. Stefania Broda mentioned that the new immigrants avoided sentimental lyrics that could make people cry. Through song, they aimed to brighten up the atmosphere and lift the spirits of everybody around (2012, 0:36:50).

In the repertoires of the third wave interviewees, the topics about unhappy married life and uneven marriages in some cases lost their tragic meaning, and were mostly represented in comical songs. For instance, the story of a young beautiful wife who asks her much older husband to let her go and party with friends is accompanied by very cheerful fast-paced music, and has quite a bit of humor to it (Broda, Ой під вишнею, Під черешнею). Another example of incompatible relationships that might later have been transformed into a comedy is an allegorical story of a mosquito who married a fly. After being subjected to lasting spousal abuse, a mosquito is so exhausted that a puff of wind blows him off the tree. As a result, he breaks every bone in his body (Broda, Ой що ж то за шум учинився; Talanchuk, В'язанка пісень).

Inappropriate behaviour seems to be more often ridiculed than dramatized in third wave immigrant folklore. Some ballads about conjugal infidelity were reconstructed into stories for amusement, in which a cheating spouse is depicted as an ignorant person. In the song about a husband who is attracted to a close family friend and the Godmother of his children *kuma,* the unfaithful man is used by his beloved as free labour. The *kuma* neither intends to commit to a full-time relationship with her devotee, nor is she interested in short-term dating; however she eagerly accepts the gifts and his help with the household on an everyday basis (Talanchuk, Ой, кум до куми залицявся). Another example is a story of an unfaithful wife, whose promiscuous lifestyle is detrimental to her reputation. People from her native village gossip behind her back and make fun of her immoral decisions, but the woman remains unrepentant about her behavior, and steadfast in her attitude

regardless of the effects that it can have on her family or herself (Talanchuk, І шумить, і гуде).

One might infer that the focus of the third wave ballads that have been shared by the interviewees shifted from family issues to pre-marital relationships. About 34% of the ballads discussed the obstacles faced by the two young people in love, also the issues of loyalty and commitment. Marriage between two people of different backgrounds still remained undesirable for more conservative Ukrainian Canadians. The songs of the third wave might reveal that people saw such weddings as more common, and therefore – more accepted among the younger generation growing up in multicultural Canada. Increasingly, marriage became more desired by men. Before it was mostly a girl's concern if her boyfriend would marry her or not. This shift in attitudes meant that a man should be concerned with achieving a suitable lifestyle in order to provide security to successfully court the girl that he loves. In a ballad concerning the topic of bachelorhood and marriage, it was the young man who worried about getting married as soon as possible.

Socially oriented ballads grew considerably in popularity, and represent the largest relative quantity of ballads in the repertoires of the third wave interviewees (54%). These social ballads deal with the issues of departing to foreign lands, missing loved ones, depictions of historical events and to a great extent, patriotic songs. The majority of the ballads are in some way related to the issues of patriotism and war. Even Lydia Sorobei, a true fan of love lyrics, sang a Ukrainian Sich Rifleman song because her father was a member of this military organization.

It is interesting to note, that the quantity of ballads revealing the concerns and emotions of an individual declined significantly in comparison to the preceding immigration. Seven songs of the second wave interviewees relayed personal human emotions like fear, death and depression. In comparison, a single third wave ballad discusses human existential concerns. This might be further evidence of the social evolution of the Ukrainian Community in Canada throughout time. One could conclude that the third wave immigrants placed a great significance on maintaining Ukrainian social identity. Their residence in larger cities and active participation in the life of a close knit cultural society kept them more socially-oriented; compared to their predecessors who were more individualistic because of living on isolated farmsteads.

Arguably, immigrant experiences made the repertoires of the third wave interviewees different from that of their contemporaries residing in Ukraine. To illustrate by example, let us compare the third wave Ukrainian Canadian ballad tradition with the songs that were recorded in the summer of 2009 during fieldwork in the villages of Korsun-Shevchenkivskyi region, Cherkasy district, Central Ukraine. Since the third immigration was composed of people from various regions of Ukraine (Marunchak, The Ukrainian Canadians: a History 1982, 569). The intent was to gather information that could be used to compare the singing repertoires of a group of interviewees from Edmonton, with the repertoires of a sampling of the population of Cherkasy district, Ukraine. While there are variables such as class, occupation, and the geographical location to take into consideration, Ukrainian interviewees were selected

primarily because they came from the same demographic age group as the third wave respondents. .

The list of the interviewees include Hanna Rudenko (17.09.1916 (2009), Nadia Malitska (born in 1921 (2009), Kateryna Semenko (10.12.1923 (2009) and her friend Antonina Voitskyh (28.10.1931 (2009), who resided in a small town of Stebliv, Korsun-Shevchenkivskyi region, Cherkasy district at the time of the interview. The two representatives from the neighboring village of Mykolaivka were Liudmyla Pokovba (born in 1924 (2009) and Valentyna Osadcha (born in 1927 (2009). The youngest interviewees Halyna Peretiat'ko (born in 1938 (2009) and Luibov Khoroshenko (born in 1935 (2009) were recorded in the village of Zarichchia, Korsun-Shevchenkivskyi region, Cherkasy district.

Since collecting Ukrainian ballad tradition was the focus of the fieldwork, the videotaped songs mostly corresponded to this genre. Along with the ballads the interviewees performed one lyrical (Semenko and Voitskyh: В полі тополя стояла), one humorous concerning the issues of collective farming (Pokovba and Osadcha, Під горою жито жала), and five ritual songs. The ceremonial repertoire was comprised of four songs concerning life-cycle rituals such as baptism (Malitska, Кіт хрещений) and the funeral (Malitska, Господи-Боже, з високого неба (two variants); Прощай, душа, в послідній раз); there was also one Christmas carol (Malitska, Щедрик-ведрик, дайте вареник).

The remaining 52 songs were ballads, the majority of which were dedicated to various issues within the family (22 ballads). Sixteen songs dealt with the topic of pre-marital relationships, nine of them were

of social character, and five ballads conveyed the emotional state of an individual. The plots of those ballads are detailed below.

Family-Oriented Ballads (21 ballads). This selection of songs deals with the issues of:

- *Unhappy marriages (9 ballads)*: A wife regrets her choice to marry a man who she never loved (Malitska, Засвіти, мати, свічку). But even if she loves her husband, the problems of poverty (Semenko and Voitskyh, Ой сиділа Машенька край віконця) and alcoholism can ruin relationships that were successful at the beginning (Malitska, Чорна хмара наступає; Кажуть добрі люди: Вийди, дівко, заміж – добре тобі буде; Rudenko, Ой не піду я за другого; Ой на горі висока могила; Semenko and Voitskyh, Ой на горі висока могила; Khoroshenko and Peretiat'ko, У полі береза, є в полі кудрява, Ой хто йде – не минає, березу ламає).

- *Unfaithfulness (5 ballads)*: A number of ballads involve the issue of marital infidelity. A woman marries a man who is unfaithful to her from the beginning of their married life (Pokovba, Osadcha, Гиля гуси, гиля сірі Стежечкою до води). A wife cheats on her husband and gives birth to a bastard child. The best solution she could think of was to drown the newborn in a well (Semenko and Voitskyh, Ой Іване, Іване-ковалю, чом не куєш з вечора до ранку; Khoroshenko and Peretiat'ko, Ой ковалю, чом не куєш з вечора до раню). A husband dies on the battlefield, and his unfaithful wife cries, but nobody believes in the sincerity of her tears (Rudenko, Ой з-за гір, з-за гір вилітав сокіл).

Furthermore, there is a ballad in which husband writes a letter to his wife asking her not to wait for him any longer since he is already married to another woman. The heartbroken wife commits suicide without realizing that her husband was merely testing her faithfulness (Khoroshenko and Peretiat'ko, За горами гори високі, а в горах гіздо журавля).

- *Relationships with the family of a husband (7 ballads):* Young maidens fear getting married because they might be mistreated by the parents of their husband (Pokovba and Osadcha, Чому бджоли не йдуть в поле, чом не рояться). A mother-in-law spreads rumors about the new bride (Rudenko, Ой піду я в ліс по дрова; Pokovba and Osadcha, Ой продай, продай, мій батенько, Та й вишневий сад; Пече сонечко у віконечко, Ой чому плачеш, моя донечко), and is not willing to share food with her (Rudenko, Ой орьол, ти, орьол, Сізокрилий орьол). The alienation eventually escalates to the intentional poisoning of the young woman by the mother-in-law (Semenko and Voitskyh, В городі береза, в городі кудрява). A mother writes a letter to her son falsely accusing his wife of partying in his absence and giving away all their possessions in an attempt to encourage her son to come back home. On hearing this, the husband comes back and kills his wife (Khoroshenko and Peretiat'ko, Ой пішов же наш Ванюшка на три года на війну)

<u>Pre-Marital Relationships (16 ballads):</u>

- *Separation, loss of a lover (8 ballads):* The rumors of other community members may lead to separation of young people in love

(Semenko and Voitskyh, Лугом іду, коня веду), therefore they sometimes prefer to keep their relationships secret even from their parents (Rudenko, Semenko and Voitskyh, Посіяла огірочки низько над водою; Khoroshenko and Peretiat'ko, Ой там за горбочком листочок біленький).

A beloved man is killed by a rival who wishes to marry his girl (Rudenko, Ой там на горі, ой там на крутій), also taken to the army (Semenko and Voitskyh, Я мчуся, мчуся на путь країни; Pokovba and Osadcha, Вийшов місяць із-за хмари). A young man is also depicted as drowning accidentally on his way to a date with his love (Semenko and Voitskyh, Ой коли б же я та й до хутора доріженьку знала). Another obstacle that can ruin the relationships of young people in love could be bad luck on their wedding day (Pokovba and Osadcha, Чом дуб не зелений – бо туча побила, Козак невеселий, бо лиха година).

- *Seduction of a girl, bastardy (4 ballads):* A man seduces a girl and ultimately leaves her (Semenko and Voitskyh, Кажуть люди – біда, кажуть люди – горе; Pokovba and Osadcha, Ой бочечка дубовая, А у бочечці водочка медовая). A woman gives birth to twins and has to raise them all by herself (Pokovba and Osadcha, Ой там на калині колихала Марусенька ой дві дитини). In fear of being left to raise a family on their own, even married women are hesitant to engage in sexual relations with their husbands (Pokovba, Osadcha, Заходить сонце за віконце).

- *Unfaithfulness, betrayal (4 ballads):* A girl hints that she is not interested in a man by sending him away to get medication for herself

(Semenko and Voitskyh, Чорна хмара стояла; Туман яром, туман долиною), or rejects the fellow by telling him candidly how she feels about him (Rudenko, У містечку Богуславку). Still her refusal is perceived as unfaithfulness and the girl is executed by her unwanted devotee. By contrast, when a fellow loses interest in his girlfriend he simply leaves her for another girl without even giving any notice about his decision (Semenko and Voitskyh, Чогось мені тяжко, чогось мені дивно).

Social Ballads (11 ballads):

- *Foreign land (4 ballads):* When a woman gets married and joins her husband in a distant village, she misses her parents' house and flies there as a cuckoo bird (Rudenko, Ой візьму я терен, усей посічу). Furthermore, a long term travel or war might cause the separation of young couple, thus putting a strain on their relationships (Semenko and Voitskyh, В кінці греблі шумлять верби, що я насадила; Rudenko, Шумить, шумить дібровонька, Плаче, тужить дівчинонька). While away from home, a young soldier misses his girlfriend (Khoroshenko and Peretiat'ko, Тихий Дунай бережечки зносить).

- *Death of a young man (1 ballad):* A single plot reveals that a deceased son lets his mother know that he will never come back from war (Rudenko, Візьми, мати, піску жменю).

- *Social inequality (6 ballads):* Widows are more likely to have inferior social status in the community (Khoroshenko and Peretiat'ko, Усі

гори зеленіють, тільки одна чорна). Mothers advise their sons against marrying such a woman, suggesting that she murdered her previous husband (Semenko and Voitskyh, Ой за лугом темненьким брала вдова льон дрібненький). Unable to re-marry, a widow and her children are doomed to starve; even her brother does not want to help her (Malitska, Чорна хмара по діброві; Rudenko, Усі гори зеленіють, тільки одна чорна).

A poor fellow dares not propose to a girl that he loves (Malitska, Стоїть явір зелененький). Even if he is lucky enough to find a wife for himself, and works menial jobs to provide for her, he is still not respected by his wife and other members of her family (Malitska, Та немає гірш нікому, як приймакові молодому).

Personal Stories (5 ballads):

- *Missing young years (5 ballads):* The main character regrets his or her misspent youth (Semenko and Voitskyh, Ой коли б я раньше, ой коли б я знала; Khoroshenko and Peretiat'ko, Ой якби я знала яка мені пара). One desires to turn back time but unfortunately this is not realistic (Semenko and Voitskyh, Ой з-за гори кам'яної голуби літають). Loneliness is another theme of Ukrainian ballads (Rudenko, Тяжко в світі жити, як нема з ким говорити; Khoroshenko and Peretiat'ko, Ой на ставу на ставочку Три пташки в рядочку).

One might conclude that the repertoires that were recorded in Ukraine in 2008 differed greatly from those of the third wave interviewees. One of the most striking differences was the fact that for the

most part, Ukrainian ballads did not involve the issues of insurgence, war or patriotism, while those were the prime topics of the third wave Ukrainian Canadian balladry. Since most of the third wave immigrants left their homeland when the patriotic movement was at its height in all regions of Ukraine, especially its Western part, their songs reflected patriotic feelings and inspired the population to fight for their independence.

Furthermore, Ukrainian immigrants residing in foreign countries had greater freedom to express themselves through patriotic songs than those who stayed in their home country after the Second World War and ultimately became citizens of the USSR. Arguably, sentimental longing for their homeland might have been another reason for Ukrainian Canadians pursuing their patriotic beliefs.

By contrast, a Ukrainian loyalist residing in Soviet Union could be imprisoned and even executed for spreading the ideas of nationalism and independence. One needed to either join mainstream Soviet culture, or experience persecution starting from the inability to advance professionally, to becoming an 'Enemy of the People' and being deported to Siberian labor camps. Accordingly, the Ukrainian population tried to preserve at least that part of their oral tradition that had nothing to do with politics, and focused mostly on the topics of marriage and relationships.

Ukrainian Canadians had a freedom to choose their repertoires on their own; while back home a strict music censorship was directed against many Ukrainian songs that were considered contrary to Soviet

ideology. Those pieces of folklore that had been suppressed by the ruling authorities were either forgotten, or performed at home in a small circle of family and close friends. As a result, there were more variants of one and the same Ukrainian folk song even within a single village.

For example let us consider two variants of one and the same ballad that were documented in Stebliv, a tiny town in Cherkasy district with a population of approximately 3500 people. The two performers, Nadia Malitska (2009) and Hanna Rudenko (2009) reside in Stebliv very close to one another; they have mutual friends and probably attended the same events for many years. In spite of this, the identical plot about the unfortunate fate of a widow and her children varies in the versions of those two respondents as described below:

Variant 1
Recorded from Hanna Rudenko

Усі гори зеленіють,
Тільки одна гора чорна.
Тільки одна гора чорна,
Де сіяла бідна вдова.
Де сіяла, волочила,
Слізоньками примочила.
Слізоньками примочила,
Сестра з братом говорила:
- Ой брате мій, соколоньку,
Візьми ж мене на зімоньку.
- Сестро ж моя, перепілко,
Як у тебе дітей стілько.
Їх п'ятеро та четверо,
А разом їх дев'ятеро.
Як я сяду обідати –

Variant 2
Recorded from Nadia Malitska

Чорна хмара на Діброві,
Там вдова сіяла-волочила,
Слізоньками примочила:
- Ой братику-соколоньку,
Прийми ж мене на зимоньку.
- Сестро моя, перепілка,
Як у тебе дітей скілько.
- Буду, брате, дітей з хати
виряджати,
Як сядеш ти обідати.
Одвідали діти батька,

Поки дядько пообідав:
- Вставай, вставай, тату, з ями,
Бо тяжко жить нам коло мами.

Будуть в ложку заглядати.
- Як ти сядеш обідати,
То я дітей вишлю з хати.
Ідіть, діти, ідіть з хати,
Бо сів дядько обідати.
Пішли діти на долину,
Знайшли батькову могилу:
- Устань, тату, устань з ями,
Тяжко жити з ворогами.
- Тяжко жити з ворогами,
Не кидайте, діти, мами!
Вставай, вставай, тату, з гробу,
Бо тяжко жить нам коло роду.

Conversely to the multiplicity of Ukrainian ballad variants, there were fewer variants of one song in the repertoires of the members of the third immigration wave who were interviewed for the project. There may be several possible reasons for that. First, Ukrainian folklore in Canada was mostly passed on in written form as opposed to its oral transmission back in Ukraine. During the interview, Ol'ha Lohvynenko recalls that the Ukrainian Canadian repertoire was formed through printed songbooks that were brought from Ukraine or DP camps, as well as by the Plast collections of songs that were compiled by the immigrants after their arrival to Canada (2012, 1:03:15).

Ol'ha also recounted how immigrant singing folklore was gathered and documented in the Plast Youth Organization. Each member of this organization wrote down Ukrainian songs that they remembered singing or hearing from their parents and grandparents. These handwritten collections were set to a melody and then published (2012, 0:40:48 – 0:41:30). The fact that immigrants were able to consult a printed source when sourcing Ukrainian folksongs ensured a more consistent version of a song.

Second, while all of the interviewees of the third wave performed some portion of their repertoire during the interview, most preferred to supply the various songbooks, vinyl discs or other types of audio records from their collection for further review rather than performing the songs from those collections themselves. This contrasts with Ukrainian citizens that were interviewed, who would happily go about reciting their favourite ballads from memory. Accordingly, there would be fewer variations of one and the same song in the Ukrainian Canadian tradition as compared to ballads in Ukraine.

Additionally, more consistent versions of the third wave Ukrainian Canadian ballads may have been a result of learning new songs while preparing for concerts. As a member of a choir, it was essential to remember the exact same words in certain sequence. In many cases the lyrics were written or printed on handouts. Other methods of maintaining consistency would involve listening to a choir during a stage performance, and committing the lyrics to memory.

Considering the examples of Ukrainian and Ukrainian Canadian ballad repertoires, the objective of the ballads remains the same. However, the fulfillment of those functions varied between the countries. For instance, the function of maintaining conformity was mostly carried out in Ukrainian ballads by giving examples of unacceptable behaviors and outlining the negative outcomes of such conduct. In contrast, Ukrainian Canadian ballads either ridicule the promiscuous activities of the main characters in this way showing that this behavior is inappropriate; or provide a description of heroic behavior, thus giving an example to follow.

There is no discernible difference between how the function of entertainment was achieved in both Ukrainian and Ukrainian Canadian communities. It was commonplace to see many similar forms of entertainment in practice: concerts, various calendar rituals and national celebrations (Talanchuk 2012, 1:05:30), community events and friendly get-togethers. However the songs performed during these events were different. In the interviews it became evident that Ukrainians were more likely to sing ballads relating to societal tragedies. Ukrainian Canadians seldom refer to this type of lyric (Broda 2012, 0:36:50); they were more inclined to recall ballads influenced by liberation struggles that promoted the ideas of patriotism and solidarity within Ukrainian communities (Broda 2012, 1:16:30; Talanchuk 2012, 1:09:58; Sorobei 2012, 0:47:00). The content of concerts was usually chosen by immigrants according to their liking and depending on the occasion (Broda 2012, Interview 2, 0:00:12; Interview 3, 0:04:07).

Intermingled with this, the significance of patriotic ballads also fulfilled the dual role of educating the young generation of Ukrainian Canadians, as well as ensuring the continuity of their culture. The importance of instilling patriotic identity could be studied further by reviewing the examples provided by the interviewees. Kateryna Gowda developed unceasing patriotism, pride and a strong love of her country, so the next generations of her family were raised to think this way from the time they were born. Moreover, Kateryna's children and grandchildren were influential in promoting their heritage to other Ukrainians living in Canada.

Natalia and Konstant Talanchuk instilled a great sense of pride and patriotism in their daughter and son. Their son did not speak any English when he started primary school. This was a calculated effort by his parents to help preserve their way of life. Their grandchildren were given a very Ukrainian upbringing as well. During her interview Natalia mentioned that two generations of the Talanchuk family were raised in the Ukrainian Youth Association (2012, 1:04:20), as well as in other Ukrainian Canadian organizations.

Maria Dytyniak's children and grandchildren were also raised in the same manner. The oldest son Yurko did not know any English before he went to school since the Ukrainian language was spoken exclusively in the house (2012, 0:55:15). Needless to say, songs and music have always been important to each member of the Dytyniak family. Maria's middle child, daughter Halyna, graduated from a school of vocal arts and sings in a Ukrainian choir in Toronto. Her vocal talent was honoured by a scholarship for summer production (2012, 0:57:10).

The youngest son is a gifted musician. He mastered several musical instruments including bandura, piano and violin. Furthermore Ihor is a skilled craftsman, and he devoted much of his talent to producing Ukrainian musical instruments (2012, 1:00:02 – 1:03:40). Both Maria's grandchildren are members of local choirs (2012, 0:56:02). Although born in Canada, Ihor's parents instilled a strong sense of patriotism for their homeland. Ihor now resides in Ukraine with his wife, fulfilling his mother's dream to one day return to Ukraine herself (2012, 0:58:47).

Ol'ha Lohvynenko passed along her devotion to Ukrainian culture and traditions to future generations in the same way *as* her parents *passed* this torch on to her. Her three daughters and seven grandchildren visit Ol'ha for all Ukrainian holidays, and every family get-together emphasizes Ukrainian language and traditional folk music (2012, 0:34:35). While the youngest grandchildren are just beginning to learn the language, customs and history of the 'old country' through school courses and various community organizations, the older grandsons dream of marrying girls from Ukraine (2012, 0:37:05).

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Chapter 4: SINGING REPERTOIRE OF THE FOURTH-WAVE UKRAINIAN IMMIGRANTS TO CANADA

During the last two decades, a large number of Ukrainians left their homeland in search of educational opportunities and more favourable socio-economic conditions abroad. The Fourth Wave of Immigration started with the breakup of the Soviet Union and the independence of Ukraine, which was proclaimed in 1991. To better understand the reasons for the emergence of the fourth wave of Ukrainian immigration to Canada, and to more thoroughly analyze their folklore, eight interviews with representatives of the fourth wave were conducted for this project. Those interviews helped to study the basic aspects faced by Ukrainian immigrants to Canada in recent years, and to see the Ukrainian immigrant culture from the insider's point of view.

Natalia Grytsiv, my first interviewee, came to Edmonton, Alberta in 1996 from the city of Obukhiv (Kyiv region, Central Ukraine) together with her husband and two children, Volodymyr and Irena (2012, 0:00:08). Originally Natalia intended to stay temporarily, and use her time in Canada to learn the English language, earn extra income and, especially, give her children a Canadian education (2012, 0:00:47). While they were waiting for her children to complete their University degrees, the family got settled and comfortable with their life in Canada, and did not want to move back to Ukraine (2012, 0:01:00). Despite deciding to stay permanently, Natalia and her family have maintained close ties with

family and friends back in Ukraine, and travel there on a regular basis (N. Grytsiv 2012, , 0:05:07).

Her son, Volodymyr Grytsiv, the second interviewee, left Ukraine at the age of 16 and spent 14 years of his life in Edmonton (2012, 0:00:30). By now he has his own family; he recently married a Ukrainian Canadian and they had a baby daughter (2012, 0:10:10).

Solomia Tsisar, the third interviewee, immigrated to Canada as a child together with her parents, in 1996 as well. The family arrived from the city of Brody in Western Ukraine. The 6-year-old girl did not speak any English, and at first she was enrolled in a bilingual program at school. When Solomia became comfortable with her English, she changed to a regular curriculum, found Canadian friends and gradually integrated into mainstream Canadian culture (2012, 0:04:30). However, she did not abandon her roots, and continues to participate in Ukrainian Saturday school, as well as other Ukrainian Canadian youth organizations.

My fourth interviewee Yanina Vihovska settled in Edmonton in 2002 at the age of 18 (2012, 0:00:08). Yanina's parents and younger sister live in the city of Luts'k (Volyn' oblast', Western Ukraine), and she goes to visit them regularly (2012, 0:07:47). However, she has no plans to return there permanently. Yanina sees her future in this country. She made a wide circle of friends, got her post secondary education, got married, and started her education career here in Canada (2012, 0:02:50).

Andrian Bagrinovsky, the fifth interviewee, has been living in Canada since 2004. He came to Toronto from the city of Kalush to join his Ukrainian Canadian wife (Ivano-Frankivs'k oblast', Western Ukraine)

when he was 30 years old (2012, 0:00:56). He met his wife Natalya in Ukraine when she was visiting her ancestral home. They had a long distance relationship for a few years before getting married, and when the nuptials were signed, the bride moved in with Andrian. Natalya found it difficult to adjust to life in Ukraine, and after a few months, the couple decided to make the move to Canada. Natalya flew back to Toronto, and started the paperwork process to bring her husband to Canada. As soon as Andrian obtained his visa, he joined his wife. Now it was Andrian's turn to adjust to a new life.

Although he graduated from the University of Oil and Gas in Ivano-Frankivs'k, and is a certified engineer, it was impossible for him to find an engineering position in Canada, since his degree was not recognized and his English was not yet proficient. The first couple of months Andrian was taking language courses while working in a supermarket (2012, 0:03:36). After 1.5 years, he successfully finished an electrician program in a Toronto-area college and moved to Edmonton to work (2012, 0:02:45). A loyal patriot to his mother country, Andrian Bagrinovsky watches news from Ukraine, keeps track of the economic situation (2012, 0:08:32), and dreams of moving back there in the future (2012, 0:46:40).

The language barrier was not an issue for my sixth interviewee – Sergiy Svystunov. Before moving to Canada, Sergiy was studying English at school while earning two diplomas from institutions of higher learning in Ukraine, one in economics, and one in agronomy. After completing his studies, Sergiy worked as a head government agronomist and botanist. Even though he occupied a high government post, his salary

was meager (2012, 0:02:40). Therefore, he tried his luck in England, where he worked as a labourer for two years. While working in England, his English further improved (2012, 0:01:11). After coming back home to Ukraine, and realizing he could never achieve western levels of income, he decided to come to Canada.

Sergiy came to Edmonton from the city of Krasnodar (Luhans'k oblast', Eastern Ukraine) in 2007 when he was 24 years old. After 4 years in Edmonton, he feels comfortable in Canada and plans to stay here permanently (2012, 0:03:10). Even though he was not able to get professional employment in his field because his Ukrainian diplomas were not recognized, he still earns more as a construction labourer than he ever did in Ukraine in his professional capacity.

The seventh interviewee – Ganna Lahoda – is fairly new to Canada. She immigrated to Edmonton in March, 2010 at the age of 18 (2012, 0:03:00) from the town of Chervonohrad (L'viv oblast', Western Ukraine) (2012, 0:00:15). Ganna met her current husband, Volodymyr Lahoda when they were growing up in the same neighbourhood in Western Ukraine. They started dating when she was finishing high school. After seeing each other for a few months, Volodymyr Lahoda got an opportunity to work in Alberta. The young man was excited to take advantage of the new opportunity, and boarded a flight to Canada. After spending a year in Edmonton, Alberta, he could not stand being away from his love any longer. The young man came back to Ukraine, and immediately proposed marriage to Ganna, who happily accepted.

When they were engaged, Ganna had just completed her first year of studies in Lviv Polytechnical National University (2012, 0:00:53) and they soon got married. Even though she had years left to finish her degree, Ganna decided to join her husband and immigrate to Canada. Life in the new country turned out to be more challenging than she expected (2012, 0:03:20). Upon arriving, the bride experienced deep culture shock, and had to adjust to a new way of life. As her husband's job required him to work out of town for lengthy periods of time, she was left alone with no one to talk to; and her family and friends were not around to help her overcome her challenges either. Since her English was still poor, Ganna was not able to cultivate new friendships. Eventually she developed a deep depression as a result (2012, 0:03:51).

She decided to take matters into her own hands, and started seeking out members of the Ukrainian Canadian community. The internet did not help, since little information was available about Ukrainian youth organizations online. Luckily, she ran into a Ukrainian Canadian girl who told her about MUNO (Ukrainian National Youth Organization) (2012, 0:04:30). Ganna eagerly got involved, and started making friends quickly.

This breathed new life into the young woman, and her depression went away; it also stimulated her ambition to learn English and pursue her Canadian education. Ganna is currently taking English courses at NAIT and plans to attain her post secondary education here (2012, 0:02:12).

Olena Sivachenko – the eighth interviewee – is currently working on her Canadian degree; she came to Canada in September, 2010

to do her Ph.D. at the University of Alberta (2012, 0:01:20). Olena graduated from the Department of Foreign Languages in Ukraine, and was teaching English for 13 years in local universities there. She also defended her Ph. D. dissertation in Pedagogy (2012, 0:01:00), and was able to earn a scholarship for a Ph.D. program in Canada.

Olena is still going through the process of adjustment, which is somewhat easier, since her English is fluent, and her studies keep her busy. The University also allows her to meet new people from different backgrounds and make friends with other Ukrainian Canadian students. Although Olena loves learning about foreign cultures, she admits that she first would like to get acquainted with Canadian culture. However, she does not have many Canadian friends, as the University courses she is taking are mostly attended by international graduate students (2012, 0:06:50). This might indicate that the interviewee is still in the process of integration into the mainstream Western culture.

Because she is still not completely settled in Canada, Olena intends to keep her options open for the future. Her career is her first priority at this point. After her graduation from the University of Alberta, she may return to Ukraine, stay in Canada, or move to any other country where she could apply her education in the workplace (2012, 0:04:15).

Considering the opinions expressed by the eight interviewees, one might infer that the decision to immigrate to another country is one of the most crucial that anyone could make. All the interviewees had to deal with the challenges that they faced in their new country in their own way. While recollecting their memories about the difficulties that they had to

face after immigrating, most of the interviewees admitted that they do not regret the choice that they made. There was good reason for them to make the move in the first place.

The transition to national independence followed a chaotic and uncertain path, and life became difficult for the average citizen of the new Ukraine (Subtelny 2000, 595). Economic uncertainty resulted in widespread unemployment, forcing Ukrainians to evaluate their future in their homeland. This resulted in many citizens seeking opportunities in other countries.

Since the early 1990's, Ukraine has become a major source of migrants to countries of the European Union. Ukrainian embassies report that 300,000 Ukrainian citizens are currently working in Poland, 200,000 in Italy, approximately 200,000 in the Czech Republic, 150,000 in Portugal, 100,000 in Spain, 35,000 in Turkey, and 20,000 in the US. The largest numbers of Ukrainian workers abroad, about one million, are in the Russian Federation. Since 1992, 232,072 persons born in Ukraine have immigrated to the US (n.d.Demographics-of-Ukraine). The approximate number of Ukrainians who immigrated to Canada from 1985 to 2000 according to the statistics collected by the Embassy of Canada in Kiev was over thirty thousand people (n.d.).

Many of those who have left Ukraine are highly skilled and educated. Unlike in other developing countries, the level of education of the majority of the population is comparable to the west. According to an online database, 43% of Ukrainian adults are enrolled in a post secondary

institution, (n.d.Ukraine - Education), and Ukraine ranks 11th in the world in enrollment (Nationmaster.com n.d.).

Educated Ukrainians are in high demand in the countries they chose to go to. Many of those who are able to immigrate to Canada leave high-ranking positions in Ukraine for a chance to earn more money abroad, even though the kind of work that they do is usually considerably less skilled. Therefore, attaining a high level of education does not guarantee a high level of income in Ukraine, since many other people have a post secondary education.

By the same token, from a social point of view, such as literacy - 99.7% (Nationmaster.com n.d.), education, urbanization - 67% (2010, 14), and birth rates - 9.55 births/1,000 population (Ukraine 2012), Ukraine is approximately on par with many western countries. Economically, however, it is a much different story, as income and GDP per capita is much lower than in western countries - $6,656 GDP per capita, according to national statistics (Ukraine 2012). In 2001, the minimum cost of subsistence in Ukraine was 118 hryvni, while the average income was about 218 hryvni; in 2002 the average salary was 377 hryvni, and the minimum cost of living was 365 hryvni (Krasnikova 2004, 27). Therefore, the disposable income went down, as did the general standard of living in Ukraine. This has encouraged people to seek employment abroad, where they can earn more disposable income, even in more menial jobs.

Before his arrival to Canada, Sergiy was working as a head agronomist and botanist in the Administration of the President of Ukraine and headed major government initiatives in the Khrasnodar region (2012,

0:01:55). In Edmonton, he works as a labourer in road construction (2012, 0:01:43). Nevertheless, Sergiy is happy with his new job, because even a low profile construction worker in Canada earns more than a high ranking government bureaucrat in Ukraine (2012, 0:02:40). His disposable income is much higher, and he can afford much more discretionary spending.

Wages are low in Ukraine, and jobs are scarce. 35% of the Ukrainian population lives below the poverty line. Official unemployment as of 2010 is estimated at 8.4% according to government statistics, even though many are unregistered and/or underemployed (Central Intelligence Agency (CIA) Factbook n.d.); so the situation on the ground is actually worse than the government is willing to admit.

Volodymyr Grytsiv feels nostalgic about Ukraine, but considers that it is more secure for him and his family to stay in Canada because of the uncertain economic situation back home. He is convinced that it is impossible to find a well paying professional job without having the right 'connections', whether one is qualified to do the job or not (2012, 0:03:10).

Ganna Lahoda, together with her husband, decided that there would be more economic opportunities for them in Canada (2012, 0:01:13). Leaving her homeland was quite a shock for Ganna. The language barrier was a big challenge, and she felt that it deprived her of a normal social life. She missed her friends, family, and her hometown. Still, Ganna believes that a young hardworking resident of Canada has a better chance to build a career, to buy a house and to provide a good education for his/her future children (2012, 0:01:40).

Many Ukrainians in general and fourth wave immigrants in particular believe that a western education gives better job opportunities both in their homeland and abroad. During the interview, Olena Sivachenko explains that a degree from the University of Alberta would be highly valued by employers back home. Moreover, it opens up many more academic prospects in Canadian and other foreign universities, where there is demand for specialists in her area of expertise (2012, 0:03:20).

Yanina Vihovska came to Canada to study as well. Her parents always wanted their daughter to get a prestigious education abroad. After the family looked up the statistics and reviews of the best known foreign educational establishments, they found the cost of education in Canadian Universities to be the most affordable. Fortunately, Yanina's aunt was also residing in Edmonton at the time, so the parents decided to send their daughter to the University of Alberta (2012, 0:00:50).

Solomia Tsisar made it clear that an important reason for her parents to settle in Canada was to raise their young children here and to give them a Canadian education. The family also decided on Edmonton due to the presence of relatives, who were able to help them adjust to life in a new country (2012, 0:03:15). One could therefore infer that education is a major reason for many Ukrainian immigrants to choose to settle in Canada, and they consider it as an important foundation for their life and career.

To recap, unlike members of the third immigration wave, Ukrainian sovereignty was not a primary concern for the representatives

of the fourth wave immigrants. Instead, the main reason for immigration was economics. They sought financial stability and well-being in Canada. In search for a better future, they had to look beyond the borders of their homeland.

According to the statistics compiled by the Landed Immigrant Data System in 2001, the representatives of the fourth wave of Ukrainian immigration to Canada can be subdivided into three main categories according to the main reasons for immigration: to find a better job, to join family members, or as refugees from their home country. Accordingly, the Ukrainian immigrants who arrived to stay permanently after 1991 did so using one of three ways: they were sponsored by a Canadian spouse or family member, obtained a work visa, or arrived as refugees.

1. A statistical study of the fourth wave of Ukrainian immigration to Canada revealed that the largest number of immigrants arrived on a work or student visa. Since 2001, 40.5% of Ukrainians came to Canada searching for better job opportunities (DeVoretz 2010, 580). Skilled workers are people who are selected as permanent residents based on their ability to become economically established in Canada (Citizenship and Immigration Canada n.d.). To be an eligible candidate, one should be fluent in English and/or French, have a valid offer of arranged employment or a minimum of one year of continuous full-time paid work experience in at least one of the occupations that are considered important by the Canadian government.

Natalia Grytsiv and Sergiy Svystunov came to Canada on a work visa, while Yanina Vihovska and Olena Sivachenko arrived in

Canada on a student visa. However almost all the eight interviewees spoke of better job opportunities being a deciding factor when choosing their country of residence.

Natalia immigrated to Canada with a government issued work visa (N. Grytsiv 2012, 0:00:48). She and her husband were respected professionals in Ukraine already, so Natalia's main intention in coming to Canada was to improve her English and see the country (2012, 0:00:47). However her decision to stay was determined by the economic stability of Canada relative to Ukraine, and also a possibility to provide more opportunities to study and work for her two children, Volodymyr and Irena.

Sergiy Svystunov is currently applying for his permanent residence as a skilled worker. Initially Sergiy came to Edmonton to earn more money. After four years of living in Canada, he has adjusted to Canadian culture, found new friends, and has made himself comfortable here. Sergiy singles out the negative economic situation back home as being the most influential reason to decide to come to Canada (2012, 0:01:11).

Yanina Vihovska and Olena Sivachenko came to Edmonton to obtain a university degree. While Yanina got financial assistance from her parents for the first year, she was then able to find employment to pay for tuition and support herself after that. Olena got a scholarship that paid for her education and basic living expenses. This is in line with the desire of the people and government of Canada to attract the world's best and brightest.

2. The second largest category of fourth-wave Ukrainian immigrants to Canada were those who came together or to join their family members (33.9%) (DeVoretz 2010, 580). By law, Canadian citizens and permanent residents who live in Canada can sponsor their loved ones and help them to get a Permanent Resident Visa through the various Family Sponsorship programs. In the fieldwork done for this project, the representatives of this category were Solomia Tsisar and Volodymyr Grytsiv, who immigrated as children together with their parents in 1996. Ganna Lahoda and Andrian Bagrinovsky were sponsored by their spouses.

Solomia Tsisar came here when she was six-years-old. Her parents decided on immigrating to Canada after they got an invitation from their distant relatives, who resided in Edmonton (2012, 0:01:48). As they established their life in Edmonton, they were able to bring over more of their relatives to Canada (2012, 0:01:48).

Andrian Bagrinovsky followed his wife Natalie, who is a third generation Ukrainian Canadian. At first, Natalie wanted to settle in Ukraine in order to be close to her husband. She was not, however, able to find a job, which was an essential element of the life she was used to in Canada, and it was extremely hard for her to overcome the cultural gap. As a result, she decided to move back to Canada, and Andrian joined her as soon as he received his visa (2012, 0:50:10). Ganna Lahoda, even though she was already enrolled in university in Ukraine, together with her husband decided that their family and future children will have better prospects in Canada (2012, 0:25:07).

3. The smallest number of immigrants came to Canada as refugees (12.9%) (DeVoretz 2010, 580). None of the eight interviewees belonged to this category. A few fourth wave immigrants that came to Canada as refugees were found, but none of them were willing to be interviewed.

According to the data available in the immigration overview conducted by Communications Branch, Citizenship and Immigration Canada in 2008 (Citizenship and Immigration Canada n.d.), 86% of the Ukrainians representing the fourth wave immigration have high educational qualifications. This group has neither integrated with, nor joined any existing Ukrainian organizations in Canada. However, they do remain interested in Ukrainian matters; 50% of Ukrainians who immigrated to Canada in recent years sent their children to Ukrainian schools; 92% feel that retention of Ukrainian culture is important. The next part of this thesis takes a closer look at each of these areas.

- The interviews reflect that at the present time, more educated members of Ukrainian society are able to immigrate to Canada. Four out of eight interviewees graduated from one or more higher education establishments in Ukraine before they came to Canada. Natalia Grytsiv, Andrian Bagrinovsky, Olena Sivachenko and Sergiy Svystunov obtained their University degrees and were employed in Ukraine. Yanina Vihovska and Volodymyr Grytsiv moved to Edmonton in their youth, aiming to get their degrees in North America.

- Of the recent Ukrainian immigrants to Canada, 50% send their children to Ukrainian schools. There might be three possible

reasons why this percentage is not higher. First, Ukrainians prefer that their children go to regular schools, where they can learn English faster, socialize with Canadians and integrate into western culture easier. Second, newcomers are often not able to drive their children to far-away Ukrainian schools, since they cannot afford to buy a car soon after arrival. By the time they get settled and acquire a vehicle, they no longer wish to take their child away from his/her classmates and friends. Third, the noticeable difference between modern Ukrainian and the older version used in Canada might be a disincentive that prevents parents from sending their children to Ukrainian schools. The fourth wave immigrants prefer to teach their young their native language themselves.

After Solomia Tsisar learned the English language and started taking regular courses at school, her parents became concerned that she would forget her native language and culture. They taught Solomia Ukrainian at home, and she also attended a Ukrainian Saturday school, to preserve her cultural identity and socialize with other Ukrainian Canadian children (2012, 0:04:02). Therefore, Solomia identifies herself as Ukrainian, and actively participates in the life of the Ukrainian community in Canada (2012, 0:05:09). She takes an active part in three major Ukrainian organizations in Edmonton (2012, 0:09:18).

However, Solomia's Ukrainian identity has to do more with the local Ukrainian community than with her country of origin; she has invested considerable time volunteering for different Ukrainian organizations in Edmonton, but she does not always follow current events in Ukraine (2012, 0:06:13). Since she came to Canada at a very early age

and does not have any friends or family to communicate with in Ukraine, her Ukrainian identity was developed in Canada.

- Because travel across the Atlantic has become easier and more affordable, and communication, especially via the Internet is so instantaneous, maintaining ties and connections with Ukraine has become significantly less problematic. The rapid advance of information and communication technologies in recent years made it easy for the Ukrainian immigrants to keep track of news from back home. Ukrainian radio, television, newspapers and magazines can be easily found online. Thanks to Skype, communication with relatives and friends overseas has never been cheaper and easier. The Skype computer application allows individuals to not only make unlimited calls oversees for free, but also to actually see the person to whom they are talking, thus creating an illusion of face to face real-time conversation.

Sergiy Svystunov watches Ukrainian TV news on a regular basis and cheers for his homeland's prominent sports teams (2012, 0:04:50). Olena Sivachenko does not have access to Ukrainian television, but she keeps track of the events in Ukraine on Youtube (2012, 0:12:50). Andrian (Bagrinovsky 2012, 0:08:32) reads Ukrainian media online every evening after work, and communicates via Skype every weekend with his brother and friends who live in Ukraine. Natalia (N. Grytsiv 2012, 0:05:07) keeps close relationships with her Ukrainian relatives and friends, and flies back to Ukraine every year.

Some fourth wave immigrants are not only trying to keep the Ukrainian traditions alive and to transmit their native culture; some of

them even choose it as a career. For example, Yanina Vihovska's job is closely connected with the popularization of Ukrainian Culture among young Ukrainian Canadians: she works as a bilingual program teacher in Vegreville, Alberta (2012, 0:01:30).

Natalia Grytsiv became a member of the Ukrainian community in Edmonton right after her arrival, volunteered in a Ukrainian social service, organized '*zabavy*' for Ukrainian Canadians, and helped out in a Ukrainian church (2012, 0:02:51). Today, she is not only successful in her main career, but also as a professional script writer of the majority of plays and concerts which are staged by Ukrainian community organizations in Edmonton. With her scripts, Natalia aims to tell Ukrainian Canadians about the past and cultural life in contemporary Ukraine. She flies back home every year to see her relatives and friends, and also to bring back to Canada stage costumes, books, videos and the latest Ukrainian music (2012, 0:05:47). Her son Volodymyr integrated into the Ukrainian Canadian culture and is the current president of the Ukrainian National Organization in Edmonton (V. Grytsiv 2012, 0:11:44).

- The statement above regarding the unwillingness of the fourth wave immigrants to communicate with other Ukrainian Canadians is not borne out by data collected for this study. In fact, all the interviewees voiced their enthusiasm to make friends with other Ukrainian Canadians in Edmonton.

In 2006, there were an estimated 1,209,085 persons residing in Canada (mainly Canadian citizens) of Ukrainian origin, making them Canada's ninth largest ethnic group, and giving Canada the world's third-

largest Ukrainian population in the world behind just Ukraine itselfandRussia (Ukrainian Canadian Last modified on 8 February 2012). Ukrainian Canadians have developed their own distinctive Ukrainian culture in Canada, in their own way seeking to maintain some kind of connection, even if ephemeral, to the land of their ancestors, and to preserve their Ukrainian national identity within their own local community.

- As shown by the interviews, the newcomers are trying to integrate into the life of the Ukrainian Canadian community because of three major reasons:

1. It is easier to get acquainted with other people within a community.

When Solomia's parents came to Edmonton, their first step towards establishing their social life and cultivating good relations with Edmontonians was to go to a Ukrainian church and meet Ukrainian Canadians there. Solomia explains that it was the easiest way to get to know other people and find friends. Ukrainian Canadians were extremely friendly to the newcomers and helped them out whenever they could (2012, 0:10:59).

Andrian Bagrinovsky never found time to participate in any of the Ukrainian organizations in Canada (2012, 0:06:30). Nevertheless he eagerly attends most Ukrainian Canadian concerts and celebrations because it is a nice opportunity for him to meet other Ukrainian Canadians and to become friends with them.

2. Some newcomers cannot speak English fluently, which significantly reduces their chances of making friends.

The language barrier was a major reason behind Ganna Lahoda's inability to make friends and overcome the cultural gap (2012, 0:03:51). Upon her arrival in Edmonton, Ganna was trying to establish ties with the Ukrainian Diaspora (2012, 0:04:30). By chance, she met a Ukrainian-speaking girl who gave her contact information for the Ukrainian National Organization (2012, 0:04:50). At the time of the interview, Ganna was an active member of this organization; she is taking part in various Ukrainian rehearsals, concerts, conferences and parties.

3. Even though Canada is a multicultural state in which intermarriage is very common, most people would like to have relationships with somebody of the same or related cultural background. Participating in community events might be helpful in finding a potential mate.

Volodymyr Grytsiv met his wife in UNO (2012, 0:10:10). Sergiy Svystunov is taking interest in the life of Ukrainian community in Canada and is planning to sign up to volunteer in some Ukrainian Canadian events soon; he would gladly meet people there, especially girls (2012, 0:06:37).

Ukrainian Canadian organizations play an integral role in preserving and developing Ukrainian culture in Canada. Folklore is an integral component of the programs that are actively promoted by such organizations. Many of the plays, concerts, and other community events are based on folklore.

The fourth wave Ukrainian Canadian folklore is particularly demonstrative of the experiences that this wave of Ukrainian immigrants endured. Such factors as urbanization, mass media, and globalization had an effect on the singing repertoires of Ukrainians who came to Canada after *"Perestroika"*. At the same time, the intertwined processes of adjustment, change, and conservation have influenced immigrant folklore after their arrival. In turn, each of these processes was the result of adaptation to conditions in a new country, as well as the effect of hybrid Ukrainian culture, which has been developing in the Ukrainian Canadian community over the decades.

A substantial role in preserving, developing and transmitting Ukrainian traditions in Canada in general, and singing folklore in particular, is carried out by various youth organizations. At present, more than seven Ukrainian Canadian associations are located in Edmonton, Alberta (English-Ukrainian Directory 2010). Some of them are: Ukrainian Catholic Youth Ministry Office (*Координація української католицької молоді),* PLAST Ukrainian Youth Association of Alberta - Edmonton Branch *(ПЛАСТ організація української молоді Альберти - станиця Едмонтон),* Ukrainian Orthodox Youth (St. John's Junior & Senior Local Branch) Ukrainian Student's Society *(Український клуб студентів),* Ukrainian Youth Association of Canada - Edmonton Branch (*Спілка української молоді в Канаді - осередок ім. полк. І. Богуна в Едмонтоні),* the Ukrainian National Youth Federation - UNYF (*МУНО - Молодь українського національного об'єднання*), the Ukrainian Orthodox Youth (*СУМК - Союз української молоді Канади - провінційна рада*), to name just a few.

Solomia Tsisar spoke of CYMK - Ukrainian Orthodox Youth (*СУМК - Союз української молоді Канади - провінційна рада*) (2012, 0:14:14), an association of which Solomia has been a part of for over 12 years, ever since the organization was recommended to her mother by a family friend from the community (2012, 0:12:20). Members of CYMK meet on a regular basis twice a month with other members of the Ukrainian community (2012, 0:14:14). They feed homeless people, volunteer at retirement homes, and sing in local church choirs (2012, 0:16:46).

CYMK strives to promote the preservation and advancement of Ukrainian culture by giving out printed material and by hosting traditional dinners, dances, thematic concerts and teaching Ukrainian songs (2012, 0:21:43) through handing out Ukrainian songbooks (2012, 0:21:43). Some examples of concerts recently staged in Edmonton are "Mock Ukrainian Wedding" and "In the Carpathian Mountains"; this year, "Immigration," a new performance, is due to come out (2012, 0:09:18).

Solomia Tsisar is also currently a member of the Ukrainian National Youth Federation - UNYF (*МУНО - Молодь українського національного об'єднання*) was formed July 27th, 1934 in Saskatoon, and soon expanded throughout Canada. Its first President, who later became a Canadian Senator, was Paul Yuzyk. According to Solomia, the UNYF as an organization had existed in Edmonton for a long time, but at some point in time ceased to exist. As of 2008, however, community members have redoubled their efforts and brought the organization "back from the dead" in Edmonton, and even partnered with the Toronto Branch to re-

launch the new and improved Ukrainian National Youth Federation (Tsisar 2012, 0:15:50). Each city where UNYF operates has a branch with its own elected president and executive members operating under a national executive committee that coordinates activities and speaks for the UNYF nationally. Branch delegates get together every year at a national convention to review and plan for the next year, as well as elect the national executive (Last modified in 2012). Ganna Lahoda was taking part in the XXIII Congress of Ukrainian Canadians this year; first she, together with her organizational fellows, welcomed Ukrainian Canadians from all over Canada to Edmonton, Alberta, and then the participants flew to Montreal for the continuation (2012, 0:10:00) of meetings and festivities.

Just like its parent body, the Ukrainian National Federation of Canada was formed to preserve Ukrainian Canadian history and culture and to support a free and democratic Ukraine (Last modified in 2012). To help facilitate this goal and to make meetings more interesting, Federation authorities formed a drama program. Participating in "*Сузір'я*" – the name of the program – one will meet Natalia and Volodymyr Grytsiv (2012 0:14:45), Yanina Vihovs'ka (2012, 0:05:20), Solomia Tsisar (2012, 0:14:00) and Ganna Lahoda (2012, 0:08:10). The members of the community put together concerts, community events, and other celebrations of major Ukrainian holidays.

According to the president of "*Сузір'я*" Volodymyr Grytsiv, the primary goal of the group is to *teach* about Ukrainian rites and rituals and to preserve the continuity of Ukrainian traditions in Canada for members of the community (2012, 0:14:00). Concerts and other community events

attract both Ukrainian and non-Ukrainian audiences; all of whom learn about Ukrainian language and culture as a result.

Nevertheless, Natalia Grytsiv who composes concert scripts for Ukrainian performances in "*Сузір'я*" (2012, 0:10:10), is doubtful about the educational role of the concerts and plays. During the interview she stated that Ukrainian Canadians are not learning anything new about Ukrainian rites and, in fact, they often know more about the traditions than an average Ukrainian residing in his/her mother country (2012, 0:16:20). Natalia expresses that her main goal is to make a performance appealing to the audience. She believes that if the participants and audiences are amused, they will more naturally and automatically absorb Ukrainian folklore, culture and language.

Living in a multicultural society, most Canadians identify themselves as being a member of a cultural and/or ethnic group, in addition to being Canadian. Some choose to express that identity by becoming involved in activities in their community. They put effort into expressing those customs in the more traditional ways, as described in older archival and printed materials. Each attaches his/her own meaning and understanding to being a "Ukrainian" in Canada, and needs to step out of Canadian culture in order to celebrate their Ukrainian identity. In Ukraine one does not need to learn to be a Ukrainian as he or she is immersed in this culture in his or her daily routines. Since Ukrainian culture continues to evolve in Ukraine, some changes are not experienced by Ukrainian Canadians. This might be one of the reasons why the Ukrainian Canadian understanding of Ukrainian culture is somewhat different from modern culture in Ukraine today.

A segment of the Ukrainian population in Canada tries to closely follow Ukrainian traditions as described in older written material to express one's Ukrainian identity. People in this segment often use sources and fieldwork materials collected from older members of the community, as well as written and printed data compiled in the 19th and early 20th centuries, before Soviet influence. The portion of Ukrainian Diaspora in Canada commonly perceives these materials to be consistent with 'proper' Ukrainian traditional culture, since they are 'unpolluted' by Soviet and western ideas.

Meanwhile, Ukrainian folklore on the authentic territory has not stayed still: it constantly evolves under the influenced of various the social and political changes that took place in the country in the last several decades. Therefore, contemporary Ukrainian traditions are an assortment of various cultural influences.

Ukrainian folklore has continued to evolve in the last several decades. There were many ways that Ukrainian culture was influenced during this period. For example, the Soviets ideals had a significant influence on many contemporary Ukrainian traditions. The term "*Homo Sovieticus"* was coined by the Russian writer Alexandr Zinov'ev (1984) to describe the attempts of Soviet authorities to create the 'model man'. It was with this concept in mind that they attempted to move the country away from its existing melting pot of ethnicities to a more homogenous identity. Furthermore, a uniform Soviet culture, along the lines of the Russian mainstream, was to be developed. Together with an ambitious program of Russification, the Soviets followed a policy of shielding their country from outside influence, especially the capitalist West.

After "*Perestroika*", Ukrainians were eager to learn about the West, something that used to be out of reach. Therefore, some Western traditions and representations were eagerly adopted in a post-Soviet Ukraine, which had an impact on Ukrainian folklore. Certain aspects of western culture and mass media were adopted and incorporated into popular Ukrainian culture, and eventually into the folklore of the country. Accordingly, fourth wave immigrants brought that modern Ukrainian culture with them to Canada, adding richness and diversity to Ukrainian Canadian folklore.

Having recently arrived from Ukraine, the new immigrants fashioned a unique hybrid Ukrainian culture, blending contemporary and traditional Ukrainian folklore with Ukrainian Canadian culture. As expressed by Natalia Grytsiv, to make a performance appealing to the audience, she modernizes her scripts. For example, by referring the play to a specific period in Ukrainian history (2012, 0:12:04), adding dances and competitions (2012, 0:17:40), without emphasizing accuracy concerning authentic Ukrainian culture.

For example, while staging "*Сорочинський ярмарок*" Natalia Grytsiv was not merely following the book by Mykola Hohol' "A night before Christmas" ("*Ніч перед Різдвом*") (2012, 0:09:20); she also added some modern elements to the play, including some characters wearing fashionable clothes to make it modern and more interesting for the audience. The character of Skleta Lumerucha – was dressed up in an Adidas tracksuit, while glamorous Pronia Prokopivna was wearing Dolce & Gabbana (2012, 0:11:10).

The Canadian *zabavy* - concerts and plays - were staged for different holidays and celebrations, which differ from those celebrated in Ukraine. Unlike the contemporary Ukrainian tradition, where the New Year is the most widely celebrated winter holiday (Svystunov 2012, 0:08:30), in Canada, the biggest holidays are Christmas and *Malanka* (Tsisar 2012, 0:06:00). Yanina Vihovska said that she never heard about *Malanka* while living in Ukraine (2012, 0:05:00). Andrian Bagrinovsky calls this holiday *Vasylia*, and notes that there was no such events in his tradition back home (2012, 0:12:55).

Sergiy Svystunov (2012, 0:08:45), Yanina Vihovska (2012, 0:03:46) and Ganna Lahoda (2012, 0:13:00) are happy about the opportunity to celebrate two Christmases after immigration: one Canadian, celebrated on the 25th of December, and one Ukrainian, held on the 7th of January. On Christmas Eve, the Canadian Ukrainians go to church and visit family and friends (Vihovska 2012, 0:03:50)). The members of The Ukrainian National Youth Federation go caroling. In a newly established tradition distinct to Ukrainian Canadians, the carolers do not go from house to house, but email those people who might be interested in inviting them into their house ahead of time, and then agree on the time and place of caroling (Vihovska 2012, 0:04:40).

There is also a big Ukrainian concert on Valentine's Day in Canada (Tsisar 2012, 0:23:47; Vihovska 2012, 0:06:20; N. Grytsiv 2012, 0:14:10). This holiday is not a part of any Ukrainian tradition and was adopted by Ukrainian Canadians from North American culture.

There is no concert for Easter. As is the custom in Ukraine, people go to the church to bless Easter baskets and then get together with their relatives for a festive breakfast (Vihovska 2012, 0:06:48; Bagrinovsky 2012, 0:25:47). Such family holidays invoke nostalgic feelings about Ukraine, especially in the hearts of the newcomers who do not have family here. Ganna Lahoda remembers her first Easter in Canada with a hint of sadness in her eyes. There were just the two of them at the festive table, Ganna and her husband, and they were recollecting their memories about big Easter parties they had back home (2012, 0:12:40).

Meanwhile, Yanina Vihovska spoke about the spring commemoration of 'the father of Ukrainian poetry' Taras Shevchenko – the so-called Shevchenko Days, which are celebrated by the Ukrainian community in Canada. According to Yanina, this tradition is not wide-spread in Ukraine and is practiced only in schools during classes (2012, 0:07:06).

The celebration of *Ivana Kupala,* one of the favourite festivities in Ukrainian Canadian summer camps, is not widely celebrated in some urban areas in Ukraine. Yanina Vihovska (2012, 0:09:40) and Sergiy Svystunov (2012, 0:13:10) do not remember having *Ivana Kupala* in their home towns and Ganna Lahoda (2012, 0:13:10) associates this festival with a rural area back home.

In the summer of 2010, the members of the Ukrainian National Federation of Canada organized a celebration of *Ivana Kupala* on Canada Day in the Ukrainian Cultural Heritage Village near Edmonton. The event attracted visitors from all over Alberta and guests enjoyed a play

about love. Live Ukrainian music, wagon rides, and traditional food also contributed to the festival atmosphere. Workshops, *Kupala* games for children, displays of vintage cars, exhibits, and a Village Market were all attractions for the visitors. Andrian Bagrinovsky remembers being amazed by the violin play solo by Vasyl Popadiuk, a guest Ukrainian musician, currently residing in Toronto (2012, 0:17:30).

Yanina Vihovska recalled taking part in *Holodomor* Commemoration Ceremony, a week of remembering the victims of the Ukrainian Famine/genocide, starting November 20 every year (2012, 0:08:40). None of the interviewees remember having the *Holodomor* Week back home. Each also spoke of the non-celebration of International Women's Day in Canada. The holiday started as a Socialist political event and changed into an occasion for men to express their love for women 'in a way somewhat similar to a mixture of Mother's Day and St. Valentine's Day'. Maybe because of its political flavor, International Women's Day is not celebrated by most of the fourth-wave immigrants in Canada (Vihovska 2012, 0:08:50), but continues to be recognized back in Ukraine (Bagrinovsky 2012, 0:15:40; Svystunov 2012, 0:08:55).

Ukrainian folklore in Canada has not stood still: urbanization, technology and inter-ethnic contact all made an impact on the way Ukrainian Canadians celebrate their holidays. Volodymyr Grytsiv stated that Ukrainian holidays, as they are celebrated in Canada, consist of three parts:

1. entertainment, which may include a play, an exhibition, dance performance, poetry reading or competition of some sort;

2. a festive dinner;

3. and dances (V. Grytsiv 2012, 0:20:20). The celebration usually takes part in a community hall, or church banquet rooms. The designated community members email invitations to potential guests, and also promote the events through social media like Facebook and posts on websites.

The festive concerts which are organized by Ukrainian communities in Canada form the backbone of contemporary Ukrainian Canadian culture. Preparing and staging concerts gives them the opportunity to express themselves through song. Both Solomia Tsisar (2012, 0:06:38) and Volodymyr Grytsiv (2012, 0:08:14) admitted that they do not normally sing songs at home, but look forward to doing so at various celebratory events. Sergiy Svystunov (2012, 0:14:12) and Yanina Vihovska (2012, 0:11:12) admits that they never sing songs in the Ukrainian language, unless on outings with other Ukrainian Canadians.

Olena Sivachenko states that she habitually sang Ukrainian folksongs with her friends and roommates while residing in Kyiv. In Edmonton, Olena still listens to recordings of Ukrainian folksongs, and would sing more often if she had more Ukrainians to sing with (2012, 0:11:20). Andrian Bagrinovsky used to sing back home on holidays while drinking ("*при чарці*") with his family and friends. Now, however, he prefers to play both Ukrainian and North American popular music on Youtube during house parties (2012, 0:27.30).

When asked about their singing repertoires, the interviewees seemed to be less concerned with maintaining the tradition of singing

national folksongs, but rather just with singing the Ukrainian songs that they liked (N. Grytsiv 2012, 0:19:20; V. Grytsiv 2012, 0:08:40; Tsisar 2012, 0:09:00; Bagrinovsky 2012, 0:28:10). It is this individual preference which seems to most greatly influence the evolution of Ukrainian Canadian oral tradition; popular songs are remembered and passed on. Less popular pieces are neglected and forgotten.

For the most part, the traditional performance of a Ukrainian folksong is connected with rural areas and uneducated peasants as a result of the state promotion of the Russian language as the language of the urban elite; the use of other languages, including Ukrainian, was viewed as inferior, rural, and backward. The state was able to achieve this by making Russian the main language of instruction in schools and post-secondary institutions in the Soviet Union, of which the Ukraine was a part for approximately seventy years. Ultimately, knowledge of the Russian language was necessary to advance oneself in social, academic, and political circles.

With the advancement of new media technologies during Soviet times, popular television and radio programs, films and printed mass media - everything considered modern was in Russian. Accordingly, the Ukrainian language was considered outdated and everything associated with it, including Ukrainian culture in general and oral folk tradition in particular, was regarded as rustic, unsophisticated and regressive. Since the fourth wave of immigration was largely comprised of educated urban elite, settlers from Central, Eastern and Western Ukraine largely identified themselves as representatives of the modern and popular Russian language, rather than traditional Ukrainian culture.

The phenomenon known as Russification was the strongest in Eastern Ukraine, the industrial heartland of the nation. Sergiy Svystunov, who came to Canada from the city of Krasnodar (Luhans'k oblast', Eastern Ukraine) speaks Russian at home and prefers Russian rock to folksongs (2012, 0:15:50). He remembers his grandmother singing Ukrainian songs during weddings and other family events, but the younger relatives did not understand the grandmother and made fun of her (2012, 0:15:30).

Western Ukrainians were more resistant to the Russification that took place, thereby maintaining their ancestral traditions to a greater extent, especially in rural areas. Two of the interviewees, Andrian Bagrinovsky and Ganna Lahoda, who come from small towns in Western Ukraine, keep their singing traditions alive. Both have always spoken Ukrainian at home, and sing Ukrainian songs during family gatherings, at house parties, and in their everyday life. However, Andrian admits that traditions are usually preserved by older people both here and in Ukraine (Bagrinovsky 2012, 0:15:10). Meanwhile, Ganna says that singing folksongs reminds her of her childhood and of those happy times she spent with her grandmother (Lahoda 2012, 0:16:30).

Yanina Vihovska, who emigrated from the big city of Luts'k (Volyn' oblast', Western Ukraine), spoke Ukrainian at home, but remarked that she never sang back home and only learned traditional Ukrainian folksongs once she started taking an active part in the life of the Ukrainian Diaspora in Edmonton (2012, 0:11:40). She was so enthralled with Ukrainian traditional songs, that when Yanina planned her wedding, she decided to go to Ukraine to have a traditional ceremony with all the rituals and songs. She was amazed that when the women started singing

during the ceremony, she recognized almost all the old songs from their repertoire, not from anything she had heard as a child, but from the newfound traditions of her adoptive Ukrainian community in Edmonton (2012, 0:12:00).

The majority of the fourth-wave Ukrainian immigrants to Canada are educated city-dwellers and a significant segment of their singing repertoires seem to be influenced less by tradition and more by popular culture. Most can recall songs they heard at concerts, and on radio and television, rather than from their grandparents. The primary focus of the interviews was folklore in general and folk ballads in particular, however, out of the 33 songs that were mentioned by the interviewees, twelve (37%) were copyrighted in modern times and brought to the masses through popular media.

The immigrants of the fourth wave also remember four humorous songs (12%) (Sivachenko 2012, 0:18:30, 0:18:32; Vihovska 2012, 0:17:20; Svystunov 2012, 0:14:30), four songs of rebellion (12%) (Bagrinovsky 2012, 0:29:30; 0:30:30; 0:30:50), as well as three love songs (9%) (Lahoda 2012, 0:18:03; Vihovska 2012, 0:13:15; V. Grytsiv 2012, 0:08:45). The interviewees recalled two ritual songs (6%) that concern calendar and life-cycle rites. Andrian Bahrinovsky performed a Christmas carol about the Ukrainian famine of 1947, "*Сумний Святий вечір в сорок семім році*" (2012, 0:33:19). This carol communicated the deplorable living conditions, such as famine, separation of families due to conscription, and the nostalgia for happier times when Ukrainians were free to celebrate this sacred holiday. The second ritual song was a well-known wedding ballad "*Горіла сосна палала"*, traditionally accompanying the most dramatic

ritual of removing the bride's wedding veil and replacing it with a kerchief or a scarf (Lahoda 2012, 0:18:37; V. Grytsiv 2012, 0:08:40).

The immigrants also recounted eight folk ballads (24%), which can be further subdivided according to their principal themes:

Family-oriented ballads (1 ballad).

- *Unfaithfulness (1 ballad):* A historical ballad *"Ой по-під гай зелененький"* (Bagrinovsky 2012) sings that the historical figure Dovbush, a famous Ukrainian outlaw and national hero similar to Robin Hood, is bedding a married woman. He goes to meet his love:

Ой по-під гай зелененький
Ходить Довбуш молоденький
Він на ніжку налягає,
Топірцем ся підпирає.
Ой, ви, хлопці, свистом-свистом,
Замітає стежку листом.
Ой, ви, хлопці, бігом-бігом,
Замітає стежку снігом.
Щоби Кути не минути,
До Косова повернути.
До Косова, та й до Дзвінки,
До Штефанової жінки.

The woman is not willing to see her lover at the time he comes calling. She tries to warn him about an existing danger and gives him a hint by saying that the dinner is not ready yet and she has no food left in the house:

Добрий вечір, Штефанова!
Чи вечеря вже готова?
А вечеря не готова,
Бо Штефана нема вдома.
Він поїхав гендлювати,
Мабудь буде ночувати.

Unsatisfied, Dovbush demands that she open the door immediately. When she refuses, he breaks in:

- Чи будеш нам відкривати?
Чи самим ся добувати?
- В мене двері дубовії,
В мене замки сталевії.
- Як підставлю плечі свої,
Не поможуть замки твої.

The woman's husband is at home. He shoots the hero, and Dovbush dies:

Довбуш плечі підкладає,
Штефан в Довбуша стріляє.
Як поцілив в праве плече,
А з лівого кровця тече.
Ой, ви, хлопці, ви, соколи,
Візьміть мене на топори.
Та й віднесьте в Чорну гору.
Де родились батько й мати,
Там я буду помирати.
Сріблом-златом поділіться,
Та й на тому розійдіться.
Штефанові дайте мірку,
Бо любив я його жінку.

Pre-Marital Relationships (6 ballads):

- *Seduction of a girl, bastardry (4 ballads):* Andrian Bagrinovsky performed the ballad *"Ой дівчина по гриби ходила"* which tells about a girl who was picking mushrooms, and got lost in the forest. Luckily, she met a young man, and asked him to lead her out of the forest. However, she referred to him in a very informal manner and offended him by calling him an idler. The man assumed that she was merely toying with him, and making up excuses to start the conversation:

> Ой дівчина по гриби ходила, В зеленому гаю заблудила.
> Приблудила к зеленому дубу: Аж отут я ночувати буду.
> А то стояв не дуб зелененький, А то стояв козак молоденький.
> - Ой, козаче, козаче-гультяю, Вивідь мене з зеленого гаю.
> Вивідь мене з зеленого гаю – Я, молода, дороги не знаю".
> Якби дівка дороги не знала, Вона б козака гультяєм не звала.
> А сказала б: "Козаче-соколю, Вивідь мене з зеленого бору.
> Вивідь мене з зеленого бору, Та й проведи до самого двору.

(Bagrinovsky 2012, 0:41:00)

This ballad is widely known in Ukraine today. One can hear it at folk festivals and concerts, easily find it online and in recently published collections of songs, for example: "*Pisni mamynoho sertsia*" (Radyshevs'kyi 2006), "*Pisennyi vinok: Ukraiins'ki narodni pisni*" (Myhalko 2007), and others. The song is sometimes called a love or lyric song (Pushyk 1988), as it tells about the girl, who was accused for trying to get the attention of the young bachelor. However, in the older recorded variants the story is continued: the Cossack agrees to lead the girl out of the forest on the condition that she should have a drink with him. Being extremely self-confident, the maiden did not even realize the threat, and

started drinking with the fellow. Consequently she ended up being seduced and getting pregnant:

- Ой здайся, дівча, на підмову,
То виведу із гаю додому.
Куплю тобі коновочку меду,
Таки тебе із розуму зведу.
- Купи мені півкварти горілки,
То не зведеш поштивої дівки.
-
Завів єї під білу березу
І звів єї не п'яну - тверезу...

(Deĭ 1987, 362-363)

... - Ой візьму я кватирку горілки,
Ой спробую, що за розум в дівки. (Двічі)
- Ой не хочу я твоєї горілки,
Не спробуєш, що за розум в дівки. (Двічі)
- Ой візьму я коновочку пива,
Ой нароблю тій дівчині дива. (Двічі)
Ой візьму я коновочку меду,
А дівчину з розумоньку зведу. (Двічі)
- Ой не хочу, козаченьку, меду,
А ти мене з розуму не зведеш. (Двічі)
Підвів дівку під білу березу,
Звів дівчину не п'яну — тверезу. (Двічі)

(A divchyna po hryby hodyla 2008 - 2011)

As the young woman bears a bastard child, she brings him to her seducer. The young man does not want to take care of his baby, but he accepts the child because he does not have a choice: the girl warns him that she would leave the child to die in the field.

… А в долині тихий вітер віє,
Ой там козак пшениченьку сіє;
Ой сіє ж він - досіває лану,
Аж виходить дівчинонька з гаю:
- Ой на тобі, козаче, дитину,
Бо, єй-Богу, за тобою кину.
Ой дам тобі корову рябую,
Годуй, годуй дитину малую.
- Ой не візьму корови рябої,
І не хочу дитини малої.
Сидить козак, дрібні листи пише,
А ногою дитину колише:
Ой за садом козак гречку косить,
А дівчина дитину приносить. (Двічі)
— Ой на тобі, козаче, дитину,
Присяй Бог, що на покіс покину. (Двічі)

(A divchyna po hryby hodyla 2008 - 2011)

- *Л*юлю, *л*юлю, ой ти, вражий
сине!
Через тебе вся худоба гине.
- *Л*юлю, *л*юлю, ти, м*а*лий
чорточку,
Через тебе страчу я сорочку.
(Deĭ 1987, 362-363)

The contemporary ballad variant performed by Andrian, is shortened and simplified comparatively to its older records; the issues of losing virginity and bastardry are ignored completely. This might indicate that the problem lost its topicality in modern times. However, the song remains popular; just like many other Ukrainian ballads it transformed into a love song, as it touches the question of romance and inter-gender relationships. Nowadays men and women have become more equal politically, financially and socially. Instead of waiting for a man to approach her, a modern woman prefers to search for a potential partner herself. Conservatively minded bachelors might sometimes not appreciate that, as they desire to strive for the favour of girls that they are attracted to.

The ballad *"Їхали козаки"* initially stood as a warning to young women not to trust Cossacks and to stay away from sexual intercourse with them before marriage. Ultimately, there is an exclamation point to this cautionary tale, as the girl is cruelly killed by her seducers (Sivachenko 2012, 0:15:30; Vihovska 2012, 0:15:20). In its later variants, the ballad switches from being a cautionary tale, to that of a spirited performance including song and dance. A more detailed analysis of this ballad is included later in this thesis.

Olena Sivachenko, Ganna Lahoda and Yanina Vihovska sang the ballad "*В саду вишневому в саду/ Ой у вишневому саду, там соловейко щебетав"*. According to the data, available on Youtube and Muzofon.com, this ballad is a part of the repertoire of such popular Ukrainian bands as "Balagan Limited" (2002) and "VV" Oleh Skrypka (2007), also the world famous singers Nina Matvienko (2010), Taisia Povalii (2009) and Tina Karol' (2009). However, for Olena and Ganna this ballad is a part of their family tradition: they learned it in childhood from their parents and grandparents, who liked to sing this song during family gatherings (Sivachenko 2012, 0:18:10; Lahoda 2012, 0:15:20). Yanina heard this song in its popular and folklore variations in Ukraine, but she knew only the melody, and did not learn the words until she came to Canada and began preparing for one of community performances (Vihovska 2012, 0:12:30).

The song is a story of a young girl who comes out at night to a picturesque garden. She has a date with her loved one there. Soon after meeting, however, the girl gets scared that her mother will be looking for her:

> В саду вишневому в саду /Ой, у вишневому саду,
> Там соловейко щебетав.
> До дому я просилася, а він мене все не пускав. (2)
> О, милий мій, а я ж твоя, дивись, яка зійшла зоря,
> Проснеться матінко моя, буде питать, де була я. (2)

The maiden intends to go back to the house, but her lover tempts her to stay with him for a little bit longer and to lie to her mother and tell her that she went out to enjoy the beautiful weather in May:

А ті їй дай такий ответ: яка чудова майська ніч,
Весна іде, красу несе, а тій красі радіє все. (2)

Then the boyfriend frees the braid in her hair, which is symbolic of the loss of virginity for the girl. The mother realizes what has happened right away and demands explanations from her daughter. The young woman lies, saying that it was her girlfriend, who unbound her hair. She cries over her lost love:

Доню моя, у чому річ, де ти блукала цілу ніч,
Чому розплетена коса, а на очах бренить сльоза? (2)
Коса моя розплетена, її подруга розплела.
А на очах бренить сльоза, бо з милим розлучилась я. (2)

One might assume, that the story teaches maidens the virtue of their virginity, and maintaining it before marriage, as the bachelor can lose his interest after the intimacy, and would not be willing to maintain relationships with the seduced girl. However, in its modern representation this ballad is likely to give up its pedagogical value, and to become a love song about dating and betrayal. Some recent variations have a happy ending: the girl is glad that they moved forward to a new step with her boyfriend, and she cherishes the dream of their happy future together:

- Ой Мамо-Мамо й Ти була як я Дівчина-молода
Я жити хочу я люблю! Мамо, не лай Доньку свою!
(Potaiemni liubostchi i kohannia 2002)

The other ballad variant published on the Ukrainian website has a continuation, which reveals that the girl's dreams collapse when she sees her beloved with another maiden:

> Ой, у вишневому саду, там соловейко щебетав,
> До дому я ішла сама, а він другую проводжав. (2)
> (Oi u vyscnevomu sadu 2007)

A similar story about the girl who accepts the attention of a young suitor only to see him leave the next morning is told in the song "*Ой чій то кінь стоїть*" (Lahoda 2012, 0:15:22; Vihovska 2012, 0:13:00). The ballad evolved into various modern forms, as it was performed by different popular Ukrainian bands: "Рушничок" in the 1970s "Чарівна" in 1993, "Мандри" in 2002, and "Журборіз" in 2003-2004 (Pisni.Org.Ua: Ukraiins'ki Pisni 2003 - 2012). With the release of the Polish-made film "With Fire and Sword" ("*Вогнем і мечем"*) (Sienkiewicz 1999), the ballad became known internationally. Oleksandr Domoharov who played the role of Bohun, one of the main characters (a Ukrainian leader who fought against Poles in the Khmelnytsky period), performed this song in one memorable scene. The ballad is the story of a Cossack who meets a girl and becomes attracted to her beautiful face:

> Ой чий то Кінь стоїть Що Сива Гривонька
> Сподобалась мені (2) Тая Дівчинонька.
> Не так та Дівчина, Як Біле Личенько:
> - Подай же, Дівчино, Подай же ,Гарная,
> На Коня Рученьку!

The girl spends time with the young man because she likes him; even though she realizes that this love is just for one night, as the Cossack will go to war as soon as the sun rises:

Дівчина підійшла, Рученьку подала.
- Бодай же я була (2) Кохання не знала!
Кохання-кохання З Вечора до Рання.
Як Сонечко зійде (2) Кохання відійде/ Козак в Похід іде

- *Charming, poisoning (1 ballads):* The ballad "*Ой не ходи, Грицю*" (Sivachenko 2012, 0:18:00; Vihovska 2012, 0:16:10) is a warning to a man not to involve himself with more than one girl because he might be poisoned by one of them out of jealousy:

Ой не ходи, Грицю, та й на вечорниці,
Бо на вечорницях дівки чарівниці.
Котра дівчина чорні брови має,
То тая дівчина усі чари знає.
У неділю рано зіллячко копала,
А у понеділок переполоскала.
Прийшов вівторок - зіллячко зварила,
А в середу рано Гриця отруїла.
Як прийшов четвер - то вже Гриць помер.
Прийшла п'ятниця - поховали Гриця.

The vengeful girl is not remorseful afterwards. When her mother beats her for the crime she committed, the poisoner justifies her actions by saying that the fellow was unfaithful and deserved to die:

А в суботу рано мати дочку била:
Ой нащо ти, доню, Гриця отруїла.
Ой мамо, мамо, Гриць жалю не має,
Нащо ж Гриць, мамо, мамо, разом двох кохає.
Нехай він не буде ні тій, ні мені,

Нехай дістанеться Гриць сірій землі.
Оце ж тобі, Грицю, я так ізробила,
Що через тебе мене мати била,
Оце ж тобі, Грицю, за теє заплата
Із чотирьох дощок дубовая хата.

- *Unrequited love (1 ballad):* The ballad "*Взяв би я бандуру*" (Vihovska 2012, 0:11:50) communicates the story of a determined bandura player, who fell in love with a young maiden. As soon as he played the *bandura* for the first time, he immediately knew that he was destined to become a musician:

Взяв би я бандуру
Та й заграв, що знав.
Через ту бандуру
Бандуристом став.

When he saw the beautiful Marusia with dark-brown eyes, he believes that he would give up his soul for her. He asks her to stay with him:

А все через очі, Коли б я їх мав,
За ті карі очі Душу б я віддав!
Марусенько, люба, Пожалій мене,
Візьми моє серце, Дай мені своє.

However Marusia does not feel the same way about the man, and flirts with other potential boyfriends in front of him:

Маруся не чує, серця не дає,
З іншими жартує — Жалю завдає.

On seeing this, the musician gives up his love and hopes for a better girl in a far-away place:

Де Крим за горами, Де сонечо сяє,
Там моя голубка З жалю завмирає.

Social Ballad (1 ballads):

- *Death of a young warrior (1 ballad):* Andrian Bagrinovsky performed a folk ballad "*Повіяв вітер степовий"* (2012 0:34:30), about the tragic death of a young man at war:

Повіяв вітер степовий,
Трава ся похилила.
Впав в бою козак молодий,
Дівчина затужила.

His mother and girlfriend are crying and asking him to come back to life.

Летить ворон з чужих сторон,
Та й жалібненько кряче
Вставай, козаче молодий,
Твоя дівчина плаче.

The warrior will never see his loved ones again; he died on the battle field, just like hundreds of other brave soldiers:

Заплаче мати не одна,
Заплаче чорнобрива.
Що не одного козака,
Сира земля накрила.

It should be noted that the majority of the ballads that the fourth wave Ukrainian immigrants recollected during the interview were in one way or another popularized by community institutions in Canada or through Ukrainian television and radio. In the case of the latter, performances by folk ensembles, popular singers and groups spread Ukrainian folksongs to the masses. For example, the ballad "*Їхали козаки"* was mentioned by three Ukrainian Canadians: Olena Sivachenko (2012 0:15:30), Yanina Vihovska (2012 0:15:20) and Ganna Lahoda (2012 0:18:38). The song is known as being an inseparable part of almost every traditional Ukrainian wedding, but what probably led to its great popularity was its adoption and performance by a number of choirs, groups and singers as a part of their stage repertoire.

Kuban Cossack Choir (1990), Cossack rock bands VV "*Воплі Відоплясова*" (1997), and The Shadow of the Sun ("*Тінь Сонця*" (2007) all popularized the song with their own renditions. Diverse performers like "Made in Ukraine" (2000), Zahar (Захар, (2004), two singers of African descent called "Chornobryvtsi" ("*Чорнобривці"*, (2004), as well as a number of folk ensembles like "Express" (2007) and "Kumasen'ky" ("Кумасеньки", (2004), also served to increase the ballad's popularity across a spectrum of musical tastes.

"*Їхали козаки"* did not, however, remain unchanged throughout the whole period of its existence; it evolved through a number of modifications in its presentation according to the style and purpose of its performers. There were four basic stages to the development and transformation of this Ukrainian folksong: traditional, stage-traditional, stage-modernized, and hybrid Ukrainian Canadian.

Stage 1: *Traditional Version of the Ballad*

Traditional performance of a folk song can be characterized by its long-established circulation among members of a cultural group in different versions, which are transmitted within the members of this group by word of mouth. By means of illustration, consider *"Їхали козаки"* as a wedding ballad. Yanina Vihovska talked about the ballad specifically in its traditional representation.

As Yanina was aiming to organize her wedding according to Ukrainian tradition, she enlisted the services of folk singers from her region. She was referred to these performers because they were well versed in many traditional Ukrainian wedding songs and rituals. They were also adept at engaging the patrons in actively participating in the wedding reception. The ballad *"Їхали козаки"* was an integral part of the celebration, performed by the singers and guests at the table, after the ritual in which the groom lets down the bride's braided hair (Vihovska 2012, 0:15:20).

"Їхали козаки" is a story of a young girl who was seduced by the Cossacks and burned to death afterwards. One of its many versions was recorded by P. Medvedyk (Deĭ 1987, 76 - 77) during his field trip to the village of Zhabynnia (*Жабиння*), Ternopil' region, Ukraine, in 1946. His version of the ballad is very similar to the one that was performed at Yanina's wedding. It did not contain a prologue, so it begins with a rising action: the Cossacks were traveling back home from the river Don; they met a young girl Halia and took her with them.

Їхали козаки
Із поля додому,
Та й зустріли Галю,
Забрали з собою.

Ходи, дівча, з нами,
З нами, козаками,
Буде тобі краще,
Як в рідної мами.

The men convince the maiden to join them in their expedition by promising Halia that her life will be better than in her parents' house and by guaranteeing her expensive clothes and an easy life:

А в рідної мами
Грубая сорочка,
В нас будеш ходити,
Як попова дочка.

А в рідної мами
Треба все робити,
З нами, козаками -
Мед-горілку пити.

А в рідної мами
Все в тяжкій роботі,
В нас будеш ходити
У шовку та злоті. -

The story shows that Halia was not very smart and accepted the invitation of the young men. She started traveling with the Cossacks, drinking and enjoying her life:

Дівча дурна була,
Розуму не мала,
Сіла на коника,
З ними поїхала.

Стала з козаками
Мед-горілку пити,
Стала дівчинонька
З ними веселитись.

Вандрує дівчина,
Вандрує, хороша,
Тільки золотіє
Її жовта коса.

However, it did not last long. After taking advantage of the girl, the young men completely lose interest in her, and tell her to go back home. Halia, however, continued following the seducers, so they took her horse, told her that they no longer like her and do not even think about her, and then eventually threaten to beat her if she does not return home:

Переночували, стали вандрувати,
Сказали дівчині домів повертати.
Як привандрували та й до зелен дуба:
- Вертайся, дівчино, бо ти нам не люба.

Ой привандрували до чистого поля:
- Вернися, дівчино, бо в ніженьки коле.
Ой привандрували та й до червен вишні:
- Вернися, дівчино, ти нам не по мислі.
Ой привандрували та й до зелен жита:
-Вернися, дівчино, бо ще будеш бита.

Привели дівчину у лісі до граба:
- Вертайся, дівчино, нам тебе не треба.
Привели дівчину у лісі до бука -
Вертайся, дівчино, буде тобі мука.
Привели дівчину аж до зелен гаю:
- Вертайся, дівчино, бо ми жінки маєм!

The desperate maiden replies that she could not go back to her mother, as she was not a virgin anymore. Traditionally, if a girl loses her virginity before being married, it brought shame to her and to her family; nobody would want to marry her, and she would live the rest of her life being scorned and isolated. Halia preferred a torturous death, rather than public persecution for the rest of her life:

- Не можу, молодці, додому вертати,
Краще мені в лісі у муках сконати.

Consequently, the resolution of the ballad is that the Cossacks tied her hair around the pine-tree, set fire to it, and left her there. While burning alive, Halia was screaming her last words: "If you have a daughter, teach her by my example, and do not allow her to go out too late". She also cries for help, but nobody could hear her in the woods:

Прив"язали Галю
До сосни косами:
- Вже ти не повреш
До рідної мами.
Галю залишили,
Сосну підпалили.
Сосна догоряє,
Дівча промовляє:

- А хто дівчат має,
Нехай научає,
Нехай на вулицю
Ввечір не пускає.
Ой хто в лісі чує,
Хай мене рятує,
Мені, молоденькій,
Вік зозуля кує.

Medvedyk's variant of the ballad *"Їхали козаки"* fulfills predominantly the functions of educating, teaching morals, and maintaining conformity in the community, since it teaches the rules of comportment by negative example. According to Robert Bohdan Klymasz, transgression against the accepted norms of behavior marks a crucial thematic pivot for the poetic expression of alarm, shock and disdain (1973, 45). By revealing the tragic death of a young girl, as well as her remorse, the ballad encourages the young to think twice before succumbing to baser instincts.

Stage 2: *Transitional Ballad Version*

The revival of Ukrainian folk song started long before the proclamation of the independence of Ukraine. Despite the repressive Soviet policy concerning Ukrainian language and traditions, the Ukrainian folksong seemed to transcend political dogma because of its artistic appeal. Even non-Ukrainian folk artists performed these songs to receptive and appreciative audiences all over the Soviet Union.

The appeal of Ukrainian folksongs all over the Russian Empire and later across the Soviet Union can be exemplified by the popularity of the singing repertoires of one of the most prominent choirs, the Kuban Cossack Choir. Created in 1811, this choir is popular to this day, and still performs both Russian and Ukrainian folksongs (Kubanskii Kazachii Chor n.d.).

"*Їхали козаки"* was included in the repertoire of the Choir as well and became part of the 1990 album "*In a Kuban Village: Folk Songs of the Black Sea Cossacks and the Cossack Infantry Troops*" ("*Во Кубанской во станице. Народные песни черноморский и линейных казаков*") (Kuban Cossack Choir 1990). One could argue that many of their songs were part of the singing repertoire for many years before being released on album. The Kuban Cossack choir has been performing for decades and only in 1973 began to release albums with the most popular songs from their collection (n.d.).

The Kuban Cossacks choir's rendition of the ballad "*Їхали козаки"* possesses some differences, and could be interesting for further discussion. First, its performance shifted from the typical forum which was at that time, a peasant house, to the national stage, where it could be transmitted to a wider public not only during concerts, but also through the mass media. Second, the singers were dressed in bright Cossack stage costumes, aiming to demonstrate their Cossack identity and were visually impressive. What is more, the manner of the ballad performance has changed. In this variant of the ballad, there is a chorus and numerous repetitions after each verse. The main part of the ballad is

simplified, and the ending is modified as well. The song starts with the verse:

Ихали козаки из Дону до дому,
Пидманули Галю, забрали с собою.

Ой ти, Галю, Галю молодая,
Пидманули Галю, забрали с собою.

Contrary to the traditional variant of the ballad, in their representation, the Kuban Cossack Choir does not specify what the Cossacks promised Halia to convince her to leave her home and follow them, nor the reason why they decide to kill her afterwards:

Поидёме з нами, з нами, козаками,
Лучче тоби буде, як в риднои мами.

Ой ти, Галю, Галю молодая,
Лучче тоби буде, як в риднои мами.

Then the plot abruptly goes to the crucial point - the burning of the girl to death, which is concluded by the moral in the next verse: do not let your young daughters do whatever they want, but discipline them well:

Везли, вели Галю тёмными лисами,
Привязали Галю до сосни косами.
Ой ти, Галю, Галю молодая,
Привязали Галю до сосни косами.
Робрелись по лису, назбирали хмизу,
Пидпалили сосну од гори до низу.
Ой ти, Галю, Галю молодая,
Пидпалили сосну од гори до низу.
"А хто дочок мае, нехай научае –
Тёмнои ночи гулять не пускае".
Ой ты, Галя, Галя молодая,
Тёмнои ночи гулять не пускае.

As the pine-tree is burning, the girl is crying for help, but this time her words are heard by a young fellow, who helps her stay alive:

Горить сосна, горить, горить и пылае,
Кричить Галя криком, кричить-промовляе,
Ой ты, Галя, Галя молодая,
Кричить Галя криком, кричить-промовляе:
"Ой, хто в лиси чуе, нехай той рятуэ,
Ой, хто дочок мае, нехай научае".

Ой ты, Галя, Галя молодая,
Ой, хто дочок мае, нехай научае.
Обизвався козак: "Я в поли ночую,
Я твий голосочок здалека почую".
Ой ты, Галя, Галя молодая,
Я твий голосочок здалека почую.

Обизвався козак: "Я в поли пахаю,
Я твий голосочок здалека пизнаю".
Ой ты, Галя, Галя молодая,
Я твий голосочок здалека пизнаю.

During the interview, Ganna Lahoda mentioned that this variant of the ballad sounds very familiar to her: the interviewee heard it at a number of village weddings and house parties, where it was performed by the non-professional singers. However, she could not recall hearing the song as presented by the Kuban Cossack Choir (2012, 0:18:50).

This Choir has been one of leading folkloric ensembles in the countries of the former Soviet Union for many decades. Their concerts were often aired on television and broadcasted on the radio. The influence that mass media had on distributing and promoting folksongs was far reaching. The singing repertoire of the Kuban Cossack Choir that was initially taken from folklore became popular with larger audiences. As people liked it, they started modifying their traditional versions of the song, trying to adjust it to a new standard, which was in fashion at the

time. The professional version of the ballads that were sung by the Kuban Cossacks Choir may have had an impact on the traditional performance, which was then transmitted among the members of the cultural group as folklore.

Compared to the first variant of the ballad, the second one was shortened and simplified. It concentrated mostly on action, while verses which contained explanations for the main characters' actions were omitted. The denouement, in which the girl escapes the punishment and is rescued by the young man, represents a shift in the ballad's role from educating to entertaining.

Stage 3: *Stage and Modernized Ballad Version*

New economic ties with western nations, immigration, and the popularization of Western music and film through mass media led to borrowing and assimilation of previously foreign cultural practices. These influences resulted in the modernization of Ukrainian folk singing according to the latest fashions of Western culture. From watching Western movies and television, listening to Western music and being exposed to other aspects of Western culture, Ukrainians started modifying and Westernizing their folk music. The phenomenon is exemplified by the music video 'Itchy Trigger Niggers' (VV 2009), made as a parody to the ballad "*Їхали козаки*".

In the video, the plot of the ballad is greatly simplified, the song comprises of only three verses, covering the most dramatic points: a group

of men took a girl on a trip, tied her up against a tree and burned her. The beginning of the ballad reveals that Cossacks were traveling from Don to their home, and fooled Halia into joining them:

Підманули Галю, забрали з собою!
Іхали козаки із Дону додому,
Підманули Галю, забрали з собою.
Ой, ти, Галю, Галю ж молодая,
Підманули Галю, забрали з собою.

This ballad version does not communicate anything of the seduction of a young girl, nor the reasons why the Cossacks kill her. After extensive travel, the Cossacks decided to tie her to a tree with her long hair:

Везли, везли Галю темними лісами,
Привязали Галю до сосни косами.
Ой, ти, Галю, Галю ж молодая,
Привязали Галю до сосни косами.

The story ends when the young men burned the tree together with the girl:

Разбрелись по лісу, назбирали хмизу,
Підпалили сосну від гори до низу.
Ой, ти, Галю, Галю ж молодая,
Підпалили сосну від гори до низу.

To attract a younger audience, the creators of the music video composed a fast-paced track, greatly influenced by Western rap and hip-hop culture. There may be several underlying issues alluded to in this video, but the main purpose was to provide entertainment. This resulted

in the total loss of the initial meaning of the ballad, which was initially a sad story with a moral.

Stage 4: *Modern Ukrainian-Canadian Ballad Version*

With the ease of transportation and communication across the world, stronger ties than ever could be maintained between the Ukrainian Canadian community and their compatriots back in Ukraine. Still, despite the extensive exchange of books, disks and other material, the focus of the two communities is quite different. While people in Ukraine are westernizing their culture, the Ukrainian Canadians are striving to maintain the traditional culture while modifying it to fit current sensibilities in order to attract a wider audience.

The concerts and festivals, which are organized by some Ukrainian community institutions in Canada, form the backbone of contemporary Ukrainian Canadian culture. As stated by Solomia Tsisar, Volodymyr and Natalia Grytsiv during their interviews, the activity of Ukrainian diaspora aims not merely to amuse and captivate, but also to educate both Ukrainian and non-Ukrainian audiences, who all learn about Ukrainian language and culture while having fun.

In this way, Ukrainian Canadian folklore preserves the same functionality as it does in Ukraine, which is to entertain. Folk songs also maintain an instructional function: to teach Ukrainian language and to showcase both traditional and modern Ukrainian culture. Consider the example of the music video made in 2009 in Edmonton (Halya Ukrainian Song Performed By The Shumka Dancers And the Kubasonics). In this

video, the ballad *"Їхали козаки"* was performed by the popular Ukrainian Canadian band Kubasonics and is used as the background story to a very festive performance. The Kubasonics' rendition contains a part from another popular song "Please come to me, Halia!" (*"Галю, Приходь!"* (2007)) – one of the greatest hits of the well-known Ukrainian rock band VV (*ВВ "Воплі Відоплясова"*). It starts with the words of a man expressing to Halia how much she means to him and how much he wants her to be with him:

Я кохаю тебе, Галю.
Ти прийди до мене, Галю.
Моя люба, моя краля,
Ти прийди, прийди до мене, Галю.
Галю, приходь! (3) ...
(VV "Vopli Vidopliasova" 2007)

Я кохаю тебе, Галю,
Ти прийди до мене, Галю!
Моя люба, моя краля,
Ти прийди до мене, Галю!
Галю, приходь! (3)
(Halya Ukrainian Song Performed By The Shumka Dancers And the Kubasonics 2009)

The next part of the Kubasonics' song is the chorus, which is the same as in all the variants mentioned above:

Ой ти Галю Галю молодая
Підманули Галю забрали з собою!

The latter part of the song is about Halia being picked up by the Cossacks:

Їхали козаки Із Дону додому,
Підманули Галю, Забрали з собою.
Ой, ти Галю, Галю ж молодая,
Підманули Галю, забрали з собою.

Citing the example of this one ballad, one may infer that a folksong goes through an evolution that reflects cultural change and is perpetually modified by its performers to fit the times. In the music video, available on Youtube, the Ukrainian Canadian version of the ballad *"Їхали козаки"* is used as background for a spectacular Ukrainian dance performance (2009). The dancers are wearing modernized and elaborate traditional-style Ukrainian outfits, which stand in clear contrast to the Cossack costumes which adorned members of the Kuban Cossack Choir when they initially popularized the song.

Meanwhile, the dance itself reinforces the lyrics of the song, which is not a tragic ballad any longer, but a story about love. Thus the meaning of the ballad changed once more, and while the purpose of the song is predominantly to entertain. It also seems to maintain an educational function, but in a different sense: it seeks to connect young Ukrainian Canadians with their history, language, and culture.

Contrary to the representatives of the third wave of immigration, for whom the Ukrainian song was one of the major tools for education and a validation of Ukrainian culture, the concerts and plays of the representatives of the fourth immigration wave, just as the current practice in Ukraine, are targeted predominantly to the entertainment aspect. In Natalia Grytsiv's opinion, the ballad changed its focus from telling people about the Ukrainian tradition, to attracting a wider audience (2012, 0:16:20).

Increasingly, the current culture of Ukraine is more westernized than the Ukrainian Canadian culture and gives reason to assume that the

immigrant folklore acquires a nostalgia function as well, thus leading to the conservation of some aspects of the traditional Ukrainian culture. For Olena Sivachenko, Ukrainian folklore is not entertainment (2012, 0:13:20). The young woman is nostalgic about her mother country, and she plunges into her memories about happy times she spent there while hearing or singing Ukrainian folk songs (2012, 0:12:30). Despite the fact that Yanina Vihovska never actively sought to learn or sing Ukrainian folk songs back home, she became interested in Ukrainian folklore in Canada because she misses her native land greatly (2012, 0:11:20). Moreover, while responding to the questions during the interview, Andrian Bagrinovsky (2012, 0:43:50) and Ganna Lahoda (2012, 0:16:30) single out the function of continuity of culture: while listening to Ukrainian folksongs, they think about Ukraine and celebrate their Ukrainian identity.

One may conclude that Ukrainian language and culture, which were for many years considered to be rural and not prestigious, are now supported and followed by urban intellectuals both in Canada and in Ukraine. The result is the creation of new ways to present old ballads in modern forms like hip-hop, parodies, and rock music. The meaning of the old ballad changes over time to fit shifting social circumstances. With a modernized Ukrainian heritage, the fourth wave immigrants arrived in Canada, and made their mark on the Ukrainian Canadian scene, which was established by the three waves preceding it.

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CONCLUDING REMARKS

With the conclusion of my thesis I am left with a profound sense of gratitude for the contributions of the four waves of immigration that have worked together to develop a uniquely Ukrainian Canadian identity. By tracing the early variants of the folk ballad from the first wave of Ukrainian immigration through to current day, my hope is that I have adequately described the evolution of Ukrainian folklore from its early origins to what is now a part of a unique Ukrainian Canadian culture. Each subsequent wave of immigration should be credited with contributing to the successful integration of the Ukrainian community within Canada.

The first and second waves of Ukrainian immigrants should be recognized for establishing the framework within which the subsequent waves of Ukrainian Canadian settlers could prosper. The third wave can be accredited with developing, organizing and modernizing the means by which they celebrated their Ukrainian culture. They could also be recognized for bringing Ukrainian culture and traditions into the Canadian consciousness. A significant contribution of the fourth immigration was the application of technological advances such as social media, as a means to promote Ukrainian traditions and reach an even larger audience in Canada.

It was interesting for me to discover, that notwithstanding the changing living conditions, the diverse educational opportunities, the various life experiences, and the ever changing environment in which the immigrants found themselves upon their arrival to a new country, the ballad genre remained the most significant part of the repertoire of each

wave. It might be the abundance of topics covered by this genre that allowed Ukrainian Canadian folk ballads to maintain their popularity in the face of ever changing circumstances, tastes and fashions of the day.

Every generation of Ukrainian immigrants in Canada found their own way to express themselves through a ballad. The majority of first and second wave ballads discussed family issues. This might be demonstrative of their life in isolated homesteads that many early settlers experienced. Third wave Ukrainian Canadians sang social ballads that promoted the feelings of patriotism and pride for their national identity, which has been vigorously suppressed in their homeland. The ballads of the fourth immigration mostly discussed relationships between young people before marriage. Their repertoire was largely modernized according to contemporary trends in global music to reach the larger audiences and to introduce the vibrant Ukrainian culture to the rest of the world. It might only be the matter of time before Ukrainian Canadians produced the new type of traditional folk ballad that became recognized by other nationalities.

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